

BT Vol. 63, No. 2: 63-80

ARE VERNACULAR SCRIPTURES BEING USED? KABIYE RESEARCH RESULTS

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Much effort and funding is invested every year by many organizations to provide vernacular Scriptures to minority peoples. Are these Scriptures being used? What factors affect their use? We have anecdotes and rumors, but very little real research.

Over the past few years, a small research team has been developing a questionnaire instrument that can be used widely to gather data on how frequently audiences are exposed to the Scriptures designed for them. The instrument also explores whether the necessary pre-conditions for use of vernacular Scriptures are present: Are people even aware the Scripture products exist? Can they get a copy or listen to it? For print products, are they able to read in the vernacular? Scripture isn't really available to people if these conditions are not met. The instrument has been tested in Eurasia, Cameroon, and Togo. This paper provides findings from the Togo research.

The Kabiye context

The Kabiye number about 850,000 (*World Book Encyclopedia* 2009) and are spread throughout Togo and neighboring countries. This research was limited to Kabiye located in their homeland around Kara. Kabiye has benefitted from being one of Togo's two national languages and has been used in the Togolese school system. Since 1977, newspapers and journals have been published in Kabiye and a national committee continues to give leadership to the development of the language (see further, Roberts 2009). This favored status would lead us to expect a higher use of Kabiye Scripture than we might expect from other vernacular languages.

Over the past sixty years, Catholics and Protestants have published separate translations of Scripture in Kabiye, using different orthographies and key terms. In the 1950s, the Alliance Biblique de Togo (ABT) attempted an ecumenical translation project, but without success. Work on the Old Testament by an ecumenical translation team is underway, but presently each church uses its own translation.

Previously Catholics were more numerous than Protestants, but in the last ten years, the Protestant church has experienced a growth spurt. Many Kabiye who had moved to southern Togo became Protestant Christians there, and when ethnic conflict erupted in the early 1990s, they fled back to their homeland, bringing their Protestant faith with them.

Data-gathering and analysis

The sample for research was selected from all churches, because they were the intended audience of the Kabiye Scripture. I counted 193 churches in the Kara area. I anticipated differences in the use of Kabiye Scripture between town and villages and between different kinds of churches, and stratified the sample selection by those parameters. With permission from the leaders of the selected churches, we conducted between 15 and 30 interviews per church, depending on the size of the church. If there were more candidates than needed, we selected randomly from among them. These interviews mostly took place before, during, or after regularly scheduled church meetings.

In all, the research team conducted 390 interviews in 23 churches. This sample included:

- 9 churches in town and 14 in villages
- 112 interviews with Catholics in 5 churches
- 278 interviews with Protestants in 18 churches
- 172 interviews with men and 218 with women
- 171 interviews in town and 219 in villages
- Respondents ranging from 0 to 20 years of formal education.

We wanted to know about the respondent's exposure to specific Scripture products. We differentiated two types of Scripture products: (1) those that are used regularly, such as the Bible or recordings of Scripture, and (2) those that are used a limited number of times, such as Bible study books or Christian films. We refer to the first as *regular-use products* and to the second as *supplementary products*. We were particularly interested in the ABT-related regular-use products that we had been involved in producing. We asked for comparison about other Scripture products, because a preference for other Scripture products would be quite different from not using any Scripture at all. (Note that the research was not designed to measure the Kabiye's overall access to and use of *all* Scripture products in any language. We did not test for all of the products Kabiye might use in French, or even all of the Catholic Kabiye products.)

The products were:

Regular-use ABT-related products:

1. The Kabiye New Testament (1997)
2. Faith Comes by Hearing Audio Recordings (FCBH)

Supplementary products:

3. The Jesus Messiah Book (2005): a harmony of the gospels in comic book form
4. A Bible-based Transfer Primer (2001): used extensively as post-primer literacy material
5. Jesus Films in Kabiye: both a Protestant and Catholic version

Catholic regular-use products:

6. The Catholic Kabiye Bible (1997)
7. The Catholic Youth Bible (1993)
8. The Catholic Missal (1987)

And:

9. A French version of the Bible (Louis Segond for Protestants and either TOB or Colombe for Catholics).

Interviews were conducted orally in Kabiye, with the data-gatherer writing down the responses to (primarily) closed questions. We explained the purpose of the research either to the whole group or individually. We also explained that respondents should speak from their experience, and that there was no right answer. After gathering demographic data, we showed each respondent an example of each of the Scripture products, and then asked them about their awareness, access to, and frequency of exposure to it. In the case of audio products, a short segment of the recording was played. We thanked respondents with a bar of soap.

