Radio Bahá'í ECUADOR

A BAHÁ'Í DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

KURT · JOHN · HEIN

RADIO BAHÁ'Í, ECUADOR

A Bahá'í Development Project

by

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To Delane Hein, Raul Pavon and David Ruhe, whose vision, faith, love, encouragement and support made this book possible.

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RADIO BAHÁ'Í, ECUADOR

Vicenta Anrango, staff member at Radio Bahá'í, produces the weekly 'Bulletin' in Quichua. It is the station's policy to have a high proportion of indigenous Ecuadorians on its staff.

Radio Bahá'í's Rural Development Project Mobile Radio Van

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INTRODUCTION

THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

THOSE concerned with the social and economic development of rural peoples are continually seeking new methods by which rural development can be more broadly, more quickly and more efficiently realized. In response to these goals, two trends that have emerged in the last few decades are of particular significance. The first, which gained popularity in the 1960s, was the attempt to use the mass media to promote and support development projects. This trend is significant because of the media's potential immediately to disseminate development messages to large numbers of people. However, the potential of the media to support development has gone largely unfulfilled, as detailed below. The second, more recent trend, results from the growing belief of many development practitioners that the success of any rural development scheme does not depend ultimately upon the provision of goods and services, nor upon the dissemination of information. There is a growing conviction that the most significant determinant of a project's success is the degree to which the recipients of the project's benefits participate in the development process. As a result, there is a growing interest in the concept of 'community participation', particularly as regards the creation of methods that will enable members of a rural community, at the grass-roots level of development, to become more actively involved in the development process and more personally responsible for their own destinies.

A comprehensive study of these two trends would encompass the entire field of development communications; it is obviously beyond the scope of this book. Therefore, a more practical project and, indeed, the purpose of this study is to examine one example of what might be considered a 'marriage' of these two trends: a community radio station that attempts to serve as an agency both *of* and *for* community

participation in rural development activities.

'Participation' has become a key concern among communication theorists, especially those whose focus is the developing world. In the late 1970s, UNESCO sponsored several conferences and conducted research on the issue of public participation in the media. Their purpose was to examine such principles as 'dialogue' and 'participation' and to seek methods whereby these principles could find practical application in the media systems of the world, especially the Third World. UNESCO's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems wrote:

> The idea of participation is corollary to: (i) the search for remedies to the many distortions in communication; (ii) the trend towards transforming information processes into communication processes; (iii) the shifting of the emphasis from the information monologue into the communication dialogue or even 'multilogue', from the vertical flow of messages to a system of horizontal communication.[1]

This statement seems to indicate that development communication theorists are abandoning, at least philosophically, the traditional 'transmission' model of communication and it lends credence to James Carey's arguments in support of a 'ritual' view of communication (see Appendix I).[2] An earlier UNESCO statement also corroborates Carey's assertion that society exists in communication:

> The cultural impact, content, and message of communication is of such crucial importance that communication as a whole becomes one of the main vehicles of cultural development.[3]

We can expect that the increasing acceptance of these views *of* communication will profoundly influence the development of new models *for* communication. This implies that those individuals interested in the field of development communication should acquire a more thorough understanding of the notion of 'participation' and should examine more closely the models it inspires.

At the UNESCO-sponsored communications conference held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1977, communications specialists from around the world attempted to clarify what is meant by 'participation' in the media. They identified three distinct levels of 'participation': access, participation and self-management. They were defined as follows:

> *Access* refers to the use of media for public service. It may be defined in terms of the opportunities available to the public to choose varied and relevant programs, and to have a means of feedback to transmit its reactions and demands to production organizations.

Participation implies a higher level of public involvement in communication systems. It includes the involvement of the public in the production process, and also in the management and planning of communication systems.

Participation may infer no more than representation and consultation of the public in decision-making. On the other hand, *self-management* is the most advanced form of participation. In this case, the public exercises the power of decision-making within communication enterprises and is also fully involved in the formulation of communication policies and plans.[4]

These principles are reflective of what Juan Diaz Bordenave refers to as a growing conviction:

> that the people should have more access to the communication media, not as receivers only but also as sources and actors. The adoption of this new approach to communication is producing several significant innovations in rural development communication:
>
> – Media are becoming more accessible to the participation of rural populations in programming.
>
> – Messages are originated among the rural populations, and government agents, technocrats and elites – who previously always acted as sources – are learning to become receivers.
>
> – The content of the messages is more relevant to rural peoples' problems and needs.
>
> – Rural people are learning to formulate and articulate their ideas and feelings about matters important to them.
>
> – The government is learning to communicate less paternalistically and with less authoritarianism, making possible a dialogue with rural populations.
>
> – New technologies such as audio and video tape recording are making it possible to register messages and feedback from all parties in the dialogues, facilitating mutual perception and understanding.[5]

A Lack of Models of Participatory Media

As a follow-up to the 1977 Belgrade conference, UNESCO conducted a seminar on 'Participatory Communication' in Quito in 1978. At that meeting Josiane Jouet summarized the results of the few projects that had attempted to incorporate 'participatory' elements in their design. She found that they were mostly pilot projects, of limited scope and duration, with a high rate of failure. Jouet attributed the failures to several factors, among them:

1. The experiments were usually short term, due to limited financial resources and a limited number of local people of capacity who could assume leadership of the project after the initial design was completed.
2. Structural and institutional restrictions impeded the rural people from putting into practice their collective decisions, due, in part, to a lack of

basic economic and technical means. Their initial participation changed into frustration and anger because their expectations were not fulfilled.

3. The projects' objectives were diffuse and ambiguous. They were either too broad or too poorly designed to be realized.
4. The experimental nature of the projects did not allow enough time for the development of true consensus among the participants.[6]

At that same conference, Diaz Bordenave maintained that no successful models of participatory media systems had been developed yet. He asserted that the lack of models was due to the fact that such systems: 'could only be possible in a society different from that which actually exists ... (and) whatever proposal we make must keep in mind the enormous difficulties of transition.'[7]

Diaz Bordenave's statement reflects a common conclusion of the UNESCO meetings: monumental structural, political and societal obstacles stand in the way of broad-based transformations of existing media systems, no matter how noble their objectives or well-planned their proposals. Jouet noted that:

> the major portion of the projects are initiated by international or governmental organizations that, from the start, place them within a rigid institutional structure ... controlled by the center that determines their form, range, and duration ... Sooner or later, most of the projects for participatory communication are caught in rigid socio-political restrictions.[8]

This is not surprising. Media systems in the Third World typically were established by colonial powers who put the media to the traditional uses best served by the transmission model: economic, military and political power over and control of large territories and markets. 'Dialogue' and 'participation' certainly were not regarded as relevant to those ends.

Even though the era of colonialism has passed, the traditional model is still favored by the dominant political, economic and social agencies and institutions of the Third World, be it intentionally or unwittingly. Whatever the reasons, serious and powerful constraints stand in the way of effecting dramatic changes in established media systems.

The Need for Research

The development communication professionals assembled under UNESCO's auspices recognized the futility of expecting immediate, sweeping changes in the dominant media institutions. Instead, they anticipated that new models for participatory media may derive from more prosaic sources: 'Low cost media, locally applied and operating from a firm organizational base, may be the most effective tool a Third World country could employ.'[9]

A low cost media system that is not part of the dominant social and political institutions, but is established on a 'firm organizational base', is most likely to be one that is supported by a private organization, such as a church or a donor agency. One highly-regarded communication specialist who mentions private organizations as an alternative to 'government financing and government organization' is Wilbur Schramm: 'A dedicated private organization can ... accomplish remarkable things, and at some states in the development process may have advantages over governmental organizations in doing so.'[10]

Robert Hornik is quoted as saying:

> The effectiveness of developmental broadcasting is increased by using local audience groups. But there is much evidence that projects that try to create field structures from scratch are unlikely to succeed. On the other hand, when a local group can play more than one role, have a community function other than broadcasting, and are not expected to remain permanently involved, they can work very well.[11]

Instead of focusing development communication efforts on the dominant systems, one UNESCO group called for:

> the creation of low cost media, the revival of traditional communication forms, community and rural press or local radio and video schemes, with the main focus of mobilizing communities for self-development.[12]

It must be remembered, however, that the notion of participatory media is quite new; little opportunity has existed for systems based on its principles to be designed, much less implemented. As Diaz Bordenave said:

> This new orientation to communication has not yet resulted in well-worked-out communication and education methodologies for rural development. Very little research has been done so far on horizontal and participatory communication. However, present-day technology is singularly promising for dialogue on a massive scale. This is a case in which theory is lagging behind actual practice and technological competence: most communication models still reveal a transmission–persuasion orientation, and only a few scholars have speculated on communication's role in facilitating the popular participation and action required for rural development.[13]

The *need* for further research into participatory media was well-established. As to its *focus*, Juan Somavia agrees with the UNESCO group's suggestion that research on participatory media should concentrate on the work being done by low-cost media institutions:

> The analysis of experiments in organizing for access and participation constitute the central axis on which to build communication processes which give information its true dimension as a social good and a public

> service. In both the industrialized world and the Third World, many valuable experiments are already being conducted. In this respect, research should be systematized with a view to understanding better the schemes already in operation. A deeper knowledge of these experiments will enable us to grasp the conceptual and operational problems involved, the practical limitations encountered and the concrete effects which have been produced.[14]

The purpose of this study is to examine one such 'experiment'.

The initial task was to identify a low-cost, privately-owned media institution in the rural Third World that was attempting to implement participatory programming.

Jamison and McAnany stated that 'radio should generally be the medium of choice in low-income countries if an electronic medium is to be used at all.'[15]

There are several valid reasons for making such a statement. First, given the low levels of literacy and education, it is unrealistic to expect rural villagers in developing countries to make widespread and effective use of the print media, such as newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets. In fact, posters and comic books have become the print media of preference in recent development campaigns, and they have been used most commonly as a part of a multi-media campaign rather than as the principal medium of communication. In addition, the remoteness and inaccessibility of rural villages militates against an easy or widespread distribution of materials.

Television also faces major constraints. The costs involved in constructing studio and transmission facilities are enormous, as are the costs of producing programming. Most television stations in the developing world are located in major cities; the signals cannot easily reach the distant areas where the rural populations reside. Even when signals can be received in a rural area, it is unlikely that the community has access to electricity. In addition, the cost of a receiver set frequently exceeds the annual per capita income of the rural villager. Jamison and McAnany noted that 'the constraints of cost and technical training for the television medium will leave radio dominant in these countries for at least another decade, and probably through the end of the century.'[16]

The construction of a small radio station requires very little capital in comparison with a television station. In addition, the complexities and costs of producing programming are dramatically reduced. Owning a small transistor radio requires neither literacy nor electricity, although it does require some cash, both for the purchase of the set and for the regular purchase of batteries. Nonetheless, the rural populations of the developing world have irrefutably demonstrated

their eagerness to own their own radios. In the mid-1970s, UNESCO estimated that there were 'at least 75 million radio receivers in the Third World, which would average one for every thirty or forty people.'[17]

Schramm reported that the government of India decided to use radio to disseminate its rural development messages because of its cost effectiveness: 'They could not think of any other way by which they could realistically hope to bring about a community improvement project.'[18]

Such reports led Jamison and McAnany to proclaim: '[O]n a world-wide scale it is the medium of radio that has been man's most potent communication innovation since the development of writing.'[19]

The Region: Latin America

Latin America is a logical choice for seeking a site in which to do a study of radio use for rural development. It has a long history of radio usage, linked initially to its history of economic cooperation with and dependency on North America.[20] Latin American countries report a saturation of radio sets unequalled anywhere in the Third World.[21]

The majority of the radio stations are privately-owned commercial enterprises, operating in open, competitive markets with limited government regulation. Latin America also has a well-documented history of using radio for educational and developmental purposes. Nearly every country has a radio station or system devoted to providing formal and/or non-formal education, most of which are based on a model for 'radio schools' initiated by ACPO, Radio Sutatenza in Colombia.[22]

In addition, much of the interest in participatory radio has come from Latin America. This is due not only to the dominance of radio, but also to the influence of media scholars from the region, including Luis Ramiro Beltran, Juan Diaz Bordenave, Juan Somavia and Frank Gerace.[23]

Many of the current Latin American media critics have been influenced by the pioneering work of Paulo Freire, pre-eminent among contemporary Latin American social philosophers/critics. Freire's work focuses on raising the consciousness of the rural poor, chiefly through dialogue, thereby enabling them to democratize (and re-structure) the institutions (including churches, schools and the media) that provide the structure to their society. One can see in Freire's work many of the themes addressed in Carey's ritual view of communications.

The appeal of Freire's views is readily understood when one realizes

that, although the majority of people in Latin America have access to radios, and radio schools are more prevalent there than anywhere else in the Third World, less than 5% of the Third World's total hours of programming are devoted to education.[24] More revealing is the evidence that rural populations simply do not listen to the educational programming offered on the radio, because such programming seldom reflects the needs and interests of the rural audience; it is not oriented toward social change and it does not address issues of community development.[25] Gunter says that less than two percent of the target population is reached by traditional programming designed to accomplish development goals.[26]

Such findings are substantiated by research in Latin America, which shows that programming aimed at rural indigenous populations has had virtually no impact on social and economic practices among rural people.[27]

In a study of communication systems and usage among the rural peasants of Ecuador, Ordonez observed that:

> The inhabitants of the rural zone and numerous concentrations of people in the urban sector are, practically-speaking, marginal from the processes of development and change in the society. These marginal human groups remain out of communication with the outside world and maintain only precarious systems of internal communication. [This] limits their capacity to participate in decisions, minimizing to an extreme degree their possibilities for education, the adoption of innovations indispensable for increased productivity and the need to live a normal life of health and well-being and, above all, to develop their own culture.[28]

Ordonez sees that the lack of communication systems limits the social cohesion of marginal groups and keeps them dependent upon those in power, thereby impeding their participation in development and change. Following these observations, another Latin American media critic said that:

> the communications systems [in Ecuador] are totally insufficient and, in some cases, badly placed; limited distribution of their editions, little access to low-income sectors of society, messages void of significant content and lacking correlation to the cultural exigencies of these groups.[29]

Another Ecuadorian, Marco Encalada, noted that marginality and the lack of participation are the principal causes of the problems that stand in the way of rural development:

> 'Marginality' is defined as the situation in which a social category called '*campesinos*' [literally, 'country people'] relating to and under the influence of the larger category called the 'nation state' is separated physically, culturally, socially and economically from it, without participating in the

> exercise of rights and requirements enjoyed by those groups under whose influence they come.[30]

Encalada confirms Oscar Lewis's analysis of the Latin American 'culture of poverty',[31] by stating that 'the lack of effective participation and integration . . . is the crucial characteristic of a culture of poverty.'[32]

Colombian critics Flores and Sibille de Flores contend that the urban elites will, at best, do no more than consider the rural perspective. Offering *campesinos* the opportunity to participate in development decisions apparently is considered neither a necessary nor legitimate alternative. According to the Floreses, the elites' definition of participation means that the *campesino* will adopt innovations, change his attitudes, and change his behavior. That is to say, the *campesino* is viewed as a participant only to the degree to which he becomes a producer or a consumer in the dominant economy.[33]

The Uses of Radio for Development in Ecuador

One of the most crucial challenges being faced by Third World countries is how to assist indigenous people to participate in the process of social and economic development while at the same time maintaining their cultural heritage and identity. The previous section has demonstrated that the mass media hold much promise for disseminating development messages to rural audiences in Latin America, although, as one report noted:

> In many cases, radio [in Ecuador] has come into the hands of unscrupulous and nearly illiterate people, whose only goal has been personal wealth . . . The organizations that apply to owners of radio have, for a decade and much time before, proclaimed the necessity of improving the socio–
> economic order, [of conducting] literacy campaigns, campaigns against the precarious conditions of health and housing, etc., but none of this has occurred.[34]

Other studies of the traditional role of radio in Ecuador, including studies of the 'radio schools', reinforce Proano's observations.[35]

Radio is used primarily as a commercial venture in Ecuador and, therefore, has not been used extensively as a medium of development. Nonetheless, several analysts believe that radio's potential as a development tool in Ecuador is still very high.[36] In fact, two studies found that among the highland Indians radio was the most effective medium for promoting the adoption of new health and agricultural practices.[37] Perhaps the most encouraging report was that of a project conducted under the auspices of USAID in the rural village of Tabacundo, in the Cayambe Valley.[38]

Mensaje Campesino (*Farmer's* – literally, country person's – *Message*) was a weekly half-hour program aired on Tabacundo's Catholic-owned Radio Mensaje ('Message'). This program was the only one found in the research that was produced *by* rural people *for* rural people. Findings indicated that the format was highly successful among the rural population; not only were they listening to their own voices, but they reportedly were eager to adopt those practices which other *campesinos* had found successful.[39]

Each of these findings validates the view that radio is most promising as a development tool when used in non-traditional ways. While the results indicate that non-traditional uses of the radio can successfully promote rural development in Ecuador, each of the projects was experimental, was of extremely limited scope and duration, and was focused exclusively on one series of spots or short programs. Still lacking in the research was a project in which non-traditional methodology was applied on a broader scale and on a more permanent basis.

The Subject: Radio Bahá'í, Otavalo, Ecuador

To the author's knowledge, prior to Radio Bahá'í no radio station existed in Ecuador (or, for that matter, in Latin America) that regarded its primary purpose as serving the rural *campesinos* and that regularly provided non-traditional, development-oriented programming. That Radio Bahá'í had this focus was revealed in correspondence to the author from individuals who worked at the station:

> At present, [Radio Bahá'í] has achieved a very wide listenership in its coverage area, particularly in the *campo* (countryside). Formal evaluation is lacking, but we know from informal investigation that the station has become a favorite with many in its area, largely because of its presentation of music that has strong local appeal (national music and, at times, that recorded by local folklore groups), and frequent public service features such as community activities, lost-and-found, messages to individuals, and official communications, such as from the Ministry of Agriculture or Ministry of Public Health.
>
> Still lacking in the scheme of development, however, are more programs of the cultural and educational variety, particularly those dealing with health (hygiene and nutrition) and agriculture (betterment of traditional methods), to cite two examples. Programs dealing with the craft of weaving, in which there is much interest among the indigenous population, are now in preparation.[40]

The potential of Radio Bahá'í as an appropriate subject for study was enhanced by a report on comments made by one of the principal speakers at the station's dedication ceremony. The speaker described the station's purpose as being:

> to give the Indians the means whereby they can learn and advance more rapidly, *participate in its programs*, and attain the heights to which they have been called. It is their . . . responsibility to support and nourish this gift . . . for their advancement.[41]

Upon receiving the approval of the station staff, and in consultation with the graduate faculty at Northwestern University, Radio Bahá'í was chosen as the subject for this study.

The Questions

Having identified the subject, I had to determine the standards by which it was to be evaluated. Evaluation criteria were derived primarily from the comments of the development communication specialists cited above. I concluded from their comments that a 'participatory' system would need to incorporate many, if not all, of the following practices in its operations:

Access. To provide opportunities for the public to choose programming relevant to their needs and interests, and to provide them with methods of transmitting their 'feedback' to the production organization.

Participation. To involve the public in the production process and in the planning and management of communication systems.

Self-management. To place decision-making authority in the hands of the public and to involve them fully in the formulation of the production organization's policies and plans.

An existing local role. To have an established function in the community rather than attempting 'to create field structures from scratch', as Hornik said,[42] and to have a function that is not limited to media activity.

Local leadership. To ensure that a sufficient number of local people of capacity have been identified and trained to assume leadership of the project after the initial design has been completed.

Local culture. Diaz Bordenave stated that communication must be based on local culture if it is to have any meaning.[43] The system should be expressive of local art, literature, music, history, customs and traditions.

Local language. To utilize traditional communication forms, especially the local language(s), to establish dialogue, achieve effective participation and accurately reflect the local culture.

Appropriate technology. To use equipment that coincides with the technical sophistication and the financial resources of both the media system and the public.

Appropriate technical standards. To modify the reliance upon

traditional standards of foreign media professionals 'which places little value on local and non-professional contributions and elevates technical quality to an end in itself.'[44]

Low cost. To enable the system to be established, operated, maintained, distributed and effectively utilized within the very severe economic restrictions common to rural populations. This includes ensuring the provision of sufficient funds and technical support to sustain the system beyond the short-term life traditionally associated with such experiments.

Training. To provide technical training to members of the community. According to the report of the Belgrade meeting on participation sponsored by UNESCO:

> Training is necessary at several levels. Provision for access to media production is meaningless without it. Opportunities for training have therefore to be a regular part of any community media resource, available to all comers.[45]

The inquiry can be focused into four main categories: the objectives of the station; its methods of operation; the nature of the programming; and the audience's response to the station's policies and programs. It is from these categories that the research questions can be derived:

Station objectives. Diaz Bordenave asks:

> If the sponsor is a private organization . . . what are its social role and its ties with the rural community? Why should it be interested in the development of the rural masses? What does development mean to it? How does its conception of rural development fit with the aspirations and motivations of the rural population concerned?[46]

Methods of Operation. How and to what degree are the eleven practices listed above incorporated into the station's operations?

Nature of the Programming. In what ways and to what extent do the 'participatory' policies of the station influence the programming? Is the programming reflective of the tastes and interests of the audience? Does the programming serve their perceived needs?

Audience Response to the Policies and Programs. In what ways and to what extent do the 'participatory' policies influence the messages? What effect do the policies and the messages have on the audience? How do the policies, the messages and their effects compare to those of the traditional model?

The Methodology

Because this study was premised on the assumption that participation is essential to communication, and because the subject under study was

'participatory' by definition, it seemed obvious to base the methodology on principles of participatory research:

> During the international meeting on participatory research called by the International Council on Adult Education (Toronto, 1977) the following definition of participatory research was formulated: 'Participatory research is an approach to social research by which the full participation of the community is sought in analyzing its own reality for the purpose of promoting social transformation for the benefit of the participants in the research. These participants are the oppressed, the marginated, the exploited. The activity is therefore one of education, research, and social action . . .'
>
> Participatory research maintains, as Myrdal points out, that research is always and by local necessity based on moral and political values, and that the enquirer must be explicitly aware of this. Participatory research starts from the principle that it is not possible to separate 'facts' from 'values' . . . for participatory research, science is a social activity, it has a purpose. The question of representation forms part of the reality to be investigated, and incorporating them into the analysis enriches it by making it more exact and hence more scientific.
>
> Participatory research opts, then, for research activities in which the enquirers clearly show their social and political commitment in the concrete contribution made by their discipline to achieving what the grassroot groups want, i.e. action that brings about change.[47]

In order to fulfill the objectives of 'participatory research', I chose to follow the research method known as 'participant observation':

> By participant observation we mean that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time.
>
> [T]he kind of problem participant observation is most suited to . . . is the problem in which one is more interested in understanding some particular group of substantive social problems than in testing hypotheses about relations between variables derived from a general theory.[48]

Before arriving at the radio station, my primary role as a researcher was acknowledged, but it was also understood that I would take part in the activities of the station as a voluntary, part-time member of the staff; no attempt was made to be covert, to disguise or hide the conduct of the research. Glaser and Strauss make the important point that field work is conducted in the sphere of 'real life'.[49] To entertain a subterfuge in relating to others is, to my mind, unethically manipulative. It also seems wholly contrary to the spirit of participation and communication described above, where it is argued that effective communication requires the participation and the good faith of all parties.

Without this grounding in good faith, the research loses validity, no matter how meaningful the results may appear. This requires that the research be guided by ethics, by sympathy, and by a genuine concern for the people with whom the researcher works.

Not to conduct ethical research is to subordinate the subjects to the objectives of the researcher; rather than being treated as fellow human beings, they are used as tools to achieve the researcher's end. They are denied the opportunity of informed action. I see little difference between such behavior in the conduct of social research and the 'monopolies of knowledge' to which Harold Adams Innis refers and against which current communication theory is moving (see Appendix I). As participation is a dominant theme in emergent communication theories, it seems obvious that it should also be reflected in the emergent methodologies of communication research.

The effect of participatory research on the researcher's ability to garner significant data is addressed by Glaser and Strauss: 'The root source of all significant theorizing is the sensitive insights of the observer himself.'[50] As no researcher is free of the bonds of his own culture, personality, or heritage, it is essential that he conduct his research with the full awareness of his own limitations and the prejudices which he carries with him. By being 'reflexive', by revealing his biases to himself and to those with whom he works, the researcher is more likely to free himself from those biases and to establish trust with his subject. This, in turn, will demonstrate to the subjects that is it 'safe and appropriate' to share personal meanings. In a sense, the researcher is modelling the kind of self-disclosing behavior which he hopes his subjects will adopt.

If we accept that the purpose of the participant-observation methodology is 'to prevent imposing alien meanings upon the actions of the subjects',[51] then we can see that this reflexive methodology is likely to reveal data that is truly meaningful. In addition, this attitude serves to reduce 'resistance', and it lessens the likelihood of errors of inference on the part of the researcher.

Entrée

The staff at Radio Bahá'í agreed to my study for several reasons. First of all, I was a personal friend of one of the staff members, Mr Michael Stokes, a broadcaster with whom I had worked in the United States. Mr Stokes went to work at Radio Bahá'í in 1978, primarily to assist in staff training and administration. Not long after he moved to Ecuador, we began corresponding about the station and its philosophy. It was with the assistance of Mr Stokes that the station licensee, the National

Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, was approached about the possibility of my study.

They were eager to receive the assistance of another individual with professional broadcast experience, as it is difficult for the station to attract and retain qualified professional help. In addition to the help I could offer in programming, production and training, they were eager to have me undertake an evaluation of their audience. To fulfill these responsibilities, I was asked by the National Assembly to assist in the evaluation of the project conducted at Radio Bahá'í under the auspices of a matching-funds grant from the Canadian International Development Agency. Although this responsibility lasted only six months, it very effectively served to formalize my role as a part-time member of the staff engaged in research.

I was also offered entrée to the station because I am a member of the Bahá'í Faith; the National Assembly understood that I was well-informed of and sympathetic to the basic principles underlying the philosophy of the station.[52]

Sites and Duration

Most of the research was conducted in the offices and studios of the radio station in Otavalo and in various communities within the station's broadcast reach. Preliminary research into professional literature was conducted at Northwestern University prior to my departure for Ecuador, while the bulk of the literature search was conducted at CIESPAL in Quito, Ecuador.[53]

I arrived in Ecuador in September of 1980 and departed in January of 1982. I spent two months in Quito, attending Spanish classes and doing research at CIESPAL. I was in Otavalo fulltime for twelve months; I spent six weeks in Peru and Bolivia researching other Bahá'í radio projects.

In April of 1983, I returned to Otavalo for one week to do some follow-up research and to design and arrange for the administration of the second of the two audience surveys described in Chapter Five.

Collecting the Data

In my dual role as a researcher and a participating member of the station staff, most days were spent at the station, visiting in the homes of staff members, or in the *campo*, meeting with indigenous villagers. Glaser and Strauss explain that, 'In field studies, theoretical sampling usually requires reading documents, interviewing, and observing at the same time, since all slices of data are relevant.'[54]

Most of the data in this study was derived from daily observation of

and participation in the activities of the station. I usually arrived at the station at 8:30 am and left at 6:00 pm, Monday through Friday. Daily activities included reading documents, answering correspondence, staff meetings, program planning, visits to the *campo* for production and interviewing, and collaborating with producers on their programs. There were frequent activities on Saturdays and Sundays as well.

Additional data was derived from a comprehensive study of the files of Radio Bahá'í, to which I was given complete and unlimited access. I read every document on file at the radio station, including all correspondence, memos and minutes of meetings.

Data also was derived through the administration of two surveys to a sample of the radio-listening audience in the Otavalo region. The questionnaires, the first administered in October and November of 1981, the second in June of 1983, were developed in consultation with station staff, field tested, and administered to a total of 275 individuals.[55] Each interview required between twenty and forty minutes to conduct; in 1981, a total of 270 man-hours were spent in visiting the field sites and administering the questionnaires. The interviews were conducted by teams from Radio Bahá'í; each team included at least one indigenous staff member, who conducted the interview in Quichua if the respondent was unable to speak Spanish.

Additional data was derived through extensive interviews with every member of the staff who worked at the radio station during my time there. Informal interviews were conducted throughout the duration of the research period; formal interviews, ranging between thirty minutes and three hours, were conducted at the conclusion of my stay in Otavalo.

1

ORIGINS AND OBJECTIVES OF RADIO BAHÁ'Í

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, several thousand rural *campesinos* (literally, 'country people') in the region surrounding Otavalo, Ecuador, became members of the Bahá'í Faith. Seeing (and, in part, responsible for) this enthusiastic response to the faith, one enterprising Ecuadorian Bahá'í, Raul Pavon, a native of Otavalo and the chairman of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, began to investigate the possibility of using radio as a tool for spreading the teachings of the Faith and for serving newly-formed Bahá'í communities.[1] Although he lacked the funds to purchase a station, in early 1973 Mr Pavon arranged to lease Radio Turismo, a low-power shortwave station located in Otavalo. He planned to operate the station as a private business venture, programming music predominantly and supporting the station through the sale of commercial time. In this way, he would have a vehicle through which he could also air occasional announcements and programs about the Bahá'í Faith.[2] This was the beginning of Radio Bahá'í.

Ecuador[3]

Ecuador may rightly be considered as four nations in one. First, there is the territory of the Galapagos Islands, two hundred miles off the Pacific coast. These islands, made famous by the 19th-century visits of Charles Darwin, more recently have become a major point of attraction to international tourists. Domestic tourists are more attracted to the tropical beaches on the Ecuadorian coast. The coastal region also houses the country's major commercial and industrial city, Guayaquil, from which 90% of Ecuador's exports are shipped. The Andean range,

which rises quickly from the coastal plain to elevations of over 12,000 feet, comprises the third major geographic region of Ecuador. It houses the capital city, Quito, the political and cultural center of the country, and most of the country's major towns. To the east, the Andes slope toward Brazil, becoming the source for some of the headwaters, jungles and 'primitive' tribes for which the Amazon basin is famous. (Orellana, credited with discovering the Amazon, set out on his expedition from Quito.)

Not until 1900 was a major road built between Quito and Guayaquil. Since then, there has been a steady migration from the highlands to the coast; the population is now about equally divided between the coastal and highland regions, and Guayaquil has surpassed Quito as the country's largest city.

Motivated principally by the increasing economic opportunities on the coast, most of the migrants have been *mestizos*, the upwardly-mobile portion of the population whose racial heritage is a mix of Caucasian, Indian and Negro. The *mestizos* comprise approximately 40% of the Ecuadorian population, a percentage which is steadily increasing.

Ecuador's dominant cultural group are the Quichua-speaking highland Indians, who comprise roughly 50% of an estimated population of eight and a half million (Ecuador's population growth rate is estimated at 3.4%).[4] Located primarily in the rural areas of the Andean corridor, their principal economic activity is subsistence farming. The subjugation of the Indian people began in the middle of the 15th century, when they briefly came under the rule of the Incas, who were themselves soon to be conquered by the Spanish.

Sucre and Bolivar's liberation of Ecuador from Spanish rule in the 19th century had little impact on the life of the Indians. Practices of racial and economic discrimination against the Indians, institutionalized by the *conquistadores* (conquerors) in the 16th century, endure to this day: 'Because of centuries of exploitation, the *campesinos* are fearful, lack confidence, and accept for themselves what they are given, [be it] little or bad.'[5]

Serfdom existed until the last few decades. Most Indians worked on *haciendas*, large plantations, in exchange for the right to live on and farm small plots of land (*huasipungos*). Although land reform laws were instituted in the 1960s, the great majority of *campesinos* still live on the poorer lands on the hillsides (*minifundos*); the richer, more productive land in the valleys is owned by large landholders (*latifundos*).[6]

> The *campesinos* consider the actual form of the application of the Agricultural Reform Law prejudicial, because there is no credit, there is no water, there are no roads, there is no firewood, there are no pastures,

there is no education, there is no technical assistance, and they are generally left with bad land.[7]

Less than 10% of the country's population can be classified as 'white', most of whom are descendants of the Spanish elite. The 'whites' have dominated the economic and political life of the country for three centuries. The established families of Quito have tended to maintain their positions of influence, while the whites on the coast are regarded as 'nouveau riche', having capitalized on business opportunities in Guayaquil. Negroes, most of whom are descendants of slaves brought to the New World by the Spaniards, comprise roughly 10% of the population; they work primarily on the coast, in both agriculture and fishing. A segment of the population virtually removed from the mainstream of Ecuadorian life is the Amazon Indian groups. By far the most 'primitive' of the country's people, they have been virtually isolated from the rest of the country by the forbidding Andean range. Little is known of these remote peoples and little attention was paid to them – until 1971.

1971 is a benchmark year in the history of Ecuador, for it was then that oil was discovered in the 'oriente', the Amazon region. The impact of this event has been profound. To begin with, it meant that communications and technology began to move into the region, quickly followed by schemes that offered land and other incentives to encourage homesteading.

Ecuador joined OPEC in 1972; by 1979, per capita income had tripled and the GNP had increased by a minimum of 10% per year. While the elite were the first to prosper, government and private investment began to change the economic face of the country. Manufacturing and assembly plants were built for the production of consumer goods (such as automobiles, refrigerators, small appliances). Oil became the principal export, moving ahead of bananas and coffee. The fishing industry (primarily tuna and shrimp) received a steady influx of new capital.

The steady move towards modernization created new economic opportunities for the country and, concurrently, new stresses on the indigenous populations. The government's emphasis on industrialization and the major increases in factories and new construction brought with them the promise of opportunities for Ecuador's lower classes to enter into the modern economy – to move to the major cities and earn a steady wage. The increased stress upon the indigenous populations is evidenced by the steady migration of young Indians from their rural villages to the cities, frequently at the expense of economic, social, and personal stability. The 1978 census estimated that 25% of the indigenous population was active in the economy (as opposed to working their own land).

It was in this environment that Raul Pavon opened Radio Bahá'í.

The First Steps

After arranging to lease the station, Raul Pavon enlisted the assistance of two other people – his mother, Mrs Clementina Pavon, and another Bahá'í, Ralph Dexter, a Canadian living in Ecuador. Together they initiated fourteen hours of daily broadcasts on the station, although none of them had any previous experience with radio. Mr Pavon was trained as a school teacher and administrator; he was an author of literacy materials. Prior to purchasing the radio station he was active in promoting literacy in the *campo*. He said, 'I didn't have any experience with radio ... nor had I ever operated a tape recorder.'[8]

Ralph Dexter, a chemical engineer, said, 'I knew nothing about radio, knew nothing about music, nothing about tape recorders, nothing about tape ... I was just completely overwhelmed.'[9]

Even so, the station became an immediate success, largely because it was playing local and national music that appealed to the *campesino* listeners. However, the popularity of their efforts proved their undoing. Having witnessed the potential profitability of his station, and fearing that he could not match the quality of programs being offered by the Bahá'ís, the owner rescinded the lease after the first few weeks of the station's operation. He did, however, allow Mr Pavon to rent two hours a day to air Bahá'í programs, beginning March 1, 1973.[10]

This initial experience with radio convinced the Bahá'í community of Ecuador of the medium's potential in service to the Faith. On July 9, 1973, the National Assembly added radio to their annual budget and appointed a National Radio Committee as a response to:

> thousands of Bahá'ís in the *campo* who need teaching and daily deepening. Travelling teachers cannot offer this daily attention because the *campesino* areas are too large and the number of teachers too small. For this reason, it was decided that we, the Bahá'ís, must use the media of mass communications (especially radio, as it has wider distribution) to completely develop a systematic teaching project.[11]

Members of the team responsible for writing, translating, producing, editing and distributing the programs included, in addition to Mrs Pavon, Alfredo Tulcanazo and Luis Vizuete, indigenous Bahá'ís from the Otavalo region, Ann (Anita) Miller, an American Bahá'í recruited from her position teaching elementary school in Guayaquil, and Rodrigo Quinteros, a disc jockey from Radio Turismo who, disenchanted with his boss's behavior, left the station and volunteered to

help the Bahá'ís. Shortly after Rodrigo joined the team, his seventeen-year-old brother, Marcelo, also volunteered his assistance. Later in the same year Diana Marie Celleri, a Bahá'í youth from Cuenca, in southern Ecuador, came to Otavalo to assist.[12]

Shortly after the appointment of the Radio Committee, both Raul Pavon, who had recruited each of the Bahá'í participants in the project, and Ralph Dexter left the radio work to fulfill other Bahá'í commitments. Of the remaining workers, only one had any prior radio experience. Marcelo Quinteros recalled that:

> It was very frustrating for us, because none of us had any experience as writers . . . I knew more about carpentry than about writing scripts! . . . I remember one time Mr Pavon told me to do some work, and I told him that I couldn't because I didn't have any experience. But he said, 'Do it! Let it be what it will be.' . . . Above all, none of us were professionals but we had great inspiration, a grand idea to help the radio.[13]

Nonetheless, they were soon producing sponsored programs on the Bahá'í Faith for distribution to radio stations in eight cities in Ecuador. In some cities, this meant weekly fifteen-minute programs, in others, there were daily hour-long programs. The first four series produced by the committee included three bilingual (Spanish and Quichua) Bahá'í programs, one featuring prayers and the Bahá'í Writings, another about Bahá'í history, and the third about local Bahá'í communities. In addition, there was a Spanish-language program about the diversity of the world's peoples. The Bahá'í programs were approximately 80% music and 20% information, most of which was taken verbatim from Bahá'í books, owing to the group's lack of script-writing experience. Later 'non-Bahá'í' programs included a series for women and a special program in recognition of Human Rights Day.[14]

Production was done first in a room at the Bahá'í Teaching Institute in Otavalo. Later, when the first 'legitimate' studio was being built, production shifted temporarily to the Pavon home in Otavalo, where one room was converted into a makeshift studio. By 1976, the committee had distributed a total 1286 hours of programming to the various stations at an estimated cost of 46,000 *sucres* (approximately US$2,000).[15] In addition, the committee had distributed a paper, 'Norms for Bahá'í Radio Programming', to all the Bahá'í communities in Ecuador to help the communities develop programming for their own local stations.[16]

In spite of the limited expertise and facilities, response to the programs made the potential of radio in service to the Bahá'í community very apparent. By the end of the year, the National Assembly began to explore the possibility of establishing a Bahá'í-owned radio

station in Ecuador. Because the establishment of a Bahá'í radio station was without precedent, the Assembly sought guidance from the international governing body of the Faith. The Audio-Visual Department at the Bahá'í World Centre responded by suggesting the name of a Bahá'í broadcast professional who had volunteered to visit Ecuador and assist the Assembly to determine the feasibility of their plan. The consultant, K. Dean Stephens, a professional broadcast manager and engineer from the Caribbean, arrived in Ecuador in June of 1974.[17]

The National Assembly wanted to have a regional short wave station on the 60-meter band that could serve most of Ecuador. On December 12, 1974, the basic plan was approved and the license application process was initiated.[18]

In 1975, when attempting to follow up on the application, the National Assembly was informed that the application, a 300-page document, had been lost.[19] The entire application was redrafted and resubmitted, only to be rejected by the government on the grounds that no shortwave frequencies were available.

In 1976, a military regime came to power in Ecuador. The National Assembly revised the application, requesting a low-power AM station to serve the Otavalo region, and submitted it to the new government. Although technically sound, the new application faced seemingly insurmountable bureaucratic obstacles, culminating in another apparent rejection. However, thanks largely to the perseverance of another member of the Pavon family, Mrs Isabel Pavon de Calderon, the application was reconsidered and the Assembly eventually was granted a provisional license concession on July 5, 1977. The provision was that the station, broadcasting on a frequency of 1420 kHz on the AM band, would have to be ready for a government test within ninety days of the date of the construction permit (July 27), or the concession would be withdrawn. The Assembly, which had received notification of the approval on July 19, had until October 27 to be on the air.[20]

At the time of the concession, the Assembly did not own a potential site for the station. Nonetheless, Raul Pavon soon located a suitable piece of land just off the Pan-American Highway, in the village of Cajas, on the ridge separating the Cayambe and Otavalo valleys, the two primary target areas for the station. So intensely did they feel the pressure to begin the work that both Pavon and Stephens were on the property marking the site before the sale of the land had even been finalized.[21]

Construction was initiated immediately upon receipt of the deed, a generator was installed (there were no power lines on the site at the time) and broadcast equipment was located and brought to the site.

The short time allowed between the award of the concession and the

test date forced the consulting engineer, Mr Stephens, to be creative in his acquisition of the necessary broadcast equipment. Most of it was used; some of it was imported from North America; some of it was purchased from NASA's satellite tracking station in Ecuador; and some was designed and constructed on the spot, using available materials. For example, the antenna mast was constructed using locally-available aluminum irrigation pipe. If built by a contractor, the antenna would have cost approximatgely $10,000; thanks largely to the volunteered services of the engineer, the Ecuadorian Bahá'ís spent about $900.[22]

HCRN-1, Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador, 1420 kHz, broadcast (and passed) its first test transmission on October 12, 1977 with 20 watts of power. It initiated 'full-time programming' (six hours a day, at the outset) on December 12, 1977.[23]

Radio Bahá'í's goals and objectives are determined by the two principal roles it fills. First, it is an institution of the Bahá'í Faith. Second, it is a community radio station. These roles are not mutually exclusive, but each contributes a unique perspective to the nature and purpose of Radio Bahá'í.

Aims and Purposes of the Bahá'í Faith

Radio Bahá'í's primary objectives are inextricably related to the aims and purposes of the Bahá'í Faith, especially as regards Bahá'í concepts of development. For Bahá'ís, development takes on forms that are both spiritual and material; both individual and collective. In the Bahá'í view, the fundamental purpose of life is to promote the development of all of humankind:

> All men have been created to carry forward an ever-advancing civilization.[24]

> [T]he object of life to a Bahá'í is to promote the oneness of mankind. The whole object of our lives is bound up with the lives of all human beings; not a personal salvation are we seeking, but a universal one ... Our aim is to produce a world civilization which will in turn react on the character of the individual.[25]

Given this perspective, it is impossible to isolate Bahá'í concepts of development from the basic principles and teachings of the Faith. While a comprehensive summary of the Bahá'í teachings is not possible here, we can highlight some that are of particular relevance to the notion of development:

The Purpose of Religion:

> O ye that dwell on earth! The religion of God is for love and unity; make it not the cause of enmity or dissension.[26]

Religion should unite all hearts and cause wars and disputes to vanish from the face of the earth, give birth to spirituality, and bring life and light to each heart. If religion becomes a cause of dislike, hatred and division, it were better to be without it, and to withdraw from such a religion would be a truly religious act. For it is clear that the purpose of a remedy is to cure; but if the remedy should only aggravate the complaint it had better be left alone. Any religion which is not a cause of love and unity is no religion. All the holy prophets were as doctors to the soul; they gave prescriptions for the healing of mankind; thus any remedy that causes disease does not come from the great and supreme Physician.[27]

The Purpose of the Bahá'í Faith:

The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, whose supreme mission is none other but the achievement of this organic and spiritual unity of the whole body of nations, should, if we be faithful to its implications, be regarded as signalizing through its advent the *coming of age of the entire human race.* It should be viewed not merely as yet another spiritual revival in the ever-changing fortunes of mankind, not only as a further stage in a chain of progressive Revelations, nor even as the culmination of one of a series of recurrent prophetic cycles, but rather as marking the last and highest stage in the stupendous evolution of man's collective life on this planet. The emergence of a world community, the consciousness of world citizenship, the founding of a world civilization and culture . . . should, by their very nature, be regarded as far as this planetary life is concerned, as the furthermost limits in the organization of human society, though man, as an individual, will, nay must indeed as a result of such a consummation, continue indefinitely to progress and develop.[28]

The Importance of Unity:

The well-being of mankind, its peace and security, are unattainable unless and until its unity is firmly established.[29]

It is certain that the greatest of instrumentalities for achieving the advancement and the glory of man, the supreme agency for the enlightenment and the redemption of the world, is love and fellowship and unity among all the members of the human race. Nothing can be effected in the world, not even conceivably, without unity and agreement . . .[30]

The unity which is productive of unlimited results is first a unity of mankind . . . but mankind has hitherto violated it, adhering to sectarian or other limited unities such as racial, patriotic or unity of self-interests; therefore, no great results have been forthcoming . . .

Another unity is the spiritual unity . . . This is greater than the unity of mankind . . . This is a perfect unity. It creates such a condition in mankind that each one will make sacrifices for the other, and the utmost desire will be to forfeit life and all that pertains to it in behalf of another's good.[31]

Know ye, verily, that the happiness of mankind lieth in the unity and the harmony of the human race, and that spiritual and material developments are conditioned upon love and amity among all men.[32]

The principle of the Oneness of Mankind [is] the pivot round which all the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh revolve . . . [33]

Unification of the whole of mankind is the hall-mark of the stage which human society is now approaching. Unity of family, of tribe, of city-state, and nation have been successively attempted and fully established. World unity is the goal towards which a harassed humanity is striving . . .

The unity of the human race, as envisaged by Bahá'u'lláh, implies the establishment of a world commonwealth in which all nations, races, creeds and classes are closely and permanently united, and in which the autonomy of its state members and the personal freedom and initiative of the individuals that compose them are definitely and completely safeguarded. [34]

Unity in Diversity:

[The world-wide law of Bahá'u'lláh] repudiates excessive centralization on one hand and disclaims all attempts at uniformity on the other. Its watchword is unity in diversity . . . [35]

This diversity, this difference is like the naturally created dissimilarity and variety of the limbs and organs of the human body, for each one contributeth to the beauty, efficiency and perfection of the whole. When these different limbs and organs come under the influence of man's sovereign soul, and the soul's power pervadeth the limbs and members, veins and arteries of the body, then difference reinforceth harmony, diversity strengtheneth love, and multiplicity is the greatest factor for coordination . . . In like manner, when divers shades of thought, temperament and character, are brought together under the power and influence of one central agency, the beauty and glory of human perfection will be revealed and made manifest. [36]

Eliminating Prejudice:

All prejudices, whether of religion, race, politics or nation, must be renounced, for these prejudices have caused the world's sickness. It is a grave malady which, unless arrested, is capable of causing the destruction of the whole human race. Every ruinous war, with its terrible bloodshed and misery, has been caused by one or other of these prejudices . . . Let us therefore be humble, without prejudices, preferring others' good to our own! . . . let us help all who are in need of any kind of assistance . . .

The only division that is real is this: There are heavenly men and earthly men; self-sacrificing servants of humanity . . . bringing harmony and unity, teaching peace and goodwill to men. On the other hand there are those selfish men, haters of their brethren, in whose hearts prejudice has replaced loving kindness, and whose influence breeds discord and strife. [37]

[E]very differentiation of class, creed, or color must automatically be obliterated, and never allowed, under any pretext, and however great the pressures of events or of public opinion, to reassert itself. If any discrimination is at all to be tolerated, it should be a discrimination not

against, but rather in favor of the minority, be it racial or otherwise. Unlike the nations and peoples of the earth, be they of the East or of the West, democratic or authoritarian, communist or capitalist, whether belonging to the Old World or the New, who either ignore, trample upon, or extirpate, the racial, religious, or political minorities within the sphere of their jurisdiction, every organized community, enlisted under the banner of Bahá'u'lláh should feel it to be its first and inescapable obligation to nurture, encourage, and safeguard every minority belonging to any faith, race, class, or nation within it.[38]

The Equality of Men and Women:

Until the reality of equality between man and woman is fully established and attained, the highest social development of mankind is not possible . . . there must be no difference in the education of male and female in order that womankind may develop equal capacity and importance with man in the social and economic equation . . . Inasmuch as human society consists of two parts, the male and female, each the complement of the other, the happiness and stability of humanity cannot be assured unless both are perfected. Therefore, the standard and status of man and woman must become equalized.

