

Speaking African on the Radio

Impact Assessment Survey of FM/Community Radios Using African Languages in Ghana, Mali and Senegal

*A CASAS Study in Cooperation with The UNESCO Communication
Development Division (2004)*

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Introduction

The idea of this study emerged out of discussions which the Director of CASAS, Kwesi Kwaa Prah had with Stella Hughes of the UNESCO Communication Development Division in March 2004 in Maputo. The Maputo discussions were a follow-up on earlier discussions we had had in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, during the International Workshop convened by the International Institute for Communication and Development and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Acacia Project (11th – 13th March 2002).

In these discussions, both Ms. Hughes and Prof. Prah shared enthusiasm for the slow but increasing awareness of interested parties about content development in African languages for ICTs and FM/Community radios which over the last decade have proliferated on the African continent. Indeed, the issue of content development has become a key issue in the whole discussion about ICTs in Africa. The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) held an important meeting in Accra during the early part of 2005 (2nd - 4th, Feb, 2005) in which the issue of content development and community radio work occupied an important place in the discussions. This is being followed up with a thematic meeting on “Multilingualism for Cultural Diversity and Participation of All in the Cyberspace” in the context of the World Summit on the Information Society, which has been scheduled to take place in Bamako, early May 2005. The conclusions of this latter meeting will contribute, among others, to the second phase of the WSIS, which will take place in Tunis from November 16th – 18th, 2005.

During the Maputo discussions it was agreed that it would be useful for CASAS and UNESCO to undertake cooperative work with specific reference to African language usage through FM/Community radios on the continent.

Subsequently, the initiators of the project decided that there was need to delimit the geographical scope of the work to manageable proportions and also reflect the situation in both francophone and anglophone West Africa. The focus on the study was decided to be an *Impact Assessment Survey in Ghana, Mali and Senegal on FM Radios Using African Languages*. Contractual documentation and other understandings were reached in April and May 2004 and work commenced during the latter half of July 2004. For logistical and resource reasons, three fairly proximate countries from Francophone and Anglophone West African countries were selected for the study, these being Ghana, Mali and Senegal.

Contextualization

The term community radio has become a generic designation for a wide variety of local broadcasting. They are generally private FM systems which operate as rural or urban localized broadcasting stations, cooperative venture and associative radios, development radios, educational radios, alternative radios, music stations and sometimes religious broadcasters. A great number of them are commercial stations. Some of them reach only limited audiences within no more than a kilometer or two radius. Others go much further. In a few cases they beam on short wave and thus reach distant points on the globe. These latter are however exceptions. In some cases, the same organization may set up satellite stations in one country which carry some of the programmes of the main station.

By early 2004, the Panos Institute (Dakar) suggests that there were a total of 443 private radio stations in the West Africa sub-region. Mali with a count of 132 private radio stations had the highest number. Of these 58 were private commercial stations, 32 were community radio stations, 22 were associative radios and 13 were religious stations. Interestingly, a small country like Togo comes next in the West African region with regards to the number of available stations. Togo has 62 private stations. Senegal has 50 private radio stations of which 5 are community radio stations (with satellite stations). In Ghana by early 2004 there were 33 private radio stations of which 26 were FM/ commercial radios, 5 university radios, 1 ordinary community radio and 1 women's associative community radio. (1)

As the *Report on the Sixth World Conference of Community Radio Broadcasters* (Dakar, Senegal, January 23-30, 1995) explains, while some stations are owned by NGOs and cooperatives, others are owned by trade unions, students, universities, municipalities, churches and religious groups. Community radios are on the rise worldwide. They generally operate societally at the micro level, mostly broadcasting with relatively little power. Many community radios work with the principle "by the community and for the community". They concern themselves with the needs of the community. They speak about things and people their audiences are familiar with. This is probably one of the most important reasons why they are often highly appreciated by the audiences they target. While some observers place a premium on community ownership others think otherwise. Thus, Kelvin Chibomba, a station manager at Radio Mazabuka FM, a community radio station based in the Southern Province of Zambia suggests that, "to me a community radio station first and foremost is demanded, set up and funded by the community it is the community that initiates the idea and owns it by funding it through community contributions. It must be non-profit whose interest is only to serve the community and addressing the concerns they are facing. It must be community-driven, accessible, accountable, affordable, available and acceptable. If a radio station has these features, then you can safely say, it is a community radio station." The contrary argument is advanced by Maumbi Mwendalubi, an operations manager at Mosi-O-Tunya radio station, a community radio station based in

Livingstone, Zambia who argues that, "to me a community radio is one that broadcasts to suit the needs of a particular community with the aim of fostering development through its programming....Ownership does not necessarily have to be by the community as long as the community has access to that media and issues are really taken from their needs," (2)

The African community radio scene has developed rapidly in the last ten years. In 1985, there were just ten independent radio stations in the whole of Africa. Today, hundreds of radio stations have been created and, in some cases, this growth is turning the national media arena upside down. Currently more than 500 community radio stations are broadcasting throughout the African continent. In all likelihood this number is going to steeply rise within the next few years. In Gabon and Senegal, much more than it is currently the case in Ghana, there is a long queue of initiatives and applications for new stations. The PANOS institute in Dakar is doing useful work on the monitoring of developments in the expansion of community radios in the region. We are informed that in West Africa, the first to take to the airwaves in 1985 were the music station Radio One FM of Gambia and the religious station, Veritas FM.(3)

The Community Radio phenomenon in the broadcasting world and its popularity in Africa are remarkable. It appears to be shaking the broader sections of African societies out of their past silence and diffidence. People are becoming more voluble, more participatory in the discussion of matters affecting them. A new civic conscience is ascendant; a conscience which challenges political orthodoxy and correctness. All of this is directly contributing to the development of democratic cultures. Indeed, of all the various media, it is the radio which since the 1980s has seen the most spectacular development in the region. The opening up of the audio-visual sector has enormously contributed to the decentralization of radio broadcasting and the proliferation of its presence in the rural areas.(4)

While the number of African community stations has increased over the last few years, conditions affecting this have varied. Sometimes an enabling legislative environment has helped. In other cases, bureaucratic hindrances and inadequate legislation has made the process tedious and discouraging. In Ghana, there have been some politicians getting very hot under the collar and asking for curbs on the freedoms of community radios. Fortunately, this has not happened. The issue however highlights a number of problems in societies, which have for a long time been repressive and intolerant of public discussion. On the one hand, the liberalization of social and political mores of society and the opening up of airwaves has released a lot of energy in the people for their newfound voices on the radio to discuss public issues which affect them and are of interest. This enthusiasm is frequently effusive and infectious and generates enthusiasm which was hitherto circumstantially curbed. On the other hand, the newly found voices of the masses provided by Community/FM radios, in languages which the masses understand and speak, has often slipped into attitudes of licence to be careless and abrasive in some pronouncements made on these radios.

The reality of relatively cheap “suitcase broadcasting stations” has technologically opened doors to popular participation. Communities no longer have to wait on others, outsiders, to facilitate discussion on matters affecting them as locals. As Jean-Pierre Ilboudo, an expert with the FAO Extension, Education and Communication Service, made the case, "Community radio is Africa's Internet. It reaches our most important audience -- the illiterate and hungry."(5) Other observations that have been made are that, because community radios primarily serve the poor, private sector financing is rare. "Advertisers don't target our listeners," says Letsatsi Sathekge of South Africa's Radio Turf. "We don't get paid, so experienced people leave to work in commercial radio."(6) "We have a small generator so we can only broadcast 10 hours a day," adds Abdoul Karim Sow from Niger's Radio Jamana Nioro du Sahel. "And we don't have a computer."(7) Community/FM radios are quintessentially the media of the poor. For the masses a radio set is a once off investment, which with a modest cost of batteries provides access to whatever is happening anywhere in the world.

These factors affecting community radios underscore the relevance of factors relating to sustainability and technological revolution as a challenge for the sector. Although the number of community radio stations on the continent is rapidly increasing, sustainability strategies for the audio-visual sector are in short supply, and there are relatively few resources that capture and reveal existent strategies from which stations could learn. For this reason, there is an acute urgency to make these resources available to the sector in its tested and post evaluated form. Convergence of technologies also is bringing rapid change in the broadcasting environment. There is a lot of experience and knowledge to share. In few African countries, Community Radio has made great strides in acquiring new technologies. This trend to acquiring new technologies is related to the idea of sharing information at low costs while serving their communities.

We are informed that since 2001, UNESCO has established over 40 pilot Community Multimedia Centres (CMCs) on three continents. A CMC combines local radio by local people in local languages with a public telecentre facility offering access to internet, e-mail, document production, computer training and a range of services and activities that tackle the development needs of the community. The approach has been to add new technical and infrastructural inputs to existing community facilities. In some cases, telecentres were added to community radio stations; in others, radio was added to existing telecentres. It is planned that, the first full evaluation of UNESCO's CMC programme should take place in 2005. However, going by the record so far and available evidence, it is possible to say that notable achievements in the areas of rural access to ICT, communities' capacity to use ICT and creation and accessibility of local content are moving forward apace. In a write-up by Stella Hughes, which appeared as a UNESCO WebWorld news item, concerning her observations in Mali (*Mali CMC makes N'Ko newspaper's circulation soar*) she had this to say:

Before the community multimedia centre (CMC) opened in Koutiala, Mali's second largest industrial town, the only local paper in the N'ko alphabet was painstakingly written out by hand. Just 20 copies of each issue of the Bambara-language "Sindjiya" were made. When the CMC opened its doors in 2002, N'ko software made it possible to produce the paper electronically and Sindjiya was then printed out on A4 paper, with 500 stapled photocopies produced and circulated in the town each month. Today, after training in desktop publishing at the CMC for Sindjiya staff, the paper appears as a broadsheet and all 1000 copies are reserved and paid for in advance. Today, desk-top publishing, multi-lingual software and numerous other multimedia applications available in the CMC ensure that local people can produce local content themselves, either for community radio or in a range of media using the telecentre. Koutiala CMC recently produced its own training CD Rom for radio producers wanting to go digital. As the first pilot CMC to be established in Mali, it will play a leading role in supporting the newly emerging CMCs currently being established as part of UNESCO's CMC scale-up initiative in Mali, Mozambique and Senegal, launched a year ago at the World Summit on the Information Society in Geneva.

It is now time to take stock of new challenges resulting from the democratized and decentralized broadcasting systems. At the level of technology in use, one can say that, Africa being a developing continent, with distinctly uneven capacities for technological development, complete standardization of new technology for community radio stations is at the moment not realistic. Arguably, it is even doubtful if this would be desirable. Most community radio stations though serving a wide coverage of their community, are still using very basic recording and transmission equipment. Most of them operate on a day-to-day schedule with the looming shadow of closure over them as governments on the continent nervously watch their increasing impact and critical perspectives on social, economic and political goings-on. African governments are nervous about the critical voices they frequently hear on talk shows on Community /FM stations. Their nervousness is in part due to the fact that, for too long the masses have been politically phlegmatic and unable to join in discussions on matters of common and popular interest. Community/FM radios have changed this.

An important revelation from this research is that FM/Community Radios are making a definite impact on the civic education of mass society and strengthening the development of more democratic cultures. They also provide enormous possibilities for wider education. Its content is adequately localized. They are beginning to overshadow newspapers in many areas. Their relatively low installation costs and limited overheads bring them well within the financial range of many prospective media NGOs. A distinctive feature of most of these radios is that they generally cater for the broader and poorer layers of society. For as long as media work is preeminently in European languages, they will be unable to reach a substantial section of mass society. This condition will steadily undermine the development of a more fully fledged democratic culture. Furthermore, it will continue to inhibit the potential of the citizenry to participate in state-wide decision-making.

Language, Literacy, Orality and the Radio

In a practical sense, citizenship is incapacitated if citizens are illiterate. Their ability to understand social policy processes is seriously curtailed. Subtleties of policy and politics are lost on many. For the teeming masses in Africa, Asia and Latin America who are politically and socially crippled by illiteracy, practically meaningful citizenship remains out of grasp. Illiteracy has also profound economic implications. Adult literacy, the form and type of literacy are indeed, major benchmarks or indicators of one's status, wealth or poverty. (We are here using the notion of adult literate as a person aged 15 and over who can, with understanding, both read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life). Therefore, it is also our view that for the long-term development objectives of Africa, the oral media must not be treated as a substitute for literate culture. Orality must complement literacy. But, as long as African societies have high illiteracy levels, to enlist the participation of the masses in democracy and the building of robust civil societies use has to be made of the radio, and in the languages the masses understand.

The centrality of language in culture is a universally acknowledged fact, which needs little argument here. Language is the dynamic bearer and register of all we know, all we have produced, and all we share as humans. Language defines reality as we know it and as it is knowable; it constructs reality and at the same time delimits it. It is in language that we transfer knowledge both written and oral to succeeding generations. It is language, which ultimately defines a cultural community and it is in language that anthropologically our definition as humans beyond the animal world is attested. The idea that we are “talkative animals” is an apt and telling way of defining this reality. There are even those who see the development of language as a preface of thought. But, there is a world of a difference in the way language as orality and language as a written form defines the cultural and historical belongings of a people and also enables a society in its ability to produce and reproduce knowledge in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

The transition from predominantly oral cultures to literate ones runs parallel to the shift from pre-modernity to modernity. In today's world, there are hardly any exclusively oral social or cultural systems except in very small and relatively isolated corners of the globe. All societies are more or less in transition from orality to literacy. In this transition process, or proto-literacy as it is sometimes called, some achieve the transit much faster than others. All have to deal, as part of the instrumentation of this transition, to different degrees, with issues of adult literacy.

Some scholars tend to glorify orality. Orality as a predominant social condition cannot carry a modern, politically sophisticated, societally discerning, and intellectually empowered citizenry both at the individual or collective levels of social life. Where the informed knowledge base of the citizenry is limited and challenged by illiteracy, civil society is unable to fully develop as a modern institution. Illiteracy therefore structurally excludes prospective learners in the

educational, political, economic and social process. For those who have entered into adulthood and who for a variety of reasons have been excluded from the ranks of the literate, reality is shrouded, knowledge is limited to immediately available memory, and memory as an individual faculty, as we all know leaks, especially with adulthood and age. The radio for such people is invaluable.

Elites and the Evolution of Language Policies

African language policies which have emerged in the post-colonial era, bear uncanny formal and substantial resemblances. They have from one country to the next, by evidence of the record, been particularly ineffectual in serving as a viable basis for both literacy training and societal development. Most observers who have looked at the issue of language policy in Africa are agreed about the fact that there is a big gap between intended policy (or planned policy) and action or implementation. Since the beginnings of the colonial era, with variation, it is possible to identify different phases in the evolution of language policy on this continent. Initially, Christian missionaries preferred to work in African languages for purposes of Bible translation and other related evangelical material.

In agreement with the early colonial authorities the missionaries also favoured the use of African languages for elementary education, their idea being that after the initial stages African pupils would switch on to the language of the colonial power. To different degrees this policy was shared, across the board, by the different colonial powers.

