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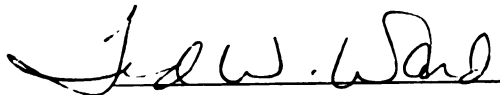
THE LOCAL CONTEXT AS A SOURCE OF
EVALUATIVE QUESTIONS ON MASS COMMUNICATION,
DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, AND RELIGION IN AFRICA

presented by

Menkir Esayas

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Dept. of Secondary
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Menkir Esayas

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ABSTRACT

THE LOCAL CONTEXT AS A SOURCE OF EVALUATIVE QUESTIONS ON MASS COMMUNICATION, DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, AND RELIGION IN AFRICA

By

Menkir Esayas

There is a close relationship between social communication and the modernization process in which communication plays a vital role. These assumptions about development strategy and practice within the local context have not been compiled, compared, or articulated. A great deal of Africa's theoretical basis for understanding 'development' and 'underdevelopment' has been heavily determined by theoretical frameworks developed outside the continent. To a large extent, communication practice in Africa has followed similar patterns. The present study attempts to present a conceptual critique of the main propositions and relationships between communication for social development on the one hand, and communication's significance and role in light of what development means in the African context on the other.

The problems which motivated this study are (1) the conceptual understanding (or lack of it) about the relationship between communication and development, (2) the value perceptions of actors at the local level, and (3) concern about the role participatory communication can

play in development.

The objectives of the study were (1) to reflect on the theoretical bases of development/underdevelopment and to analyze and describe the merits and limitations of these theories; (2) to propose, on the basis of evaluative research on two communication centers in Africa, some conclusions and suggestions for advancing contextual theory, in the hope of improving understanding and action in communication for development.

The researcher examined original intentions and actualities of the two systems, the perceptions of their audiences, and their social reality. The Stake model of evaluation was chosen as the basis for the study. The procedure included describing the communication centers in terms of their intended and perceived values, examining communication theories and learning strategies, and describing the actual characteristics of the centers based on data gathered from records and the research instrument.

The findings suggest that critical attention should be given to the following areas: (1) the distinction between the churches' role as 'communicating bodies' and their 'communicative function'; (2) audience participation in media use; (3) 'missiological/theological' conceptions of indigenous forms of communication; (4) local value perceptions, particularly when addressing large, non-Christian audiences; (5) the extensionist nature of media;

(6) the relationship between communication and development;
(7) the people's role in media use; (8) the development of
local program resources; and (9) research and training for
communication.

TO MANFRED LUNDGREN

For all the years of loving concern
and without whose sustaining spirit,
critical judgement, and perception
none of this would have been written.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This study arose out of two problems regarding communication and development efforts in Africa. The first problem concerns the interrelationship between communication and the production of information/knowledge for development. The second problem relates to the understanding or lack of understanding of the social constraints that influence communication efforts.

Conventional models of development and mass communication have generally borrowed ideas and approaches that were developed outside of Africa and that do not reflect an understanding of the African people and of the approaches to communication that are indigenous to their life and roots. Furthermore, the principal approach to development has been largely economic and cost-benefit oriented. The focus of communication efforts has been on finding ways to have audiences adopt the technology and ways of the communicators. Comparatively little attention has been given to the interactive process of communication or to having audiences participate in designing the communication effort.

Concerns about the relevance of conventional development models have led to a quest for a new conceptual framework for development communication. Such a framework would

link the process and structures of communication to the social reality of the local person as an individual and as a member of society. It would also encourage the active participation of individuals in the communication process.

In order to contribute to the development of such a framework, the researcher conducted a qualitative evaluation of two communication systems: Radio Sauti ya Injili in Moshi, Tanzania, and the Muryar Bishara Communication Centre in Jos, Nigeria. The two centers are affiliated with the Lutheran Church and have provided a combination of religious and development programming since 1963-1964--first over Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) in Ethiopia and now, after RVOG's nationalization, over other transmitters in Africa and through the limited use of other media such as cassettes and literature.

The Significance of the Problem

In the past thirty years, private and governmental agencies have launched large-scale radio projects as part of their overall development effort. Transmitters have sent the words of the Gospel, of national political leaders, of the industrialized nations, and others to all parts of Africa in an attempt to change the agricultural, nutrition, and health behaviors of the 'underdeveloped' masses and to foster 'appropriate' political or religious attitudes.

Most development communication projects are based on a set of ideological assumptions about the nature of human beings, learning, change, and society. These assumptions and ideas determine the projects' characteristics, content, methods, instructional arrangements, and even the evaluation of the results.

For the most part, the ideological assumptions that guide development communication projects have been transplanted to Africa from non-African societies. The topic, format, content, and delivery of messages have been based on Western conceptions of development and determined by senders who may have no contact with their audiences. Those in the audience can only choose whether or not they will listen to a given program. Their role in the communication process has been that of passive listeners rather than of active creators.

Generally, these broadcasts have been based on the assumption that merely making the information available will result in the desired changes in attitudes and behavior. Broadcasters have also assumed that 'feedback', one of the most important steps in the communication process, naturally occurs as part of the overall message-channel-receiver model of communication (Berlo, 1960). In many broadcast situations in Africa, feedback was expected to take the form of interpersonal communication. Broadcasters assumed that people in the audience would take the initiative and

complete the communication cycle by responding in one way or another to the communication 'treatment' they have received. Thus, it has been the audience's responsibility to seek out the communicator.

Unfortunately, feedback has often been more of a myth than a reality. After projects have been started, the expected responses have frequently not taken place. 'Target audiences' have continued to lead their lives in ways quite different from those in the government plan. In areas where the percentage of those who cannot read and write may be as high as 90 percent and post offices are rare, few listeners have provided broadcasters with the letter-based feedback that has been assumed to be an important part of the communication cycle.

The failure to dramatically change the attitudes and behaviors of their audiences has led some communication planners and practitioners to bemoan the non-responsiveness of those they "are trying to help." Others have looked not to the audience but to the limitations of the programs and the media with which they work as the source of their problems. In recent years, fundamental questions have been raised as to the role of the media in contributing to the processes of effective development and of maintaining the standards and values that characterize the rich heritage of the African culture. Critics such as Buchanan and Keith (1975) have argued that conventional models of development

and mass communication have not only failed to meet the development needs of African and other developing countries, but that these models may perpetuate and intensify the very problems that they are supposed to help solve.

One alternative that has been proposed is to more actively involve the audience in the design of communication programs. Such an approach requires that the media be conceived as bearers of social responsibility, that social and institutional mechanisms support the concept and provide channels for organized feedback, that training in the understanding and handling of communication is provided, and that evaluation is incorporated into the programming process. However, though a number of models have been developed to provide coherent explanations of the communication phenomenon, no one has yet developed a model centered on the receiver. There is a need for an interactive model of communication that would transform the broadcasters' myth of feedback into reality.

Development communication programs also need to act in consonance with traditional cultural codes of interaction and learning behavior. In the long run, it is indigenous forms that will remain the rightful means of communication. If the potential of the mass media is to be effectively harnessed, one must understand how the audience is affected by the medium and what is implicit in a given message vis-à-vis the audience's orientation, perception, and

expectations in the context of a given culture.

These theoretical issues can be seen in the practical context of the more than eight radio programming studios that form the Radio Voice of the Gospel network in Africa, the Middle East, India, and the Far East. The studios operate under the auspices of the local churches and receive technical and financial assistance from international church organizations.

Like other development communication programs that are administered locally but receive support from international sources, the studios must select programming that is in conformance with their organization's mandate but suitable to the local context. In the case of the RVOG studios, the mandate is to offer programs that conform to a 30/70 formula--30 percent of the programs are to be religious in content and 70 percent are to be educational and/or developmental. The actual percentages vary greatly and are determined by studio personnel under the broad supervision of their boards of governors.

Programs prepared by the studios locally are broadcast to a wide-ranging audience each day. Yet there have been few evaluative studies on the programs' effectiveness either in evangelism or education and development and even fewer on the needs and interests of the radio audience. This study represents an attempt to assess the assumptions and criteria employed by those responsible for operating

the mass media--particularly the assumptions that relate to the value perceptions of the audience and the use of indigenous communication. It further represents an attempt to develop an evaluative framework that can be used to assess similar programs. Such assessments are critical if communication is to be a dynamic, interactive process that is relevant to the audience's perceptions and expectations in the context of a given culture.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the study was to examine the working orientations, possibilities, and limitations of two radio studios in order to understand the effectiveness of their operations and to propose ways in which more effective communication programs that take into consideration indigenous communication patterns and participatory approaches might be developed. The researcher also examined how the evaluation process could be used to contribute to an understanding of the structures of development programming and the value perceptions of communication actors.

The specific objectives of the study were

- To examine the literature on development, education, communication, and evaluation in order to develop a conceptual approach to these areas and an evaluative framework for understanding communication systems;

- To examine the historical development of Radio Voice of the Gospel in order to better understand the objectives and purpose of the two studios and to compare the intentions of the studios with the reality of their situation;
- To identify and analyze the assumptions of board members, producers, and studio directors regarding the value perceptions of the audience and to compare their assumptions with the value perceptions of the audience; and,
- To recommend modifications and changes in the existing system on the basis of the findings about the intended and observed systems and the researcher's conceptual approaches to development and evaluation.

The Approach

Through interviews and an examination of studio and RVOG documentation, the researcher studied the current communication situation at Radio Sauti ya Injili in Moshi, Tanzania, and Muryar Bishara in Jos, Nigeria. As background preparation for the study, the researcher reflected on the conflicts in development theory as they relate to the communication process and to our understanding of traditional and modern societies.

Three foundational "platforms" were used to examine

some of the specific characteristics of the communication systems: (1) ideological assumptions about development and communication in Africa were examined in order to develop a frame of reference for mass communication in Africa; (2) relationships between the influencers of development (e.g., mass media and non-formal education) were examined in order to understand the deliberate inputs that affect development); and (3) indigenous communication was examined in order to understand the way people share ideas and send messages within the cultures of Africa.

The Stake evaluation model (1967) was used as a general source for evaluating the communication systems; however, the model was not seen as a fixed standard but as a sort of "juristic device by which one discovers more." The term model was used, therefore, in the sense of a partial representation dealing with different aspects and facets of the communication systems in the study. It was also used as a point of departure for developing a 'criterion referencing model' that can be used in future evaluation studies.

Assumptions

The following assumptions guided the development of the study:

- Decisions about the use of mass media for development and learning should be

based upon an understanding of the existing and relevant communication system consistent with the actual situation of the society.

- Decisions about development and learning systems must be based on (a) the careful understanding of the message and its relevance to society, (b) the available channels and their relevance and roles relative to the communicative process, (c) the society's perceived needs, and (d) the availability of resources.
- Most developing countries, unaware of the problems and potential of communication for development, seem to expect development to 'happen' without determining priorities, assigning resources, or developing the strategies that are such vital tools for achieving development.
- Planned interaction between communication and development results in positive influence cycles that repeat themselves towards a parallel growth of the vital processes to be reached. The local context in Africa has much to learn and gain from establishing a strong relationship between communication and development as a basis for an increased and effective improvement in the quality of life for people in Africa.
- Behavior is highly related to felt needs. Development communication in the Christian context may not be effective if programs

use a one-way proclamation format, particularly if they operate in a Muslim or other religious milieu and in circumstances where 90 percent of the population is illiterate. Communication for development may be effective, however, when it is defined as a social, political, and religious structure. This structure in turn determines the nature of the communication process and the amount of influence that it will have.

A basic value premise of the study is the importance of searching for guidelines or frameworks that are essentially rooted in the local community and that use local skills, materials, and resources.

Overview of the Dissertation

Included in Chapter I are a discussion of the problem and reflections on the approach used for understanding the problem. The literature on development, communication, education, and program evaluation is reviewed in Chapter II, while Chapter III includes a discussion of the background and development of Radio Voice of the Gospel and the two communication centers selected for the study. Chapter IV includes a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. The findings regarding the intended and observed learning systems at the two centers are presented in Chapter V. The implications of the research findings are discussed in Chapter VI as are recommendations for

creating more effective and productive communication efforts that take 'feedback' seriously. Also included in this chapter are recommendations for developing communication policies that would allow various levels of audiences to not only serve as the recipients of messages, but also to participate in all aspects of the communication process.

Chapter II

LITERATURE PRECEDENTS

Included in this chapter are sections on the nature of human beings, development and underdevelopment, education and development, communication and development, and program evaluation.

View of Human Beings

Humans are social, historical, and communicative beings "with values in life beyond those of modern technology and economic betterment, without which humanity's development will never be meaningful and lasting" (Freire, 1970).

Rooted in historical time and space and reflecting on the world from a particular ideological perspective, humans are endowed with a conscience that intervenes in what they do. They are not only mechanistic creatures in need of help; they are the most important agents in development, for they are capable of acting and reflecting.

Freire (1970) noted that humans are unique in that they create their world:

The main difference between the animal, whose activity goes no further than mere production, and man, who creates the domain of culture and history through his action on the world, is that

the latter only is a being of praxis. He is a being who creates and knows it as changer and creator. That man in his permanent relationship with reality, produces not only material goods, sensible things, and objects, but also science, and technology.

Freire added that humans give meaning to history and culture by recombining knowledge and relating to their world in a critical way--and as active agents in their history. Transcending a single dimension, they reach back to yesterday, recognize today, and come upon tomorrow. Humans exist in time. They are inside. They are outside. They inherit. They incorporate. They modify. Humans are not imprisoned within a permanent 'today', they emerge, and become temporalized. In their being creative subjects, humans are also treated as objects by oppressive systems which dehumanizes them. But, their 'ontological vocation' is to be a subject.

In "Extension or Communication?" Freire (1973) argued that "the social human world would not exist if it were not a world able to communicate....One can only exist in relation to others who also exist, and in communication with them."

Endowed with free choice, humans are 'creative subjects' who are capable of acting and reflecting. They find their true meaning in life by realizing their ability to communicate with others. Through creative and interactive communication, individuals move towards humanization and towards the realization of their freedom as subjects in

Thus, humans are communicative beings and 'creative subjects' in relationship to their world:

Men...cannot be truly human apart from communication for they are essentially communicative creatures. To impede communication is to reduce man to the status of 'things'...only through communication can human life hold meaning (Freire, 1970).

In interactive communication, humans create knowledge through 'dialogues' with each other rather than acting simply as senders or depositors of information.

Development and Underdevelopment

One of the most dominant forces in modern African society has been the demand for 'development' and 'planned' change. However, theories of development and underdevelopment have reflected a range of ideological and academic perspectives on the development process and the relationship between modern and traditional societies. Following the period of Auguste Comte, development was seen to be a linear progression representing social evolution. Later theorists rejected the notion of social evolution in a linear sense and favored the idea of social change. These theorists believed that, as societies emerge and new nations develop, new expressions reflecting their ambitions and aspirations also emerge. In recent years, two schools of thought have particularly influenced the African conceptions of development: modernization and ideal-type

theories and the Marxist approach to development and underdevelopment.

Modernization and Ideal-Type Theories

The term 'modernization' has been used synonymously with 'development' and 'westernization'. However, the use of this term reflects a view of the modern-traditional dichotomy that is represented by linear theories of progress. According to these theories, modernization is a process of moving from 'traditionality' or 'underdevelopment' to a state of 'modernity' or 'development' in the economic sense (Levy, 1966). Modernization as a theory assumes the existence of more than one society. Whitaker (1970) and others have suggested that these societies are distinct from each other and differ in their respective 'pattern variables'.

Whitaker's conceptualization of 'pattern variables' is derived from the ideal-type theories advanced by such sociologists as Toennie (1955), Durkheim (1933), Weber (1930), Becher (1957), Redfield (1955), Parson (1951), Lerner (1964), Merton (1961), Riesman (1961), and Rostow (1960). These scholars have suggested that dichotomous relationships exist within changing societies. These relationships can be seen in areas such as the value orientations, social organization, social relationships, economy, technology, and communication consumption level of a society.

Qualitative change in these and other areas is a necessary accompaniment of quantitative growth.

The main criticism of the ideal-type theories is that they represent ideal societies and do not lead to an understanding of the actual characteristics of traditional, underdeveloped, or modernized societies. Loomis and Beegle (1950), Redfield (1955) and others have discussed the dangers of using ideal-type models as the basis for analysis. They maintained that ideal-type theories should be seen as describing polarities on a continuum since no society entirely represents either extreme.

The empirical validity of ideal-type theories has also been questioned. Frank (1967) and Baran (1966) have pointed out that Parsons (1960) and others did not employ instruments that are suitable for social policy analysis.

Nor do ideal-type theories take into account the change that occurs in traditional societies. Gusfield and Singer (1965 and 1967) have commented that the traditionalism of today is a result of a long process of development and change.

Rudolf and Rudolf (1967) have criticized the use of ideal-type theories as expressions of the concepts of development and underdevelopment. They suggested that such theories reflect demands that traditional societies must systematically discard their traditional patterns before they can attain socio-economic development. Furthermore, ideal-type theories ignore latent deviant or minority

values. Modern societies, according to Rudolf and Rudolf, have a latent structure of traditional values, while traditional societies have the potential for modernization. They concluded that using an ideal-type model that focuses only on the manifest characteristics of a society can obscure the actual reality of that society.

The Marxist Approach

A quite different approach to development can be seen in the Marxist theory of development and underdevelopment. Marx, who developed his economic position in the mid-19th century, stipulated that the value of human labor is based on its external utility over and against individuals' relationships with each other. Emphasizing humans and their labor, not humans as individuals, Marx saw history as less a product of individual self-alienation than of economic necessity and class struggle. Social roles are intended not so much to bring about the alienation factor in the division of labor, but to assure the class appropriation of private property. In the search for a dialectical approach to overcoming idealism and traditional materialism, the transformation of people is a necessary condition for the transformation of nature. However, the freedom and responsibility of individuals in achieving this transformation is undermined by their subordination to the economic laws of history.

Commenting on the Marxian deterministic view, Gregor (1965) has noted,

productive forces are usually spoken of in an active sense...and human beings, although energized agents, remain passive in the sense that initiative somehow rests with the productive forces.

Marx believed that social development, in the sense of an improved capability for developing an efficient and better social organization and providing for more democratic participation, is almost impossible given that few regimes are likely to allow for such development. He also believed that the inherent contradictions in capitalism will eventually be responsible for the final breakdown of the social, economic, and political system. As wealth is concentrated in the hands of a continually smaller number of wealthy bourgeoisie and the size of the proletariat increases, a revolution of the proletariat becomes inevitable. Such a revolution will result in the liberation of the whole society and thereby establish full equality.

Marxist theory treats all underdeveloped societies as parts of a single social system that is linked through interaction. Fundamental to the Marxist approach to development is the search for the historical causes of underdevelopment. For example, in Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Frank (1969) maintained that the historical link between the industrially developed nations and those that are underdeveloped accounts for the

underdevelopment of the latter. This dialectical relationship is shown in Frank's metropolis-satellite model.

Furthermore, structural compatability is not mixed with the cause and effect of change and so modernization is not measured by the extent to which a nation has adopted Western standards and lifestyles.

Summary

This background review is intended to help establish a point of departure for this study; namely, that the researcher wishes to look at development as a dynamic process leading to an increase of societal capability which in turn leads to the development of an efficient social organization. Improving a society's capacity for attaining collective goals renders benefits to each individual member of society. It calls for an increase of individual and collective liberty and for the establishment of basic equality among its members. These objectives have serious implications for the allocation of material and human resources and for the design and implementation of education and communication strategies.

Education

Developing countries virtually everywhere now find themselves besieged by the serious maladjustment between their socio-economic environments and the products of their educational systems (Castle, 1972, p. vii). This is particularly true for the 80 percent whose future must be lived on the land. Education, which plays an important role in rural development, is rarely planned to meet the needs of village life. The present system in general divorces academic from technical education, downgrades vocational and manual work, is often based on class distinctions, and is used to reproduce social structures that are responsible for the poverty of the masses. Many African educational systems are now undergoing expansion, but few have seriously tried to use education as an instrument for social development. The failure to do so "appears to be the result of either a misunderstanding of the real interrelations between education, the economy, and politics, or a deliberate indifference to available information" (Hanf and Karl, 1975).

Historical Background

The educational system (i.e., schooling) in most African countries is rooted in Africa's colonial past. However, the education provided by colonial governments was not designed to prepare Africans to serve their people and country, but to inculcate the values of the colonial society.

It was created to produce government servants who, under supervision, could serve the state. Access to educational facilities was limited to those who lived in the better-off sections of urban and rural areas and who devoted themselves to attaining competence in the skills needed by the government. Africans went to high school or college so that they could get a white collar job. They were not concerned with manual labor, with craftsmanship, or with technology in general. The purpose of education was to make a person a gentleman, not a technician.

To this day, many African leaders insist on having a European type of educational system. Thus, most of the schooled population is urban oriented and believes that the most desirable jobs are in white collar occupations. Few are interested in farming or other manual occupations.

Formal Education

Education for development is, in fact, to a large extent mixed up with formal education. We have to initially, therefore, speak of education in Africa in terms of what we today understand as 'schooling' or 'formal education' 'Schooling' and 'schooled' [are] words which interchangeably refer to the place, the period of time, and the learning outcomes. Thus 'formal education' usually means schooling (Ward, n.d.).

In Africa, as in other developing areas of the world, formal schools have been affected by what Coombs (1968) has called the "world educational crisis." Coombs noted that the 'internal efficiency' and the 'external productivity' of formal educational systems in most parts of the

developing countries are extremely low. Furthermore, the massive rise in student enrollment in formal educational systems has required a large proportion of the national income.

Formal educational systems have also been criticized for their ineffectiveness and inappropriateness. Studies by Unesco (1975) and the World Bank (1974) have shown that literacy rates continue to be low despite dramatic increases in school enrollments. Critics of the formal system contend that formal education in poor countries does not contribute to the development of relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes. Nor is it offered at an acceptable cost or linked to realistic and prevailing economic conditions. In fact, formal education may contribute to some of the problems faced by developing societies. The expansion of formal education into rural areas may be the main cause of rural migration to urban areas and a contributing factor in rising unemployment.

Non-Formal Education

Nonformal education is simply an attempt to bury the notion that persons lacking formal schooling must forever be sentenced to an existence of poverty, misery, and squalor (Harbison, 1973, p. 12).

Adult literacy programs, occupational skills training programs, educational activities that are offered outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational goals, community programs in health, nutrition, family

planning, and cooperatives are all examples of non-formal education programs. Coombs (1974) defined non-formal education as "any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system, to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population." This view of non-formal education has also been expressed by Grandstaff (1973), Schramm (1973), and Bowers (1972).

Essentially, non-formal education has the following characteristics:

- It is broad in its learning system, bureaucratic structure, and transfer of skills and techniques.
- It focuses on the improvement of social and personal living skills and on occupational upgrading.
- It has a practical and immediate utility of learning.
- It is wide in its range of learning activities and its learning value is measured by the degree to which it can help the individual as prescribed by the learner's goals and wishes.
- Its curriculum context is determined by the locally felt needs or problems that individuals encounter and the help needed to solve the problems within the local culture, resources, and ways of expression.
- It uses a range of professional expertise and lends itself to effective use of

mass media and group and interpersonal communication.

- Its locality is the home, the workplace, under a tree, the community center, church, temple, or clinic.

Non-formal education need not be linked to the formal system; however, Coombs and others have argued that non-formal education will, in the long run, radically alter the system of formal schooling in developing countries and that this is essential if education is to truly suit the needs of those countries.

Education for Development

The purpose of education is simple and straightforward: to enable the person to emerge, to come forth, to develop to his greatest potential (Vaccaro, 1979).

Education for development requires something far more basic than the academic knowledge that is conventionally taught in formal schools or top-down extension programs. Education must develop a consciousness that is based on real experience in one's own social context. Such a consciousness can be realized at all ages and by those whom current educational systems have identified as illiterate. Education for development also requires the formation of new attitudes, values, and aspirations. It seeks to build an informed, active citizenry whose members are concerned not only for themselves, but also for their neighbors and their environment. It is education that helps people towards self-realization, self-assertion, and acting to determine their

destiny. Such education is based on role-playing rather than on an imposed structure. It is education which is "much more responsive to change and thus is a more effective tool for development" (Ward, 1980).

Awareness, decision, and action give this responsiveness to education. Vaccaro (1979) addressed this point when reviewing the positions held by Carl Rogers and John Dewey:

the individual's choosing, with the locus of this process within him, is very important for human development and growth....Dewey stresses 'experience' and Rogers speaks of 'this moment'. Both 'experience' and 'this moment' are indispensable for the individual to gain self-knowledge and confidence which in turn allow the person to shape his/her life and thereby achieve true education (p. 7).

The work of Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich has strongly influenced current discussions of education for development. Both authors have argued for a radical revision of the current educational system and, although they approach the issue from different perspectives, both essentially represent a concern for the dignity and value of the whole person and for the liberation of people from exploitative and oppressive systems.

Central to Illich's work is the need for a cultural revolution that would reject the current emphasis on credits, certification, and diplomas. This educational monopoly, claimed Illich, is 'uncreative' and has an inherent tendency "to confuse teaching with learning,

advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new" (1971).

Illich's emphasis on 'creativity' as a characteristic of an expressive and free society resembles Freire's call for freedom of the 'oppressed' from the 'oppressors'. Both authors contend that one-way learning situations do not safeguard individual freedoms. Illich (19) explained,

When the schoolteacher fuses in his person the function of judge, ideologue, and doctor, the fundamental style of society is perverted by the very process which should prepare for life. A teacher who combines these three powers contributes to the warping of the child much more than the laws which establish his legal or economic minority, or restrict his right to free assembly or abode.

Freire has strongly attacked the prescriptive form of learning which he calls the 'banking system'. He noted that the act of transferring information from the message source (the teacher) to the receiver (the student) establishes a system of "domestication" in which teachers are 'depositors' and students are 'depositories'. In such a system,

- The teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- The teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
- The teacher talks and the students listen meekly;
- The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- The teacher chooses and enforces his choices and the students comply;

- The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- The teacher chooses the program content and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
- The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- The teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects (Freire, 1970).

For Freire, educational programs should not be domesticating systems but rather avenues for attaining independence from powerlessness and fatalism. His main contribution is reflected in the concept of conscientização (conscientization) which speaks to the need for arousing individuals' positive self-concepts and urging them to become active agents in their society and free from dependency and feelings of inferiority. Through praxis (reflection/action/reflection) they are to transform their world.

Central to conscientização is a redefinition of what learning ought to be. Freire believed that

- No one can teach anyone else.
- No one learns alone.
- People learn together, acting in and on the world (Noel, 1973).

Summary

In discussing educational constraints related to development, change, and modernization, it is important to

remember that 'development' is a response to the desire for change. For this researcher, development is an expression that means that there is no wealth but life, and that improvement in individual welfare is dependent on change in human, political, and social structures, not only on the growth of GNP. It means that men and women are the subjects and objects of their own improvement.

Contrary to the view of some economic planners, the researcher does not believe that rural development can be equated with increased agricultural production, particularly if such development is based on the production of major commercial crops that result in higher GNP and foreign trade balances, but do little to meet the nutritional needs of rural inhabitants. Rather, as Gunnar Myrdal (1970) pointed out, "development is the movement upward of the entire social system. This social system encloses: economic, social, physical, educational, health, and distribution of power in society."

Without education there is no development and without development there can be no further national progress. Education is both the product of society and an instrument for bringing about change in society. Because formal education is historically associated with the 'development' of industrialized societies, it has generally been considered the best means of bringing about development. Recently, however, a number of questions have been raised about the

appropriateness and feasibility of using formal education in developing countries. Given the high cost of formal education and the many competing demands for public funds, developing countries may not be able to afford continued expansion of the present system. Nor, in the view of some planners, should they. The gap between the content of their textbooks and the reality of the students' environment has led authors such as Freire and Illich to urge that new educational concepts and approaches be adopted. They and others believe that education for development must be concerned with the development of the whole person and that this development will only occur if there is a radical restructuring of the educational system.

Freire's and Illich's contributions to the orientation of education for development are also relevant to mass communication. There are many similarities between the 'banking system' of education and the approaches employed by broadcasters who 'deposit' their information in programs geared towards passive audiences. Though educators and communicators may differ with Freire's socio-political orientation, his idea of 'interaction' as the basis for meaningful communication has much to offer for those engaged in mass communication for education, enrichment, development, and outreach.

Communication

Communication is pervasive and covers a wide range of human situations. At its most fundamental level, communication is "the process of using signs and symbols which elicit meaning in another person or persons" (Sarbaugh, 1979). Communication can also be seen as a network of relationships that binds a society together through interaction. As Schramm (1973) noted,

When we study communication, we study people--relating to each other and to their groups, organizations, and societies, influencing each other, being influenced, informing and being informed, teaching and being taught, entertaining and being entertained.

Early theorists viewed communication as a major coordinating and controlling mechanism in society (Spencer, 1889) and as the mechanism through which the very existence of human relations is maintained (Cooley, 1909). Sapir (1935) commented, "every cultural pattern, and every single act of social behavior involves communication in either an explicit or implicit sense."

Lasswell (1960) studied the societal functions of communication (i.e., the socio-cultural exchange of messages). He identified three functions of communication:

- Surveillance of the environment.
- Coordination of the different parts of society in responding to the environment.
- Transmitting social heritage (pp. 117-130).

Lerner (1958) believed that communication is the means of exchange by which social value is measured and that a breakdown in communication has serious economic and political consequences. Pye (1963) also saw communication as part and parcel of the social structure: "the structure of the communication system with its more or less well-defined channels [functions as] the skeleton of the social body which envelops it."

For Freire and Illich, communication is a process that should not be separated from the other socio-cultural processes that are part of overall national development. They believed that a coherent communication philosophy, policy, and methodology must be adopted by all of the institutions involved if communication is to be truly meaningful and effective.

In addition to being a social mechanism for maintaining the status quo, communication also functions to promote ideology and strengthen or weaken social power relationships. According to Pye (1963), the communication power of the mass media plays a crucial role in national development. Emphasizing that media's role is to 'create' a basis for political consensus, increased interest, and participation, Pye commented:

Unless the masses of people are exposed to new ways of thinking and led to adopt new attitudes, there can be little hope of any steady progress towards economic development, social modernization, and political maturity.

One area of communication research has focused on studying the flow of information without analyzing the social situation in which the information is transmitted. For example, in a classic communication paradigm developed by Lasswell and later worked out in more detail by Lerner, the communication process involved six variables: WHO (the source), SAYS WHAT (the content), TO WHOM (the audience), WHY (for what purpose), HOW (through what media), and WITH WHAT EFFECT? (Lasswell and Lerner in Schramm, 1960, pp. 131-140.) The message flow within society (between source and receiver) can take a variety of forms (e.g., oral channels, print media, electronic media). The message itself can be personal or impersonal.

Other research has focused on the social, political, economic, and cultural aspects of communication. Drawing upon research in psychology and other disciplines, researchers in this area have analyzed the social system in terms of communication as an interactive process (see Festinger, 1950; Deutsch and Gerard, 1955; and Schramm, 1973 among others). The following sections highlight research in this area as it relates to communication and development.

Mass Media and Development

Much of the recent research on communication has examined the relationship between the mass media and social and economic development. For example, Lerner (1958);

Unesco (1961); Schramm (1964); Schramm and Ruggels (1961); de Sola Pool (1966); and Rao (1963) have explored the interrelationships between variables such as mass media consumption, literacy, and economic development.

After analyzing data in Western countries and countries in the Middle East, Lerner (1958) formulated a three-phase model of development. He suggested that there is a mutual correlation between urbanization, development of reading and writing, and development of the mass media: media development requires technological know-how, the availability of capital, and that the receiver be able to read and write.

While in the Middle East, Lerner encountered the notion of 'induced change'. He found that this common characteristic of most developing nations did not fit into his 'traditional-modern' continuum.

Schramm (1964) also suggested that mass media and development are closely interrelated and that development follows a linear progression:

[first there is] a nucleus of mobile, change-accepting personalities; then a growing mass media system to spread the ideas and attitudes of social mobility and change; then the interaction of urbanization, literacy, industrialization, and media participation to bring modern society into being (p. 47).

However, Schramm and Ruggels (1967) did not completely agree with Lerner's model. They maintained that, except for the correlation between percentage of literature and

the degree of exposure to media, Lerner's hypotheses were not supported. They also doubted that a single variable could be used to explain differences among societies and noted that there are problems in contrasting 'developing' and 'developed' societies.

Lerner saw mass media as the 'great multiplier' in the development process. In addition to maintaining and spreading literacy and information for development, the media can help develop 'empathy' and 'mobile personality'.^{*} These concepts, Lerner maintained, are not only valuable in themselves, but are also affected by the mass media.

Rao (1963) believed that development and the mass media influenced each other:

While it is true that economic development leads to an increase in the flow of information through the greater purchasing capacity of the people, reflected in subscriptions of newspapers, magazines, and specialized journals as well as the ownership of radio sets and travel, it is also true that increased information in turn furthers economic development. It is futile to attempt to treat this interaction between communication and economic development as a causal relationship and isolate the chicken from the egg. The interaction is constant and cumulative (p. 2).

Rao's work has been criticized as not being representative of situations in the developing countries. In

^{*}Lerner defined 'empathy' as the extent of one's ability to relate to the sentiment and feeling of another person and 'mobile personality' as the extent of one's adaptability to changing situations.

particular, Mishna (1970) pointed out that Rao's statistics did not indicate the extent of media distribution in a given country and that a causal relationship could not be identified from the data provided. He further criticized Rao's study as not reflecting an understanding of 'development' and as showing an economistic orientation towards 'development' by using terms such as 'modernization' interchangeably with 'westernization'.

Deutsch (1966) and Lerner (1958, 1960, and 1963) believed that mass media can be used to psychologically and socially stimulate the process of change from traditionality to modernity. They maintained that such change is essential if economic growth is to take place.

Though some researchers have stipulated that mass media is but a product of development rather than affecting or causing development, Schramm and Ruggels (1967) maintained that the media has a limited role to play and that this role is not determined exclusively by economic development.

Theoreticians have also expressed concern that the widespread use of the mass media will have precarious and damaging effects, particularly in developing countries. Lerner (1958) suggested that the media might generate an 'unrealistic demand' for material provisions, while de Sola (1966) has argued that the cost of mass

communication technology imposes an unrealistic burden on the developing countries.

Ideology and Information Flow

The full dissemination of information is regarded as being consistent with an individual's right to information (Unesco, 1964) and/or as contributing to development. However, the free flow of information (as defined by laws governing the free enterprise system) is monopolized by those who distribute information as a commodity. The world information market is essentially dominated by five main news agencies (AP, UPI, Reuters, AFP, and TASS) who represent a global information power structure. The world is virtually dependent on these agencies for news and information regarding events that affect the lives of the majority of the global population (IPI, 1953).

The relationship between mass media and power structures is a topic of current discussion among researchers and policy makers. Schiller (1969) noted that economic factors tie groups together in a variety of levels of interest and determine what should constitute their communicative products. These products are in turn used to maintain and safeguard economic interests. Schiller considers this monopoly of influence to be a form of 'cultural imperialism'. Package programs are exported to the periphery countries where they are channeled directly into the broadcasting

system.

In a study of the pattern of monopoly, influence, interest, and communication flows between the industrially developed and the developing countries, Varis (1973) drew the following conclusions: (1) the U.S. is the major exporter of TV programs; (2) in most countries, American programs constitute the major portion of imported programs while British programs form the second largest portion; (3) the flow of communication is essentially between Western Europe and the rest of the world; and (4) most of the news items on developing societies came from American and European correspondents.

The international flow of information is dominated and controlled by the economic power group. Information is released at the convenience of and for the purposes of serving the interests of the industrial state. Gerbner (1974) noted that the media are "the chief cultural arm of the industrial order from which they spring." Information organizations with their economic and ideological interests not only cater to the 'needs' of their consumers; they actively participate in creating those needs. Thus, the content provided for the consumer may be said to be 'selected'; however, the consumer is, in fact, provided with pre-selected material. Moreover the filter mechanisms that influence the selection process are largely provided by the news media in the first place.

Galtung (1965) examined the structure of foreign news. He concluded that in order for events to be classified as news they must meet criteria relating to place, frequency threshold, ambiguity (the less ambiguous the more noticeable), meaningfulness, and consonance. They must also be unexpected. News reports in the developing countries should be tailored to elite notions and elite audiences. In a later study that focused more on social and psychological aspects of news, Galtung (1970) noted that Western news reports about Third World countries report the abnormal as normal and focus only on questions of alignment in reporting about a country's search for relevant social alternatives.

Rosengren (1974) developed a comprehensive politico-economic theory of news that examined the structure and underlying ideology of news. He concluded that news reports define events (international, national, and local) in terms that coincide with the political powers' definitions of those events.

Diffusion Studies

Another body of communication research is related to increasing learning effectiveness. The main work in this area, which is known as diffusion research, has been done by Everett Rogers. Rogers (1970) discussed the 'innovation-decision' process and its implications for communications

planners. He identified three functions associated with the communication process: knowledge, persuasion, and decision. Knowledge represents an individual's confrontation with a body of new ideas. These new ideas are then evaluated by comparing them with other alternatives (including the old way of doing things). Persuasion represents the point when the individual becomes persuaded in his/her mind as to whether or not the new idea should be adopted. Decision is the final stage and occurs when an individual decides to act on his/her intentions.

The diffusion model has been criticized for focusing only on the 'recipient' and not giving sufficient attention to the functional constraints posed by the person's socio-cultural environment. The theory, for instance, would not treat all factors (such as external possibilities and the availability of credit) as operating in an equal way, but would accept that there are some privileged persons who are 'innovators', while labeling others as 'laggards'.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) pointed out that communication is paramount in the process of social change. Defining social change as the "process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system," they noted that

national revolution, invention of a new manufacturing technique, founding of a village improvement council, adoption of birth control methods by a family--all are examples of social change. Alteration in both the structure and

function of a social system occurs as a result of such actions. The structure of the social system is provided by the various individual and group statuses which compose it.

...social change implies three stages--invention, diffusion, and consequences. The first stage is a process through which new ideas are created. The second stage is a process of disseminating information about the new ideas created in the first stage. Finally, the consequences are the changes which occur in a social system as a result of the adoption or rejection of the innovation. Social changes occur when the new ideas are applied in such a way that they are effective. A rejection of the innovation may also have an effect on the social system. This is a phenomenon which we do not always remember.

Failure to adopt a new idea can produce change in individuals or social systems when the rejection of the innovation causes an alteration. For example, the failure of many Indians to adopt birth control methods will eventually change the structure and function of their social order as a result of population increase (p. 7).

Recognizing the ineffectiveness of impersonal (mass media) channels for all stages of the innovation-decision process, communicators have experimented with delivery systems that include both personal and impersonal channels of communication (see Neurath, 1960 and Coleman and Opoku, 1968). They have found, for example, that effectiveness is greatly increased when village-level discussion groups are used to supplement radio and TV broadcasts.

The above research indicates that careful consideration must be given to the role of different channels in the

innovation-decision process. Another important consideration is the role of the specific channels in the client's culture. Hovey (1971) has demonstrated that cognitive style varies from culture to culture and that this variance can be identified and categorized. His point is that instruction will be more effective when it reflects the cognitive style of the intended learners. Cole, Gay, Click, and Sharp (1971) also concluded that learning is culture bound, while Ward (1973) commented,

Effective learning depends on (1) relevancy of the educational goals to social values, (2) accommodation of the cognitive style of learners, (3) accommodation of the pedagogical expectations of the learners.

These considerations also need to be taken into account in designing communication strategies and research models.