In the analysis of the data, the primary variable was the number of exposures respondents had to the Scripture products, referred to as “frequency of exposure” (FOE). An exposure could be long or short, meaningful or rote, by reading, listening or watching. For regular-use products, we measured exposures per month. For supplementary products, we measured total exposures. We calculated FOE scores for various categories for each respondent as well as mean FOE scores for each product or group of products.

We then searched for factors related to an increased FOE by comparing the FOE scores with a variety of factors, using T-tests and Anovas. These factors included gender, urban/rural, education, age, multilingualism, what they considered their best language, literacy, church affiliation, the use of other Scripture products, and so forth. Happily, all of the churches in the sample read Kabiye Scripture in their services, so we could not explore the effect of that variable on FOE.

In addition to these comparisons, we did tallies on factors such as the number of products respondents were aware of, had access to, and had a copy of. We also did chi-square tests to explore the patterns in the data, such as the relationship of gender and education. Various kinds of regression analyses

identified the set of factors that interactively accounted for high frequency of exposure.

How much are people aware of and exposed to vernacular Scriptures?

The mean FOE to the ABT Kabiye New Testament was 7.7 exposures per month, or about 2 exposures per week. However, Catholics use their own translation rather than the ABT one. When considering Protestants alone, the mean FOE jumps to 10.3 exposures per month, or about 2.5 exposures per week.

Almost all Protestants in the sample were aware of the ABT Kabiye New Testament (92 percent) as it received publicity both nationally and in the churches. Most Protestants (80 percent) feel they can read or listen to it when they wish.

Owning a personal copy of the New Testament

Far fewer Protestants, however, had a personal copy of the ABT Kabiye New Testament: only 35 percent. Having a personal copy of the Kabiye New Testament corresponds to significantly higher FOE. Those who had a personal copy had twice as many exposures per month than those who did not: 16.1 compared with 7 exposures per month ($p < 0.000$). For supplementary Scripture products, having a personal copy did not significantly affect FOE ($p < 0.000$).

Table 1. Personal copy of the Kabiye NT and frequency of exposure

Kabiye New Testament	Mean FOE
Have personal copy	16.1
Have access at home, with friends, or at church	7

In fact, the availability of Kabiye Scriptures was a significant problem that surfaced repeatedly. Wherever we went, people asked if we had brought Kabiye New Testaments. In one remote village, a church of about seventy members had two Kabiye New Testaments amongst them and were desperate for more. In another village close to the city, we were asked repeatedly if we brought Kabiye New Testaments. When we gave one woman a bar of soap to thank her for doing the interview, she looked up uncomfortably and finally said, “Thank you but we can get soap. What we need is Kabiye Scripture.” This distribution problem is not due to a total lack of effort. Various methods of distribution have been tried over the years, but none have experienced widespread or long-lasting success.

We ourselves experienced great difficulty getting copies of the various Scripture products. Despite a two-month search, working with the Kabiye translators, the Kabiye advocacy association, local churches, and Bible translation agencies, we could only find a few copies of an older edition of the Bible primer. Then in casual conversation the final day of the research, we discovered a significant stock of the most recent edition. The person who held

these, on the other hand, was convinced that the Jesus Messiah book was out of print, only to learn there was a stock of 2000 copies with someone else.

French Bibles, by contrast, are more readily available: 49 percent of the sample had a personal copy. This corresponded to a significantly higher FOE to French Scripture than to the Kabiye: 12.6 exposures to French Scripture per month as compared to 7.7 for the ABT Kabiye Scripture.

Education

Education was extremely significant for the use of French Scripture ($p < 0.000$), but it did not significantly affect the FOE to either the regular-use print Kabiye Scripture ($p = 0.729$) or all Kabiye Scripture ($p = 0.818$). Use decreased somewhat with increased education, but not significantly. Local language Scripture is accessible to all—the uneducated as well as the educated.

