Senegal
Research findings and conclusions
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Professor

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Acknowledgements

This report could not have been prepared without the generous contributions of many individuals and organisations.

The BBC World Service Trust is particularly grateful for the close collaboration with Vivien Marles and Kathy Lines of the Fuse Group. Recognition also goes to the following editors and reviewers for their expertise and guidance: Stephen King, Julia Moffett, Chris Armstrong, Hendrik Bussiek, Linda Coffey, Diane Cross, Steve Godfrey, Yvonne Kramer, Susannah Lear, Sam Mallac, Sheri Margolis, John McCormick, Mary McEntegart, Sina Odugbemi, Lelani Prevost, and Linda Stratmann. The team at Red Stone design also played an important role in this project.

A note of thanks goes to those individuals who provided additional background research and support to the project: Valeria Camia, Vivek Chandra, Alice Dashwood, Tim Dubois, Wanyana Lule, Leila Makki, Lisa Nuch Venbrux, Dominic Rustam and Simon Jackson.

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Published by the BBC World Service Trust, 2006
BBC World Service Trust
Room 310 NE
Bush House
PO Box 76
Strand
London
WC2B 4PH
UK

ISBN 1-906086-10-9
Senegal

About this report

In March 2005, the UK Government’s Commission for Africa delivered a report entitled “Our Common Interest”, which represented a significant attempt to understand and recommend an action programme for Africa’s social and economic development. A key component of the report focused on the importance of a strong media sector to support governance and development in Africa, and called for greater attention to, and resources for, media sector development as a result. The BBC World Service Trust and a number of international and African partners have subsequently set out to help develop ideas for future Africa media development initiatives.

In order to inform these efforts, the BBC World Service Trust – in collaboration with Rhodes University (South Africa) and Ahmadu Bello University (Nigeria) – has undertaken an extensive, pan-African research effort in 17 African countries, of which Senegal is one. Data presented in this report is based on both secondary research gathered by local researchers in Senegal and on extensive interviews conducted locally among key media practitioners and leaders. It is presented here in three parts:

- Media Sector Developments: an examination of developments in the media sector in Senegal over the past five years;
- Challenges for Future Media Development Activities: an analysis of the perspectives of a range of key informants on media development challenges in Senegal;
- Case Study: a case study from Senegal illustrating good practice in media development.

The research was funded by a generous grant from the UK Government’s Department for International Development. The research was conducted by Dr Ibrahima Seck in association with the BBC World Service Trust Research and Learning Group.

The BBC World Service Trust is the independent international charity set up by the BBC, which uses media to advance development. The Trust works to: raise awareness of development issues among mass audiences and opinion formers; influence attitudes, awareness and behaviour among poorer communities through a wide range of educational programming on poverty-related topics; and build capacity in the media sector in developing and transitional countries.
Acronyms

ADESR Agence Dakaroise d’Etudes Stratégiques et de Recherches (Dakar Agency for Strategic Studies and Research)
ALTERCOM Association pour les Femmes et la Communication (Association for Women and Communication)
AMDI African Media Development Initiative
ART Agence de Régulation des Télécommunications (Telecommunications Regulation Authority)
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BDA Ba, Djibril and Associates
CBS Columbia Broadcasting System
CCIAD Chambre de Commerce d’Industrie et d’Agriculture de Dakar (Dakar Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture)
CESTI Centre d’Etudes des Sciences et Techniques de l’Information (School of Journalism)
CIA Central Intelligence Agency
CNN Cable News Network
CODESRIA Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
CONGAD Conseil des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales d’Appui au Développement (Council of Development NGOs)
CNRA Conseil National de Régulation de l’Audio-visuel (National Council for the Regulation of Broadcasting)
CRED Conseil pour le Respect de l’Ethique et de la Déontologie (Council for the Respect of Professional Ethics and Conduct)
DfID Department for International Development (UK)
DIC Division des Investigations Criminelles (Department of Criminal Investigations)
DPS Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique (Department of Statistics)
ECOWAS  Economic Community of West African States
ENDA-TM  Environmental Development Action in the Third World
ESA  Environmental and Social Assessment
FAL  Front pour l’Alternance (Coalition for Change)
FORUT  Campaign for Development and Solidarity (Norway)
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
HCA  Haut Conseil de l’Audio-visuel (High Council for Broadcasting)
HCRT  Haut Conseil de la Radio-Télévision (High Council of Radio and Television)
HDI  Human Development Index
HIPC  Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICT  Information and Communication Technologies
IMF  International Monetary Fund
INA  Institut National de l’Audio-visuel (National Institute for Broadcasting)
IPAM  Institut Pan-africain de Marketing (Pan-african Marketing Institute)
IRIN  Integrated Regional Information Networks
ISSIC  Institut Supérieur des Sciences de l’Information et de la Communication (Higher Institute of Information and Communication Science)
KAS  Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
MMDS  Microwave Multi Distribution System
NGO  Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD  Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
OSIRIS  Observatoire sur les Systèmes d’Information, les Réseaux et les Inforoutes au Sénégal (Observatory of Information Systems and Networks in Senegal)
OSIWA  Open Society Initiative for West Africa
PDS  Parti Démocratique Sénégalais (Democratic Party of Senegal)
PIWA  Panos West Africa
RADDHO Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l’Homme (African Assembly for the Defense of Human Rights)

RMD Radio Municipale de Dakar (Dakar Public Radio)

RTS Radiodiffusion TV du Sénégal (Senegal TV)

SYNPICS Syndicat des Professionnels de l’Information et de la Communication du Sénégal (Senegal Union of Information and Communication Professionals)

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UNSTATS United Nations Statistics Division

USIS United States Information Service

WAEMU West African Economic and Monetary Union

WARA West African Research Association

WARC West African Research Centre
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### Case Study

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Senegal
Country Report
Context
1. Introduction

There is little reliable data to enable quantitative or qualitative assessment of the media in Senegal. The Direction de la prévision et de la statistique (DPS), the government body in charge of collecting statistics on the Senegalese economy, does not account for media activity, with the exception of the Internet. Even its demographic data cannot be relied on, as information is not updated on a regular basis.

The last population census was in 2002, 14 years after the previous one, and the results are still not available. Nevertheless, complete demographic statistical series are available from the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute for 1997 and 2004. Although other public bodies do collect information on the media, most available statistics are posted on websites by private institutions. However, because these sites are not regularly updated, they do not take into account the high growth and failure rates that characterise the sector. It is also difficult to assess the dynamism of the sector, particularly with regards to newspaper readership and television and radio audience share. It is difficult even to get a precise idea of newspaper circulation owing to its irregularity. Few institutions are interested in carrying out qualitative surveys of the media and, there is seldom unanimity in their findings. So far, there has been no assessment of Senegal’s four TV stations.

Another important problem is the absence of self-assessment by media outlets and a lack of internal statistical collection. Last but not least, there is limited literature produced specifically on the media in Senegal. This is an area that has just started to be addressed. It seems to be developing mostly with the support of NGOs such as Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), Environmental Development Action in The Third World (ENDA-TM), Panos Institute West Africa (PIWA) and Transparency International.
2. Country overview

Senegal is located at the tip of West Africa, on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The country has 11 administrative regions (See Table 1) and covers an area of 196,722 sq km (BBC, 2006). The Gambia, a former British colony, is an enclave completely within the Senegalese territory. The other neighbouring countries are Mauritania, Guinea Mali and Guinea Bissau. Senegal’s population estimate in 2004 was 11.4 million (World Bank, 2006), with most people living along the coastal areas where French colonisation developed towns and ports, the main trade of which was the export of groundnuts. Dakar, a metropolis and the former capital city of French-speaking West Africa, accounts for around a quarter of the country’s population. The bulk of the administrative services and economic infrastructure are concentrated in Dakar. The capital is also home to most of the country’s media organisations.

Senegal’s population is predominantly young, with 43% of the population aged 14 and under (UNSTATS 2006). The education failure rate is high, and graduates and entrepreneurs alike complain about the gap between training given and business requirements. The unemployment rate is also high. Although the GDP per person per capita was estimated at US$1,700 in 2003 (CIA, 2006), about 54% of the population lives below the poverty line. According to the United Nations Population Fund, 26% of Senegal’s population lived on less than US$1 a day in 2005 (UNFPA, 2006). The informal sector employs an important proportion of the working population. Teaching and journalism, despite requiring expertise, employ many young people in jobs for which they do not have proper training.

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2 The assertion that a quarter of Senegal’s population resides in Dakar is based on the World Bank population of Senegal of 11.4 million and DPS estimates of Dakar’s population at 2.77 million people.
3 2005 figure cited in UNSTATS, 2006
4 The CIA World Factbook 2006, gives a 2001 estimate for unemployment at 48%
5 A 2001 estimate cited in CIA, 2006
6 A. Sall, personal communication, April 2006 (A. Sall is Secretary General of SYNPICS, the journalists’ trade union of Senegal)
Senegal has about 20 main ethnic groups. The Wolof ethnic group represents the majority of the population at nearly 45% (DPS, 2004a). The Wolof language is spoken by nearly half the population because the Wolof territory (in the northwest of the country) was a traditional area of immigration during colonisation. The officially codified languages are Wolof, Pulaar, Sereer, Mandinka, Joola and Soninke. These are used in both public and private media to disseminate news and cultural programmes. Those people who use other spoken languages would like their languages to have the same status in order to preserve their cultural identities. French, a colonial heritage, is the official language and is spoken by nearly 38% of the population (DPS, 2004a).

Table 1: The 11 Administrative Regions of Senegal and their Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions/Provinces/States</th>
<th>Total Population (Millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thiès</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaolack</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diourbel</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolda</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatick</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziguinchor</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambacounda</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louga</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matam</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DPS, 2004b

Figure 1: Urban vs Rural Population

Source: 2003 figures cited in UNDP, 2006
The vast majority of the people of Senegal, like elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, speak more than one language. It is common to have people who speak more than two, and even three to four different languages\(^7\).

\(^7\) Most people are multilingual, therefore the language percentages in Figure 3 add up to more than 100%.
It was estimated in 2004 that 39.3% of the adult population is literate (World Bank, 2006). There is a large discrepancy in literacy rates between males and females, with 49% of males being literate and only 28% of females. There is an even larger discordance between urban and rural populations, with 56% of urban-dwelling Senegalese being literate and only 23% of rural Senegalese (DPS, 2004a). However, these figures should be viewed with caution, as an important part of the population, mainly in rural areas, reads and writes Arabic and this may not be reflected in the official statistics. This writer is of the view that the tendency to undermine Arabic is a colonial heritage; the French colonial authorities did not wish to promote a language that was seen as the medium for Islam.

**Figure 4: Literacy Levels Age 15+**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literacy Levels Age 15+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source*: 2004 figure cited in World Bank, 2006
Source#: DPS, 2004a

Islam in Senegal, which is the result of more than ten centuries of relationships between Senegal, North Africa and the Arab world, is the religion of 94% of the Senegalese people. The Senegalese Christian community, a minority at 5% of the population, is nonetheless dynamic. About 1% of the population is listed as having “traditional” beliefs (CIA, 2006). Religious tolerance is a tradition in the country. It finds its roots in the old traditional Negro African spiritual and ethical background that can rightfully be considered as the religion of all Senegalese people.

Senegal is one of the most industrialised nations of Africa, but the biggest part of its national wealth comes from agriculture, fishing and tourism. The majority of industrial areas are located in Dakar. Public finance is relatively sound, but budget resources are limited and can barely meet social needs (which remain great). Senegal was rated among the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in April 2004, and consequently benefited from a debt reduction of nearly US$450 million from donors (IMF, 2004). A poverty reduction strategy has been initiated but is just beginning. The pace of structural reform is still slow, but significant steps have been made in the area of privatisation. Per capita GDP was US$1,700 in 2003 according to the CIA (2006), but the UNDP Human Development index (HDI) is very low, with Senegal ranked 157th out of 177 countries in the world in 2003 (UNDP, 2006).
Senegal has got a relatively long tradition of democracy. Since 1981, the country has had a full multi-party system. Under the constitution of 2001, the president is elected under a one-person, one-vote system for a term of five years, renewable only once. The National Assembly has 120 elected members. Collective and private liberties are generally respected. The sources of the present dynamic press and trade unionism date back to the 19th Century.

Democratic construction reached a significant landmark in 2000 with elections that brought in a new President of the Republic, Abdoulaye Wade, who led a coalition of political parties, then known as the *Front pour l’Alternance* (FAL). This coalition put an end to 40 years of power for their adversaries.

This picture of democracy in progress is tarnished, however, by some noticeable autocratic drifts, such as the monopoly the president and his political party exercise on public media, financial scandals, lawsuits against a growing number of journalists, and the intrusions of the police, through the infamous Department of Criminal Investigations (DIC), into public life.

### Key findings

- Senegal is a small country with a relatively large capital city, Dakar, in which most of the infrastructure is concentrated.
- The society is stable, despite the diversity of the population’s ethnic and religious composition.
- The economy is growing slowly, and the government has low revenues.
- Senegal has enjoyed a relatively long tradition of democracy, but there are still some anti-democratic tendencies.

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8 This is a heritage from the mono-party system imposed by President Senghor from 1960 to 1974. Diouf and Wade, the successors of Senghor, did not do anything significant to change the situation.
3. Media Health

3.1 Status of the laws regarding rights and access to information

Rights of access to information, like freedom of speech, are inscribed in the fundamental principles of the Constitution of Senegal, the latest version of which was adopted in 2001. The media have access to all kinds of information, including “classified information” or information labelled “state secrets”. Publications by the well-known journalist Abdou Latif Coulibaly on the way public affairs are handled by the current regime are evidence of respect for these rights of access. However, at the same time, there have been many trials of journalists and hours of detention served since 2000 in connection to information access cases, thanks to the infamous DIC.

3.2 Status of the laws regarding criminal defamation and insult

The law on slander and insult is strongly enacted in Senegal. Many journalists have been taken to court under its provisions. The most famous case was in 2004, when Madiambal Diagne, editor of Le Quotidien, was convicted and remanded in custody⁹. The law under which the authorities act is Article 80 of the Criminal Law. In a recent interview, the head of state officially agreed to change the law and to remove from the list of penal offences what is currently known in Senegal as délits de presse, but nothing has yet been done. Journalists themselves are not in agreement on this, because heavier fines would necessarily be enacted instead of jail sentences. Large civil defamation fines would certainly stifle many media outlets, since many of them can hardly make ends meet.

3.3 Status of the laws that exist to enable media regulatory bodies to function independently

Two regulatory bodies were created by public authorities before 2000: the High Council for Radio and Television (HCRT) in 1992, which was replaced in 1998 by the High Council for Broadcasting (HCA). The laws that created these regulatory bodies were intended to allow equal access to public media. The independence of these bodies is doubtful, as evidenced by the strong criticism they receive from opposition parties and civil society. Much change occurred between 2000 and 2005, with the creation of the Telecommunications Regulation Agency (ART) and the transformation of the HCA into a National Council for the Regulation of Broadcasting (CNRA). The Telecommunications Code that created ART was passed on 27 December 2001.

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⁹ For more information, see IRIN News, 2004.
ART has broken the national state monopoly of TV and allowed for a fairer balance of the telecommunications market between Sonatel, a company partially controlled by the state, and other private operators. But criticism of ART is still very strong, mainly because of criteria used by ART for the awarding of TV licences.

