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## ASSESSMENT OF STUDIO KALANGOU'S IMPACT ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT IN NIGER

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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Image on front cover: Map of Niger showing Studio Kalangou's network of partner radio stations in 2018 at the time of the research. Studio Kalangou

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This study was conducted between April 2018 and July 2019 with the aim of assessing the impact of Studio Kalangou's radio broadcasts on women's rights and empowerment in Niger. It comprised:

- A content analysis of approximately 60 hours of radio programmes broadcast in 2018 by Studio Kalangou in Niger
- A series of 40 focus groups, 20 conducted before, and 20 after, the programmes were broadcast
- Two knowledge exchange workshops in Niger with representatives from the media, civil society organisations, NGOs, and donors, held before and after the programmes were broadcast
- A third and final knowledge exchange workshop, on completion of the research.

The study addressed the following questions:

- How are women, and women's empowerment, represented in the discourses broadcast by Studio Kalangou?
- How is this discourse perceived by listeners and is it what they want?
- Do perceptions of empowerment in the discourses broadcast by Studio Kalangou align with those of the listeners?
- Can radio have any impact on its audience regarding women's empowerment, and if so, what is this impact and how can it be identified and measured?

This study was conducted between April 2018 and July 2019 with the aim of assessing the impact of Studio Kalangou's radio broadcasts on women's rights and empowerment in Niger.

## SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS<sup>1</sup>

## Regarding radio and listeners

- Radio remains a main source of information in Niger and, based on the data collected during the study, is accessed primarily by mobile phone. Use of social media to access sources of information, including radio, remains limited.
- Whilst radio remains the main source of information amongst older focus group respondents, younger participants demonstrate little interest in radio, preferring social media.
- A generational divide exists
  between older and younger
  listeners. Older listeners are
  adamant about what youth
  should be doing, what they
  should like and what they should
  enjoy listening to. This does not
  chime with what young people
  want or are interested in.

## Regarding Studio Kalangou and empowerment

- Female empowerment, according to the broadcasts, is a long-term process and affects women as part of a group. In contrast, according to listeners, empowerment must affect their daily lives and be on a personal, more micro level.
- Women-focused programmes, whilst necessary and beneficial, may serve to isolate information and themes as they depart from the normal expectations of a male-dominated society.
- Gender equality, which already emerges in Studio Kalangou's mainstream broadcasts, needs to be encouraged and extended throughout the schedule to impact all listeners.
- There is evidence of changes in behaviour amongst listeners as a result of Studio Kalangou broadcasts. Improvements in general and specific awareness of subject matter and themes emerge strongly.
- There are differences in editorial priorities between what Studio Kalangou offers and what the listeners want.

## Regarding Studio Kalangou broadcasts

- Female guests dominate in the number of times they appear on programmes, yet it is the male guests who speak most and occupy most airtime.
- Certain (positive) lexical fields dominate and shape representations of women and their empowerment.
- certain styles and devices, such as témoignages (personal accounts and stories), personalisation and geographical references, especially when combined, reinforce the relevance of certain issues and promote recall amongst listeners. However, the geographical inclusion of programmes and regional references favour the capital. Other, more remote areas get few, if any, mentions.
- Specific 'go-to' information is rare and instead generic information regarding advice and guidance prevails.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Recognise the gap between
  the numbers of appearances
  of (male/female) guests and
  presenters and their airtime.
  Increase awareness amongst
  journalists and presenters that
  appearance on radio without
  'talk' equates to silence and thus
  absence. This will contribute
  to a gender-transformative
  approach.
- Encourage presenters to ask more, and better targeted, follow-up questions during debates to enable guest responses to be better structured.
- Increase awareness amongst journalists and presenters about the positive use and impact of certain rhetorical and lexical tools.
- Incorporate témoignages, as example of good practice, more extensively throughout the full range of programmes, not just magazines. Continue emphasising guest names and also place names to make messages more memorable.

- Recognise and address gaps in perception between broadcasts and listeners regarding female empowerment and how to achieve it. To help audiences identify with programme content and to help accurately identify audiences and their needs:
- Conduct regular and detailed listener profiling to close the gap in editorial priorities.
   This must also cover a broad spectrum of listeners (older/ younger; male/female; rural/urban; differing ethnic groups, and so on)
- Highlight examples of women from less privileged positions and their paths to empowerment
- Provide more local 'go-to' information, through partner radios and their associations
- Adapt programming to incorporate listener needs and topics whilst retaining overall objectives for the broadcasts. Use case studies that listeners can identify with and which prevent broadcasts being abstract or too generic. Témoignages are good example for this.

- Pay greater attention to geographical references within programmes. This can be achieved by systemically checking not only location of reports but also that geographical information is repeated or at least clearly stated.
- To encourage more young people to listen to the radio:
  - raise awareness through music and sketches
  - incorporate more voices from young people into broadcasts, directly talking to young media
  - promote integration with social media
- regarding politics, frame it more as a viable career for young women

## INTRODUCTION

This report discusses the findings of an evidenced-based impact assessment of two series of women-related radio programmes broadcast by Studio Kalangou in Niger.

It was conducted by the FemmepowermentAfrique<sup>2</sup> research project at the University of Sheffield at the request of Fondation Hirondelle, the Swiss-based media development organisation, which created and runs Studio Kalangou. Our overall aim was to identify areas of good practice and provide recommendations that could be implemented not only by Studio Kalangou in Niger but also by Fondation Hirondelle's other radio studios in countries such as the DRC, Burkina Faso, and Mali, amongst others.

Widespread gender inequality affects Niger. There is a 75% child marriage rate with a third of adolescent girls married before the age of 15 (UNFPA, 2012). Literacy rates are low with a 15.9% secondary school completion rate for girls (39.99% for boys) (Save the Children, 2016). Polygamy is also extensive. Violence against women

is rife and female genital mutilation (FGM) is common despite being illegal (Thompson Reuters, 2018). This is a mostly patriarchal and religious society and women do not have the same legal status as men in the traditional and customary courts. Despite being important stakeholders in many aspects of daily life, women, in many cases, are disempowered; requiring greater information about their rights, and a stronger voice in society (Heywood et al., 2019).

The most important source of information they have is radio, which is particularly suited to reaching marginalised and isolated communities in an environment where, according to recent surveys, 91% of the population do not read the written press, 89% never use social media and 88% never use the internet (afrobarometer, 2019).

Within this context, Studio

Kalangou broadcasts daily two-hour information programmes in five languages from the capital, Niamey. It does not broadcast directly to the audience, rather it broadcasts to 38 partner radios which, in turn, retransmit programmes using their own FM networks. According to listener focus groups, radio information cannot always be trusted yet Studio Kalangou is widely perceived as independent.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The study used a mixed methods approach. It analysed 60 hours of Studio Kalangou's radio programmes for the presence of positive and negative individual key terms, phrases, geographical references, the proportion of airtime occupied by male and female voices, dominant themes, and so on.