Table 2. Education and frequency of exposure

Educational level	FOE to Kabiye regular-use print products	FOE to French - Scripture
0 – 3 yr of education (n = 68)	12.51	6.25
4 – 8 yr of education (n = 139)	14.31	11.88
9 – 11 yr of education (n = 97)	13.23	17.31
12 – 14 yr of education (n = 61)	12.05	11.59
15 – 20 yr of education (n = 25)	10.68	17.76

(Note: In this and subsequent tables, **n** is the sample size, the number of people in that category who were tested.)

Gender

For the use of French Scripture, women have significantly lower FOE than men ($p = 0.026$). This is not surprising as they are significantly disadvantaged with respect to education ($p < 0.000$). For example, in the sample 232 men attended 6-12 years of formal education compared to 94 women. There were 61 men with 13-20 years of formal education compared to 8 women. For the ABT regular-use products, however, women had significantly higher FOE ($p = 0.012$). This was despite the fact that they had significantly fewer personal copies ($p = 0.002$).

Table 3. Gender and frequency of exposure

Mean FOE	ABT regular-use Scripture products	French Scripture
Women	13.5	11.4
Men	10.5	14

This may lead one to characterize Kabiye Scripture as being available to all, regardless of educational level. However, if this were true, it would be true for all Kabiye Scripture. It is not. The use of Catholic Scripture products follows the same pattern as the French, with men's use being significantly higher ($p = 0.009$). Since the 1990s, a holistic women's development program (AFASA) has functioned in the area, and it includes literacy and Bible distribution in its scope. The program works with women of both Protestant and Catholic churches using the ABT Kabiye Scriptures. Perhaps this program might account for the reversal of the norm. People may not need formal schooling in order to use Kabiye Scripture, but they do need access to copies and literacy classes, something the Kabiye women have shown is possible.

Age

Age related significantly to FOE for all regular-use Scripture products ($p < 0.000$). However, the pattern differs: French Scripture is used more by 15-30 year olds and Kabiye Scripture is used more by those over 30. All use of Scripture drops off over 55 (perhaps due to lower educational levels and increased eyesight problems), but this is doubly true of French Scripture. Are younger people using French Scripture more due to the influence of school? Or are Kabiye literacy programs not as active as they were in the past? Will the present youth use Kabiye Scripture more as they age? Or is French Scripture use a characteristic of their generation? Do people go back to their roots as they age?

Table 4. Age and frequency of exposure to ABT Kabiye Scripture

Age Group	Mean years of education	Mean FOE to ABT Kabiye regular-use Scripture products	Mean FOE to French Scripture
15-21 yr	9.9	7.8	9
22-30 yr	9.7	10.8	15.1
31-54 yr	6.7	15	14
55+ yr	3.5	12.3	6.8

Reading

Half of the Protestants in the sample had read the Kabiye New Testament at least once. Almost all of the others (40 percent) had listened to it at least once. Those who read it had significantly higher FOE than those who only listened: 12.4 exposures per month as compared to 9.5 ($p = 0.007$). The primary reason

respondents who were aware of the Kabiye New Testament gave for not reading it was that they didn't know how to read in Kabiye (79 percent). While literacy is not a flashy new strategy, it is a significant key to higher FOE.

Table 5. Reading and frequency of exposure

	Mean FOE to Kabiye NT
Read Kabiye NT (n = 151)	12.4
Do not read Kabiye NT, but listen only (n = 121)	9.5

Location

Villagers are disadvantaged with respect to Scripture use from multiple perspectives. They have significantly less education ($p < 0.000$), are less aware of Kabiye products ($p = 0.005$), are less aware of French Scripture ($p = 0.008$), are younger ($p = 0.033$), have fewer readers of Scripture ($p = 0.002$), and have fewer personal copies of Scripture products ($p < 0.000$). Their FOE to the ABT Kabiye New Testament is significantly lower than that of town-dwellers ($p < 0.000$). This is sad as vernacular Scripture is translated especially with villagers in mind.