Journalists created their own self-regulatory body, the Council for Respect of Professional Ethics (CRED), on 3 May 1999, to promote rules of moral and professional ethics in the media. But the ambitions of this institution are limited by poor finances.

3.4 Current provisions that aim to secure the independence of publicly-owned media

Provisions that aim to secure the independence of state-owned media exist in the laws that created the regulatory bodies cited above. Positive changes have occurred in terms of goodwill, which resulted in the creation of ART and CNRA. But these provisions are not fully implemented, and state-owned media are still visibly under the control of the ruling party.

3.5 Current provisions to support community or alternative media

Provisions exist that support community and alternative media. The provisions resulted from a large increase in private media between 2000 and 2005, and the accompanying opening up of the regulatory environment. For example, the monopoly held by RTS, the state-owned TV station, was terminated, allowing for private commercial and community-owned entrants. But the high failure rate of the newly-created community media outlets is symptomatic of the poor support they get from the state and other sources. Poor finance has a strong bearing on the life expectancy of many community newspapers and radio stations.

3.6 Regulatory obligations for public or state broadcasters to fulfil a public-service broadcasting remit

The regulatory obligations for state broadcasters to fulfil a public-service remit are clearly enshrined in the laws that created the state-controlled regulatory bodies. However, there is a tremendous gap between goodwill and facts. Diversity of opinion and content has been visible in the national daily state-run newspaper, Le Soleil, since 2000. The same is not true, however, of the national public TV station because of the strategic role TV plays, especially in a population with a low literacy rate.

3.7 Regulatory obligations for private broadcasters to fulfil a public-service broadcasting remit

Regulatory obligations for private broadcasters to fulfil a public-service broadcasting remit are enforced by a 1996 Act. Many readers and observers of the national media seem almost to share the opinion of the authorities, which clearly depicts private newspapers as taking the side of the opposition. A questionnaire submitted to browsers of the Senegalese website Seneweb.com came to the conclusion that: “All journalists in the private newspapers are on the side of the opposition” (Diagne, 2005a, p.45). Another viewpoint, often heard during this research, is that since 2000, some private newspapers (for example, Le Messager) have been created by people related to the government for the sole purpose of defending the authorities. This results in a real malaise, as freedom of speech seems to be abused on both sides. The journalists’ self-regulatory body, CRED, is supposed to correct this situation.

10 Law dated 2 February, 1996, Relative aux organes de communication sociale et aux professions de journaliste et de technicien.

11 This information could not be verified, although the editorial line of the paper given as an example is obviously on the side of the government.
3.8 Journalism

Journalists in Senegal are not required by law to be licensed or registered. They are free to affiliate with any professional association or trade union. In 2005, there were roughly 750 journalists in the country (Diagne, 2005a), and about 500 of them were unionised. The vast majority belong to the Senegal Union of Information and Communications Professionals (SYNPICS), founded in 1984. But an increasing number of journalists are not unionised, and there is a tendency to bypass unions and take cases of alleged abuse by employers directly to courtrooms.

It is generally accepted that journalists’ average pay is very low compared to many other professions. This has generated much corruption in the sector and has resulted in what some call the culture of per diem-isation, which refers to money distributed by conference organisers to participants and reporters. There is much complaint that the provisions of union-negotiated employer-employee collective agreements related to salaries are not enforced (Diagne, 1985). Many journalists work on a freelance basis and newcomers to the profession are ferociously exploited. Media owners acknowledge this situation and generally argue that the collective agreements do not match their financial capacities (Diagne, 1985).

It is difficult to state the average pay of a journalist since the collective agreements for the sector are not respected. But US$300 a month is a realistic figure, according to the practitioners approached in this research. This is much higher than the minimum national wage but still very low considering the cost of living in Senegal. A licensed secondary school teacher employed by the state today earns about double this amount.

There are six journalism training institutes in Senegal (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Number of Journalism Training Institutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institute</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational training schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other organisations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Panos, 2006; Trade Point, 2006; CCIAD, 2005
Key findings

- Criminal laws for defamation are still used in Senegal, leading to journalist imprisonment.
- The independence from state control of the media regulatory bodies – ART and CNRA – is doubtful.
- Regulatory obligations for private and public broadcasters to fulfil a public-service remit are inscribed in a 1996 law.
- The 2001 Telecommunications Code law broke the monopoly of the state TV station and opened up the telecommunications market to more competition.
- Senegalese journalists suffer from low pay.
4. State of the Media – Literature Review

The number of publications on Senegalese media is growing, thanks to the input of NGOs such as Transparency International, ENDA-TM, and PIWA. The creation of a postgraduate degree in journalism (PhD level) at CESTI (the state-owned school of journalism linked to the University of Dakar) will certainly boost the number of media publications.

The following publications constitute some of the most substantive/comprehensive research work on the media in Senegal since 2000.

4.1 Diagne (Ed.) (2005)

Les Cahiers de l’Alternance is a series of publications on the history of democratic regime change in Senegal as perceived and analysed by scholars and journalists through original documents. The series is co-edited by (CESTI) and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). This special issue, edited by Diagne, is not only a directory of the media in Senegal but also deals with its historical evolution, from its beginning to the present day. The volume presents the work of the most prominent personalities who have contributed to media development in Senegal, and gives the views of professional journalists.

4.2 Guèye (2006)

The core of this book is the author’s Master’s dissertation, completed in 2004. It is based on discussions with lawyers, sociologists and scholars to enable a clearer insight on “media, democracy and regulations”. Three chapters deal with state media and raise the issue of freedom of expression and journalists’ responsibilities. The author was concerned at the lack of public-service journalism in the country, claiming that the duty of all journalists, whether working for private or state-owned outlets, is to provide a public-service – to inform, educate and entertain. He also deplores the fact that the journalism industry is not controlled by journalists themselves.
4.3 Senghor (Ed.) (2002b)

Civil society is, at present, a key actor in democratic pluralism in Senegal, but it still has difficulties in assimilating the crucial challenges posed by the media in the context of the new information society. Pluralism in the media has transformed Senegal into a country open to discussion and debate. However, organisations still have to design relevant models of communication and find their rightful place in the media, just as their counterparts in Western countries have done.

This book was published as part of a programme called “Communication, Good Governance and Civil Society”. Journalists, scholars and members of the public who contributed to this volume looked at various topics, including public opinion and civil society in radio programmes; media and civil society and the role of the audio-visual regulator; women and civil society in the media; the media view of the Safya Hussaini case; and the possible adverse effects of media coverage in the crisis in Casamance. These articles were intended to be an introduction to the *Journées de la Communication pour la Société Civile*[^12], which took place in July 2002.

4.4 Sy (2003)

The author denounces the control exercised by public authorities over the media. His objective is to put an end to what he calls the “presidential navel-gazing”. He criticises what he says is the often one-sided “sabotaged” information, which denies pluralism. He says TV is presented as an information medium completely under the control of the head of state and his party, the PDS. The President appoints state TV and radio directors, as well as members of the broadcasting regulator.

The media regulatory bodies, he argues, have no independence in relation to public authorities. Consequently, their decisions cannot be impartial and they have no powers to stop autocratic behaviour. This book advocates a reinvention of radio and television programming, oriented towards more open expression for a population with high expectations for democracy and development. The author deals also with the limits to the freedom of press, criticising the criminalisation of press offences through which some journalists are sent to jail after being accused of defamation. The author says the Ministry of Communication looks more like a “Ministry of Propaganda”. He also looks at the issue of journalist training and analyses the limits of existing schools of journalism.

[^12]: ‘Communication for Civil Society’ workshop.
4.5 Taureg & Wittman (2005)

This book is the result of a series of seminars organised by the Goethe-Institute of Dakar within the framework of its programme for the first semester of 2003. The main goal was to analyse questions and problems pertaining to the media explosion in Senegal. The contributions put together in this book present the most fascinating and the most controversial issues debated during three sessions. The authors are media professionals and university researchers and teachers.

The major conclusions in this book highlight the quest for identity by the Senegalese media. To this regard, the boom in the media sector is not necessarily viewed as a sign of maturity. The media must eliminate many shortfalls. The book also addresses the working conditions of the journalists and, at large, the economic and judiciary environment.

4.6 Bibliography


**Key findings**

- Journalists are interested in the historical evolution of media in the country.
- Journalism should overcome any distinction between public and private media.
- Pluralism in the media has transformed Senegal into a country keen for debate.
- Organisations still have to design relevant models of communication.
- The status of women in the media is changing and they are becoming increasingly visible.
- TV is seen as being under the control of the head of state and his party.
- Journalists have been sent to jail for slander.
5. Radio

5.1 Key changes and developments in the radio marketplace in the past five years

From 2000, the year in which a democratic regime change occurred in Senegal after 40 years of rule by the Socialist Party, there was an explosion in the number of radio stations. This number went from 40 to 62 between 2000 and 2005\(^{13}\).

From 2000 to 2005, there has been no increase, however, in the number of stations broadcasting nationally, with still just two at national level, both state-owned RTS services (see Figure 6, p.17).

State-owned radio stations broadcasting to regions increased by 25% between 2000 and 2005, from 12 to 15, and private radio stations broadcasting to regions jumped from 20 to 35, an increase of 75%. Community radio stations have also had an increase in number, from seven to 19, a 171% increase (see Figure 6, p.17) (Panos, 2006). There are an impressive number of radio stations in the regions. According to Diagne (2005a, p.87), “More than 30 local radio stations exist in the various administrative regions of Senegal”. Most of these stations are public as they are branches of RTS. There are also stations set up by the Sud FM Group in many areas of the country. Dunyaa FM and, to a lesser extent, Walf FM and Radio Futur Media, also have regional commercial stations. All of these stations focus on entertainment, education and news. Most of the stations are private and specialise in general information but with a strong profit-making and commercial ethos (such as Sud FM and Wal Fadjri). There are some stations, mostly specialising in music, such as Dakar FM, a regional station that belongs to RTS, a state-owned network; and other private radio stations, such as Soxna Fm or Nostalgie.

The boom in radio stations includes community radios, which went from seven to 19 between 2000 and 2005 (Panos, 2006). Their aims are to give an account of the everyday life of the population, increase people’s awareness and participate in citizenship education. The odd one out is Alhamdoulilah FM, a private, specialised station that broadcasts the Koran 24 hours a day. Dunyaa FM was founded by the same owner and also broadcasts a number of Islamic religious programmes. Other community stations include Ndef Leng FM, which uses Sereer as its predominant language and seeks to promote the culture of that ethnic group. There is also Manoré FM, which is considered the “voice of Senegalese women”.

\(^{13}\) Calculation based on Panos statistics supplemented by researcher’s own knowledge. See Panos information at
Community radio stations are close to their populations, acting as a window on a population’s expectations and its various social segments. They deal with local realities in their areas. For example, in Kompentoum, a town in the eastern region of Tambacounda, community radio station Niani FM broadcasts information about agriculture, cattle-raising, products sold at the weekly market, and so on. A similar station is Awagna FM, which targets farmers in Casamance in the south of the country. Awagna FM broadcasts in Diola, Mandinka, Wolof and Pulaar. Pété FM is at the centre of farmers’ and breeders’ community concerns in the Fouta Toro, in the north of Senegal.

All these radio stations have contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of dialogue and discussion within Senegalese society, and have led their audiences to become more interested in politics and local development.

5.2 Investment and growth in the radio sector in the past five years

The large increase in the number of radio stations has, as a corollary, resulted in a relatively high failure rate, due to the difficult economic environment. Radio stations that survive are those with a proven audience and a reputation that draws in advertisers and sponsors. Investment costs for starting a radio station are not as great as the operating costs.

The continued growth of the broadcasting sector, with the increasing demand for new frequencies by private promoters, is a sign that private investors are willing to venture into the radio business. However, radio stations are being set up faster than the advertising market is growing, making it difficult for them to survive. Many stations disappear after just a few years.

5.3 Plurality, ownership and control

Today, there are many more radio station owners than five years ago, and the state-controlled RTS network now faces stiff competition from private radio stations. Transparency in radio ownership is sometimes lacking, however. Unofficial sources claim that the apparent owners of many private radio stations and newspapers are actually fronts, and the real owners are important public personalities. The ‘fronting system’ is believed to be highly developed.

Meanwhile, the process of radio frequency assignment by the regulator ART is not seen as an entirely neutral activity. ART often deals with cases of radio frequency interference which, according to unofficial sources, may be a cynical way for the state to sabotage some private stations.
5.4 Diversity

Commercial radio stations, with a few exceptions, all offer the same sorts of programming: general information programmes, a great deal of music, some documentaries and programmes sponsored by powerful private companies. Programmes dealing with politics command a great deal of listeners’ interest. The music programmes are overwhelmingly dominated by “mbalax”, a national musical form popularised by the singer Youssou N’Dour.

Although this research found a balance in terms of political and religious diversity in commercial radio stations, the situation is different for ethnic and linguistic diversity. The Wolof language and French dominate private radio. The state stations and community radios, on the other hand, operate on the principle of respect for the balance of ethnic diversity in their audiences. All communities, even foreign ones, are given the right to express themselves. For example, at Radio Oxyjeune in Pikine, Fulbe from the Republic of Guinea have their own programme.

On commercial stations, there is generally a lack of innovation and effort to present new programmes.
5.5 Quality of radio output and programming

This research found problems regarding both form and content in radio. In terms of content, there is a problem with information imbalance on private radio stations, which have a strong tendency to voice opposing views to those of public authorities. It seems to be difficult for them to adopt an impartial position. This results in a climate of suspicion, with some observers denouncing the stations’ tendency to point out the failures of government while omitting to mention achievements that might build up public confidence. To avoid controversy, serious investigations into sensitive issues are not undertaken by private commercial stations. This poses a problem around the quality of information delivered to the public. At state-owned radio stations, there is the same tendency to be biased but to the benefit of the government. However, at least the treatment of information by state radio stations is more balanced than the information provided by the state TV station.

In terms of form, the problem is in journalists’ poor mastery of language. One finds today a generation of young and ambitious journalists, but their main difficulty is their level of linguistic competence, either in French or Wolof. This situation has an adverse effect on the quality of their work.

5.6 Specific challenges

There are many obstacles to guaranteeing investment needed for radio development in Senegal. In addition to heavy operating costs, services such as telephone and electricity are expensive. There is also a harsh fiscal environment with multiple taxes. All these things hamper the development of the sector. However, the even bigger challenges are training, building capacity and attempting to get closer to the various communities to make programmes more pluralistic. To this end, community radio stations need a clearly-defined regulatory framework.

Finally, there is the problem of the apparent clash, particularly in private radio, between journalists and politicians – a phenomenon which needs to be addressed as it blurs journalistic balance in the treatment of information.

Key findings

- From 2000 to 2005, the number of radio stations rose sharply at regional and local levels.
- The advertising market is not growing as fast as radio stations are being set up, leading to many stations collapsing after just a few years of operation.
- There is no significant concentration in radio ownership, with the exception of the state-controlled RTS network and a few groups such as Sudcom.
- Both state-owned and private radio stations need to aim for more diversity in programming and better balance in reporting on political issues.
- One of the biggest challenges remains training.
6. **Television**

6.1 **Key changes and developments in the television marketplace in the past five years**

The most notable features relating to the television sector in Senegal in the past five years include the breakthrough made by foreign television stations, and the slow pace of liberalisation in the sector.

The only national free-to-air channel continues to be the state-run RTS. The other nationally-available services are foreign subscription offerings on satellite and MMDS\(^{14}\) platforms.

At regional level, there is the private free-to-air 2STV service, only available in the capital Dakar and its environs.