The world of humanity consists of two parts: male and female. Each is the complement of the other. Therefore, if one is defective, the other will necessarily be incomplete, and perfection cannot be attained . . . It is not natural that either should remain undeveloped; and until both are perfected, the happiness of the human world will not be realized . . . The world of humanity is possessed of two wings: the male and the female. So long as these two wings are not equivalent in strength, the bird will not fly. Until womankind reaches the same degree as man, until she enjoys the same arena of activity, extraordinary attainment for humanity will not be realized; humanity cannot wing its way to heights of real attainment. When the two wings or parts become equivalent in strength, enjoying the same prerogatives, the flight of man will be exceedingly lofty and extraordinary. Therefore, woman must receive the same education as man and all inequality be adjusted. Thus, imbued with the same virtues as man, rising through all the degrees of human attainment, women will become the peers of men, and until this equality is established, true progress and attainment for the human race will not be facilitated.[39]

The Harmony of Science and Religion:

Religion and science are the two wings upon which man's intelligence can soar into the heights, with which the human soul can progress. It is not possible to fly with one wing alone! Should a man try to fly with the wing of religion alone he would quickly fall into the quagmire of superstition, whilst on the other hand, with the wing of science alone he would also make no progress, but fall into the despairing slough of materialism . . .

Any religion that contradicts science or that is opposed to it is only ignorance – for ignorance is the opposite of knowledge.

Religion which consists only of rites and ceremonies of prejudice is not the truth . . .

All religions of the present day have fallen into superstitious practices, out of harmony alike with the true principles of the teaching they represent and with the scientific discoveries of the time . . .

When religion, shorn of its superstitions, traditions, and unintelligent dogmas, shows its conformity with science, then will there be a great unifying, cleansing force in the world which will sweep before it all wars, disagreements, discords and struggles – and then will mankind be united in the power of the Love of God.[40]

The Importance of Education and the Acquisition of Knowledge:

Man is the supreme Talisman. Lack of a proper education hath, however, deprived him of that which he doth inherently possess . . . Regard man as a mine rich in gems of inestimable value. Education can, alone, cause it to reveal its treasures, and enable mankind to benefit therefrom.[41]

The primary, the most urgent requirement is the promotion of education. It is inconceivable that any nation should achieve prosperity and success unless this paramount, this fundamental concern is carried forward. The principal reason for the decline and fall of peoples is ignorance.[42]

Knowledge is as wings to man's life, and a ladder for his ascent. Its acquisition is incumbent upon everyone. The knowledge of such sciences, however, should be acquired as can profit the peoples of the earth, and not those which begin with words and end with words.[43]

Elimination of the Extremes of Poverty and Wealth:

The arrangements of the circumstances of the people must be such that poverty shall disappear, that everyone, as far as possible, according to his rank and position, shall share in comfort and well-being.

We see amongst us men who are overburdened with riches on the one hand, and on the other those unfortunate ones who starve with nothing; those who possess several stately palaces, and those who have not where to lay their head . . . This condition of affairs is wrong, and must be remedied . . .

It is important to limit riches, as it is also of importance to limit poverty. Either extreme is not good.[44]

The time will come in the near future when humanity will become so much more sensitive than at present that the man of great wealth will not enjoy his luxury, in comparison with the deplorable poverty around him. He will be forced, for his own happiness, to expend his wealth to procure better conditions for the community in which he lives.[45]

Among the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh is voluntary sharing of one's property with others among mankind. This voluntary sharing is greater than (legally imposed) equality, and consists in this, that we should not prefer oneself to others but rather should sacrifice one's life and property for others. But this should not be introduced by coercion so that it becomes a

law which man is compelled to follow. Nay, rather, man should voluntarily and of his own choice sacrifice his property and life for others, and spend willingly for the poor, just as is done in Persia among the Bahá'ís.[46]

Wealth is praiseworthy in the highest degree, if it is acquired by an individual's own efforts and the grace of God, in commerce, agriculture, art and industry, and if it be expended for philanthropic purposes. Above all, if a judicious and resourceful individual should initiate measures which would universally enrich the masses of the people, there could be no undertaking greater than this, and it would rank in the sight of God as the supreme achievement, for such a benefactor would supply the needs and insure the comfort and well-being of a great multitude.[47]

The Interdependence of Spiritual and Material Development:

No matter how far the material world advances, it cannot establish the happiness of mankind. Only when material and spiritual civilization are linked and co-ordinated will happiness be assured. Then material civilization will not contribute its energies to the forces of evil in destroying the oneness of humanity, for in material civilization good and evil advance together and maintain the same pace . . .

If the moral precepts and foundations of divine civilization become united with the material advancement of man . . . humankind will achieve extraordinary progress, the sphere of human intelligence will be immeasurably enlarged, wonderful inventions will appear, and the spirit of God will reveal itself . . . Therefore, the material and the divine, or merciful, civilizations must progress together until the highest aspirations and desires of humanity shall become realized . . .

By this commingling and union the human race will attain the highest degree of prosperity and development. Material civilization alone is not sufficient and will not prove productive.[48]

This union [of spiritual illumination with scientific knowledge] will bring about a true civilization, where the spiritual is expressed and carried out in the material.[49]

[T]he working of the material world is merely a reflection of spiritual conditions and until the spiritual conditions can be changed there can be no lasting change for the better in material affairs.[50]

Service to Mankind:

It is incumbent upon every man of insight and understanding to strive to translate that which hath been written into reality and action . . . That one indeed is a man who, today, dedicateth himself to the service of the entire human race . . . Blessed and happy is he that ariseth to promote the best interests of the peoples and kindreds of the earth . . . It is not for him to pride himself who loveth his own country, but rather for him who loveth the whole world. The earth is but one country, and mankind its citizens.[51]

Address yourselves to the promotion of the well-being and tranquillity of the children of men.[52]

How excellent, how honorable is man if he arises to fulfill his responsibilities; how wretched and contemptible, if he shuts his eyes to the welfare of society and wastes his precious life in pursuing his own selfish interests and personal advantages. Supreme happiness is man's, and he beholds the signs of God in the world and in the human soul, if he urges on the steed of high endeavor in the arena of civilization and justice.[53]

What profit is there in agreeing that universal friendship is good, and talking of the solidarity of the human race as a grand ideal? Unless these thoughts are translated into the world of action, they are useless. The wrong in the world continues to exist just because people talk only of their ideals, and do not strive to put them into practice. If action took the place of words, the world's misery would very soon be changed into comfort.[54]

The man who makes a piece of notepaper to the best of his ability, conscientiously, concentrating all his forces on perfecting it, is giving praise to God. Briefly, all effort and exertion put forth by man from the fullness of his heart is worship, if it is prompted by the highest motives and the will to do service to humanity. This is worship: to serve mankind and to minister to the needs of the people.[55]

Is there any greater blessing conceivable for a man, than that he should become the cause of the education, the development, the prosperity and honor of his fellow-creatures? No, by the Lord God! The highest righteousness of all is for blessed souls to take hold of the hands of the helpless and deliver them out of their ignorance and abasement and poverty . . .[56]

Universal Participation:

The supreme need of humanity is cooperation and reciprocity. The stronger the ties of fellowship and solidarity amongst men, the greater will be the power of constructiveness and accomplishment in all the planes of human activity.[57]

[On] the individual . . . depends the fate of the entire community. He it is who constitutes the warp and woof on which the quality and pattern of the whole fabric must depend.[58]

In the human body, every cell, every organ, every nerve has its part to play. When all do so the body is healthy, vigorous, radiant, ready for every call made upon it. No cell, however humble, lives apart from the body, whether in serving it or receiving from it. This is true of the body of mankind in which God 'has endowed each humble being with ability and talent,' and is supremely true of the body of the Bahá'í world community, for this body is already an organism, united in its aspirations, unified in its methods, seeking assistance and confirmation from the same Source, and illumined with the conscious knowledge of its unity. Therefore . . . the participation of every believer [Bahá'í] is of the utmost importance, and is a source of power and vitality as yet unknown to us.

> The real secret of universal participation lies in ['Abdu'l-Bahá's] oft-expressed wish that the friends [Bahá'ís] should love each other, constantly encourage each other, work together, be as one soul in one body, and in so doing become a true, organic, healthy body animated and illumined by the spirit. In such a body all will receive spiritual health and vitality from the organism itself, and the most perfect flowers and fruits will be brought forth.[59]

> Universal participation . . . must be pressed toward attainment in every continent, country and island of the globe.[60]

Even from such a cursory summary as this, it can be seen that the Bahá'í teachings establish a basis and provide guidance for the involvement of Bahá'ís, both individually and collectively, in social and economic development. This was unequivocally validated by a letter from the Universal House of Justice to the Bahá'ís of the world:

> . . . Bahá'u'lláh urged upon the attention of nations the necessity of ordering human affairs in such a way as to bring into being a world unified in all the essential aspects of its life.
>
> . . . He repeatedly and variously declared the 'progress of the world' and the 'development of nations' as being among the ordinances of God for this day.
>
> The oneness of mankind, which is at once the operating principle and ultimate goal of His Revelation, implies the achievement of a dynamic coherence between the spiritual and practical requirements of life on earth . . . The indispensability of this coherence is unmistakably illustrated in his ordination of the (Bahá'í House of Worship), the spiritual center of every Bahá'í community round which must flourish dependencies dedicated to the social, humanitarian, educational and scientific advancement of mankind . . . the concept of social and economic development is enshrined in the sacred Teachings of our Faith.
>
> . . . the [Bahá'í] Community . . . has grown to the stage at which the processes of this development must be incorporated into its regular pursuits; particularly is action compelled by the expansion of the Faith in the Third World countries where the vast majority of its adherents reside.
>
> The steps to be taken must necessarily begin in the Bahá'í Community itself, with the friends endeavoring, through their application of spiritual principles, their rectitude of conduct and the practice of the art of consultation, to uplift themselves and thus become self-sufficient and self-reliant.
>
> . . . In the process and as a consequence, the friends will undoubtedly extend the benefits of their efforts to society as a whole . . .
>
> Progress in the development field will largely depend on natural stirrings at the grass-roots, and it should receive its driving force from those sources rather than from an imposition of plans and programs from the top.[61]

As it is the subject of extensive scriptural, interpretive and scholarly

works in its own right, it is impossible to treat adequately the Bahá'í concept of social and economic development here.[62] However, the Seventh Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for Bahá'í Studies, held in Ottawa in August 1982, dealt exclusively with this issue. One of the papers presented at the conference provides a brief summary of Bahá'í social and economic development activities to date:

> The path of Bahá'í international development is increasingly favouring rural development schemes. The older Bahá'í approach to development proceeded along educational lines. This strategy grew out of Bahá'í communities in the Near East, gradually extending itself to the Indian subcontinent and the Far East. This centralized approach helped to attract the necessary people with professional skills. Extensive use was made of outsiders in developing educational competence among communities. The other Bahá'í experience in development relates more clearly to a decentralized process, whereby local resources and indigenous capacities are used. It is essentially a grass-roots approach, deriving sustenance and follow-through at the local level, by local people. This approach was favoured in the Americas, in particular.
>
> The conditions for Bahá'í international development are very favourable. At the local level, *universal participation*, a concept which means the involvement of all community members regardless of sex or age in the affairs of the community, provides for full deployment of all human resources. This is a supportive climate for anyone who is aiming for the fulfilment of his or her potential, whether mentally, emotionally, artistically, spiritually or educationally. Moreover, the *consultative process* is achieving many goals in the local community by combining the rights of individuals to express their opinions and the requirements of the collectivity. If we conceive of universal participation and the consultative process as the inner and outer rims of the development wheel, the Bahá'í teachings of the equality of men and women, the development of the mind, the harmony of science and religion, should be regarded as the spokes of that wheel. This ensures that the wheel of development will tread a path of progress. It provides the community with a high capacity to carry out basic reforms.
>
> Development in the Bahá'í context, however, does not stop at the local level. At the international level, there are several distinguishing features that provide a steady stimulus to development. The Bahá'í world community has an integrated administrative structure. This structure effectively channels communication at all levels: local, national and international. It works on primary principles derived from the Bahá'í sacred writings, while allowing for indigenous development on all secondary administrative matters. It is not so highly centralized in these secondary matters that it discourages people from solving problems.
>
> The establishment of a number of Bahá'í international agencies gives a vivid expression to the field of development. The Universal House of Justice acts as a coordinating body, ensuring that development occurs along Bahá'í principles. The Universal House of Justice has encouraged

and has often directly supported activities which promote development, such as the rural development project in India, the Rabbani School in that same country, and literacy programs in the Pacific. It also encourages the establishment of tutorial schools as a means of raising the general educational level of a population and as a nucleus for rural community development.[63]

As expected, Radio Bahá'í has attempted to apply these principles (and others) in its operations as a community radio station.

Goals and Purposes of the Station

Given the history leading to the establishment of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador, one logically could have assumed that its earliest goals and objectives would have focused on the growth and consolidation of the Bahá'í communities in the Otavalo region. This purpose was verified in observations made by the Audio-Visual Department at the Bahá'í World Centre: 'the station should prove to be a special instrument to reach the Indian believers [Bahá'ís] and indeed many tens of thousands within the reach of the broadcast signal.'[64]

However, those objectives formed only part of the purposes of the station enunciated by the National Assembly in the document of September 4, 1977, entitled 'Radio Bahá'í'.[65] The document, which served as the initial mandate for the work of the station, specified that the objectives must include the provision of *two* types of service, not only education aimed specifically at the Bahá'í audience, but also 'universal education', for *all* the listeners. The specific Bahá'í objectives were very clear: to 'educate', as a medium to spread the influence of Bahá'u'lláh's teachings; to 'deepen', providing instruction about the Faith to Bahá'ís; to 'proclaim', to inform the general public about the existence, aims and principles of the Faith. The station also was charged with directing broadcasts to Bahá'ís for their development and instruction. In addition, however, the station was to provide programming that dealt with 'all things relating to man's potential'. The programming was to include information about the listeners' past, knowledge of other peoples and their life styles, and guidance that would assist the listeners to raise their standard of living without destroying their traditional values.

Although broadly stated, these objectives made it clear that Radio Bahá'í was to fulfill a function beyond that traditionally associated with religious radio stations. This broader focus was apparently influenced and certainly reinforced in comments made by the Audio-Visual Department:

Not only direct communication to Bahá'í communities for their

> education, deepening, and instruction can be planned, but programs for the non-Bahá'í audience which you will inevitably address may be used to the advantage of listeners as well as to demonstrate the broad interests of the Faith in all that is beneficial to human beings.
>
> Your ultimate goal is a Bahá'í school of the air . . .
>
> Otavalo's Radio Bahá'í has . . . a direct cultural and educational role . . . it will teach literacy (and perhaps regular school courses in the future), will purvey information and education on agriculture, home economics, health, home and cottage crafts, the weather, time, etc.[66]

The seriousness with which this focus was treated can be seen by the fact that, while the station was still under construction, a representative of the National Assembly visited several public service agencies in Quito to explain the purpose of the station and to seek information that would help the station to develop its programming.[67] In addition, within two weeks of testing the signal, representatives of Radio Bahá'í had visited the educational authorities throughout the province explaining to them the educational function of the station and placing the services of the station at their disposal.[68]

Although the form that the station would take and the management, production and programming methods it would use were, as yet, unclear, this perspective became a primary purpose of the station within the first year of its operation:

> Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador is a cultural, non-commercial station operating in the province of Imbabura [in the north of the country], with daily programming in Quichua and Spanish, dedicated to the cultural and spiritual development of the family and the rural community.
>
> Our goal is to be an instrument through which our listeners can share their knowledge and express their needs. With their cooperation, we will provide spiritual, cultural, and material training to meet those needs.[69]

In the beginning, the rubric 'cultural education' clearly covered a wide variety of broadcast services. In its statement of November 7, 1977, on 'Cultural Education via Radio Bahá'í', the National Assembly identified the primary audiences to be served by such programming as 'the family and the community'. They anticipated programming of both a formal and non-formal nature, which was to be 'integral with the customs, traditions, and language' of the audience. The Assembly envisioned the ultimate goal of the station as being to 'channel the positive aspects of the culture toward the future civilization.'[70] Such an auspicious goal is derived from the principal focus of the Bahá'í Faith, which is the establishment of world unity through the realization of the oneness of mankind.[71] Bringing that broader goal into focus, the Assembly stated that the station's formal educational programs should teach the audience about:

> the basic needs of life, how to acquire and use them; history, geography, music, traditions, language; the significance of their part of the world to the world at large, including information about other peoples.[72]

Non-formal programs would include 'music of the local listener and ongoing activities in their communities'.[73] The nature of the station as a tool for community service is especially evident in the staff members' perceptions of the station's purpose:

> The most important thing we're trying to do is become everybody's friend, to serve them – the Bahá'ís and the non-Bahá'ís, the city people and the country people.
>
> The station should be (and has been) an instrument of the *campesino* people, Bahá'í and non-Bahá'í. [Its greatest strength is] its sincere desire to really try to serve the *campesino* audience . . . What we're attempting to do is really new, to attempt to communicate to these people who have not been served before, on a really sincere basis.
>
> It is service more than anything – service to the marginal people, to the people of the rural sector – that gives validity to the radio.
>
> This is the people's radio.
>
> I am well-liked and respected by my people. It is because they know that the radio supports them and is for them. They know that we are helping them; that we don't judge them, but support them . . . We are struggling *with* our people. We're trying to help them improve their lives. We're trying to help them learn to overcome fear.
>
> [Serving the indigenous people] is not only a goal, it is a requirement . . . we must ensure that the indigenous help themselves, that they know of their past and their future, these things are fundamental . . . he must know about himself.[74]

The goals and objectives of Radio Bahá'í, therefore, were derived from two main sources: principles of spiritual and material development drawn from the Bahá'í Writings, and the station's role as an 'educational, cultural and religious' agency of community service. What remained to be seen was whether or not the station's programming could effectively embody such goals and objectives.

2

STATION OPERATIONS

Management and Administration

WHILE the station was founded on high resolves and noble principles, translating such over-arching objectives into nineteen hours a day of radio programming was a major task. Without question, the greatest challenge was to develop the structure through which those goals could be accomplished.

A Broadcast Institution and a Religious Institution

The organizational challenges faced by the Assembly had two primary components. First, the type of radio station the Bahá'ís were attempting to develop was unprecedented. While radio broadcasting had a rich history of educational projects directed toward rural audiences, no radio *stations* existed that had attempted to accomplish the broad mandate set forth by the National Assembly.[1] In addition, there were few individuals within the Ecuadorian Bahá'í community who had the kinds of broadcast experience that could be directly applied to the task.

Second, the station was a new Bahá'í institution. As such, there were, on the one hand, numerous principles and guidelines of Bahá'í administration that the Assembly was obliged to follow. On the other hand, however, there was no precedent for this kind of agency in the Bahá'í Faith. Many of the tasks with which the station was confronted had no antecedents in the Bahá'í administrative experience.

From the very beginning, therefore, the Assembly was engaged in what perhaps can best be described as 'pioneering'. They had a vision of what they wanted to accomplish and they had a set of principles by which they intended to operate, but they lacked a design, tools and skilled manpower. As a result, the early history of the station is full of

obstacles, pitfalls, setbacks and failures. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Assembly's early attempts to develop the organizational structure of the station.

The Principle of Bahá'í Consultation

The Bahá'í religion is a lay religion; there are no clergy in the Faith. The entire administrative order of the Faith is based upon the Writings of its central figures.[2] Bahá'í administration is conducted through local, national and international institutions which are elected through universal suffrage and without campaigning and electioneering. Authority in the Faith is vested in the institutions, not in individuals. No individual member of a governing body has any administrative authority, although some individual Bahá'ís, recognized for their wisdom and experience, are appointed by the institutions to serve as advisors and consultants to the Bahá'í community in matters dealing with the propagation and protection of the Faith.

In Bahá'í communities and institutions, decisions are reached through a process called 'consultation', in which, in a spirit of unity, and after prayer, the facts of the matter at hand are determined and every member is encouraged to offer freely his thoughts and opinions. The purpose of the discussion is to achieve consensus, or, failing that, a majority view, so that action can be taken based upon the collective wisdom of the group.[3] Regarding the use of consultation, as it pertained both to the operation of the radio station and to the station's promotion of decision-making in local communities, Raul Pavon noted:

> Our problem in the Third World is general, in radio and everything. It is based on inappropriate dependencies . . . if this education we are promoting is based on consultation, we are liberating one of the greatest social forces in the universe. This doesn't have anything to do with Paulo Freire, as regards his concept of liberation. Here it means liberating certain innate qualities in the human being, capacities which God has given and created in him, but which manifest themselves only when they are put in service, in search of something for the good of humanity.[4]

While the administration of Bahá'í communities is conducted by consultative bodies, called Spiritual Assemblies, the Assemblies are democratically elected. The challenge to the National Assembly was to develop a media institution whose management structure reflected the Bahá'í principles of consultation while at the same time allowing for effective daily administration of the station's affairs.

As the duly elected administrative body for the Bahá'í community of Ecuador, the National Assembly is responsible for overseeing all the

affairs pertinent to the community; the radio station is only one of its responsibilities.[5] For more than two years prior to the inauguration of the radio station, the Assembly had relied upon the National Radio Committee to produce programs in Otavalo for distribution throughout Ecuador. Although clearly the precursor to the station staff, the Committee's membership was never constant, as it relied entirely upon volunteer assistance. As a first step to solidifying the management of the station, the Assembly dissolved the National Radio Committee in October 1976, concurrent with its naming of a 'Station Director'.[6]

A Station Director

Initially, the Assembly decided that the station should be run by a Director, who would carry out the functions normally assigned to the General Manager of a radio station. The Director would not have a manager's complete autonomy; rather, he would function as an executive officer for the National Assembly. The Assembly named Mr Kamran Mansuri, a Persian Bahá'í businessman residing in Quito, as Director (on a voluntary, part-time basis) of the as yet non-existent station.[7]

Among his earliest activities, Mr Mansuri helped prepare the Teaching Institute in Otavalo as a production facility. In addition to developing programming and preparing the physical resources of the station, attention was focused on recruiting and training individuals to work on the project and on developing guidelines for the station's operation. For example, Mr Mansuri drafted a document proposing a structure for the station, 'Radio Bahá'í, Internal Regulations'. Although this document was never formally adopted, it did include important statements about the character of the station being 'religious, cultural, and educational' and operating in the public service.[8]

The Commission for Radio Bahá'í

It was not long before the Assembly recognized the need to have a consultative body 'on site', both to deal more directly with the affairs of the station and to relieve the Assembly of a major time-consuming responsibility. In anticipation of the station's inception in October, the Assembly delegated the duty of managing the station to a 'Commission for Radio Bahá'í' in September of 1977.[9] While it was given decision-making authority, it was under the jurisdiction of and responsible to the National Assembly. The Director was to sit on the new Commission and serve as its executive officer. He was responsible to the Assembly and the Commission, but he also was to be in charge of

administering the daily affairs of the station: 'the manager should have a clear line of responsibility and authority, [but he also] must work with the Commission and with the National Assembly.'[10]

Problems with the Structure

Two aspects of the station's organizational structure were particularly unusual. First, it was unusual for a radio station to operate under such a developed chain of command, especially one in which the body having authority does not (necessarily) have any professional expertise in radio. Second, it was unusual for Bahá'ís to be subject to the authority of an individual and an appointed committee. When combined with a mandate and personnel that are equally unusual, it could readily be anticipated that the station would function in a unique fashion:

> There seems to be no doubt that an educational station operated by the Bahá'í Faith will be different from the usual ... station, and this is to be worked out during this time and during the work of the station.[11]

As expected, because the management structure was both unprecedented and experimental, in the process of 'working it out' several problems were encountered.

For example, as the time approached that the station was to go on the air, the pressures of preparing the facilities, the programs, and the personnel for the station became very great. Between October and December 1977 the station was on the air two hours a day; the Director was on site a couple of days a week; engineer Stephens was making visits to try to rectify the technical problems; there was a regular and ongoing turnover of staff. As a result, conflicts arose between various members of the team. In December, the division of responsibilities between the Assembly, the Commission, the Director, the staff, and the consultants, combined with uncertainty about lines of authority, resulted in the dismissal of all but three of the staff then working at the station.

According to Raul Pavon, the problems were due primarily to a general misunderstanding about the role and purpose of the station. He said that in the early days of the development of Radio Bahá'í many people thought that the purpose of the station was to supervise Bahá'í communities. Given these expectations, it was not surprising that:

> the radio might become a non-Bahá'í instrument of hierarchic administration ... The first attempt at having a manager was an attempt at supervision of individuals, not supervision toward the objective ... the omnipotent manager destroys the factor of consultation [and] without consultation nobody knows what might happen ... consultation became confused with a kind of supervision.[12]

As a result of the firings, the station was left without a Commission; not long thereafter, the Director resigned. The brand-new station found itself operating on a full-time basis with no management and a staff of three, none of whom had any formal experience in radio outside of their short tenure at Radio Bahá'í.[13]

Restructuring the Station

In response to this crisis, and in light of the fact that it was unable to recruit a professional broadcast manager, the National Assembly decided to appoint a new Commission (thereby recommitting itself, as far as it was able, to its original management design) and to rely on consultants until a suitably qualified Director could be appointed.

Maintaining the Commission guaranteed that, in keeping with the Bahá'í process of 'consultation', a diversity of opinions would inform all major decisions taken at the station. This diversity has been regularly sustained by the Assembly's deliberate decision to compose the Commission of (usually) at least one indigenous and one 'white' Ecuadorian, and one expatriate staff member. In addition to reflecting the cultural diversity represented on the staff, it usually ensures that local people have a majority representation on the Commission, that at least one member will be educated and literate (which is important to the administrative functioning of the Commission), that an experienced Bahá'í is participating, and that a seasoned veteran of the station is involved in the discussions.

Although the Assembly undoubtedly would have preferred having the benefit of an individual charged with the day-to-day responsibility of administering the affairs of the station (and continually sought qualified volunteers to do so), the administrative efficacy of the Commission is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that three years passed before another manager was appointed.

This is not to imply that the new system always functioned smoothly, however. One of the complaints of the individuals who served as Commission members was that their weekly meetings were continually dominated by crisis situations and/or administrative minutiae:

> The type of management we have here is crisis management. [It's] the biggest problem we have here . . . management by putting out fires.
>
> The Commission cannot handle day-to-day chores; it'll get bogged down in an administrative swamp.[14]

This situation persisted for at least two reasons. First, the number of staff available to the station on a full-time basis was so small that the Commission members had numerous responsibilities to fulfill at the

station in addition to their duties on the Commission. Second, due to the unusual qualification required for the position of manager (the manager should be a Bahá'í, an experienced radio professional, an Ecuadorian – preferably from the local region – and a volunteer), no one was found who fulfilled those requirements until 1981.

Consultants from Bahá'í Institutions

During the period that the station was without a manager, the Commission members also were frustrated by the fact that they had few opportunities to do the kind of brainstorming, far-sighted planning, and reflective evaluation that effective management requires, that is so vital to the growth of an organization, and that they regarded as the primary mandate of the Commission. Fortunately for the Commission, assistance of this type was regularly provided through correspondence with the Audio-Visual Department at the Bahá'í World Centre and through regular consultations with Raul Pavon.

Both the Commission and the National Assembly regularly sent copies of their reports to the Audio-Visual Department to keep it apprised of what was happening at the station. In response, the Audio-Visual Department, composed of individuals with both extensive Bahá'í experience and professional media experience, frequently offered comments and suggestions on the station's operations, particularly in light of Bahá'í administrative principles.

In October of 1980, Dr David Ruhe, a member of the Universal House of Justice (the supreme administrative body of the Bahá'í Faith) visited Radio Bahá'í. Dr Ruhe, an experienced media producer in his own right, was the liaison member of the House of Justice to the Audio-Visual Department. While his visit was essentially a 'fact-finding mission', he made many observations and suggestions that were of assistance to the Commission. Ralph Dexter said that one of the most important consequences of Dr Ruhe's visit was that it motivated Raul Pavon to work with the Commission in developing new management and programming plans for the station:

> Nothing really effective happened until ... we had the visit from Dr Ruhe. The Counsellor [Raul Pavon] came in and demanded a new plan in December of 1980, [and that was] when we found out what we were all doing ... Since December of '80, we've begun to get a unified team.[15]

In 1973, Raul Pavon was appointed by the Bahá'í World Centre as a member of the Continental Board of Counsellors for South America, whose members serve as consultants to Bahá'í communities in matters pertaining to the propagation and protection of the Bahá'í Faith. In

this capacity, he frequently met with both the National Assembly and the Commission. His intimate knowledge of the *campo*, his professional training and experience, his knowledge about and experience with Bahá'í teachings and administration, and his pioneering radio work made him invaluable as an advisor to the Commission. But perhaps even more important was the fact that he was the only individual affiliated with the station who was continually doing research on non-formal education and on development communications. He was especially interested in how advances in those disciplines could be applied to a Bahá'í radio station. Mr Pavon frequently would come to the Commission offering specific suggestions on such issues as how to recruit and train more indigenous staff, the role of the staff members in the *campo*, and how to develop participatory programming.[16]

Mr Pavon also was instrumental in encouraging the Commission to seek the advice of a consultant in development communications shortly after the station went on the air. According to him, the timing was critical. It was necessary first to establish the Commission as a consultative body and then, afterward, to provide it with the assistance of a professional consultant: 'The expert facilitator is the instrument for doing certain things that the consultation of the group dictates; the opposite cannot work. These were marvelous discoveries!'[17]

Professional Broadcasting Consultants

The assistance of two broadcast professionals as consultants also was pivotal in developing the form and direction of the station. The first, Dean Stephens, has worked continually with Radio Bahá'í since its inception in 1974. Particularly valuable has been his expertise in the technical aspects of radio and in the manner in which radio can serve the objectives of the Bahá'í Faith. Some of his more significant contributions have already been discussed.

Another consultant who made important contributions to the development of the station was Dr James Theroux, an American Bahá'í and an internationally-known expert on the use of media for non-formal education. Dr Theroux had previously done work on development communications in Ecuador and had served as an educational radio consultant to UNESCO. He visited Radio Bahá'í twice, first in January of 1977 to provide training in production and programming to volunteers and to promote the importance of conducting evaluations of the potential audience. His second visit, in early 1978, proved even more significant, for during that visit he reinforced the station's commitment to community development and public service goals and,

more importantly, he suggested methods by which they could be implemented. His suggestions, already corroborated in principle by both the occasional commentaries received from the Audio-Visual Department and the constant efforts of Raul Pavon, helped to change the focus of the station away from its internal problems and toward the audience which it was attempting to serve.[18]

It was especially important that this change of focus occurred during the station's infancy, for, having accomplished the task of getting the station on the air and clarifying its direction and purpose, attention could then be focused on the long-term tasks of building a competent staff and developing programming in service to the people of the Otavalo and Cayambe valleys.

A New Director

On July 7, 1981, the National Assembly appointed Marcelo Quinteros as the *Gerente Ejecutivo* (Executive Director) of Radio Bahá'í.[19] The choice of Mr Quinteros apparently was due to the fact that he had worked at the station for six years (the longest tenure of anyone there), that he had extensive experience on the Commission, that he had assumed numerous responsibilities at the station (including being in charge of the music department, the Spanish broadcasts, the music festivals, and other vital areas), that he had frequently demonstrated his leadership abilities, that he was a native of Otavalo, and that he had become a Bahá'í since coming to the station.

Perhaps the most 'unorthodox' aspect of his appointment was the fact that he was only twenty-three years old and had not completed secondary school. Once again, Radio Bahá'í had demonstrated to the community that it operated on a fundamentally different basis than traditional social institutions.

Soon after his appointment, Mr Quinteros began holding weekly meetings with the entire staff of the station. At these meetings, the station's operations were reviewed and recommendations were made to the Commission. Following the principles of 'consultation' described above, every member of the staff, including volunteers, was encouraged to offer ideas and suggestions for improving the station. These meetings generated a diverse number of activities, ranging from painting the buildings to holding music festivals in remote rural villages.

Mr Quinteros's appointment as Executive Director certainly didn't resolve all the management problems at Radio Bahá'í: 'When I try to execute this or that aspect of the "Global Plan", it must first be reviewed by the Commission and then by the National Assembly and sometimes this can take . . . six weeks.'[20] Nonetheless, his appoint-

ment was visibly a great source of encouragement to the Ecuadorian members of the staff and it was received with equal enthusiasm by the expatriate members of the team:

> Marcelo must be in charge ... It's very bad for [expatriates] to be in a managerial role ... It's a hopeless situation ... We took a terrific step forward by naming Marcelo the manager. We have a good plan, drawn up in December 1980 with the Counsellor. But how do we stick to the plan when we don't have the crew to keep it going? We need to get crew to back up Marcelo and keep the 'gringos' [expatriates] out of management; I think one on the Commission is sufficient.[21]

Even more than the station's financial, technical and personnel problems, evolving an effective system of management for the station probably has been the largest and most recurrent problem faced by the National Assembly. Curiously, however, the continuing struggle with such problems also has reinforced the strong sense of optimism at the station:

> The big strength is that Radio Bahá'í is organic; it can fall on its face and get up again and be a little higher than before.
>
> We're pioneering something that's totally new: totally new ways of working together ... We need to occasionally sit around and take stock: What else could we be doing? What are we doing right and what are we doing wrong? We don't even have to be doing it, but we have to know that we could be doing it.
>
> The most successful aspect of our activity in the radio has been to gain more confidence in ourselves.[22]

Staffing

The task of recruiting and maintaining staff members is perhaps the second major problem faced by the radio station on an ongoing basis. There are several factors that have made staff development difficult. First, there is the budgetary constraint. Operating on a small budget necessitates using volunteer staff almost exclusively. Those who work at the station receive a small stipend to assist in covering the most basic living expenses, such as food and housing, but the stipend is not considered a salary. Contracts with staff members clearly specify that the staff member is volunteering the majority of his time and that the money he or she receives is merely a subsistence allowance. The lack of financial support undoubtedly has limited the number of people who have offered their services to the station. It is interesting to note, however, that this situation may have actually worked to the station's advantage, for the people most likely to be economically precluded from working at the station are those who come from the more

educated and urban-oriented populations (such as broadcast professionals from the major cities and from abroad).

Almost all the staff at the station are local people who lack professional training and experience. However, technical skills can be acquired on the job; far more important to the station's success is the commitment of the staff to its goals and purpose. Significantly, the people who have been most interested in serving at the station have been motivated by a desire to serve the audience, to learn about radio, or to participate in the development of the Bahá'í community. As one indigenous member of the staff said:

> My feeling was that Radio Bahá'í was ours, *mine*, and I wanted to try to do something for it; if I didn't do it, who would?... People stop me in the street and congratulate me ... Many times they think I can read and write and I tell them that I can't. Then they want to know how I can do these programs. I tell them that the requirements are the interest and the will to do it.[23]

Fernando Quinteros noted with amusement that his entire life revolved around the station:

> My friends say that I've changed, that I no longer have the same interests they do. That's not true. I still have the same interests, what I don't have is time![24]

It is apparently on the basis of such commitments that the station is able to function effectively in spite of the numerous material obstacles it has continually faced.

The original staff for the station was composed of individuals who had been working for the National Radio Committee. The composition of that Committee was significant because it included 'white' and indigenous Ecuadorians and expatriate Bahá'ís.

The 'white' Ecuadorians who have worked at the station have made several unique contributions to the development of the station. First, one of them, Rodrigo Quinteros, had previous radio experience that he could share with other members of the staff. Second, both he and his brother, Marcelo, were interested in radio as a career. Their motivation was extremely high, for they regarded the opportunity to work at Radio Bahá'í as the means for their professional development:

> As relates to broadcasting, I feel that Radio Bahá'í and I were born together. In the case of the first festival of folkloric music, *Nucanchic Tono*, and the official inauguration ... no one else hosted the events except me. But never before had I had any experience in front of the public – really, no experience. This was the first time. The Pavons and other friends from the radio encouraged me.[25]

Third, both the Pavon and Quinteros families are well-established,

respected families in Otavalo and have long been intimately involved in the community. Their knowledge of the local social, cultural, educational and political scene was extremely important. Not only did they help to keep the station aware of and involved in community activities, their participation in the station helped to establish its legitimacy in the eyes of the community. In addition, through their knowledge of individuals and institutions they were able to recruit volunteers for the station, especially from among the local youth and from their own families and friends.

Most of the Pavon family has been involved in the station at one time or another. Raul Pavon and his mother, Mrs Clementina Mejia de Pavon, were involved from the earliest days of the project. Mrs Pavon was especially influential in promoting the use of Quichua. Not only did she teach the language to all her children, but she also did translations of scripts into Quichua and wrote numerous scripts and songs in Quichua that are still being played on the station. The Pavon home was also the central focus for the early activities of the Radio Committee. One of the original committee members recalled her 'human influence; she kept us as a family.'[26]

Raul Pavon's sister, Isabel Pavon de Calderon, was the prime mover behind the government's decision to award the license. Two other sisters, Clemencia Pavon de Zuleta and Cecilia Pavon de Wilson, and their brother, Dr Rafael Pavon, were principal participants in the station's joint project with the Canadian International Development Agency (see p. 64). Several of the Pavon spouses and children regularly worked at the station on weekends and holidays.

The Quinteros family also has been associated with the station since its inception. Rodrigo and Marcelo were the first two members of the family to work at the station, and they were later joined by another brother, Fernando, by Marcelo's brother-in-law, Mauricio Loja, and by other siblings, cousins and friends.

It has been more difficult to recruit indigenous staff:

> Getting the *campesinos* involved is a long process. All we can do is to start on it . . . It may take ten years to bring in competent indigenous staff.
>
> The indigenous are more reserved . . . you can't expect the indigenous people to arise overnight.[27]

The *campesinos'* limited exposure to social institutions of any type, and certainly their inexperience with media institutions, undoubtedly contributed to their reluctance to participate. Such reluctance was not due to any lack of capacity. For example, Maria Perugachi had been a farmer and an enterprising and successful merchant, selling clothes, food and animals in rural communities. Even so, she had no formal

schooling and only limited contact with any formal social institutions, much less communications media: 'I was afraid of working at the radio at first. I didn't know anything about it. My family didn't even have a small radio; the only electronic thing I'd ever handled was a wristwatch.'[28]

In spite of such obstacles, at least one indigenous person has worked with the project since the earliest days of the Radio Committee. The number of regular, full-time indigenous staff steadily increased, from one in 1977 to six in 1981. As one staff member put it: '[The indigenous] people who have sort of "survived" . . . are finally growing into positions where they're becoming authentic equals.'[29] Numerous others regularly have been involved in announcing, production, and facilities maintenance on a part-time basis. During the first four years of the station's operation, over 200 people offered their services to the station; more than half of them were indigenous.[30] This is probably due to the fact that promoting indigenous participation always has been the highest staffing priority since the earliest days of the station.

When the Radio Committee was appointed in 1974, an indigenous Bahá'í, Alfonso Tulcanazo, was one of the members.[31] In 1976, the National Assembly encouraged the Radio Committee to find more Quichua helpers.[32] During the period in which the station was being built, the National Assembly again impressed upon the Director the need to recruit Quichua-speaking staff.[33] The Audio-Visual Department reinforced this emphasis when it noted that 'probably the key to local identity and listenership is your decision to broadcast in Quechua and Spanish.'[34] It was also made clear that the station policy should be to hire bilingual Ecuadorians (meaning indigenous) in preference to foreign nationals.[35] The Commission clearly ratified this policy, for in 1978 it wrote to the National Assembly explaining the need for a Quichua-speaking receptionist, 'who can treat our visitors with patience and love.'[36]

The Commission also made it a priority to recruit indigenous youth to work at the station.[37] In 1980 and 1981, four high school youth, two of them indigenous, joined Radio Bahá'í as regular staff members: Alba Soto, age 15; Ramiro Perugachi, age 16; Segundo Fuentes, age 17; Mauricio Loza, age 18.

Two men who worked at Radio Bahá'í were handicapped; both had been farmers before being crippled by accidents. One of them, Alfredo Espin, from an indigenous community in central Ecuador, had written to the National Assembly seeking assistance in finding gainful employment. He originally was hired to serve as the watchman at the newly-constructed transmitter site. While there, he was trained to operate the

equipment and he quickly became the principal announcer and operator at the station.

Perhaps nowhere was the Commission's commitment to indigenous participation made more clear than in a letter written to the Bahá'í community of Chile, which was developing plans for its own rural radio station based on the model developed in Otavalo:

> The most important and indispensable thing is to maintain a happy, loving, spirited team-family. Try to have as high a percentage as possible of your staff native. At least 75%. It is far better to let a native do something wrong than not to give him the opportunity by having a foreigner . . . do it.[38]

The notion of developing the staff as a 'team-family' was important to all those who worked at the station. When discussing early obstacles that the station faced, most staff members acknowledged that in the beginning there had been some tension between the three principal cultural groups at the station: the local 'whites', the rural *campesinos* and the expatriates. However, within a few years most of the early suspicions and tensions apparently had been resolved. Several staff members specifically cited the unity of the staff as one of the station's greatest strengths:

> We can't have people here who are only filling time. What we need are people who make the radio their home. If we have to do something, no matter what the hour, we do it, without worrying about the schedule. This isn't a factory . . . one can clearly feel the ambience of a family.
>
> There's a very good sense of cooperation among the people at the station. This is due largely to the principles of the [Bahá'í] Faith, which educates people not to concern themselves with issues of race or nationality . . . There's a natural respect for talent and experience.
>
> [I like the] companionship among those who work at the station.
>
> [I like the] unity of the staff; no one is superior to anyone else.
>
> [It] has developed to a point of complete harmony now.
>
> [I like the] total participation of the staff in whatever needs to be done. At the station where I worked in Cuenca, it was like a factory. Here everyone is smiling, confident, and carrying on with the work.
>
> I like the ambience at Radio Bahá'í, because we have harmony and no tensions, we have camaraderie between us all, we all work together . . . it makes one enjoy coming here to work . . . . Another thing I like about the team is that no one has demonstrated repugnance (of the *campo*). They have integrated themselves without taking note of differences. For example, [an expatriate] can happily sit and eat on the floor without any problem. [Two staff members] are indigenous women with whom one can confide without formality. Not only can we be together in the *campo*, but we can go to a prestigious location and there are no problems and none of us are uncomfortable.[39]

Training

At the time of the inception of the National Radio Committee in 1974, none of the staff had any formal training in radio production and programming. During the subsequent three years, the staff learned to operate the equipment, write scripts, and produce programs through a combination of the assistance provided by fellow staff members, workshops conducted by consultants and, primarily, through trial and error.[40] Some basic technical assistance was provided by Rodrigo Quinteros, who had worked at Radio Otavalo prior to 'jumping over' to Radio Bahá'í. Early theoretical guidance on scripting and programming was provided by Raul Pavon, himself a self-trained amateur.

In October of 1975, a two-day workshop for scriptwriters was held in Otavalo. Twenty-two people were in attendance, most of them Bahá'ís from various communities throughout Ecuador. They had been approached by the National Assembly in the hope that they could provide additional materials to the Committee on a part-time basis, by mail.[41]

The National Assembly invited Mr Robert Walker, an American working as a professional broadcaster in Brazil, to conduct a short course in Otavalo in November 1976 on Bahá'í programming for radio.[42]

In December of 1976, the National Assembly sponsored an International Radio and Television Workshop, the primary purpose being to bring together Bahá'ís from throughout Latin America to participate in an intensive workshop with a specific focus on producing and writing Bahá'í programming. The conference, which lasted two weeks, was attended by individuals from twelve countries.[43]

In January of 1977, Dr James Theroux arrived in Otavalo to conduct a workshop with the Ecuadorian staff and part-time volunteers. This course also offered training in scriptwriting, production and programming.[44]

With the arrival of Michael Stokes in 1978, the station had, for the first time, a full-time staff member who had both extensive training and professional experience in broadcasting. One of the early tasks assigned to Mr Stokes was to conduct regular training for members of the staff, especially the indigenous workers. This was handled both formally, through regular short-term workshops, and informally, as Mr Stokes would join indigenous producers in the studio and work with them as they produced their programs.

When Gregg Suhm joined the staff in 1980, he was the second individual with extensive training and experience in media to work

full-time at the station. He offered individualized training to indigenous staff members and to the youth. He and Michael Stokes also organized and conducted production workshops in several cities throughout Ecuador. One such course was held in Otavalo and was attended by forty participants.[45] While the courses were open to anyone who was interested in attending, their primary purpose was to enlist new helpers for Radio Bahá'í, people who hopefully would be sufficiently motivated either to volunteer their services at the station or to write scripts and develop programming for the station at home.[46]

Occasional workshops also were conducted to help upgrade the skills of the staff. This included special workshops for announcers in both Quichua and Spanish, conducted by native staff members in 1981.

Individualized training also was offered to people who were being groomed to work at new Bahá'í radio stations being planned for Bolivia, Chile and Peru. During August and September of 1980, two Peruvians, one 'white', one indigenous, came to Otavalo to receive intensive training and orientation to the philosophy and operating procedures of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador. Other individuals, including several associated with the Bolivian and Chilean operations, stopped in Otavalo for similar orientations.

In addition, several members of the staff made trips to Peru and Bolivia, both to participate in international Bahá'í conferences (one devoted specifically to the needs of Quechua-speaking Bahá'ís – a dialect distinct from Quichua – the other an international Bahá'í media conference) and to serve as consultants to assist in developing plans for Bahá'í radio stations there. Virtually the entire Radio Bahá'í staff traveled to Peru in 1980 to make extensive presentations on Radio Bahá'í at an international Bahá'í media conference held in Puno, the location chosen as the site of the second Bahá'í radio station. While there, they gave lectures and conducted seminars and workshops on the history, principles, production and programming methods utilized in Otavalo. This international training function being fulfilled by the station staff was strongly supported by the Audio-Visual Department at the Bahá'í World Centre. Upon receiving a report on the conference, the Department noted that:

> the sharing of Radio Bahá'í experiences with the new station staff . . . in Peru foreshadows that training role which the station will be called upon to assume with the new stations and programs now being proposed for Latin America.[47]

This training function continued to expand. In mid-1981, Michael Stokes was 'seconded' to the new station in Peru for one year, in order to serve as a resident consultant (and full-time worker) there. Several

other members of the staff returned to Peru in November of 1981 for the formal inauguration of the station. During that time they again provided technical assistance and training to the Peruvian staff as well as to individuals from Bolivia and Chile who were slated to work on the stations being planned in those two locations.

