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TELEVISION AND THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN, A FIRST REPORT
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BY- FOUGEYROLLAS, PIERRE

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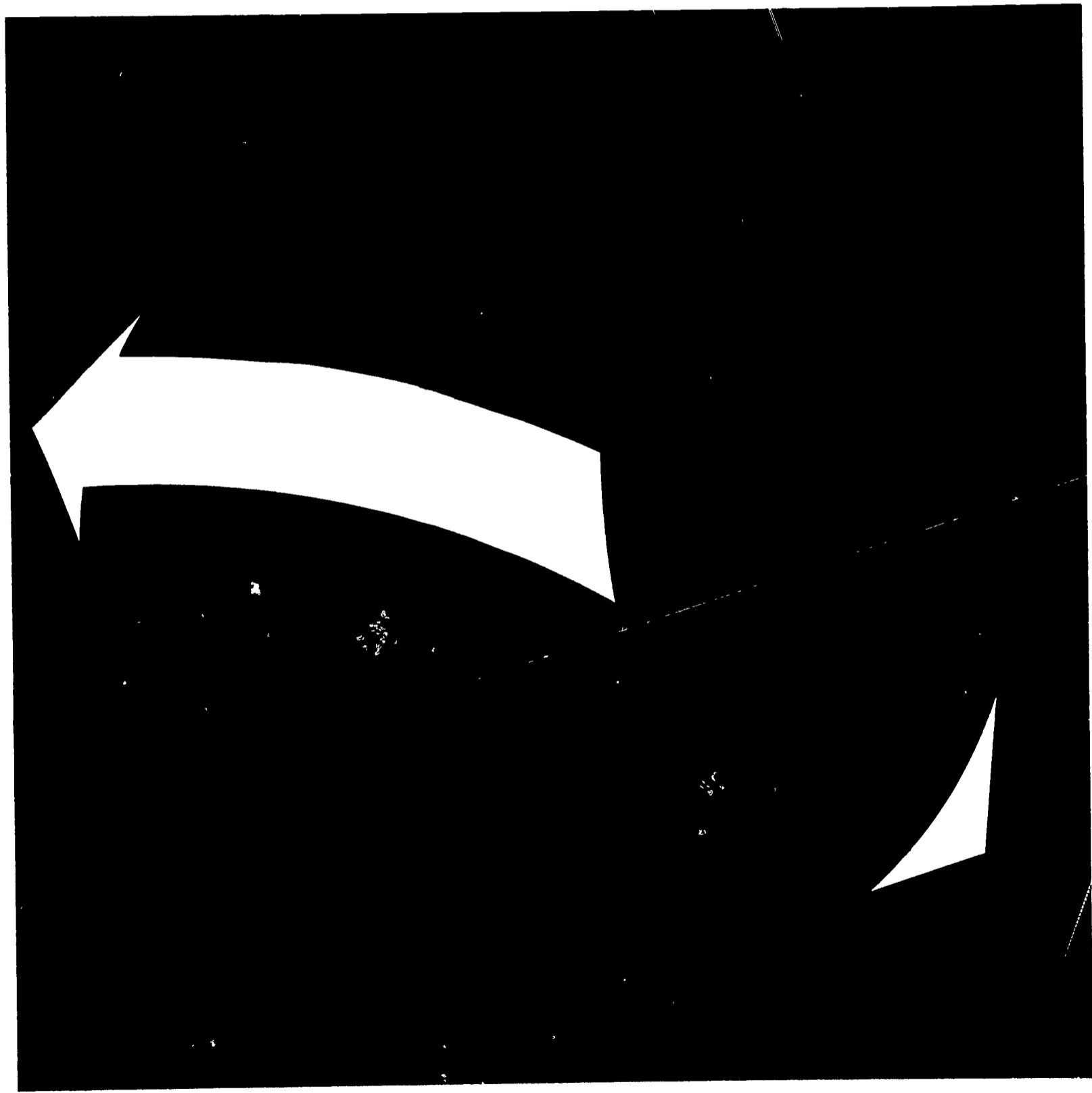
ATTITUDE CHANGES AMONG 500 MOSTLY ILLITERATE WOMEN IN AN
AFRICAN CITY BROUGHT ABOUT IN 1965 BY EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION
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WHERE THE PRESENTATION WAS ADEQUATE, AND WITH THE YOUNGER
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No. 50