The new TV services launched since 2000 are the now wholly private 2STV free-to-air service, originally launched as a public-private partnership in 2003, and the France-based Canal+Horizons satellite pay-TV service, available since 2001.

Until 2003, RTS was the only local TV station in Senegal. It was created in 1972 after experiments by UNESCO in the fields of education and health from 1965 to 1969. Called “Rien Tous les Soirs” or “Ragots et Tapages du Senegal” by local satirical papers\(^{15}\), RTS has a strong allegiance to the government, a tendency condemned by authors such as Sy (2003). The audience of this state-owned TV peaks when traditional wrestling matches are broadcast, when the national football team is playing, when there is an event involving the various national religious brotherhoods, or when a Latin American TV soap opera – especially if it is one from Brazil or Mexico – is shown.

In 2003, RTS2S came into existence, on the basis of a partnership between RTS and a private promoter. RTS2S has since become wholly privately-owned and is now called 2STV. But this station has not yet allowed Senegalese viewers to see a way of making television that is different from that of RTS, except for displaying a lack of allegiance to the ruling party. Moreover, 2STV does not have nationwide coverage and its programmes are viewed only in Dakar and neighbouring areas.

\(^{14}\) Microwave Multi Distribution System.

\(^{15}\) The wordings are based on the acronym RTS and mean, respectively, “nothing every evening” and “cheap talk and noise of Senegal”.

Several foreign TV channels are now on offer to the public from Excaf and Canal+Horizons. Some have even talked about “TV programme flooding” (Diagne, 2005a). Excaf was founded in 1998 by a private promoter following the installation by the Canadian Government of a MMDS for the Francophone Summit of Dakar in 1992. Excaf currently offers 15 TV channels and is moving toward direct satellite reception. It claims to have 36,000 subscribers nationwide. The monthly subscription fee ranges from between F.CFA7,000 and F.CFA9,000 (about US$13-US$16), and the cost of the dish and accessories is about F.CFA86,000 (US$156) (Diagne, 2005a).

Canal+Horizons is a French company which, since 2001, has had exclusivity on satellite distribution of a Francophone bouquet through its subsidiary, Portavest (Diagne), 2005. It offers the full spectrum of programmes, including sport, cinema, music, films documentaries, intellectual discussions, news, health programmes and politics. It broadcasts the most well-known world events, for example the last US Presidential elections and the Tour de France. Viewers follow these events with great interest. Monthly subscription costs range from F.CFA9,000 to F.CFA32,000 (about US$16 to US$58) (Diagne, 2005a). Canal+Horizons is a pioneer of direct satellite broadcasting and its subscribers have access to 55 TV channels.

6.2 Investment and growth in the television sector in the past five years

There is a growing advertising market, but the television sector in Senegal is not dynamic because, until recently, public authorities have not favoured liberalisation of the sector. It was not until 2001 that the Ministry of Communication offered Senegalese promoters, through the Telecommunication Code of 27 December 2001, the chance to create private TV stations. Some of the interviewees for this research have the feeling that TV liberalisation is a taboo subject state authorities are touchy about, because they do not want to let a medium as sensitive as television get into the hands of private promoters. The latter are interested in starting TV companies but, among other things, they consider the required initial guarantee of F.CFA 50 million (around US$90,000) too high.

6.3 Plurality, ownership and control

There is no concentration of ownership of TV stations. Local and foreign stations alike are owned by different institutions or individuals. The national TV station belongs to public authorities. The station 2STV is private and belongs to a Senegalese businessman who is active in promoting cultural activities. There is a distance between 2STV and government authorities and there seems to be no doubt of its independence.

6.4 Diversity

The only sign of programme diversity that can be seen at RTS is in the presentation of news bulletins. It broadcasts them in the various national languages every day. However, French and Wolof clearly dominate the languages used in the vast majority of the programmes. Apart from news bulletins, there are no instances in terms of programmes that illustrate linguistic and ethnic diversity. Most discussion programmes deal with politics, economics or health. There are also programmes dealing with sports and literature. Religious diversity is well respected. The Christian community, which represents 5% of the population (CIA, 2006), has a weekly programme and other special programmes at Christmas and Easter. Muslims are put on a relatively equal footing.
RTS is hampered by its modest technical means. Its technical services are overwhelmed by requests for religious, conference and political events coverage. Some ministries have their own TV production unit for the coverage of their own activities, with the programmes subsequently broadcast via RTS. This illustrates how national TV is monopolised by the state apparatus. RTS also shows some foreign TV programmes. These mainly consist of documentaries and TV series from certain Francophone countries, especially Burkina-Faso.

The private station 2STV is more culturally-oriented. It devotes a significant part of its programming to music, especially the national “mbalax”, which is supplemented by salsa, R&B, rap and Hindi music.

6.5 Quality of television output and programming

RTS programme quality is generally perceived as poor (Diagne, 2005). News bulletins are given the most important share of broadcast output, and are themselves dominated by the propagandist coverage of political events. Religion takes the next largest share of output, with a somewhat disproportionate time allocation to satisfy the many religious brotherhoods that exist in the country and the cohorts of religious associations. RTS is visibly plagued by political and religious vote-catching. Limited technical upgrading and the interference of politicians have resulted in poor journalistic practices in a TV station that is full of talented journalists. This justifies the call for the promotion of professionalism made by the RTS journalist Issa Thioro Guèye in his book (Guèye, 2006).

The private station 2STV benefits from the tolerance granted to a station still seen as being in its infancy, but its promoters must understand that culture is not limited to music. They have a wide field to cover.

6.6 Specific challenges

A key challenge for the state TV service is to work towards greater freedom of expression. Keeping some distance between itself and public authorities is a necessity if it wants to play a positive role in the consolidation of democracy and good governance. State authorities should, if they do not want to continue to be an obstacle to investment, avoid imposing their views on RTS.

The newly-created 2STV needs to move beyond its focus on cultural programming and deliver more information content.

The most important challenge in Senegalese media is the achievement of a total liberalisation of television. This would give real impetus to democracy, after the radio and newspaper booms. Senegal deserves better than the very limited number of channels it currently has.

Key findings

- Senegal has only one national free-to-air TV service, the state-run RTS.
- The one private free-to-air channel, 2STV, is viewable in and around the capital Dakar and focuses mostly on cultural programming.
- Foreign pay-TV services have increased their presence and take-up in recent years.
- The TV market lacks dynamism because, until recently, the public authorities did not encourage liberalisation of the sector.
7. Newspapers

7.1 Key changes and developments in the newspaper marketplace in the past five years

The newspaper sector in Senegal dates back to the 19th Century and private papers such as *Le Réveil du Sénégal* (1885) and *Le Petit Sénégalais* (1886) at the time of the French colonial authorities of St Louis, first capital city of Senegal (Taureg & Wittman, 2005). From the beginning, newspapers played an important role in the struggle for democracy and largely contributed to the election of the Senegalese political leader, Blaise Diagne, as the first black member of the French National Assembly in 1914. Between 1945 and 1960, about 259 newspapers were established in the country (Panos, 2004b). *Paris Dakar*, a private paper edited since 1933 from Morocco, became in 1960 the medium for the actions of the local government of Senegal. This paper soon became *Dakar Matin* and ten years later, *Le Soleil*. The “dark age” of newspapers started with the post-independence regime of Senghor who, in his endeavour to build a strong national state, decided to monopolise the sector. The multi-party regime of Abdou Diouf, the successor to Senghor, liberalised the written press in the mid 1980s and radio a decade later (Diagne, 2005a).

In 2000, the newspaper, together with radio stations, played a central role in the advent of democratic regime change. From that time, the newspaper sector has undergone major development, with the creation of many new publications.

These newspapers have a variety of editorial orientations. One category of papers, known as the “people press” – many of which sell for the low price of F.CFA100 (US$0.20) – has become the star of the print press. It presents its readership with scandals and gossip, intruding into private individuals’ lives, and it deals with taboo and sensationalist stories. The journalists who write for these papers believe that the majority of Senegalese newspaper readers are interested only in sensational, fantastic and scandalous topics because they are bored with lengthy accounts of seminars and articles reporting the viewpoints of economic experts and the like. According to published figures, these newspapers are the most read in Senegal\(^\text{16}\). At least seven of them flooded the market between 2000 and 2005 and then soon vanished.

\(^{16}\) The researchers could not get access to readership data gathered by institutions such as BDA and ADESR, and had to resort to information published by the local newspapers.
Another feature of the newspaper sector in Senegal is the papers that are openly subservient to the ruling party. These newspapers praise the president, his political party and his allies, and are acutely critical of opposition parties and of the private press, which they accuse of supporting the opposition.

Newspapers that are still holding their ground, although some of them do not show in the top five or ten papers, are mostly private newspapers, including some of the pioneers such as *Wal Fadjri* (1984) and *Sud Quotidien* (1986), the satirical newspaper *Le Cafard Libéré* and *Nouvelles Horizons*, a weekly paper specialising in political, economic and social analyses. *Le Témoin*, a weekly that launched in 1990, sparked the trend for the “people press”. *Le Soleil*, the state-owned newspaper, is, in the author’s view, the undisputed leader of newspaper dailies. It is by far the best-equipped paper, even having its own printing works. It has more pages than any of the other papers. It encompasses a large range of topics and has a relatively balanced approach to the treatment of information.

In sum, from 2000 to 2005, the number of national daily newspapers has made a remarkable leap, from 15 to 26. This growth has been led by the “people press”, and papers such as *Le Quotidien*, which is successful. This is in spite of the serious difficulties its Chief Editor is facing because of allegations of slander. In the same time period, the number of national weekly newspapers has also witnessed a remarkable growth, from 18 to 26 (see Figure 7).

The new newspapers since 2000 have been at national level, among both dailies and weeklies, with a strong showing from sensational “people press” papers.

The growth of national titles has not been mirrored in the regions, where the number of regional weekly newspapers has diminished. There are no regional daily newspapers in Senegal.

**Figure 7: Total Number of Newspapers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional weekly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National weekly</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National daily</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: calculated by researcher using Panos Institute statistics (Panos, 2006)
7.2 Investment and growth in the newspaper industry in the past five years

A relatively favourable legal environment can explain the growth of the newspaper sector. According to Modou Ngom, Director of Communication at the Ministry of Information: “To create your own newspaper today, you don’t need any prior authorisation. You just have to make a declaration at the Public Prosecutor’s Office of your area of residence. And since only a declaration is needed, you don’t have to wait for a yes or no answer. You make your declaration and start printing and selling your newspaper just after leaving the courtroom. There is a total liberalisation in that respect” (M. Ngom, personal communication, March 2006). It is important to note that this growth in the newspaper market concerns the capital city only. The regional newspaper market has no real significance.

The advertising market is a tight one. The newspapers that can capture the resources are likely to be the long-established ones with a satisfactory circulation – a constant identifiable readership of some thousands of people – and a minimum of 12 pages per issue and colour printing, such as Le Soleil or Wal Fadjri. Some newly-created papers, such as Le Quotidien, have succeeded in attracting advertising because of the pertinence of their content. This is also the case with some “people” papers such as Le Populaire and L’Observateur. For the other papers, it is a battle to attract advertising revenue. Generally, the amount of advertising is scarce compared to the current number of newspapers. But, according to some interviewees for this research, the advertising market is growing because of development in the private sector, including the creation of small businesses and many other private initiatives that need visibility.

7.3 Plurality, ownership and control

It is worth noting that, just as with radio stations, there is a “fronting” system, so it is not always obvious who the real owners are and it can be hard to find out. Many newspapers are thought to belong unofficially to political personalities who choose to stay behind the scenes, leaving the task of running the papers to well-known professionals in journalism. However, independence from the state is clear in the private papers if we base our analysis on how information is treated in the papers’ columns. This independence does not appear to be jeopardised by the modest state assistance fund for the press, which only amounts to F.CFA300 million (about US$550,000) and which has to be shared by a plethora of media. Newspaper articles in the private papers are characterised by a freedom, even audacity, of tone. Hence the many conflicts with public authorities that have occurred since 2000. Journalists can be, and are, sent to prison for libel or for publishing classified information. The refusal of newspapers to bend to the orders of the state resulted, on 11 July 2004, in all private newspapers publishing the same editorial and even organising a “zero press day”. The state-owned daily newspaper, Le Soleil, adopts a different editorial tone, supporting the state but without exclusively favouring public authorities in the way that the state TV station RTS1 does.
7.4 Diversity

The newspapers report on politics, the economy, culture, social issues and international news. Coverage of the country’s various ethnic groups is more visible in the sections that deal with culture and music, giving account of cultural and music events and productions. In this field, no paper equals Le Soleil. For commercial reasons, newspapers publish articles on politics that will draw the interest of their readers. This explains the domination of political matters in the newspaper. A newspaper that will not deal with national political subjects will not sell and thus will eventually fold. Religious diversity is generally respected. Important Christian or Muslim religious events are covered, although some newspapers tend not to deal with topics relating to religion.

7.5 Quality of newspaper reporting

Many of the first generation journalists, “the pioneers”, complain about the poor quality of the present writing. The level of training for journalists is constantly falling. In Diagne (2005a), Abdoulaye Ndiaga Sylla, one of the veterans of journalism in Senegal, said: “The first generation of newspapers and their journalists, that is to say Walf [Walf Fadjri], Le Cafard Libéré, Le Témoin, are being replaced by a new breed of newspapers and journalists. The first generation had a greater sense of professionalism than the new one” (2005, p.39). Mr Sylla questions the level of training given in schools of journalism.

The downgrading of quality has a negative impact on newspaper production. Mama Less Camara, the BBC correspondent in Senegal and trainer at CESTI, makes a link between the influx of business people and industrialists into the press sector and the decrease in quality. He declares that: “Profit-making has become priority of priorities… For profitability reasons, newspaper editors are recruiting what some, rightfully or not, call ‘pen mercenaries’ who ‘nullify morals and ethics’ to feed on citizens’ privacy” (Diagne, 2005a, p.39-40).

7.6 Specific challenges

Obstacles to the development of the newspaper sector are related to high operating costs. Paper is expensive, operating budgets are high and the state newspaper support fund (National Press Fund) is ridiculously low. Many newspaper editors are reluctant to make the further investment necessary to give journalists better working conditions and better salaries. The issues of quality training and journalist linguistic mastery also need to be addressed before a better-quality service can be achieved. The advertising market is growing but it needs a better legal environment and more professionalism on the side of the newspaper editors.

Key findings

- Thanks to a relatively favourable legal environment, the newspaper sector experienced a significant expansion between 2000 and 2005.
- Quality has not necessarily followed, because the growth has been mainly in the “people papers”, which largely contain gossip and scandal.
- Independence of private papers in relation to public authorities is obvious from the way in which news is reported.
- Financial support to pay for journalist training, is much needed in this sector. This would lead to more professionalism, a key to better access to the advertising market.
8. Media Support

8.1 Key changes and developments in new media technologies in the past five years

In Senegal, the mobile phone sector is dynamic. The mobile GSM network was launched in the last quarter of 1996, and achieved instant success. There are two competing mobile operators in the Senegalese market, selling subscriptions or pre-paid telephone cards to customers. Sonatel Mobiles, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Sonatel, is the first and leading operator with nearly 80% market share. It launched its mobile phone services under the trade name Alizé. Sonatel is owned by France Telecom (42%), the state (28%), the general public (20%) and its employees (10%). Sentel was the second operator to obtain a mobile licence, starting its operations in 1999. Milicom International Cellular Group controls 75% of Sentel’s capital and the remaining 25% belongs to a private Senegalese investor17.

