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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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The Integration of Mass Media and Folk Media
in Promoting Literacy for Rural Development
in Tanzania

Valerian Laini

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Media Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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ABSTRACT

The Integration of Mass Media and Folk Media
in Promoting Literacy for Rural Development
in Tanzania

Valerian Laini

This study is an analysis of the mass media, particularly radio and television integrated with folk media in literacy training for rural development in developing countries. The thesis focuses specifically on literacy training experiences in Tanzania, East Africa. It examines the effects of literacy training using mass media. This study contributes to the limited literature on the integration of mass media with folk media, providing an alternative approach to media deployment in literacy training.

The study analyzes the concept of literacy in Chapter I. It then surveys literature on literacy and its relationship to societies in developing countries. It then summarizes the alternative notion developed by Paulo Freire.

Chapter II presents a survey of the experiences gained in Africa regarding the use of mass media, particularly radio, in literacy training. Despite the assumed power of mass media, literacy objectives have not been fully achieved.

Chapter III is a Case Study of the Literacy Pilot Project in Western Tanzania. This project helped gear the National Mass Literacy Campaign.

Finally, Chapter IV explores folk media and their role with mass media in literacy training. This chapter presents only those salient characteristics, functions, and integrated uses of selected categories of folk media.

The major conclusions are: In supporting literacy training, the mass media could be more successful if integrated with folk media. Sufficient emphasis on folk media could enhance the learning interest of neo-literates thus sustaining literacy acquisition. Consequently, modern mass media could interact with traditional folk media to create a more genuine literate environment.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the major challenges that a study in communication offers is the rationale for the application of mass media to support literacy training in prevalently oral societies. This situation is discernible particularly in African countries, South of the Sahara. In the last two decades, African countries have experienced many social, political, economic, and cultural changes. Political independence has been won from colonial rule. National unities have been created from multiple tribal groups to win an equal place in the international community. Social and economic structures have been planned by indigenous administrations with the aim of building modern societies. This move towards modernization has included external tools, such as big and small industries, modern agricultural implements and infrastructures. Also, literacy and communication media like newspapers, radio, television and film have been introduced. These technological gadgets, oftentimes introduced randomly, are aimed at effecting rapid change in the shortest possible time. President Nyérere once remarked: "While they walk, we must run."

Time seems to mitigate against African countries whose structures still portray, to a great extent, traditional features and the adoption of modern tools appears the easiest solution for effecting change. Through these modern tools, African countries are presumed to gain an active attitude enabling them to pass from a state of "ignorance" to an "educated" modern society.

Literacy training using the mass media are often cited as most effective tools to bring rapid change. Through the mass media, particularly radio, literacy training is presumed a critical factor in the rapid achievement of rural development. Literacy - to be defined later - has, in fact been considered a panacea for the problems of development. As a result, the alphabet, with all its foreign cultural values has been introduced, albeit with little success. At the same time, traditional beliefs, customs, folk forms and other local values have been discouraged to strengthen external values transplanted with literacy. Given their inherent power, the mass media, particularly radio, are planned to support the move for cultural replacement in what has been called developing countries.

Within the past decade, however, African countries

have begun to doubt the power of external tools as direct forces for change in their societies. They have attempted to de-emphasize what is foreign and reinforce what is African. The goal is not to save African society by discarding the foreign, but rather to reintegrate it with the local so that Africans can attain indigenous development through an integrated pattern which includes their own traditional values.

Efforts have been made in various African countries to rediscover the roots of indigenous values in the name of Africanization. In these efforts, the mass media are used to carry local forms and folk motifs. Local drums and tunes of traditional dances are heard in city airports and tourist lodges as rare entertainment. Traditional songs and dance troupes are found in schools and training centers performing in different tribal tunes during festivals and celebrations. Folk media as cultural heritage can have a significant role to play in the growth of modern African societies.

For the past one and a half decades, developing countries have taken literacy as an integral element in the development process. Inspired by the Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP), several developing countries have

launched mass literacy campaigns. These campaigns were often offered to illiterates without their full participation. Literacy was also considered essentially "functional", that is, not only the initial instrument for understanding, changing and controlling the real world but also a means of transforming, constructing and reconstructing experience. Moreover, "the experience to which literacy is related, covers as wide a range as a man's entire life and holistic development". (Betaille, 1976, p. 65).

But, literacy goals have not been fully achieved. Problems relating to motivation, drop-outs, drop-ins and non-attendance of literacy classes are only some of the problems that continue to face literacy instructors and rural development planners. In addition, poor transportation and limited personnel are difficult to overcome.

Tanzania, in East Africa, is one of the few African countries to undertake an intensive program of literacy training for rural development. Within a political policy of "Ujamaa" (Familyhood), founded on the concept of the traditional African family, the introduction of literacy was given national attention. Having participated in the Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP) under the auspices of UNESCO/UNDP, Tanzania is said to be among those African

countries which have made commendable efforts in this field. A Pilot Project that started in 1968 gave rise to a National Literacy Program in 1971.

Tanzania's approach to literacy training has been geared towards rural development, particularly the agricultural sector. Literacy is considered a means of enhancing people's participation in the social, economic, and political life. According to national objectives, illiteracy was to be eliminated by 1975. Although registration and national consciousness were indeed enhanced, this did not materialize. Today, the problem of illiteracy remains a central concern of the government and the ruling party. Of equal concern is the problem of creating a durable literacy environment so that neo-literates do not regress into illiteracy. Even with the efforts to establish rural libraries and rural newspapers -many of which have remained in the planning files- rural people cannot easily obtain sufficient materials to maintain their literacy. In addition, rural people do not seem to be motivated to write.

Several questions arise leading to the writing of this thesis: How can the mass media be used to attain more

success in the literacy training process? How could the problem of neo-literates regressing into illiteracy be solved? How can rural people be motivated to develop greater interest in literacy efforts? What is the role of folk media in the motivation efforts? Could folk forms be used concomitantly with mass media to attain a more relevant training methodology for rural populations? These are but some of the serious questions facing educational planners and development workers in Tanzania and in many developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Although successes have been reported, they are only partial if one considers the complexity of problems facing African societies today.

Relevance of the Study

This study is important in relation to two main concerns. First, it contributes generally to the study of folk media. A growing number of media scholars from Africa and the Third World as well as Western media scholars sympathetic to issues of developing countries have expressed the need for research on folk media.

A review of the literature available on folk media substantiates this concern. There are relatively few current

studies on folk media by media scholars. And yet, only in developing countries are folk media powerful forms of local-level social interaction among people.

Secondly, this study is valuable because of its potential practical application. To keep abreast of rural development issues and to avoid repeating past mistakes, literacy workers and development planners need more effective planning and additional creative strategies to solve the problems of illiteracy in developing countries. Basic to such problem-solving strategies is an understanding of the social, political, economic and cultural conditions that affect people's lives in developing countries. Such understanding cannot be possible without focussing on the role of folk media in literacy training for rural development.

This study is important to me as a Tanzanian and member of the communication team of the Association of the Member Episcopal Conferences of Eastern Africa (AMECEA) including Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. It is AMECEA's conviction from experiences gained in the communication-for-development efforts of the past 15 years that training of coordinators, animators and

audiences at the grassroots level constitutes a top priority. This training cannot succeed if it ignores literacy efforts that have been and are part of the national campaign to achieve genuine and universal literacy and create a literate environment. In these literacy training efforts, greater emphasis is being put on the integration of mass media and folk media.

Definition of Terms Used

Mass Media

In this study, mass media is regarded as those channels which broadcast information to a large heterogenous audience. In other words, mass media are those channels that have been developed for the purpose of delivering information, ideas, and attitudes to a sizeable and diversified audience. (Emery, Ault, and Agee, 1974, p. 5). These are the media which possess the "ability to communicate with their audiences simultaneously, rather than sequentially". (McLuhan, 1964).

There are several means by which a message can be communicated to a mass audience. The most common mass media are radio and television, film and newspapers. This study will

concentrate particularly on radio and to a lesser extent, on television. It is not the purpose of such selection to imply that radio is a self-sufficient medium in literacy training. Rather, it aims at underlining the priority of radio and its easy accessibility, particularly in Tanzania which has purposely delayed the introduction of television. Moreover, radio's use is understood to include local animation that utilizes audio-visuals or group media such as posters, flip-charts, flash-cards, etc., to adapt a local environment to fit into the overall national development plan.

Folk Media

Folk media are the indigenous means of communication founded on the cultures of the people and closely related to their traditional ways of life. These media are vivid expressions of the lifestyles and cultures of the people. Folk media have evolved through the years and embedded themselves in the cultural development of the people.

Folk media, such as song, dance, drama, storytelling, etc., are more prevalent in developing societies which still depend largely on oral and verbal communication for

their social and cultural interaction. Due to their cultural connection, folk media can be integrated with mass media for a more effective educational methodology in the literacy process.

Literacy

Throughout the study, "literacy" will refer to print in a more wholistic perspective. This approach is based on Freire's notion of critical consciousness in the educational process. Freire (1973) maintains that to acquire literacy is more than to psychologically and mechanically master the techniques of reading and writing. "It is to dominate these techniques in terms of consciousness; to understand what one reads and to write what one understands; it is to communicate graphically." (p. 48). Literacy is an act of critical reflection of one's situation in the world. Thus literacy is defined by one's capability "to read the world rather than the word, to relate to it, to question it, to make free choices and to commit oneself to the consequences" of these choices. (Bataille, 1976, p. 167).

Literacy will be understood in the light of Freire's concept of a process of conscientization for the liberation of man and humanizing the world. (Freire; 1973). As people

become literate, they must also enhance their local values and expressions. For Freire, conscientization is the process in which rural people are motivated to awaken their critical awareness in analyzing their reality. It is the process of raising people's consciousness in regard to the causes and cures of their social problems. Thus, they become aware of the constraints of their environment and take action to transform it.

Development

Development means change towards planned growth and advancement of people's living conditions. This development concept is regarded as a synonym of improvement. Lehmann (1979) expounds development as a value system within which people are enabled to work for their basic human needs in a free and democratic society. In fact, the purpose of development is the greater freedom and well-being of the people. (Nyerere, 1974, p. 28). As people consciously engage themselves in their own development, they acquire self-confidence in shaping their own future. "People cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves". (Nyerere, 1974, p. 27).

Development is also a process leading towards self-reliance in which the people themselves cooperate to alter their living conditions without having to depend on external forces and influences. Thus, development is considered to encompass a liberation force which, as Gleeson (1973) points out, involves a human process of dialogue within the immediate social context of the illiterate person. In this process, the individual is enabled to achieve self-transformation in relation to others and hence act critically towards himself and society.

Methodology and Structure

Using a descriptive case study approach, the study will analyze evidence originating from books, reports, documents and monographs, particularly relevant UNESCO reports within an interpretative framework suggested in the following categories:

- 1) Analysis of the concept of literacy related to Paulo Freire's approach and its integration in developing countries, specifically Tanzania. The Post-Freirian period begins in the early 1970's and ends in the early 1980's. (Chapter I).

- 2) Analysis and description of how the mass media, particularly radio and/or television have been used as support or instructional tools for literacy training in developing countries. Although television was used in several countries, radio has been found to predominate due to inherent qualities favourable to Third World condition (Chapter II).
- 3) Tanzania's literacy experiences will be discussed in three stages, namely, a) Pilot Project in the West Lake Region of Tanzania within the EWLP, b) National Mass Literacy Campaign and c) Radio Study Groups. Although the Radio Study Groups were mainly part of post-literacy/developmental program, not directly aimed at literacy training, they were an integral part of adult basic education for rural development. (Chapter III).
- 4) More importantly, selected categories of folk media will be analyzed and described to explore their role in a more integrated use with mass media particularly radio, in order not only to attain more cogent literacy acquisition, but also to create a permanent literacy environment. (Chapter IV).

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CHAPTER I

LITERACY IN PERSPECTIVE

The Concept of Literacy

It is not easy, generally speaking, to arrive at a universally accepted definition of literacy. The age-old understanding of literacy as the "ability to read and write" does not seem to be readily acceptable any longer as a clear notion of all that is involved in the literacy process. In fact, some studies claim that literacy does not exist if it is not put in cultural terms. For example, Lorenzetto (1968) says that literacy exists as a term of relationship, which is new as regards the traditional terms in the whole system of economic, social and cultural structures. It appears that one can no longer speak of literacy without being confronted with dimensions that interact within social, cultural, economic and political order.

Given its connection with the ability for communication and learning skills, literacy seems to assume a unique

dimension whenever a new environment is involved. This is particularly true when one analyzes the world literacy campaigns contained in the Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP) undertaken by UNESCO under the mandate of the United Nations Organization during the past decade.

When applied to developing countries, literacy becomes part of the whole development process. For, if adult education, (literacy being an important part), is to contribute to development, it must be part of life, integrated with life and inseparable from it. (Nyerere, 1976, p. 10).

In taking part in the EWLP, Tanzania, under the guidance of UNESCO, adopted this principle as the guideline for underscoring a notion of literacy that would be relevant and liberating both for the individual learners and for their worth as active contributors towards human advancement of their society. More importantly, this position was, in a positive way, inspired by the revolutionary notions on education for liberation advanced by Paulo Freire. This chapter will attempt, in the first section to briefly examine some definitions of literacy. The second section will explore the implications of these definitions within the context of Freire's notion of "conscientization" and the functions of the literacy process as a possible gear for achieving rural

development in underdeveloped countries.

Since the invention of the alphabet by the Greeks, literacy has become the measuring yardstick for human civilization and social and economic development.

Illiterates and non-literates have been shunned and taken for granted as the poor citizens of the globe, not because of any historical accident, be it in the form of slave trade, colonial domination or unsuitable geographical conditions, but because they could not read or write.

Jeffries (1967) points to this widespread assumption when he writes:

The map of hunger and the map of illiteracy in the world are the same. The regions where people do not have enough to eat are also those where they cannot read, and this is no accident. (pp. 9-10).

Yet, as Havelock (1981) points out, human history reveals that oral language, as a means of human communication, is fundamental to our species, whereas reading and writing were the appearance of a recent accident. "It is a curious kind of cultural arrogance which presumes to identify human intelligence with literacy." (p. 2).

As the immediate purpose of this chapter is to briefly

analyze the efforts of scholars to come up with a definition of literacy, it does not in any way aim at demeaning the importance of literacy in regard to proficiency in reading and writing. Neither does the author claim to cover all the controversy regarding the definition of this complex subject of literacy from the educational point of view. It suffices to indicate that there is no doubt on the part of the studies mentioned above regarding the importance of literacy as support for social development and change.

The considerable literature on literacy has demonstrated a continuous debate. This debate has already been looked into by various studies: (Gray, 1956; UNESCO, 1972).

The traditional tendency seems to have been to put all weight on the importance of possessing the skills of the alphabet, that is, the ability to read and write as a prerequisite to the acquisition of literacy. Perhaps, less influential were those who believed that literacy skills, understood within such context would hardly be able to meet the immediate problems of neo-literates. A more acceptable position seems to be the view advanced by those who envisaged a coordinated approach which demands a literacy process that makes it possible to "read the environment".

Precisely because literacy possesses many dimensions, it is difficult to come up with a single definition to accommodate all its social, economic, cultural and political nuances. In his survey, Graff (1979) examined what he called the "literacy myth" and indicated that discussions on literacy seemed to be confused and ambiguous. This is an ironic and even startling phenomenon, writes Graff, which contrasts sharply with the high value we assign to the skills of reading and writing. Graff continues to describe how there seems to be little agreement on the specific evidence for the advantages of literacy from the social, individual, economic or cultural point of view. Graff then concludes that there is lack of sufficient investigation stifled by overzealous literacy promoters.

Attempting to solve this problem, Bhola (1981) formulates a more inclusive definition which attempts to embrace the notion of "reading and writing the word and the world." (Bataille, 1976). In his discussion, Bhola (1981) writes:

We need not make objectives and methods part of the definition of literacy as often has been done (UNESCO 1978; Freire 1970). Literacy can be defined in instrumental terms as the ability to read and write in the mother tongue or in a national language where cultural and political

realities may so demand.
Numeracy, the ability to deal
with numbers at a primary level,
is typically considered part of
literacy. (p. 8).

In their description, Dauzat, S.V. and Dauzat, J. (1977, p. 40) outlined three components of literacy. Firstly, the language component should be broad enough to include levels of proficiency to use all aspects of language as a means of communicating ideas and influencing environments. Secondly, the definition ought to be shaped by the changing types of literacy demanded by a changing world. Thirdly, one of the major goals of literacy is freedom from social, economic and political impotence.

While giving due credit to these attempts to formulate a definition of literacy, the reader is unfortunately left with a limited view regarding what is involved in the whole process of becoming literate. It seems that too much emphasis bearing on the technical skills of proficiency in reading and writing leave the findings open to charge regarding their rationale and use. Moreover, the hidden implication seems to be that literacy skills are not only means to an end but the end itself.

Now, it is important in the analysis of the concept

of literacy to turn to an important element, namely its "functionality". The concept of functional literacy developed mainly due to the counter-movement of those who argued in favor of by-passing literacy. This view claimed that priority should be put on development issues rather than literacy campaigns since the immediate need of the illiterates was to acquire marketable skills rather than literacy per se.

The understanding of literacy among UNESCO researchers emphasized the need for a person to be enabled to participate in his or her own development and the development of the community and the nation as a whole. For example, one of UNESCO's declarations took a broad view of functional literacy by emphasizing that literacy is necessary both as a national priority and as an international commitment. From the former perspective, literacy is required in raising the cultural level of the people, to disassociate with a past of accepted ignorance linked to domination and exploitation and to construct a more democratic society. From the latter perspective, literacy becomes necessary as an obligation for an international solidarity for achieving new world order. Hence, UNESCO (1976) urged that the concept of functionality should be extended to include all its dimensions: political, economic, social and cultural:

Just as development is not only economic growth, so literacy must aim above all to arouse in the individual a critical awareness of social reality and to enable him or her to understand, master, and transform his or her destiny. (UNESCO, 1976, p. 35).

Similarly, the concept of "work-oriented" literacy for "selective-intensive" development projects of high priority in national plans was a natural outcome of the concept of functional literacy. Tanzania, one of successful countries in the literacy campaigns, developed a work-oriented literacy program within the context of functional literacy. Describing the implication of "functional" literacy, after extensive research, Rafe-uz-Zaman outlines this process:

Approaches and methods are not derived from a pre-conceived model, but from an analysis of the concrete requirements, objective and subjective, of a given society. The aim, however, is always to enable the individual to take an active part in the life of the community, and to modify it from within, so that it can better reflect and satisfy his or her own aspirations and values. (Zaman, 1978, p. 21)..

A general and unifying dimension that has been implied in all the definitions analyzed above is that literacy

includes communication skills to a certain extent without having to presuppose reading and writing skills. Societies which are predominantly oral in developing countries could have a substantial contribution to make in future research regarding their experiences in accommodating a literate culture.

An analysis of the concept of literacy particularly as applied to developing countries receives new vision when examined in the light of Paulo Freire's theory and methodology, which is the topic of the following section.

Paulo Freire, a Brazilian scholar and educator, developed his philosophy of education over a period of years while working among the rural poor of his country. He undertook to teach literacy to rural people in terms of their daily problems and concerns. His approach was one that allowed illiterates to "read" their environment in order to transform it. In other words, it allowed illiterates to have the free power to "name the world". (Stanley, 1973, p. 62). Freire called his methodology: "Conscientizaçao", a word that calls for a formation of consciousness accompanied by a critical action in discovering new ways of reshaping one's social and existential environment.

Analyzing Freire's notion, Gleeson (1973) affirms that conscientization is a human process of dialogue within the immediate, social context of the illiterate person which enables the individual to go through an inner conversion and in relation to the environment thus acting critically from the individual and societal point of view.

Freire's two notable publications, namely, Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Cultural Action for Freedom have caused a global controversy on the part of adult educators and the traditional notion of what education and, particularly, literacy really mean. Perhaps his works have strongly challenged the traditional dichotomy that had created a comfortable gap between the literate and the illiterate world.

Freire advocates a humanization of the educational system. His education is a liberating education. He labels the educational system with a "banking" conception which makes it naively elitist and hence incapable of handling students' problems.

In the banking concept of education
knowledge is a gift bestowed by
those who consider themselves
knowledgeable upon those whom they

consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. (Freire, 1974, p. 58).

Consequently, Freire manages to integrate an educational and political dimension through a spelled-out theory and methodology. For Freire, education is meaningless unless it has as its main goal freedom of the educatee. Both the educator and the educatee have to enter into a process of inter-communication which Freire calls "dialogue". For Freire, "only dialogue truly communicates". (Freire, 1973, p. 45).

It would be beyond the immediate scope of this thesis to pretend to treat the whole topic of education or the sociology of education in the light of Freire's theory. Hence, my concern will be rather to highlight how his approach contributes to the identification of the true dimensions of literacy and its role in the learner's self and communal fulfilment. Moreover, Freire's methodology opens up a wider scope in the area of the role of traditional cultures and folk media in the literacy training process in developing countries.

By rising above what Freire calls the "culture of

silence" and examining culture through existential situations, illiterates come to recognize their real problems and critically adapt literacy as a tool to reform and re-create their environment. (Freire, 1973, p. 48) explains how this is accomplished:

The participants go on to discuss culture as a systematic acquisition of human experience, and to discover that in a lettered culture this acquisition is not limited to oral transmission, as is the case in unlettered cultures which lack graphic signs. They conclude by debating the democratization of culture which opens the perspective of acquiring literacy.

This approach - "cultural action for freedom" - is based on Freire's firm conviction that people as subjects and not merely as objects, in their cultural milieu can play an active part in attaining change in society rather than remain passive receivers of the ideas of others. Hence, people are able to acquire critical consciousness which is concomitant with their action with reality.