While the British tended to be a little more flexible, the French, and especially the Portuguese, were seriously restrictive of the extent to which African languages could be utilized in education. The implication of this early policy is not too difficult to understand. In order to “win souls” for the church, it was considered best to use the mother tongue, close to the hearts of the people. But, in order to develop a cadre capable of serving as intermediaries and interlocutors for the purposes of colonial administration and practice, it was considered necessary to educate in the colonial language. Such early cadre served as clerks, interpreters, messengers, petty bureaucrats and primary school teachers. Within the colonial order they became the early intelligentsia with possibilities for vertical social mobility. They enjoyed positions of privilege and were more immediately enmeshed in the colonial cash nexus. They acquired the material emblems of Western modernity, and in societies which were under colonial overlordship they came to represent a reference category in the eyes of their illiterate kinsfolk. Thus in the colonial scheme a number of features converged to define the parameters of the early colonial elite. These were Christian confession, literacy, wage employment, the limited acquisition of Western consumption patterns and the rudimentary paraphernalia of Western domestic culture.

While colonialism introduced western languages as novel bases for literacy, by and large, such literacy has remained marginal to the preponderant majorities of African societies. Indeed, the

introduction of colonial languages has culturally divided up Africans into the small group of literate elites which work in the colonial languages and the overwhelming majorities with limited literacy in their own languages, who are cut off from literatures of modernity, and who read and write limitedly and restrictedly in African languages with a preponderance of evangelical Christian literature. African languages as oral forms are therefore the main depositories of the heritage of African culture in society. It is a condition, which is marked by constant imprecision of the collective memory and an inability to construct the fund of knowledge as a reliable incremental process in the languages native to African majorities and responsive to their genius.

During the later colonial period, with the establishment of first secondary and later tertiary institutions, the language policies of the colonial powers were further entrenched basically along the same lines as their initial formulations. However the relative size of the educationally Westernized products increased and as the colonial economy and administrative needs expanded, the elite likewise grew. It was an elite which, as it grew in size and quality, became increasingly removed from its original African cultural moorings. As this happened their attitudes towards African languages became increasingly condescending, adopting many of the postures of the colonial masters. They not only adopted “his master’s voice” and language, but also accepted the master’s likes and dislikes, as part of the package. Again here the explanation for this is not difficult to find. In circumstances where material success, high status and prosperity were societally routed through the use of colonial languages and where this pattern had for decades been well established, it is not difficult to understand why the new elite so definitely favoured the linguistic policies of the colonial powers.

The issues of whether Africans and Africa should develop on the basis of African languages or the colonial languages; an issue which has remained with us to the present-day, was a point in debate amongst westerners involved with the colonial enterprise. While some favoured the use of African languages to an ultimately total degree, there were others who were of the view that colonial languages were the way forward. In contemporary Africa, a culture of linguistic imperialism (linguicism), operating in favour of Arabic, Portuguese, French and English, in different parts of the continent induces parents to reject mother-tongue education in favour to the languages of conquest. African mother-tongues are treated as inappropriate languages for literacy and a myth is purveyed that African languages cannot be lexically empowered to carry modern science and technology. Thus, the frequent reason offered by parents is that the colonial languages offer tested and proven routes to vertical social mobility and cosmopolitanism. Under these circumstances, local African languages are constantly losing status and are ultimately under-valued by those best placed and whose best interest is served by the cultivation and development of these languages.

The use of Western languages did not only serve a vehicular purpose. Indeed, the cultivation and use of Western languages represented the acceptance of the hegemony of the cultural package borne in the usage of the literature, mind, values and ethos represented in these speech forms. In the post-colonial era the scenario has altered slightly with the advent of political independence. Most of the African countries have, and, on paper, attempted to rehabilitate the status of African languages, if only at the primary school level. All African countries have acknowledged, to various degrees, the status of what are described as “national languages”. What is, however, remarkable, is that policy and formulated intent has nowhere been seriously applied or translated into viable practice. Rather what we see is what I have described as a mood of indecision and the rudderlessness of language-policy pursuits by the relevant authorities in Africa.(8) My view is that, without the use of African languages, throughout the educational system and in society at large, there can be no development in Africa.(9). Ayo Bamgbose has also written that “language policies in African countries are characterized by one or more of the following problems: avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation.”(10) The question is, “why this vacillation, why are African governments willing to make commitments which they do not keep? Why do African governments display this clear lack of political will, to follow through policies they ostensibly support?

These questions are particularly pertinent in view of the fact that, if African languages perish, they disappear with the collective memory, belongings and legacy of the African experience. If they perish, they vanish to the advantage of the colonial languages in our globalizing world. If African languages continue to lose ground and eventually largely become extinct, Africans as an autonomous cultural stream in humanity and in the making of a global culture will vanish. As I have often argued, in such an instance, Africans will become other people.

One reason for the vacillation is that elite interests have become very entrenched with the *status quo* and the use of colonial languages. Indeed, in a cultural sense it is arguable that African elites owe their positions of privilege and influence to the use of the colonial languages. They are languages of power for them. Therefore, whereas frequently many can see the logic in the argument for the unstinted use of African languages, the ruling groups and elites are unable to, as it were, cut off the branch on which they are perched. The second reason is that the myth persists that Africa is a Tower of Babel, that there are between 1200 – 2500 languages spoken on the continent. On the basis of this argument it is impossible economically to cater for usage of African languages. It is furthermore argued that the use of African languages may be divisive. Fourthly, some observers contend that African languages are unsuitable or incapable of development as languages of science and technology; that they do not have the terminological basis for science. Another argument, which is advanced to dissuade authorities in the use of African languages, is that in a globalizing world the languages of power offer the only route to social mobility and economic prosperity.

On serious examination none of these reasons stand up to available evidence. For one thing, the work of CASAS attempts to put the myth of the African Tower of Babel to rest. Most of what are considered to be separate languages in Africa are in fact dialectal variants of root languages (core languages) which within the ambit of related dialects enjoy high degrees of mutual intelligibility. If orthographic approaches to these languages are used which unify the spelling and writing systems created by rival missionary groups, the list of separate African languages will drastically diminish. The finding that CASAS has so far made is that as first, second and third language speakers over 80% of Africans speak no more than about 15 to 17 core languages. The argument that Africa is a Tower of Babel clearly does not stand up to scrutiny. If the harmonization and standardization of African languages is pursued then, on the economies of scale, it would be possible to construct literacy constituencies which are economically viable. For example, instead of writing in an exclusive spelling system for Fulani one would write in the same way for Fulani, Felata, Fulful, Pulaar, Tucolor, Peul in the same way, so that instead of producing literature for ten million, one would produce literature for fifty million.

The ethnic divisions which plague Africa are not on account of the different languages Africans speak, they are due more to the use of ethnicity as a mobilizing agent by elites for narrow political, economic and social interests. In a society which works on the basis of tolerance, democracy and the celebration of diversity, ethnic conflict the way we see it in Africa would be minimized.

For those who argue that African languages are unsuitable as languages for science and technology, the simple answer is that no language from Adam is created as a language of science and technology; languages are developed through conscious application of effort and the input of necessary resources. Those who argue that in a globalizing world English, French, Portuguese or Spanish should be used, need to persuade the Japanese and the Chinese and the Germans, Finnish and the Icelandic about this. This so-called universal languages are actually languages of empire. They have achieved the status of universal languages not because of any intrinsic qualities but from the fact that they have been languages of conquests and imperialism.

African language policies need to move from being pious articles of faith enshrined in constitutions and policy documents by inconsequent ruling elites. If Africa and Africans are to make progress in social, economic, political and cultural development they will need to pursue these policies at the level of active practice.

Notes

1. See, Repertoire des Média en Afrique de l'Ouest. Institut Panos, Afrique de l'Ouest. Dakar, 2004. p.12.

2. Quoted here from Machova Musanshi. Impact of Community Radio Stations. *The Times of Zambia* (Ndola) Analysis. Nov. 16, 2004.
3. See, Repertoire des Média en Afrique de l'Ouest. Institut Panos, Afrique de l'Ouest. Dakar, 2004. p.11.
4. Ibid
5. <http://www.fao.org/news/2001/011205-e.htm>
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Kwesi Kwaa Prah. Mother Tongue for Scientific & Technological Development in Africa. DSE. Bonn. 1995. P6.
9. See a fuller representation of this argument in, K.K. Prah. African Languages for the Mass Education of Africans. DSE. Bonn. 1995.
10. Ayo Bamgbose. Language Policy in the African Context. Paper presented to the 19th West African Languages Congress. University of Ghana. Legon. 2-6 April 1990.

Methodology

A range of social research methods were employed in the collection and the analysis of the research material for this text. A structured questionnaire (appendix 1) operated as a schedule, was initially constructed. In addition to this, an interview guide was also written up. The schedule or administered questionnaire was the primary basis for empirical data collection. Most of the questions were open-ended, but a few key questions requiring freer non-restrictive expression were open-ended. The intention was to have research workers who are competent to fill out the questionnaires and interpret the questions, where necessary, to the respondents. Since the questionnaires were written in English and French, it was necessary to use research workers who knew these languages in addition to the African languages spoken by the respondents.

Limited pretesting of the questionnaires was done after which we then went to the field. This fieldwork took five weeks to complete. Firstly, a simple random sample of 100 questionnaires per country (Senegal, Mali and Ghana) was initially used in the field. On the basis of the data drawn from this a draft report was written. Stella Hughes provided invaluable commentary and criticism.

Subsequently, in order to highlight rural perceptions in contrast to urban / peri-urban respondents, another set of questionnaires were administered in Mali and Ghana for restrictedly rural respondents who were illiterates or semi-illiterates. These second round of questionnaires were 30 per country (Ghana and Mali). We received only 22 completed ones back from Mali.

On the basis of these questionnaires it was not possible to produce a profile, which is statistically justifiable and an accurate representation of opinion in the respective countries; that is for the entire "universe". It is hardly possible to mathematically ascertain the representativeness of opinion in the universe. However, it was possible to obtain impressions about the relative strength of opinions between the countries and within the samples for each country. Contrasted attitudes could be gleaned and surmised from the results.

In addition to the above some literature was covered to produce the argumentation for the contextualization of issues in the text. This literature was not extensive, but focused.

Thirdly, relevant depth interviews built around issues arising out of the responses obtained in the questionnaires were undertaken. These interviews threw a great deal of light on the responses obtained from respondents. For the depth interviews, a prepared guide was employed as a suggestive reference (appears in this text as appendix 11). This guide was intended to help focus attention on the key points of the study; permit the derivation of comparative data; facilitate the collection of the same range of items essential in the analysis of the data; and the gathering of specific concrete details. However, it should be pointed out that it was intended as a guide and not

a rigid prescription on research procedure. These interviews were generally lengthy procedures designed to encourage free expression. These interviews were semi-standardized, so that although there was focus in the interviews there was considerable scope for idiosyncratic opinions and expression.

Data Analysis

On the basis of the questionnaires prepared for this study the following data and analytical commentary have been put together.

Gender, Age and Education

The data on gender balance, for the urban/peri urban samples, showed an overall preponderance of males for the samples drawn from the three countries. Clearly, females were rather poorly represented in the Mali and Senegal samples. Where the Ghanaian sample drew a male sample of 56 percent Mali and Senegal showed up a sample male representation of 79 and 74 percent respectively. For the rural samples the balance was more even. In the Ghanaian instance the females were slightly more than the males and in the Malian case, the males had an edge over the females.

The overwhelming majority of the respondents for the urban and peri-urban areas were between 15 and 40 years old. Indeed, this age bracket formed 89% of the sample of the three countries taken together. For Ghana, there was a striking preponderance of those between 20 and 40. These latter constituted 79% of the Ghanaian sample. For Mali, the 15 – 40 age group formed 90% of the sample, with the 20 – 40 age group forming 71% of the sample. The Senegalese sample had a stronger representation in the 40 – 50 age group. In the case of this sample the 15 – 40 age group formed half of the whole sample. The indication is that the Senegalese sample had an older representation of respondents than the other two samples. Indeed, for the Ghanaian and Malian samples there were no respondents beyond 60 years. None of the three samples had anybody over 70. For the rural samples the majority of the respondents for both Ghana and Mali were in 20 – 50 bracket.

For the samples of urban and peri-urban areas, a large proportion of the samples consisted of fairly educated people. 88% of the Ghanaian sample was made up of respondents with secondary level education and above. In the case of Mali the percentage here was 89%. Senegal brought up the rear with 73.5%. This level of education provides greater sensitivity to civic issues in society. They are generally people with clearly formed opinions about issues affecting them in the society. The rural samples were characterized by very low educational levels. The majorities in both Ghana and Mali have no education, although in the Ghanaian case the sample was almost split between those who had some primary education and those who had none. In the Malian case a few of these rural respondents had secondary education but at least two-thirds of the respondents had no education.

Language, Multilingualism and Occupation

The urban samples for the three countries provided, in each case, a broad diversity of language speakers. It is important to point out that, some of the languages indicated by respondents are

mutually intelligible speech forms, which represent dialectal variants of core languages. For example, in the case of the Ghanaian urban sample, Akan is a generic category for Fante, Twi, and Asante as listed above. The Malian urban sample, in similar fashion, showed a wide variety of dialectal variants of core languages. Bamanan/Bamana/Bamanakan/Bambamana/Bambara/Khassonke/Malinke/Mandinka are dialectal variants of the same language. Similarly Tamacheck, Gamacheck and Tamashe are the same language.

In the Senegalese urban sample a comparative situation applies. In addition to the languages we list in the Malian sample as Bambara and related languages, in the case of Senegal we can add to that group Dyula/Diola/Joola, Malinke, Mandingue and Manjacques. Toucouleur, Peul/Puelh and Poular are also mutually intelligible speech forms.

From the results obtained clearly Akan is the larger language in the Ghanaian urban sample. Bambara and related dialects have preeminence in Mali. Wolof, Bambara-Diola are the popular languages in Senegal. These variations in speech forms mask the fact that many African languages are closely related and are therefore accessible to wide sections of the population. Remarkably a fair degree of variation in linguistic competence was found in the rural samples. In Mali, Bambara came out on top with Peulh and Sonrai following. The prevalence of Ewe in the rural Ghana sample is reflective of the area in which the questionnaires were administered.

With regards to the extent of multilingualism of the respondents in the urban samples, only 4% of the sample in Ghana, 5% in Mali and 6% in Senegal indicated that they spoke only one language. In the case of the Ghanaian sample, 96% of the respondents speak at least two languages and 65% speak three or more languages. In the case of Mali 66% of the respondents speak three or more languages. In the case of Senegal 72% of the sample indicated that they speak three or more languages. For both the rural and urban samples note has to be made of the extensive polyglottism in the communities. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the degree of polyglottism does not vary much between the urban and the rural samples.

This extensive multilingualism in the urban samples is a point which needs to be emphasized. It provides the scope for cultural and linguistic inter-penetration and socialization of African populations. The sharing of airtime is easier to achieve in Africa than some other parts of the world (particularly in the northern hemisphere). If this polyglottism is cultivated in the African media it is bound to yield enormous advantages to the populations in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres of social life. In the rural samples noticeably the degree of multilingualism was equally remarkable. The multilingual character of rural African communities and the diversity of languages spoken reflect the broad demographic spread in the countryside.