From the begining, the Ecuadorian members of the staff have been encouraged to take a leading role in the training functions. While it was acknowledged that expatriates with training and experience probably would be required at the outset, the goal was to have native staff assume an ever-increasing role in training their counterparts, both in Otavalo and in other countries. The importance of this goal was reinforced by the Audio-Visual Department, which agreed that:

> preference for such participation [should] be given to native Ecuadorians . . . [B]ecause radio reflects the culture, it is important that Latinos help one another in the formation of future projects, from the start.[48]

The several native staff members who had been to Peru and Bolivia had proved to be invaluable resources and inspirations to their counterparts. In addition to this direct interaction, there was a constant exchange of correspondence between the Commission and the Radio Commissions of Bolivia, Peru and Chile, which, following the model developed in Otavalo, were established by their respective National Assemblies for the purpose of planning similar radio stations in their own countries.

By 1983, training in Otavalo was almost entirely in the hands of the native staff, both 'white' and indigenous. The significance of this development can be seen in comments made by one of the indigenous staff members:

> I'm teaching two girls how to produce programs now. They are losing their fear little by little. They are gaining confidence, and this is very important. I'm working with others, too, who are learning how to do programs . . . Radio Bahá'í is enriching itself in Quichua programs and personnel.[49]

Dean Stephens and other expatriate engineers continued to provide assistance in the maintenance and operations of the production and transmission equipment. Several attempts had been made to train local individuals, but no one had yet been found who was both willing and capable to assume this highly technical responsibility.

Expatriates continued to fill important training functions, especially in the early stages of a station's deveopment. After leaving Peru, Michael Stokes eventually went to South Carolina to serve as the principal technical consultant (and full-time staff member) at the rural radio station built by the Bahá'í community there. Anita Miller left

Ecuador for Panama, where she became the principal technical consultant for a similar station being built there. Like the stations in Peru, Bolivia and Chile, the stations in South Carolina and Panama are adaptations of the model developed in Otavalo.

Several of the staff at Radio Bahá'í (and people who work at the other Bahá'í radio stations in Latin America) have received training at the Amoz Gibson Training Centre for Bahá'í Media in Puerto Rico operated by CIRBAL (Centro para Intercambio Radiofonico Bahá'í de America Latina, Center for Bahá'í Radio Interchange for Latin America).[50] The broadcast training courses usually are one month in duration and cover all aspects of the Bahá'í radio operations, including history, philosophy, management and programming, as well as the principles and techniques of radio production and a basic overview of broadcasting engineering. The instructors have included Dean Stephens, Michael Stokes and Fernando Schiantarelli. Mr Schiantarelli, a successful Peruvian radio and television producer, was a member of the CIRBAL Executive Committee and had been a principal consultant to the Bahá'í radio stations in Latin America, especially the station in Peru.

The National Assembly also had explored the possibility of having Radio Bahá'í staff attend the occasional training courses offered by CIESPAL in Quito (the UNESCO-run mass communications training and documentation center), but as of 1983 that had not yet proved feasible.

Facilities and Resources

The Bahá'í Faith operates exclusively upon the voluntary contributions of Bahá'ís for the promotion and maintenance of the Faith and its institutions.[51] Because the Bahá'í Community of Ecuador is composed predominantly of indigenous peasants, it operates on a very limited budget. The radio station is, by far, the largest single expense annually incurred by the National Assembly. The National Assembly has run the station for nineteen hours a day (fifteen hours on AM, four hours on short wave) on an annual operations budget of approximately $40,000.[52]

There are several ways in which the Assembly works to reduce its capital and operational expenses. Perhaps the most significant area in which the Assembly has attempted to economize has been in the use of voluntary help at the station. As previously mentioned, all staff at the station are essentially volunteers, receiving only a small monthly subsistence allowance to help provide for their basic necessities.

Frugality also has been applied to the acquisition of the land, facilities and equipment for the station. Radio Bahá'í operates out of three locations. The site most commonly associated with the station is the Bahá'í Teaching Institute in Otavalo, where the offices and studios are

located. The Institute is located on a large plot of land and has three main structures. A small house, donated along with the land to the National Assembly by the Pavon family, was converted into offices and studios. It includes a reception office, two administrative offices, a technician's workshop, two small production studios and a small master studio. The station's programs are broadcast from the main studio in Otavalo, being relayed via two Moseley 220 mHz microwave links from the studio to the medium and short wave transmitter sites, described below.

A large, two-story building was erected across a small courtyard from the main house. The building includes three private bedrooms (for use by indigenous staff members Maria and Ramiro Perugachi and Vicenta Anrango, who lived there and served as the principal caretakers of the facility), a twenty-bed dormitory, for use during conferences, a large meeting hall that also serves as a classroom and dining room, a classroom, a kitchen and a storeroom.

Behind the first two buildings, and separated from them by a large garden, is *la chosa*, a building designed by Raul Pavon in the style of the traditional homes, *chosas*, of the region. As with all the construction undertaken for the station, it was built with the aid of volunteer labor and many of the materials were donated. A large, round meeting hall with a tall, thatched, pointed roof, it can accommodate large numbers of people. It serves as the central meeting place for the Bahá'ís of the region and is a popular site for major conferences for the Bahá'ís of Ecuador.

The second major location for Radio Bahá'í is the medium wave transmitter site, located in Cajas, a small village adjacent to the Pan-American highway at the crest of a ridge separating the Otavalo and Cayambe valleys. By road, Cajas is fifteen kilometers north of Cayambe and twenty kilometers south of Otavalo. The site, selected by Raul Pavon and Dean Stephens, was acquired only after a lengthy negotiation process, during which time the former owner was persuaded to substantially reduce his initial asking price.

There are two small structures on the property. One serves as a storeroom for the diesel generator that powered the station until Cajas received electricity. The other building served as the first broadcast studio for Radio Bahá'í. It includes a small apartment for the caretaker and his family, two small studios, and the rooms that house the transmitter and ancillary equipment.

Radio Bahá'í AM is a one-kilowatt station, broadcasting on 1240 kHz with a 1000-watt Harris Vanguard II transmitter. A CCA HF-1000D transmitter is on site as a back-up. The antenna is a custom-designed, one-eighth wavelength whip with a helical top-section, isolated and base-

loaded to 'umbrella' hot guy wires. It has 72 ground radials, 53 meters long (one-quarter wave). The mast is a 45-meter tower made of locally-available aluminum irrigation pipe. The signal has an estimated radius of thirty miles (fifty kilometers).

From Otavalo, the site of the short wave transmitter is in the opposite direction from Cajas, across the Otavalo valley, approximately thirty kilometers by road from the station. While it is about the same distance from Otavalo as Cajas, the steady rise in altitude and the rough terrain make it a 45-minute journey by car. Located on the slopes of Mt Cotocachi, at an altitude of about 10,000 feet, the 85-acre site abuts Lake Cuicocha, a crater lake that commands a spectacular view of the Otavalo valley to the east, and the Andean corridor, leading directly to Quito and beyond, to the south. This site, too, was acquired through the persistent efforts of Raul Pavon.

There is a three-room building on this site. One room houses the sole power source, a Lister 7.5 kilowatt diesel generator, derated to 5 kilowatts because of the high altitude.[53] One room serves as a storeroom and as a shelter for the watchman; the other room houses the transmitter.

The one-kilowatt short wave station initially operated at 2340 kHz on the 120-meter band. In 1982, the short wave switched to 4990 kHz on the 60-meter band, using a CCA HF-1000D transmitter. The broadcast antenna is a 30-meter tower antenna; the site is also equipped with an optional rhomboid (directional) antenna.

There is another location affiliated with Radio Bahá'í – a furniture store in the town of Cayambe, approximately 40 minutes from Otavalo by car. This store serves as a regional office of Radio Bahá'í; it is identified as such by a large display sign hanging outside the shop. The shopkeeper's wife (neither of them are Bahá'ís) serves as a liaison between the people of the Cayambe region and the station. Her primary duty is to receive *comunicados*, messages intended for inclusion in Radio Bahá'í's popular daily news program. She uses public transport to forward the messages to the main offices of Radio Bahá'í on a daily basis.

In addition to keeping expenses at a minimum, strict economy was applied in the acquisition of equipment used by the station, including transmitters and antennas, production equipment, vehicles and the like. For example, the two CCA transmitters were purchased used from a radio station in Pennsylvania, which had purchased them used from NASA. They were purchased, modified for use at the Radio Bahá'í frequencies, and shipped to Ecuador for a total cost of approximately $2500 each; the estimated total cost for the design, construction, and installation of the AM antenna was approximately $2000.[54]

By relying on voluntary professional assistance and labor, the use of

used equipment, and careful purchasing, the total capital investment for the three sites, including over 100 acres of land, five major buildings, three transmitters, three antennas, production equipment for three studios (including tape recorders, turntables, mixers, cart machines, microphones, speakers and patch cords) and vehicles, was estimated at $125,000.[55]

The strict economies imposed by the National Assembly's limited resources has its negative side, as well. For example, a few former staff members indicated that the lack of financial support was one of the factors that influenced their decision to leave the station. However, the most common complaint was that much of the original equipment for the station, some of it purchased second-hand, was not adequate to meet the heavy demands placed upon it as the station grew. While used and inexpensive new equipment seems to have been adequate in the early days of the station's operations, many staff members felt that the technical side of the station had become its weakest point. For example, the station's manager's foremost priority was 'to improve the [technical] sound of the radio'.[56] Another Commission member was frustrated about the large amounts of time spent trying to keep the station's old vehicles in operation: 'It's ridiculous to think that a person who's supposed to be producing programs is out under the car trying to fix it.'[57]

These concerns apparently influenced major equipment purchases made by the station after it had been in operation for a few years. For example, heavy-duty tape recorders and other equipment necessary for the outfitting of a third production studio were purchased in late 1981. None of the equipment was second-hand; all of it was new.

The concern over technical standards also raised the issue of the disparities between the kinds of 'state of the art' equipment marketed to professional broadcasters and what could be considered 'adequate' for a rural station such as Radio Bahá'í. This dichotomy was addressed by the station's consulting engineer, who was primarily responsible for making the equipment purchases. He felt that purchases of expensive equipment were legitimate:

> if, number one, we can afford it and, number two, we can justify that heavy production use will really give us a run for our money . . . [But] you don't just keep moving to more elaborate and prettier equipment . . . We should not get attached to pretty things and have Cadillacs in our station; that's not what Radio Bahá'í is about . . . We need to be labor intensive here, not capital intensive. Cost efficiency is the point.[58]

Of perhaps even greater concern was the fact that the station was not able to attract anyone to provide full-time maintenance for the equipment. The engineer acknowledged that many of the station's technical

problems were due to the fact that 'we don't have the necessary maintenance'.[59]

The utilization of 'participatory' methodologies is apparent throughout the operations of Radio Bahá'í. The administrative body of the station, the Commission, relies heavily upon the use of 'consultation', not only among its own members, but also with the entire staff. The staff is recruited primarily from the region in which the station operates; particular emphasis is placed on recruiting indigenous members of the audience to participate in all aspects of the station's operations. Members of the audience are provided access to the station, they participate in its operations and they are represented on the administrative and decision-making bodies that run the station. By employing such operational methods, the Bahá'í radio station fulfills several of the criteria essential to the structure of a 'participatory' media institution, as outlined in the Introduction.

3

PROGRAMMING

Developing the Programming Philosophy

IN the early days of Bahá'í radio work in Ecuador, especially during the development in the mid-1970s of the station's precursor, the National Radio Committee, most programming consisted of verbatim reading from Bahá'í books, including scripture, histories and general works. Given the limited experience and resources of those working on the programs, they tended to be very tedious. They did not make creative use of the medium of radio and little attention was paid to the nature and needs of the audience:

> A few good programs were produced for Radio Zaracay [by the Committee], but then someone got the idea that we had to cram each program with lots of information because we were paying for them.[1]

The tendency had been for the staff to think of Bahá'í radio only in terms of being a tool for strengthening the Bahá'í communities and increasing their size and number. However, with the inauguration of the station, the staff's perception of the possibilities of programming began to change:

> As we've gone on, we've gotten a much more realistic idea of what radio can and should be doing. I remember, when we first started working, we were saying, 'My gosh, we're paying for every minute of this time. We have to make it count for the Faith.' And so we'd have these long-winded programs – you know, reading *Bahá'u'lláh and the New Era* or talks or something like that over the air – which got some response, but we didn't go about it in a friendly way. We thought, when we first began, that we had to be very authoritative. And I think that one of the things that we're able to do now, which is very important, is to help the Indians (and not just the Indians, but the white people, the people here in general) feel that what they have is of great value and very dearly revered and loved by all

of us. That's really important; to have them know that Quichua is worthy, that farming is good and important . . .[2]

A clear distinction began to emerge between a Bahá'í radio station and the nature of Bahá'í programming. As regards a Bahá'í radio station, the emphasis became one of community service, in contrast to a programming philosophy devoted exclusively to the promotion and propagation of the Bahá'í Faith:

> We were operating in the dark here . . . We had a plan, but no direction. Our initial thinking was just to teach the Faith by radio . . . [The] social services of the station began when people began coming to Radio Bahá'í and asking us to put announcements on the air. The audience initiated it. They recognized Radio Bahá'í as their radio and their tool. Our response was that that was a good idea![3]

This change in perspective also was influenced by the advice of consultants Dean Stephens, James Theroux and Raul Pavon:

> Whenever Dean or Raul would come in they'd talk about programming. We were just finding out, just in the last three years maybe, what communication theory was, because we'd never heard of it . . . Radio Bahá'í needs more training about what's going on in other areas in radio for development. Theroux's ideas caused a lot of furor . . . All I'd really heard on the radio was disc jockeys or the news.[4]

Raul Pavon, who had begun to make extensive personal study of the uses of radio for education and development, explained part of the process through which the staff's understanding of the station's role evolved:

> [Our first programs] would start by saying 'Good morning'. After that, we'd talk about everything in the universe, about the various religions, everything. Certain ideas began to emerge; we began to discover things which we later learned were part of the science of communication. We found that it wasn't only *what* one shares, but how one shares it . . . This group arrived at some very interesting conclusions about this and little by little we were able to get some literature and short courses . . . from time to time we held meetings to share certain things – some books that I'd bring back from my trips, an interesting idea, we'd listen to programs.[5]

By 1981 a more clearly defined picture of the station's role in promoting community development had emerged. This was described by one staff member as being:

> to demonstrate the Bahá'í life, which, of course, means service to the community, humanitarian work – not done for profit or any material reward. It's done for universal education: spiritual, material and social. Bahá'í radio is helping to improve the society in which it is located – in all areas, not only materially, but spiritually, too. Ideas and services can change the condition of a society.[6]

As a result of this understanding, the great majority of programming broadcast by the station was intended for a general audience.

Major Types of Programs

Music

No aspect of the station's programming is more important than music, because music is unquestionably the primary attraction of radio for the *campesinos*.

At the time Radio Bahá'í initiated its broadcasts, indigenous music in Ecuador was experiencing a serious decline. This was largely due to the fact that commercial radio stations, the primary source of music programs, aim at the wealthier white and *mestizo* markets. The powerful Quito stations broadcast predominantly 'pop music', which the smaller, rural stations increasingly were imitating. This offered the *campesinos* little opportunity to hear the kinds of indigenous and regional music that most appealed to them. If indigenous people wanted to hear their own music, they had to pay for it:

> Radio Turismo in Otavalo played indigenous music only when *campesinos* came to the station and purchased air time to have music played for weddings, festivals and the like. No other stations played indigenous music.[7]

This lack of air time also had a negative impact on the popularity of indigenous groups and their recordings. By the late 1970s, about the only place one could hear traditional music forms in Ecuador was at major festivals and at tourist-oriented nightclubs.

As part of its conscious attempt to serve a *campesino* audience, Radio Bahá'í decided that it would broadcast indigenous music exclusively. From the outset, indigenous music has been the principal 'product' of Radio Bahá'í; it comprises more than sixty percent of the station's daily program content.[8] Because music programs are the main product of the station, the Radio Commission requires that they conform to very rigorous standards. To begin with, music selections are limited to those that are reflective of and appealing to the tastes of the *campesino* audience. This audience prefers national and indigenous musical selections to the 'pop music' most often identified with Western stars:

> To my way of thinking, international music is a stupidity here in Ecuador. Many people are going around babbling things they don't understand. This is a loss of our cultural identity, leaving us with nothing.[9]

The most popular tunes among the *campesinos* are the *pasillos, albazos,* and *sanjuanitos*, which utilize a variety of instruments, all of which are associated with Andean music. The stringed instruments are

usually the guitar and the *charango* (often likened to a ukelele, using an armadillo shell as the resonating chamber). Wind instruments include the cane flute and the *rondador*, which is a series of pipes bound together.

The Commission also established guidelines for the kinds of indigenous music that could be played on Radio Bahá'í. In a letter to the three-member 'music commission' responsible for the selection of music to be played on the station, the Commission set forth the following general criteria for selection:

1) Is the piece for the *campesino* or not?
2) Is the music appropriate for the hour played? (What hours best serve the *campesino*?)
3) Is the music dignified for the [Bahá'í] Faith?
4) How is the mix? Do the pieces go well together or are they jumbled?
5) How popular is each piece? Which ones are old favorites? New? Which ones are well-known?
6) How can we incorporate new releases, given our system of pre-recording?[10]

This attempt to develop guidelines apparently was established in response to the Commission's mandate to promote the dignity of the *campesino* and his culture, a policy which had been in place, at least informally, since the station's inauguration. For example, in 1978 the Commission suspended a popular music program that was being directed toward the city youth because it was regarded 'as being undignified for the Faith and as being inappropriate for the audience we are trying to reach.'[11] It also reflected the Commission's desire to eliminate music of local groups taped at Radio Bahá'í which were of 'poor quality' and 'raucous'.[12] Soon after the station went on the air, it broadcast general invitations to music groups in the region. They were invited to come to Radio Bahá'í to have their music taped by station staff and played over the air. Thirty or forty different groups came to the station between December 1977 and August 1978.[13] However, the results did not match the station's expectations. A preponderance of songs was devoted to drinking and infidelity, themes deemed inconsistent with the standards of the station:

> The *chicha* [fermented corn drink used by the Indians] music was bad.
>
> The music was very poor quality; the groups were very poor. Radio Bahá'í became known as the drunks' radio station.[14]

As a result of such experiences, in 1980 the Commission decided that all music programs on the station would be pre-recorded, drawing primarily on the station's extensive, continually expanding library of recordings from the Andean region (including Ecuador, Colombia,

Peru, Bolivia and Chile) and on tape recordings made during the annual indigenous music festival sponsored by Radio Bahá'í (see p. 80).[15] Previously, the program host had taken a stack of albums and tapes into the studio and played whatever he or she liked. Under the revised system, an individual was named Music Director and was assigned responsibility for auditioning and pre-recording cuts from records and tapes. These tapes were filed according to content and the announcers were given a playlist, indicating which tapes to play during which hours of the day.

While the change marked an improvement in the handling of the music in accordance with the Commission's desires, it meant that the music programming became more rigid. The more youthful, 'white' members of the staff were concerned that the music programming had become dull and predictable: 'It's boring to have the same music all the time.' 'The music needs more variety.' 'The music needs to be happier, better.'[16] However, as one of the Commission members noted:

> Radio Bahá'í is for the *campesino*. One of the greatest problems everywhere is keeping personnel focused on who is the target audience. We have a lot of youth working here who want to play pop music for the young people.[17]

The Executive Director, himself one of the 'city youth', explained that the mix of music was very purposeful; it was aimed specifically at the *campesino* listener:

> Music supports and creates moods. This isn't merely a mill grinding out records come what may. We create moods in accordance with what we say. For example, in the morning, after the prayer, we play music that is a little 'sad', sentimental, to induce meditation. Afterwards, we play happy music that will inspire the individual, the *campesino*, to leave for work happy, optimistic, with spirit. Also, in the afternoon, the music that we transmit creates a mood of nostalgia for the home, the family, the children, the livestock, etc. It helps reintegrate the family that had left for work and is now returning home. This creates very interesting moods, not simply serving as a musical 'filler'.[18]

News

As the station's purpose is to serve *campesinos* and to focus on their needs and interest, Radio Bahá'í deliberately has sought to broadcast only local news and avoid the traditional types of news stories, such as those provided by the wire services. (It should be noted that on occasions of major national importance, such as during the border war between Ecuador and Peru in 1981 and following the accidental death

of the president, the government requests all stations in the country to rebroadcast the news bulletins aired by the government station. At such times, Radio Bahá'í abandons its normal programming and directly transmits the news from the government station. This is done by tuning to the government station on a radio in the studio and placing the on-air microphone to the speaker!)

This exclusively local focus grew out of the station's original mandate and received particular emphasis from the station's advisors. Dr James Theroux noted that:

> With local news we will be very distinct and do a great service to the public.[19]
>
> To the best of my knowledge, no such service exists in the Andes of Ecuador. The news service, along with other cultural programs, would be designed to give expression to the voices and thoughts of the rural people.[20]

Emphasizing local news in preference to national and international issues was reinforced by the Audio-Visual Department.[21] A related concern was the Commission's desire to avoid involving the station in partisan political issues. Confirming this perspective, the National Assembly advised the Commission that: 'Because Radio Bahá'í is cultural . . . we cannot have political announcements . . . for political groups.'[22]

In response to such advice, the station initiated a twice-daily news broadcast, known as *El Noticiero Local* ('The Local News') in Spanish and *Huayra Nan* ('Road of the Wind') in Quichua, designed to enable villagers to communicate local events to one another.

Most of the villages are without electricity and are accessible only by footpath, making widespread communication virtually impossible. Therefore, a typical *El Noticiero Local* program included announcements from individuals about lost children, lost identification papers, lost livestock, community dances and *mingas* (community work parties).

Because of its popularity with and importance to the listeners, the news program is given a programming priority second only to the music. For example, on one occasion, Radio Bahá'í incorrectly reported the color of a lost pig. The owner returned to the station to correct the error, but the mistake was repeated in the subsequent broadcast. As a result, the Commission formally reprimanded the announcer.[23]

The effectiveness of the messages is demonstrated by the fact that of the twenty-five announcements about lost children broadcast by Radio Bahá'í in 1978 and 1979, twenty-four of them reportedly led to the

child being found.[24] One result has been that when parents report lost children to the Otavalo police, the police tell them to go to Radio Bahá'í. On one occasion, Radio Bahá'í had been broadcasting a lost child announcement for several days. When the child was found to have been murdered, Radio Bahá'í broadcast special programs of prayers and condolences. The station later received a warm letter of appreciation from the family.[25]

Announcements also are brought to the station by civic organizations, government agencies and the like. These have included the Ministries of Education, Public Health, Defense, Agriculture, Public Works, and Transit; the Department of Forestry; the Social Security Institute; hospitals; firefighters; literacy campaigns; football, bicycle and volleyball clubs; associations of artisans, workers and chauffeurs; *campesino* cooperatives, the Sesquicentenary Commission, the Cultural Society, numerous primary and secondary schools and the local branch of the Catholic University.[26]

In most cases, the messages are dictated to a secretary in the reception room of the station and drafted into final form by one of the program's two producers. On at least one occasion, however, an individual, in this case the mother of a lost child, was recorded and her announcement was put on the air in her own voice and words.[27]

Occasionally pre-taped messages will be delivered by a Ministry and, if deemed suitable for the *campesino* audience, will be included in the program. In one case, the Ministry of Education reportedly requested that Radio Bahá'í record their spots because their own announcements were so poor that no station would air them.[28]

By 1982 *El Noticiero Local* was so popular that it was being broadcast five times a day. Presented in both Spanish and Quichua, it usually ran about twenty minutes in length, although it occasionally ran as long as one hour (in which case its frequency was reduced).[29]

Because commerical stations charge for such services, *campesinos* are surprised and pleased to discover that Radio Bahá'í broadcasts these messages free of charge.[30] The only requirement is that the individual must deliver his message to the station or to the station's office in Cayambe. The most common means of delivering these announcements is in person, meaning that some people may spend half a day or more walking to the station. It was common to see several *campesinos* sitting outside the station offices, having traveled together to deliver their messages and to greet the station staff. It was also common to find livestock on the grounds, awaiting the arrival of their rightful owners.

The news program serves many of the communications needs of the audience. It is also an effective vehicle for disseminating development-oriented messages, especially for short-term campaigns. Short

announcements were produced by the station staff for broadcast throughout the day, but the messages apparently achieved their greatest impact when incorporated into *El Noticiero Local.*

For example, during an outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease in 1979, two veterinarians from the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock asked Radio Bahá'í to produce a spot announcing to farmers the nature of the disease and the availability of a vaccine program at a rural office of the Ministry. After two weeks, more than 250 head of cattle had been treated, compared to seven the month prior to the airing of the announcements.[31]

In 1980, the Commission reported two more examples of the impact of *El Noticiero Local*:

> Sponsored by the National Civil Registry, the office of the Chief of the Civil Registry for Otavalo 'County' asked us to participate by producing spots, especially in Quichua, informing the public of the ease and special attention that would be extended to illiterates to help them obtain their *cedulas* [national identification cards]. It is worth noting here that a *cedula* is a document of supreme importance, as one cannot take care of any bureaucratic paperwork without this card.
>
> Formerly, illiterates had been refused *cedulas* because they were not considered true citizens of the country.
>
> After having presented the spots for two weeks, Mr Osvaldo Andrade, the Chief of the Civil Registry in Otavalo, asked us to suspend them. When we asked him why, he said because of the public response they had used up all of the materials for the campaign that had been provided by Quito [the national government].
>
> When they received more materials, we resumed airing the spots. When we talked to Mr Andrade again, he told us that his office was processing approximately thirty-five illiterate people each day, with some days receiving as many as eighty people.
>
> We have received and filed a letter from the Provincial Office of the Civil Registry and from the 'County' of Otavalo, saying that the participation and help of Radio Bahá'í had made the campaign in Otavalo one of the most successful in Ecuador.
>
> A similar case, but on a smaller scale, occurred with the health center in Gonzalez Suarez. The authorities had requested spots for a one-week period announcing free eye check-ups for the public. Even so, a doctor soon came by Radio Bahá'í requesting that we suspend the announcements because so many people were showing up that it was impossible to serve them all.[32]

In one year, more than 2,000 messages from 113 different communities were delivered to the station.[33] Not only have announcements been brought in from virtually every community within the station's fifty mile (eighty kilometer) broadcast reach, but they also come from distant communities, including many from Otavalenans and other *campesinos* living in Quito.[34]

Agriculture

In 1980, Radio Bahá'í was awarded a small matching-funds grant by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The grant was for $64,000 Canadian, half donated by CIDA, the other half donated by the National Assembly of the Bahá'í's of Canada.[35] The primary purpose of the grant, known officially as the Rural Radio Development Project and locally as 'Caminando Juntos' ('Walking/Advancing Together'), was to augment Radio Bahá'í's programming in the areas of agriculture (including the care of livestock and poultry), culture and health. In addition, the project was intended to augment the use of Quichua in the programming, increase the participation and training of more indigenous collaborators and provide for systematic evaluations of the station's audience.[36] In part, the project was a reflection of the Commission's desire to become more involved in programming that served the immediate material needs of its audience:

> [T]he Commission feels that we ought to focus more and more on the concept of making the *campo* more livable ... raising its agricultural, health and educational levels. The Beloved Guardian [Shoghi Effendi] intimates that the rural society will cradle the future, and Radio Bahá'í has a chance to make something wonderful of that.[37]

From the station's inception, the need for programming that specifically served farmers was understood, as witnessed by Dr Theroux's advice to the Commission: 'Agriculture is the most important theme in the ... programming.'[38] However, due to limited resources, no regular series of agricultural programs had been developed.

One of the major concerns of the station staff was the apparent disparity that existed between the information and services offered by agencies such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock and the farmers' knowledge about and utilization of the information and services. The staff discovered that the farmers seldom listened to Ministry announcements broadcast on the government station, did not understand them and were unable to act upon the information provided in them. In addition, many of the topics being targeted by the Ministry were not perceived as relevant or urgent by the farmers.

An example of this kind of conflict occurred in the rural communities Angla and Tunibamba. One of the ministries had decided to initiate a campaign to install latrines. The villagers, who took no part in planning or implementing the project, were later found to be using the latrines to store firewood and rabbits. When questioned about this, they explained that the facilities the ministry had built (some being wooden structures, others concrete slabs) were too valuable to use for human excrement.[39]

The team that produced the agricultural programs for Radio Bahá'í made regular visits to the Ministry. They were told of the difficulties frequently faced by agents in the field: they live in provincial centers, far from the villages; they visit the villages only occasionally; many experience language barriers; they are viewed with suspicion and distrust. Even under the most favorable circumstances, agents are often solicited to supply the seeds, fertilizers and equipment that farmers desire but cannot afford.

Given these problems, the radio staff saw an opportunity for the station to serve as both a primary source of agricultural information and as an intermediary between the Ministry and the farmers. They wanted to produce a program that both expressed the farmers' needs and provided answers to those needs. The Commission set forth its policies on agricultural programming in a letter to the first individual hired under the auspices of the CIDA grant to produce the programs:

> [O]ur policy with regard to agricultural information is to assist our *campesino* listener to improve his traditional methods of cultivation and harvesting and care of livestock. That is, if the listener believes that he must plant according to a certain phase of the moon, we accept that, but we share information with him that certain methods exist that may help to increase his crop yield.
>
> We employ in all of our programming the theory of 'horizontal communication'. That is, we do not approach the subject as experts, assuming that the listener knows nothing ('vertical'), but rather that we are friends he hears on Radio Bahá'í, sharing something we may know so that we can all benefit. The important factors are warmth, sincerity and humility.[40]

The first producer, John Warner, was a university-trained North American agricultural extension specialist. However, he was unable to remain with the project. In his place, Segundo Fuentes, a seventeen-year-old indigenous youth, the top graduate from the local agricultural training school, was recruited. He enlisted the assistance of an experienced producer at Radio Bahá'í, Ralph Dexter, and two other Otavalenans, Felipa Anrango and her husband, Norberto Curillo, both of whom were illiterate, elderly farmers from a remote village; neither of them had any formal education nor any previous experience in radio.

Using a mobile van provided by the CIDA grant, the production team visited villages in the region. Portable tape recorders were taken to homes and fields, and farmers and their families were invited to discuss and record their concerns. In this manner, farmers from a number of different communities were able to express and share their concerns with other farmers in the region.

The indigenous staff members serve as the moderators for the

discussion sessions and provide continuity when the sessions are later edited for inclusion in programs. Segments recorded on the farms are combined with scripted materials and music into the daily thirty-minute program in Quichua entitled *Tarpupac Yuyay* ('The Thought/Knowledge/Opinion of the Farmer'). Ralph Dexter outlined the structure of a typical program as follows:

> – Introduction: 30 seconds of theme music, happy folk music, then 30 seconds of words of welcome by Segundo [the producer] with background music.
> – Motivation: Lasts 2 minutes and has no musical background. Segundo explains the purpose of the program and tries to capture the interest of the listener. He presents the subject to be covered in the program. He describes for the listener the place where the program was recorded and the people who participated.
> – The Forum: Lasts from 10 to 15 minutes. It consists of an edited conversation between Segundo and two or three *campesinos* from the community of Angla. Recorded in the village of Angla with all the natural sounds of children, birds and animals and the wind. By means of questions and comments Segundo maintains a single subject of conversation. In the first programs we have discussed the following subjects: the cultivation of wheat and barley, crop rotation, the cultivation of corn and beans, seed selection – the traditional varieties that disappear and the new varieties that take their place.
> – Conclusion: Lasts 1 or 2 minutes. Segundo talks, reinforcing the subject and conclusions of the forum. He explains again the purpose of the program.
> – Closing: Segundo says goodbye to the listener with a background of the theme music. He invites him to listen to the program again the following week.[41]

The staff may also visit local Ministry offices and interview experts about the issues raised by the farmers. Motivated by the program's innovative approach, one Ministry official started writing short, informational scripts for inclusion in the broadcast.[42]

The program airs between 5:30 and 6:00 am, the period selected as 'optimal' by the farmers themselves. It provides the farmers with a means of communicating with each other and, when relevant, with the Ministries. It also provides the Ministries with a means by which their assistance can be made more relevant and credible. When first approached by the Radio Bahá'í staff, the experts offered information on how to plant wheat and barley. The information was used, but the staff also was able to tell the Ministry people that discussions with the farmers had revealed that their most pressing concern was the elimination of a plague among their chickens and pigs. In this way, the program has helped to reverse the 'vertical' process by which the

agriculture development professionals had been addressing rural farmers.

Radio Bahá'í also attempted to augment its agricultural programs by using materials provided by the Developing Countries Farm Radio Network, sponsored by the Massey-Ferguson Company of Canada. A report on their utility was submitted by Ralph Dexter:

> We received a package of 5 series of programs, 45 altogether, prepared by Mr George Atkins of Canada, of the Developing Countries Farm Radio Netork. About 25 of the programs apply to our area. They are approximately 5 minutes' duration and are recorded in Spanish by Mr Stanley Bolandi of Costa Rica. For the purposes of Radio Bahá'í, the scripts are more useful because in order that the *campesinos* understand the programs they must be translated into Quichua, and even to local Spanish ...
>
> From Jan. 22 to 24, 1982 Radio Bahá'í was visited by Miss Helen Aitkin of the Farm Radio network, with Mr Salvatore Pinzino, for the purpose of evaluating their programs. The afternoon of the 22nd January we took them on a picnic with all the Radio Bahá'í staff to get to know each other better and to talk informally. On Jan. 23 they familiarized themselves with Radio Bahá'í's programming and on Jan. 24 we took them to Angla and Cangahua.
>
> In Angla, we visited the house of Alfonso Curillo and held a meeting with 13 *campesinos*. We listened to a Farm Radio Network program on cassette about the use of ashes for controlling insects in stored grain. The *campesinos* understood very little of the program. Then Maria Perugachi interpreted the program in Quichua. Then they understood and we had a lively discussion. Of the *campesinos* present about half understood Spanish well.
>
> In Cangahua we visited the house of Mr Juan Cruz Ulcoango. All 7 *campesinos* who gathered there understood Spanish well. However, they didn't understand much of the program we listened to about raising rabbits. Through a discussion after listening to the program, they understood more.
>
> In spite of the programs being simple and very clear, the *campesinos* didn't understand them the way we receive them. It appears that the problem is the vocabulary used and the announcer's accent, to which they are not accustomed, and the 'monologue' style of the programs. They would be easier to understand, I think, if they were prepared as dramas or dialogues. This is the way we are using them at Radio Bahá'í.[43]

Culture

In addition to supporting agricultural programming, the CIDA project provided funds for the development and production of programming aimed at the maintenance and promotion of the traditional indigenous culture of the broadcast region. In his summary report of his consultation with the staff at Radio Bahá'í, Dr James Theroux noted:

> Cultural programming should be consistent with the overall image of our station, which is that of an indigenous (local) effort (i.e. not something imposed from on high or from outside). It should highlight the positive aspects of the local culture.[44]

While music is the dominant cultural content of the station, the Commission was desirous of having programs that focused on the customs and traditions of the Otavalenans. Again, owing to the limited resources of the station, this had been accomplished only on an occasional basis prior to the inception of the Caminando Juntos project. For example, discussions had been held with the Institute of Anthropology in Otavalo about developing courses on the history and legends of the region, but no action had been taken.[45] Selections from Spanish-language tapes provided by the United Nations Information Office were played on occasion, but they rarely matched the specific cultural interest of the *campesino* audience.[46]

Under the auspices of the Caminando Juntos project, Radio Bahá'í began broadcasting a weekly cultural program in Quichua in 1981. Entitled *Tulpa Muyundi* ('Around the Cooking Fire'), the program, which runs for four hours, is devoted to indigenous music, folklore, customs, traditions, festivals and crafts, as well as to practical information of interest to the rural listener. This latter category includes information addressed specifically to women, including such topics as child-care, nutrition, cooking, first aid, health and hygiene:

> *Tulpa Muyundi* is a means of transmitting ... education to the indigenous. For example, what a stoplight is and how to use it, what pedestrian security zones are; how to get an identity card; health – the necessity of washing one's hands after going to the bathroom ... not to treat one's self in the case of an animal bite but to go to the health center in case the animal is rabid; and many other things that are especially directed at cultural activities.
>
> It also includes indigenous music. In the last program, we talked about *mingas* [community work parties]. [The program was] recorded during an actual *minga* to gather *paja* [grass for roofing indigenous homes]. It included lovely songs. The programs are interspersed with music and with conversation. They are not monologues, but 'mini-dramas', in which four or five indigenous take part.
>
> I remember another program about the importance of brushing one's teeth. Ralph [Dexter] went to a dentist and asked him to talk about the correct use of a toothbrush and all the rest.
>
> We also did a program about the traditional methods of making bread.[47]

The program is produced by Clemencia de Zuleta and two of the indigenous staff members at the station, Maria Perugachi and Vicenta Anrango. Material for the program is taken from books, from interviews and from discussions and social events recorded both in the studio and in the *campo*.

Many of the topics covered in *Tulpa Muyundi* are also broadcast in a weekly Spanish-language cultural program, entitled *El Boletin del Aire* ('The Bulletin of the Air'):

> We are currently doing a program about the history of Imbabura. It includes legends, stories, interviews, counsels, etc. I remember in San Jose de Minas we talked in front of 2,000 people. We had an interview with a priest and we gathered legends of that location. All this was put over the air.
>
> When we returned from doing the evaluations in Cangahua one time, the political officer told us some of the traditions of Cangahua and his voice was broadcast telling all that he had told us.[48]

Because agriculture is the central concern of the *campesinos, Tulpa Muyundi* also contains a great deal of information about agriculture. As much as possible, the producers attempt to relate the contents of the program to information presented on the agricultural program, *Tarpupac Yuyay*. For example, the CIDA project director reported that when the agricultural program presented information on the cultivation of quinua (Andean pigweed), the cultural program 'would discuss the nutritive value of the grain and encourage people to plant it.'[49] Topics reportedly covered by the program in one two-month period included:

1. Review of the *Nucanchic Tono* Festival with music of the participating groups.
2. How to prepare your own fertilizer.
3. Traditional Festivals of *Yamor* (Otavalo's annual corn harvest festival) with legends and indigenous traditions.
4. Manure as the best food for plants.
5. Getting rid of rats.
6. How to cultivate quinua; how to use it in foods.
7. How primitive man lived.
8. Indigenous people of local and national importance.
9. Whooping cough, infant illness.
10. Special health programming by doctors from the five Public Health Centers collaborating with the Caminando Juntos project.[50]

Quichua

It would be inaccurate to classify the use of Quichua on Radio Bahá'í merely as 'cultural programming', for the use of Quichua is fundamental to Radio Bahá'í's commitment to maintain, promote and encourage traditional indigenous culture. As the Audio-Visual Department noted:

> The two-language approach is essential, with Quichua programming dominant.

> Probably the key to local identity and listenership is your decision to broadcast in Quichua and Spanish.[51]

The National Assembly's decision to broadcast in both Spanish and Quichua made Radio Bahá'í one of the few Ecuadorian stations, if not the only one, to broadcast a major portion of its programming in the *campesinos'* native language. At first, the station broadcast approximately thirty-five percent of its programming in Quichua. By 1982 that had increased to between sixty and seventy-five percent, with a goal of eighty percent by 1985.[52] The Executive Director said: 'Our identity is to be bilingual, and, more than that, to broadcast in Quichua.'[53]

Obviously, broadcasting in Quichua requires indigenous staff. As already noted, since the establishment of the National Radio Committee in 1974 there had always been at least one indigenous staff member involved in the radio work. For the National Assembly and the Commission, however, one was never enough. In 1976, as plans for the station were being developed, the National Assembly wrote to the acting head of the Radio Committee that more Quichua-speaking helpers were needed.[54] This appeal was repeated by the National Assembly a year later, a few months prior to the station's inauguration.[55] Nonetheless, the need to recruit more Quichua-speaking staff persisted. Not only were they needed to serve as announcers and producers, but also as support staff, as evidenced by the commission's search for a Quichua-speaking receptionist 'who can treat our visitors with patience and love.'[56]

By 1980 there were between four and six indigenous staff members working regularly at the station. In December of 1980, the Quichua-speaking members of the staff approached the Commission with the request that they be given more training in Quichua. They were concerned that the quality of their spoken Quichua was not sufficient to serve as a model and standard for Radio Bahá'í's listeners. As a first response to this concern, the Commission held a workshop for Quichua announcing in December of 1980. Owing to the success of the workshop, the Commission arranged to hire a teacher to offer Quichua classes to the indigenous staff at the station one night per week.[57] The course, taught by a faculty member from the Catholic University of Quito's extension branch in Otavalo, emphasized vocabulary and grammar. The course was very popular with the indigenous staff members. The importance of this effort to improve the quality of the Quichua used on Radio Bahá'í is reflected in the Commission's comments regarding one of the announcers: 'The Quichua that he speaks has a great influence on the people. We are very pleased by his efforts and that he is continuing to improve his Quichua.'[58]

Education

Although licensed as a non-commercial 'cultural–educational–religious' station, Radio Bahá'í considers its primary purpose as being an educational institution. In an early plan developed by the National Assembly, formal educational programming was to have comprised a major part of the station's content. This was to have included programs, aimed especially at listeners between the ages of eight and fifteen, that would deal with:

> the basic needs of life, how to acquire and use them, [including] history, geography, music, traditions, language; the significance of their part of the world to the world at large, including information about other peoples.[59]

However, there was no record at the station that any formal instructional programming had been broadcast between 1977 and 1982. Rather, all of the material that could be considered instructional or educational was presented non-formally.

For example, perhaps the most-highly structured of the 'educational' programs produced at the station was a program for children. The Spanish-language program, produced by Anita Miller, was initiated at the request of the National Assembly.[60] The program was initially intended to provide some basic moral and spiritual training to children, as well as to offer some limited instruction in cognitive skill areas. The hope was that this first series of programs would serve as a prototype that could lead to the development of more formal 'radio school' programs, programs that could carry the load of providing basic instruction to rural children who did not have access to formal schooling.[61]

Miss Miller, who had worked as a primary-school teacher before being recruited to come to Radio Bahá'í, began producing the children's programs with the assistance of four children who lived in her neighborhood. She would do the research and writing for the scripts, including the writing of songs and games. She had read of the Radio Mathematics Project in Nicaragua and was attempting to adapt some of its principles to her programs. Some of the ideas for her scripts were suggested by the children. After preparing a script, she would have it reviewed by the two indigenous women who worked at the station full-time, Maria Perugachi and Vicenta Anrango. In addition to having them check the script for cultural appropriateness, she would ask them comprehension questions about the content.

She wanted to have the children serve as radio teachers, but none of them could read well enough. She found that each program took a great deal of time to produce because she had to do it 'piecemeal'; first she had to teach each segment to the children and then rehearse it with

them prior to recording it. As a result, coming up with a satisfactory half-hour program involved a great deal of editing. She noted that the complexity of the production process was compounded by the fact that the children were not reliable participants and by the fact that the facilities and equipment were so limited.

Sixteen children's programs were produced and broadcast. The series was heavily promoted in both Spanish and Quichua and was aired early on Sunday mornings, at a time when the children were likely to be home. A few attempts were made to organize listening groups at homes in the *campo*, but in those communities lacking an 'animator' (usually a motivated Bahá'í), the attempt met with little success. In addition, when evaluating the programs in the field, Miss Miller found that children below the fourth grade level did not speak enough Spanish to be able to follow the programs.

With the assistance of some of the Quichua-speaking staff, she then produced two childrens' programs in Quichua and took them to the *campo* for field testing. While they proved basically successful, it was felt that the amount of time necessary for the staff to develop, produce and effectively promote even one half-hour program could not be justified. As a result, production of the series was suspended.[62]

The experience with the children's program highlights some factors that may explain why the station had not yet attempted formal educational programming. The overriding factor was the amount of time and resources necessary to produce an effective series. The amount of time required to produce a fully-scripted, weekly half-hour program with internal variety is monumental when compared to the amount of time necessary to produce the station's 'staple' programming items: music programs, non-formal programs and spots.

The 'bias' for non-formal programming appears in part to have grown out of an early policy developed by the Commission which stated that 'all information [in programs] needs to be basic and brief, using practical examples, personal experiences and avoiding that which is intellectual and theoretical.'[63] Not only is this type of material easier to develop and produce than formal programs, it also attracts a larger audience than does formal programming. These factors clearly would influence producers who operate under the doubly-taxing constraints of deadlines and severely limited resources. In addition, for formal programming to be effective, listeners need to be highly motivated and well-organized. It is virtually impossible to induce a casual audience to attend to such programs regularly.

As early as 1976, the Radio Committee had addressed the issue of establishing formal listening groups in the *campo*.[64] In 1977, the National Assembly confirmed its interest in listening groups in its

outline of the goals and objectives of the station.[65] During Dr Theroux's consultation with the Commission in 1978, he clarified the distinction between education and cultural programming by noting that cultural programming should be directed to an open audience, while educational programming should be for organized listening centers.[66] Shortly thereafter, listening centers were established in rural communities in the broadcast region, but apparently there was no systematic method devised to maintain them nor was there any programming directed specifically to them.[67]

In addition to attempting to establish listening centers, Radio Bahá'í had intended to establish formal in-school broadcasts in cooperation with the Provincial Department of Education. Radio Bahá'í was asked to serve as the channel for educational radio programs to be broadcast in the Province of Imbabura by the Ministry. Representatives from Radio Bahá'í attended the initial planning session and, as a result of their participation, were asked to conduct a training seminar on educational broadcasting for Ministry staff.[68]

It had been hoped that this collaboration would result in the station finally being able to achieve its long-standing goal of broadcasting formal educational programming. However, some months after the workshop was held, Radio Bahá'í was informed that the Ministry did not have the necessary funding to carry out the planned programs. This was a major disappointment to those associated with the station, as exemplified by the Audio-Visual Department's response to the news: 'It is regrettable that the formal education project for the local schools has to be postponed.'[69]

Bahá'í

The Bahá'í programs originally produced by the National Radio Committee (those that relied chiefly on reading from texts) were used for about the first month of the station's operation and then abandoned. At first, virtually nothing was produced in their place except a few short spots. Regular Bahá'í programming was not heard on the station until almost one full year after the station went on the air.[70]

Bahá'í programs are divided into three principal categories. The first, 'consolidation', refers to programming that promotes the development of Bahá'í communities. These programs are designed to strengthen ('consolidate') Bahá'í communities through assisting with the election of local administrative bodies; to promote the use of Bahá'í consultation in group decision-making and community action; to observe Bahá'í Holy Days, Feasts and other devotional programs and special events; to provide regular classes for children; to promote the

role of women in the Bahá'í community; and similar objectives.

The Bahá'í 'Feast' is the gathering of the members of a local Bahá'í community for devotions, the conducting of the community's business, consultation on issues of relevance to the community and socializing. Feasts are held once every nineteen days, coinciding with the first day of each new Bahá'í month.[71]

Typically, a 'Radio Bahá'í' Feast program will be one half-hour in length. It starts with an introduction, followed by devotional selections from the Bahá'í Writings. International, national and local Bahá'í news and announcements may be shared, followed by suggested topics for community consultation. The last ten minutes of the program are given to music, to provide a background for the community's consultation, which may, of course, extend beyond the broadcast.