Freire's approach seems to succeed in accommodating theory and praxis which challenges assumptions about the neutrality of literacy advocated in traditional educational systems. Freire maintains that it would be naive to try

to reduce the adult literacy process to a purely technical action. Such a naïve approach would be incapable of perceiving that technique itself as an instrument of men in their orientation in the world is not neutral. (Freire, 1974, pp. 65-65). In consolidating theory and praxis Freire establishes an interrelationship of the awareness of aim and process as a basis for action which implies the conscious selection of goals and values according to careful planning. Teaching adults literacy skills of reading and writing should therefore be seen, analyzed and understood within this context.

Freire's theory tries to widen the aim and scope of the "functionality" of literacy in its most basic elements. He maintains his strong view that in the process of becoming literate, the individual is, at the same time "humanizing the world by transforming it." (Freire, 1974, p. 64). This approach could help solve the problem of distancing which Disch (1973, n. 43) refers to:

One general feature of writing dominates the process of its introduction into non-literate societies; its ability to preserve speech so that communication can take place over space and over time. It is a process of distancing which affects the personal as well as the national level. (Disch, 1973, p. 43).

It would be appropriate at this stage to attempt to pinpoint a definition of literacy that Freire postulates. According to Freire, to acquire literacy is more than to psychologically and mechanically master the reading and writing techniques. For him, it is to master the techniques of reading and writing within the context of consciousness:

To understand what one reads and to write what one understands; it is to communicate graphically. Acquiring literacy does not involve memorizing sentences, words, or syllables - lifeless objects unconnected to an existential universe - but rather an attitude of creation and re-creation, a self-transformation producing a stance of intervention in one's context. (Freire, 1973, p. 48).

Furthermore, Freire's whole theory is geared towards consciousness-raising for human liberation and development. It is through critical interaction with their environment that neo-literates can liberate themselves. (Smith, 1975, p. 2). This is the path that Tanzania followed in its educational and literacy efforts. "Education for Self-Reliance" as it is well known in Tanzania, is self-liberating education. As President Nyerere (1976, p. 10) confirms, the purpose of education is the liberation of the reason from the constraints caused by ignorance and dependency. "Education has to increase men's physical and

mental freedom - to increase their control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live."

This approach to literacy training enables illiterates to emerge free as they become literate. Their education renders them more capable of being masters of their own destiny. This point is clearly emphasized by President Nyerere:

The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an inquiring mind, an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains. (Nyerere, 1967, p. 8).

Freire's contribution to literacy training is a new way of looking at the illiterate in the Third World. His theory and methodology is therefore for development workers in developing countries, a contribution to the liberation of oppressed people. His approach not only allows people to reject all forms of sultry pedagogy through their own creation of generative words and themes originating from their own environment, but also enables them to use their

situation as a mirror of discovering their true humanity.

Critics of Freire's theory and methodology claim that he falls prey to a vein of liberalism which places too much emphasis on the power of the education process as a rationalizing force against unacceptable exploitative forces. (Gleeson, 1973; Stanley, 1973; and particularly Griffith, 1972). They also do not readily accept Freire's argument that training processes are indispensable in creating a revolutionary consciousness among the masses. Yet, one could discern that from the point of view of developing countries, the people need more than ever to be conscientized regarding their inability to compete with the literate world in directing their own affairs.

Another point that critics bring forth is that there is no guarantee that the conscientized would not themselves become oppressors as they emerge as leaders. This argument seems to ignore and overlook the whole process of literacy which, according to Freire, is a continuum, a gradual self-consciousness and self-realization. For Freire, literacy education for adults contains within itself factors of post-literacy. For him, literacy and post-literacy are "moments of the same process of social formation. It is a theory

of knowledge put into practice." (Freire, 1978, p. 100).

Furthermore, critics go on to question the extent to which social change can be achieved through a problem-posing educational method which ironically is the core of Freire's literacy training technique. I would say that one should be able to agree with Freire as long as his theory works in those developing areas in which it has been applied. Unless there is an alternative theory to challenge Freire's theory, literacy workers in developing countries may have to continue to research on how his theory and methodology could be useful to apply in their situation.

In conclusion, since so little research has so far been done to test the variables suggested in Freire's theory and methodology in regard to literacy training in developing countries, it will take several years yet for scholars to agree regarding the validity of his approach. But as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, his theory and methodology, though already influential in the literacy practice in Tanzania, will require increased local adaptation from social, political, economic and cultural perspectives.

The definition of literacy has not been easy, precisely because literacy is not a "thing" which can be objectified. Literacy, on the other hand, seems to be a continuous process that can only be unmasked by the active participation of illiterates who are both learners and teachers of their self-transformation. There does not seem to be a magic moment in which one crosses from the state of illiteracy to literacy. Literacy in critical consciousness is a life-long journey within which illiterates, particularly in developing countries, can further their struggle to the creative crystallization of their cultural values in conjunction with their communication skills.

Literacy, Education and Rural Development

The problem of illiteracy continues to haunt the nations of the world, particularly Third World countries. This situation persists despite national and international efforts to introduce literacy training throughout the world. For the past 13 years, UNESCO has organized pilot projects and mass literacy campaigns in an effort to contain this problem. Yet, the number of illiterates is on the increase, especially in rural areas.

In the growing literature on illiteracy the inability to read and write is considered a condition of underdevelopment. Therefore literacy is considered an essential criterion of development. Especially in Third World countries, literacy is linked with rural development aimed at changing social, economic, cultural and political structures.

Rogers (1978) points out that through the 1960's, the paradigm that dominated the concept of development was one that was based on Western models of development which assumed that the principal reasons for underdevelopment are found within the underdeveloped nations themselves rather than external to them. Hence, underdeveloped countries had to achieve modernization through the introduction of technology, motivation of their populations through economic incentives and advancement of the leading elite sector of their societies. This advancement would later "trickle down" to the majority of the poor populations in rural areas.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, this model of development, also referred to as the "dominant paradigm" began to crumble, in part because poor countries of developing nations began to discover alternative means to development emphasizing self-reliance and national development which involved the poor sectors of society and maximum use of

traditional as well as modern social systems related to specific local environments.

The Problem of Illiteracy

As discussed earlier, there is no universal or precise definition of literacy. This complicates our understanding of illiteracy. The world-wide nature of the problem of adult illiteracy can be extrapolated from the assumptions of the global understanding regarding the universal necessity of literacy. Literacy is, at the most basic level, the ability to read and write. In analyzing the problem of illiteracy, one is directly confronted with the question of the way in which literacy has been defined. As Mack (1976, p. 9) indicates: "the way in which literacy is conceptualized has profound implications for the kinds of programs and processes that are created to reduce or eliminate illiteracy."

A UNESCO monograph (1957) defines an illiterate as a person who cannot communicate with another by means of a written language. The same monograph notes that reading and writing are two essential elements in literacy and suggests that individuals who possess only one skill are

"partially literate" or "semi-literate." In these definitions, literacy seems to be regarded as an end in itself. Yet, a fundamental question still remains as at what point a person attains semi-literate or literate states.

Although the relativity of the term "literacy" has been recognized for some time, significant conceptual changes began to emerge only in the 1960's. This occurred with the notion of "functional literacy" a term which UNESCO equated with "work-oriented literacy" and applied as a "strategy of adult education linking literacy with elementary vocational training which went far beyond the teaching of the 3 R's." (Bowers, 1983, p. 2).

Literacy and Rural Development

Another equally important aspect of this conceptual approach to the problem of illiteracy in developing countries is the assumed relationship between literacy and development. In fact, illiteracy is blamed as the main cause of underdevelopment of more than the 800 million illiterates who live mainly in rural areas of the Third World. A British Committee's survey on literacy, states: "It is no accident

that the world map of illiteracy largely coincides with that of hunger, disease and poverty, for literacy and education are crucial, contributory factors in development." (1976, p. 1).

Reminiscent of major research done in the 1950's and 1960's, Fisher (1982) classifies developed and developing countries according to their level of literacy. He then describes the conditions in which literacy flourishes, as follows:

The illiterate typically lives in a poor developing country where annual income per capita is less than \$700, cultural facilities and social services are practically non-existent, living and health conditions are poor, food is scarce and not nutritious, and life-expectancy is short. (Fisher, 1982, p. 20).

Fisher's study applies the criterion of distinction between developed and developing countries, or the "haves" and "have-nots" to the question of literacy and then analyzes the disparities between the two criteria from an economic point of view. He argues that this model could also be applied to the analysis of literacy from an educational perspective. He concludes with generalized assumptions which

do not fully take into consideration the complex nature of the relationship between literacy acquisition and related issues of rural development.

There remains a lack of clarity regarding the nature of the problem of illiteracy: what actually constitutes illiteracy and its relationship to the environment? Recent research lends evidence to the possibility that there is no direct causal relationship between literacy and agricultural productivity. (Barnes, et al., 1982; Allen and Anzalone, 1978). This does not negate the role that literacy plays in the development process, but only suggests that we are faced with complex interrelated factors reflecting a common socio-economic condition.

Literacy sources tend to suggest that illiterates live in an unfortunate state of basic ignorance. The potential of literacy in combatting this state of "ignorance" is, as Bhola (1980) suggests, the question: "will literacy create or enable the emergence of effects in adult men and women so that they can participate in the development process?" (p. 8).

In current literature, literacy is intimately linked with "basic education" or "non-formal education". In this

context, literacy is considered a basic element in the adult education process. The next section explores how literacy interacts within basic adult education for rural development.

Literacy in Basic Adult Education

It is essential that literacy training be understood within its proper perspective in the educational process of developing countries, because adult education programs will develop according to the concept and definition of literacy education. We have assumed that the long-standing purpose of "education-for-all" takes place through a structural and hierarchical system of education, starting from youth to adulthood. This concept does not necessarily make room for those adults who did not have the opportunity to attend school during their early years.

The right of every person to education has been proclaimed by the United Nations Organization. Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights clearly expresses the intent to bring to humanity the educational opportunities and resources which the current century offers.

In recent years, many sources have suggested more forcefully that there is a felt need to expand the concept of basic education to include formal and non-formal education. These sources argue that this will facilitate the achievement of a more integrated formal education system.

Evans (1981, p. 28) defines formal education as the type of education obtained from "institutions called schools, which are characterized by the use of age-graded classes of youth being taught a fixed curriculum by a cadre of certified teachers using standard pedagogical methods." The same author points out the debate that developed around the concept of non-formal education. He suggests that the definition in Coombs, et al. is generally accepted. This definition states that non-formal education involves:

--any organized educational activity outside the established formal system, whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity,... that is intended to serve identifiable clientele and learning objectives. (Evans, 1981, p. 27.

This new concept of the educational process which UNESCO adopted in recent years, prepared the way for a broader

perception of education which embraced a wider spectrum of the population. Evans (1981) observes what the implications of this approach are: "the educational system then becomes a diversified set of activities serving all ages in the population by providing opportunities to learn a variety of content using different methods." (p. 12). The central purpose of non-formal education is clearly outlined by Schramm (1977, p. 226): "to provide the population, young and old, some of the learning opportunities they have not had or cannot easily obtain in formal schooling."

A UNESCO study (1975, p. 3) reiterates the urgent need for such opportunities, especially in developing countries:

In the underdeveloped countries, requirements do not stem solely from the building of unified social structures and the increase in the demand for education, but also from the need: to make up for the lag in school enrollment; to combat illiteracy and underdevelopment.

This conceptual approach was necessitated by the failure of the formal system to meet all the educational needs of society. (Schramm, 1977, p. 227). Analyzing non-formal education,

Rahnema (1976) says that as a process, it would be self-defeating if not understood within a broad strategy for basic and continuing education. "This implies the need for an intimate relationship between literacy campaigns and all other components of the educational systems, whether formal or non-formal."

The formal educational systems of many countries, especially developing nations, did not have the resource or the capacity to meet the educational and developmental requirements of their adult populations in rural areas. As a result, non-formal education was claimed capable of providing learning opportunities in these rural areas where the formal system was found deficient in providing the required skills to effect social, economic, political and cultural change.

Current research has indicated that there is an intimate link between literacy and basic education understood in its full integrated meaning. Noor (1982) points out that basic education has three essential objectives: to impart communication skills, skills to improve the quality of living, and skills to further economic development. Nevertheless, there seems to be a tendency to reduce the whole

learning process to communication skills related to literacy acquisition without equal consideration of what Noor (1982, p. 164) calls: "the living skills" and "the production skills." According to Noor, "living skills" are those skills which enable the neo-literate to improve his or her quality of living, "Production skills" are those skills that help him or her to contribute to, and to increase economic production. As Noor states, literacy training is but only one component skill within an integrated basic education process:

By itself, (literacy training), neither fulfills the requisites of a basic education nor satisfies the myriad learning needs of an individual seeking growth and development; but without it, other elements of a thorough basic education will suffer and other needs will go unmet. (Noor, 1982, p. 165).

Yet, the concept of basic education when applied to developing countries seems to hinge on literacy as a panacea for all the evils of "ignorance" and "underdevelopment" so conspicuous in an oral society. "Literacy, if not synonymous with basic education itself, clearly has been treated as the vestibule to all other learning, a mandatory first stage in the learning process for every individual in every society." (Allen and Anzalone, 1978, p. 102).

Historically, the introduction of literacy in many developing countries was done by missionaries and colonial governments in an effort to "civilize" illiterates. In the colonial context, literacy was necessary for Christianization and as a qualification for fulfilling employment requirements in the colonial administration.

The colonizers of Africa worked within a framework of basic education that was structured on a Western model of literacy developed after the invention of the printing press. Colonialists stressed literacy as a priority for all learning processes both on national and local levels. This procedure was accepted, given the universal omnipotence attributed to literacy itself.

However, recent research indicates that, despite all the literacy training efforts in developing countries, these same countries have not achieved the desired objectives of effective learning for rural development. This challenges the approach of literacy training as a priority in basic education and suggests important questions. What is the place of literacy in the learning processes in predominantly illiterate or semi-literate societies? Is literacy essential for rural developmental education? Could a "development-before-literacy" approach be more efficient? and most

importantly, is a more integrated approach of marrying "oral literacy" and "print literacy" needed in order to achieve more effective results?

The need for basic education to be closely linked to national development cannot be overemphasized. To provide for human development, a whole nation must be able to learn the necessary skills which enhance full participation in indigenous development. This development can simply be understood as "a purposeful change toward a kind of social and economic system that a country decides it wants." (Rogers, 1976, p. 100).

A nation cannot achieve the objectives of development unless its people are able to attain a deeper understanding of their local developmental problems. Education planners and development experts have increasingly tried to devise a quick approach to achieve national objectives. Consequently, "education planners are forced to accept that non-formal education ~~is~~ not only necessary, but is, in fact, an immediate need." (Bhola, 1981, p. 6).

Related to these concerns, developmental education is taking a more participatory approach by stressing the need for "grassroots" involvement in the process. This places

greater demands on non-formal education. Evans (1981, p. 13) demonstrates why the planning of this approach can no longer be ignored:

Planning of non-formal education will be increasingly necessary because of the current thrust toward decentralization of the developmental process, and a growing awareness of the importance of participation in this process. Evidence is mounting that the process of development, particularly in rural areas, can only proceed so far without significantly increased amounts of direct participation by the inhabitants of the area.

Clearly, participation by the local people can only become a reality when their full potential is recognized and they are able to maximize their learning experiences to develop themselves as free citizens. This demands that they become literate in the full sense of the word.

This brief summary of a complex issue suggests that the learning situation in developing countries, notwithstanding the literacy training efforts of the last decade, leaves much to be desired. As development becomes a more urgent need, new approaches must be explored. Nyirenda (1981, p. 101) suggests that for developing countries, non-formal education

could help in increasing the rate of "self-development" since "it assists young people and adults, whether illiterate, sub-literate or formally educated, to acquire skills, concepts and attitudes which help them adapt to rapid change."

In conclusion, perhaps in putting too much emphasis on literacy per se, the concept of basic education has failed to fully address the larger problem of under-development in developing countries. The concept of basic education has to be broadened to include, not only formal but also non-formal education to satisfy the myriad developmental learning needs of individuals and societies in Third World environments.

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CHAPTER II

MASS MEDIA AND LITERACY: EXPERIENCES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A Comment on Mass Communications

One of the most fundamental phenomena of the human being as a rational animal is the faculty to engage in conscious communication. This faculty is made functional through the capacity to use language. Laws governing the process of evolution indicate that the human species can be described as: "one which speaks a language but does not write it." (Havelock, 1981, p. 4). Thus, verbal or oral communication using mouth and ear is the oldest and most fundamental mode of human communications.

Many scholars have engaged in defining and exploring the meaning of communication from sociological, political, cultural and psychological point of view. Put simply, communication could be defined as "the art of transmitting information, ideas, and attributes from one person to another." (Emery, et al., 1974). The aim of this analysis is not to explore in detail the various dimensions

of communication already spelled out in past scholarly research. It is simply to broadly relate the notion of communication to the mass media and analyze the functions of the latter in the literacy training process in the developing societies of Africa.

From a sociological perspective, communication could be very important for developing countries. In this view, communication becomes geared towards the so-called masses "out there" as audience for specified messages. Therefore mass communication becomes an art of "delivering information, ideas and attitudes to a sizable, diversified audience through use of the media developed for that purpose." (Emery et al., 1974, p. 5).

This study is not concerned with print. Mass media, as used in this study, will refer to communication by means of radio and television. Radio would appear to be the prominent medium and television would seem a potential mass medium that has yet to prove equal conviviality in a developing country environment. Although scholars attest that mass media are not indigenous to most developing countries, recent research has concluded that "radio is the only advanced communication technique which has found its proper place in developing countries." (IIALM, 1974, p. 21).

I would argue that the conviviality of radio as an African mass medium should not be regarded as accidental. The predominantly oral environment of these developing countries is more accommodating to the medium of radio than any other mass medium. The reasons could be partly explained. Developing countries consist of societies composed of numerous tribal groupings with various traditional customs and cultures which have not yet assimilated with literate cultures. The effects of visual technology caused by literacy are only emerging in these countries. Literacy has not been able to create what McLuhan (1957) calls "nations as spatially uniform and homogenous and connected." Radio, as an electric technology seems to have managed to create a tribe among tribes (emphasis mine). The technology of radio seems to have found a favorable place in an oral environment in the process of growth toward a hybrid cultural product. Perhaps in such an environment it becomes easier for "the ear to replace the eye." (Innis, 1957, p. 136).

Third World countries are mainly oral cultures. Thus, according to Innis, they should still possess a time-binding power favoring the ear. But, as McLuhan points out, the auditory power extended electrically, by radio, does, in effect, abolish space and time. Perhaps future research

may be capable of exploring the possibility of formulating a theory of mass communication that might be more accommodating to emerging societies.

Mass Media Systems in Africa

Most mass media institutions were established by colonial governments and European missionaries in the years between the two world wars to cater to colonial interests and proselytizing efforts. Katz and Wedell (1977) say that some of the colonial countries were late to establish broadcasting services. For example Tanzania began in 1951. Basically, broadcasting was organized as a government system.

After independence, broadcasting services changed hands from colonial to indigenous leaders of self governments. Thus, "broadcasting in independent systems became not only government-controlled, but also government-operated." (Katz and Wedell, 1977, p. 42).

This phenomenon is explained by some authors as stemming from economic reasons. They argue that in developing countries, operating costs of broadcasting facilities would be prohibitive on a private basis. But there are other reasons

as well. Gerbner and Siefert (1983) note that unlike the developed countries which have a coherent political and cultural policy, most Third World nations have not yet consolidated a national identity. The transition from regional, tribal, ethnic, religious or caste loyalty to national identity has not been completed. So, the mass media are controlled by governments as public tools for achieving national integration.

Depending on the political sophistication of each state, broadcasting is directed by government to reflect national policies and preserve the African image. As Martin and Chaudhary remark, the mass media in Third World countries are tools of nationalism and development. "They, (the mass media) have charted an ideal scenario that may be hailed or deplored, depending on the critics' political and philosophical orientations." (Martin and Chaudhary, 1983, p. 109):

Martin and Chaudhary (1983) again highlight an important assumption which Western scholars held regarding the structures of the mass media in developing countries. Broadcasting models were introduced during a difficult historical period of colonization. Consequently, the mass media's development in Africa suffered serious stagnation

as regards structural and indigenous growth. Even today, new structures are either shunned for security reasons, or feared for the reverse impact they might have on the African audience.

Finally, in Africa, the mass media are concentrated in cities, "in part because in Africa the city is the center of life for the new social and political life." (Hachten, 1971, p. 12). Efforts are being made here and there to extend city-concentrated media to rural areas. Although UNESCO has recognized the urgent need of establishing rural media, the process has merely begun. Many developing countries, however, have begun to reevaluate their media patterns and structures in order to find the means of integrating them within national developmental objectives.

The Function of the Mass Media

Although in the 1950's and 1960's academicians had considered broadcasting as a possible panacea to Third World developmental problems, no serious efforts were made to spread the mass media for that purpose. Broadcasting services have remained as Gerbner and Siefert (1983) write, in broadcasting, Africa still trails other continents:

The continent has about seven hundred radio transmitters and thirty million receivers. Twenty-

six African states have fewer than fifty radio receivers for every one thousand people. Many people, therefore, have no access to radio. Television remains a luxury for an urban minority. There were only 2,750,000 television sets in 1976 for the entire population. Seventeen countries had no television service. (Gerbner and Siefert, 1983, p. 361).