The diversity of professional and educational backgrounds of the respondents for the urban samples showed that students formed the largest single group in the Ghanaian sample. Together

with respondents in marketing, trade, hawking and teachers they formed the majority of respondents for the Ghanaian sample. The Malian sample drew largely on respondents who were either students, media workers or teachers. These social types formed 63% of the Malian sample. In the Senegalese case, again students and people in the teaching profession formed the larger proportion of the sample, although a much wider variety of occupational types were represented in the sample. The rural samples showed less occupational differentiation for both Ghana and Mali. Various types of hawkers and petty traders and part-time farmers dominated in the Ghanaian sample. In the Malian case peasants dominated.

Radio Listening Periods and Television Watch

The majority of respondents in the urban samples listen to the radio for more than 2 hours per day. In the case of the Ghanaian respondents 53% suggested that they listen for more than 3 hours per day. 43% and 37% of the respondents in respectively Mali and Senegal spend more than 3 hours per day listening to the radio. All in all, we can draw the conclusion that a good proportion of radio audiences in West Africa spend a good part of their time listening to the radio either single-mindedly or passively. However, from interviews conducted in the course of the study, it was clear that much of the radio listening which goes on is passive, in the sense that people listen as they get on with their every day work or other activities. It would appear that for the rural samples, the overwhelming majority of respondents in Mali indicated that they listen to the radio for more than 3 hours a day. The majority of the rural Ghanaian sample listen to the radio for about 1 or 2 hours. It appears that there is not much difference between the listening time-spans of urban/peri urban and rural respondents.

The overwhelmingly majority of the urban/peri-urban respondents watch television. The questionnaire did not seek to establish how frequently television is watched. However, one conclusion that can be drawn from the strength of the response to this question is that access to television is not as restricted, especially in the urban areas as one would generally assume to be the case. The rural samples have much less access to television. In each instance over three-quarters of the respondents in the rural samples indicated that they do not watch television. The fact that some of them watch television in the rural areas is indicative of the penetration of the facility in the rural areas of both countries. Wherever electricity is available, the television facility is also present. Whole neighbourhoods use single TV facilities in such cases.

It appears that respondents were almost evenly split in their preferences between the television and the radio. For both Ghana and Mali there is a slight preponderance of those who prefer the television to the radio, but in Senegal it is the other way around. What is significant however is that, preferences, either way, are fairly evenly balanced for the urban / peri-urban respondents. Generally one would have expected that people would have a stronger preference for the television. This is however not the case. Most of the rural respondents for both countries preferred the radio over the television. For the rural samples it is particularly interesting to read the reasons for either radio or television preferences (See Table 10 of the rural sample). This is

one of the most interesting and informative results in this report. Audiences are fairly clear about why they prefer the radio to the television. The table above provides a very good summary of the reasons for this. The conclusion one can draw from the above responses obtained from the samples is that the radio, in the circumstances of contemporary Africa, is a more viable medium for communication at the community level than either television or the print media.

For the strength of the listenership of the samples to Community Radios. All in all, the differences in the three countries, in this respect, were fairly marginal. For the rural samples in both Ghana and Mali all the respondents indicated that they listen to FM/Community radios.

Preferred Programmes and Languages

For all three countries in the urban / peri-urban samples news, general entertainment, including music programmes, attract most attention. These three categories of programmes in the case of Ghana draw the attention of 51 percent of the listenership. In the Malian case, the percentage here was 65, and in the Senegalese sample the response level for these categories of programmes was 50 percent. The rural samples did not vary much in terms of the programmes they listen to on the radio. But respondents for the rural samples tended to emphasize the languages in which programmes are broadcast. It would seem to suggest that rural multi-lingualism is weaker and also that there is a more distinct preference for the mother-tongue or the language of the region.

More details was sought regarding programmes listened to on the radio. An exhaustive list was obtained (See Question 14, Table 13 of both urban and rural samples). Subsequently, the study sought to establish the extent of African language presentation in the programmes listened to by the urban / peri-urban respondents. Here, the overwhelming majority of the respondents indicated that they listen to specifically African language programmes, 81% of them said 'Yes' in Ghana, 83% in Mali and 81% in Senegal (See Question 15, Table 14). For the rural samples the programmes they listen to were all in African languages (See Question 15, Table 14 rural samples). Those who responded positively to the questions (*What programmes do you listen to on the radio? – Are any of these in African Languages?*) in the urban samples, were asked to list the African language programmes on Community / FM radios they listen to. The results obtained for this extensive listing was reflected in Table 15. We were able to classify this latter listing also thematically and from the picture obtained (See Question 14, Table 16) it was clear that health, news/politics, educational and sports programmes feature most prominently. For the rural samples all the programmes the respondents listed were in African languages and were mainly Ewe in the case of Ghana and Bambara in the case of Mali.

Language preferences were generally reflective of the mother-tongue of the respondents. Noticeably even when the mother-tongue was part of a larger mutually intelligible cluster of languages, the respondents specifically identified the dialects they speak. Questioned with regards to programme preferences further confirmation was received that news and politics dominated the

response to this enquiry. For the rural samples, health, musical programmes and feature programmes were considered to be best presented.

Most respondents in the urban / peri-urban areas were happy with the presentation of the African language programmes they listen to. Respondents for the rural samples were on the whole particularly happy with the presentations of these programmes. The Ghanaian sample was particularly emphatic about this. Only 1 person out of the 30 who were interviewed did not emphasize his/her likening of the presentation of these programmes. Only a small minority in each instance expressed unhappiness with the presentation of these African language programmes they identified in their preferences. Indeed, noticeably the percentages of those who were unhappy with the presentations were for all three countries in single digits.

For both urban and rural samples, in further probe for reasons for dissatisfaction with the presentations by the small minority who disapproved of the presentations, the following explanations could be summarized. Generally, the rural samples produced little critical response to this enquiry. Almost, all were satisfied with the programmes presented. In the case of Mali, three negative responses were obtained, but no reasons were indicated.

For the *Ghanaian* urban sample, the explanations were as follows for the respondents:

- a) Programmes are rushed since they are many
- b) Presenters are biased in favour of their personal opinions
- c) Political issues are not tackled properly, presenters tend to attack individuals than problems

For the *Malian* urban/peri-urban sample respondents gave reasons which can be summarized as follows:

- a) The manner in which programmes are put together leave much to be desired
- b) Sometimes impertinent remarks are made by presenters

For the *Senegalese* urban sample responses came out as follows:

- a) Not enough competition in some communities
- b) Radio hosts block the participation of listeners
- c) The manner in which programmes are put together needs to be improved
- d) The hosts do not listen to other opinions properly
- e) There is too much religious content

Respondents' views on the assessment regarding the best presented programmes again confirmed that programmes relating to news were the most popular. For both urban and rural samples, talk shows and debates come a close second. Health issues appear also to feature fairly prominently, followed by sports, musical and game shows.

In response to what respondents (urban / peri-urban) regarded as poorly presented programmes it was interesting and significant to note that the exhaustiveness and diversity of the lists points to the alert and critical responses which listeners have with respect to community radio programmes. They were, for each country, a complete mix of themes and topics which indicate that what the listeners perceive to be weaknesses in the programmes are not limited to any particular theme. They furthermore, show that the social sensitivities of listeners are being usefully cultivated by the work of community radios.

In response to the question, (Question 20) *Which other programmes would you like to hear on radio?* for the urban samples, the response level for this question for the Senegalese sample was rather low, the Ghanaian sample had a better response level. Reasons for this are difficult to establish. For those who responded to this question, across the board, some features are discernible. Health and sanitation issues appear to be very prominent in the concerns of respondents. News, educational programmes, cultural programmes and more political debate were strong suggestions. Many of the respondents also indicated that they would like to hear more music on the radio. Other suggestions included youth issues, career counselling, agricultural issues, development oriented programmes, gender sensitivity, social problems, children's programmes and definitely more sport programmes. All in all, the responses to this question produced a wide mix of answers. The rural samples favoured educational and community development programmes in the case of the Ghanaian sample. This would suggest that in the rural world these are more pressing and needed concerns. The responses for Mali in the rural sample were generalized and divided between sports and political debates, family, health, Bambara programmes and "all programmes". For all three countries for the urban samples, news and related matters tend to feature prominently in the listening habits of respondents. In Mali and Senegal in particular, the interests of respondents are more thematically and topically widely spread.

Role of Government

Although respondents in general, were of the view that their governments are doing enough to promote African language programmes on radios (Question 21, Table 22), the interviews conducted in the course of this study suggest that most respondents would want to see greater effort made to present African language programmes on their radios. There is some sensitivity about which languages are broadcast, when, and for how long. Some degree of rivalry which exists sociologically between different language groups, especially in the urban areas, is reflected in the attitudes of respondents to this issue. What is however noticeable is that again in the urban areas greater polyglottism is helping reduce the inaccessibility of language programmes which may not be in the mother-tongue of listeners. Two-thirds of the Ghanaian rural sample thought that the government was doing enough to feature African languages on the radio. Roughly the same percentage of the rural respondents in Mali who answered this question felt the same way. But of those who felt that the government was not doing enough to feature African languages on

the radio, in the rural samples ethnic sentiments were particularly strong in the views presented (See Question 21, Table 22 of the rural sample). Respondents were also of the view, particularly amongst those respondents who work with Community Radios, that legal hurdles and constraints stand in the way of the registration and establishment of Community Radios. Some of this reasoning is borne out by the responses that are reflected below.

For the *Ghana* sample those who felt that the government was not doing enough for African language programmes on radio (preeminently the urban samples) made the following comments:

- 1) *Language policy*
 - There is no media policy for all African languages to receive equal air space on radio
 - No African language has been given official status as medium of communication
- 2) *Government*
 - Even state radio stations use English as the official language

In the case of the *Mali* sample, the picture is as follows:

- 1) *Finance*
 - Lack of funds & support from government for these programmes in African languages
- 2) *Government*
 - Government does not care about private radio stations
 - Government does not support radio stations
- 3) *Language policy*
 - Lack of national policy to promote African languages
- 4) *Professional profile*
 - Programmes in African languages are poorly presented
 - The journalists and presenters are not trained well enough

In *Senegal* the responses can be summarized as follows:

- 1) *Finance*
 - Lack of funds plague FM radios
 - Subsidies paid by govt. aimed at reaching the illiterate are inadequate
- 2) *Government*
 - Government not interested in what other non-state radio stations broadcast
 - Government, indeed could do better to encourage community radios
 - Government has access to national radio station even though private stations have larger audiences
 - Government lacks interest & commitment for the work of community radios
 - Govt. does not want to be talked about all the time
 - Lack of leadership
 - Does not suit the interests of govt.

- Govt. does not get involved in programme selection of radios, especially not with regards to Community/FM radios
- Govt. only cares about Wolof
- 3) *Language policy*
 - No language policy aimed at diversification; exclusion of some languages
 - Predominantly programmes are in Wolof
 - Many programmes in French
- 4) *Professional profile*
 - Official statements issued in French; in order to have messages translated into African languages, presenters and journalists must be able to speak French well, however no schools teach African languages.
 - Journalists broadcasting in national languages not taking charge/ownership
- 5) *Skills base*
 - Insufficient people qualified to present radio shows in African languages well
- 6) *Infra-structure*
 - Radio stations faced with many challenges, notably lack of technical equipment, staff management, etc.
- 7) *Translations*
 - Insufficient translations from French into African languages
- 8) *Other*
 - Broadcasts are too short
 - Influence of the West & America is too strong
 - The people's will is slowly imposing itself
 - Too much prejudice in some programmes
 - Too much religious talk

Respondents were asked (Question 23) *How would you like to see influence used to extend the use of African languages for community / FM radio?* From the responses obtained for the urban / peri-urban areas, the following picture emerged:

Ghana

- Community radio stations to allot a 1/3 of their programmes to African languages
- All government stations to air programmes in one official African language
- African languages to be used as medium of instruction in schools and colleges first
- Happy with current situation, nothing should be done
- Equal airtime to be allocated between English and African languages
- An award for stations that use African languages most to be introduced
- Government officials to use African languages in all official speeches in the Media
- People who cannot speak English to be involved in programming and presentation

Mali

- Deal with topics people are interested in and not just those favouring status quo
- More education & promotion of literacy programmes
- Establish Community/FM radio stations all over Mali
- Fight police corruption
- Government subsidies for promotion of African languages
- Interesting programmes in African languages
- There should be a language policy for all national languages
- More broadcasts that take into account all groups in society
- More productions in African languages
- More publicity
- Programmes addressing pertinent social issues and topics
- More programmes for the youth
- More programmes for women
- There should be programmes in all languages
- Promote broadcasts in a creative, socially targeted way
- More shows in Rap in all languages
- Support presenters
- Train presenters better

Senegal

- Accentuate one common language
- Allocate more airtime to African languages also at peak time
- Awareness campaigns to promote African language programmes
- Bring programmes closer to listeners/'quartiers'
- Broadcast in all national/Senegalese languages
- Broadcast more programmes on African culture
- Create Co-operations
- Create programmes for children in these languages
- Create time slots at break times
- Decentralisation
- Discuss topical (national) issues
- Diversify programmes (time slots, languages)
- Encourage listeners to present (their) programmes
- Establish radio stations where broadcasts are done in national languages
- Establish resource/information centres where journalists are trained/taught in African languages
- Government should promote African languages by introducing them to school curricula, establish African language schools
- Improve presentation

- Increase (adult) literacy (in African languages)
- Increase government subsidies
- Install antennas in 'quartiers' (neighbourhoods)
- Make media more accessible to the people
- On the hour, there should be every language [news]
- Organise competitions with cash prizes to encourage listeners
- Produce shows such as "Wax sa xalaat" where time slot has been extended
- Recruit professionals who master these languages
- Reduce amount of broadcasts in French
- Reduce amount of religious content
- Sensitize/Inform listeners (in all languages)
- Spark debates in African languages
- Talk about what listeners are really concerned about
- Throughout the week extend news by 1 hour per ethnic group
- Wolof being most wide-spread language, broadcasts should be done in this language to promote it
- Wolof should not be the only language pertinent issues are discussed in

In the rural samples for both Ghana and Mali noticeably ethnic and localist considerations were strongly represented. In this respect, responses like

- the chief should be in charge of the community
- frequent use of the Ewe language
- government should be concerned with we the Voltarians
- when more educational programmes are broadcast in Ewe because most of the folk here speak only Ewe

were obtained in the case of Ghana. In the Malian rural sample, the ethnic factor was not so strongly expressed. Principal indicators were

- conceive more programmes in African languages
- speak in Bambara
- news in national languages
- teach national languages at school

Airtime Balance; African and European Languages

The study sought to establish what in the views of respondents should be the balance in air-time between African and European languages. For the urban / peri-urban areas, what the response patterns indicated (See Table 23) showed that the greater majority of listeners would like to have more African language programmes on the state-run radios. There is however still a sizeable

(about a third in each instance) proportion of the listenership which is satisfied with the status quo. In the rural samples for both Ghana and Mali three-quarters of the respondents in each case felt that African languages should be equally used to French and English on the government radios and community / FM radios. The rural samples showed definite preference for the indigenous languages.