It also considered listening habits (ages, who listened, which radios stations, social media habits, devices, education level, marital status).

20 focus groups were held twice with radio listeners from Studio Kalangou's partner radio stations in and around Niamey. The first round of focus groups took place before the programmes were broadcast and the second round after. Listeners were grouped according to their location (urban or rural), their gender, and their marital status. 10 of the 20 focus groups were organised at three urban radio stations (Alternative, Challenge and Radio Scout) and the other 10 were at three more rural radio stations (in Birni Ngaouré, Karma and Say).

Two knowledge exchange workshops were also organised in Niamey, one before the broadcasts and one after, with the aim of receiving feedback and advice from invited representatives of the media, women's civil society organisations, NGOs, and donors.

A third and final knowledge exchange workshop was held on completion of the research.



Photo: In the studio of a local partner radio of Studio Kalangou in Niamey. Ollivier Girard / Fondation Hirondelle.

## THE BROADCASTS

The study analysed two womenrelated series, broadcast by Studio Kalangou in 2018. The first was on women and politics, and the second was on child marriage. Each consisted of 45-minute Forums (debate programmes) and 3-minute magazine programmes. The politics series discussed the background to women's involvements in politics, quotas, mobilising the (female) electorate, local governance, the political involvement of women in Niger, and women in the Executive. The child marriage series covered means of recourse, child marriage and Islam, health risks, the legal framework, the role of the police, education, NGO involvement, and traditional practices.

A control week was also chosen at random for analysis. All the forums, magazines and news programmes broadcast in French during that week were examined and the findings were compared with the findings from the two womenrelated series.

## LISTENER HABITS

- 93% of all respondents had a phone of some sort with distinctions made between a smartphone and a mobile, or the 'wrong type of phone' to be useful for social media.
- Expenditure on phone credit varied according to group: men spent the most (2000 to 7500 CFA per month), women and youth spent on average 2000 CFA per month.
- Social media use varied. Older respondents considered it was for the young; many young working women used it for work; the urban youth, most of whom were on Facebook and WhatsApp, considered it essential for social interaction and preferred spending time on WhatsApp to listening to the radio; rural young respondents were not connected.
- Men and women listen to the radio separately; men in fadas or alone, and women alone, yet they might sometimes discuss programmes afterwards when together. Radio messages are therefore being sent separately to two different audiences who do not necessarily discuss them.

## WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment is a difficult-todefine term (Kabeer 1999; Cornwall and Eade 2010; Ewerling et al 2017) and can be considered as 'people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them' (Kabeer 1999, 437). There are two levels of empowerment. These are first- and second-order choices (Kabeer 1999; Jansson 2014) with the first being on a more macro level, for example, whether to engage in politics (Arestoff and Djemai 2016), and the second focusing more on 'everyday decisions which do not affect the overall outcome of a woman's life' (Kabeer 1999, 437). These levels, and the gap between them, emerge clearly when discussing whether Studio Kalangou's perceptions of female empowerment reflect those of its audience, and highlight the complexity between real life situations and the reductive image sometimes painted by Studio Kalangou broadcasts.



## **SECTION 1:**

# HOW ARE WOMEN REPRESENTED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

Female guests dominate in the number of times they appear on programmes, yet it is the male guests who speak most and occupy most airtime. The geographical inclusion of programmes and regional references favour the capital. Other, more remote areas get few, if any, mentions.

## HOW ARE WOMEN REPRESENTED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

## **PRESENTERS**

Number of appearances versus airtime

The role of presenters cannot be underestimated, and who speaks and how they present what they are saying has a profound effect on audience reception of a subject. In the forums of the two women-related series, there were four presenters: three women and one man. Over the course of both forums and magazines, there were seven female presenters and three male presenters (including correspondents and reporters). The dominance of female presenters could be explained by the focus of the broadcasts on women. Male presenters appear on 16% of the total programmes but their 'talk' represents, on average, 38% of the total coverage time of all the programmes. In other words, although male presenters appear fewer times than female presenters, they occupy more of the coverage (air) time than female presenters. When compared with the October control week, these figures were more balanced with the male/female presenter ratio of appearances being 53/47. The female presenters, however, spoke more than their male counterparts (54/46 respectively) in the October week.

In short, male presenters had more airtime than female presenters during the women-related programmes in spite of the fact that there were more female presenters. In the control week, the presenters were more balanced (but there were still more men) yet female presenters had more air time, with the inference that women-focused topics need to be managed by male presenters.

## Interviewing techniques

The qualitative analysis of the presenters' contributions reveals elements of good practice, for example, many questions are concise and to the point and allow the conversation to flow. When necessary, previous responses are summarised and reformulated, a technique which is helpful for listeners, especially when using radio as secondary medium. Nevertheless, there are instances when these techniques might have been used more effectively; in several forums, guests are allowed to speak for up to six to seven minutes without interruption and the question from the interviewer, when it comes, provides no link to the previous information. This makes it difficult for listeners to pick up the thread of the conversation before the next potential four-minute response is given.

Although succinct questioning does prevail, there is also a tendency to finish guests' sentences for them. This increases the number of presenter interventions and is not always necessary or helpful. There are nine examples of this in just one forum (Child Marriage series).

Although male presenters appear fewer times than female presenters, they occupy more of the coverage (air) time.

## **GUESTS AND PRESENTERS**

## Women and politics series

Male guests on the women and politics series appear on only 9% of the programmes (both forums and magazines), yet their 'talk' covers 53% of the content. In contrast, female guests dominate with regard to number of appearances (69%) but only speak for 40% of the content. Similarly, female presenters do not talk at the same percentage as they appear. Their number of appearances represents 22% of the programmes but their 'talk' represents just 7%. There are no male presenters in the women and politics series (only in the child marriage series). This discrepancy is particularly important on radio, where, because of the lack of a visual presence, appearance is signalled only by participants' spoken contributions.

The majority of the guests invited on to the politics series are women. This could lead to the impression that women's representation in politics – the subject of the series – is a matter which only concerns women. This would oppose what many of the guests are saying, and, in fact, the presence of more male guests would further emphasise their necessary role in women's empowerment, although, based on the above, it carries the risk that male voices will dominate. Inviting more male guests who not only support women's participation in politics but may have already played a role in empowering women in politics, may make male listeners identify more readily with the programmes, and may also reinforce the message that female empowerment is not just a women's concern.