Kazt and Wedell, (1977) note that the government of mainland Tanzania has resisted the introduction of any television at all, insisting that the medium is too expensive and that Tanzania's radio coverage is yet too imperfect. However, in 1972, a small color television station was opened in Zanzibar which is part of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The function of the mass media in Third World countries as seen by many Western scholars consist in creating empathy to facilitate the modernization process, creating the necessary climate for modernization, teaching of basic skills such as literacy and bringing about national integration. But as recent research has stressed, mass communication media have to become part of the political, social, economic and cultural planning of a nation in order to achieve national developmental goals.

In this task, the media are considered capable of speeding up the developmental process and to bring the whole continent of Africa into a fuller participation in the modern world. This task, developing countries believe can be achieved if the mass media continue to be the arm of the government and directed agents of planned social change, and not just a means of informing and entertaining mass audiences. But the mass media can bring the spirit and goals of development to the majority of the people if rural people could achieve literacy and basic education. This could be achieved in a shorter period of time if the mass media, particularly radio, could be given the opportunity to play a more active role in literacy training, particularly for adults in rural areas of developing countries.

The Role of Radio and Television

In the developing countries, radio and television continue to assume greater importance as media of communication on national, regional and international levels. Radio, however, due to its low-priced transistor, seems to receive wider application as a key weapon to eliminate illiteracy. Through a wider application of satellite communication,

television may soon become capable of fully competing with radio.

Extensive research by the International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, Teheran, Iran (1974) indicates that the application of radio and or television to rural education, development projects and literacy advancement, is, according to many reports, the best answer to the problems of illiteracy and adult education in emerging countries. (IIALM, 1974, p. 4).

A 1974 survey undertaken for UNESCO by Maddison in 40 countries around the world reports that all the countries surveyed, used radio in literacy training and developmental activities. Television was used in only 20 of those countries surveyed in 1969. Two reasons seem to stand out against the use of television, namely, high costs and reduced range of coverage.

Maddison continues to point out that because illiterates are scattered in vast rural areas, the electronic media can be used to link up with these people even as populations in these regions continue to increase. Maddison concludes by reiterating the need of the mass media in literacy instruction and development in general:

Radio and television can, and in fact, must play a role not only in direct instruction of illiterates but equally in the promotion of projects and mobilization of those who are literate and in the training of instructors. (1974, p. 5).

At this point, it might be helpful to explore the potential of both electronic media, television first.

Television's Strong Points

Although television was invented in the late 1920's, it only began to attract world-wide attention in the 1950's. Researchers were attracted by the new medium which could have the power "of offering all the potential of film at a lower cost." (Spencer, 1981 p. 91). Development planners and educationists believed that if they could tap the power of television as an educational medium, developmental bottlenecks connected with illiteracy in developing countries could be eliminated.

While putting in due consideration all the inherent qualities that the mass media in general have been found to possess towards literacy training, television seems to possess its own particular strengths. One major potentiality

of television lies in its ability "to communicate visually and aurally, authoritatively and attractively." (Reeves, 1981, p. 222). Williams (1981), presents an elaborate outline of the advantages of television over other mass media in adult literacy training. Williams argues that programs for adult literacy, or on literacy in general, can benefit from television because "television allows for the possibility of shortening the time needed for the learner to digest and study materials." (Ibid., p. 59) Williams continues to explore other strong points of television:

Television offers immediate reinforcement since it includes several variables - sound, verbalization, non-verbal language, and pictorial presentations, and in some cases, dramatization. The visualization affords additional clarification of points that may not be grasped immediately through verbalization, while the pictorial additions can serve to emphasize functional or structural relationships imbedded in the verbalization. (Williams, Ibid., p. 59).

The power of television to transform the character of the information thus facilitating easier understanding and assimilation makes television even more desirable and urgent in rural areas of developing countries. These

rural people find it more difficult to assimilate information that is presented through the print media.

Williams concludes by saying that the ability of television to elaborate and clarify information, facilitates the learning process and enhances the usefulness of television in literacy training in developing countries. Finally, Williams shows the added relevance of television as an audio-visual medium in predominantly oral societies.

"For societies emerging out of an oral culture, the audio-visual method to literacy education may be the most practical means towards print literacy." (Ibid., p. 59).

Furthermore, due to its audio-visual advantage, television can be used as a multiplier of literacy instructors through the use of the closed circuit system. Television can be used in this way as a means of coping with mounting enrollments to instruct a larger number of adults in different locations. This was the system used in the 1963-64 literacy project for television in the Ivory Coast.

Television has also been found of great benefit in assisting agricultural development in Third World countries.

What is important in the development of agriculture is that farmers be offered new ideas in the quickest possible time and be motivated to alter traditional methods through change of attitudes. Television is most competent in this area. (Reeves, 1970; Mathur 1971).

One further point which could be added is that television can ensure that a uniform core of the best instruction for learners is made available for "follow-down" literacy programs. Television not only brings a really good teacher to all viewers and learning groups, but also enables him or her to record his or her best and most polished performance on videotape through painstaking preparation and revision of each lesson with the help of micro-testing and feedback." (IIALM, 1978, p. 71).

Maddison (1974) also points out that most educationists have realized the field of literacy is favorable to a "multi-media" approach. This approach involves a planned and coordinated utilization of available educational and communicational media for the achievement of desired goals. Maddison writes:

To such an approach, broadcasting

and especially television is or should be the key factor. Television has the advantage of providing a synthesis of all the available aids to learning. It unites virtually all the other techniques including the immensely flexible "language" of the film. (Maddison, 1974, p. 35).

In the area of functional literacy, the mass media, particularly television could have a prominent role both directly and indirectly. Bowers (1969), in expounding the impact of functional literacy in developing countries, outlines the various functions that could be assigned to television, depending on each particular situation. In his study, Bowers argues that television can be used to generate publicity of a new concept and attract support from the audience. Secondly, television can be used to generate motivation by encouraging illiterates to join literacy programs and emphasize possible benefits. Thirdly, television can be used as a means of attracting interested teachers and instructors to participate in literacy programs. Fourthly, television can be used to train instructors both in pre-service and in-service training as well as providing on-the-job training by linking up teachers with their administrative services and training centers. Fifthly, television can be used to instruct illiterates either

individually in their private homes or in organized listening groups. Finally, television can be used as a support for the literacy environment by providing a useful "follow-down" information resource for literacy training programs. Perhaps, television can do what radio can do, and more.

Television's Weak Points

There seems to be a general lack of sufficient research regarding the real impact of television on adult literacy education.

While much has been attempted in some countries, we still know very little about the actual impact of radio and television." (Farr, 1970, p. 46). Throughout the past decade, this has been compounded by lack of sufficiently planned experimentation and scientific evaluation.

Bowers (1969) says that the main weakness regarding the use of television in literacy training concerns 'hardware' and cost. Bowers continues to point out:

The first problem which bedevils the use of television is:

developing countries is the provision and maintenance of viewing facilities. Many of the functional literacy projects are cited in rural areas or new industrial complexes in developing countries, where television coverage does not extend. Reaching these dispersed audiences may involve costly relay installations. In low-income areas television receivers are few and far between. They are also delicate and easily put out of gear by climatic conditions or rough handling... The unreliability of electricity, either by mains supply or local generators, is a frequent problem. (Bowers, 1969, p. 240).

Furthermore, due to lack of local production resources and trained personnel, developing countries are forced to import foreign programs which are inappropriate to their national priorities and objectives. This dependence may be explained in part from a historical perspective. Reeves (1970) notes that in developing countries, the pattern of broadcasting, often closely modelled on that of developed countries has been slow to adapt to local, social and economic needs. "Thus, television becomes a wasteful capital asset instead of a developmental tool." (p. 222). This historical trend may have hindered the tapping of local creative talent and available resources.

Television's application to functional literacy

in developing countries is also constrained by audience size. Television does require a large enough audience to justify its relative cost. Kirby (1969, p. 244) writes:

To aim at simultaneous varied programs for differing target audiences is at present technically possible, but economically unacceptable in the developing world. Non-simultaneous programs serving a variety of educational groups are at present the most economic application of the medium.

In the Television Literacy Project in Ivory Coast it was claimed that "when there are as many as 200 study groups or classes (of 35 pupils each), television begins to be more economic than other media." (UNESCO, 1967, p. 155).

There is yet another disadvantage which could also be addressed to all the mass media in general, namely, the "one-way", "top-down" inherent nature of the mass media. Waniewicz (1972) remarks that radio and television have been called 'the blind media'. This blindness is displayed when radio and, especially, television transmit messages without prior planned feedback devices. Consequently, there is no real contact established between sender and receiver, teacher and student. The mass characteristics of radio and television

are said to render them incapable of catering to the individual needs of the audience. "The one-way nature of broadcasting does not provide for resolving misunderstandings which may appear in the process of delivering information, it cannot answer questions that are not anticipated before transmission of the program." (Waniewicz, 1972, p. 40).

The potential use of television in the teaching and learning literacy process cannot be overemphasized. But, developing countries, due to serious constraints on economic resources, are obliged to restrict television's wider expansion to rural areas.

In spite of the haphazard, unplanned, almost accidental circumstances that have facilitated the introduction of television services in the Third World, few successful uses have been recorded. Among the most successful applications of television is the 1963-64 Literacy Project in the Ivory Coast. UNESCO (1967) reports that this operation started on a closed circuit system and later combined it with an open-circuit system to reach literacy groups both in the towns and rural areas. The closed circuit installations were eventually used for advanced literacy classes. This project was initiated by the government of the Ivory Coast, with French assistance, to engage in an experimental project

for literacy training by television. Extensive literature seems to have regarded this project as of considerable success.

In a few cases, such as Tanzania, governments have decided, as a matter of policy, to delay the establishment of television until other essential services, have been introduced. But if development planners are serious regarding the early tapping of all available means to accelerate the developmental process of their people, television would be a medium deserving at least some small-scale experimentation, for possible planned application on a wider scale. For as Reeves (1970) points out: "if those wishing to promote development by all available means are caught unprepared, it is certain that other interests will not be slow to fill the gap." (p. 222).

As has been said regarding the mass media in general, television might more successfully support literacy if coordinated and integrated with other educational programs. Moreover, an integrated application of television and other mass and group media is needed to meet national needs within the context of national educational and developmental strategies. Underlying this point, Noor (1982) says: "Whenever instructional television has been used, it has been deployed on a selective basis to attain

specific objectives in conjunction with other instructional media." (p. 174).

The Role of Radio in Literacy Training

In developing countries, radio continues to receive more popular acceptance as the best medium to deploy in literacy training. Maddison (1974) stresses that for many illiterates, low price, transistor radio sets will continue to be their only "magic casements" of broadcasting, opening on to the widening knowledge and increased powers as human beings to which literacy contributes.

Of all the mass media that have been used for literacy training in developing countries, researchers agree that radio has been the most suitable. Maddison writes that in the 1974 survey it was found that radio was the only advanced communication technique which has found its proper place in developing countries. The generally-accepted assumption is that radio can be the most adequate tool to reverse the negative trend of illiteracy among rural populations: (Farr, 1970; McAnany, 1973; Hall, 1974; Maddison, 1974; Burke, 1976; Allen and Anzalone, 1978; Jamieson, 1978; Kidd and Etherington, 1978; Nyirenda, 1980-81; Noor, 1982; Ouane, 1982; Sever, 1983).

The purpose of this section is to briefly explore three major factors that could be regarded important in explaining the prominence that radio possesses over other mass media. These factors will be discussed under two headings: social context and cost effectiveness.

Social Context

An important factor favoring the application of radio in literacy training is its inherent characteristics of the spoken word which renders it capable of linking to the African environment. Sine (1975) provides support for this when he says that of all the media, radio would appear to be the best suited to the African sociological context, that is, to societies of which oral expression is an essential feature, or, more precisely, a specific cultural practice.

Radio resembles traditional African modes of communication. There are studies which have claimed, "an unbroken link between, for example, the various types of drum language and the language of broadcasting." (Sine, 1975, p. 27). With its potentiality to adapt to local cultures and conditions, radio is a quick way to reach out to

the wisdom world of the common man and woman in the village of a developing country.

Radio being a "hot" medium tends to naturally encourage dialogue and social participation, still predominant in African societies. It would therefore be easier for radio to be used as a reinforcement of inter-personal communication important for the adoption of new methods essential for rural development. Moreover, radio allows everyone to share in the message on an equal basis, at the same time. Radio can facilitate new relationships between teachers and students.

Radio, as an orally-attractive mass medium can more easily be used as a starting point or in combination with written literacy training techniques. With its flexibility regarding the use of multiple languages, radio is useful for African countries in which various local languages are still spoken. Educational messages can be conveyed without placing extra demand on learners for a prerequisite of literacy skills. Thus, radio becomes convivial as neo-literates acquire the skills of reading and writing. "Broadcasting in local languages can contribute to the solution of local problems and provide

a voice for their audiences through a more appropriate feedback mechanism." (McAnany, 1973, p. 2).

Because of radio's power to annihilate distance, rural people who are scattered in vast almost impenetrable rural areas, can be reached by educational messages as indicated in Maddison (1974), commenting on the results of the global survey completed in 1974. In this way radio could be deployed in unifying the national literacy efforts. Furthermore, and this is important for functional literacy programs, radio can reach rural people in remote areas without having to disrupt their work schedule. Radio air waves are not limited by man-made structures.

Another element that should be attributed to radio is immediacy. Burke (1976, p. 25) gives a two-fold definition of this attribute:

First, we mean immediacy in its literal sense: an important piece of information, an occurrence of great importance...can be sent out to listeners immediately, without having to set type for printing, or to process film, or trust to the diffusion of the information by word of mouth... in the other sense it is best described as an attitude or feeling about the message rather than the actual time elements involved in preparing and sending the message.

This helps listeners "feel" that they are directly involved in what is being transmitted:

Cost Effectiveness

Another factor that makes radio preferable over other media is that of cost. (Burke 1976) while admitting the complexity of determining broadcasting costs, remarks that it should be obvious for anyone to observe that a television receiver costs anywhere from ten to twenty times more than a radio receiver. This high cost is prohibitively expensive for the buying power of an average family or even a single community in a rural village. Burke continues to explain the method of determining costs:

The costs can be expressed in two forms: total cost of installation and operation, and cost per person reached.... The total cost of television is only twice that of radio, but television costs sixteen times more than radio on a cost per person basis. (Burke, 1976, p. 26).

It is no wonder then that because of reduced costs, many developing countries prefer radio to other mass media in their developmental and literacy efforts. Radio

is more attractive than television, "mainly because of the cost involved in undertaking an extensive instructional television program, which appears to go beyond the means of many developing Third World countries." Noor, 1982, p. 174.

As McNamara, 1976, remarks, the area of cost will need more research in the future because of its complexity. So far, only few attempts have been made in this area, notably by Schramm, 1967 and Roy, et. al., 1969, in the cases of India and Costa Rica. "What is clear is that the largest costs are often hidden in budgets of other agencies which supply field personnel and supply materials so that village projects can be effective." (McNamara, 1976, p. 11).

The Function of Radio in Literacy Training

Among the mass media, radio is considered the primary medium for literacy training in developing countries. Radio is assumed to take an active role both indirectly, in the literacy teaching process and directly, in the main teaching message.

Radio has been found an essential part in functional

literacy programs. Extensive UNESCO research carried out in different projects in various developing countries bears evidence to the potentiality of the mass media, especially radio, in adult literacy projects. Radio was said to be capable of aiding both learners and teachers of adult literacy in urban and rural areas to get more involved in their own social, economic, political and cultural development. Participating in the Experimental World Functional Literacy Program, both Tanzania and Mali have reported how they used radio in literacy training with developmental objectives. The results were encouraging, as Ouane (1982) states, in the case of Mali: "Radio very quickly proved to be an excellent means of stimulating an awareness of development problems, social promotion and the need to struggle against illiteracy." (1982, p. 251).

Radio's role in relation to these literacy programs is four-fold: firstly, as an agent of motivation; secondly, as a means of disseminating essential information; thirdly, as a teaching aid for literacy courses; and fourthly, as a consolidating and sustaining agent for acquired literacy skills, leading to social action.

Motivation

"In order for people living in different cultural

environments to adopt new techniques, they need to be motivated. Motivation does not consist merely of disseminating propaganda in order to sell a product. Commenting on this, Waniewicz says, that motivation is by its nature the result of social stimulation and influences, deriving from contacts of the individual with the outside world, from the knowledge and understanding he or she gets of the needs and the requirements of society. (Waniewicz, 1972, p. 38). Being an important link between the individual and society, radio can contribute to motivation to the same measure that it is able to reflect the environment affecting the audience.

Furthermore, people need to be given the reasons to adopt a new method. They need to know, for example, the reasons of abandoning the traditional hoe to the new ox-drawn plough or tractor; why they ought to boil drinking water; why they need to put their money in the bank. They need to be attracted through demonstration of better methods and results which could be obtained from adopting new changes.

Kolade (1975) writes that radio addresses the whole personality of man and both emotional and intellectual appeal. Thus, radio with its inherent attractiveness in presenting

educational and developmental issues can be a necessary agent of motivation to neo-literates and literates alike.

Information

Radio is particularly effective in stimulating interest in literacy training through its capacity for repetitiveness. Nyirenda (1980-81) says that communications media have already been recognized in many African countries as a means of transmitting information and for general educational purposes. Similarly, Sever (1983) adds that the broadcast media - radio, and television - are presently the most potent and far-reaching technological means at our disposal for disseminating literacy. News, agricultural, and medical advice, lessons for adults and children and political discussions are just a few of the varied ways in which radio has been or might be used to create a more literate and aware society.

In any literacy project, there is a need to use radio as a means of extending the literacy project to all who desire to learn. Burke (1976) says that radio can be used to inform potential learners regarding short-term and long-term

procedures of the literacy project. Through radio, people can be made aware of what they need to know about the project even before its inception. This arousal of interest or stimulation of curiosity is essential for all learning groups, their instructors and volunteers because it constitutes an important step towards mass learning process.

Instruction

Poor countries of Africa are not able to train enough teachers to meet the traditional teaching requirements both in formal and non-formal education. Also, as Maddison notes, traditional methods alone have been found wanting in reversing the trend of illiteracy. Therefore, new educational methods using radio and other mass media should be applied to eradicate illiteracy.

The shortage of teachers becomes more crucial during mass literacy campaigns. Governments and literacy organizers have had to take exceptional measures of closing down the whole formal educational system to allow all teachers to fully participate in national mass literacy campaigns, as was the case in Cuba. In Tanzania, the government had to organize crash courses and seminars for teachers and volunteers for this purpose.

Radio can be applied as a multiplier of literacy instructors. Burke (1976) says that radio can help solve the problem of trained manpower because it can put a master teacher in the middle of every listening group. Radio can train its own monitors and animators. It can also reduce the problem of producing huge quantities of instructional materials.

Some authors have suggested that the entertainment element inherent in radio could obstruct radio's educational potentiality. If radio literacy programs are well planned for educational purposes, the entertainment aspect could enhance attractiveness to the educational elements. For, the "surest way to lose a mass audience is to presume to preach or teach. The surest way to attract and hold a mass audience is to offer immediate and continuous emotional gratification as well as education." (Gunter and Theroux, 1977, p. 289).

From awareness, adult illiterates can, with the aid of broadcasting, become involved in the functional literacy process itself. Fully integrated within the national adult education program, the mass media can assume a role of teacher within the context of adult education. Maddison, (1974,

p. 33) writes:

While illiteracy is a problem affecting great masses of human beings, broadcasting is the most powerful and often the cheapest and quickest means of communicating with such masses... Broadcasting and adult education have a certain degree of special relationship. Indeed... broadcasting is the main instrument of adult education in the world today.

The fundamental role that the mass media, especially radio can play in adult literacy must be understood within the national adult educational objectives of a country.

Farr (1970, p. 44) says:

This fundamental approach to literacy teaching, as part of continuing adult education, presents a challenge to the mass media and, in particular, to radio and television but, more importantly, offers opportunities of serving a literacy which goes far beyond the use of the media for the teaching of the three "Rs":... This should make it easier for radio and television to play their role since they are no longer called upon to teach just the three Rs or to present abstractions, but to present concrete economic and social situations and objectives and deal with existing human problems.

It is not the aim of this study to explore in detail

the various teaching methods used in the literacy projects. It suffices to point out at this stage that the analysis of the case study on the Tanzania Literacy Project will treat in some detail some of the methods used regarding the teaching of the three Rs and the Radio Discussion Groups.

In furthering its teaching potentialities, radio can be exploited with a view to extending its wider educational opportunities to other national developmental projects. Some experts argue that the main concern for radio in a developing country lays "in mobilizing public opinion to a project." (IIAZM, 1974, p. 9). This could enable rural people to achieve quick social, economic, political and cultural development never experienced before. This was the aim envisaged by UNESCO as Farr (1970, p. 44) writes:

The aim was not to teach reading and writing for themselves but as instruments to enable the adults concerned to learn how to do old jobs more efficiently or to learn new jobs and also to understand and participate in the economic, social and political life, first of their community and then of their nation.

Some Notable Experiences

Perhaps one of the most rewarding outcome of the

use of radio was, that undertaken in Tanzania campaigns to promote specific developmental projects in health, nutrition and political conscientization. The campaigns gave rise to the use of Radio Rural Forums, Radio Study Groups, Radio Listening Groups, and/or Radio Learning Groups. Nyirenda (1980-81, p. 267) describes the three groupings:

A radio rural forum is a club of about fifteen to twenty people who wish to listen in an organized way to selected radio programs as a starting point for discussion among themselves, to increase their knowledge and information and, if possible, to put into practice some of the things they learn from radio and discussion.