Table 24, Question 25, provided a detailed breakdown of the reasons offered by respondents to justify their wish for increased African language usage on state-run radios. For the urban / peri-urban sample 63% (Ghana), 52% (Mali) and 68% (Senegal) think that state radios and Community/FM radios should equally use African languages and European languages

It was interesting to note that 37% (Ghana), 27% (Mali) and 26% (Senegal) of the urban samples think that state radios and Community/FM radios should not equally use African Languages in comparison to European languages. The preference was for African languages (See Table 25, Question 25). For the rural sample, the most prominent answer in the case of the Ghanaian sample was that, “The government radio is for the whole nation therefore its magnitude of work cannot be compared with the community / FM radio, hence they cannot use African languages equally”. The diversity of the Ghanaian responses for the rural sample were as follows:

- Because there are other tribes too in this community
- Those educated should listen to English and those not, should listen to Ewe
- Some programmes need to be broadcasted in English
- Limitations of community / FM radios cannot enable them to face the challenges of the government radios

In the rural Malian sample, the range of responses were as follows:

- Not everything can be said on TV
- What is state-owned belongs to all of us
- More national languages should be used by FM/Community radio stations
- FM/Community radio stations are privately owned

It was interesting to find out whether respondents thought African languages provide scope for growth and development to meet the challenges of the future.

Capacity of African Languages

A good majority of respondents in all three countries are confident that African languages can carry all ideas and information (Question 26, Table 26). This is a healthy sign. However, those who have the opposite view are not insignificant. There are obviously many Africans in the three countries who think their languages are inadequate for the modern world. A wide variety to

reasons were offered by respondents to explain why they thought African languages cannot carry discussion of all topics (See Question 27, Table 27). Interestingly the rural samples showed a high level of confidence in their response that “African languages can be used to discuss all possible subjects”. In each instance (Ghana and Mali) about two-thirds of the rural sample responded in the affirmative (Question 26, Table 26). The reasons given by the rural samples to explain why those few amongst them who thought African languages cannot be used to discuss every topic (Question 27, Table 27) were as follows for the two countries:

- Because there are sometimes visitors in this town
- For instance in a classroom situation, certain concepts cannot be explained well by using the African languages, e.g. a word like ‘snow’
- It is not possible because some concept of words are very difficult to explain
- Certain things cannot be said on radio
- Certain topics are sensitive
- There are many journalists

Significantly, only 38% (Ghana), 14% (Mali) and 23% (Senegal) think that African languages cannot be used to discuss every topic. Two types of reasons can be identified in the above lists. The first set of reasons, refer variously to technical inadequacies in African languages (like vocabulary, terminology etc). The second set of reasons, refer to perceived cultural constraints or the fear that the use of African languages will promote social divisions.

Respondents appeared to have clear ideas as to the promotion and development of African languages (See Question 27, Table 28). The implication of this is that respondents are of the view that if the correct measures are taken, African languages can be developed and more widely used. For the rural samples some of the responses emphasized the fact that radio hosts should work in the African languages; frequent use of African languages on the radio and prominently with the Ghanaian rural sample, the role of government was emphasized. In the Malian rural sample the training of mother-tongue journalists; the provision of more airtime to national language programmes; the teaching of African languages at schools and the general societal recognition of African languages were emphasized.

Youth and African Languages

Interestingly, respondents appeared to be equally split between those who think that the youth like to listen to programmes in African languages and those who have the contrary opinion (Question 28, Table 29). The Ghanaian urban/peri-urban youth was the most negative in this respect followed by the Senegalese urban/peri urban sample. The rural samples felt strongly that the youth like listening to programmes in African languages. In response to this question over three-quarters of the rural samples in both Ghana and Mali responded in the affirmative.

Respondents were also asked why the youth do not like to listen to African language programmes. A wide diversity of reasons were given in response (See Question 28, Table 30). For the rural samples a wider variety of reasons was given by respondents in the Ghanaian sample in response to this question.

It was interesting to find out how in the views of respondents, African language programmes could be best packaged for the youth. The preponderant view was that programmes should specifically target the youth and their interests (See Question 30, Table 31). For the rural samples, again here an impressive list of suggestions were provided (See Question 30, Table 31).

Impact of Community/FM Radio

The study pointedly asked respondents whether in their opinions Community/FM Radios were having an impact. For the urban/peri-urban samples, 89 percent of Ghanaian, 73 Malians, and 78 Senegalese answered in the affirmative (See Question 29, Table 32). Without doubt most of the respondents were clearly of the view that African language broadcasts on Community and FM Radios are having an important impact on the various countries. In all instances more than three-quarters of the respondents were of the view that FM Radios are registering impact on social affairs in their respective countries. The long term implications of this is difficult to estimate but, by and large, the impression one gets is that there is a very positive response by the overwhelming majorities in the three countries to the emergence and proliferation of FM /Community Radios. In the rural samples, the response level was highly significant. 29 out of 30 respondents in the Ghanaian sample answered, “Yes, very much”. In the Malian rural sample, again, 21 out of 22 respondents answered, “Yes, very much”. In both instances, the lone exceptions also answered, “Yes, to some extent”. Clearly in the thinking of the rural folk probably more than amongst the urban, the impression that the FM/Community radios using African languages are making an impact is very strong.

But in response to the issue of what sort of impact this is, we got a very mixed bag of responses (See Question 29, Table 33). Some of the strongest of these responses in the urban samples were the following.

- More people including the illiterate can access information as well as contribute to programmes unlike the situation before the emergence of community radios
- The youth and other people are more informed about local traditions and customs
- Certain programmes have great impact (at societal level, work place etc.)
- Lots has changed since establishment of Community/FM radio stations
- Radio plays crucial role of educating illiterate people
- Broadcasts in these languages make information on every issue from anywhere broadly accessible; links village to news
- African languages best medium to get message across

For the rural samples, in addition to the above, other feelings which were articulated were the following:

- Negative behaviour of youth and young are now minimal
- There is a need to talk about poverty
- Listeners can contribute by calling in the programme, talking about social issues
- Talk of women's issues

In sum, there was a great variety of assessments about the impact of community radios. The overall assessment of respondents was positive although the general impression is that there is considerable room for improvement of the programmes and how they are presented.

Concluding Observations

In this section of this text, we are bringing together the salient features of the findings that were made through the administration of the questionnaires, some literature study, and the depth interviews that were conducted. While some diversity of impact can be said to obtain in the different countries, by and large the differences are not of major significance.

From interviews conducted, it appears that in Mali, more than in Ghana and Senegal, people appear to prefer to speak in their own languages. The strength of multi-lingualism in Mali is great and the tendency and enthusiasm about the use of African languages is significant. In this respect, Bambara in particular enjoys specific mention.(1) As one UN staff member in Bamako noted, “FM stations are very popular. Everywhere you go you find people listening to their radios in their own languages. Stations are dotted all over the country. There are even translations on radio from one language to the other.”(2) Noticeably, in Mali there is a fair balance in the use of airtime between the different languages. Again, more than in Ghana and Senegal, the elites in Mali seem to use African languages wherever and whenever they can. This is of course backed-up by a tradition of literacy based on the Arabic script (*Ajami*). This latter is also true for Senegal.

As one informant pointed out, “FM radio is the radio of development. The population has started to understand issues of citizenship, the fight against poverty, the need to go to school, the sense in adopting good and effective cultural practices and the importance of peace to social development.”(3) Another observer in Mali, a Malian with a Ghanaian background and experience, pointed out that one notices that popular musicians generally sing in African languages more frequently than is the case in Ghana. The lyrics of musicians are well understood and indeed because most of the principal languages are also regional languages, the market for music tends also to be regional. Thus, music in Bambara or Peul would, in each instance, be understood throughout, practically, the whole of the West African region. Political messages emphasizing pan-Africanism are able to reach people in the whole region if such messages are carried in the major African languages of the region.

In the course of the study it was pointed out that, for example, the former President of Nigeria, General Buhari was able to organize a major workshop on the preservation of Peul-Fulani culture with participants from the whole region (Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Burkina, Sierra Leone, Niger, Nigeria, Chad and the Cameroon).(4) The general implication of all of this is that the use of community radios will strengthen the regional languages, and our ability to reach the masses will be more effective. But this requires that greater and more systematic investment is made in this direction.

In Mali since 1991, the expansion of community radios has increased at a brisk pace. The first one, which went on air was Radio Bamakan which is an associative radio. The first one to obtain a licence to broadcast was Radio Liberty whose founder, Samory Toure, is regarded as a public figure of considerable importance because of the initiative he took to create the first commercial radio in the country.(5) Amadou Maiga, one of the leading journalists of Mali notes that FM radios play leading roles in education, the broadcast of popular music, political discussions, interactive debates, investigative journalism; and all of this done in languages which everybody understands.(6) It would appear that in general there is no problem in obtaining a broadcasting licence in Mali, for as long as you have the money. FM radios are dispersed throughout the country and located in Bamako, Segou, Mopti, Sikasso, Kayes, Timbuctoo, Gao, San and Kidal.

In Ghana and Senegal, on a daily basis community radio programmes are advertised in the newspaper.(7) In all three countries that were surveyed, clearly interactive programmes where listeners are able to call-in are particularly popular. Quiz programmes are also much in favour.

Fortunately because FM programmes in all the countries hold no brief for the respective governments, they are seen by the populace to be usefully independent. Some radios have a religious confessional base but this is seen to be part of the right to freedom of religion and expression. In Mali there are currently 3 Christian stations and 4 Muslim stations. One of the informants expressed the view that indisputably FM radio broadcasts are reinforcing the cultural attachment and cultural appreciation of the people. It is even arguable that the use of African languages on such an increasing scale in the region is facilitating unity.(8)

The issue of cultural reinforcement was also strongly confirmed in Senegal. In the view of Thiam Ndiassé an important impact of FM radios in Senegal has been in the area of health education and the campaign against HIV/AIDS in particular. The education factor in the work of FM radios must not be underestimated.(9) Again political debates appear to be especially popular amongst the various programmes that are put out by FM radios.(10)

Another aspect of the impact of FM stations which must not be underestimated is the facility FM station programmes are providing for the development of lexical items. Dr. Kofi Agyekum who is an academic based in the Dept. of Linguistics, University of Ghana and who is possibly the most consummate broadcaster in Akan on the Ghanaian community/FM radio network has particularly emphasized this and has drawn attention to the fact that through linguistic borrowing, transliteration, and the extension of the semantic fields of some words, plus the outright creation of new terminologies, FM radios are helping towards the growth and development of African languages. Notably impressive in this respect is the expansion of the scientific and technical lexicon of African languages.(11) This is happening because, almost on a daily basis, the need arises for new ideas and realities for which no words exist to be rendered into language which listeners understand. There is very little opposition to this. In fact, in all three countries it appears

that the creativity involved in such lexical expansion is attracting general approval from the listenership. The growth of the lexicals is assisting the scientific modernization of African languages.(12)

In all three countries the deepening of the culture of democracy is a distinct feature of the impact of African language-based FM radios. Everywhere citizens feel freer and able to question, criticize and comment on public policy, politics and other social affairs. When listeners hear their fellow citizens express themselves on all matters affecting their everyday lives without inhibitions, in languages they understand and speak fluently, they are psychologically strengthened and emboldened to join in.

These stations are also helping to push up the aesthetic qualities of African languages. Listeners admire and appreciate elegance in language use. In all three countries the use of proverbs, folktales and folksongs are enhancing the status of oral literature in the countries. In Ghana and Senegal it was also confirmed that the FM stations are increasingly playing important roles in health and agricultural education.

The civic conscience of citizens throughout the region is growing. More and more people are participating in public discussions, and because the radio stations broadcasting in African languages do not discriminate against illiterates (because illiteracy is irrelevant in this respect), the grassroots of society in the region are feeling culturally empowered to involve themselves in national discussions.

It is reported that the West African Examinations Council is getting more candidates for African language studies. In Ghana, the Ghana School of Journalism has for the first time (2004) started courses in Akan. Throughout the region people feel more confident and freer to speak in their own languages. On public fora people are increasingly demanding to be allowed to speak in African languages. Indeed, in Ghana that issue has been raised to the level of the use of African languages in parliament.(13) The expansion of the reality of the use of African languages on radio can be used to push policy-makers towards the use of African languages in education. One observer remarked that since the use of African languages on FM radios seriously emerged over the past decade and a half, because of news broadcast and discussions, illiterates who were in the past cut-off from any knowledge of what is going on round the world are beginning to follow events around the globe. An example was given of how an illiterate house-helper has acquired enough information to discuss the American invasion of Iraq and the Tsunami disaster in Asia.

Other beneficiaries to the emergence of FM radios have been various church groups, particularly the charismatic churches in West Africa. Most of the time the charismatic churches use African languages and are able to proselytize to the *hoi polloi* to great advantage. In comparison to the

orthodox churches these pentecostal churches are doing much better at winning “souls” through the use of community radios.

Nii Kwate Owoo pointed out that in Ghana politicians are beginning to become restive about community radio broadcasts. Initially, the emergence of FM radios was whole-heartedly welcomed by politicians. But with time, the critical analysis and comments about corrupt officials and government ineptitude has sometimes triggered outcries from government, some opposition and related circles. Some politicians have been asking that the Ghana Media Commission should stop interactive discussion programmes. Fortunately they have not had much success. There is resistance from the grassroots against any attempt to roll back the democratic gains of recent years.⁽¹⁴⁾ What needs to be said is that some interactive discussions “go overboard” with parties drifting sometimes into muckracking and trading insults. Thus the new-found voice of civil society is sometimes vulgarized.

An important spin-off which has come with the proliferation of community radios is the expansion of the small-transistor radio market. Together with the growth in the cellphone market (cellphones are necessary for participation in interactive radio programmes), the transistor radio market have become boom sectors in the economies of respective countries in the region.

Notes

1. Interview N.A., Bamako, 6-11-2004.
2. Ibid
3. Interview A.M., Bamako, 7-11-2004
4. Interview S.D., Bamako, 6-11-2004.
5. Interview A.M., op cit
6. Ibid.
- 7 *Quotidien*, Senegal and *The Ghanaian Times*, Ghana.
- 8 Interview A.S., Cape Town, 8-12-2004
- 9 Interview, T.N., Dakar, 03-11-2004
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Interview, K.A., Legon, 01-11-2004.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Interview, N.K.O, Accra, 01-11-2004.
- 14 Ibid.

Appendices

Questionnaire 1

1. Name:
2. Sex:
Male [] Female []
3. Age:
15 – 20 []
21 – 30 []
31 – 40 []
41 – 50 []
51 – 60 []
61 – 70 []
above 70 []
4. Education Level
None []
Primary []
Secondary []
Tertiary []
5. Which languages do you speak?
.....
.....
.....
.....
6. Occupation:
7. How often do you listen to the radio?
Never []
About 1 hour per day []
About 2 hours per day []
About 3 hours per day []
More than 3 hours per day []
8. Do you watch television?
Yes [] No []
9. If 'Yes', do you prefer television to the radio?