Each April, programs are aired to assist in the election of the administrative bodies of the local Bahá'í communities, called Local Spiritual Assemblies. The programs describe the function, purpose and procedures of the assemblies. They also explain the principles and methods of the Bahá'í electoral process and give guidance to the Bahá'ís on how to conduct elections in their own communities. Prior to the inception of the station, the electoral process had to be conducted by visits of knowledgeable Bahá'ís to each community. The process took several weeks and required the full-time assistance of several people. With the radio's assistance, a majority of the Bahá'í communities in the region are now able to complete the process on their own.

Because such programs are aired on a weekly or occasional basis, are more educational in nature, and may include prayers and scriptural selections, they tend to be the longest of the Bahá'í programs, generally between fifteen minutes and one half-hour in length.

The second category of Bahá'í programs deals with 'proclamation', the term used to describe the promotion and presentation of the Faith among the general public. These programs provide very basic and general information on Bahá'u'lláh, the Faith's Prophet-Founder, and on the basic teachings of the Faith. Most commonly they deal with general principles and themes drawn from Bahá'í Writings, such as the elimination of prejudice, the fundamental harmony of science and religion, and the importance of unity in the family. These are the most frequently played type of Bahá'í programs; they are also the shortest, usually running between thirty seconds and three minutes in length.

The third category, 'teaching', is related to the first two. Teaching programs provide a deeper and more extensive background on the history and teachings of the Faith and on the relationship of the moral and social principles of the Faith to the individual and society. For

example, one series (comprised of 130 three-minute programs) outlined the basic history of the Faith from its beginnings in Persia in 1844 to the passing of Bahá'u'lláh in Palestine (now Israel) in 1892. Another series focused on the role of indigenous Bahá'ís in the history and future of the Faith, giving special emphasis to the role of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Intended for both a general audience and Bahá'ís, these programs are usually produced as series and run between two and ten minutes in length.

Public Affairs

Announcements and messages about groups' meetings and community events are handled in the local news program, *El Noticiero Local.* However, coverage of such meetings and events is handled separately as 'public affairs' programming.

For example, one of the most popular events of the year in Otavalo is *Yamor*, the annual festival celebrating the corn harvest. Radio Bahá'í has, since its inception, given extensive coverage to the events associated with the festival because the festival appeals to the whole community, to both the urban and the rural populations in the Otavalo region (it also attracts tourists from throughout Ecuador and from abroad). Although Radio Bahá'í's programs aim primarily at the rural *campesinos*, they also enjoy a high listenership among urban dwellers. As much as possible, the station attempts to ensure that events of particular interest and significance to urban listeners are covered during those hours not exclusively devoted to the *campesino* audience. The following extract was taken from a report on some of the public affairs programming broadcast during a week of civic celebrations in Otavalo:

> *Hour Long Program with Republica del Ecuador High School.* For celebrating the elevation of Otavalo to the status of a city, a special program was held in the Teatro Bolivar by the ladies from the Republica del Ecuador High School. Radio Bahá'í recorded the program and played it twice on the air at the request of the director of the school.
> *Program of the Otavalo Anthropological Institute.* The Otavalo Anthropological Institute invited Radio Bahá'í to broadcast the solemn program held in homage of Otavalo. We were thanked by the director and played the program, an hour long, on the air.
> *Gabriela Mistral School.* This school requested that Radio Bahá'í permit it to present an hour in celebration of Otavalo. The recording was done in the *chosa* (at Radio Bahá'í) where about 100 people attended. They made their thanks to Radio Bahá'í clear. In addition we copied their program for broadcast on Radio Otavalo.
> *Gonzalo Rubio Orbe School.* A consequence of the programs that were broadcast was that the Gonzalo Rubio Orbe school requested that Radio

Bahá'í record their program too, which was transmitted for an hour.

Sarance School. The Sarance School also presented its thanks to Radio Bahá'í for the program that was broadcast and recorded. It was an hour long.

Solemn Meeting of the Municipal Council. Radio Bahá'í attended the formal session of the Municipal Council of Otavalo to record and broadcast three hours of this important event. We were thanked by the corresponding authorities.

'Generation 77' Youth Group. The 'Generation 77' Youth Group presented its thanks to Radio Bahá'í for broadcasting the inauguration of the Fourth Basketball Championship of Otavalo County, a program of thirty minutes.

Closing and Inauguration of Carpentry Course by SECAP. In Otavalo the end of a course given by SECAP (a government training agency) to the Otavalo artisans and at the same time the inauguration of the furniture exposition was the motive for Radio Bahá'í to be present interviewing authorities and broadcasting the program held in the Franciscan Convent. The SECAP directors thanked Radio Bahá'í, as did the Otavalo artisans. In all 60 minutes were dedicated to this event.

Joint Program by Radio Otavalo and Radio Bahá'í. Our station took the initiative of holding a musical program with Radio Otavalo in honor of the city. Several times Radio Otavalo mentioned, 'This program is being carried jointly by Radio Otavalo, "The Voice of the Highlands" and Radio Bahá'í, "The Station of the Ecuadorian Family", in honor of Otavalo in its 31st of October Festival.' The program was sixty minutes long. Of course the next day we rebroadcast the same program.'[72]

Radio Bahá'í's programming, especially the indigenous music, the 'news' and public affairs of direct relevance to the local people, the programs aimed at rural development, and the use of Quichua, amply demonstrates its commitment to the indigenous audience. The use of the station for such purposes appears to corroborate Carey's contention that communication serves primarily a 'ritual' function: to maintain a culture and to represent its shared beliefs. In addition, the nature of the programming clearly fulfills important criteria raised in the third main category of the research questions: it reflects the tastes and interests of the audience and addresses their perceived needs.

It is especially noteworthy that these purposes were not expressed in the original conception of the station.

4

PRODUCTION METHODS AND NON-BROADCAST ACTIVITIES

Program Production

THE most common method for producing radio programming was to use the production studios of the radio station. There are two production studios at Radio Bahá'í and they were nearly always in use by the various members of the staff transferring music from records to tapes, recording scripted segments of programs, and editing. In fact, one staff member considered the crowded production facilities one of the station's major weaknesses: 'I would like to have production studios where we can produce without interference and as we need them. It's too crowded and disorganized now.'[1]

Particularly noteworthy, however, is the degree to which the content and the production of the station's programs rely upon the participation of members of the community:

> One manner of being very distinct is to have two-way communication between the listeners and the radio. To accomplish this, we need to have the listener's voice on the radio. To do this, we must think about placing recorders in the hands of our listeners.[2]

The importance of the audience's participation in the programming was acknowledged even before the station was on the air:

> An additional important advantage to having a central broadcasting studio in Otavalo is the manner in which it facilitates communication between

> Radio Bahá'í and the listeners. It is important for the listener to be able to come to the broadcast studio to see Radio Bahá'í going on the air and to be able to participate more fully in the programming.[3]

Participation in the programming is accomplished in two principal ways. First, many people from the community come to Radio Bahá'í to take part in the programming. Most commonly, they serve as producers, announcers and/or narrators, either individually, such as the nine-year-old child who helped produce spots and the two elderly *campesinos* who assist with the agricultural programs, or collectively, as described below. The purpose and effect of promoting the audience's participation was explained by Dr Theroux as follows:

> Both the content and the style [of the programs] should serve to enhance self-respect in the listener. For example, the use of non-professional announcers tells the listener that people like himself are 'good enough' to be on radio ... The key to creating a distinctive, attractive sound for Radio Bahá'í will be to broadcast the voices and ideas of typical members of our listening audience ... it is not our goal to imitate sophisticated sounding announcers; instead, we want announcers who speak like the members of our audience.[4]

That this policy has been effective is demonstrated by comments about two of the station's indigenous 'voices':

> He [Alfredo Espin] is well-loved by our listeners for his non-professional voice and the sincerity he transmits.[5]
>
> The point was raised about imperfections in Rufino's Spanish, but it was not considered to be a point of concern, because he speaks from the heart and the program, *El Mensaje de Don Rufino* ('The Message of Mr Rufino'), is aired at a time when the *campesinos* are listening.[6]

At first, getting the *campesinos* to produce their own programs was very difficult, particularly when it came to developing a script:

> The scripts weren't working. We were trying to do scripts that were very good, very detailed, very profound. But this idea didn't work for us because the Radio Bahá'í listeners are very humble people from the *campo* who, in many cases, haven't finished school.[7]

To overcome this problem, *campesinos* were invited to the station to participate in seminars and then to have their opinions and ideas recorded and edited into a series of programs. For example, this method, referred to by Raul Pavon as the 'oral script', was used effectively for developing a series of Bahá'í programs that discussed the major principles of the Faith. A group of approximately twenty *campesino* Bahá'ís came to the station for a series of classes. After each class was conducted, one of the station's indigenous staff members took a cassette recorder and sat down with each individual, asking him

to repeat, in his own words, what he had learned in the class. After editing these comments, several series of short programs were produced. Each series dealt with a different aspect of the Bahá'í teachings, and each program in each series was presented by a different individual.

The 'oral script' method also was commonly used for the cultural program, *Tulpa Muyundi*:

> For some programs, I would write a script . . . then I would share the contents with a few indigenous. They would translate it orally into their own rendition, which we then recorded and edited for use on the program.[8]

Community members have participated in the programming produced at the station in a variety of other ways as well: as part of a program's 'cast' (such as the children who were used in the children's programs), as subjects of interviews (such as artisans, musicians, anthropologists, doctors, agricultural specialists, community leaders and the like) and as 'talent' (such as story-tellers and musicians).

The second principal method of achieving the participation of community members in the programs is by developing and recording material outside of the station's studios:

> It is extremely important for the members of the Radio [Bahá'í] staff to get out into the *campo* to meet the audience, get to know them, listen to them, incorporate their ideas and desires into the programs, and make them feel important to the Radio.
>
> What would be called strictly radio work in the *campo* would be interviews, evaluation of listenership, percentage of *campesinos* who own radios, meeting with village authorities, organizing village music or other festivals, participating in local village activities, 'bees', fiestas, sports, or other educational, cultural village activities.[9]

> We must continue to work in the *campo*, to promote the participation of the people in the village. All most radio stations do these days is to have an announcer with his 'phony' voice trying to fill a space. The people get tired of listening to the talk of a solitary parrot. On the other hand, it's very different to be able to listen to our neighbor express himself: what he feels, what he wants to share with the people, with his friends. What we must do is to take our microphones out and allow our people to participate.[10]

While everyone at the station acknowledged that the station must get out to the *campesinos*, probably none were more sensitive to it than the indigenous members of the staff, as evidenced by Maria Perugachi's comments:

> I have to be close to them; I have to do the programs with them. I need to know what they feel, what they understand, what they need. Then they tell me, 'We need this' or 'We need that'.

> I like this for many reasons. The same questions serve for the programs. They're not only telling me, they're telling the radio.
>
> I go to the *campo* twice a week to talk with people about the programs that I'm doing: to learn if they listen, how many listen, what they like about it, what they like to hear . . . [But] I try not to leave the station on Saturdays or Sundays because a lot of *campesinos* come here to visit, to talk about their problems and things like that.[11]

The spirit behind the station's production methods was perhaps best summarized by Raul Pavon:

> When a program was already written, certain things could be corrected, but I didn't occupy myself with perfection, only to be advancing, to learn by doing . . . Even knowing that what was written was not at the level I would like. But it was better than what we had before, therefore it was improving and moving forward.
>
> We also learned that the public was loyal . . . our announcer's errors didn't matter so much to them . . . sometimes we think that because of a lack of technical perfection in communication the listener will reject us, will avoid us, but that isn't so. It is the opposite, because, with all our errors, we are sincere in our communication. [We are] human, and what you see in Radio Bahá'í isn't the result of sophisticated, efficient, technical programming, its is sincere effort . . . and good will.[12]

As would be expected, Radio Bahá'í's role in the Otavalo region is not limited to the production and airing of radio programs. In order to fulfill its obligations as a prominent institution in the community and to explore other means by which to fulfill its primary objective of serving the indigenous population, the station is involved in several non-broadcast activities. These include:

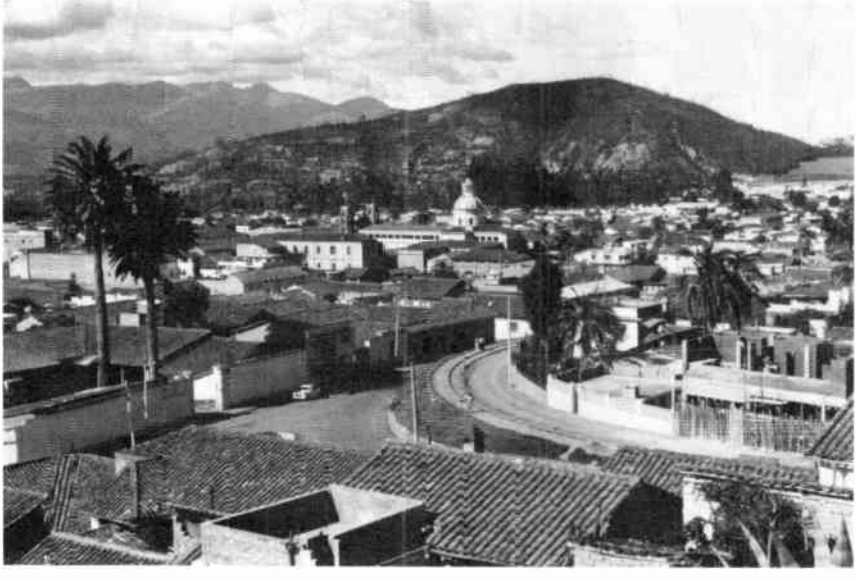
The Indigenous Music Festival

Beginning with the festival celebrating its inauguration, held in July 1978, Radio Bahá'í has sponsored an annual festival of indigenous music, *Nucanchic Tono ('Our Music').* The primary purpose of the festival is to help promote and preserve indigenous culture.[13] That first year, only thirteen groups registered to participate in the festival and several of these had been formed expressly for the purpose of participating in the competition. Nonetheless, approximately 600 to 700 people attended the festival celebrating the formal inauguration of Radio Bahá'í.[14]

The festival's popularity grew rapidly. Approximately 2,000 people were in attendance at the second festival, held in 1979.[15] In 1980, there were so many entrants that three days of 'elimination rounds' had to be held prior to the finale.[16]

More than thirty-five groups registered to participate in the fourth

Radio Bahá'í AM transmitter at Cajas, Ecuador. The antenna mast is made from locally-available aluminum irrigation piping.



Otavalo, Ecuador, the home of Radio Bahá'í

Women listen to Radio Bahá'í as they work in the fields. Radio Bahá'í's programs on child-care, nutrition, hygiene and health are designed to be of particular interest to women.

The annual festival of indigenous music, Nucanchic Tono, *sponsored by Radio Bahá'í. The primary purpose of the festival is to help promote and preserve indigenous culture.*

festival, held in Otavalo in 1981. This necessitated holding six 'elimination rounds' for the festival. The staff decided that the best place to conduct the preliminary rounds was in rural villages. For most of the communities, it would have been the first time such an event had been brought to their village:

> From the beginning of July, members of the project team went out to visit the *campesino* communities in order to choose rural locations in which elimination rounds of the music festival *Nucanchic Tono* could be held. After talking to residents of several communities, we were able to select six communities in the Provinces of Pichincha and Imbabura . . . In each of these locations we obtained the assistance of the local authorities, including the collaboration of the presidents of each community in registering the participating groups, in determining a location in which the stage could be erected, and in their direct participation as members of the Panel of Judges.[17]

On the day of a preliminary festival, portable sound equipment and a stage were loaded onto Radio Bahá'í vehicles and transported to the *campo*, where local groups performed in front of members of their own community:

> The first festival was held July 18 in Olmedo [a hacienda], in which nine music groups, composed of a total of forty musicians, participated. More than 700 people attended the event, which started at 7:00 p.m. and lasted until midnight.
>
> The festival in Araque on July 19 had three groups composed of fifteen musicans. Held in the afternoon, the festival was attended by more than 700 people.
>
> On Sunday afternoon, July 26, a festival was held in Tunibamba. There were three groups, a total of fifteen musicians, and an audience of approximately 300.
>
> On Saturday, the 8th of August, an evening festival in Zuleta was attended by 500 people. Six music groups, a total of 32 musicians, played at that gathering.
>
> A morning festival was held Sunday, August 9, in Cangahua. Seven music groups comprised of 42 musicians played for an estimated audience of 700.
>
> The last rural festival was held on the afternoon of August 10th in Cotama. Five groups, a total of thirty-five musicians, played before 300 people. This brought the total number of participants at the six elimination rounds to 33 groups of 179 musicians, playing their traditional music before approximately 3,200 rural listeners.
>
> The Final Round of *Nucanchic Tono* was held in Otavalo throughout the afternoon and evening on Sunday, August 16. Thirteen of the eighteen groups that had qualified for the Final performed.
>
> The public responded in great numbers to the invitations to the various festivals broadcast by Radio Bahá'í. In addition to the 3,200 who attended

> the rural programs, approximately 7,000 attended the Final, bringing the total attendance to more than 10,000. We want to call special attention to the fact that a great number of groups sang in and presented original compositions in Quichua. In addition, all three winning groups were composed of indigenous musicians from rural communities. The great majority of the groups performed on traditional instruments [and were] wearing traditional clothing.[18]

A total of twenty-two groups played before rural audiences totalling an estimated 2,800 people during the five elimination rounds held for the festival in 1982. The Final was attended by approximately 4,500. This fifth festival included, for the first time, the participation of indigenous groups from Peru, Bolivia and Chile. Regarding the Ecuadorian groups, the report of the festival noted:

> [One] could see more assurance in the artistic interpretations, the use of native instruments was better, there were more compositions created by the groups, and this time it was not necessary for us to organize the groups in the communities, because they were so eager to participate in the festival that they organized themselves and some groups registered to participate in the festival as soon as they heard the first spots [on Radio Bahá'í] promoting the festival.[19]

Nucanchic Tono has become one of the largest festivals of indigenous music in all of South America. Additional steps have been taken by Radio Bahá'í to promote indigenous music. Each of the rural festivals was recorded by station staff. These recordings were later edited and incorporated into the station's regular programming. In addition, the finals have been broadcast live over Radio Bahá'í. Each year, the station arranges to take the winning group to Quito, where they are given the opportunity to perform on national television.

Evidence of the increasing popularity of the music can be found in several places. As witnessed by the increase in festival participants, many more music groups are performing in the Otavalo region. Several of the groups that were formed in response to the festival have turned professional and have made recordings:

> [O]ur effort to create authentic folkloric musical groups has achieved good results. This is the case with the groups that have formed to participate in the music festival . . . The radio provided the stimulus. For example, the new *pena* [a club for indigenous music, like a coffee house or a night club] that is across the street from Radio Bahá'í was started by a group of indigenous musicians who first organized to participate in the festival.
>
> What exists now is completely the opposite of what existed in the past, when the only folkloric groups were those which recorded records. Since the initiation of *Nucanchic Tono*, groups are appearing in the communities. Groups of youth, even children, are practicing. They form

> their groups and we give them the opportunity to perform. Good or bad, the quality of the group doesn't matter. We have given them the opportunity to perform in the rural areas, and from there the better groups are invited to the Festival in Otavalo [which enjoys] the participation of everyone within the region: indigenous, whites, mestizos, etc.[20]

Music store owners in the Otavalo region report increased sales of both albums and traditional instruments. Perhaps most telling, many radio stations in Ecuador have increased the amount of air time they devote to indigenous music.

The Children's Festival

The success of the music festivals prompted the staff to look for other non-broadcast activities through which the indigenous culture could be promoted. The Commission decided to hold a festival especially for indigenous children from rural primary schools. It was felt that such a festival would promote the children's pride in their heritage and also provide them an opportunity to perform publicly, an opportunity they are seldom, if ever, offered.

The festival, called *Huahuamantag Huahuapag* ('Of the children, for the children') was first held in May of 1979. Seventy-five children from nine schools participated in front of an audience estimated at more than 1,000 people:

> The supervisor of the Quinchuqui nucleus of rural schools, Sr Miguel Pozo, gave a sympathetic talk expressing his gratitude and that of the teachers for the opportunity to participate in a cultural activity which was an encouragement to the rural and often forgotten children. He expressed his view and concern that in Ecuador, as in many parts of the world, the art and culture of the indigenous are not adequately appreciated. He particularly expressed his thanks to Miss Anita Miller for her tireless efforts to reach the various nuclei offices which supervise about 150 rural schools, and for making personal contacts to stimulate the teachers in nearly 40 schools.
>
> One of the teachers told of an event which made everyone laugh. He had arrived at the Institute a bit late with his little flock of shy Indian students. When they saw the huge crowd assembled waiting to watch them perform they became frightened and turned around and ran and did not stop until they reached home. However, there were brothers, sisters and friends of the escapees in the audience who eagerly offered to take their places. So when their school's turn came they danced, helped through their paces by their proud and loving teacher.[21]

A report on the fourth annual 'Children's Festival for Rural Schools', held in 1982, gives a more complete description of the process by which the festival is organized. It also shows the broad popularity that the festival had achieved:

1. The Preparation

The schools were visited several times to encourage and orient their participation in the festival. It's important to allow at least one month for preparing the children. We also visited the superintendents and their help was important. For next year, I think it would be better to obtain the necessary permission from the Ministry of Education, to hold the festival during the week. Thus it would be easier for the children to attend, as this year many could not attend because they work on Sundays.

– Angla: They offered to participate but didn't come.

– Anravia: This school has very few children and only one teacher. They presented a dance. The enthusiasm and great effort put forth by the teacher was very evident.

– Araque: The new principal showed no enthusiasm.

– Achupallas: The principal, who is also a superintendent, gave a very nice speech praising Radio Bahá'í. Two girls sang a song.

– Carabuela: The teacher was very friendly. However, she explained that they couldn't participate due to the opposition of the parents due to religious prejudice.

– Carpuela: The principal, who is an assistant superintendent, was very enthusiastic about participating next year. It was too late for this year.

– Cotama: They have new teachers. They offered to participate but didn't come.

– El Chota: The young principal was very enthusiastic. She prepared two folk dances of the Chota Valley. They won second prize in the category 'Dance'. They brought with them a Negro folk band. They don't use ordinary instruments, but rather leaves of trees, gourds, etc.

– Iluman: We found them annoyed at not being permitted to participate during the past two years after winning the first year. This was done with the desire to give others the opportunity, but was a very wrong decision. They offered to participate this year but didn't come.

– La Bolsa: They participated very enthusiastically with a dance.

– La Compania: The teachers are very enthusiastic. They participated with a dance.

– Majondita: Their two very enthusiastic teachers made a great effort, and won first prize in the 'Drama' category, presenting 'An Indian Marriage'.

– Monserrate: They presented a dance.

– Peguche: The principal of the school, a Catholic nun, received us very warmly. They participated with a folk dance, 'San Juan', and won the first prize in the 'Dance' category.

– Pesillo: The principal, Mr Rene Perugachi, was very pleased to have been invited to participate. They won first prize in the 'Song' category. They had their own orchestra of children from the school.

– Pucara Bajo: They changed teachers and didn't participate.

– Quinchuqui: Without having visited the teacher, he had already begun preparing the children for the festival. He had heard about it on the radio. They won first prize in the 'Poetry' category.

– Ugsha: The principal offered to participate but they didn't come.

– Zuleta: The principal was very friendly. They presented a pretty dance.

2. The Festival
Approximately 4,000 people, the majority children, were present, happy, applauding the *campesino* children as they presented their folk songs and dances. More than other years, the children were confident and serene under the guidance of their loving teachers. The teachers put forth a great effort to prepare the children, unaccustomed as they were to presenting themselves in public. All thanked Radio Bahá'í publicly for having provided the opportunity to be in the festival.

The whole program, which lasted three and a half hours, was transmitted live on Radio Bahá'í. Marcelo Quinteros and Maria Perugachi were Master and Mistress of Ceremonies in Spanish and Quichua, in a very professional and friendly manner. Mr Morales, the accordionist, capably accompanied the National Anthem and the groups which needed accompaniment. Gregg Suhm, as a clown, entertained the whole crowd.

From the Canadian Embassy, Mr Belisario Fernandez de Cordova, in charge of CIDA projects was present. Also present were other dignitaries: the Director of School Superintendents for Imbabura, several superintendents, a representative of the *Casa de la Cultura* (Center for Culture), the principal of the Otavalo High School. Also present were delegations from the urban schools.

The judges were capable and just teachers, presided over by Dr Rafael Pavon. They chose winners in four categories: Dance, Song, Poetry and Drama. The first prize in each category was a large silver trophy, and second prize a smaller one. Each participating school received a diploma, a box of chalk, a good chalk eraser and a large map of Ecuador, two meters square. We took the five best presentations to Quito, to *Telejardin* ['Tele-kindergarden'] of Channel 4 television.

3. The Presentation on Channel 4
On March 31, 1982, at 3:00 p.m., we arrived in Quito with two buses full of children and all the Radio Bahá'í staff. We took the following schools: Peguche, Pesillo, El Chota, Quinchuqui and Mojandita. They recorded two one-hour programs for *Telejardin* which went on the air the 6th and 7th of April, 1982. The children as well as the teachers were very excited, enthusiastic and happy to be on television, thanks to the efforts of Radio Bahá'í. The children behaved very well and their performances were good.[22]

Publications

El Boletin de Radio Bahá'í

In July 1980, Raul Pavon proposed that Radio Bahá'í publish a monthly newsletter for distribution in the *campo* with the purpose of promoting principles of the station, sharing practical information and, most importantly, providing the *campesinos* with another channel through which they could communicate with the station.

Between October 1980 and December 1981, twelve issues of *El Boletin de Radio Bahá'í* ('The Bulletin of Radio Bahá'í') were published. The bilingual (Spanish and Quichua) Bulletin, written by Marcelo Quinteros and Gregg Suhm and composed and illustrated by Mr Suhm, was mimeographed on rough paper stock and usually was eight pages long. Each bulletin contained numerous illustrations to augment the editorial content, which usually included:

- a brief description of one or two of the programs offered by Radio Bahá'í;
- short articles promoting various social themes, such as the value of unity in the community and the importance of educating children;
- a description of activities occurring at the station, such as the holding of the indigenous music festival and the construction of a new antenna;
- brief 'development' messages, such as the importance of protecting the environment, maintaining personal hygiene and eating nutritious foods;
- practical advice, such as how to load reluctant livestock onto a truck;
- quotations and short selections from the Bahá'í Writings relevant to one or more of the topics presented in the issue.[23]

In addition, each issue included a section entitled *Carta a Radio Bahá'í* ('Letter to Radio Bahá'í'), which the reader was encouraged to complete and return to the station. The 'letter' provided space for the individual's name, community, and whatever comments he cared to offer to the station. A second page of the letter included questions relating to the Bulletin's content which the reader was asked to answer. For example, one issue included the questions:

- What do you think about education?
- What are your thoughts about the Bahá'í phrases in this Bulletin? Would you like to tell us about your understanding of them?
- Write us something about what you think about health.
- How can you help us to protect the environment?[24]

The Bulletins were distributed by station staff during their regular visits to the *campo*. Letters received at the station were reviewed by staff members. Selected letters and comments were read over the air in both the Spanish and Quichua versions of the program, 'The Bulletin of the Air':

> From the community of La Esperanza de Azama, Mr Jorge Cifuentes has written to us and said,
>
> 'I respectfully salute those who carry out the work of Radio Bahá'í. My desire is that you shall continue to progress; we greatly appreciate the community services provided by the station and it is truly fortunate that you serve us, voluntarily and freely, by publicizing lost and found items,

community news, and all classes of services that contribute to the good of the community.'

We offer our appreciation to Mr Jorge Cifuentes, who has written us from the community of Esperanza de Azama in the Province of Imbabura. We hope that he will visit us again so that we can given him the latest copy of our bulletin and a gift from the radio station of the Ecuadorian family.[25]

From the community of San Jose Alto in the province of Pichincha, Mr Rogelio Imbaquingo has written to us and said,

'I have listened a lot to Radio Bahá'í at my neighbor's and I know that you are helping the *campesinos*. Right now I don't have a radio but I am writing to greet you . . . In addition, I would like to have another copy of your bulletin. Sincerely, Rogelio Imbaquingo.'

We greatly appreciate your letter, Mr Imbaquingo from the community of San Jose Alto. We hope we will be able to help you with your request and we also are sending you the next issue of our bulletin, as you requested.[26]

From Simon Bolivar Bridge in the province of Pichincha, Mr Luis Robalino has written and said,

'I like the music, the programs and the social servies of Radio Bahá'í. I hope that you will have educational programs for the fifth and sixth grade, because we were not able to complete our school education. I hope that Radio Bahá'í could have a radio school because this was the system by which we learned the first four grades of school but, regrettably, this was not continued. Perhaps these classes could be in the early morning, starting at 4 in the morning along with the lively music of the *campo*. I congratulate you for the work you are doing to help the *campesinos*. I hope that you will send musical dedications to each community because it is interesting to receive such a greeting by radio. I would also like to hear about the cultures in other parts of the world and also know by radio what the people are like and how they live in other areas, also what the music is like from other places. I thank you and the people at Radio Bahá'í because it is the only one that understands the problems and the things of importance to the *campesino* and it helps us to find lost items. Although these are not of importance in the city, it is very useful to us.'

We thank you for the letter you sent us, Mr Luis Robalino, and we hope we can help you and attend to your requests. We are consulting about the creation of new programs to serve the *campesino*.[27]

No data exists as to the distribution and readership of the Bulletin, but at the weekly staff meetings, team members reported that the Bulletin was widely read. Several individuals also reported that in families where the adults were illiterate, the children could be seen reading the Bulletin to their parents.[28]

The Quarterly 'Senal' of Radio Bahá'í

Not long after initiating the publication of a bulletin for local distribution, Radio Bahá'í began to distribute an English-language

newsletter, *The Quarterly 'Senal'* ['Signal'] *of Radio Bahá'í* to interested individuals outside of Ecuador. The primary purpose of this publication, which followed the format of *El Boletin*, was to report on the programming and activities of the station and to generate interest abroad in the station's activities (especially among other national Bahá'í communities).

Articles in the *Senal* reported on such things as the construction of a new production studio, the reception of Radio Bahá'í's short-wave signal in other continents, a description of the CIDA project, and the like. No data was available on the distribution of or response to this bulletin.

Other Non-Broadcast Activities

Radio Repair Workshop

One of the major problems faced by *campesinos* who wish to listen to the radio is that it is expensive to have a radio repaired. In March of 1979, the Commission decided that it would establish a workshop at the station for the purpose of providing a low-cost radio repair service to its audience. A room at the station was set up as a workshop, a repairman was hired and the availability of the new service was announced over the station. On the first day, fifty-six damaged radio sets were brought to the station; approximately 250 were received the first month.[29] By June 1st, more than 450 sets had been brought to the station.[30]

Those working in the workshop soon discovered that many of the radios being brought in were beyond repair. Others were so extensively damaged that the repair costs exceeded the cost of buying a replacement set. As a result, people were either disappointed to learn their radio could not be repaired or they were unable to pay for the repairs that had been made. In addition, the tremendous backlog of orders was creating long delays between the time a person brought his radio to the station and the time he could collect it.

It quickly became apparent that the workshop was a disaster. As Ralph Dexter said, 'It functioned well for about a week.'[31] In light of these problems, including a loss to the station of approximately 55,000 Ecuadorian *sucres* (then the equivalent of approximately $2,500) the Commission closed the workshop.[32]

Training Courses

The expertise of individuals either working at or associated with Radio Bahá'í also has been put to use in activities not directly related to the

station's operations. For example, the Director of the Office of Frequencies was so impressed with the technical quality of the station and, especially, by Dean Stephens's design of the station's antenna, that he asked Stephens to conduct an advanced course in broadcast technology for their engineering staff. Under the auspices of Radio Bahá'í, the week-long course was conducted in June 1979.[33]

Similarly, the Division of Technical Education of the Office of Education for the Province of Imbabura, the province in which Otavalo is located, had invited representatives from the region's radio stations to attend a conference to plan educational radio programming for the province. They were so impressed by Radio Bahá'í's response and presentations to the conference that they asked Anita Miller to conduct a two-week training course in broadcast education for their staff, which she did in December 1979.[34]

A training course totally unrelated to broadcasting, a beginner's sewing course, was offered under the auspices of Radio Bahá'í in August of 1979 by Ralph Dexter's wife, Janet. The course was announced on Radio Bahá'í and individuals who attended the course were interviewed as part of a pre-taped program on the diploma-granting ceremony that was broadcast as a part of 'The Bulletin of the Air'.[35]

Bahá'í Activities

The radio station is unquestionably the most prominent Bahá'í agency in the Otavalo region. It plays the pivotal role in serving and communicating to Bahá'í communities in the region, not only through its programming, but also through activities held on the Institute property where the station is located. Numerous Bahá'í meetings, workshops, conventions and the like are held at the Institute. Because of the station's dominance at the Institute, many of these activities become automatically associated with the radio station.

For example, the annual national convention for the Bahá'ís of Ecuador has often been held at the Institute. Both prior to and during the convention, the station plays a major role in promoting the attendance of indigenous Bahá'ís, who are invited to attend the meeting 'at Radio Bahá'í'.

The Bahá'í community of Otavalo uses the Institute as its central meeting place as well. The Commission for Radio Bahá'í (whose members are also members of the Bahá'í community of Otavalo) has been very active in promoting events for the local community. For example, a weekly, bilingual prayer meeting, open to the public, is held in the *chosa*. This meeting, although under the jurisdiction of the

Bahá'í community of Otavalo, was organized and chiefly supported by the Commission and the station staff.[36]

Because the station is the core of the Teaching Institute, Bahá'í members of the staff assume a primary role in teaching the Faith in the Otavalo region. This includes such activities as visiting local Bahá'í communities, holding study classes, giving informal talks about the Faith to interested individuals and groups, representing the Bahá'í Faith at various community functions, and the like. For example, owing to the influence of the church, baptism is very significant to most indigenous families. Indigenous Bahá'ís, most of whom come from a Catholic or Protestant background, are anxious that some religious activity attend a child's birth. Although there is no ritual of baptism in the Bahá'í Faith, Bahá'ís are encouraged to hold simple, festive gatherings at which prayers are read for the family and for the baby to welcome the baby into the community. As a result, members of the staff have organized regular 'naming parties' for babies born to Bahá'í families in the region. These parties are usually incorporated within the weekly public devotions.

A related incident occurred when an indigenous family (not Bahá'ís) came to Radio Bahá'í one day with a seriously ill child. The family had come to the station after having been sent away from the hospital, where they had been told that nothing more could be done for the child. They said they had come to Radio Bahá'í because they didn't know where else to go. It was evident that the young parents were desperate for some guidance and moral support, which members of the staff (especially the older women) gladly offered. Members of the staff suspended their normal work and accompanied the family to the *chosa*, where prayers were said. The parents were advised that the child was obviously suffering from dehydration, and guidance was given on how to prepare a rehydration solution. Some time later, the parents returned to the station with members of their extended family. The baby had recovered, and the entire family had returned to the station to express its gratitude.

As the findings presented in this chapter demonstrate, perhaps nowhere is Radio Bahá'í's commitment to participation more evident than in the methods it uses to provide for the audience's access to and participation in the station's programming and its non-broadcast activities. Combining this information with the data presented in the previous chapters, we can see that Radio Bahá'í fulfills virtually all of the criteria for a participatory media institution. The final level of analysis is to determine what effect these participatory strategies and messages have on the station's audience.

5

AUDIENCE EVALUATIONS

THE participation of community members in the programming (as in all the station's operations) is vital to the fulfillment of the station's objectives. However, as indicated above, Radio Bahá'í endeavors to ensure that such participation is reciprocal. The *staff's* regular participation in the lives of the audience is given equal importance, in order that they may acquire a thorough knowledge of the activities, interests, habits, tastes and needs of the listeners. At Radio Bahá'í, such 'audience evaluation' is accomplished both informally and formally.

Even before the radio station was established, the Commission was encouraging producers to undertake informal evaluations in the *campo*:

> Prior to starting to write a series of programs, the responsible members of the production center must go [to the *campo*] with the object of knowing what the needs are of the listeners in the different *campesino* communities.[1]

Later, the Commission considered staff visits to the *campo* of such importance that it issued a formal request that each member of the staff 'adopt' a community to visit on a weekly basis.[2] The purpose of such a policy was to ensure that informal evaluations occurred whenever the staff members visited the *campo*, which was frequently. The value of this approach has been supported by several members of the staff. As one individual noted:

> People have to go out and sleep in the *campo*, stay there, get up at four in the morning and listen to the station come on the air with the *campesino*. Everybody's got to get out. That can be the beginning of getting groups together to talk about their reactions to the radio.[3]

Responding to her experience in the *campo*, another staff member said:

> There is nothing like sitting down in a *campesino* community and listening to Radio Bahá'í to make you see our really strong points and our glaring errors. Because when you see it in that perspective, then you realize whether it will work or not.[4]

Producers and other staff members, including indigenous members of the staff, reported that by making regular trips to the *campo* they had become much more conscious of, knowledgeable about, and sensitive to the audience they were attempting to serve. In addition, it gave them a much better feeling for the types of programming that would and would not be successful with the primary audience. What such informal observations could not provide, however, was quantitative data about the audience and their attitudes toward and uses of the programming.

Early Surveys

In addition to the value of having the staff maintain regular, informal contact with the audience, the value of having formal, extensive data on the audience was recognized prior to the station's inception. Systematic surveys of the audience were conducted as early as January of 1977, when James Theroux assisted the staff in drafting a questionnaire that was administered to a small sample of homes (thirty) in the region.[5] The survey offered the following information about the audience:

1. They were primarily Quichua-speaking.
2. They could not understand most Spanish-language radio programs.
3. They preferred programs in Quichua.
4. They listened to music on the radio.
5. They expressed a marked preference for national music.
6. They listened to the radio in the early morning, at noon and in the early evening.
7. More than 25 different radio stations could be received in the Otavalo valley.[6]

These findings were basically corroborated by the more extensive surveys conducted by the author four and six years later (see below).

In January of 1978, another survey (of ten communities) was conducted, in which it was reported that 60% of the families in the *campo* owned their own radios.[7]

An unusual survey was conducted by the station in 1980 when a staff member visited seven radio repair shops. The primary purpose of his survey was to get a rough estimate of the percentage of *campesinos* whose radio sets could receive short wave. (Each of the repairmen reported that the most popular receiver in the *campo* was a cheap Sanyo set, equipped with two bands and capable of receiving short wave signals up to the 90-meter band.) In addition to providing this information,

they all reported that Radio Bahá'í was, without question, the most popular station in the region. They estimated that between 80% and 100% of the *campesinos* regularly listened to Radio Bahá'í.[8]

As encouraging as such information was, at the time of the author's arrival in Otavalo (September 1980) the Commission was still desirous of more concrete data. While experiences at the station and regular contact with individuals in the *campo* provided a great deal of information about the audience, the most accurate description of Radio Bahá'í's audience had to come from the *campesinos* themselves.

The 1981 Evaluation

At the request of the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, I arranged with them to develop an instrument that not only would fulfill my research purposes but would also be of use to the radio station. With the assistance of the Commission and other members of the staff, I compiled a draft questionnaire. (Particular attention was paid to the guidance offered by the indigenous members of the staff.)

With an indigenous staff member, I took the draft questionnaire to a few villages to pre-test it for comprehensibility. The final draft contained a total of thirty-six items (apart from internal data such as the name of the interviewer and the date). Fourteen staff members and volunteers were then trained in the purpose, content and method of the survey. This included guidance in basic interviewing techniques and how to encode the instrument. Thirteen of the interviewers were Ecuadorians, six of whom were indigenous. All the indigenous interviewers were bilingual, as were two other members of the team.

Selecting the Sample

In consultation with the Commission, I decided to focus the research in three different communities: Angla, Araque and Cangahua. Angla, in the Otavalo valley, was selected for its remote location, its marginality, both economically and socially, from the dominant white culture of Otavalo, for its high ratio of Quichua speakers and for its high Bahá'í population. Cangahua, in the Cayambe valley, also was chosen for its remote location and its typicality as a poor, rural community. However, its location in a different province, its differing crops and cultural traditions and its lack of Bahá'í population make this community different from Angla. Araque was selected because it was representative of communities that, while predominantly indigenous, are at a 'halfway' point between life in the *campo* and life in the city. Its residents have assimilated many of the 'modern' values of the city and are increasingly abandoning traditional indigenous customs.

Profile of Angla[9]

Geography. Angla is located in San Pablo del Lago parish, Otavalo county, Imbabura province. The community is located high on the slopes of Mt Imbabura and, therefore, has a cold climate. The soil is very irregular and there are no rivers.

Demography. The entire population is indigenous (highland Quichua Indian). There are approximately 150 occupied dwellings, with a total of 650 inhabitants.

Economy. The community utilizes approximately one-half hectare (slightly over one acre) per family. There is a cooperative that manages 432 hectares (approximately 900 acres) of land on the adjacent hills. A forestation campaign was recently initiated there with the assistance of the Department of Rural Development of the Ministry of Agriculture. The principal agricultural products are corn, beans, potatoes, *quinua* (an Andean pigweed grain) and two varieties of native tubers, *melloco* and *oca*. Marketing is conducted in San Pablo del Lago and Otavalo. Most families have a few goats, sheep or pigs.

Infrastructure. The community is linked to San Pablo del Lago by a 'fourth-class' (dirt) road five kilometers (three miles) distance from the town. There is no means of public transportation available; it takes between one and two hours to walk up the hill from San Pablo to Angla. There is no telephone, telegraph or postal service, neither is there any electricity, potable water or irrigation system. The community has no medical dispensary, no sanitary workers and no agricultural or home economic extension agents.

Standard of Living. Houses are made of simple construction, using adobe, wattle and daub, clay and rammed earth for wall materials; roofs are made of straw or woven reeds. In general, the houses are one-floor construction containing a kitchen and sleeping room; the homes are dark and unventilated. Owing to the lack of water (which women gather daily from a source one hour's walk away), the health of the residents is precarious, with a high mortality rate, especially among infants. Parasites, goiter and skin diseases are endemic.

Education. The community uses one incomplete school, which offers basic instruction at lower primary levels. More than half of the students drop out by the second grade. There is a marked absenteeism, as children are required to tend livestock for the families. Children ten years of age and older frequently go to work as journeymen at the nearby hacienda.

Social Institutions. There are two agricultural cooperatives, organized through the efforts of the hacienda owner, who is a former president of Ecuador and the major landowner of the region. The community is governed by a town council. A Catholic church serves the community.

Approximately sixty families belong to the Bahá'í Faith; a Local Assembly (the basic administrative unit of the Faith) has been elected each of the last twenty years.

Profile of Araque

Geography. Araque also is in the parish of San Pablo del Lago. Located at the base of Mt Imbabura, the community borders the town of San Pablo and the shores of Lake San Pablo. The soil is relatively rich, level and even. There are no rivers, but, in addition to accessibility to the lake, several watersheds feed the community.

Demography. There are nearly 300 dwellings in Araque, with approximately 1300 inhabitants. Indigenous people comprise the majority of the population, most of them in the process of acculturation into the dominant 'white' culture; *mestizos* and whites comprise the balance of the population.

Economy. Each family occupies approximately three-fourths of a hectare (one and one-half acres) of land. The principal occupation is agriculture, but many men are engaged in construction work in different cities throughout Ecuador; their economic well-being makes them the dominant social group in the community. The principal crops are corn, beans, barley and *quinua*. In general, each family possesses a small flock of sheep, some pigs, and, in some cases, a few head of cattle. There are a few small brick and wool-weaving mills. Marketing is conducted in San Pablo, Otavalo and Ibarra (the provincial capital).

Infrastructure. The community is traversed by a third-class road (alternately asphalt, cobblestones and dirt) that connects to the main road in San Pablo. The community enjoys regular bus and taxi service and relatively easy access to the Pan-American Highway. Electricity and water are provided along the main street, but there are no telephone, telegraph or postal services. There are no irrigation canals, no medical dispensary, no sanitation workers and no agricultural or home economic extension workers. (It should be noted, however, that many of these services are available in the adjacent town of San Pablo.)

Standard of Living. The predominant building materials are a mixture of stone, adobe, brick and straw, providing acceptable health and hygienic conditions. However, in the marginal sections of the community (and adjacent villages), housing is similar to that of the more rural areas. Sanitation is still deficient, but the community is healthier than the rural indigenous communities. This is primarily due to the ready availability of water. Parasites and skin disease are still common, however.

Education. For several years the community has had its own complete

grammar school. Owing to the better economic conditions, absenteeism is infrequent.

Social Institutions. The community is governed by a town council. A Sports and Social Club exists for the community's male youth. A Catholic church serves the community and there is a small Bahá'í community there, which has elected a Local Assembly for the past several years.

Profile of Cangahua

Geography. The town of Cangahua is located in Cayambe county, in Pichinchua province. The land is irregular, being located high on the foothills of Mt Cayambe. The climate is cold and there is much precipitation.

Demography. The population comprising the 'community' of Cangahua is widely scattered. There are more than forty settlements surrounding the town, which has an urban population of approximately 5,000. The settlements are entirely indigenous; the town is predominantly indigenous, with some *mestizos* and a few whites resident.

Economy. Most of the land is held by large haciendas, but the government has created plots for subsistence farming (smaller than one hectare, two acres, in size). There are no cooperatives. Agriculture is the principal occupation; rabbits are raised as a source of food and for cash. Barley and wheat are the principal crops, with potatoes and onions also being produced. Owing to the high altitude, there are no trees in the region. Marketing is conducted in the town of Cangahua, from which products are trucked into Quito.

Infrastructure. There is a very poor 'fourth-class' (dirt) road that connects from the Pan-American highway to Cangahua (a distance of approximately ten kilometers, six miles). The town is served by buses and communal taxis, but the principal means of transportation is the horse. In the village of Cangahua, there is a post office, telephones, telegraph, electricity, a medical dispensary and piped potable water.

Standard of Living. The majority of houses, especially in the countryside, are made with mud walls and roofed with straw or tiles. Homes in the town are made primarily of bricks and mortar and adobe. Owing to the availability of water and a health center, the town has reasonably good health; settlement residents have a high infant mortality rate and problems with parasites and skin diseases.

Education. There are several primary schools and a secondary school in the town. In addition, there are literacy centers in almost every settlement.

Conducting the Interviews

The interviews were conducted on a random house-to-house basis, usually by teams of two individuals, one being a bilingual indigenous staff member. The interviews in Angla were conducted over three days and, in Araque, over two days during October 1981. The Cangahua interviews were conducted in two days in November 1981. 128 interviews, averaging one halfhour in length, were conducted in the three locations: forty-five in Angla, forty in Araque and forty-three in Cangahua.

A total of 270 man-hours were spent visiting field sites and conducting the interviews. At the end of each day, the team gathered at the offices of Radio Bahá'í to hold a 'debriefing' to exchange experiences and share suggestions for improving the administration of the interviews.

