

**“DIMENSIONS OF SELF-EFFICACY IN THE LETTERS BY
LISTENERS IN RESPONSE TO A RADIO SOAP OPERA
‘USHIKWAPO SHIKAMANA’”**

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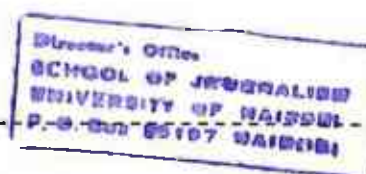
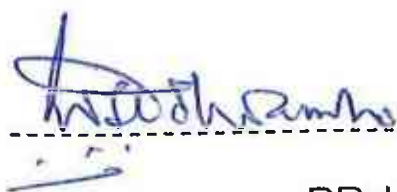
DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted in any university



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This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor:



DR. LEWIS ODHIAMBO

DEDICATION

To my family
my wife, children
and

mama & papa
friends

and to all God's children

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the concept of self-efficacy as demonstrated by letter-writers in response to a Kiswahili radio soap opera 'Ushikwapo Shikamana' (If Assisted, Assist Yourself). Self-efficacy is the feeling that individuals have about their capacity to control or influence events in their world.

In this study, we contend that letter writing to an educational radio serial is a form of self-efficacy demonstrating an individual's perception of their capacity to control events in their world. That is, letter-writers exhibit efficacious belief and behaviour by the act of writing. The rationale for this study rests on the fact that the radio soap opera mode is a viable mass media strategy especially suited to the dissemination of educational issues.

We invoke Albert Bandura's social learning theory to explain how self-efficacy works through a process of observing models. In this study, letter-writers demonstrated a reinforcement of individual values and behaviour through a process of parasocial interaction. Parasocial interaction is the illusion of a face-to-face relationship between members of the audience and media characters. One strong manifestation of parasocial interaction is the letters in response to a programme such as 'Ushikwapo Shikamana'.

In **Chapter One**, we set out the statement of the problem, conceptual framework, objectives, methodology and justification for the study.

In **Chapter Two**, we describe the concept of entertainment-education indicating its origins and development. We show that entertainment-education as a mass media strategy is an attempt to tap the popular appeal of the entertainment industry for educational purposes. *Ushikwapo Shikamana* ('If Assisted, Assist Yourself') is one such attempt to tap the great potential of the medium of radio to effect social transformation.

In **chapter Three**, we investigate dimensions of self-efficacy as demonstrated by the letter-writers as a result of listening to the radio serial, *Ushikwapo Shikamana*. To place the results in context, we provide a background to the programme as well as the concept of parasocial interaction.

Chapter Five is the conclusion in which we show that entertainment -education is a viable method of directed social change.

There are six appendices that tabulate data as follows: **Appendix 1** is a product of the content analysis of the letters. **Appendix 2** the frequency of responses per province. **Appendix 3** the letter length; **Appendix 4** issues raised in the letters. **Appendix 5** the characters mentioned; and **Appendix 6** parasocial interaction. The data provides a basis for our understanding of the effects of the programme and how it enhanced the listeners' sense of self-efficacy.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The precise nature of mass media effects is a matter of considerable debate. Radio and television, for instance, have long been considered as agents of social advancement and social integration (Law and Singhal 1999: 1).

Yet scholars have also acknowledged the limited if complex way in which media effects are mediated. Sweety Law and Arvind Singhal argue that research on media effects has often focused on audience ratings, knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) surveys and the records of public health clinics. However, they argue, 'an important but scarcely investigated data source is the direct feedback provided by listeners in their own words' (1999: 1).

This project recognises the concept of entertainment-education as a key component of mass media's role in development and social transformation. Entertainment-education is defined as 'the process of embedding educational content within entertainment messages in order to increase individuals' knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour concerning educational issues' (Sood & Rogers). Entertainment-education is not a new concept in Africa. The narrative drama, for instance, thrives on the unique interactions between entertainment and education. The entertainment-education strategy is a conscious effort to bridge the increasing dichotomy between entertainment and education in the mass media.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to investigate the concept of self-efficacy exhibited by listeners to the radio soap opera *Ushikwapo Shikamana* ('If Assisted. Assist Yourself') through a systematic analysis of letters written by the listeners in response to the programme. That is, how the letters written by listeners in response to the programme reveal aspects of efficacious behaviour. Efficacy is the perception that individuals have about their capacity to influence or control events in their world. The study will investigate the various dimensions of self-efficacy as demonstrated in the letters written by listeners in response to the radio soap opera, *Ushikwapo Shikamana*.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

1. To investigate dimensions of self-efficacy as exhibited by the listeners of the radio serial *Ushikwapo Shikamana* through their letters.
2. To investigate self-efficacy as both a belief and form of behaviour by examining the letters written by radio listeners to the programme.
3. To investigate letter-writing to a radio serial as a particular form of performance, demonstrating a specific mode of efficacy.
4. To identify the major educational issues raised by the radio listeners.
5. To investigate letter writing to a radio soap serial as a mode communication.

1.3 HYPOTHESES

In this study, we hypothesize that:

1. Letter writing to an educational radio serial is a form of self-efficacy demonstrating an individual's perception of their capacity to control events in their world.
2. letter writers exhibit efficacious belief and behaviour by the act of writing.
3. The radio soap opera mode is a viable mass media strategy especially suited to the dissemination of educational issues.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Letters are a very individual mode of communication. They are able to provide a personalized insight into how a mass media programme affects particular individuals. Letters can, as Law and Singhal (1999) say, describe in highly individualized detail how the listeners' sense of efficacy was influenced and with what consequences. Letters can provide first hand knowledge about how a radio programme affected an audience's sense of efficacy.

In countries such as Kenya where the teledensity is very low and many listeners do not have the opportunity for call-ins, letter writing is a significant and often the only mode of feedback. (Law & Singhal, 1999). Moreover, argue Law and Singhal, letter-writers have a high sense of involvement and their letters are an invaluable testimonial of efficacy. Overall, we concur with the assertion that:

Most studies on self-efficacy are quantitative, quasi-experimental and conducted ex post facto using hypothetical indices. Personal accounts in the form of letters, written by the consumers themselves (actual listeners/audience individuals), we argue represent an alternative and highly insightful approach to studying efficacy effects stimulated by a mass media programme.' (Law & Singhal, 1999:370).

To the best of our knowledge, we are not aware of any systematic study of self-efficacy with regard to letters written to an entertainment-education radio soap opera in Kenya. Such letters provide first hand information about a programme: its effectiveness, its production strategy, and its overall effects.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

In this study we confine ourselves to self-efficacy and not the broad area of efficacy in general. There is, for instance, the concept of collective efficacy which we have not broached in our study. It must be noted that letter writers are highly involved individuals whose responses therefore may not represent the overall audience characteristics.

We are also conscious of the problematic nature of mass media effects and we concur with Klapper (1960: 8) who stated that:

Mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences, [but] there are certain residual situations in which mass communication seems to produce effects.

The letters analysed cover the period 1999 to December 2001. As noted, letter-writers are a special category of listeners and results obtained cannot be used to generalise about the overall effects of the programme.

1.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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We invoke Bandura's social cognitive theory (formerly social learning theory) to clarify the effects of the soap opera. According to Bandura, learning is very much a function of coding.

Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behaviour is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how behaviours are performed, and on later

occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action.
(Bandura, A. 1977: 22).

Bandura (1977, 1997) proposed that an individual learns behaviour changes by observing and imitating the overt behaviour of other individuals who serve as models. Bandura identified three types of social modeling¹:

1. **prestige modeling** - i.e. characters who exhibit culturally admired behaviours.
2. **similarity modeling** various media characters who appeal to different audience segments and who portray the benefits of adopting prosocial behaviours.
3. **Transitional modeling** - characters that exhibit positive behaviours, negative behaviours, or transitional behaviour, in which a negative role model adopts a prosocial behaviour.

Bandura (1997) specified two motivational influences of social modeling - vicarious motivation which involves presenting behaviour change as a cost-beneficial decision for the individual. Attentional involvement, on the other hand, uses emotional appeals to sustain parasocial interaction between the audience and the role model. The desired behaviour change according to this model depends upon four factors: self-efficacy, outcome expectations, aspirations, and perceived impediments.

In the study, we investigate how listeners are able to model thoughts or behaviour on the characters and scenarios created in the radio drama to achieve self-efficacy. The concept of self-efficacy is a central pillar in Bandura's social cognitive theory because it is after an individual perceives themselves capable of controlling events in their world that they can change behaviour.

¹ quoted from Singhal & Rogers: 1999: 148-149

Self-efficacy describes how individuals act in accordance with their perceived abilities to achieve what they desire. Efficacy is primarily a behavioral construct in that it is a function of a person's beliefs about being able to use skills and being capable of performing and regulating the particular behavior. Self-efficacy has four main effects drawn from Bandura's work (1995). These are (1) cognitive (2) affective (3) motivational (4) selection processes (Law & Singhal 1999: 357).

Cognitive processes involve the mind. They derive from our capacity to think and make choices. In this study, we investigate how listeners were provoked to think about social issues and how this affected their knowledge of the issues raised in the course of the programme. Affective effects involve the emotional. The affective involves listeners feelings and attitudes particularly the way they felt after listening to the radio programme. Motivation is a function of both cognitive and affective dimensions and should result in particular overt behaviour patterns.

People get motivated depending on their knowledge and emotional status. The results of motivation however are difficult to categorize because they often overlap, may contradict, or are comprehensible mainly by implication. (Law & Singhal 1999: 358). Selection involves making choices. A listener may take action after listening to a programme. The action or selection process will inevitably be linked to the knowledge, affections stirred and the motivation level. Thus the four levels of self-efficacy are interrelated and are fundamentally inseparable.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

Self-efficacy has been defined as the belief in the individual's capability to organize and execute the course of action required to deal with prospective situations (Maibach & Murphy 1990) Self-efficacy judgements are specific to behaviours and the situations in which they occur (Bandura, 1986, 1977a; Hofstetter *et al.*, 1990). That is to say, self-efficacy is defined at the behaviour-situation unit of analysis. People are not self-efficacious in general, rather their sense of efficacy is tied to particular domains of functioning' (Maibach & Murphy 1990).

Maibach and Murphy's article is a central contribution in operationalising the concept of self-efficacy. self-efficacy is a key concept in the social cognitive theory. According to Maibach and Murphy, influences on behaviour operate in part by bolstering beliefs in personal efficacy.

Second, they argue, efficacy beliefs are dynamic and ever-changing - they are a product of on-going cognitive, behavioural and communication processes.

As noted, letter-writing as an aspect of efficacy is a scarcely studied area in mass communication studies. Sweety Law & Arvind Singhal.² (1999) investigate the communication of letter-writers to an entertainment-education radio serial, *Tinka Tinka Sukh* ('Happiness lies in Small Things') broadcast in India in 1996-7. The authors sought to understand how an entertainment-education radio drama serial can influence audience members' sense of

² 'Efficacy in Letter-writing to an Entertainment-Education Radio Serial'
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efficacy, an effect that can lead them to reconsider their values and behaviour to act.

The article by Sweety Law & Arvind Singhal sought to study dimensions of self-efficacy exhibited by letter-writers by listeners in response to the radio serial *Tinka Tinka Sukh*. According to the authors, an estimated 125,000 - 150,000 letters were received by All India Radio (AIR) in response to the programme in one year of broadcast.

A random sample of 260 letters were content analyzed in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The qualitative analysis was intended to reveal the extent of audience involvement. Following Katz and Liebes (1986: 163), the authors contend that letters are artifacts of audience involvement and represent 'empirical data on how they [audience individuals] decode what they see and hear; how they help each other to do so; and whether and how they weave the experiences of viewing into their social and political roles; and whether they have categories of criticism, and if so, what are these.' (Law & Singhal, 1999: 363).

The area of entertainment-education has in recent times received much scholarly attention. This is in response to the assertion that 'past studies of entertainment-education have not provided adequate theoretical explanation of the process through which community members enact system-level changes as a result of exposure to entertainment-education media messages' (Papa, Singhal et al 2000: 31-35).