Television and the social education of women

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PREFACE

This is the first interim report on the work accomplished by the Unesco pilot project at Dakar, Senegal, for the production, utilization and evaluation of a broad range of audio-visual media and materials, including in particular television, for adult education. The report presents a sociological and psychological evaluation of the impact of a series of television programmes on health and nutrition directed to an audience of illiterate women. This evaluation was carried out under contract by the Centre de Recherches Psycho-Sociologiques de l'Université de Dakar and the report has been prepared by Mr. Pierre Fougeyrollas, Professor of Social Psychology at the University. The opinions expressed are the author's and do not necessarily represent the views of Unesco. Further reports on the project will be published in due course.

The project

During its twelfth session, the General Conference of Unesco authorized the Director-General to organize in collaboration with an African Member State, a pilot project for the production and testing of audio-visual materials for adult education (resolution 5.131(c)). The Government of Senegal generously volunteered to have the project located on its territory. An agreement was concluded between the Government of Senegal and Unesco, and the pilot project, for which a duration of six years was foreseen, was established in Dakar. The agreement specified that Senegal would supply the audio-visual facilities including basic equipment required for an experimental television service broadcasting educational programmes, as well as a contribution to the operating expenses. Unesco agreed to make its contribution in the form of experts, equipment and fellowships, as well as funds for operation, research and evaluation.

Unesco, in agreement with the Government of Senegal, will welcome the collaboration of other organizations providing international and bilateral assistance in the form of additional equipment and personnel. To date, the Governments of Canada

and France are contributing to this project with materials and experts.

The pilot project takes the form of a field laboratory working towards the introduction of effective new methods and techniques of adult education in Africa. To provide a concrete, close and practical field of experience, the project seeks to meet the specific needs of Senegal and to assist in the country's efforts for economic, social and cultural development.

The purpose of the Unesco pilot project is to test the effectiveness of various audio-visual media: television, radio, film. Established in 1964 it began operations in 1965 with a series of television broadcasts on health and nutrition addressed to women, and a broader educational and cultural programme entitled "Rencontres". In 1966, the project's range of activities was expanded to include: literacy programmes for workers in factories, radio broadcasts for people in villages, and films for city and rural people alike.

Background

The provision of adult education is a matter of urgency in a society in rapid transition. The social and political development of newly-independent States requires the active participation of the adult population in the improvement of conditions, the acquisition of new skills and the process of national development. New knowledge and new attitudes modifying tradition-bound concepts of work and society must be inculcated if the emergent nations are to face up to the pressures of existence in the modern world.

Audio-visual media of communication, such as television, radio, films, filmstrips, posters and the illustrated printed page, offer vast possibilities for intensifying the required educational effort. But their use is difficult. Experience in highly developed societies is indicative of their value but does not furnish answers to the many questions which must be posed: how effective are these media under African conditions? Is the

investment in facilities and production commensurate with the results obtained? How may these media best be linked to more conventional methods of interpersonal adult education in order to achieve all-round lasting impact. How may television programmes be produced in Africa to meet particular social and educational needs? How can technical obstacles to the use of these media in Africa, such as lack of electricity, lack of skilled personnel, tropical conditions, etc., best be met?

Objectives

Only practice in an African country can provide answers to these and many other questions. Modern techniques cannot be transferred mechanically from one society into another without consideration of the latter's particular needs and conditions, its traditions and customs, its physical surroundings and its way of life. To provide such practical experience, the project has been established with three major objectives:

to demonstrate in practice rather than on paper the feasibility and effectiveness of audio-visual media in adult education under African conditions;

to provide a practical guide for governments and educators in the most effective strategy to be applied in the use of these media;

to provide a training ground for African personnel and a meeting ground for specialists in education, development and mass media research, for the study of new techniques of adult education.