The following section summarizes the data by question (an English translation of the original questionnaire is provided in Appendix V). The first four questions were simply administrative, recording the name of the interviewer, the date the interview took place, and the name and community of the person interviewed.

5. Age

There was a fairly even distribution of respondents between the ages of 16 and 50. The average age was 40; men 43.7 and women 34.4. The youngest respondents, with a mean age of 33, were from Araque. This reflects, in part, the problem of emigration from the rural communities and the concentration of young families in urban areas.

Age	N	%	Age	N	%
11–15	2	2	46–50	9	10
16–20	12	13	51–55	6	7
21–25	11	12	56–60	4	4
26–30	10	11	61–65	6	7
31–35	6	7	66–70	3	3
36–40	16	17	71–75	0	0
41–45	5	5	76–80	2	2

92 respondents, 72% of the sample

6. Sex

Of those responding, 53% were men and 47% women. This provided a sufficiently even balance to evaluate the audience's radio habits according to sex.

120 respondents, 93% of the sample

7. Family size

Each home averaged three adults (2.9) and three children (2.7), with an average family size of more than five (5.4). Of interest is the fact that the Araque households averaged one less person per household (due to more childless families).

NUMBER IN FAMILY (1981)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Adults												
N	0	6	57	24	12	5	7	1	0	0	0	0
%	0	5	51	21	11	4	6	1	0	0	0	0
112 respondents, 88% of the sample												
Children												
N	6	22	22	20	17	12	2	2	2	0	0	0
%	6	21	21	19	16	11	2	2	2	0	0	0
105 respondents, 82% of the sample												
Total												
N	*0*	*3*	*12*	*11*	*15*	*17*	*24*	*14*	*7*	*6*	*2*	*1*
%	*0*	*3*	*11*	*10*	*13*	*15*	*21*	*13*	*6*	*5*	*2*	*1*
112 respondents, 88% of the sample												

8. Can you read and write?

There was a clear division between the rural communities of Angla and Cangahua and the urban community of Araque. The rural communities reported an extremely high illiteracy rate (Angla 63%, Cangahua 79%), while Araque's illiteracy rate was much lower (19%). There was an especially high incidence of illiteracy reported among the rural women; 100% of the Angla women said they were illiterate, even though a school has existed in the community for over twenty years.[10]

CAN YOU READ AND WRITE? (1981)

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Male	30	58	22	42
Female	11	29	27	71
Angla	13	37	22	63
Araque	22	81	5	19
Cangahua	6	21	22	79
Total	41	46	49	54

90 respondents, 70% of the sample

9. Level of education

There was a very clear separation between the rural and urban communities. Excluding the statistics for urban Araque, 89% of the adult audience reported receiving less than three years of schooling. Of the 21 rural women responding, only three said they had received any formal education.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1981)

	N	%
None	42	45
1–3	23	24
4–6	24	26
7–9	2	2
9–12	3	3
Higher	0	0

94 respondents, 73% of the sample

10. Language

Almost all the rural respondents said they were bilingual Quichua and

Spanish, while the indigenous urban audience of Araque appears to have lost most of its ability to speak Quichua. Very few respondents, and all but one of them uneducated women from Angla, were exclusively Quichua-speaking.

LANGUAGE (1981)

	Spanish		Quichua		Both	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	15	25	1	2	44	73
Female	16	33	5	10	27	56
Angla	0	0	5	13	35	87
Araque	31	89	0	0	4	11
Cangahua	0	0	1	3	35	97
Total	31	28	6	5	74	67

111 respondents, 87% of the sample

11. Do you own a radio?

78% of the respondents said that they owned radios. Even in the remote rural areas the level of receiver set ownership was said to be high. The urban residents indicated a set-ownership percentage near 100%. Given the nature of social life in the *campo*, where large groups of family and friends frequently gather together, the potential rural audience is presumably larger than the ownership statistics indicate.

DO YOU OWN A RADIO? (1981)

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Angla	27	66	14	34
Araque	38	95	2	5
Cangahua	31	74	11	26
Total	96	78	27	22

123 respondents, 96% of the sample

12. Is your radio working now?

The *campo* respondents reportedly had more dysfunctional radios than the city respondents. The major factors affecting this situation are the power supply and the cost of repairs. Araque has electricity while the poorer rural dwellers must rely on costly batteries. It is also more difficult for the rural people to have access to and pay for radio repairs. It also is likely that the low number of rural respondents, as compared to the previous question, is an indication that the frequency of non-functioning radios in the *campo* was higher than the figures show.

IS YOUR RADIO WORKING NOW? (1981)

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Angla	16	70	7	30
Araque	31	82	7	18
Cangahua	18	75	6	25
Total	65	76	20	24

85 of the 123 respondents (69%) who answered 'yes' to question 11 answered this question; 66% of the sample

13. Does your radio have short wave?
55 of the 96 respondents (68%) who said they owned radios indicated that their sets had short wave capacity. Of interest is the fact that Cangahua's short wave capacity was similar to Araque's. This probably is due to the popularity among *campesinos* of a relatively inexpensive Sanyo radio set that includes the lower short wave bands.

DOES YOU'R RADIO HAVE SHORT WAVE? (1981)

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Angla	12	60	8	40
Araque	25	89	3	11
Cangahua	18	90	2	10
Total	55	82	13	18

68 of the 96 respondents (71%) who answered 'yes' to question 11 answered this question; 53% of the sample

14. Does your radio have the 120-meter band?
Only 16 people said that their radios had the 120-meter band; 12 of them were from Araque (whose residents presumably can afford more expensive radios).

35 of the 68 respondents (51%) who answered 'yes' to question 13 answered this question; 27% of the sample

15. Do you listen to short wave?
The number of short wave listeners in each community was similar, indicating that there is an audience for short wave broadcasts, although small, in both the rural and urban areas.

DO YOU' LISTEN TO SHORT WAVE? (1981)

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Angla	8	57	6	43
Araque	9	39	14	61
Cangahua	9	64	5	36
Total	26	51	25	49

51 of the 68 respondents (75%) who answered 'yes' to question 13 answered this question; 40% of the sample

16. What short wave stations do you listen to?
Judging from this sample, short wave was not the band of choice among the listeners. Three stations were named more than once: Radio Zaracay (5 respondents, 36%), HCJB (3 respondents, 21%), and Radio Bahá'í (2 respondents, 14%).

14 out of the 51 respondents (27%) who answered 'yes' to question 15 answered this question; 11% of the sample)

17. When do you listen to the radio?
Respondents indicated that the most popular time periods were between 4 and 6 am and 4 and 6 pm. These time periods were especially prevalent among rural listeners, who reportedly listen during the times they arise in the morning, eat and prepare to go out into the

fields, and again when they return home in the afternoon to rest, visit and have the evening meal.

The periods of secondary importance were those immediately following, 6–8 am and 6–8 pm. Programming directed to the rural audience reportedly had its highest impact between 4 and 8 am and 4 and 8 pm.

WHEN DO YOU LISTEN TO THE RADIO? (1981)

Time	N	%	Time	N	%
12midnight–2am	2	3	12noon–2pm	9	12
2–4am	2	3	2–4pm	10	13
4–6am	47	61	4–6pm	46	60
6–8am	29	38	6–8pm	18	23
8–10am	13	17	8–10pm	10	13
10am–12noon	9	12	10pm–12midnight	2	3

77 respondents, 57% of the sample

18. Why do you listen to the radio?

This question was open-ended and non-directive, soliciting the subjects' own opinions without offering specific responses to which they could reply. 'Music' was reportedly the primary attraction of radio for this audience. 'News' was accorded second priority, with both 'Time' and 'Entertainment/Pleasure' receiving equal mention and placing third. These general preferences are no different than those stated by most audiences around the world, although the *kinds* of music and news are different.

There were 17 multiple responses, 7 of those combining music with another category.

WHY DO YOU LISTEN TO THE RADIO? (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Music	36	62	Entertainment, pleasure	10	17
News	14	24	Other	11	19
Time	10	17	Multiple	17	29

58 respondents, 45% of the sample

19. What kinds of programs do you listen to?

This question offered nine different program categories from which to choose. 'Music' and 'News' were the dominant replies, with no apparent regional distinctions, other than the fact that Cangahua named these two categories exclusively.

WHAT KINDS OF PROGRAMS DO YOU LISTEN TO? (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Music	72	90	Educational	3	4
News	65	81	Political	3	4
Sports	6	8	Governmental	2	3
Religious	5	6	Discussion	0	0
Cultural	3	4	Other	3	4

80 respondents, 63% of the sample

20. What kinds of programs do you like best?

Aimed at a more 'affective' response, this question confirmed the

expressed preference for music and news. It validated the previous question's finding that the respondents listen to both music and news, but that they like music more. By comparison, no other category received any significant response; five Araque respondents said they liked sports, and religious programs were named by three Angla respondents.

WHAT KINDS OF PROGRAMS DO YOU LIKE BEST? (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Music	56	85	Cultural	1	2
News	46	70	Political	0	0
Sports	6	9	Governmental	1	2
Religious	3	5	Discussion	0	0
Educational	1	2	Other	2	4

66 respondents, 51% of the sample

21. What don't you like to hear on the radio?
'Soap operas' were the only programs mentioned more than once (3 respondents, 27%).[11]

11 respondents, 8% of the sample[12]

22. What stations do you listen to regularly?
Respondents to this open-ended question reported listening regularly to 24 different radio stations. Radio Bahá'í was named most frequently (66%), with Ecos de Cayambe reportedly being the second most popular station (42%). These two stations, with similar music content, were named frequently in all three communities. The third most popular station reportedly was Radio Melodia, a powerful, Quito-based pop music station. This station was named most frequently by the youthful, urban Araque sample, but was not frequently named in the rural communities. HCJB, the evangelical Christian station in Quito with strong national and international broadcast signals and programming, was named by 17% of the respondents. Otavalo's other radio station, Radio Otavalo, was named by 14% of the respondents.

On the average, respondents reported listening to three different stations. 44% of those answering the question said that they listened to Radio Bahá'í along with other stations. A total of 21 people said that they listened to Radio Bahá'í exclusively (they named no other station). Three other stations (Ecos de Cayambe, Melodia and HCJB) reportedly were listened to exclusively by two individuals each.

WHAT STATIONS DO YOU LISTEN TO REGULARLY? (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Bahá'í	63	66	Nacional	7	7
Colon	3	3	Otavalo	11	12
Cristal	4	4	Oyambaro	8	8
Cayambe	40	42	Popular	3	3
Urcuqui	7	7	Quito	4	4
Espejo	12	13	Tarqui	3	3
HCJB	16	17	Vision	3	3
Maranon	6	6	Zaracay	10	11
Melodia	17	18	Other	7	7

95 respondents, 74% of the sample

23. Do you listen to Radio Bahá'í?

94% of the respondents (86 people) said that they listened to Radio Bahá'í. In Angla, 100% of the respondents reported listening to Radio Bahá'í; in Araque, 92%, and in Cangahua, 93%. (The two in Cangahua who said they did not listen to Radio Bahá'í said they listened exclusively to HCJB.)

91 respondents, 71% of the sample

24. When do you listen to Radio Bahá'í?

Radio Bahá'ís largest audience reportedly was between 4 and 6 am and 4 and 6 pm; the 6 to 8 am time period had the third largest total of responses, although significantly reduced.

WHEN DO YOU LISTEN TO RADIO BAHÁ'Í? (1981)

Time	N	%	Time	N	%
12midnight–2am	1	1	12noon–2pm	6	8
2–4am	2	3	2–4pm	8	10
4–6am	65	81	4–6pm	53	66
6–8am	15	19	6–8pm	9	11
8–10am	8	10	8–10pm	1	1
10am–12noon	4	5	10–12midnight	2	3

80 respondents, 63% of the sample

25. What do you like about Radio Bahá'í?

The audience's expressed reasons for listening to Radio Bahá'í were consistent with their stated reasons for listening to radio: music and news. Interestingly, they reportedly were of equal importance to Radio Bahá'í listeners. A total of 25 respondents gave multiple answers; 12 of them named music and news. The residents of Cangahua expressed a preference for news programming over music. The urban community, Araque, also expressed a high interest in the news program.

Specific programs were mentioned infrequently (by 10% of the respondents). Although the station is owned by a religious institution, only two individuals expressed a preference for the religious content (which is consistent with the findings for question 20, above).

WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT RADIO BAHÁ'Í? (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Music	29	40	Specific programs	7	10
News	29	40	Quichua	5	7
Like it all	18	25	Other	3	4
Time	9	13			

72 respondents, 56% of the sample

26. What don't you like about Radio Bahá'í?
Only one response was mentioned more than once: four individuals from Araque (half of the respondents) said they did not like the fact that Radio Bahá'í broadcast so much in Quichua.[13]

8 respondents, 6% of the sample

27. What do you think are the best things about living in your community?
The primary interest expressed by the respondents in each of the three communities was 'unity'. The responses varied from statements such as, 'Be united to work together', to 'Unite to request what we need'. It appears that the question was interpreted in two distinct ways; some people responded to the question by describing their view of existing conditions (e.g. 'The friendliness of the people'), while others apparently expressed their hopes for the community (e.g. 'That everyone be united').

The second most popular response dealt with 'Working Together/ Cooperation'. By combining these respondents with the number who mentioned the related principle of 'Unity', a very significant 74% of the respondents reportedly hold similar views. 'The work' was the third most common response. There were 44 multiple responses.

THE BEST THINGS ABOUT LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Unity	41	57	The tranquillity	2	3
Working together, cooperation	12	17	The freedoms we enjoy	2	3
The work	10	14	Like it all	2	3
Good neighbors, friendly people	3	4	Other	11	15

72 respondents, 56% of the sample

28. What do you think are the major problems in your community?
Water was named most frequently in each community. While a few people specifically mentioned 'irrigation', it is likely that the response of 'water' included water for both domestic consumption and farming.

The second major problem identified was 'roads'. While each of the three sample communities has at least one major road connecting it to other localities, they range from the bone-rattling, pot-holed, semi-cobbled main street of Araque to the dirt paths of Angla and Cangahua, which are accessible only to the sturdiest of trucks and four-wheel-drive vehicles.

Several residents of Araque expressed a desire to have a new sewer system. Cangahua residents reported being as concerned about the presence of worms in their crops as they were about the lack of water and the poor roads.

MAJOR PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY (1981)

	N	%		N	%
Lack of water	73	64	Poultry diseases	3	3
Poor roads	32	28	Frost	3	3
Lack of electricity	7	6	There are no problems	3	3
Lack of sewers	7	6	Lack of community organization	2	2
Worms in crops	7	6	No government assistance	2	2
Plant fungus	6	5	Lack of doctors	2	2
Lack of a community center	4	4	No sports facility	2	2
Inadequate school	3	3	Drunks	2	2
Lack of transport	3	4	Other	12	11
Poor soil	3	3			

114 respondents, 89% of the sample

29. What are the best things about agriculture in your community? The great majority of the respondents named crops produced in the area. Potatoes, corn and barley were most frequently mentioned, but, as the terrain, soil and climatic features are different for each community, each named a different combination of principal crops. In Angla, the principal crops named were corn, potatoes and wheat. In Araque, corn and beans were named most frequently. Cangahua's principal crops reportedly were barley, potatoes, *habas* (fava beans) and onions.

THE BEST THINGS ABOUT AGRICULTURE IN THE COMMUNITY (1981)

	Angla		Araque		Cangahua	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Potatoes	20	32	8	13	35	55
Corn	25	42	34	58	0	0
Barley	9	17	4	8	3	9
Habas	1	3	3	9	28	88
Beans	2	7	24	89	1	4
Wheat	17	77	3	14	2	9
Onions	0	0	1	6	15	94
Other	13	43	1	6	6	20

113 respondents, 88% of the sample

30. What are the major agricultural problems in your community? The most pressing problem reported by farmers of the region was worms. Worms were named first in both Araque and Cangahua, and were second only to water in Angla. Crop fungus was the next most prevalent response common to the three communities. While water received roughly the same number of responses as fungus, it was primarily a concern of Angla residents. Cangahua residents also expressed concern about frost and the presence of flies. A lack of fertilizer was named as an important concern in Angla, but perhaps it would be more accurate to say the concern was, 'a lack of money to buy fertilizer', as one respondent so succinctly said.

MAJOR AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY (1981)

	Angla		Araque		Cangahua	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Worms	19	37	12	24	20	39
Fungus	8	28	7	24	14	48
Water	24	71	9	26	1	3
Frost	2	13	1	6	13	81
Lack of fertilizers	9	82	1	9	1	9
Flies	0	0	0	0	8	100
Pests	1	13	3	38	4	50
Rats	0	0	5	100	0	0
No bean crop	3	75	0	0	1	25
No problems	0	0	?	100	0	0
Lack of pasture	3	100	0	0	0	0
Poor soil	3	100	0	0	0	0
Animal diseases, lack of vaccinations	1	50	0	0	1	50
No corn crop	0	0	0	0	2	100
Other	2	29	4	57	1	14

119 respondents, 93% of the sample

31. What could be done to improve agriculture in your community? As the previous responses would suggest, most respondents said that fumigation and fertilizers offered the best solutions to their agricultural problems. Cangahua's problems with pests weighted the results in favor of fumigation, although fertilizer was the principal interest in Angla and Araque. Angla was the community expressing the most interest in receiving technical assistance and training in crop care.[14]

WHAT COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURE IN YOUR COMMUNITY? (1981)

	Angla		Araque		Cangahua	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fumigation	15	36	10	24	17	40
Fertilizer	17	43	15	38	8	20
Technical assistance, government help	11	55	7	35	2	10
Learn how to care for crops	12	92	0	0	1	8
Water	6	60	4	40	0	0
Better seeds	0	0	2	40	3	60
Await God's will	3	100	0	0	0	0
Tools and machinery	3	75	1	25	0	0
Work	0	0	1	50	1	50
Treat the poultry	2	100	0	0	0	0
Other	2	29	4	57	1	14

103 respondents, 80% of the sample

32. What would you like to learn about the culture of this area? The low response level indicates that this question was probably too vague. However, there was sufficient response to indicate interest in the traditions, customs and history of the indigenous people and the maintenance of their traditional forms of music.

WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN ABOUT THE CULTURE OF THIS AREA? (1981)

	N	%
Ancestral customs	14	39
Music	10	28
Clothes	4	11
Weaving	3	8
Other	5	14

36 respondents, 28% of the sample

33. What aspects of the local culture would you like to preserve and protect?

The concern most frequently mentioned by the respondents was a desire to maintain the Quichua language, the root of their identity and their link to the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Andes. Following in frequency were expressed interests in the music, customs, traditions and legends of their ancestors. Several people expressed a desire to maintain their traditional clothing. There were 36 multiple responses.

WHAT ASPECTS OF THE LOCAL CULTURE WOULD YOU LIKE TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT? (1981)

	N	%
Quichua	42	79
Music	21	40
Customs, traditions and legends	11	21
Clothes	8	15
Festivals	2	4
Other	5	9

53 respondents, 41% of the sample

34a. Do you think that radio can help improve agriculture in your community?

A total of 81 individuals (78%) said that they thought radio could help; 21 people (20%) said they did not know; two individuals (2%) said 'no.'

104 respondents, 68% of the sample

34b. How?

Most of the respondents suggested that programs about agriculture would be helpful. A few people suggested holding conferences or talks, and two specificially requested that programs be in Quichua.

HOW RADIO CAN HELP IMPROVE AGRICULTURE (1981)

	N	%
Agricultural programs	25	63
Conferences, talks	3	8
Quichua programs	2	5
Other	10	25

40 of the 81 respondents (49%) who answered 'yes' to question 34a answered this question; 31% of the sample

35a. Do you think that radio can help preserve the culture of this area?

67 individuals (77%) said that radio could help; 19 people (22%) said they did not know if it could or not; only one person (1%) said 'no.'

87 respondents, 68% of the sample

35b. How?
As with question 34b, few people had specific ideas to offer regarding types of programming that could help to promote and preserve the culture. Of those responding, the largest percentage named music as a means by which radio could help preserve the culture.

HOW RADIO CAN HELP PRESERVE THE CULTURE (1981)

	N	%
Music	10	40
Quichua programs	4	16
Cultural programs	3	12
Music festivals	2	8
Community relations programs	2	8
Other	4	16

25 of the 67 respondents (37%) who answered 'yes' to question 35a answered this question; 20% of the sample

36a. Do you think that radio can help the people of your community in other ways?
55 individuals (69%) said that radio could help; 23 people (29%) said they did not know; two people (2%) said 'no.'

80 respondents, 62% of the sample

36b. How?
There was a wide variety of responses, with some form of informational or educational programming being the most common response.

HOW RADIO CAN HELP THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY IN OTHER WAYS (1981)

	N	%
Literacy programs	3	16
Agricultural programs	3	16
Children's programs	2	11
In-school/educational programs	2	11
Other	9	47

19 of the 55 respondents (36%) who answered 'yes' to question 36a answered this question; 15% of the sample

37. Is there anything else you'd like to talk to us about?
Only two answers were given by more than one respondent: three people requested health-related programming and two others requested that the programming be extended later into the night.

13 respondents, 10% of the sample

38. Is there anything you'd like to ask us?
Only two people answered this question. One person asked, 'Why do you ask these questions?' The other asked, 'Will you make plans to hold a music festival here [in Angla]?'

The findings of this first comprehensive survey left little doubt as to the popularity of Radio Bahá'í among the poor, rural indigenous people – the very people the station attempts to reach. The reasons for

the station's popularity were also apparent: the indigenous people apparently listen to Radio Bahá'í because it plays their music, presents their news and speaks their language. The reported popularity of the station among these people implies that the participatory methodologies utilized by the station not only provide an accurate portrayal of their tastes, interests and needs, but also result in programming and non-broadcast activities that successfully address them. However, the popularity of the programming cannot be equated with the programs' effectiveness at achieving its intended goals. It was also important, therefore, to attempt to assess the effect of the station's programming on audience behaviors.

The 1983 Evaluation

A second formal evaluation of Radio Bahá'í's audience was conducted in 1983. The evaluation was intended to serve three main functions: to provide a comparison to the description of audience demographics and attitudes derived from the 'preliminary' evaluation conducted in 1981; to gauge the degree of listenership for programs produced under the auspices of the CIDA-sponsored Rural Radio Development Project, Caminando Juntos; to attempt to determine whether or not the CIDA project's programs influenced listener behaviors. I designed the evaluation with the assistance of the Caminando Juntos staff during my return visit to Otavalo in April of 1983.

The Sample

The evaluation was conducted through interviews with residents of the same communities as those used in the 1981 evaluation.[15] The only significant difference in the sample selection is that neighboring villages are included in the Araque zone for 1983, something that was not done in 1981. The addition of more rural respondents in the Araque sample is reflected in the contrast between the 1981 and 1983 responses for this sample.[16]

A total of 147 interviews were conducted: fifty in Angla (34% of the total sample), forty-eight in Araque (33%), and forty-nine in Cangahua (33%). This sample size is about 15% larger than that of the preliminary survey.

The Methodology

While modelled on the 1981 questionnaire, the second questionnaire was revised and expanded to allow for an analysis of activities undertaken during the intervening two years. Methods utilized in administering

the 1981 evaluation were reviewed and plans were made for preparing the station staff to conduct the survey during the second half of June 1983.

As with the first survey, the administration of the questionnaires was conducted on a random house-to-house basis by four teams of between three and five members each. The teams were composed of radio station staff and volunteers.

Summary of the Data

The data derived from the 1983 survey was based on a larger sample than the 1981 data; therefore, there were more potential responses to each question. Not only were there more responses, but, on the average, a higher percentage of respondents answered each of the questions. These increases provide what can be considered an even more accurate picture of the audience.[17]

The following section provides an analysis of the data derived from each question. As in 1981, the first four questions dealt with administrative matters; we begin here with question 5. An English translation of the original questionnaire is provided in Appendix V.

5. Age

Average age was 39, as compared to 40 in 1981. There was a fairly even distribution between the ages of 21 and 60.

Age	N	%	Age	N	%
16–20	9	7	51–55	12	9
21–25	13	10	56–60	10	7
26–30	15	11	61–65	3	2
31–35	18	13	66–70	4	3
36–40	21	15	71–75	2	1
41–45	16	12	76–80	1	1
46–50	12	9			

136 respondents, 94% of the sample

6. Sex

Of those responding, 55% were men, 45% women. This compared to 53% and 47% respectively in 1981.

143 respondents, 97% of the sample

7. Number in family

The average number of adults in each family was 3 (2.5) compared to 3 (2.9) in 1981; children averaged 3 per family (3.0) compared to 3 (2.7) in 1981. The total average was 5 (5.0) compared to 5 (5.4) in 1981.

NUMBER IN FAMILY (1983)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Adults												
N	5	85	17	10	3	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
%	4	68	14	8	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
	125 respondents, 85% of the sample											
Children												
N	16	31	26	18	10	2	2	2	1	0	0	0
%	15	29	24	17	9	2	2	2	1	0	0	0
	108 respondents, 73% of the sample											
Total												
N	2	12	15	31	29	24	11	10	4	0	2	1
%	2	9	11	22	21	17	8	7	3	0	2	1
	141 respondents, 96% of the sample											

8. Can you read and write?

35% of the respondents reported being literate, as compared to 46% in 1981. 41% of the males said they were literate and, as expected, the rate was lower among females: 31%. This compared to 58% and 29% respectively in 1981. Angla (24%) and Cangahua (23%) reported equally low literacy rates compared to Araque (60%), the more urban community (37%, 21% and 81% in 1981). The major contrast between the two surveys occurred among men in Angla and Araque, where the reported literacy rates were significantly lower in 1983 than in 1981 (Angla: 68% in 1981, 31% in 1983; Araque: 87% in 1981, 61% in 1983).

CAN YOU READ AND WRITE? (1983)

	Yes		No	
	N	%	N	%
Male	31	41	45	59
Female	20	31	44	69
Angla	12	24	37	76
Araque	28	60	19	40
Cangahua	11	23	37	77
Total	51	35	93	65

144 respondents, 98% of the sample

9. Level of education

As the responses to the previous question implied, the levels of education reported in this sample were lower than reported in 1981. Whereas 44% of the 1981 sample said they had no formal schooling, 54% of the 1983 sample reported having no education.[18] 64% of both the Angla and Cangahua respondents reported having no education, compared to 31% of the Araque respondents (57%, 70% and 9% in 1981). Although the education levels for Araque decreased compared to 1981, the responses again indicated that Araque residents are better educated than the residents of the other two zones.[19]

LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1983)

	N	%
None	79	61
1–3	24	18
3–6	14	11
6–9	8	6
9–12	0	0
Higher	5	4

130 respondents, 88% of the sample

10. Language

The 1983 sample had a lower percentage of individuals who said they spoke Spanish exclusively, a higher percentage who said they spoke Quichua exclusively, and approximately the same percentage of individuals who said they were biligual. Those who said they spoke only Spanish were more evenly divided between males and females than in 1981 (54% and 46% in 1983; 63% and 37% in 1981), but women still comprised the majority of the individuals who said they spoke only Quichua (11 out of 13).

A major shift appeared in the Araque sample. In 1981, 89% of the respondents said they spoke Spanish exclusively, compared to 48% in 1983. Interestingly, in 1981 Araque had no respondents who spoke Quichua exclusively, but in 1983 they had seven such respondents.[20] Araque also had the lowest number of bilingual respondents (18, compared to Angla's 46 and Cangahua's 35).

LANGUAGE (1983)

	Spanish		Quichua		Both	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	14	18	2	3	60	79
Female	12	20	11	19	36	61
Angla	0	0	4	8	46	92
Araque	23	48	7	15	18	38
Cangahua	4	10	2	5	35	85
Total	27	19	13	9	99	71

139 respondents, 95% of the sample

11. Do you own a radio?

86% of the 1983 sample said they owned their own radios, a 10% increase over the 78% who responded positively in 1981. This indicates again that the broadcast region has a high saturation of receiver sets. In addition, radio ownership apparently increased between 1981 and 1983.

147 respondents, 100% of the sample

12. Is your radio working now?

75% of the respondents (95 individuals) indicated that their receiver set was working. This is similar to the response in the 1981 survey (76%).

121 of the 126 respondents (96%) who answered 'yes' to question 11 answered this question; 82% of the sample

13. Why not?
A total of 12 people (67% of the respondents) said that their radio was broken; 6 people (33%) said it was not working because they had no batteries. By combining the responses to this question with the 'no responses' to question 12, it is reasonable to assume that approximately 25% of the receiver sets in the region were not operating at any given time. This is comparable to the 1981 finding (24%).

18 of the 26 respondents (69%) who answered 'no' to question 12 answered this question; 12% of the sample

14. Does your radio have short wave?
87% of the respondents said that their radio had short wave bands. The percentage of radio owners who said their sets were equipped with short wave was significantly higher in 1983 (85%) than in 1981 (68%). It appears that the audience for short wave broadcasts increased between 1981 and 1983.

122 of the 126 respondents (97%) who answered 'yes' to question 11 answered this question; 83% of the sample

15. Does it have the 60-meter band?
98% of the respondents (94 people; 75% of the radio owners) indicated that their radio had the 60-meter band, the band Radio Bahá'í began using in 1982. This is a significant increase over the 1981 finding, where only 16 individuals (17% of the radio owners) reported having radios equipped with the 120-meter band, the band on which Radio Bahá'í was then broadcasting.

96 of the 122 respondents (79%) who answered 'yes' to question 14 answered this question; 65% of the sample

16. Do you listen to short wave?
40% of the respondents (24% of the total sample) indicated that they listened to short wave broadcasts. This appears to reinforce the findings of the 1981 survey, which indicated that a potential audience for short wave broadcasts existed in the region.

88 respondents, 60% of the sample

17. When do you listen to the radio?
As in the previous evaluation, the times most frequently mentioned were between 4 and 6 am (90% in 1983; 61% in 1981) and 4 and 6 pm (64% in 1983; 60% in 1981), with the surrounding time periods reported as being the next most popular. The early morning time-period apparently grew in popularity, showing a large increase in listenership (50%) between 1981 and 1983.

There were 107 multiple responses to this question (82% of the respondents). 44% said they listened during two periods, 19% during three periods, and 10% during seven periods (meaning, essentially, all

day long). The average number of listening periods reported was three (3.4), the same as in 1981.

WHEN DO YOU LISTEN TO THE RADIO? (1983)

Time	N	%	Time	N	%
4–6am	119	90	2–4pm	42	32
6–8am	47	36	4–6pm	85	64
8–10am	40	30	6–8pm	40	30
10am–12noon	30	23	8–10pm	9	7
12noon–2pm	23	17	10pm–12midnight	8	6

132 respondents, 90% of the sample

18. Why do you listen to the radio?

The responses to this open-ended question were similar to those of the 1981 survey, with multiple answers (usually music and news) predominating. Music was the primary reason given for listening, followed by broadcasts of news and the time.

WHY DO YOU LISTEN TO THE RADIO? (1983)

	N	%
Music	24	20
News	9	8
Time	7	6
Other	20	17
Multiple	59	50

119 respondents, 81% of the sample

19. What kinds of programs do you listen to?

Again, music (98% in 1983; 90% in 1981) and news (76% in 1983; 81% in 1981) were the forms of programming most frequently named. Four types of programming showed significant increases in popularity over the 1981 survey: religious (41% in 1983, 6% in 1981); cultural (37% in 1983, 4% in 1981); educational (29% in 1983, 4% in 1981); sports (14% in 1983, 8% in 1981).

There were 118 multiple responses to this question (96% of the respondents). 31% named two types of programs, 34% named three, 18% named four. The average number of program types named was three (3.3).

WHAT KINDS OF PROGRAMS DO YOU LISTEN TO? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Music	128	98	Sports	18	14
News	99	76	Political	7	5
Religious	54	41	Governmental	8	6
Cultural	49	37	Discussion	9	7
Educational	38	29	Other	20	15

131 respondents, 81% of the sample

20. What radio stations do you listen to regularly?

As in the 1981 survey, Radio Bahá'í was far and away the most common response to this open-ended question. In fact, its popularity apparently increased: 81% in 1983; 66% in 1981. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that 99% of the sample responded to this

question in 1983, compared to 74% in 1981.

In addition to Radio Bahá'í, most of the stations cited in the 1981 survey strengthened their positions, with HCJB having shown the greatest proportional increase of reported listenership of any station (41% in 1983; 17% in 1981). Others included Radio Espejo (23% in 1983; 13% in 1981), Radio Otavalo (22% in 1983; 12% in 1981), and Radio Zaracay (19% in 1983; 11% in 1981). According to the responses, Radio Ecos de Cayambe maintained, but did not increase, its high listenership (40% in 1983; 42% in 1981).

WHAT STATIONS DO YOU LISTEN TO REGULARLY? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Bahá'í	118	81	Melodia	28	19
Colon	7	5	Nacional	17	12
Cristal	8	5	Otavalo	32	22
Cali	5	8	Popular	7	5
Cayambe	58	40	Quito	8	5
Urcuqui	25	17	Tarqui	9	6
Espejo	34	23	Vision	4	3
HCJB	60	41	Zaracay	28	19
Maranon	20	14	Other	25	17

146 respondents, 99% of the sample

21. Do you listen to Radio Bahá'í?

As in 1981, 94% of the audience reported that they listened regularly or occasionally to Radio Bahá'í. The number and proportion of respondents to this question was much larger than in the 1981 survey (91 individuals, 71% of the sample).

137 respondents, 93% of the sample

22. A. Medium wave B. Short wave C. Both

The interesting finding on this question was that 18% of the respondents apparently switched to the short wave band of Radio Bahá'í after the AM station went off the air at 7.00 pm.

	N	%
Medium wave	91	82
Short wave	0	0
Both	20	18

111 of the 129 respondents (86%) who answered 'yes' to question 21 answered this question; 76% of the sample

23. What do you like about Radio Bahá'í?

The responses indicate that music increased its position as the primary appeal of Radio Bahá'í (53% in 1983; 40% in 1981). The second most common response in 1983 was 'I like it all' (16%; 25% in 1981). News (in the case of Radio Bahá'í, the *communicados* programs) was the second-place response in 1981 (40%) and third in 1983 (11%). Four individuals (3%) specifically mentioned agricultural programs.

WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT RADIO BAHÁ'Í? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Music	67	53	Specific programs	7	6
Like it all	20	16	Time	5	4
News	14	11	Agricultural programs	4	3
Quichua	7	6	Other	3	2

127 respondents, 87% of the sample; 93% of those answering 'yes' to question 21

24. Is there anything you don't like about Radio Bahá'í?
80% of the people responding to this question (50% of the total sample) said, 'I like it all', more respondents than offered the same answer in the previous question. 18 people (20% of the respondents, 12% of the total sample) had specific complaints. The three principal complaints were against programs in Quichua (5%, with all 5 respondents being from Spanish-dominant Araque), religious programs (5%), and international music (3%).

IS THERE ANYTHING YOU DON'T LIKE ABOUT RADIO BAHÁ'Í? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Like it all	74	80	International music	3	3
Quichua	5	5	Other	5	5
Religious programs	5	5			

92 respondents, 63% of the sample

25. What is good about your community?
29% of the respondents cited agriculture (the land, crops) as being the best aspect of their community, 22% cited the availability of water and 12% mentioned their relationships with other members of the community. 13% responded by saying that nothing was good about their community. These responses were quite different from the 1981 survey, in which 57% of the respondents mentioned 'being united' as the best aspect of life in their community.[21]

WHAT IS GOOD ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Agriculture	39	29	Everything	9	7
Water	29	22	Fiestas	5	4
Nothing good	17	13	Cooperatives	4	3
People	16	12	Other	15	11

134 respondents, 91% of the sample

26. What are the best aspects of the culture here?
57% of the respondents named the major annual religious festivals (*fiestas*) and 17% named their community school and access to education as the best aspects of the culture.[22]

WHAT ARE THE BEST ASPECTS OF THE CULTURE HERE? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Fiestas	72	57	Meetings	6	5
Schools	21	17	Nothing	4	3
Customs	7	6	Other	10	8
Music	7	6			

127 respondents, 86% of the sample

27. What aspects of the culture would you like to preserve and protect?
There were four major categories named: customs (27% in 1983; 19% in 1981), music (21% in 1983; 36% in 1981), *fiestas* (21% in 1983; 3% in 1981), and Quichua (15% in 1983; 72% in 1981). The major changes from 1981 were that fewer respondents mentioned Quichua, *fiestas* were named more often, and clothing was mentioned less frequently (2% in 1983; 14% in 1981).

WHAT ASPECTS OF THE CULTURE WOULD YOU LIKE TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Customs	36	27	Clothing	3	2
Music	28	21	Nothing	2	2
Fiestas	28	21	Other	14	11
Quichua	20	15			

131 respondents, 89% of the sample

28. What could be done to improve the culture here?
37% of the respondents said that having programs on the radio would benefit the culture. Education was mentioned by the second highest percent of respondents (25%), while promoting unity was third (12%).

WHAT COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE CULTURE HERE? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Programs	35	37	Fiestas	3	3
Education	24	25	Bilingualism	2	2
Unity	11	12	Other	11	12
Music	9	9			

95 respondents, 65% of the sample

29. Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to preserve the culture here?
68% of the respondents (94 people) answered affirmatively, two people said 'no' (1%) and the rest (43 people, 31%) said that they did not know.

139 respondents, 95% of the sample

30. How?
In 1981, only 28% of the respondents were able to offer ideas about how radio could help preserve the culture. This percentage nearly doubled in 1983 (the number of respondents tripled, from 25 to 78). 62% named radio programs and information as an effective means of preserving the culture. This is a significant change from 1981, when programming was mentioned by only 12% of the respondents. Music, the top category in 1981 (40%), dropped to 18% in 1983.

12% of the 1983 respondents specifically mentioned *Nucanchic Tono*, Radio Bahá'í's annual music festival (one of the principal activities supported by the Caminando Juntos project).

HOW RADIO BAHÁ'Í HAS HELPED TO PRESERVE THE CULTURE (1983)

	N	%
Programs, information	48	62
Music	14	18
Nucanchic Tono	9	12
Quichua	7	9

78 respondents, 54% of the sample

31. Have you listened to the cultural programs on Radio Bahá'í?
66% of the respondents (93 people) said that they had listened to the project's cultural programming on Radio Bahá'í, 12 people (9%) said 'no', and the rest (35 individuals, 31%) said that they did not know.

140 respondents, 95% of the sample

32. Did you like them?
82 of the 83 respondents (99%) said that they liked the programs.

83 of the 93 respondents (89%) who answered 'yes' to question 31 answered this question; 57% of the total sample

33. Why?
The most common response (55%) was that the programs were instructive. The listeners apparently liked learning about their culture, especially their customs and traditions.

WHAT LISTENERS LIKED ABOUT RADIO BAHÁ'Í'S CULTURAL PROGRAMS (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Instructive, helpful	35	55	Quichua	5	8
Music	6	9	Well done	4	6
Comunicados	6	9	Other	8	13

64 of the 82 respondents (78%) who answered 'yes' to both questions 31 and 32 answered this question; 44% of the total sample

34. Have you been to one of the indigenous music festivals, *Nucanchic Tono?*
42% of the respondents said they had been to a festival and another 4% said that they had listened to it on the radio. Of those who said they had attended a festival, 50% were from Angla, 24% from Araque and 26% from Cangahua. Owing to their proximity to Otavalo, Angla and Araque residents could have attended either a regional or the final festival (or both). Owing to their distance from Otavalo, it is likely that most of those from Cangahua who answered affirmatively attended the regional festival held in their community.

ATTENDANCE AT INDIGENOUS MUSIC FESTIVALS (1983)

	Yes		No		Listened by radio	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Angla	31	63	17	35	1	2
Araque	15	31	28	58	5	10
Cangahua	16	33	33	67	0	0
Total	62	42	78	53	6	4

146 respondents, 99% of the sample

35. Have you been to one of the children's festivals, *Huahuamantag Huahuapag?*

23% of the respondents said they had attended a Children's Festival. Of this number, 61% were from Angla, 24% from Araque, and 15% from Cangahua. 3% of the respondents mentioned hearing the festival on the radio.

ATTENDANCE AT CHILDREN'S FESTIVALS (1983)

	Yes		No		Listened by radio	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Angla	20	41	26	53	3	6
Araque	8	17	37	79	2	4
Cangahua	5	10	43	90	0	0

144 respondents, 98% of the sample

36. What are the best things about the health of the people in your community?

Regrettably, the most frequent response to this question was 'nothing' (21%). However, the next highest percentage of respondents (19%) said that the health of the people was good. Availability of water and latrines tied for the third position (14% each). The concern over water (for reasons of both health and agriculture) was established in the 1981 survey.[23]

THE BEST THINGS ABOUT THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Nothing	23	21	Cleanliness	6	6
Healthy	21	19	Doctors	4	4
Water	15	14	Traditional remedies	4	4
Latrines	15	14	Other	20	19

108 respondents, 73% of the sample

37. What could be done to improve the health of the people in your community?

Half of the respondents (49%) said that the best answer to their health needs would be the establishment of a health center. This was followed by a desire for doctors (15%) and better water and latrines (9% each). 8% said that their health needs could be served by radio programs.

WHAT COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMUNITY? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Health Center	66	49	Vaccinations	2	1
Doctors	20	15	Traditional remedies	2	1
Water	12	9	More/better food	2	1
Latrines	12	9	Other	8	6
Programs	11	8			

135 respondents, 92% of the sample

38. Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to improve the health of your community?

61% of those responding (86 people) answered 'yes'; 4% said 'no' and 36% said they did not know.

142 respondents, 97% of the sample

39. How?
All the respondents to this question said that programs and information broadcast by the station had helped.

65 of the 86 respondents (70%) who answered 'yes' to question 38 answered this question; 44% of the sample

40. Have you listened to the health programs on Radio Bahá'í?
68% of the respondents (96 people) said that they had listened to the project's health programs on Radio Bahá'í; 11% (16 people) said 'no.' 21% (29 people) said they did not know whether they had or not.

141 respondents, 96% of the sample

41. Did you understand them?
85 of the 89 respondents (96%) indicated that they were able to understand the project's health programs.

89 of the 96 respondents (93%) who answered 'yes' to question 40 answered this question; % of the sample

42. Did you use them?
61% of the respondents (37% of the total sample) indicated that they followed the advice or utilized the information offered by the project's health programs; 39% said they did not.

89 of the 89 respondents (100%) who answered 'yes' to question 40 answered this question; 61% of the sample

43. How?
93% of the respondents (29% of the total sample) said that they followed the advice offered in the programs; 7% gave other answers. 48% of the respondents (22 individuals) specifically cited the kind of advice they followed, such as boiling drinking water, vaccinating children, using latrines, cleaning the house and taking baths regularly.

46 of the 54 respondents (85%) who answered 'yes' to questions 40 and 42 answered this question; 31% of the sample

44. What are the best things about agriculture here?
As in the 1981 survey, most respondents (44%) named specific crops as the best aspect of agriculture in their area. Both 'land' (13%) and 'natural fertilizers' (12%) were new responses in the 1983 survey. 'Climate' was considered a *negative* factor in Cangahua (included in the 'other' category).

THE BEST THINGS ABOUT AGRICULTURE IN THE COMMUNITY (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Crops	60	44	Harvest	6	4
Land	18	13	Climate	4	3
Fertilizer	16	12	Work	2	1
Nothing	13	9	Other	18	13

137 respondents, 93% of the sample

45. What are the best crops in your community?
The same three crops were named most often in both the 1981 and the 1983 surveys: corn, barley and potatoes. *Quinua* and *ocos* were also

important in Angla; Araque residents frequently named both corn and beans; onions remained one of Cangahua's major crops.

Farmers in Cangahua expressed particular concern that, owing to the poor climate, they were unable to grow corn.

THE BEST CROPS IN THE COMMUNITY (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Corn	59	40	Onions	9	6
Barley	23	15	*Habas*	7	5
Potatoes	15	10	Beans	6	4
Wheat	10	7	Other	17	12

146 respondents, 99% of the sample

46. What could be done to improve agriculture here?
The three principal responses for the 1983 survey were the same as in 1981, although the percentages changed: fertilize the soil (56% in 1983; 39% in 1981); get technical assistance (13% in 1983; 19% in 1981); fumigate crops (7% in 1983; 41% in 1981). The major change was that in 1983 fewer respondents named fumigation than had named it in 1981.[24]

Nine individuals (7%) suggested radio programs as a means of improving agriculture. This statistic contrasts favorably to the single individual who offered this answer in 1981.

WHAT COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURE HERE? (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Fertilize	75	56	Tend soil	5	4
Technical assistance	17	13	Work harder	5	4
Fumigate	10	7	Other	13	10
Radio programs	9	7			

134 respondents, 91% of the sample

47. Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to improve agriculture in your community?
The majority of the respondents (56%, 81 people) said 'yes'; 39% (57 people) said they did not know. 5% said that the programs did not help.

145 respondents, 99% of the sample

48. How?
All of the respondents to this open-ended question said that Radio Bahá'í had helped through its agricultural programming. 38% of the respondents (15% of the total sample) specifically mentioned the project's agricultural program, *Tarpupac Yuyay*. In addition, six respondents (10%) cited examples of advice offered on the programs.

57 of the 81 respondents (70%) who answered 'yes' to question 47 answered this question; 39% of the sample

49. Have you listened to the agricultural programs on Radio Bahá'í?
A high percentage of the respondents (69%, 98 people) said they had listened to the project's programming; 10% (14 people) said they

hadn't. 21% (30 people) said they did not know if they had or not.

142 respondents, 97% of the sample

50. Did you understand them?

85 of the respondents (93%) answered affirmatively.

91 of the 98 respondents (93%) who answered 'yes' to question 49 answered this question; % of the sample

51. Did you use them?

45% of the respondents (36 people; 24% of the total sample) said that they followed the advice offered on the programs. 55% (44 people) said they didn't, but several of them indicated that this was because they didn't have the land, crops or animals that a response required.[25]

80 of the 98 respondents (82%) who answered 'yes' to question 49 answered this question; 54% of the sample

52. How?

19 individuals (63% of the respondents; 13% of the total sample) said that they followed the advice offered by the programs. 16 of those 19 respondents cited specific examples of advice they had followed, such as how to prepare the soil for planting. 11 individuals (37%) said that they listened to the programs but did not indicate whether or not they were motivated to act.

30 of the 36 respondents (83%) who answered 'yes' to questions 49 and 51 answered this question; 20% of the sample

53. What are the best things about animal care in your community?

Having good pasture (30%) and the availability of vaccinations and medications (19%) were the two most common responses.

THE BEST THINGS ABOUT ANIMAL CARE IN THE COMMUNITY (1983)

	N	%		N	%
Pasture	25	30	Health of animals	5	6
Vaccinations and medicines	16	19	All good	5	6
Corrals	7	8	Other	19	23
Nothing	7	8			

84 respondents, 57% of the sample

54. What are the best animals in your community?

Cows were named most frequently (37%), probably because they provide labor as well as food. Pigs, a popular part of the diet, were second (23%) and sheep, which provide both food and wool (weaving is the principal artisan craft in the region), were third (20%).