## Child marriage series

The situation is similar on the child marriage series. Again, the male guests' talk (41%) is proportionately greater than their number of appearances (34%). The percentage at which both male and female presenters talk is also greater than their appearances, and this increase in talk by the presenters and the male guests is at the expense of the female guests whose coverage time is significantly reduced in comparison with their appearance percentage (41% appearance compared with 23% talk).

### Recommendation

Editorial teams should note the gap between the numbers of appearances of guests and presenters and the amount they talk if they are to implement a gender-transformative approach. Inviting guests onto programmes using a gender-balanced approach may not result in balanced 'talk' unless guests are given equal opportunities to speak.

## HOW ARE WOMEN REPRESENTED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

## **GEOGRAPHICAL INCLUSION OF STUDIO** KALANGOU PROGRAMMES

The two series

References to the capital dominate over the course of both series. This may have the effect that populations outside of the capital may become sidelined or that audiences will disregard the discussion as irrelevant. At the same time, certain regions are not mentioned at all. For example, over the course of all the 'series' programmes, Agadez and Diffa are never mentioned.

Nonetheless, listeners recalled information when it was associated with a place name. Respondents provided information, with quotes, about programmes broadcast from or about Zinder on several occasions. Maradi, as a location, was also mentioned when listeners recalled traumatic consequences broadcast during the child marriage series, such as fistulas.

Comparison with the October week

In the October week, when a full range of subjects is discussed, the balance between the regions is also not equal. There are more references to the regions than in the 'series' programmes, but Niamey still dominates. Indeed, the total for Niamey is almost equal to all the other regions' references put together.

When compared with the 'series' programmes, the figures for October for the total number of programmes containing geographical references do show a greater balance across the regions. However, this might just be one reference to a region over the course of a programme and may easily be missed by the listener. More frequent references would increase listener inclusion and the relevance of the discussion, and thus the issue's potential relevance. This also suggests that when focusing on a particular subject, which is the case for the two series, regional references (for example, where the programme is coming from or where individuals are based) are of less importance which has the effect of reducing the programmes' geographical relevance to listeners.

In the October week, when a full range of subjects is discussed, the balance between the regions is also not equal. There are more references to the regions than in the 'series' programmes, but Niamey still dominates.

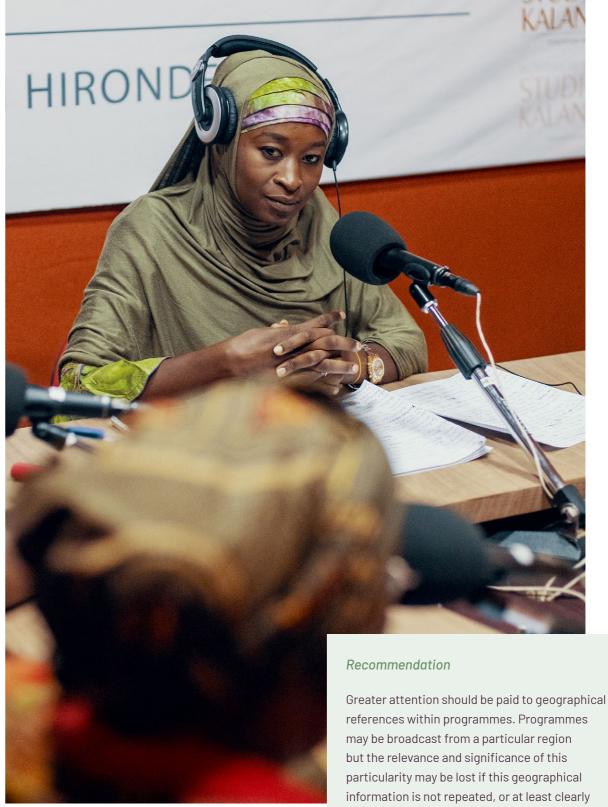


Photo: In the studio of a local partner radio of Studio Kalangou in Niamev. Ollivier Girard / Fondation Hirondelle

stated. Emphasis on the capital carries the risk that listeners in regions other than Niamey may feel either sidelined or that the issue being discussed is not relevant to them.

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## SECTION 2:

# HOW ARE WOMEN CHARACTERISED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

Certain (positive) lexical fields dominate and shape representations of women and their empowerment. Positive stereotypes and terms are used to characterise women and their actions in the two series. This is not the consistently the case during the October control week.

## HOW ARE WOMEN CHARACTERISED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

## **LEXICAL CHOICES**

In order to determine how women and womenrelated topics were characterised by presenters and guests, the words they used in the broadcasts were coded into five categories: active, inactive, positive, negative and neutral. Different discourses prevail, as could be expected, in the two series, which cover different subjects.

## Women and politics series

This series is shaped by a heavy preponderance of positive and active words which originate from military or combative semantic fields and which serve to underpin the overarching message of the need for women to assert their rights, be forceful and participate fully in political life (power, voice, struggle, fight, seize, advance, solidarity, beat, battle, decisive, engaged, won, mobilised, (great) fighters, violently, (great) activists, revolt, determination, wrest, claim, gather, revolution, complaint, demands, leaders, galvanise, militancy, react, confront, active, impose, participation, force, efforts, threaten, campaign, influential, determined...). Indeed, it is the frequency and repetition of such terms, which influence audiences and are thought to lead to their motivation. More neutral terms may have less effect.

Positive stereotypes are also used extensively, bolstering the image of women (a woman knows what she can do; what women can do for their people, their country; occupy a very important place in the running of the country; this solidarity that has made it possible to

move the mountains; women are always looking for ways to move forward; they have fought and continue to fight; when a woman decides to do something, she will never give up; she will never shirk from the task; when you want something enough, you can achieve it). In contrast, the October control week uses negative stereotypes and inactive or negative terms more often to characterise women (women are attached to a man, but that is their nature; she remains traditional; she has her culture; women as a decoration; they do not react; they are discarded; shy, meek, forgotten, never considered, not represented, eliminated, vulnerable).

The practice of using positive stereotypes could, therefore, be beneficially transferred to the more general programming.



Photo: A Studio kalangou female journalist reporting in the streets of Niamey. Ollivier Girard / Fondation Hirondelle.

### Child marriage series

Positive terms are also used to characterise women in the child marriage series but to a lesser extent (innovative, capable of extraordinary things, agents of change, capable, superb girls, beautiful, talented). In contrast, characterisation of women as being inactive prevails, which reflects the subject under discussion (the victim, not informed, in danger, domination, submissive, low economic capacity, have difficulties, are threatened, have been beaten, shy, a burden, a handicap).

This series does have, however, a prevailing discourse of education, motivation and awareness-raising. Once facts have been presented, the overarching tone is not to attribute blame to the population but to provide clear information regarding child marriage and the law, to find

and offer solutions, raise awareness about the situation and focus on the need for dialogue. In other words, stressing empowerment through education, the series encourages the audience to listen rather than become antagonised or feel accused (involving parents, listening to them, amicable solution, a solution has been found, awareness campaigns, community dialogues, raising awareness, changing attitudes, protecting, educating, informing, to whom to turn, intervention, mediation, sensitise parents, informing, conciliation, explain the problem informally, provide professional training, solve their problems, help, advocacy, mediation).