The mobile phone sector has experienced the most growth in the communication sector in general. It reached an average annual growth rate of 70% between 1999 and 2004. Mobile phone subscribers numbered 1,730,106 in 2005, a penetration rate of 15% (ART, 2006).

With nearly 250,000 fixed telephone lines, Senegal represents a promising market for the Internet in West Africa, according to ART. There are about 13 Internet access providers in the country (Sagna, 2006). There are now also many cyber cafés which play a key role in the popularising of the Internet by offering low-price connections to a large number of people. Sonatel originally had a monopoly on the Internet but this ended in 2004. In March 2003, ADSL was introduced and this, too, was an instant success. Today, this service is provided in all Senegal’s regional capitals. Since October 2004, the Internet bandwidth has gone from 310 Mbps to 465 Mbps. Senegal is connected to the global network by an optical fibre cable and by satellite (ART, 2006).

On 31 December 2005, there were 38,000 Internet subscribers in Senegal, of whom 18,000 subscribed to ADSL (OSIRIS, 2006). This rate is still low but it does not reflect the Internet user rate, which is far higher (200,000 users) because of the boom in cyber cafés, especially in urban areas. This Internet boom impacts on the media. Fourteen newspapers can be accessed on the Seneweb.com website, eight of which are dailies (Seneweb, 2006). Also available to access on the same site is the digital newspaper, Nettali.com, and the Senegalese News Agency (APS), as well as TV and radio stations such as RTS1 (TV), Radio Nostalgie and RFM (another radio station).

17 See ART website: http://www.art-telecom-senegal.org/
ART, under the authority of the president, is responsible for regulatory enforcement and compliance with the provisions of the Telecommunication Code. Article 2 of this law defines the phrase _le service universel_ (universal service), which consists of providing all the population with telecommunications services of a certain minimum quality at an affordable price. The Senegalese government has also recently released its sectoral policy document. One of the main objectives mentioned is the democratisation of the Internet to make it a full component of the _service universel._

### 8.2 Key changes in media support in the past five years

Media support has increased in the past five years, even in the area of media monitoring which remains a quasi-monopoly of the state. This is largely because there are now more local and international private organisations working in the media sector. Among local organisations are Generation TV and the Media Centre of Dakar, and many others in film production. Many advertising and auditing agencies (local and international) have also entered the field, along with independent television/film production companies which often act as advertising agencies with their own marketing strategies. Unfortunately, the Dakar Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture directory does not provide much assistance (CCIAD, 2005).

In 2005, there were 14 locally-owned television/film independent production companies, and three international or foreign-owned independent television/film production companies. There were 48 advertising agencies in total, with 38 of these locally-based and not part of a multinational franchise, and ten internationally- or foreign-owned. There were three media monitoring/auditing organisations, which had increased from two in 2000 (Diagne, 2005b).

### 8.3 Audience and readership research data

Radio and newspaper audience measurement data is available from a number of organisations, such as Ba, Djibril & Associates (BDA), ADESR, Orga-Tech Consultants and IPAM, and is updated every six months.

Those that are best known and carry out such research the most regularly are BDA and ADESR. These two survey agencies use very similar methods. The investigation areas of their surveys are limited to Dakar, a city which is perceived as representative of the whole country’s population. According to the Director of ADESR, the assessment method of his agency consists of "reproducing in the most accurate way all the socio-professional features of the population... This method enables us to have surveys that accurately reflect the opinions of the populations of Dakar. Guidelines are defined that will permit investigators not to just limit their investigations to high streets or central areas but to collect views from suburbs and local communities" (Wal Fadjri, 3 March 2006).

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18 This was instituted by Act No 2001-15 of 27 December 2001. Article 43 of this Act defines the missions of ART.

19 Most of this data is posted on the website of Trade Point Senegal (2006) and needs better classification and updating.
Survey results are generally reported only by papers or radios that get good ratings in the research. Other media outlets will politely express doubts about the accuracy of the findings. This was the case when, at the end of 2005, a BDA survey ranked *L’Observateur* – a “people” newspaper that has only eight pages per issue – as the most-read paper. The Director of the national daily newspaper *Le Soleil* commented on the findings, saying that in a democratic country, anyone should have the right to carry out surveys, but that “I don’t give any credit to these findings because I don’t have the same target readership, and I sincerely doubt the methodology that was used to carry out this survey because many of the parameters that should have been taken into account were ignored. This being said, I would like to congratulate all those who will recognise themselves in the survey” (L’Office, 2006).

In general, the findings of the studies carried out by audience and readership research institutions, and which they sell at high prices, never find the assent of all the concerned stakeholders.

Internet usage and mobile telephony data is available annually from Sonatel and ART. Television audience measurement data was not available as of 2005.

**Key findings**

- Senegal has a strong mobile telephony sector and represents a promising market for the Internet in West Africa.
- The state’s sectoral policy document aims to achieve universal service in information communication technology (ICT).
- An increasing number of local and international private organisations are involved in film production, advertising, auditing and market research.
- Media audience research is Dakar-focused.
9. **NGO Activity**

9.1 **Key changes and developments in NGO activity in the past five years**

Traditionally, NGOs in Senegal have been involved in development activities such as agriculture, population policies, environment and so on, with few being active in the field of the media. The *Conseil des ONG d’Appui au Développement* (CONGAD), represents about 150 NGOs in Senegal, but the 2004 edition of its NGO directory (CONGAD, 2004) lists very few bodies dedicated to media development.

However, it is the author’s observation that many NGOs are now getting involved in media development activities, and it is a case of data related to them being poorly reported. For instance, there is a database of NGOs currently being compiled by the Ministry of Women, Infants, and Social Development, but the media sector is not envisioned as a field of classification by itself.**\(^\text{20}\)**

9.2 **Key NGOs involved in media development activities**

The NGOs involved in media development activities in Senegal are mostly international. They bring badly needed support, especially in the development of human resources and equipment, and they also do a great deal of monitoring work.

Panos Institute West Africa (PIWA) is the most active institution, along with Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), Transparency International, and, more recently, KAS, ENDA-TM and RADDHO.

PIWA focuses mostly on training, research and publications (Panos, 2004a). OSIWA, based in Dakar, serves the 15 members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), including Senegal. OSIWA disburses US$10 million in grants each year to support country-specific and regional initiatives.**\(^\text{21}\)** OSIWA helps communities to gain access to independent information and uncensored media, and promotes diversity in media ownership and community-based media. Transparency International key work has been in media monitoring, including some of the most important publications on the crisis of media in Senegal.

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**\(^\text{20}\)** Personal communication with a representative of the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Women, Infants and Social Development.

**\(^\text{21}\)** OSIWA website: [http://www.osiwa.org](http://www.osiwa.org)
ENDA-TM is one of the oldest NGOs in Senegal, but its work is mostly geared towards issues of development, such as poverty and social exclusion. ENDA-TM played a key role in a series of seminars organised in 2003 by the Goethe Institute of Dakar on controversial issues related to the explosion of the media after 2000. Other German organisations – the Friedrich Ebert, Konrad Adenauer and Friedrich Naumann Foundations – are also involved in media development. KAS was instrumental in the publication of what can be considered the most complete overview of media in Senegal (Diagne, 2005a).

RADDHO has built a strong reputation in the field of human rights issues, which naturally includes access to information. At least 10% of its resources are dedicated to media development activities, including monitoring (2%), redistribution of funds for media development activities on behalf of donors (3%) and professional networking (5%)  

9.3 Climate of opportunity for media development activities

Apart from NGO work in support of media development, there is also the National Press Fund, set up by the state in the mid-1990s. The Fund had 40 million F.CFA Francs per year to spend until 2001, when it was increased to F.CFA 300 million (about US$550,000) per year (Panos, 2004b). According to Abdoulaye Ndiaga Sylla, Editor-in-chief of *Sud Quotidien*, “for big media organisations, it is a drop in the ocean” (Panos, 2004b). Many say they would prefer indirect support in the form of training opportunities, tax rebates, electricity subsidies and telephone subsidies. But the state has limited resources. This leaves a huge field of operation open to the NGOs.

Key findings

- More NGOs are getting involved in media development activities.
- NGOs are particularly strong in the areas of media monitoring and generating publications.
- Better data collection on the activities of NGOs is needed. The first step would be the establishment of a complete directory of NGOs, with media development activities as a category on its own.

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22 Personal communication with RADDHO secretary in charge of communication.
10. Conclusions

The present research leads to the followings conclusions.

10.1 Media statistical data

Very few institutions are interested in media assessment, and their research and findings are not easily accessible to researchers. There are a number of directories, but few of them are regularly updated. Specialised literary production on the media is scarce. Only a few publications by NGOs, CESTI and a few journalists make up for this gap.

10.2 Media law and regulation

The rights and access to information, like freedom of speech, are inscribed in the principles of the Constitution of Senegal and are generally respected. But the provisions of Act 96-04 of 1996 regarding libel and insult are strongly enforced, which puts curbs on access to information and free speech.

The laws that created the official regulatory bodies were intended to allow equal access to the state media for all players, but the state media’s independence is doubtful and they are facing strong criticism. Positive changes have occurred in terms of good intentions but state-owned media, especially TV, are still visibly monopolised by the party in power and its allies.

10.3 Journalist pay and training

It is generally accepted that the average pay of journalists is very low compared to many other professions. This has generated much corruption. The vast majority of journalists are unionised but an increasing number are not. Much is needed in terms of training and an improvement in human resources.

10.4 Radio, newspapers, new media, TV

Radio stations largely contributed to transparency during the last Presidential elections in 2000, and have since witnessed a boom in radio sector development. The newspaper sector has also seen fast growth, thanks to a favourable regulatory environment. But the strong growth of radio stations and newspapers is also characterised by a high failure rate due to an adverse economic environment. This is a sign of potential future concentration in media ownership and the advent of a limited number of media groups.
There has been great progress in telecommunications and in the democratisation of access to the Internet. The number of private companies specialising in audio-visual productions is growing. Certain regions that were until now invisible because of the exceptional strength of Dakar will probably become promising markets.

The greatest challenge for the future is the total liberalisation of television.

10.5 NGO Activity

A growing number of NGOs are getting involved in media development activities to improve their general advocacy. Although policy and regulation are the responsibility of the state, these organisations need to play a key role in monitoring these policies and regulations.

Key findings

- There is a dearth of statistical information and research on media in Senegal.
- State and ruling party agendas are still felt too strongly in state-owned media, particularly the state television service.
- Journalists need better pay and more skills development.
- The radio, newspaper and new media sectors are benefiting from a liberalised environment, while the television sector still needs more opening up.
- NGOs are increasingly participating in media development issues, and they have an important role to play in monitoring policy and regulatory processes and outcomes.
11. Appendices

Appendix 1: Bibliography


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Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique (DPS) (2004a) 2e enquête Sénégalaise auprès des ménages (ESAM-II): Rapport de synthèse. Dakar: DPS


Appendix 2: Individuals/organisations consulted during the research

- Moussa Guèye, Director of the Media Centre, Dakar
- Modou Ngom, Head of the Communication Bureau, Ministry of Communication
- Alpha Sall, Secretary General, SYNPICS
- Communications Secretary, RADDHO
12. Introduction

This research is part of the AMDI Project. The main objective is to promote and develop independent and pluralistic media in African countries. The technical workshop held in Zaria, Nigeria, in March 2006 allowed participants to define the field of investigation better, to determine the approach to adopt, and to identify the strategic priorities likely to reinforce and advance the media in sub-Saharan Africa.

Senegal was selected as a case country for the Western Hub, which also includes Sierra Leone, Ghana, Cameroon and Nigeria. The latter serves as the research epicentre. Senegal is a case study that permits the Regional Research Director to make a comparative analysis of the area countries. With this input, he can construct a panorama of the media situation and produce a synthetic summary of results by sub-regions.

Two central questions guide this research and set the boundaries of its key topics:

☐ in what ways have media development activities contributed to the development of the sector in the past five years in the case country?

☐ regarding the main constraints and other factors, what contributions should be considered, and which initiatives should be taken and implemented for positive impact on media development in sub-Saharan Africa in the future?

The general approach is based on two investigation techniques:

☐ an analytical review of the available and pertinent documentation, and a bibliography relating to the core topic of research for each case country; and,

☐ through in-depth, semi-guided interviews, collect various points of view from decision-makers, political analysts, media practitioners and pluri-disciplinary experts who possess acknowledged expertise of the media for each case country.

A questionnaire was designed and structured around the key research topics with flexibility for the interviewees to discuss other points of interest. In synthesising the various perspectives, priority has been given, for each question, to the answers provided by the best-indicated resource persons.
Securing interviews

The 15 interviewees were selected from an initial list of 40 people. All of our target interviewees, except two, responded positively. However, the main problem was scheduling dates and times for each. It was impossible to talk to any key people from the country’s regulatory bodies. Particularly disappointing was the response from the head of ART. I was instructed to fill out an application form, which would allow me to meet him. Yet, he never responded to my request. According to his secretary in charge of communications, he had decided to stop giving interviews for reasons never clearly explained. I was even instructed to send an application form to the office of the President of the Republic to which ART is directly related.

The head of the HCA politely declined my request for an interview since this regulatory body had just been dissolved and the new one, the CNRA, is not yet in operation. Finally, I got a positive response from Babacar Kébé, a retired judge. Although this key person was not on our initial list, he was the head of the former HCRT. This regulatory body was the first to come into existence in Senegal.

I conducted the two pilot interviews personally and those with Diana Senghor, Head of PIWA, and Khalil Guèye, owner of Génération TV, a private production company. I hired two journalists as research assistants. They conducted the rest of the interviews. A translator completed the team that was composed of:

- Ibrahima Seck, in-country researcher;
- Bassirou Niang, freelance journalist;
- El Hadj Moctar Talla, journalist, RMD; and,
- Amath Sow, English teacher and professional translator.

Duration and difficulties of the research

The research was conducted from March to June 2006. The main difficulties encountered in its undertaking were related to the following:

- establishing a well-planned and confirmed appointment schedule given research project deadlines and the extremely busy timetables of all 15 interviewees;
- the questionnaire proved to be very long and hard totally to carry out orally;
- some interviewees did not want to talk for more than 15 to 30 minutes – this limitation accounts for the differences in the length of the different interviews as some secondary questions were skipped;
- the necessity to translate working documents to French – this task was not done prior to the start of research.
By far the most onerous effort was the necessity to translate the interviews and reports from French to English as it required an extension of the research time. Translation difficulties were serious given the translators’ busy timetables. Finding competent translators was not an easy task given the amount of material to translate. Amath Sow, the Translation Team Coordinator, had to forward some of the interview transcripts to other translators to meet the deadlines. Consequently, work was done hastily. The Translation Team Coordinator had to proofread and correct every document due to the poor quality. So, in recognition of his efforts, we would like to thank him and all the research assistants for their tremendous labours. We would also like to thank the staff of the West African Research Centre of Dakar, particularly the Director, Dr Ousmane Sene, and his technical team, composed of Abdoulaye Niang and Amadi Dieng. This research would have been very hard to undertake without the logistical support of this institution.
13. Media Development: an organisational context

13.1 Key organisations

The majority of interviewees came from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) deeply involved in media development activities. The following individuals participated in the research.

- Moussa Guèye, Director of the Media Centre of Dakar, an institution essentially devoted to broadcast training school dropouts (see the case study). Originally funded by FORUT, a Norwegian NGO, it has become very successful and relatively independent in financial terms.