From all three points of view we may already see distinct achievements:

The project is operated entirely by Senegalese personnel, except for one set designer placed at its disposal by French bilateral assistance. The television expert and a Canadian film expert limit their work to training and advising. This distinguishes the educational station from most other television operations in Africa. It has been clearly established that, after very short training and experience, African personnel can operate the programming, technical and administrative sides of television.

Television is proving its effectiveness as a medium of adult education in urban conditions. This has been clearly established by the evaluation which follows. It is apparent that where other forms of adult education (for example "animation") face great difficulties due to the lack of an established social structure and organization in the city, television through its power of group formation acts as a catalytic agent well beyond the contents of its programmes. It is well known that adult or social education faces great problems in all large cities in developing countries, cities which are subject to a steady influx of rural elements who abandon the land. Although these cities represent only a small fraction of the national population, these are of crucial social and political significance for the country as a whole. The practical demonstration of how television, combined with adult education

activities at the local level, can transform the mentality and habits of, for example, illiterate women, should be of far-reaching significance in relation to the methods to be used in urban adult education.

Techniques of group reception and group discussion are being developed which will show in a practical way how television can be an activating medium rather than an encouragement to passivity.

The Dakar project demonstrates clearly that rich programme resources are available in any African country; it is thus countering the tendency of many stations to rely mainly on programmes imported from abroad. Particularly remarkable is the fact that the station is able to produce regularly plays of social significance in Wolof, a vernacular language for which as yet no written alphabet exists. The practice of the station is to outline the programmes, including the theatrical productions, in French and to leave it to the actors to adapt this French text freely into their native tongue. Here is a practical demonstration of a way to overcome the gap between French or English on the one hand, and the vernacular languages on the other, which should be an inspiration to many stations facing a similar problem in African countries.

These television programmes were broadcast for the first time in 1965. (No general television service exists or is envisaged for the time being in Senegal.)

The future

These are initial achievements. The key to the success of the project lies in the future. In 1965, the project team was trained and gained its first experiences. Initial sociological studies were also made so that the impact of the project could be measured against the initial situation.

In 1966-1967, the project will pursue its present work but will seek, in addition, five key objectives:

to assure closer integration of the project into the national adult education activities in Senegal;

to enlarge the type of audience reached, not only in the city but also in rural areas, and to diversify the programme objectives;

to diversify the audio-visual media which are being used and tested;

to train personnel from other African countries and to provide a basis for exchanges of ideas and experiences through international seminars;

to make a maximum effort in order to obtain measurable results for the purpose of evaluation.

With regard to the first aim, a special effort is being made to link the project closely with the Animation rurale et urbaine, and with the literacy campaign. A consultative committee, composed of leaders of all Senegalese movements concerned with adult and social education, advises the project for three purposes: to test the usefulness of

audio-visual media for current adult education activities; to provide a basis for comparison of "traditional" and new techniques without any intention of opposing the ones to the others; and to ensure continued interest in and support for the activities launched under the project at the time when Unesco withdraws its support.

In order to extend the range of the project the following activities are being undertaken:

A series of television programmes for factory workers to promote functional literacy in the French language. The facilities are ready, the factories are prepared to purchase the receivers and to provide the monitors, and they are eagerly awaiting these programmes. After a period of research and experimentation, a first series of broadcasts consisting of 80 to 90 lessons of one and a half hours each is currently being recorded and will be telecast three times a week.

The teaching of functional literacy by television adapted to specific African conditions represents a new and original approach in the use of the medium and in the methodology of literacy teaching itself. A new pedagogical language suited to television is being formulated and will lead to a change in traditional teaching methods. Too often literacy is taught with manuals written for children or by methods devoid of any understanding of adult psychology. Through re-evaluation of traditional pedagogical approaches, television obliges the reformulation of all educational content directed to adults. The acute dearth of fully-qualified classroom instructors in African countries, becomes less grave since television, which reduces their rôle considerably, makes it possible for any literate person to fulfil this task.