Effect Studies

Effect studies are concerned with opinion and/or attitude formation, confirmation, reduction, and/or their absence (Klapper, 1960). These studies have primarily focused on short rather than long-range effects.

Researchers in this field would maintain that the central question in communication research should be, "What can people do to mass communication and/or what can communication do to people?" They are concerned with responsive behavior (i.e., decision-making at election time), determining the degree to which knowledge is comprehensible, one's ability to communicate, and the effects of communication

on attitudes. Effects in communication are seen as part of a wider context in which communication is a component part. A given effect can only be understood in the context of a number of variables that are operative in the communication process. These include (1) the extent of the effect, (2) the historical, ideological, economic, and socio-cultural context, and (3) the people involved in the communication process.

Indigenous Communication

The theoretical approaches mentioned above tend to neglect the internal, indigenous aspects of communication, development, and underdevelopment. Schramm has noted that the mass media in traditional countries is 'minority media'. It is almost a house organ for the elite in countries where 70 to 80 percent of the people live in rural settings and reflects the content and approaches used in industrialized societies. Generally, the flow of information to urban and rural areas takes the form of what Freire has called 'the banking concept'; information is imported from abroad, deposited, and then released to audiences that are expected to listen meekly and comply passively.

Few efforts have been made to decolonize the Western model of communication in favor of a group communication model that is based in traditional African culture. Yet, in thousands of villages and small towns in the Third

World some type of development continues through networks of indigenous communication--often despite rather than because of external influences, development assistance, and various modernization programs.

Indigenous communication in traditional Africa is essentially part of the cultural dynamic of social systems and a key factor in maintaining the cohesiveness of traditional societies. The meaning of many social functions is expressed through some form of communication. Rumor, oratory, poetry, songs of distinctive quality and natural artistry, "dancing for joy, for grief, for love, for hate, for prosperity, for religion, for past time...", these are inherent qualities in traditional Africa and reflect a rich cultural heritage that has been overlooked by development planners.

Yet culture is the motivating and constraining power of what Durkheim (1933) called 'the social fact'. It is one's expression of life; an expression by the individual that flows out of the mind of society. To communicate is to know and understand the genesis of cultures and all of their dimensions.

Each culture defines a set of values (patterns), purposes, and perceptions for the individuals living within it. It shapes their perceptions of time and space. It provides an avenue for communicating intellectually and emotionally and serves as the moral foundation for

expressing love, affection, optimism, and pessimism. It provides the basis for communicating with one's family, coworkers, village, city, nation, country, and world. Some cultures, such as Tanzania, have used short slogans or key words (i.e., ujamaa) to express the essence of the society. By ignoring indigenous forms of communication, many communication projects have ignored basic features of the cultures they have sought to reach.

Participatory Communication

Participatory communication advocates see the media as bearers of social responsibility and as having responsibility for assuring that audiences have opportunities for clear feedback channels as well as for contributing to integrated and planned evaluation procedures. Participatory communication provides the possibility for praxis--for education that will move society to levels of change in such a way that "development is for all men and for the whole man" (Goulet, 1974).

In programming, tasks are not only the responsibility of the immediate staff, but also of all who are to benefit from the communication process. The image that the sender has of the receiver and vice versa; the personal experiences, values, and expectations of both the source and the receiver; the variations in cultural context and the variety of symbols and meanings--all of these mean that

communication has become participatory and reflective of the complexity of life rather than functioning merely as a mechanistic phenomenon (Ball, 1960). Participatory communication goes beyond merely transferring content from a knowledgeable and authoritative source; it promotes the receiver's growth as a person with an autonomous and critical conscience who is capable of contributing to and influencing his society.

Summary

Communication for development is viewed in this study as a total process that includes understanding the audience and its needs as well as planning, developing, and producing communication efforts for development. Such efforts must take into account the interpersonal aspects of communication and feedback.

Most of the studies on the mass media and developing societies have emphasized economistic and quantitative aspects of development in accordance with the linear approach to understanding development and underdevelopment. Though these studies have provided us with some understanding of the interactive relationship between communication and development efforts, they have generally focused on top-down, one-way models of communication. Communication that is not unidirectional but participatory in nature has been given very little attention in the literature. Nor has

much attention been given to the possibilities of using indigenous communication. Yet, for most people in rural Africa, the traditional system of social communication seems to be the system to which access is possible.

A central argument of this study is that communication for development requires more concern with participation, decentralization, and developing a broad base of action.

There are several advantages to such a system: (1) systems that allow maximum and direct participation can allow for the expression of distinctive cultural traits and elicit and regulate desirable behavioral patterns; (2) old and deeply rooted values can be directly challenged in a supportive atmosphere; (3) the intimate small group situation also provides a setting for the emotional involvement necessary to facilitate the development of a cross-cultural consciousness; and (4) small groups organized along local, regional and national lines are relatively easy to keep alive given a constant flow of tasks. Motivated through intergroup communication, they also constantly plan, produce, use, and evaluate their communication efforts.

Using participatory and indigenous communication can also help to counter the one-way flow of information from developed to developing countries. Rather than passively receiving the ideology of the broadcasters, audiences

could help to create and form their own ideologies of development.

Questions about the role of the mass media in development continue to arise. If it was once believed that the mass media could be used to 'solve' many world problems, today it is recognized that the media are, at best, marginal enablers who can contribute to or disrupt the process of development. Developing countries cannot afford to ignore the significant interactional relationship between communication and development or the ideological and social implications of development communication efforts. Because communication is an integral part of the social system, any change in society cannot be effective without affecting the communication system and vice versa.

Thus, a major unanswered question concerns the criteria that should be used to determine what types of communication efforts are useful for a given African context. In the absence of concrete answers, the impact and specific role of communication in a given context remains primarily a question of subjective preference and an undertaking of faith. McNelly (1966) called this approach a 'pragmatic position' for it neither underestimates nor glorifies the role of communication in development.

Program Evaluation

The two mass media centers in this study (Muryar Bishara in Jos, Nigeria, and Sauti ya Injili in Moshi, Tanzania) were viewed as instructional communication systems in which specific audiences are learners and the results of their learning are intended to enrich their lives and, where appropriate, bring about some observable change. The study drew upon concepts and approaches of educational evaluation in order to analyze these systems and recommend appropriate modifications.

Essential Qualities of Evaluation

Value is the heart of evaluation. Evaluation is the process of valuing or judging...the goal of evaluation must always be to provide an answer to the all-important question: Does the phenomenon under observation have greater value than its competitors or sufficient value of itself that it should be maintained? (Worthen and Sanders, 1973, p. 26)

Evaluation is not limited to the realm of description or well-stated observation. As Stake (1967) pointed out, it also involves making judgements that lead to decisions about educational programs. These judgements are used to determine the issues, outcomes, and processes of the curricula and to evaluate the effectiveness of the program in meeting its goals (Stake and Denny, 1969).

The attribution of values is a process of comparison. In evaluation, elements of the instructional system are

compared with stated objectives. Tyler (1950) noted that evaluation requires a clear definition of behavioral objectives in order to determine the degree to which the program is effective. Stake and others agreed with the importance of using objectives but have also used the term 'intended outcomes'. The following summary by Stake and Denny (1969) focuses sharply on the attention that has been given to the role of objectives in evaluation:

Scriven (1967) has proposed presenting objectives through test items. Krathwohl (1965) helped clarify the problem by discussing levels of specificity of objectives. Gagne (1965) has shown how student achievements can be analyzed to indicate intermediate objectives. Taylor and Maguire (1966) offered a model of the transformation of objectives from societal needs to student behaviors. Alkin (1963, 1968) and Eisner (1967), in a different vein, protested against the constraining effects of specified objectives on educators. These writings are part of a foundation for new methods of representing educational objectives (p. 333).

Stufflebeam (1970) spoke of evaluation in terms of comparing alternatives that are ascribed relative values and by choosing specific elements that may be introduced into the educational system. Stake, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of having standards as measurements against which educational materials may be compared. These standards are determined by organizations, communities, institutions, and other social factors. Taylor and Maguire (1966) outlined five sources of standards for evaluating programs: (1) experts in the

content area, (2) parents, (3) students, (4) teachers, and (5) representatives of society as a whole. The main focus of their discussion centered on whether evaluation should be based on internally stated objectives or if it should be based on the external expectations of society.

Another issue concerns the comprehensiveness of evaluation. Stake (1967) believed that evaluation should encompass the full context of a learning experience and include students, teachers, and their relationships as well as the educational process. He added that evaluation should also include a close examination of program objectives so that appropriate judgements can be made as to their use. Anderson (1965) noted that evaluation should be comprehensive in scope. Citing yet another dimension of evaluation, Cronbach (1963) believed that evaluation should include a study of the educational process, measures of proficiency, measures of attitudes, and follow-up studies. The follow-up studies should not only look at retention levels in the learning process, but at whether or not the acquired learning is functional and appropriate to the person's needs.

Taba (1962) also agreed with the view that evaluation should be broadly conceived as educational programs in themselves are broad and encompassing. He pointed out that the term curriculum encompasses everything that has to do with learning, its values, and its accomplishments. However,

one also has to be discerning in choosing what is to be included in the evaluation. Ward and Dettoni (1974) noted that subjective criteria can be applied in sorting out which elements should be considered for their significance to the curriculum and learning experience.

The fundamental purpose of evaluation is to help program planners, strategists, and educators make better decisions regarding program operations. Alkin (1969) noted that

evaluation is the process of ascertaining the decision areas of concern, selecting appropriate information, and collecting and analyzing information in order to report summary data useful to decision-makers in selecting among alternatives (p. 150).

He believed that evaluation could contribute to five areas of decision-making in program development: (1) systems assessment; (2) planning; (3) implementation; (4) improvement; and, (5) certification.

Ward and Dettoni (1974) held a similar view. They assumed that educational programs will always be somewhat less than what the planners and operators expect, and that the important purpose of evaluation is to improve operations by making judgements about alterable elements. They identified two critical areas where evaluation can contribute to improving programs that must deal with cross-cultural and geographical differences:

(1) the more careful implementation of the general theory upon which the program is based, and (2) more careful adjustment and adaptation to the local situation. In reference to the first, the general theory will itself need to be under constant reexamination and revision on the basis of feedback from the field operations. The second, adaptation to the local situation, also demands that feedback be made available and used by the staff and leaders of the field operation to decrease the discrepancy between intended and realized outcomes (p. 206).

Grobman (1968) and Gooler and Grotelueshen (1970) believed that curriculum evaluation should raise questions of a practical and immediate nature and raise the consciousness level of practitioners to issues at hand. Cronbach (1963) noted that "the greatest service evaluation can perform is to identify aspects of the course where revision is desirable" (p. 48). Stake and Denny (1969) stressed that evaluation must go beyond the immediate and help educators and planners to reflect on concerns that are not foreseen.

Evaluation may be either formative or summative. Formative evaluation is concerned with the capability and power to produce good results in the educational program, while summative evaluation emphasizes value advantages. Scriven (1967) has commented that educational projects "clearly must attempt to make the best use of both these roles" (p. 43).

Methodological Tools for Evaluation

Though a variety of methodologies have been developed for doing research in education, the methodology used for program evaluation is different from that used for basic research and standardized testing. The latter research seeks to evolve lawful principles of relationships that have essential characteristics of generalizability or to assess individual progress. Program evaluation, on the other hand, is "concerned with a phenomenon which has limited generalizability across time and geography" (Worthen and Sanders, 1973, p. 32).

Basic research focuses on experimentation whereas in evaluation the demands of experimentation are not met. Furthermore, evaluation is administered to specified and limited groups, whereas experimental research requires random sampling of a universe that is large enough to be statistically justifiable. This is rarely possible in program evaluation; randomizing of groups or placing them in such a way as to develop a statistically verifiable sample is neither practical nor is it logically feasible. Glass (1969) cautioned of the danger of compromising the experimental approach in matching one group with another.

Standardized testing is also quite different from program evaluation. Though it uses a sophisticated methodology, standardized testing focuses on the individual rather than on the program. It is designed to assess

students in a discriminatory manner and is based on comparing student scores with those of a total student population. Evaluation, in contrast, looks at the educational program to determine whether or not a program has met its objectives. Evaluation also compares programs and makes judgements as to their relative effectiveness. Stake and Denny (1969) have commented that evaluation is an assessment of the relevancy of a given program as seen or judged from the perspective of its stated objectives, the value of the learning experience, and the value that the learners have ascribed to the learning experience.

Evaluation also includes information from non-learner sources. Cronbach (1963) noted that such information is a valuable input and can be used to accentuate the level of objectivity of the evaluation.*

Evaluation methodology, therefore, reflects what is being evaluated and the purpose of the evaluation. Appropriateness is determined by the information one wants.

*This point is particularly relevant for this study. Even though leaders such as the chief of a Nigerian village or the chief of the Fulani nomads have been accurate sources of information about their people for years (Ford, 1976), these leaders are rarely contacted as part of evaluation programs in part because it is not yet possible to tap such information through modern technology or statistical sampling. However, through interviews with these leaders, one can gain an understanding of the values of the audience and the impact of programs. Thus, the researcher contacted leaders in Nigerian and Tanzanian villages as part of the overall study.

Stake and Denny (1969) noted, "the concept and techniques that will serve evaluation have roots in philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, history, and economics as well as psychology" (pp. 328-329).

The Role of the Evaluator

The evaluator is particularly concerned with deriving principles on which to make decisions about instructional practice... [and] focuses on the task of describing the nature and worth of educational programs in order to improve decisions about the management of those programs (Stake and Denny, 1969, p. 330).

Evaluation deals with real problems that affect program management, operations, and planning. Thus, it must be carefully planned and administered by carefully selected personnel. The evaluator works as part of a team and should be involved in the evaluation process from the very beginning. Though it is important that the evaluator be academically skilled in data collection and evaluation research (Stake and Denny, 1969), he/she should also be sensitive to the needs of the learner and the social context in which the learning takes place (Stake, 1967). Provos (1969) pointed out that the evaluator must be knowledgeable about group dynamics and the processes involved in bringing about change.

The evaluator performs a variety of functions. Gooler and Grotelueschen (1970) noted that he/she raises questions, collects data, interprets data, judges values, and judges

responsiveness. Scriven (1967) noted that the evaluator makes judgements and relates to the appropriate planners of educational programs.

Evaluation Models

Several authors have developed graphic models of program evaluation in order to enhance our understanding of evaluation and to guide research in the field. Four of these models are reviewed below.

The Ward and Dettoni Model. Ward and Dettoni (1974) identified four functions of evaluation. They noted,

the base or first stage is description; on this is built measurement; on the measurements are built assessments; and then, by bringing value positions to bear on the assessments, one can make evaluations (p. 208).

As shown in Figure 1, evaluation starts from a description which is usually verbal and cannot be useful in making a comparative analysis. The next step is to quantitatively measure the variables. This leads to an assessment of the comparison or change made in individuals or of measurements taken of individuals at different time intervals. The evaluation of differences, however, will not be complete without ascribing value as to the relative worth of the ascertained difference. In such an evaluation, the items to be included have to be determined by asking the question, "What difference would it make?" (p. 275).

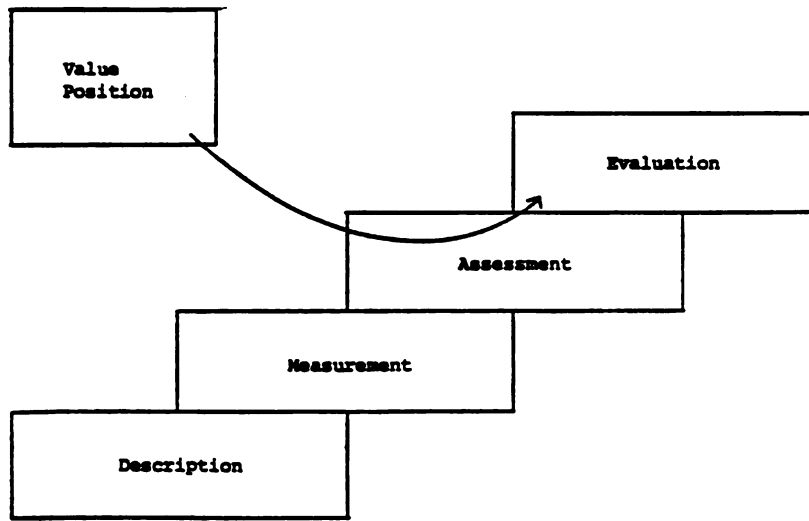


Figure 1. The Four Operations of Evaluation. (Source: Ward and Dettoni, 1974.)

The Hammond Model. Hammond (1973) developed a three-dimensional model that focuses on the relationships between various elements of a program, including institutional aspects and instructional and behavioral directions (see Figure 2).

He identified five stages in evaluation: (1) determining the baseline effect of current programs, (2) defining the descriptive variables, (3) stating objectives in behavioral terms, (4) assessing the behavior described in the objectives, and (5) analyzing the results (factors produced) and comparing them to the stated objectives. Hammond's model is encompassing in that it brings to focus

the identification of variables that are essential for evaluation. Like Ward and Dettoni, Hammond saw description as foundational to the process of evaluation. He also believed that evaluation is a holistic process which brings into focus prestated objectives and judges them on the basis of actual learning that may have taken place (as verified by changes that take place among learners).

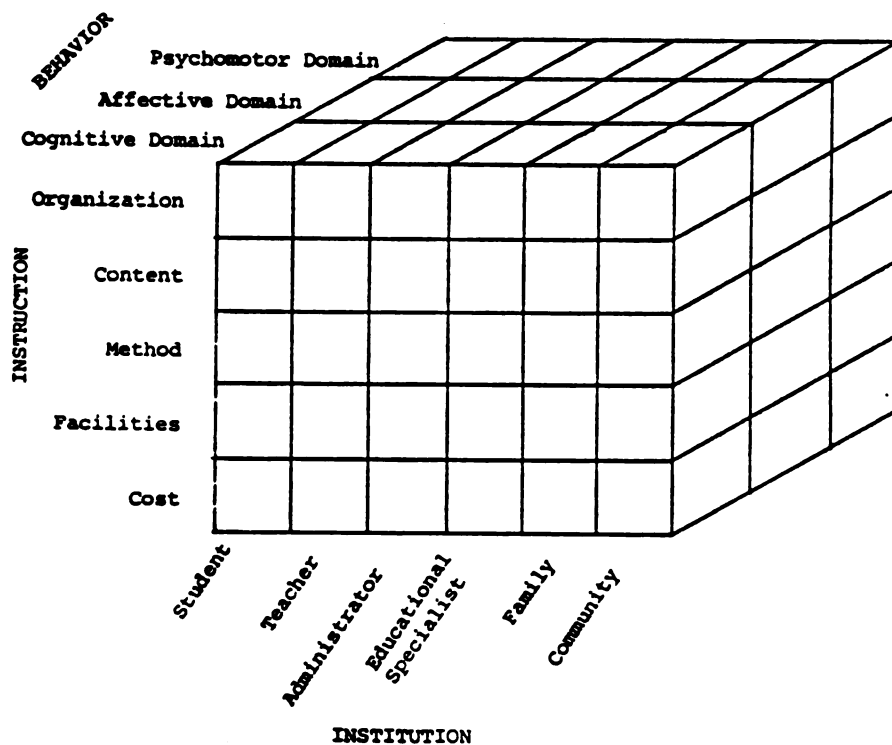


Figure 2. The Structure of Evaluation. (Source: Hammond, 1963.)

The Stake Model. Stake (1967) uses descriptive and judgemental matrices to evaluate programs. In the descriptive matrix, the antecedents, transactions, and outcomes of the intended system are compared with those in the observed system. Standards and judgements are compared in the judgement matrix. Logical contingencies and congruencies among the different dimensions are evaluated in each matrix (see Figure 3).

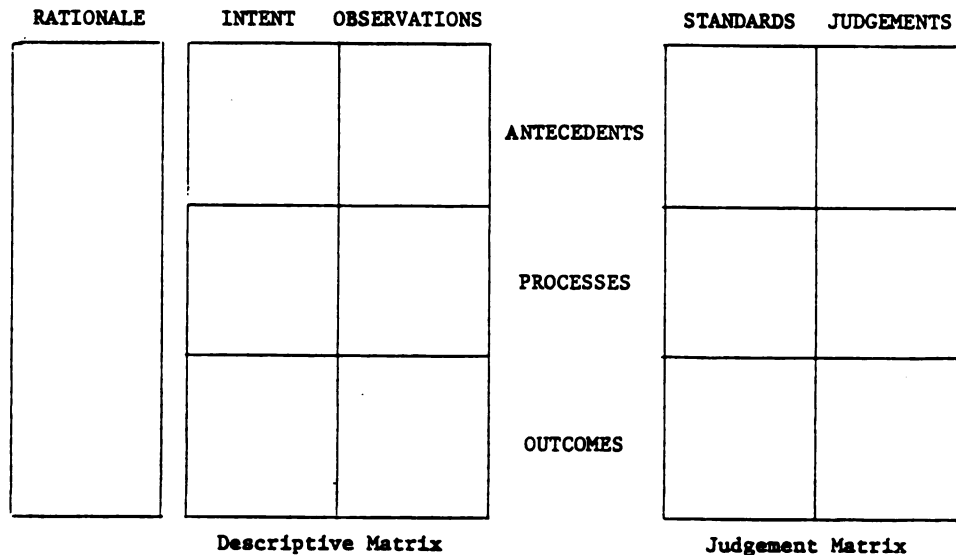


Figure 3. Description and Judgement Matrices Used in the Stake Evaluation Model.

The matrices in the Stake model not only clarify the concepts used in the model, but they can also be used as a working instrument. (See Chapter IV for a discussion on how the Stake model was adapted for this study.)

The Stufflebeam Model. The Stufflebeam model, which is shown in Figure 4, is based on the following premises:

- (1) Evaluation is performed in the service of decision-making.
- (2) Evaluation is a cyclic, continuing process, and, therefore, must be implemented through a systematic program.
- (3) The evaluation process includes the three main steps of delineating, obtaining, and providing. These steps provide the basis for methodology.
- (4) The delineating and providing steps in the evaluation process are interface activities requiring collaboration between evaluator and decision-maker, while the obtaining step is a technical activity executed by the evaluator.

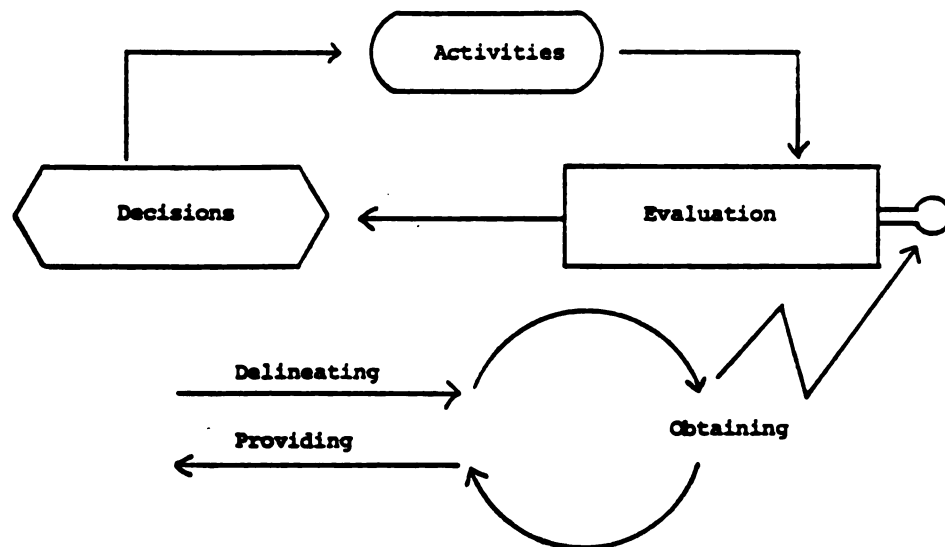


Figure 4. The Relationship between Evaluation and Decision-Making.
(Source: Stufflebeam, 1970.)

Stufflebeam believed that this model could be applied to four types of evaluation:

Context evaluation serves planning decisions to determine objectives; input evaluation serves structuring decisions to determine project designs; process evaluation serves implementing decisions to control project operations; product evaluation serves recycling decisions to judge and react to project attainments (p. 136) [Emphasis added.]

Summary

The foregoing models are quite similar in their approach to evaluation. Each calls for specific and systematic procedures for evaluation and maintains that changes in programs are the results of evaluation. Ward and Dettoni (1974) have suggested a slight modification of the Stake model in order to have that model function in a more 'specific' manner. The Stake model serves not only as a theoretical framework for evaluation, but also has a practical usefulness that can facilitate the evaluation process through the use of a visualized matrix.

An important feature of all of the models is the role they ascribe to data collection. While measurement is important, it is clearly not everything in these models. Evaluation is first and foremost a "process of ascribing value."

Chapter III

RADIO VOICE OF THE GOSPEL

"Every opportunity should be used to propagate the Gospel by means of radio." These words from the records of the 1955 All Africa Lutheran Conference in Marangu, Tanzania mark the first time that the united voice of the Lutheran churches in Africa called for an intensive communication effort that would use radio as a means of education, proclamation, and development. Allan J. Gottneid, Director of Education for the Lutheran Church in Tanzania, noted in an interview, "while it is true the conference did not say, 'Let's build a radio station,' the intention of the churches was very clear...radio was to become a far more integral part of the churches' witness."

The dream of using radio to propagate the Gospel became a reality in 1963 when Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) began transmitting from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. From the beginning, RVOG was to be the world's most powerful and best-equipped Protestant radio station. Its planned technical coverage had the capacity to reach approximately half of the world's population.

At the time of its nationalization in 1977, RVOG transmitted programs to Ethiopia, East and West Arabia,

Iran, North and South India, China, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Madagascar, and East, West (including Zaire), and Southern Africa (see Figure 5). In addition to its program, administrative, and technical complexes, RVOG had a vast program resources library, and provisions for training and manpower development, research and resource development, church involvement, follow-up, and planning. It employed over 200 persons from 15 nations and operated a transmitting station with towers more than 450 feet tall. Curtain antennas multiplied the 100,000 watts produced by two 100 kilowatt transmitters by about 118 times, giving them an effective transmitting power of about 10 million watts. Programs were produced in 13 languages from 14 program areas and scheduled programming included 24 hours by shortwave and 6 hours by medium wave.

After nationalization, the work of RVOG was carried on by area studios who produced programs for broadcast over transmitters owned and operated by private/government organizations throughout Africa. The following sections include a discussion of the history of RVOG and the operations of the two studios selected for this study: Radio Sauti ya Injili in Moshi, Tanzania, and Muryar Bishara Communication Centre in Jos, Nigeria.

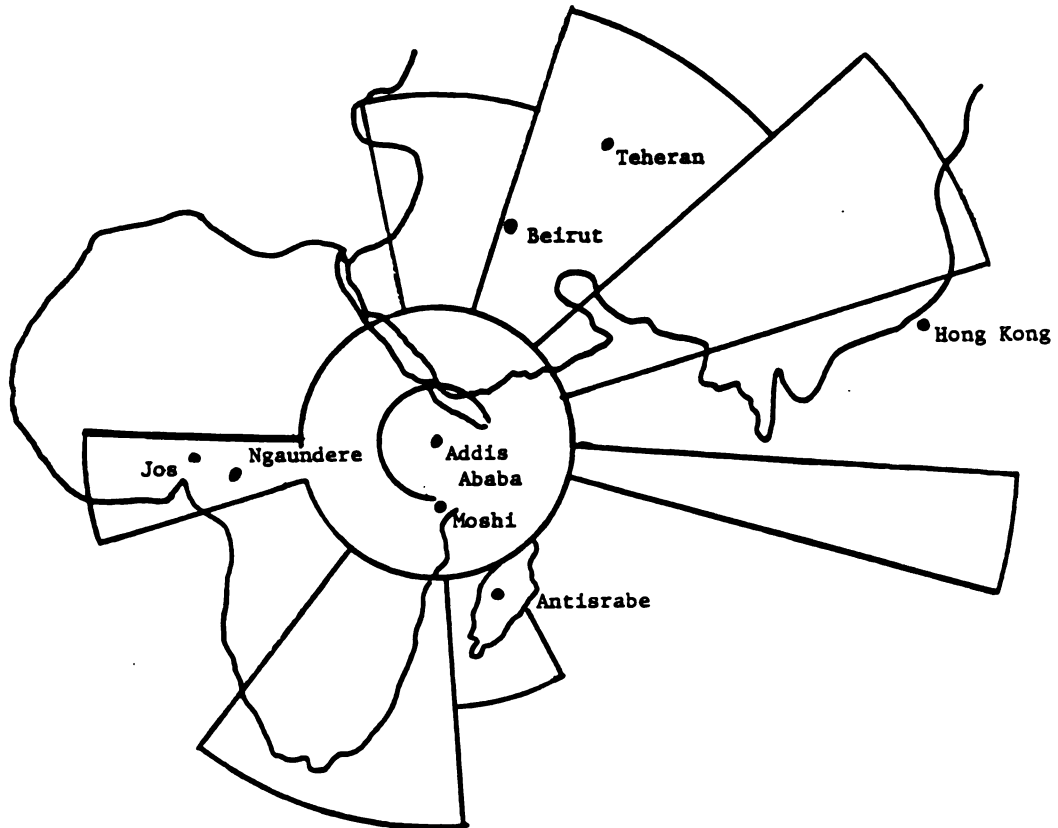


Figure 5. Radio Voice of the Gospel Antenna Coverage.

RVOG: Involvement and Evolvment

The Norwegian churchman, Dr. Fridtjov Birkeli, the director of the Lutheran World Federation's Department on World Mission (now called the Department of Church Cooperation) at the time of the Marangu conference and the chief executive officer at the conference, may be credited with taking the first crucial steps that led to the creation of Radio Voice of the Gospel. Dr. Birkeli is reported to have returned from a tour of Africa with a deep conviction that a radio broadcasting mission should be established on the continent. One of the impressions that he had gathered during his tour was that radio was popular in African homes. He had found that homes were "equipped with battery-operated radios...where other more essential elements are lacking....Broadcasting represents a remarkable possibility for mass evangelism" (LWF, news release, 1957).

Recommendation No. 4 of the Marangu conference called for the LWF to establish contact with millions of people living in scattered and isolated populations. In 1957, Birkeli appealed to the LWF World Assembly at Minneapolis, Minnesota:

If we dare to take another bold step in order to meet the challenge of today in these two continents, this could certainly be done in a most effective way by inaugurating well-planned, continent-wide, radio missions. Extensive travels in Africa have shown that this continent is ripe for radio mission. This will require heavy financial investment, but all that we have

experienced during the first five years points to such a development as one of the most effective ways by which the Lutheran World Federation can fulfill its duties towards the millions that have not so far been reached through personal contact, but who could be reached through the many wireless sets which are now pouring out words and music into village and city from ocean to ocean (LWF/DCC, 1957b).

After Birkeli's address, the Commission on World Mission (CWM) recommended that the LWF further examine the possibilities for establishing a radio mission in Africa. This was to be done jointly by the International Radio Program of the Lutheran Layman's League; the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, U.S.A.; and the Radio Audio-Visual Education and Mass Communication Committee (RAVEMCCO) of the National Council of Churches. The group was to survey not only Africa, but also Asia. They were to report their findings at a 1958 meeting of the CWM in Sigtuna, Sweden (LWF/DCC, 1957a).

At the Sigtuna meeting, the CWM voted to establish what later became known as Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG). Lutheran mission directors were to raise the necessary funds from their constituencies (LWF/DCC, 1958). Of the two most desirable locations (Ethiopia and Liberia), Ethiopia was chosen since it offered good possibilities for transmitting to Asia and a hospitable atmosphere for the new mission. Dr. Arne Sovik, Director of the Department of World Mission, and Dr. Sigurd Aske, who became RVOG's first executive director, were given responsibility for

taking the next major steps.

At this stage, the planning process involved representatives of the LWF, the Lutheran Hour (LH), and RAVEMCCO. One would have hoped that the earlier concerns voiced by the African churches would have been considered at this crucial stage of RVOG's development or in the report that had been prepared for the Sigtuna meeting. However, the Sigtuna record reflects concerns about the following points: (1) the urgent need to 'enter now', (2) the belief that the task of radio evangelism is the task of LWF and that the station should carry LWF's name, (3) the need for the transmitters to be as strong as possible and far reaching technologically, (4) the provision that financial support would be available through the missions in Europe and America, (5) the need to train local staff, (6) the need to produce culturally relevant programs, and (7) the need for effective follow-up work.

The involvement of the churches in Africa was limited to a discussion of concerns about being sure that the programs would be actually heard. In response, it was suggested that "the churches in Africa and Asia adopt a pattern for follow-up work different from that used by the Lutheran Hour in Japan and elsewhere." It was, however, also clear that, "even without effective follow-up from the beginning, the Gospel was being proclaimed and that the churches themselves could seek for means of making

this proclamation effective" (LWF/DCC, 1958).

On the one hand, the idea for RVOG seems to have been conceived in the mind of Dr. Birkeli and later refined by committed individuals and by the respective responsible bodies of LWF (this impression is given in earlier records). On the other hand, one cannot disqualify the direct expression of interest in radio shown at Marangu or the indirect involvement of the churches in Africa. Even though Birkeli may have been the first to be 'enthusiastic' about formally presenting the idea to the appropriate organizations, his proposal should only be seen as the beginning of the beginning for it was the staff, particularly Dr. Arne Sovik and Dr. Sigurd Aske, who developed the plans for the station. And, during these developments, it is difficult to say that the churches were not involved.

The establishment of RVOG in Addis Ababa was not without difficulty. At about the same time that the LWF staff was busy compiling and filing reports on the need to establish a Lutheran radio ministry in Ethiopia that could reach Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, two other groups were also preparing their applications for a similar station.

In April/May 1958, the Near East Christian Council (NECC) (a working fellowship between the ancient churches of the Near East and indigenous churches supported by mission societies in Europe and America) had applied for a franchise to operate a radio station in the Eritrean capital, Asmara

(LWF/DCC, 1959a).

The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) is also reported to have made a similar application, but this was rejected by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. (The NECC application also was rejected by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.)

Apparently the LWF knew nothing of the NECC move when it expressed its interest in establishing a station in Addis Ababa. Emperor Haile Selassie I organized a special committee to look at the LWF and NECC applications. In the meantime, representatives from all sides worked to resolve the ecumenical conflict in Geneva. In the Geneva agreement, the two groups agreed that if one group received the franchise, the other group would be a cooperative party. It was in this way that the concept of 'Party B' emerged (LWF/DCC, 1959b).

The LWF was granted the franchise to build and operate a radio station in Addis Ababa on November 27, 1959. The franchise was signed on February 15, 1961, and Emperor Haile Selassie I officially opened the RVOG station on February 26, 1963.

Since the LWF received the franchise, the other churches became 'Party B'. The relationships with these churches were complicated by difficult and constantly restructuring organizations that represented non-Lutheran churches in Christian communication. 'Party B' was comprised of the Near East Christian Council (NECC), the

All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), and the East African Christian Conference (EACC) together with the Division of World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches (WCC) through the Coordinating Committee for Inter-Continental Broadcasting (CCIB) which represented the non-Lutheran churches in the broadcast areas. This group was changed in 1968 to the Coordinating Committee for Christian Broadcasting and later merged with the World Association for Christian Broadcasting to form what is now called the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). This organization, whose headquarters are in London, now represents the non-Lutheran churches in the LWF Commission on Communication.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church was given the automatic right to broadcast over RVOG, although there was no official agreement of a working relationship between the Ethiopian Church and the LWF in the matter of broadcasting.

The Lutheran Hour, which was involved in the initial stages of the search for a location for RVOG, committed itself to offering financial assistance for the station. At the time, the Lutheran Hour was involved in establishing a radio studio in Tanzania. (See the section on Radio Sauti ya Injili.)

The African Context

The decision to establish a radio broadcasting station in Africa was made at a time when the people of Africa were struggling to achieve their independence and radio was seen as a major force on the ideological battlefield. Aske (1960) wrote, "the issues at stake on the vast religious battlefields of Africa are more clearly defined than on any other continent...." By 1970 the air waves over the continent of Africa were besieged day and night with a barrage of radio programs, most of which came from everywhere but Africa. Radio Moscow broadcast for more than 21 hours a day in no fewer than 12 African languages, while the Voice of America broadcast for more than 19 hours a day in English, French, and several African languages. Some of the other stations that could be heard were Radio Peking which broadcast for 10 hours a day, the Deutsche Welle (German Wave) in Cologne broadcast for 12.5 hours, the British Broadcasting Company broadcast for 14 hours, and Radio East Berlin International broadcast for 12.5 hours. The Voice of Islam also broadcast to Africa.

There were few outlets for the 'Christian voice'. African governments as a matter of policy did not allow any appreciable air time to the churches and the only private radio station operating in Africa (ELWA in Liberia) did not make air time available. Furthermore, the Islamic countries strongly resisted attempts at Christian

proclamation.

Christian communicators saw radio as offering tremendous possibilities for evangelization in Africa. In a 1958 news release, Birkeli noted, "the churches must learn to use the medium of this modern technique for the spreading of evangelism." Later Aske (1960) was to write:

the urgency of increased radio evangelism for the teeming millions of Africa is accentuated by the possibility offered of directly approaching great masses of people who can neither read nor write and consequently cannot effectively be reached through more conventional means of communication.

Thus, radio was to be the means by which the "teeming millions" in Africa were to hear the words of the Gospel.

Purpose and Policy

By 1959, the LWF Commission of World Mission had established a Statement of Purpose and Policy that was to guide the operations of the station in Addis Ababa:

Purpose

- (1) To proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ as revealed in the Scriptures as the only means of salvation to the widest possible audience.
- (2) To strengthen the life of the Christian churches within radio reach by providing programs that nurture believers in their Christian faith, and to keep the responsibility of evangelism constantly before the churches.
- (3) To promote education and culture through the broadcast of educational and cultural programs.

- (4) To assist the churches in follow-up.
- (5) To train radio workers.

Direction

The Lutheran World Federation shall, through the Commission on World Mission and the appointed Board of Directors: (1) appoint staff, (2) determine policies, (3) rule on major questions of ongoing policy, (4) raise funds and control finances, and (5) decide on development of program and station facilities.

Administration

The staff shall, under the leadership of the Director, and subject to the authority of the Board of Directors: (1) produce programs, (2) accept, reject, or edit any program submitted for broadcast, (3) guide and advise the local production of programs, (4) arrange and determine a balanced program schedule, and (5) represent the station with broadcasters, listeners, and the government.

Limitations

- (1) No program shall involve the station in partisan politics.
- (2) No program shall in substance or intent attack or deny the evangelical Christian faith, or contradict generally accepted codes of Christian morality.
- (3) No program for commercial advertising purposes shall be accepted (LWF/DCC, 1959a).

A fundamental expression of RVOG's overall programming policy was presented by Dr. Franklin Clark Fry during his inaugural address:

Whatever is of benefit to human beings, to their standard of life, their health, to their advancement, to add to their education, to enrich their personalities, as well as to

open their ears to the best news of all, of peace with God, will legitimately be within the scope of concern of the programs that will be beamed from here.

This wide interpretation in programming policy throws light on the fundamental basis of Christian programming. The program policy includes a wide range of concerns about the need to be educational, informational, and culturally relevant as well as evangelistic. At times, this has meant that programs have been 'less Christian' in their approach so as to allow for cultural participation in programming (Esayas, 1971). At the same time, Christian communicators have had to guard against the dangers of reducing the Christian aspect of programs to a mere "hidden message" (Lundgren, 1973).

The 30/70 Formula in Program Production

The programming policy of RVOG has emphasized the need to include the promotion of education and culture through producing programs that speak to the total needs of the individual, thus attempting to avoid the criticism that Christian programming is "just another (though uniquely expensive) Christian house-telephone" (Aske, 1967).