- Fatoumata Sow, Executive Secretary of the Association des Femmes pour la Communication Alternative (ALTERCOM), an NGO devoted to the promotion of women, notably in the media sector. ALTERCOM initiated Manoré FM, the “Voice of Women”.

- Diana Senghor, Executive Director of PIWA, an NGO based in Senegal and strongly involved in media development activities at the sub-regional level.

- Safiétou Kane Ly, Media Programmes Director of OSIWA, another NGO strongly involved in media development activities at the sub-regional level. OSIWA has recently launched the West Africa Democracy Radio broadcasting from Dakar to Mano River states, mainly Sierra Leone and Liberia.

Three interviewees are members of government departments or related institutions, such as regulatory bodies.

- Bacar Dia, Minister of Information and government spokesman for Senegal.
Modou Ngom, Director of the Communication Office at the Ministry of Information, is an interviewee directly involved in all matters related to the media in Senegal. He is, above all, a media practitioner now involved in official affairs. His point of view is far from the traditional “langue de bois” (a wooden tongue) of officials involved in political matters.

Babacar Kébé, former Director of the defunct HCRT.

Three media practitioners were selected from a long list of potential candidates.

Mamadou Sèye, a senior practitioner from the public sector, is Director General of the state-owned daily newspaper Le Soleil.

Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director of Radio Oxyjeunes, the first community radio of Senegal, located in Pikine, a suburb of Dakar.

Khalil Guèye, a media entrepreneur and initiator of Génération TV, a private production company.

Jacques Habib Sy, Executive Director of Transparency International, was the only person selected among the analysts and writers who are experts on the media. He is the author of several books and articles, including an extremely critical book listed among the major publications on the media in Senegal (see bibliography).

With regards to educators responsible for training journalists and heads of journalism schools, the following interviewees were selected.

Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director of the Institut Supérieur des Sciences de l’Information et de la Communication (ISSIC), the first private school of journalism in Senegal. He is also a well-known writer, known worldwide for his acerbic publications on the way public affairs are handled by the current regime in Senegal.

Eugénie Rokhaya Aw is the Director of the Centre d’Etudes des Sciences et Techniques de l’Information (CESTI), a public school of journalism linked to the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar.

Finally, two celebrated media practitioners were selected for very specific reasons.

Alpha Sall, Secretary General of the Syndicat des Professionnels de l’Information et de la Communication du Sénégal (SYNPICS), the largest if not only journalists’ trade union of Senegal.

Abbé André Latyr Ndiaye, a clergyman of the Archdiocese of Dakar, and a journalist of the minority, but very active Christian community of Senegal.
13.2 Impact of media development initiatives

There is unanimous agreement that changes in the media sector are mostly of a quantitative nature, such as:

- the proliferation of newspaper publications;
- the increase in the number of frequencies granted to commercial and community radio stations.

If the state authorities see in this a sign of a “voluntary policy” of the regime in power since 19 March 2000, media professionals unanimously attribute this progress to a historic necessity in relation with the democratic progressions made by the Senegalese people. The need for a more anchored democracy has dictated the liberalisation of all media sectors. Media professionals mention and strongly deplore the reluctance of public authorities to completely liberalise the broadcasting sector, especially television. Yet, public authorities deny this allegation. They argue that liberalisation is not complete because of the non-conformity of applicants to obey the requirements of being granted a licence, and to follow the conditions of application already set by the state.

Fatoumata Sow notes the existence of a greater number of newspaper publications and also the important efforts that have been made to master journalistic techniques. She mentions, however, many difficulties from the editorial point of view. For her:

“... many young people enter the world of communication without sufficient training, without a solid cultural and intellectual background."

In another respect, she deplores:

“... the instrumentalisation of the media for personal, political, economic or religious purposes."

(Fatoumata Sow, Coordinator; NGO: ALTERCOM, Senegal)

Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director of ISSIC, does not see any changes other than an increase in the number of publications in the written press and a more important development of radio stations. But from an editorial point of view, he sees no major changes. According to him:

“Sensational press [people press] has grown a lot in importance to the detriment of what is generally viewed as more serious newspapers.”

(Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director; Educator: ISSIC, Senegal)

He admits, however, that this does not mean a regression of the press in the country even though, from the quality point of view, one can talk about a slight “backward step” in so far as he recognises that:

“Before 2000, the Senegalese press used to be more analytical, more concise in its way of giving accounts of events. But after 2000, there has been such a media explosion that some fundamentals of the profession were somewhat forgotten. It is a press that gives information but it forgets somehow to comment on it and give it a real perspective.”

(Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director; Educator: ISSIC, Senegal)
Still, according to him, the root of evil is an under-financed media.

"Media professionals are not well paid because the media do not generate enough resources to be able to hire high-quality and well-structured staff."

He adds that generally:

"... the media produce excellent human resources, but those human resources will leave afterwards because they are offered better pay elsewhere. All the good journalists are leaving their papers. Once they get known to the public, other companies, organisations and institutions, including the state, don’t leave them in place; they are massively hired away."

(Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director; Educator: ISSIC, Senegal)

For Bacar Dia, the media have been expanding, especially in print and radio. He indicated that:

"The press phenomenon has globally become a matter of trend [because] Senegal now has tens of newspaper publications, [about] 20 to 30 independent newspapers... and forty 45 to 50 authorised radio frequencies."

(Bacar Dia, Minister; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

The Minister adds that “the state has no control over the content of those radio broadcasts”. For him, it is a sign that, “free and independent press has reached a level never reached in Senegal since 2000”. But, he deplores this, as it is also “a way forward to a certain number of difficulties: financial difficulties, difficulties related to the management of the newly acquired freedom, etc.”

(Bacar Dia, Minister; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

Finally, he sees these important steps forward in the area of growth for the press and freedom of expression as first and foremost the conquests of the masses because Senegalese people, “cherish freedom and fight everyday for its greater conquest and the guarantee of its safeguard and respect”. One needs, however, to acknowledge, according to this government authority, “the catalyst role” played by President Wade “in the multiplicity, but also in the diversity of the free and independent press.”

(Bacar Dia, Minister; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

Regarding the liberalisation of television, Bacar Dia blames would-be operators. They claim to be promoters but do not even bother to submit their applications. He sees the need to make a “difference between folkloric activism and the reality in the field”. And, one must ask “how many operators actually submitted valid applications for a television station”. Yet, potential television station promoters who file valid applications declare that they do not understand the state’s waiting game (“attentisme”). That is the case for Khalil Guèye.

"There has been no evolution in relation to the broadcasting sector... [and] it is the great disappointment of the Senegalese people as a whole in relation to the decision of the state not to liberalise television."

(Khalil Guèye, Director; Media Entrepreneur, Génération TV, Senegal)
In other words, this is “the paradox of political alternation” that has enabled Senegal to go from one political regime to another without a civil war. Yet, the broadcasting sector will play a more important role than print media in liberalising society:

"The majority of the country’s population is illiterate the number of independent daily newspapers have no impact on the biggest proportion of the Senegalese population [because] one will be able to talk about freedom of expression only after the broadcasting sector has been liberalised; only after television is given the freedom to present programmes in national languages – in order to enable populations to understand what is going on around them and react to it, especially for the coming elections – they would then know for whom and for what to vote."

(Khalil Guèye, Director; Media Entrepreneur: Génération TV, Senegal)

This interviewee sees, in the attitude of the state, a deliberate will to:

"... maintain the majority of the population in ignorance, under the cover of a fake freedom of expression materialised by a great number of newspaper publications in a predominantly illiterate country."

(Khalil Guèye, Director; Media Entrepreneur: Génération TV, Senegal)

On another note, one interviewee notes that the Information Ministry and media professionals have agreed to highlight the necessity to reconcile the freedom of practising journalism with a greater sense of the profession’s responsibilities. Both parties call for a greater importance to be given to qualificatory training for current and future journalists. This training would consist of review courses and/or continuing education.

Finally, it is noted that media sector professionals have improved in their technical skills, especially those in the printed press. Regrettably, this achievement contrasts with the superficial editorial lines of most newspaper publications.
14. Media Development Initiatives

14.1 Review

Despite the inertia that the state seems to portray, initiatives are taken on by private promoters and NGOs to develop the media in terms of diversity, quality, training and production. We have singled out the following initiatives that seem representative.

- PIWA initiatives relate to a regional approach that promotes a culture of democracy and peace through a press liberated from politicians’ contingencies.
- ALTERCOM takes charge of the preoccupations related to gender issues through Manoré FM “The Voice of Women”.
- The promotion of the broadcasting sector initiated by the Media Centre of Dakar.
- Génération TV is involved in boosting the technical environment for the development of the broadcasting sector.
- SYNPICS improves the working conditions of the journalists through a better legal environment.

PIWA and the “Media for Peace” initiative

Among other initiatives, PIWA has developed a programme called “Media for peace”. This programme was financed by the European Union (EU) and enabled PIWA to make an impact in Côte d’Ivoire (in 2001, 2002 and 2003), in Sierra Leone and, to a lesser extent, in Liberia. In Sierra Leone, PIWA helped within the framework of the country’s reconstruction and in setting up a national policy of communication. That intervention was the result of a request from professional organisations, journalists’ associations and the state to help with the elaboration of that communication policy. PIWA organised a series of workshops on the printed press, radio and information and communication technologies (ICT). The workshops extended to advertising, thanks to input from resource people. Professionals from Mali attended the workshop on the topic of producing radio programmes. Meanwhile, Senegalese professionals attended a workshop on the printed press. Proposals were formulated for each sector. At the end, a roundtable was organised for the various sectors.
PIWA attempted to intervene in Côte d’Ivoire but obtained mitigated results. The aim of that project was to promote a spirit of brotherhood among journalists of the various parties in conflict\(^1\). PIWA succeeded in bringing together journalists of different editorial boards. The dossiers of the gathered editorial team had to be published in turn by the four editorial boards. People were happy to see those journalists working together and respecting certain deontological rules. Problems arose when it was noticed by the organisers that a newspaper would publish the collective articles as a supplement, and in its editorial columns, on the next page, the very journalist involved in the project made calls for hatred and violence. This situation forced the experiment to end.

**ALTERCOM: Giving a voice back to women**

This section discusses the ALTERCOM initiatives, a communication structure that, according to its coordinator, Fatoumata Sow, has objectives to:

- support women in the area of communication;
- help women’s expression of their needs and aspirations;
- participate in the reinforcement of gender equality using existing means of communication.

ALTERCOM has created a community radio station called Manooré FM that broadcasts its programmes in the regions of Dakar and Thies. It has the particularity of specialising in women’s issues and development. According to Fatoumata Sow, the idea underlying the NGO is that:

> Women are generally marginalised in the sector of communication. As professionals, they are marginalised both in terms of their number, and in terms of the responsibilities they are given... [As a social group, women] are subject to a treatment that distorts much their image, underestimates and under values their real participation in the development of society.

*(Fatoumata Sow, Coordinator; NGO: ALTERCOM, Senegal)*

To correct that tendency, ALTERCOM finds radio to be the most appropriate tool to promote women’s expression. This initiative is found to be extremely positive.

> Associations of women are regularly participating in radio programmes. More and more people are asking to use the radio station framework to broadcast their programmes. We are sometimes addressed to deal with issues... such as violence against women. The government and other partners, aware of the relevance of radio, are calling us for a specific partnership when they have a special action to lead. Manooré FM [and]... the focus on women and development [were] good choice[s] too. This choice is appreciated by the target audience: women and ... other institutions dealing with women’s issues.

*(Fatoumata Sow, Coordinator; NGO: ALTERCOM Senegal)*

\(^{1}\) Ivory Coast has been facing a civil war since 2002. Some journalists are involved in the turmoil with tendancial (underlying or obscure) press releases.
Media Centre of Dakar: Opening the broadcast sector up to the people

The most popular initiative, with perhaps the most far-reaching impact on the Senegalese broadcasting landscape, is the Media Centre of Dakar. Details about this organisation are included in the case study for this report. In ten years, the Media Centre of Dakar has trained 100 young people and improved content in the media, especially content on television. Every year, five to ten alumni are hired by various media organisations. Some of these young people have gone on to work for the Senegalese state television and radio station (RTS) without receiving any assistance from public authorities.

"When people want to see an organisation which is at the heart of the development of the broadcast sector in Senegal, the Media Centre of Dakar is their reference… [It] has succeeded in creating a real interest for audio-visual technologies in young people. In the past, people had to go to the National Institute for Broadcasting (INA), or to FEMIS in France, to receive training in broadcast journalism."

(Moussa Guèye, Director; NGO: Media Centre of Dakar, Senegal)

Génération TV: Boosting the technical environment for the development of the broadcast sector

Another case is Génération TV. It is a private broadcaster set up entirely from local expertise in order to make television programmes. Génération TV directs and produces TV spots, presentation films and documentaries. It has worked with the most important TV channels in the world, in Norway, the BBC, CNN, CBS and African TV channels, which, according to its initiator, Khalil Guèye, “do not offer programmes of doubtful quality.”

In 2004, Génération TV produced the American series “Amazing Grace” in Senegal. Its première was viewed by 150 million people and broadcast again for 300 million viewers. For 15 days, Génération TV has also directed, in collaboration with the United Nations, a documentary on sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), more precisely in Goma, Bukavu, Kisangani, Kinshasa and Kindu. Khalil Guèye finds the situation of Génération TV paradoxical as:

"The state is denying [them]… the opportunity to express and show an expertise that is appraised and resorted to by foreign TV channels."

(Khalil Guèye, Director; Media Entrepreneur: Génération TV, Senegal)

Syndicat des Professionnels de l’Information et de la Communication du Senegal (SYNPICS): Improving the working conditions of the journalists through a better legal environment

The contribution of SYNPICS is mainly understood in the domain of the media legal environment. Act 96-04 relates to social communication organisations and to social communication professionals and was drafted by SYNPICS. According to Alpha Sall:

"SYNPICS was able to clinch a deal on [this] general agreement that is unique in its kind in Africa. This general agreement encompasses working conditions, pay rates of communication professionals but also issues relating to ethics and deontology. It has the force of law and is mandatory in its enforcement. This agreement is extremely important. It sets clear and ‘broad as daylight’ directives on journalists’ working conditions, salary, etc."

(Alpha Sall, Secretary General; Media Support: SYNPICS, Senegal)

2 Diatou Cissé, a journalist at RTS, has recently replaced Alpha Sall as the head of SYNPICS.
In the same line of action, SYNPICS battled for opening up the broadcast sector. To give an illustration, Alpha Sall highlights the fact that promoters of the first private radio station are former leaders of this trade union. He also mentions amendments to the law that created the HCA after ones related to the HCRT. SYNPICS is also active in conducting development policies in the media sector, making proposals, giving realistic and practical ideas and initiating campaigns when the situation requires it, for example, when there are threats to the freedom of the press.

### 14.1.1 Funding of media development

The Press Support Fund was created by the Finance Act of 22 February 1996. It provides direct support from the state. From 40 million F.CFA Francs at the beginning, its amount was raised to 300 million F.CFA Francs in 2001. The fund is managed by a committee composed of officials from the Ministry of Information and representatives of government and professional organisations. Eligibility depends on a set of factors: legal existence, regularity, and the employment of professionals. Newspapers have to claim and meet the following criteria:

- a volume of at least 2,000 copies per issue;
- five journalists employed full-time;
- 75% of the content dedicated to political, economical, social and cultural information, including sports; and,
- one-third of the resources must come from the newspaper sales, subscriptions, and sponsorship.