Film production is being developed in co-operation with the Senegalese cinema service. Films will serve not only television broadcasts and urban audiences but will also be suitable for showing in rural areas.

A farm forum type radio operation will be started during the latter part of 1966. The organization

of reception will be undertaken by the "Animation rurale". Programmes will cover different aspects of rural development and deal with the social problems of country people.

As far as training and exchange of experience are concerned, emphasis will be placed on fellowships, seminars, and participation in the university courses given by the Unesco Regional Group for Educational Planning and Administration, and by the Mass Communication Institute, both located at Dakar. Short- and long-term fellowships are being granted to African Member States; the first provide acquaintance with the work carried on in the project, while the latter are designed to permit other African personnel (producers of mass media and adult educators) to participate responsibly in the work so that they may return to their country as fully experienced leaders in the use of new techniques for adult education.

Seminars are foreseen for 1967-1968 to bring together specialists in such fields as rural education, health education, adult education in urban centres, etc., for an exchange of ideas and experience, and to give them an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the work of the pilot project. It is also proposed to convene in 1967-1968 a high-level meeting of experts to permit the maximum sharing of experience in the world-wide application of mass communication techniques to adult education and literacy teaching, and to formulate an expanded and co-ordinated programme of action in this field.

Finally, every aspect of the work is carefully evaluated. The initial surveys undertaken early in 1965 were supplemented by new inquiries to determine progress and impact in 1966. The present report is the result of these surveys undertaken at the close of the first cycle of programmes on health and nutrition. This first evaluation will be followed by studies on the literacy programmes, the use of radio and cinema, and on the economic effectiveness of the media.

CHAPTER I

THE DAKAR EXPERIMENT

The experimental television station used for the pilot project broadcast two regular weekly programmes, one on hygiene and illnesses, the other on nutrition. All were in Wolof, the language most widely spoken in Senegal, and were addressed to some 500 women in ten television clubs set up in different working-class districts in the vast built-up area in and around Dakar that contains nearly half a million inhabitants.

This audience was as follows. Over three-quarters are illiterate, some 80% have no occupation, over half are between 16 and 25 years of age about the same proportion as in the population as a whole. About one-third - the youngest - are unmarried, and about a quarter have five or more children to look after. Among the married women, in 56% of cases there is one wife, and in 44%, one or more co-wives i.e. they live polygamously.

More than three-quarters not only say that they have no personal income but that they do not know even approximately how much the husband earns a month. Almost all (over 90%) are Muslim.

The television clubs were originally organized with the help of social service officials who have an important rôle in collective activities in Senegalese towns and countryside. The women themselves gradually took over responsibility for the meetings i.e. maintaining order during the programmes and the discussions which regularly followed.

Attendance has been very satisfactory - a falling off after nine months of scarcely 10% in the clubs as a whole. The discussions were very lively. Over 85% of the audience have spoken at least once, and the discussions have revealed leaders who influence the others. The discussions have thus been true to the laws of group dynamics.

The Psycho-Sociological Research Centre of the University of Dakar has systematically followed the experiment.

The chief aim of those in charge of the Unesco-Senegal pilot project is to find out whether mass communication media, in this case television, can be effectively used to impart practical knowledge that is of vital importance for society, and to determine changes in attitude and behaviour as a nation develops and decides for modernity.

Two main comments may be made on the basis of the surveys.

1. The audience apparently acquires knowledge, not by mechanical conditioning but by a dialectical process: certain parts of educational television programmes are assimilated, some are further discussed and some are rejected.

2. The discussions which follow the programmes are of decisive importance. It is during these discussions that the activating and stimulating function of educational television which takes them beyond the actual subjects taught becomes apparent, and brings underlying social problems to the surface.

CHAPTER II

THE SURVEYS

(a) The panel survey

In February 1965, we made a psycho-sociological survey among the women in Dakar who would later follow the television programmes under the pilot project on the application of new educational methods and techniques. The questionnaire used in the interviews is given in Annex I.