At the policy level, RVOG has maintained that the "programmer--whether 'evangelistic' or 'informational'--aims to present the Christian attitude toward God, the world, and the society in which we live, and toward the

individual in all aspects of his life." Programming has sought to encourage the 'development of the whole person'. However, there has not been a unified attempt to develop programming for the local context or to offer programs on other than a 'one-way' dissemination basis.

RVOG's contribution to the 'development debate' of the 1960s has nonetheless been significant. This writer, as a signator of The Interrelation between Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development (see Appendix A) underscores that RVOG's participation in this crucial African and worldwide debate represents one of its unique contributions.

In an attempt to assure that programs would be consistent and culturally relevant, RVOG introduced the 30/70 formula as a yardstick for program decision-making. This formula, which calls for 30 percent of the programs to be evangelistic and 70 percent of the programs to be educational, was first developed and introduced by Sigurd Aske. The formula was to be a general guideline so as to avoid "socialized evangelistic programs that appeal only to Christians, [and] just as deplorable, a copying of secular programs out of a book to fill up the 70 percent" (Aske, 1967). The formula has been and continues to be subject of constant debate and discussion. Though the formula clearly calls for a certain percentage of programming to be devoted to education and a certain percentage to be

devoted to evangelism, programming at the local level in fact represents the studio's own interpretation of what is needed. The following comments illustrate some of the different reactions to the formula:

We do not accept the distinction between the sacred and the secular, and we claim that all our programs are religious (Madras studio, 1970).

Our programs aim at serving the whole man and we do not separate the programs into a clear cut 'religious' and ['educational/cultural'] division. We just try to do good programs (Ethiopia YD studio, 1974).

Because of the nature of our audience (being mostly Moslems) our programs are 70 percent religious and 30 percent education and culture (Ngaundere studio, 1977).

The proportion of time given to programs of directly evangelistic character should be at least 30 percent. The remaining should be programs of cultural and educational intent with definite Christian undertones. For the 70 percent, the programs should be neutral. By listening to them, people should be able to identify that it is coming from a 'Christian' studio (Muryar Bishara studio, 1981).

Aske devised the 30/70 formula as a means of helping broadcasters deal with the

two enticing temptations [that] run parallel along the stony path of the Christian broadcaster; to proclaim an objective Gospel that rests its feet on no human situation, and then to think that the Gospel is made relevant simply by diving into all kinds of social and cultural explorations (1967).

However, it is clear that the studio personnel have different perceptions as to the best way through the "stony path" of

the Christian broadcaster. In Tanzania, for example, the formula is interpreted in the reverse.

Dr. John Bachman, under whose chairmanship the LWF Broadcasting Service was established as the Commission on Communication, has developed a more dynamic approach to determining program content (see Figure 6).

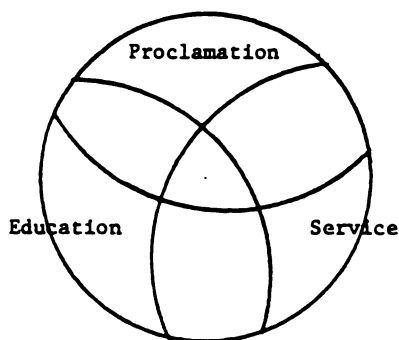


Figure 6. Dr. John Bachman's Re-Interpretation of the 30/70 Formula. (Source: Bachman, 1971.)

Bachman (1973) approached the interrelationship between education, information, and proclamation in a dynamic manner. He did not see a clear-cut and static separation among the different elements, but rather stressed that they overlap. Thus, he emphasized the need for a purposeful goal in which proclamation, education, and service are simultaneously at work.

Program Production in Africa

The Nyborg Commission minutes indicate that plans to establish local production studios were made as early as 1959 (LWF/DCC, 1959a). The responsibility for establishing a given studio and its choice of language was, it seems, the prerogative of the LWF and dependent upon the "willingness" of the "Lutheran confession church" to be responsible for program management.

Studios were established according to the following criteria: (1) technical capability to cover a desired area, (2) the size of the linguistic group, (3) the number of radio receivers available, (4) the presence of other Christian communication work, (5) the proportion of Christians and non-Christians in the area, and (6) the local churches' ability to minister using the chosen languages (Lutheran World, 1959-1960).

RVOG policy emphasized that "all programs (except news) are produced by the churches in the areas where they are heard" (Aske, 1967). The station's relationship to the local studios was described in a 1964 meeting of the LWF Broadcasting Service Board of Directors:

The station, for its part, is asked to take initiative in giving suggestions, inspiration, and impulses which stimulate studio staff to check their plans and tapes, and to continue with a critical discussion about their production. It is up to the station to draw the studio's attention to what they do not discover themselves, to feed material which can be used, and to widen the scope of production (LWF/DCC, 1964).

The RVOG staff was also to make regular visits to the studios and to arrange for biennial conferences in Addis Ababa. The board of directors was to participate in these conferences as well.

All of the programs produced by the studios were to be in the local language; however, each studio was required to submit an English language translation of every program to RVOG (unless a different agreement had been worked out). RVOG's monitoring of programming by local studios has caused some tension, particularly among studios whose traditional relationships have been with 'Party B'.

Local production over the medium wave service was to be the responsibility of the station. One of the reasons for this was that French and English were considered to be 'foreign' languages (at least in Ethiopia) and responsibility for broadcasting in these languages had been assigned as the responsibility of the area studios (RVOG Programming Policy, 1962). Another reason was that the medium wave service that reached Addis Ababa and the surrounding areas was meant to serve an international audience. Some of the programs were also broadcast over short-wave. The impact of the medium wave service was strongly felt as shown in a 1971 audience survey.

Other than locally produced programs, RVOG carried newscasts in over five languages daily. The news programs have been a source of constant international 'conflict'

as there are frequent disagreements about the way a given subject is presented. The station, however, saw the news as serving a variety of purposes: (1) as a means of attracting large audiences and as a necessary part of any 'real' broadcasting station, (2) as part of the station's "Christian duty to mediate truth about the world in which our listeners live" (Aske, 1967), and (3) as a matter of efficiency--the station wanted to be as good, if not better, than comparable radio stations. For its ten minute daily news bulletin, the station monitored Western news agencies, the Voice of America, BBC, and other stations.

Audience Relations and Follow-Up

A crucial aspect of RVOG's ongoing operations was to be the full involvement of the local churches in follow-up and audience relations work. This aspect, theoretically more than any other, gave significance to the station's existence as "one instrument at the disposal of the churches."

As early as 1960, the African churches had emphasized the importance of follow-up work. One of the resolutions at the All Africa Lutheran Conference in Antisrabe (September 8-18, 1960) called for "every church to work out a program of systematic follow-up of radio contacts as soon as the radio program is initiated so that individuals hearing of Christ may rapidly be drawn into Christian fellowship" (LWF/DCC, 1960).

Each studio was to fulfill this objective by setting up a special department that would have an active and direct relationship with the churches in the listening area and with the listening audience. Follow-up activities included sending literature, forming radio listening groups, sending letters, etc.

RVOG was to train studio personnel in follow-up activities. However, the follow-up aspect has not been very successful, perhaps because production and technical questions have required most of the studios' attention. The nature of the undertaking has also been relatively new to the churches and the studios. Consequently, there has been some friction in this area, particularly when questions have been raised about who is doing what in the area of follow-up work.

Research

A vital activity of the station was to be its engagement in ongoing research. In 1970, RVOG established the Department of Research and Planning which was responsible for conducting training and research programs. Among the research programs conducted by the department were audience surveys in Ethiopia in 1972 and Tanzania in 1974 (Esayas, 1972 and 1974). Developing research methodologies that are appropriate to the African context was found to be an

ongoing learning experience. There remain many problems in applying and conducting research, in part because appropriate psychological and social bases have yet to be established (Esayas, 1976).

Manpower Development

The test of good media is not the quality of its technical equipment, but the quality of its software (program output). This is further determined by the quality of those who put the programs together. RVOG developed systematic long-and short-range training and manpower development plans in order to fulfill this aspect of its mandate. These training plans included

- Workshops at the local level of beginners.
- Workshops at the local level for church leaders and for those involved in media work.
- Workshops for program producers in audience relations, promotion, research, and resource development. (These lasted for periods of up to one month.)
- Training in the same areas as above as part of a follow-up effort for the local training program at RVOG in Addis Ababa. (These lasted for periods up to six months.)
- Training at the All Africa Conference of Churches Training Center. (These

programs lasted up to six months.)

- Training and workshops at theological seminaries.
- Training for all areas at higher levels (universities and specialized institutions abroad).

RVOG trained many Africans through these training programs, many of whom have, for different reasons, found themselves in leadership positions in government and private business. Thus, the station's and studios' loss of trained manpower has been the gain of the public and private sector.

Ongoing Plans

By about 1973, the LWF Broadcasting Service had shifted its emphasis to "a new role conception" and established a Task Force on Mass Communication. The new role conception was intended to be functional in its application and consultative in its overall outlook so that LWF communication efforts would be open to cooperation with all denominations and agencies that are interested in communication for the development of the whole person.

At the LWF Church/Media Consultation held in Kitwe, Zambia (November 7-11, 1977) after the nationalization of RVOG, it was strongly recommended that the LWF continue to function in even broader ways. The recommendations

called for the following actions: (1) the creation of a Consultative Services Unit, and (2) the discovery of ways and economic means to get access to program transmission facilities nationally and regionally (LWF/DCC, 1977).

RVOG's new role conception was to be expressed at the local level through Christian communication outreach in areas such as

- Conscientization
- Motivation
- Planning and coordination
- Training
- Research
- Group and indigenous communication
- Program and resource sharing.

The Consultative Services Unit was to help local studios work in these areas.

The churches also endorsed the need for continued news services. They saw such services as relating to "human development in all its aspects, social justice on a global scale, human rights, concern for the environment, and an appreciation for all that is beautiful in it" (LWF/DCC, 1977).

At meetings in Jos, Nigeria, and Arusha, Tanzania, the churches expressed similar beliefs about the new role conception of Christian communication (LWF/DC, 1980 and 1981).

Radio Sauti ya Injili

The 16 million people in Tanzania (projected to 17.1 million in 1978) live in ethnic groups scattered around the periphery in clusters, none of which are large enough to form a national economic base (Grove, 1978, Government of Tanzania, 1978).^{*} A minority group known as the Swahili lives in the area around the coast. More than 50 percent of the population adheres to traditional religion. Islam and Christianity claim the remainder of the population (see Figure 7).

Kiswahili is the official language with English and several other languages widely spoken throughout the land. Kiswahili, as a single language, no doubt, has given the Tanzanian people a basis for coherence among themselves and their neighbors barring political conflicts. When comparing Kiswahili and the Tanzanian language situation with that prevailing in other African countries (particularly those south of the Sahara) Kiswahili stands out as a basic

^{*}The people of Tanzania, like those of other African nations may be identified along ethnic groupings. Most of the 120 or so tribes are descendants of the Bantu. The largest group, the Sukuma, has more than a million members spread throughout the region south of Lake Victoria. To the west are the Ha, next to them are the Nyamwezi, and the Hehe. In the south are the Ngoni, along the coast are the Zaramo, and on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro in the north are the Meru, the Arusha, and the Chaga. The remainder of the population lives in numerous sub-tribal groups, each of which has its own identity and culture. Seventy thousand Masai roam throughout the pasturelands of Tanzania and Kenya.

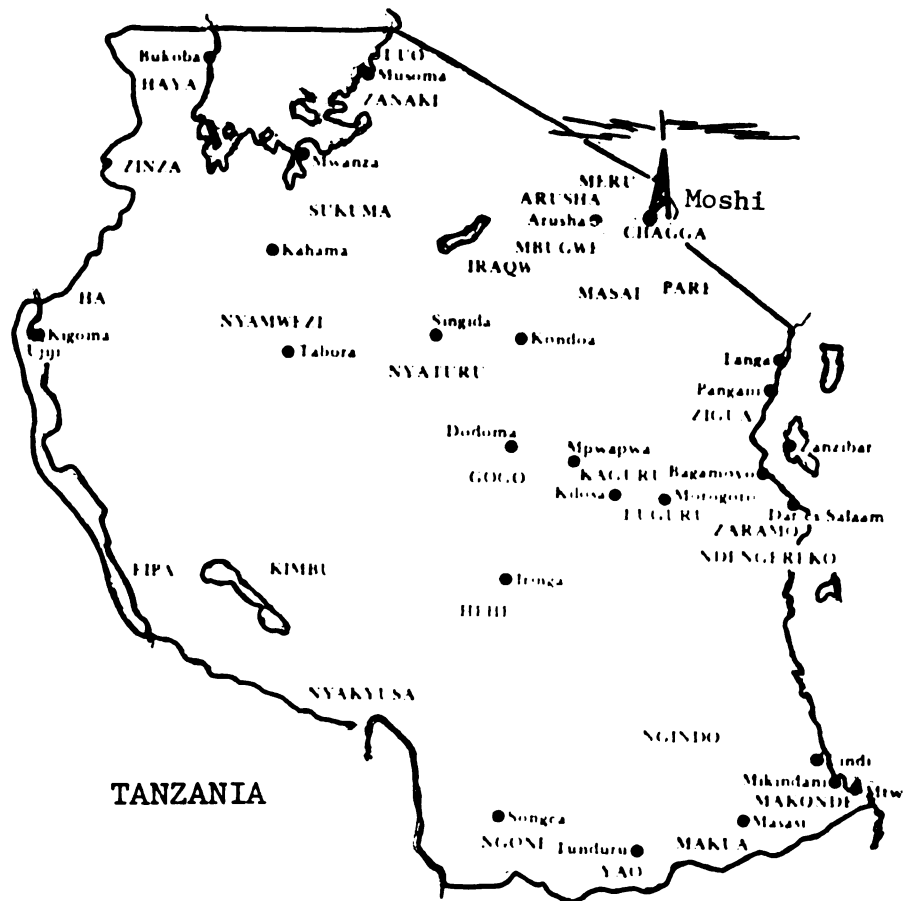


Figure 7. Distribution of Ethnic Groups (African Religions) in Tanzania and the Location of Radio Sauti ya Injili.

unifying force in all activities of the nation and gives promise for an integrated development in which the mass media can play a significant role.

A second and critical determinant in the nationhood of Tanzania is its social/ideological framework--ujamaa. Tanzania's uniqueness as a system, its 'indigenous approach, and the potential for applying its principles to grassroots communication in other parts of Africa merit close study. This study will, therefore, reflect on ujamaa as a possible 'African' ideology, social system, and basis for projecting an African worldview.

Ujamaa--A Way of Life

The Tanzanian people are governed by a socio-political system which is rooted in African communal tradition and is popularly known as ujamaa. The derivation of the term is the Swahili word jamaa (family). Julius Nyerere, the president of Tanzania and originator of the modern ujamaa concept, wrote,

ujamaa then, or familyhood, describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.

Also referred to as 'African socialism', ujamaa poses as an African ideology. However, the socialism of ujamaa is not to be identified with socialism in the Marxian tradition. In its 'modern' concept, ujamaa claims no

kin to Marxism, capitalism, or communism. Until 1963, a non-African could not be a member of the Tanzanian African National Union (TANU--formerly Tanganyikan African National Union), Tanzania's political party (Bienen, 1967).

Nyerere has maintained that socialism is more an attitude of mind than a political dictum. Thus, to be a member of TANU is to "accept the spirit and letter of TANU's ideology, much in the same way as to be a Christian or a Muslim is to accept the teachings of Christ or of Mohammed the prophet" (Daily News, December 2, 1974).

Ujamaa is essentially based on an African view of individuals that stresses an obligation to work and to build a nation that is economically, politically, and culturally sound. The emphasis is on people--the familyhood of men and women, their place, freedom, security, equality, and happiness are seen as the foundation of human dignity.

Ujamaa society is not rooted in the European tradition of dialectical materialism or class struggle, but instead considers the totality of human experience including the individual's relationship with the supernatural. Such a view is consistent with the traditional African view.

Ujamaa society, having existed before the Arusha declaration, provides a fair and realistic structure of social reality (Berger, 1967). Nyerere has written,

We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother out distinct social patterns with it. We have deliberately decided to grow, as a society, out of our own

roots, but in a particular direction and towards a particular kind of objective. We are doing this by emphasizing certain characteristics of our traditional organizations and extending them so that they can embrace the possibilities of modern technology and enable us to meet the challenge of life in the twentieth century world (1968).

The Arusha Declaration, Education for Self Reliance, and Socialism and Rural Development provided the basis for an explicitly radical socialist policy which Tanzania follows.*

The Role of the Church

The role of the church in ujamaa society essentially has two sides which are in constant review and development. On the one hand, the Church is committed to the call of evangelization. This has been its 'traditional' function and the basis of its present activities. Traditionally, the missionary function of the Church had no economic or social dimensions (Adegbola, 1974).

The Church has been and is involved in an ongoing search to integrate its missionary tradition with the concept of the development of the whole person as understood by the ujamaa society. The question still remains open as to how the Church with its deep roots in the evangelization tradition can apply its calling to the

*For a critical review of the ujamaa policy, see "The Villagization Panacea: A Review of Tanzania's Ujamaa Policy" by Helge Kjesur (Nordiska Afrikan Institutet, Uppsala, Sweden, 1978, mimeographed).

ujamaa social context whose orientation is essentially labor intensive and predominantly engaged in farming.

Nyerere has written of the Church:

The Church should accept that the development of people means rebellion. At a given and decisive point in history men decide to act against those conditions which restrict their freedom as men. I am suggesting that unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation, and degradation, then the Church will become irrelevant to man and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful. Unless the Church, its members, and its organizations express God's love for man by involvement and leadership in constructive protest against the present conditions of man, then it will become identified with injustice and persecution. If this happens, it will die and--humanly speaking--it deserves to die because it will then serve no purpose comprehensible to modern man (1970).

A fuller picture of the role of the Church in the familyhood of the Tanzanian people can be found in another of Nyerere's articles. In "Socialism is Secular," Nyerere commented,

a man's relationship with his God is a personal matter for him and him alone; his beliefs about the hereafter are his own affair....

There is nothing incompatible between socialism and Christianity, Islam, or any other religion which accepts the equality of man on earth (1968).

Nyerere's views on 'private faith' and the public expression of that faith are not made clear in the above article, and the history of the Christian Church in Tanzania does not bear witness to this view.

History of the Studio

Given the understanding that there is a natural affinity between the ethics of ujamaa (as expressed by Nyerere) and those of Christianity, one can see that the evangelistic, educational, medical, publishing, and mass communication programs of the Evangelical Church of Tanzania (ELCT) serve the people of Tanzania in the spirit of the Arusha Declaration.

In 1980, the ELCT had 850,000 members or almost five percent of the total population (approximately 35 percent of the 18 million people in Tanzania are Christians). The ELCT was officially formed in 1963 and evolved from a federation of the Lutheran churches in Tanganyika that started as early as 1938. The organization is divided into thirteen synods and dioceses (including one in Kenya). ELCT's mission includes Kenya, Zaire, and Burundi. This study focused on the Church's mass media efforts, particularly the programs offered by Radio Sauti ya Injili.

Unlike Muryar Bishara in Nigeria, the idea and later development of Radio Sauti ya Injili is said to have originated in Tanzania. The present studio director maintained that the studio is "essentially a Tanzanian idea" which began in a room of a bible school at Mwika near Mt. Kilimanjaro.

On the other hand, Rev. Carl Johansson, a missionary from the United States who in 1952 joined the bible school and in 1955 became principal of the school, was extensively involved in the development of the studio. He recollected,

The school (250 students) was a hotbed for evangelism, renewal, and fresh and stimulating ways of sharing the Gospel. So it was inevitable that we began consultations with ELWA in Monrovia, Liberia. Soon we began to assemble equipment. Advice was given from the African Inland Mission at Kijabi, Kenya. Soon this expanded into a relationship called the Sudan Interior Mission and in 1958 we began sending tapes to ELWA. Thus, we became the first group to do Lutheran programming in Swahili. At the same time, we developed relationships with the Lutheran Hour from St. Louis Mission through its executive secretary, Dr. Eugene R. Bertermann. This made it possible, with their financial help, to purchase equipment and gain needed experience. We continued to do this in the early 60s (Letter to the author, April 21, 1981).

In 1961, Rev. Johansson was appointed executive secretary of what became the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania. Soon after that the Church "entered into a relationship with the Lutheran Bible School where the first studio of RVOG was located at the bible school at Mwika" (Johansson letter, 1981). The move was later made to locate the studio at a more 'urban' center, thus the present location, Moshi, was chosen.

In their initial stages, the radio programs were thus a joint project of three churches and missions: the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, Usambara Digo

Lutheran Church and Ozaramo Lutheran Church. These three organizations managed the Mwika bible school and produced radio programs on the side. The bible school staff developed the programs, but, in the words of the present director, "they had hardly any idea in mass communication."

The first staff members were Rev. Eugene Baglo (the director) and Fred Mansah (the technical director), both of whom were from the United States. Later the studio was administered by Tanzanians (Rev. Ephraiam Amos Lyimo, Rev. Zephania Gunda, and Rev. Daniel Magogo--the present director).

Purpose and Policy

The general policies that have been adopted by Radio Sauti ya Injili are the same as those of RVOG:

- To proclaim to the widest possible audience the Gospel of Jesus Christ as revealed in the Scriptures as the only means of salvation.
- To strengthen the life of the Christian churches within radio reach by providing programs that nurture believers in the Christian faith, and to keep the challenge and responsibility of evangelism constantly before the churches.
- To promote education and culture through broadcasting educational and cultural programs.
- To assist the churches in follow-up work.
- To train radio workers.

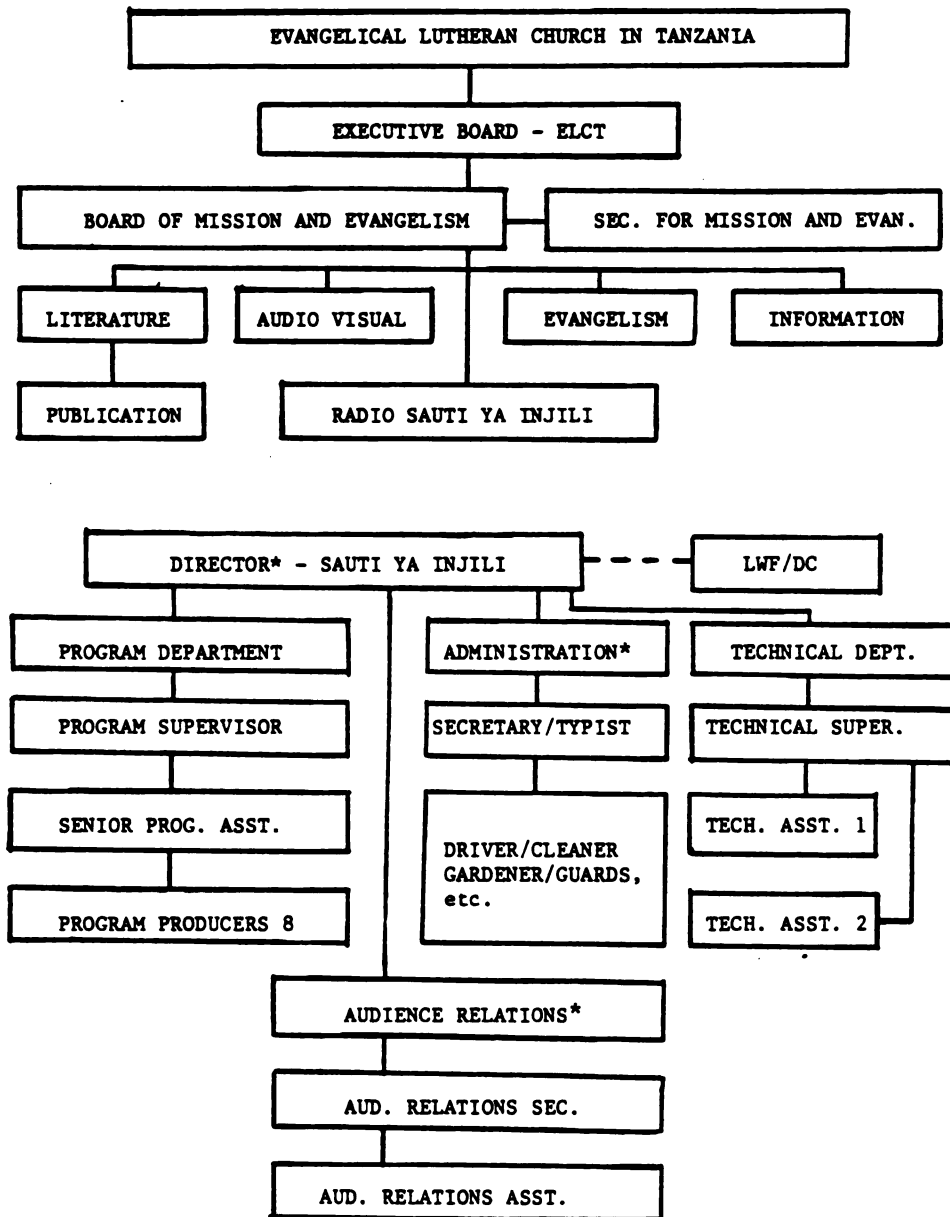
The fundamental purpose and function of the studio is, in the words of its director, "to be a 'servant' within the Church." To that end, the studio uses the following general guidelines:

- The studio should clearly adhere to the teachings of the Church and its theological position.
- The studio should maintain the 'tradition' of the Church in its songs, music, messages, teachings, and worship formats.
- The studio should maintain the identity of Radio Sauti ya Injili as the voice of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania.
- The studio should produce a dated sequence of programs that emphasizes the Church calendar (particularly with religious programs).

The function of the studio is presently to produce programs in developmental, educational, and religious broadcasting that "reach audiences in Tanzania and beyond the geographical confines of Tanzania." The studio currently broadcasts over Transworld Radio (TWR) from Swaziland.

It should be remembered, however, that this policy is interpreted in the daily life of the studio primarily by what it can do rather than by what it must do.

The radio center is a department like any of the other departments under the Board of Mission and Evangelism (see Figure 8). All of the departments operate under this board; however, there is no operational coordination at any level. The board meets to review the work of each



* Positions presently held by the director.

Figure 8. Organizational Structure of Radio Sauti ya Injili.

department and it is up to the directors to bring up concerns that may need the board's attention. Other than the ELCT General Secretary (who by virtue of his office is an ex officio member of the board), all of the eight board members are clergy.

The chairman and eight members of the board preside over the Department of Mission and Evangelism. The board is appointed by the executive committee of the ELCT and is responsible for the departments of literature, audio-visuals, evangelism, and information in addition to Radio Sauti ya Injili. Board members represent the various synods and dioceses within the ELCT and therefore play a functional role. The directors of the various departments bring up their concerns, achievements, and difficulties at the board's annual meeting.

The 30/70 Formula in Program Production

Although the studio accepts the 30/70 formula in principle, it applies the formula differently on the local level. Rev. Magogo commented, "We are always aware of our 'service' responsibility. We follow the Church's program and teachings. Our programs are sometimes 100 percent evangelistic and our people like it."

According to the studio, the 70 percent of the formula means that "church related development agencies are contacted and their work is related to our radio programming." The

development programs are topical; producers go out and record interviews on specific topics that are felt to be of use to the audience. If the production turns out to be heavy on the 30 percent side of the formula, even when doing development programs, this is no problem for the studio.

The director commented,

We look for our materials from 'Christian' development projects. These undertakings obviously project a clear 'Christian' view of their action, thus our programs turn out to be in fact 30 percent/70 percent in reverse.

The current chairperson of the board, Rev. S. Masangi, addressed this issue during the interview session: "Our efforts must result in showing God's love and concern for all people, in Tanzania and beyond, and that He is glorified."

The interpretation of the formula has been a constant source of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, particularly during 1979 and 1980 when the ELCT had to withdraw its broadcasting from FEBA (Notes on Meeting between ELCT, the LWF/DC, and FEBA, 1979).

Development, Education, Information, and Proclamation

To understand the function of the studio, it is important to understand the role of the Church in the overall socio-political context. The Associate General Secretary of ELCT described the role of communication in the context of the Church's overall ministry in education, information,

and proclamation:

The Church is entrusted with the word of God. Its primary purpose and function is to spread the word for the salvation of people. The Church, therefore, is involved in (1) preaching, (2) evangelism, and (3) teaching.

The development of persons comes from their hearing and knowing the Word, learning it and accepting the teaching. In knowing the Word, there is freedom. Freedom from ignorance, disease, hunger. The business of the Church is to free people by educating them.

Together with this ministry, there is also the ministry of healing through the work done in hospitals and clinics, and by providing health education. Through preaching, teaching, and healing, the Church fulfills its mandate of caring for the 'whole person'. The mass media in the Church is no exception to this understanding.

Thus all programs are done within the context of a 100 percent Christian programming. On all programs that are strictly devotional and religious, the Church's calendar is closely followed. Respective pastors from the various synods and dioceses are contacted to record their sermons and devotions--thus, also, "we maintain the balance of participation by all synods in this work" (Magogo, 1981).

World News

In contrast to RVOG's policy on news, some of the leaders at Sauti ya Injili strongly believe that including

world news in the context of present programming is of little relevance whether it is included to 'catch' the audience or to inform them about world situations. These leaders maintain that the former can be accomplished by "producing good programs that are relevant to the needs of the audience." As for the need to inform the audience about the world situation, these leaders believe that including such programming in their broadcasts would be 'bad stewardship'. There are at least six major broadcasting stations (including the national government's) which broadcast news to Tanzania. They see little advantage in duplicating the programs offered by these stations. Besides, the director maintained that 'the Church should stay out of politics' (Magogo, 1981).

Audience Relations and Follow-Up

As in the other area studios, Sauti ya Injili has a Department of Audience Relations and Follow-Up. And, as is the case at the other studios, this aspect, though fundamental to the whole operation, is one of the weakest links and has been since earliest times. The present situation is a reflection of the situation in 1971 (Esayas, 1971).

Currently, the duties of this office are tended by the studio director. As in other areas, the studio claims to be carrying out the task of follow-up work.

In the very beginning, the studio had a rather well-

functioning audience relations division (Volz, 1965). Later, after the departure of the expatriate audience relations officer in 1966, the work was handed over to the ELCT as the officer, an American missionary, was seconded to the ELCT with assignment at the studio. Since that time, the studio has tried to fill the position with no apparent success in retaining personnel. The recollection of this writer is that between 1968 and 1977 not less than five audience relations officers were trained for the studio by RVOG.

Since 1974, the functions of this office have been mainly handled by the director, who described the manner in which this is done:

In our opinion, the studio is capable of maintaining quality broadcasting according to our standards which go with the need and demand of our audience.

In order to establish whether we are doing acceptable work or not, we maintain closer contact with our target area as follows:

- (1) Feedback from listeners.
- (2) Correspondence with individuals who are our 'special' contacts.
- (3) During recording trips where we take the opportunity to discuss with individuals or groups about both reception and quality or types of programs. Last year we did recordings in Tanga, Dar es Salaam, and Coast regions. This year we intend to cover Iringa, Mbeya, Singida, Mwanza, and West Lake regions.

(4) Through the Secretary for Mission and Evangelism we get reception reports about Zaire, Ruanda, and Burundi. These reports are also supported by listeners' letters from these areas.

(5) The ELCT itself holds at least four Executive Council sessions each year supplemented by board and committee meetings.

During these meetings I take the opportunity to talk to Church and lay leaders so I get an account of whether we are satisfying the listeners or not.

(6) As studio director, I travel as far as our limited budget can stretch and do a good deal of audience relations work as well (Magogo in a letter to the LWF/BS, 1980).

The director's 1980 report notes that the studio received 25,637 letters from listeners inside and outside of Tanzania. Of these, 25,000 letters came from Tanzania and the remainder came from Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Malawi, and Burundi (Radio Sauti ya Injili, 1981). None of the letters have been objectively analyzed for content.

Research

Kiswahili, a widely spoken language in Africa, has been given particular attention as a potentially strategic language within the RVOG broadcast area (Esayas, 1971). Due to this and other considerations such as training and research, Tanzania became the second country in which a fully developed audience survey was conducted by RVOG. The audience survey of 1974 was designed and administered

in the framework of the Tanzanian conception of ujamaa vijijini (villagization).

The study specifically was based on a ten-cell leader system that corresponded to the statistical random sampling method. This was the first time that this method had been used in a mass media study. The researcher used the random sampling method to select households in each of the ten-household cell units. A comprehensive questionnaire was developed, tested, and administered in August 1974 (Gebremedhin, 1974).

The Tanzanian exercise provided grounds for reflecting on programming for the audience and training programs for personnel. It also introduced an approach to research that is worthy of further development. Unfortunately, the concept of research has been viewed at best with guarded optimism and has been received with reluctance in many ecclesiastical and theological circles in Africa. Tanzania has not been an exception. The extent to which the studio, the church in Tanzania, and the LWF continue the efforts that were curtailed as a result of the RVOG nationalization will determine the future role and input of research--input that is essential if communication is to have any impact.

Manpower Development

Through the RVOG training scheme, the studio has benefited from all levels of training. Regular grassroots

workshops at the studio, at RVOG, and at the AACC Training Center in Nairobi were attended by staff members from the Moshi studio. The training program included training by correspondence and special training programs for technical personnel.

Studio Cassette Project

Following the nationalization of RVOG in 1977, Radio Sauti ya Injili developed a plan for a cassette project. The plan was partially implemented in 1979 but, at the time of this study, the project had not yet produced any tapes. It was expected that the project would soon prepare tapes on the following topics: (1) useja (widowhood); (2) talaka (divorce); (3) mahari (dowry); (4) vijana (youth); and (5) ndoa (marriage) (Radio Sauti ya Injili, 1981). The cassettes were to be distributed through ELCT's audio-visual department at Arusha. The cassette project was to

- Produce cassette programs, normally at the request of and in cooperation with the ELCT departments, synods, and dioceses through their contact persons, institutions, etc.;
- Inform the various levels of the Church as well as secular outlets of available cassette programs, titles, costs, etc.;
- Prepare the number of copies needed upon request;

- Dispatch the cassettes to those who ordered them with payment to be received by the ELCT treasury;
- Purchase empty cassettes, etc., needed for the activities of the department; and,
- When requested, assist the studio director with advice, planning, purchases, repairs, etc.

Studio Program Resources Library

The term 'library' may be misleading in this context and in the context of Muryar Bishara. In one of the back rooms of the studio is a small room in which there is a bookshelf holding mainly old reference books such as encyclopedias and commentaries. Some transcriptions of programs from the BBC, Deutsche Welle, Voice of America, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Nederland, and RVOG's program exchange are also there. The collection also includes some locally published periodicals and government handouts. The studio's collection of religious and secular, traditional and modern songs, music, and other recorded cultural material is one of the finest in the country.

As is the case at Muryar Bishara, many of the materials used by respective producers are kept at home. Some of the materials belong to the producers while others may have been borrowed from libraries.

Most of the books and reference materials in the small backroom at the studio resemble those at Muryar Bishara (see p. 119 for a list of some of the materials at Muryar Bishar). The resemblance between the two studios is also striking in that the producers turn to these 'libraries' when they need program ideas (see the section on Program Resources in Chapter V).

Muryar Bishara Communication Centre

Nigeria with its present population of about 80,000,000 was one of the strongest democratic younger nations in Africa during the 1960s and a prime target area for RVOG broadcasts. It was also one of the few countries where both Lutheran World Federation and Lutheran Hour-related churches were at work. Nigeria met other criteria for a studio as well: English was the national language, and there were large ethnic groups speaking Hausa (16-18 million), Ibo (4 million), and Yoruba (3 million). Nigeria was also within transmitting operational feasibility as it is located in a time zone that is two hours different from the station in Addis Ababa and five and a half hours' different from target areas in India. Thus, within overall broadcast scheduling, an optimum of two hours a day was available.

Jos was the natural choice for a studio (see Figure 9). It was preferred because (1) Jos is located amidst large Hausa

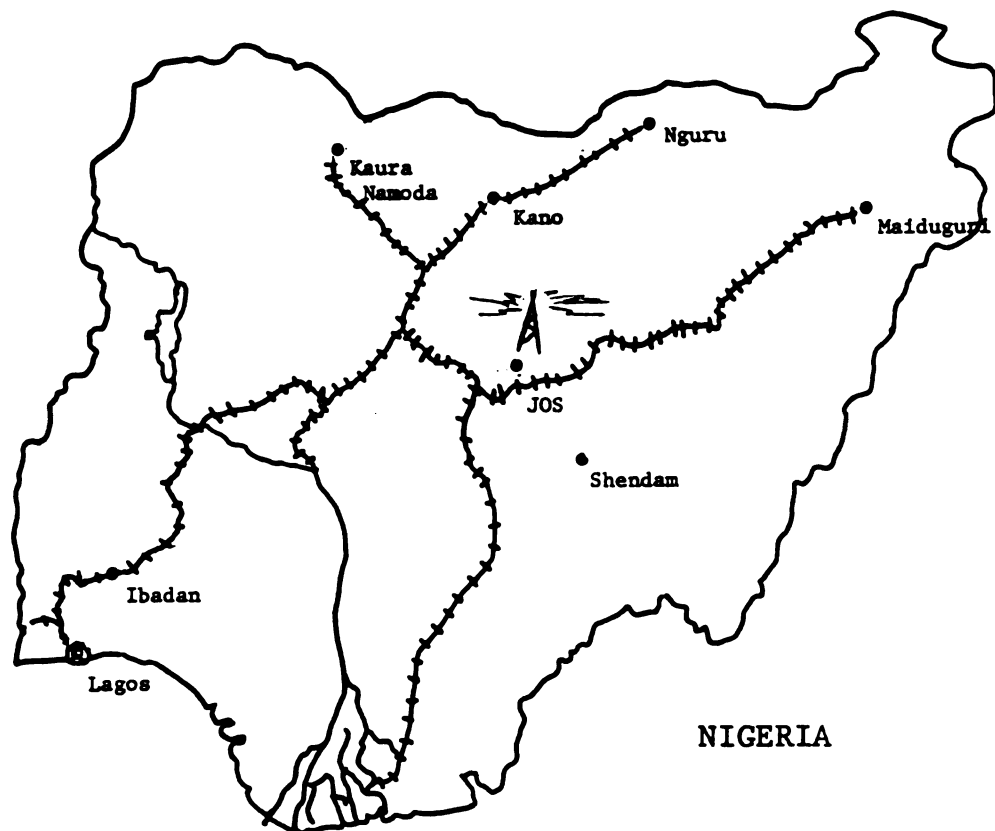


Figure 9. Location of Muryar Bishara Communication Centre.

communities, (2) Jos had good communication contact (accessibility) with the rest of Nigeria, (3) Jos had close contact with the Church at Numan, and (4) Jos was seen as an ideal location because the large vacation and conference center attracts various contacts (see Figure 9).

The Hausa of Northern Nigeria

Northern Nigeria, deeply influenced by its Islamic heritage, is the scene of striving towards industrialization, using power and the resources of nature. Technology, industrialization, and allegiance to the Islamic code of ethics go hand in hand as primary instruments shaping the mode of life in contemporary society. A better standard of living, freedom of expression, the striving for ever higher levels of formal education, and alignment with the current 'power structure' represent key values and criteria of excellence.

The Hausa are a heterogeneous group with their basic commonality expressed in their language and habitat. Their family background, according to Greenberg (1955) is Afro-Asiatic along with the Kotoko Yedima, Muki, and Musgu found in the Chad basin farther east. The Hausa language is of Arabic origin, the Kanuri of Bornu, west of Chad, having dominated them politically and culturally from the 15th to the 18th century. Since 1900 many English words have been added to the Hausa language.