For the broadcast sector, the criteria are to:

- broadcast at least in one of the 11 administrative regions;
- employ at least five journalists, technicians or other staff full-time.

The use of the allocated funds is free. The amount of the press support fund has been recently raised to 400 million F.CFA Francs, but this was recently announced by the President of the Republic, and is not yet set in stone. According to one of our interviewees:

> "At the moment we are speaking, it has been two years now that the state has decided to freeze the Press Support Fund because there are no legal bindings and no constraints to give it."

(Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director; Media Practitioner, Private Sector: Radio Oxyjeunes, Senegal)

Funding is one of the main weaknesses of the media sector of Senegal. Apart from being very low, the Press Support Fund generates more problems than solutions, as we will see further on in this report. The funding of media activities is mostly handled by a few foundations, such as the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and a few NGOs, such as PIWA and OSIWA. According to Diana Senghor, the budget of her institution is totally devoted to media development activities. This budget:

> "... is stable because [they] have not been active enough for more than one year now in terms of fund raising”. Piwa is working over a reconceptualisation of a strategy for the next five years."

(Diana Senghor, Executive Director; NGO: PIWA, Senegal)

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3 Throughout our search, PIWA was the only organisation with a clear and available report on its budget and how it is structured. Other institutions mostly gave us oral and approximate figures.
Safiétou Kane Ly, Media Program Director of OSIWA, could not give an exact figure of the proportion of funding devoted to media development activities but she ascertained that over four years, there was a lot of money to finance various activities, such as a community radio at Mont Rolland, about a hundred kilometres from Dakar. This federation of ten associations works well and has solid experience with various good activities. Prior to its establishment, there were no radio stations to cover the area let alone to develop a synergy.

14.2 Success and impact

14.2.1 Evaluating the success of media development activities

This research has definitely given a strong impression that the evaluation of media activities is a real problem in Senegal. The culture of evaluation is obviously missing in the endeavors of most of the organisations approached. Diana Senghor acknowledged that, “It took (PIWA) time to adapt to the culture of evaluation”. They did not start to evaluate their projects systematically until 2005. Before that time, they used to have a less formal process. Fortunately, this tendency is just a “pêché de jeunesse” (sin of youth) for this and a few other organisations. For example, Safiétou Kane Ly points out that OSIWA:

“... is a young organisation which currently gives itself priorities in investment but has not reached yet the stage of evaluation. That is certainly a forthcoming stage. Actually, it is only this year that OSIWA has invested in the recruitment of external evaluators to precisely go in the field to evaluate their projects.”

(Safiétou Kane Ly, Media Programmes Director; NGO: OSIWA, Senegal)

Fatoumata Sow sings the same tune but relates the problem to a lack of means:

“At present, we don’t have a scientific assessment as such, because scientific criteria are not available to guarantee the radio station impact on the audience at Thiès and Dakar, which are our target areas, and representing the grassroots of the radio. We can’t achieve proper assessment because we don’t have the means for it. It is not because we don’t want to do it. It was planned before launching the radio; we carried out a very broad sociological study for controlling the environment better, and also knowing where our programmes should be oriented. A certain situation was prevailing before the start of the radio station. We wished to be in another situation or to carry out other studies to assess our experience and all the radio internal activities such as awareness and education programmes, and so on, and to further measure our impact on women and the population in general. Unfortunately our resources don’t enable us to achieve it.”

(Fatoumata Sow, Coordinator; NGO: ALTERCOM Senegal)

On the other hand, we have noticed a few organisations for which evaluation is a systematic way to success. Meaningful or not, the two interviewees who developed this idea are former graduates of North American schools. For Khalil Guèye, Director of Génération TV, his organisation does “a quite professional and scientific assessment of everything”. He also considers that culture is important in the process since “local realities should be the base on which to start”. To give a concrete example, he considers that production should depend on what people order or like. Scientific assessment is therefore necessary.
According to Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director of ISSIC, the last evaluation of his institution was done three years ago; the next one will be within five years. For this educator and media professional, there is no progress without evaluation. Like Khalil Guèye, his approach to evaluation, at an empirical level, is quite simple: “The response of the market is the first assessment of the programmes we offer. Since these answers are positive and satisfying, I think we can be proud of what we are doing.” For Abdou Latif Coulibaly, the success of his school reads in its market integration rates, which are about 80% in the first years after graduation.

For Modou Ngom, public administration works differently from NGOs. In this respect, he considers that they are not really tied by an evaluation process:

“\textit{When we draft out a project of law or decree, our evaluation norm is whether that law or decree is adopted or not. If we have to make an evaluation today, we will say that a draft act of law has received approval from the Council of Ministers, voted and passed by the National Assembly. Law enforcement is another problem altogether and is not under our responsibility.}”

(Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

Modou Ngom also addressed another concrete example: the press card project. This project was conducted in cooperation with press editors, SYNPICS, the Ministry of Justice and a service of the Department of Communication, namely, the permanent Secretariat. The objective was to give the national professional press card its true value and meaning while fighting the anarchical issuing of in-house professional cards by press companies. Between 450 and 500 cards have been issued to date. Modou Ngom explains further:

“\textit{If we must make an evaluation, we can say that we did issue and deliver cards but we cannot say that these cards have been a great success today and that the practice of the job of journalists has witnessed an evolution thanks to the issuance of professional press cards. It may be too early to make an evaluation, but satisfaction levels are mitigated. As a public sector service, we could have expressed satisfaction on the ground of the evolutions that took place, but we preferred to wait. However, we have not, as yet, any criteria to say that such a newspaper is better written than another one or that interventions in radio stations are better managed.}”

(Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

This declaration of a government official is, in fact, confirmation of the lack of a culture of evaluation raised.
14.2.2 Factors contributing to/undermining the success of media development activities

Beyond financing matters, the following issues were raised by our interviewees to explain the success or lack of success of media development activities:

- levels of professionalism and the existence self-regulation tools;
- number of training opportunities;
- the existence of political obstacles;
- evaluation of media projects; and,
- levels of involvement of local groups.

Professionalism and self-regulation

For all interviewees, professionalism is the gateway to success, even more important than money. According to Khalil Guèye of Génération TV, “It is professionalism that brings money”. Eugénie Rokhaya Aw also thinks that in-house “cleansing” is absolutely important for journalists to endow themselves with credible self-regulation tools. Alpha Sall agrees that there is a problem with the attitude of many journalists, particularly those whose only concern is money. The media sector is attractive and many people are not concerned with the improvement of the legal framework of the profession.

“Some are even ready to pay money to continue having their articles or radio programmes published or broadcasted. Such people are of course not ready to take any action to obtain higher salaries.”

(Alpha Sall, Secretary General; Media Support: SYNPICS, Senegal)

Moussa Guèye suggests that politics at large is killing professionalism and journalists are themselves responsible:

“There is a need for the press to be managed by professionals. This would guarantee their independence, give them the possibility to work in their utmost good faith and provide good quality information. When we reflect on the present situation of our country, we have a feeling of monotony in the treatment of information in newspapers. One question that comes to mind is whether journalists are doing their job correctly and, if they provide relevant and useful information that can contribute to making things clearer, and bring about development without any partial orientations. This is an imperative requirement.”

(Moussa Guèye, Director; NGO: Media Centre of Dakar, Senegal)

Oumar Seck Ndiaye also considers professionalism as a main factor for success. Often people just focus on the enjoyable aspects of establishing a radio station. They don’t take into account its sustainability or future direction during the design stage. As a result, projects have a high failure rate within the first five years of inception.

“Each project has its realities and challenges and, in relation to them, people must design appropriate implementation strategies to ensure their durability.”

(Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director; Media Practitioner, Private Sector: Radio Oxyjeunes, Senegal)
Training and professionalism
Senegal has a limited number of schools of journalism and the existing ones have poor equipment. Another crucial problem is the lack of specialisation. Eugénie Rokhaya Aw is concerned about this, and all our interviewees agree with her.

"I think it's really crucial to have future journalists and professionals trained in a rigorous way in order to favour the acquisition of skills to untrained people, and provide additional training schemes for those who are already trained in issues of health, politics, education, environment, etc."

(Eugénie Rokhaya Aw, Director; Educator: CESTI, Senegal)

Political obstacles
Senegal has a highly politicised society and political issues are debated almost everywhere, every day and all year round. This is naturally conveyed and reinforced by the print press and television. Eugénie Rokhaya Aw, like all our interviewees, is concerned with politics because it smothers other issues that are important for the country.

"The media deal very little with health, environment or education policies… Let the populations be informed when they are playing their citizenship role. Citizenship is not made from media articles, but the press contributes to give it life through true, right and complete information."

(Eugénie Rokhaya Aw, Director; Educator: CESTI, Senegal)

Evaluating media projects
There is a real need in Senegal to evaluate the media in an objective way through surveys and other mechanisms. Two to three institutes so far are involved in surveys but the results are often criticised by media professionals who do not agree with their findings. The most important thing is internal evaluation. All our interviewees acknowledge the importance of it, but only three of them have clearly indicated that the culture of evaluation is in-house.

Involving local groups in community radio
Last but not least, a specific factor was defended by Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director of Radio Oxyjeunes, a community radio strongly supported by the population of Pikine, a suburb of Dakar, where the radio is rooted; “A station should be appropriated by the members of the community.” He perceives community involvement as the only path to success. The appropriation of Radio Oxyjeunes by both young and older people is illustrated through moral, financial, and even physical security support. Oumar Seck Ndiaye relates a story depicting the latter type of support. When the project of setting up the station was initiated, they received three million F.CFA Francs from the Association of Pulaar Traders of the local market. When the mayor of the district once threatened to close down the station, a crowd gathered at the station’s doors within 30 minutes of the announcement to defend the radio. People came spontaneously. They called the mayor to express their anger. The mayor later on sent a messenger saying he was just joking.

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4 Pulaar is the name mostly used to describe the Fulani people of northern Senegal.
14.3 Lessons learned

All interviewees came to the following conclusions:

- funding is one of the main weaknesses of the media sector of Senegal;
- professionalism is the gateway to success. This makes training issues very important. Professionalism also implies the good behaviour of journalists and the importance of self-regulation tools; and,
- although evaluation of the media activities is a real problem in Senegal, it is considered a systematic way to success: there is no progress without evaluation.

All interviewees, apart from the Minister of Information, have a strong sense that the state can be the first obstacle to the development of the media. Governments have an instinctive tendency to monopolise the media.

14.3.1 The importance of the cultural context in planning and designing an initiative

One interviewee has learned that culture is very important in the process of media development: local realities should define the starting point. However, another interviewee advises that those who run community radio stations should establish strong relations with the members of the community, as that bond is a principle factor of success.
15. Developing the Environment for Success

15.1 Key factors

All our interviewees consider democracy, plurality, liberalisation and independence as the fundamental key factors that are important for the success for media development.

15.1.1 Democracy and plurality

Modou Ngom considers that democracy and media development are intricately related. None of these can go without the other:

“Public authorities are well aware that this is in the march of history. Pluralism is essential in the matter of information... Many countries fell into chaos because of a deficit of pluralism [notably] in radio programmes. Coming now to democracy itself, I would say it is voiceless, shapeless, colourless and abstract. It needs the media to be voiced, coloured, shaped and inspiring. Democracy cannot exist if there are no media. It would be a sheer abstraction. So there must be a pluralistic expression of opinions and ideas. This is fundamental and, only the media can achieve this because they disseminate opinions and views. They are the locomotives of democracy.”

(Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

He also thinks that the future of the media in sub-Saharan Africa depends on privatisation and defining a framework for producing information. This point of view is strongly supported by Moussa Guèye of the Media Centre of Dakar. Private organisations have the role of processing information because the “state is always partial.”
15.1.2 Liberalisation and independence

For Babacar Kébé, independence is an essential condition for media development. In this respect, much needs to be done in Senegal since the local media regulatory body is behind those of other African countries, let alone those in France.

"Most African countries such as Gabon, Benin, Burkina Faso and even our neighbours in Mali are ahead of us... We are late in... the appointment of public media directors. In... most [countries], this appointment is under the responsibility of the media regulatory body... to guarantee the independence of the media as entities and also to protect them from sanctions that can go as far as removing their directors from office. This will make public media directors feel more independent. The second aspect on which we are behind is the management of the allocation of media frequencies. It is not believable that radio frequencies should be attributed outside the authority of the HCA. This is a function of trade-off, and as such should be under the responsibility of a media regulatory body. Otherwise, the government is judge and party."

(Babacar Kébé, Former Director; Government: HCRT, Senegal)

This quote stresses the need for the government of Senegal to rid itself of its centralising tendencies in what concerns the media.

15.2 Political and economic influences

One viewpoint shared by all interviewees is that media development lies primarily in the hands of media professionals themselves. However, the interviewees are obviously divided into two camps regarding the types of influence. On one side, some interviewees close to the government think that the political and economic environment in Senegal is favourable to media development activities despite the difficulties of the sector. This camp consists of four interviewees: the Minister of Information, two directors of public institutions and the now former head of the journalists’ trade union, who is known for his moderation.

15.2.1 Favourable political and economic environment

For Modou Ngom the rise in print media is due in large part to profitability. In addition, he estimates that the State has played an important role in creating an environment conducive to the development of the media sector because:

"To create a newspaper, prior licence is not needed... just a declaration to your local Public Prosecutor’s office is sufficient. And since there’s only a declaration to be made, nobody has to wait for a yes or no answer... There is a total liberalisation in that respect, so much so, that it is easier to launch a paper than to set up an Economic Interest Group in a district."

(Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)
Mamadou Sèye agrees that profitability has played a large role. However, he also points out that political influence is not always benign.

“Many newspapers are being created, some of them die out because of the will of some politicians or businessmen that pull the strings behind the scene and who want to make quick money. In any case, the press has become a profitable niche. [But], there will be a natural selection.”

(Mamadou Sèye, Director General; Media Practitioner, Public Sector: Le Soleil, Senegal)

For Alpha Sall of SYNPICS, journalists have always worked to elevate the professionalism of the sector within the country as well as the sub-region. At the political level, the state, which is in charge of the global framework of all activities, especially the legislative framework, has had merit in either directly or indirectly creating a “favourable ground”. As to economic factors, he thinks that they are a global and perpetual problem. But, generally speaking, “there is an economic environment that relatively makes it possible for a quality press to develop”.

15.2.2 Unfavourable political and economic environment

On the other side of this debate, private sector and NGO interviewees share a less favourable view of the economic and political environment. Jacques Sy has the most original and striking point of view.

“Press businesses must be analysed in relation to the status of Senegalese businessmen and Senegalese companies in general... those companies are between the hammer and the anvil. They have no control of their markets which, in turn, are organised according to and in function of external functions and needs. Consequently, forces that control the market are not endogenous but rather exogenous. Evidence for this is the advertising market, which represents an annual average of F.CFA8 billion to F.CFA9 billion. This is controlled by the import substitution industry; that is to say, industries essentially implanted by French businessmen. These industries, which are all mighty, are characterised by a kind of “petit colon” spirit – a colonialist spirit... The import substitution industry has control over the evolution of press businesses because, being the main advertisement providers, they control the market and can consequently ‘punish’ the media when they attack their interests.”