The idea of radio forums was not new as it had been used in Canada and Scandinavian countries for community development activities. The experiences gained in these countries were being shared with developing countries but with careful adaptation to local needs and circumstances. Nyirenda (1980-81; p. 258) continues to describe these forums as applied to developing countries:

A listening technique is where a group of people is organized to listen to a series of radio programs together and then discuss the

material. While a study group is a group of voluntary members who receive printed study materials from a central source of organization on various topics of interest to them. The group has a leader who is trained in organizing group meetings. It is also provided with a study guide which helps in deciding the pace of study. The campaigns focus on specific national problems such as health, nutrition, teacher education and workers' education. They have a national audience.

A more pragmatic description of what is involved in the forums is advanced by Kidd and Etherington (1978, p. 89) as follows:

...It is possible to distinguish between a radio listening group and a radio learning group. The former may be seen as a passive affair designed to assimilate information from a central authority. A radio learning group, in contrast, uses considerable local leadership and support to debate a campaign content grounded in reality, and to decide on their response to it, perhaps by a local initiative, perhaps by communicating this response to the campaign organizers.

There are only few analyses of such projects that were totally geared towards rural adults as their main target audience. The best example is probably that of

Tanzania's "Mtu Ni Afya" (Man is Health), "Chakula ni Uhai" (Food is Life), and "Uchaguzi ni Wako" (The Choice is Yours) radio mass campaigns which have received reports of rare success. As will be seen, the successes were limited due to lack of adequate "follow-down" on local level.

The mass media, especially radio and television play a vital role in the literacy training efforts of Tanzania and other developing countries in speeding up the development process. While television communicates with a strong appeal and attraction, radio enjoys more conviviality and accessibility for effective application in Third World environments. But as we shall see later, the mass media can be more effective if integrated with local media with which people can more readily empathize. Williams (1980-81) summarizes this point:

If the techniques chosen are those that, rather than radically disturb traditions or life-styles or overwhelm the people are those to which the people can easily adjust, then such technology poses no threat to established way of life, but will work towards the betterment of society. (p. 60).

It would be beyond the scope of this study to discuss

the various methodologies that were used in all the literacy projects all over Africa. However, a thorough analysis of the Tanzania case study of the UNDP-UNESCO-sponsored literacy project in the Lake Region of Western Tanzania which was later extended to the national level, is the topic for the following chapter. The problems encountered and the flaws that were made in this project might help to explore a more dynamic planning and future course of action.

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CHAPTER III

LITERACY TRAINING CAMPAIGNS IN TANZANIA

Introductory Remarks

Any attempt by a developing country to eliminate illiteracy within its entire population, both rural and urban, seems to be a commendable objective. Illiteracy is a problem associated with the Third World and underdevelopment. Illiteracy is labelled an enemy and a serious obstacle of development in any developing country.

People in developing countries need training for their development. "Functional literacy" or "work-oriented literacy" is seen as an effective method of training for such development. Literacy seems to be one of the fundamental elements for such training.

We saw earlier that the United Nations declared literacy to be one of the fundamental human rights. Moreover, literacy is seen as an essential tool for people to participate in basic social processes. The more people become

literate, the more they are assumed to be capable of managing community duties and responsibilities.

When, in the mid-sixties, UNESCO decided to eradicate illiteracy throughout the world through an experimental program, Tanzania was one among a dozen countries to make a major commitment towards literacy training as a strategy for rural development. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly explore Tanzania's attempts in eliminating illiteracy through training using mass media, particularly radio. After brief background remarks on Tanzania, this chapter will analyze the Work-Oriented Literacy Pilot Project in the Western Lake Regions of Tanzania; the National Mass Literacy Campaigns; and the Radio Education Program followed by the Radio Study Group Campaigns.

General Background on Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania, incorporating mainland Tanzania and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, is made up of 945,087 sq.km. (364,900 sq.mi.) of different land formations, varied climatic conditions and people of diversified ethnic origins. The country is situated on the Eastern region of the African continent along the Indian ocean. Tanzania had an estimated mid-1981 population of 19.2 million. It is

"one of the least urbanized countries of Africa, less than 6 per cent of the population lived in cities and towns at the time of the 1967 census." (Europa Publications, 1984, p. 862).

The pattern of population distribution features acute disproportions. There exist fairly densely populated areas flanked by sparsely inhabited vast grazing plains and forests. The dispersive nature of population distribution was one of the factors blamed as a cause of poverty among the rural people. Tanzania is ranked as one of the poorest twenty-five nations in the world, but proportionately better than most Third World countries in terms of income distribution.

The problem of population distribution is one that caught the attention of the government and received first priority in development plans since the country achieved its independence in 1961. Definite and firm plans were taken to relocate most of the rural populations into new villages under a cooperative settlement plan or "Ujamaa" (Familyhood) structure. Latest statistics figures estimate the number of Ujamaa villages in the mainland Tanzania at 8,200. Hall (1975) outlines the potential impact of the villagization program on the economic development of Tanzania:

The villagization of rural areas brings about definite economic advantages: In the first place, the provision of infrastructure and services is virtually impossible when people are living in scattered areas. Living in one place also facilitates the spread of innovations, more ideas and education.

The countryside, which is home for up to 93 per cent of the population (Coldevin, 1979), displays considerable variation in the developmental pattern. In some areas with good arable land and sufficient rainfall, agriculture is being expanded towards more and better cash crops. But very large areas are still mainly engaged in subsistence agricultural production.

Tanzania was under German colonial rule from 1885 to 1916 and under British mandate and trusteeship up to its independence in 1961. The struggle for independence was marshalled by Dr. Julius Kambarage Nyerere under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) Party founded in 1954.

Under the leadership of President Nyerere, TANU consolidated its legitimacy and popularity as a symbol of a national unity and freedom from past colonial domination. This was accomplished by assuming a defined ideology for a socialist

transformation. (Hall, 1975). For a country which had had a long history of colonial domination, an ideological clarity was imperative for the achievement of conscious change for this transformation. TANU viewed ideology as "being able to create a national unity through an increased level of public consciousness and as a guide to individuals and organizations in planning and carrying out decisions and policies." (Hall, 1975, p. 35).

Tanzania is one of few countries in Africa to have a wide use of the African-originated language, Swahili. Swahili, which is widely spoken by all the tribal groupings in the country, is the national language. No one tribal group displays considerable prominence because of the democratic structure of the government and Party. From 1965 to 1977, Tanzania was governed under two parties, TANU in the mainland and Afro-Shirazi in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. "Chama cha Mapinduzi" (The Revolutionary Party).

Tanzania began to experience substantial social change early in 1967 with the Arusha Declaration which introduced the country to a socialist - "Ujamaa" (Familyhood) - direction with a socialist development strategy. "The traditional concept of Ujamaa is founded in the common sharing of traditional life in the past." (Hall, 1975, p. 24). The two

main pillars of the Ujamaa philosophy are equality and self-reliance.

The Arusha Declaration was a milestone in the destiny of the Tanzanian people as a new independent nation. It brought considerable changes in the social, political, economic and cultural life of Tanzanian society. The dignity of man and woman regardless of color, tribe or ethnic origin, race, religion or education was declared a first priority. Exploitation of anyone by an individual or group was prohibited under the popular slogan: "Everyone must work".

With the Arusha Declaration, all major production sectors were nationalized and placed under government direction. Europa Publications (1984) outlines other significant developments which were geared towards such socialist leadership strategy within a rural developmental structure. All party leaders were required to divest themselves of private sources of income: rural development had to come not through large farms, but community villages; the small urban sector was to stop exploiting the rural populations: the education system had to be completely reorganized in order to cater to the majority instead of the elite few.

Furthermore, TANU had declared a war against three

enemies which were thought to be the main causes of Tanzania's underdevelopment: ignorance, disease and poverty. From its first Five Year Development Plan of 1964, Tanzania had realized the need to put high priority on "basic adult education" as a solution to the problem of ignorance among the rural people. President Nyerere had expressed the need to educate rural adults first, as they formed the major portion of the agricultural sector. They needed this type of education for their immediate function in their environment. The groundwork for the implementation of this plan was laid down by President Nyerere in a document entitled: "Education for Self-Reliance". This was followed in 1968 by the "Work-Oriented Literacy Pilot Project" and later by the declaration of 1970 as Adult Education Year. In 1972 the Work-Oriented Literacy Pilot Project was extended nationwide with the ambitious aim of eradicating illiteracy by the end of 1975.

The Work-Oriented Literacy Pilot Project

Introduction

Tanzania was one of eleven countries to participate in the UNESCO/United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Literacy Program as a major effort of developing an effective approach towards the eradication of illiteracy. The Experimental World

Literacy Program (EWLP), launched by UNESCO's World Conference of Ministers of Education in Teheran, Iran, in 1965, considered mainly "the manner in which national plans for the eradication of illiteracy could more effectively contribute to social and economic progress." (UNESCO, 1976, p. 10). This was a new trend.

The Teheran Conference adopted a new approach to literacy training by emphasizing functional literacy, increased productivity and a greater participation in the social, economic and cultural advancement of a developing country. The main objective, as the Teheran Conference envisaged, was to establish links between literacy and development and find efficient methods of conducting pilot projects by means of national mass campaigns to combat illiteracy. Eventually, social, political and economic advancement would be achieved.

What seems to be lacking in this approach was an emphasis on the need to recognize and exploit local traditional educational values, integrated with new literacy skills to achieve more lasting results. As various research indicates, emphasis on quantitative factors seems to overshadow the equally important qualitative elements that have to be considered in the literacy teaching process.

To implement the immense task of eradicating illiteracy, various national governments engaged in selective and intensive national mass literacy campaigns. These campaigns, which were mostly implemented within the framework of EWLP, were integrated within national, regional or local institutions already responsible at some level for adult literacy programs.

Within a ripe political and ideological climate, founded on the ideals of African socialism and self-reliance, Tanzania set out to launch a Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Project (WOALP) to be closely linked to social and economic objectives for national development. UNESCO (1976) suggests that the Tanzanian government decided to adopt the approach of "Literacy for Work" so far as it was more directly linked to production and other methods. This approach also reinforced UNESCO's notion that "literacy can play a generative role in socio-economic development of communities by unlocking human potential in farmers, fishermen, artisans and workers of those communities." (Bhola, 1970). As was mentioned earlier, UNESCO's concept was founded on the notion that functional literacy could generate development.

Tanzania is the only country in the world to have been awarded major international literacy awards in 1967 and

1974 and again in 1978. (Malya, 1978, p. 23). Some authors attribute this success in literacy training to the political will demonstrate towards adult education both by the ruling party and the government. This supportive political climate is said to have spurred cooperative support from all national ministries and other agencies and institutions, a necessary requirement for the success of an undertaking of such wide national application. Both TANU and the government had laid down well defined policies and plans towards national developmental goals and the role of non-formal education in rural development. But the adult education program began to gain significant national importance through the Work-Oriented Literacy Project (1968-1972) which later gave rise to the national mass literacy campaigns.

A national literacy program was taking shape when President Nyerere proclaimed 1970 and later 1971 Adult Education Year. "This marked the beginning of a new phase in the development of Tanzanian education." (Hall, 1974). The government set a deadline for the complete eradication of illiteracy by 1975. This was to be done "Through functional adult education classes to be conducted as a national campaign." (Hall, 1974, p. 514). The 1975 deadline proved to be too ambitious. In a report from the Ministry of National Education, it is confirmed that the illiteracy rate in

Tanzania has been reduced from 21 per cent (1981) to 15 per cent (1983) males, 10 per cent, and females, 20 per cent).

But these data do not necessarily provide sufficient evidence for literacy acquisition levels and more importantly, relevant use of literacy skills which could help in the creation of a lasting literate environment.

Reasons, Objectives and Priorities

The purpose of this section is to explore the reasons, objectives and methods employed in the Tanzania literacy training campaigns highlighting the use of the mass media, particularly radio, as a supporting and teaching tool in the implementation of the literacy projects.

When Tanzania achieved its political independence in 1961, it found itself in an unsatisfactory state of illiteracy and underdevelopment. Besides being one of the poorest countries in Africa, Tanzania was plagued by a high rate of illiteracy especially among its rural adults, the majority of whom were women. The general census that was taken in 1967 revealed this overwhelming rate of illiteracy in Tanzania. (Malya, 1975, p. 46). As Malya (1975) further notes, the 1967 census revealed that out of the population of 13 million, there were over 7 million adults consisting of both men and women over 15

years and that about 75 per cent or over 5,250,000 were illiterate. This number could also be enlarged by a large percentage of youths who were unable to attend school at all. In sum, illiteracy was about 80 per cent among men and 90 per cent among women.

The government was immediately concerned. If Tanzania was to engage in any meaningful development at all, the emphasis had to be put on rural development by training its rural people. "It was these adults who formed the productive sector of the population." (Malya, 1975, p. 46). Their developmental education had to evolve within the policy of socialism and self-reliance. "People cannot be developed they can only develop themselves." (Nyerere, 1974, p. 27).

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 could not have come at a more appropriate time. As a policy document, it paved the way for not only national development, but also embraced adult literacy as an essential part of adult education for rural development. One of the often quoted objectives of TANU was, "To see that the government mobilizes all resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease." (Government Press, 1967, p. 2(e)).

In Tanzania, combatting illiteracy was not an activity

devoid of political significance; rather, literacy training was an educo-politico-developmental endeavor. The campaign approach towards literacy training was therefore most appropriate in a political environment favourable to the integration of the literacy problem in the existing national development plans.

The Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Project (WOALP) was officially launched in 1968. The government spelled out the aim of the Pilot Project as follows:

The purpose of the project is to organize and implement a work-oriented adult education pilot project closely linked with vocational training, particularly in agriculture, and to train the national counterparts, supervisors and trainers of literacy teachers in the new approach and techniques of functional literacy. (Second Five Year Development Plan, No. 5602, p. 71).

The Pilot Project had five objectives which could be briefly outlined as follows: a) to teach the three R's utilizing vocational skills from agriculture and industry; b) to help utilize acquired skills to solve basic economic, social and cultural problems; c) to enhance participation on local, regional and national levels; d) to arrive at an

integration of adult literacy and adult education programs within the national agricultural and industrial development; and e) to provide literature for continuing education for community development and create a literate environment.

In defining literacy within the Tanzanian situation, a combination of three definitions was adopted by the National Coordinating Committee. Using this definition, a literate person in the Tanzanian context could be described as follows:

- a) A literate person is one who can read and write as well as utilize the alphabet to obtain and store information in one's daily situation.
- b) An individual is literate when after acquiring necessary literacy skills he or she can use them in a more effective manner in his or her functioning towards self and community development.

Literacy understood in this way should not be regarded as an end in itself. Adult literacy as an indispensable element in overall development should be closely related to development needs. Literacy should therefore be related to

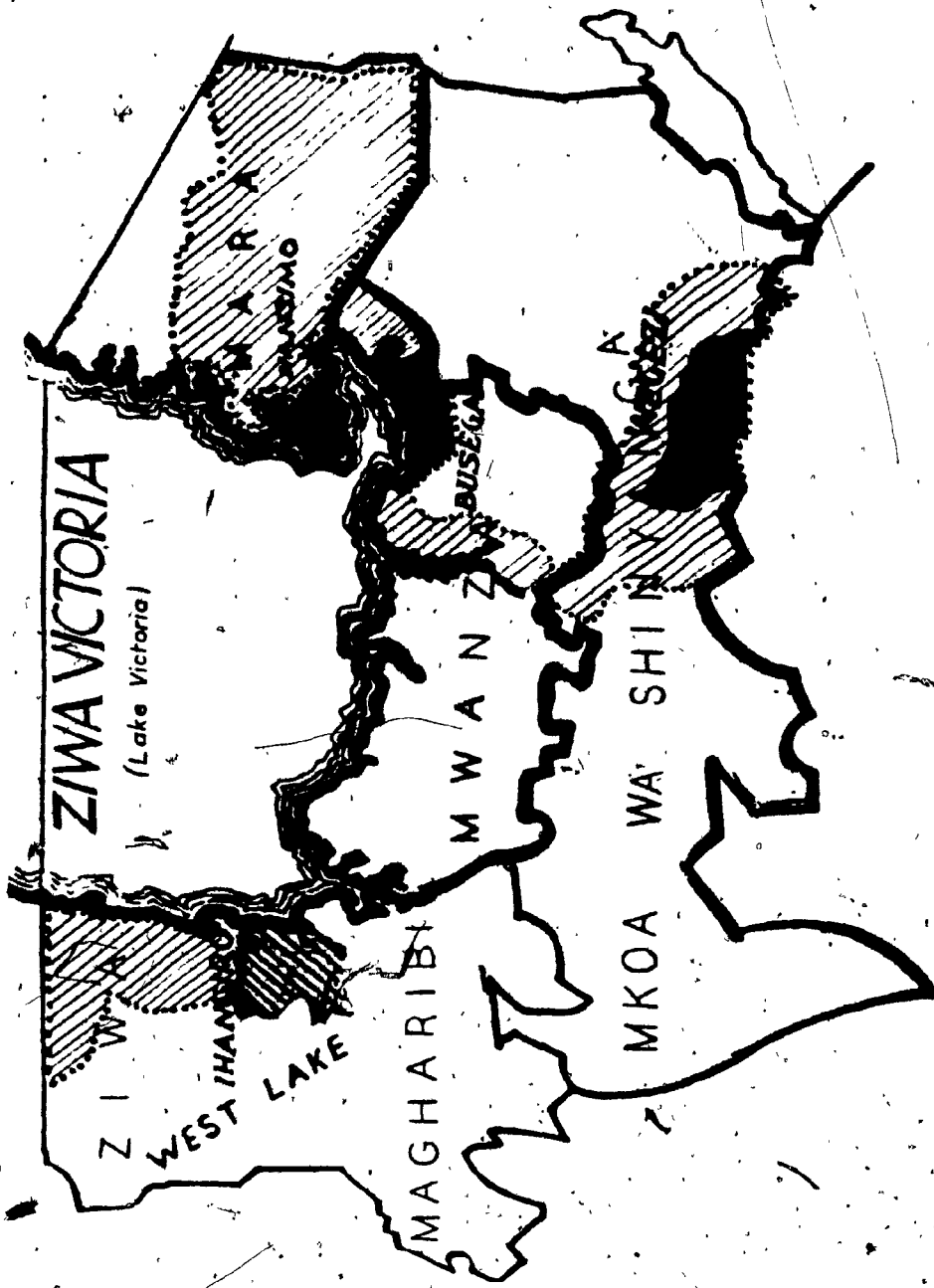
"training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in the civic life and a better understanding of the surrounding world and open the way to basic culture." (IIALM, 1976, p. 22).

The Project

The Tanzania Work-Oriented Pilot Project was planned to cover four pilot areas around Lake Victoria: Mwanza, Mara, Shinyanga and West Lake. (Figure 1 on page 105). The Lake Regions were chosen for obvious reasons. Besides being densely populated, these regions had a unique economic importance. Both cash crops, such as coffee and cotton were grown and food crops made a good portion of the agricultural sector. Bhola (1970), Mbakile (1974), and Malya (1975) further state that in these areas illiteracy was thought to constitute a serious bottleneck in the diffusion of agricultural innovations and other socio-economic changes.

As envisaged in the Plan of Operations, the duration of literacy courses was to be 18 months spread out in two years of training of 9 months each. It was hoped that these 18 months "would provide skills in literacy and improved farming as well as build social and participative competences in adult learners." (Bhola, 1970).

Figure 1: Pilot Areas Within the Lake Regions.



Source: Viscusi, M. (1971). Literacy for working: Functional literacy in rural Tanzania. Paris: UNESCO, 19,

It was anticipated that after the training period, participants would have acquired literacy and developmental education through the acquisition of new and more relevant agricultural and industrial skills. Moreover, it was hoped that at the end of the project, the illiteracy rate among adults from 15 to 45 years of age would have been reduced from 85 per cent to 25 per cent. Mbakile (1974, p. 374) explains what this would mean in practical terms:

It was expected that the program would bring about quantitative and qualitative increases and diversification in both cash and food crops, and that increased disposal of income, more rational investment of money, better standards of housing, sanitation, nutrition, etc. would ensue. An increase in popular participation in the running of economic and socio-political institutions was also expected.

Mbakile (1974) notes, that until 1972 the Pilot Project went through three operational phases: one preparatory year, two years of a limited operational period and two years of extension to other project areas.

In order for the project to take off, teachers had to be found and receive crash courses. Primary school teachers and voluntary workers were to be given two to four weeks

training which would be followed by in-service and refresher courses. Field staff from agricultural institutions were to undertake and supervise agricultural demonstrations.

Training involved about 13,500 persons comprising teachers, supervisors, teams of instructors and other field workers. The programs consisted, among other things, in producing seven primers and teachers' guides through writers' workshops, on various socio-economic activities such as the growing of cotton, bananas, rice as well as fishing, home economics and politics. "In addition to teacher practical improvements in daily activities, the project also intends to develop social, political and economic consciousness." (Viscusi, 1971, p. 14). Also, selected groups of farmers underwent training in Swahili (the national language) closely linking literacy to vocational skills of improved farming. A total of 16,800 literacy classes were established, starting with 30 classes in 1968 and ending with 11,500 classes in 1972." (Mbakile, 1974, p. 375). It was estimated that the total class enrollment between the 1968 and 1972 was 534,800 persons.

In order to create a literate environment and offer the opportunity for continual education, 90 libraries were

established with accompanying discussion groups. Moreover, four rural newspapers one for each pilot district were established." (Mbakile, 1974, p. 376). It was only towards the end of the project that a radio education program was being set up. As will be further explored, an earlier application of the mass media, particularly radio, could have eliminated some of the problems, of drop-outs, shortage of teachers and materials and more importantly, reinforcement of literacy through regular and planned repeated broadcasts.

Evaluation

Almost all the literature available (Haule, 1970; Hall, 1971; Hall and Dodds, 1977; Mbakile, 1974; Malya, 1975; Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979; Zubéri, 1982) confirms that, on the whole, the project was a success as a pilot campaign for literacy training in rural development and as a model applicable on the normal level.