WHAT ARE THE BEST ANIMALS IN YOUR COMMUNITY? (1983)

	N	%
Cows	54	37
Pigs	33	23
Sheep	29	20
Unspecified livestock	14	10
Horses	8	5
Chickens	6	4
All	2	1

146 respondents, 99% of the sample

55. What could be done to improve animal care here?
Having more vaccinations and medications available was the most desired improvement (32%), followed by a desire for more information and programs (23%), more and better food (21%), and more professional veterinary care (13%).

WHAT COULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE ANIMAL CARE HERE? (1983)

	N	%
Vaccinations and medicines	36	32
Information and programs	26	23
More/better food	24	21
Veterinary help	15	13
Corrals	4	4
Other	8	7

113 respondents, 77% of the sample

56. Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to improve the animal care here? More than half the respondents (53%, 76 people) said 'yes'; 44% (63 people) did not know; 3% said 'no.'

143 respondents, 97% of the sample

57. How?
All 49 respondents said that Radio Bahá'í had helped by providing programs and information. 22% of them (11 individuals) gave specific examples of information that the project programs had offered, such as the importance of vaccinations. *Tarpupac Yuyay*, the Caminando Juntos project's agricultural program, was mentioned by name by several respondents.

49 of the 76 respondents (64%) who answered 'yes' to question 56 answered this question; 33% of the sample

58. Have you listened to the programs about animal care on Radio Bahá'í?
The majority (58%, 84 people) said that they had listened to such programs; 12% (18 people) said they had not. 30% (43 people) said they did not know whether or not they had listened.

145 respondents, 99% of the sample

59. Did you understand them?
96% of the respondents (71 people) said they had understood the programs and 4% (3 people) said they did not.

74 of the 84 respondents (88%) who ansswered 'yes' to question 58 answered this question; 50% of the sample

60. Did you use them?
42% of the respondents (31 individuals, 21% of the total sample) said they had used information provided on the programs; 58% (42 individuals) said they had not.

73 of the 84 respondents (87%) who answered 'yes' to question 58 answered this question: 50% of the sample.

61. How did you use them?
All 22 respondents said they followed the advice offered on the programs. 59% of the respondents (13 individuals, 9% of the total sample) cited specific advice that had been offered by the project's programs, such as how to prevent hoof and mouth disease and how to take care of chickens.

22 of the 31 respondents (71%) who answered 'yes' to questions 58 and 60 answered this question; 15% of the sample

Questions for Angla only[26]

62. Have you seen the 'mural newspapers'?
10 respondents (71%; 20% of the sample) had seen the murals; four respondents (29%) did not know if they had or not.

14 respondents, 28% of the Angla sample

63. Where did you see them?
Four people said they saw them in Ugsha, one in Casco.

5 respondents, 10% of the sample; 50% of those answering 'yes' to question 62

64. Did you understand them?
Two of the eight respondents said that they were able to understand the murals.

8 respondents, 16% of the sample; 80% of those answering 'yes' to question 62

65. If not, why not?
All four respondents (40% of those who saw the murals) said they could not understand the murals because they could not read.

4 respondents, 8% of the sample; 67% of those answering 'no' to question 64.

66. Which of the messages did you like best?
Two people, both of whom said they were illiterate, said they liked the artwork. There was one multiple response and three other answers.

6 respondents, 12% of the sample; 60% of those answering 'yes' to question 62

67. Do you think that the messages on the mural newspapers have helped your community?
One person answered 'yes'; one person answered 'no'; eight individuals said they did not know.

10 respondents, 20% of the sample; 100% of those answering 'yes' to question 62

68. How?
'Because we learn from them.'

One respondent: the individual who answered 'yes' to question 67; 2% of the sample

End of Questions for Angla

69. What other kinds of programs would you like to hear on Radio Bahá'í?
Music (3 respondents, 15%) and cultural programs (2 respondents,

10%) were the only program types named more than once; they were also the dominant types named in the multiple responses.

20 respondents, 14% of the sample

70. In general, do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped the people of your community?
24 of the respondents (80%) answered 'yes.' Five respondents (17%) did not know; one person (3%) said 'no.'

30 respondents, 20% of the sample

71. How?
Three individuals said that Radio Bahá'í had helped through the *communicados* on the local news program; three said the programs helped; two said through the use of Quichua; and one said through music. There was one multiple response.

10 respondents, 7% of the sample; 33% of those answering 'yes' to question 70

72. What else would you like to learn about?
Agriculture was the most common topic named (28%), with religion and information on the Bahá'í Faith second (24%).

WHAT ELSE WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN ABOUT? (1983)

	N	%
Agriculture	7	28
Religion/Bahá'í Faith	6	24
Women's programs	3	12
Cultural programs	2	8
Multiple	3	12
Other	4	16

25 respondents, 17% of the sample

73. Would you like to talk with us about anything else?
Only one response occurred more than once (it was said by three people): 'Please come back and talk with us again.'

9 respondents, 6% of the sample

74. Would you like to ask us any questions?
Each of the five responses was different.

5 respondents, 3% of the sample

The findings of this survey substantiate virtually all of the results of the previous survey. There can be little doubt that Radio Bahá'í is the region's most popular station; it is also clear that the station's popularity stems from its ability to serve the tastes of the indigenous population.

These findings also indicate that the content of the programs are of interest to the listeners and directly address some of their needs. It appears that a significant portion of the audience attends to the information contained in the 'development-oriented' broadcasts and attempts to follow the advice offered.

These responses are significant not only because they imply changed behaviors, but, more importantly in light of the research questions, because they apparently result from the audience's perception of Radio Bahá'í as 'their' station, a perception that can be attributed to the participatory methodologies utilized by the station.

Summary of the Findings

AUDIENCE

Demographics

The findings of the 1983 survey substantiated the basic data from the 1981 survey regarding audience demographics. The most significant change appears to be that the audience may have been even more rural than the first survey indicated. This is attributable to the fact that villages in close proximity to the town of Araque were included in the 1983 survey of the Araque zone, the zone considered most 'urban' in 1981. As a result, while there was still a clear difference between the 'urban' and 'rural' zones, responses in the 'urban' zone were more closely aligned to the two 'rural' zones than was true in 1981.

Radio Bahá'í apparently is very effective at reaching its primary audience: rural, indigenous farm families. In light of the fact that one of the project's main goals was to reach rural illiterates, the positive results from the less-educated 1983 sample have special significance. Radio Bahá'í appeals to both men and women, and to all ages from 21 to 80. Although it attracts a large listenership in the more urban areas of the region, it is not as popular among young urban residents.

Attitudes

Virtually all of the information gathered in 1981 relevant to the audience's perceptions of their communities' main strengths and weaknesses (principally relating to agriculture and culture) was validated by the 1983 findings. The people were proud of and wished to preserve their traditional customs, they appreciated the unity and co-operation in their communities, they liked the land they worked on and the crops they produced, and they placed great value on their livestock.

Water remained their primary material concern. In addition, they were very desirous of receiving improved professional care and prescribed treatments – for themselves (through health centers and doctors), for their animals (through medicines and veterinary care) and for their crops (through fertilizers, fungicides and technical assistance).

Listenership

The majority of people surveyed reported owning their own radio sets, and radio ownership apparently increased between 1981 and 1983. This reinforces the notion that radio is the medium of choice among the *campesinos*. This may be one reason why listenership apparently increased. Whatever the reasons, in 1983 more people were listening to more types of programming than in 1981.

The research strongly suggests that Radio Bahá'í is the most popular radio station in the Otavalo region. When the evaluation conducted in 1981 indicated that 94% of those polled listened (at least occasionally) to Radio Bahá'í, there was reason to be at least somewhat skeptical. Having 94% of the audience listen regularly or occasionally to one station is virtually unheard of in competitive radio markets. However, the validity of this finding appears well-substantiated by the 1983 survey, for an identical 94% of the respondents (from a somewhat more rural, less educated sample) said that they listened to Radio Bahá'í. The validity of this finding is further strengthened by the fact that the number and proportion of respondents in the 1983 survey (129 individuals, 93% of the sample) was much larger than in the 1981 survey (91 individuals, 71% of the sample). Not only does it appear that nearly everyone in the region listens to Radio Bahá'í, but the number of regular listeners reportedly increased between 1981 and 1983: 81% of the 1983 respondents said that they listened regularly to Radio Bahá'í as compared to 66% in 1981.

The empirical data is substantiated by observations in rural communities. All staff members reported that whenever they were in a village (and even in larger towns, for that matter), they could hear radios being played in the homes, shops and fields of the people. Invariably, the station being listened to was Radio Bahá'í.[27]

In 1981, only two people reported listening to Radio Bahá'í on short wave. However, after initiating broadcasts on the 60-meter band, more people were able to listen to Radio Bahá'í on short wave. As an apparent result, a substantial portion of the local audience reportedly continue to listen to Radio Bahá'í after the medium wave frequency goes off the air at 7:00 pm.

Radio Bahá'í's popularity has led other stations to imitate its format. Specifically, more stations were playing indigenous music and doing some announcing in Quichua. In 1977, when Radio Bahá'í went on the air, it was the only station that used Quichua regularly. Stations that increased their amounts of indigenous music and Quichua programming between 1981 and 1983 showed significant gains in listenership among the sample population. Radio Otavalo and HCJB were two such

stations. Radio Otavalo's listenership rose from 12% in the 1981 survey to 22% in 1983; HCJB's listenership went from 17% in 1981 to 41% in 1983. In contrast, Radio Melodia, a Quito-based popular music station definitely *not* programmed for the indigenous populations, showed no change in listenership (19% in 1981; 18% in 1983). Rather than reducing the size of Radio Bahá'í's audience, other stations' adoption of the Radio Bahá'í format appears to have increased listenership overall. This implies that Ecuadorian *campesinos* are being better served by radio in general as a result of the influence of Radio Bahá'í.

In addition to listening to the station, thousands of *campesinos* have attended the two major non-broadcast activities sponsored annually by Radio Bahá'í, the festival of indigenous music, *Nucanchic Tono*, and the annual children's cultural festival, *Huahuamantag Huahuapag*, and people throughout Ecuador have seen festival participants on national television.

PROGRAMMING

Music and News

Most people said that they listened to the radio primarily for music and, not surprisingly, music is the main attraction for approximately half of Radio Bahá'í's listeners. Radio Bahá'í has demonstrated that there is a large audience for indigenous music in the Otavalo region. What was surprising was the fact that nearly half of the 1983 survey respondents indicated that they listened to Radio Bahá'í for reasons other than (or in addition to) music. 16% of the respondents said that they liked all of Radio Bahá'í's programming; 11% expressed a particular preference for the news. That the local news program is popular is evidenced in part by the fact that more than 2,000 people visited Radio Bahá'í in one year to place announcements on the program.

Development Information

Between 1981 and 1983, there appears to have been a substantial increase in the listeners' understanding of Radio Bahá'í's role in service to the community. Of particular interest in the 1983 survey, as compared to 1981, was the fact that many more respondents said that radio programs can contribute effectively to the improvement of their lives. This perception apparently is due in large part to the programming produced under the auspices of the Caminando Juntos project. Two-thirds of the 1983 respondents indicated that they had listened to Caminando Juntos programs, especially *Tarpupac Yuyay* and *Tulpa Muyundi*.

The project programs appear to have increased the popularity of Radio Bahá'í. For example, between 1981 and 1983 Radio Bahá'í's listenership reportedly increased substantially (50%) during the 4 to 6 am time period. It is interesting to note that the project's popular agricultural program, *Tarpupac Yuyay*, which was inaugurated after the initial survey in 1981, was broadcast during this time period. Conversely, the station's popularity apparently enhanced the effectiveness of the project programs. The data indicates that the audience has given Radio Bahá'í their attention and loyalty; their confidence in the station appears to have been substantiated by the degree to which they attended to the project's programs and acted upon the advice offered in them (20–40% of the respondents indicated that they used the information). It is especially significant that a large number of respondents were able to specify and repeat some of the advice they had heard on the programs.

Also of significance is the number of respondents who said that the project programming had been effective. In each instance, the majority of the respondents said that the programs had helped to improve the culture, the health, the agriculture and the care of animals in their communities. An apparent result is that they wanted to see these kinds of radio programs continued and, in some instances, increased, particularly those dealing with religion, agriculture, animal care and culture. It is significant that the latter three content areas were either introduced or substantially increased through the efforts of the Caminando Juntos project.

Educational

Since the station's inception, great care has been taken to ensure that the audience is not overloaded with information, with the spoken word. Motivated by this concern, informational or educational programming was deliberately designed to be 'non-formal' in nature and to speak directly to the expressed needs and interests of the listeners. While there is a great desire to implement formal educational programming, this has not yet been accomplished. It may be that the expansion of the short wave programming would allow for increased formal educational programming, but probably the most significant variable is the amount of resources that the station could devote to such programming. When it does expand, it is most likely to begin with formal children's programming, both in-school and religious.

Religious

Religious programming, although comprising only a small portion of

the station's program content, appeared to be of increasing interest to the listeners. It was perhaps most effective in serving specific needs of the local Bahá'í communities, especially in promoting and supporting the communities' annual elections and its Feasts and Holy Days. The station has had a profound impact on establishing an awareness of the Bahá'í Faith in the region and it is a source of pride and encouragement to the *campesino* Bahá'ís.

Public Service

While the station's primary focus is on the rural listener, some attempt is made to serve the Otavalo community. This is accomplished primarily through the local news program and through public affairs programming, both of which appear to be popular in the town. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that a large portion of the urban population listens regularly to the station's music programming.

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THE BASES OF RADIO BAHÁ'Í'S SUCCESS: SOME CONCLUSIONS

To have 94% of the potential audience listening to the station regularly or occasionally is a profound confirmation that the station's policies are achieving their initial objective of reaching the rural *campesinos*. This study indicates that there are at least three main reasons for the station's popularity: its reliance upon what James Carey termed a 'ritual' view of communication (see Appendix I), its participatory methods of operation, and the spirit of service that motivated those who worked at the station.

A 'Ritual' View of Communication

In summarizing the need for new, participatory systems of communication, Diaz Bordenave concluded that such institutions can only be possible in a society different from that which actually exists.[1] This view was corroborated in the Final Report of the UNESCO-sponsored 'Meeting on Self-Management in Communication' in Belgrade: 'participation is not the exclusive determinant, nor the decisive one. What is determinant is the social system.'[2] However, the results of this study imply that the most salient factor influencing the development of Radio Bahá'í was not the society in which it was located, but the paradigm, the 'world view', from which the principles guiding the station's operations were derived. The genesis of the radio station supports Carey's contention that social institutions (including media systems, but also forms of government, schools and judicial systems) provide the form, the structure, which the society takes. They are not products of the society; they (and the society itself) are products of the paradigm.[3]

Therefore, the development of Radio Bahá'í as a 'participatory' media institution cannot be regarded merely as fortuitous, for many of the principles enunciated by modern communication theorists can be found in the world view offered by the Bahá'í Faith.

For example, the concepts of 'dialogue' and 'participation', fundamental aspects of the merging theories of communication, are incorporated in axial Bahá'í principles such as 'consultation' and 'universal participation'. There also is a profound degree of congruence between emerging theories of development communication and Bahá'í teachings regarding such things as the participation of women, unity in diversity, the importance of education, and the like.

The findings of this study reinforce the observation that 'providing a paradigm upon which human communication can be structured is more appropriate to religion and philosophy than to the field of development communication'.[4] Carey cited religion as the primary source from which our communications models have been derived because religion historically has provided the structures *of* and *for* social interaction.[5] We determined that the elements of ritual that would be essential to a new paradigm of communication would need to include the following:

1. A universal symbol system that articulates transcendent as well as parochial concerns.
2. A strong sense of order, placing man in a balanced relationship with the cosmos, earth, society and self.
3. The ability to accommodate both the 'objective' and 'subjective' aspects of human nature.
4. A strong sense of history, conscious of the cycles of repetition and renewal.
5. An emphasis on dialogue, achieved through localized public institutions that provide for the participation of diverse segments of the population.
6. A high moral/ethical content that separates the 'sacred' from the 'profane' while at the same time guaranteeing essential freedoms.[6]

Although we should not expect all of these elements to be present in a communications model, they could be incorporated in the 'world view' of a religion, and they are in the Bahá'í Faith. Consequently, they are reflected in whatever institutions derive from that world view. It is in this manner that the radio station provides tangible support for Carey's argument that:

> A ritual view is not directed toward the extension of messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared belief.[7]

Although Radio Bahá'í is involved in the 'extension of messages in space' and the 'imparting of information', both the operations and the programming of Radio Bahá'í clearly are more than that: they are a 'representation' of a set of beliefs. The radio station is an institutional expression of a set of beliefs about the nature of man, the nature of development, the nature of community, and the nature of communication that 'gives to life an overall form, order and tone'.[8] Radio Bahá'í, therefore, can be viewed as one of the 'localized public institutions' that have sprung from a paradigm provided by the Bahá'í religion.[9]

The philosophy of the station derives from the basic principles of the Bahá'í Faith, especially those relevant to the spiritual and material development of the individual and society. A summary of these principles (described in more detail in Chapter 1) would include:

- the oneness of mankind
- the promotion of unity while, at the same time, maintaining diversity;
- the elimination of prejudice;
- the equality of men and women;
- the harmony of science and religion;
- the importance of education and the acquisition of knowledge;
- the elimination of the extremes of poverty and wealth;
- the interdependence of spiritual and material development;
- service to mankind as a form of worship;
- the importance of universal participation in community affairs.

Guided by these principles, the station's primary function is regarded as being to assist in releasing the potential within indigenous communities and individuals. It attempts to do this through the maintenance and strengthening of indigenous culture, the promotion of individual dignity and self-reliance, the strengthening of the local community as the primary agent of development, and the dissemination of information in support of these functions.

Assumptions about the station's audience include the following:

- Indigenous culture is not an artifact. Its preservation and strengthening are vital to the life of a nation.
- An indigenous community's greatest resource is its people.
- The most effective development is that which evolves out of the community and is based upon the capacities and self-reliance of the members of the community.
- Indigenous communities understand the nature of their problems, are able to articulate and prioritize them, and are eager to resolve them.
- All of the elements essential to effective decision-making already exist or are latent within indigenous communities, including leadership capacities, analytical skills, motivation, creative thinking and problem-solving abilities.

- Technical expertise, literacy and material resources, while invaluable, are not the essential prerequisites to community development; unity and cooperation among community members are.

The practical application of these principles to the operation of a community radio station resulted in the following general objectives:

- to enhance the self-respect of the listeners, especially through the preservation of their heritage, the promotion and maintenance of traditional history, cultural values, the Quichua language, indigenous music, dress, arts and crafts;
- to disseminate information conducive to the maintenance and strengthening of communities, with special emphasis on the family and on promoting the interdependence and cooperation of community members;
- to provide programming that serves the region's needs for appropriate, relevant, and useful information on such topics as health and agriculture;
- to broadcast local news and support civic events;
- to promote the role of women in the community;
- to promote the participation of indigenous people in all that pertains to the station's operations.

In addition, the station developed objectives of specific relevance to the Bahá'í audience:

- to increase their knowledge of the history and teachings of the Faith;
- to promote the development of Bahá'í communities, especially through the election of local administrative bodies and through promoting the use of 'consultation' in group decision-making;
- to provide regular classes for children;
- to promote the role of women in the Bahá'í community.

While the applicability of the Bahá'í world view to a new paradigm for communications is beyond the scope of this study, the model of a community radio station which the Bahá'í paradigm has inspired appears worthy of consideration as a model for a participatory media institution.

A 'Participatory' Media Institution

Radio Bahá'í fulfills most, if not all, of the criteria for participatory media systems established by development communication experts (enumerated in the Introduction):

- it is associated with an institution that has a legitimate and vital local role;
- it is dedicated to development goals that address the individual and the community, both spiritually and materially;

- it provides for access, participation and self-management of the *campesinos* in all aspects of the station's operations;
- it relies on local leadership, promotes local culture, broadcasts in the local languages, and applies technical standards appropriate to the audience;
- its equipment, facilities and operating expenses are low cost and appropriate to the needs and capacity of the licensee and the audience;
- its programming directly addresses and is reflective of the expressed interests, tastes and needs of the audience it is intended to serve.

It has fulfilled these criteria through the application of principles of participation in virtually every aspect of the station's operations. Local individuals comprise the majority of the staff and the body responsible for administering the station. Decisions are based upon dialogue and consultation. Programming content and style is determined by regular interaction between the staff and the audience. Production methods and values are congruent with local tastes and standards.

The application of these principles has produced programming that is of immediate relevance and interest to the *campesino* audience. It reinforces and legitimates the validity of their tastes, the significance of their culture and the value of their way of life. It does not promote change at the cost of abandoning traditional values. It seeks not to change the existing culture, but to reinforce and strengthen the bases upon which it operates. It offers information and services that can improve the quality of life within the existing cultural norms and in accordance with the capacities and resources of the community. It promotes self-reliance rather than dependency upon outside intervention.

It was necessary for the station to develop and implement a variety of innovative adminstrative, programming and production methods in order to maximize the audience's participation in the station's operations and thereby ensure that the goals and objectives were achieved. Radio Bahá'í attempts to serve as both an agency *for* and an agency *of* community participation. As an agency *for* participation, Radio Bahá'í offers programming in which the values of the community are shared, maintained and encouraged. Some programs promote the development of community-based institutions (Local Assemblies), in which the participation of all community members is encouraged and provided for, while other programs provide information essential to the informed participation of community members in decisions that affect their individual and collective lives. As an agency *of* community participation, Radio Bahá'í demonstrates principles of participation by incorporating them in the administration, staffing, programming and production procedures of the

station. These methods of operation could be briefly summarized under the same eleven headings as found in the Introduction:

Access

There is no question that Radio Bahá'í provides the audience access to the station and its programs. This is accomplished in several ways. To begin with, the programs are broadcast in the local languages and their content is reflective of the local culture.

Second, the programs address topics of relevance and concern to the listeners. For example, the Caminando Juntos programs deal with issues and problems identified by the *campesinos* themselves. These topics are derived by the staff through regular visits to the *campo*, where audience evaluations are conducted both informally, through regular, unstructured dialogue with individuals, and formally, through evaluations. As a result, the programs are designed to speak directly to the listeners' needs.

The local news program also provides access to the station. The content of the news program is wholly determined by messages brought to the station by thousands of listeners every year.

Radio Bahá'í regularly invites listeners to visit the station in person. Through its printed bulletin, the station also encourages listeners to submit comments and suggestions to the station regularly.

Participation

In order to determine the nature and degree of participation in Radio Bahá'í, it is perhaps easiest to divide the participants into categories:

Staff

The most complete participation, of course, is that realized by the members of the station staff. Except for a few expatriates and occasional short-term consultants, most of the staff have been recruited from the broadcast region of Radio Bahá'í. The condition that has contributed most to the listener participation has been the widespread nature of the Bahá'í community in the region. From the outset, Bahá'ís, their friends and neighbors, have understood that they are unconditionally welcome and encouraged to participate in the operations of the station. As a result, they have provided the pool of human resources from which the majority of the staff have been drawn.

At the time this study was concluded, all of the regular staff at the station except for the engineer were Ecuadorians, and only one of them had any previous broadcast experience. In addition, only two of the staff had been 'formally' recruited to work at the station; the rest had

come as volunteers.[10] The operation of the station was completely dependent upon the participation of local people. The majority have been 'white', male youth from the town of Otavalo and *campesinos* from rural villages. Both of these groups are normally excluded from participating in existing social and cultural institutions in the town.

The city youth apparently came to work at the station out of an interest in radio. For example, Marcelo Quinteros, the station manager, first came to the station 'off the street' when he was seventeen because his brother, Rodrigo, was working there. Marcelo, in turn, recruited another brother, Fernando, and a brother-in-law, Mauricio, to join the staff. None of them were Bahá'ís when they first volunteered to work at the station. This would indicate that their primary motivation was probably the appeal of working at a radio station, rather than specifically serving the *campesinos*.

Most of the *campesinos* who have worked at the station are Bahá'ís, indicating that their willingness to participate was probably motivated by their trust in and knowledge of the nature of the station and their desire to serve a Bahá'í institution and, through it, their fellow *campesinos*. For example, indigenous Bahá'ís who first came to work at the station, especially Maria Perugachi and Vicenta Anrango, have been primarily responsible for 'recruiting' other indigenous people to come to work at the station. In fact, most of the indigenous assistants have come from Maria and Vicenta's home community.

The indigenous staff members serve as invaluable informants. Both at the station and in the *campo,* they orient the non-indigenous staff to their culture and provide insights into rural customs and traditions. They help 'white' and expatriate staff behave appropriately in the *campo* and they help establish the rapport necessary for gaining access to the community and to individual homes, not only through their knowledge of Quichua, but also by helping to place their fellow *campesinos* at ease. The rural people are especially pleased when they receive visits from Radio Bahá'í staff. This is due not only to the popularity of the station, but also to the pleasure they derive from meeting indigenous members of the staff.

Volunteers

There is a large number of individuals who come to the station on an occasional basis to offer short-term assistance. This includes *campesinos* who, although reluctant to participate in the technical operations, come to help make improvements to the buildings and the property; local experts, from agencies such as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Institute for Anthropology, who offer their assistance on specific programs; Bahá'í broadcast professionals from

abroad who offer specific technical assistance, such as a training course; and individuals from other parts of Ecuador who come to assist in special projects, such as administering summative evaluations.

Community Members

This category includes individuals who are approached by radio staff in their homes and at their places of work, including farmers, civic authorities, students and technical experts. While they are unlikely to come to the station to participate in programming, they usually are willing and enthusiastic participants in programs recorded on-site.

Festival Participants

This category includes the groups and individuals who perform in the music and children's festivals sponsored by Radio Bahá'í.

Listeners

Although it may seem unorthodox to consider Radio Bahá'í's listening audience as 'active' participants, it is their response to the programming that is the ultimate determinant of the success of the station. While the level of consumption of music, news and informational programming appears high, an even more meaningful measure of their participation is the degree to which the audience utilizes the programming. A significant percentage of listeners said that they were listening to information provided by the programs and were attempting the practices suggested in them, particularly in agriculture, health and animal care.

The principal factor contributing to the wide variety and high degree of participation at the station appears to be the level of trust which the station has engendered in the audience. This has been established through Radio Bahá'í's obvious commitment to the *campesinos*, as demonstrated by the extensive use of Quichua, traditional music, indigenous announcers drawn from the local population, regular visits to the *campo,* and programming based on audience needs and preferences.

Such limits to participation as do exist can likely be attributed primarily to the pervasive cultural and economic barriers faced by indigenous people, and, to a lesser degree, the particular limitations inherent in a radio station.

The historical cultural discrimination against *campesinos*, with the concomitant ignorance, fear and suspicion of modern institutions it engenders in them, is probably the strongest factor that contributes to whatever reluctance to participate they have. *Campesinos* normally have little exposure to or experience with formal social institutions.

They have even less experience in being invited to participate in their operation; there is a long history of the indigenous people being deliberately excluded from or manipulated and mistreated by 'external' institutions.

Indigenous peoples' lack of education, another product of historical discrimination, contributes to their inability to take advantage of whatever opportunities may be presented to them. Many of the people in the more rural areas are also very humble and shy; the individual aggressiveness or assertiveness required to volunteer to participate in new endeavors is not as strongly encouraged in rural communities as it is in 'western' society.

The economic barriers center on the fact that the resources of the station are extremely limited. Serving at the station requires an exceptionally high level of motivation because, in part, it requires that the staff member be willing to make economic sacrifices, either by foregoing a normal income or by devoting large amounts of energy and time to the station. This is true for both city-dwellers and *campesinos.* Undoubtedly one of the reasons that the station relies so heavily on youth is that the youth do not need a full salary in order to work at the station; most of them were still in school and were still living in their parents' homes. Sacrificial services is not something that adults with family responsibilities can easily offer. While they do not normally receive a cash income at home, it is difficult for the *campesinos* to devote large portions of energy and time to pursuits other than farming.

Participation is also affected by the fact that there is little awareness of the 'how' and the 'what' of a radio station. As is the case almost universally, there is no little amount of 'mystique' associated with this powerful and pervasive medium. A radio station is, by nature, a 'vertical' medium, being controlled by a small number of people 'at the top' while directed to large masses 'at the bottom'. As a result, it tends to remain a rather remote institution, neither easily understood nor easily accessible.

Great confidence, motivation and trust are required for indigenous individuals to overcome their usually legitimate suspicions and fear of rejection and voluntarily offer to participate in an institution such as Radio Bahá'í. Nonetheless, indigenous people comprised over half of the more than 200 participants who worked at the station in the first few years of its operation.

Self-Management

Radio Bahá'í is committed to 'self-management' for two principal

reasons. First, the basic objectives and operating principles of Radio Bahá'í are drawn directly from the universal social, spiritual and moral teachings of the Bahá'í Faith. The Bahá'í administrative order is scripturally and structurally committed to fostering and promoting self-reliance and local initiative. For a national or international agency of the Faith to dictate the operational policies of the station would be contrary to both the spiritual and the procedural principles governing the adminstration of local Bahá'í institutions.

As the first Bahá'í institution of its kind in the world, the activities of the station are carefully monitored by administrative agencies of the Faith, in this case, the Ecuadorian National Assembly (the station licensee) and the Audio-Visual Department at the Bahá'í World Centre. The National Assembly and the Audio-Visual Department function essentially as advisors or consultants. They offer advice on how to ensure that the station's operations conform to the basic principles upon which it was established and they offer general guidance and suggestions on ways in which the Commission can best fulfill its mandate. This is accomplished primarily through consultation and correspondence and, on occasion, through the provision of technical advisors.

It is with the assistance of such support that the basic methodologies of administering and programming the station have been implemented, and the 'participatory' nature of the station has been realized. However, the National Assembly, the Audio-Visual Department and the consultants do not attempt to impose policy decisions upon the station; the Commission is charged with managing the station. Most commonly, decisions are taken by the Radio Commission and then responded to by the National Assembly. Reports are also sent to the Audio-Visual Department to inform them of station operations and to invite comment on the actions taken. Also, the decisions about whether and how to adopt suggestions offered by consultants are left to the Commission. The method is one which attempts to allow maximum autonomy to the Commission, leaving it with the primary responsibility for the station, including establishing the operational guidelines, overseeing the budget, personnel, facilities, programming, production, evaluations and other activities.

Second, having a national or international agency manage the station would not only be logistically arduous, it would also be counter-productive. Determining the operational policies of the station and establishing the means of applying them is dependent upon a thorough knowledge of the local community in which the station is based and for whom it is intended. It has already been demonstrated that this knowledge is best derived from the full participation of both the staff and the

audience in the station's operations.

While the objectives have remained basically unchanged since the station's inception, the station's operations and programming have undergone several changes due to the experiences gained 'on the job' and to the continually-growing awareness of and commitment to the needs and interests of the audience.

Perhaps even more profound has been the evolution of the administrative procedures at the station. Without question, the major problem faced by the station in its early years was its inability to find a system of management that was able to balance the principles of participation and collective decision-making with the need for professional broadcast management. While still tenuous, it appeared that the multi-faceted management system in operation at the time this research was completed was succeeding. In summary, the system included the following elements:

The National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador

The Assembly is the licensee of the station; it serves as the reviewing body and ultimate authority for the general policies and operations of the station.

The Commission for Radio Bahá'í

The Commission is appointed by the National Assembly; its membership is composed of experienced members of the Radio Bahá'í staff, carefully selected for their experience and maturity and for being representative of the cultural diversity of the staff. It is responsible for the management and operation of the station.

The Executive Director

The Executive Director (a local resident) is a professional broadcaster with a depth of experience at the station. He is both a member of the Commission and responsible to it for the daily administration of the station.

The Audio-Visual Department at the Bahá'í World Centre

It serves primarily as an auditor/consultant, offering guidance in terms of the station's congruence to Bahá'í principles. It also identifies and suggests the names of consultants who can offer their services to the station.

Consultants

Two kinds of consultants regularly serve Radio Bahá'í: broadcast professionals and Bahá'í Counsellors. The broadcast professionals

have been Bahá'ís with extensive experience in engineering and management, development communication, and programming and production. The Counsellors are members of the Bahá'í institution charged with assisting in the propagation and protection of the Faith. They advise and consult with the station regarding its Bahá'í functions, but they also deal with additional subjects (such as management and educational programming) as their own expertise allows. As with the Audio-Visual Centre, the consultants have no administrative authority over the station. In all instances, the consultants have offered their assistance to the station free of charge.

The Staff

Through meetings conducted along the principles of Bahá'í consultation, their experiences and opinions provide guidance and direction to the station's operations in the form of collective decisions and recommendations to the Commission.

The Audience

Although a number of individuals participate as staff at the station, the audience is principally represented through the information about their tastes, needs and interests derived from casual and formal evaluations conducted by the staff. Such information provides the base data upon which many decisions are made, especially those dealing with program content and production methodologies.

Local Role

Long before the radio station was conceived, the Bahá'í Faith was a significant presence in the Otavalo region. More than 10,000 *campesinos* in the Otavalo region are Bahá'ís; they represent the heaviest concentration of Bahá'ís in all of Ecuador. In the early 1970s, there were more than 125 Bahá'í communities in the region, but owing to problems of communication it was very difficult for them to function effectively. The radio station was conceived initially as a means of serving the Bahá'í communities and was developed by the Bahá'ís of Ecuador for that purpose. However, it quickly became apparent that the *campesinos* of the region, Bahá'í or not, could benefit greatly from a station dedicated to their service. Interestingly, the Bahá'ís soon realized that this expanded focus on service to the community in general (and not simply to the Bahá'ís) was more congruent with Bahá'í principles and teachings than their original, more 'parochial', plan.

Local Leadership

The station attempts to serve community organization primarily through programming aimed at encouraging participation by all community members, especially women, and by teaching the principles of consultation as a method for community decision-making. The main target audience for such programming is the Bahá'í communities in the region. It is felt that by developing and strengthening these skills in the existing Bahá'í communities, they can be more readily transferred to the community at large. Another important part of such programming is the development and identification of community leaders. Emphasis is placed on helping community members to develop in themselves and recognize in others such leadership skills as a well-trained mind, recognized ability, mature experience, and loyalty and devotion to the values of the community.

It is worth noting here that Radio Bahá'í completely avoids involvement in partisan political issues, for it regards such activity as being fundamentally opposed to their assumed role of promoting unity, cooperation, and consensus in the community. It is also interesting to note that this posture has led to the emergence of community leaders who might not otherwise have been identified. Examples are the two native members of the Radio Commission: Marcelo Quinteros, an urban youth who hadn't completed high school but who worked his way 'up' to become the Executive Director of the station, and Maria Perugachi, an illiterate peasant woman from a remote village who has become one of the most popular and highly regarded indigenous individuals in the region. Both are now respected, prominent members of the Otavalo community, whose leadership consists primarily of older, established, educated, urban white males.

The leadership role of another resident of Otavalo, Raul Pavon, was of major importance to Radio Bahá'í. The Ecuadorian Bahá'í community had already recognized his leadership abilities, electing him chairman of the National Assembly. He was serving in that capacity at the time that he initiated his attempt to purchase Radio Turismo for the purpose of serving the Bahá'í communities in the Otavalo region. The conception of Radio Bahá'í was the direct result of his creative vision; its implementation and early development, from the recruitment of the staff to basic methods of production, were a direct outgrowth of his dynamic energy and leadership. Later, in his role as a Bahá'í Counsellor, he continued to advise and inspire the National Assembly and those working at the station until his death in October of 1983.

Local Culture

The station's programs are reflective of the station's primary commitment to its indigenous audience. For example, the informational programs are instructive, but non-formal. They do not attempt to address the listener didactically or in a paternalistic fashion. Both the information and, where appropriate, the solutions offered often are taken directly from the *campesinos* and shared with other members of the audience through recordings made on-site by Radio Bahá'í staff and incorporated into programs. This is especially true for the agricultural programs and the 'cultural' programming, notably the music but also including legends, local history and the like. The programs are constantly under the scrutiny and review of the station staff to ensure that their content is accurate, timely, comprehensible and appropriate to the local culture.

Local Language

The station broadcasts in both Spanish and Quichua; this 'bilingualism' is reflected in the community, where 70% of the people speak both languages. The use of Quichua is of major importance to the station because it is the home language of approximately 80% of the station's potential audience. It is the language of the *campesinos* – the station's target audience. On Radio Bahá'í, most programming includes Quichua. This includes the vocal selections in the music programs, the local news program, the station identifications, and time and spot announcements. The development-oriented informational programs, intended primarily for the *campesinos,* are broadcast in Quichua.

Appropriate Technology

Radio is the most appropriate medium for serving the *campesinos.* Printed materials are not particularly effective because of the low literacy levels among the *campesinos.* In addition, printed materials are exceedingly difficult to distribute due to poor roads and inadequate transport to the rural villages. Some television signals are transmitted to the Otavalo region, but television sets are too expensive for the *campesinos* and most of their villages have no electricity. In addition, the content of television programs bears no relevance to life in the *campo.*

Radio is very popular among the *campesinos.* A radio is relatively inexpensive to purchase (although about one-fourth of the receiver sets in the *campo* are not functioning due to the costs of batteries and

repairs). Radios are completely portable, and more than twenty-five different radio stations can be received in the Otavalo region.

Radio Bahá'í operates on the principle that quality programming is less dependent on technology than on realistic objectives and appropriate production methodologies. Most of the original production and transmission equipment was purchased second-hand and the original antenna was hand-built out of local materials. The comparatively unsophisticated nature of most of the equipment used at Radio Bahá'í provides an interesting contrast to the sophisticated 'state-of-the-art' technology demanded in so many development projects.

The station broadcasts to a population of approximately 300,000. The broadcast radius of the 1kw medium-wave transmitter is approximately fifty miles, encompassing all of the Otavalo and Cayambe valleys. As the station gained in popularity, some people felt that it should increase its power and broadcast radius. However, this option was rejected by the Commission because increasing the station's power would have dramatically altered its identity and its effectiveness in serving its primary audience. They felt that Radio Bahá'í could not adequately serve as a 'community' station if it were any larger.

Appropriate Technical Standards

Radio Bahá'í places a high priority on creating a sound that is appropriate to the *campesino* listener. For example, the announcers are members of the community, not imported broadcast professionals trained to a standard that is alien to the rural audience. They speak the language of the listeners; they use the terms, expressions and idioms of the *campo.* The use of native announcers also provides the audience with speakers with whom they can identify and whose guidance and information they are more likely to trust.

Production values deliberately attempt to reflect the local ambience. Great importance is placed on producing programs in the field, so that the voices of the *campesinos* and the sounds of their communities can be heard on the radio. In addition, rather than having been trained according to a professional standard prevalent in the cities, local people who volunteer to work at the station bring to it their own production values. They also receive training from their peers. The programs they produce therefore tend to reflect the tastes of the *campesinos.*

As a result of these influences, the 'sound' of Radio Bahá'í contrasts vividly with the 'pop' stations and the evangelical stations that dominate the radio bands in Ecuador.

Low Cost

From the beginning, Radio Bahá'í was designed to be modest, both for reasons of economy (the Bahá'í community of Ecuador is composed primarily of poor *campesinos*) and in order to keep it to a size and nature appropriate to the audience it was intending to serve. In spite of the fact that its operating budget averages only $40,000 a year, Radio Bahá'í produces nineteen hours of programming a day. This is possible because it depends almost exclusively on voluntary labor. In addition, rigorous economy was practiced in capital expenditures (principally land and buildings) and in the purchase and replacement of equipment.

Training

Most of the staff who work at Radio Bahá'í came to the station with no previous experience in radio. They learned how to plan, write and produce programs on the job, usually with only limited assistance from other staff members, many of whom had only limited experience themselves. Occasional short courses were offered, but there was no ongoing training program at the station. In 1978, Michael Stokes, an expatriate experienced in broadcasting, volunteered his services to the station. Among the duties he assumed was the responsibility for providing in-depth training to staff members, usually on an individual basis; most of the indigenous staff members received extensive training from him. In addition, he and Gregg Suhm, another expatriate volunteer with media experience, organized and provided training workshops. However, when Mr Stokes left, no formal training component was maintained at the station.

Once again, as in the station's early days, such training as exists is either in the form of occasional courses offered by short-term consultants or haphazard collaboration between staff members. Many of the staff feel that the lack of a systematized training program is perhaps the major weakness of the station.

The methods used by the station to achieve their objectives were developed in two primary ways: through the advice and guidance of consultants (see p. 141) and through experience gained 'on the job'. The consultants' contributions were pivotal, for they provided the methodological tools necessary to begin to translate the station's objectives into programming. It was especially significant that many of their suggestions were derived from lessons learned in other experiments in development communication. These included such things as using the voices of the *campesinos* in the programs, recording programs

'in the field', and applying interactive principles to instructional programs. Using such innovations as a starting point, the staff was able to expand and modify them as they gained experience with them in actual practice. Of particular significance was the degree to which the audience's opinions and reactions helped to determine the content, structure and direction of the programming. Acquiring this information depended almost exclusively on the staff's regular interaction with the audience in the *campo*. Such information provided the bases upon which the Radio Commission's programming decisions were made.

Perhaps most significant is the finding that the methodologies introduced by consultants and developed by the staff in the field were readily adopted by the station not simply because they were new, but because they conformed to and were confirmed by the basic principles of the Bahá'í world view. In this sense, the station is a reflection of the kind of synthesis anticipated by Carey's 'ritual view' of communication (which also corresponds to the Bahá'í concept of the harmony of science and religion): the station's methods of operation are derived from theoretical constructs and empirical data that are validated by social principles (such as the importance of participation) derived from a 'ritual' paradigm – in this case, the Bahá'í teachings.

The Spirit of Service

One of the things that was most apparent about the people who worked at the station was that they were very highly motivated. This was made evident in several ways. First, everyone who worked at the station was a volunteer, receiving only a minimum stipend to cover their basic needs. Even when faced with extreme financial hardship, people preferred to remain at the station. During my tenure there, those who left usually did so out of demands placed upon them by their families, but they always left with great reluctance.

When people first came to work at Radio Bahá'í, they were usually motivated either by a desire to learn about radio or by a desire to serve the Bahá'í Faith. It was interesting to see how these two primary motivations often merged and became focused on an overriding desire to serve the *campesinos*. As they became familiar with the objectives and with the response of the audience, those who initially came to learn about radio found that their desire to serve the *campesinos* increased. Those who came to serve the Bahá'í Faith became interested in the medium of radio, for they saw its potential for service to the population in general, not simply to the Bahá'í communities of the region. This latter phenomenon was amply demonstrated within the first year of the station's operations.

Radio Bahá'í was initially conceived as a tool to strengthen the existing Bahá'í communities in the Otavalo region and to diffuse the Bahá'í teachings to the general population. Virtually no thought had been given to how this would be accomplished, nor had any other uses for the station been considered. Two influences changed this perspective. First, Bahá'í professional broadcast consultants made it clear that the station could not succeed merely by reading Bahá'í books over the air; such a use was neither congruent with the nature of the medium nor likely to attract an audience. Because its target audience was the *campesino* communities, the staff then sought to attract listeners by using indigenous music and broadcasting in Quichua. This attempt to reach the *campesinos* brought with it another (unanticipated) result. Shortly after such programming began, *campesinos* began to visit the station to request the airing of announcements and news of interest to their communities, for here was the first station in the region that was attempting to address their tastes and interests.

What is perhaps most interesting about these developments is that these new directions were warmly embraced by the National Assembly, the Radio Commission and the station staff, in spite of the challenge these directions presented to their preconceived ideas and initial expectations about the nature and purpose of the station. This flexibility appears to be attributable to the fact that in the Bahá'í Faith service is elevated to a form of worship. When the National Assembly and the Commission saw that this new station of theirs was being regarded as a tool that could be of service to the community at large, they recognized that function to be wholly congruent with the highest aims and purposes of the Faith. The nature of the station evolved accordingly.

In summary, Radio Bahá'í offers a model of a participatory media institution that is based on a 'ritual' view of communication, that offers its audience opportunities for access, participation and self-management, and that is dedicated to being a non-partisan, responsive servant of the community at large.

7

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

THERE are two main areas in which further research on issues raised by this study could be conducted: further research on the operations and effects of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador and investigations into the replicability of the model.

Further Research on Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador

The Utility and Effectiveness of Informational Programming

The findings indicate a need for more research about the informational programming broadcast by the station. Radio Bahá'í's commitment to innovative production methods (most often under the auspices of the Caminando Juntos project) appears to be validated by the fact that the station's non-formal informational programs reportedly were listened to by a majority of the audience, were well-understood and prompted many people to adopt new behaviors.

However, little is known about such things as what aspects of the programs the listeners found particularly appealing, how much information they were able to retain, their attitudes about the utility, relevance and validity of the information. It would be especially valuable to know more about how the individuals used the advice offered on the programs. Were they able to follow the advice? Did the suggestions work? Did they find the advice helpful? Have they continued to follow the advice? With what results? If not, why not?

While the programs apparently attracted the listeners' attention, little is known about whether or not the programs were achieving their purpose of contributing to the improvement of the quality of life in the

campo. It appears that the station successfully supplies the listeners with information, but are the listeners able to use it *effectively*?

To offer a benign example, Radio Bahá'í has broadcast messages promoting the health advantages of taking baths regularly. In the Otavalo region, the availability of water was one of the primary concerns of the listeners; the collection of water is a difficult and time-consuming task. Research needs to be undertaken to determine whether or not the behavior being promoted is sufficiently practical and useful to justify the expense of time and energy that following the advice requires. The station should guard against offering advice or promoting behavior that is sound in principle but becomes unduly burdensome or frustrating when followed. Obviously it is in the best interests of the station and the audience to encourage listeners to seek remedies that do not require unusual expenditure of time, energy and/or money. (An example of this kind of guidance is to promote the use of natural fertilizers, when and where appropriate.) If other kinds of advice are deemed necessary and appropriate, the radio staff should first confirm that the recommended form of assistance is readily available to the audience through a ministry, social service agency or the like.

Obviously, the primary purpose of such research would be to determine whether or not the information and guidance offered on these popular programs enables the listeners to take *appropriate* action.

Decision-Making

More research needs to be done on the ability or potential of the station to assist people to be self-reliant, both as individuals and as members of a community.

In addition to offering 'technical' information and advice, the station seeks to offer listeners guidance and assistance relative to decision-making skills. In other words, not only offering them advice about *what* to do, but also offering guidance on *how* to do it.

For example, if people are encouraged to take baths, the station could also offer them guidance about effective ways to gather and collect water. A 'practical' topic such as this can serve as a catalyst and focus for a series of programs that present principles of planning and decision-making. However, a discussion on the larger issue of developing a community water supply might prove even more effective. In the context of that discussion, the station can encourage the community to take action together to alleviate their water problem.

The evaluations show that the communities have already 'set the agenda'. Therefore, perhaps the most valuable assistance the station

can offer is to promote the unified action of the members of the community in addressing the problems they have already identified. Clearly, research on how this is or could be accomplished would be of great interest to those examining the model.