Table 6. Location and frequency of exposure

	FOE to ABT Kabiye NT (per month)
Town	8.3
Village	7.2

Audio and video products

FCBH is a derivative product of the Kabiye New Testament. The program records the Scriptures in audio form, and then organizes groups to listen to them and discuss what they have heard. Those who listen to FCBH had significantly higher FOE to the other Kabiye Scripture products ($p < 0.000$).

FCBH is designed especially for those who are not able to read. One would expect FCBH to thrive in the villages, as education and the ability to read Kabiye are significantly lower in villages than in the town ($p < 0.000$, $p = 0.002$ respectively). Surprisingly, this was not the case. FCBH was used more in town than in the villages, with a mean FOE of 5.3 in town compared to 3.7 in villages ($p = 0.017$). A similar pattern held true for the other media product tested: FOE to the Jesus Film was 1.9 in town as compared to 1.6 in villages ($p = 0.011$). While literacy is challenging, it appears that media solutions are more challenging in rural areas where people have less disposable income, less leisure time, and a less reliable supply of electricity.

Table 7. Frequency of exposure to FCBH and Jesus Film

	FOE to FCBH (per month)	FOE to Jesus Film (in all)
Town	5.3	1.9
Village	3.7	1.6

Another surprise was the way people were listening to FCBH. Twice as many people listened to it on the radio as on cassette in listening groups. I spoke to one local Christian radio station producer who played FCBH for one hour every Monday afternoon. He had to add an evening broadcast to accommodate villagers who complained that they were in their fields during the afternoon broadcast. They continue to broadcast it, playing the New Testament over and over because when they stopped, people called in to complain.

Meanwhile, distribution of the cassette albums to listening groups was frustrated. The local FCBH coordinator found it so challenging to organize listening groups in churches that he had resorted to placing the cassette albums in bars, tailor shops, and markets. At the same time, we came across churches that had to share the cassettes with another village and were anxiously waiting their turn. All the while, ABT had a stock of over 200 cassette albums in the capital in the south of the country and reported no change in that number since 2004.

While radio seems to be a more effective means of distribution of FCBH than the listening groups, this channel was limited by the fact that the radio station did not have access to good recordings of FCBH in all the languages in which they broadcast. In addition, people did not always have access to radios: thirteen respondents had stopped listening because they no longer had a functioning radio. Meanwhile, energy was being invested in what seems currently to be a less effective listening group system. The question of ownership of the cassette albums caused some interpersonal problems. Were they the property of the pastor to take with him when he moved on, or did they belong to the church? As a new item in the local economy, the cassette album had no clear precedent with regard to ownership. Radios, on the other hand, were a regular part of life and ownership was clear.

While there are very few Catholics who use the ABT Kabiye New Testament, and very few Protestants who use the Catholic Scriptures, there is no significant difference between Catholic and Protestant FOE to FCBH ($p = 0.080$). This may be due to the fact that it is available in public space through radio broadcasts.

Teaching in the church

I grouped together respondents who had a teaching role in the church, whether to the whole congregation, women, youth, or children. I included those who read Scripture during services. Teachers had a marginally significant higher FOE to ABT regular-use products than those who are not teachers ($p = 0.05$). For

French Scripture, the difference between the FOE for teachers and non-teachers was very significant ($p < 0.000$). While teachers have about the same FOE to Kabiye and French Scriptures, non-teachers use Kabiye Scripture significantly more than they use French Scripture. Local language Scripture is accessible by all—ordinary people as well as teachers in the church.

Table 8. Teachers in the church and frequency of exposure

	Protestants' mean FOE to ABT Kabiye regular-use Scripture products	All respondents' mean FOE to French Scripture
Teachers in the church	18 (n = 63)	20.3 (n = 82)
Non-teachers	14.1 (n = 215)	10.5 (n = 308)

For those who are not teachers, FOE to ABT regular-use Scripture products correlates significantly with their teachers' FOE ($p = 0.000$). For each additional exposure teachers had to Scripture per month, their students had a mean of one-half more exposures per month to these Scripture products. This held true in both the Protestant and Catholic churches. Those promoting Scripture would do well to focus on teachers in the church at all levels including Sunday School teachers, youth group teachers, and women's group teachers.

Scripture was used over twice as much in church as it was used alone or with family members. FCBH, however, was used equally alone, with family, and at church, and was used more with non-Christians than printed Scripture.