Traditionally, most villages or large towns are walled (mainly to protect against raiders). These walled towns are traditional capitals of the village areas around them. In each 'capital' are usually a marketplace, a mosque, the official priests, the village chief, and a great majority of the population under his charge. The size of these villages varies--between one and four thousand people may live in the village area. In a place like Kano, which is the capital of the northern state, more than 350,000 people may live in the area.

A village area is a clearly delineated area that includes scattered hamlets and is operated under a local administration. Within the villages there are also administrative wards, each of which is under a residential head administrator. Each area in the administrative ward is occupied by families from similar occupational groups.

Traditionally, the village chief maintains public property, administers the cultivation of the land around him, and collects the tax. (The latter is no longer one of the chief's functions.) The chief also checks on migration (of the Fulani), the arrival and withdrawal of villages, harvest failures, epidemics, etc. He rewards the well-doers and punishes the wrong-doers. Today, the village chief has control over a vast area around his village.

Five or more men with their wives and families may live together in one compound, work in a common farm, and

share common food supplies. Such a group is regarded by the chief as a unit and lives under the leadership of one man who is usually the senior member. The chief is always to display qualities of virtue that are stressed in the moral code (i.e., temperance, compromise, agreement, respect for the rights of others) (Forde, 1976).

History of the Studio

The desirability of establishing a studio in Nigeria was initiated by a visit of Dr. Sigurd Aske in the early 1960s. Dr. Aske visited Pastor Akili Todi and Pastor Hojvig, the Field Superintendent of the Danish Sudan Mission.

Pastor Hojvig approached the "home board" who also approved the project. For the missions, the new possibility raised some problems. One problem concerned whether there should be only one studio for all of Nigeria (combining the Lutheran Church in southern Nigeria (the LCN) and the LCCN) or whether two studios were necessary. Another problem related to the matter of language. Most of the people in the LCCN area are Hausa speaking, but "very few are 'real' Hausa people." Thus, their Hausa was not acceptable to the 'real' Hausas (Interview with Fleming Kramp, March 1981).

Though Jos had many advantages as a site, the LCN felt that Jos was too far out of their reach. Furthermore, they were not ready to move since the Lutheran Church,

Missouri Synod, had, under Rev. Paul Volz, established a studio in 1956. Each group decided to move on its own, and it was then that Muryar Bishara became a reality.

Both Fleming Kramp and Dick Mbodwan confirm that "the urge to have the studio was more at the initiative of the missions, although with approval of the more 'informed' part of the local leadership."

In March 1962, a consultation was held between the Lutheran Hour, the Danish Sudan Mission, the American Lutheran Mission, the LWF Broadcasting Service, and Rev. H. M. Ottermoeller who represented the Evangelical Church of Nigeria.

After considering several alternatives as to how to best coordinate the efforts of the two groups (the American and the Danish), it was agreed that each would establish separate studio facilities. At the meeting, Rev. Hovvig announced that the Danish Sudan Mission and the American Lutheran Mission would jointly establish a studio for the production of Hausa programs. The location was to be Jos.

Additional criteria for establishing the studio in Jos included its favorable climate, electric supply, and the presence of a number of missionary organizations that could provide source material for productions.

It was thus clear that the Danish group established a studio of its own with Rev. Hovvig as the studio's

first director.

The studio was ready in 1965 and in 1966 Fleming Kramp from Denmark became its second studio director. Recalled Kramp,

The Church had no knowledge of what was involved about how this project is to function. For the church people it was a gift of a new technology wherein they felt the good feeling of hearing themselves talk. By having an expatriate director and another one for the technical side, the problem of even running the studio was never felt to be a problem. They did not, further, consider alternatives as to how else that money could be used in other less ambitious media. Thus, the whole operation was left to me and the staff to handle it professionally (1981).

The studio later was organized within the framework of the Church of Christ in Nigeria. What is now known as the Muryar Bishara Communication Centre is managed, owned, and operated by the LCCN through its board of government (see Figure 10). The constitution of the studio cannot be amended without the ratification of the LCCN and the Sudan United Mission--Danish branch.

Purpose and Policy

In accordance with the overall broadcast policy of RVOG, the studio's main purposes are

- To proclaim the Christian Gospel.
- To enrich believers in the Christian faith within the reach of radio.
- To promote educational, intellectual, and cultural development through the production of programs that are educational, informational, and cultural.

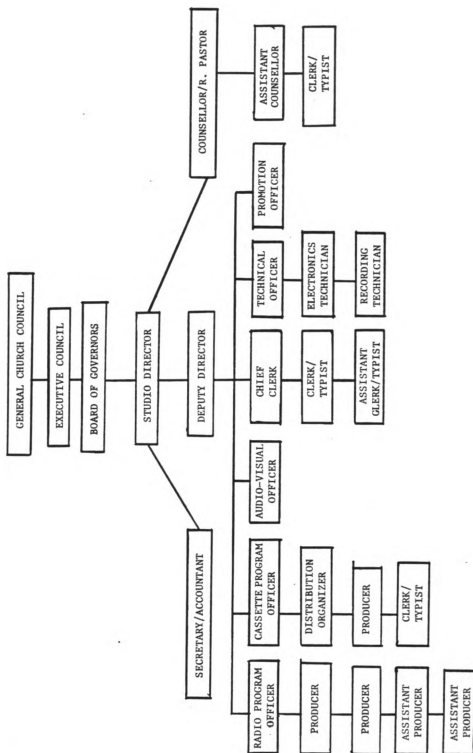


Figure 10. Organizational Structure of Muryar Bishara Communication Centre.

- To work together with the churches in fostering and developing follow-up of the radio programs through other media and means.
- To train radio workers.

The 30/70 Formula in Program Production

The board of governors subscribes theoretically to the production 'yardstick' offered by the 30/70 formula as stipulated in the studio's constitution: "The proportion of time given to produce programs of directly evangelistic character shall be at least 30 percent, the remainder shall be programs of cultural-educational intent with a definite Christian undertone" (Muryar Bishara Constitution).

The 30/70 formula was not intended to split programs into merely secular and Christian programs. Rather the aim of the formula was to show the relevance of a Christian worldview in all spheres of life. As noted earlier, the formula has caused serious difficulties in part because there was an early tendency to emphasize development programming with a view to removing traditional barriers to change and to motivating the audiences to accept innovation.

Development, Education, Information, and Proclamation

The Muryar Bishara studio, like the other RVOG related studios, has an operational basis which was clearly expressed in Dr. Fry's inauguration speech:

Whatever is of benefit to human beings,
to their standard of life, their health,

to their advancement, to add to their education, to enrich their personalities, as well as to open their ears to the best news of all, of peace with God, will legitimately be within the scope of the concern of the programs that will be beamed from here (Fry, 1963).

This wide interpretation of the Gospel was seen to include evangelism, nurture, education, development, entertainment, and information. Thus, programs aimed at presenting a Christian attitude towards God, the world and society in which we live, and toward the individual in all aspects of his/her life.

Audience Relations and Follow-Up

One of the vital functions of Muryar Bishara Communication Centre is to engage in counselling and establishing contacts between listeners and the churches. It is, in a way, the focal point in the communication operation as it is meant to be that aspect in Christian communication where the form (mass communication) is separated from the context (Christian). Where sponsors and producers think only in terms of mass appeal, the danger is that programming becomes for a passive and amorphous audience. The competition also becomes for the largest slice.

The Department of Audience Relations and Follow-Up is to provide the ways by which the listener encounters a person-to-person experience which, in the final analysis, is the primary purpose of Christian communication.

Theoretically, the role of the audience relations department is to prepare relevant literature, establish contact with the churches, and organize listening and discussion groups throughout the broadcast area. In reality, however, it seems that the theory is far from the actual practice.

Research and Manpower Development

Like many other organizations established to promote education, culture, and development, Murayar Bishara grew out of a concern about the need to provide Christian communication in Nigeria. However, there seems to have been no prior research during the entire planning process for Murayar Bishara, nor had the studio conducted any research up to the time of this study. Therefore, questions such as whether it is possible to disassociate the mass media from the cultural setting of Western societies and apply them to African needs cannot be answered in the case of Murayar Bishara. Yet, research on the extent to which the mass media can adequately reflect the African cultural perspective is clearly needed. Do the mass media necessarily act as vehicles of a Western cultural mode to the exclusion of the needs of other societies?

Studio Cassette Project

The studio cassette project has occupied the studio production staff since RVOG was closed. The funds for this

division come from a grant from the German donor agency KED. The grant includes housing, transport (vehicle equipped with field recording facilities) and provision for empty tapes.

The objectives of the cassette project are

- To establish contact with listeners.
- To develop interaction with people in the villages and to record desirable program material for further development.
- To record songs and music for production at the studio.
- To record speeches, talks, and discussions for production at the studio.
- To prepare and record programs of music, songs, discussion, and sermons and to sell them to interested persons, organizations, and institutions
- To render remunerative services in the studio for various groups who may want to have recordings of musical programs duplicated in great numbers on cassettes for public sale.

The market for the duplicated cassettes is wide open and the channels are varied. The orders run in the thousands. As the producer in charge of this project noted, "we make money on this work, we make a lot of money."

Studio Publication Project (ZUMUNCI)

The publication project, which was discontinued a few years ago, had just been reintroduced at the time of this study. The key staff members are seconded from the American Lutheran Church.

The felt need for this undertaking seems to have originated at the executive and administrative levels of the Church. Its purpose is to provide "an additional means to spread the Christian message." It is also to serve as an information and public relations medium for the LCCN.

The publication project is expected to publish programs similar to those produced by Muryar Bishara (general developmental and religious context). The activities of the Church will be featured in various areas and the project will "seek to bridge" the ethnic differences within the Church's membership at large.

The Muryar Bishara staff is to help in the production of this publication, which is to also operate on a commercial basis. The illiteracy rate for the area in which it is to be distributed is reported to be over 90 percent.

Studio Program Resources Library

Perhaps the term 'library' is misleading in this context. However, one of the rooms at the studio houses some of the main resource materials from which programs are developed. Among the main resource materials, the following stand out:

Books and Magazines

World Book Encyclopedia
 Chamber's Encyclopedia
 World Book
 Encyclopedia Britannica
 General Textbook of Nursing
 (Evelyn Pearce)
 Nilson's Complete Concordance
 Revised Standard Version Bible
 Odham's Encyclopedia for Children
 Evolution--Life Nature Library
 100 Great Lives
 The Universal Home Doctor
 Illustrated
 The Four Gospels
 Plants and Animals of Tropical
 Africa
 The Modern Encyclopedia
 Illustrated
 Hymns We Love
 Christian Faith and Life
 Sermon Suggestions in Outline
 1973 World Almanac
 Holy Men of God
 Odham's Complete Concordance
 to Old and New Testaments
 I Loved a Boy--I Loved a Girl
 100 Great Lives
 The Universal Home Doctor's
 Illustrated Manual
 Odham's Encyclopedia for
 Children
 The American Annual

National Geographic
 Reader's Digest
 Life Magazine Series

-The Mammals
 -The Desert
 -The Reptiles
 -The Mountains
 -Ecology
 -The Insects
 -Early Man
 -The Plants
 -The Sea

Transcriptions

BBC
 VOA
 Radio Nederland
 RVOG Program Exchange

Local Materials

Local newspapers

The list does not include those books which the respective producers keep in their possession. On the other hand, two producers showed their own and personal resources for program production.

The room also serves as a storage area for old tapes and scripts. The above list represents those materials more frequently used and does not exhaust the list of materials. However, it does indicate where producers go for program ideas.

Chapter IV

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A primary purpose of the study was to develop recommendations for modifications that will improve the existing communication operation for education and development. A second and more general purpose was to provide insights and procedures for planning participatory communication.

The study used exploratory descriptive methodology to identify interactive indicators in communication situations that would lead to participatory development. Qualitative research methods were used for the analysis and comparison of different communication situations. The researcher believes that these procedures have a special significance for development communication efforts that are cross-cultural, have limited financial resources, and are geographically remote from technical support services.

Methodology

Using the Stake evaluation model (see Chapter II) the researcher described the communication systems at two radio studios: Radio Sauti ya Injili in Moshi, Tanzania, and Muryar Bishara Communication Centre in

Jos, Nigeria. Each system was described in terms of intended antecedents, transactions, and outcomes. This information was collected through informal interviews with relevant persons engaged in planning, production, administration, and policy-making. Figure 11 indicates some of the elements that were used as the basis of the evaluative study.

The Stake model was selected for the following reasons:

- The model is comprehensive. Evaluation is seen as including (a) a comparison of intended objectives with the achievements of the observed system; (b) a comparative evaluation of specific elements within both the intended and the observed systems (this allows for the possibility of inquiring into the relationships and contingencies between the systems); and (c) subjective judgements and valuations regarding the objectives of the system in question, the criteria of acceptable achievement, and the degree to which these criteria are met.
- The model provides a functional approach to describing both the nature and process of evaluation. The matrix provides the evaluator with an instrument for collecting and processing information.

DESCRIPTIVE MATRIX

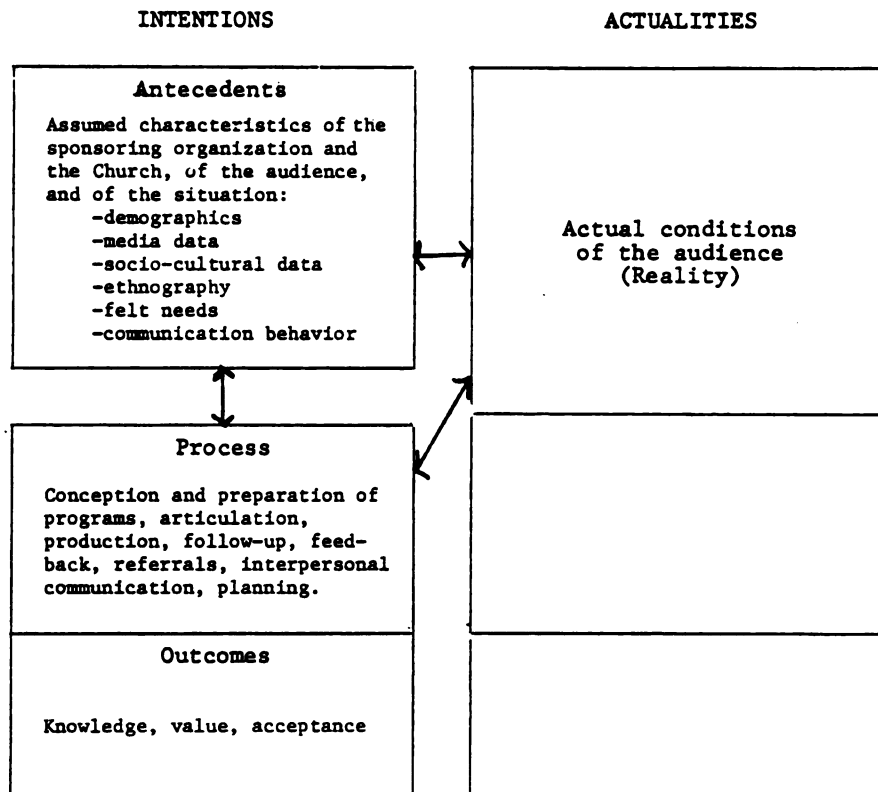


Figure 11. Adaptation of Stake Evaluation Matrix. (Source: Stake, 1969.)

- The model is viable in that it can be easily replicated by others. It is conceptually, functionally, and visually (as in the matrix chart) transferable.
- The model allows the evaluator to be part of the program process and not a detached measurement specialist. It can help to open the entire system to evaluation.

In conducting the study, the researcher sought to

- Compile a relevant list of descriptors and describe the existing or 'observed' system. Measured characteristics include message, channel, and form of communication; the recipients of communication and the extent of their participation in determining program content; the cost and locus of control for program content; and the extent of audience participation and integration into the decision-making process.
- Identify assumptions regarding the 'intended' system. This includes assumptions regarding the intended audience, their learning systems, their sources of information, code systems, worldview, and perceptions.
- Describe the 'actual' reality of the audience.
- Evaluation the current communication situation. This includes an examination of its relevancy to the audience and the stated theoretical position of the communication system.

The communication centers under study have been preparing radio programs for broadcast to audiences in West and East Africa for a combined total of more than 18 years. In addition, cassette projects and print media have been developed.

It has generally been assumed that these projects have contributed in some ways to bringing about change in people's lives, both in respect to development as well as towards Christianity. These changes are said to have even occurred among people of strongly held attitudes and long-valued customs.

It is against this background that the researcher deemed it important to try to determine the extent to which communication centers project their messages onto the values and worldviews of the actors.

In keeping with the requirements of the Stake model, different methods were used to collect the necessary information. For example, information about the rationale and intent of the existing system was collected using interviews and a questionnaire. The choice of what to observe, what to record, and what to feedback was made through an active search for additional information. The researcher interacted with the participants and observed their activities until gradually assuming more stimulus responsibility for conveying impressions, questions, and concerns.

This approach was seen to be less interventionist

and to encourage more responses on the part of the participants. The basic stimuli were the activities that occurred in the course of program production. In the description, the researcher attempted to convey a holistic impression of the mood, the complexity of the experience, and the constraints surrounding the program.

The general approach to the research was designed during the early phases of the study. However, other methods were added as the fieldwork progressed. Elements of the system were described from documents provided by the two studios; the Lutheran Church of Christ in the Sudan; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania; the LWF Commission on World Missions; the LWF Department of Communication; persons who have been intimately involved in the development of RVOG and who have played key roles in its growth, difficulties, and possibilities; the Danish Missionary Society; and the American Lutheran Church. Other sources were library resources on Nigeria and Tanzania and extensive correspondence with individuals related in one way or another to the operations of the centers selected for the study.

After an initial examination of the communication systems, the researcher visited each of the sites. These visits were made to verify written descriptions and to collect additional information. Both structured and

unstructured interviews with board members, directors, and program producers were used to learn from their knowledge, experience, and insight. Because of limited financial resources, only a small sample was used to identify the values of the main audience. Information was also gathered from the representatives of related mission organizations and key persons related to the historical development of the studios. Interviews were recorded on tape as were responses to the questionnaire. The survey design was flexible enough to accommodate 'unforeseen' events that developed in the course of the fieldwork.

Throughout the study the writer received advice from Professor Ulf Himmelstrand and Dr. Lowe Hedman of the Institute of Sociology at Uppsala University. Professor Urban Dahlöf of the Institute of Pedagogy at Uppsala University was also approached regarding his experience in qualitative pedagogical research. The draft questionnaire was discussed with Rev. Manfred Lundgren, former director of RVOG, who offered a number of pertinent papers, documents, reports, and insights on various aspects of the questions. His insights, knowledge of the continent and of the subject matter enhanced the study greatly. Dr. Bereket Yiebio of the Malmo Teachers Training Institute closely advised in the formulation and categorization of the questions, drawing upon his broad experience and knowledge in qualitative research methodology.

After the trip to Nigeria, a series of discussions were planned with Professor Ted Ward at Michigan State University. At this time, the methodology and the experience were also reviewed by the researcher's committee at Michigan State University.

Analysis of the data was kept simple. There were no quantitative data except for the question on the value perceptions of the audience. Means were calculated for this question since a quantitative approach was used to show the rating scale for the value perceptions.

A mass of verbal information, informal observations, and interviews was recorded on tape and on the instrument prepared for that purpose. The data were first grouped into general categories including (1) value perceptions, (b) thematic focus on various situations, (c) actual reality of the audience, (d) communication, and (e) linkages as pertaining to follow-up. The data were then analyzed a second time and grouped into categories of thematic variables. This was done by grouping representative phrases and incidents according to topical concepts that emerged during the analysis.

Identifying Indicators of Social Realities

In order to clarify the socio-cultural, developmental situation of the actors, the researcher combined an examination of various sources of the literature (reflected reflection). The data gathering process was conducted

in two stages: evaluative observation of program production (for thematic content) was followed by focused study of social reality, values, and linkages. The process was guided by the following questions:

Program Production

- What incidents or facts appear to be important for producing programs in each studio?
- What characteristics are unique to a given program in terms of the locality, actors, time offered, and the socio-cultural context?
- What do policy makers, directors, and producers see as the main themes of their programs? What do they cite as the main reasons for selecting a specific program content?

Social Reality

- What are the perceptions of the policy makers, directors, and producers regarding the social reality in which they operate?
- What do members of each group believe about the others' perceptions of social reality?
- In what ways do the members of each group attempt to understand the social reality before the programs are produced or aired?
- What type of social reality do they seek to create as a consequence of their production?

Values

- What values do policy makers, directors, and producers believe are the most pre-dominant among their audiences?
- What steps are taken to understand the audience's values before programs are produced?
- How do the values communicated in the programs correspond to or differ from the values of the audience?

Linkages and Follow-Up

- In what ways do policy makers, directors, and producers provide follow-up programs and linkages to increase the audience's access to and participation in communication?

The researcher compared the hypotheses with the findings of the study. He used these findings to develop a participatory communication design for upgrading elements in the existing learning delivery system and relating the existing forms of communication.

The Intended System

As a result of the processes outlined above, the resulting outcomes are intended to be an understanding or knowledge of specific felt needs. The listeners are intended to ascribe value to the program in such a way that they will feel that the program satisfies their felt needs. These high values or positive attitudes should motivate listeners to be willing to accept referral and

to actually go a step further to make the contact for a follow-up interpersonal interaction.

Logical Contingencies

The researcher also examined whether or not the elements of the system are logically related to and compatible with each other and the actual condition of the audience. Some elements are likely to have dysfunctional components. Are the production centers capable of handling all of the respondents to the program if the audience is persuaded by the message?

A related question arises from an examination of the personnel situation at the studios. Assuming that personnel are adequately trained to perform their jobs (an assumption open to question), does this training ensure that they will actually do the job they are trained to do? It may be that they are producing programs that are better handled by a government or other secular organization. Are the studios operating with either insufficient expertise or motivation?

From the answers to questions such as these, one could derive hypotheses about the elements in the system that are thought to be dysfunctional. Hypotheses would be in the form of predicted findings (e.g., the degree to which an intended element actually occurs (Stake calls this 'congruence') or the nature of a relationship between variables.)

Congruence

Having described the intended communication system and examined it in terms of contingencies, the Stake model of evaluation calls for the researcher to describe the observed or actual system. The description is for the purpose of facilitating evaluation in terms of contingencies. Congruence being the verification of the actual and observed systems and contingencies representing the provision of evidence to support the functional relationships between elements of the actual system.

The actual communication system was observed and described. Data related to the intended system were collected from various sources. The following is a description of the sources of information and the methods employed.

Records

Three principal types of records were used during the study.

LWF Communication Records. From these records the earliest beginnings which led to the establishment of RVOG, Radio Sauti ya Injili, and Muryar Bishara Communication Centre were established. The information gathered included board minutes, correspondence, and taped interviews with persons who had served in the LWF. Records further

included documents and published articles related to the development and establishment of the studio and the cassette project. Further, published and unpublished records which reflected on the development of LWF Communication in its historical development and as it related to the studios through the years were compiled and studied.

Studio and Board Meeting Records. Basic information about the operation of the studio was obtained by examining the compilation of early studio correspondence, project request documents, annual reports, staff meeting minutes, and the proceedings of board meetings. Board meetings and correspondence between the board chairperson and studio director reflected the kind of constant deliberation that is taking place in the struggle to keep the studios operative. The minutes and correspondence cover a wide range of project requests, staff situations, radio outlets, housing, technical facilities and personnel, cassette projects, literature, audience relations, follow-up, church involvement, promotion, training, research, and ecumenical relations. On occasion, principal questions related to policy are also documented.

Records of Studio-Audience Relations. The audience relations office at each of the studios is responsible for promotion, follow-up, church involvement, counselling, and the general area of 'public relations'. Theoretically,

it is also the department that actually establishes contact between the listener and the churches where the letters and listeners come from.

Sample letters from the period 1970-1980 were studied but not in any analytical manner as these were not organized in any consistent form and did not constitute a part of this study. Samples of pamphlets and handouts were also collected.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was administered to board members, studio directors, and studio staff as well as a selected sample of the 'audience'. The first part of the questionnaire, Schedule I, included questions on the value perceptions of the assumed audience and was completed by board members, producers, directors, and members of the audience. The second part, Schedule II, included a total of 30 questions on development concepts, the objectives and purpose of the centers' communication outreach.

Interviews

The focused interview, as described by Merton, Fiske, and Kendall (1956) was used to elicit specific responses and to allow the participants to respond in depth and on a broad range of materials. Three major categories of non-directive interviews were used:

Unstructured Questions. These were intended to be stimulus and response free (e.g., 'What

would you say is the aim of development?")

Semi-Structured Questions with Structured Responses. These questions were stimulus free in their own form but were answered in a structured manner (e.g., "What kind of program content would you use if you knew that your audience is made up of followers of Islam?").

Semi-Structured Questions with Unstructured Responses. These questions were designed to allow for free and personal responses (e.g., "Why are you personally involved in the area of Christian communication work?").

The questions asked were straightforward and self-explanatory. However, the interviewer made sure that all questions were answered and that there were no contradictions in the answers given. All overlooked or unanswered questions were redone without additional information. None of the respondents were led to any particular answer. The questionnaire was explained one time and answers were given as to what the question meant. All respondents had a chance to hear the question and the answers were recorded on the instrument.

Church and Support Agencies. The researcher interviewed the Associate General Secretary of ELCT and the Chairperson of the Board on Evangelism and Mission centered around the questions of the role of mass media in the ministry of the Church, the function of the studio in the overall

plan and in relation to the other media oriented departments. The problems of radio outlets, other forms of communication, and an integrated approach to communication efforts were also exhaustively discussed and recorded.

In order to gain more information about Muryar Bishara, the researcher interviewed the General Secretary of the Danish Mission. The studio presently gets its budgetary needs from grants which the Danish Sudan Mission and KED (through the Lutheran World Federation) make available on a yearly request submitted through the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria. The interview included questions with regard to future developments and the implications both financially and as regards to other media. A taped interview with the General Secretary of the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria focused on questions of dependency for financial support, the problems of availability of local as well as external outlets, decentralization of communication efforts, and the development of indigenous forms of communication.

Studio Staff and Board Members. The same methodology for interviewing the board members was used at Sauti ya Injili and Muryar Bishara. At Sauti ya Injili, a total of five board members and one ex officio member were interviewed (of a total of eight board members). Each interviewed member was given a questionnaire at different intervals and was allowed to keep the questionnaire

overnight, at which time a double-check was made before the questionnaire was collected. Where answers were not given, the question was repeated in a taped interview. In this case, the question was read several times with simple translating of words.

Five of the total of seven board members were interviewed at Muryar Bishara using the same procedure. All of the board members live about 300 miles away from the studio.

At Sauti ya Injili, the studio director responded to the questions together with the staff. The director had no previous knowledge of the questionnaire, and together with the staff filled it out in two and a half hours. Unlike at Muryar Bishara, the Moshi staff was allowed to take time off from their work in order to respond to the questionnaire. All ten members of the production staff were gathered in a room and after a 45 minute explanation of questions that were raised, the questionnaire was completed. All interviews with the staff, board members, and the director were done in English.

At Muryar Bishara the questionnaire was administered to the 11 members of the studio staff (including two women and one person from the New Life for All production center--this person was responsible for producing scripted programs that are broadcast by the Muryar Bishara center) and four studio directors who worked at the center in that

capacity between 1965 and the present.

Each person was interviewed individually and in the presence of the interviewer. The privacy allowed the respondents the freedom to express their impressions in an open manner that was frank and, the researcher believes, honest. The individual interviewing method was used as it was the expressed wish of particularly the staff members of the center. Each person was given equal time to complete the questionnaire and to make additional (personal) comments at the end of the session.

The interviews with the staff in Nigeria were all done in English with the exception of three members who understood the questions in English but needed a translator to state their responses.

Audience. In order to establish some grounds for comparing the center's output in programming against the 'actual reality' (which is dealt with in this study also through a review of relevant literature), the researcher interviewed a sample of 50 'leaders' in Tanzania and 20 village chiefs in Nigeria.

With the help of a knowledgeable person from the University of Dar es Salaam, the researcher administered the translated questionnaire to 50 individuals around the Kilimanjaro mountain area. The mode of interviewing took the form of a survey conducted in 1974 (RVOG, Tanzania survey, 1974) in that a representative ten-cell unit was interviewed. This was done for two-thirds of the audience

interviewed. The rest of the interviewed persons were individuals randomly selected at different intervals of the trip which covered a radius of 45 miles.

The persons interviewed in Nigeria represented a broad cross section of the social system in Northern Nigeria. The thoughts and reflections of the village chiefs were used to gain a general understanding of the social system--an essential component of any social action program.

An analysis of the value systems of Tanzania and Nigeria obviously required broad research including demography, socio-cultural patterns, religion, and the political system. The aim of this research was far less ambitious. The purpose of the interviews was not to establish a full picture of the value systems in Northern Nigeria and Tanzania, but to gain an understanding of some of the main values held by the audiences in these areas.

Evaluating Value Perceptions

The instrument chosen for evaluating the value perceptions of the audience, staff, and board members at the two centers was based on Milton Rokeach's Value Survey (1973).

Rokeach's study of value beliefs and attitudes serves as a core concept across social science studies. 'Values' (used as dependent and independent variables) serve as the basis of culture, society, personality, attitudes, and behavior. The conception of values as understood in this

study is based on Rokeach's work. Rokeach maintained,

- The total number of values that a person possesses is relatively small.
- All men everywhere possess the same values to different degrees.
- Values are organized into value systems.
- The antecedent of human values can be traced to culture, society, and its institutions, and personality.
- The consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might consider worth investigating and understanding (1973, p. 3).

One of Rokeach's basic assumptions in the study of human values is that "the total number of values is relatively small," and, if all men everywhere possess them, the possibility of cross-cultural investigation is evident. This type of study, which looks at a person's values is likely to be a much more useful approach to social analysis than a study of the usefulness of the object for man.

Cabin Williams, in his study of theoretical economy and social relevance, spoke to this point, "The criteria or standards in terms of which evaluations are made--value as criteria is usually the more important usage for purposes of social scientific analysis" (1968, p. 283).

In a discussion on the relative 'power' of the value concept, Rokeach noted that in

focusing upon a person's values we would be dealing with a concept that is more central, more dynamic, more economical, and that would

include problems of education and re-education as well as problems of persuasion (1968, p. 159).

Value, then, is a person's lasting conviction of reality wherein specific behavior and consequences are socially and individually held over and against a converse mode of behavior and its consequences. A 'value system' is publicly affirmed and lasting behavior or beliefs concerning freely chosen alternatives, accepted and acted upon in a reoccurring pattern and consistency.

Rokeach's Eighteen Terminal Values

Eighteen 'terminal' values from Rokeach's list of instrumental and terminal values were adapted for this study and translated to Hausa (for Nigeria) and Kiswahili (for Tanzania).

Rokeach's eighteen terminal values were developed from a much larger list obtained from other sources which he reduced by elimination based on various considerations. Rokeach developed another set of comparative instrumental values by using Anderson's 1968 list of 555 personality trait words for which he had reported 'positive and negative value ratings.' Anderson, on the other hand, derived his list from a larger one of about 18,000 trait names originally put together by Allport and Odbert (1936), again developed by a process of elimination and retaining those names and expressions that were useful. Anderson's list of 555 was reduced to 200 and so on until a final list

of 18 instrumental values which were considered meaningful in all cultures was developed (Rokeach, 1973, pp. 26-30).

Statistical Presentation

The general approach to presenting the statistics was descriptive. The researcher reported on what a specific group of people said or thought about a particular issue or group of values centered on the conceptions, treatment, and discrimination of messages, on the one hand, and on the recipients of that message on the other.

The 18 variables were laid down and each member of the group was asked to rate the relative importance of the values on a scale of 1 to 5. These were then tabulated for further statistical descriptions. It was difficult to look at each person within each group and compare that person with the other members in the same group, Therefore, a statistical mean was established for each variable or question.

In order to identify the areas of congruence in the perceptions of values held by the audience on the one hand and the perceptions of the same by the board members, directors, and producers on the other, Cartesian graphs were used. The variables (values) selected by the audience were plotted on the vertical axis of the graph and those selected by the group to be evaluated against were plotted on the horizontal axis of the graph. Looked at this way,

values are congruent when the mean for both groups falls within the area of the Lorenz curve.

The Lorenz curve is shown on a 45° angle and is applied as a standard measurement of one half of standard valuation of the vertical or horizontal line and half of the distance between the upper side of the line and the lower side of the line. There is a quarter of an inch on each side so that an increment of value is one-half inch long. This gives a way of showing the area of congruence without each value having to be precisely the same (e.g., the mean for the audience could be 4.5 and for the compared group 4.3). This indicates that both groups value a particular variable (value) to approximately the same degree (within half a value rating). Thus, we can say that those variables carry common valuation between the audience and the compared group. Means that are precisely the same for both groups would represent theoretical 'absolute congruence'.

Chapter V

TANZANIA AND NIGERIA: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The researcher interviewed five board members, ten producers, and one studio director from Radio Sauti ya Injili in Tanzania and five board members, twelve producers, and three studio directors from Muryar Bishara Communication Centre in Nigeria. The following topics were covered during the interviews: the meaning of the concept of 'development of the whole man,' the aim and goal of development, ways in which development goals are incorporated into programming, the characteristics of Christian programming, types of programs, reactions to the 30/70 formula, the characteristics of programs for Islamic audiences, resources used in producing programs, the effectiveness of other types of media, support media, reactions to the use of indigenous communication, rationale for working in Christian communication, socio-economic influences on audiences, contact with audiences, and evaluation and follow-up efforts. Each of the groups was also asked about their perceptions of audience values. These responses were compared with the responses of 50 representatives (ten-cell leaders) of the audience in Tanzania and of 20 representatives (village chiefs) of the audience in Nigeria.

The data are organized into sections that reflect the common themes that emerged during the study. Comparable categories have been used whenever possible; however, the categories and discussions for each section differ slightly because the interviews were only partially structured. In some cases, only one or two of the groups were asked to discuss a given theme because not all of the topics were considered appropriate for each of the three groups.

Radio Sauti ya Injili

Development of the Whole Man*

The notion of the need to 'develop the whole man' has been widely discussed throughout the member churches of the LWF (see Appendix A, On the Interrelation between Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development) and is a central concept of ujamaa (see Chapter III). When Tanzanian board members were asked to indicate which general category best described the concept 'development of the whole man', they mentioned 'spiritual growth' five times, while 'national economic development' and 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of

* Because the term 'development of the whole man' appears so frequently in the literature, the researcher used this term in the interviews. It was later brought to his attention that the term ignores 51 percent of the population, and so the term 'development of the whole person' has been used throughout the study.

wealth, and freedom of religion' were mentioned three times (see Table 1).

Table 1. Categories Identified by Tanzanian Board Members as Best Describing the Concept 'Development of the Whole Man'

Category*	Frequency
Spiritual growth	5
Social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion	3
National economic development	3
Receiving more aid from abroad	0
Other	0

*Included in the questionnaire

The producers tended to see development more in terms of the ujamaa doctrine than in terms of spiritual growth. They mentioned 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion' nine times, while 'receiving more aid from abroad,' 'national economic development', and 'spiritual growth' were each mentioned three times (see Table 2).

The studio director also chose 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, and freedom of religion' as best describing the concept 'development of the whole man'.

Table 2. Categories Identified by Tanzanian Producers as Best Describing the Concept 'Development of the Whole Man'

Category*	Frequency
Social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion	9
Receiving more aid from abroad	3
National and economic development	3
Spiritual growth	3
Other	0

*Included in the questionnaire

The board members' emphasis on spiritual growth, while pointing to a compartmentalized understanding of development, is indicative of the general programming policy at Radio Sauti ya Injili. Though this position apparently contradicts the Church's emphasis on 'development of the whole person', the contradiction should be viewed in light of TANU's strong resistance to mixing religion and politics. In an article on "Religion and Politics," The Nationalist noted,

History has shown how disastrous it is to mix politics and religion. This is especially so in secular states such as ours where different religions and beliefs obtain. That is why it is imperative that religions must be insulated from the political life of our country (June 10, 1965).

In another article, the newspaper mentioned that the clergy must perform their roles according to the rules

of ujamaa if they are to 'play their part' in development (July 1971).

That 'national economic development' and 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, and freedom of religion' were the next most frequently mentioned categories reflects another dimension of socio-political reality in Tanzania. Ujamaa seeks to bring about a society of peace, reconciliation, well-being, and justice to all people (Civille, 1963).

The radical differences between the views of the board members and those of the producers and the director may be symptomatic of the lack of interaction between these groups and the lack of a sufficiently trained staff at the program production level. Though this study did not seek to determine why such differences between policy makers and program personnel exist, it is nonetheless important to note that 'development of the whole person' might be best conceptualized through an ongoing dialogue between policy makers, directors, and the audience.

Aim and Goal of Development

When asked to identify the main aim and goal of development, the board members again stressed the importance of spiritual growth (see Table 3).

Table 3. Tanzanian Board Members' Perceptions of the Aim and Goal of Development

Category*	Frequency
To make people grow spiritually	6
To raise our standards of living among our people	5
To make people live a good life	2
To live and grow together in a spirit of togetherness	2
To make body, spirit (soul), and mind grow together	1

* Derived from interviews

The producers tended to focus on what may be called the 'public relations' aspects of development. Rather than seeing development as a process through which individuals discover their own potential while in search of a better life, the producers emphasized goals such as eradicating poverty, disease, and ignorance and providing a life of Christian morals and faith (see Table 4).

Table 4. Tanzanian Producers' Perceptions of the Aim and Goal of Development

Category*	Frequency
To eradicate poverty, disease, and ignorance	5
To provide a life of wealth and happiness	4
To create a life of Christian morals and faith	2

* Derived from interviews

The studio director commented that the main aim and goal of development should be the betterment of "man's standard of life, the improvement of his environment, and the alleviation of misery."

The board members' emphasis on spiritual growth is again in accordance with the traditional role of the Church in Africa. For the most part, the Church's role has been defined in terms of "preaching the Gospel and converting men, building churches and then schools to the extent these activities contribute to the growth of the Church" (Adegbola, 1974, p. 186). Overwhelmed by the task of evangelization, the Church in Africa has not, by and large, clearly expressed its faith in terms of development and social duty. It is only recently that the Church has boldly addressed the question of social responsibility. However, in spite of the traditional intolerance of social activism that has been characteristic of mission organizations, it is inevitable that the churches in Africa will, as a result and consequence of their faith, eventually address issues related to social responsibility.

The board members' emphasis on spiritual growth may also be a reflection of a deeply held view in African society. In traditional society, life is seen as being under the constant control of God. People's vocations in their daily lives, their experiences of joy or sorrow in their public and private lives, all are seen as part of

the realm over which God reigns supremely (Adegbola, 1974, p. 19).

Living and growing together in a spirit of togetherness was also mentioned as a goal of development and is in accordance with the overall view of the Church:

To develop is to participate with equity in the results of the collaboration of all; it is to be able to live in peace and fraternity; it is to be able to nurture hopes for a future that is always better (Christian Requirements for a Political Order, 1977, p. 19).

Thus, participation in development is a fundamental aspect of growth. People grow when they grow in liberty and participation, when they can choose freely those to whom they wish to delegate authority. Development does not 'make people'. Rather, people 'make development' through participation.