Nevertheless, the project's implementation was faced with several flaws. Problems ranged from lack of proper evaluation methods, training facilities and programs, personnel, to poor production, distribution and shortage of follow-up, reading and teaching materials.

Some of the problems could be explained due to lack of pretest and experimental groups before commencement of the project. In fact, "the life-span of the project did not allow for proper consolidation work to be done."

(Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979). The Pilot Project obviously lacked the initial support and popular reinforcement that radio could have contributed. Communication was more often activated through the political network already in place using face-to-face encounters. Moreover, there was a tendency to depend more on print media and visuals in the form of pictures, posters and, to a lesser extent, film.

It appears that from the evaluation that was done, no significant quantitative data could be obtained to measure the relationship between acquired literacy and developmental attitudes or new skills for improved farming. But as Hinzen and Hundsdorfer (1979) point out, some of the results were commendable:

Although the original goals fixed for the evaluation of the Experimental World Literacy Program were not completely met by the project, a limited scientific and experimental approach was devised and put into operation resulting in preliminary findings and hypotheses for further studies. (p. 145).

Perhaps one of the major results of the Work-Oriented Pilot Project was that the experience gained helped to pave the way to a more aggressive approach in the national mass literacy campaign.

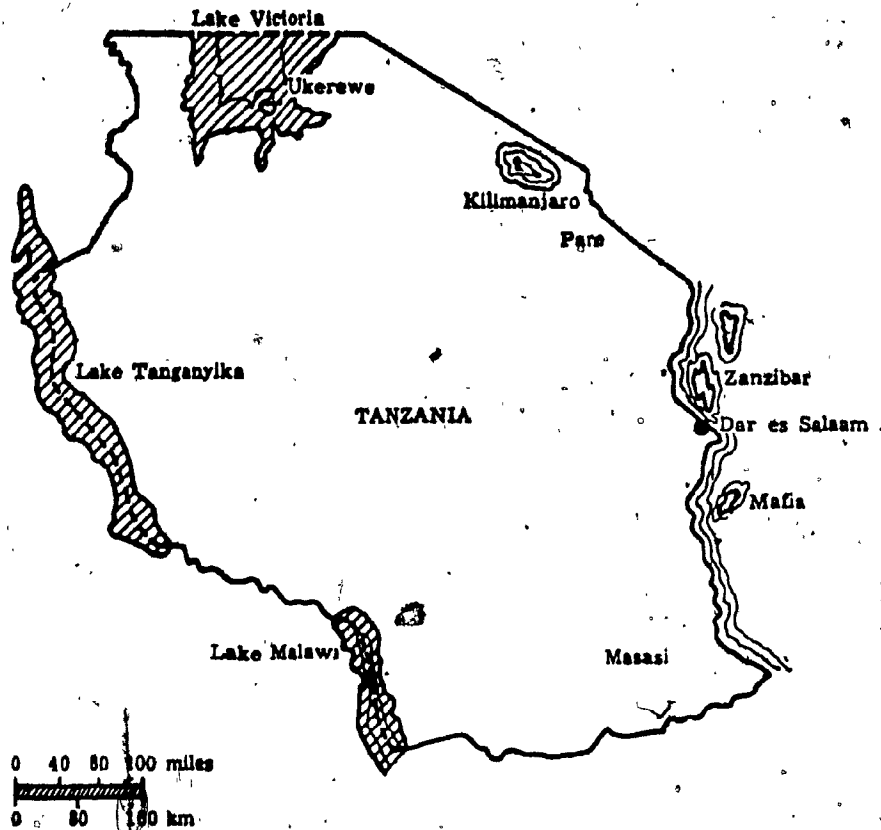
The National Literacy Campaign

Introduction

In its Second Five Year Development Plan, Tanzania outlined the direction of adult education by placing first priority on rural development. It further specified that literacy would be included in response to popular demand as people became aware of its functional importance. It was also becoming clear that there was urgent need to extend the pilot project to the national level. The designation of 1970 as Adult Education Year by President Nyerere created greater national consciousness of the debilitating effects of illiteracy among the rural populations in Tanzania.

The National Literacy Campaign was begun while the Work-Oriented Literacy Pilot Project was still under way. This national mass literacy campaign was initiated in 1971 on an experimental level in six selected districts (See map in figure 2) for a one-year-period before application to the

Figure 2: The Six-Districts Literacy Campaign of 1971.



Source: Kassam, Y. O. (1978). The adult education revolution in Tanzania. Nairobi: Sungwaya Publishers Ltd.

whole country. In this first year of the campaign, which was organized and administered by the Ministry of National Education, several hypotheses on motives and attitudes of illiterates were to be tested. A model could then be worked for application to other regions on the national level. Kassam (1978, p. 34) further explains: "Each district was selected on the basis of a specific set of criteria and each district was given a different challenge to meet based on its own social, cultural and educational situation."

The evaluation which was carried out by the Institute of Adult Education revealed mixed results. Recorded enrollments seemed to have been high and popular awareness for the need for literacy training was markedly enhanced. But, there were indications of problems preventing a thorough scientific evaluation. Kassam (1978, p. 35) confirms this:

It is difficult to obtain reliable statistics on the number of illiterates who after registration continued to attend literacy classes on a regular basis and the number of people who actually became literate. Table 1 (reproduced below) shows only the enrolment figures in the campaign. They do not indicate how many people maintained regular attendance or how many people eventually dropped out.

Table 1: Number of illiterates and registration rates
in the Six-District Literacy Campaign of 1971.

District	Estimated no. of illiterates	No. of registered illiterates	% of enrolled illiterates
Mafia	8,545	8,549	100%
Ukerewe	36,000	35,843	99.6%
Kilimanjaro	46,510	45,466	97 %
Pare	24,121	24,121	100%
Dar es Salaam	100,000	28,306	28.3%
Masasi	51,973	45,364	89 %

Source: 1971 Annual Report of the Adult Education Directorate, Ministry of National Education, Dar es Salaam, as reprinted in Kassam (1978, p. 89).

Other problems that were experienced during this campaign concerned lack of motivation, shortage of teaching materials and inadequate transportation. An abundance of materials does not necessarily assure success. The poor figures for the city of Dares Salaam as compared to the rural districts is a good example. The solution may lie in the need for people to be directed to run their own projects according to the needs of each particular environment and

more closely connected to their own cultures and practices.

The completion of the six-district Literacy Campaign at the end of 1971 marked the beginning of the National Literacy Campaign as a full-scale strategy to combat illiteracy in Tanzania. "In 1971 it was nationally decided that illiteracy be wiped out completely by 1975 through functional adult education classes to be conducted as a national campaign." (Hall, 1974, p. 514). This would be implemented utilizing the experiences gained from the six-district campaign and from the feedback received from the UNESCO/UNDP Pilot Project." (Malya, 1975, p. 54).

The approach used in the National Literacy Campaign concentrated on functional literacy by integrating new communication skills with work. This approach seems to have assumed the necessity of literacy in every type of occupation in the rural areas and is confirmed by the decision that was passed by TANU and the government at the end of 1971. Hall (1974) writes:

It was decided...that the training in the skill of reading and writing be conducted hand in hand with imparting to the adult some practical skill and knowledge in any of their

occupation or vocation... Reading and writing becomes a secondary and transient element in the whole exercise, although very important. (p. 514).

Organization

In order to achieve the ambitious goal of wiping out illiteracy by the end of 1975, TANU and the Tanzania government undertook specific organizational steps. As outlined by Malya (1975), these specific steps included the following:

- a) Establishment of a National Advisory Committee on Adult Education. Similar committees were formed at regional, district, division, ward, and cell levels. This step was aimed at assuring that leadership training would be available at all levels, from the top to the grassroots level. (See Appendix I).
- b) Adult Education officers or Regional Adult Education Coordinators were appointed to organize and coordinate adult learning activities. These were to be assisted by Regional Adult Education Officers.

- c) Permanent teams of trainers were given intensive short courses at national, regional, district, divisional and ward levels. These teams had the responsibility of teaching trainers at various levels and act as advisors in the various committees.
- d) Functional literacy was conducted according to the particular needs of the adults of each region.
- e) A nationwide publicity was launched to stimulate national public awareness on the need for literacy training.
- f) Some of the adult education programs were supported by radio programs.

Results

The National Mass Literacy Campaign was found to have generally gained nationwide success. One of the major factors indicating this is the regular increase in enrollment figures. Although enrollment figures do not seem to necessarily guarantee individual change of attitude towards or in favor of adult

literacy, statistics from the Ministry of Education on enrollment were encouraging. When the campaign started in 1970, the reports confirm, a total of 261,369 adults had enrolled in literacy classes. In 1975, when the campaign was expected to reach its climax, the figure was at 5,184,982. (Ministry of Education, 1983).

Assessment of literacy levels was undertaken through the administration of National Literacy Tests. So far, four such tests have been conducted: in 1975, 1977, 1981 and 1983. The tests were conducted in compliance with the definition of literacy outlined in a document issued by the UNESCO/Tanzania Literacy Project Committee in Mwanza, Tanzania, in 1974. A combination of definitions was adopted, but the following could sum up the main elements:

An individual is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community and whose attainment in reading, writing and arithmetic makes it possible for him to continue to use these skills towards his own and the community's development. (Malya, 1977-78, p. 21-22).

As tested, levels of literacy acquisition ranked from I to IV ranging from the minimum ability to read and write to the equivalent of two years in primary school

education. The validity of using tests as measurements of literacy acquisition is questionable since they are geared more towards a quantitative result rather than emphasizing the qualitative elements thus obscuring the true literacy acquisition level. However, the Ministry of Education reported in 1982 that the tests between 1975 and 1981 show that a total of 3,122,982 adults have achieved literacy according to the Tanzanian definition reducing the national illiteracy rate from 67 per cent to 21 per cent. Latest reports from the same Ministry issued after the 1983 tests claim that the national illiteracy rate which was 69 per cent in 1969 was reduced to 41 per cent in 1975, 27 per cent in 1977, 21 per cent in 1981 and to 15 per cent in 1983. (Commission for Education, Ministry of Education, 1984). In its future plans, the Ministry of Education plans to reduce illiteracy to 5 per cent by the year 1986.

Problems

Mbakile (1979) suggests, that the major problem that still plagues the national literacy program, especially in the rural areas, is that of establishing a need for literacy. "The mobilization and motivational efforts have not been able to provide answers to the very vital question:

'literacy for what'. (Mbakile 1977, p. 12). This is confirmed by the substantial number of non-enrollments, drop-outs, drop-ins and irregular attendance. Moreover, the problems are far from solved to date. "In 1981 the illiteracy rate was estimated at 3,788,859. Of these, only 26 per cent were attending literacy classes, thus 74 per cent of those illiterates were not attending." (Evaluation Commission Report, 1984, p. 162).

Rural development was the emphasis that the Tanzania government intended in its Second Five Year Development Plan. The Literacy Campaign was to be integrated within the whole development plan of the country. Yet, the performance of the campaign seems to suggest that literacy programs were too competitive with other development programs. "There is a tendency by the leadership and administrators to react with more vigor to newly introduced development programs, one of which could be the literacy program." (Mbakile, op.cit., p. 12).

Too much emphasis might have been put on economic incentives resulting from literacy acquisition thus narrowing down the national objectives of the total liberation of man through socialism and self-reliance for rural development. Temporal motivation through political pressure might have failed to satisfy individual need to become literate. This

might have been due to the government's decision not to wait for participatory planning of the literacy projects.

Another problem which is a politically sensitive issue, and which for the purpose of this thesis can be discussed only briefly, is that of language. In a country like Tanzania, where more than 100 languages are spoken, which language should be used to teach literacy? The government decided to use Swahili, the national language, not attached to any single tribal group. In fact, one of the aims of the literacy programs was to teach the Swahili language.

Although Tanzania is said to be fortunate in possessing Swahili, its national language, a lingua franca and symbol of unity, rural people do not possess the command of Swahili. Thus in many areas the teaching of literacy in Swahili was greatly hindered by the lack of command of this national tool. In the Tanzanian context, the choice of Swahili may have been the only alternative, but this choice brought problems.

The question of which language to use in literacy training has been asked frequently in various studies. Hall

(1975, p. 17) says:

Whenever possible, the mother tongue should be the language of instruction and of the material being used for teaching purposes. Agreement has been reached by both those concerned with reading for children and for adults that both groups learn to read more quickly and effectively when taught in the language they are most familiar with.

The mother tongue is said to be the more psychologically and culturally sound. UNESCO's suggestion of 1953 seems to support this argument:

...In order to speed education for the masses the language of instruction should initially be the mother tongue of the learner, using the script of the regional/national language. Then, by a transfer process, the learner should be given instruction in the regional/national language. It was reasoned that this approach would create more interest among the learners, make it easier for them to learn, and preserve their pride in their own culture. At the same time, learning the regional/national language would give them access to the dominant culture and to the economic system. (Bhola, et al., 1980, p. 7).

As Shrivastava (1980) suggests, "there has been little

systematic research with adult learners, on the use of the mother tongue in literacy education." On the basis of data obtained from a research done in India, the author concludes that "although there may not be a significant difference in the functional literacy learning, there is no disadvantage in learning through the mother tongue at the initial level and there may, in fact, be advantages." (Bhola et al., 1980, p. 7).

But due to lack of extensive research on this issue, the tendency becomes to look at a wider objective of teaching literacy using a second, national/regional language as a means of communication to enable the public to participate more fully in the development process of a country. It seems that the need to teach "adults in a language they speak and understand has been overridden by the need for nation building and for establishing an official national language." (Bowers, 1983, p. 2).

In solving the problem of language, many African countries may be moved by a political choice to consolidate national unity and achieve rapid modernization. This may have adverse consequences of falling into the same mistake of the past colonialists of wiping out ethnicity and cultural backgrounds for the sake of modernization. This may also

curb the potentialities of African languages to develop to modern tools of expression. One has to only consider what effects such decisions may have on people's ability for cultural expressions in music, poetry, drama, literature, etc. One could grimly assert that due to hasty decisions, many neo-literates, particularly in rural areas could easily end up functionally impotent through a poor command of any language, whether it be Swahili, English, French or, especially their mother tongue.

One of the major problems faced in the literacy campaigns was the immediate needs of creating a literacy environment to avoid a relapse into illiteracy. Therefore, in a situation where literacy was dependent on the print media, as in Tanzania, post-literacy activities immediately became a national burden. Although post-literacy programs included, among other things, the creation of rural libraries, rural newspapers and printing of numerous supporting materials, the demand for materials for continuing education could not be met at the end of the literacy campaigns. Mbakile (1979, p. 14) expresses this sad situation in dramatic words:

Therefore, we suddenly found
ourselves with millions of new
literates with nothing to offer

them for continuous learning. By the time the post-literacy programs were ready, some learners had lost interest and had to be remotivated.

Malya (1977-78) suggests a possible solution in his extensive research project with neo-literates in the pilot districts of Tanzania, "From Primers to Rural Libraries." In his project, Malya experimented a technique to induce neo-literates to write their own follow-up reading materials. This, Malya did by using traditional stories stemming from the oral traditions of rural people. His methodology consisted of seven steps:

- 1) Tribal leaders who were found to be expert storytellers and willing to share their stories, were located.
- 2) These elders were recognized as teachers.
- 3) The elders and researchers exchanged views in regard to the importance of traditional stories and the need to record them on a permanent basis. A seminar/workshop was planned for the storytellers to participate in the recording of traditional stories.

- 4) The elders set the timetable and atmosphere for the story-telling sessions and appointed their own chairmen. It was important for the chairman to be fluent in the mother tongue and in Swahili, the national language.
- 5) The importance of recording traditional stories was discussed again emphasizing the need to preserve traditional values in books. Moreover, this gave the neo-literates the opportunity to participate in the production of their own post-literacy reading materials.
- 6) A rehearsal was held to assure fluency and recollection of important details.
- 7) Stories were recorded and played back immediately for correction and feedback. The chairman assisted in the translation into Swahili. During translations, it was important to check and counter-check meanings and nuances until the whole story was agreed upon as matching the original story.

Malya indicated that one of the difficulties faced in the translation process was the problem of finding the

exact meanings of phrases and expressions from the original stories. What seems to be important in a modernizing society such as Tanzania, Malya argues, is the urgency to "capture" the information and the centuries-old cultural heritage of traditional stories, an art which is in danger of disappearing.

I would strongly argue that although there is a danger of traditional heritage disappearing, it is hard to find verifiable evidence to support such fear. In fact, the majority of rural people still use traditional modes of communication in their environment. The more serious danger would seem the neglect of these traditional values by educators and communicators for the sake of "modernization". African societies have to and can struggle through a mental liberation, inherited from colonialism, that in order to achieve social advancement, they have to wipe out their traditional values. Instead, African educators and communicators have an opportunity for studying traditional modes of expression and adopt an educational approach which could be more relevant to the majority of their people in rural areas.

Malya points out that shortly after the seminar/workshop, five booklets were produced with a total of 28 stories and 59 proverbs. The demand for these booklets was overwhelming.

Thus, Malya concludes:

This was clear indication to us that even though presented in a form which new readers were not wholly familiar, the subject matter had a highly popular appeal and became a motivating force for people to continue reading, quite apart from preserving something of the heritage of Tanzania. (Malya, 1977-78, p. 61).

Moreover, books prepared from traditional stories were more relevant to rural people because the people themselves had produced them. Since the content was related to their culture, "the source material had a direct bearing upon what the adults knew and valued." (Malya, 1977-78, p. 62).

Radio Education Program in Literacy Training

One of the strategies used, both as a support for literacy training and also as a solution to the creation of a literacy environment, was a Radio Education Program, which is the topic for a separate analysis in this section.

Radio was not used on a full scale until late in the campaign. In 1974, the Radio Education Program was introduced. Radio had become recognized not only as a motivational element,

but also as a training technique for illiterates and neo-literates. Radio education, as Mbakile (1979) confirms, was one of the literacy supporting programs, an effective tool in solving some of the problems of the campaign.

Structure

The Radio Education Program started as a promotional tool for public motivation to gear intensive participation in the national literacy campaigns. The Program, known in Swahili as "Kisomo kwa Njia ya Redio" (Literacy through Radio) contained motivational programs in the format of songs and slogans regarding local problems and possible solutions. Appendix II shows the type of radio programs used. Learners could have their needs responded to through feedback in the form of questions and reports dispatched to program directors and producers. An instructional aspect was used to enrich educational classes. "This literacy class support included general agricultural topics, home-life topics, cooperatives, banking and credit, national plans and policies, etc. (Mbakile, 1979, p. 14-15).

Another important aspect of the Radio Education Program was the in-service training component, aimed at

imparting literacy instruction as well as supervision and methodological techniques to field workers. It was also used as a vehicle for teachers' and supervisors' questions and answers actual problems from field experiences.

Malya (1978) says that the Radio Education Program had five main objectives: 1) motivational, 2) instructional, 3) functional, 4) communicational, and 5) informational. Through the speeding up of information and ideas on developmental issues and promotion of a better understanding of national and local issues, a change of attitudes was envisaged.

Hall (1974, p. 514) outlines the functioning of the radio education programs as follows:

...The group would meet on the scheduled radio time and listen carefully to the radio talk which is punctuated with relevant music. Radio script usually gives out in simple language the important points in the discussion, and asks a few but pointedly eliciting questions for reflection and for stimulating discussion. Then the group with the group leader read from the relevant book the topic in more detail and then a general discussion on basic points is generated. At the end the group sets itself practical actions to be done as a result of this session.

The use of group discussion was in perfect accord with Tanzania's national policy of emphasizing participation of rural people in plans and decisions that affect their lives. This procedure reflected what Mbakile (1979) calls "participatory democracy". "The participants discussed their local problems, made decisions on how to solve them and whenever possible, implemented those decisions." (p. 17).

Results

In order to facilitate evaluation, the radio education program was limited to two radio groups from each district. IIALM (1976) says that during May of 1974, 63 districts were established. By December 1974, ten districts (16%) had not succeeded in establishing such groups: 12 districts (19%) had established two groups each; and 41 districts (65%) had established 2 groups each. Reports from the districts was said to be inadequate, for, out of a total of 3,000 reports expected, only 37 or 14 per cent were forthcoming.

The general impact of the Radio Education Program has been assessed by national evaluation reports. The

IIALM (1976) and Mbakile (1979) confirm that there were positive changes which could be attributed to the application of radio in literacy training. Sixty-four per cent of respondents said that they achieved changes attributable to the education program. Some of the more marked changes included, more positive attitudes towards literacy classes through a marked increase in learners' interest and motivation. New knowledge and shared experiences from other areas encouraged other learners to get more involved in the national mass literacy campaign. Radio helped them realize that the literacy drive was of national importance. Thus, radio was gradually recognized as an important tool in the battle against illiteracy for rural development. IIALM (1976) says that the practical implication of changes brought about by the radio education program led to other activities:

The adoption of modern agricultural practices; changes in habits of diet and improved cooking methods. Literacy groups became keener and drop-outs lessened. Students began to understand the usefulness and importance of literacy and participation in discussions and they also learned to operate radio sets, read more books and newspapers, and developed demonstration farms. (p. 26).

Although the reports indicated that the radio programs

had an impact, not only on students in attendance, but also on other groups in the wider community as well, it is difficult to find sufficient data to substantiate such conclusion. There seems to be certainty regarding the 417 reports that were received between May and December of 1974 from 94 groups established for evaluation purposes. These groups are reported to have had a total attendance of 12,074 in three categories; namely, 1) radio group members: 9,370; 2) members from other literacy classes: 1,439; and 3) other literacy members of the community: 1,263. (Malya, 1979, p. 27). What is not clear are the results from other groups from which no reports were received. In fact, it is not even clear how many reports were missing.