Formal 'Instructional' Programming

It would be worthwhile to investigate Radio Bahá'ís potential as a tool for formal instruction, notably to organized listening groups in schools, community centers, ministries, Bahá'í centers and the like. Although this is a stated objective of the station, little has been done to test the station's capacity or ability to provide such services.

Although the daytime schedule appears to be saturated on the medium wave frequency, it may be worthwhile to examine the possiblity of expanding and strengthening the programming on Radio Bahá'í's short wave frequency. During the day, the short wave frequency could be dedicated to 'formal' programming, such as in-school broadcasts, literacy training programs, and deepening programs for Bahá'í communities. Radio Bahá'í would then be in a position to offer broadcast time to ministries and other agencies without having to sacrifice its programming on medium wave. Not only would this enhance the station's relationships with other community institutions, but it would do so without jeopardizing the station's regular listenership.

Increasing the Hours of Broadcasting

Another opportunity for innovation is offered by the finding that people are listening to Radio Bahá'í after 7:00 pm on short wave. One obvious response to this finding would be to increase the hours for medium wave broadcasts, from 7:00 pm to 10:00 pm, for example. It would be interesting to see if this would attract 'secondary' audiences (other than rural *campesinos*) who could also benefit from the types of development-oriented programming broadcast by the station.

Replicability of the Model

Other Bahá'í Radio Stations

On learning of the early successes of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador, several other Bahá'í national communities began to investigate the possibility of establishing community radio stations, especially in rural areas with high concentrations of Bahá'ís. In November 1981, the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Peru inaugurated Radio Bahá'í del Lago Titicaca, with offices in Puno and the studios and transmitter

in Chucuito, Peru, literally on the shores of Lake Titicaca. The station serves two distant indigenous populations, the Aymara-speaking and Quechua-speaking Indians of the Peruvian and Bolivian *altiplano* (high plains), more than three thousand of whom attended the station's inauguration and concurrent indigenous arts festival (music and dance).[1]

An audience evaluation conducted in February 1982 indicated that 97% of those interviewed (136 people from 16 different communities in the region) listened at least occasionally to the station; early mornings were the preferred listening times; and indigenous music was the primary attraction of the station. The respondents expressed a desire for more programming dealing with artisan crafts, animal husbandry, culture, agriculture, education and health (in order of preference). Respondents said they were particularly pleased that the station broadcast in three languages (Spanish, Aymara and Quechua, sometimes spelled Kechwa, the dominant dialect), that the broadcast signal was clear and strong, that there was musical variety and that the programming was distinctive. They expressed a desire for more hours of programming and more types of programs, especially programs addressing themselves to specific zones in the region, programming in Quichua, programs oriented to the family, especially women, youth and children, and more programs on the Bahá'í Faith.[2]

A third Bahá'í radio station was inaugurated in Latin America in March of 1984 in Carakollo, Bolivia, under the auspices of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Bolivia. A fourth station in Panama was on the air by 1985; community stations are also under consideration by the Bahá'í communities in Brazil, Colombia and other parts of Latin America. Each of these stations is intended to serve rural *campesino* audiences.

Any of these stations would, in itself, be worthy of study to determine the manner in which the model has been adapted to these new regions and populations and to determine their popularity and influence. It would be especially fascinating if such individual studies could then be collectively summarized and analyzed.

The Bahá'í radio stations in Latin America are based on the basic model developed in Ecuador. Two other Bahá'í-owned community radio stations have been initiated which, although sharing the basic philosophies provided by the Bahá'í Faith and inspired by the example of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador, are likely to evolve structures and methods of operations different from those in Latin America. One is currently under construction in Monrovia, Liberia. Not only will it be the first Bahá'í radio station in Africa, but it also will be the first one in the eastern hemisphere.

The other station, WLGI-FM in Hemingway, South Carolina, USA, went on the air in 1984, with its primary objective being to serve the rural black population of the region, many thousands of whom are Bahá'ís. It would be very interesting to study the unique features of these stations in relation to the Latin American Bahá'í radio stations. It would be especially interesting to study such aspects as the manner in which the model is adapted to a different culture and target population and an examination of similarities and differences between the response to the model of rural populations in agrarian societies and a rural population in an industrialized country. WLGI represents a radical departure from the traditional diffusion pattern of rural development projects by adapting for use in the United States a model that originated and has been developed in the Third World.

Other Radio Stations

A related area for further study would be to examine whether or not the model can be adapted successfully to areas where political and economic circumstances are different from those in Ecuador. The principles of participation found in the Bahá'í model apparently are sufficiently universal to be adopted by radio stations in countries where the conditions would allow.

The most important considerations are economic and political factors, either or both of which can pose serious constraints for marginalized populations. For example, the model for broadcast institutions in most countries of the Western hemisphere allows for private ownership of media institutions. The constraints to establishing a participatory station in these countries usually tends to be more economic than political; there needs to be a sponsoring body (such as a corporation, government agency, or non-governmental organization) to provide the capital and operating expenses for the station. Conversely, the broadcast systems of countries in Africa and Asia are generally more centrally-controlled than systems based on the North American model. While funds may be available to the broadcasting system (from the government or a donor agency), the political climate of the country is usually the major factor determining whether or not such a station would be allowed to operate. In some countries the government may be reluctant to allow the operation of community stations for fear of them becoming voices for the opposition. These obstacles may be overcome if the developmental nature and the potential social and economic benefits of such a station can be demonstrated clearly.

Related to the political climate is the issue of security. In some countries, the ruling governments have been reluctant to establish (in

some cases, re-establish) rural radio stations for fear that the stations might be taken over by rebels or opposition groups. There are technical steps that can be taken to safeguard the stations from such occurrences, however.

Another potential constraint is whether or not the model could be adopted by 'secular' agencies and/or communities where no clear 'view' of development exists. Also, could a sufficient number of people of capacity be recruited to participate in the station and, further, would the community (or sponsoring organization) be able to provide the incentives necessary to motivate the participants to achieve the degrees of sacrifice and cooperation that were so fundamental to the success of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador.

If the community lacks access to resources to fund the station, if the political climate does not promote independent community action, if the community is lacking a collective 'world view' favorable to development and the concomitant commitment to community service that view inspires, there is reason to be pessimistic about the potential for establishing a station like Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador. Nonetheless, the potential value of the model seems sufficient to warrant the attempt, for, as the Ecuadorian model demonstrates, constraints can be overcome through vision, perseverance and sacrifice.

Other Community-Based Institutions

Another potentially fruitful avenue for research would be to examine the model's applicability to other community-based media institutions, especially rural newspapers.

It also would be interesting to investigate the degree to which elements of the model could be applied to literacy projects, community schools, health clinics and other development-oriented projects in rural communities. Several Bahá'í communities around the world, operating on the same 'world view' as Radio Bahá'í, are applying Bahá'í principles of development to such projects. It would be very interesting to compare and contrast them with the Bahá'í radio model. Studying such projects might also provide insights into the nature and degree of community participation in rural development projects in general.

Raul Pavon, the individual most intimately associated with the conception of the station and its moulding into a tangible reality, passed away in Peru in October 1983 while on a trip to assist with the second 'offspring' of the Radio Bahá'í model, Radio Bahá'í de Bolivia. Mr Pavon became a collaborator and close personal friend of mine during my time in Ecuador. Upon learning of his death, I reviewed my interview with him and the correspondence that we exchanged. I came across the following statements (the first is taken from our interview,

the second from his last letter to me) which seem to encapsulate the nature and spirit of the work that the station is attempting to accomplish. These two statements seem a fitting conclusion to this study:

> Whatever idea we have had in the past which seemed useful, in the sense of inventing something to produce something, must have as its first step a pure and sincere beginning by someone who gives all that he has for humanity, with the same spirit that the planter has when he plants: the 'mystique' of the planter. He plants because of the *act* of planting, independent of the harvest, independent of the success of the harvest; he plants because he *must* plant. I have seen it in the *campesinos* when I was planting (with them). When the planting was finished ... I had an intimate communication with God, in my prayer. For me it was an unconscious act ... (a creative act) ... I clearly remember when I planted beans or rice in the jungle – when I had finished spreading the seeds, before covering them with soil – I always prayed. But when I prayed, I wasn't asking for a good harvest. Control – the supervision, the consultation – applies to *how* to do it, not whatever end we are trying to achieve.
>
> ... Radio Bahá'í has shown us that radio cannot be directed only where one wants: It goes! And how does it go? One must think universally, and this is liberating – to me, to you and to all those of us who are involved in it ... If your thinking is limited to a particular response it limits your participation ...
>
> For me, creativity is the answer to everything. Because if you don't have a mind that seeks creativity, you will not learn, nor see the results of what God places in front of you ... you will see only those things that you want to see. If you do it in the spirit of prayer, of search (the creative things), you will immediately encounter marvelous things which have always been with you and which you had not seen before.[3]
>
> It is time that 'the developing world' has the opportunity to know ... what the Bahá'ís are doing.
>
> An aspect not often touched upon by Bahá'ís when they write or speak about Bahá'í radio is the word 'service' ... I feel that the purer our motive, the closer we are to the eyes of God. In this way, we can say that the first requirement of Bahá'í radio is service to humanity, but to serve without any thought of return, whatever it might be, as a pure act motivated by our love for Bahá'u'lláh ...
>
> [We see miracles] at each step and this comforts me, and my languishing soul finds new life. One of these is the (increasing) participation ... of the simple people, of the 'poor and nameless' ... Projects such as Bahá'í Radio of Ecuador – born, nurtured and developed by a handful of 'in-experts' – have been raised as a pilot project in the world of communication for the integral development of mankind, a model from which to learn ...
>
> It appears to me working for the radio has been like being on a path toward unknown places. After overcoming many difficulties, going through dangerous places, then opening our own path of strength to

continue ahead, we find ourselves in a place where we can look back and see what we have overcome. We say to ourselves, 'My God, how did we do this! It's incredible! But here we are!'

I listened to the last *Nucanchic Tono* from my house . . . I didn't go to see it as it wasn't necessary to be present to feel the massive presence. 6,000 were present, and I was told later of the quality of the music, of the love and fellowship demonstrated toward Radio Bahá'í. Our announcers were radiant when they addressed the multitude in Quichua and Spanish . . .

I can say that Radio Bahá'í is serving with love and purity, and this is what counts. Whether CIDA (the Caminando Juntos project) was a success or not is secondary to the spirit demonstrated by those who do the radio work and by the response attained . . . this will be the result of this timid and, at times, clumsy work of these few souls, to whom God has given the opportunity of serving . . . a population who listens to the radio. We are getting to know each other; we are sharing. Every day we must try to change our attitude and try to become servants – servants of the simple people, poor, marginal, forgotten. This is our recompense.[4]

APPENDIX I

The 'Transmission' Model

THE development of the electronic media of communication, beginning with the telegraph in 1844, provided the world not only with a new technology, but also with a new model for human communication. The basic design of the model is as follows:

All messages originate with and are controlled by a sender. The sender selects the channel and focuses on a specific receiver, also referred to as a 'target'. Feedback, another term borrowed from electronics, provides the sender with information about the message's effect. With this information, the sender can modify his message to make it even more effective at producing a desired response. This model is derived from the 'point-to-point' flow of electricity as found in the telegraph. It also is used to describe more modern electronic media of communication, including radio and television, the most significant difference being that the number of receivers is multiplied. The model is popularly identified in communication studies according to terminology devised by Harold Lasswell: 'Who–says what–to whom–in what channel–with what effect?'[1]

Given the mono-directional flow of information this design describes, the model can be referred to as 'one-way' or 'vertical'. Communication theorist James W. Carey calls it the 'transmission' model; he defines it as 'a process and as a technology that would . . . spread, transmit and disseminate knowledge, ideas, information further and faster with the end of controlling space and people.'[2] The telegraph was the prototype; it was originally designed for commercial and military uses, for the control of markets and territories. Information regarding stock prices, the shipment of goods and the movement of troops was efficiently and effectively transmitted via this new medium of communication.

The telegraph quickly became an important commercial and political tool for industrial powers such as England, France and the United States. With

the later development of the 'wireless telegraph', radio, electronic media became inextricable parts of the political, economic and social structure. Their invention coincided with the period of empire building; it is no surprise, therefore, that the electronic media played an important role in the colonization and development of new territories and markets. They served as a means of exchanging political and economic information over long distances and they provided a link between expatriates and the mother country. Even more important was the recognition that these media could serve in the development and exploitation of the resources of the colonies, not only in the production and marketing of natural resources, goods and services, but also as a means of persuading people to adopt new technologies, new ideas and new behaviors.

The industrial world's increasing sophistication in media uses led to the utilization of marketing strategies for development purposes. The challenge put before the colonial populations was to become 'dynamic and vital ... adventurous and new'.[3] Information became a tool for 'reorienting and redirecting' the attitudes and behaviors of target populations.[4] Using the media to this end was justified by the belief that 'mobilizing human resources requires ... productive attitudes ... those favorable to cooperation.'[5] Communication professionals and leaders of developing countries considered the Western countries worthy of emulation, as a model for and an inspiration to the developing world: 'The West as a constructive model for the economic development of the independent peoples is the future-shaping relationship which Afro-Asia needs.'[6] According to Schramm, the suitability of the electronic media to these ends was not the dominant issue: 'The question is not "How can we use the mass media?" The question is "How can the needed change be brought about?"'[7]

By the middle of the twentieth century, development communication theory was being applied in areas such as family planning, agriculture, industrialization and the spreading of political ideology. The advent of the transistor radio provided leaders in developing countries a means of communicating with large portions of their populations. Commercial, political and educational messages could reach even the most remote villages; parochial concerns could be popularized; a sense of national consciousness could be developed; people could be persuaded to adopt new practices at home or participate in the economic growth of their country by joining the expanding industrial work force. Expectations and aspirations blossomed as messages of economic opportunity and national growth, promises of a brighter future, were broadcast to people eager to improve their situation.

Problems with the Model

With the help of twentieth-century technology, including the mass media, it was assumed that the processes of industrialization and nationalization experienced in the 'modern' countries could be achieved even more rapidly in the less developed countries. In the last two decades, however, such assumptions have become suspect. Expectations have gone unfulfilled and newly-ignited aspirations have burned into bitter disappointments as

development strategies have failed to achieve anticipated advancements in the economic and political conditions of the rural poor.

Initially, it was assumed that limited results were caused by poorly designed elements of the development plans and experiments. It was believed that changes in project designs would resolve the problems. For example, when it was discovered that villagers would not change their behavior merely on the basis of hearing a persuasive radio message, the significant variables influencing decision-making among villagers were examined more closely. Daniel Lerner studied the role of the opinion-leader and modified the concept of 'receiver'. He postulated a two-step flow of information: from the sender, to the opinion-leader and then to the receiver.[8]

Attempting to correct dysfunctions in the model, theorists modified or 'repaired' variables.[9] What is significant, however, is that they did not question the model's validity; its fundamental suitability to social development was assumed. Only in the last decade or so have theorists concluded that the continued problems and worsening economic and political situations in the less developed countries demand more than 'repairs'. Rather than tinkering with components of the dominant model, critics have begun to question its basic assumptions.

The political and economic biases of the transmission model are reflective of the Western capitalist countries in which they originated and from which they subsequently were exported to the Third World. It is not surprising, therefore, that Marxists are among the earliest critics of the model. They believe that the roots of the model's problems can be traced to the political and economic ideologies of the societies in which the model was developed.

Bernard Gendron claims that the problems are due to 'technological fetishism', where a capitalist society adopts principles of capitalist economics as the foundation for the structuring of social and cultural life. Allegiance to such values creates societies where people become alienated, powerless, meaningless, self-estranged and isolated. In Gendron's opinion, the failure of the transmission model has precipitated a crisis, not only for social scientists, but for all of Western society.[10]

Jacques Ellul corroborates, attributing the crisis to *la technique*, the mechanistic values that dominate Western life and institutions. Ellul claims that *la technique* is the result of a capitalistic economic and social structure, based upon the values of mass production, mass distribution, standardization, efficiency and routinization. He asserts that while such values may be necessary to the production of goods and materials, they are inappropriate to the practice of social development and result in the exploitation and manipulation of the working classes.[11]

Ellul asserts that information, too, is a victim of the values of *la technique*. He argues that the rise of capitalist ideology leads to the public's dependence upon 'propaganda' rather than the information necessary for informed democratic participation.[12]

These views are echoed by Raymond Williams: 'The crisis in modern communications has been caused by the speed of invention and the difficulty of finding the right institutions in which these technical means are to be used.'[13] Williams's contention is that it is possible for models to exploit a

technology without exploiting people, provided they operate under an 'appropriate' social structure.

These criticisms have been disputed by individuals such as Daniel Lerner, Marshall McLuhan and Zbigniew Brzezinski.[14] They contend that current uses of technology are appropriate and that the real problem is unnecessary skepticism and a fear of embracing the new technologies. The public is encouraged to welcome a new era of technology, to embrace 'a new sense of materialism'.[15] They propose that the electronic instruments of communication assume prominent, if not dominant, positions in society, providing the next great step in man's earthly existence, heralding 'the coming of the computer *age*' (which seems to confirm Gendron's reference to 'technological fetishism'). The apologists for technology contend that the real threat, or crisis, is to be found in the attempt of opposing ideologies to undermine the authority of the transmission model. Given this perspective, we might well regard the post-industrial state as the materialists' millennium:

> The rhetoric of the electronic revolution . . . displays a faith that electricity will exorcise social disorder and environmental disruption, eliminate political conflict and personal alienation, and restore ecological balance and a community of man with nature.[16]

However, there are even skeptics among Western critics. One of the earliest of these, Harold Adams Innis, recognized that technologies were not merely value-free tools. Technologies are not simply discovered, he claimed, but are deliberately developed in order to serve the 'space-biased' objectives of our dominant social institutions. In the modern world, 'space-bias' refers to the political and economic power over and control of large territories and groups of people.[17] Innis argued that the use of these 'deterministic' technologies creates 'monopolies of knowledge', by which those who control the technology and the ideology are enabled to impose their will upon society. He contended that nothing could be more opposed to democratic ideals than the dependencies such control creates in the public. We are, he said, overly dependent upon electronic instruments of communication that, by design, result in the disenfranchisement, coercion and control of the populace.

Other Western critics also believe that the model's failures are attributable to a fundamental conflict between democratic ideals and the frequently exploitive, repressive applications of the model employed by democratic societies in their attempts to achieve economic and political growth, both at home and abroad. Elihu Katz and George Wedell summarize the traditional uses of the media for development as motivated by imperialism, profit, nationalism and proselytism.[18]

As accurate as these analyses may be in identifying the failures of the transmission model's use by Western societies, few alternatives have appeared. Marxist ideology presents itself as an alternative to capitalism, but societies attempting to implement development plans based upon Marxist models are subject to problems similar to those encountered in capitalist societies.[19]

Contradictions in the Model

In light of the technical, economic and political advances made by the developed countries during the last century, it would be spurious to claim that the

assumptions, theories and applications of the transmission model are wholly invalid. As regards *material* progress, the results are impressive. However, when applying the model to *social* development, a paradox emerges: development projects frequently seem to have contributed as much, if not more, to social decline as to social advancement.

According to Everett Rogers:

> However one might measure development in most nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia in the past twenty-five years, not much has occurred. Instead, most 'development' efforts have brought further stagnation, a greater concentration of income and power, high unemployment and food shortages in these nations. If these past development programs represented any kind of test of the intellectual paradigm on which they were based, the model has been found rather seriously wanting.[20]

Rogers's comments are important for two reasons. First, he is a social scientist who was deeply committed to 'repairing' the transmission model, having created the 'diffusion of innovations' theory of development.[21] Second, and more significant, he makes a clear distinction between development programs and the *paradigm* upon which such programs are based. James Carey makes a similar distinction when describing communication models as both representations *of* and representations *for* the communication process: 'In one mode communication models tell us what the process is, in their second mode they produce the behavior they have described.'[22]

Carey describes a model's function as a representation *for* communication by calling it a 'template' that guides the 'concrete process of human interaction, mass and personal.[23] This is precisely how the transmission model functions. However, Carey causes some confusion by using the term 'model' also to denote the function of defining the communication process. It may be more accurate to use the term 'paradigm' to describe a representation *of* communication, for a paradigm provides the theoretical and philosophical foundation for understanding the nature and meaning of communication. Defining communication is very different from diagramming communication processes. A paradigm is a view of the world, including assumptions about reality, about behaviors appropriate to that reality, and about the authority or standards by which such assumptions become established and maintained as 'true'. Thomas Kuhn argued that:

> Paradigms provide scientists not only with a map but also with some of the directions essential for map-making. In learning a paradigm, the scientist acquires theory, methods, and standards together, usually in an inextricable mixture.[24]

Recognizing this critical distinction between a model and its underlying paradigm, we can more clearly identify the source of the transmission model's problems.

Theoretical Assumptions of the Model

In his analysis of the dysfunctions of development projects designed

according to the traditional model, Juan Diaz Bordenave traced the problems to the philosophical assumptions underlying the projects:

> One thing is common to all rural communication projects, however. Each is built on a series of ideological assumptions. Examine any communication project for rural development and you will discover assumptions about the nature of man, diffusion, learning, change and society.[25]

Significantly, the transmission model is based on assumptions about the 'nature of man, diffusion, learning, change and society' provided by the empirical sciences.

Until the last few centuries, a wide and absolute separation existed between assumptions about society and the nature of man as established in the single, legitimate authority of church doctrine, and the study of the physical sciences. Our understanding of 'reality', both physical and metaphysical, was originally provided by religion. Man, made in the image of God, was unique, the superior creation. Deferring to the authority of the religious paradigm over the affairs of men, early scientists focused their attention on such 'objective' topics as the mysteries of the movements of the planets and the origins and nature of the lesser forms of life. They did not question the dominant paradigm; they were neither attempting to subvert church authority nor deny the significance of man's spiritual life. However, problems emerged when Copernicus's discoveries about the movement of the planets directly contradicted the doctrines of the church. If science was to be believed, the model of the physical world offered by the church was irreconcilably in error; church authority was shown to be fallible. A crisis erupted when, having its authority challenged, the church insisted on maintaining its commitment to the traditional model of creation offered by a literal interpretation of scripture. Scientific inquiry and empirical proof eroded the authority of the religious models of the physical world until, with no small help from Galileo, Darwin, Einstein and many others, the archaic models came to be regarded as mere superstition, irrelevant to the 'true reality' of life on earth.

Scientists obviously were justified in rejecting the oppressive and restrictive dogmas and superstitions that were in direct contradiction to empirical fact. As Lewis Mumford notes, perhaps capitalism's greatest service was to overthrow the 'reified' religious institutions that were stifling man's search for knowledge.[26] Reification is the process whereby man-made models, and the institutions and social structures built according to those models, become separated from their human roots. Rules of behavior, customs and traditions become treated as if they were as Divine in origin as the 'paradigms' from which they were derived: the transcendent spiritual principles enunciated by the Prophets, such as the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. Religious institutions may have been inspired by revelation, but they were designed by men. These would include, for example, the model of creation inspired by Genesis, the authority of Petrine succession in the Catholic Church, and the concept of Trinity as inspired by the Gospels. With the passage of time, man-made doctrines such as these achieved the same status as prophetic revelation: Truth with a capital 'T'.

The rise of the authority of the scientific paradigm resulted in what Alvin Gouldner describes as the 'unprecedented secularization of the masses'.[27] In the tension between scientific and religious claims to authority, the proverbial occurred: the baby got thrown out with the bath water. Science rejected not only the models, but also the paradigm provided by religion. By disproving religious models of the creation of the universe and the origins of life, science cast into doubt the validity of all religious assertions, including those dealing with man's subjective reality, such as the existence of the human soul, the Divine nature of the Prophets, and even the existence of God. A new paradigm emerged that regarded objective, empirical data as the only valid source of truth about the world.

It is from this paradigm that new models for society were developed, models that could be applied to 'a secular process of social change'.[28] New 'social sciences', including the study of communication, eagerly adopted the dominant scientific notions about the nature of man, society, and the variables that influence human behavior.

Empirical science considers man to be in essence a material being, subject to the same laws as the rest of creation. As a result, human social development is measured according to economic and political standards. This allows for the social worth of individuals to be measured according to economic and political variables: power, authority, nationality, class, productivity, consumption and so on:

> Definitions of development centered around the criterion of economic growth. The level of national development at any given point in time was the gross national product (GNP), or, when divided by the total population in a nation, per capita income.[29]

Cultural variables, such as race, ethnicity, religion and so on, are considered meaningful primarily in terms of their political and economic significance.

Given these general assumptions, it is easy to see how communication technologies, the media, became tools for 'social engineering', for manipulating the economic and political environment. Once the relevant variables influencing human behavior were identified, it was believed that appropriate political and economic behaviors could be 'engineered'. Messages were designed to promote the development of balanced, orderly and productive societies, regardless of whether the prescribed behavior conformed to capitalist, communist, fascist or any other ideology.

Development communication became a science of producing effective messages. The key to achieving development goals, including social programs for literacy, health, family planning and education, was, in the words of Lawrence Grossberg:

> located in the need for *objective* (i.e., non-ideological) information on which to base decisions; once scientific research had gathered this information, ways of disseminating it would have to be found.[30]

Limitations of the Model

We have learned, of course, that messages designed to elicit specific economic and/or political behaviors have a profound impact not only on the

development of political and economic structures, but also on the emotional, psychological and spiritual structures of individuals, communities and cultures. As Diaz Bordenave noted, under the pressure of powerful persuasive messages people were sometimes moved to 'internalize beliefs and values antagonistic to (their) own interests.'[31]

In fact, in some cases, dissonance was the precise intent of the project. For example, Daniel Lerner felt that the target population of development projects needed to develop what he called 'empathy'. He made a statement, remarkable in its implications, that typifies the attitudes prevalent among early development communication theorists. He said people should identify themselves 'with the new and with the strange, to incorporate what one is not in order to enlarge what one can become.'[32]

It is now obvious that the social consequences of promoting such a psychic, social and cultural estrangement are profound. To install a water well in every home in a rural village might appear to fulfill an agency's goal of improving the health of its citizens, but it might also disrupt totally the traditional patterns of communication among villagers whose social focus is the community well. The potential social damage may far outstrip the material gains. Similarly, to promote family planning in a culture whose beliefs forbid such a practice may provoke serious problems. Paulo Freire identifies the source of such conflicts:

> Many political and educational plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their own personal views of reality, never once taking into account (except as mere objects of their action) the *men-in-a-situation* to whom their program was ostensibly directed.[33]

That situation certainly includes individuals' economic and political realities, but it is not limited to them. The human situation also includes such fundamental 'variables' as moral, ethical and religious beliefs, upon which cultures are established and through which they function.

In the early days of the science, it appeared as though development communication experts had considered sufficiently the subjective aspect of the nature of man, diffusion, learning, change and society. In 1964, Wilbur Schramm wrote:

> Social transformation is basically a set of human transformations, people to be educated and informed, attitudes and values to be changed, human relationships, customs, social behavior to be reviewed and rethought.[34]

On further examination, however, we discover that 'human transformations' and 'the nature of society' were usually defined in political and economic terms: 'The really basic strategies of developmental communication are not merely communication strategies at all, but are *economic and political* and are grounded deep in the nature of society.'[35]

The dysfunctions of such a narrow view of development have become evident during the last twenty years, but, as Williams notes, they have not yet been corrected:

> All the new technologies of communication have been abused, for political control (as in propaganda) or for commercial profit (as in advertising). We can

protest against such uses, but unless we have a clear alternative version of human society we are not likely to make our protest effective.[36]

A number of social scientists and social philosophers have offered alternative versions of human society, but few have been as articulate, influential and relevant to the field of development communication as the members of the 'Chicago School' of social theory and their disciples.[37] Their central concern is to expand the rigid, materialistic definition of human nature found at the base of objective science. In their view, scientific empiricism does not adequately address man's subjective nature and needs. Although he shares an abundance of characteristics with the physical world, man *is* unique. Morals, ethics, emotions, aesthetics, rituals and the like, are essential aspects of human reality, whether or not they can be validated by objective measurements or empirical proofs.

In his *Essay on Man*, Ernst Cassirer describes man as *homo symbolicus*, identified according to his ability to derive meaning from symbols.[38] Man is not simply an organism responding to stimuli; for man, all stimuli are symbols. Everything man senses is interpreted for its meaning; only after understanding the meaning of a stimulus does he select an appropriate response. For example, if a drop of water lands on a man's nose, he determines its meaning before he acts. First, he identifies it as a drop of water, then he seeks an explanation, an understanding of the drop's significance. If he notices dark clouds in the sky, he is likely to ascribe a particular *meaning* to that drop, to identify it as rain. If it were a bright, sunny day he probably would seek another explanation, another meaning for the drop of liquid. Only when he has identified the drop and ascribed a meaning to it will he be able to select an appropriate response. He selects the appropriate action to take when confronted with *rain*, not merely a drop of liquid, on his nose.

Applying the transmission model to social science seemed an effective way of examining data such as salaries, housing, racial stratification and other quantifiable political and economic variables. Carey maintains, however, that one must examine *communication* not merely as another variable, but as 'the primary phenomena of experience'.[39] His argument not only offers a rational validation of the subjective experience, but it also helps clarify the nature of communication media.

First, the media are 'concrete' symbols, tools people use to give their thoughts a tangible form, such as words, musical notes, brush strokes, electrical pulses and so forth. Second, media are carriers of meaning; not only do they provide thoughts with a tangible form, but they also convey meaning to others. The transmission model graphically illustrates how media serve as channels to carry information from one person to another. To this end, the model is sufficient. However, the communication process does not stop there. Perhaps the most important aspect of the communication process is man's use of his symbolic capacity to generate, receive and transform messages. This process includes both mechanical and subjective elements, but it is fundamentally *social*. More than merely emitting 'feedback' to other people's messages, the receiver interprets each message and responds

according to his understanding of the message's meaning. His understanding and, therefore, his response, is determined by his 'situation', as Freire called it: his values, his beliefs, his view of reality, in addition to his education, training, experience and environment. People do more than simply respond to stimuli; they interpret and 'define' each other's messages and actions. This is why Herbert Blumer describes society as 'symbolic interaction' and human beings as 'persons constructing individual and collective action through an interpretation of the situations which confront them.'[40]

In the most common form of communication, face-to-face conversation, individuals use symbols in the creation and reception of messages. They have a *dialogue*. Dialogue is the dynamic creative process of sharing our perceptions of reality. Ideas are exchanged, moulded, until they express meanings that are similar and, therefore, shared. This, according to Diaz Bordenave, is exactly what Freire was referring to:

> In essence, what Paulo Freire proposed was the abolition of the 'transmission mentality' in education and communication, and its replacement with a more liberating type of communication education that would contain more dialogue and would be more receiver-centered and more conscious of social structure.[41]

If we regard dialogue as the fundamental social process, then it follows that the common meanings derived through dialogue provide the foundation of culture and society:

> There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community and communication. Men live in a community by virtue of the things they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. What they must have in common ... are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge – a common understanding – likemindedness as sociologists say. Such things cannot be passed physically from one to another like bricks; they cannot be shared as persons would share a pie by dividing it into physical pieces ... consensus demands communication.[42]

It is upon a foundation of 'common understandings' that social order is built and both the individual and society are sustained. This is the nature of social development.

The most serious limitation of the transmission model is that it cannot accommodate the notion of subjectivity, which is at the root of all societies and all cultures, because the notion of objectivity has become reified.[43] The belief in empirical truth is as dogmatically imposed on science today as was the Biblically-inspired model of creation in Galileo's time. Rather than being recognized as the humanly-conceived, mutually-validated standard that it is, the authority of scientific objectivism has come to be regarded as pure, supposedly free from subjective, human influences.

People like Cassirer and Blumer have demonstrated that it is through *subjective* processes that the rules and assumptions of 'objective' science originally were conceived and accepted. Under the controlled influence of curricula, textbooks, laboratory practice and scientific authorities, 'apprentice scientists' are carried through a process of indoctrination and acculturation to the scientific community's paradigm, its belief system. Through this social, subjective process the 'rules of the game' are introduced,

validated, inculcated and instilled in the minds and hearts of the students of science. This is the ultimate contradiction of the paradigm of scientific 'objectivism': the very processes it dismisses as irrelevant, as beyond the scope of empirical science, are utilized to create and maintain the paradigm's authority.[44]

The social scientists who adopted the transmission model also failed to appreciate the fact that the paradigm of the physical sciences, from which the model derives, was never intended as a description of the subjective human experience, much less as a model for social development. Diaz Bordenave noted:

> Communication became the object of scientific study only when the electronic media were invented and adopted. It was no coincidence that the first formal model of the communication process originated with electrical engineers and mathematicians.[45]

The electronic model of 'sender–message–channel–receiver' was simply cast in human terms: 'Who–says what–to whom–in what channel–with what effect?' became the communication scientists' invocation.[46] But the model was designed to describe the behavior of electricity, not the behavior of human beings. Obviously, this limitation renders the model inadequate when applied to the process of social development, and it is this limitation that is at the root of the current crises in communication.

Lawrence Grossberg summarizes the major crises that have resulted from the application of the transmission model to social development as follows:

1. *Informational.* We receive information that is limited and distorted.
2. *Subjective.* The individual has lost his unique identity to the mass.
3. *Structural.* We are dominated by one (erroneous) belief system (paradigm).
4. *Interactional.* We have lost our opportunity for dialogue and, with it, our shared values and sense of community.
5. *Transcendental.* We have lost touch with our subjective nature; we have an incomplete concept of the nature of man.
6. *Representational.* We have replaced reality with images and ideology; our supposedly factual world-view is fictional.[47]

These crises represent what Carey calls a 'derangement in our models of communication and community'.[48] We have examined the traditional model and found it wanting. We have identified its major dysfunctions and discovered the philosophical weaknesses of the paradigm upon which it was based. The challenge to development communication theorists and practitioners now is to find an alternative model that more accurately describes the communication process and that can be more appropriately applied to social development.

An Alternative to the Transmission Model: A 'Ritual' View of Communication

The awareness of the need for a new paradigm for communication has emerged only recently, having become a major part of the literature of communication in just the last decade. The initial focus has been on articulating

the problems of the old paradigm, as discussed above. More recently however, some authors have begun to theorize about how it might be remedied or replaced.

As an alternative to the transmission model, James Carey proposes a 'ritual' view of communication that extends beyond political and economic concerns to include 'the sharing of aesthetic experience, religious ideas, personal values and sentiments, and intellectual notions.'[49]

The ritual view is associated with the traditional religious concepts from which its vocabulary derives, including sharing, participation, association, fellowship and the possession of a common system of beliefs and values. However, it is based upon a new definition, a new paradigm, of society; Carey affirms that society itself is a form of communication:

> Our minds and lives are shaped by our total experience or better, by representations of experience and . . . a name for this experience is communication. If one tries to examine society as a form of communication, he sees it as a process whereby reality is created, modified and preserved. When this process goes opaque, when we lack models of and for reality that make the world apprehensible, when we are unable to describe it and share it, when because of a failure of our models for communication, we are unable to connect with others, one encounters problems of communication in their most potent form.[50]

Carey provides an example of the difference between the transmission model and the ritual view through an analysis of a newspaper. The transmission model views a newspaper as a 'channel', a *tool* for disseminating information in the forms of news and advertising, 'reports about the world'. A ritual view approaches a newspaper as a *text* for ordering reality. As a text, it is more than informational, it is dramatic: 'it is a presentation of reality that gives to life an overall form, order and tone.'[51] The ritual view does not deny that a newspaper carries information, but it places that function within the newspapers' larger societal role of helping to construct and maintain a meaningful, culturally-determined world:

> A ritual view of communication is not directed toward the extension of messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs.[52]

As noted above, Carey suggests that our models of communication contain both an 'of' and a 'for' element; not only do they provide a description of reality, but they also help to shape that reality, like a template: 'Communication is a symbolic process, whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed.'[53]

Carey cites religion as the primary source from which our communication models derive because, historically, religious ritual has provided the structures *of* and *for* social interaction. Social scientists who have examined ritual's significance to the creation and maintenance of social order include Emile Durkheim, Claude Levi-Strauss, and Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, among others. An examination of their work clarifies the nature of ritual and identifies those elements of ritual that would be essential to a new paradigm of communication. These would include:

1. A universal symbol system that articulates transcendent as well as parochial concerns.
2. A strong sense of order, placing man in a balanced relationship with the cosmos, earth, society and self.
3. The ability to accommodate both the 'objective' and 'subjective' aspects of human nature.
4. A strong sense of history, conscious of the cycles of repetition and renewal.
5. An emphasis on dialogue, achieved through localized public institutions that provide for the participation of diverse segments of the population.
6. A high moral/ethical content that separates the 'sacred' from the 'profane', while at the same time guaranteeing essential freedoms.[54]

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of such a social order would be its dynamic tension as it works to balance the forces calling for universality, equality and collectivism with the needs for localism, diversity and individual freedom.

It would be difficult to find a more all-encompassing set of criteria for a new paradigm to accommodate. Such a 'world view' obviously transcends the parochial concerns of social scientists; it envelops the full spectrum of human affairs.

Providing a paradigm upon which human communication can be structured is perhaps more appropriate to religion and philosophy than to the field of development communication. Nonetheless, some aspects of Carey's ritual view are currently being addressed by development communication professionals. Of particular relevance is that aspect of ritual cited in the fifth point above: an emphasis on dialogue, achieved through localized public institutions that provide for the participation of diverse segments of the population.

APPENDIX II

Participation in Development Projects

MANY of the communication projects for rural development undertaken in the last decade, and about which information has been published, have been reviewed in two well-known studies: Diaz Bordenave's *Communication and Rural Development*, and Jamison and McAnany's *Radio for Education and Development*. In many of the projects, attempts at audience participation were made, with varying degrees of success.

For example, both studies examined Senegal's *Radio Educative Rurale* (RER). This project was especially significant in that it indicated that a programming policy which allowed audience input and encouraged dialogue had a more profound impact than the development messages of the broadcasts.[2]

Jamison and McAnany also reported on Hudson's study of a low-watt radio station among an Eskimo group in Northern Canada. She found that:

> The formation of a local group to help manage the radio may be the first sign of how the introduction of a technology may help to stimulate community cohesion . . . [A] local radio station in local hands provides more control over messages coming into the community and a stimulus to the community for common action to solve problems and organize people.[3]

Diaz Bordenave also examined the results of a Canadian project, the 'Challenge for Change' project in the Fogo Islands. In this project 16mm films were made about the inhabitants of a remote and economically declining island. When shared with the islanders, the films contributed significantly toward promoting a sense of community identity and pride and in motivating and focusing efforts toward the rehabilitation of the community.[4]

Jamison and McAnany cite Robert White's report on results of the Popular Promotion Movement in Honduras:

> using radio and the communication network of village leaders . . . has helped to create a new basis of *campesino* culture; it has helped to develop a participatory decision-making structure and helped develop a base for interest-group action.[5]

Many of the case studies demonstrated the audiences' willingness to participate in the projects. They also supported Diaz Bordenave's assertion that there is a 'growing conviction' that people should have access to the media.

However, as attractive as the notion of participation is theoretically, evidence that the 'several significant innovations' detailed by Diaz Bordenave have been or are being widely adopted and applied 'in the field' is sparse.

In terms of 'access' Hudson's study concluded that 'unless communication technology is under the control of the users of the system, genuine access may not be available.'[6]

In this light, it is significant that not one of the projects studied by Diaz Bordenave placed communication tools in the hands of the rural populations.[7]

Regarding 'participation', Diaz Bordenave determined that only the Fogo Islands project attempted to involve a rural population in its entirety, either directly or indirectly. Women, out-of-school youth, the 'unproductive' elderly, the socially excluded, the geographically remote, and those who might oppose progressive change were consistently excluded from projects.[8] Projects that promoted 'self-management' were equally rare. In summarizing all of the cases they studied, Jamison and McAnany acknowledged that there was little involvement of the audience in the processes of planning the projects.[9] Diaz Bordenave found no projects that originated with the people themselves, and he found 'only two projects in which rural participants actually had a hand in the project design'.[10]

Of course, in spite of these 'limitations', many of the projects achieved significant success. For example, the 'Challenge for Change' model has been replicated in over sixty Canadian communities. Nonetheless, not one of the projects examined in these two studies appears to have incorporated all three elements of access, participation and self-management in its design.

APPENDIX III

Media Use in Ecuador[1]

Print

THERE are 37 daily and 32 weekly newspapers in Ecuador. There are four major dailies, two in Quito and two in Guayaquil; all four are in Spanish; no major newspapers are printed in Quichua.[2] Distribution is limited to major population centers; there is little distribution of newspapers to Indian villages. On occasion, the government will print pamphlets in Quichua to announce new programs and carry out development plans, but this only occurs on an occasional basis and there is no reliable method for having them distributed systematically. All the newspapers are privately owned and enjoy a wide degree of editorial freedom, with limited government interference. Whenever the government has intervened, negative popular opinion, from both within the country and without, has forced an easing of restrictions.

The papers have a mix of 'hard' news, gleaned primarily from UPI, AFP and regional bureaus, and 'soft' items, including comic strips, features and classified advertising.

There are eleven major popular magazines (of the 284 periodicals published); these are similar in format to popular American weeklies (news, sports, beauty, household). There is little book publishing in Ecuador. Most titles are imported from other South American countries, Europe and the United States. The major publishers are 'cultural' houses, printing historical, literary and scholarly works. 362 titles were printed in 1977.[3]

Television

Television was introduced into Ecuador in 1959. The first station was built in Quito with direct assistance from the United States. There are nine 'flagship' stations and 52 repeater stations in the country. All the television stations are privately owned and are in the major cities. A few of the stations still maintain close relationships with the US networks.

Ecuador uses the 525-line NTSC color system, the US standard. Ecuador was one of the first countries in the Third World in which all stations

broadcast fulltime in color. There are an estimated 380,000 receivers in Ecuador (3 per 100 people). Almost all receivers are located in major cities. All programming is in Spanish and is divided into the following categories (by percent): Cultural (40.8), Entertainment (17.4), Information (13.6), Special Audiences (11.7), Advertising (9.5), Education (3.9), Science (1.3).[4] There is a heavy emphasis on using television in preference to radio as a primary means of cultural transmission. However, it must be remembered that the classification 'cultural' can be broadly interpreted.

The major programming sources are the United States, Spain, Mexico and Argentina. Most popular programming comes from the United States, principally serials and cartoons. There is a fairly even mix between programs of local origin and imported programming as major production facilities exist in both Quito and Guayaquil. One of the stations maintains affiliation with the European Broadcasting Union and a COMSAT receiver station was recently installed near Quito. Chain broadcasting is conducted for major political and cultural events, such as the border war with Peru and the death of President Roldos in 1981, elections, football matches and the Pope's visit.

There is a high import tariff on TV receivers entering Ecuador. The government used petroleum dollars to build a Motorola assembly plant, which now supplies most of the receiver sets purchased in Ecuador.

Additional Media

There is some cross-ownership of media. For example, in Quito, the second largest newspaper and one of the three television stations are owned by one family. The Catholic Church also owns a number of media properties.

There are approximately 200 film houses in Ecuador, mostly in the major cities. Per capita attendance is approximately 5.6, a strikingly high number when considering the actual distribution of theaters. All films are imported, with the major distributors being the United States, Europe and Latin America. There are no major film production companies in Ecuador.

The telecommunications systems were nationalized by the government in 1972, concurrent with a military coup. All telecommunications systems, however, are still serviced and developed by outside commercial agencies such as ITT. The railroad and the armed forces have their own independent radio, telephone and telegraph systems.

In Quito in the mid-1970s, UNESCO built a new headquarters for CIESPAL, their research and training center for Latin American journalists (its focus has since been expanded to include a variety of communications fields). In addition to a research division, including an extensive library and a publications branch, the center provides training and conferences for media professionals from throughout Latin America. Visiting lecturers are invited from Latin America, the United States and Europe to provide training. However, most Ecuadorian media professionals still receive their training outside of the country, primarily in the US, Spain and Germany.

Radio

Radio is the dominant medium in Ecuador. The estimated number of

receivers in 1979 was 1,700,000 (22 per 100 people). The country is 100% saturated by radio transmissions. It is estimated that radio reaches 90% of the whites, 85% of the highland *mestizos*, 83% of the coastal *mestizos* and 65% of the highland Indians. There is even an increase in the amount of broadcasting available in the Amazon region. Whereas previously it had been primarily missionary in nature and aimed at the isolated Indian groups, programming is now being broadcast to the workers in the oil fields (and, thereby, is available to the Indians as well).

An estimated 60% of *campesino* families own radios.[5] Communal listening is a common practice in the rural areas, with receivers found in cafes and meeting houses as well as in the homes, which are occupied by extended families.

Radio was introduced in Ecuador in 1937 and established on the privately-owned, commercial model of the US. There was virtually no regulation of broadcasting in Ecuador until frequency crowding in the 1960s forced the government to enforce strict controls. There are approximately 340 radio stations in Ecuador: 300 AM (including short wave) and 40 FM. 72% of the stations are local (less than 3kw). Four government-owned stations program government material for education, political training, economic development and related activities. 93% of the stations are commercial and more than 100 of the radio stations belong to one of the five major networks, all of which are commercially run except the smallest, which is run by the Catholic Church.

The dominant language is Spanish; there is virtually no regular programming in Quichua.[6] The dominant programming is entertainment. Ecuador has the distinction of having one of the highest ratios of advertising in the world (an average of 31% of the air time). Programming ratios (by percent) are as follows: Entertainment (48.8), Advertising (30.7), Information (9.6), Special Audience (4.2), Science (3.8), Cultural (1.7), Education (1.2).

The largest single broadcaster is an evangelical Christian station HCJB, with administrative headquarters based in Opalacka, Florida. Known as 'The Voice of the Andes', HCJB broadcasts on several bands throughout Ecuador and has an extensive international reach as well. Perhaps the largest privately owned, non-commercial broadcast operation in the world, HCJB broadcasts short wave programs in over 16 languages to South America, North America, Asia, Australia, the Pacific and Europe. It has frequency allocations in every band and has at least seven transmitters operating between 30,000 and 100,000 watts.