Yes [] No []

10. If 'Yes', why?
.....
.....

If 'No', why not?
.....
.....

11. Do you listen to Community/FM Radio Stations?

Yes [] No []

12. What programmes do you listen to on the radio?

- a)
- b)
- c)
- d)
- e)
- f)

13. Are any of these in African languages?

Yes [] No []

14. If 'Yes', which Name of Programme	Language/s
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Which of these programmes do you like best?

.....

16. Are you happy with the presentation of these programmes?

- No []
- Yes, a bit []
- Yes, a lot []

17. If 'No', why are you not happy with the presentation?

.....

.....

.....

.....

18. Which programme is best presented?

.....

19. Which programme is worst presented?

.....

20. Which other programmes would you like to hear on radio?

- a)
- b)
- c)
- d)
- e)

21. Is the government, in your estimation, doing enough to feature African languages on the radio?

- Yes [] No []

22. If 'No', why do you think the government is not doing enough for African language programmes on the radio?

.....

.....

.....

23. How would you like to see influence used to extend the use of African languages for Community/FM Radio?

.....

.....

24. Do you think both the government radios and the Community/FM radios should use African languages equally as French/English?
Yes [] No []

25. If 'Yes', why?

If 'No', why not?

26. Do you think African languages can be used to discuss all possible subjects?
Yes [] No []

27. If 'No', why?

.....

If 'Yes', how can the use of African languages on the radio be better improved?
.....

.....

.....

28. Do you think young people like to listen to programmes in African languages? (tick one answer)

Yes, very much []

Yes, a little []

No, not very much []

No, not at all []

Explain why this is the case.

.....

.....

.....

30. How can Community radios using African languages be made to attract more youthful audience?

.....

.....

.....

29. Do you think African languages programmes on Community/FM radios are having any impact?

(tick one answer)

Yes, very much []

Yes, a little []

No, not very much []

No, not at all []

Explain why this is the case.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Questionnaire 2
Depth Interview Schedule

The following are issues to be probed through recorded depth interviews of staff and management of Community Radios. The interviews will be recorded. Additional issues will be added depending on the preliminary findings of Questionnaire 1.

1. Ownership profiles of Community radios.
2. Finance of Community radios.
3. Adverts on Community radios.
4. Programme construction and development.
5. Issues of political affiliation.
6. Language choice
7. Language policy (background, philosophy and rationale)
8. Review of history of radio station.
9. Problems of African language usage.
10. Advantages of African language usage.
11. Expectations from audience.
12. Attitudes of governmental authorities.
13. Attitudes of religious bodies to African language broadcasts.
14. Audience preferences
15. Scope of improvement in the work of Community/FM radios
16. Politics of Community radios
17. Maintenance of radio equipment

Results of Urban / Peri-Urban Samples (Ghana, Mali and Senegal)

Table 1: Gender (Percentages)

Gender	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Male	56	79	74
Female	44	21	26

Table 2: Age (Percentages)

Age	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
15-20	10	18	9
21-30	44	51	26
31-40	35	20	15
41-50	8	9	31
51-60	3	2	14
61-70	0	0	5
over 70	0	0	0

Table 3: Education level of respondents (Percentages)

Education	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
None	8	4	8.75
Primary school	4	7	18.75
Secondary	25	32	33.75
Tertiary	63	57	38.75

Table 4: Which languages do you speak?

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Fante	5	Arabic	3	Arabic	2
Akan	1	Bamanan/Bamana	4	Bainouck	2
English	30	Bamanakan	3	Bambara	2
Twi	30	Bambamana	1	Bassari	1
French	3	Bambara	20	Creole	7
Ga	14	Bozo	1	Diola /Joola	8
Krobo	1	Dogon	2	English	8
Ewe	1	English	8	French	10
Arabic	1	French	26	German	2
Yoruba	1	Hausa	2	Malinke	1
Dagbani	2	Khassoké	1	Mancagne	4
Efutu	1	Lingala	1	Mandingue	4
Hausa	2	Malinke	1	Manjaques	3
Gonja	1	Mandinka	1	Nankañ/Mankañ	2
Vagla	1	Onake/Nake	1	Peule	3
Safala	1	Peule	5	Poular	4
Waale	1	Russian	1	Portuguese	2
Akan	1	Sarakolé	1	Sarakolé	1
Asante	1	Sénoufo	2	Selève	3
Kusasi	1	Songhay/Sonraï	6	Sérere/Serer	3
Guan	1	Sosso/Soso	2	Socé/Sooce/Sossé	4
		Soninke	1	Soninke	2
		Tamacheck/Gamach	3	Spanish	4

		eck			
		Tamashe	1	Toucouleur	1
		Wolof	1	Wolof	7
		No response	1		

Table 5: Polyglottism (Percentages)

Respondents Speaking...	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
One language	4	5	6
Two	31	29	22
Three	38	34	27
Four and more	27	32	45

Table 6: Occupation (Percentages)

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Journalist	8	Administrator	2	Accountant	1
Teacher	13	Computer Programmer	2	Actor	1
Engineer	2	Consultant	2	Administrator	4
Clearing Agent	2	Co-ordinator	2	Bank Assistant	1
Public Relations	2	Engineer	2	Barmaid	1
NGO Staff	6	Forwarding Agent	2	Bricklayer	1
Health	2	Graduate	4	Cleaner	5
Accounting/banking	4	Journalist/Media Worker	22	Cook	3
Students	19	Laundry worker	4	Councillor	1
Civil Servant	2	Lawyer	2	Driver	1
Music	4	Mechanic	2	Hairdresser	1
General	2	PR	2	Hawker	1
Marketing/Trade/Hawkers	17	Secretary	2	Housewife	1
Fashion/Hair/Clothes	8	Student/Scholar	32	HR	1
Driving	2	Teacher	9	Lab Assistant	1
Management	4	Trader	4	Landscaping	1
Mechanic	2	Unemployed	2	Librarian	3
		No response	4	Forwarding Agent	1
				Management	1
				Messenger	1
				Nurse	1
				Operator	1
				Orderly	1
				Painter	1
				Pensioner	4
				Plumber	1
				Punch-card Operator	1
				Researcher	1
				Sailor	1
				Saleswoman	3
				Salt Trader	1
				Secretary	1
				Security Guard	3

				Shipping Agent	1
				Shopkeeper	6
				Student/Scholar	22
				Tailor	1
				Teacher/Lecturer	9
				Teleprinter	1
				Unemployed/None	4
				Welder	1

Table 7: How often do you listen to the radio? (Percentages)

Listening period	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
About 1 hour	13	20	24
About 2 hours	17	21	21
About 3 hours	13	16	15
More than 3 hours	53	43	37
Never	4	0	3

Table 8: Do you watch television? (Percentages)

Medium	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes	92	86	95
No	8	8	4
No Response		6	1

Table 9: Electronic media preferences (Percentages)

Preference	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
TV over Radio	52	46	38
Radio over TV	46	36	51
No Response	2	18	10

Table 10: Individual reasons for electronic media preferences (Percentages)

Ghana	
Radio is both affordable and portable, it transcends home spaces and can be listened to anywhere; even while working	21
More programmes on radio than on TV	10
Visual side of TV makes it more entertaining and allows you to validate information	58
Ghana Television is boring/uninspired	5
Watching TV makes you feel sleepy	4
No comments	2

Mali	
Radio provides flexibility – you can do something else at the same time	2
Can be taken everywhere	8
Don't like programmes on TV	2
Free access also to international stations via radio	2
Listen to music on the radio	2
More news/frequent news on radio	5
Movies on TV	3
News & cultural programmes on radio closer to our realities	1

Only watch news & sports (soccer) on TV	3
Own radio but share TV with neighbours	1
Prefer audio visual nature of TV	30
Prefer radio for its ready availability	1
Radio deals with other topics than TV	1
Radio is more accessible	3
Radio is more immediate	3
TV distorts our culture	1
TV does not broadcast in our languages	1
TV more practical	1
TV more real	1
TV more time-consuming	3
TV offers animated news	3
TV offers easier access	1
TV offers better news	5
TV offers greater choice & diversity of programmes (i.e. movies, documentaries, etc.)	4
TV too short-lived	1
Two media complement each other	6
No response	6

Senegal	
Radio accessibility is an advantage	8
Alternative to one state-run TV channel	5
Radio provides flexibility – you can do something else at the same time	6
Can be taken everywhere	8
Better than TV	21
News better than on TV	12
More interesting & diverse than TV	6
More relevant & cutting edge	6
No TV	2
TV does not reflect own reality	5
No problems with reception with radio	2
Message clearer	2
TV wastes time	6
TV causes headache	2
Listening to radio feels better	2
Music better on radio	2
Radio good to further children's education	2
Radio makes it possible to take part in debates (call in)	3

Table 11: Do you listen to community/FM radio stations? (Percentages)

Audience Community/ FM Radios	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes	92	88	88
No	6	5	8
No response	2	7	4

Table 12: If yes, what programmes do you listen to on the radio? (Percentages thematically classified)

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
News	10	All Programmes	1	All Programmes	1
Politics	12	Arts & Culture	14	Arts & Culture	7
Health	6	Business & Economics	2	Debates/Talk Shows	11
Education	6	Debates	6	Education	3
Entertainment	19	Education	6	Entertainment	4
Youth	3	Entertainment	10	Game Shows	1
Music	12	Game Show	2	Health	1
Talk shows/phone-ins	6	Health	2	History & Folklore	2
Social	8	Journals/News	14	Interviews	1
Sports	3	Music	11	Journals/News	12
Religion	3	News	6	Music	17
Business	1	Press Review	2	News	16
Marriage	1	Religion	1	Press Review	1
Media reviews	10	Reports	2	Religion	10
		Awareness Campaign	3	Reports	1
		Social	2	Sports	11
		Sports	13		
		Women	2		

Table 13: What programmes do you listen to on the radio? (Programmes listed by title)

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Interviews with Musicians	1	5 sur 5 on <i>Chaîne II</i>	1	Allo Docteur	4
Newspaper Review	6	Ambiance Midi	1	Émission catholique RSI, Sunday 8-9h	3
Lunchtime Rhythms	4	Avis et communiqués	1	Émission Mancagne Dunda, Monday 19h-20h	4
News	8	Chronique politique	2	Journal parlé en Francaise	25
Health programmes	4	Code de Jour on <i>Chaîne II</i>	1	Journal parlé en Wolof	45
Social programmes	8	Coeur ouvert	2	L'émission de la défunte Eva de RFM	1
Cosmopolitan Mix	1	Coin des poètes	2	Nuit des fans	1
Mma Nkomo	1	Couleur FM on <i>Chaîne II</i>	1	Musicale	7
Morning Shows	4	Djekasport de Djefako	3	Raportage	4
Gospel Programme	1	Émission de MC on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	1	Sport	5
Musical Shows	5	Émissions de Marco	1	Debates	1
Political Programmes	8	Émission de MTK	1		
Campus Exclusive	1	Émission des chasseurs	2		
Ghana Decides	1	Émission religieuse	1		
Nation-Building	1	Émission Sonraï on	1		

		<i>FR3</i>			
Phone-in programmes	2	Émission sur la santé des femmes et des enfants (Children's Health)	1		
Youth programmes	1	Émission Yeleen <i>Radio Liberté</i>	2		
Talk Shows	4	Fanson Kounafoni	1		
Interviews	1	Fasso Bambe	1		
Breakfast Show	1	Faso Kounkan	1		
Entertainment	1	Féminin pluriel	2		
Adekye abea	1	Fima et Djema on <i>Chaîne II</i>	6		
Mid-morning Affair	1	Fréquence Jeunes on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	2		
Lunchtime Flavours	1	Fréquence Sentimentale on <i>Chaîne II</i>	6		
Youth in Action	1	Gabiouwda	1		
Kwame's Diary	1	Gouakounda <i>Chaîne II</i>	1		
Youth Quick	1	Grand Journal	1		
Drive Time	1	Horoscope	1		
Count-down	1	Jeu d'invisibilité	2		
Alhaji & Alhaji	4	Journal parlé	3		
Sunset Drive	1	Journal parlé on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	4		
Kokrokoo	2	Journal parlé (French)	2		
Konkosa	1	Journaux in Bambara	5		
Business	1	Journal du samedi on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	1		
Sports	3	Julo Damu	1		
Religion	2	Kounafori	2		
Cross Fire	1	L'Émission Baroni on <i>Radio Liberté</i> hosted by Joli & Mande Mansa	3		
News File	2	Les contes	1		
Marriage Issues	1	Les Jeux Concours on <i>Chaîne II</i>	1		
Debates	1	London Ganda <i>Radio Liberté</i>	4		
Efie kwanso	1	L'histoire du prophète	1		
Efie sem	1	Khasso Buda/Les contes de Guitan	2		
Educational Programmes	1	Kibaru Duman on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	2		
Asemsebe	1	Mande Massa on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	2		
Musical Interlude	1	Multitop on <i>Chaîne II</i>	1		
Talking Point	1	Musique rétro Bamakan	1		
Local News	1	Mystères de la nuit	1		

		<i>Chaîne II</i>		
Documentary on AIDS	1	Paix et Sécurité on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	2	
Campus filla	1	Plume d'or	2	
Campus News	1	Promotion livre in French on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	1	
Student programme	1	<i>Radio Islamique</i>	1	
Wo ho te sen	1	Si Sohleymane by à Bamankan/Si Souleymane Say	2	
Newspaper discussions	2	Soumou on <i>Patriote</i>	2	
Wuba adaa ama	1	Tendresse	2	
Folktales	1	Timour et Dinou on <i>Chaîne II</i>	1	
No response	1	Voix du coeur	1	

Table 14: Are any of these in African languages? (Percentages)

Response	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes	81	83	83
No	15	7	16
No response	4	10	1

Table 15: Programmes broadcast in African languages which are listened to on Community Radios (Percentages)

Ghana			Mali			Senegal		
Newspaper review	Twi	7	Ani Sogoma	Bambara	1	A la carte	Wolof	1
Asomdwe Nkomo	Twi	4	Ani Sogoma	Sonrhäi	1	Bulletin du Wolof	Wolof	1
Mamafos Nkomo	Twi	3	Avis et communiqués	French	1	Caddu Cossan	Wolof	1
Kokrokoo	English & Twi	10	Avis et communiqués	Sourhäi	1	Communiqué et avis de décès	Soninke	1
Woho te sen	Twi	7	Barconi	Bambara	1	Confidence	Wolof	1
Kenkan me	Twi	1	Barokâ/Barokan	Bambara	3	Conversations religieuses	Diola & Wolof	1
Mma Nkomo	Twi	1	Ce n'est pas notre langue	Bambara	3	Coumou Teki	Wolof	1
News	Twi	4	Culture	French	1	Débats	Wolof	1
Gospel Programme	Twi	1	Culture	Peulh	1	Débats	Pulaar	1
Front Page	English	3	Djikasport	Bambara	3	Débat politique	Wolof & French	1
Breakfast Show	Twi	1	Émission Guinéenne	Bambara & Sosso	3	Débat sur la situation au Sénégal (21h) on <i>Walf</i> RFM	Wolof	1