Moreover, the authors argue that most studies assumed, a priori, that intense audience involvement with entertainment-education would lead automatically

to role-modeling. Another weakness of traditional studies in the area of entertainment-education was their linear models. They cite as examples McGuire's (1989) hierarchy of effects and Roger's (1995) five-staged innovation of decision - to - process. Linear models ignored the complexity of social change and change processes and were therefore reductionist in their approach. Suffice it to say, change is a complex, often circuitous process fraught with contradiction, paradox.

Parasocial interaction is a significant concept in entertainment-education scholarship. As Papa *et al* (2000: 34) argue, the illusion of a face-to-face relationship, that is, parasocial interaction, is at the heart of behaviour change. 'Once a parasocial relationship is established a media consumer appreciates the values and motives of the media character, often viewing him or her as a counselor, comforter, and role model.'

Quoting Rubin and Perse (1987) Papa *et al* (2000) propose three dimensions of parasocial interaction: cognitively-oriented parasocial interaction, affectively-oriented, and behaviourally-oriented parasocial interaction.

Cognitively-oriented parasocial interaction involves reflections on media characters by audience members that often cause audience members to think about their own situations. This reflective action is at the basis of Bandura's concept of self-efficacy, that is, 'the belief in one's ability to organize and execute courses of action to manage prospective situations'. (Bandura 1995 as quoted in Papa *et al*: 34).

In this article, Papa *et al* make two propositions with regard to Cognitively-oriented parasocial interaction. First, that self-efficacy is a central part of

cognitive parasocial interaction. Second, that the overall effects of an entertainment-education programme are hinged on its ability to promote self-efficacy among audience members.

Burke (1945) has defined affectively-oriented parasocial interaction as the degree to which an audience member identifies with a particular media character, and believes that his or her interests are joined. (In Papa *et al*, 2000) In our study, many letters exhibited a high degree of not only cognitive parasocial interaction, but also affective parasocial interaction to the extent that they demonstrated knowledge of prosocial issues as well as identified with their favourite characters.

Behaviourally-oriented parasocial interaction is the “degree to which individuals overtly react to media characters, for instance, by ‘talking’ to these characters.” (Papa *et al* 2000: 35).

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Echoing Katz, Liebes and Berko (1992), Papa *et al* argue that parasocial interaction can prompt referential involvement, that is, ‘the degree to which an individual relates a media message to his or her personal experiences.’ We contend that referential involvement, a fact that is evident in the listeners’ letters analyzed in our study is at the centre of self-efficacy and behaviour change is very much related to the extent that audience members are able to make this connection between the situations of the radio serial characters and their own lives.

However, we concur with Papa *et al* that the complexity of real-life situations inevitably introduces contradictions and paradoxes. ‘Although a person may say they believe in performing a certain action, these beliefs may not be

reflected in his or her actions.’ (Papa *et al.*, 2000: 37). They also acknowledge the study of letters as a basis for a much wider generalization and note that ‘audience members who wrote letters to *Tinka Tinka Sukh* represent a highly involved audience individuals who are atypical of the entire radio listening audience’.

The effects of ‘*Twende Na Wakati*’ (‘lets Go With The Times’), a radio soap opera introduced in Tanzania in 1993, has received considerable scholarly attention. The radio programme has been termed unique by Everett Rogers, Vaughan, *et al* (1999) because it used a field experiment design, pre-and postintervention measurement of dependent variable, and measurement triangulation using independent data sources to provide concrete evidence.

According to Rogers, Vaughan, *et al* (1999), the effects of the soap were evaluated using a field experimental design in which the radio programme was broadcast by seven mainland stations of Radio Tanzania. An eighth station broadcast alternative programming from 1993 to 1995, its listenership serving as a comparison area in which contemporaneous changes in family planning adoption were measured.

The soap opera was subsequently broadcast nationwide from 1995 to 1997. Data about the effects of the radio soap opera were gathered in five annual surveys of about 2,750 households in the comparison and treatment area and from a sample of new family planning adopters in 79 health clinics. Strong effects were recorded on family planning and the programme increased listeners’ self-efficacy regarding family planning adoption and influenced listeners to talk about with their spouses and peers about contraception.

(Rogers, Vaughan, *et al* 1999: 193). The analysis of letters was one of the methods used to measure efficacy effects accruing from exposure to the radio programme.

Two books stand out as fitting introductions to the area of entertainment education: *Soaps for Social Change* (Nariman, Noel Heidi, 1993) and *Entertainment-Education: A Communication Strategy for Social Change* (Arvind Singh & Everett M. Rogers, 1999).

Nariman (1993: xvi) sets out her purpose as to detail the entertainment-education strategy and especially how it was ‘originally articulated, applied, and evaluated in Mexico by Miguel Sabido; to describe the theoretical components of Sabido’s entertainment-education technique and its basis in formative and summative evaluation research; to provide a first hand example of how Sabido’s entertainment-education technique was used in the broadcast of six entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico; and to summarize the transfer of Sabido’s entertainment-education technique to other developing countries.’”

Miguel Sabido’s entertainment-education strategy is significant for two main reasons. According to Nariman, it ‘represents one form of complying with the demands of the television industry while still harnessing the medium’s educational capacity to achieve prosocial objectives. Unlike the vast majority of public/education programmes campaigns, this strategy has proven to be economically profitable in Mexico and India, where the entertainment-education strategy has demonstrated its appeal to large television audiences who actually learn from these series. In Mexico, entertainment-education soap

operas are often credited with making family planning palatable among a predominantly Catholic populace opposed to the practice.’ (xvi).

Miguel Sabido’s method is a syncretic one blending in a unique way communication and dramatic theory. Bandura’s social learning theory and psychology. For example, Sabido’s tonal theory is a subtle incorporation of the elements of drama, art, mass communication theory and psychology. According to tonal theory, nature has endowed ‘a boundless quantity of vibrations that combine into various forms to create various tones that are perceived by humans’. (Nariman, 1993: 58)

For this reason, a producer’s style is very much a question of how they are able to combine and recombine these tones to evoke a unique experience. The totality of style is a totality of tones which in effect is a reflection of the producer’s skill and personality.

We argue that the success of *Ushikwapo Shikamana* is to large measure a reflection of the production skill as well as the dramatic virtuosity of the scripts - scripts which emanate and tap into the organic situations that the average listener identifies with.

The process of letter-writing in response, we argue, is in part a dramatization of the tonal vibrations elicited by the programme. Nariman defines Sabido’s strategy that informs most entertainment-education soap operas including *Ushikwapo Shikamana*. Sabido was heavily influenced by Bentley’s melodramatic theory.

The melodramatic is described as one that most closely corresponds to reality. Bentley had described the melodramatic genre as emotive, representing moral behaviour in discord, creating identification between the audience and certain characters, and that emphasizes the anecdote (Nariman 1993: 35).

‘Plots in melodrama are rational constructions of extreme situations, placing these situations in some perceptible order to create an atmosphere of suspense. In this way, the plot is not the drama of real life; it is the narrative that creates a desired effect in the audience.’

Thus according to Nariman (1993: 35) ‘Entertainment-education soap operas are designed to adhere to Bentley’s description of melodrama and its distinctive anecdotes, protagonists, and dialogue. The characters in melodrama, although patterned on real life human beings, are not individuals; they are the force of a history that is revealed in the play.’

Arvind Singhal and Everett Rogers (1999) provide a concise introduction to the concept of entertainment-education in their book *Entertainment-Education: A Communication Strategy for Social Change*. In this book case studies, theoretical formulations and the development of the concept are provided. The justification for an entertainment-education strategy in mass media rests on the needless dichotomy between entertainment and education, argue the authors.

According to Singhal and Rogers, the entertainment-education strategy abrogates this arbitrary dichotomy. Entertainment-education is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members’ knowledge about an

educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour. Entertainment-education seeks to capitalize on the appeal of popular media to show individual's how they can live safer, healthier, and happier lives (Piotrow et al. 1977; Piotrow, Meyer, & Zulu, 1992 in Singhal & Rogers 1999: 9).

Why this strategy?

Singhal and Rogers assert that there is an overwhelming need to produce educational programmes. Such programmes usually require heavy investment, are perceived by audiences as dull, and attract sparse attention. For this reason, they are not popular with advertisers.

On the other hand, entertainment programmes generate high ratings and are popular with sponsors. The entertainment-education strategy thus provides an opportunity for an instructional message to pay for itself and fulfill commercial and social interests' (Brown, 1991; Singhal & Rogers, 1989b; in Singhal & Rogers 1999: 9)

Singhal and Rogers state that 'the purpose of entertainment-education programming is to contribute to directed social change, defined as the process by which an alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system (Singhal & Rogers 1994; 1999: 9). This change can occur at the level of the individual, community, or some other system.

According to the authors, change often occurs at two levels: first it can influence audience awareness, attitudes and behaviours towards a socially desirable end. Here change is within the audiences' internal environment. For example, the case of *Twende na Wakati* in which several hundred people were influenced to adopt positive sexual behaviour with regard to HIV prevention

behaviours like using condoms and reducing the number of sexual partners. Second, it can influence the audiences' external environment - group or system level - i.e. at the audiences' sociopolitical sphere. The entertainment-education media can serve as an advocate or agenda-setter, argue the authors, influencing public and policy initiatives in a socially desirable direction. For example, in the soap drama, *Tinka Tinka Sukh*, Lutsaan, the Indian village rejected dowry after exposure to the programme i.e. the soap opera did trigger a positive society level response.

The authors nevertheless identify limitations to the entertainment-education strategy, and acknowledge ethical dilemmas that accompany efforts to use this strategy.

1.8 METHOD AND DATA SOURCES

1.8.1 RANDOM SAMPLING OF LETTERS

We analyzed a random sample of 210 letters (from a total population of 2140 letters received from the inception of the programme in 1999 to 31 December 2001). The purpose of the analysis was to identify dimensions of efficacy displayed as a response to the radio serial. The focus of the analysis of the letters is on the issues raised, the themes as understood by listeners, and aspects of parasocial interaction displayed through the letters, and significant trends.

First, letters were sorted out per year based on the dates and the codes provided by Topcom productions, the producers of the programme.

According to our count, there are 1030 letters received within the year 2001, representing about 48 per cent of the total population of letters received within the study period. In 2000 a total of 828 letters were received, representing about 38 per cent of the total population, and 292 letters were received in 1999, the year the programme was launched, about 13 per cent of the total population.

Since our sample size is 210 letters we have chosen, using a random sampling technique, a proportionate number of letters from each year based on the percentage for each respective year. Using this formula, 2001 with a percentage of 48 per cent of the total number of letters received accounts for 100 in the sample size: 79 letters (rounded off to 80) for 2000 (38 per cent of total population); and 27 letters - rounded off to 30 - for 1999 (13 per cent of total population). Then every tenth letter was picked from each respective year until the sample size for that year was attained.

1.8.2 INTERVIEWS

With key personnel involved in the writing and production of the serial drama. The purpose was to deepen my understanding of the objectives and dramatic and production techniques. In this study, we argue that self-efficacy is enhanced by the overall quality of the programme especially its capacity to trigger parasocial interaction with radio listeners.

I had a number of interviews with key personnel in the radio serial. Notably, I had an interview with Prof. Kimani Njogu on the communication strategy being used in writing and broadcasting of the

radio programme. Amongst other issues, the interview revealed the following:

- That the *Ushikwapo* team has adjusted Sabido's methodology to suit the specific circumstances of the programme. Sabido was, for instance, focussed mainly on telenovelas while in Kenya the methodology has been rigorously applied to radio. The methodology is also used to address a much wider canvas of issues including health, social and economic, and gender. According to Prof. Kimani there has been a positive reassessment of the popular mode as a result of work done so far in radio. In his words, 'the soap has given popular modes a certain amount of dignity - it is a reevaluation of popular culture not just as a mode of creativity, but a source of intellectual engagement.' (interview with Prof. Kimani Njogu, April 25, 2002). For this reason, Prof. Kimani contends that the question is not whether popular soaps are legitimate modes of serious intellectual reflection, the question to which answers should be sought, he argues, is which theoretical perspectives would yield the best academic results.