Of the 500 women who were to follow the programmes, a sample of 99, drawn by lot, was the subject of the first survey. We thus had a pre-television survey of attitudes to illnesses, hygiene and food.

From March to November 1965, most of the 500 women regularly followed the programmes: nutrition problems on Tuesdays, hygiene and illnesses on Thursdays.

In December 1965 and January 1966, we prepared a second survey by the panel method i.e. the investigators asking the same questions of the women who had been interviewed ten months before.

The object was to discover any changes of attitude under the influence of the educational programmes.

The investigators succeeded in interviewing 89 of the 99 women in question. The 10% loss does not compromise the statistical validity of the findings. The women who could not be interviewed the second time had meanwhile left their tele-clubs, and it is interesting to see to which categories they belonged.

The main characteristics of the two groups interviewed, one in February 1965, and the other in December 1965 and January 1966 are given below.

1. Age

Years of age	First survey %	Second survey %
16-25	48	37
26-35	37	57
36-50	15	6

It was thus the older women who had dropped out and whose attendance at meetings was poorest. Between March and December 1965, some women had reached 26 years, and thus increased the number in the middle group.

2. Family situation

Family situation	First survey %	Second survey %
Unmarried	11	13
Married, no co-wife	64	61
Married, one co-wife	17	17
Married, two co-wives	6	6
Married, more than two co-wives	1	2
No reply	1	1

The changes are hardly significant. It is chiefly married women who have dropped out.

3. Number of dependent children

Number of dependent children	First survey %	Second survey %
None	8	11
One	23	23
Two	10	23
Three	15	11
Four	9	12
Five	11	4
More than five	24	16

The women who could not be interviewed (i.e. no longer attended regularly) are thus not only older and married, but also have many, or even very many children to look after.

4. Socio-occupational condition

Occupation	First survey %	Second survey %
No occupation	73	65
Manual	4	12
Clerks	3	3
Civil servants	2	1
Shop-keepers	2	3
Market vendors	1	0
Domestic	3	1
Other	2	2
No reply	10	13

The decrease in the percentage without occupation is from 73 to 65, while the increase among manual workers is from 4 to 12 - changes that are interesting, not so much because of those who drop out, as the numbers of women or girls who took up jobs but were without an occupation just before the educational television started. Has one major effect of the programmes been to create or strengthen a desire to take up a job?

5. Education

Education	First survey %	Second survey %
No schooling	64	69
Primary unfinished	18	17
Primary completed	5	6
Post-primary	1	1
No reply	12	7

It is impossible to say from the comparison whether level of education has any influence on regularity of attendance.

However, the educational level of the husbands may possibly have some influence.

Husband's education	First survey %	Second survey %
No schooling	19	16
Primary unfinished	19	21
Primary completed	12	14
Post-primary	30	16
No reply	20	33

No reply can usually be taken as meaning that the husband has not attended school. The total of those whose wives say they have not attended school or do not reply is 39% for the first survey and 49% for the second. Husbands with some education represent 61% in the first survey and 51% in the second.

Drop-outs thus appear more frequent among women whose husbands have had some education. In any case, the comparison raises the question of the extent of the husband's influence on the wife's attendance.

6. Incomes of women and husbands

In the single and divorced group, 85% are single, nearly all between 16 and 25, and 15% are divorced i.e. most of the single women are young girls who have not yet married. Marriage often occurs fairly early, however, and 44% of the women under 26 who were questioned are married.

Of the married women, who form 64% of the total, the families of 56% are monogamous, and 44% are polygamous. Polygamy is thus fairly prevalent among the people from whom our sample

is taken. Monogamy is certainly more common in the under 26 group, but the husbands concerned may later acquire further wives.