Problems

In 1968, the number of radio sets in Tanzania was estimated at about half a million. As Head (1974, p. 64) puts it, quoting Mytton, "while most Tanzanians listen to the radio at least some of the time, there was only about one set for 26 people." The number of sets has increased dramatically due to the abolition of the tax on radio sets and the availability of low-cost transistor radios. But

a frequent problem is that of radio batteries. This problem could be solved by the establishment of regional factories to ensure the production and distribution of sufficient batteries according to the needs of each region. Village cooperatives could also be more active in assuring the availability of low-cost radio sets and batteries to rural people,

Another problem was that of bad reception, particularly in the remote areas of the country. Radio transmission is generally faced with serious geographical problems due to the vast size of the country and scattered nature of the populated areas. To make matters worse, all the transmitters are positioned in Dar es Salaam, along the coast. The establishment of booster stations in Arusha, in the northern part, Mwanza, and Mbeya in the Southern region has improved the situation, although not to a satisfactory scale. Head (1974, p. 64) says that better coverage could be achieved from a more central position. With the move of the capital city, from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma, a more central position, a powerful transmitter could partially solve coverage problems. But, this may not solve the problems relating to production and distribution of programs.

Some Recommendations

The establishment of regional studios and transmitting stations could facilitate more participation of rural people in programming and cater to local needs. This could also enhance interest in programs and encourage talent, especially from traditional media. The Regional Adult Education Centers could be an ideal location for regional and/or joint zonal stations. Regional transmitting stations would initially cater mainly to educational programs, both formal and non-formal. This is also in conformity with Tanzania's goals of giving more power to the grassroots level. Making radio, a powerful educational tool, more accessible to the majority of the rural people, would be a positive move to enhance participatory democracy in practical terms. The move to decentralize the media systems should be seen as a positive step in reorganizing the colonial media structures which tend to favor urban structures and elitist control.

Greater efforts ought to be made to train rural people to produce local materials for radio and to familiarize them with the broadcasting technology. This will enable them to feel part of the production process. For example,

discussion programs in which neo-literates take part to discuss their literacy programs should be more involving than just listeners' questions answered on air.

More use of folk media, such as songs, poetry, drama and proverbs would enhance educational relevance and spur more interest in literacy programs. This would consequently assure more significant outcome in literacy retention and application.

Radio Study Group Campaigns

The intensification of adult education on a mass scale has been the preoccupation of several countries of the world in their efforts to accelerate the pace of rural development. Third World countries have captured these experiences and adapted them to their environment. Radio Study Groups, on a small scale were pioneered by the Cooperative Education Center in Tanzania in 1967. (Kassam, 1975, p. 80). But a significant breakthrough was reached when the Institute of Adult Education went ahead to organize radio study groups on a mass scale.

The radio study groups were basically integrated

within existing adult education programs. Thus, they were not geared merely towards literacy instruction per se. The purpose of this section is to analyze the process involved in these radio study group campaigns as they were organized in Tanzania, because it is potentially through such campaigns that an integrated approach that would include traditional media in teaching and maintaining literacy, could be maintained. These differed from the Radio Education Program in that they were mass pilot programs aimed at a target audience to tackle specific developmental issues, such as, health, nutrition, or political education.

Extensive research has been done on the impact these study groups had on learners and on development in general: (Grenholm, 1975; Hall, 1974; Hall and Dodds, 1977; Kassam, 1975; Malya, 1977-78; Coldevin, 1979).

Kassam (1975, p. 80) explains the process. Essentially, the concept in the study group method hinges on a voluntary group of people - between 5 and 15 - who decide to meet regularly at a certain place and at a certain time in order to study a subject of common interest.

In this and all the other radio study groups, a planned

procedure is followed:

- 1) The group listens to the radio playing music related to the campaign. This could be in political songs, poems or short announcements.
- 2) Then follows a 20-minute radio program.
- 3) The appropriate section of the text is read by the group leader or any other member of the group.
- 4) Discussion follows.
- 5) Resolutions are passed for action.
- 6) Later in the week, members take up the actions resolved, either in their homes or in the area together with others in the group.

As shown in the following table, carefully outlined by Coldevin (1979, p. 72), the organization of radio study groups follow a planned structure. Five basic elements stand out: 1) a national coordinating committee; 2) radio programs; 3) printed study materials; 4) group leaders; and 5) supervision.

Table 2: Mass Mobilization Radio Study Group Campaigns in Tanzania.

Campaign	Date	Goals	Trained Group Leaders	Study Materials	Number of Participants
1. To Plan is to Choose (Kupanga ni Kuchagua)	1969	Explain/promote 2nd Five Year Development Plan (Emphasis on socialism & rural development). Limited to two regions	30	10 radio programmes, Popular version of 2nd five year plan, 40 page study guide, Group leader manual	1100 in 60 groups (30 formed spontaneously)
2. The Choice is Yours (Uchaguzi ni Wako)	1970	Explain importance of general elections & mechanics of voting	150	10 radio programmes, 64 page textbook/ study guide, Group leader manual	3000 in 163 study groups
3. A Time for Rejoicing (Wakati wa Furaha)	1971	Celebrate first decade of independence; promote national cohesion & post independence achievements	1,850	10 radio programmes; 116 page textbook, Group leader manual	20,000 in 1680 study groups
4. Man is Health (Mtu ni Afiya)	1973	Identify causes, symptoms and prevention of common diseases; suggest individual and group actions to improve local health conditions; support on-going national literacy campaign	70,000	12 radio programmes, 96 page textbook, Group leader manual	2 million in 75,000 study groups (original target of 1 million)
5. Food is Life (Chakula ni Uhai)	1975	Raise knowledge levels of nutritional value of common foods, suggestions for balanced diets and elimination of food taboos; encourage increased production of food and cooperation in solving community problems	75,000	18 radio programmes, Textbook, Group leader manual	2 million initially but severe losses due to other events (original target of 1.5 million)

Source: Journal of Educational Television and Other Media. (1979, Autumn).

Moreover, the radio study groups in Tanzania follow what is called "systems approach", through the integration of the electronic and print media in organized study groups under the advice of a group leader.

The first radio study campaign was launched in 1969. (Institute of Adult Education, 1970). It carried a title suggesting a popular slogan: "Kupanga ni Kuchagua" (To Plan is to Choose). This was a pilot project on a small scale aimed at familiarizing adults by use of a popular version with Tanzania's Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974). A series of 10 radio programs of about 20 minutes each were aired. A study guide was produced and "notes" for study group leaders were prepared. "Thirty leaders were trained with the campaign reaching twice the number planned for: 60 groups of 15-20 participants, 1100 in all." (Coldevin, 1969, p. 72).

The second radio study campaign was entitled, "Uchaguzi ni Wako", (The Choice is Yours). It was intended as a political move to arouse public awareness regarding the elections of 1970. An elaborate organization, both at the top level and at the grassroots level, was created. As a result, the vast majority of known listeners in this campaign were organized

listeners. (Hall and Dodds 1977, p. 264).

The "Wakati wa Furaha" (A Time for Rejoicing) campaign, which took place in 1971, had the aim of raising people's awareness of the nation's history, development and main achievements since independence. (Coldevin, 1974). Although an evaluation component was incorporated in this campaign, the 11 per cent mean knowledge gain reported by Hall (1973, p. 275) seems difficult to substantiate.

One of the most important radio study campaigns was entitled, "Mtu ni Afya" (Man is Health). This involved mass audiences with a wide objective for a national health education campaign. Its main aim was to impart knowledge on how to achieve preventive medicine or community health. It was designed to reach about 1 million adults living in Ujamaa (communal) villages who had been involved in the national literacy campaigns and was successful in involving an estimated 2 million participants. This campaign also succeeded in emphasizing training for action. "The training of the 75,000 group leaders in the Mtu ni Afya campaign emphasized the move from discussion to action." (Hall and Dodds, 1977, p. 283).

All the radio study group campaigns were faced with

problems of distribution of printed materials and the availability of sufficient radio sets. These problems were sometimes aggravated by bad reception of radio programs in certain remote areas of the country. Particularly to the "Mtu ni Afya" campaign was the problem regarding the size of study groups. The latter problem was serious enough at times to hamper the efficiency of participation in group discussion and action. "Groups tended to have 25-35 participants instead of the recommended 15-20; some even had up to 100 participants." (Hall and Dodds, 1977).

Despite these problems, the radio study group campaigns, as a mass education method, have been evaluated and found to have been successful. This could be substantiated by the various activities that participants undertook to improve health conditions. Radio was also found effective in increasing the number of teachers to eventually include farmers than primary school teachers. "The group leaders need not be teachers, they need only to have been trained in group leadership techniques." (Hall and Dodds, 1977, p. 274).

In the radio study group campaigns, radio was also found to be a cost-effective medium. For example, it was estimated that 750,000 latrines were constructed across Tanzania. This reduced actual costs from 35.5 million to 1.5

million shillings. (\$1 - 17 shillings). "In the MTU ni Afya' campaign which cost a total of about 1½ million shillings, the cost per participant was estimated at .75 cents only." (Kassam, 1975, p. 90); Hall and Dodds (1977, p. 293) estimated the total cost of all the campaigns at about US. \$610.000 or \$0.47 per participant.

The experience gained from these campaigns in Tanzania could be used as a practical proof in support of the long-standing notion of the power of radio as an educational medium when used in conjunction with other media. Moreover, the method of discussion in groups was not new to the African cultural context. Hall (1974, p. 76) suggests:

After years of colonial education patterns which have emphasized the position of the teacher as the possessor of knowledge and the students as receivers of knowledge, the traditional African concept of discussion until agreement is reached have been weakened. The radio study group method is a workable alternative.

It could also be argued that the radio study group method could initiate a program of literacy training that is more efficient in that it ensures a more lasting literacy environment. In fact, Kassam (1975, p. 90) finds this method

to be flexible enough to cater to literates and illiterates alike so that each can learn from the other:

The radio study group campaigns do not presuppose literacy as a prerequisite for the group members to participate in the campaigns. Since listening to the radio programs and engaging in group discussion forms the basis of the learning process in the radio study group, the illiterate members can learn quite adequately and effectively.

Finally, this method of radio study group can be said to have been an example of an effective application of Freire's theory of "conscientization", in which participants engage in a "give-and-take learning process. For, as Hall and Dodds (1977, p. 293) emphasize, as an educational approach, it offers a practical alternative to the traditional student-teacher relationship:

The emphasis on the method is on complete and equal participation of all group members in exploring the relevance and importance of the information distributed by air and print to the reality of each group's existence. . . . The method has particular relevance for Tanzania as Tanzania's development strategy emphasizes the people's involvement in the discussion of the development plans which will affect their lives.

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly analyzed the various efforts of the Tanzanian nation in combatting illiteracy which, as a contributory factor to ignorance, is regarded as one of the great enemies of development. The successes that have been achieved since the beginning of the Pilot Project in 1968 are commendable. But, the fight against illiteracy, or more positively, the efforts to reach a more lasting and universal national literacy are far from satisfactory.

Problems of illiteracy still abound. Of concern are those illiterates who were not sufficiently motivated to register or who once registered never attended classes or study group campaigns. The National Commission for the Evaluation and Reformation of the Educational System in Tanzania (1981-2000) indicates that adult education has been criticized for not being properly run. People and various sectors have expressed their dissatisfaction regarding its structure, syllabus, materials, objectives, implementation and leadership in general. Also, it seems that the learners' interest has diminished and attendance is poor. For example, in 1980 only 53 per cent of the registered learners attended

classes and even then it is believed that the accuracy of these statistics cannot be verified, so the reported figures could be even lower. (National Commission's Report, 1984, p. 161-62).

Of more concern are those neo-literates who may be in danger of relapsing into illiteracy because of an inadequate, supportive literacy environment. After more than a decade of literacy training experiences, I strongly believe that there is a need for a re-definition of literacy in the Tanzanian context. Literacy ought to be re-examined to encompass more inclusively the various social, economic, political and equally important cultural aspects of the Tanzanian society. It seems that in past literacy training efforts, methods have emphasized to a great extent, socio-political and economic perspectives. It would not be exaggerating to say that not enough efforts have been made to-exploit the cultural literacy heritage that remains unutilized in the various ethnic traditions that constitute the Tanzanian society.

The approach used in literacy training presumed literacy skills as pre-requisites in enabling the effective engagement of adult men and women in their own development. This did not happen. While political will is needed to achieve

desired objectives, personal interest has also to be cultivated through the equal use of available human resources. For example, when oral components were used in conjunction with mass media, as in the radio study groups campaigns, more encouraging results were reported.

For many Third World nations attempting to compete with industrialized literate societies, it is easy to fall prey to what Bhola (1981) describes as the "shame of nations" argument. This argument is advanced by Third World nations from an ideological point of view to justify their national literacy efforts in the eradication of illiteracy at the quickest possible time. "Illiterates have been described by these national elites as dumb cattle serving the needs of the elite classes and unable to contribute to their history and heritage." (Bhola, 1981, p. 15). Ironically, their history and heritage is what may be wiped out with the introduction of "literacy". More extensive use of cultural media and folk modes of expression in integration with literacy and mass media should help achieve a more balanced genuine literacy environment.

The use of radio in literacy training has helped accelerate the pace of dissemination of information, the creation of national awareness and individual motivation to

want literacy for rural development. Through the Radio Education Program, it has been possible to reach both literates, neo-literates, their teachers and extension workers in the field.

As we saw earlier, following literacy training, one is faced with the problem of maintaining it through a favourable environment to avoid the danger of a relapse into illiteracy. Experiments made in Tanzania of the use of oral traditional media in the mass production of literacy supporting materials have had encouraging results. An integrative method of utilizing the mass media, concomitantly with folk media in literacy training could be a more effective approach in ensuring a more lasting literate environment. This is the focus of the following chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

THE INTEGRATION OF FOLK MEDIA AND MASS MEDIA IN LITERACY TRAINING

Introduction

The attempt to eliminate illiteracy throughout the world, particularly in Third World countries, has been a major concern of UNESCO in the past two decades. The introduction of literacy and related skills was seen as a panacea for underdevelopment in the poor countries of the world. It was assumed that through the acquisition of literacy skills, people in developing areas, especially in rural environments, could adopt new attitudes to achieve self-development.

As we saw in an earlier chapter, the available literature shows that the concept of literacy is as vague as illiteracy. Bruchhaus (1984, p. 46) summarizes this vagueness in regard to the literacy concept as follows:

As well-known as the problem is

worldwide, as fuzzy are the ideas about its dimensions, its meaning for development, and its implications for those directly affected, as well as for the societies in which they live.

The functional literacy approach through intensive program undertaken by UNESCO in various countries did not seem to meet the needs of a great majority of the populations. Müller (1984) indicates that although conceptually the functional approach had been adopted as being a model for literacy training, its effectiveness was being questioned by educators and national planners. This was to be expected since "this approach addresses specific target groups, and disregards large parts of the population or postpones their opportunities for literacy until a later date." (p. 43).

Consequently, the campaign approach to literacy training was adopted to engage in more massive efforts at the local, regional, and national levels. In these efforts, governments and other agencies tried to situate literacy training within the overall national educational and developmental plans of their countries.

The importance of literacy continues to be a major

involvement of many developing countries. Many developing nations continue to argue in favor of literacy. They insist that literacy and numeracy represent key skills,.... "In our day education without literacy is meaningless." (Müller, 1984, p. 45). But it seems that the role that literacy should play in development remains a controversial subject. The objectives of literacy training seem to be excessively demanding beyond the potentialities of literacy itself.

The debate on the relationship that is assumed to exist between literacy and development seems to be centered around an old question, namely, the need for literacy. Rather than asking whether literacy is needed for development education, we should inquire how literacy should be introduced within the context of developing countries.

Paulo Freire's concept of conscientization in the literacy process marks a turning point from earlier literacy training goals. Instead of literacy being considered simply as a process for acquisition of skills needed for a productive labor force, literacy is rather seen as a process of self-growth, egalitarianism, and self-reliance. New literacy goals need be set to include political freedom as an indispensable element in the literacy training process.

Participants in the literacy process should view literacy as a tool for social change, a means for achieving cultural identity and liberation from subordination, even oppression. (Müller, 1984, p. 43).

From the available literature, past failures in the introduction of literacy indicate that it would be naive to assume the neutrality of literacy. In formulating an approach for literacy training, educators ought to acknowledge the curious fact that Western designs which have proved workable in literate industrialized countries cannot be randomly replicated in developing countries without serious failures. Past literacy training experiments and literacy designs have proved disastrous because they were mistakenly thought to be independent of culture. (Development Communication Report, No. 28, 1979, p. 1).

An approach that ignores the cultural element of the local environment may be even less likely to succeed when applied to communications. The transfer of communications technology from industrialized to non-industrialized countries of the Third World are not independent of cultural and economic bias from their country of origin. Moreover, "communications is affected by, and indeed often determines

the economic base, the class interests of senders and recipients and the political, religious, and social superstructure of the societies onto which it is grafted." (DCR, No. 28, 1979, p. 1).

When the mass media, especially radio and television were introduced in support of literacy training, they were assumed to possess the extraordinary power of wiping out illiteracy and underdevelopment. The effects, however, proved less deterministic. One of the main weaknesses was the lack of total media penetration and integration in the local environment. Since communications systems in the Third World, especially Africa, are still dependent on the inherited colonial systems, access to media by local people is minimal. It is not sufficient to establish a radio operating under orders from the central national system. Regional studios dependent on the national broadcasting system in organization and decision making cannot fully satisfy the needs of the local people. What is needed is more active participation of the grassroots in the media systems through decentralization. The Development Communication Report succinctly summarizes this phenomenon:

The communications needs of Third World countries cannot be met by national broadcasting or other large-scale media alone. Political and educational development need communications support that will arouse response and action at the local level, by groups and individuals. For this, the wide area transmissions characteristic of a national broadcasting system are unsuitable and need to be complemented by small systems that take into account different requirements and interests - climate, language, culture, and environment.

Experiences from past literacy training projects reveals that the mass media, especially radio, has been a strong motivating and instructing tool in developing countries. Literacy experiences in Tanzania have shown that radio could be more successful under a "systems approach" within the overall national development plan of the country. But there seems to be a lack of coordination and cooperation between media personnel and educators. Moreover there is a lack of clear role definitions among policy makers, educators and media workers. Consequently, contribution from local people has mostly depended on the goodwill of media workers who occasionally visit rural communities to obtain materials for national radio programs.

Much still remains to be done to explore media potentialities, as the report from the International Development Research Center affirms:

Although the media have been widely used to promote literacy campaigns, the descriptions or evaluations of their use have rarely indicated what media have been used; much less whether they have been applied to certain processes of learning or how they have been integrated with direct teaching, independent learning, or group interaction. (The World of Literacy, Policy, Research and Action, 1979, p. 124).

There has not been sufficient focus on people's cultural needs. The media become irrelevant if they are not based on the learners' needs and way of life. "Also they are ineffective if they have not been integrated with, reinforced and completed by, other kinds of interpersonal communications and dialogue." (Ibidem, p. 125).

There is need for an integrated approach in using media for literacy training. While becoming literate, learners ought to maximize the use of local resources. Abolishing illiteracy is possible only if in introducing literacy, local talents are maximized and fully utilized to

enable neo-literates to fully acquire self-control over their own environment. This approach is indispensable to the creation of a literate environment.

The purpose of an integrated approach is to enhance local skills while introducing modern media; to maximize local talent while external values are being combined with local values. Literacy training using all available media in an integrated approach could help rural people better understand and handle their lives to adopt the changes needed for rural development. An integrated approach ought to take account of the indigenous communication systems which still constitute a good part of the cultural life of people in developing societies.

It is the purpose of this chapter to briefly highlight the potentialities of traditional folk media and analyze their potential role in literacy training for rural development. The first part will attempt to define traditional media in the context of African indigenous communications systems. In the second part, three selected categories of traditional media will be analyzed and their functions outlined. The third part will explore the use of traditional

media in conjunction with the mass media, particularly radio, in literacy training. Both should be found to act as motivational agents and instructional tools in maximizing the consciousness needed in generating action for genuine literacy leading to a more human development.

Definition of Folk Media

An attempt to define and situate folk media in the social context of developing countries is a difficult task. This is because limited research has gone into determining the structure, content, and function of folk media in the educational process of African and other developing societies.

Folk media are labeled in a variety of ways. The most common are: "folk media", "traditional media", "cultural media", "grass-roots media", or "indigenous media". For the purpose of this thesis, "folk media" will be used. This may help us to draw a dividing line between cultural studies related to "folklore" which is not analyzed here, and "folk art" as vivid expressions and highly structured forms of communication in a given society. The latter, which include folk media, constitute part of the indigenous

communication system, a system determined by interpersonal and social intercourse. (Wang and Dissanayake, 1982, p. 3). Folk media could be defined as those indigenous means of communication embedded over the ages in the culture and closely associated with the traditional way of life of the people. These media are "living expressions of the lifestyles and culture of a people evolved through the years." (Patron, 1981, 191). Folk media include: music, song, dance, drama, theatre story-telling, poetry, riddles, mime, puppetry, rituals, and proverbs.

Characteristics

Folk media, as indigenous modes of communication, give vital expression to the belief system, social values, and attitudes of a given society. These traditional modes of communication constitute an integral part of the culture of a society. "The folk forms embody the people's beliefs, their self concepts and perceptions of their relationships, their philosophy of life, their social ethics, their behavior pattern". (Patron, 1981, p. 191).

This type of communication is fundamentally artistic expressions on an interpersonal communication level.

Message transmission is carried out through simple elements which include: a) sounds - both vocal and instrumental; b) visual forms; and 3) action - including gesture and mime.