Regarding the use of a multifaceted strategy encompassing a comic book, a comic strip in *Taifa Leo*, a Swahili daily, and the radio soap, Prof. Kimani emphasized the need to develop spin-offs from one major phenomenon. That is, the radio programme ought to be supported and complemented by audio tapes, CDs, websites, comic books. The comic book, published under the same name, (*Ushikwapo Shikamana*), is a deliberate strategy, reveals Prof. Kimani. People tend to have short concentration spans, says he. They would rather have information in a playful format. The comic book meets that need in a much more

permanent way. The permanence and versatility of the book format lends itself to use in schools and communities.

1.8.3 CONTENT/STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF 'USHIKWAPO SHIKAMANA'

The purpose of the content and stylistic analysis was to identify the themes and messages, how they are presented as drama and then as radio productions. This involved listening to the current and past productions. The researcher was also able observe the production process to gain an insight into the process and production and dramatic techniques employed to achieve the educational purpose, namely, the interplay between entertainment and education.

1.8.4 QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE LETTERS

The purpose was to identify qualitative and quantitative patterns in terms of the types of effects revealed in the letters, gender of the listeners, the length of the letters. Sweety Law and Arvind Singh quoting Katz and Liebes (1986): 163) re-emphasize the use of letters and argue that as artifacts of audience involvement they represent 'empirical data on how they [audience individuals] decode what they see and hear; how they help each other to do so; whether and how they weave the experiences of viewing into their social and political roles; and whether they have categories of criticism. and if so, what are these.'

In sum, the quantitative analysis was meant to measure audience involvement while, on the other hand, the qualitative the consequences of the audience involvement.

1.8.5 PARTICIPATION AND OBSERVATION

I was able to attend a planning and script writing workshop.

I attended one writing workshop (April 12-14 2002), and a plotting session. The objectives of the writing workshop were

- to review the story line, characters and methodology
- to develop projections of the story line
- to plot six episodes
- identify problem areas.

A major lesson of the workshop for my study was the interactive method for writing and researching the plots and scripts for the radio programme. The process of writing the episodes is very much interactive. The values grid provides a general guideline, but as I learned there are no givens - the final script is a product of negotiation. The plotting sessions create a framework in which the content of the characters is defined in advance. And yet the actual development of the story, the twists and turns, and the contours of the final script are left to the individual script writer to complete. Thus the creativity of the writers is defined by the parameters of educational issues as well as the methodology of entertainment-education.

The methodology used in the development of radio episodes in itself merits a separate study.

CHAPTER TWO:

ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION: CONCEPT AND DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter, we describe the concept of entertainment-education indicating its origins and development. We show that entertainment-education as a mass media strategy is an attempt to tap the popular appeal of the entertainment industry for educational purposes. *Ushikwapo Shikamana* ('If Assisted, Assist Yourself') is one such attempt to tap the great potential of the medium of radio to effect social transformation.

Ushikwapo Shikamana, the subject of our study, is produced within the entertainment-education soap opera tradition, and is part of a growing phenomenon that utilizes artistic principles in a specific way in a mass media situation.

2.1 DEFINITIONS

Entertainment has been described as the most pervasive mass media genre. Entertainment is to be found in the airwaves, cyberspace, popular magazines. It is because of its pervasive nature that powerful local and transnational forces control its content, nature and structure. Entertainment therefore is a great force in our times whose potential is according to Arvind Singhal and Everett Rogers (1999: 7) is largely untapped.

The term entertainment-education, also development entertainment, is now part of an established and fast growing media strategy that uses entertainment media for educational purposes. (Nariman, H. N, 1983: 2). For the purposes of this study:

entertainment is defined as a performance or a spectacle that captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving pleasure, amusement, or some form of gratification.

Education, on the other hand, is

..defined as a formal or informal programme of instruction and training that has the potential to develop an individual's skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his or her mental, moral, or physical powers. (Nariman, H. N, 1983: 2).

An entertainment-education soap opera is a melodramatic serial that is broadcast in order to both entertain and convey subtly an educational theme to promote some aspect of development (Nariman, H. N, 1983; Singhal and Rogers 1989).

2.2 THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY

Arvind Singhal and Everett Rogers (1999: 7) cite three main reasons why entertainment media are particularly relevant in development communication.

1. There are many development problems in the world - environmental, ethnic conflicts, infectious diseases, hunger, famine, etc. To address such problems 'pragmatic media strategies are needed that appeal to the audience members, are commercially viable, and are socially responsible. Using the entertainment media for educational purposes provides an unusual opportunity to achieve these objectives.' (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 8)
2. Leisure and entertainment represent a major megatrend. As a result, entertainment media spurred by technology such as satellite and cable television, VCRs, and multimedia; and by economic progress reach expanding audiences worldwide. The hard-to-reach rural poor are increasingly accessible through the mass media at a relatively low cost. (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 8)

3. The entertainment media, they argue, needlessly suffer from the stigma of being a mindless genre. Audience research shows that carefully planned entertainment programmes can help educate audiences, promote prosocial behaviour, and be economically viable. Furthermore, research in many countries confirms that audiences prefer socially responsible and wholesome entertainment. (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 8)

The need for integrating entertainment and education in a mass media context arises from a needless dichotomy between the two. Thus the process of combining entertainment with education to achieve directed social change is a viable communication strategy because it provides an opportunity for an instructional message to pay for itself and fulfill commercial and social interest (Brown, 1991; Singhal & Rogers, 1989b; in Singhal & Rogers 1999-9).

Entertainment-education seeks to capitalize on the appeal of popular media to show individuals how they can live safer, healthier, and happier lives (Piotrow et al. 1977; Piotrow, Meyer, & Zulu, 1992 in Singhal & Rogers 1999: 9).

2.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT

The notion of entertainment-education in its broad terms is not new at all. In Africa, for instance, the storytelling tradition is as old as humanity itself. Similarly, the idea of public dramatic performance in ritual drama, for instance, has always hinged on a complex relationship between art, entertainment and education.

But entertainment-education, say Singhal and Rogers (1999: 14)³ is a relatively new concept - a matter of 25 years in mass media. In radio, the first well known illustration of the education strategy occurred in 1951, when the BBC began broadcasting *The Archers*, a radio soap opera that carried educational content about agricultural development.

In the late 1950s, Elaine Perkins, a writer-producer on Jamaican radio (trained at the BBC), also began experimenting with the entertainment-education strategy in radio serials to promote family planning and other development issues. (Singhal and Rogers. 1999: 140)

in Peru, the concept was discovered somewhat in an accidental fashion: when the telenovela (literally 'television novel' or soap opera) 'Simplemente Maria' ('Simple Mary') was broadcast. The main character, Maria, a migrant to the city faced numerous challenges e.g. becoming a single mother. Her story, however, was one of hope: working during the day, she enrolled in an evening adult literacy class in the evening, thereby climbing the socioeconomic ladder 'through her hard work, strong motivation, and her skills with a Singer sewing machine.' The programme recorded strong effects. The programme had very high audience ratings, sales of Singer machines increased, and numbers of young girls enrolled in evening and sewing classes increased. When the programme was broadcast in other Latin American countries, similar effects were recorded. 'Audience identification with Maria was very strong, especially among poor, working-class women: she represented a role model for upward social mobility.' (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 140).

³ We are generally indebted to Arvind Singhal & Everett Rogers, 1999 for this sub-section.

Heidi Noel Nariman (1993: 7) provides a radiant, if succinct description of *Simplemente Maria* and its overall effect.

This rags-to-riches soap opera, produced in Peru in 1969 and exported throughout the region, proved to be one of the most enduring and best-loved Latin soap operas of all time. Its romantic story of the upward mobility obtained by a hard-working farm girl has been retold in five different 'Simplemente Maria' productions, the most recent of which aired in Mexico in 1989-1990. Maria, the soap opera heroine, is a migrant to Lima who achieves socioeconomic status because of her skills with a Singer sewing machine. Her tale, as presented in the 1969 Peruvian version, is credited with unleashing an unparalleled consumer demand for Singer sewing machines and sewing and literacy classes, and with prompting the Singer Company to buy commercial time in the broadcasts to be aired throughout Latin America. By 1977 the Peruvian soap opera had racked up profits of \$20 million worldwide.

2.4 MIGUEL SABIDO AND THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION METHODOLOGY

The successes of 'Simplemente Maria' and the (unintended) educational effects, Miguel Sabido, a television writer-producer and director in Mexico developed a framework and strategy for the entertainment-education soap operas. Between 1975 and 1982, Sabido produced seven entertainment-education soap operas which had specific effects such as spurring enrollment in adult literacy classes, encouraged adoption of family planning, promoted gender equality (Nariman, 1983).

In addition, Sabido's programmes were commercial successes demonstrating that entertainment-education messages do not limit the popularity of entertainment programmes. (Singhal and Rogers 1999:14)

The current strategy of entertainment-education owes much to Miguel Sabido, a Mexican producer of television soap operas. Sabido's path to entertainment-education methodology has been described as one of

inspiration, observation, and experimentation. Born in 1938, Sabido grew up in an atmosphere of creative and intellectual engagement, an experience that was formative to many of his ideas in the theatre and mass media production.

While studying law and Spanish literature at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Sabido began to see theatre as more than an interpretation and reaffirmation of national culture, that it could be a participative event in which the actor channels energy through different body zones in order to create different tones. (Nariman 1983).

Sabido's interaction with dramatic theory, especially Eric Bentley's theory of the melodramatic was to prove decisive in his own theatre-television theory. Sabido's ideas are important because as we point out later, Ushikwapo Shikamana, owes much of its artistic and production technique to Sabido's technique.

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Sabido operated in an environment in which much research in Mexico which had origins in the United States focused mainly on the negative effects of the mass media, and when there was growing concern about the effects of especially television on children. The mass media were on the other hand perceived to have limited effects. Scholars such as Klapper (1960) and Festinger (1957), were in general skeptical about any tangible effects of the mass media. They, for instance, stated that people seek to remain at cognitive equilibrium and therefore selectively expose themselves to mass media messages that confirm and reinforce pre-existing beliefs (Nariman 1983: 28).

Sabido's own observation pointed elsewhere. He had observed the effects of soap operas such as 'Simplemente Maria' from Peru (1969), 'in which the

heroine Maria gained socioeconomic mobility because of her skills with a Singer sewing machine. This soap opera, as we have indicated, sparked an unprecedented demand for Singer sewing machines throughout Latin America' (Nariman 1983: 28).

Sabido had also noted the powerful effects of historical soap operas in Mexico. These soap operas provoked strong admiration for certain figures such as the Archduke Maximilian 'who symbolized negative forces in historical legend.' These convinced Sabido about the strong effects of mass media on its audience.

Sabido therefore set out to articulate a framework for 'orchestrating these media messages in order to activate specific socially desirable attitudes and behaviours.' (Nariman 1983: 28)

In his creative strategy, Sabido was most influenced by the melodramatic genre. Melodrama has been described as one mode that most closely approximates real life. Sabido was particularly interested in melodrama's rendering of the struggle between evil and good, heightening the anecdote thus causing the audience to champion the forces of good over evil. Sabido used Bentley's reading of the melodramatic structure to design characters and plots. (Nariman 1983: 29) 'good characters in entertainment-education soap operas accept the proposed social behaviour, and evil characters reject it (Nariman 1983: 29-30).

Plots are then constructed around the relationship between good and evil characters as they move closer or farther away from the proposed social behaviour and encourage the audience to either champion them or reject them

accordingly. (Nariman 1983: 30). As we reveal later, audience members in *Ushikwapo Shikamana*, demonstrate in their letters their assessment of characters and are able to identify prosocial, transitional and negative characters. It is instructive that the main negative character in *Ushikwapo Shikamana*, Shindo, an arrogant and irresponsible man, attracts the most negative response from listeners as seen in the letters.

Nariman (1983: 35) reveals:

as the audience follows the personal dramas of soap opera characters, it too confronts the moral universes of good and evil. All components of the melodrama are coordinated to maintain a kind of suspense that holds the audience until some balance between these extremes is achieved....in entertainment-education soap operas the struggle between good and evil is waged by characters who accept the proposed social behaviour representing the forces of good pitted against those who reject the social behaviour representing the forces of evil.