## HOW ARE WOMEN CHARACTERISED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

## STYLES AND DEVICES

The "particularisation" of programmes, whether through testimonials or geographical location or the inclusion of people's names or roles, makes the information more memorable and is clearly demonstrated here, especially in the child marriage series.

## Témoignages

In addition to the lexical and rhetorical structures which serve to influence listeners, the programmes also incorporated other stylistic features which were recalled by listeners during focus groups and, by being remembered, reinforce the message being broadcast. These features include témoignages, which are short spoken statements or accounts widely used in the child marriage magazines and are received as clear and relatable. Témoignages recount the specific experiences of girls who have been married at an early age or have fought against it. These range from testimonies from a girl who wants to wait until 23 to marry, to the story of a child marriage dispute which was resolved easily, to the example of a teacher who intervenes and prevents some marriages and then alerts the chef de canton who is able to stop others. A clear illustration of female agency is given by 'Nafissa' who refused child marriage because she was aware of the associated risks and took action to remain at school: "I was really unhappy when they announced the marriage because I was still at school. I have always

preferred school to avoid the consequences of early marriage, like the problems that happen during childbirth. I told my (male) friend who, in turn, went to see my father to tell him I didn't want to get married".

This message was further reinforced by the testimony of her father, which extended the relevance of the series to male listeners. This is a clear example of how male support for female empowerment can be incorporated into radio broadcasts. The positive impact of these témoignages was noted during the second round of focus groups when, not only were they accurately and systematically recalled by many respondents, but so were the messages they contained. Two such examples of audience recall were the story of a young girl who was married at a very early age and who suffered from incontinence after giving birth, and the story of a girl who was forced to marry but told her teacher that she wanted to stay at school. This was accurately recalled by the unmarried women focus group in Birni Ngaouré, and the Say married group in January, amongst others.

In contrast with the child marriage series where témoignages were effective, there were very few instances of specific styles or devices used in the women and politics series for guests or events and which could spur listeners on to increase their involvement. Successful politicians from previous years are interviewed but they discuss events from decades ago which may appear abstract and, as a result, have little link to the present. Based on these guests and the little information provided, it is difficult to see how an individual could move from their current situation to that of a politician. Female politicians remain distanced from the realities of listeners. The use of témoignages could help with this.

### Particularity of messages

Over the course of the two series, nearly eighty individuals, including guests, presenters, reporters and vox pops, appeared on the programmes. Many of these, especially during the forum debates, were not only clearly introduced, but had their names repeated frequently by the presenters. Their roles and positions in society were also clearly flagged. This emphasis and repetition resulted in many guest's names being recalled by the focus groups (for example, Habsou Garba, the singer and activist was mentioned several times as was Mariama Gamaitié, member of a political party). Although specific names were not always recalled by respondents, roles and jobs were (the vice-Mayor of Say, Hama Safia, and the President of Niamey Commune 3, Mariama Gambo, for example). This contributed to the message or theme discussed by these individuals also being recalled.

## Recommendation regarding styles and devices

People remember the particularity of the témoignages – short brief personal stories or testimonies – and the particularity of people's names, positions, and geographical locations. Include, therefore, concrete details like these, and avoid abstract, generalised discussions to make messages more memorable. Incorporate témoignages more extensively into the full range of programmes, not just magazines. Where possible, associate them with geographical locations and personalised information to increase recall. Continue emphasising guest names and also place names.

Over the course of the two series, nearly eighty individuals, including guests, presenters, reporters and vox pops, appeared on the programmes.

## HOW ARE WOMEN CHARACTERISED BY STUDIO KALANGOU?

## INFORMATION AND ADVICE PROVIDED BY STUDIO KALANGOU

Whilst constrained by their own policies to provide independent information and therefore not influence opinions, information and advice is provided during the broadcasts and may be helpful to listeners, but is limited.

## Child marriage

Despite the fact that both series focus on on-going issues - increasing political involvement of women, and early marriage – the child marriage series was more instructive and also regionally more inclusive. It outlined clearly both the subject and the associated consequences, which are often taboo, and implicitly recommended that listeners report child marriage to authorities. It discussed the process to report a case of early marriage, from approaching the police (le brigade des mineurs), to legal procedures, and the role of NGOs (and specific NGOs are helpfully mentioned such as SOS FEVV). Important legal information and the minimum age to marry was provided in a number of the magazines and forums (in the initial round of focus groups, many listeners were not aware of the minimum legal age). This general information was all supported by case studies. Given this, there is a higher probability that listeners would know where to turn in the case of child marriage.

There were contradictions, however. Studio Kalangou invited guests who were imams and teachers to speak against child marriage. The focus groups stated that these were not always reliable places to turn and these guests were therefore not representative. For example,

the unmarried women in Karma told of a teacher marrying two of his pupils; and six female focus groups said they would not report a case of child marriage to an imam "He'll quote verses that say that marriage is not forbidden at this age. So, no, you can't go to an imam to prevent early marriage".

### Women and politics series

In the women and politics series, whilst presenters solicited solutions to the issue of increasing women's representation and participation in politics, responses from guests were limited and not pursued. For example, 'There are programmes and campaigns which target women's empowerment, women's training, and female literacy,' yet this was generic and did not provide any specific information for the listeners. Examples of how to become involved in politics were rare (there were references in one forum to the leadership training programmes run by CARE/MMD). Indeed, respondents stated that Studio Kalangou programmes do not give them advice on how to take part in politics and that they would appreciate such information.

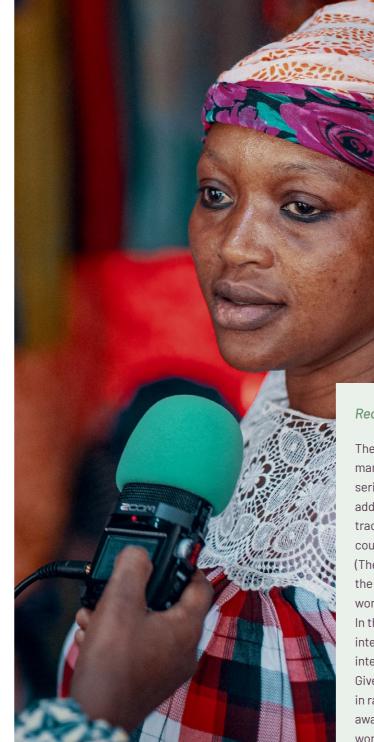


Photo: A Studio Kalangou journalist doing an interview in the market in Niamey. Ollivier Girard / Fondation Hirondelle.