Folk media are said to have the capacity of imprinting legitimacy and credibility. Given their long service as tools of interpersonal communication in traditional societies, folk media can be more effective in producing "empathy". "They express their deeply felt and communal joys and sorrows, triumph and defeat." (Dissanayake, 1977, p. 122). Secondly, folk media have roots in the consciousness of rural people. They are "people-related". Thirdly, they employ the language and symbols which are intelligible to the people. Fourthly, folk media more adequately "touch" more people in the rural areas. Fifthly, they require, of their nature, active involvement of the participants engaged in the communication process. (Dissanayake, 1977, p. 122-123).

Another unique feature of folk media is their easy synchronization with performance. A close link between the parties in the communication process and an absence of the constraints of time are central to folk media communication. Their content favors flexibility towards constant change "as the experience of each generation is closely passed onto the

text, fulfilling a social purpose." (Wang and Dissanayake, 1982, p. 5).

Lent (1982) touches on the debate that centers on an important question in regard to folk media. The question is; can folk media carry modern messages, and if they can, should they; if they cannot, should they be modified so that they can? Thus, the question seems to inquire into the relevance and capabilities of traditional media to carry messages in a modern developing society. This seems to beg the question. Unless there is doubt regarding the relevance of the cultures of the people concerned, there is no need to question whether their media, so deeply rooted in their cultures could carry messages relevant to them. In fact, there is no doubt that folk media will adjust themselves accordingly as changes in beliefs and customs occur in their societies.

The importance of folk media as channels for the dissemination of information has been acknowledged. In fact, it is widely agreed among several sources: (Dissanayake, 1977; Ranganath, 1976; Lent, 1979; 1982; Wang and Dissanayake, 1982; Patron, 1981) that folk media possess distinctive advantages over the mass media. The contrast

between mass media and folk media can be explained:

One needs to bear in mind constantly the fact that indigenous communication systems are deeply rooted in the physical environment and the cultural memory of the people of traditional societies and have evolved with the people in a way that the mass media systems have not. (Wang and Dissanayake, 1982, p. 7).

Also, the McBride Report (1980, p. 81) notes succinctly:

"Practitioners of the traditional media use subtle form of persuasion by presenting the required message in locally popular artistic forms. This cannot be rivalled by any other means of communication."

The characteristics discussed above which could hardly be said to comprise all the features of the indigenous communication system in any African setting, are important because they originate from cultural heritage. They stem from a close relationship with the communication behavior pattern and the life style of the people. The indigenous communication system is intimately related to the socio-cultural context. Folk media in such a system can function in an intimate and informal atmosphere. These media, can therefore disseminate information in such a manner that

the learning process is not divorced from personal experience. For example, folk songs used in an experiment in Botswana were found to be "efficient in expressing feelings and thoughts, commenting on social issues, or arousing people to action." (Wang and Dissanayake, 1982, p. 6). Thus folk media could be ideal in motivating illiterates not only to take active interest in literacy training programs, but also to use literacy more efficiently for their own development.

As folk media are characterized by cultural values and social experiences they would be more effective in reinforcing literacy training and facilitating the creation of a literate environment. For if literacy is to be relevant in these predominantly oral societies, it ought to utilize an approach that takes into consideration the learners' values and social experiences shared from their culture. As we saw above, what the mass media can do in motivating illiterates and neo-literates and amplifying literacy messages for wider outreach, folk media could reinforce and complement from their powerful cultural connection.

Categories

Given the immense variety of folk media forms and.

techniques, it would be a monumental task to classify them according to any specific order and function. Dissanayake (1977) suggests dividing them into two main categories: those with a "closed form" and those with an "open form". Those with a closed form would be folk media which, due to their close interrelationship between their content and form would not readily permit deployment for the purpose of disseminating modern messages. A "ritual" would be an example of such a form. In this form, a specified and limited audience may be called for in regard to sex, age or religious status. Such rituals may take place during initiation ceremonies or some religious function. The open form is considered flexible for adaptation to contemporary themes. It is easy, for example, to adopt a song that is used for communal construction of a house in a village or one that is used for paying homage to civil authority for a radio or television program. More research is needed in this area to explore the adaptability of the various folk forms. Ironically, however, folk media appear flexible in their adaptability to various socio-cultural changes throughout the years of their existence.

In this thesis, a more flexible approach will be used to demonstrate the role of folk media in literacy

training. I have clustered some of the more important folk media in three main categories, emphasizing those stemming from the oral tradition. The IPPF/UNESCO Report (1972, p. 10) confirms that of the different types of folk media, those which transmit messages by oral tradition are by far the most important and the most widely used, particularly in pre-literate or non-literate and partially literate societies. Thus, folk media are divided into three categories: 1) music, song and dance; 2) drama and theatre; and 3) poetry, story-telling, proverbs and riddles. These categories will each be briefly analyzed in the following section.

Music, Song and Dance

One readily finds that traditional African music is rich in symbolic nuances. There is usually a belief that sound holds some magical power. One study describes this fact by stating, "If we seek to discover the foundations of traditional music in Africa, we have to look for them accordingly in the traditional African's predilection for the esoteric and the occult, in religion and magic." (IPPF/UNESCO, 1972, p. 69).

African music is an integral part of social and

cultural life. It can be found in every sector of life in traditional society, in ritual performances, ceremonial gatherings and festivals, social functions, working situations, or as pure entertainment. Songs accompany any important social event taking place in an African setting. For example, music is used during a celebration of a child's birthday, weddings, communal work in a farm, joint construction of a neighbor's house, or religious ceremonies. "Music permeates all fields in which interpersonal relations and roles are acted out, affirmed or re-defined." (Nketia, 1982, p. 91).

Music, song and dance are closely interrelated. One hardly finds music that does not include song and dance and demand participation from the parties concerned. Nketia (1982) outlines this process:

The music performed in any African society is cumulative wherever tradition allows for creative innovation, for it is music passed on from generation to generation by oral tradition or learned through participation. (p. 97).

This point is also delineated by Olatunji (1979) adding another element, namely, the use of drums which,

together with dance, highly enriches African music. The full ensemble of the dance consists of all the musical elements. This includes "the instruments of the orchestra, the handclapping, the song, and the dance." (p. 112).

Generally, music, song and dance are used very often as a channel for collective expression in traditional societies. By using traditional tunes, topical issues and social concerns are communicated in a lively and interesting way. For example, the following is a simple song, used as a signature tune of a literacy training radio program in Tanzania.

Wananchi, jifunzeni kusoma;

Citizens, learn to read,

Kisomo chenye manufaa.

Education that is useful.

The aim of this song is to urge everyone who cannot read and write to register and participate in literacy training classes. This is done in a song utilizing an attractive traditional tune.

In different parts of Tanzania, various traditional musical instruments are used. It is not the purpose of this thesis to explore the various traditional musical instruments that are used in various ensembles. It suffices to note that the variety is extensive. Martin (1982) has mentioned some of them:

Among these are the "Irimba" (mbira) of the Wagogo, the "Marimba" xylophone of the Wazaramo, the "zeze" monochord fiddle of the Wazapaki, the "Izeze" simultaneously bowed and plucked pipe of the Wagogo. (p. 158).

Theatre and Drama

Similar to music, song and dance, traditional African theatre is deeply connected with African culture. This cultural connection, though important for genuine analysis of African traditional theatre has not yet been fully explored. Kennedy (1973) says that African theatre is yet to be explored and developed from both traditional and conventional points of view.

Traditional African theatre consists of many elements. Again, Kennedy (1973) carefully outlines some of the specific

elements of drama, including: 1) ceremonial drama which as a dramatic form is part of or related to social, ritual, or ceremonial events; 2) story-telling drama, a mesh of narrative and dialogue, music, poetry, mime and dance; and 3) dance-drama, which is drama expressed through music, poetry, mime and movements.

African theatre has sometimes been labeled "primitive" by scholars because it appears simple and unstructured. However, African theatre reflects a high degree of sophistication with respect to the traditional and cultural elements directly connected with life. Kennedy (1973) summarizes these elements as follows:

They include (1) ritual with libation and prayers; (2) verse with spoken forms, including speech surrogates such as drums, bells, and flutes; (3) music and dramatic communication, including instrumental symbolism, instrumental sounds such as signals, speech surrogates, music, song forms, and chorus, including the use of proverbs, tales, and riddles; (4) regalia, including the use of masks, stools, skins, and weapons; and (5) dance and movement expression. (p. 40).

Another important characteristic of African theatre is its basically participatory nature. "In African theatre,

a unique relationship exists between the audience and the performer." (Ibidem, p. 43). This relationship is created since African theatre uses local material, the dialect of the local people and other values from the local culture. Popular African theatre uses techniques and cultural symbols that people readily understand. In this mode of communication, performance becomes a catalyst for discussion. Thus, through theatre, the audience no longer becomes passive listeners or spectators, but active participants, creating a two-way communication process. (Ibidem, p. 43). African theatre also demonstrates the use of multiple art forms, both non-verbal and verbal, to create a total fusion. "At any given time, any of the art forms may tell the story or enhance the dramatic or theatrical experience." (Ibidem).

Traditional African drama clearly reflects elements which can enhance its use as a medium of communication to people especially in non-literate or partially literate societies. As we shall see, in the next section, given the very strong ties that these art forms have with the culture and life styles of rural people, both conventional and traditional drama can play a useful role in literacy training for rural development.

Story-telling, Poetry, Proverbs and Riddles

In African societies, folk stories have, since ancient times, been used as media of education and entertainment. In the evening, after a hard day's work, rural people like to sit around a fire and listen to a talented story-teller. There are stories of historical events, heroes, and chiefs. There are stories that personify animals to underline certain virtues and vices for establishing various moral standards.

Several studies have cited various types of story formats. Klippe (1935, p. 8) distinguishes two types of stories: prose story and choric story. The latter is a combination of the former with songs in which the audience takes active part. (Robinson (1974) confirms this point when he writes:

In all the songs there is either a verse in which the story-teller leads the singing and everybody takes up the chorus or there is a rhythmic flow of sounds in which the listeners can join in, clapping their hands, swaying their heads, and moving their bodies. (p. 6).

Furthermore, some stories are told in song and dance

so that action becomes a major element of the event. Through such stories the life styles, social values and beliefs of the people are expressed. In fact, "an understanding of the folk tales of a tribe would help understand the people themselves." (Klippe, 1938, p. 8).

Traditional or oral poetry is another form of folk media used in African societies to communicate life situations and social issues. Since most of the traditional poets are illiterate, their poetry consists of vocal compositions. Oral poetry has an advantage over literate poetry since the former situates the poet in a direct face-to-face communication situation with his or her audience. Again, in this mode, music, song, dance and hand-clapping are used to establish a vigorous and dynamic fusion of a lively community performance.

Olatunde (1979, p. 112) in exploring some of the ingredients that constitute African traditional poetry hints at the importance of performance achieved with drumming and dancing. The sense of social cohesion which the combined use of music, dance and poetry produces can hardly be recorded. There are also other elements such as drum language, body movements, audience reaction and other emotive and

affective characteristics which encourage audience participation.

In Tanzania, a recent format of popular poetry known as "Ngonjera" has developed. This is a "form of folk media that uses verbal symbols and human action to communicate relevant messages to the audience."

(Balcomb, 1976, p. 45). This form is widely used with song and dance to carry political messages. Given the authoritative and entertaining elements that are inherent in this form, poetry could be fruitfully used to convey issues relating to non-formal education in general and literacy education in particular.

In addition, African societies are rich in folk wisdom which is reproduced from mythical sources, legends and social experiences. Folk wisdom, as an indigenous communication form is said to consist generally of proverbs and riddles. Proverbs and riddles have been found to be effective in indirect teaching, counselling and motivation among rural peoples. "The role of proverbs in information is that of indirect warning intended to shape people's behavior." (Balcomb, op.cit.).

Proverbs are known for their strong and effective mode in stating a point. For example, in the Chagga tribe near the mountain Kilimanjaro where tigers have been known to endanger people's lives at night, there is a popular proverb: "Kwasenda sisi shinga mba"; in Swahili, the national language: "Ukitaja chui funga nyumba yako."

(If you start talking about a tiger, you had better have your door locked). And everyone knows why!. This and similar forms could be adjusted and used in literacy training with greater impact because as a form of communication they are "more appealing, relevant and acceptable to a large variety of individuals in different circumstances."

(IPPF/UNESCO, 1972, p. 12).

The three categories of folk media analyzed above suggest the need of exploring more systematically, the various folk media forms and their potential use in non-formal education especially literacy training in the developing countries of Africa. The possible integrated use of these categories discussed above in adult literacy training for rural development is the topic for the following and final section of this thesis.

Integrated Use of Mass Media and Folk Media

Most of the studies analyzed in the course of this

thesis have yielded results which strongly suggest that in effecting genuine literacy for rural development, learners' contribution is of paramount importance. Yet, when one examines more closely the effectiveness of most of the projects undertaken, they reflect a lack of sufficient participation on the part of the local people. This was in part due to the random introduction of foreign educational technology which widened the communication gap between media workers and rural audiences. A continuous breakdown of communication between "media users" and "media consumers" seemed to occur. Considering this fact, IPPF (UNESCO 1972) warns:

A communication strategy directed at traditional people should aim above all at using their local "idiom", that is the form in which their problems and interests have been thought out, influenced by their value system and social codes, and expressed by their communication codes. (p. 23).

In the case of Tanzania, the course of action taken in literacy training was based on the socialist government system which was structurally capable of achieving a democratic and egalitarian outreach. Grassroots level participation formed the power base of the ruling party and

government. But, even in this case, the desired objectives have not been fully achieved. The reason could have been in part due to insufficient use of folk media initiatives in the implementation of various literacy training projects. A situation of this nature can hardly be acceptable if permanent and genuine literacy for rural development is to be attained.

Because the problem of illiteracy is a grassroots one, a more permanent and local solution can only come from the people themselves. This could be possible if in the process of literacy training the so-called literate minority would allow the grassroots level to develop their own local media which would be carefully integrated with the mass media, particularly radio, to achieve their objectives. "Modern communication and education planners should develop new approaches and techniques for combining the old and the new folk media, giving a new appeal to the old and a traditional look to the new." (IPPF/UNESCO, 1972, p. 25).

The McBride report (1980) succinctly describes this approach:

There are basic questions about the links between modern and traditional media from the viewpoint of their mutual influence or reciprocal and complementary support....

The problem is: find a formula to preserve the relationship between traditional and modern forms of communication without damaging the traditional ways nor obstructing the necessary march towards modernity. (p. 82).

The purpose of this section is to briefly explore and advance tentative solutions on how folk media could be used along with mass media to achieve a more genuine and permanent literacy environment.

Convincing evidence has been marshalled in support of the thesis that folk media could be effective in communicating with rural people in a developing environment. For example, experiments in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, Latin America and several parts of Africa since the 1970's have confirmed "valuable contributions that grassroots media are capable of making." (Lent, 1982, (p. 9).

This challenges the "old paradigm" of communication which had anticipated the demise of the indigenous communication system as soon as the mass communication system was in place. The main thrust of the old paradigm as suggested by Lerner considered a mass communication system as both as indicator

and instrument of change. Wang and Dissanayake (1982)

outline the general assumptions of this assertion:

First, the direction of change in communication systems follows a linear path and is always from oral tradition to technology-based media. Secondly, the degree of change in communication behavior appears to correlate significantly with other changes in the social system such as urbanization and the literacy rate. (p. 4).

It has been noted earlier that, in isolation, mass media has not achieved the changes anticipated among peoples of developing nations. As Wang and Dissanayake (1982) point out, behavioral change directly attributable to mass media varies from 10 to 15 percent, but the rate tends to rise to 54 percent when mass media are integrated with extension work. It has been suggested that a higher percentage could be achieved with the integration of folk media.

In the new paradigm mass media play only a secondary role by helping speed up the communication process. This reverse trend has helped to bring folk media into a more active role in the development process. The indigenous communication system was quickly being acknowledged for

various reasons as advanced by Wang and Dissanayake:

...not only because of its reach and credibility, but because it was consistent with new ideas in communication for development; it was low-cost, locally-oriented, and encouraged audience participation. (1982, p. 5).

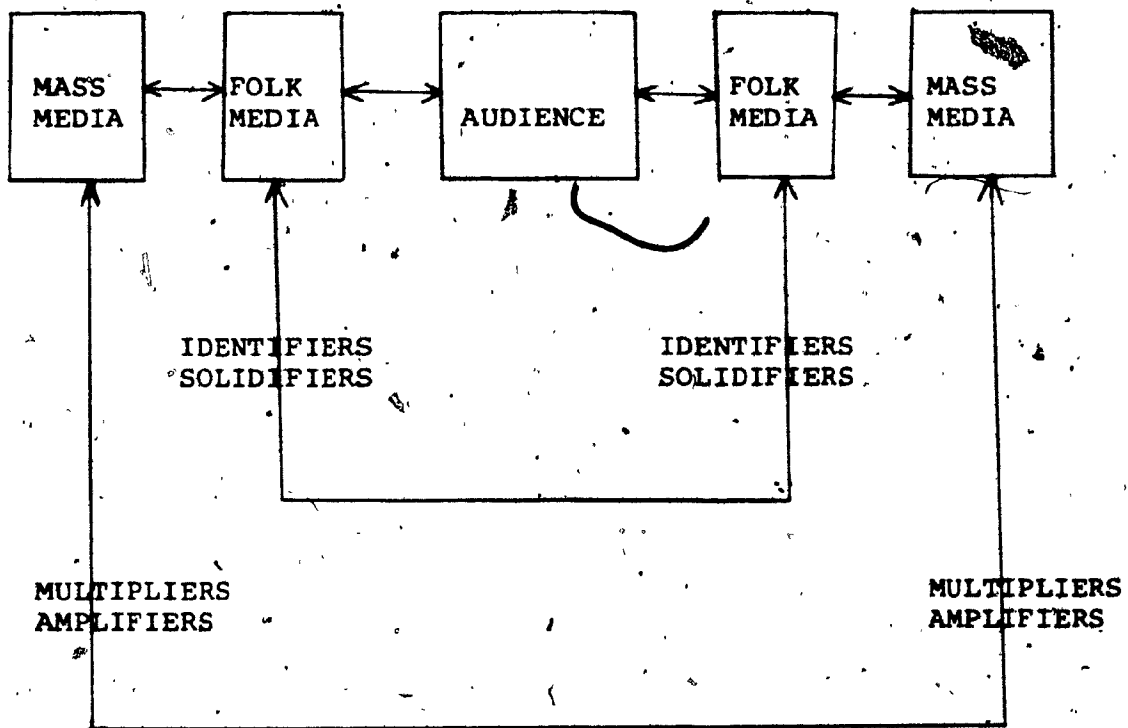
The systematic evaluation of the effects of mass media in generating behavioral change among peoples of less technological societies indicates that the communication process must be more fully integrated. "Communication programs aimed at social change can be meaningful and effective, only if planned and utilized in a manner which fits with the integrated pattern of community interaction." (IPPF/UNESCO, 1972, p. 44).

In discussing the possible use of folk media in literacy training the question of "mediated" versus "non-mediated" communication must not obscure the relationship of folk media and the mass media. The mass media may play the major role as channels of the folk media. However, folk media, as equal environmental tools should be regarded as indispensable contributors to this communication process. Folk media can play a significant role despite the fact that

"certain features of the folk media get lost in the process of adjustment to mass media." (Wang and Dissanayake, 1982, p. 6).

This approach may help stem the debate, at least until further research becomes available, on whether folk media are more effective in their natural surroundings. (Lent, 1982, p. 13). Current research should not begin with the prior assumption of the superiority of the mass media in which what is called for seems to stress "adaptation" of folk media to "blend" with mass media. More aggressive approaches in this area can rise above mere "welding" of folk media to mass media formats which, in the long run, may be paralyzing to folk media. The more cogent approach to this relationship might consider that a message carried through the mass media can be enhanced by the integration with the folk media and vice versa. The intermediary roles of each media are seen as interchangeable and complementary according to the particular inherent qualities of each. This process is shown in the figure below.

Figure 5: Integrated Use of Mass Media and Folk Media.



Source: The above model has been designed by the author to illustrate how the process of integrated use of mass media and folk media occurs.

As can be seen, starting from the media to the audience, folk media help to identify local issues and concerns that are then amplified by the mass media. Once amplified and multiplied, multiple new members of the audience may be reached where folk media may be needed to solidify new skills. Another way of using the model is

to start from the use of folk media to identify local issues then using the same media, proceed to solidify and make skills more permanent.

Literacy training within the framework of conscientization advanced by Paulo Freire has generated much discourse among adult educators and development planners in developing countries, including Tanzania. In order to achieve educational objectives which would free rural people from their impotency to deal with their own problems, Freire's method might function more vigorously at the grassroots level. Although Freire's method was applied in the Tanzanian literacy training efforts, results in conscientization did not seem to reach full impact. For literacy to take firm roots and to relate more to the life styles of rural people, folk media, integrated with mass media, would seem to be appropriate tools to enhance conscientization at the grassroots level. In fact, "except for Kidd's and Byram's work with popular theatre in Botswana (1978), adult educators have not given much attention to Freire's use of codification." (Ewert, 1981, p. 32).

Although field study could advance more definite

evidence regarding the integrated use of folk media categories analyzed above, we still can predict substantial effects of an alternative and fully integrated approach using limited but interesting past experiences.

Since songs are easy to manipulate, they have been used in many developing countries to carry literacy messages for rural development. But, in African countries, including Tanzania, much remains to be done to provide rural people with more access to radio so that they can participate more actively in the production of songs for literacy programs. The frequent use of school choirs or selected groups to produce songs for literacy training is not as fully effective as those produced by the learners themselves. When rural illiterates participate fully in the production of radio literacy songs, they will attain a sense of involvement and commitment. There is more psychological fulfillment when the people hear their own voice on the radio.