The soap strategy as drama works by creating fictive tension:

“the tension evoked by the melodrama places the audience in between the forces of good and evil and uses production elements such as music, lighting, dialogue, and pacing to build on this urgency. (Nariman: 1983: 35)

From very humble beginnings, entertainment-education has become a huge industry and academic discipline. Many institutions engaged in development work have since recognized the immense possibilities and great potential within the framework of entertainment-education. Population Communications International (PCI), for instance, an NGO headquartered in New York city, has been central in popularising and using the methodology developed by Sabido to spread educational messages. PCI has been at the centre of the development of local soaps such as *Ushikwapo Shikamana* (When assisted assist yourself), *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go with the Times) and

Tushauriane (Let's discuss). In the words of Roger and Singhal, 'this technology transfer process is complex and time-consuming, and the results have been mixed. However, important lessons about creating, implementing, and maintaining the education strategy have been learned' (1999: 15).

2.5 SESAME STREET: THE LONGEST STREET IN THE WORLD⁴

Singhal and Rogers (1999) describe the programme, 'Sesame Street' as exceptional in conception and effect. Designed to prepare preschoolers for classroom learning, it was created in 1969 by the CTW, Children's Television Network, and is watched by an estimated 12 million Americans every week, including 6 million preschoolers, about 40% of all US children aged 2 to 5 (CTW, 1987; Singhal and Rogers 1999: 18.) According to Singhal and Rogers, the English-language version has been broadcast in 53 countries; while 16 foreign language adaptations have been broadcast in 47 countries. It reaches audiences in more than 140 countries in six continents thus the 'the longest street in the world'.

2.5.1 BACKGROUND

in 1966 Joan Ganz Cooney, then a television producer, and Lloyd Morriset, an executive at Carnegie Foundation, decided to explore television's usefulness in teaching young children. This culminated in CTW, a nonprofit organization with nonpolitical affiliation. Eighteen months of formative evaluation research preceded the first broadcast of Sesame Street in 1969.

Entertaining formats with strong educational appeals were pretested and often revised many times to obtain the desired effects. Such intense evaluation, which continues in present-day productions, is a major reason for Sesame Street's success.

⁴ The term 'longest street' borrowed from Singhal & Rogers, (1999)

(Singhal & Rogers 1999: 19)

Furthermore, argue Rogers and Singhal (1999:19), 'entertainment-education represents a delicate balance between entertainment and education and thus requires use of formative evaluation.' According to Rogers and Singhal, CTW pioneered the idea of formative evaluation.

Sesame Street was designed to develop cognitive learning skills of preschool children, teaching them letters, numbers, geometric forms, and such prosocial skills as kindness and cooperation.

To achieve this object, the programme designers integrated educational principles and mass media techniques based on Piaget's concept of learning and knowledge acquisition. Piaget's theory basically stated that to teach somebody start from the simple/known to the complex/unknown. For example, to teach the letter 'Y' comparison is made with a forked road and with a slingshot. Each lesson is repeated to reinforce learning.

The programme was made interactive so as to make children participants not passive recipients of 'facts'. This was clearly a conscious attempt to obviate the one-way nature of most television broadcasting.

The other key aspect was the use of a variety of entertainment formats to hold attention. For example, muppets, music, animation, live-action films, special effects, and celebrity visits are very much part and parcel of the Sesame Street format.

Brevity was another principle that was infused in the programme design. Each segment is short usually less than 3 minutes.

2.5.2 PRODUCTION ISSUES

Every year CTW creates a new series of 130 hour-long Sesame Street programmes. The annual production cost is about \$15 million with each episode costing about \$ 115,000.

CTW meets two thirds of the programmes total production costs from self-generated revenue, for example, the sale of Sesame Street books, tee shirts, toys, etc., which makes it the largest single contributor to public television programming in the US, the other third is provided by foundations, corporate grants, and Public Broadcasting Service. Cost explains why countries like Australia and Great Britain prefer to broadcast the US -made series (Singhal & Rogers 1999).

2.5.3 SUMMATIVE EVALUATION

Sesame Street has demonstrated strong effects. According to Singhal and Rogers (1999: 20) evaluation is consistent in showing that children who have been viewers score higher than nonviewers in tests of ability in all curriculum areas. But it has also has an unintended negative effect:

Sesame Street's success comes from combining the technology of television with the art of entertainment and specific educational aims. However, there is evidence that Sesame Street might increase the information gap between children that are already better informed and of higher socioeconomic status than their less fortunate counterparts. That is, the programme raises the level of information of all children, but it especially benefits the information-rich, thus widening the information gap (Tichenor, Donohue & Olien 1970).

The experience of Sesame Street presents interesting lessons on the opportunities and challenges of combining entertainment with educational messages for specific development objectives. Specifically, entertainment

television can be used to educate young viewers without making the educational content subtle, and still attract large audiences. According to CTW (1988) "it is an experiment to see how well entertainment could be used in the service of education". (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 20).

Secondly, start-up costs for entertainment education programmes are typically high, and such programmes take a relatively longer time to produce than do strictly entertainment programmes, in part due to the time and costs of formative evaluation research. On the other hand, entertainment-education programmes have been found to be very efficient in achieving low-cost behaviour change (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 20).

Thirdly, formative evaluation research is crucial to the success of entertainment-education. (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 20). Fourthly, a balance between artistic creativity and communication research is needed in producing effective entertainment-education programmes. CTW represents a unique combination of two different strategies -education and entertainment. (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 20). Fifth, the design, production, evaluation research for an entertainment-education programme can be transferred across national and cultural boundaries, with suitable adaptation to local conditions (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 21).

Sixth, entertainment-education programmes offer tremendous economies of scale delivering messages to a target audience. For example, the cost of reaching each preschooler in the US via Sesame Street is less than 1 cent per child per viewing hour (Lesser, 1974 in Singhal & Rogers 1999: 21).

Seventh, TV content is strongly shaped by economic and political realities. One disappointment is that the programme did not inspire commercial TV networks to broadcast similar entertainment-educational programmes. (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 21).

2.6 ENTERTAINMENT EDUCATION IN EAST AFRICA

Some of the most successful entertainment-education programmes in East Africa have been broadcast via radio and in Kiswahili. This can be explained by the fact that radio as a medium of communication is especially suited to situations where per capita incomes are low and among low income groups. In addition, Kiswahili is the most popular indigenous language in East Africa spoken by over 50 per cent of the populace.

Notable examples of the entertainment-education strategy include Tushauriane (Let's Discuss') which was introduced in 1987 in Kenya on television. A radio soap programme broadcast on radio Tanzania in 1993 illustrates a wider variety of the strategies that define entertainment-education in East Africa. Twende na Wakati is a soap opera depicting the daily life of Tanzanian's, particularly the current generation in their struggle against harsh economic difficulties in order to improve their quality of life. It is a story of love, disappointment, frustration, and also of hope and triumph. (Swalehe, Rogers et al 1995).

The setting is in a busy town called Milindimo neighbouring villages of Maendeleo, Kangaza, Mapokeo, and Patapata. The main characters are Mkwaju and Tunu with a host of support characters such as Shime and Pili. Mkwaju, like Shindo in *Ushikwapo Shikamana*, is a negative role model. Mkwaju, a truck driver, engages in dangerous behaviour. He has multiple

sexual partners. In keeping with the mode of Sabido's and Bandura's modeling theory. Mkwaju is severely punished for his irresponsible behaviour. On the other hand, Fundi Mtindo and Mama Waridi demonstrate joint decision-making as a couple. They, for instance, practice proper child spacing and in the programme are rewarded for their positive character. Their business flourishes.

Another notable feature is the development of a moral framework. The scripts for the programme were developed after intensive formative research to identify critical educational issues. The moral framework consists of 57 educational themes, for example: 'it is good that parents are conscientious and realize that children of either sex are equal and should be accorded equal treatment.' ((Swalehe, Rogers et al 1995).

Twende na Wakati is particularly significant because it represented the first large scale mass media campaign that attracted much scholarly scrutiny using a comprehensive research design to gauge effects. Everett Rogers, Vaughan, Swalehe et al (1999: 193) describe in detail the results of the study.

The effects of the programme were measured in an experimental design that involved broadcasting by seven mainland stations of Radio Tanzania. An eighth station broadcast alternative programming from 1993 to 1995, its listenership serving as a comparison area in which contemporaneous changes in family planning adoption were measured.

Strong effects were recorded. For example, the percentage of respondents who felt that it was possible for them to determine the number of children that they would have increased more in the treatment areas of Tanzania, where the radio soap broadcasts was broadcast, than in the control area. (Swalehe, Rogers et al 1995: 3).

According to Rogers, Swalehe, *et al* (1995: i) the success of the radio soap owes to a number of factors particularly the use of Sabido's entertainment-education strategy, 'such as the use of Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning theory as a basis for motivating listeners to change behaviour.'

The strong effects are also made possible by the parasocial interaction as a result of the programme. Indeed, letters received by Radio Tanzania demonstrate a high degree of parasocial interaction by the letter-writers with characters in the radio programme (Swalehe, Rogers *et al* 1995: 3).

CHAPTER THREE

DIMENSIONS OF SELF-EFFICACY AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE LETTER-WRITERS RESPONDING TO 'USHIKWAPO SHIKAMANA'

In this chapter, we investigate dimensions of self-efficacy as demonstrated by the letter-writers as a result of listening to the radio serial, *Ushikwapo Shikamana*. To place the results in context, we provide a background to the programme as well as the concept of parasocial interaction.

We contend that an entertainment-education's capability to trigger change towards self-efficacy is made possible through a process of parasocial interaction, namely, the 'illusion of a face-to-face relationship' that develops between a character and the audience. (Papa, Singhal, et al 2000: 34). Once a parasocial relationship is established, argue Papa, Singhal, et al 2000: 34), a media consumer appreciates the values and motives of the media character, often viewing him or her as counselor, comforter, and role model.

We have argued that *Ushikwapo Shikamana* is an example of a prosocial media programmes whose purpose is to create directed and specified social change. Such programmes aim to enhance self-efficacy and can foster desired behaviours (Desharnais et al 1986).

Studies on self-efficacy and programmes that seek self-efficacy employ Bandura's social cognitive theory as an explanatory model (Law, Sweetey & Singhal 1999.) 'Bandura's self-efficacy theory (1992, 1995) argues that individuals will act in accordance with their perceived abilities to achieve what they desire.

In recent years, Bandura expanded the scope of self-efficacy functioning to include a self-reflective (1995, 1997) capability that regulates individual's motivations, thought processes and emotional states, as well as behavioural modifications. Self-reflective capability involves self-regulatory skills that include planning, organizing, regulating one's motivation, and applying metacognitive skills to evaluate the adequacy of one's knowledge and strategies'. (Law, Sweetly & Singhal, 1999: 356)

Self-efficacy is both 'a belief and behavioural experience, argue Law, Sweetly and Singhal (1999). When individuals wish to attain a goal, they point out, their beliefs in their personal capabilities greatly determine the goal-setting and actuation processes. Efficacy, in their view is more like actuation.

Actuation may be defined as an experiential process that is both behavioural as well as belief-centred. In the duality of its progression, the goal-setting motive is as much also influenced by risk-taking or conservatism as it competes with other contemporaneous goals, objectivities and contingencies. Such internal and external assessments, varying on a continuum of intensity and accuracy, generate a sequence of activities that cause the individual to self-regulate their efforts, which may lead them to attain their goal. (Law, Sweetly & Singhal, 1999: 356)

3.1 USHIKWAPO SHIKAMANA: BACKGROUND

Ushikwapo Shikamana was first broadcast in 1987 to 1989. It was designed to tackle issues of family planning and was funded by the National Council of Population and Development (NCPD). According to Singhal and Rogers (1999) each episode of *Ushikwapo* cost 10,000 Kenyan shillings to produce. The soap opera was designed to motivate listeners to adopt family planning.