A predictive model of Kabiye Scripture

Certain factors were significant when compared one by one with FOE, but actual use involves many factors interacting with each other dynamically. Regression analysis allowed me to identify a model of factors that accounts for high FOE in the dynamics of the total environment. Which cluster of factors surfaced as the most predictive of those who had high FOE to the ABT Kabiye New Testament? Of all the factors considered, three characterized people with high FOE: (1) they have more than three exposures to the supplementary products, (2) they are Protestant, and (3) they are aware of a high number of Scripture products ($R\text{-sq} = 35.8$). Let's look at these factors one by one.

Frequent use of supplementary products

Respondents who had high FOE to the ABT regular-use Scripture products had more than three exposures to the supplementary products: the Jesus Films, the Jesus Messiah book, and the Bible Primer ($p < 0.000$).

Table 9. Frequency of exposure to supplementary and regular-use products

	Mean FOE to regular-use products by all respondents	Mean FOE to regular-use products by Protestants only
More than 3 exposures to supplementary products	23.5 (n = 86)	23.9 (n = 80)
3 or fewer exposures to supplementary products	8.8 (n = 304)	11.41 (n = 198)

The data cannot tell us whether the shorter, more topical supplementary products attract people's interest and lead to higher Scripture use, or if some people are simply motivated to read anything related to Scripture. However, we have anecdotal evidence from other communities of people who were not interested in Scripture but were attracted to supplementary products (trauma healing, HIV-AIDs materials, for example) and then continued on to use Scripture itself. If this is corroborated by more research, then Bible translation programs should include supplementary products, as they will significantly enhance the use of the New Testament or Bible.

Seventy-six percent of the respondents were aware of the Jesus Films, about as many as were aware of the Kabiye New Testament and FCBH. People watch them at home, at church, at community evangelistic events, or on TV. Half of the viewings occur at church (n = 82), 33 percent on TV (n = 56), with minimal viewings at home or with friends. The other supplementary products were relatively unknown and unused. The Jesus Messiah book was new to the market, so many had not heard of it yet. The Bible Primer, on the other hand, had been on the market for years and appeared to be out of stock. Still, those who had frequent exposure to them also had higher FOE to the ABT Kabiye New Testament.

Being Protestant

Although the ABT New Testament was intended for all Christians, Protestants use it significantly more than Catholics ($p < 0.000$). However, this is not to say Catholics do not use Scripture. They actually use their own Scripture products significantly more than Protestants use theirs: 19.2 exposures per month compared to 15 ($p < 0.000$).

Table 10. Use of Scripture products by Catholics and Protestants

	Mean FOE to ABT regular-use Scripture	Mean FOE to Catholic Kabiye regular-use Scripture
Protestants (n = 278)	15	3.2
Catholics (n = 112)	4.7	19.2

In addition to higher FOE, Catholics have a fuller inventory of Kabiye Scripture products: the Old Testament, Youth Bible, catechism, and more. Developing Kabiye Scripture products that are acceptable to all the churches

may be desirable for a variety of reasons, but Catholics lacking Kabiye Scripture is not one of them. This factor reflects the reality of long-standing traditions in churches, especially traditions stimulated by rivalry. While the Kabiye are more polarized than most ethnic groups, Scripture use flows most easily along the lines of church traditions.

Another difference between Catholics and Protestants besides the Scriptures used is the way they are used. When the Catholic products (which are mainly read by Catholics) are considered separately, reading does not increase FOE for either the Catholic Bible ($p = 0.919$), or the Missal ($p = 0.684$). More Catholics have read Kabiye Scripture than Protestants: 72 percent ($n = 81$) compared to 53 percent ($n = 148$), but reading does not correspond with an increase in FOE. One factor contributing to this is that the Catholic orthography is more difficult to read than the Protestant orthography and this may prevent Catholics from reading it frequently. Or perhaps Protestant spirituality stresses daily, individual reading of Scripture, while Catholic spirituality is more group-based and church-centered. The Catholic courtyards we visited were hives of activity, with choirs practicing, young people learning the catechism, women's meetings, readers preparing for the mass, soccer games, and so forth.