Talkshows	Twi	1	Émission N'Ko	Bambara	1	Dédicace musicale	Wolof	1
Breakfast Show	English	1	Émission religieuse	Bambara/Sonrhai	3	Demb	Mandingue	1
Kanawu	English, Twi & other	1	Émission Sénégalaise	French & Wolof	1	Dialkati Xibar/Dialkati Xibaar on <i>Walf RFM</i>	Wolof	3
Newspaper review	Ga	1	Émission sportive	Bamanan	1	Diine ak Diamano	Wolof	6
Adeakye Abea	Twi	1	Expression culturelle	Bambara	1	Diolo	Diola	1
Super Morning Show	English	1	Faoyiken	Songhoy	1	Émission de Gaston Coly (19h00-19h30)	Diola	1
Newsfile	English	1	Faso kunka	Bamanankan	1	Émission religieuse	Wolof	1
Adwaso Nsem	Twi	1	Ferekene	Bambara	1	Émission manjacque	Uñjaku	1
Sport	English	1	Fima et Jema/Fémou et Jena	Bambara	10	Émission politique	Wolof	1
Sound & Spirit	English & Twi	1	Fréquence sentimentale	French	1	Furim ajoola	Joola	1
Abaksem Mukilinkiti	Twi	1	Guabinounda (sp.)	Bamana	1	News	Wolof	2
For your health	Twi	1	Gonaconda (sp.)	Bambara	1	News	Pular	1
Kwame's Diary	Twi	1	Gouakounda on <i>Chaîne II</i>	Bamanankan	1	Inspecteur Diokhané	Wolof	1
Asore ye	Twi	1	Health	Bamanan	1	Jalgatixibaar	Wolof	4
Kenkan Me	Twi	1	Horoscope	French	1	Jour du Seigneur	Wolof	2
Efie kwanso	Twi	4	Jansakoroni	Bambara	1	Journal (parlé)	Diola	4
Discussion	Twi	1	Jekabaw	Bambara	1	Journal	Wolof	8
Debates	Ga	1	Journal	Bambara	4	Journal	Pulaar	1
Efie kwanso	Twi	1	Journal	French	3	Journal	any Senegalese language	1
Efie sem	Twi	1	Journal des journeaux	Bamanan	1	Kibaaro	Mandingue	1
Midday News	Twi	1	Journaux sportifs	Bambara	1	La Kora		1
Asemsebe	Twi	1	Kafo Balan		3	Lambaj		1
Countdown	Twi	1	Khasso Buola	Khassoké	1	Lettres musulmanes	Bainounck	1
Newspaper review	Twi	1	Kounofo ni (Djefako)	Bamara	1	Lu xew tey on <i>Sud FM</i>	Wolof	1
Morning Show	Twi	1	La Balade du noctambule	French	1	Magazine Mandingue	Mandingue	1
Folktales	Gonja; Dagbani	1	Laohliken (sp.)	Bambara	1	Magazine Wolof	Wolof	1
Woba ada amaa	Twi	1	La Tourbinosse	French	1	Mamelle	Wolof	1

Political Issues	Gonja; Dagbani; English	1	Les chasseurs	Bambara	1	Musique traditionnelle	Wolof	1
Asenta	Ga	1	Londo Ganda	Sonrhäi/Son ghoi	10	Ndeflena	Mankän	1
Konkasa	Twi	1	Magazine d'éducation	Bambara	1	Ndefleng	Serer	1
Education	Gonja; Dagbani; English	1	Mande Massa	Bamana	3	Njom	Serere	1
Asetena mu nsem	Twi	1	Mandé Masa	Bambara	1	Oulof	Wolof	1
Agoro	Twi	1	Maya Gundo on <i>Chaîne II</i>	Malinké	1	Pirim manjaku	Uñjaku (Manjacque s)	1
No response		22	Musique chasseurs	Bamanakan	1	Promenade en Pays Sérère	Sérère	1
			Musique Maliennne	Bambara	1	Religion	Wolof	1
			News	Sonrhäi	1	Le Sport	Wolof & Diola	1
			Ote aw k'kanyé/ni të anhou ka kanyé	Bambara	4	Sport		1
			Revue de la presse	Bambara	3	Thiassan	Sérér	1
			Sumu	Bambara	1	Thioissanou Sénégal	Wolof	1
			Sport	Bamanan	1	Tonton Bataxal	Wolof	1
			Tendresse	Tamacheck	1	Wax ça xalat/wekh sa khalat/Wan sa xalat	Wolof	10
			No response		6	Wou challe	Mancagne	1
						Xal Mbolo Gano (sp.)	Wolof	1
						Xam xamle	Wolof	1
						Xam xamu demba	Wolof	1
						Xew xemu deb/Khew demb	Wolof	2
						Xew Xew	Wolof	1
						Xam sa diné	Wolof & French	2
						Xibaar	Wolof	6
						Xibaar	Serere	2

Table 16: Programmes broadcast in African languages listened to (Classified thematically) (Percentages)

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Discussions & Debates	3	Arts & Culture	6	Debates	9

Children's Programmes	8	Debates/Current Affairs	3	Journals / Music / New	42
Health & Sanitation	6	Education	3	Religion	12
Business	3	Entertainment	3	Sports	4
Agriculture	5	Health	3	'Xibaars'	33
Culture	5	Journals / Music / News	59		
Education	15	Press Reviews	6		
Religion	5	Religion	6		
Development Issues	5	Sports	11		
Sports	5				
Music	3				
Documentaries	3				
Social Programmes	5				
Politics	3				
Quiz & Games Shows	5				
Gender	3				
News	18				

Table 17: Language preferences/No specific programmes (Percentages)

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Akan	59	Arabic	23	Bambara	2
Ewe	15	Bamanankan	11	Créole	2
Gonja	7	Bambara	11	Diola	10
Dagbani	11	Barafôli	11	French	12
Ga	7	Peul	11	Mancagne	2
Krobo	1	Sarakolé	11	Mandigne	7
		Sonraï	11	Poular	16
		Wolof	11	Serer	12
				Sooce/Sossé	7
				Soninké	2
				Wolof	28

Table 18: Which of these programmes do you like best?(as indicated in Table 15) (Percentages)

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Newspaper review	10	Avis et communiqués	2	Arc-en-ciel	4
Kokrokoo	8	Djeka Sport (Djikafou)	4	Confidence	1
Asondwe Nkomo	2	Emission religieuse	2	Conversations religieuses	1
Newsfile (Joy FM)	4	Emission sport	2	Débat sur la situation au Sénégal	1
Social programmes	4	Fémou et Njema/Fima et Djéma	6	Diné et Diamano	
Musical show	4	Fréquence sentimentale	2	Discussions en Diola	5
Youth Quick	2	Goubionda	2	Emission manjacque	1
Campus explosive	4	Informations et civique	2	Journal et Débat	1
Woba ada anaa	2	Janba Roroni	2	Journal parlé	1
Campus filla	2	Journal	2	Khew xewu demb	4

Campus News	2	Journal parlé in Bambara	2	Le Journal	1
Business	2	Khasso Buola (Guintan)	2	Le journal en Ouolof	4
Sunset Drive	2	Kounafani	4	Les Infos	1
Mid-morning Affair	2	La Tourbinosse phone	2	Lettres Musulmanes	6
Front Page	2	Londou Ganda	10	La Musique	1
Agoro	2	Journal parlé	2	La parole aux auditeurs	1
Political Issues	2	Les contes	2	Le débat thématique	1
News	2	Morning shows	2	Le Sport	1
Morning Show	6	Music	2	Les Fourneaux en Wolof	1
Asem sebe	2	<i>Liberté FM</i>	2	Les reportages (by "Jacky")	1
Lunch time rhythms	4	Mansa Kènè (Baroni)	2	Louron Teki	1
The Breakfast Show	4	News	2	Lu xew tey	1
Eti sem	2	Ote aw ka kan ye	2	Njom	1
Efie kwanso	4	Revue de la presse	2	Programme Culturel	1
Sports	2	Santé	2	Programme presented by Mr. Niasse	1
Political debate	2	Sikida Lakony (Diogoloni)	2	Programme d'histoire	1
Discussion/Talk show	2	Sports	4	Promenade en pays Sérère	1
Asore ye	2	Triangle	2	Thioossane	1
For your health	2	All	2	Wakle sa Xalat	4
Cross Fire	2	No response	28	Wou challe	1
Sound and Spirit	2			Xam sa Dinê	1
No response	10			Xam Xamu Demba	1
				Xawari	1
				Xibaar	6
				Xibaar Serère	1
				All	7
				No preference	1
				No response	31

Table 19: Are you happy with the presentation of these programmes?

Opinion	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
No	6	4	5
Yes, a bit	33	37	42
Yes, a lot	56	52	44
No response	5	7	9

Table 20: Which programme is best presented?

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
All	2	All	2	Arc-en-ciel	4
Newspaper review	12	All the same	2	Dimê ak Cossaan	1

Kenkan me	2	Barokan	23	Diine ak diamano (<i>Walf FM</i>)	1
Lovers lane	2	Baroni	2	Educational programme	1
News	4	Chronique politique	2	L'émission de Sidy Lamine Niasse on fridays	1
The Morning Show	4	Couleur FM <i>Chaîne II</i>	2	l'émission mandingue	1
Nation Building	2	Djikasport/Djikafou	2	Émission ndefley	1
Breakfast Show	8	Education de la société	2	Fourneaux en Wolof	1
Songs of Inspiration	2	Émission sport	2	Health	3
Kokrokoo	4	Fere Kene	2	Inspecteur Diokhané	1
Mid-morning affairs	2	Fima et Djema	4	Jalgati xibaar	1
Lunchtime rhythms	2	Fréquence sentimentale	2	Jour du Seigneur	1
Sunset Drive	2	Goukouda (sp.)	2	Journal in Sérère	1
Front Page	2	Jeux concours on <i>Chaîne II</i>	2	Journal in Wolof	6
Business Programme		Journal parlé	7	Journal parlé Ouolof	1
Sound and Spirit	2	Kafo balan	2	Le 15 (<i>Walf FM</i>)	1
News File	6	Kounafoni	2	Le Journal	10
For your health	2	La qualité du débat	2	Le journal parlé	5
Asore ye	2	Le journal	3	Les Info (News)	4
Efie kwanso	2	Le Journal de Klédu	2	Lettres Musulmanes	3
Alhaji & Alhaji	2	Le journal parlé in Bambara	2	Musique miel (<i>Nostalgie</i>)	1
Sports	2	Londou Ganda	12	Njom	1
Good morning news	2	Magazines	2	Politics	1
Efi sem	2	Mansa Kènè	2	Promenade en pays Sérère	1
Drive Time	2	News	2	Religious programme(s)	1
Asem Sebe	2	Programme in Sarakholé	2	Sports	1
Musical shows	4	Programmes on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	2	Wax sa xalaat	1
Religious programmes	2	Sensibilisation	2	Xal Mbolo Gana	1
Documentary on AIDS	2	Tourbinasse	2	Xam xamu demba	1
Agoro	2	No response	23	Xibaar	6
Campus Drive	2			Xibaar Wolof	1
Campus filla	2			All	3
Woba ada anaa	2			No response	31
Campus explosive	2				
Youth quick	2				
No response	8				

Table 21: Which programme is worst presented?

Ghana		Mali		Senegal	
Mmaa Nkomo	2	All fine	2	Confidence	1
Campus explosive	2	Baroni	2	Débat	1
Phone-in programmes	6	Émission de critique	2	Dialgati xibaar	4
Newspaper review	6	Fiman et Djemou	2	Diine ak Jamano	1

Woba ada anaa	2	Generic programmes	2	Educational programmes	1
Drive Time	2	Jekasport	2	Émission manjacque	1
News	6	La promo du livre	2	Political programmes in Wolof)	1
Music	2	Le journal des journaux in Bambara	2	Furim ajoola	1
Political Issues	8	Les feuillets de la télé	2	Le journal	1
Health Issues	2	Magazines	4	Musical programmes	1
Cosmopolitan Mix	2	Musical programmes	6	Musical shows with dedications	1
Lunchtime Rhythms	2	Press review in Bamana	2	Pirim mañjaku	1
Asenta	2	Romance show	2	Warate Kutia on Walf FM	1
Campus filla	2	Sumu by Dramane Djibo and Awani Sacko	8	Wakh sa xalaat/Wax sa xalat	5
Konkonsa	2	Sports	2	Xibar	1
Alhaji & Alhaji	2	No response	67	All well	12
N/A	4			None	3
No response	48			No response	67

Table 22: Is the Government, in your estimation, doing enough to feature African languages on the radio?

Response	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes	63	55	60
No	35	27	37
No response	2	18	3

Table 23: Do you think both the government radios and the Community/FM radios should use African languages equally as French/English? (Percentages)

Response	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes	63	52	68
No	37	27	26
No Response		21	6

Table 24: Reasons why the 63% (Ghana), 52% (Mali) and 68% (Senegal) above think that state radios and Community/FM radios should equally use African languages and European languages (Percentages)

Ghana	
English literacy level of majority of citizens is low. Most people do not understand English	55
To encourage African languages to get recognition	7
People understand their own languages better	10
Need to preserve African culture	13
No response	15

Mali	
African languages are languages of cultural and social proximity	3
Audiences are different	3
Community radios help to prevent government from monopolizing the airwaves with French programmes	3

Community radios boost African languages	3
They educate the population	3
They provide balance in the use of African languages and all population groups understand some of what is offered	12
For the African people equal treatment is necessary and beneficial	3
High illiteracy rates among Africans makes orality of radios crucial	5
Human development	3
Mali is an African country	3
Not to treat African languages equally implies discrimination	3
Private radio stations should not lag behind	5
Promote African languages	7
Promote African unity	3
State and private radio have the same objectives	8
TV can reach many people	3
No response	30

Senegal	
African languages are mother tongues; more important to the people	6
All Senegalese are equal	13
Audience is African	7
Does not make sense to use French	1
Everybody must be able to understand	9
Focus on Wolof	1
For balance and fairness	10
For the common good	7
For the sake of democracy	1
Guarantee right of access to information	7
High illiteracy rates in Senegal. These African language broadcasts are crucial	1
Large dissemination of information in African languages	10
Broader audiences could be reached	1
Promote all languages equally, avoid situation like in Ivory Coast	12
This is an African country	1
To avoid competition/rivalry (state vs. private) airtime should be balanced	1
To better preserve all cultures	1
To better promote Africanism	1
To guarantee reliable & balanced dissemination of news and awareness	3
No response	7

Table 25: Reasons why the 37% (Ghana), 27% (Mali) and 26% (Senegal) above think that state radios and Community/FM radios should not equally use African Languages in comparison to European languages.(Percentages)

Ghana	
There is no official African language radio	9
FM studios are not publicly owned and should be given their freedom to serve local communities	5
Using foreign languages as well as African ones allows more choice for people	73
Educational programmes should be in English	9
No comments	4

Mali	
Audiences are not the same for state radios and community radios	9
Community/FM radios best medium for reaching Africans	27
Community/FM radios due to proximity must focus more on African languages	15
Community/FM radios have different objectives than state radio	8
African languages make sure message is understood	10
Not all African languages are understood by all	5
No response	26

Senegal	
They don't have same objectives	5
Languages do not have same demographic representation and socio-economic clout	7
More people speak Wolof/ It is understood by half the population	11
Need to open up to others, in other African languages	9
Only private stations concentrate on African languages	6
Non-state radios are independent and must chose their own priorities	1
Promotion of African languages is duty of government; govt must do more	20
Public radio has demands and interests others do not have	5
Government stations should make more use of African languages	6
State radio is national & listened to throughout the country, and should therefore reflect demographic diversity	1
State radio is there for people while community radio is privately owned. Therefore they have different focuses	1
There is one language most widely spoken, Wolof. It should feature more prominently	13
Broadcast time, in different languages on state radio should be demographically representative	10
No response	5

Table 26: Do you think African languages can be used to discuss all possible subjects?