At that time, the programme was produced by Tom Kazungu of the then Voice of Kenya (VOK). Kazungu's plans grew out of a 1983 Sabido workshop on entertainment-education soap opera design in Mexico by Pointdexter, who was the President of Population Communication International (PCI), an NGO involved in soap operas for social change and family planning (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 130).

Formative research carried out before scripting the episodes contributed greatly to the richness and authenticity of the drama. The story revolved around Mzee Gogo, a traditional man with several wives, several children and grandchildren. In contrast, the scriptwriters created a smaller family of Jaka and Lulu, with their two children. In keeping with the Sabido strategy that derives its methodology from Bandura's social modeling theory, the two families of Mzee Gogo and Jaka and Lulu represented negative and positive role models. Jaka and Lulu were rewarded in terms of family harmony and better opportunities for their children.

A 1998 evaluation of *Ushikwapo Shikamana* estimated a regular audience of 7 million people, 40% of Kenya's population (Singhal & Rogers, 1999: 130). The soap won recognition when it was awarded the 1989 Population Institute Global Award, which was presented to Tom Kazungu, the producer, an award that its sequel would later go on to win in 2002.

3.2 USHIKWAPO SHIKAMANA 2

The sequel *Ushikwapo Shikamana* (Ushikwapo Shikamana 2) was relaunched in November 1998 with funding from the Ford Foundation. The current study investigates letters written in response to Ushikwapo Shikamana 2.

The plan for the sequel was arranged by PCI in 1997. In that year an elaborate formative research plan was carried out and some of the issues addressed in the 1980s were revisited and new issues incorporated in the drama (Kimani Njogu, 2000). A monitoring team was put in place to assess the effectiveness of the programme. As a result of the formative research, a range of seven broad issues were identified and integrated into a framework of educational issues and a values grid. Specifically:

1. Fertility values
2. Family planning issues and values
3. Maternal and child health issues and values
4. Sexually transmitted infections issues and values
5. Gender equity issues and values
6. Social cultural issues and values
7. Economic issues and values.

Each of these educational issues and values was broken down into smaller statements in a tabular format indicating in one column the educational issue, then a positive statement about it and, in the third column, a negative one. For example, with respect to social/cultural issues and values we have eleven educational issues. Here below is an example of one educational issue:

<i>educational issue</i>	<i>positive issues (it is good that...)</i>	<i>negative issues (it is bad that...)</i>
1. Most people are fatalistic about their lives, and feel that they cannot control whether their lives will improve or not.	...People believe that they can control the quality of their future lives.	...People don't believe that they can control the quality of their future lives.

3.3 SYNOPSIS

Ushikwapo Shikamana is set in three locations: Kanyageni, Langoni and Ulimboni. Each of these locations has its own set of problems and issues. There are three main characters: positive, transitional and negative characters.

Tatu, for instance, a teacher is the main positive character, providing a vehicle and a model for directed positive change. She practices family planning and she fights against early and forced marriages. Shindo, on the other hand is a negative role model - rich, corrupt, and uncouth.

In the course of the drama, the positive characters are rewarded, the transitional helped to become positive and the negative punished for their antisocial ways.

3.4 LISTENERS' LETTERS: PARASOCIAL INTERACTION AND DIMENSIONS OF SELF-EFFICACY

We have indicated that the radio programme's capability to induce self-reflection amongst listeners enabling them to achieve self-efficacy in their lives is very much intertwined with the notion of parasocial interaction.

It is through parasocial interaction that listeners appreciate the underlying values and challenges that a character faces. Parasocial interaction has been used in the analysis of programme effects in India (*Tinka Tinka Sukh*), Tanzania (*Twende na Wakati*).

In *Ushikwapo Shikamana*, we identified five types of parasocial interaction that demonstrate dimensions of self-efficacy. As indicated earlier, Rubin and Perse (1987) argued that parasocial interaction consists of three audience

dimensions: cognitive, affective, and behavioural.⁵ Katz, Liebes, and Berko (1992) argued that parasocial interaction can prompt referential involvement on the part of audience members.⁶ In our analysis we include referential involvement as a category of parasocial interaction, referring to the 'degree to which an individual relates a media message to his or her personal experiences'. (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 173). It is this ability to relate experiences to one's own life that behaviour change may occur.

We also included another category, the critical, to cover exceptional cases of self-reflection and critical practice with regard to the episodes, their presentation and even criticism of the themes and message. In other words, cases that demonstrate a listener's self-efficacy that goes beyond their own life-situation to cover the listener's perception of how the entire strategy of the dramatic, the educational are utilized in the programme.

Appendices 1 to 6 provide details with respect to the content of the letters, regional distribution by province and the frequency of characters within the content of the letters.

3.4.1 COGNITIVELY ORIENTED PARASOCIAL

Cognitively oriented parasocial is the degree to which audience members pay particular attention to the characters in a media message and think about its educational content after their exposure (Papa et al., 1998; Sood & Rogers, 1996; Singhal & Rogers 1996: 172). A cognitive interaction therefore is an intellectual process, involving mainly the mind. In the case of the sample

⁵ Singhal & Rogers 1999: 172.

⁶ Singhal & Rogers 1999: 173

letters analyzed. cognitive interaction was the most dominant, demonstrating that the listeners grasped the educational issues infused into the radio drama.

In the study, at least 52 per cent of the letters exhibit cognitive awareness. As an aspect of self-efficacy, reflecting on the educational themes can help listeners recognize they have behavioural choices. (Singhal & Rogers 1999). Whereas we propose that cognitively oriented parasocial interaction is basic to self-efficacy in that behaviour change presupposes wholesome information, we are conscious that there is little evidence to date, however, that cognitively oriented interaction within a parasocial context can initiate a process of social change'. (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 173).

Here below we provide a translation (from Kiswahili) of an example of a co-written listeners' letter who demonstrate a clear knowledge (cognitive) of the educational issues. We have as much as possible preserved the original structure of the letter in our translation:

Thank you for the programme 'Ushikwapo Shikamana'. It has taught us very much in many ways about the realities of current life. We say thank you very much and, if possible, we ask for an extension of the time of the programme.

My views

1. We congratulate Mwalimu Tatu and her fiancée Jack for their decision to delay getting a baby.

2. We urge Chezi's husband to discard old customs and traditions because they can make him to lose his life. In addition, we urge him to construct a pit latrine.
3. We urge Mabuche to stop using drugs.
4. Shindo should stop dealing in hard drugs.
5. Inspector should stop receiving bribes and do his work with commitment. The way we see it, he is about to lose his job.

Yours faithfully,
Jaridah Machila and Ruth Wakto
Mwandago Secondary School
Po Box 161
Mwatate

Clearly, the notion of parasocial interaction is very much evident. The writers identify the educational issues involved and they are prompted to either offer advice or congratulate positive characters. The interaction helps to reinforce the listeners' sense of efficacy helping to enhance positive traits in their character.

3.4.2 AFFECTIVELY ORIENTED PARASOCIAL INTERACTION

The emotional identification between members of the audience and media characters is a critical one in engendering feelings of self-efficacy. Affectively oriented parasocial interaction is the degree to which audience members identify with a particular media character. (Singhal & Rogers 1999). This

bonding and identification influences the possibility of change. In the study, about 38 percent of letter writers exhibited affective interaction.

A range of letters demonstrated feelings of disgust, disapproval for bad behaviour, approval and recognition for prosocial behaviour. In the letter cited above, we can argue that both cognitive and affective interactions are mutually reinforcing.

3.4.3 BEHAVIOURALLY ORIENTED PARASOCIAL INTERACTION

This dimension of parasocial interaction has been defined as the degree to which individuals overtly react to media characters. (Papa et al 2000). The reactions can facilitate change in the listener's own behaviour or motivate them to take specific action. Consider the following letter:

To the Ushikwapo Programme
I like other regular fans of the programme,
listen to the programme every Saturday for the
omnibus edition.

If the truth be told, this programme has not only entertained me but it has also educated me and given me tips on how to write drama. I need your help so that I can write my play which will contribute to the development of Kiswahili. I also thank Mr. Ken Walibora for his book 'Siku Njema'. His book is an important contribution and has enriched my own life...

Thank you

Hellen Mabonga
Sitatunga Primary School
PO Box 3401
Kitale

This particular letter is interesting for various reasons. The radio drama seems to trigger efficacy beyond the immediate objectives of the programme. First, the programme has inspired specific behavioural efficacy - the capacity to write and appreciate art and drama in particular. The listener's interest in writing and becoming an influential author is given specific force through the literary quality of the programme. For this particular listener, the programme is an opportunity to celebrate the wider objectives of art and its capacity to fulfill and affirm our humanity. She connects with the programme by recognizing writers who are not directly connected with the programme such as Ken Walibora a newscaster with the Nation Media Group and author of the novel *Siku Njema*.

The behavioural dimension is a problematic one as we pointed earlier. It is difficult to measure in such a study. We were able to identify only a percentage of 2.4 in the sample.

Similarly, the critical parasocial interaction accounted for only about 2 per cent. This may be explained by the fact that listeners once they identify with characters and get involved in the story are least bothered by the larger critical issues of programming.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

In this study, we investigated the concept of self-efficacy as demonstrated by letters written in response by listeners of the radio soap opera 'Ushikwapo Shikamana'.

We have argued that self-efficacy has various dimensions. We have also shown that self-efficacy is made possible through a process of parasocial interaction between audience members and media characters.

We also contend that Letters can provide first hand knowledge about how a radio programme affected an audience's sense of efficacy. Letters written in response to a radio programme are a scarcely studied area and they provide a genuine testimonial of how a programme affects audience individuals.

Entertainment-education is a viable strategy of bridging the needless dichotomy between entertainment and education. Ushikwapo Shikamana is a concrete example of how entertainment and education can find common ground.

The experience of Ushikwapo Shikamana presents interesting lessons on the opportunities and challenges of combining entertainment with educational messages for specific development objectives.

Specifically, entertainment radio can be used to educate both young and old on a variety of issues.

Start-up costs for entertainment education programmes are typically high, and such programmes take a relatively longer time to produce than do strictly entertainment programmes, in part due to the time and costs of formative

evaluation research. On the other hand, entertainment-education programmes have been found to be very efficient in achieving low-cost behaviour change (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 20).

Formative evaluation research is crucial to the success of entertainment-education. A balance between artistic creativity and communication research is needed in producing effective entertainment-education programmes.

We have also learned that entertainment-education programmes offer tremendous economies of scale delivering messages to a target audience.

The results of this study provide a strong case for a policy environment in which specific provisions for public information and education programmes in the media are inevitable. This project strongly vindicates the need for a strong Public Service Broadcasting component in our national mass media policy.