### Recommendation

The good practice evidenced in the child marriage series could be replicated in other series without infringing the Studio's policies; additional information could be provided which tracks the progress of female politicians over the course of their careers with specific examples. (The programmes did not sufficiently address the question how do we encourage the young women of today to take an interest in politics?' In the focus groups, young women were rarely interested in politics. These women were more interested in their own careers and education.) Given the lack of interest amongst young people in radio, and the parallel need to raise political awareness and involvement amongst young women, broadcasts could frame politics more as a viable career for young women. Contradictions between guests and the image that listeners have of those guests in particular contexts must be addressed.



**SECTION 3:** 

DO PERCEPTIONS
OF EMPOWERMENT
IN THE DISCOURSES
BROADCAST ALIGN
WITH THOSE OF THE
LISTENERS?

## DO PERCEPTIONS OF EMPOWERMENT IN THE DISCOURSES BROADCAST ALIGN WITH THOSE OF THE LISTENERS?

Perceptions of empowerment differed between Studio Kalangou and listeners on two fronts: themes discussed, and the approach used. There was some agreement regarding the themes considered important for empowerment (see figure 1), with the child marriage series aligning more closely with listeners' views than the women and politics series. However, effectiveness need not be measured in terms of alignment; new information provided by the politics series was recalled by listeners and was a mark of the series' effectiveness.

The politics series, in particular, approached empowerment and the associated themes on a more macro level and as part of a long term process, where women were perceived to be part of a group. The focus groups, in contrast, discussed the themes on a personal level. The broadcasts were abstract and did not provide the specific information wanted by listeners.

Focus group responses were compared with the content analysis of the broadcasts to determine how each party – the listeners on one hand, and the two series broadcast by Studio Kalangou on the other – perceived women's empowerment, and which aspects of women's lives they considered to be most influential in bringing about this empowerment. There was some overlap between the parties (see figure 1). Both the child marriage series and the focus groups agreed that

associations and solidarity, educating young girls, and the facilitating role of NGOs were contributors to female empowerment. The politics series, instead, emphasised leadership, education and training for all women, and participation in politics. The focus groups stressed petits commerces and employment, two subjects which were not raised by the broadcasts.

Similarities and differences, which were noted regarding themes, also emerged regarding the level on which they were discussed; the politics series discussed themes on a macro level and references were general, if not abstract, whereas the focus groups discussed how the themes would affect them personally on a daily basis. The child marriage series tended towards more personal than abstract reports.

The politics series, in particular, approached empowerment and the associated themes on a more macro level and as part of a long term process, where women were perceived to be part of a group. The focus groups, in contrast, discussed the themes on a personal level.

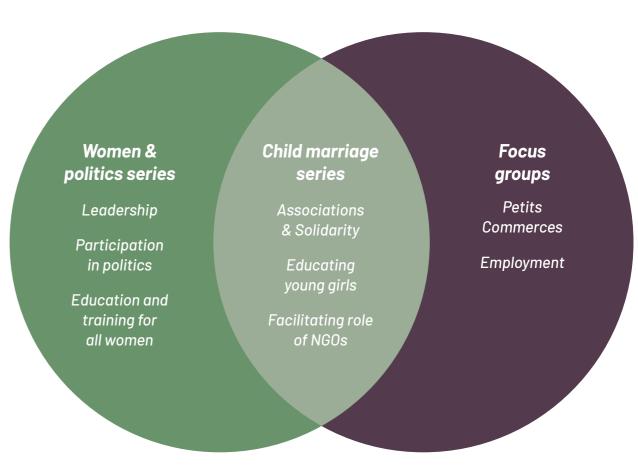


Figure 1 - Principal themes which emerged in Studio Kalangou's and listeners' perceptions of empowerment

## WHAT WORKED AND WHY?

## **CHILD MARRIAGE SERIES**

The child marriage series was effective and an example of good practice. This is because it covered themes which coincided with the desires of the listeners (associations and solidarity, educating young girls, and the facilitating role of NGOs) and also because it emphasised the personal. This was achieved through the use of témoignages, personal details of guests, and geographical references.

Associations and Solidarity

Perceptions of the role of associations and solidarity in the child marriage series aligned with those of the listeners.

There were strong similarities between the child marriage series and the focus groups with regard to the role of associations in female empowerment and also solidarity amongst women. Empowerment could be achieved through formal (women's) associations and also simply through supporting one another. The broadcasts frequently mentioned, and even named, organisations, associations and groups set up by, and for, women. This is approached on a personal and very local level making the information relatable to the listener.

The respondents' perceptions of associations reflected those of the child marriage series. They generally viewed associations positively and as a useful tool for raising female empowerment. Members of all focus groups (male, female, old and young) strongly supported the role of associations within society, particularly in connection with education, training and giving literacy lessons to adults. It was clear that women could receive vital information from joining associations and listening groups and that this would benefit the whole family, but that many could not attend them if the groups were mixed<sup>3</sup>.

## Educating young girls

This series' focus on the need to educate young girls in order to promote empowerment amongst future generations was in alignment with listeners' views. The theme was also approached on a personal level with specific examples being provided.

The series considered education in all its forms – good or bad – to be an integral part of life. Lack of education was blamed for inadequate understanding of early marriage and its consequences, and more education was viewed as being a solution to prevent early marriage through greater awareness. Schooling for girls should be continued not only because it is their right but because it will allow them to flourish to everyone's benefit. Education, as an institution, was represented as a possible safe place to protect girls from forced removal for marriage.

This series' focus on the need to educate young girls in order to promote empowerment amongst future generations was in alignment with listeners' views.

Education and schooling, in their various aspects, were not represented in an abstract manner, a charge which can be levied at the women and politics series, but specific examples were given to which listeners (old, young, male and female) could relate and are thus examples of good practice. By including male témoignages, male listeners, who may have had strong opinions on education, were directly targeted. The men in the focus groups used education as an excuse to keep women at home. Ironically, striving to obtain an education for their daughters meant that many women were prevented from continuing their own education or pursuing any other form of empowerment such as participating in politics as this would mean that no one would be at home to educate the children. Men also cited the cost of education as a barrier.

The older married women in the focus groups considered educating the next generation of women to be essential. Many in this category were not educated and were acutely aware of the disadvantages they faced by being poorly educated or having received no schooling. If their daughters could be (formally) educated, they would be empowered.

## WHAT WORKED AND WHY?

## The Facilitating Role of NGOs

The child marriage series and focus groups were in agreement regarding NGOs' positive contribution to female empowerment (see figure 1). The broadcasts mentioned NGOs extensively, sometimes by name, sometimes for their activities (for their literacy programmes, for example) and focus groups confirmed that these activities were indeed essential parts of their lives.