Response	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes	62	59	73
No	38	14	23
No Response		27	4

Table 27: Reasons why the 38% (Ghana), 14% (Mali) and 23% (Senegal) above think that African languages cannot be used to discuss every topic

Ghana	
There is no African vocabulary for some scientific and technical terms	44
African words are ambiguous, one term may have multiple meanings	19
There are cultural barriers; issues of sex are taboo to discuss in public using actual terms	11
Foreigners would be disadvantaged	7
None	19

Mali	
Audiences differ according to language	4
Big debates should be held in official language for all to understand	4
French is well developed	4
For stability & co-operation	4
Programmes differ	4

Not all are fluent in African languages	4
Some issues alien to Malian socio-cultural context	4
Some topics are not to be discussed in African languages (i.e. sexuality)	4
No response	68

Senegal	
Avoid social conflict	4
Certain taboo topics lack explanation in African languages	9
Certain topics cannot be debated/addressed in local languages, notably prostitution, sex, rape	17
Certain topics easier to understand in foreign language	4
Cultures differ	4
Due to too many Senegalese being too religious some topics cannot be discussed in African languages	4
Government advocates promotion of African languages but must do more	4
Lack of common African language	9
Lack of specialists & translations	13
Languages do differ/are spoken differently	4
Need to develop our cultures	4
Vocabulary & concepts need to be extended (i.e. health & medicine)	20
No response	4

Table 28: How the use of African languages can be promoted (Percentages)

Ghana	
Presenters to do professional training in African languages usage	88
Substitute offensive sexual terms with less offensive ones	8
Members of the community who cannot speak English to speak more on radio	4

Mali	
Debates in African languages	7
Government needs to give more support to ensure promotion of African languages	3
Increase public awareness of the significance of African languages	5
Introduce African languages into school curricula	10
Literacy campaigns/education	5
More programmes for youth	3
More programmes in Mali's African languages	5
Promote African languages in all media	5
Organise game shows in Bambara	3
Do more research on African languages	10
Station managers' suggestions, fed by audience input need to be followed through by presenters	3
Subsidize programmes in African languages	7
Train journalists & radio presenters better (in African languages)	15
Use African languages frequently	12
Use participatory methods for audience input	3
No response	4

Senegal	
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Address taboos to facilitate social development	1
Advancement of literacy has taught us everything	1
Codification of languages	2
Discuss all issues to improve these languages	8
Equity	2
Establish radio station specifically for African languages	1
Increase literacy (in African languages)	26
Introduce African languages to (primary school, university) curricula	13
Invite (language) specialists to radio shows	1
More air time & broadcasts	9
More research	5
Need for dialogue/bring together languages and translators	1
Produce interesting programmes, especially for youth	3
Promote African languages & culture	6
Promote all African language press	4
Promote 'Diaspora aux ondes' (Diaspora on air)	1
Train journalists better	6
Translate/come up with technical terms in African languages	2
No response	8

Table 29: Do the youth like to listen to programmes in African languages? (Percentages)

Response	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes, very much	19	32	22
Yes, a little	21	32	28
No, not much	44	11	32
Not at all	16	0	14
No Response		25	4

Table 30: Reason youth do not listen to programmes in African languages (Percentages)

Ghana	
Yes they do because the youths are not yet very educated and would understand African languages better	15
Only a few would like to listen to African languages because they are used to speaking English in schools and African languages have become difficult for them to understand	22
They don't like African language programmes at all because they are influenced by foreign pop culture and prefer English programmes	53
The young have not been encouraged to be proud of their local languages so they don't listen to African language programmes	10

Mali	
African languages have low/inferior image	3
African languages often used by Community/FM radios	3
African language productions more interesting & informative	3
Although youth predominantly listen to programmes in the official language, African languages programmes are gaining young audiences	5
Don't understand	3
Focus on what youth is interested in (i.e. music, sports, international news)	5
Foreign influences	5

Government promotes foreign productions	3
Most have not been to school	3
News in African languages are a means to educate oneself	5
Prefer listening to music	10
Programmes are in national languages & henceforth better understood	20
Programmes in Bamana enjoy great audience	3
Programmes in Bambara, which is widely spoken	3
Proverbs & other idioms now often used by youth	3
Topics not of interest to youth (i.e. agriculture, education, health)	3
Youth aspire for modernity & tries to emulate Europe	5
Youth lack time & freedom	3
Youth prefer music & DVDs	9
Youth prefer music to educating themselves	3

Senegal	
African language programmes address right issues but fail to deal with taboos	1
African language broadcasts are very insightful	5
Don't relate to these languages; listen to broadcasts in English & French	6
Greater interest in European & American affairs	12
High illiteracy rates, especially in rural areas, leads to African languages being sole means to access information	1
Intellectually limiting	3
Lack of such broadcasts	1
Listen to specific programmes (health, sport, news, music (Rap), theatre & movie reviews)	
Majority speaks solely mother tongue, not French	14
Majority speaks Wolof	10
News of poor quality	1
Predominance of Western languages, due also to Internet, younger generation communicates in French	1
Prefer listening to music	3
Programmes do not address issues youth is interested in	10
Rap & Mbalah proof that young people do speak African languages	1
Too removed from own culture, still under colonial influence	3
Women of today prefer TV	3
Time constraints make it difficult for young people to listen to radio (work)	6
Young listeners are interested in more than music-call in and comment in various languages (Wolof, Diola, Toucouleur, French)	3
Young people have inferiority complex; lack of roots and acculturation	6
Youth prefer TV	3
Youth in the city do not speak African languages anymore	5
Youth won't listen to music on the radio	1

Table 31: Views on how African language programmes can be made more attractive to the youth (Percentages)

Ghana	
Programmes to be made more relevant to and of interest to the youth	69
Employing youthful presenters	10
Allowing the youth occasions to present on radio	8

Educating the youth on the importance of African languages	5
No comments	6
Interesting programmes to be aired when the youths are at home after school and work	2

Mali	
Address problems and challenges youth is facing	6
Awareness campaigns	6
Broadcast "Avis des concours et emplois" on radio	2
Educate and train presenters better	3
Game shows and competitions	2
Government support	2
Focus on what the youth is interested in (i.e. music, sport, news, prevention)	6
Focus more on topical issues (health, politics)	4
Hire renowned presenters	2
Hold competitions, give financial incentives to participate in certain debates	2
Make use of participatory methods to include audiences	2
Mobilise and sensitize youth	3
More professional programmes	4
More shows for youth	8
Produce programmes that reflect interests of youth (i.e. music, education, work)	12
Promote literacy	3
Programmes in Bamana	2
Programmes in Bambara	2
Programmes in various African languages	2
Programmes on Hip Hop in African languages	2
Promote African languages	2
Promote African languages at school	2
Promote literacy	3
Proximity of radio stations	2
Radio stations need support	2
Speak African languages well	2
No response	12

Senegal	
Audience must be targeted in order to get their attention	5
Come up with a strategy to make programmes more captivating (insert musical breaks in between with latest hits)	3
Deal with taboos	3
Decentralise	3
Diversify cultural programmes and allocate them slots	4
Focus on what the youth is interested in (i.e. music, sport, news, prevention)	13
Focus more on topical issues (health, politics)	7
Hold competitions, give financial incentives to participate in certain debates	3
Hold debates on topical issues, but not solely in Wolof	1
Image these radio programmes and journalists working in African languages have needs to be boosted by campaign to show they are equal in standard to French and English radio programmes/journalists; more airtime	10
Improve "Journaux parlés" in national languages	1

Increase number of radio stations or have stations that broadcast solely in African languages (i.e. Pikive "Onyjeuins" (sp.)	2
Increase number of programmes for youth/youth is interested in	16
Increase number of leisure & entertainment programmes in African languages	1
Increase number of game shows	1
Involve more young people in the programmes	4
Less musical programmes, more educational ones	1
Make sure programmes can be listened to in each region	1
More debates	1
More traditional music	1
Presenters must be better trained and more representative of youth (i.e. young themselves)	4
Produce shows such as "Taarou Diamano" to raise interest & educate audiences	1
Programmes need to be more reliable; more up to date	2
Organise 'Radio Trottoir' (Pavement Radio) in the 'quartiers' (neighbourhoods)	1
Teach youth how to communicate & write in their mother tongue as part of the school curriculum	2
Use and promote Rap	1
Youth needs to be better informed; educated of the dangers of life	3
Youth needs to be engaged with and sensitized toward African languages	4
No response	1

Table 32: Impact of programmes broadcast in African languages by Community/FM Radios – do they make an Impact? (Percentages)

Response	Ghana	Mali	Senegal
Yes, very much	69	57	65
Yes, to some extent	19	16	23
No, not very much	6	0	6
No, not at all	2	0	1
No response	4	27	5

Table 33: Mixed Feelings on the Impact of Programmes Broadcast in African Languages (Percentages)

Ghana	
More people including the illiterate can access information as well as contribute to programmes unlike the situation before the emergence of community radios	73
More people now informed on politics and current affairs	2
The youth and other people are more informed about local traditions and customs	10
There has been no impact	4
No comments	11

Mali	
African languages best medium to get message across	2
African languages crucial for development	2
African languages have become means of communication	2
African language programmes reflect Mali in its sense of humour, music & news	2
African language programmes give pertinent ideas to youth	2
Allows people from all walks of life to meet at one dial	2

Certain programmes have great impact (at societal level, work place etc.)	4
Change of attitude and behaviour is possible due to fact that message (in African language) is understood	2
Cultural programmes in Bamana should be emulated for other languages	2
Great impact on both men and women	2
Impact great due to high illiteracy rates	4
Impact great due to educational value for youth	4
Impact great in rural areas	2
Importance of being informed and updated in one's own language	2
Listening to "Fima et Djéma" influences approach to life	2
Lots has changed since establishment of Community/FM radio stations	12
Message is better understood in African languages	4
Programmes close to communities	4
Programmes educate society	5
Programmes good for development	2
Programmes good for society given context of cultural globalisation	2
Programmes in African languages are listened to by large audience	2
Programmes make it possible to reconnect with our roots & culture	2
Programmes need to be more professional	2
Programmes only means of communication and distraction	2
Programmes promoting literacy needs to be increased	2
Programmes reflect society and aim to be educational	2
Radio plays crucial role of educating illiterate people	4
Rural folks up to date and connected due to radio programmes in African languages	5
No response	22

Senegal	
Adult population predominantly speaks national languages	1
African languages best medium to get message across	5
Allows people from all walks of life to meet at one level	3
Allows people to be in touch with their origins	1
Because too many people are illiterate/uneducated in French	3
Broadcasts in these languages make information on every issue from anywhere broadly accessible; links village to news	6
Broaden their scope; knowledge about other cultures of Senegal and the rest of the African continent	4
Everybody listens to these programmes	3
Except for the news, all programmes potentially interesting to the youth are in foreign languages	1
Full potential of these programmes needs to be explored	1
Good programmes with regards to content and presentation	1
Great impact on youth-they discuss current news issues on the streets everywhere	1
Great impact as people learn a lot and they learn fast	4
Great impact as it informs people about many issues they would not dare to discuss with a person close to them	3
Impact in Senegal is considerable as in the past, access to information was reserved for a small minority	3
Impact is limited-some people just always will do as they please	1

Impact limited as there is more music than valuable information	1
Impact is limited as accessible only in urban centres	1
Include younger people into debates on African languages	1
Many young people are politically involved and keep up to date	1
Medium/channel used to get message across	1
News are fairly reliable	1
Not everybody speaks French so that people need to listen to programmes in national languages to be up to date	4
The older population follow better programmes in African languages	3
People like to be up to date especially in their own languages	1
People are sensitised and made aware of our realities, they can identify with the format of African language programmes	4
Presenters are too poorly trained, don't know their subjects well	1
Produce shows on youth (sports, music)	1
Programmes lead to change of behaviour and broaden perspectives (health matters, i.e. STDs, AIDS)	5
Provide advice and life skills	3
Promote music in African languages (including Rap)	1
These programmes do make an impact as they educate younger audiences/teach values	4
These programmes do make an impact as the youth is becoming more interested in their own culture	1
French language programmes do make an impact given the fact that not all speak French/European languages; many are illiterate in these languages	6
These programmes do make an impact as youth is satisfied with content	1
These programmes do not make a impact in the direction of social change	1
These programmes do not make an impact as young people hardly listen to them; do not understand these languages	3
These programmes have great impact especially for women who seek to emancipate themselves	3
These programmes are useful to fight crime	1
Topics and programmes must be more carefully chosen by radio management	1
Young people cannot identify themselves with these programmes	1
These radios lead to the promotion of national languages	1
Young people potentially make up 90% of audience but they do not have the time to listen to Community/FM radio	1
No response	12

Results of Rural Samples (Ghana and Mali)

(Mali = 22 respondents; Ghana = 30 respondents)

Table 1: Gender

Gender	Ghana	Mali
Male	14	12
Female	16	10

Table 2: Age

Age	Ghana	Mali
15-20	2	3
21-30	5	8
31-40	4	6
41-50	8	4
51-60	3	0
61-70	3	0
over 70	5	0
No response	0	1

Table 3: Level of Education of Respondents

Education	Ghana	Mali
None	17	15
Primary School	13	4
Secondary	0	3
Tertiary	0	0

Table 4: Which languages do you speak?

Languages	Ghana	Mali
Bambara	0	17
French	0	2
Sonrai	0	3
Peulh	0	5
Tamacheck	0	1
Minianka	0	1
Dogon	0	1
No response	0	3
Ewe	30	0
Twi	9	0
Ga	3	0
English	1	0
Hausa	1	0

Table 5: Polyglottism

Respondents Speaking...	Ghana	Mali
One language	22	12
Two	7	2
Three	1	3
Four and more	0	2

No response	0	3
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Table 6: Occupation

Occupation	Ghana	Mali
Tailor/Seamstress	0	2
Shepherd	0	2
Peasant	0	8
Fitter	0	2
"Tablier" (road worker)	0	1
Farmer	3	3
Hawker	5	1
Fruit seller	3	1
Cooked Food Seller	4	3
Petty Trader	4	0
Hairdresser	2	0
Carpenter	3	0
Builder	2	0
Fisherman	2	0
Watchman	1	0
Unemployed	1	0

Table 7: How often do you listen to the radio?