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Appendix 1: LETTER CONTENT ANALYSIS

no	yr	name & address	gedr	reg (prov)	letter synopsis	issues raised	characters mentioned	lgth	parasocial interaction
1	--	Ndirangu Muchemi Box 130 GIAKANJA NYERI	M	Central	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural	Gogo, Kinga	40	Affective & Cognitive
2	--	Mr&Mrs Jackson Mwema Box 86307 MOMBASA	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Drug Abuse & Peddling.	Shindo	60	Affective
3	--	Veronica Mwajuma Box 55 KITALE	F	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social/Cultural, Drug peddling	Gogo, Mabuche	190	Affective & Cognitive
4	--	Mary Ayodi Self Pride Kenya KISUMU	F	Nyanza	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social/Cultural, Drug Peddling	Tatu, Shindo, Zawadi	120	Affective & Cognitive
5	--	Erick Odhiambo Box 141 AKALA, SIAYA	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program. characters involved and a piece of advice.	Drug Abuse & Peddling. Adultery & Immorality. Social Cultural, Pogramming/Sugg estions/Request	Inspct Tonge, Shindo, Chausiku, Tatu	110	Affective & Cognitive
6	--	Faridah Machila & Ruth Wakto, Box 161. MWATATE	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling, Corruption	Tatu, Jaka, Chezi, Shindo, Inspct Kato	130	Affective, Cognitive & Behavioural
7	--	Dynnocent Kemunto, Box 442 KEROKA	F	Nyanza	Brief discussion of the teachings from ithe program and advice to characters	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Kinga, Lulu, Gogo, Shindo	70	Affective & Cognitive
8	--	Pamela Atieno, Box 106, MUMIAS	F	Western	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Social/Cultural, Gender Equity	Gogo, Tatu, Maua, Lulu, Shindo, Kinga	80	Affective, Cognitive & Critical
9	--	Maggy Muthama, Box 2, NUNGUNI	F	Eastern	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Pangu Pangu, Nyundo	190	Affective, Cognitive & Critical
10	--	Janelydia Mwangi, Box 153, MWEIGA	F		Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social/Cultural, Educational Issues	Tatu, Pangu Pangu, Zawadi	110	Cognitive
11	--	Nichodemus	M	Coast	Congrats for	Adultery &	Pendo, Shindo	80	Cognitive

		Mwaniki, Box 68 MARIKAN I			the program. It has good teachings	Immorality, Social Cultural			
12	--	Milcah Onchongo, Box 566 NYAMIRA	F	Nyanza	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Tatu	100	Cognitive & Referential
13	--	David Njeru, Box 266, TIMAU	M	Eastern	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Maternal & Child Health, Adultery & Immorality	Mabuche, Pangu Pangu	90	Cognitive
14	--	Omollo George, Box 1892, NAIVASHA	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Fertility Issues, Adultery & Immorality, Educational Issues	Pangu Pangu	160	Cognitive
15	--	Winfred Musyimi, Box 56 KOLA, MAKUENI	F	Eastern	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Fertility Issues	Magi Magi, Pangu Pangu	60	Cognitive
16	--	Margearer Sanguli, Box 116, TAUSA	M		Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Chaku, Pangu Pangu, Magi Magi, Mabuche, Lulu, Kinga, Maua, Shindo	130	Affective & Cognitive
17	--	Jabir Omar, Box 203 PUJINI, CHAKE- CHAKE, PEMBA	M		Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social/Cultural, Adultery & Immorality	Pendo, Shindo, Kinga, Maua	100	Affective
18	--	Temko Carolyne, Box 90594, MOMBASA	F	Coast	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Gender equity	Shindo, Pambo	30	Cognitive
19	--	Jemai Chemital, Box 1861, KISUMU	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Adultery & Immorality, Social/Cultural	Pambo, Shindo, Pendo, Jaka, Sulubu, Tatu	230	Affective & Cognitive
20	--	Mr& Mrs Arthur Nyanchoka, Box 1, LONDIANI		R. Valley	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Social/Cultural, Educational	Chifu, Inspct Kato, Tatu	60	Cognitive
21	--	Osano Charles, Box 282, KEROKA	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Adultery & Immorality, Social/Cultural	Shindo	50	Affective & Cognitive
22	--	Edusai Asilah&	M	Wester n	Congrats for the program.	STDs & AIDS, Corruption,	Kinga, Lulu, Inspct Kato,	90	Affective & Cognitive

		Titus Mukhwana, Box 108, BUSIA			It has good teachings	Economic	Shindo, Pendo		
23	--	Mary Gitao, Box 27, KAJIADO	F	R. Valley	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural	Jaka, Tatu, Bui	70	Affective & Cognitive
24	--	Jonah Muthure, Box 528, MERU	M	Eastern	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Educational, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Tatu, Chezi, Pangu Pangu, Shindo	40	Affective
25	--	Rop Richard, Box 174, LITEIN	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	STDs & AIDS, Social/ Cultural	Shindo, Maua, Zawadi	50	Cognitive
26	--	Zaituni Ali Dhidha, -----	F		Congrats to the program. Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Educational, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Tatu, Bui, Pendo Tumaini	980	Critical
27	--	Mr. C Mwawaka, Box 100, VOI	M	Coast	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Adultery & Immorality, Drug Abuse & Peddling, Corruption, Educational, Social/Cultural	Shindo, Pendo, Chausiku, Tonge, Tatu, Pangu Pangu, Jaka, Gogo, Bui	310	Cognitive
28	--	John Kirimi, Box 109, THIKA	M	Central	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Corruption	Shindo, Inspct Kato	120	Cognitive
29	--	Andrew Kipkoskel, Box 28, CHESINENY E	M	R. Valley	Brief discussion of the teachings from ithe program and advice to characters	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural		310	Cognitive
30	--	Irene Osebe, Box 5, MAGADI	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Social/Cultural, Adultery & Immorality	Mchikichi, Gogo, Chausiku, Sulubu, Pendo, Shindo, Zawadi, Haiba, Bahati	160	Affective
31	--	Sangolo Anthony, Box 73, LUGARI	M	Western	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	STDs & AIDS		160	Behavioural
32	--	Lennox Girage, Box 53, KAHUHIA	M	Central	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social/Cultural	Tatu, Jaka, Zawadi, Pendo, Shindo	120	Affective & Cognitive
33	--	Richard Mugo, Box	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program.	Corruption, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Tatu, Lulu, Kinga, Jaka,	120	Affective & Cognitive

		68, SAWAGON GO			It has good teachings		Gogo, Bui, Shindo, Pendo		
34	--	Wariambora Nnko. Box 2 NAMANGA. KENYA	M	Coast	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural,		130	Cognitive
35	--	Lilian Oloo. Box 6. NAROK	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Konga, Gogo, Chausiku. Kinga, Shindo, Tonga	160	Affective & Cognitive
36	--	Veronica Chelule. Box 820. KERICHO	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Tatu, Jaka, Kinga, Lulu, Shindo, Sulubu, Pendo, Magi Magi, Inspct Kato	180	Affective & Cognitive
37	--	Charles Kirui. Box 11, RORET	M	R. Valley	Congrats to the program. Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social/Cu Drug Abuse & Peddling Cultural.	Mabuche	60	Cognitive
38	--	William Jefwa, Box 116. HOLA, TANA RIVER	M	Coast	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Corruption	Shindo, Inspct Kato, Tatu, Jaka	90	Affective & Cognitive
39	--	Beatrice Naipaso. Box 80 LOITOKTO K	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Educational		50	Cognitive
40	--	Zachary Njoroge, Box 152, ELBURGON	M	R. Valley	Brief discussion of the teachings from ithe program and advice to characters	Maternal & Child Health. Adultery & Immorality	Magi Magi, Gogo, Pendo, Shindo, Sulubu	90	Affective
41	--	Lilian Mutecho, Box 1313, MATUNDA. KITALE	F	Wester n	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Family planning, Drug Abuse & Immorality, Social/Cultural	Tiba, Tatu, Jaka, Bui Lulu	130	Affective
42	--	Lucy Kanini. Box 348. CHUKA	F	Eastern	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Drug Abuse & Peddling. Adultery & Immorality	Zawadi, Haiba, Maua, Shindo	30	Affective & Cognitive
43	--	Elizabeth Mkavita. Box 72, MCHAMBO NYI- WUNDANYI	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social/Cultural	Magi Magi, Shindo	70	Affective
44	9 9	Penina Lihanda, Box	F	Nairobi	Congrats for the program.	Social/Cultural	Bahati, Haiba	130	Cognitive

		78051, NAIROBI			It has good teachings				
45	9 9	Wakie Mwawasi, Box 297, VOI	F	Coast	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Programming/suggestions/requests	Pendo, Maua, Shindo	290	Affective & Critical
46	9 9	Douglas Chogo. Box 2022. KISII	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Social/Cultural. Drug Abuse & Peddling	Pendo, Shindo, Chausiku, Mchikichi, Gogo, Pangu Pangu, Nyundo, Maua, Tatu, Zawadi	420	Cognitive
47	9 9	Mwathi Joseph, Box 315, KITALE	M	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social/Cultural, Programming/suggestions/requests		310	Cognitive
48	9 9	Beatrice Nasimiyu, Box 531, KISII	F	Nyanza	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social/Cultural, Adultery & Immorality	Pendo, Kinga, Shindo, Chausiku	70	Cognitive
49	9 9	Isaac Mutwiri, Muruguma Pri. Sch. MERU	M	Eastern	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Programming/suggestions/requests. Social/Cultural	Gogo, Chezi, Mchikichi, Kinga, Shikalao, Pendo, Pangu Pangu, Maua, Tatu, Shindo, Jaka, Lulu, Bahati, Chausiku, Hspct Kato, Pambo	240	Referential, Cognitive & Affective
50	9 9	Abel Etyang. Box 137, OIENGURU ONE	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Drug Abuse & Peddling. Educational. Social/Cultural		120	Cognitive
51	9 9	Mary Kiplagat, Box 24, KAPENGUR IA	F	R. Valley	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Adultery & Immorality	Shindo	70	Cognitive
52	9 9	Wafula Chrisantus. Box 101, BUNGOMA	M	Western	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Gender equity. Social/Cultural, Educational	Pangu Pangu, Pendo, Tatu	130	Referential & Cognitive
53	9 9	Nixon Kilonzo, Box 85, NUNGUNI	M	Eastern	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Social/Cultural, Educational	Jaka, Lulu	280	Cognitive
54	9 9	Meshack Kabucho, Box 506.	M	Central	Congrats for the program and views on			50	Cognitive

		KIAMBU			the program's teachings				
55	9 9	Willy Rotich, Box 61, LEITEN	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings			40	Referential
56	9 9	Isabella Wanja, Box 147, NDULA-THIKA	F	Central	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Adultery & Immorality	Bahati, Lulu, Shindo	90	Affective & Cognitive
57	9 9	Pauline Ndung'u, Box 248, GILGIL	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Educational, Programming suggestions requests		60	Cognitive
58	9 9	Bonface Wafula, Box 361 KITALE	M	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Educational, Social/Cultural		110	Referential, Cognitive
59	9 9	Anthony Wamahwa, Box 54, MISIKHU, WEBUYE	M	Western	Congrats to the program. Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Programming/suggestions/requests		100	Referential & Cognitive
60	9 9	Lucy Galavu, Box 53, VIHIGA	F	Western	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural, Educational	Chausiku, Pangu Pangu, Pendo	90	Cognitive
61	9 9	Sophia Etyang', Box 4075, KITALE	F	Western	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery & Immorality, Social/Cultural		80	Cognitive
62	9 9	Jane Aweyo, Box 493, MARALAL	F	R. Valley	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Educational UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION	Chausiku	120	Referential & Cognitive
63	9 9	Hellen Mabonga, Box 340, KITALE	F	Western	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice			140	Cognitive & Referential Behavioural
64	9 9	Milcah Onchongo, Box 566, NYAMIRA	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Social/Cultural, Adultery & Immorality		60	Cognitive
65	9 9	Abrossitino Munaxh, Box 50, GILGIL	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social/Cultural, Programming/suggestions/requests		90	Cognitive

66	9 9	Everlyne Atieno, Box 26, NDHIWA	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Programming suggestions requests. Adultery & Immorality	Shindo, Tatu	140	Affective & Cognitive
67	9 9	Stephen Mak'Ogonyo, Box 92, NAIROBI	M	Nairobi	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Gender equity, Social/Cultural, Programming suggestions requests	Shindo, Maua Gogo	110	Affective & Cognitive
68	0 1	Gladys Gesare & Everlyne Achieng, Box 1517, MOMBASA	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Corruption, Gender Equity, Materna & Child Health, Adultery & Immorality	Shindo, Maua, Kinga, Lulu, Gogo, Pangu Pangu, Magi Magi, Chausiku	290	Affective & Cognitive
69	0 1	Nickson Kipkemoi, Box 366, ELDAMA RAVINE	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.			40	Cognitive
70	0 1	Joyce Njoroge, Box 245, DANDORA	F	Nairobi	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery & Immorality	Pangu Pangu, Magi Magi	80	Affective & Cognitive
71	0 1	Enoch Koech, Box 84, GAMBOGI	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Social/Cultural, Maternal & Child Health	Kinga, Lulu, Gogo, Mabuche, Magi Magi, Pangu Pangu	50	Affective & Cognitive
72	0 1	David Isandullah, Box 1590, WEBUYE	M	Western	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Maternal & Child Health, Social/Cultural	Magi Magi, Shindo	260	Cognitive
73	0 1	Mwamine Ahmed, Box 59, KILIFI	M	Coast	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Pangu Pangu, Shindo	50	Affective & Cognitive
74	0 1	Betty Kisaghu, Box 62701, NAIROBI	F	Nairobi	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Educational, Social/Cultural, STDs & AIDS	Shindo, Jaka	270	Cognitive
75	0 1	Johnson Safari, Box 36, PORT VICTORIA	M	Western	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Programming/suggestions requests		40	Cognitive & Referential
76	0 1	Ontweka Vincent, Box 305, NYANSIONGO	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social/Cultural, STDs & AIDS		60	Cognitive
77	0 1	Ondiek Kennedy, Box 82,	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program. It has good	Social/Cultural	Inspct Kato, Shindo	70	Affective & Cognitive