Here, too, the differences in the responses between the producers and the board members suggest that there is a lack of integrated planning for development. This aspect may be further understood by examining the organizational and structural functions of the studio. Organizationally, the radio studio operates as an independent entity within the general structure of the mission and evangelism department of the Church. Therefore, it is understandable that the implicit (though not officially declared) policy line guiding program production places priority on proclaiming the Gospel. The producers and studio director,

on the other hand, live with the constraints of the day-to-day reality of their audience and so it is not surprising that they are more concerned with the 'social' aspect of development.

Incorporating Development Goals into Programming

When asked how development goals might be incorporated into the studio's programming, the Tanzanian board members most frequently suggested that programs should tell people of man's sinfulness (see Table 5).

Table 5. Tanzanian Board Members' Recommendations for Incorporating Development Goals into Programming

Category [*]	Frequency
To tell people of man's sinfulness	4
To teach people that this is His world and that we are accountable caretakers	3
To relate to people the work of the Church in education, development, and evangelism	2
To teach of man's responsibility to do justice and to love God	2

^{*} Derived from interviews

The producers' responses indicated that they viewed development as encompassing much more than spiritual matters (see Table 6), while the studio director suggested that development goals could be incorporated into

programming by teaching what he called 'fundamental principles' in development and by including instructions on development topics.

Table 6. Tanzanian Producers' Recommendations for Incorporating Development Goals into Programming

Category*	Frequency
We produce health and spiritual programs	8
I produce educational programs and teach people how to participate in development	7
I produce programs in Christian living and development-related topics	5
I try to tell people to form groups and to discuss in the village	5

*Derived from interviews

The view that individuals' most important need is to know that they are fallen creatures who need God's forgiveness again reflects the board members' emphasis on spiritual matters above all other aspects of development. This view has also been characteristic of Christian mission work in Africa. Even in education and medical work, the churches have emphasized spiritual matters above all others. Anderson (1973) noted, "while Africans became progressively more critical and rebellious over colonial rule, missions became less critical and more comfortable in it." Though this may be an overgeneralization, the pattern of churches

hiding behind the pulpit is a characteristic that the churches today cannot afford to overlook.

Some church people, however, believe that spiritual matters can be expressed in other ways besides direct proclamation. For example, Thomas Musa, a member of TANU's Central Committee and a Lutheran minister, noted, "when Christianity is truly taught, it is expressed in socialistic terms..." (1977, p. 29). Communication can be an important means of achieving conscientization, organization, even politicization. Attaining these goals could be accomplished by producing radio programs that teach people what is needed for social and economic development.

Interestingly, though the producers' responses show a sensitivity to the need for participation, they also reflect the decision-making monologue that so often characterizes development programming: "I...teach people how to participate..."; "I try to tell people to form groups..."; "I(We) produce programs...." If development is to address itself to justice, equality, and freedom, one would expect participation. Without participation, education has an inherent dictatorial function in which the information delivery system imposes its explanation of the development situation on the receiver. The producers recognize the need for participation, but they have not yet reached a situation of "teachers and students co-intent on reality, and thereby coming to know it

critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge" (Freire, 1972, p. 44).

Types of Programs

When asked which terms best described the programs actually produced at Radio Sauti ya Injili, the board members selected (1) religious, (2) political, (3) educational, (4) development, and (5) cultural in that order. Producers, on the other hand, perceived programs as being (1) educational, (2) religious, (3) developmental/political, and (4) cultural.

The high rating assigned to religious programming represents the 'local objective' for the studio. It was not possible to locate any official statement calling for a strong emphasis on religious programming; however, this theme emerged throughout the interviews. The position of the studio director also confirmed this view: "essentially, the business of the studio is to project the mission, particularly the evangelistic aspect of the Church." A closer study of the studio's objectives would benefit both the Church and the LWF.

The political (civic) nature of programs was also emphasized. This is understandable given that ujamaa poses as an African political ideology. It is the focal point from which Tanzanian civic life derives its meaning.

Meaning of Christian Programming

Manfred Lundgren, a former director of RVOG, has said of Christian communication: "It is not the process of communication that is Christian. Nor is it the communicator. What is Christian is the content of the communication" (1974).

When asked about their understanding of what is meant by the term 'Christian program', the Tanzanian board members most frequently commented that such a program should speak about Christ, His love, and salvation. They also believed that it could be applied to programs that speak of Christian love and concern and to programs produced by Christian persons (see Table 7).

Table 7. Tanzanian Board Members' Perceptions of the Meaning of 'Christian Programming'

Category*	Frequency
Speaks about Christ and His love --Salvation	7
Speaks of Christian love and concern --application	5
Programs produced by Christian persons	3

*Derived from interviews

The producers believed that 'Christian programs' are those that have Christian (Gospel) messages, promote

Christians, and/or teach what the bible teaches (see Table 8).

Table 8. Tanzanian Producers' Perceptions of the Meaning of 'Christian Programming'

Category*	Frequency
A program with a Christian (Gospel) message	6
A program which promotes Christians	3
A program which teaches about what the bible teaches	2

*Derived from interviews

For the studio director, 'Christian programs' are "crowded with Christian ideas and approaches."

Interestingly, none of the responses included a discussion of the role of society in determining the content of a 'Christian program'. Nor was there a clear discussion of what form, content, and context a 'Christian program' should have. At a time when the Church in Tanzania is struggling to address itself to the problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease, one must ask how proclamation can be interpreted in the context of the entire society.

Christian programming ought not to run the risk of hurling ideas at people like stones. Tillich (1954) commented that Christian programs "must be correlated

with the human situation and with the anxieties, hopes and aspirations of living men."

There is clearly a gap between the Church's expressed mandate and the reality of the programs expressed through the media. If Christian programs are to be propaganda efforts for Christianity, one must closely examine the meaning of authentic Christian proclamation. To what extent should such programming go beyond the direct expression of the Gospel to include topics that not only speak about Christ, but that also demonstrate how His work could be applied to the daily lives of listeners?

The views reflected in the responses somewhat conform with Lundgren's statement about Christian communication. However, none of the respondents mentioned interpersonal interaction--a vital step in communication. Nor did they discuss how programs on secular topics could reflect Christian ideals.

Reactions to the 30/70 Formula*

The reactions to the question about the value of the 30/70 formula were as varied as the respondents. Most of the board members thought that the formula should provide for more religious programs, and only one suggested that the present balance should be maintained. Two board members objected to having to comply with an outside

* See Chapter III for a discussssion of the 30/70 formula.

formula; they maintained that such decisions should be left to the studio (see Table 9).

Table 9. Tanzanian Board Members' Reactions to the 30/70 Formula

Category*	Frequency
Programs should have a 50/50 balance	3
Preaching the Gospel should have prominence (no figure was given)	2
It should be left to the studio to decide	2
The present balance should be maintained	1
Programs should have a 40/60 evangelistic balance	1

* Derived from interviews

The producers also favored increasing the percentage of religious programming. Only one producer recommended that the present formula be maintained (see Table 10).

The studio director was strongly in favor of reversing the formula altogether. He favored programs that are "70 percent evangelistic and 30 percent educational, cultural, and informational." The director did not elaborate on what type of program should be offered or on what form it should take, but he did note that the programs should be "religious education" rather than direct proclamation.

Table 10. Tanzanian Producers' Reactions to the 30/70 Formula

Category*	Frequency
The productions should be 70/30	4
The productions should be 50/50	3
The productions should be maintained as presently	2
The productions should be 40/60	1

*Derived from interviews

The prevailing mood in Moshi is clearly in favor of adjusting the 30/70 formula to allow for more religious programming. When asked about the formula, one of the respondents replied,

We are the conscience of the people. We tell when things go wrong, politically and otherwise. The Church is the voice of sanity, of good life.... My understanding of the formula is, therefore, that we must produce programs within the frame of the Church's role in society.

And, in fact, the Moshi programs are predominantly religious in nature. This emphasis led to a breakdown in relations between the studio and FEBA, the transmitting station at the Seychelles. FEBA seriously criticized the "language, theology, [and] way of preaching" of programs produced by the Moshi studio.

The Moshi decision illustrates that, no matter what guidelines are prepared, those working in the local context

will decide for themselves what balance will be used. One respondent commented, "the wish of the audience can declare any balance in programming." However, in making their decision, they still must subscribe to the written and unwritten rules of the broadcasting facility that airs their programs. If disagreements such as the one between FEBA and Moshi are to be avoided, regular interaction between representatives of the studio, the broadcasting facility, and other concerned levels is indispensable.

Comparison with Government Radio Programs

When asked how the educational, information, and cultural programs produced by the studio were different from or similar to programs produced by the government, all of the producers said that the programs were similar in intent and purpose. The main difference was the studio's "Christian identification." One producer noted, "We identify with Church-related development projects." This does not mean that communication efforts are planned and integrated with ongoing projects, but that the producers see their role as identifying Christian development activities that may not be discussed on government stations.

In a sense, the producers' outlook represents a complete divergence from the intent of the 30/70 formula. Basic to the formula is the understanding that 'Christian' programming has a Christian foundation and is produced

to reach the widest possible audience in the most relevant manner. However, the producers' responses indicate that they see their efforts as being different from those of the government. This is another indication that the theory and practice of the 30/70 formula do not coincide at the Moshi studio. For, in the opinion of the producers, a 'Christian program' is essentially one that has been put together from sources representing 'Christian organizations'.

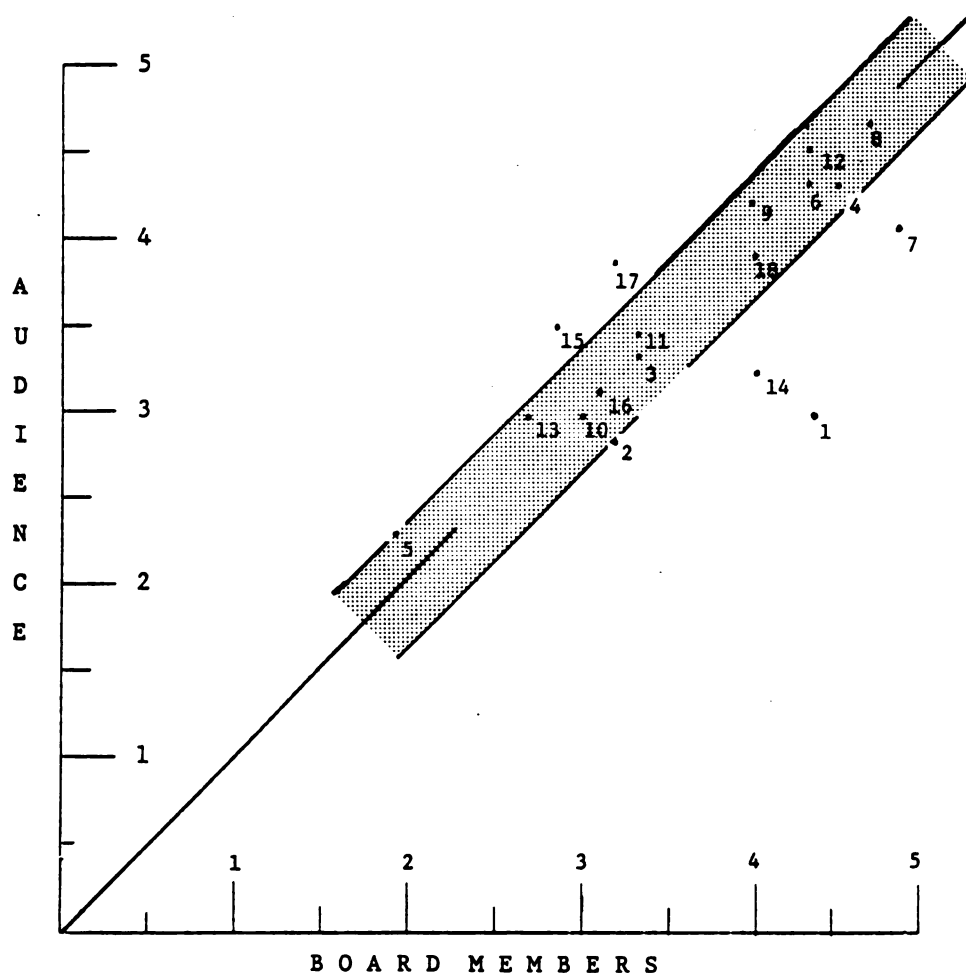
Perceptions of Audience Values

Using a list of Rokeach's Eighteen Terminal Values,* the researcher asked board members, producers, and the studio director at Radio Sauti ya Injili to identify the main values of their audiences. These findings were then compared with audience values identified by representatives of ten-cell leaders. Table 11 indicates the rank order, mean, and standard deviation of audience values as perceived by the members of each group, while Figures 12 to 14 illustrate the areas of congruency between the values identified by those associated with Radio Sauti ya

*Rokeach identified the following main values in daily life: (1) a comfortable life, (2) an exciting life, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (4) a world at peace, (5) a world of beauty, (6) equality, (7) family and clan security, (8) freedom, (9) happiness, (10) inner harmony, (11) mature love, (12) security, (13) pleasure, (14) salvation, (15) self-respect, (16) social recognition, (17) true friendship, (18) wisdom. See Chapter IV for a discussion of Rokeach's work and the methodology used in the study.

Table 11. Rank Order, Mean, and Standard Deviation of Audience Values as Perceived by Audience Members, Producers, Studio Directors, and Board Members in Tanzania.

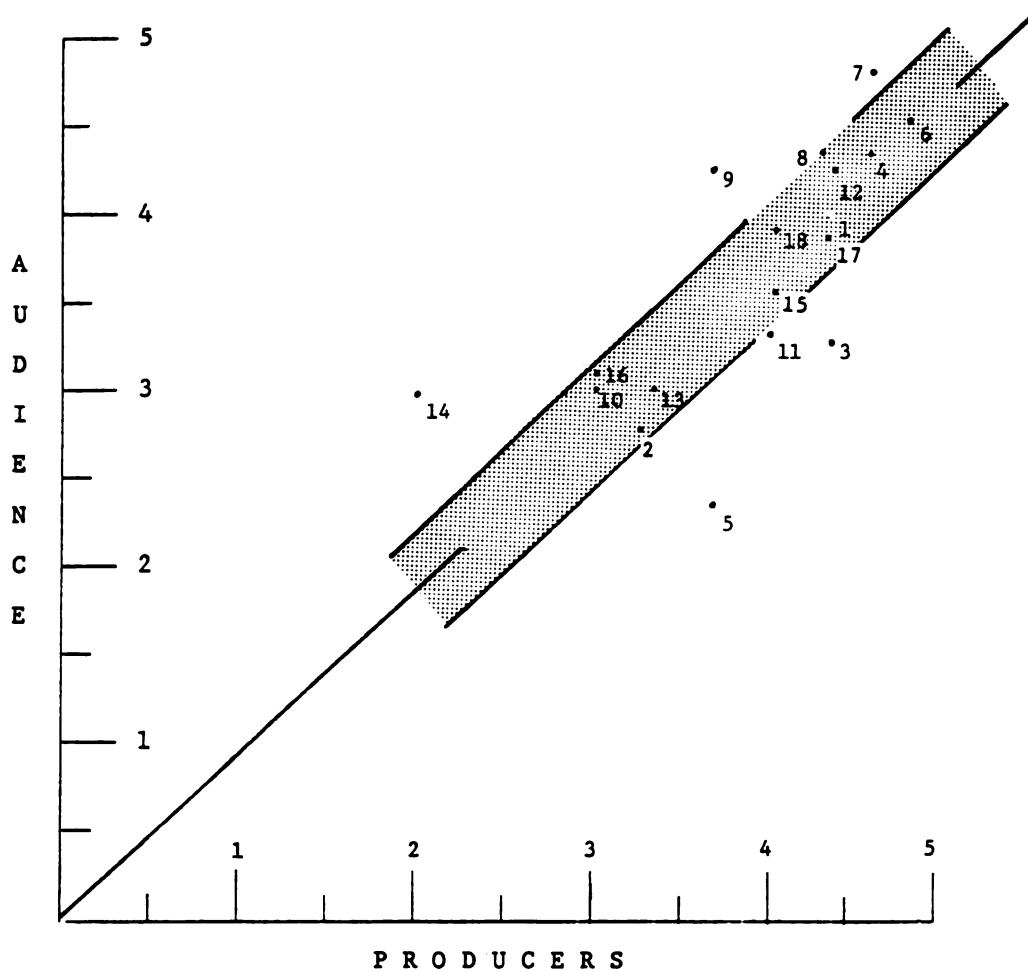
No.	Main Values in Daily Life	Audience (N = 52)			Producers (N = 10)			Board Members (N = 6)			Studio Directors (N = 1)		
		R	\bar{X}	S	R	\bar{X}	S	R	\bar{X}	S	R	\bar{X}	S
1.	A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)	7	4.1	.78	2	4.2	.74	1	4.8	.67	16	2	0
2.	AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)	17	2.7	.70	15	3.2	1.07	11	3.2	.62	4	4	0
3.	A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (a lasting contribution)	11	3.6	.78	8	3.8	1.40	10	3.3	1.16	18	2	0
4.	A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)	2	4.3	.40	3	4.1	1.70	3	4.5	.71	10	3	0
5.	A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and art)	18	2.3	.54	12	3.6	1.28	18	1.8	.77	11	3	0
6.	EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)	5	4.3	.50	1	4.5	1.16	4	4.3	.71	5	4	0
7.	FAMILY AND CLAN SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)	1	4.7	0	7	3.8	1.07	9	3.5	1.1	1	5	0
8.	FREEDOM (independence, free choice)	3	4.3	.34	4	4.1	1.41	2	4.6	1.06	6	4	0
9.	HAPPINESS (contentedness)	6	4.2	.75	14	3.3	1.00	6	4.0	0	12	3	0
10.	INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)	15	3.0	.64	16	3.0	1.00	15	3.0	.57	13	3	0
11.	MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	12	3.3	.70	18	2.6	1.62	12	3.2	.40	7	4	0
12.	SECURITY (protection from attack)	4	4.3	.90	5	4.1	.94	5	4.3	.79	2	5	0
13.	PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	16	3.0	.79	17	2.9	.94	17	2.3	1.10	14	3	0
14.	SALVATION (saved, eternal life)	13	3.2	.94	9	3.7	1.30	7	4.0	.57	17	2	0
15.	SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)	10	3.5	.47	10	3.7	1.00	16	2.8	.81	8	4	0
16.	SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)	14	3.1	.81	13	3.5	.80	13	3.2	.50	15	16	0
17.	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	9	3.8	.73	11	3.7	.90	14	3.2	.74	9	4	0
18.	WISDOM (a mature under- standing of life)	8	3.9	.74	6	4.1	.83	8	4.0	0	3	5	0



Variables

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A comfortable life | 7. Family & clan security | 13. Pleasure |
| 2. An exciting life | 8. Freedom | 14. Salvation |
| 3. A sense of accomplishment | 9. Happiness | 15. Self-respect |
| 4. A world at peace | 10. Inner harmony | 16. Social recognition |
| 5. A world of beauty | 11. Mature love | 17. True friendship |
| 6. Equality | 12. Security | 18. Wisdom |

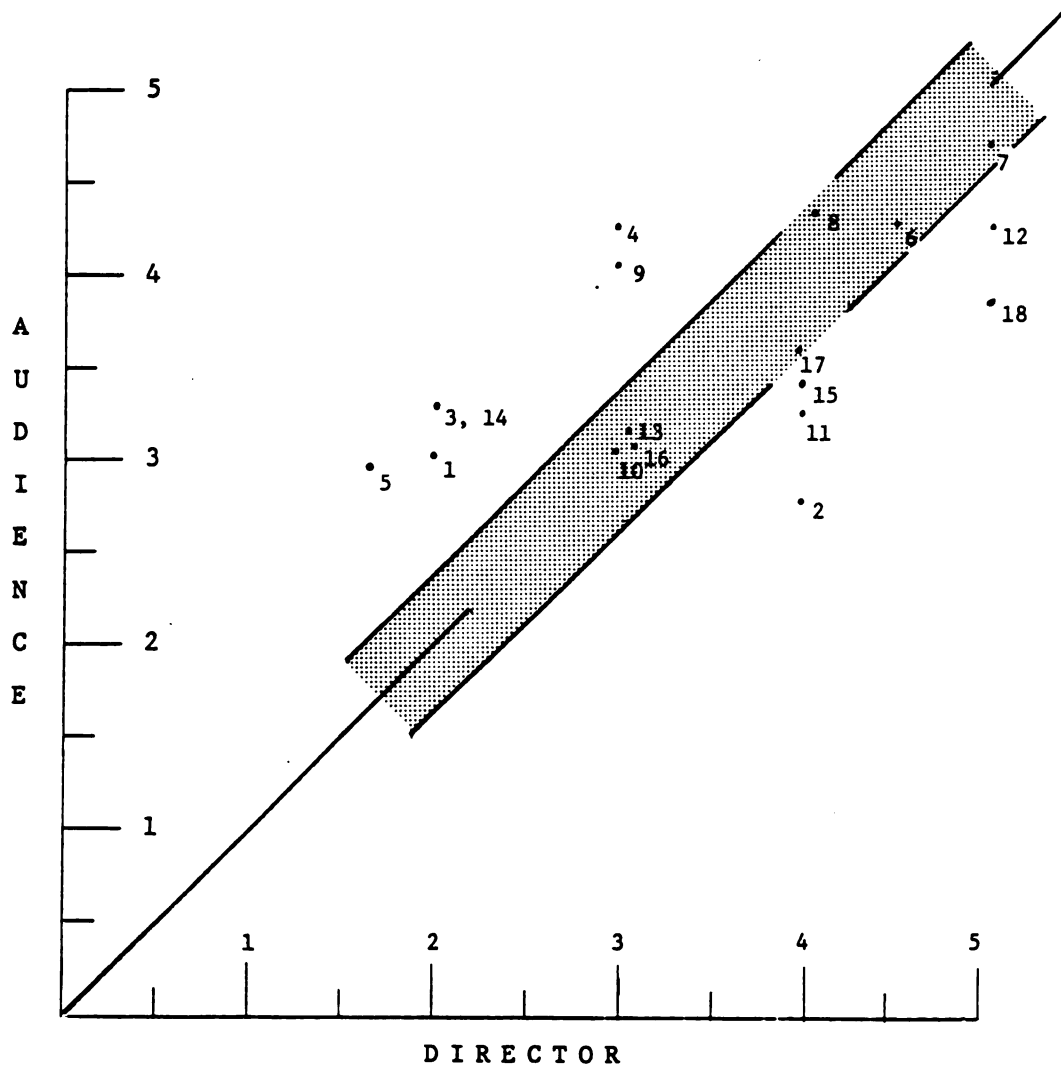
Figure 12. Cartesian Graph Showing the Perceived Mean Value of Variables of Audience Value Perceptions and Board Members' Perceptions of Audience Values in Tanzania.



Variables

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A comfortable life | 7. Family & clan security | 13. Pleasure |
| 2. An exciting life | 8. Freedom | 14. Salvation |
| 3. A sense of accomplishment | 9. Happiness | 15. Self-respect |
| 4. A world at peace | 10. Inner harmony | 16. Social recognition |
| 5. A world of beauty | 11. Mature love | 17. True friendship |
| 6. Equality | 12. Security | 18. Wisdom |

Figure 13. Cartesian Graph Showing Perceived Mean Value of Variables of Audience Value Perceptions and Producers' Perceptions of Audience Values in Tanzania.



Variables

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A comfortable life | 7. Family & clan security | 13. Pleasure |
| 2. An exciting life | 8. Freedom | 14. Salvation |
| 3. A sense of accomplishment | 9. Happiness | 15. Self-respect |
| 4. A world at peace | 10. Inner harmony | 16. Social recognition |
| 5. A world of beauty | 11. Mature love | 17. True friendship |
| 6. Equality | 12. Security | 18. Wisdom |

Figure 14. Cartesian Graph Showing Perceived Mean Value of Variables of Audience Value Perceptions and the Studio Director's Perceptions of Audience Values in Tanzania.

Injili and those identified by representatives of the audience.

As can be seen in Table 11 and Figure 12, the board members' perceptions of audience values and the ten-cell leaders' perceptions of audience values were strongly congruent for the following values: (8) freedom, (12) security, (6) equality, (11) mature love, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (16) social recognition, and (10) inner harmony. Values (4) a world at peace, (9) happiness, (18) wisdom, (2) an exciting life, and (13) pleasure also fall within the area of congruence. Values (1) a comfortable life, (7) family and clan security, (14) salvation, (15) self-respect, and (17) true friendship fall outside the area of congruence. The board members rated (1) a comfortable life, and (14) salvation higher as audience values than did the ten-cell leaders, while the ten-cell leaders gave higher ratings to (17) true friendship, (7) family and clan security, and (15) self-respect than did the board members.

As shown in Figure 13, the producers' perceptions of audience values and the ten-cell leaders' perceptions of audience values were strongly congruent for the following values: (6) equality, (4) a world at peace, and (1) a comfortable life. Values (12) security, (8) freedom, (17) true friendship, (18) wisdom, (15) self-respect, (11) mature love, (13) pleasure, (16) social recognition, (10) inner

harmony, and (2) an exciting life also fall within the area of congruence. Values (7) family and clan security, (9) happiness, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (5) a world of beauty, and (14) salvation fall outside the area of congruence. The producers rated (3) a sense of accomplishment and (5) a world of beauty higher as audience values than did the ten-cell leaders, while the ten-cell leaders gave higher ratings to (7) family and clan security, (9) happiness, and (14) salvation.

As shown in Figure 14, the studio director's perceptions of audience values were strongly congruent with those of the ten-cell leaders for the following values: (7) family and clan security, (6) equality, and (16) social recognition with values (8) freedom, (17) true friendship, (13) pleasure, and (10) inner harmony also falling within the area of congruence. Values (12) security, (18) wisdom, (4) a world at peace, (9) happiness, (15) self-respect, (11) mature love, (14) salvation, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (1) a comfortable life, and (5) a world of beauty fall outside the area of congruence. The studio director rated (12) security, (18) wisdom, (15) self-respect, (11) mature love, and (2) an exciting life higher than the ten-cell leaders, while the ten-cell leaders rated (4) a world at peace, (9) happiness, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (1) a comfortable life, and (5) a world of beauty higher than the studio director.

After looking at the findings regarding the various perceptions of the board members, producers, the director, and the ten-cell leaders, certain generalized conclusions may be reached.

All of the groups gave high ratings (4 to 5 points on a 5 point scale) to (18) wisdom, (12) security, (8) freedom, (6) equality, (4) a world at peace, and (1) a comfortable life as audience values. Values (17) true friendship, (16) social recognition, (13) pleasure, (11) mature love, and (10) inner harmony also represented a common perception of audience values but received slightly lower ratings (3 to 4 points).

The first set of values appears to represent a broad social concept that would be meaningful to the group as a whole, although there are some contradictions when the values are grouped together. For example, although security, freedom, and equality are not necessarily mutually exclusive, freedom may not bring about equality among people and security may not provide a full measure of freedom. In fact, more freedom could mean less equality and more security could mean less freedom.

The second set of values represents those values that are individual or personal values more than group values. Friendship, social recognition, pleasure, mature love, and inner harmony appear to be related to individual rather than group concerns.

It is interesting to note the relative priority assigned to the different values. The good of the group and the larger social context is paramount with individual values placed second. It is difficult to say whether these priorities can be attributed to the influence of African culture, ujamaa, Christianity, or all three. The value of the group and of individual freedom are, for example, baseline values of Christian teaching.

For the most part, the perceptions of those associated with Radio Sauti ya Injili were congruent with those of the ten-cell leaders. The greatest difference in perceptions occurred between the studio director and the ten-cell leaders.

It should be stressed that the statistical figures represented here are too imprecise to be predictive and so should not be used for that purpose. While it may be proven that the figures are inferential, the limited cross-section represented in the study makes it impossible to assume that they are. A much larger sample is needed if the perceptions are to be fully explored and the values that border on the area of congruence are to be more clearly identified. Until more information is available, however, the values may be taken as indicators of what might be happening rather than as conclusive evidence of why and how what is happening came about.

Socio-Economic Influences on the Audience

When asked to identify which categories (Islam, traditional religion, social and economic change, tribal and family tradition, or Christianity) had the most influence on their audience, the Tanzanian board members indicated that social and economic change had the most influence. Christianity and Islam were ranked second and third respectively.

The producers, on the other hand, believed that social and economic change and tribal and family traditions had the most influence on their audience. Christianity, Islam, and traditional religion were ranked second, third, and fourth respectively.

The studio director also identified social and economic change as being influential but believed that traditional religion also had as much influence. Tribal and family traditions, Islam, and Christianity were ranked second, third, and fourth respectively.

Like Christianity, socialism as an ideology tries to relate to some fundamental aspects of the human situation. The main difference is that Christians believe in a Supreme Being. Since most of the Tanzanian elite are either Christians or Moslems whose equality is recognized by ujamaa, it is understandable that social and economic change would be given a priority ranking. Furthermore, in a country where the religious division is clear and

obvious, a third and powerful factor such as ujamaa may be welcomed. The separation of church and state is not clear cut in Tanzania and one would expect that social and economic change would "undoubtedly build on common features of the traditional religion along with elements of Christianity and Islam, without affirming the particularities of any of them" (Booth, 1976). In fact, Islam and Christianity have provided the basis upon which ujamaa is built. In ujamaa, the familyhood of men and women, mutual respect, responsibility towards work, and the spirit of sharing is paramount (Nyerere, 1968).

The producers' emphasis on tribal and family tradition and the studio director's emphasis on traditional religion are interesting to note. Nyerere (1968) has commented that ujamaa is not an ideology that came about as a result of an agrarian or industrial conflict. It is a confirmation, affirmation, and reinstitutionalization of an ancient tribal, family, and social solidarity. Traditional society is cohesive and is marked by a sense of caring for one another. In traditional society, individuals have little value outside their family, their tribe, and their community. Ujamaa provides a socio-political and religious basis for continuing the solidarity of traditional societies and developing the familyhood of men and women. It is this 'unity' in familyhood that was recognized by the producers and the studio director.

It may be natural for the Christian church in Tanzania to discharge many of its social responsibilities within the ujamaa framework. However, it should also be pointed out that the framework which ujamaa provides may cause some difficulties unless the Church is able to direct its social action programs towards exerting a stabilizing influence that is of an adequate spiritual measure and perspective. It is this spiritual dimension which makes the Church's understanding of 'development of the whole person' unique and different from the concept reflected by ujamaa. Given this difference, it may be that the Church should minister in a dialectical sort of oneness with ujamaa on the one side and society on the other.

Programming for Islamic Audiences

Given the multi-cultural nature of Tanzanian society, the staff and board members at Sauti ya Injili were asked what type of program content should be used for a predominantly Islamic audience.

Both the board members and the producers emphasized the importance of orienting programs towards Christian concerns and of not criticizing Islam (see Tables 12 and 13). A statement by one of the respondents aptly summarized the general feeling of the staff and board members:

In Tanzania we are people who live in a political system that recognizes the religions of Islam and Christianity. We are one people. We do not condemn Islam, but we can also

speak about Christian love. We can sing
 Christian songs, we can speak of good
 deeds, and because this comes from
 Christians, Moslems know it and, if they
 like, can join in and ask questions.

The studio director reiterated this theme when he
 noted that the studios should "produce programs of
 instruction that relate to the day-to-day concerns of
 life. No program would be provocative but a simple
 illustration" of Christian life.

The sense of 'oneness' expressed by the staff and
 board members and the studio's highly tolerant expression
 of program policy about Islam may be related to ujamaa.
 An emphasis on 'one nation, one people' is evident in
 the national and political character of Tanzania as a
 whole. God, central to both Christianity and Islam, has
 a prominent place in the state. For example, Tanzania's
 national anthem, "Mangu Ibariki Africa" (God Bless Africa),
 is played daily over the mass media, and a prayer to
 'Almighty God' is said at the beginning of every parlia-
 ment session. Through due respect and recognition of each
 other's religion, Islam and Christianity contribute to
 those ideals and values that are expressed in ujamaa.
 Brotherhood, equality, and tolerance are qualities of both
 Christianity and Islam and are reflected in the secular
 state. Nyerere (1968) has written, "the human equality
 before God, which is the basis of all great religions of
 the world, is also the basis of the political philosophy

Table 12. Tanzanian Board Members' Recommendations
Regarding Programming for Islamic Audiences

Category*	Frequency
We should make no mention of a critical evaluative nature of Islam	7
We can speak about Christian love, good deeds, sing Christian songs	3
We make programs from a clear Christian point of view and must speak about the life of God in Christ	2

*Derived from interviews

Table 13. Tanzanian Producers' Recommendations Regarding
Programming for Islamic Audiences

Category*	Frequency
I produce general programs of what they like	5
Not saying anything that talks about Islam or says anything against it	5
Produce secular programs but show Christian concern such as love, social justice, humanism	3
Talk about the Christian message and do not contradict Islam	1

*Derived from interviews

of socialism" (p. 32).

Given that TANU, the national political party, functions within the framework of Islam, Christianity, and its own ideology, the studio's decreased emphasis on direct proclamation may be understandable.

Program Resources

When asked about the sources used for producing programs, the board members emphasized the importance of the Church's activities as a source of program content. Books, magazines, and other publications were cited equally as frequently (see Table 14).

Table 14. Tanzanian Board Members' Perceptions of Important Program Resources

Category*	Frequency
Pastors, evangelists, doctors, church development agencies, and experts	5
Books, magazines, and other publications	5
Studio directors	1

*Derived from interviews

The board members also indicated that, though development agencies provide a type of program resource, the studio should, as one board member stated, first "go to

those agencies that are related to the Church."

The producers most frequently cited literature and interviews as the main sources of program ideas. They also said that they consulted church groups and individuals who can help (see Table 15).

Table 15. Tanzanian Producers' Perceptions of Important Program Resources

Category*	Frequency
Consult literature (books, magazines, etc.)	10
Interview with people directly concerned with the subjects of the program (e.g., pastors, evangelists, other experts in related fields)	8
Consult church groups and individuals who can help	6

*Derived from interviews

Although one cannot clearly identify any predominant style that has been borrowed from 'Western' broadcasting, it is evident that programs are greatly influenced by 'Western' ideas. Producers heavily depend on transcriptions from foreign radio stations and most of the reference books were prepared outside of Tanzania. The style and content of these materials does not reflect Tanzanian concerns.

There seems to be a dramatic departure in intent and approaches to programming from the RVOG Statement of Purpose and Policy. The mode of program production is consistent with neither the ideology of ujamaa nor the principles of good developmental, educational, or even religious programming. Though the programs created at Moshi may result in creating a climate for interpersonal interaction, at the moment there are no plans to provide for such interaction.

Factors Influencing Program Production

The researcher identified six factors that could have an influence on program production: (1) the need of the audience, (2) the age of the specific sub-audience, (3) the availability of material, (4) the length of the program, (5) the time of day, and (6) the skill of the producer.

When asked which of these factors were taken into consideration in producing specific programs, the board members and producers most frequently mentioned 'availability of material' with the needs of the audience mentioned the second most frequently (see Tables 16 and 17). One producer commented, "Whatever is available and which I think is useful, I use in my program."

Given the board members' views on the importance of offering primarily religious programs, the emphasis on

Table 16. Tanzanian Board Members' Perceptions of Factors Influencing Program Production

Category*	Frequency
Availability of material	5
Needs of the audience	3
Time of day	1
Age of intended audience	1
Length of program	0
Producer's skill	0

*Included in questionnaire

Table 17. Tanzanian Producer's Perceptions of Factors Influencing Program Production

Category*	Frequency
Availability of material	9
Needs of the audience	5
Age of intended audience	5
Length of program	5
Time of day	3
Producer's skill	3

*Included in questionnaire

using 'available materials' for program production raises serious questions about the effectiveness of media programs. If sermons, songs, and spiritual counselling are based solely on the Western-oriented materials that are available to the producers* and if these programs are seen as a direct attack on strongly held attitudes or long-valued customs, they may be self-defeating.

Dalman has commented that the Church is, after all, founded on a "personal approach...I sometimes doubt whether broadcasting has the missionary power that we attribute to it."

The strong influence that the availability of materials has on program content is characteristic of a central problem that faces many development programs in Africa. Too often development communication efforts are, at best, merely public relations programs that reflect what is going on in development work rather than representing an integral aspect of education and development in process. However, working with developmental and educational programming is quite different than working with public relations or entertainment programs.

Development planners and programmers have not fully used communication resources in planning and implementing development efforts. Furthermore, many of those who are involved in the communication field do not have training

* See Chapter III for a list of materials in the studio library.

in development-related areas. Therefore, they must simply rely on available resources for usable information.

It is essential that the Church address the need for better training, a stronger link between programming and development efforts, and adequate program resources that not only take into account current development needs but that also are oriented towards the local context.

Media Formats

It has generally been assumed that radio is one of the most effective tools for development education in Africa, particularly in rural areas where audiences are dispersed. However, careful monitoring usually reveals that all but a tiny portion of the audience quietly turns to another station or turns the set off to save batteries when educational programs are aired (Bogue, 1979, pp. 1-2).

Radio programs are ineffective much of the time due to the approach used in programming. When asked to indicate which forms of communication are culturally relevant and the most effective for their purposes, the producers most frequently cited discussion, debate, and interviews. Drama, songs and music, dialogue, and story telling were also frequently cited (see Table 18). However, the rating of the above formats does not represent the actual production output of the studio. One producer commented, "our programming is mainly straight narration, a sermon, and reading. Some interviews are made also." The

Table 18. Tanzanian Producers' Perceptions of
Culturally Relevant and Effective Media Forms

Category*	Frequency
Discussion, debate, interview	11
Drama	10
Songs and music	8
Dialogue	7
Story telling	6
Straight talk	2

*Included in questionnaire

disparity between the actual forms that are used and the preferred formats identified by the producers is an area of serious concern.

Support Media

The board members were asked about the extent to which radio programs should be integrated with other support media and which media would be the most effective. They unanimously identified cassettes and literature as the most effective support media.

The interest in using cassettes and literature as part of an integrated ministry in the communication efforts of the Church seems natural, realistic, and effective. The LWF has noted that the relationship between the media and the work of the Church is often neglected. They stress,

Communication should not be at the fringes of the work of the churches, or a mere luxury which the Church can ill afford. Ways must be found to integrate the important media work with the programs of the Church at large and vice versa (1972, p. 10).

However, given the strongly individualistic activities of the audio-visual department, the literature department, and the radio studio, it seems as though any truly integrated effort will be far in the future.

Indigenous Communication

When asked to identify the main problem areas that are associated with indigenous forms of communication, the board members primarily expressed concern about the theological implications of using indigenous communication as an accepted mode of formal communication. In the words of one respondent,

Our church is essentially related to 'traditional Western friends' [churches], who may find it unacceptable to introduce traditional forms without affecting theology. Our theological colleges in Africa are 'Western', our 'religion' is deeply Lutheran in theology--and that is not essentially African. So we must first translate that to an African context much more than we have done.

Some board members also indicated that indigenous communication may help to bring about group segregation because it is limited to small groups; others thought that it may not have too great an appeal among the faithful (see Table 19).

Table 19. Tanzanian Board Members' Reactions to
Using Indigenous Communication

Category*	Frequency
The range of theological implications makes it difficult to use them effectively	6
Particular attention has not been given to the topic	4
Being limited to small groups, indigenous communication may have a tendency to help group segregation rather than bringing about unity	4
It may not have too great an appeal among the faithful	3

*Derived from interviews

The producers also believed that gaining the acceptance of church people would be a major problem in using indigenous communication. Eight respondents indicated that indigenous forms are not considered 'Christian'. They also cited time and cost as problems in using indigenous communication. However, a majority believed that indigenous forms were very relevant and that they could be used for effective communication. In contrast to the board members, the producers saw indigenous forms as providing a means of helping to create a unity among their people (see Table 20).