The series invited NGO representatives to participate in debates as guests or to speak on magazine programmes, raising awareness, broadly, of their organisations, activities and campaigns. They also referred to several specific NGOs, processes, and help and advice available. This information is set within a legal context and clear examples of how individuals have been assisted by NGOs or how girls can gain help are given.

The married focus groups supported this and considered NGOs to be a practical way to gain empowerment. Any assistance they mentioned affected their daily lives on a personal level. NGOs were cited as a vital source of credit allowing women to set up income-generating activities, bringing the conversation back to the ever-present theme of money. The further advantage of NGOs for these women is that the money they earn is not given to their husbands. They don't give the money to the husband. You see, NGOs don't give credit to men. Because men, when they have money, they spend it immediately. They are not creditworthy, they don't repay the money'.

Listeners also considered NGOs to be an important source of information, advice and training. This could cover running their businesses, how to make a profit and how to save, all of which is essential for women's empowerment, especially given their financial contribution to the family. Information and training from NGOs, according to the focus groups, extend to literacy, particularly for women who had to leave school early, health, using social networks for women, support concerning child marriage, domestic violence and so on. Respondents mentioned several NGOs by name, and information about meetings was gained via associations, word of mouth, radio, spots, and sketches.

### Recommendation

This series worked well because of the common themes, and also because of the emphasis on the personal. This approach could be adopted in other series.

Including references to themes such as money and income-generating activities which dominate listeners' discussions would reinforce the effectiveness of the series.

## WHAT WORKED, BUT LESS WELL, AND WHY?

## **WOMEN AND POLITICS SERIES**

The women and politics series appeared less effective than the child marriage series as many of the subjects it covered – and which emerged as being essential for female empowerment to take place – did not align with the desires of the listeners. Much of the information broadcast by this series was, however, recalled by the focus groups. This suggests that alignment with listeners' interests is not a prerequisite to be considered successful. Presenting new information on new topics also emerged as being key for effective broadcasting.

Some areas of overlap in the themes raised did emerge, for example, this series, like the child marriage series, invited NGO representatives on to the debate programmes as guests and also widely referred to the need for associations and solidarity as a way to empower women. However, the main themes it drew on were leadership, education and training for all women, and participation in politics (see figure 1). It did so in an abstract manner distancing itself and its information from the listeners, who suggested they wanted more specific information.

Nonetheless, in the second round of focus groups, listeners recalled much of the information broadcast in this series and also demonstrated changes in their behaviour (see next section). Although the listeners did not specifically say, prior to broadcast, that they wanted the information provided in this series, this does not mean that it would not be welcome when aired. This is more a case of listeners not knowing what could be offered. Providing what the listeners think they want is not necessarily essential for a programme to be effective.

## WHAT WORKED, BUT LESS WELL, AND WHY?

### Leadership

Discussions of leadership, whilst interesting to listeners, remained distanced from the realities of women's lives.

Because of its very nature, this series discussed female representation in government in detail. It discussed past and present difficulties in combatting discrimination and increasing leadership amongst women. An aspirational tone prevailed 'we'd like to see a female president of the Assemblée, more women in the commission, more women in the administration' and, although this was associated with explanations of quotas, which affects all levels of society, the theme remained removed from the reality of many women. The series attempted to mobilise women to become leaders and take positions of responsibility – 'there are still battles to be fought to make women more visible in the political arena' – yet there was no specific information to advise women how to do this.

### Participation in politics

Listeners, whilst in favour of political participation, wanted more specific information on how to increase their involvement. They also needed to be able to identify more closely with guests in programmes.

There was little alignment between the focus on women's participation in politics in this series and the themes raised amongst the listeners. Instead, a gap emerged between what was broadcast and what was required, even amongst those (female) listeners who had the ability and status to make changes within society. Although many married listeners did demonstrate some readiness to fight for their rights, or support others, respondents did not feel they were

receiving sufficient or appropriate information to compensate for their inadequate awareness of which changes could be introduced or how. Information was general in nature. Few personalised examples were given and those that were given were historical. It was also not clear how women, used as examples of those who had achieved success in society, had achieved their position. Listeners could not therefore identify with these examples. There were also few, if any, references to youth, despite many guests on the programmes evidently wanting to inform the whole population about women's participation in politics.

Focus groups on leadership and participation in politics

Many respondents viewed participation in society through political involvement positively. Becoming mayor, even on a local level, seemed possible for women generally but beyond the personal grasp of many. Female respondents stated that they faced many obstacles including lack of funds, no permission from their husbands, and not being, or feeling, sufficiently educated. Success, if achievable, would only be possible with the support and solidarity of other women.

Respondents of all ages and both genders maintained that they took female politicians and leaders seriously, yet they also stated that they could not always identify with the female guests on the politics series because they considered them to be more privileged. The message being conveyed by the broadcasts therefore remained hypothetical. They did, however, understand the political process better having listened to the broadcasts.

A generational divide emerged regarding participation in politics, which was not adequately addressed by the broadcasts. The younger members of the unmarried focus groups displayed little interest in politics generally, preferring their social lives, spending time on their phones, and considered politics was 'not for them'. The older, married groups had strong opinions on what the younger generations should like, should be doing and should be interested in, advocating greater involvement in politics amongst youth (male and female). Although the politics series broadly discussed encouraging involvement amongst young people in politics, again, specific solutions and approaches to achieve this were not considered.

Education and training for all women

In the women and politics series, education and training for all women (and not just young girls) was vital for empowerment and formed the basis for any life improvements. It was also apparent that the lack of education should not impede progress. Nonetheless, these long-term aims did not clearly align with the respondents' desires regarding education who, once again, wanted specific information rather than abstract references.

The women and politics series covered education speculatively and as a general tool, which might increase female political participation: 'Girls' schooling, education, women's literacy, is really one of the factors that needs to be addressed if we are to raise women's political participation'. This series suggested that the lack of education affected all society, both men and women, but that a divide existed between women with education, and those without (and respectively with, and without, the associated opportunities), something

which was confirmed by the focus groups. There were few, if any, solutions offered, or even discussed, to counter the lack of education which permeates society.

The divide between women with education and those without, mentioned in the broadcast, was confirmed by the married women in the focus groups. The married women stated that formal education was for the younger generation and not for them. Their chance had gone. They could not relate to the information in the broadcasts or to the encouragement to become educated. They could realistically only be empowered through basic education, which could be obtained through simple informal exchanges of information, widely available through associations - they mentioned getting information about raising goats, and growing crops, for example - or more formally regarding literacy later in life from NGOs. Specific information on training, funding and supporting this education was required. The importance of NGOs in society was especially felt amongst the large group of the female population simply classed as 'illiterate'.