Aware of more Scripture products

For each additional product a respondent was aware of, there was a mean increase of 9.2 exposures per month ($p < 0.000$). This does not mean the respondents use all of the products they are aware of. On average, they only had access to about 75 percent of the print products they were aware of, read about 50 percent of them, and listened to 33 percent of them. So, on average:

If people were aware of 10 products,
 they would have access to 7.5 products.
 They would read 5 products,
 and would listen to (if not able to read) 3 products.

For the two media products, however, this declining ratio did not hold true. Almost everyone who was aware of the media products had listened to or watched them. Why are these products so popular? Are they simply more entertaining? Or does removing the literacy barrier unleash people's interest in Scripture itself? How significant is the fact that people can listen or watch at no cost?

Producing numerous products and advertising them widely appears to be worth the effort. As supplementary products can increase the number of titles more rapidly than longer, regular-use products, they should be included in translation programs. In order not to slow the pace of the translation of the Bible itself, additional personnel may be needed for this task. While funding is always an issue, the energy invested in a translation of the Bible that is not widely used is not cost-effective. Producing more supplementary products increases costs somewhat, but it increases the FOE of the regular-use products significantly.

Producing titles is not enough, however. They must be advertised and distributed. So far, the advertising of the Kabiye New Testament has been highly successful with Protestants, with 93 percent of them aware of it. How was this done? Can it be done for other products? The supplementary print products have not fared so well, with around 30 percent awareness for all respondents (35 percent among Protestants). People cannot use Scripture if they don't know it exists or if they cannot access it. The Bible is a powerful book, but it does not distribute itself. Translation programs need to include serious, sustained investment of resources in this area.

Is the majority language a threat to the use of vernacular Scripture?

With modernity advancing in the Kabiye area through roads, education, television, and the internet, the use of French is increasing. Is this a threat to the use of Kabiye Scriptures?

To be a part of the sample, respondents had to speak Kabiye, but only 13 percent spoke *only* Kabiye. Although minority-language Bible translators are often motivated by the needs of those who cannot access Scripture in a language they understand, Kabiye monolinguals have not responded to the availability of Kabiye Scripture with significantly higher FOE than other respondents ($p = 0.283$). In fact, Kabiye speakers who also speak French have significantly higher FOE to all regular-use Scripture products than that of those who do not speak French ($p = 0.002$).

Table 11. Multilingualism and frequency of exposure to Scripture products

	Mean FOE to ABT regular-use Scripture products	Mean FOE to all regular-use Scripture products (including French)
Kabiye only speakers (n = 50)	13.6	28.3*
Kabiye-French speakers (+/- other language) (n = 305)	12.1	34.5
Kabiye + other African language(s) (n = 35)	9.1	20.7

* This includes some monolingual Kabiye hearing French, and knowing it was French Scripture without being able to understand it.

French speakers are much more likely to have had more education ($p < 0.000$) and so to have learned many new ideas in school. People who have adopted one innovation are more likely to adopt others (Rogers 1983). They are also called on to read to others who are not literate.

Many of these French-Kabiye speakers speak French very well, but only 6 percent of them consider it their “best” language. The 88 percent who consider

Kabiye their “best” language have significantly higher use of the ABT regular-use Kabiye Scripture products ($p = 0.017$). They embrace their ethnicity while enjoying the wider horizons French opens to them. They are also much more likely to have more personal copies of Kabiye Scripture products ($p = 0.001$), which we have seen also contributes to higher FOE.

Table 12. Overview of “best language” responses

“Best language”	Mean FOE to ABT regular-use Scripture products	Mean number of personal copies of Kabiye Scripture products
Kabiye (n = 343)	12.6	7
Not Kabiye (n = 47)	7.8	0.3

Also surfacing in the use of French Scripture were differences between Catholics and Protestants. Protestants have significantly higher FOE to French Scripture than Catholics, with a mean of 14.1 exposures per month compared with 8.7 for Catholics ($p < 0.000$). Catholics in the sample are more educated, with a mean of 10 years of school to Protestants’ 7 years ($p < 0.000$), so one would have expected the opposite, as there is a significant association between French Scripture FOE and education ($p < 0.000$). In fact, it is more-educated Protestants who account for this increased use of French Scripture (see shaded area of table 13 below, $p < 0.000$). This is not the case among Catholics ($p = 0.60$), perhaps due to their long-term strong policy of Kabiye Scripture use. In fact, the Catholic churches in two villages were at the bottom of this lower use of French Scripture by Catholics. As I learned later, these were villages of the two priests most involved in Kabiye Scripture translation. Their leadership had significant effects.