The studio director identified two problem areas and a possibility regarding the use of indigenous communication.

Table 20. Tanzanian Producers' Reactions to Using Indigenous Communication

Category*	Frequency
Indigenous forms will not be accepted easily by the church people	10
Indigenous forms are very relevant and useful and can be used for effective communication	10
Indigenous forms can help to create a unity among our people	9
Indigenous forms require much organization and finance	9
Indigenous forms are not considered 'Christian' in our understanding	8

*Derived from interviews

The first problem area concerned the need to develop indigenous forms of communication to "satisfy a variety of age groups." From an organizational standpoint, such an approach might require structures different from those required by radio. The second problem area concerned the studio's "relationship to the tradition of missionary movements. Our missionary approach is 'Western.'" Despite these conceptual and practical concerns, the studio director saw possibilities for using indigenous communication. He commented that such problems should not "stand in our way...some trials ought to be worth it."

The fear that 'church people' may not accept indigenous forms of communication stands out among the

responses. Katoke (1976) commented that, in evangelical Christianity,

the new convert found himself at variance with the branch of Christianity which was being introduced to him. One can say that most of the early missionaries, because of the kind of training they had, presented Christianity on an ecclesiastical rather than theological basis (p. 111).

In a sense the reaction of the studio personnel reflects the dilemma faced by a church that is caught between two cultures. A central question is whether or not the Church in Africa will be willing to present Christianity in a way that accepts and speaks to Africans within the context of their own culture.

The Church in Tanzania has accepted ujamaa on the basis that there is a natural affinity between Christian ethics and ujamaa ethics (Hastings, pp. 6-10). Nyerere (1964) has written,

as 'familyhood', ujamaa may not 'form' an alliance with the 'brethren' for the extermination of the 'non-brethren' but rather regards all men as members of ever-extending families.

As social thought in Tanzania moves towards recognizing the communal nature and familyhood of its people, the Church has no option but to seriously consider its communication policies as they relate to life in a ujamaa society without abandoning its Christian values and prophetic role in society. The Incarnation of the Church may be best understood when it meets the demands

of adaptation in the cultural context. However, for indigenous forms to be effective and relevant, the Church will have to give new attention to its theological role in addition to its current concentration on discussions about men, women, society, marriage, etc. In this way it can serve the cause of communication and lead the way towards freedom from the constraints imposed by its cultural duality.

Barriers to Communication

Barriers to communication are those facts or processes that halt or impede the effective exchange of symbols among people. Such barriers exist in source and receiver alike.

Personnel at Radio Sauti ya Injili were asked to identify which of the following barriers had the most effect on their work: conceptual barriers, social barriers, cultural barriers, experiential barriers, semantic barriers, credibility barriers, or barriers arising from misunderstanding the media.

The board members identified experiential and credibility barriers as most affecting their work, while cultural, conceptual, and social barriers were the second most frequently cited barriers.

The producers, on the other hand, indicated that cultural barriers had the most impact followed by

experiential barriers. Conceptual and social barriers, misunderstanding the media, and credibility barriers formed the third most frequently cited group.

The studio director did not believe that there were any significant barriers that affected the studio's work, although he did feel that conceptual, social, and experiential barriers might have some effect.

The emphasis on experiential barriers reflects a concern about not knowing the extent of the experience of either the message sender or the receiver. Not knowing of these experiences and not being concerned about them encompasses the second and equally important barrier--the credibility barrier. Cultural, conceptual, and social barriers speak to the knowledge, tradition, skills, and beliefs that are shared by a group of people whose very existence is predicated on the functioning of communication.

Part of the explanation for the importance attached to cultural barriers may stem from the Church's background and historical development. One producer remarked, "Our church is 'evangelical' and its teachings do not encourage, for instance, the practice of the 'medicine man'. Every time, I get a reaction when I speak about it. What can I do?" Thus, the 'missionary church' still retains some of its cultural traits in the churches of Africa. Expression, demonstration, and communication by nationals is caught between the influence of 'Western' traits and

the struggle for self-identity (Fernandez, 1969).

The responses from the producers confirm the Church's cultural identity crisis--an identity crisis which is true of most evangelical churches in Africa. The challenge facing these churches is whether they are willing to communicate Christianity in a manner that is true to the cultural realities in which they serve. If they are not willing to engage in that transformational process, they will find that the young people will not stop bringing their interpretation of how the Christian message is to be understood which is the case in many African churches today.

Little concern was expressed about the semantic barriers to communication. In a country like Tanzania where Kiswahili is not only a 'universal' but a relatively simple language, the distortion in conveying emotions, in evaluation, and in orientation is minimal.

Reasons for Working in Christian Communication

When asked why they were particularly interested in working in Christian communication, producers seemed attracted to working in the religious field because religion is a natural part of their lives. Some also felt that they had an obligation or calling to this special task (see Table 21).

Table 21. Tanzanian Producers' Reasons for Working
in Christian Communication

Category*	Frequency
Religion is part of our people and culture so I feel I can do a good job in working for the Christian religion	10
It is an obligation and a calling I have	9
It is more peaceful and natural for me	8
To promote Christianity	8

*Derived from interviews

Many of the producers appear to feel a sense of naturalness about working with a religious organization.

Mbiti (1970) had a point when he wrote:

In traditional society there are no irreligious people. To be human is to belong to the whole community. A person cannot detach himself from the religion of his group for to do so is to be severed from his roots, his foundation, the entire group of those who make him aware of his own existence...African people do not know how to exist without religion (p. 2).

The producers' emphasis on the religious aspect of their work does not mean, however, that most would hesitate to submit their resignation if they were offered a better position with a higher salary. Experience has shown that well-trained producers tend to leave the studio when better opportunities arise elsewhere.

Evaluation, Follow-Up, and Contact with the Audience

The question of how radio programs can effectively achieve their educational and social developmental goals has been a central one throughout this discussion. Radio programming, in spite of the most careful planning, script writing, and production, can be received with great indifference by the audience. Producers were asked if any of the educational programs were assessed to determine if any learning had taken place and whether follow-up activities such as literature, group meetings, forums, etc., were provided after programs had been aired.

None of the producers indicated that any type of educational assessment was conducted to evaluate the impact of programs. Literature was selected by all of the producers as the principal means of follow-up, although some producers indicated that visits were also a possibility. None of the producers mentioned any other type of feedback.

When asked about the points at which they were in contact with their audience (before program production, during program production, or when audience feedback is received), eight of the ten producers answered that contact is first established at the time of audience feedback. Two producers answered that they were in contact with the audience during program production. None of the producers indicated that they had any contact with

the audience prior to program production. The studio director also stated that contact with the audience occurs at the time of feedback.

Feedback to programs primarily occurs through letters from the audience followed by personal contacts and occasional surveys. According to the 1981 Director's Report, 26,433 letters were received in 1980. These letters have not been analyzed to determine a breakdown of their content or the context in which they were sent. Nor is there an indication of what is meant by a 'letter'.

In the absence of any official analysis of audience feedback, producers were asked what type of program received the most feedback. Four producers believed that religious programs received the most feedback, three producers believed that development programs received the most feedback, and three producers maintained that one cannot speak of such a breakdown "until a full study is done." The absence of an Audience Relations office and the increasing additions to the director's responsibilities may keep the question unanswered.

The lack of follow-up efforts and the tendency to use audience feedback as the principal means of contact with the audience raise serious questions that the studio needs to consider. It is evident that, even though the RVOG Statement of Purpose and Policy clearly calls for follow-up efforts and contact with listeners, the policy

has not found expression at the local level. The lack of evaluation efforts is also an area of concern. Programs that have small audiences or audiences with low interest levels are wasted opportunities in both time and money.

One must particularly question the use of radio in development communication when no contact with the audience occurs until listeners take the initiative to respond. And, although direct proclamation has a place in communication as a whole, programs may simply provide more of a spiritual uplift for those who already are part of the Church. If this is the case, it is pertinent to ask whether this is the best use of the medium. If the Church's greatest need for radio is to nurture the Christian community and maintain a sense of communion, one must seriously question the 30/70 formula. If, however, development is seen as having a place within the Church's mandate, more evaluation and follow-up efforts are needed. Even such simple steps as small-scale, sample taking before and after programs are broadcast would be a step towards assuring that programs become more effective.

Experiences in 'Successful' and 'Unsuccessful' Programming

Producers were asked to choose particular programs and identify the characteristics that made them 'successful' or 'unsuccessful'. Their impressions, which are based on their own experiences and audience feedback, are

listed below:

A program was 'successful' because

- It helped a mother who had a newborn baby.
- It helped the mother because it told about health.
- It talked about treating diarrhea in the babies.
- It talked about and helped in how to prevent disease from spreading.
- It talked about the treatment of injuries.
- The chickens are now many and their health is good.
- The drama about the kind husband was good.
- The songs had cultural meaning.
- The clean water program helped them to understand in what way boiling water would help.

A program was 'unsuccessful' because

- It told a story that the tribal group did not like.
- It told about medicines but it did not tell them where they can find them.
- Too much reading and preaching.
- It talked too much and did not show by acting.
- The vaccination was good but it was too far for me to go so how did you help me?
- Instead of telling about medical help we want to get some help.
- Bilharzia program was very long and the person who was interviewed used words which the listeners did not understand.
- The pastor spoke to himself. I did not understand any of his theological words.

These impressions are indicative of the ongoing reactions on the part of the millions who may be reached

more effectively if there is more sensitivity on the part of the planner. For programs to be successful, the audience must understand, accept, and be able to properly use the information communicated.

Muryar Bishara Communication Centre

Development of the Whole Man

When asked to indicate which general category best described the concept 'development of the whole man', the Nigerian board members mentioned 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion' four times; 'spiritual growth' three times; and 'national economic development' two times (see Table 22).

Table 22. Categories Identified by Nigerian Board Members as Best Describing the Concept 'Development of the Whole Man'

Category*	Frequency
Social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion	4
Spiritual growth	3
National economic development	2
Receiving aid from abroad	0
Other	0

*Included on questionnaire

The producers mentioned 'national economic development' five times, while 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion' and 'spiritual growth' were each mentioned four times (see Table 23).

Table 23. Categories Identified by Nigerian Producers as Best Describing the Concept 'Development of the Whole Man'

Category*	Frequency
National economic development	5
Social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion	4
Spiritual growth	4
Receiving aid from abroad	0
Other	0

*Included in questionnaire

Two of the studio directors selected 'social justice, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of religion' as best describing the concept, while one selected 'spiritual growth'.

Three themes emerged in the board members' responses: (1) the view that "we" (the board members) are developers and "they" (the audience) need developing. "We need to develop people's awareness of their rights and privileges to equal sharing." (2) the recognition that an individual is an "already developed being, and one who may renew his life

everyday by knowing himself, by understanding himself spiritually, socially, politically--this is not done by economic development alone." Another board member commented,

The whole man in the African context is a developed being, but one how must look of himself within his experience and felt needs--to renew himself, to understand himself in relation to his surroundings. This, against the idea of receiving economic help, is what development of man may be.

(3) the need for spiritual development. "Man must be matured and satisfied in his spiritual need."

Unlike the board members, the producers and the studio directors saw 'development of the whole man' as having essentially to do with economic well-being. The contrast in views may be because the producers and directors are close to the daily economic realities of their audience's situation. As one producer noted, "for us, development must be seen in a tangible result."

Aim and Goal of Development

The Nigerian board members most frequently mentioned education-related themes as representing the aim and goal of development (see Table 25). Thus, 'to be fully educated' (beyond the '0' level) was mentioned five times, while 'to make man be aware' or 'to teach him' was mentioned four times, 'to enable man to know himself' and 'to help him know his environment' were mentioned three times, and

'to help him reflect on his situation' was mentioned two times. One board member indicated that the aim and goal of development should be 'to improve his socio-cultural, political, and his spiritual needs'. Two board members thought that the aim and goal of development should be 'to share national wealth equally' (see Table 24).

Table 24. Nigerian Board Members' Perceptions of the Aim and Goal of Development

Category*	Frequency
To be fully educated (beyond the '0' level)	5
To make man 'be aware' or to teach him	4
To enable man to know himself	3
To help him know his environment	3
To help him to reflect upon his situation	2
To share national wealth equally	2
To improve his socio-cultural, political, and spiritual needs	1

*Derived from interviews

The producers also emphasized the importance of education, although almost as many producers mentioned 'free from dependence on others' as mentioned education (see Table 25).

The studio directors saw the aim and goal of development as helping persons to raise their standards of living through (1) education (to the highest possible level), (2) raising

the consciousness of one's right to freedom, justice, and access to all public services, and (3) being independent from foreign help.

Table 25. Nigerian Producers' Perceptions of the Aim and Goal of Development

Category*	Frequency
To make people free within themselves through good education and modern living	12
Free from dependence on others (foreign)	11
To meet the needs of health and environment	9

*Derived from interviews

Significantly, all of the respondents attached great importance to education, particularly to completing the '0' level of formal education (the equivalent of high school). Education is, in the Nigerian sense, formal education. One should attain the highest possible and available formal education. If this is not possible, 'out-of-school' or 'adult education' should be one's aim. One producer commented, "Development is, for me, education, and education is the key to a better living.

The responses to the question on the aim and goal of development again reflected the board members' emphasis on "we" as doers directing others towards "their" development. Thus, as one board member noted, "we should make

him aware or enable him to use and practice in his own environment--make him know himself--help them to grow in their knowledge--teach people how to live better."

Incorporating Development Goals into Programming

The Nigerian board members suggested that development goals could be incorporated into programming by (1) teaching people to help themselves, (2) making people aware of their relation to God and to one another, (3) offering educational topics, (4) helping people to see themselves, and (5) showing the audience what others have done.

All of the producers placed a heavy emphasis on educational programming as an important means of achieving development goals. Though formal education was not mentioned as a function, the producers stressed the need for rigorous educational programming, thus implying formal education.

The directors suggested that development goals could be incorporated into programming by (1) a strong emphasis on educational programs, (2) a strong emphasis on the need for people to know their rights as citizens, (3) a strong emphasis on the possibility of overcoming problems without foreign assistance, and (4) developing clear religious programs and not mixing them with development programming.

The need for educational intervention as a means of achieving development goals was stressed by all respondents. This intervention is to be achieved primarily through external facilitation: "We must make people be aware about their relation to one another, to the creator... to educate people how they can improve their lives and how they can live in harmony." At the same, programming is to avoid "outside" help. As one respondent commented, "the programs must be used to help man help himself. This help comes from the people themselves, we need not ask for outside help to teach our people to see themselves." Thus, on the one hand, program planners and producers are to assume responsibility for acting at every stage in the educational/communication experience. They are to be involved in decision-making, planning, developing, executing, and administering the communication experience that will help the others to become developed. On the other hand, such experiences are to teach people how to help themselves and avoid relying on "outside" help.

Types of Programs

When asked about the types of programs actually produced at Muryar Bishara, the board members indicated that programs were (1) educational and religious, (2) developmental, (3) cultural, and (4) political in that order. The producers also selected educational and

religious as the terms that best described the types of programs offered at Muryar Bishara. Cultural and political programs were rated the lowest.

Thus, in the view of the majority of board members and the producers, programming is primarily educational and religious. One board member expressed it this way:

It is not quite time yet to answer this question from the Church's position. The studio was established to begin with by the 'good' intentions of the missionaries. It was 'introduced' to the local people and we are doing our best to adjust to its demands. We are therefore feeling our way to determine what its role should be. Right now we feel it should do the job of evangelism and education... the Church likes to think that we have an educational setup, but we say so as long as we have the operation in the hands of a competent Nigerian (which is not often the case) or in the hands of an expatriate who runs it smoothly as he thinks it should be.

Another board member reported, "direct proclamation in a positive way should be our first objective." Religion in Nigeria is a free and private act of the individual and Islam is aggressively prominent, thus the Church wants to put the commitment to proclamation as its first mandate. Given the emphasis on religious programming, it appears that the board members would interpret the 30/70 formula almost in reverse.

Meaning of Christian Programming

The board members most frequently mentioned that 'Christian programs', were those which (1) presented

Christian views and concerns from a Christian point of view, (2) are made by Christians, and (3) talk about Christ (see Table 26).

Table 26. Nigerian Board Members' Perceptions of the Meaning of 'Christian Programming'

Category*	Frequency
A program which presents views and concerns from a Christian point of view	4
A program made by a Christian person	3
A program which talks about Christ	1
A program for a Christian audience	1
A program produced by a Christian and that relates that fact	1
A program which talks about Christian activities	1

*Derived from interviews

The producers indicated that 'Christian programs' were those which talked about the relationships between God and man, Christ and man, man and man, and salvation. They also mentioned programs about godly, good Christian living that are produced by a Christian person (see Table 27).

The above responses call for a sense of creativity and willingness to experiment that is of a deeper level than what is reflected here. For the mass media's greatest possibility for effectiveness is in reaching the

Table 27. Nigerian Producers' Perceptions of the Meaning of 'Christian Programming'

Category*	Frequency
A program about the relationships between God and man, Christ and man, man and man, and Salvation	8
A program about Godly, good Christian living (no drinking, no gambling, one wife, etc.) that is produced by a Christian person	8

*Derived from interviews

listener. The possibility of being understood depends not so much on our understanding of the problem or on our ability to indoctrinate someone but on what is in the listeners' mind. This is particularly true when what is in the listeners mind is essentially a matter of cultural involvement. In a Moslem dominated society, religious concepts are also cultural in their context and are expressed in cultural terms. Thus, if Muryar Bishara is to "proclaim the Gospel to the widest possible audience," it may be best to meet the challenge from within the Moslem cultural context. The challenge posed here is to discover what types of direct proclamation and creative work that are not explicitly Christian may be offered. For, in the world of Islam, reaching listeners is more of a cultural than a religious matter. However, the intertwining of

religion and culture in Islam poses a serious question for Christian communicators: Are the issues with which Christian communication deals (even so-called religious issues) primarily cultural and secondarily religious or vice versa?

Reactions to the 30/70 Formula

The Nigerian board members' reactions to the 30/70 formula varied considerably. Three board members felt that it was more important to have 100 percent good religious programs and 100 percent good development programs than to have a fixed formula, two felt that the decision should be made by the studio director, and two felt that the formula should be reversed (70 percent religion). Only two board members indicated that the formula should be kept as it is (see Table 28).

Table 28. Nigerian Board Members' Reactions to the 30/70 Formula

Category*	Frequency
There should be 100 percent good religious and 100 percent good development programs	3
It should be left to the studio director to decide	2
It should be kept as it is	2
It should be reversed (70 percent religious)	2

*Derived from interviews

The producers had similar comments although none of the producers suggested that "it should be left to the studio director to decide" (see Table 29).

Table 29. Nigerian Producers' Reactions to the 30/70 Formula

Category*	Frequency
Productions should be more religious, up to 70 percent if we are to be effective at all	5
A program should be 100 percent religious and 100 percent developmental	5
The present balance should be maintained	2

*Derived from interviews

The studio directors also had mixed reactions to the 30/70 formula. Among their comments:

Any program should be conceived on the basis of what it should aim to accomplish and not necessarily be bound by the 30/70 formula.

A percentile calculation in a program conception is not consistent with our way of thinking. We cannot think of a person in a 30/70 dichotomy. A person is a whole.

We should 'preach less' Christianity and live more of it, particularly in a culture like ours.

The above rather pointed expressions of the studio directors provide a new perspective on planning in communication at the local level. The Murayar Bishara constitution (1970) requires that programming follow the 30/70 formula

and interpreting the meaning of the formula has been a constant duty of the studio directors. Dick Mbodwam, the director at the time of the study, commented:

We start with an understanding of a 100 percent program conception. Then we ask, "How much of that 100 percent do we want to give to religious programs?" Then, based on the constitution and the LWF objectives, we make a clear cut separation of direct evangelism programs. With what is left, we try to do good neutral programs but from a Christian point of view. Our intention is not to drag a person by force. We should be identified by what we do and not by how we attract a person deliberately to our way of thinking.

The comments on the 30/70 formula indicate that there is an urgent need for a discussion of what an appropriate 'balance' or policy regarding programming should be and who should determine that policy. Despite the diversity of the comments, three themes emerged: (1) the need for a local identification of purpose and intent; (2) the need for 100 percent good programming, whether developmental or religious; and, (3) communication occurs not only through proclaiming an idea, but through living it as well.

Comparison with Government Programs

When asked about the ways in which the content of Murayar Bishara programs was similar or different to the content of government programs, the producers indicated that there were substantial differences. Although they used the same language and developmental and cultural

materials and addressed the same audience, the stations clearly emphasized different areas in their programming. The producers' comments are listed in Table 30.

Table 30. Nigerian Producers' Perceptions of the Similarities and Differences between Government and Muryar Bishara Programming

Similarities*	Differences*
-Use same language	-Strong emphasis on religious/spiritual outlook
-Have same audience, use same developmental and cultural materials	-We do not entertain
	-No political programs
	-What we can say about our country and politics is very limited
	-We include follow-up in programming
	-We have aid from missions for our programs, government is largely independent

*Derived from interviews

One of the significant differences perceived by the producers was that Muryar Bishara programs are limited in what they can say about situations in their country. It is also important to note that the realm of outreach is narrowly restricted to areas that are 'religious' and 'educational'. Civic involvement and social action seem to have no place in the producers' perceptions of Christian communication.

Perceptions of Audience Values

The board members, producers, and studio directors at Murayar Bishara were asked to identify the main values of their audiences based on Rokeach's Eighteen Terminal Values.* These ratings were then compared with the ratings of 20 village chiefs who were selected as representatives of the audience in Nigeria. Table 31 indicates the rank order, mean, and standard deviation of audience values as perceived by the board members, producers, studio directors, and village chiefs, while Figures 15, 16, and 17 illustrate the areas of congruency between the values identified by those associated with Murayar Bishara and those identified by the village chiefs.

As can be seen in Table 31 and Figure 15, the board members' perceptions of audience values and the village chiefs' perceptions of audience values were strongly congruent for only three values: (7) family and clan security, (6) equality, and (5) a world of beauty. Values (4) a world at peace, (15) self-respect, and (8) freedom also fall within the area of congruence. Values (17) true friendship, (18) wisdom, (9) happiness, (1) a comfortable life, (14) salvation, (10) inner harmony, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (2) an exciting life, (16) social

*See the section on "Perceptions of Audience Values" for Radio Sauti ya Injili and Chapter IV for a discussion of Rokeach's work and the methodology used in the study.

Table 31. Rank Order, Mean, and Standard Deviation of Audience Values as Perceived by Audience Members, Producers, Studio Directors, and Board Members in Nigeria.

No.	Main Values in Daily Life	Audience (N = 20)			Producers (N = 12)			Board Members (N = 5)			Studio Directors (N = 3)		
		R	\bar{X}	S	R	\bar{X}	S	R	\bar{X}	S	R	\bar{X}	S
1.	A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)	9	3.7	.70	2	4.8	.78	7	4.6	.91	6	4.3	.71
2.	AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)	17	2.7	.17	11	3.8	.94	10	4.0	.63	14	3.3	.66
3.	A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (a lasting contribution)	15	3.0	.70	4	4.1	.92	3	4.8	.90	11	3.6	.71
4.	A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)	3	4.2	.40	12	3.75	.83	11	3.8	.97	2	4.6	.91
5.	A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and art)	16	3.0	.70	18	2.8	.99	14	3.2	.90	18	2.3	.55
6.	EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)	5	4.1	.70	14	3.5	.50	9	4.2	.90	3	4.3	.24
7.	FAMILY AND CLAN SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)	1	4.7	.95	1	4.9	.38	1	5	0	4	4.3	.24
8.	FREEDOM (independence, free choice)	13	3.5	.59	7	4.08	.51	15	3.2	.90	15	3.3	.66
9.	HAPPINESS (contentedness)	6	4.2	.40	3	4.7	.59	2	5	0	1	5	0
10.	INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)	12	3.5	.59	15	3.5	.50	8	4.4	.80	17	3.0	0
11.	MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	10	3.6	.91	16	3.1	.91	18	2.8	.40	7	4.0	0
12.	SECURITY (protection from attack)	2	4.3	.65	10	3.8	.94	12	3.6	.98	13	3.6	.83
13.	PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	18	2.6	.91	5	4.16	.92	13	3.6	.98	5	4.3	.84
14.	SALVATION (saved, eternal life)	7	3.8	.40	13	3.58	1.12	6	4.6	.48	16	3.0	.81
15.	SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)	11	3.6	.91	9	3.8	.94	16	3.2	.40	8	4.0	0
16.	SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)	14	3.1	.80	6	4.08	.51	17	3.2	.50	9	4.0	.81
17.	TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	4	4.1	.70	8	3.91	.79	4	4.8	.40	10	4.0	0
18.	WISDOM (a mature under- standing of life)	8	3.8	.40	17	3.0	.81	5	4.6	.49	12	3.6	.83

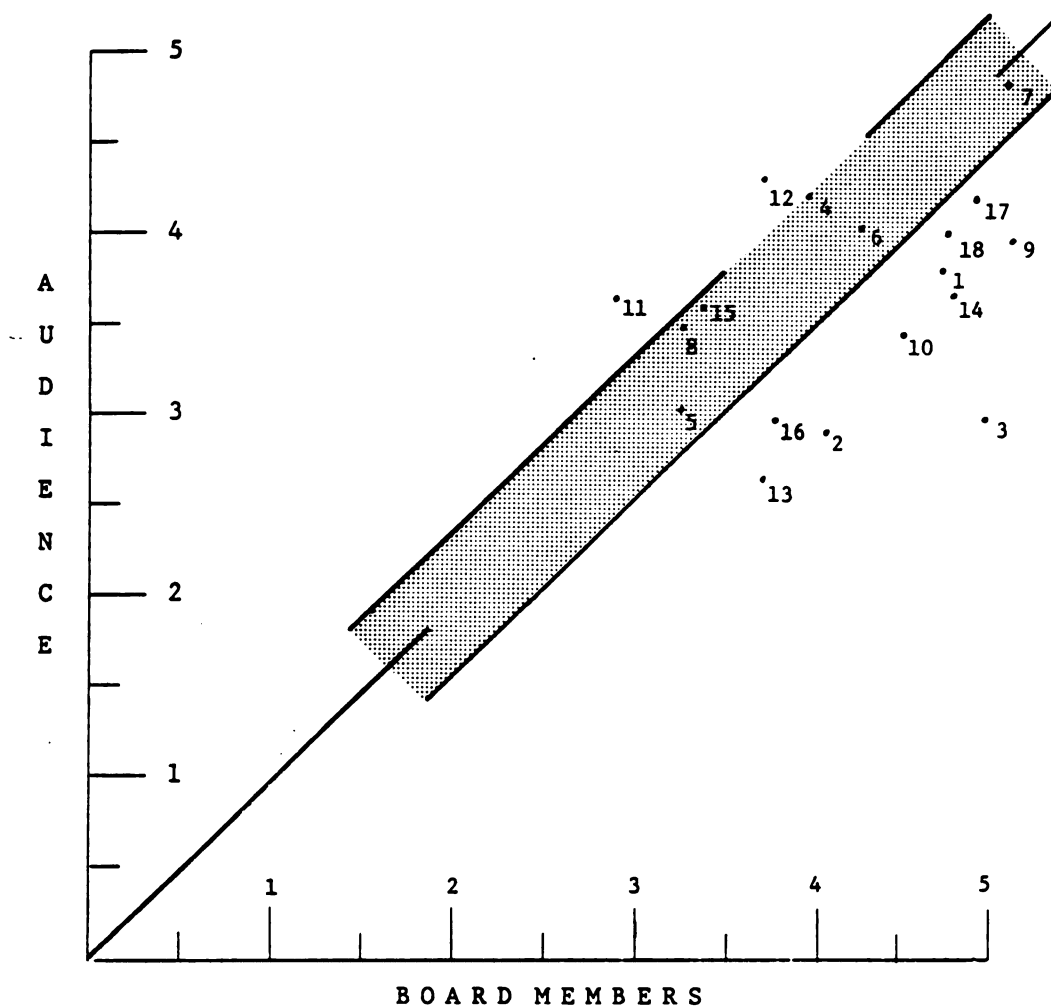
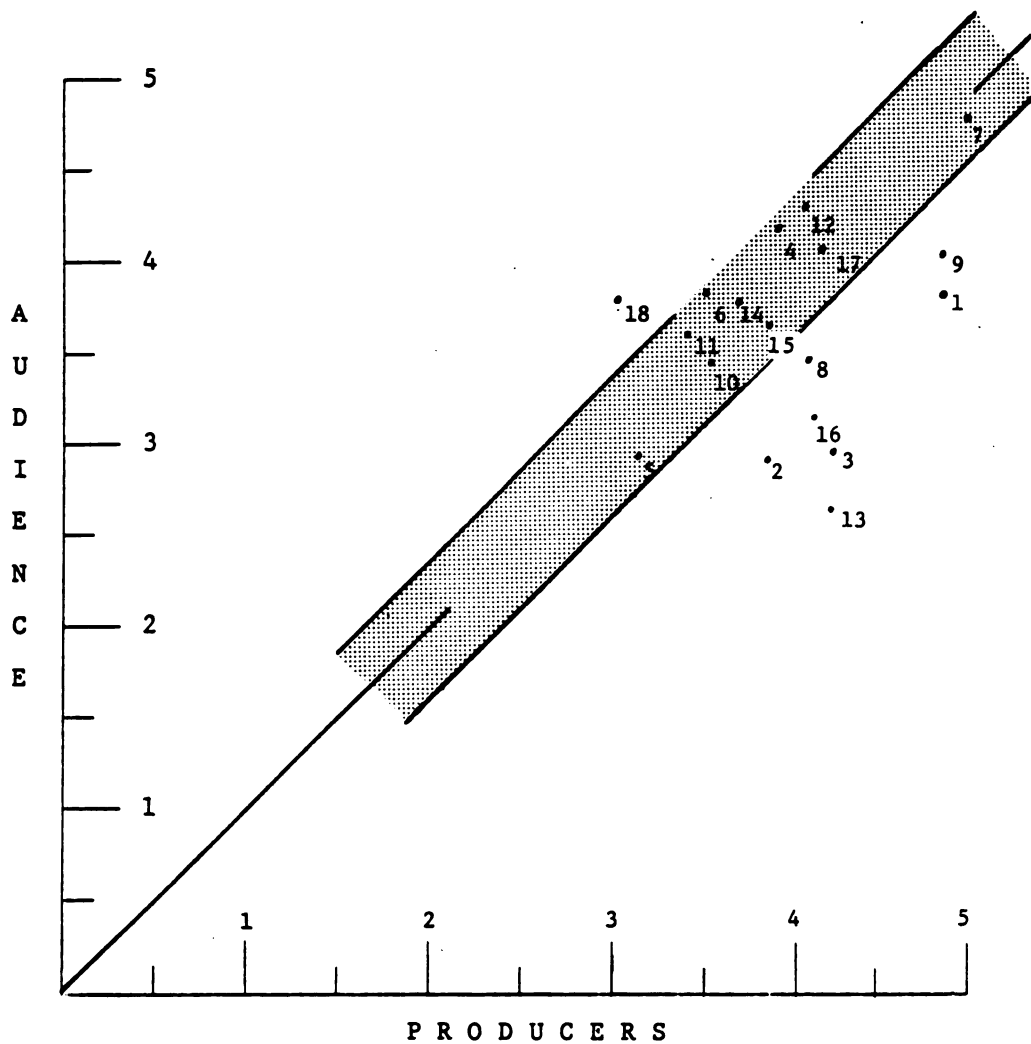


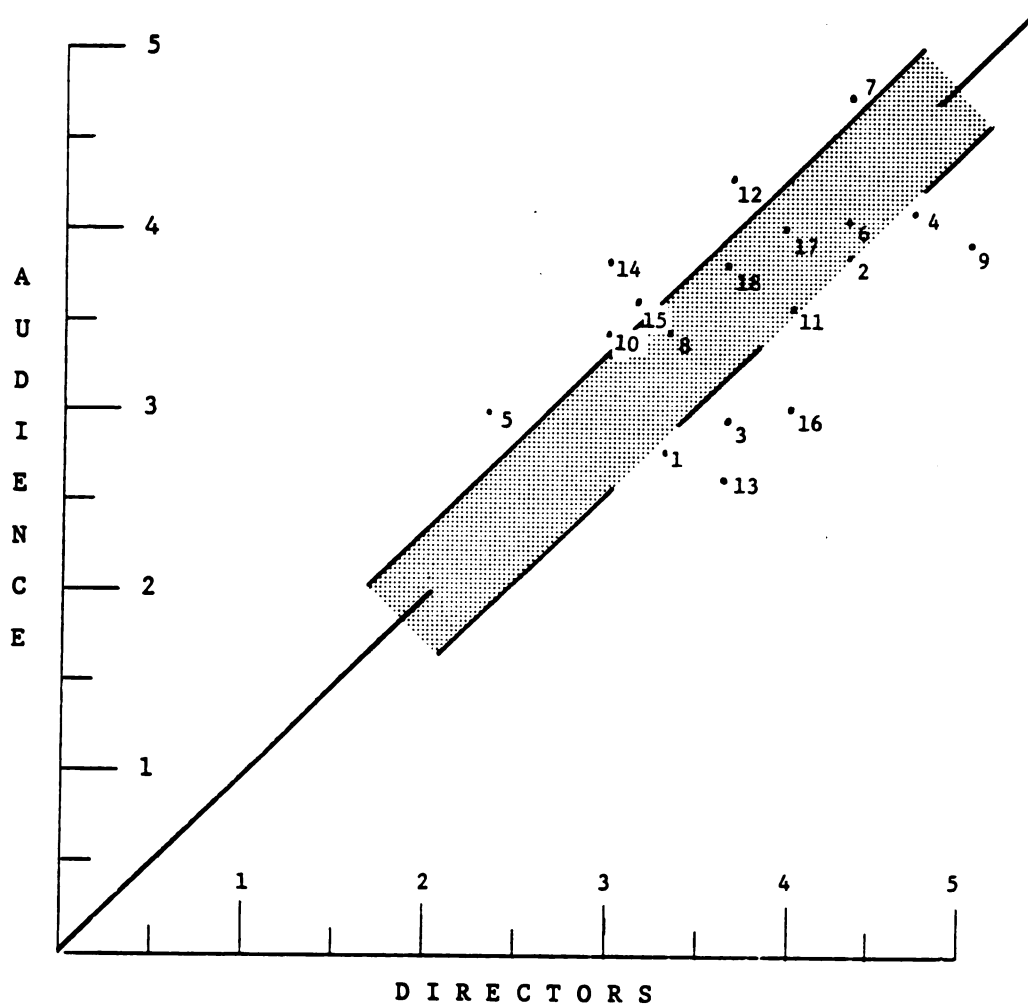
Figure 15. Cartesian Graph Showing Perceived Mean Value of Variables of Audience Value Perceptions and Board Members' Perceptions of Audience Values in Nigeria.



Variables

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A comfortable life | 7. Family & clan security | 13. Pleasure |
| 2. An exciting life | 8. Freedom | 14. Salvation |
| 3. A sense of accomplishment | 9. Happiness | 15. Self-respect |
| 4. A world at peace | 10. Inner harmony | 16. Social recognition |
| 5. A world of beauty | 11. Mature love | 17. True friendship |
| 6. Equality | 12. Security | 18. Wisdom |

Figure 16. Cartesian Graph Showing Perceived Mean Value of Variables of Audience Value Perceptions and Producers' Perceptions of Audience Values in Nigeria.



Variables

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. A comfortable life | 7. Family & clan security | 13. Pleasure |
| 2. An exciting life | 8. Freedom | 14. Salvation |
| 3. A sense of accomplishment | 9. Happiness | 15. Self-respect |
| 4. A world at peace | 10. Inner harmony | 16. Social recognition |
| 5. A world of beauty | 11. Mature love | 17. True friendship |
| 6. Equality | 12. Security | 18. Wisdom |

Figure 17. Cartesian Graph Showing Perceived Mean Value of Variables of Audience Value Perceptions and the Studio Directors' Perceptions of Audience Values in Tanzania.

recognition, and (13) pleasure fall outside the area of congruence and were rated higher by the board members than by the village chiefs. Values (12) security and (11) mature love also fall outside the area of congruence, but these were rated higher by the village chiefs than by the board members.

As shown in Figure 16, the producers' and the village chiefs' perceptions of audience values were in congruence for more values than were the perceptions of the board members and the village chiefs. The producers' and the chiefs' perceptions were congruent for values (7) family and clan security, (12) security, (17) true friendship, (4) a world at peace, (14) salvation, (15) self-respect, (6) equality, (11) mature love, (10) inner harmony, and (5) a world of beauty. Values (9) happiness, (1) a comfortable life, (8) freedom, (16) social recognition, (3) a sense of accomplishment, (2) an exciting life, and (13) pleasure fall outside the area of congruence and were rated higher by the producers than by the village chiefs. Value (18) wisdom also falls outside the area of congruence, however the village chiefs gave this a higher rating than did the producers.

As can be seen in Figure 17, the studio directors' and the village chiefs' perceptions of audience values were congruent for only four values: (6) equality, (17) true friendship, (18) wisdom, and (8) freedom. Values

(2) an exciting life, (11) mature love, and (1) a comfortable life are on the borderline of the area of congruency, while values (4) a world at peace, (9) happiness, (16) social recognition, (3) a sense of accomplishment, and (13) pleasure received higher ratings from the studio directors than from the village chiefs. Values (7) family and clan security, (12) security, (14) salvation, (15) self-respect, (10) inner harmony, and (5) a world of beauty also fall outside the area of congruency; these values received higher ratings by the village chiefs than by the directors.

The dominant values of the audience in Nigeria can be divided into two main groups: those which received a rating of 4 or more points (on a 5 point scale) by all groups, and those which received a rating of 3 to 5 points. Looking at the values that were rated 4 or higher by all groups, a number of values stand just barely outside the area of congruence. Values (17) true friendship, (7) family and clan security, (6) equality, and (4) a world of peace received a high rating from all of the groups. The priority given to these values reflects the emphasis on individual values in Nigeria (the opposite of what was observed in Tanzania). These values can be extended to the group as a whole; however, they are primarily individual centered. Fewer values received a high rating in Nigeria than in Tanzania.

Of particular interest is the high rating assigned

to family and clan security. Although this is a value that extends beyond the realm of the individual, it is nevertheless a value that essentially signifies the comfort of the individual. This value is central to a basic understanding of society, for comfort is seen as blessings experienced through the number of cattle and households, health, and the security of the clan. These blessings are seen as reflections of God's will in the person's life and so the concept of comfort has a spiritual as well as secular dimension. Comfort without spiritual significance does not mean much in the family and clan security of the Hausa and Fulani ethos (Smith, 1965). In Islam and traditional African religion, the secured family life is composed of wealth, health, and familyhood understood within a religious frame (Martensen, 1974). Security of the family and clan is perceived as fundamental to the functioning of society and ultimate security is in God. Islamic society sees peace, happiness, the wholeness of life, and true friendship as a totality that is under God. This view is consistent with traditional African society. One's happiness and a comfortable life are measured by the 'blessings' of God (i.e., the number of children and cattle, the extended family). The blessings of human experience (individual and public) are all in God's supreme and powerful hands (Adegbola, 1974). Thus, the life issues that one deals with in this social context,

even the religious issues, are primarily family and clan-oriented and cultural. They are secondarily religious.

The Christian tradition, on the other hand, separates religion and the public life. In Christianity, the term 'comfort' relates mostly to secular 'worldly' gains attained mainly through hard work or other 'worldly' means. In the Christian tradition, there is a "surrendering of politics, economics and law to the selfish will of man, withdrawn from the authority of God" (Kritzinger, 1981).