		KANDIEGE			teachings				
78	0 1	Judy Muthoni.Box 21 BAHATI-NAKURU	F	R. Valley	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Adultery & Immorality. STDs & AIDS. Social Cultural	Chaku, Pangu Pangu, Shindo, Inspect Kato, Magi Magi, Shindo	190	Affective & Cognitive
79	0 1	Violet Juma, Box 267,267, KIMILILI	F	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Gender equity, STDs & AIDS, Maternal & Child Health	Mabuche, Pendo, Lulu, Kinga, Inspect Kato, Pendo, Tatu	230	Affective & Cognitive
80	0 1	Philoise Ambani, Box 215, KHAYEGA	F	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Gender Equity	Mabuche, Mehikichi, Paparazi, Shindo, Pambo	80	Affective & Cognitive
81	0 1	Khatra Khalif, Box 314, WAJIR	M	N. Eastern	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social Cultural	Bahati, Paparazi, Jaka, Lulu, Pendo, Zawadi	70	Affective & Cognitive
82	0 1	Wilson Karani, Box 2489, EMBU	M	Eastern	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Gender equity, Social/Cultural	Konga, Gogo, Kinga, Lulu, Daktari Mambaleo	130	Affective & Cognitive
83	0 1	Grace Nyae, Box 46, LUNGA LUNGA-MOMBASA	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social/Cultural/Adultery & Immorality	Kinga, Lulu, Shindo, Pendo, Bahati, Zawadi, Jaka	140	Affective & Cognitive
84	0 1	Jackson Luchera, Box 3 LUNZA BUTERE-MUMIAS	M	Western	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Tatu, Mabuche	80	Affective & Cognitive
85	0 1	Chemngoris Willy, Box 90533, MOMBASA	M	Coast	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Educational, Adultery & Immorality, Gender Equity	Tatu, Mashaka, Shindo, Gogo	170	Affective & Cognitive
86	0 1	Mary Nyambura, Box 95124, MOMBASA	F	Coast	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Educational	Pendo, Shindo	40	Affective & Referential
87	0 1	David Ndiba, Box 84, SOLAI-NAKURU	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Drug Abuse & Peddling	Pangu Pangu	120	Referential & Cognitive
88	0 1	Susan Maina, Box 1910, KITALE	F	Western	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Social/Cultural, STDs & AIDS, Economic	Chifu, Kinga, Pendo, Lulu, Bahati, Haiba	140	Affective & Cognitive
89	0	Peter Kituku,	M	R.	Two stated	STDs & AIDS,	Shindo, Konga,	100	Affective &

	1	Box - SULTAN HAMUD		Valley	points to mzee Gogo	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social Cultural, Adultery & Immorality, Corruption	Gogo, Bui, Inspet Kato		Cognitive
90	0 1	Kennedy Onyango, Box 320, KERICHIO	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Social Cultural, Economic	Shindo, Pendo	130	Affective & Cognitive
91	0 1	Irene Adhiambo, Nakuru	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social Cultural, Adultery & Immorality	Shindo, Maua, Bahati, Lulu, Bui, Jaka, Tatu, Mabuche	50	Affective
92	0 1	Fred Mokuu, Box 23 NYANGUSU KISII.	M	Nyanza	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social Cultural, Economic, STDs & AIDS	Shindo, Inspet Kato, Pangu Pangu, Maua, Mabuche, Pendo, Lulu, Haiba	180	Affective
93	0 1	Morris Mwangi, Box, 45, GITUGI-MURANG'A	M	Central	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery & Immorality, Social/Cultural	Mabuche, Shindo, Inspet Kato, Zawadi, Bahati, Bahati	100	Cognitive
94	0 1	Susan Kapune, Bo 82, WITU-MALINDI	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social Cultural, Educational	Tatu	90	Cognitive & Affective
95	0 1	Dennis Ouma, Box 12, KAROTA-KADONGO	M	Nyanza	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Programming/suggestions/requests, Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Shindo, Kinga, Pangu Pangu, Pendo, Zawadi, Jaka, Lulu, Maua, Konga, Mchikichi, Tatu	330	Affective & Cognitive
96	0 1	Esther Wanjiru, Box 7006, NAKURU	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Corruption, Programming/suggestions/requests.	Shindo, Inspet Kato	100	Affective & Cognitive
97	0 1	Peter Karanja, Box 56, KIGUMU	M	Central	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Economic	Jaka, Tatu, Chifu, Shindo	120	Affective & Cognitive
98	0 1	Bismarch Rotich, Box 72, OLENGURU ONE	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social/Cultural, Maternal & Child Health	Maua, Shindo, Magi Magi	70	Affective & Cognitive
99	0 1	Maria Waswa, Box 150, KAMURIAI	F	Western	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Drug Abuse & Peddling	Daktari, Mabuche Maua, Kinga, Shindo	150	Affective
100	0	Peninah	F	Eastern	Two stated	Social/Cultural,	Maua, Shindo,	60	Affective

	1	Musumbi, Box 45 NUNGUNI			points to mzee Gogo	Family Planning	Tatu, Jaka		
101	0 1	Alfred Sang, Box 98 LONDIANI	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Maternal & Child Health	Magi Magi, Gogo	40	Affective
102	0 1	Lydia Nduwana, box 24, HOLA	F	N. Eastern	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Adultery & Immorality, Social/ Cultural	Chaku, Shindo	90	Affective
103	0 1	Lydia Nduwana, Box 24.HOLA	F	N, Eastern	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social/Cultural	Shindo, Pangu Pangu, Chaku	90	Affective
104	0 1	Ndula Munywoki, Box 136 VIWANDAN I-NAIROBI	M	Nairobi	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Social Cultural	Haiba, Zawadi	80	Cognitive
105	0 1	Samuel Nyangoya, Box 278 NYAMIRA	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social/Cultural	Haiba, Zawadi	150	Affective & Cognitive
106	0 1	Augustine Arotso, Box 49 NAITIRI- KITALE	M	Wester n	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Social Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling, Gender Equity	Pendo, Shindo, Nyundo, Pangu Pangu, Haiba	100	Cognitive
107	0 1	George Muigai, Box 133, MOGOTIO	M	Central	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Social/Cultural	Mabuche, Pangu Pangu, Mehikichi, Chausiku, Shindo, Maua, Kinga, Lulu	140	Affective
108	0 1	Kimaiga Osieko, Box 74, KITALE	M	Wester n	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Maternal & Child Health, Corruption, Educational, Social Cultural, Adultery & Immorality	Magi Magi, Maua, Pangu Pangu, Gogo, Tatu, Kinga, Shindo, Daktari, Chifu, Mabuche	340	Affective
109	0 1	Silas Nguma, Box 439, MALINDI	M	Coast	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Adultery & Immorality, Social Cultural	Shindo, Zawadi, Haiba	80	Affective
110	0 1	Ndong'a Nelson, Box 694, MARAGOLI	M	Wester n	Congrats for the program, It has good teachings	Programming/sugg estions requests		230	Behavioural & Cognitive
111	0 1	Laban Kiprop, Box 48,	M	R. Valley	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural	Tatu, Maua, Shindo	70	Affective

		MARIGAT							
112	01	Lewis Ongoma. Box 34, BUTULA	M	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche	Fertility, Social/Cultural	Pangu Pangu, Magi Magi, Shindo, Pendo, Sulubu	50	Affective & Cognitive
113	01	Anne Mwangi. Box 72, KIGUMO	F	Central	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Corruption, Social/Cultural	Inspet Kato, Maua, Shindo, Pendo, Sulubu	130	Cognitive
114	01	Valentinah Kirigha, Box 14, WERUGHA	F		Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	STDs & AIDS, Social Cultural	Lulu, Haiba, Kinga, Bahati, Pendo	140	Affective & Cognitive
115	01	Oliver Okello, Box 262, NAMBALE	M	Western	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Family planning, Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Tatu, Jaka, Mabuche, Gogo	80	Affective & Cognitive
116	00	Faith Kishoin, Box 989, KITALE	F	Western	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Adultery & Immorality	Shindo, Maua	110	Cognitive
117	00	Mwegai Noah, Box 19, NDALU-KITALE	M	Western	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Social/Cultural	Magi Magi, Mchikichi, Gogo, Pangu Pangu	160	Affective & Cognitive
118	00	Emmanuel Omuse, Box 33, AMUKURA	M	Western	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Social/Cultural	Pendo, Chausiku, Shindo, Gogo	130	Affective & Cognitive
119	00	Jedidah Muturi, Box 53, NDARAGWA	F	Eastern	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Programming/suggestions/requests	Gogo	80	Affective & Cognitive
120	00	Pauline King'ori, Box 2, OMOGONC HORO-KISII	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Corruption, Social/Cultural	Inspet Kato, Shindo, Tatu, Shikalao	550	Affective
121	00	Jacqueline Chesuret, Box 58, KABIANGA	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Shindo, Gogo	80	Cognitive
122	00	Joel Kirui, Box 2, SUNA-MIGORI	M	Nyanza	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural, Educational	Gogo, Jaka, Tatu, Chezi	100	Cognitive
123	00	Mary Mulwa, Box 464,	F	Coast	Congrats for the program	Family planning, Social/Cultural	Gogo, Bui, Tatu, Jaka.	70	Affective

		DIANI-UKUNDA			and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche		Shindo		
124	00	Issa Idd Said, Box 900, CHANGAMWE	M	Coast	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social/Cultural Adultery & Immorality, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Chausiku, Pendo, Shindo, Maua, Mabuche, Magi Magi, Pangu Pangu	230	Affective
125	00	Elphas Kiyai, Box 46, VIHIGA	M	Western	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social Cultural	Gogo, Mchikichi	50	Affective
126	00	Bernard Bisuche, Box 34144, MOMBASA	M	Coast	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	STDs & AIDS, Drug Abuse & Peddling, Corruption, Educational, Programming/suggestions/requests	Gogo, Shindo, Chezi, Chaku, Mchikichi	160	Cognitive
127	00	Glory Wingu, Box 245, MAWA MERU-NORTH	F	Eastern	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social/Cultural	Inspct Tonge, Shindo, Jaka, Tatu	150	Affective
128	00	Leonard Katana, Box 61, UPLANDS	M		Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Adultery & Immorality, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Nyundo, Chausiku, Tiba	110	Affective
129	00	Beatrice Cherop, Box 85, MOLO	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Social/Cultural	Gogo, Kereketa, Bui, Jaka, Tatu, Magi Magi, Magi Magi	250	Affective & Cognitive
130	00	Joshua Nzuki, Box 90400, MOMBASA	M	Coast	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the program's future	Social/Cultural	Gogo, Maua, Shindo, Magi Magi, Pangu Pangu	160	Affective & Cognitive
131	00	Anne Oduba, Box 80, HAKATI-BUSIA	F	Western	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Gender equity, Corruption, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Inspct Tonge, Inspct Kato, Shindo, Nyundo, Pangu Pangu	100	Affective & Cognitive
132	00	Febrone Sanguli, Box 1064, WUNDANYI	F	Coast	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery & Immorality	Pangu Pangu, Magi Magi, Inspct Tonge	90	Affective & Cognitive
133	00	Boaz Muse, Box 29179, NAIROBI	M	Nairobi	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Pangu Pangu, Shindo, Inspct Tonge, Jaka	120	Affective & Referential
134	00	Newman Lulizi, Box 45, NAROCK	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to	Fertility, STDs & AIDS, Educational		100	Cognitive