This Protestant increased use of French is in spite of the fact the “Family of Jesus,” which made up 11.5 percent of the Protestant sample, does not use French at all. Mainline and African Independent Churches have a mean of 15.7 uses of French Scripture per month, and a mean of 14.4 exposures to Kabiye Scripture. But educated Protestants are not shifting to using French Scripture since they use Kabiye Scripture as much as those with less education ($p = 0.921$). They use both French and Kabiye Scripture, yielding an overall higher FOE to Scripture.

Table 13. French frequency of exposure of Protestants and Catholics by educational level

	Protestants' mean FOE to French Scripture	Catholics' mean FOE to French Scripture
0–3 yr of education	6.3 (n = 62)	5.3 (n = 6)
4–8 yr of education	12.6 (n = 109)	9.4 (n = 30)
9–11 yr of education	20 (n = 71)	10 (n = 26)
12–14 yr of education	20.5 (n = 19)	7.6 (n = 42)
15–20 yr of education	21 (n = 17)	10.9 (n = 8)

More research is needed on the way multilingual people use Scripture in multilingual contexts, as the future of local language Scripture depends on people using Scripture in multiple languages. The Kabiye data offer hope. But since it is a dominant language spoken by almost a million people and has benefitted from government support for at least 40 years, one wonders how it compares with other more marginalized vernacular languages.

Factors that were not significant

I explored many other factors I thought might affect FOE but did not, at times to my great surprise. For example, the main church leaders' ability to speak Kabiye did not relate significantly to respondents' FOE to the ABT regular-use products. While they need to speak Kabiye to use Kabiye Scripture, that ability in itself was not significant. Their FOE to Kabiye Scripture is what made a significant difference.

The cost of Scripture products did not affect the respondents' estimate of whether or not they could buy it. Supplementary products were cheaper, but respondents were less likely to feel they could buy them. The chart below lists them in order of their popularity. Actual sales might be different from perceptions.

Table 14. Cost and perceived purchasing

Product	Cost	“I could buy it.”
French Bible	3000 CFA	69% (n = 270)
ABT Kabiye NT	1200 CFA	54% (n = 211)
Jesus Film	3000 CFA	38% (n = 147)
Catholic Bible	2500 CFA	31% (n = 120)
Catholic Youth Bible	150 CFA	28% (n = 111)
Jesus Messiah Book	800 CFA	24% (n = 94)
Bible Primer	500 CFA	23% (n = 89)

(The CFA is the common currency of a number of West African countries. One US dollar is worth approximately 500 CFA.)

Conclusions and implications

The model that best characterizes respondents who have high FOE to ABT-related regular-use Kabiye Scripture is that they are:

- People who have frequent use of the supplementary products
- Protestants
- People who are aware of more Scripture products

Other factors which were significant are:

- Having a personal copy of the regular-use print Scripture product
- Reading the product, if it is a print product
- Being a woman (most likely due to the success of the woman’s development program)
- Living in town for use of media products and French Scripture
- Being over 30 years old
- Being a teacher in the church at some level
- Having teachers in church model high FOE to Kabiye Scripture

Factors that were not significant are:

- Speaking French. In fact, French-Kabiye bilinguals had higher overall use of Scripture.
- The church leaders’ ability to speak Kabiye
- The cost of the product
- Education

These findings hold true for the Kabiye of the Kara region. Further research is needed to determine how many of them might apply elsewhere. Within the Kabiye context, more research would be beneficial on the following topics:

- *The relationship between supplementary and regular-use products.* Do supplementary products attract people to regular-use products? Or are some people simply heavy users of all Scripture products?
- *How are goods marketed successfully among the Kabiye of the Kara region?* How could these systems be implemented to improve the marketing of

Scripture products? Are there cultural beliefs or attitudes that affect marketing? Economic factors? Practical factors?