(Jacques H. Sy, Executive Director; NGO: Transparency International, Senegal)

To summarise this point of view, there are many obstacles to the development of the press, owing to the structure of the economy, that are neo-colonial. Jacques Sy is also very critical on the evolution of the state sphere, which he considers not to be as favourable to the development of the press as it should be, despite the democratic regime change of 2000. A worsening level of corruption and the etat providence (providential state) have also had negative consequences on the media. While newspapers may be flourishing, the print media has done little to address problems of poverty and illiteracy.
15.3 Donor communities’ role

The support of the donor community is obviously needed and feared at the same time. According to two interviewees who deal with international donors, external support is dangerous for independence. One thinks it is hard to get, especially when one’s organisation is based in Africa and has a regional focus like PIWA.

Khalil Guèye, Director of Génération TV, prefers loans at light interest rates even in the case of public assistance as free financing compromises independence. Moussa Guèye agrees that donor financing can impose goals and priorities that differ from the local organisation.

For its part, the Media Centre of Dakar received annual financing from NORAD of F.CFA80 to F.CFA100 million during the first five years of its existence. This financing contributed to training 12 Senegalese students each year.

Diana Senghor, Executive Director of PIWA, points out many problems with donor financing:

- financial aid for projects is carried out through the embassies and delegations of the donors’ countries;
- mechanisms are not in place to allow the regional organisations to develop; and,
- plenty of international financing is available, but backers always favour and finance organisations from the North that compete with African ones.

Diana Senghor does not really see a need to focus just on indigenous NGOs. But, international donors should treat local NGOs on an equal basis by using what she considers the most objective criteria for financing: the results on the field.

15.4 Other issues

Apart from the other factors already discussed, three interviewees mentioned additional ones that are worth exploring.

15.4.1 Government regulatory bodies

Regulatory bodies must adapt as the media sector evolves. Diana Senghor highlights the confusion between regulatory bodies. While ART oversees telecoms, another agency regulates mass media. However, it is unclear which should regulate new media, such as online newspapers.

15.4.2 Self-regulatory bodies

Diana Senghor is also the only interviewee to advocate the creation of a self-regulatory body similar to those of medical doctors, pharmacists and lawyers (probably something like the Conseil de l’Ordre des Journalistes). This group can then promote ethics in the profession. It should not be the responsibility of a government agency like CNRA.

15.4.3 Evaluating audience demand

Press editors must have expertise in marketing. According to Khalil Guèye, Génération TV only makes movies when there is demand. He advises getting a buyer and pitching the idea before embarking on it. This process offers a greater likelihood of selling the movie as opposed to making a movie without any input from its potential audience.
15.4.4 Promoting the use of local languages

The media in Senegal are overwhelmingly dominated by the use of French and Wolof. Community radios are doing a great job in using local languages but there is still a need to reinforce the use of the other languages by the media broadcasting nationally. This idea was clearly suggested by two of our interviewees, Khalil Guèye and Oumar Seck Ndiaye.

“We are the first radio station in Senegal which integrated all spoken languages in the country into our programmes. National languages are solely used for announcements, even at the Senegalese National Radio Television (RTS); this illustrates the exclusively commercial aspect related to their use. We opted for giving as much space, programmes and news briefs to all the national languages.”

(Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director; Media Practitioner, Private Sector: Radio Oxyjeunes, Senegal)

15.4.5 Access to the advertising market

Abdou Latif Coulibaly believes that priorities should be focused on creating a transparent legal environment to encourage advertising as the main potential source of revenue for the press.

“The Senegalese advertising market is extremely tight, and the rules that preside over it are a complete mess, because they don’t make any distinction between different actors. There are no rules to prevent unfair competition. It is unacceptable that community stations should have free access to the advertising market on the same terms as commercial stations. It is unacceptable that a station financed 100% by the City Council of Dakar should have the same opportunities of access to the advertising market as Sud FM, which is a commercial station. State media access to advertising should be limited. State television and radio stations receive billions from public authorities annually, and at the same time want to compete with Sud FM on its market. This is really unfair. Radio Municipale de Dakar (RMD) is wholly financed by the Dakar City Council, and that station has the same rights to the advertising market as Sud FM. Why is this fair? These radio stations do not have the same operating costs. These are some very basic and very serious shortcomings that are down to politics – nobody in this country can understand this. I find this scandalous in every respect. People don’t seem to understand that RMD cannot have the same status as Sud FM with regards to access to the advertising market. RMD does not pay any taxes to the state whereas Sud FM does.”

(Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director; Educator: ISSIC, Senegal)
16. Future Strategies

16.1 Strategic priorities

Based on all 15 interviews, the following priorities should be supported by the donor community. Special attention should be given to supporting community media through:

- legal reforms;
- the effective liberalisation of television; and,
- improving access to technology and quality training opportunities.

16.2 Focus of support

Interviewees indicated the need for support in particular areas: media policy and legal frameworks; developing local content; supporting the growth of independent media; and, raising the standards of journalism.

16.2.1 Media frameworks

All interviewees agree with Modou Ngom:

“\[\text{The first form of assistance is the existence of a truly liberal legislative and regulatory framework that allows the development of the press and the media.}\]\"

(Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

16.2.2 Developing local content

Developing local content is an idea also shared by all interviewees, especially in the television sector. Khalil Guèye believes that developing local content also allows a breakthrough for democracy.

“It would be relevant to talk about freedom of expression only when the broadcasting sector is liberalised, when television is authorised to broadcast in local languages for people to understand what’s going on in their environment and to take action during elections, as they will know for whom to vote.”

(Khalil Guèye, Director; Media Entrepreneur: Génération TV, Senegal)

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6 Many foreigners who visit Senegal are surprised by the domination of the national TV programmes by productions from Europe and countries of the Western hemisphere such as the USA, Mexico and Brazil. In contrast, local content is well developed in newspapers and radio programmes.
16.2.3 Supporting the growth of independent media

None of our interviewees oppose the idea of support for the growth of independent media. Conflicting points of views are related to the nature and modalities of such support as discussed further in section 16.4.

16.2.4 Raising standards of journalism

The need to raise the standards of journalism was also expressed by all interviewees. Mamadou Sèye advocates “in-house cleansing”, in which good-quality training addresses the biggest thorn at the heels of the press: the problem of ethics.

According to Alpha Sall, article 48 of the general agreements (convention collective), that regulates the profession of the journalists, provides that 2% of the salary costs must go to staff training. But this legal disposition needs to be strongly enacted.

“Otherwise, the amounts to be allocated to training would go to press company managers. This mechanism [should be] set up to make the press editors fulfil their duties. Editorial staff is often made of trained personnel that have completed three years of training in journalist training schools such as CESTI, after having passed difficult admission exams but, also others who did not have that training opportunity. We had to take into account this latter category of personnel. That is why we wanted to start, in the framework of this training scheme, with those who did not attend schools of journalism. Those who had a certain number of years of experience in editorial staff and who showed some willingness and humility accepted to take the training and improve their knowledge of the profession. By so doing, they contribute to raising the quality of the media.”

(Alpha Sall, Secretary General; Media Support: SYNPICS, Senegal)

16.3 Media sector focus

Many professionals accept the division of the media into categories such as state, independent or private media. However, the same categorisation is not obvious when it comes to the distinction between community media (radio stations) on the one hand and commercial media on the other as the latter also informs, educates and entertains the population. The frontier between commercial and community radio stations is truly blurred.

The difference is most obvious in the amount of the annual fee paid to the government (US$4,000 for private radio stations, US$1,000 for community stations based in Dakar and US$400 for community stations inside the country). Nobody fully respects that obligation.

Moreover, to benefit from the Press Support Fund, one must give evidence that the organisation employs at least five professional journalists (that have more than four years of experience in the trade), which has never been the case for community radios.
Not being recognised as press organisations, community radios are not eligible for this assistance. Neither do they have the right to broadcast advertising messages as provided by Article 15 of the terms of reference applicable to associative radio stations of Senegal. According to these terms of reference, the vocation of the community radios is to promote development through local information, whereas the commercial stations would have a generalist feature, broadcasting information on politics and national and international events. But all these rules are not followed. Sud FM, a private station, broadcasts some NGOs’ awareness campaigns for free. La Côtière, a community radio located in the coastal village of Joal Fadiouth, broadcasts daily the national information bulletin of Walf FM, a private radio station. Some community radio stations also broadcast advertising messages.

Beyond this typological issue, “everything is priority” is a view widely shared by our interviewees. But there is also insistence on major prerequisites that have to be resolved by state authorities:

- the media sector should be taken as a major actor of this country’s economic, political, social and cultural development;
- setting in place a transparent legal environment is necessary to make ground for all types of press enterprises; and,
- state authorities will then treat press enterprises on equal terms and make sure the assistance they provide is as equitable and appropriate to the specific missions and obstacles they confront.

For example, Safiétou Kane Ly considers all categories of media (state, community and commercial media) as equally necessary. Typology should not be “a straitjacket”, rather both are in need of revitalisation. Each category should be supported “according to the role and place it has and according to the political and social role it plays”.

(Safiétou Kane Ly, Media Programmes Director; NGO: OSIWA, Senegal)

However, three interviewees defend the idea of “positive discrimination”, which would favour media with a specific mission. They consider:

- priority assistance should go to media favouring information of public interest;
- it should not be the role of the state to control information, it’s role to provide facilities and opportunities in order to balance information; and,
- private operators should be given all the support they deserve since they have the capacities to bring about meaningful changes in information delivery.

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The Director of community radio, Oxyjeunes, considers that:

“The Media Support Fund should go to community radio stations. The [present] tendency has to be reversed. Commercial radio stations can receive economic incentives such as a conducive fiscal environment, rebates on telephone and electricity bills, etc. But, when it comes to the Media Support Fund, it must go in priority to community radios... So community stations should get priority because they have a vocation of development. For their part, commercial stations are more instruments of lobbying to the benefit of their owners.”

(Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director; Media Practitioner, Private Sector: Radio Oxyjeunes, Senegal)

16.4 Type of support most needed/useful

There is a common plea for significant media support in relation to the challenges facing the various press businesses. For the public authorities as well as private operator interviewees, there is a common belief that it would be more than timely to reflect on ways to go beyond the present provisions of the law regarding financial assistance and explore new ways out of the present crisis. Such reflection requires large, exhaustive and unexclusive consultations of all involved parties, both directly and indirectly. To that regard, the following points seem to be favoured by many interviewees:

- a better fiscal environment for press businesses (other than just tax exemptions);
- training assistance
- a legal framework that supports the media; and,
- support for the provision of equipment.

16.5 Appropriate organisational framework

In their 2002 study of the Senegalese media, Blagny and Bastien described the legal framework in the country as a “jungle”. Diouf (2005) goes on to say that many media professionals view the legal framework as “a charter of professional contraints and sanctions... rather that a positive plan that promotes entrepreneurship and communications rights”. This was a view widely reflected by our interviewees.
Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director of Radio Oxyjeunes, deplores the laws in place that he considers as “old fashioned and inappropriate” in the sense that they do not favour a clear legal and economic environment. There is also a common plea from the rest of the interviewees, private actors and NGO members, for the state to clarify the role of the legal and regulatory bodies, in order to adapt them to the requirements for media development. If this problem is solved, media actors can undertake any endeavours they want. The legal framework should particularly:

- regulate access to the advertising market;
- regulate the media assistance fund; and,
- totally and effectively liberalise TV channels.

16.5.1 Access to the advertising market

For Abdou Latif Coulibaly, all that noise on subsidies and Maison de la Presse (media house)8 is mere “show off”:

“priorities are elsewhere, especially in the creation of a transparent legal environment that regards advertising... [as] is the main potential source of revenues for the press.”

( Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director; Educator: ISSIC, Senegal)

16.5.2 Regulation of the media assistance fund

Assistance must be inscribed in a legal framework. For Diana Senghor, Executive Director of PIWA, support to the press in its present form has not much usefulness because “it is too small in amount and does not lead to any changes but keeps a status quo. It does not incite greater professionalism”. She considers that assistance must have a purpose because “we cannot just receive assistance because we are the press”. Requirements for assistance eligibility are provided in simple terms.

“it is a win-win game. I meet a requirement and I am entitled to public assistance. It is up to me to show that I have fulfilled my duties correctly.”

(Diana Senghor, Executive Director; NGO: PIWA, Senegal)

16.5.3 Total liberalisation of TV channels

For Babacar Kébé, television is also very important for the consolidation of democracy.

“it is not acceptable that in 2006, Senegal, which is a model of democracy in Africa since the time of Blaise Diagne9... be behind countries such as Benin or Burkina Faso regarding those infrastructures. Those countries, themselves, view us as a model of democracy. If in those countries television has been liberalised, we should also do the same, especially as this was a promise made [by the President] during the last electoral campaign.”

(Babacar Kébé, Former Director; Government: HCRT, Senegal)

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8 The Maison de la presse a long-demanded project of SYNPICS which has just been approved by the President.

9 Blaise Diagne was the first black African to represent Senegal at the French parliament (1914-1934). Despite the colonial context, his election was strongly favoured by a very active free press.
16.6 Pan-regional versus country-specific initiatives

There appears to be support for pan-regional initiatives once strong local initiatives are in place. Modou Ngom offers an operating model that favours an approach that would start from individual countries taken in isolation and then build up progressively at a regional or continental level.

“The fact of solving problems at national level is already an important step. I think that if everybody did what he had to do, things would become straight. If in Senegal, Guinea and Mali things work well, there would not be any problems. So focusing on national issues is a good thing.”

(Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal)

To this regard, the state could let private initiatives carry out the essential part of the work. His approach includes several items:

- improve the professional and social situation of journalists;
- improve the technical environment; and,
- set up a private continental broadcasting media.

This approach is reinforced by Diana Senghor. Pan-regional initiatives for media development are key issues in an integration process. From an operational point of view, other issues must be addressed.

“The media must exchange their experiences of the production of information at sub-regional or even regional levels in order to promote the best practices of one country or another.”

(Diana Senghor, Executive Director; NGO: PIWA, Senegal)

This approach motivated the design of the “Media for Peace” project. In this project, PIWA has identified four priority areas that need to be addressed in order to facilitate media development between now and 2010. These are:

1. the context of information production and circulation.
2. diversity.
3. civil society in the process of communication.
4. information technologies.

Finally, it seems logical and realistic to implement the Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS) model in the audio-visual sector and let institutions like PIWA or OSIWA turn it into an operational document.
16.7 Initiatives related to developmental content

The most common initiative evoked here by all interviewees is related to the issue of better training. The following remark from Babacar Kébé summarises this strong need.

“\nAs my colleague Hervé Bourges [former director of Radio France Internationale] told me: here in Senegal, I spot at least three to four cases of offence any time I read the press. It is then important that the press should reflect again on the extent of its responsibilities and take care that certain shortfalls attributed to it are avoided."

(Babacar Kébé, Former Director; Government: HCRT, Senegal)

Diana Senghor and Moussa Guèye agree that this initiative, if sustained by the creation of operational regulatory and self-regulatory bodies, would:

- develop the sense of professionalism and ethics;
- increase skills in of editorial writing techniques; and,
- adapt information to public needs.

16.8 Initiatives to develop independent media

Here again, the initiatives mostly addressed are related to the legal framework, which needs improvement in order to create:

- fair access to advertising and sponsorship money; and,
- media free from any kind of manipulation.

This is a very important point since the major local companies of Senegal are partially or totally controlled by the state. Khalil Guèye, Director of Génération TV, even urges Western countries’ embassies in Dakar to intervene and do their job appropriately. A company that has some state ownership should be able to support media even if the media criticises the actions of the government. Khalil Guèye further complains about the quasi-monopoly of RTS on TV-based advertisement.