Though all of the groups recognized the importance of family and clan security as an audience value, the totality of life perception that is reflected in this concept can pose problems in designing learning programs, particularly those that focus on religion. In programming, there is a tendency to place into a religious category many things that could be separated insofar as religion and culture are concerned. In Islamic and traditional society, however, everything that is religious is also cultural because religious concepts are understood within a cultural context. Thus, when one talks about Christian religious matters, one is talking about 'cultural conversion'. In spite of this, the communicator's understanding of religious concepts is usually outside the frame of reference of the cultural context.

It is important that Christian communication recognize and develop an appreciation for the traditional values and

norms brought to focus in the high rating given to family and clan security. Christianity must not operate in a way that requires the abandonment of all of the cultural norms of African society, but rather should build upon the unique heritage of that society.

Of the values that received ratings of between 3 to 5 points, only two values (15) self-respect and (8) freedom stand out (as compared with five in Tanzania). Again, these two values are more 'individualistic' than those identified in Tanzania. If one compares only the number of items selected, 10 items received 3 to 5 points in Tanzania, while 6 items received 3 to 5 points in Nigeria. It appears that the groups in Nigeria represent more of a dispersed ideology than do those in Tanzania.

As none of the values in the area of congruence received less than a rating of 3 points, it appears that all of the 18 values outlined by Rokeach are perceived highly by all the groups in Nigeria. However, as noted in the Tanzania section, the value ratings should be used to reflect on what is happening throughout communication rather than seen as being conclusive and inferential.

Socio-Economic Influences on the Audience

When asked to identify which categories (Islam, traditional religion, social and economic change, tribal and family tradition, or Christianity) had the most

influence on their audience, the Nigerian board members most frequently cited Islam as having the greatest influence, while tribal and family traditions, socio-economic change, Christianity, and political factors were ranked second, third, fourth, and fifth respectively. Islam was also cited the most frequently by the producers although almost as many producers cited tribal and family traditions as did Islam. Social and economic change and the Christian tradition were the third most frequently cited factors, and political factors were ranked last. The studio directors also selected Islam as having the strongest influence, while social and economic change, tribal and family traditions, and Christian traditions were mentioned more or less equally.

Islam was selected by all of the respondents as having the greatest influence on the Hausa. As Smith (1965) noted, "Islam is a way of life as well as a set of beliefs in Allah and his prophet". As a religion it demands full personal commitment to worship and strict personal attention to expressing its ethics in daily life.

The issues in Christian communication that may be addressed to an Islamic audience are, therefore, primarily cultural and secondarily religious. Therefore, to the extent that communication is not expressed from within a cultural context, the message may be lost no matter what the communication ability of the sender.

the overwhelming influence of Islam raises significant questions about the role of Christian communication in Nigeria. Is the Church's mission to competitively work for cultural conversion in the context of the religious realm or is it to attempt to work towards a 'faith-allegiance' to God that would be expressed by the Hausa within their culture?

The importance attributed to family and tribal traditions is consistent with the influence of Islam. While the Christian tradition emphasizes the individual need for freedom, in the Islamic tradition, the good of the individual must be sacrificed to the good of the group or of the society. In a 'family-tribal bound' society, individuals who live outside the circle are almost non-existent. Such societies are security-oriented and individuals feel at home only when they are part and parcel of the clan, family, group, and community. When something starts pulling the individual apart, the other elements also fall apart.

The choice of political factors is significant. Islam as a religion has permeated the socio-economic realm of Nigerian life. Thus, one may not separate culture (mainly Islamic), from politics, religion, the socio-economic base, and vice versa. Each factor influences the others, perhaps dialectically. Although the Christian church is a minority, its greatest meaning and expression will lie in activities that recognize these interrelationships, and, in the words

of one board member, are related to "visible action-oriented undertakings, and in communication work which is to a daily life experience."

Programming for Islamic Audiences

Given the strong influence of Islam in Nigerian society, the personnel at Muryar Bishara were asked what type of program content should be used for a predominantly Islamic audience. As shown in Table 32, the board members had diverse views as to what the content of programs should be. These views ranged from the need to appeal to both Moslems and Christians through the use of categories that are not particularly religious to the need to provide "direct but positive Christian witness."

Table 3 . Nigerian Board Members' Recommendations
Regarding Programming for Islamic Audiences

Category*	Frequency
Appealing to both Muslims and Christians and not particularly conflicting 'religious' categories	5
Direct but positive Christian witness	5
Real life situation (contextualized)	4
Clear statement of what an 'event' in programming means in the Christian context	3
Purely educational programs	2
Presenting an 'objective' comparative program on both religions	1

*Derived from interviews

The producers most frequently cited the need to present Christian values without condemning Islam. They also mentioned discussing religion and politics as they relate to power and responsibility; presenting programs that are not religious; and stating the Christian view clearly without passing judgement (see Table 33).

Table 33. Nigerian Producers' Recommendations Regarding Programming for Islamic Audiences

Category*	Frequency
Presenting Christian values without condemning Islam	8
Discuss religion and politics as they relate to power and responsibility (these are common to both)	5
Present programs that are not religious at all	5
State the Christian view clearly and do not pass judgement	4

*Derived from interviews

The studio directors suggested that programs should be closely related to the Islamic cultural context. They questioned the idea of 'indirect evangelization', stating that whenever a Christian speaks to Moslems there appears to be an emphasis on 'cultural conversion' to the Christian way of understanding religious concepts rather than on finding ways to interpret these concepts from the Moslem's

perspective.

All of the respondents clearly recognized the strong influence of Islam as a religion and as a way of life. The challenge posed here is to discover what types of direct proclamation and creative work that are not outside of the audience's cultural context may be offered.

Program Resources

When asked about the sources used for producing programs, the board members emphasized the importance of books and magazines as program resources. They also mentioned knowledgeable people, experts, and audience recordings (see Table 34).

Table 34. Nigerian Board Members' Perceptions of Important Program Resources

Category*	Frequency
Books, magazines	5
Knowledgeable people, 'experts'	3
Audience recordings	2

*Derived from interviews

The producers also emphasized books and literature and interviews with 'experts' as sources of programs. In addition, they mentioned recordings from outside, government

agencies, and the audience (see Table 35).

Table 35. Nigerian Producers' Perceptions of Important Program Resources

Category*	Frequency
Books and literature	15
Interviews with 'experts', pastors, etc.	12
Recordings from outside	10
Government agencies	8
Audience	2

*Derived from interviews

All of the respondents made extensive use of books and magazines. Interviews were restricted to known sources, and recordings from the outside were also mentioned frequently. Though a few of the board members and producers mentioned the audience, it is clear that the audience is not seen as a major program resource. At Muryar Bishara, as at Radio Sauti ya Injili, it appears that a deep, fresh, and alive source of programming known as people is rarely tapped.

Factors Influencing Program Production

When asked which of six factors influenced program production (the need of the audience, the age of the specific sub-audience, the availability of material, the

length of the program, the time of day, or the skill of the producer), four of the Nigerian board members mentioned the need of the audience, while three mentioned the length of the program. Availability of material and the skill of the producer were each mentioned two times, and time of day and the age of the sub-audience were each mentioned one time. The producers identified the availability of materials, the age of the audience, and the time of day as being important factors.

Though the needs of the audience were mentioned frequently by the board members, the producers did not emphasize this area as a source of program production. In Nigeria as in Tanzania, it appears that the availability of materials is the most important factor that influences program production.

Media Formats

When asked what types of communication were the most effective, the producers most frequently cited drama and songs. They also mentioned story telling, debating, poetry, written communication, and art forms in that order (see Table 36).

Though the producers selected drama, songs, etc., as the most effective forms of communication, programs are primarily straight lectures or interviews "because of material shortages."

Table 36. Nigerian Producers' Perceptions of Culturally Relevant and Effective Media Forms

Category*	Frequency	Category*	Frequency
Drama	10	Poetry	3
Songs	10	Written	3
Story telling	9	Art forms	2
Debating	6		

*Derived from interviews

Support Media

The board members were asked if they saw a need for some type of support media to supplement the overall radio work of Muryar Bishara and which media would be the most appropriate for this type of work. All of the board members believed that support media was necessary and welcomed the idea. However, they had not given much thought to the "idea of working it in the structure of the radio program." Muryar Bishara has started a cassette project and a publication program, but there is no integration of these programs with the radio programs.*

Indigenous Communication

When asked to identify the main problem areas that are associated with indigenous forms of communication, the

*See Chapter III for a discussion of these projects.

board members indicated that such forms would be very effective in their area. However, they also expressed concern that indigenous communication may not be acceptable because the "Church and the mission usually think it is not 'Christian'." and our "thinking is not traditional, it is Western." Other comments related to more practical concerns. Some of the board members believed that indigenous communication is limited in its outreach while others indicated that using indigenous communication requires a great deal of organization (see Table 37).

Table 37. Nigerian Board Members' Reactions to Using Indigenous Communication

Category*	Frequency
Indigenous forms would be very effective in our area	12
The Church and the mission usually think it is not 'Christian'	11
Our thinking is not traditional, it is Western	10
Indigenous is limited in its outreach	8
Indigenous communication requires much organization	7

*Derived from interviews

The producers received the idea of using indigenous communication with great enthusiasm, particularly since

the studio had no outlet after RVOG's nationalization. However, they also expressed concerns about the problems of mission-church relationships and how indigenous forms might fit into Christian theology (see Table 38).

Table 38. Nigerian Producers' Reactions to Using Indigenous Communication

Category*	Frequency
Problems of our own theology about indigenous systems not being developed.	6
Problems in mission-church relationships will develop if indigenous forms are used.	5
Radio is doing a job of 'reaching for', maybe that is our present preoccupation. Indigenous forms are concerned with the local situation.	5
Indigenous means are the best possible forms and medium for our purpose. They are always with us even when we have no possibility for being on the air. We must give them serious consideration.	3

*Derived from interviews

The studio directors pointed to the following problems in using indigenous communication:

We began on a broadcasting tradition and we are still far away from being able to handle the technology properly. To engage in other forms means more finances and that may not be something that can come easily.

The Church and our mission friends still have to resolve as to what part of our indigenous forms can be introduced without raising too big questions.

Specially trained manpower would be required for this and the backing of the Church, for understandable reasons, may not be forthcoming easily.

From the above responses, it appears that there are three major areas of concern about using indigenous communication:

- The need for an 'African' theological conception of the Church. It is not the intention of this writer to enter into discussion about theology and related questions on communication in Africa. However, it is significant that the church leaders have expressed a fundamental concern about the need for the Church to be 'African' in its communication and theology.
- The problem of traditional Church-mission relationships. Several board members spoke to this problem in a pointed manner:

The Church here and the sister mission/ Church abroad look upon indigenous forms of worship (communication) as being 'pagan' and conflicting with Christian values.

We have not used indigenous forms of communication (also in worship) because our 'tradition', our background, which is protestant, has not been too supportive of this.

This aspect of the problem reflects an awareness of the lack of Church-mission relationships in terms of finding an appropriate interpretation of 'mission' that is meaningful for both the Church and the mission be it evangelization or building churches and establishing schools and clinics.

The problem further reflects the apparent 'lack of faith' that the Gospel has not been clearly interpreted in terms of the local society and the social responsibility of the Church.

- The preoccupation with mass communication.

Though the staff saw indigenous communication as being effective, they indicated that the overwhelming emphasis was on using mass communication techniques. As one board member commented:

Indigenous forms are effective and can be locally applied. But our preoccupation is with the farther reaching medium. Indigenous forms will remain with us even when technology fails us.

Underlying many of the above areas of concern are the structural and institutional constraints that affect the operations of Muryar Bishara. The center is closely tied to international mission organizations and so policies regarding indigenous communication must be considered from an international perspective. For example, the constitution of Muryar Bishara stipulates that amendments must be ratified by the Danish branch of the Sudan United Mission.

Barriers to Communication

The effective exchange of symbols among people is impeded by communication barriers. Radio communication is no exception to such distortions. When asked about the

barriers that impeded effective communication, the board members most frequently identified experiential barriers, misunderstanding the medium, and conceptual and social barriers as the greatest barriers to communication. Cultural and semantic barriers were mentioned the next most frequently, while credibility barriers were mentioned the least frequently. The producers mentioned cultural barriers, conceptual and social barriers, semantic barriers, experiential barriers, credibility barriers, and misunderstanding the media in that order. The studio directors also pointed to cultural and experiential barriers as being the most reoccurring barriers to communication. One director stated,

The culture of the people and the culture of the Church are many times in conflict. This usually results in limiting what the listener wants to hear from us, thus the experiential barrier becomes operative.

The emphasis on cultural barriers followed by conceptual and semantic barriers becomes significant in view of the society in which the studio operates. Islamic society is a closely knit unit with the family as the center and ultimate security being vested in God. Its cohesion is further strengthened by its strictly observed customs and practices.

Also identified were barriers which relate to
 (1) selectivity, retention, and exposure on the part of the listeners, (2) the producers' limitations in

understanding the possible effects of the media, and
(3) the problems associated with the basic understanding
of the culture of the various groups.

Of lesser importance but significant are those
barriers related to the lack of understanding of the
various traditions. Beliefs, language, and tenets
shared by the listening groups (e.g., marriage, the role of
women in society, religion, the worldview) are carried on
through a long and proud history of chiefdoms. The possi-
bilities for interactive communication are promising pro-
vided these barriers are understood before messages are
prepared.

Reasons for Working in Christian Communication

When asked why they were particularly interested in
working in Christian communication, many producers seemed
attracted to working at the center because it appeared
to be a protective shelter from the outside world.
For others, working in Christian communication is a
'calling'. For a small group, however, working in Christian
communication was like working at any other job.
Interestingly, no one mentioned 'communication' as a
basic interest either as a profession or as an art (see
Table 39).

Table 39. Nigerian Producers' Reasons for Working in Christian Communication

Category*	Frequency
As I am a Christian, this seems to be the place where I can work. Otherwise it can be difficult.	8
I believe I have a calling to work in a place like this.	5
I have to make a living and this is what came by, so I am working here. If I don't like it, I'll leave.	2
I feel I must help with the work of the Church.	1

* Derived from interviews

Evaluation, Follow-Up, and Contact with the Audience

As at Radio Sauti ya Injili, there were few evaluation or follow-up efforts at the center. When asked about the points in program production at which they were in contact with their audience, the producers indicated that the main contact came through audience feedback to programs. The studio directors, on the other hand, said that contact with the audience occurs before program production and when they receive audience feedback.

Muryar Bishara does have a well-maintained audience relations office which keeps records of all letters that have been received by the studio. In 1970 the studio received 7,886 letters; by 1975-76 the number of

letters had increased to 20,067. There has been a rapid decline since RVOG's nationalization in 1977. In 1980, the studio only received 720 letters.

There has apparently been no formal evaluation of the correspondence. However, most of the questions in the letter appear to deal with questions of religion, marriage, sex, family life, and other socio-cultural concerns. The audience relations staff person responds to the letters, but few, if any, of the people who wrote the letters have been contacted by their local church as part of the communication process.

The seriousness of the concerns raised in the letters and the manner in which they are dealt with raise fundamental questions as to the role, function, and responsibility of the Church in follow-up work. One problem may lie in the original conceptualization of Christian communication. For the most part, Christian communication has been seen as a one-way dissemination of ideas that relies on audience initiative for feedback. What is needed, however, is an interactive process that involves the audience in the early stages of the communication process.

Experiences in 'Successful' and 'Unsuccessful' Programming

Producers were asked to choose particular programs and identify the characteristics that made them 'successful' or 'unsuccessful'. Their impressions, which

were based on their own experiences and audience feedback,
are listed below:

Successful programs:

- Discussions about love, hope, peace
- Discussions about the home and family and stressing the role of the man as head of the house
- Discussions about real-life situations
- Names and pronunciations clearly stated
- Discussions using names and events the audience knows about
- Using indigenous music and telling true stories
- Simple, clear, honest, value-loaded programs

Unsuccessful programs:

- Presenting Christianity as having the answer to all of life's problems
- Discussions about the family in which the roles of men and women were described using the producer's standards. Men were placed in the kitchen!
- Failing to tell children about obedience, honesty, and diligence in religious programs
- Presenting translated materials with names and locations not in Hausa
- Telling an audience scientific facts in terms that are not known to them (e.g., telling the scientific facts about rain when the audience believes that "rain is not of its own but directly from Allah."
- Leaving out the men when making women's programs.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the problems that led to this study is the absence in the literature of a comprehensive perspective that can be used to analyze and integrate development and communication theories as they relate to the development of the 'whole person' in Africa. This study was designed to explore the main propositions and findings regarding these theories as they pertain to the experience of two communication centers in Africa--Radio Sauti ya Injili in Moshi, Tanzania, and Muryar Bishara Communication Centre in Jos, Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study were

- To examine the literature on development, communication, and evaluation in order to develop a conceptual approach to these areas and an evaluative framework for understanding communication systems;
- To examine the historical development of Radio Voice of the Gospel in order to better understand the objectives and purpose of the two studios and to compare the intentions of the studios with the reality of their situation;
- To identify and analyze the assumptions of board members, producers, and studio

directors regarding the value perceptions of the audience and to compare these assumptions with the value perceptions of the audience; and,

- To recommend modifications and changes in the existing system on the basis of the findings about the intended and observed systems and the researcher's conceptual approaches to development and evaluation.

In this final chapter, the researcher has attempted to identify some of the major implications of the study's findings as they relate to Christian communication in the African context. Where appropriate, relational parallels have been drawn from the experiences of Tanzania and Nigeria.

The Church, Communication, and the Current Situation

In a fundamental manner, the theological and ecclesiastical role of the Church in Africa is synonymous with communication. Like a power giving stream, the Church's embodiment of the Gospel message can flow into nations and cultures--enriching, renewing, and transforming them in the process. This function of the Church, which is in a way Incarnational, calls for cultural adaptation and diversification. Historically, the Church has survived in many cultures by recognizing that the dynamics of these

cultures will inevitably influence and contribute to the Church's communicative function.

In Africa, this means that the Church as a communicative institution needs to address itself to the socio-cultural constraints that affect our understanding of humans and society. One of these areas of cultural concern relates to the Church's commitment to communication, development, proclamation, and education.

The decisions made at the Sigtuna meeting in 1958,^{*} set the groundwork for LWF's involvement in radio broadcasting in Africa and Asia. At that meeting, the LWF Commission on World Mission clearly recognized the "tremendous potentialities and staggering responsibilities...[for] radio evangelism in Africa and Asia" (LWF Executive Council Minutes, October 1958). The commission saw as its immediate mandate: (1) continued proclamation; (2) immediate entrance into the challenges made possible by current technological advancement; (3) development of a broad international base of consensus for funding and operations; and, (4) eventual involvement of the local churches in follow-up work and manpower development. There was no discussion of radio's appropriateness for the local context or of involving the local churches in designing the broadcasting system. Apparently, the media were seen merely as technical tools that should be adapted to the duty of proclamation rather

^{*}See Chapter III for a discussion of the Sigtuna meeting.

than as active agents of social change.

As indicated by the lack of reflection on the cultural, ideological, and structural constraints at the local level, the Sigtuna action assumed that the Gospel could and/or should be accepted at face value. There was no reflection on the local context as a partner in the common discovery of truth or on the possible negative impact of the media.

The assumption that the proclamatory use of the media would automatically have a positive impact on society reflects the general absence of reflection on the positive/negative use and effects of the media (de Fleur, 1966) and the failure to seriously consider the long-range impact of the media with respect to cultural socialization.

Though the 1972 LWF Task Force on Mass Communication and Publication Strategy explored these issues, the absence of organized feedback and serious follow-up efforts by the churches in Africa leads one to believe that radio is still seen primarily as a technical vehicle for the one-way transmission of messages. In Tanzania and Nigeria messages continue to be developed for the widest possible audiences and to reflect the worldview of the information sender rather than the social reality of the audience.

The churches also assume that programs have a missionary impact, even though it appears that radio programs are not completely effective in direct proclamation,

particularly when they employ a unidirectional (as opposed to dialogical) approach to communication.

In a sense, the churches in Africa are torn between two cultures. Their historical background binds them closely to Western traditions, while their audiences are bound to the roots of African culture and the demands of changing societies. This paradox can be seen in Nigeria where the churches operate in a social context that is essentially family and tradition oriented, yet public proclamation efforts are direct calls for individuals to respond to the Gospel and thus act independently of their social context.

Given the cultural duality of the churches, one must question how far they are willing and/or able to present Christianity in ways that are meaningful and understandable in the local context. In both Tanzania and Nigeria, the majority of respondents did not believe that indigenous communication is a viable means of Christian communication. They maintained that indigenous forms would not be acceptable to their Western counterparts because such forms are considered to be 'pagan'.

However, if they are to be effective, the churches in Africa must reconcile the demands of their theological and missiological mandates with the reality of the socio-cultural-political context in which they operate. In Tanzania, for example, the churches are faced with ujamaa,

a national political view of development that has far reaching consequences for their total ministry.

The reality of the local situation in Africa requires that Christian communication efforts offer perspectives that are (1) rooted in the socio-cultural dimensions of society; (2) nurtured by realistic insights and expectations vis-à-vis the media; and (3) based upon dialogical principles. Theological and missiological concepts alone cannot provide sufficient grounds for developing strategies.

There is a legitimate and deep longing within the African populace for true selfhood--a longing that cannot be satisfied short of a meaningful confrontation with the traditional understanding of what it means to be a person in relation to the African community. If they are to be faithful to their calling, the churches in Africa will have to take a bold and necessary step towards a new beginning in communication. Supported and encouraged by their traditional partners, they can bring about the new beginning and provide the foundations for effectively using indigenous forms of communication.

This new beginning should not be a radical restructuring of the churches or an upsurge of nationalistic passion that uncritically sweeps out all that is foreign, but rather a careful reconsideration of communication in the African context. Such a reconsideration would take into account the African worldview with its understanding of the wholeness

of life, the continuity of life as shown by the living community's sense of solidarity with the spirits of those who have passed on, its primal regard for nature as being alive and worthy of respect, its close-knit family ties, its understanding of personality in the context of community, and the importance that it attaches to myth and ritual.

Indigenous communication can provide one way of incorporating the African worldview into development communication efforts. The introduction of indigenous forms should be gradual, however. To radically introduce indigenous forms would be to impose forms that are strange and unfamiliar in the Christian context. In the churches of Africa today, what is familiar in communication and most natural are forms of communication that are essentially foreign and structurally 'Western'. In many ways, one cannot encourage the grafting of indigenous forms of communication on trunks bearing characteristics that are not related to local indigenous ways.

The challenge, then, is for the churches in Africa to cultivate and nurture their African heritage while being true to their theological and missiological calling. A theology that will provide people with the communicative tools to discover their potential in communication and development, to celebrate their own lives and concerns, to deepen their awareness, to express their joy in their awakening, and to 'talk back' to the communicators is

long overdue. Creating such a theology will remain the most stringent test of the churches' effective ministry in development, education, proclamation, and communication.

Research Themes

The intention of the study was not to predict and establish patterns of behavior. It sought instead to recognize, appreciate, and consequently learn how to enhance communication for development in the language and context of perceived social reality. The study sought to develop a bridge between message receivers and senders (including policy makers) so that the praxis of participatory communication could show the way to dialogical learning.

Values and Religion

In both Tanzania and Nigeria perceived social reality as deduced from the responses to questions about the value perceptions of the audience, is basically seen as the need to improve the quality of life even when this means fewer goods and services. However, the responses also indicated the importance of a satisfying, integrated, non-alienated life, and a strong sense of religion.

Religion seems to be an entrenched part of the overall perception of a meaningful life. Since the time of Max Weber, many social scientists have argued that there is a

meaningful association between religion and economic development: some have believed that religion has had a positive influence (i.e., via the protestant ethic), while others have considered religion to be an impediment to development. While it is true that there are development successes among protestants, the same may also be true among other religious settings. The point here is not one of relevancy, but, rather the following researchable question for the African context seems to emerge: to what extent does religion provide a framework for viable development? In situations where social separation and obstacles to other forms of mobility are dominant, religion seems to provide a framework for cohesiveness and fulfillment. Perceived values were reflected in needs that corresponded to the well being of the family and society and to needs arising from the structural causes of problems.

Values are linked with practical solutions to everyday problems. Values are related to family and clan security and a comfortable life as expressed in a religious context. These values provide the motivations for people's perceptions of social reality.

As noted in the ranking of value perceptions, the three groups and their audiences in both countries do not show dramatic differences in their perceptions. However, their value congruency is in contrast to the modes of

program production followed at the two centers which raises questions of serious concern. Many of the highly appropriate and meaningful values such as wisdom, comfortable life, security, happiness, and family and clan security could be integrated into a participatory communication experience. Thus, the content ideas of producers could be drawn from contextualized communication that encompasses the wholeness of life rather than the boundaries of an encyclopedia.

A second aspect of the same basic concern is the inter-relationship between board members, producers, directors, and policy makers. In a sense, decisions on what is to be communicated, to whom, when, for what purpose, and how cannot be made by those concerned with the production of programs. These are decisions that must be taken by policy makers, for it is they who appraise the situation, set the course of action, and fix the priorities. Only then are communication people able to aid in converting resolutions into operations, messages into behavior, intents into effects, and plans into results. In a strict sense, therefore, communication for development, education, and religion has no strategy of its own. It requires the active and full involvement of policy makers for their decisions as to what messages will be sent and in what form, style, frequency, and length. They also must decide which of the available channels of communication are most

effective and for what purpose, which channels will predominate, which channels are best for which particular sub-audience, etc. The process of education and development depends upon people receiving new messages, new images, new pictures, new possibilities, and new opportunities as to what life can be.

The formulation of communication strategies, the integration of media use, the formulation of messages, and the follow-up of messages are parts of a working whole (see Figure 18). Communication continues even after the above steps have been taken. The accomplishments and the weaknesses of programs must be reported to the planners so that they can reappraise the situation, readjust the strategy, and start the cycle again. Formulating viable communication strategies for development is crucial to the communication process. Effective communication demands the commitment of all levels to developing a viable strategy, planning coordinated media use, etc. This requires that there be a free flow of information and interaction between policy makers and those concerned with day-to-day operations.

Among the research questions that need to be asked in this area are (1) How are values developed in the learning experiences of people? and (2) Which values are most supportive of effective participation in communication for development?

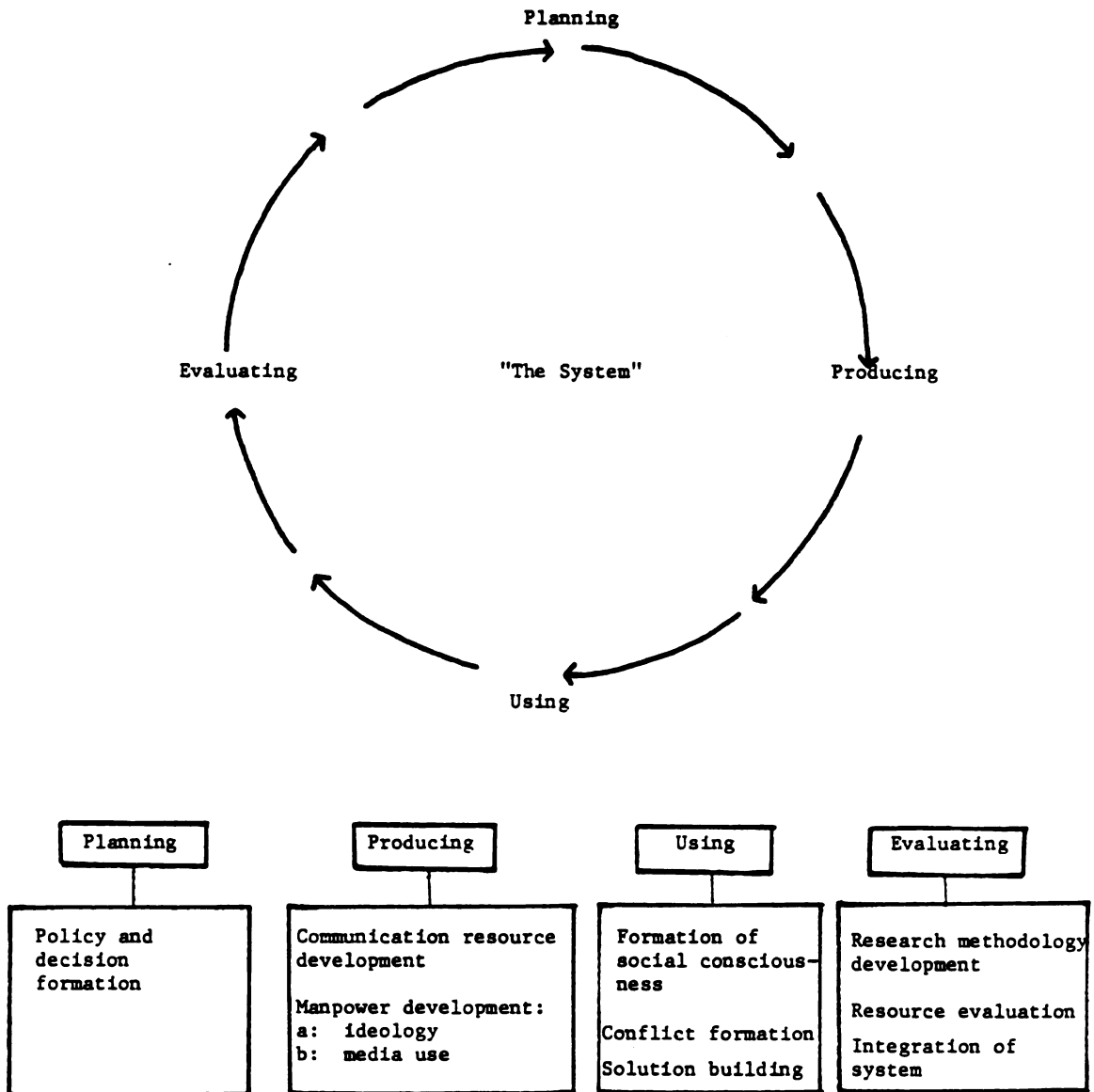


Figure 18. Structural Ingredients of a Working Plan in the Use of Group Communication.

Development

Many of the researchers in the sociology and anthropology of development have avoided any in-depth definition of 'development'. Those who operate in the realm of economics and administration are much more explicit. They base their definition on terms such as consumption, income, and a vast range of elaborate quantitative indices. Technical unreliabilities in the availability of data (especially among Third World countries) as well as conflicting interpretations of quantitative data make much of the data meaningless. For the developing countries of Africa, dimensions such as injustice, poverty, and participation in social/spiritual growth are simply disguised by or lost in statistical aggregates.

In the African context, these are vital aspects of humans in development and go beyond the concerns of the development discussions of the last decade. In Another Development: Approaches and Strategies, Nerfin (1977) focused on the need to de-emphasize 'growth' and called for a reorientation towards self-reliance. Seers (1977) characterized this type of development as being need-oriented, local in its context, small-scale, indigenous, and as seeking to transform the basic structures of society.

For the church, development means more than what is stipulated by social, political, and economic determinants. In its document, On the Interrelation between Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development, the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus in Ethiopia pointed to a new dimension that recognizes that

there are values in life beyond those of modern technology and economic betterment without which man's development will never be meaningful and lasting, (b) that man is not only a suffering creature who needs help but that he is also the most important development agent (1972).

Based on this understanding, the study tried to assess how an understanding of the development concept would be interpreted at the local context and how it relates to communication for development. The responses were varied; outstanding among the views in the two countries were the following:

Tanzania. The responses to the question on development in Tanzania were markedly different from those obtained in Nigeria. The Tanzanian board members, all of whom are clergy (except one ex officio member), emphasized spiritual growth; while the producers and studio director emphasized social justice, human rights, freedom of religion, equal distribution of wealth, and political participation.

Given the important role that ujamaa plays in the socio-political life of Tanzania, the board members' concern for more religious programming is understandable. However,

questions arise as to what kind of programs contribute, if at all, to the development of their listeners' religious needs. Since religious needs were rated rather low by the audience, one must also ask how effective such programs might be.

The second and equally significant understanding of development was along the socio-political and civic aspects of life. As discussed earlier, Tanzania is engaged in the process of transforming the entire socio-economic structure of the nation to a socialism of self-reliance based on agriculture which provides 95 percent of the population's livelihood. The policy aims at revolutionizing education to foster self-confidence and creative problem-solving in the students and the population at large.

This unique situation, however, does not seem to be an integral part of Radio Sauti ya Injili. Given the claim that the studio receives over 26,000 letters per year, the possibility for small-scale participatory education programs should be one of the most realistic steps for the studio to take. However, doing so would, ideally, necessitate an operational integration of the Church's communication departments which presently operate independently of each other.

The study showed in both situations that concepts of participatory development could have meaningful implications for development of the whole person in both

countries. However, this can be done only when there is commitment and interest on the part of the leadership on the policy-making level and an evaluation of the churches' understanding of their active involvement in development.

Nigeria. Development was mainly expressed as having to do with national economic development first, and having to do with social aspects second. The most important determinant at the individual level was seen as the attainment of higher education (completion of high school, college, and university). The application of this value in the realm of communication for development was viewed in the production of programs that are mainly educational. The approach was further expressed in the interaction between teachers and learners.

The absence of any concept of participatory development in the responses should be an area of concern for both policy makers and communicators. The great surge for 'examination and certificate' education predominates thinking in much of Nigeria today as industrialization attracts vast sectors of the population to the cities.

The establishment, in 1974, of the National Institute for Adult Education in Jos is a milestone towards realizing an educational plan that exposes the learners to the social, economic, and cultural realities of development in their community and nation.

For Muryar Bishara, participation in this broad and yet realistic aspect of education for the whole person on a participatory basis gives meaning to its commitment to education for development. This encompassing view of education is, as Hickey (1973) noted,

a process that concerns itself with everything that affects the well-being of all citizens within a given community (extending its role) from one of the traditional concept of teaching children to one of identifying needs, problems, and wants of the community and then assisting in the development (or identification) of facilities, programs, staff, and leadership toward the end of improving the entire community.

Further study should be carried out to establish guidelines as to how participatory development could be carried out by policy makers and those engaged in communication for development. The following questions could be focused on: (1) What are the characteristics of participatory development as it relates to our understanding of 'development of the whole person' in the African context? How do the dynamics of development relate to the Gospel on the one hand, and to the African worldview on the other? How do both relate to communication? (2) How is 'development of the whole person' seen in relation to current models of development (national/transnational)? and, (3) In what ways can 'participatory development' be included in structuring communication for development (for all media) along the aims of non-formal education?

Audience

A reoccurring phenomenon about 'audience-knowledge' and the 'communication process' in Africa is that everybody seems to know it works even though statistics are rare or nonexistent and there are very few case studies. Program producers know exactly which audience they are reaching and with which message. Circulation managers are sure that their programs are widely distributed because lorry drivers go into remote villages. Radio program directors gladly tell of the wide reception to their programs. These are, of course, supported at best by the opinions of friends and by general rumors. There are virtually no baseline data on African communication, audience delineation, and the role of the media. Because of the lack of information about the audience and the often naive assumption that radio is able to 'reach all', the general view of the audience is one of a monolithic audience 'out there'.

The responses to questions about audiences were not far from such a depiction. At both centers, programs were mostly developed using the following criteria: (1) sex and age; (2) if there is program material; (3) obligation to the commitment of religious programs; (4) availability of an audience (time of day); and, (5) audience needs.

In programming for a Moslem audience, opinions were varied as to how such programs are viewed, developed, and

delivered. Many of the decisions for such programs are left to the producer's imagination and creativity. None of the programs for Moslem audiences are related to any follow-up programs or involvement of the local church.

In the same way, none of the other media of the churches relates directly to the output of radio programming. All of this points to the absence of an integrated connection between commitment, objective, and delivery. Because of this, it seems that the religious programs follow the style of the 'extended pulpit,' while other programs are produced as the material and ideas are found to be useful.

Realizing both the inherent limitations of radio as a medium and the obvious high cost involved in buying daily air time, the churches will have to seriously rethink their communication outreach programs. A systems approach which envisages an institutional framework within each country to enable various resources of education, development, and media use, could be developed as integrated components, operating in a single system.

The following questions need to be considered in the future: (1) There is a definite need for exploring what proclamation by radio really means in the local context. To this should be added an exploration of the meaning of audience relations as an aspect of the beginning of

interpersonal communication. What actually is the role of the church in this context? For Christian communication is said to succeed or fail on the strength of its follow-up work. (2) What ought to be the theological and conceptual framework guiding the Church's proclamation and development programming for audiences whose culture and religion require special attention? At what point and how do theories of society and theology interact in planning for communication of development and proclamation?

The 30/70 Formula

The yardstick for 'balanced programming' which aimed at presenting a Christian attitude towards society, the individual, and all aspects of life has been for some a general and positive guideline. Yet for others it has been a pointer in the direction of the individual producers' or policy makers' point of view regarding programming. For the director at Jos, there was "no distinction in a 30/70 balance." The important thing was to develop a "100 percent good program." The Tanzania director saw it differently: "The need is for much more religious programs. Our audiences want that, and it is the Church's policy." The range of understanding about the formula varied greatly.

The formula has been restated by Dr. John Bachman who suggested a conceptualization in a three-dimensional and at the same time interactive framework of proclamation,

education, and service; thus providing a more encompassing understanding of 'development of the whole person'.

At the present time, however, the 30/70 formula is still widely talked about and interpreted in various ways. When it comes to the actual production of programs, few producers are concerned about how it is to be applied.

The formula can greatly benefit the church's direction and policy in communication would be enhanced if a cross-culturally based effort that is reflective of an African worldview expression of 'proclamation, education, and service' is undertaken.

Program Conception, Resources, Form, and Content

Producers at both studios follow more or less similar approaches in the conceptualization of programs, identification of program resources, and the production of programs. Upon deciding the general audience by sex and the kind of program deemed necessary, the time segment to be used, and production aspects, the producer is responsible for actually creating a program in accordance with the proposed theme.

Programs are produced mainly centered around the favorable aspects of service or product use and mainly have a one-sided message. This was observed in comparison with the two-sided method of presenting a message [i.e., incorporating both the positive and the negative aspects of the

messages as studied by Hovland (1948)]. This is not to say that Hovland's theory would be valid in the situations in Tanzania and Nigeria, but the one-sided and positive approach to programming can, in terms of effectiveness, raise questions, particularly when a good portion of the programming is aimed at an audience having very definite and deeply rooted behavioral attitudes against what is advocated.

Several studies have shown that educational programs that use entertainment have a significant effect on audiences. Only a minority of the population listens to purely educational programs, while a majority of the population, which does not have an adequate level of education, may be more prone to turn on entertainment programs. This has something to say for how non-formal education could be approached, particularly in cultures where solutions may be sought to salient problems relevant to the development of society. Certainly such an approach can help ease the heavy dependency on the volumes of books, magazines, encyclopedias, and reference materials, much of which has little relevance to the local context.

Development is indeed a response to the human desire for change. It is the experience of men and women as they become the subject and object of their own improvement. There can never be a better program resource for African

development than its own human resources. For the local context, a mere transference of content from books and authoritative sources to a passive receiver does not contribute to that person's development of a critical consciousness or to a person's capacity for contributing to and influencing society.

The content and form of programming ought to reflect faith in the people's ability to learn for change and for their liberation from ignorance, poverty, and exploitation. Content and form should further lead towards closer contact with the learners' own reality and problems. In the process, communicators should also reaffirm that they are no less learners than the audience.