Local broadcasting with transmission facilities in a regional or zonal center is more desirable for the achievement of greater success in providing rural people with easier access to local technical facilities for production.

These local experts in singing and dancing do not have to use technicians to interpret their music for them. With local facilities, people become more in control of their own media. It is easier for them to adopt their literacy songs to new situations according to rising needs. In a socialist country, such as Tanzania, this would be a more socialist application of the media for a more successful achievement of genuine developmental communication goals. This point has recently been acknowledged:

Both small media and traditional media do have dynamic roles in such a developmental model. Low-cost electronic media must also be developed and their uses diversified. Such media belong to the community and not to individuals, state or private/public industry... There is no threat of cultural colonialism and foreign domination. (Gerbner and Siefert, 1983, p. 386).

Using the song form of folk media, a literacy project could generate from the grassroots through expert local leadership. With direction from extension workers, traditional literacy training formats could be created using traditional songs. Developmental themes, such as local needs may demand, could and should include

literacy themes to effect a more complete impact. A format may start with a simple message such as the following:

Sing a song
Read a song

Dance a song
Write a song

Act a song

A major task is to learn how these folk media could be used, either in their "natural" form or molded to fit mass media formats. Ranganath (1976) shows how the desired effect may be achieved:

The traditional song patterns could be adapted to mass media (broadcast) without much difficulty...for achieving the desired impact. When the microphone captures the folk medium in its own natural environment, the mass media version becomes highly credible. (p. 29).

Certainly, more field study will be needed to explore how these folk media could be used either to carry messages intended for the motivation of illiterates and neo-literates, which of folk media forms would be suitable to directly assume a teaching role. Theatre as a folk

medium has been found effective in disseminating development information. In Indonesia art-drama forms have been used to promote social and political transformation. (Lent, 1982, p. 12). Culture drama groups have been organized in various parts of developing countries to effect social awareness. Theatre is a potent medium which, together with mass media and group discussion, programs can be produced to deal more effectively with local concerns. Theatre is also strong in "the development of a strong cultural identity of the masses and can affect educational objectives through the entertainment function." (Patron, 1980, p. 194).

In addition, various workshops have been undertaken in different parts of developing countries to explore the possibilities of using drama. Popular theatre suggests a useful tool to help rural people discover their social reality and take concrete action for rural development. "Popular theatre as a medium expressing local concerns as a familiar language and idiom has the potential to involve and motivate large numbers of people who have not previously participated in development efforts." (Kidd and Byram, 1977, p. 20).

Drama in the form of popular theatre has been

developed in various African countries such as Botswana, Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia. This type of drama, also referred to as: "media as mirror" (Low, 1974, p. 24), is organized as a festival. Local people take active part in the whole process of planning, organizing, performing, and evaluating in discussion groups. The process of popular theatre has been outlined by Kidd and Byram (1977, p. 23):

The performance provides a reflection of social reality. The "mirror" image can be used as a focus for the assessment of the community's problems. The act of seeing one's own situation through this dramatic presentation provides the stimulus for thinking seriously about this situation. The community context of the performance causes the conditions for discussing and comparing one's assessment.

An experiment undertaken in Zambia which explored the use of theatre for development found this folk form an effective tool for community communication because "theatre thrives to replace an abstract, fact-oriented message which is not characteristic of the way people think in rural communities, with a more familiar person-to-person approach." (Dall, 1980, p. 186). As a tool of literacy training, theatre helps to create a challenge for the non-formal educator, extension worker and learner to confront

the existing apathy by creating an atmosphere of sharing and dialogue. Dall (1980) expounds on how this can take place indicating that the extension worker must participate in the life, needs, and thoughts of the learners before teaching them any new skills. The learner must be made aware of how new skills will change the circumstances, thus generating new confidence. (p. 184).

Theatre as a local medium of development communication possesses unique qualities that the mass media seem to lack, namely, independence from expertise and technology, cheapness, immediacy, conviviality, adaptability to local available talent. But as Kidd (1983) warns, the use of theatre can easily face the danger of being confined to the realm of "experts" and extension workers thus depriving local people of their active participation. This would seriously limit the analysis of issues and deprive villagers of the possibility for full commitment in the process.

When used with radio, folk dramas can be an effective means of introducing and reinforcing literacy training. Given their power to involve the audience in a deeply emotional degree, series of radio folk dramas could not only be adequate for motivation, but also for sustaining what has already been learned by non-literates. Such radio

folk dramas have been found to possess "the ability to generate such a high level of identification among the audience that they virtually become part of the listeners' lives." (IPPF/UNESCO, 1972, p. 50). The following figure, outlined by Kidd (1983), illustrates the process involved in this educational theatre.

Table 3: Theatre as Product - Theatre as Process.

	THEATRE AS PRODUCT	THEATRE AS PROCESS
Objective	To create a polished 'finished' play which can be presented to villagers	To facilitate a process of critical analysis through the villagers themselves making and remaking the play.
Analysis	static, fixed, shallow	dynamic: continually deepening.
Discussion	a single event in the process, a ritual tacked on at the end of a performance in which villagers are suddenly expected to take an active part (after remaining passive throughout the performance).	Discussion is a continuing part of a process of improvisation - analysis - improvisation. The discussion, the thinking takes place both within the improvisation and in analysing it afterwards.
Villagers Participation/Control	Manipulated and orchestrated: limited control over the process. Villagers are expected to fulfill certain roles at certain stages of the process (e.g. information-giving at the beginning; taking part in the post-performance discussion).	More control over the process: participation in all stages of the process (information-giving, and analysis: improvisation and subsequent discussion).

Source: Media in Education and Development, March 1983, 16 (1).

Storytelling, proverbs, and riddles are capable of application in the literacy process. These forms of folk media can explain relationships which may be subjected to critical analysis, using Freire's method. An analysis undertaken by Ewert (1981) of an experiment focusing on the use of parables, proverbs, and metaphors in an educational program in rural Zaire concludes:

Parables, proverbs and metaphors not only meet Freire's criteria for codifications but are useful devices for conceptualizing problems in African society and subjecting them to critical analysis. (p. 42).

Ewert suggests that what Freire achieved in Brazil primarily through pictures and drawings, could be accomplished in Zaire through proverbs, parables and metaphors. These folk media "may be particularly appropriate as codifications in rural Africa." (p. 33). This approach could be used to enhance literacy skills by relating it to a specific developmental issue.

As we saw in an earlier chapter, in Tanzania, a program that was launched by Simoni Malya of the Adult Education Institute (Malya, 1975, p. 112) involved rural

people who participated in adult book production. Expert local story-tellers gathered in workshops, taped their local stories which were later translated into Swahili, and used these as materials for books envisaged for rural libraries. This proved a successful way of using local stories to reinforce literacy and create a literate environment. This approach should be expanded to tap all available folk media for possible integration with mass media, especially radio.

Through radio, local stories, metaphors, proverbs and riddles can share traditional educational methodologies on local and national levels in an interesting way. Different themes could be developed from the forms to "codify" actual developmental situations which non-literates can use with the learning of the alphabet.

It might be possible, perhaps on an experimental basis, to establish traditional media groups in every village, ward, district, region and nation. Radio could be used to stimulate discussion and to share information originating from outside the groups. Such an integrated strategy, together with extension workers from the already established adult education network, could help render

the establishment of a genuine literacy environment. But the integrated use of folk media and mass media cannot succeed without careful planning, conscious implementation and courageous evaluation. Given the variety of forms and motifs of folk media, one must also consider additional and relevant categories.

To provide relevant materials for testing before use in the mass media, a flexible network of folk media resource centers could function through the already existing adult education network on village, ward, district, regional, and national levels. In addition, careful research must proceed at all levels of implementation.

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CONCLUSION

This study analyzed the problem of illiteracy and examined how literacy training efforts have proceeded in developing countries, especially Africa. The wide experiences in literacy training undertaken throughout developing nations indicates that the problem of illiteracy is a complex one. While illiteracy has generally been a "bottleneck" for development, underdevelopment cannot be overcome merely by the acquisition of literacy. The search for an adequate solution to wipe out illiteracy continues to be a serious concern. The type of literacy being acquired does not wholly satisfy the needs of the people concerned.

The notion of literacy continues to puzzle educators, media workers, and national planners. Its relationship with development has yet to be fully determined. Past literacy training work has adopted a rather narrow methodology. There is need therefore for a more wholistic approach in literacy training. This alternative approach would include variables that relate to both the overall

and the local social, political, economic, and cultural elements of developing countries.

Although there have been reported successes in the efforts of UNESCO-sponsored pilot projects and mass literacy campaigns, the problem of illiteracy still persists. Tanzania has been one of the countries which has been particularly active in literacy training on a mass scale, especially in its rural areas. In Tanzania, adult literacy programs were planned and implemented within the national plan of the country. In spite of the successes reported by the Ministry of National Education and the Institute of Adult Education, the projections and objectives of literacy training have not been fully attained. Motivation for literacy has been quite transitory. To date, registration and attendance are not fully encouraging. Follow-up plans are limited. Moreover, neo-literates have regressed into illiteracy due to a general lack of environmental factors sustaining literacy.

The application of mass media, particularly radio and group audio-visual media were introduced at a time when the constraints of transportation and shortage of personnel were threatening the opportunity of extending literacy

services to remote corners of the country. Even then, successes have been limited due to the fact that literacy instruction has tended to lean too heavily on the capacity to learn literacy skills without equal emphasis on cultural skills. This is a major flaw originating from the traditional concept of literacy as adopted from Western cultures.

Functional literacy or work-oriented literacy was directed towards the training of illiterates whose illiteracy was considered an obstacle to social and economic development. The content of the projects linked literacy training with appropriate technical training. Although the need for literacy has been emphasized, the needs of the people have not been fully located and met. In the majority of the projects, serious problems have arisen from lack of adequate planning, sufficient preparation, and most importantly, inadequate evaluation where serious problems have been encountered in the evaluation of results.

Similar problems have surfaced in the national mass literacy campaigns undertaken in various developing countries. Thus new problems have been created as new and modern skills have slowly been replacing traditional

skills without adequate integration.

I have argued that literacy has, for the past few decades, been understood by many educators and development planners as a magical tool for social, economic, political, and cultural development. A quick look at the manner in which literacy has been introduced in the immensely complex milieu of both traditional and modern Africa, illustrates the need for a serious re-examination of the social, and cultural values largely ignored in relation to rural development. Literacy, which has been readily accommodated in Western industrialized countries has been confronted with an indigenous African society which is mainly orally-oriented and predominantly rural. The confrontation of the oral and the written has had serious implications.

The introduction of literacy in many traditional African societies has tended to assume mastery of the written word while concealing the social, ideological, cultural, and economic biases that have accompanied its difficult immersion. Instead of maximizing the quality of consciousness and awareness enabling the people to "read" their environment and express themselves through language and action, literacy tended to accentuate colonial and neo-colonial dependency and to encourage passivity and

blind acceptance of new technologies. This encouraged people in rural areas to become diffident about traditional cultural values and to blindly adhere to imported ones.

There has been a general assumption among many non-African scholars that African societies are "transitional" cultures. The various styles of life in traditional societies are often seen as primitive and deprived. It is suggested that these societies have little or nothing to contribute to the "wheel of world civilization." The acquisition of literacy has yet to produce the desired effects of enabling neo-literates to become part of the process of genuine change. Thus, literacy lacks the gear to fortify learners to think for themselves and master their own destiny.

Another important element that added to the already complex venue of African social development was the introduction of mass media both for political and educational objectives. Mass media, again a product of Western industrialized countries, have been considered the magic technological tools for stimulating rapid change in traditional African societies. Even in post-independent Africa, "big media" strategies on

Western-styled structures have continued as a predominant phenomenon.

In order to reverse this trend, an alternative approach is needed. Rural people will be able to understand local and national development problems and participate in solving them if they can fortify themselves with, among other things, their cultural heritage. Folk media must be regarded as some of the strongest elements in this process. Through folk media, people also develop new ways of understanding indigenous empirical problems. This vision can be enhanced by the integration of literacy skills and mass media.

Modern media are clearly powerful tools for literacy training in rural areas. Integrated with the strong traditions of folk media, they can contribute toward literacy training which is far more effective and meaningful in African countries. The fuller role folk media will play in this process awaits further field research. The potential that interrelated communication modes for literacy training holds for indigenous rural development suggests that research and action must begin. The body of such research could include the following questions:

- 1) What are the effects on cultural development when folk media are used in an integrated strategy with mass media in literacy training?
- 2) What could be the effects of the mediation of culture in the introduction of technological media?
- 3) Could the re-discovery of neglected traditional folk forms contribute towards the improvement of adult educational methodologies for adoption in literacy training?
- 4) How could social change patterns evolve in traditional societies with exposure to both folk and mass media in literacy training?
- 5) Could a major research project, using an experimental methodology, be undertaken to determine the effects of introducing literacy training with the mass media with or without integration with folk media?

Through the integrated use of folk media and mass media, Tanzania and other developing countries could,

make a vital contribution to the global use of media. This could demonstrate, in a very real way, the shaping of a modern African society in which cultural values and folk expressions interact with modern technological innovations to achieve a more fully democratic and genuinely human development.

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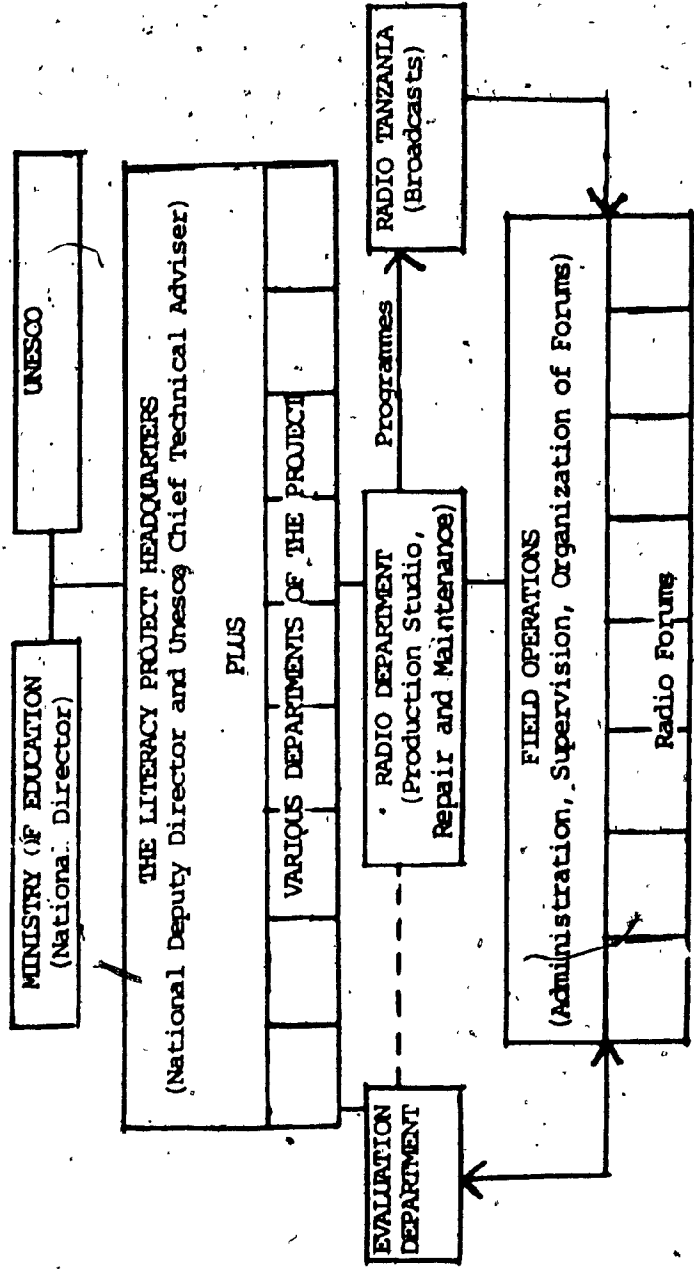
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE RADIO LITERACY TRAINING PROGRAM IN TANZANIA



Source: Literacy Work. (1978, Autumn), 7 (3), 34.

APPENDIX II

RADIO EDUCATION PROGRAMMES: KISOMO KWA RADIO SERIES

JANUARY - APRIL 1974 *

1. *The Inaugural Programme*: It put emphasis on the importance and the progress being made in literacy; future radio programmes; how the teachers, as group leaders, should conduct a listening/discussion group; and the importance of group reports;
2. *The Value of Literacy*: The aim was to motivate, according to objective one, all those concerned in the literacy programme. Questions incorporated were: Why is it essential that illiterate persons are urged to join literacy classes? Apart from the acquisition of literacy skills, what else does an individual gain by participating in the literacy programme?
3. *Functional Literacy*: The difference between functional literacy and traditional literacy was discussed and emphasis put on the necessity for practical application of what has been learned from the classes. Discussion questions: Why is this literacy programme called functional? What is meant by "Learning has no end"?
4. *The Role of Learners and Leaders*: The aim was to emphasize the role and responsibilities of both the learners and the leaders and particularly the effective participation by the leadership. Discussion questions: What are our responsibilities as learners? and What do we gain by attending regularly?
5. *Drinking*: Dangers (interview with a medical doctor on aspects of physical effects by alcohol) and the waste of excessive drinking were pointed out; also how drinking interferes with literacy activities and how certain classes have managed to solve this problem. Discussion questions: What are the dangers emanating from excessive drinking? If drinking is a problem in your class, what has been done to solve it?
6. *The Supply and Shortage of Equipment and Material*: Distribution difficulties and other problems related to supply and demand were explained. Emphasis was

- put on self-reliance by literacy classes. Discussion questions: What do you think are the causes for shortage of equipment and materials? When shortage occurs in your class how do you solve it?
7. *Conflict between Farm Work and the Literacy Programmes:* The relationship between literacy and agriculture and the benefits to be gained through this integration were discussed. Stress was put on the need for a proper balance to be maintained between farm work and literacy class attendance. Discussion questions: How are literacy and farm work activities related? How do demonstration plots assist in the learning of functional literacy?
 8. *The Necessity for Good Relationships in the Class:* The need for improved mutual respect between the learners and literacy teachers was discussed. Good relationships and discipline in class were emphasized. Discussion questions: Why do you have to respect each other in the class? What do learners and teachers gain through mutual respect? What could bring about good relationships in the class?
 9. *What should be Read and What is there to Read:* Participants were informed about the existing books, newspapers and magazines available which they could read as well as the importance of reading in order to maintain the acquired literacy skills. The importance of utilizing the existing rural libraries and rural newspapers was also discussed. Discussion questions: What do we gain through reading books and newspapers? In your class, how do you plan to obtain books/newspapers or any other thing for reading purposes?
 10. *How to Participate in the Literacy Programmes:* The theme was on how to budget time for various activities, an emphasis being put according to priority to literacy among other activities. Discussion questions: Why should literacy be accorded priority? How can we budget our time properly in order to attend literacy classes?
 11. *Literacy and Home Economics:* The discussion was about how the acquisition of literacy could be of practical value and of importance in the home life. Discussion questions: How does the acquisition of literacy change

- home life? What important things do you plan to buy with your money?
12. *The Role of Literacy Class Committees:* The role, responsibilities and the importance of these committees were discussed and emphasis put on how the learners can assist these committees to function properly and effectively. Discussion questions: How can you assist your class committee to function effectively? Has your committee been a success and what problems has it solved?
 13. *The Importance of the Swahili Language:* The needs and importance of the usage of Swahili in daily life were discussed. Discussion question: Why is it essential to learn the Swahili language?
 14. *Learning has no end:* The emphasis was that learning was a lifelong process irrespective of age, status, education, etc. Discussion questions: What is the age limit for learning? Why are the educated expected to go on learning?
 15. *This is the Time:* The aim was to stimulate and motivate those who had not joined the literacy programme not to wait any longer. Discussion questions: Can we persuade our neighbours to join literacy classes? How does literacy assist in the development of our country?
 16. *Practical Benefits from Literacy:* The emphasis was that participants should put into practice what they have acquired through the literacy programme. Discussion question: Do we apply what we have learned?
 17. *Questions and Answers:* A resume of all the previous programmes. Discussion questions: What have you learned from the radio programme? How would you like the future programmes to be?

source: Literacy Work, (1978, Autumn), 7 (3), 31-33.

POEM FOR "MTU NI AFYA" (MAN IS HEALTH)
RADIO STUDY GROUP CAMPAIGN

MTU NI AFYA LESSON

by

M. Kimwaga (Wanungu)

1. To us the world is good
As good as potatoes
We want to be well
To be free in free air
But sometimes all this fades
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.
2. Glory be to the architect of this
We welcome the idea
To make us free
And lead the way
For our grandchildren
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.
3. Let's be firm
In eradicating disease
Let's wake up at the cock's crow
Let's make it a routine
And let no one ignore
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.
4. Let's protect ourselves
Let's care for our health
When we fall sick
Let's call for medical help

From medical experts
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.

5. Let's clean our homes^a
Let's dig latrines
Doctors^b have inspired us
If we want peace
Latrines are the best shields
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.

6. Seminars have been conducted
We are all for it
Radio study groups have been formed
We listen attentively
To get the message clearly
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.

7. The seventh stanza I say
No more to say
Father and mother
Please forgive
Let's read
The lessons of diseases
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.

8. The man says Let's not joke
Let's talk and discuss
Learn early
To prevent disease
Good health
We are all learners
Mtu ni Afya lessons are good for the family.

Mohoro Ujamaa Village,
Rufiji District
from *Uhuru* 16/6/73

Translated from Kiswahili by C. Zikambona.

- Source: Adult education: The Tanzanian experience. (1975, Spring). Literacy Discussion, 118-119.