					Shindo and Mabuche				
135	0 0	Dorcas Chelegat, Box 9, KACHELIB A	F		Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Family planning, Social cultural	Tatu	170	Affective & Cognitive
136	0 0	Newman Lulizi, Box 45, NAROK	M	R. Valley	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Corruption,	Inspet Kato, Shindo, Noriega	170	Behavioural
137	0 0	Jacqueline Awour, Box 836, YALA	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Gender equity, Gender Equity, Social Cultural, Corruption	Tatu, Shindo	130	Affective & Cognitive
138	0 0	Mr&Mrs Nyang'au Box 117, KISII		Nyanza	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social Cultural, STDs & AIDS, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Gogo, Kinga, Lulu, Shindo, Bui, Inspet Tonge, Pendo, Zawadi	250	Affective & Cognitive
139	0 0	Fred Wanjala, Box 955 MOI'S BRIDGE	M	Western	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters		Inspet Kato, Sulubu, Haiba, Maua Bahati	50	Affective
140	0 0	Edith Savai, Box 109, VIHIGA	F	Western	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	STDs & AIDS, Educational	Chezi, Pangu Pangu, Chifu, Shindo, Maua	190	Affective
141	0 0	Ivy Frank, Box 686, KAKAMEG A	F	Western	Congrats for the program's teachings, Seeking insight into the programs future	Adultery & Immorality, Gender Equity	Shindo	140	Cognitive
142	0 0	Eucabeth Frank, Box 686, KAKAMEG A	F	Western	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Shindo, Pangu Pangu, Nyundo	140	Cognitive
143	0 0	Celestine Frank, Box 686, KAKAMEG A	F	Western	Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Social/Cultural,	Shikalao, Chezi Maua, Tatu, Gogo, Konga, Mchikichi, Pendo, Shindo	150	Cognitive
144	0 0	Vivian Frank, Box 686, KAKAMEG A	F	Western	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Social/Cultural	Shindo	100	Cognitive
145	0 0	Miriam Frank, Box 686, KAKAMEG A	F	Western	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and	Social/Cultural	Tatu, Jaka, Lulu, Kinga, Gogo, Konga, Mchikichi	150	Cognitive

					Mabuche				
146	0 0	Margaret Wanjiku, Box 20, KIJABE	F		Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social/Cultural	Zawadi, Haiba, Tatu, Jaka, Shindo, Bahati	150	Referential & Cognitive
147	0 0	Salome Ndeda, Box 340, UKWALA	F	Nyanza	Congrats to the program. Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social/Cultural	Zawadi, Haiba, Kinga, Lulu, Jaka, Tatu, Gogo	90	Cognitive & Affective
148	0 0	Rosy Jemtai, Box 2485, ELDORET	F	R. Valley	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Social/Cultural, Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery & Immorality, STDs & AIDS	Shindo	160	Cognitive
149	0 0	Yusufu Madzoo, Box 155, MGANGE-NYIKA	M		Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social/Cultural	Tatu	60	Cognitive
150	0 0	Joram Kineiya, Box 156, BURNT FOREST	M	R. Valley	Brief discussion of the teachings from the program and advice to characters	Social/Cultural, STDs & AIDS, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Tatu	120	Cognitive
151	0 0	Hildah Abonyo, Box 81841, MOMBASA	F	Coast	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social/Cultural	Pangu Pangu, Shindo, Chausiku, Pambo, Zawadi	130	Cognitive
152	0 0	Leonard Omoding, box 290 NAMBALE	M	Western	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	STDs & AIDS,		70	Cognitive
153	0 0	Carolyne Juma, Box 96, MABUSI-MOI'S BRIDGE	F	Western	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery, & Immorality, STDs & AIDS, Social & Cultural, Programming/suggestions/requests	Shindo, Nyundo, Pangu Pangu, Maua	180	Affective & Referential
154	0 0	Mboya Kamalu, Box 249, SULTAN HAMUD	M		Congrats for the program. It has good teachings	Educational, STDs & AIDS	Tatu, Pendo Chausiku	170	Referential & Cognitive
155	0 0	Katana Charo, Box 324, KALOLENI	M	Coast	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery, & Immorality, Corruption, STDs & AIDS	Shindo, Chausiku	300	Behavioural & Cognitive
156	0 0	Maria Mvacheda,	F	Coast	Congrats for the program	Corruption, Educational	Inspet Tonge, Kinga, Bui	40	Cognitive & Affective

		Box 51, MWATATE			and a piece of advice to Shindo and Mabuche				
157	0 0	Patrick Zighani, Box 5, MGAMBON YI	M	Coast	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Adultery & Immorality, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Shindo	160	Affective & Cognitive
158	0 0	Katana Charo, Box 27, KALOLENI	M	Coast	Congrats to the program, Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Social & Cultural	Shindo, Pambo	220	Behavioural & Cognitive
159	0 0	Koki John, Box 85077, MOMBASA	M	Coast	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Social Cultural	Tatu, Jaka, Shindo, Pendo	200	Affective & Cognitive
160	0 0	Joseph Moi, Box 122, BAR-OBEB	M	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and opinion stated in point form	Social Cultural, Adultery & Immorality	Tatu, Jaka, Shindo	70	Affective
161	0 0	Ngeywo Martin, Box 324, CHWELE	M	Wester n	Brief discussion of the teachings from ithe program and advice to characters			90	Referential
162	0 0	Beatrice Achieng, Box 84, RANGWE HOMABAY	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program and characters, and a piece of advice	Drug Abuse & Peddling, Adultery & Immorality	Shindo, Pendo, Chausiku, Jaka	90	Cognitive
163	0 0	Rose Luvano, Box 201, NANYUKI	F	Central	Congrats for the program's teachings. Seeking insight into the programs future	Social Cultural	Bui, Jaka, Tatu, Gogo, Kinga	120	Affective & Cognitive
164	0 0	James Njugunah, Box 14748, NAKURU	M	R. Valley	Congrats for the program and views on the program's teachings	Social Cultural, STDs & AIDS, Adultery & Immorality	Maua, Jaka, Gogo, Shindo, Pendo, Sulubu, Tiba	300	Cognitive
165	0 0	Florence Akoth, Box 5145, KISUMU	F	Nyanza	Congrats for the program, It has good teachings	Educational, Social/Cultural	Chezi, Tatu, Bui	100	Cognitive
166	0 0	Beatrice Adhiambo, BOX 201 SIDINDI	F	Nyanza	Two stated points to mzee Gogo	Corruption, Social Cultural	Bahati, Maua, Shindo	100	Affective
167	0 0	Kamau Maina, Box 88, KIRIAINI	M	Central	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to Shindo and	Social Cultural, Corruption	Gogo, Shindo, Pendo, Inspet Tonge, Chausiku, Jaka	80	Cognitive

					Mabuche				
168	0 0	Lydia Kembo. Box 53399, NAIROBI	F	Nairobi	Congrats for the program and a piece of advice to mzee Gogo.	Social/Cultural, STDs & AIDS, Drug Abuse & Peddling	Pambo, Haiba, Shindo, Kinga, Pangu Pangu, Pendo	240	Affective
169	0 0	Esther Obiero, Box 2108. ELDORET	F	R. Valley	Congrats to the program. Mwalimu Tatu and a piece of advice to Shindo	Social/Cultural, Programming/sugg estions/requests		130	Cognitive
170	0 0	Asumpta Ndinda, Box 48675. NAIROBI	F	Nairobi	Congrats for the program, characters involved and a piece of advice.	Social/Cultural	Sulubu, Pendo, Shindo, Mashaka, Gofgo, Chausiku	250	Cognitive

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Appendix 2: Frequency per Province

		REGION PROVINCE			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Central	11	6.5	6.9	6.9
	Coast	27	15.9	16.9	23.8
	Western	39	22.9	24.4	48.1
	N. Eastern	3	1.8	1.9	50.0
	Eastern	11	6.5	6.9	56.9
	Nyanza	25	14.7	15.6	72.5
	Nairobi	8	4.7	5.0	77.5
	R. Valley	36	21.2	22.5	100.0
	Total	160	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	10	5.9		
Total		170	100.0		

Appendix 3: Letter length

LETTER LENGTH (WORDS)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	30	2	1.2	1.2	1.2
	40	8	4.7	4.7	5.9
	50	10	5.9	5.9	11.8
	60	10	5.9	5.9	17.6
	70	11	6.5	6.5	24.1
	80	12	7.1	7.1	31.2
	90	14	8.2	8.2	39.4
	100	13	7.6	7.6	47.1
	110	6	3.5	3.5	50.6
	120	11	6.5	6.5	57.1
	130	15	8.8	8.8	65.9
	140	8	4.7	4.7	70.6
	150	6	3.5	3.5	74.1
	160	8	4.7	4.7	78.8
	170	4	2.4	2.4	81.2
	180	3	1.8	1.8	82.9
	190	4	2.4	2.4	85.3
	200	1	.6	.6	85.9
	220	1	.6	.6	86.5
	230	4	2.4	2.4	88.8
	240	2	1.2	1.2	90.0
	250	3	1.8	1.8	91.8
	260	1	.6	.6	92.4
	270	1	.6	.6	92.9
	280	1	.6	.6	93.5
	290	2	1.2	1.2	94.7
	300	2	1.2	1.2	95.9
	310	2	1.2	1.2	97.1
	330	1	.6	.6	97.6
	340	1	.6	.6	98.2
	420	1	.6	.6	98.8
	550	1	.6	.6	99.4
	980	1	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	170	100.0	100.0	

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
LETTER LENGTH (WORDS)	170	30	980	134.00	102.09
Valid N (listwise)	170				

Appendix 4: ISSUES RAISED

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Fertility	1	4	1.2	2.4
Family planning	2	6	1.8	3.7
Maternal & child H	3	9	2.7	5.5
STDs & AIDS	4	23	6.8	14.0
Gender equity	5	13	3.9	7.9
Social/Cultural	6	114	33.8	69.5
Economic	7	5	1.5	3.0
Drug abuse & P	8	57	16.9	34.8
Adultery & Immorality	9	42	12.5	25.6
Programming/suggestions/requests	10	17	5.0	10.4
Corruption	11	21	6.2	12.8
Educational	12	26	7.7	15.9
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	Total responses	337	100.0	205.5

6 missing cases; 164 valid cases

Appendix 5: CHARACTERS MENTIONED

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Gogo	1	36	6.2	24.5
Chezi	2	8	1.4	5.4
Kinga	3	26	4.5	17.7
Shindo	4	98	16.9	66.7
Maua	5	29	5.0	19.7
Jaka	6	33	5.7	22.4
Chausiku	7	18	3.1	12.2
Mchikichi	8	11	1.9	7.5
Lulu	9	24	4.1	16.3
Tatu	10	50	8.6	34.0
Pendo	11	37	6.4	25.2
Pangu Pangu	12	37	6.4	25.2
Bahati	13	13	2.2	8.8
Shikalao	14	3	.5	2.0
Chifu	15	5	.9	3.4
Nyundo	18	7	1.2	4.8
Inspet Kato	21	19	3.3	12.9
Noriega	28	1	.2	.7
Daktari	30	3	.5	2.0
Pambo	32	5	.9	3.4
Konga	34	6	1.0	4.1
Zawadi	37	18	3.1	12.2
Haiba	38	14	2.4	9.5
Sulubu	44	8	1.4	5.4
Bui	45	13	2.2	8.8
Chaku	46	5	.9	3.4
Inspet Tonge	47	10	1.7	6.8
Mabuche	48	16	2.8	10.9
Paparazi	50	2	.3	1.4
Kereketa	51	1	.2	.7
Magi Magi	53	20	3.4	13.6
Tiba	55	3	.5	2.0
Mashaka	56	1	.2	.7
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	Total responses	580	100.0	394.6

Appendix 6: PARASOCIAL INTERRACTION

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Affective	1	95	37.7	55.9
Cognitive	2	131	52.0	77.1
Referential	3	16	6.3	9.4
Behavioural	4	6	2.4	3.5
Critical	5	4	1.6	2.4
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	Total responses	252	100.0	148.2

0 missing cases; 170 valid cases