- *How do multilingual people in multilingual churches use Scripture?* Is the use of both French and Kabiye present elsewhere? Or is French, as the “language of wider communication,” displacing mother-tongue Scripture?
- *Generational language use:* Will young people use more Kabiye as they age, or will they continue to use French as much as they do during their years of schooling?
- *The different natures of the Catholic and Protestant approach to Scripture:* Why do Protestants use French more? Why does reading correlate with significantly higher FOE for Protestants but not Catholics?
- *Successful development:* What have the Protestant women done to have such high FOE to the Kabiye New Testament?
- *Why are audio and film Scripture products so popular?* Are they simply more entertaining or do they result in greater comprehension and impact?

Some implications of this research are:

- *Add staff and budget to market Scripture products.* This would include carrying out market research, as well as advertising, marketing, distributing, maintaining products in stock, and keeping records.
- *Add staff and budget to produce more supplementary products,* especially more media products and shorter print publications.
- *Explore cooperation with radio stations.* Supply them with FCBH in all their broadcast languages. Advertise products and distribution points on the radio. Do more Scripture engagement radio programs in Kabiye.
- *Focus on getting teachers in the church* to use Kabiye Scripture frequently.
- *Address the Catholic-Protestant divide:* Develop separate strategies for Catholic and Protestant Scripture use. For example, Protestants may respond more positively to diglot versions, if their eyes are on French. They may also respond more positively to literacy classes, if the private reading of Scripture is valued. But also work towards acceptance of the same orthography and key terms so all Kabiye Christians will be able to use the ecumenical Kabiye Bible when it is published.
- *Maintain and improve literacy programs.* Spread the AFASA program dynamics more widely.
- *Don't worry about the use of French Scripture.* It has a positive effect on Kabiye Scripture use. Try publishing a diglot version of Scripture to see if this appeals to the large group of Kabiye-French speakers.

Some Bible translators lament that people are not interested in God's Word, or they are not interested in God's Word in their language. This certainly isn't the case among the Kabiye. The interest is there. Are the Scripture products?

References

- Roberts, David. 2009. "The Development of Kabiye and Its Status as One of the 'National' Languages of Togo." Pages 468-94 in *Language and Politics in Africa: Contemporary Issues and Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Ochieng Orwenjo and Obiero Ogone. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Rogers, Everett M. 1983. *Diffusion of Innovations*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Appendix

Table 15. Summary of findings of the ABT regular-use products

	ABT Kabiye NT		FCBH	
	All respondents	Protestants only	All respondents	Protestants only
Aware of product	73% (n = 286)	92% (n = 257)	70% (n = 274)	76% (n = 211)
Have access to it	62% (n = 240)	80% (n = 223)	55% (n = 213)	63% (n = 174)
Have a personal copy	25% (n = 99)	35% (n = 98)	N/A	76% (n = 211)
Read it at least once (and may have listened as well)	39% (n = 151)	50% (n = 140)	N/A	
Listened to it at least once (but never read it)	31% (n = 121)	40% (n = 111)	69% (n = 268)	
Mean FOE per month	7.7	10.3	4.4	

Table 16. Summary of findings of supplementary products

	Jesus Films		Jesus Messiah Book		Bible Primer	
	All respondents (Catholic and Protestant)	Protestants only	All respondents (Catholic and Protestant)	Protestants only	All respondents (Catholic and Protestant)	Protestants only
Aware of product	76 (n =298)	79% (n = 221)	31% (n = 120)	40% (n = 110)	27% (n = 106)	32% (n = 90)
Have access to it	33% (n = 129)	46% (n = 95)	21% (n = 82)	27% (n = 76)	19% (n = 73)	23% (n = 63)
Have a personal copy	2% (n = 8)	2% (n = 8)	5% (n = 21)	7% (n = 20)	7% (n = 29)	9% (n = 26)
Read it at least once (and may have listened)	N/A		12% (n = 47)		16% (n = 44)	
Listened to it watched it at least once (but never read it)	73% (n = 287)	76% (n = 212)	9% (n = 35)	12% (n = 34)	9% (n = 37)	11% (n = 31)
Mean frequency of exposure (exposures in all)	1.75	1.8	0.45	0.6	0.44	0.52