Patronage is also a concern for Khalil Guèye. While money can be mobilised for the development of the media, it also needs a legal framework.

16.9 The role of media development in the country’s democratisation process

Democracy means a constitutional state, desired by citizens who know their rights and duties well. They must be fully and freely able to claim and express these rights. They must also be able to knowingly assume full responsibility for their duties. This is related to the emergence and promotion of a civic consciousness, which is an essential for total freedom of expression.

All interviewees underline that it is the role of the press to help fulfil this mission both as a vector and a medium. They also took care to point out that within this clear, vocational framework there is a need to ensure that pluralism is guaranteed by diversifying the expression of different opinions, so as to help citizens form their own.
Finally, there were also some concerns in mentioning the necessity to respect specific gender-related issues, preserve an appreciation of nature and honour the importance and daily subsistence needs of all citizens other than the politicians.

For clergymen Abbé André Latyr Ndiaye, the first role of the press is to help change mentalities.

“Until now the media have not played this role. They divert them from what is essential and what is essential is not politics alone. Politics must serve the nation. The media must serve the nation, not by ignoring the political aspect but by giving it the rightful proportion it should represent among other activities. Unfortunately, the other aspects of human activities are marginalised. It is now time for the private press – radio, television and the written press to have rubrics that would represent people’s activities and lives. [Democracy] is also the balance between all human activities. Democracy is refusing to accept that politics takes the lead on the economy, sports, culture, leisure, etc.”

( Abbé André Latyr Ndiaye, Clergy; Media Support: Archdiocese of Dakar, Senegal)

Eugénie Rokhaya Aw places the press at the heart of democracy, while Khalil Guèye sees it as no less than the driving force behind it. Moreover, he believes television represents the most powerful medium, especially in Senegal, a country marked by a predominantly oral tradition.
17. Summary & Conclusion

17.1 Media development: an organisational perspective

- The changes are mostly of a quantitative nature: proliferation of newspaper publications, an increase in the number of frequencies attributed to radio stations (commercial and community stations). Greater superficiality in the editorial lines of most newspaper publications has also been noted.

17.2 Lessons learned

- The key projects examined included those run by: Panos Institute West Africa ALTERCOM; the Media Centre of Dakar; Génération TV and SYNPICS.

- Funding is one of the main weaknesses of the media sector of Senegal. The press support fund is very low. Funding of media activities is handled mostly by a few foundations, such as the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and a few NGOs, such as OSIWA.

- Evaluation of media activities is a real problem in Senegal. The culture of evaluation is obviously missing in the endeavours of most of the organisations approached in this research. Actors are conscious of the problem and are developing initiatives to solve it. There are few exceptions to this rule, especially for those who believe that there is no progress without evaluation.

- Beyond financing matters, the success or lack of success of media development activities can be explained by state obstacles to the development of the media, training, professionalism and self-regulation, decriminalising press offences, media evaluation, and the involvement local of groups in community radio.

- As for lessons learned, several items were put forward. Funding is one of the main weaknesses of the media sector of Senegal. Good training and professionalism are the gateway to success. Self-regulation tools are very important. The State can be the first obstacle to the development of the media. Governments have an instinctive tendency to monopolise the media. Culture is very important in the process of media development and always be accounted for when planning any project.
17.3 Developing the environment for success

- Democracy, liberalisation, plurality and independence are the fundamental keys for media development.

- Interviewees are divided into two camps: those who think that the political and economic environment in Senegal is favourable to media development activities, and those actors in the private sector and NGOs who think the contrary.

- Support of the donor community is needed yet feared at the same time.

- Free financing from donors with their own agenda should be avoided in order to retain independence.

- Adapt the regulatory bodies to respond to changes in the press.

- Create a self-regulatory body similar to those of medical doctors, pharmacists or lawyers to govern ethics.

- Further expertise in marketing is needed to meet audience demand.

- Promote the use of local languages in the media.

17.4 Strategic priorities

- The main strategies consist of supporting legal reform, effective liberalisation of television, and improving and regulating the technical environment of media and training schools.

- Other strategies requiring support include the developing of a legal framework, raising the standards of journalism, improving the professional and social situation of journalists and developing more local content.

- State authorities need to treat press businesses on equal terms and provide equitable and appropriate assistance to enable media organisations to operate in a better fiscal environment.

- Pan-regional initiatives include encouraging cross-religion exchange of ideas, improving the technical environment at a regional level, and setting up a private, continental broadcasting media.

- Development goals include creating fair access to advertising money and sponsorship and liberating media from any kind of manipulation.

- The media’s role in democracy includes promoting pluralism through the expression of different opinions, respecting the rights of all, especially concerning gender, nature and the daily needs of all citizens.
Conclusion

A very high priority must be given to academic and other qualificatory training of journalists. Media development is first and foremost the responsibility of media professionals. The promotion of well produced broadcasts must necessarily be done through the private sector. All media sectors must contribute to the promotion of a civic consciousness.

The state must perceive the media sector as a major actor in the economic, political, social and cultural development of the country. It should fully play its role as a regulatory body, implement economic support and facilitate measures for assisting all press businesses in their public service. From that perspective, the state should treat all press businesses equally and ensure support is equitably and rationally distributed. This makes it even timelier to reflect on a framework to transcend the present provisions of the law relating to financial assistance.

Each country needs an environment conducive to democracy and peace that builds bridges for transnational growth. Adopting both a national and pan-regional focus can optimise the implementation of common initiatives.

Finally, taking charge of women’s issues is an absolute necessity. It will enable sub-Saharan Africa to unite its forces and create the path to democracy, peace and prosperity.
18. Appendices

Appendix 1: Interviewees

Eugénie Rokhaya Aw, Director; Educator: CESTI, Senegal
Abdou Latif Coulibaly, Director; Educator: ISSIC, Senegal
Bacar Dia, Minister of Information; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal
Moussa Guèye, Director; NGO: Media Centre of Dakar, Senegal
Khalil Guèye, Director; Media Entrepreneur: Génération TV, Senegal
Safiétou Kane Ly, Media Programmes Director; NGO: OSIWA, Senegal
Babacar Kébé, Former Director; Government: HCRT, Senegal
André Latyr Ndiaye, Clergy; Media Support: Archdiocese of Dakar, Senegal
Oumar Seck Ndiaye, Director; Media Practitioner, Private Sector: Radio Oxyjeunes, Senegal
Modou Ngom, Director of Communication; Government: Ministry of Information, Senegal
Alpha Sall, Secretary General; Media Support: SYPICS, Senegal
Diana Senghor, Executive Director; NGO: PIWA, Senegal
Mamadou Sèye, Director General; Media Practitioner, Public Sector: Le Soleil, Senegal
Fatoumata Sow, Coordinator; NGO: ALTERCOM, Senegal
Jacques H. Sy, Executive Director; NGO: Transparency International, Senegal

Appendix 2: Bibliography


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee name and organisation</th>
<th>Specific media development project: title</th>
<th>Key purpose/aim of project/initiative/activity</th>
<th>Project time span (dates or length in months/years of project) and status (ongoing etc)</th>
<th>Outcome sought</th>
<th>Target audience</th>
<th>Evaluation method used (if any)</th>
<th>Result of evaluation</th>
<th>Is/was this project/activity considered by your organisation to be a success? On what basis?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diana Senghor NGO: PIWA</td>
<td>Media for Peace</td>
<td>Peace building through the media</td>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Liberia 2001, 2002, 2003 Stopped</td>
<td>Help reconstruc countries ravaged by civil war</td>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>In Sierra Leone, in the context of reconstruction, we have facilitated the installment of a national communication policy. Project failed in Côte d’Ivoire, as journalists did not cooperate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatoumata Sow NGO ALTERCOM</td>
<td>Manoore FM, The Voice of Women</td>
<td>Enable women’s voices to be heard</td>
<td>Since 2002</td>
<td>Support women in the area of communication, help them express their views and contribute to gender equality through the use of existing communication means</td>
<td>Women in the Dakar and Thies regions</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Very positive experience. Women’s associations regularly participate in the programmes and there is a growing number of people who want to broadcast messages and programmes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moussa Guéye Media Centre of Dakar</td>
<td>Media Centre</td>
<td>The development of the media in Senegal, especially the broadcast sector</td>
<td>Since 1997</td>
<td>Facilitate access to and training in information and communication technologies; contribute to the improvement of radio and television station programmes; respond to the needs of local film production; and build up professionalism for media workers.</td>
<td>School dropouts originally, now all professionals in media</td>
<td>Not specified</td>
<td>Positive. Yes. At least 200 young people, 20-to-25 year olds, were trained within a period of eight years and have found jobs. Many films have been produced by young students.</td>
<td></td>
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Senegal
Country Report
Case Study
19. Case Study

The Media Centre of Dakar: an institution at the heart of a budding broadcasting revolution in Senegal

How do we get rid of the widespread belief that a person who did not complete university studies cannot be a talented person? How can we provide a means for young people to enter the professional world? The answers to these questions are fundamental in understanding the context in which the Media Centre of Dakar was created. By offering hundreds of young people a reason to believe in life, the Media Centre is at the heart of a media revolution in Senegal, if not the sub-region. In this case study, Moussa Guèye (Director of MCD) describes the project.

“Senegal has an educational system that has reached its limits. It is too generalist and is not adapted to the expectations of young people because there is inadequacy between the training it provides and the needs of the employment market. The student population of the University of Dakar, which initially was built to host ten to 15,000 students, has increased to 40,000. This growth resulted in unbelievable exam failure rates, and a university crisis. The cost was a waste of talented human resources. Generally speaking, there is very limited access to services and opportunities offered by information and communication technologies (ICTs).”

Elitist cinematography and poor television production

“Mr Guèye continues; film-making became a financially unsurmountable and elitist activity, that was eager to copy the European model. Local TV movies were in high demanded, even in a context of a poor technical environment. With structural adjustment programmes imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions [The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund], public authorities let themselves be convinced of the unprofitability of investing in cultural resources. The cancellation of the Dakar Film Festival deprived local film-makers of a privileged framework to exchange ideas in the field of audiovisual production. In that climate, there was a need to take charge of thousands of young people, mostly school dropouts, and offer them an alternative way. National audio-visual production offered a highly promising niche for young people in order to channel their future career.”

1 Moussa Guèye is the initiator of the project.
2 Two academic years were invalidated (1988 and 1993).
Media Centre of Dakar

When talking of the goals of the Media Centre of Dakar, Mr Guèye states;

“When I returned to Senegal in 1997, after having migrated to Scandinavia from where I gathered a lot of experience, my idea was to participate in new visions and approaches to education for individual liberties, democracy and community awareness-raising. On those bases, people can then use their abilities to control their destinies and ensure an broadcasting development. The development of media in Senegal, especially the audiovisual sector, appeared to be the best field for action. There was a real need for an environment that could spark off the development of media. This is the reason why I decided to set up the Media Centre with local and foreign partners. In that context, we thought it interesting to popularise the use of computer technology and encourage its rational integration into the broadcasting sector. The services and tools that Information and Communication Technologies offer were the means upon which was built the Media Centre of Dakar. This was our initial approach. And, since 2000, we started thinking that the best thing we can do is to reinforce our presence in the development of technical expertise and know how within the broadcasting sector.”

The goals of the Media Centre of Dakar can be summarised as follows:

- to facilitate access to and training in ICT, in particular, in digital video equipment, camera use, sound engineering, film directing or editing;
- to contribute to the improvement of radio and television station programmes;
- to respond to the need of local film production;
- to build up professionalism for media workers; and,
- to promote a positive image of Africa to the rest of the world with the development of local production opportunities.

General approach to training

Mr Guèye says;

“The first issue we dealt with was the training context. To solve this problem a trainers’ training workshop was organized. The objective of this workshop was to spell out the Centre’s know-how transmission approach and initiate participants to pedagogic strategies that would reduce costs.”

The philosophy of the Centre with regards to training can be summarised as follows:

- deliver training to young people on the principles of: recruitment from districts of residence; capacity building at the Media Centre; return to the district of residence for acquisition dissemination before feed-back; and,
- promote gender balance by hosting every year 12 male and 12 female young students;
- build upon the technical potential offered by digital video technology; and,
- take advantage of the reductions of production costs brought about by cheaper equipment.
Little means, great achievements

According to Mr Guèye the lack of means did not bar the Media Centre from great achievements.

- At least 200 young people, 20 to 25 year olds, were trained in broadcast basic skills within a period of eight years.

- People who followed training at the Media Centre presently work in many media companies: ten for the Senegalese Public Radio and Television (RTS), two for 2STV, three for AITV, for example.

- Some former trainees presently work for the communication team of the President of the Republic (even though the State did not contribute to their training).

- Sub-regional TV channels, including RTS, are now progressively starting to send their technical staff to the Centre for advanced training.

- Since the creation of the Media Centre, many films have been produced by young students.

"The Centre was launched with very little means. The Media Centre does not receive any financial assistance from the state. In its first five years of existence, the Centre only operated thanks to financing that was provided by NORAD, an NGO that contributed 80% of its operating budget. But it is not interesting to be financed by foreign donors who may have different priorities from ours. To finance the training it offers, the Media Centre tries to obtain study grants from other donors, such as local authorities, the Dakar City Council and diplomatic representations like the Canadian embassy."

The Media Centre’s results are even more satisfactory when taking into account some positive side effects.

- The Centre has aroused a certain interest in young people for professions in broadcasting and, particularly in the taking charge of problems and events related to: the protection of environment; waste disposal; drug addiction; poverty; prostitution, and so on.

- At present, many of the Centre’s former students have become self-employed. This trend has led to the creation of several business units in all areas of the country, especially in Dakar and its suburbs.

Difficulties, constraints and perspectives

- The first constraint cited by Moussa Guèye is related to the limited hosting capacity of the Media Centre, which receives 500 applications from young people of both French, and English-speaking African countries every year.

- The indifference of state authorities is also cited as an obstacle.

- Low levels of broadcasting of local film productions by the national television station limits growth in this area.
Forthcoming projects

- A draft agreement was signed with the Faculty of Arts of the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar for the creation of a Master’s degree in Cinema, Arts and Social Studies.
- A sub-regional school for the teaching of cinema and television techniques and expertise. This project, which is in its initial phase, has already caught the interest of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU).
- The creation of a course in broadcasting for undergraduate students. When they graduate, attendants of this course will obtain an Advanced Technician’s Diploma of Broadcasting.

Conclusion

The Media Centre of Dakar has become a point of reference at the heart of the development of the broadcasting sector in Senegal. It has succeeded in creating a real interest in audiovisual technologies amongst young people. In the past, people had to go to the National Institute (INA) or to the National Film School of France (FEMIS), to receive training. Taking cinema as an example, the Media Centre’s achievements in the ten years has shown interesting results in comparison to what previously existed and what still exists. In the past, our filmmakers spent all their time waiting for financing from abroad as those films required big budgets. Since the 1960s and even before, there has been a dependency relationship of Senegal’s film production to France. If young people are able to make films today with budgets of between F.CFA5 to F.CFA10 million, they will not need to wait for financing from France. This case study shows the importance of structures such as the Media Centre, which can be creative and ensure the continuity of their activities even in an unfavourable environment.

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African Media Development Initiative Research

This report is one of 18 produced as part of the African Media Development Initiative Research Project, completed in 2006. To obtain a copy of any of the following reports, please visit: www.bbcworldservicetrust.org/amdi

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