APPENDIX IV

Caminando Juntos Project Goals[1]

A. INITIAL, DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION
   I. Knowledge of the people in the *campo*
      (a.) *Nucanchic Tono*
         1. Talk with and interview authorities
         2. Talk with and interview *campesinos*
         3. Give the project team direct contact with the audience
         4. Develop programming from interviews
      (b.) Formal Research
         1. Develop questionnaire, determine questions
         2. Choose target communities: Angla, Araque, Cangahua
         3. Gain in-depth knowledge of the community and the audience
         4. Record interviews for programming
         5. Provide direct contact between staff and audience
      (c.) Informal Research
         1. Gain in-depth knowledge of the community and the audience
         2. Learn about the *campesino's* needs
         3. Record interviews for programming
         4. Provide direct contact between staff and *campesinos*
   II. Base Data
      (a.) To inform CIDA about the nature of our target group
      (b.) To provide the data with which to compare the final results
B. PROGRAMMING
   I. Cultural
      (a.) Music
         1. *Nucanchic Tono*
            a. To form music groups in the *campo*
            b. To provide incentive to the creativity and musical interpretation of the *campesino*

c. To promote the use of authentic instruments
d. To promote the importance of and popularize indigenous music through recording and broadcasting indigenous music groups
e. To provide opportunities for public performance of indigenous music
f. To encourage musicians to perform, thereby demonstrating to themselves their artistic capacities
g. To promote the continued improvement of music performance

(b.) The Quichua Language
1. To preserve the language
a. Through Quichua programming
1. Find and utilize indigenous announcers
2. Promote the importance of Quichua to children and youth via spot announcements
3. Broadcast oral histories, poems, legends, songs, etc. in Quichua
4. General promotion of the importance, beauty and significance of Quichua

(c.) Customs
1. Clothing
a. Sponsor a fashion show of indigenous clothing, both antique and current, with the assistance of the Anthropology Institute
b. Promote the maintenance of traditional dress through spots and programming
2. Traditional and Civic Festivals
a. Develop programs that explain the origins and history of the festival
b. Promote the festivals via spots and programs
3. Artisan Crafts
a. Develop programs about the various artisan crafts (weaving, ceramics, wood-carving)
b. Record and broadcast interviews with artisans
c. Announce shows, fairs, etc.
4. Legends and Traditions
a. Develop programs recounting legends and traditions
b. Interview and broadcast stories of old people, storytellers, etc.

(d.) Practical Education for the Home
1. Health Programs
a. Hygiene
b. Nutrition and food storage
c. Prevention
(1.) Vaccination campaigns
d. Water and its correct use
e. First aid

f. Interviews and answers from health officials, rural doctors, authorities, etc.

2. Programs for the Family
   a. Family consultation
   b. Parenting tips
   c. Child education
   d. Family relationships
   e. Discipline
   f. Interviews and answers from authorities

II. Agriculture – to support and improve traditional methods

(a.) Crops
   1. Land preparation and care
   2. Seed selection, care, and rotation
   3. Plant treatment (fertilizer, fungicides, herbicides, insecticides, etc.)
   4. Pests
   5. Harvests
   6. Storage (including prevention of pests)
   7. Tools
   8. Sales and merchandising

(b.) Practical Guides for the Farm – Miscellany
   1. Care and Maintenance
      a. Buildings
      b. Property
      c. Tools
      d. Livestock
      e. Poultry

C. INCREASING AUDIENCE FOR CIDA PROGRAMMING

I. Contact with authorities

(a.) Liaison with teachers of national literacy program to inform them of project goals and programs

(b.) Utilizing professionals interviewed in programs to promote programming among peers and clients

(c.) Talking to and interviewing community authorities

(d.) Identifying community opinion leaders and explaining aims of program

II. Contact with the audience

(a.) Mobile team visits community to learn needs, receive feedback on programs, conduct interviews, develop programs, air live programs, establish personal rapport with *campesinos*

(b.) Regular visits to *campo* apart from mobile team's extended stays

(c.) Use loudspeaker-equipped cars to announce team visits, promote programming

D. ON-GOING EVALUATION

I. Purposes

(a.) CIDA reports

(b.) Evaluate existing programming

(c.) Improve programming
(d.) Maintain contact between staff and audience
(e.) Increase knowledge of audience listening habits and preferences

II. Methods
(a.) Mobile team
(b.) Regular contact with audience by all staff members
(c.) Solicit audience reponse in programs
(d.) Formal evaluation projects

E. TRAINING – FOR INDIGENOUS AND CITY-DWELLERS
I. Purposes and Methods
(a.) To increase audience participation in the radio station 'sound'
1. Announcing
2. Interviewing
3. Translation between Quichua and Spanish
(b.) To increase participation in programming
1. Script writing
2. Editing
3. Equipment
a. Operation
b. Maintenance
c. Producing
(c.) To increase participation in administration
1. Producing
2. Administration of self-generated projects
3. Membership on Commission
4. Professional training in broadcast methodology, ethics, etc.
5. Accounting
6. Evaluation

II. Public Relations
(a.) Facilitate *campesinos*' access to and contact with the station
1. Physical plant should have open doors, inviting and non-threatening reception area
2. On-going interaction between staff and audience
3. Mobile team
4. Promote continually improving relations with community authorities

F. FINAL EVALUATION
I. Purposes
(a.) Final report to CIDA and Bahá'í Institutions
(b.) Learn about successes and failures and their reasons
(c.) Guide future work
(d.) Provide support for future project proposals
(e.) Share with other development agencies around the world

II. Methods
   (a.) Same as A.I.(b.) above
   (b.) Compare and contrast to Base Data – A.II. above
   (c.) Include qualitative information supplied by staff

Following the formulation of these goals, the staff will be responsible for expressing these goals in specific measurable objectives. These will include:

1. Activity description
2. Resources needed
3. Staff and collaborators to be used
4. Methods of program production
5. Dates and duration of broadcasts
6. Evaluation of programming
7. Incorporation of results within future programming

APPENDIX V

Audience Evaluation Questionnaires
(English translations)

INTERVIEW FORM, CIDA/RADIO BAHÁ'Í, SEPTEMBER 1981[1]

1) Interviewer: 2) Date:
3) Community: 4) Name:
5) Age: 6) a. Male b. Female
7) Number in family: a. Adults: b. Children:
8) Can you read and write? a. Yes b. No
9) Level of education: a. None b. 1–3 years c. 3–6 years
d. 6–9 years e. 9–12 years
f. Higher education: years
10) Language a. Spanish only
b. Quichua only
c. Spanish and Quichua
11) Do you own a radio? a. Yes b. No
12) Is it working now? a. Yes b. No
13) Does your radio have a short waveband? a. Yes b. No
14) Does it have the 120-meter band? a. Yes b. No
15) Do you listen to short wave? a. Yes b. No
16) What short wave stations do you listen to?
17) When do you listen to the radio?
a. 4–6am b. 6–8am c. 8–10am d. 10am–12noon
e. 12–2pm f. 2–4pm g. 4–6pm h. 6–8pm
i. 8–10pm j. 10pm–12midnight k. 12–2am l. 2–4am
18) Why do you listen to the radio?
19) What kinds of programs do you listen to?
a. Music b. News c. Sports d. Religious
e. Educational f. Cultural g. Political h. Governmental
i. Discussion/Talk j. Other:

20) What kinds of programs do you like best?
a. Music b. News c. Sports d. Religious
e. Educational f. Cultural g. Political h. Governmental
i. Discussion/Talk j. Other:

21) What don't you like to listen to on the radio?

22) What stations do you listen to regularly?

a. Bahá'í
b. Caracol
c. Centro Radiofonico
d. Colon
e. Colosal
f. CRE
g. Cristal
h. Ecos de Cayambe
i. Ecos de Urcuqui
j. Ecuatoriano
k. El Sol
l. Escuelas Radiofonicas
m. Espejo
n. Gran Colombia
o. HCJB
p. Jesus de Gran Poder
q. Melodia
r. Municipal de Ibarra
s. Nacional del Ecuador
t. Otavalo
u. Panorama
v. Popular de Atuntaqui
w. Punto
x. Quito
y. Reloj
z. Santa Fe
aa. Sonorama de Cali
bb. Sutatenza
cc. Tarqui
dd. Tequendama
ee. Todelar
ff. Tropicana
gg. Universal
hh. Vision
ii. Voz de Imbabura
jj. Voz de Manizales
kk. Voz del Norte
ll. Voz del Valle
mm. Zaracay

23) Do you listen to Radio Bahá'í? a. Yes b. No

24) When do you listen to Radio Bahá'í?
a. 4–6am b. 6–8am c. 8–10am d. 10am–12noon
e. 12–2pm f. 2–4pm g. 4–6pm h. 6–8pm
i. 8–10pm j. 10pm–12midnight k. 12–2am l. 2–4am

25) What do you like about Radio Bahá'í?

26) What don't you like about Radio Bahá'í?

27) What do you think are the best things about living in your community?

28) What do you think are the major problems in your community?

29) What do you think are the best things about agriculture in your community?

30) What are the major problems with agriculture in your community?

31) What could be done to improve agriculture in your community?

32) What would you like to learn about the culture in this area?

33) What aspects of your culture do you want to preserve and protect?

34) Do you think that radio can help the people in your community?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
How?:

35) Do you think that Radio can help improve agriculture in your community? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
How?:

36) Do you think that radio can help preserve the culture of this area?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
How?:

37) Is there anything else that you would like to talk with us about?

38) Do you have any questions that you want to ask us?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE!

INTERVIEW FORM, SUMMATIVE EVALUATION, CAMINANDO JUNTOS JUNE 1983[2]

1) Interviewer: 2) Date:

3) Community: a. Angla b. Araque c. Cangahua

4) Name: (optional)

5) Age: 6) a. Male b. Female

7) Number in family: a. Adults: b. Children: c. Total:

8) Can you read and write? a. Yes b. No

9) Level of education: a. None b. 1–3 years c. 3–6 years
d. 6–9 years e. 9–12 years
f. Higher education: years

10) Language: a. Spanish only b. Quichua only c. Both

11) Do you own a radio? a. Yes b. No

12) Is it working now? a. Yes b. No

13) Why not? a. No batteries b. It's broken

14) Does your radio have short wave? a. Yes b. No

15) Does it have the 60-meter band? a. Yes b. No

16) Do you listen to short wave? a. Yes b. No

17) When do you listen to the radio?
a. 4–6am b. 6–8am c. 8–10am d. 10am–12noon
e. 12–2pm f. 2–4pm g. 4–6pm h. 6–8pm
i. 8–10pm j. 10pm–12midnight

18) Why do you listen to the radio?

19) What kinds of programs do you listen to?
a. Music b. News c. Sports
d. Religious e. Educational f. Cultural
g. Political h. Governmental i. Discussion
j. Others:

20) What radio stations do you listen to regularly?

a. Bahá'í
b. Colon
c. Cristal
d. Ecos de Cali
e. Ecos de Cayambe
f. Ecos de Urcuqui
g. Espejo
h. Gran Colombia
i. HCJB
j. Jesus de Gran Poder
k. Maranon
l. Melodia
m. Nacional del Ecuador
n. Otavalo
o. Popular de Atuntaqui
p. Quito
q. Sonorama de Cali
r. Tarqui
s. Vision
t. Zaracay
u. Other:

21) Do you listen to Radio Bahá'í? a. Yes b. No

22) a. Medium wave b. Short wave c. Both

23) What do you like about Radio Bahá'í?

24) Is there anything you don't like about Radio Bahá'í?

25) What is good about your community?

26) What are the best aspects of the culture here?

27) What aspects of the culture would you like to preserve and protect?

28) What could be done to improve the culture here?

29) Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to preserve the culture here? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know

30) How?:

31) Have you listened to the cultural programs on Radio Bahá'í? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know

32) Did you like them? a. Yes b. No

33) Why?:

34) Have you been to one of the indigenous music festivals, *Nucanchic Tono*? a. Yes b. No

35) Have you been to one of the children's festivals, *Huahuamantag Huahuapag*? a. Yes b. No

36) What are the best things about *the health of the people* in your community?

37) What could be done to improve the health of the people in your community?

38) Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to improve the health of your community? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know

39) How?:

40) Have you listened to the health programs on Radio Bahá'í? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know

41) Did you understand them? a. Yes b. No

42) Did you use them? a. Yes b. No

43) How?:

44) What are the best things about *agriculture* here?
45) What are the best crops in your community?
46) What could be done to improve agriculture here?
47) Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to improve agriculture in your community?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
48) How?:
49) Have you listened to the agricultural programs on Radio Bahá'í?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
50) Did you understand them? a. Yes b. No
51) Did you use them? a. Yes b. No
52) How?:
53) What are the best things about *animal care* in your community?
54) What are the best animals in your community?
55) What could be done to improve animal care here?
56) Do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped to improve animal care here? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
57) How?:
58) Have you listened to the programs about animal care on Radio Bahá'í? a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
59) Did you understand them? a. Yes b. No
60) Did you use them? a. Yes b. No
61) How?:

Questions for Angla only:

*62) Have you seen the mural newspapers?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
*63) Where did you see them?
*64) Did you understand them? a. Yes b. No
*65) If not, why not?:
*66) Which of the messages did you like best?
*67) Do you think that the messages on the mural newspapers have helped your community?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
*68) How?:

End of Questions for Angla

69) What other kinds of programs would you like to hear on Radio Bahá'í?
70) In general, do you think that Radio Bahá'í has helped the people of your community?
a. Yes b. No c. Don't know
71) How?:
72) What else would you like to learn about?
73) Would you like to talk with us about anything else?
74) Would you like to ask us any questions?

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

Introduction

1 International Commission, 'Interim Report', p. 51.
2 See Appendix I.
3 UNESCO, 'Meeting on Self-Management', p. 52.
4 ibid. p. 5 (emphasis added).
5 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, pp. 22–3.
6 Jouet, 'Tercer Mundo'.
7 'Aspectos Politicos', p. 25.
8 Jouet, 'Tercer Mundo', p. 3.
9 UNESCO, 'Meeting on Self-Management', p. 23.
10 Schramm, *Big Media*, pp. 249–50.
11 Hornik, quoted in 'Development Broadcasting', p. 17.
12 International Commission, 'Interim Report', p. 51.
13 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 23.
14 Somavia, 'Third World Participation', p. 51.
15 Jamison and McAnany, *Radio for Education*, p. 35.
16 ibid. p. 9.
17 Cited by Gunter and Theroux, 'Three Paradigms', p. 338.
18 Schramm, *Big Media*, p. 238.
19 Jamison and McAnany, *Radio for Education*, p. 9.
20 See, for example, Schiller, *Mass Communications*, and Fejes, 'Third World'.
21 UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook 1975*.
22 For a summary of ACPO see Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, pp. 26–30, and Beltran, 'Social Structure'.
23 For principal works by Beltran, Diaz Bordenave, Somavia and Gerace, see Bibliography.
24 UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook 1975*.
25 McAnany, 'Communication with the Rural Poor', p. 84.
26 Gunter, 'Trends in Development Assistance'. An exception can be found in formal in-school programs, such as the Radio Mathematics Project in Nicaragua and the Radio Language Arts Project in Nairobi, Kenya. See Searle, Suppes and Friend, 'Mathematics Project', and Christensen and Mugiri, 'Intensive Use of Radio'.
27 For example, see Schmelkes de Sotelo, 'Radio Schools of Tarahumara', pp. 33–68, and Arana de Swadesh, 'Radio Ejerce', p. 5.
28 Ordonez Andrade, 'La Comunicacion Social', pp. 7–8.
29 Jaramillo, 'Medios de Comunicacion', p. 10.
30 Encalada, 'Marginality', p. 8.
31 Lewis, 'Culture of Poverty'.
32 Encalada, 'Marginality', p. 16.
33 Flores and Sibille de Flores, 'La Investigacion', p. 10.
34 Proano, 'Diagnostico', p. 15.
35 For example, see studies of the 'radio schools' by Dubly, 'Evaluacion Pichincha –

Tabacundo', and 'Radiofonicas de Riobamba', and Colle, 'Informe Preliminar'.
36 A prominent proponent is CIESPAL's Encalada. See 'Marginality'.
37 Spector, and others. 'Communication Media'.
38 Hoxeng, *Let Jorge Do It.*
39 It is interesting to note that listeners served by Radio Mensaje would later come within the broadcast reach of Radio Bahá'í, and that some of Radio Bahá'í's production methods would resemble those used at Radio Mensaje. See Chapter 4.
40 Michael Stokes, for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, to author, 22 August 1979.
41 Mas'ud Khamsi, cited in Hornby, 'Inauguration of Radio Bahá'í', p. 13 (emphasis added).
42 Hornik, 'Development Broadcasting', p. 17.
43 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 97.
44 UNESCO, 'Meeting on Self-Management', p. 24.
45 ibid. p. 25.
46 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 88.
47 Gianotten and de Wit, 'Rural Development', pp. 13–15.
48 Becker and Geer, 'A Comparison', p. 133, and 'A Rejoinder', p. 152.
49 Glaser and Strauss, *Grounded Theory*, p. 226.
50 ibid. p. 251.
51 Vidich, 'Participant Observation', p. 165.
52 While it is true that being a Bahá'í had numerous advantages to the conduct of the research, the reader of this study must also evaluate the degree to which my pro-Bahá'í biases might have influenced the findings.
53 CIESPAL is the UNESCO-sponsored International Center for the Study of Communication in Latin America. Its documentation center purportedly houses the largest single collection on development communications in Latin America (with an extensive collection of documents in Spanish, Portuguese and English).
54 Glaser and Strauss, *Grounded Theory*, p. 75.
55 Details of the procedures and summaries of the findings are presented in Chapter 5.

1 Origins and Objectives of Radio Bahá'í

1 Interview with Raul Pavon, Otavalo, 5 January 1982. In the mid-1960s radio had been proposed as a means of promoting the Bahá'í Faith in Ecuador by Raul's brother, Rafael Pavon, who had owned and managed a commercial radio station in the Otavalo region in the 1950s. However, the idea of using radio to serve the indigenous Bahá'í communities surrounding Otavalo grew out of a conversation between Raul Pavon and Teresa Jara, also a member of the National Assembly, some time in 1972.
2 ibid. Mr Pavon stated that he was strongly encouraged to pursue this idea by Dr Raḥmatu'lláh Muhájir, an internationally prominent Bahá'í teacher.
3 Unless otherwise noted, all statistics from this section are derived from Weil and others, *Area Handbook for Ecuador.*
4 Jaramillo, 'Medios de Comunicacion', and Encalada, 'Marginality', p. 5.
5 Escuelas Radiofonicas, 'Seminario', p. 4.
6 Encalada, 'Marginality', p. 6.
7 Escuelas Radiofonicas, 'Seminario', p. 4.
8 ibid.
9 Interview with Ralph Dexter, Otavalo, 14 August 1981.
10 ibid.
11 Comite Nacional de Radio, minutes of 12 July 1973; Comite Nacional de Radio to Audio-Visual Department, 22 December 1975.
12 Miller, Report for the Comite Nacional de Radio, January 1974.
13 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, Otavalo, 28 December 1981.
14 Comite Nacional de Radio, minutes of 21 January 1974.
15 Comite Nacional de Radio to Audio-Visual Department, 22 December 1975.
16 Radio Bahá'í files, August 1975.
17 Interview with K. Dean Stephens, Otavalo, 12 December 1981.

18 Audio-Visual Department to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 12 December 1974.
19 Interview with K. Dean Stephens, Otavalo, 12 December 1981.
20 Interview with Isabel Pavon de Calderon, Otavalo, 4 January 1982.
21 Interview with K. Dean Stephens.
22 Rutstein, 'Echoes of a Miracle', p. 8.
23 Comite de Radio Bahá'í to Audio-Visual Department, 27 December 1977.

Radio Bahá'í also operates a short wave frequency from its studios and offices in Otavalo. The National Assembly initiated an application for acquiring a short wave frequency in December of 1978. The formal request was submitted 23 May 1979 and resulted in the National Assembly being awarded the frequency of 2340 kHz in the 120-meter band on 2 August 1979. (Commission for Radio Bahá'í to Audio-Visual Department, 9 November 1979.) Regular programming was initiated on 12 December 1979.

Programming was broadcast daily between 7:00 pm and 11:00 pm and consisted primarily, but not exclusively, of 'national' music, such as that regularly played on the AM station. Approximately fifteen minutes of each hour was devoted to Bahá'í programming, largely drawn from the library of programs produced between 1974 and 1977 by the National Radio Committee.

The Assembly's purpose in acquiring a short wave frequency was to provide services to Bahá'í communities throughout Ecuador and the neighboring region, especially southern Colombia. It was also intended to serve as a tool for promoting the Bahá'í teachings among the general audience. Although based in Otavalo and operated by the Commission and its staff, the short wave station was not intended for the local audience and had little listenership in the Otavalo region. Therefore it is not included as a subject of this study.

24 Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings*, p. 215.
25 Shoghi Effendi, cited in Martin, 'The Spiritual Revolution', p. 18.
26 Bahá'u'lláh, *Tablets*, p. 220.
27 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, p. 130.
28 Shoghi Effendi, *World Order*, p. 163.
29 Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings*, p. 286.
30 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Divine Civilization*, p. 73.
31 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Promulgation*, pp. 191–2.
32 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Selections*, p. 286.
33 Shoghi Effendi, *World Order*, p. 42.
34 ibid., pp. 202–3.
35 ibid. pp. 41–2.
36 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Selections*, pp. 291–2.
37 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, pp. 146–9.
38 Shoghi Effendi, *Advent*, p. 29.
39 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Promulgation*, pp. 76, 108, 134, 375. For a more thorough treatment of this issue, see Conrader, 'Women', and Bahá'í International Community, 'Rights of Women'.
40 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, pp. 143, 130–31, 143, 146. See also three essays by Hatcher in *Bahá'í Studies*, No. 2 (September 1977) for an analysis of the Bahá'í teachings on this subject.
41 Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings*, pp. 259–60.
42 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Divine Civilization*, p. 109.
43 Bahá'u'lláh, *Epistle*, pp. 26–7. For a summary and an analysis of the Bahá'í teachings regarding education, see Bahá'u'lláh, 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Shoghi Effendi, *Bahá'í Education*, and Christensen and Christensen, 'Gems of Human Potential'.
44 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, pp. 151–3.
45 'Abdu'l-Bahá, quoted in Ford, 'Economic Teaching', pp. 4–5.
46 'Abdu'l-Bahá, quoted in Esslemont, *New Era*, p. 142.
47 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Divine Civilization*, p. 24. For analyses of the Bahá'í teachings regarding economics, see Jordan, 'Guardians of His Trust'; Hatcher, 'Economics

and Moral Values'; Huddleston, 'World Commonwealth'; and Dahl, 'Economics and the Bahá'í Teachings'.
48 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Promulgation*, pp. 109–10, 166.
49 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, pp. 21–2.
50 The Universal House of Justice to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Italy, 19 November 1974, quoted in *Bahá'í News*, no. 525 (December 1974), p. 1.
51 Bahá'u'lláh, *Gleanings*, p. 250.
52 ibid. p. 333.
53 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Divine Civilization*, p. 4.
54 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Paris Talks*, p. 16.
55 'Abdu'l-Bahá, quoted in Esslemont, *New Era*, p. 90.
56 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Divine Civilization*, p. 103.
57 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Promulgation*, p. 338.
58 Shoghi Effendi, *Citadel of Faith*, p. 130.
59 Universal House of Justice, *Wellspring*, pp. 37–9.
60 Universal House of Justice, *Messages*, p. 34.
61 Letter of the Universal House of Justice, 20 October 1983.
62 For scriptural examples see Bahá'u'lláh, *Proclamation of Bahá'u'lláh*, and 'Abdu'l-Bahá, *Foundations*. For interpretive examples see Shoghi Effendi, *Guidance*. For scholarly examples see various issues of *World Order*, a quarterly journal on the 'relationships between contemporary life and contemporary religious teachings and philosophy' published by the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of the United States, and *Bahá'í Studies*, a publication of the Canadian Association for the Study of the Bahá'í Faith.
63 van den Hoonaard, 'Pattern of Development', pp. 120–21.
64 Letter to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 23 November 1977.
65 Correspondence files, Radio Bahá'í.
66 Letter to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 7 August 1977; ibid. 18 October 1977, letter to CIRBAL, 21 November 1977.
67 Carmen Stewart to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 26 September 1977. Agencies visited included the National Institute of Nutrition, the Ministry of Public Health, UNESCO, WHO, CIESPAL, and the American, Dutch, German and British governments' development agencies.
68 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 23 October 1977.
69 Sam DuBois for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the Asociacion Latina Americana de Educacion Radiofonica, 5 August 1978; Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the World Health Organization, 11 October 1978.
70 'Radio Bahá'í', no page.
71 The Bahá'í Faith teaches that mankind is steadily moving toward the establishment of a world civilization, beginning with a secular, political unity of the federated states of the world and eventually culminating in the establishment of global peace, based upon a universal set of moral and ethical principles derived from the Bahá'í revelation.
72 'Radio Bahá'í', no page.
73 ibid.
74 Interviews with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981; Michael Stokes, 30 August 1981; Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981; Mauricio Loza, 30 December 1981; Maria Perugachi, 3 January 1982; Clemencia Pavon de Zuleta, 4 January 1982.

2 Station Operations

1 Perhaps the station with the most similar origins and objectives is Colombia's Radio Sutatenza, which started broadcasting to a similar audience in 1947. However, its present operating principles, broadcast scope, organizational structure, media uses and financial resources are substantially different than those of Radio Bahá'í. See Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, pp. 26–30.
2 The Writings of the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh and His eldest son, 'Abdu'l-Bahá, constitute the Faith's scripture. The writings of Bahá'u'lláh's great-grandson, Shoghi Effendi, are

authorized interpretations of the scriptures.
3 See Research Department, 'Consultation', Hatcher, 'Economics and Moral Values', and Walker, 'Consultation – the Keystone'.
4 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
5 The Assembly's full, legal title is 'The National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador'.
6 National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador to the National Radio Committee, 6 October 1976.
7 ibid.
8 No date. Correspondence files, Radio Bahá'í.
9 National Spiritual Assembly to Kamran Mansuri, 6 September 1977.
10 Audio-Visual Department to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 11 November 1977.
11 Audio-Visual Department to K. Dean Stephens, 11 April 1977.
12 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
13 Several of the people I interviewed contend that had it not been for the sacrifices of those three individuals and the regular intervention of Raul Pavon during this period the station could not have survived.
14 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981, and Michael Stokes, 30 August 1981.
15 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981. Minutes of the meeting of the Commission for Radio Bahá'í of 5 November 1980 indicate that the first planning session with Mr Pavon occurred on that date, immediately following the visit of Dr David Ruhe.
16 However, as both the National Assembly and Raul Pavon explained to the Commission, although the Counsellor was actively involved in stimulation and orientation, the Assembly always had the last word in making decisions. For example, see Minutes of the meetings of the Commission for Radio Bahá'í of 7 and 20 December 1979 and 19 January 1980.
17 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
18 Some of his suggestions about programming, production methods and audience evaluation are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.
19 Letter to Marcelo Quinteros, 7 July 1981.
20 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
21 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
22 Interviews with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981; Anita Miller, 29 December 1981; and Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
23 Interview with Maria Perugachi, 3 January 1982.
24 Interview with Fernando Quinteros, 30 December 1981.
25 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
26 Interview with Anita Miller, 29 December 1981.
27 Interviews with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981, and Gregg Suhm, 29 December 1981.
28 Interview with Maria Perugachi, 3 January 1984.
29 Interview with Anita Miller, 29 December 1981.
30 Figure compiled by the author from various reports on file at Radio Bahá'í.
31 He had been recruited by Raul Pavon. Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
32 National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador to Charles Hornby, 9 August 1976.
33 National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador to Kamran Mansuri, 8 July 1977.
34 Audio-Visual Department to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 18 October 1977.
35 Audio-Visual Department to the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, 16 April 1978.
36 Letter of 31 March 1978.
37 Minutes of the meeting 23 July 1979.
38 Letter of 28 October 1981.
39 Interviews with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981; Gregg Suhm, 29 December 1981; Mauricio Loza, Alba Soto, Vicenta Anrango, Fernando Quinteros, 30

December 1981; Clemencia Pavon de Zuleta, 4 January 1982.
40 When interviewed, most staff members gratefully acknowledged the fact that they had been trained by other members of staff.
41 National Radio Committee to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 12 October 1975.
42 National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador to the National Radio Committee, 19 November 1976.
43 Kamran Mansuri, 'Radio Bahá'í Annual Report, 1976–77', to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, no date.
44 ibid.
45 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 2 November 1980.
46 The idea of establishing regional production centers in other parts of Ecuador had been a topic of discussion for several years and was continually resurfacing. During my tenure at the station, however, I saw no evidence that the workshops resulted in any regular production of scripts or other broadcast materials from places outside of Otavalo. The most promising signs of potential support came from two individuals who had previously worked at Radio Bahá'í and who had offered to do occasional programs for the station.
47 Audio-Visual Department to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 8 December 1980.
48 Audio-Visual Department to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 31 December 1980.
49 Interview with Maria Perugachi, 3 January 1982.
50 CIRBAL was an arm of the International Bahá'í Audio-Visual Centre in Toronto, Canada. Its executive office was in Maracaibo, Venezuela; other offices were in Arecibo, Puerto Rico and Lima, Peru. CIRBAL originally was established in the mid-1970s to serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of Bahá'í audio visual materials, especially radio and television scripts and tapes, throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Many Bahá'í communities in Latin America have established their own recording facilities with the assistance of CIRBAL. By 1980, CIRBAL was also providing training for individuals interested in working with Bahá'í media. It has since been merged with the International Bahá'í Audio-Visual Centre.
51 Funds provided by individuals or agencies from outside the Bahá'í community are applied to Bahá'í-sponsored humanitarian or social service activities intended for the general public, such as homes for the aged, community schools and development projects such as the 'Rural Radio Development Project', co-sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency and the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Canada.
52 The budget for fiscal year 1981 was $36,000; for fiscal year 1982 it was $44,000. National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador to the Audio-Visual Department, 12 May 1981.
53 The nearest power line is two to three kilometers away; it would cost $15,000– 20,000 to have the line brought to the site.
54 K. Dean Stephens to author, 30 April 1984.
55 ibid.
56 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
57 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
58 Interview with K. Dean Stephens, 12 December 1981.
59 ibid.

3 Programming

1 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
2 Interview with Anita Miller, 29 December 1981.
3 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
4 Interviews with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981, and Anita Miller, 29 December 1981.
5 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.

6 Interview with Gregg Suhm, 29 December 1981.
7 Interview with Maria Perugachi, 3 January 1982.
8 Author's estimate.
9 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
10 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 21 October 1980.
11 Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 31 March 1978.
12 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 26 March 1980.
13 Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Panama, 23 August 1978.
14 Interviews with Alfredo Espin, 30 December 1981, and Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
15 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 10 July 1980.
16 Interviews with Mauricio Loza, Alba Soto and Fernando Quinteros, 30 December 1981.
17 Interview with Michael Stokes, 30 August 1981.
18 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
19 Quoted by the Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 5 January 1978.
20 James Theroux to the Audio-Visual Department, 14 July 1978.
21 See its letter to the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, 31 January 1979; and Commission for Radio Bahá'í, minutes of the meeting of 28 May 1979.
22 National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador to the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, 19 January 1980.
23 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 28 November 1980.
24 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 19 October 1979.
25 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 8 February 1980.
26 Summarized from the Commission for Radio Bahá'í's file of '*communicados*'.
27 Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to K. Dean Stephens, 4 April 1979.
28 Kamran Mansuri to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 2 February 1978.
29 Marcelo Quinteros to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 29 September 1981.
30 Interview with Vicenta Anrango, 2 January 1982.
31 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 29 June 1979.
32 Letter to the Audio-Visual Department, 31 December 1980.
33 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the Audio-Visual Department, 1 October 1980.
34 Interview with Fernando Quinteros, 30 December 1981.
35 National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, Ad Hoc Committee on the CIDA project. Minutes of the meeting of 8 June 1981. Author's copy.
36 Caminando Juntos Project Goals, no date [October 1981]. See Appendix IV.
37 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to K. Dean Stephens, 7 April 1981.
38 Quoted by the Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 5 January 1978.
39 Interview with Raul Pavon, 19 October 1981.
40 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to John Warner, 14 January 1980.
41. 'Report – Agricultural Program, April 15, 1982', no page. Author's copy.
42 ibid.
43 ibid.
44 Report to the Audio-Visual Department, 14 July 1978.
45 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the Audio-Visual Department, 9 November 1979.
46 Marcelo Quinteros for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 19 November 1981.
47 Interview with Clemencia de Zuleta, 4 January 1982.
48 ibid.
49 Clemencia de Zuleta to Dr Glen Eyford, CIDA project monitor, Alberta, Canada, 30 October 1981.

50 Clemencia de Zuleta to Dr Glen Eyford, 8 October 1982.
51 Letters to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 4 August and 18 October 1977.
52 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 5 May 1981.
53 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
54 Letter to Charles Hornby, 9 August 1976.
55 Letter to Kamran Mansuri, 8 July 1977.
56 Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 31 March 1978.
57 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 12 December 1980.
58 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 5 May 1981.
59 Report of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 'Cultural Education via the Medium of Radio Bahá'í', 7 November 1977.
60 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 15 January 1980.
61 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 28 July 1980.
62 Interview with Anita Miller, 29 December 1981.
63 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 2 November, 1977.
64 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 23 December 1976.
65 Letter to the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, 7 September 1977.
66 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting 5 January 1978.
67 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 31 March 1981.
68 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 26 November 1979.
69 Letter to the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, 8 December 1980.
70 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
71 The Bahá'ís follow a solar calendar of nineteen months with nineteen days each. The remaining four days (five in leap years) are set aside as a special time for celebrations, the sharing of gifts, visiting the sick and other community activities.
72 'Extracts from reports by Mr Marcelo Quinteros, Executive Manager of Radio Bahá'í del Ecuador, November 1981'. Translated by Cecilia Pavon. Author's copy.

4 *Production Methods and Non-Broadcast Activities*

1 Interview with Clemencia de Zuleta, 4 January 1982.
2 Dr James Theroux, quoted by the Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 5 January 1978.
3 National Radio Commission to the Audio-Visual Department, no date.
4 Report to the Audio-Visual Department, 14 July 1978.
5 Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 31 March 1978.
6 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 4 February 1981.
7 ibid.
8 Interview with Clemencia de Zuleta, 4 January 1982.
9 Ralph Dexter for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í to Reed Chandler, Commission for Radio Bahá'í, Temuco, Chile, 28 October 1981.
10 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
11 Interview with Maria Perugachi, 3 January 1982.
12 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
13 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 18 July 1979.
14 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to Dr James Theroux, 6 September 1979.
15 ibid.
16 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 18 June 1980.
17 Clemencia de Zuleta, 'Activity Report – Caminando Juntos – CIDA's Rural Development Project in Ecuador – 18 July to 31 August 1981'. Author's copy.
18 ibid.
19 Clemencia de Zuleta to Dr Glen Eyford, 'Report for the months of August and September', 8 October 1982. Author's copy.

20 Interview with Marcelo Quinteros, 28 December 1981.
21 Hornby, 'Children's Festival', p. 5.
22 Ralph Dexter, 'Report – The Children's Festival for Rural Schools', 15 April 1982. Author's copy.
23 Author's summary based on content evaluation of twelve issues.
24 'Boletin de Radio Bahá'í', December 1980.
25 Quoted from file entitled 'Letters to Radio Bahá'í for "Bulletin" ', no date, no page. Radio Bahá'í files.
26 ibid. 15 November 1980.
27 ibid.
28 Interview with Gregg Suhm, 29 December 1981.
29 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 4 April 1979.
30 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 1 June 1979.
31 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
32 ibid.
33 Hornby, 'Course on Advanced AM Broadcasting Techniques'.
34 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of December 1979.
35 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 21 August 1980.
36 Commission for Radio Bahá'í to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 15 March 1979.

5 *Audience Evaluations*

1 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 23 December 1976.
2 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 10 February 1981.
3 Interview with Ralph Dexter, 14 August 1981.
4 Interview with Anita Miller, 29 December 1981.
5 Commission for Radio Bahá'í. Minutes of the meeting of 17 January 1977.
6 Kamran Mansuri, General Manager, to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, June 1977.
7 Ralph Dexter, for the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 3 February 1978.
8 Jaime Ruano, report to the Commission for Radio Bahá'í, 9 October 1980.
9 Data for this section and the following two sections, on Araque and Cangahua, is derived from the author's observations, from informal interviews with station staff and residents of the communities, from 'Characteristics of the Community of Angla' and 'Characteristics of the Community of Araque', appendixes to a report from Clemencia de Zuleta, Caminando Juntos Project Director, to Glen Eyford, project monitor, Alberta, Canada, no date [1981], and from 'Characteristics of the Cangahua Community', appendix to a report from Zuleta to the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Ecuador, 22 December 1981.
10 It should be remembered that these were self-evaluated literacy levels and therefore one might presume the definition of literacy to be highly subjective.
11 It may be that there has been little exposure to this format in the region and/or that what had been broadcast was of poor quality or irrelevant or offensive to the rural audience, given the fact that most of these types of programs center on urban, 'modern' living.
12 It is likely that this small response was due to at least two factors. First, the culture is extremely courteous and not accustomed to making negative comments to strangers. Second, they are wholly unaccustomed to this kind of critical questioning, in part because of their limited formal education.
13 The fact that six of the eight respondents to this question were from Araque seems to confirm the observation made above that the courtesy of the rural people and their lack of training in criticism may have had a major impact on their desire or ability to respond to such questions.
14 It is interesting to note that only three people mentioned Divine intervention as a possible solution to their problems. This response seems to contrast to the

popularly-held belief that peasants are fatalistic and resignedly accept their hardship as God's will.

15 Descriptions of the areas and the rationale for their selection are found earlier in the chapter.

16 For example see questions 8, 9 and 10 in 1983.

17 Regrettably, it appears that the last page of the questionnaire was poorly designed by the author: most interviewers administered the entire last page as if it were intended for Angla residents only. Only questions 62–8 were intended for Angla residents alone. This meant that the open-ended questions designed to solicit general comments about Radio Bahá'í were not administered to the majority of the respondents, thereby reducing the value of this part of the questionnaire (questions 69–74).

18 Curiously, five individuals, three from the rural zone of Cangahua, reported having post-secondary education. In contrast, there were no such cases in 1981.

19 These figures help to explain the drop in literacy rates reported from Angla and Araque in the previous question. In addition to the more rural character of the 1983 Araque respondents, respondents in both Angla and Araque had less education, therefore fewer of them could read and write.

20 Presumably, this is due to the more rural nature of the 1983 Araque sample.

21 The question was phrased somewhat differently in 1981 and, therefore, the results are not wholly comparable.

22 It should be noted that, unlike the 1981 survey, the 1983 survey was conducted during the *fiesta* period. See question 27 as well.

23 It is presumed that the mention of latrines was due primarily to the fact that during the period of this study the Ministry of Health conducted a campaign to install latrines.

24 This could be attributed to any of several reasons, such as fewer pests (there was a bad plague in 1981), administering the questionnaire during a different season, and improved fumigation practices.

25 The apparent willingness of respondents to offer negative responses to questions such as this one lends credence to the high number of respondents who reported following the advice offered by the programs.

26 These questions refer to *Periodicos Murales* ('Mural Newspapers'), community bulletin-boards developed by the Caminando Juntos project in early 1983. The 'murals' were comprised of a series of mimeographed items on topics similar to those contained in 'El Boletin de Radio Bahá'í'. However, rather than being published in the form of a bulletin, the 'Mural Newspapers' were placed in several communities on a large bulletin board in a prominent location, such as a health center.

27 This was true in my own observations, as well. For example, while conducting interviews I frequently had to ask the people to turn down their radios; they were playing Radio Bahá'í's music programming loudly so that others in the compound could hear it. In addition to finding people listening to Radio Bahá'í in their homes, I also heard Radio Bahá'í in potato fields, automobile repair shops, and so on.

6 *The Bases of Radio Bahá'í's Success: Some Conclusions*

1 'Aspectos Politicos', p. 25.

2 UNESCO, 'Meeting on Self-management', p. 5. Beltran's research on Radio Sutatenza in Colombia supported this perspective. According to Beltran, ACPO did not focus on structural change, but based its philosophy on the belief that development grows out of individual initiative. The conclusions reached by Beltran indicated that ACPO had little impact on true changes of social structure, that their efforts tended to reinforce the status quo and did not promote political reform. Cited in Musto et al., *Los Medios*, pp. 132–3.

3 See Appendix I, pp. 167–9.

4 See Appendix I, p. 168.

5 The Bahá'í view of the harmony of science and religion is briefly summarized in Chapter 1.

6 See Appendix I, p. 169.
7 Carey, 'Cultural Approach', p. 13.
8 ibid. pp. 9–10.
9 Most notable among local Bahá'í institutions are the more than 32,000 'Local Spiritual Assemblies' (nine-member local administrative bodies) throughout the world. Local Assemblies follow the principles of Bahá'í consultation in their regular business meetings and in their monthly meetings with the local community. Local Assemblies are elected annually according to the Bahá'í electoral process, which calls for universal suffrage among adult Bahá'ís in a given community, but in the absence of campaigning or electioneering. See Universal House of Justice, *Local Spiritual Assembly*.
10 The two were the secretary, Alba Soto, and the producer of the agricultural programs, Segundo Fuentes. Both were recruited from local high schools specifically to fulfill those functions.
11 This appears to have been substantiated by the reported ineffectiveness of the Caminando Juntos project's 'Mural Newspapers'.

7 *Implications for Further Research*

1 Author's estimate from on-site observation.
2 Leon Paitan, 'Radio Bahá'í del Lago Tikaka'.
3 Interview with Raul Pavon, 5 January 1982.
4 Letter from Raul Pavon, 30 August 1983.

Appendix I

1 See Schramm, *Mass Media*, p. 179.
2 Carey, 'Cultural Approach', p. 6.
3 Schramm, *Mass Media*, p. 19.
4 ibid. p. 28.
5 ibid. p. 33.
6 Lerner, 'International Cooperation', p. 110.
7 Schramm, *Mass Media*, p. 145.
8 Pye (ed.), 'Communication Theory'.
9 For an excellent concise summary of the various 'repairs' attempted by earlier theorists focusing on variables such as 'persuasion', 'effects', 'social systems' and 'diffusion of innovations', see Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, pp. 1–16.
10 Gendron, *Technology and the Human Condition*.
11 Ellul, *Technological Society*.
12 Ellul, *Propaganda*.
13 Williams, *Communications*, p. 20.
14 Lerner, 'Communication'; McLuhan, *Understanding Media*; and Bzrezinski, *Between Two Ages*.
15 Lerner, 'International Cooperation', p. 111.
16 Carey and Quirk, 'Electronic Revolution', p. 222.
17 Innis, *Bias of Communication*.
18 Katz and Wedell, *Broadcasting in the Third World*, p. 9. For studies of American news media that support Ellul's claims regarding propaganda, see Boorstin, 'From News Gathering', and Epstein, *News From Nowhere*.
19 For example, one might consider the situations in Tanzania and pre-Seaga Jamaica.
20 Rogers, 'Communication and Development', p. 222.
21 See, for example, Rogers, *Critical Perspectives*.
22 Carey, 'Cultural Approach', p. 23.
23 ibid.
24 Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*, p. 109.
25 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 9.

26 Mumford, *Technics and Human Development*, p. 256.
27 Gouldner, *Dialectic*, p. 25
28 Lerner, 'International Cooperation', p. 111.
29 Rogers, 'Dominant Paradigm', p. 214. For an example of how this approach has been applied to development communication, see Lakshmana Rao, *Communication and Development*.
30 Grossberg, ' "Crisis" of Culture', p. 60.
31 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 17.
32 Lerner, 'International Cooperation', p. 119.
33 Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 83.
34 Schramm, *Mass Media*, p. 9.
35 Schramm, 'Communication and Change', p. 27.
36 Williams, *Communications*, p. 19.
37 These include, but are not limited to, George Herbert Mead, Robert Park, John Dewey, Alfred North Whitehead, Ernst Cassirer, Suzanne Langer, Thomas Kuhn, Peter Berger, Lewis Mumford, Herbert Blumer, Hugh Dalziel Duncan and Kenneth Burke.
38 Cassirer, *Essay on Man*.
39 Carey, 'Cultural Approach', p. 17.
40 Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*, p. 79.
41 Diaz Bordenave, 'Communication and Agricultural Innovations', p. 138.
42 Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, cited by Carey, 'Cultural Approach', p. 12.
43 What is even more surprising is that several publications, notably those edited by Schramm, contain essays that clearly point to the importance of traditional values, such as Inayatullah's discussion of 'non-material areas of creativity' in his essay, 'Toward a Non-Western Model of Development', in Lerner and Schramm, *Communication and Change*, pp. 98–102. See also Fernand Terron's call for the respect for the private lives, dignity, beliefs and moral interests of individuals in his essay, 'Legal and Institutional Considerations', in Schramm, *Mass Media*, pp. 234–45. It is not insignificant that both authors come from developing countries, nor is it insignificant that their concerns appear to have gone unheeded.
44 For a thorough and erudite study of this process see Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*.
45 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 12.
46 Schramm, *Mass Media*, p. 179.
47 Grossberg, ' "Crisis" of Culture'.
48 Carey, 'Cultural Approach', p. 26.
49 ibid.
50 ibid. p. 13.
51 ibid. pp. 9–10.
52 ibid. p. 13. Carey's assertion is corroborated by Lewis Mumford, who says that 'ritual pervades life', that 'ritual is ancestral to all other forms of culture', and that ritual should be regarded as the 'universal social cement'. Mumford articulately argues that man is not essentially a 'tool-making animal'; man's primary distinction is his symbolic capacity: 'When curbed by hostile environmental pressures, man's elaboration of symbolic culture answered a more imperative need than that for control over the environment – and, one must infer, largely predated it and for long outpaced it.' Man's symbolic capacities are triggered and released by ritual. See Mumford, *Technics and Human Development*, pp. 8, 62, 63, 70.
53 ibid. p. 7.
54 Durkheim, *Religious Life*; Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*; Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality*. See also Campbell, *Hero with a Thousand Faces*, and Frazier, *New Golden Bough*.

Appendix II

1 Jamison and McAnany, *Radio for Education*.
2 ibid. p. 90.

3 ibid. pp. 93–4.
4 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, pp. 67–71.
5 Jamison and McAnany, *Radio for Education*, p. 83.
6 ibid. p. 94.
7 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, p. 97.
8 ibid. p. 89.
9 Jamison and McAnany, *Radio for Education*, p. 125.
10 Diaz Bordenave, *Rural Development*, pp. 86, 95.

Appendix III

1 Unless otherwise indicated, all statistics in this section are taken from Merino, 'Estructura'.
2 Revello de Vela, 'Inventario', p. 4.
3 ibid. p. 6.
4 ibid. p. 8.
5 Ordonez, 'La Incomunicacion Social', p. 22.
6 Dubly, 'Radioescuelas de Pichincha – Tabacundo', p. 14.

Appendix IV

1 No author, no date. [Ralph Dexter, Kurt Hein, Clemencia de Zuleta, October 1981.]

Appendix V

1 'Formulario para Entrevistas – CIDA/Radio Bahá'í, Septiembre 1981.' [Ralph Dexter, Kurt Hein, Clemencia de Zuleta.]
2 'Formulario para Entrevistas, Evaluacion Sumativa – Caminando Juntos, Junio 1983.' [Segundo Fuentes, Kurt Hein, Rafael Pavon, Clemencia de Zuleta.]

Social and economic development is a concept inherent in the Bahá'í Faith. Its purpose is the transformation of the planet into a peaceful world community in which the dignity and rights of every people are upheld and the benefits of each culture are available to all.

Radio Bahá'í, Ecuador traces the evolution of a project designed to assist in this process. Radio Bahá'í was conceived as a way for Bahá'ís to keep in touch with one another, but it soon emerged as the primary link among all the country people, '*campesinos*', of the Otavalo region of Ecuador. Based on such principles as the oneness of mankind, the value of every human culture, and participation, Radio Bahá'í has become the main transmitter of local heritage, music and information in its broadcast area.

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