Barriers to Communication

Among the main barriers to communication identified at both studios were those having to do with cultural, experiential, and perceptual barriers. These barriers are certainly a much deeper and more involved area of central concern and require an in-depth study in themselves. The attempt in this study has been to expose the issues and bring to consciousness that there is even more that we need to know further. For the purposes of this study, these 'barrier gaps' may be characterized by (1) the distance (isolation) which communication practice maintains from the experience of the local context; (2) the

theoretical bases of media practice which makes 'development of the whole person' more of an idea than a reality in participation; and, (3) the preclusion of analysis of an understanding of humans as having a corporate identity as a family in an African worldview, on the one hand, and a theological base for such reflection on the other.

Concept and Form

In both cases, programming concepts were understood along educational and developmental lines. Producers particularly view their programs as highly educational. An inadequate realization that the best educational messages are those which the audience helps to design is, however, a critical shortcoming. Short of that, efforts in educational programs will only result in a one-way extensionist and authoritarian position, sending out much information and not confronting the learner with the reality of the local context.

Media Use (Support)

In the two centers studied, as in many other African countries (private as well as government), development plans for education and communication are, traditionally, planned separately. Within mass media outreach programs, especially in the case of Tanzania, the departments of

information, education, audio-visuals, literature, radio, cassettes (established in the radio department but as a separate project), and print media operate in clearly separated structures, although they are governed by one board of directors.

Nothing can be more productive, effective, and even efficient than for the churches to face up to their communication responsibilities and reconstruct their programming in a manner that will reflect a structure related to the local context. This framework would enable various resources of non-formal education, as integrated components, to operate as a single system. Such systems will allow a meaningful approach to devising new strategies and to establishing priorities in light of major needs and available resources. These strategies would have the following implications: (1) the whole system would be coordinated and planned at the highest level and down through the operational and production levels to the field level. This would apply to all educational and mass media agencies; (2) a reappraisal and transformation in the relationships between the communicator and the learners would be required; (3) appropriate forms of communication would be determined on the basis of which could best carry out particular tasks. Each media operation would be responsible for output and utilization; and (4)

there would be evaluation and research at every cycle of operation. Such research would examine the aims, objectives, methods, and techniques used in programs and so help programmers avoid resorting to what Freire has called 'the banking concept'. The audience in this situation is envisaged to be a participating, active, and responsive partner in the communication process.

Indigenous Communication

For most people in rural Africa today, the traditional systems of social communication are the appropriate, viable, and effective means upon which all other mass media could be made to operate as a unified system. Decision-makers of national or private organizations and technicians can work with rural and urban people to use indigenous forms of communication as a means of achieving development goals.

In the African context, indigenous communication is viewed as (1) a system which allows maximum and direct participation. This system, which allows for the expression of distinctive cultural traits, can also elicit and regulate the desirable behavior patterns; (2) a means of challenging old and deeply-rooted values. These values can be challenged because of the possibility of generating appropriate perception and broad unanimity; (3) a means of providing for the creation of small groups

and for providing a setting that encourages the emotional involvement necessary for facilitating behavior change in the development process; and, (4) providing a means of keeping small groups alive and busy with a constant flow of tasks. These groups, which would be organized along local and regional levels, would be relatively easy to keep motivated through intergroup communication and could constantly carry on the development process.

Recommendations

Condensed as a derivation of the discussions carried on in the preceding pages, the following recommendations are submitted for further reflection and action.

In most cases in Africa, Christian communication work has been a result of the initiative, courage, and vision of one or a few people. We find today that the churches are not fully involved in assuming responsibility for mass communication, and that the mass media have tended to operate as separate entities. For the most part, mass media outreach programs have, at best, only a loose relationship with the total work of the Church in society. One of the main reasons for this seems to be that the conceptions and origins of media outreach programs have not taken into account the constraints of the local context. It may also be because the Church has failed

to develop a clear understanding of the role of communication, perhaps because of its preoccupation with its own institutional stability and its need to establish a predominant role in society.

As a communicating body that has a functional role to interact with society, the Church should seek to interact with men and women in matters that are compelling and relevant. It should also seek to speak with new tongues; the songs and idioms that are the cultural and religious heritage of the people should be added to the language of the Church. Developing such a new beginning for the Church would imply

- Rethinking and reformulating the Church's role and function in communication vis-à-vis its understanding of 'development of the whole person', establishing objectives, and setting priorities relevant to the local context.
- Identifying with the culture of the people and using the forms of thought and modes of communication that are natural and familiar in their own environment.
- Seeking to identify with the world and true to its calling, the Church, together with the theological colleges should get out of the present "theological enclave" and walk the road of the grassroots and speak the language of God's people. The Church is in Africa and its mark of identification

and purpose is its identity with the people and their mode of communication.

- Identifying with African culture not only through the use of languages but also through the development of forms of expression in art, music, dance, history, and the traditions of the land; thereby creating and recreating the transformation of the culture. God has already blessed the drums by establishing the Church among people who can speak by the use of the drum!
- Introducing workshops, seminars, and courses at all levels of schools, theological colleges, and seminars throughout Africa.

In areas where the churches had at least a basic understanding of the potential of mass media, there was still a gap between media professionals and church leadership. The absence of understanding about the media and the lack of interest in its operations among the leadership has contributed to a serious breakdown in the components of learning delivery systems, the disintegration of follow-up efforts, media coordination, and message identification.

The use of media is always experimental since no one can guarantee its success. For that reason, the media should not be thought of as magical. The churches should

seek to establish a basic stance regarding multi-media outreach programs with a clear statement as to what the educational objectives of such programs are; who is to benefit from such learning experiences; which medium is to be used, when, in what mix, and at what time; and, what types of follow-up efforts are to be offered.

As shown in Figure 19, the process of evaluation and reevaluation is a continuous process. The characteristics of such a strategy would include

- Developing overall communication policies and plans for development at all levels of the decision-making body.
- Developing a participatory need appraisal of the society, groups, and individuals thus providing situational data and a critical assessment of the local reality.
- Allocating as an investment, specific funds for development communication in a scale that realistically corresponds to the urgency and extent of the development communication plan.
- Wherever possible, assembling learners not as an amorphous mass, but as groups related to the real local situation, reflecting and acting towards meaningful development. Learners would not be passive listeners but active reflectors.

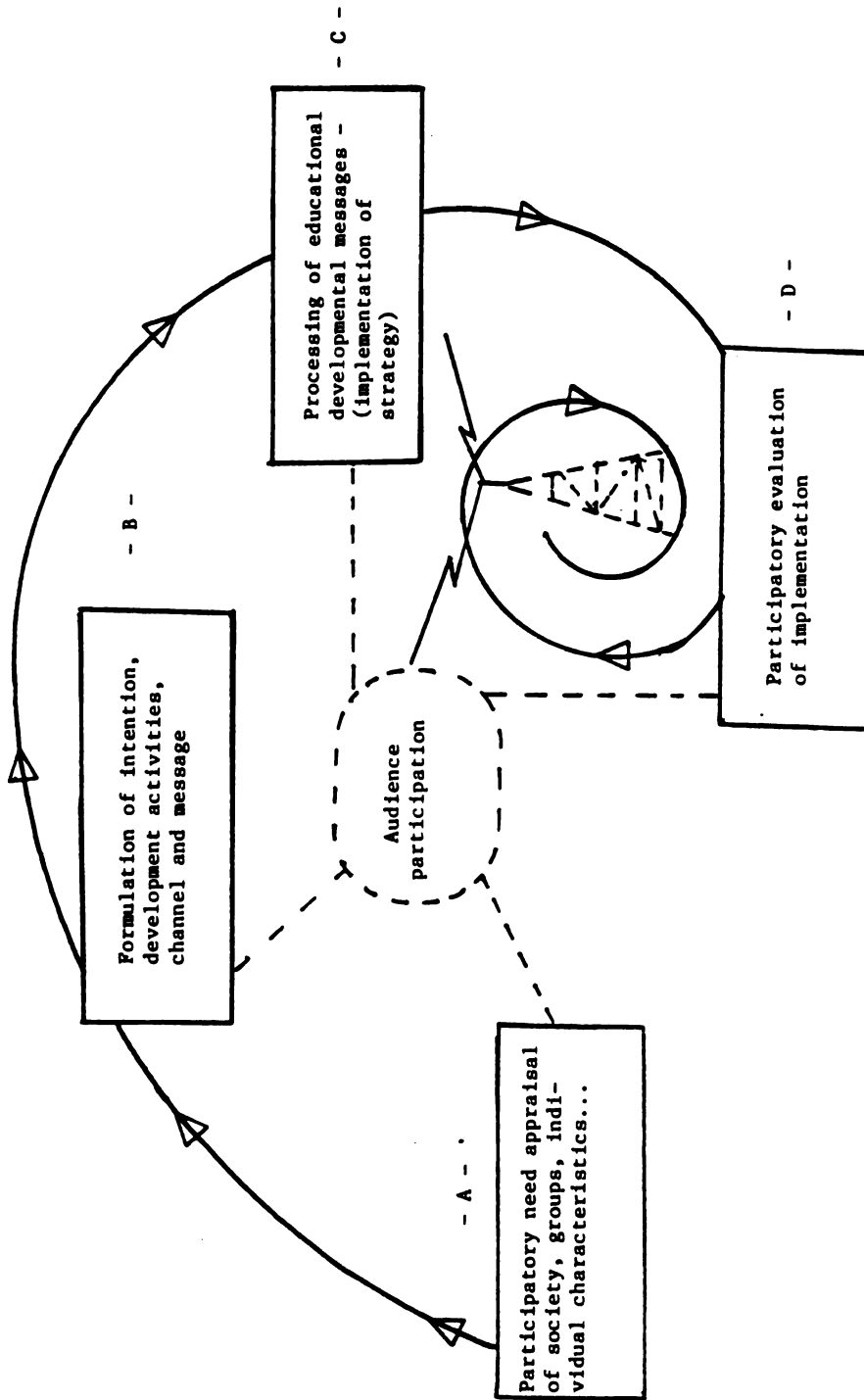


Figure 19. Participatory Communication as a Continuous Process of Social Participation in Planning, Evaluating, and Re-Evaluating.

- Establishing a participatory evaluative body, the purpose of which would be to ensure the implementation of communication as a social right and to make critical judgements for future improvements.
- Establishing a re-evaluation of the original intent of the program and reformulating the original plans.

The advantages of the above approach to development communication are that it (1) provides learners and communicators with an opportunity for mutual enrichment through praxis and participatory needs assessment; (2) generates learning from an experience of interaction that is grounded on culturally relevant value perceptions; (3) provides a learning experience for participants and helps to develop critical interaction; (4) provides the learner with an opportunity to develop and reflect upon content and reality and to form critical judgements for further action and reflection; (5) helps to establish a diversified social context for the learners and to develop critical and insightful reflections upon the local context. This means the provision of a broad social diversification base; and, (6) provides for adequate evaluation procedures and assures that the interests of the local context will be considered.

The need to develop a systematic means of pooling and processing documentation and resources is equally

as important as the need to develop innovative planning approaches. Creating documentation and resource centers would imply

- Studying and identifying objectives in the communication plan and evaluating outcomes.
- Developing such resources and idea pools only from the local context and relating them to communication work in a specific area. This would require assessing and evaluating ongoing programs against social realities and close cooperation with local communication centers.
- Using such centers to serve local and regional programs, eventually expanding them to work on a continental basis.
- Experimenting with new and locally useful approaches to educational programming. The center could be best used in this manner because methods need to be developed to meet the sepecific needs of local areas. Many of the current methods are based on formal education, journalistic mass media, and other experiences from technically more developed and specialized Western societies.
- Using the centers to encourage cross-cultural communication on a continental level.
- Developing adequate policies and financial support. Though these are important for the long run, the immediate need is to

gain the support of those who are assigned the responsibility for transforming the communication centers already in operation. For this, only goodwill and commitment are required.

In the long-run, development communication efforts will need to

- Train people--both in congregations and at different levels--in the arts, dance, and oral traditions and in the use of different media.
- Evaluate programs before, during, and after learning experiences have taken place and determine which are critical events after taking into consideration the message sent, the channel used, and the learner.
- Develop appropriate media mixtures that are based on the objectives in the development plan.

Those involved in the communication field will no doubt subscribe to these proposals without difficulty, but they are not the ones who will subsequently turn them into a reality. It is up to the policy makers and church leaders in agencies who have been given the duty and responsibility to set the course of the churches in their mission to decide whether or not they want to make communication a vital avenue of mission, education, and

development. It is they who will decide whether or not the churches in Africa will be faithful to their commitment and calling or will continue in weariness and stagnation.

Given the social and economic costs of the mass media, the churches in Africa today cannot afford to use the media for development without taking the utmost care and basing their decisions on assessed knowledge. This becomes even more crucial as one watches the development of a new communication technology that can be used to meet community needs, especially those relating to self expression and dialogue. Communication in Africa needs to be approached from a new perspective that will break away from conceiving communication as unidimensional and a tool for persuasion. By constantly evaluating, analyzing, and avoiding past misconceptions, we can make communication interactive and a source of mutual discovery. Doing so will make its impact greater and help millions of human beings in Africa to attain, through the development of the whole person, the dignity, happiness, peace, and prosperity they so well deserve.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus Statement
on the Interrelation between Proclamation
of the Gospel and Human Development

APPENDIX A

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH MEKANE YESUS STATEMENT ON THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN PROCLAMATION OF THE GOSPEL AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In May 1972 the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus in Ethiopia issued a statement on the « Interrelation between Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development » to the Lutheran World Federation, of which it is a member, and to other churches around the world. This statement raises a number of important questions concerning the concept of development and the relationship between evangelism and development work, between witness and service; questions concerning the criteria for aid, and the relationship between the « receiving » churches and the « giving » churches, mission boards, and other donor agencies. Because these issues are crucial for the understanding of the mission of the Church and of interchurch relationships, this statement has provoked a great deal of discussion and response among churches and mission bodies the world over. This statement also provides the background for a Lutheran World Federation Consultation on Proclamation and Development to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, 21-25 October 1974.

ON THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN PROCLAMATION OF THE GOSPEL AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In January 1971, the Seventh General Assembly of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (ECMY) passed a resolution requesting the Lutheran World Federation to approach the donor agencies in Germany and other countries with a view to reconsidering their criteria for aid and to including direct support for congregational work, leadership training, and church buildings.

This action was prompted, on the one hand, by the fact that the ECMY realized its own inability to cope with the fastgrowing congregational work and the opportunities for evangelistic outreach in this country. On the other hand, the church had become more and more concerned about the prevailing imbalance in the assistance given to the church by its overseas partners. It is true that the church had become more and more aware of its obligation to serve our fellow people and society by engaging itself in community and social development projects. The church could not responsibly let the opportunities to get funds for development projects go by without making the fullest possible use of them. Over a number of years, the church has therefore considered it its responsibility and privilege to work out project requests which would meet the criteria decided by the donor agencies. It is also with great gratitude that the church acknowledges the generosity on the part of the donor agencies in granting funds for so many development projects presented by the ECMY.

At the same time, the church, in faithfulness to its Lord, realized its obligation to proclaim the gospel to the ever-growing crowds expecting more than bread. The church cannot possibly remain silent where a genuine spiritual need is prevailing and people in thousands are flocking to newly established churches and in places where there are no

churches to hear the Good News. Finding that its own resources are insufficient both in personnel and funds, the church has called on a number of churches and mission organizations in the West to come and help. In spite of the encouraging response received, the church is not able to cope with the situation.

In turning to its overseas partners and sister churches in the West for assistance in the work which has been regarded as the prime responsibility of the church both in the field of development and proclamation of the faith, it has become evident over the last few years that the churches and agencies in the West are readily prepared to assist in material development while there seems to be little interest in helping the church meet its primary obligation to proclaim the gospel. From the African point of view, it is hard to understand this division and the dichotomy created in the West and reflected in the criteria for assistance laid down by the donor agencies.

The ECMY therefore felt that it was its responsibility as well as its duty to call the attention of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) to this, in our opinion, most vital issue. In consequence, the president of the ECMY, H. E. Emmanuel Abraham, addressed a letter to the general secretary of the LWF, Dr. André Appel, on 9 March 1971, enclosing the above-mentioned resolution of the Seventh General Assembly of the ECMY.

It is with satisfaction that the ECMY has come to understand that the concern of the church, expressed in the Assembly resolution, has been taken seriously by the LWF and that consideration is being given to it. We are sufficiently encouraged by this to reiterate the request outlined in the resolution and in the letter from the president as well as to give the request more substance by presenting a brief supporting document explaining in more detail the reasons for our concern. In doing this we should like to refer to three issues:

1. Our understanding of humanity and its needs.
2. The old and new imbalance in assistance from the West.
3. The present situation in Ethiopia and its challenge to the church.

Our Understanding of Humanity and its Needs

It is generally known and admitted that we live in a divided and terribly unjust world, where some people have more than enough and others do not have enough even to survive. We talk today about « rich » and « poor » nations, about « developed » and « underdeveloped » or « developing » societies, and even of the « Third World ». In doing this, we are using only generally adopted socio-economic measurements to determine which society is rich or poor, developed or underdeveloped. The standard of human life and that of society is normally evaluated in terms of economic growth and material wealth or in technology and production. Based on this materialistic Western concept of development and in an effort to find a remedy at least two things seem to have been largely overlooked, namely:

- a) That there are values in life beyond those of modern technology and economic betterment without which humanity's development will never be meaningful and lasting.
- b) That people are not only the suffering creatures who need help but that they are also the most important development agents.

In our view a onesided material development is not only self-deceiving in the sense that people need more than that, but it is also a threat to the very values which make life meaningful if carried out without due attention to a simultaneous provision to meet spiritual needs.

We know that we need more of modern technology. We need to learn more effective methods to replace the primitive ones in agriculture and other production. We have still to learn and gain much from the Western world from the experiences and discoveries they have made in various fields, and we hope that the Western churches and agencies will continue to share with us their wealth of knowledge, skill, and funds.

However, when we in effect are told, by virtue of criteria unilaterally decided by the donor agencies, what we need and what we do not need, what is good for us and what is not good, then we feel uncomfortable and become concerned about our own future.

Looking at the so-called developed societies, we realize that in the midst of their affluence people

are still suffering from all kinds of evils. The values which make life meaningful seem to be in danger of being lost in these societies. It seems to us that what is happening in the affluent part of the world today points to the fact that technology and economic growth beyond the ability of people to control and responsibly use is leading to development in reverse where people have to suffer new evils. The present ecological or environmental crisis in the form of physical and moral pollution indicates the danger of this one dimensional development.

We, therefore, see the development of the inner person as a prerequisite for a healthy and lasting development of our society. Unless our people are helped to the spiritual freedom and maturity which enables them responsibly to handle material development, we are afraid that what was intended to be a means of enhancing the well-being of people can have the opposite effect and create new forms of evil to destroy them.

We believe that an *integral human development*, where the spiritual and material needs are seen together, is the only right approach to the development question in our society. The World Council of Churches Central Committee also pointed to this when it was stated in the meeting in Addis Ababa in January 1971, that from the Christian point of view development should be understood as a process of liberation by which individuals and societies realized their human possibilities in accordance with God's purpose. Charles Elliott in his book, *The Development Debate*, goes as far as to say that:

Humanism closed in on itself and not open to the values of the spirit and to God who is their source could achieve apparent success. True, man, can organize the world apart from God, but without God he can organize it in the end only against man. An exclusive humanism is an inhuman humanism. There is no true humanism but that which is open to the Absolute and is conscious of a vocation which gives human life its true meaning. Far from being the ultimate measure of all things man can only realize himself by reaching beyond himself. As Pascal has said so well: « Man infinitely surpasses man. » The spiritual is thus easily linked to the secular vision, indeed, the two merge.

Throughout humanity's civilized history people have been plagued by the dilemma that even though they may know what is good and right and even want to do the right things yet they fail to achieve it. It has therefore rightly been said that « our problem is not primarily to know what is good. Our problem is to find something which will make a man do good when he knows the good. » (Dr. Alvin N. Rogness, *Lutheran Standard*, 1 February 1972). St. Paul spoke of this

in Romans 7:15-20. There is, however, for many today a struggle to accept this rather depraved view of humanity. People are still seen as the most noble of all creatures with a power within them to be guided by this higher intellect. People are capable of reasoned response. If they know what is right they will do it. « Knowledge is virtue » is the motto of this appealing humanism. Can history support such a view of humanity? Obviously not. Though certain flagrant abuses of justice have been removed from the affairs of humanity, unjust practices like racism, oppression, and corruption continue wherever people are found. Thus the basic need of people is not simply to be informed of what is good and right. People's primary need is to be set free from their own self-centered greed. Here is where the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ comes in as the liberating power.

The other aspect which in our opinion has been overlooked and for which there is very little room within the present framework of the criteria of the donor agencies is the question of *people as agents* in the development process. The basic question which is asked is this: how many will benefit from this project? The community which the project is supposed to serve is seen more as an object than as an agent for betterment. This basic approach has resulted in two problems:

- a) Too narrow and well-defined projects which require professional experts and which in turn are bound to be remote from those who should be involved.
- b) Too few possibilities of long-term support by way of broad training at the grassroots level.

In order to get the ordinary person involved with a view to becoming an agent in the development process, provision must be made to work with unimportant groups over long periods of time. Within the church structure this brings us down to the congregational level where in our view this potential is available. In the SODEPAX report from the Driebergen Consultation in March 1970, it is pointed out that the Church provides a unique possibility to carry out development ideas. It says: « Each pastor working in a rural community could potentially be a change agent in favor of development; each Christian women's or youth group could be a center for the diffusion of innovations. Equally important, because of its grassroots penetration the Church could provide one avenue for the democratization of development by allowing scope for participation and expression by the local rural population. » Here again the artificial division between church work and development is an obstacle in the attempt of the Church to develop the manpower potential it has within its congregational structure.

We submit that a fresh approach to development

aid through church channels would be to consider people and their needs as a totality. This would mean that the present artificial division between spiritual and physical needs would be done away with and provision would be made for an integral development of people in order to enable them to play their role as agents in the development process. In our view, the most urgent and the most important investment needed at the present time in the ECMY is in manpower development and here we see no division between congregational work and development projects. They must go together because the Creator made people that way.

We also maintain very strongly that it is *the need* that should determine where assistance should be given and not criteria laid down by the donor agencies which reflect trends in the Western societies and churches. It is the need in a given local situation that should be the guiding principle for assistance and therefore there ought to be more flexibility in order to meet extraordinary opportunities in an African church which does not necessarily share all the views of Western churches and agencies.

Old and New Imbalance in Assistance

The old emphasis in the mission of the Church had been on the verbal proclamation of the gospel. All other activities in the educational, medical, or technical fields were regarded as being of secondary importance or even as « means to an end », namely, avenues by which the message would reach people. In the promotion of the mission work, social responsibility or help towards material betterment of the living conditions among the people were usually mentioned only as side issues of expressions of Christian charity.

The new emphasis is on social action, community development, liberation from dehumanizing structures, and involvement in nation-building. Proclamation of the gospel has become a side issue which should be referred to those who may have a special concern for the spiritual welfare of people. The two should be kept apart. It has been said that Christian service is « an end in itself. » These two extreme positions are equally harmful to the local churches in developing countries which see it as their obligation to serve the *whole person*. It has been suggested that « false piety » is responsible for the old imbalance in assistance and « a sense of guilt » is responsible for the new imbalance in the assistance to the work of the Church. It seems as though the prevailing view in the West assumes that the evangelical missions have not in the past paid due attention to the material and physical needs of people and that they were only concerned about the salvation of souls, doing very little to bring about changes in society; that they called themselves « evan-

gelicals » and declared wherever they went that they were there to evangelize non-Christians. By this attitude of a false piety they created an image of mission work as being only or at best mainly verbal proclamation of the gospel.

This, however, is not the true picture. The Western churches and the Western world at large had been misinformed by the missions themselves. Although they spent a larger portion of their total resources on social activities, the missions never reported it or reported it in a distorted form due to false humility and false piety. It would seem that they operated on the principle « your left hand should not know what your right hand is doing ». We must therefore hold the missions themselves largely responsible for the situation which has developed and the misunderstanding that has resulted in the breakdown of the relationships between development and proclamation or between witness and service which from the biblical and theological point of view are inseparable. Here is, in our opinion, a field where a proper study of the foreign mission era could bring about a new understanding of the integral development approach which in fact was a significant part of mission work although it was not admitted nor rightly understood by all involved.

The false piety we have mentioned did not only result in distorted information about mission work but also in a distorted understanding of social activities as « means to an end ». The gospel was not understood as the Good News for the whole person, and salvation was given a narrow individual interpretation which was foreign to our understanding of the God-human relationship. God is concerned about the whole person and this concern is demonstrated in the gospel. The imbalance in assistance created by some missionary attitudes has been harmful to the Church in its consequences.

The new extreme position taken by more recently formed donor agencies has drawn a line between mission and development which is completely artificial. The new emphasis is reflected in the criteria laid down for the distribution of funds.

It has been suggested that the prevailing understanding that the Church had largely failed to carry out its mandate in the world resulted in a feeling of shame and guilt which resulted in a reaction to make up for this « failure ». When the motto, « we must minister to the whole person », was adopted, it was implied that the Church had not been ministering to the whole person in the past. There was dismay and a feeling of guilt that gripped the Church when about twenty years ago the injustice and exploitation of colonialism began to come to the surface. Somehow, the Church felt that it had to defend its actions in those « colonized » countries. The Church was faced with the questions and

often the accusations: « Has the Church been an instrument of oppression? Has the Church been so busy saving souls that the physical and political needs of people were ignored? Has this not led to an indoctrination of passive subservience as the ideal Christian conduct which left colonialism almost unopposed? ».

As the Church rocked under the impact of such guilt (this was always implied as a sin of omission) the cry went up, « ministry to the whole person ». As the emerging nation states began to exercise control over the influences that they admitted into their countries, the Church was forced suddenly to make explicit in all its activities that which had always been implicit. Certainly the Church had always emphasized medical work, education, and other community improvements, but in the early sixties it was necessary to make all such work all the more visible to accommodate the new nationalism and refurbish the « mission » image in the sending countries. This led to an indefensible (from the theological stance) division of ministry and witness. The « real » ministry of the Church was seen as service and this service was an end in itself. The ulterior motives of conversion, evangelistic outreach, and spiritual nurture should be done away with. These matters should be dealt with separately and in a different context.

This overreaction to the Church's failure to engage in social and economic matters in the past and the sense of guilt on the part of the wealthy Western churches led to a new imbalance in assistance to the younger churches. All this happened in the West, but why should this historical and theological development in the West be the only determining factor in the aid relationship between the older and the younger churches? The national church people in Africa today are unencumbered by an « image » which has to be maintained for the benefit of a guilt-ridden constituency « back home ». They are free to interpret the commands of the Lord in the context of their sister's and brother's situation (which they share intimately) without having to apologize for the power of the gospel.

Thus it was providential and foreordained that we, the national church people today, should begin to question the hesitancy and the equivocation in the proclamation of the gospel that we witness in some of the agencies which support our work.

When the ECMY felt that the time had come to call the attention of the LWF to this issue, it did so with the conviction that something could be done to bring assistance into balance. It is our firm belief that Christian service is neither a means to an end nor an end in itself, but an integral part of the total responsibility of the Church. The division between witness and service or between proclamation and

development which has been imposed on us is, in our view, harmful to the Church and will ultimately result in a distorted Christianity.

Having made this our concern clear, we hear some people say: « Why should we change the criteria because of wrongs done in the past? » Others say: « The present arrangement is only a division of labor. One cannot do everything and therefore this division must be there for practical reasons. » In our opinion, such remarks are only meant to avoid this issue which is the artificial division of things which belong together.

The Present Situation and its Challenge to the Church

Among the many remarkable things that happen in Africa today, the rapid growth of the Christian Church is probably one of the most surprising. The phenomenal expansion of Christianity across Africa in the last few decades is simply frightening for the responsible church leaders. Dr. David Barrett in his thorough analysis of the situation (in the *International Review of Mission*, Vol. LIX, No. 233, January 1970) has, on the basis of available statistics, suggested that within the next thirty years the center of gravity of the Christian world will have shifted southwards from Europe and North America to the developing continents of Africa and South America. He points out that while the Western churches will have doubled their membership in the twentieth century, the younger churches will have multiplied seventeen times. If we take this development seriously, it puts a tremendous responsibility on the whole Christian world. If the historically young churches will represent the « center of gravity » in the Christian world in three decades, they must be prepared.

Dr. Barrett points out some of the consequences of the present expansion of the Christian Church in Africa and one of them is an urgent and massive help in order to prevent a widespread breakdown of the Church. So far, very little planning has been done both among Roman Catholics and Protestants. The growth rate indicates that « the construction of four times more physical plants, such as church buildings; religious education for children; mass production of Christian literature, literacy programs and so on » are urgently needed.

What is happening in this respect in our continent at large is also happening in the ECMY. The problems which Dr. Barrett has pointed out for Africa as a whole are also our problem today. We are alarmed by the development and challenged by the opportunities to such a degree that we must share our concern with our sister churches in the West, which we believe have both the desire and the means to help us. Here we should like to quote some parts

of the ECMY general secretary, Rev. Gudina Tumsa's report at the Lutheran World Federation/Commission on Church Cooperation (LWF/CCC) meeting in Tokyo last year.

Alarmed by the high growth-rate, the General Assembly decided in 1969 that a plan whereby the church could be able to know where it stands be worked out. During the two-year period from 1969 to 1970 the necessary data were collected for assessment. In the process of working out a plan it became clear that in the past three years from 1968 to 1970 the average growth was calculated to be fifteen percent. Membership growth in 1970 alone was twenty-seven percent. However, if we stick to the more moderate growth figure of fifteen percent the membership of the ECMY will be about doubled by the end of 1975 which means that the ECMY will then have a membership of about 285,000.

To meet this expansion about 137 pastors must be trained during this period as well as about 1,000 evangelists. Realizing the urgency of making use of the present opportunities in Ethiopia, our Seventh General Assembly passed a resolution requesting the LWF to approach the donor agencies in Europe and the USA with a view to reconsidering their criteria for aid and include direct support for congregational work and leadership training so that the ECMY would be able to cope with the rapid growth taking place at present. The earnest wish of the ECMY is that *this request be passed on to the member churches of the LWF to be communicated to the congregations in order that they may know our problems and desires, and it is our sincere and earnest hope that the LWF will do its utmost in the first place in passing and making known our concern to the churches and secondly that the LWF may influence the present donor agencies to review their criteria for allocation of assistance, thereby giving due consideration to our evangelistic outreach plan.*

Our hope is that our sister churches do not judge our needs solely on their own criteria and on the conditions that they have stipulated. We want to proclaim Christ because we believe it is our responsibility. We want to proclaim Christ because our people are hungering for him.

We trust that in this document we have made the reasons for our concern clear and that the current theological and missiological trends in the West will not be the sole determining factors for aid but that African views will be taken more seriously and considered against the background of the present situation.

Addis Ababa, 9 May 1972.

The church officers of the ECMY.

Emmanuel Abraham
Emmanuel Gebre Silassie
Berthe Beyene
Gudina Tumsa, general secretary

Fitaurari Baissa Jammo
Ommund Lindtjorn
Menkir Esayas
Olav Saeveraas, associate general secretary
(IDOC 74/039/029)

APPENDIX B

**Histograms Showing the Mean Values of
Different Perceptions of Audience Values**

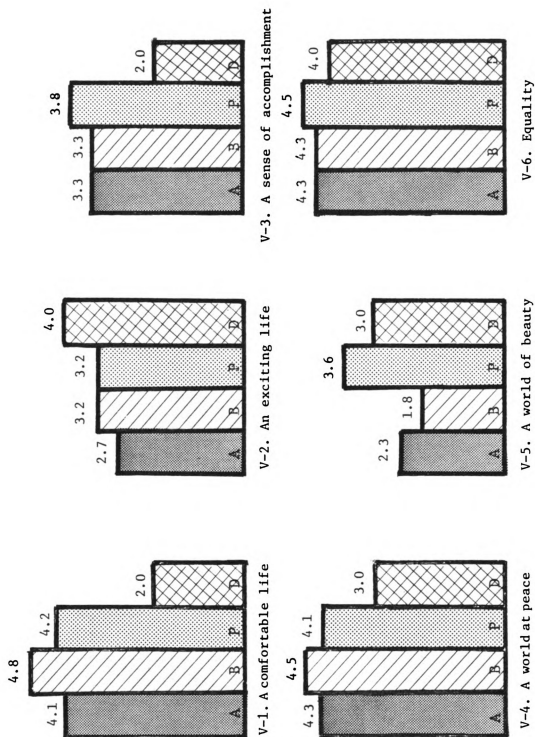


Figure A-1. Histogram of Mean Values of Variables 1-6 for the Audience, Board Members, Producers, and Studio Director--Moshi, Tanzania.

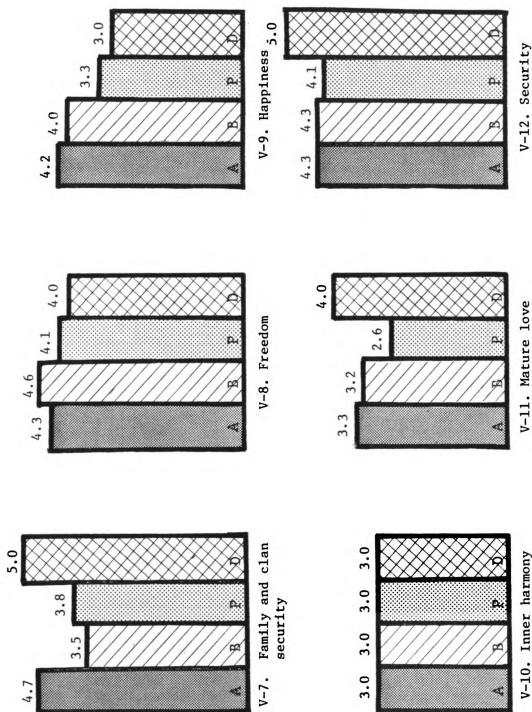


Figure A-2. Histogram of Mean Values of Variables 7-12 for the Audience, Board Members, Producers, and Studio Director--Moshi, Tanzania.

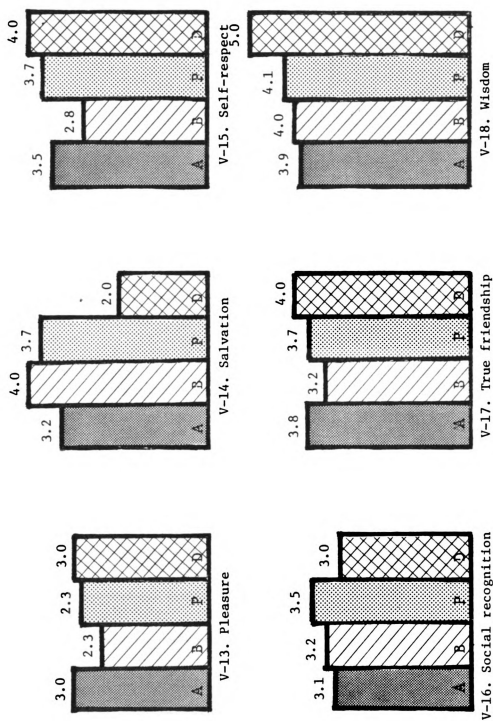


Figure A-3. Histogram of Mean Values of Variables 13-18 for the Audience, Board Members, Producers, and Studio Director--Moshi, Tanzania.

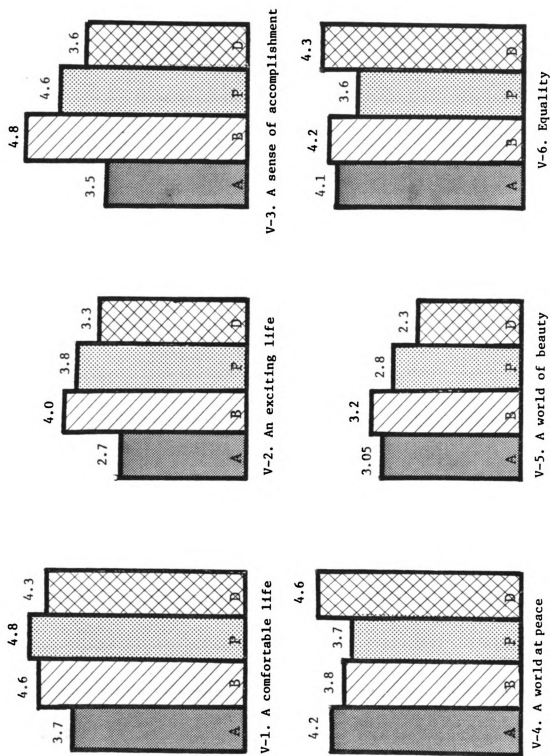


Figure A-4. Histogram of Mean Values of Variables 1-6 for the Audience, Board Members, Producers, and Studio Directors--Jos, Nigeria.

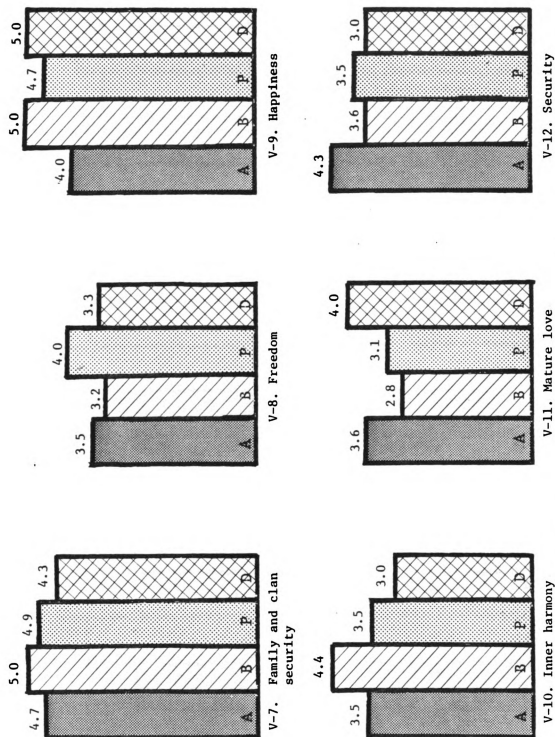


Figure A-5. Histogram of Mean Values of Variables 7-12 for the Audience, Board Members, Producers, and Studio Directors--Jos, Nigeria.

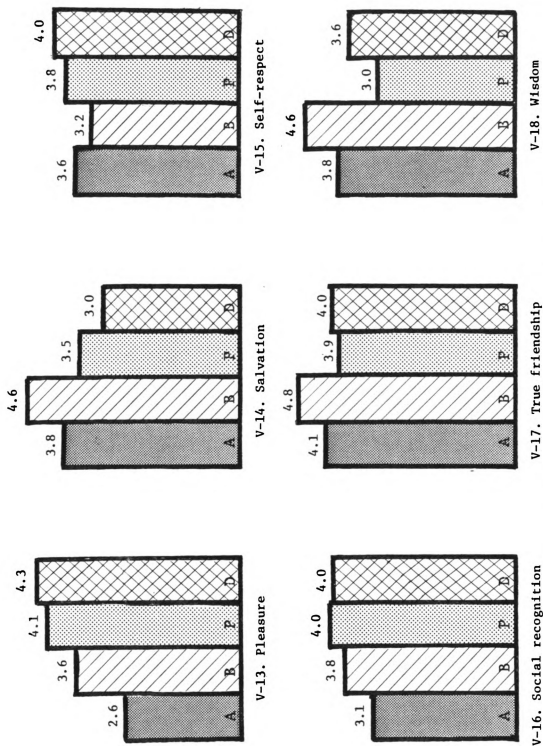


Figure A-6. Histogram of Mean Values of Variables 13-18 for the Audience, Board Members, Producers, and Studio Directors--Jos, Nigeria.