Listening period	Ghana	Mali
About 1 hour	11	0
About 2 hours	8	0
About 3 hours	3	0
More than 3 hours	3	19
Never	0	2
No response	0	1

Table 8: Do you watch television?

Medium	Ghana	Mali
Yes	7	6
No	23	16
No Response	0	0

Table 9: Electronic media preferences

Preference	Ghana	Mali
TV over Radio	14	3
Radio over TV	16	6
No Response	0	13

Table 10: Individual reasons for electronic media preferences

Reasons for Radio Preferences	Ghana	Mali
Does not own a TV	3	8
Too tired after work	0	1
Can't afford TV	2	1
Does not reflect what we are interested in	1	1
No time	1	4

TV only in French	0	2
TV broadcast mainly in English	2	0
TV does not explain well	0	3
With the radio we are able to listen to issues around us	1	0
You can be listening to the radio and working as well	1	0
Some of the pictures they show on TV are so frightening, they affect my heart	1	0
Because I can carry my small radio wherever I go and listen to every programme	1	0
I am not used to it and I don't like it (TV)	1	0
I can listen to the news at any time I want to (radio)	1	0
My interest is in news and more news is being broadcast on the radio than on TV	1	0
To me, I am more acquainted with radio than TV	1	0
Reasons for TV preferences		
With the television I am both watching and listening. Hence I feel happier watching the television.	2	0
I enjoy watching films on the TV	2	0
To me the television programmes are more educative than that on the radio	1	0
I am able to learn from television programmes such as Nigerian films to lead my life	1	0
I enjoy watching Nigerian films on television	1	0
I like watching concert party	1	0
I like watching television movies a lot	1	0
TV offers visuals	2	3
No response	0	3

Table 11: Do you listen to community/FM radio stations?

Audience Community/ FM Radios	Ghana	Mali
Yes	30	22
No	0	0

Table 12: If yes, what radio programmes do you listen to?

Programmes	Ghana	Mali
All Programmes		7
All programmes in Bambara		1
News in Bambara		1
All programmes in Sarakholé		1
Health	7	7

Awareness Programmes (on drugs)		1
Baroni on <i>Radio Liberté</i>		3
Youth		1
Programmes on children		2
Politics	4	1
Agriculture (On fertilizing)		1
Farmers		2
Education		1
Children's Education		5
Marriage	2	1
Business/Work		2
Fimou et Djema on <i>Chaîne II</i>		1
Civil education in Bambara		1
London Ganda on <i>Radio Liberté</i>		2
La revue des Journalistes		1
News/Journals	17	1
Voter education		1
Religious programmes	11	1
Timour et Dinou on <i>Chaîne II</i>		1
Drama	8	0
General in Ewe	4	0
Community Programmes	1	0
Music / Musical Requests	19	0
(Ewe) Proverbs and their meanings	4	0
Announcements	8	0
Taking care of the home	1	0
Festive Programmes	1	0
Sports	6	0
Developmental Programmes	1	0
Entertainment	2	0
Cultural Programmes	10	0
How to take care of yourself	1	0
Concert Party	1	0
Rural Discussions	2	0
Obituary Announcements	6	0

Table 13: What programmes do you listen to on the radio? (Programmes listed by title)

Title	Ghana	Mali
Baroni on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	0	3
London Ganda on <i>Radio Liberté</i>	0	2
Timour et Dinou on <i>Chaîne II</i>	0	1
Fimou et Djema on <i>Chaîne II</i>	0	1

Table 14: Are any of these in African languages?

Response	Ghana	Mali
Yes	30	19
No	0	0
No response	0	3

Table 15: Programmes broadcast in African languages, which are listened to on Community Radios

Title	Ghana	Ghana	Mali	Mali
Health	Ewe	6	Bambara	2
Doukanta (sic)			Bambara	1
Education			Bambara	2
Book review			French	1
Les Français à l'Etranger			French	1
News	Ewe	13	Bambara	1
Sermons			Bambara	2
Agriculture			Bambara	1
L'émission fulani			Peulh	1
Oui ou non			Bambara	1
Le gul (sic)			Bambara	1
Londo Ganda			Sonraï	8
Dogon Culture			Dogon	1
Fémou et Djéma			Bambara	4
Senti			Bambara	1
Kounoufali (sic)			Bambara	1
Sport	Ewe	4	Bambara	2
Musique Sonraï			Sonraï	1
Baroni			Bambara	8
Drama	Ewe	9		
Church / Religious	Ewe	6		
General Programmes	Ewe	3		
Don't know the name of the Programmes but if it is in Ewe, I listen	Ewe	1		
Politics	Ewe / Twi	7 1		
Music / Musical Requests	Ewe / Twi /	20 1		
Announcements	Ewe	5		
Taking care of the home	Ewe	1		
Festive Programmes	Ewe	1		
Developmental Programmes	Ewe	1		
Proverbs and their meanings	Ewe	2		
Marriage Programmes	Ewe	2		
Obituary Programmes	Ewe	3		

Table 16: Programmes broadcast in African languages listened to (Classified thematically)

Programmes	Ghana	Mali
Education		2
Health		2
News		1
Religious		2
Agriculture		1
Sport		2
Cultural programmes		2

Game/Quiz show		1
Music		1

Table 17: Language preferences/No specific programmes

	Ghana	Ghana	Mali	Mali
All programmes	Ewe	30	Bambara	3
All programmes (sic)	Twi	2	Peulh	2
All programmes	Ga	2	Sonakole	2
			Sonraï	2

Table 18: Which of these programmes do you like best?

Title	Ghana	Mali
All programmes	1	2
Any Programme in Ewe / Bambara	1	2
N'Dega (sic)	0	1
Jeux Oui ou Non	0	1
Baroni	0	1
Fémou et Djémou	0	1
Children's education	0	1
Programmes in national languages	0	1
Health matters	2	1
Family programme	0	1
News	0	1
Programmes in Peulh	0	1
Sport	2	2
Debates in Bambara	0	1
Londoganda	0	2
No response	0	3
Church	3	0
Women and their welfare	1	0
News	5	0
Drama	3	0
Developmental Programmes	1	0
Music / Musical Requests	3	0
Marriage	1	0
Entertainment	1	0
Political Programmes	1	0
Cultural Programmes	3	0
News Flashes	2	0

Table 19: Are you happy with the presentation of these programmes?

	Ghana	Mali
No	0	3
Yes, a bit	1	11
Yes, a lot	29	8
No response	0	0

Table 20: Which programme is best presented?

	Ghana	Mali
Sport	1	1
Baroni	0	1
Le oui ou le non	0	1
Health programme	4	1
Programme in family/marriage	0	3
Programme on children	0	1
Programme on education	0	1
N'Diogna (sic)	0	1
Programme on hunters	0	1
Awareness programme/on drugs	0	2
Londoganda	0	6
Current Affairs/Politics	0	1
Programme in Bambara	0	1
Women's programme	0	2
No response	0	1
Church	1	0
All Ewe Programmes	2	0
Drama	2	0
Developmental	1	0
Announcements	1	0
Musical Requests	4	0
All Programmes	6	0
News	4	0
Culture	2	0

Table 21: Which programme is worst presented?

	Ghana	Mali
No response		12
all except Oui ou non as poorly prepared		1
Peulh programmes		2
Senti		1
Politics	1	2
Programmes in Bambara		1
Fémou et Djéma		1
Sports programme		1
No Idea	6	
None	13	
Drama (Blended with adverts)	1	
Programmes in Hausa Language	1	

Table 22: Is the Government, in your estimation, doing enough to feature African languages on the radio?

	Ghana	Mali
Yes	20	15
No	10	4
No response	0	3

Table 23: Do you think both the government radios and the Community/FM radios should use African languages equally as French/English?

	Ghana	Mali
Yes	19	17
No	11	5
No response	0	0

Table 24: Reasons why respondents felt that state radios and Community/FM radios should equally use African languages and European languages

Ghana	
In this community, Ewe is a basic language	5
Because we illiterates don't understand any language apart from the Ewe language	2
So as to distribute information to everyone equally	1
Because there are other tribes in the community	1
This helps everyone to understand and know whatever is going on in the community	1
For those who speak Ewe only, to be able to hear some of the information	1
For everyone to hear and understand all the information being presented	4
For everyone to be at peace with one another	1
Because in the community it is not only Ewe speaking people, but involve African languages such as Twi, Hausa. For that matter it should be equal.	1

Mali	
To inform a greater amount of people	1
Because even people like us can understand	2
Not everything can be said on TV	1
To be understood	3
For illiterate people to understand	1
To better inform people/better news	3
To learn to speak our languages better	1
For a broader use of the languages/validate them	4
To be sure the truth is told	1
No response	1

Table 25: Reasons why the respondents think that state radios and Community/FM radios should not equally use African Languages in comparison to European languages.

Ghana	
Because there are other tribes too in this community	1
Those educated should listen to English and those not, should listen to Ewe	1
Some programmes need to be broadcasted in English	1
The government radio is for the whole nation therefore its magnitude of work cannot be compared with the community / FM radio, hence they cannot use African languages equally	7
Limitations of community / FM radios cannot enable them to face the challenges of the government radios	1

Mali	
Not everything can be said on TV	1
What is state-owned belongs to all of us	1
More national languages should be used by FM/Community radio stations	1
FM/Community radio stations are privately owned	1
No response	1

Table 26: Do you think African languages can be used to discuss all possible subjects?

	Ghana	Mali
Yes	19	15
No	5	3
No Response	6	4

Table 27: Reasons why the respondents above think African languages cannot be used to discuss every topic?

Ghana	
Because there are sometimes visitors in this town	1
For instance in a classroom situation, certain concepts cannot be explained well by using the African languages, e.g. a word like 'snow'	1
It is not possible because some concept of words are very difficult to explain	1

Mali	
Certain things cannot be said on radio	1
Certain topics are sensitive	1
There are many journalists	1

Table 28: How the use of African languages can be promoted

Ghana	
I think we cannot improve it better than it is now	1
People from the Ewe community should always host and present the programmes	1
Through drama, health programmes and developmental programmes	1
By translating whatever is said in English into Ewe	1
Through the frequent use of the language on the radio	1
Through the frequent use of Ewe language on the radio	1
Through the influence of the government	4
It is the duty of the government	2
I think presently it is okay	1

Mali	
Provide precise topics to be discussed	1
Languages must be spoken	4
Support/train journalists	4
Give more airtime to national language programmes	5
When we will recognise the value of our African languages	2
Discuss topical issues in national languages	1
Teach African languages at school	1
Don't know	1

No response	2
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Table 29: Do the youth like to listen to programmes in African languages?

Response	Ghana	Mali
Yes, very much	24	14
Yes, a little	5	3
No, not much	0	2
Not at all	0	2
No response	1	1

Table 30: Reasons youth do not listen to programmes in African languages

Ghana	
This is because some of them are literate and others are not, so the way I as an individual (illiterate) enjoy Ewe programmes, they may not enjoy it that much as I do	1
As an individual I enjoy Ewe programmes but can't speak for others	1
Because in this community, most of the youth are illiterates and hence prefer Ewe programs to English programmes	1
Because some understand English and others not	2
Due to their interest in sport activities, music and cultural programmes	1
They are more at home with their indigenous language	1
Gives them opportunity to receive information and guide themselves	1
African languages are what they are adapted to	1
Gives them civil education and entertain them as well	1
Not all of them have interest to listen to programmes in their dialect	1
They will be more interested if programmes produced in African languages are mainly in their own local languages	1
They are proud to be Africans	1
Because it is their language and they are proud of it	2
Because of our local language	1
Most of them are illiterates	1
Because they understand the Ewe better than the English	3
It educates us a lot	5
This is because some of them understand the English language	1
Young people are not like us, some of them understand English so they don't like listening to Ewe programmes	2
It guides them through their various ways of life	1
Has positive impact on their lives	1

Mali	
They have been 'assimilated'	3
Youth listen to foreign music	1

Table 31: Views on how African language programmes can be made more attractive to the youth

Ghana	
Once more of the programmes are exciting, more youth will enjoy listening	2
More programmes should be centered around women because in this community men enjoy only football programmes	1
Once more of the programmes are broadcasted in Ewe, the youth will take	3

delight and listen	
When programmes are broadcasted in Ewe more people in the community will understand	2
When programmes are concerned about this particular community	1
To encourage anybody to ask any question at all on air	1
I think they have to be assembled and educated about the importance of radio in Ewe	1
Through improved announcements	1
Through the presentation of more youthful programmes such as announcements on jobs and exciting programmes	1
By producing educating and interesting programmes	8
More interesting programmes should be presented (in Ewe)	2
Drama concerning the community should be broadcasted more often	1
Depends on the way of setting programmes; publishing of programme guides	1
Producing programmes which are entertaining	2
Through the influence of chiefs, youth associations and assembly men	1
Presenter or body responsible to make sure that programme being broadcast should be accurate	1
No idea	1

Mali	
Hold competitions/with prizes	10
Speak more in national languages	1
Subsidise programmes in national languages	1
Create spaces for the youth	1
Breach topical issues such as poverty, education & health	2
Run programmes for the youth, include music	1
Train journalists	1
Engage with the youth	1
Give them support	1
No response	3

Table 32: Impact of programmes broadcast in African languages by Community/FM radios - do they make an impact?

Response	Ghana	Mali
Yes, very much	29	21
Yes, to some extent	1	1
No, not very much	0	0
No, not at all	0	0
No response	0	0

Table 33: Mixed Feelings on the impact of programmes broadcast in African languages

Ghana	
Since they speak Ewe most of the time and we understand, it has an impact on us	3
Since we enjoy listening to it, automatically it's having an impact on us	1
Since the programmes are broadcasted in Ewe and we better understand them it has a positive influence on us	7

It has changed the behaviour of the youth tremendously	1
Entertaining	1
Because with the Ewe language we understand the whole concept better than in English or Twi	1
Majority of the folk here are illiterate	1
It helps us to know what is going on in the community	1
This is done to change their lifestyle (and they are very happy with it)	3
It has changed my lifestyle especially from bad to good	1
Very educative	3
It helps me a lot to know how to live	1
If programmes are in Ewe I understand it and I learn from it	1
Negative behaviours in the youth and young are now minimal	1
Listeners can contribute by calling in the programme, talking about social issues	1
It has transformed their lifestyles tremendously	1
It affords them instant information in the community	1
They are using the medium to change their lifestyles, and passing information to their colleagues who have no access to that information at one time or another	1
No Idea	1

Mali	
Radio makes us understand a lot of things	8
Careful, we do understand a lot of things now	1
Listeners have changed their behaviour	1
We understand all we did not previously	2
Raising awareness has reached its target	1
There is a need to talk about poverty	1
Talk of women's issues	1
No response	7