## Recommendation

Although there is less alignment between the broadcasts and what focus groups want, many aspects of the information are still recalled, so the series is effective. The provision of new information, which is the strong point of this series, could be reinforced through greater personalisation. Also provide more specific information and references. This would enable listeners to better identify with themes.

## WHAT MIGHT WORK AND WHY?

## THEMES FOR FUTURE BROADCASTS

Two additional themes were consistently raised by the focus groups but were barely covered by the two series (see figure 1). These themes were *petits* commerces and employment.

## Petits commerces and employment

The broadcasts included very few direct references to money or poverty despite this being the priority amongst listeners, once again revealing differences in perceptions of empowerment; the broadcasts focused on more abstract first-order choices and the listeners concentrated on immediate choices affecting them on a daily basis, particularly their ability to set up and run petits commerces and gain employment.

References to money in the broadcasts were mostly connected with child marriage and debts incurred by the marriage price and with the fact that a young girl was often a financial burden to be off-loaded as early as possible through marriage. Employment, in whatever form and however meagre the income, did not contribute significantly to the overall discourse of the broadcasts, yet was of primary importance to the audience.

Money, and the fight for survival, dominated all conversations with listeners, with other aspects of life – education, politics, NGOs, and associations – being of secondary importance in comparison. Information about money and means to obtain it was paramount.

Many female respondents or men's wives or mothers ran a petit commerce. Some wanted to but lacked the necessary funds to start one or the requisite knowledge. Male respondents also supported their wives running small businesses but not all were in favour of them leaving the home to do so or joining associations to gain information.

All groups expressed a keen interest in receiving further information on *petits commerces* from radio programmes, especially the men as women could use radio to be informed from the home.

## Recommendation

To be successful, broadcasts including these themes should draw on the points which led to the effectiveness of the two series; the new information which worked in the politics series, and the personalisation that was the strength of the child marriage series.



## Recommendations on Section 3

- Better listener profiling is needed. This will allow listeners' needs to permeate the more abstract but essential information which Studio Kalangou wishes to convey.
- Real-life examples, or reported experiences, which link to listeners' daily lives on a personal level, should be more widely integrated. Audiences will then be able to identify more closely with the broadcasts.
- Listeners must be able to relate the themes in the broadcasts to their daily lives, on a micro level.
- Guests and individuals mentioned on broadcasts must be identifiable to audiences. Participants said they could not identify with guests because they see them as more privileged. Studio Kalangou could emphasise women's journeys to empowerment from a less privileged position.
- There must be greater attempts to engage young people in radio generally and they must be involved in shaping the types of broadcasts they might be interested in.

Photo: A Studio kalangou journalist presenting the daily news bulletin. Anne Mimault / Fondation Hirondelle.



SECTION 4:

WHATISTHE IMPACT OF STUDIO KALANGOU'S DISCOURSE AND ITS PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN'S **EMPOWERMENT** ON LISTENERS?

## WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF STUDIO KALANGOU'S DISCOURSE AND ITS PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT ON LISTENERS?

Awareness campaigns are being conducted widely and no single organisation can claim responsibility for all changes in behaviour or for providing all information on a given subject. There is, however, evidence of changes in behaviour amongst listeners as a result of Studio Kalangou broadcasts. Improvements in general and specific knowledge of subject matter and themes emerge strongly, highlighting the impact of the programming.

## **POLITICS AND WOMEN SERIES**

Before listening to the women and politics series, focus groups demonstrated general awareness about the political situation in the country and also about how to vote. All participants had voted (with the exception of some of the unmarried women who were too young) and they knew they had the right to vote. They also knew that women were underrepresented on a national level. When prompted, participants requested more information on how to participate in politics and generally more on the subject ('we'd like to know more about politics, we don't know how to do it, we don't have the information'). They were also aware that they did not know what information they needed given the vastness of politics as a subject.

The little information they had, be it from the media, hearsay or local encounters, had led to a distrust of politicians, and also to the perception that female candidates were badly treated as they were often elected just as part of the quota and did much of the work but benefitted little. There was also a strong awareness that not only were women poorly represented but that they would never reach high levels in politics. This was underpinned by a certain resignation ("Here in Niger, a woman can't be a district chief or village chief. That's just the way it is").

Prior to listening to the series, the main factor cited as preventing the advancement of women in politics was men and the need for women to ask their permission to become active. This was noted by both male and female focus groups, once again underscoring the importance of men in enabling and supporting women's empowerment. The need to have contacts and financial backing was also mentioned.

The unmarried focus groups displayed little interest in politics and claimed that this was because they were too young ('It's for older women'). They also demonstrated extreme perceptions (both positive and negative) regarding politics. On one hand, one group grandly suggested, 'You have to have determination, patience, good manners, and the ability to listen. We need fairness too. The system must guarantee fairness and equal opportunities' without mentioning any negatives which might exist and hinder these idealistic characteristics, and on the other, that 'It's dangerous for women. There are threats. You're not going to please everyone. So I don't like it. And it's not encouraged".

Following the broadcasts, and during the second round of focus groups, it became clear that a change had occurred in the general awareness of the political situation regarding women. Several participants now stated they would like to take part in politics and demonstrated a clear shift from awareness to a desire to act. Without prompting, respondents acknowledged that they had received information on politics and they also suggested that elements of confusion regarding politics had been clarified by the broadcasts ("They listen to Studio Kalangou's broadcasts on politics, on women. It has changed a lot for them because now they understand what they didn't understand before").

Such clarifications could now lead to increased participation,

'They did not understand politics, how to get into politics, how to get into politics, what to do in politics. What not to do in politics. But on listening to the broadcasts, they said, "Oh yes, that's how it is!" Before, for them, politics meant nothing, but now they've realised that politics can mean a lot of things for women. They want to do politics.'



Photo: A woman listening to radio via telephone in Niamey, Niger.
Anne Mimault / Fondation Hirondelle.

## WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF STUDIO KALANGOU'S DISCOURSE AND ITS PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT ON LISTENERS?

In the second round of focus groups, it also became apparent that women had a stronger belief that they could participate in politics; female participants had either become more aware or simply more vocal about their own rights, their own agency and the fact they can contribute, displaying a change in attitude. In contrast to the first round of focus groups when they attributed their lack of political involvement mainly to men, they had become aware that they could be in politics. They acknowledged the major obstacles were presented not only by men, but also by finance, and education - a subject discussed at length on the broadcasts. They were adamant that illiteracy amongst women and a lack of education should not stop them advancing, whether or not this was the case currently. This replicated information and discussions on the Studio Kalangou forums. Rather than negatively stating that women were underrepresented in politics, they were able to cite examples of women, educated or not, who were in politics and who were mentioned in the broadcasts. They had become more aware and more interested in politics as a topic.

A change in listening habits, therefore, occurred after listening to the women and politics series. Several focus groups stated that previously households or groups of friends would either not discuss politics or women and politics or would discuss them and that this would often end acrimoniously. Now, because they understood the subject better, people could talk about it more easily ('It has really changed women. We've evolved. We come, we listen to the programme, me and you, I'm in such and such a party and you're in another. Yet we're still talking. We didn't talk before. Before we used to insult each other, we didn't talk. Now we've got it all figured out. But before, we didn't understand').

The general message is positive. Groups stated that, They listen to politics to find out if women have their rights, if women have a place in politics. They found out through the radio, from Studio Kalangou. It's on a national level. But sometimes they live in Maradi, Zinder, a bit everywhere". Yet this very statement reinforces earlier findings that national broadcasts need the refinement of additional references to regions to render them more relevant to listeners. Similarly, additional localised information was requested by several focus groups. The general feeling of distrust towards both male and female politicians will represent a challenge to Studio Kalangou. There appears to be little incentive to participate in politics if this means becoming such a character. Providing information on electoral processes and political background will not change this. Similarly, there were very few changes to youth perceptions regarding politics. However, although significant work is to be done on promoting interest amongst youth, certain groups did show a desire for more women to become involved in politics ('at university, even at union level, there are girls who would like to take up positions on the various committees').

> "They listen to politics to find out if women have their rights, if women have a place in politics".



## WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF STUDIO KALANGOU'S DISCOURSE AND ITS PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT ON LISTENERS?

## CHILD MARRIAGE SERIES

During the first round of focus groups, marriage was talked about on a general level. There was much discussion about polygamy, which was part of life and it was not classed in same category as child marriage, which was widely perceived as being unacceptable, even if financially necessary in some cases. Being married, even as a second, third or fourth wife, and even being divorced was better than never being married at all. Whilst many women would prefer to be in monogamous marriage some stated that polygamy had its advantages as it can provide company, chores can be shared and could work 'if the husband could manage it well'. Married female respondents displayed little agency regarding marriage, accepting instead that men and then families would take the main marital decisions, 'It is the husband who decides that he's going to get married. The woman has no say. She has to accept it', but mainly that decisions were culturally and religiously driven 'It is God's choice'; 'Our religion is like that'; 'You have to accept it. We're in Niger, we have no choice'. The younger respondents, both male and female, strongly challenged this attitude regarding having little choice. The girls stated that they could influence decisions about their marital future and could even choose their future husband, and the boys agreed, saying, 'It's like you said, there's a consultation between the suitors, the parents and the girl'; 'If, for example, the girl does not like it, she can say no. She has the last word'.

In addition to the generational divide, there was also a difference between rural and urban groups. The latter were adamant that there forced marriages no longer existed and that child marriage did not really happen in towns, whilst the rural groups provided several examples of child marriage in their experience but this did not necessarily affect their circle of friends, aware of the stigma this appeared to carry.

There was a general recognition of the many awareness campaigns promoted by NGOs or radio. Specific details about their contents were not forthcoming and the legal marital age, for example, was not consistently known, 'I think that legally for women it is 21 years old'; 'Some marry before the legal age'; 'It depends on the girl's physique, whether she is mature'; 'Not a 13-year-old girl, that's dangerous'.

Child marriage was also culturally justified by male respondents 'When the girl is not married, she can date men and get pregnant. For fear of that, parents are forced to marry them'; 'This is for girls who don't stay quiet. If parents find that their daughter is not staying still, they do everything possible to marry her before something happens. Society doesn't look kindly on the daughter of such a person. The father, he has to act discreetly. It's for the honour of society'.

Little information, with few details, was provided by the respondents about the consequences of early marriage, demonstrating very abstract knowledge. Focus groups spoke more freely about the causes of child marriage citing financial circumstances and also a lack of education.

Following the broadcasts, the positive aspect of the child marriage series and its relevance emerged clearly. Respondents appreciated the fact that the subject had been approached seriously, addressed holistically, and had targeted all sectors of the populations as everyone could be affected. Generally, the programmes were well received: 'For me, these programmes provide a lot of information'; 'We are interested in the subject and the style'; "All the approaches, all the styles. The main thing is what is said is accessible to everyone. The questions are not so technical that we can't follow them. It's early marriage after all – we're talking about age, the damage it does, none of that is too technical'.

Listeners spoke in detail about the consequences of child marriage, a marked shift from the more abstract information they provided during the first focus group sessions. Most mentioned problems with fistulas with certain respondents accurately stating that the programmes had not discussed this aspect in great detail. Many of these improvements in awareness had been triggered by the broadcasts. 'It was really programmes that helped us understand the content.... so, for early marriage, that meant the damage this practice does to children since it can lead to early pregnancies, and there are children who drop out of school. So the information has really got through'.

Listeners also displayed greater awareness of the legal age to marry, recalling information on legal documents discussed during the series. Clear impact of the broadcasts emerged when listeners cited organisations or people mentioned in the programmes to whom they could turn to report cases of child marriage or,

in the case of the younger girls, if they were affected themselves. 'And then if it happens to you, you can defend yourself, and you know how to do this by listening to the broadcasts. You know where to go to prevent the marriage'. NGOs and individuals from those NGOs, who were mentioned in the broadcasts, were accurately recalled by several focus groups, reinforcing the effectiveness of using témoignages and personalisation in programmes.

Both male and female listeners were affected by the broadcasts with the former stating, "I've learnt some new things because before, I didn't know much about early marriage. I knew it's not good, but I didn't have much information, but with the involvement of everyone, because in the programmes there are lot of people who intervene, not just one person, and everyone tells their own story or their own view according to the experiences they've had. Q. So it's becomes clearer through the testimonies? A: "Yes, it becomes clearer: the consequences of early marriage and for the victims too.'

In addition to evidence of direct impact of the programmes, respondents also demonstrated how the child marriage series has reinforced, clarified and complemented existing knowledge with regard to a subject which is already widely discussed by many campaigns. Listeners referred to many non-Studio Kalangou stories suggesting that this topic is covered widely by many sources but that Studio Kalangou was strengthening this knowledge and having an indirect impact this way.

## **FUTURE WORK**

In order to build on the recommendations, future studies will now be extended to a larger geographical area, to include a broader range of ethnic groups and large numbers of listeners. Similar work assessing the impact of radio on women's rights and empowerment is now ongoing in Mali using the same methodology. On completion of that project, the findings from the Mali and Niger projects will be compared to determine common areas of interest and good practice and to transfer recommendations.

Academic articles on aspects of this research are being published.



Photo: A woman interviewed at the central market in Niamey.

Ollivier Girard / Fondation Hirondelle.

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