Monthly income	Wives		Husbands	
	First survey	Second survey	First survey	Second survey
None	37	49	2	1
Less than 5,000 CFA francs	2	4	0	0
5,000-10,000	5	11	2	0
11,000-15,000	5	6	8	4
16,000-20,000	0	3	2	2
21,000-50,000	0	1	6	14
Over 50,000	1	0	5	5
No reply	50	26	75	74

In the case of the wives, the "no-replies" were fewer at the second survey, an apparent increase in confidence in the investigators that seems to be confirmed by the fact that the wives who say their husband earns between 21,000 and 50,000 CFA francs per month has risen from 6% to 14%.

However, the proportion of women who cannot or will not indicate the monthly income of their husbands remains roughly the same at about 75%.

Most of the women are working-class and living in the Dakar urban area. Their husbands are mainly manual workers, clerks and civil servants (53%). There are few traders (5%) and very few unemployed (2%).

Through their husbands, these women participate in sectors of social life that are being greatly changed by modernization. The great majority are young, Muslim, monogamous, without occupation and uneducated.

The interviewers say that, on the whole, they were very well received, interviewing being much easier than in February 1965. The questionnaire is reproduced in annex. To enable the women to express themselves easily, Wolof was the language used.

In view of the sample of the population chosen and the way in which the two surveys were carried out, the results can be said to be reasonably representative of the female population of Dakar, and to provide an indication of the possibilities of influencing them by educational television.

(b) The survey of February 1966

The questionnaire for this survey, involving 172 viewers, is also reproduced in annex.

The women were chosen by lot from the 500 who had followed the educational television programmes; the 99 already interviewed were excluded, the aim now being to question persons who had not previously been interviewed regarding their experience of television.

The sample group so obtained had the following characteristics.

1. Age

Years of age	Number	Percentages
16-25	97	56
26-35	55	32
36-50	20	12
Totals	172	100

The high percentage of women between 16 and 25 years is fairly representative of the Dakar urban area.

2. Family situation, by age groups

Family situation	Age (years)			Totals
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
Unmarried or divorced	54	5	3	62
Married without co-wife	28	25	9	62
Married, 1 co-wife	12	18	4	34
Married, 2 co-wives	3	3	2	8
Married, more than 2 co-wives	0	4	2	6

These figures give the following percentage distribution by age groups:

Family situation	Age (years)			Totals
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
%	100	100	100	100
Unmarried or divorced	56	9	15	36
Married without co-wife	29	46	45	36
Married, 1 co-wife	12	33	20	20
Married, 2 co-wives	3	5	10	4.5
Married, more than 2 co-wives	0	7	10	3.5

3. Number of dependent children

Number of dependent children	Age (years)			Totals
	16 - 25 %	26 - 35 %	36 - 50 %	
None	46	7	0	28
One	13	7	10	11
Two	7	11	25	11
Three	13	16	10	14
Four	4	5	10	5
Five	2	16	0	5
Over five	0	36	45	17
No reply	15	2	0	9
Totals	100	100	100	100

Under 26, nearly half have no dependent child; over 35, nearly half have more than five. Between 26 and 35, 36% have more than five dependent children. So far as it is representative, the sample shows that women in the Dakar urban area early assume considerable family responsibilities.

4. Occupation

Occupation	Age (years)			Totals
	16 - 25 %	26 - 35 %	36 - 50 %	
None	77	85	90	80
Manual	2	5	0	3
Clerks	2	4	0	2.5
Civil servants	1	0	0	0.5
Shop-keepers	0	0	0	0
Liberal professions	2	4	0	3
Market vendors	0	0	10	1.5
Domestic	1	2	0	1.5
Other	15	0	0	8
Totals	100	100	100	100

The great majority are thus girls and women with no occupation.

In these circumstances, the job or chief occupation of the husband becomes very important. This question was therefore put to all the married women, with the following results:

Husband's occupation	%
None	2
Manual	21
Clerks	15
Civil servants	19
Shop-keepers	0
Liberal professions	3
Others	5
Irrelevant, or no reply	35
Total	100

Through their husbands, the women interviewed belong chiefly to the wage-earning and civil service groups, most of the officials concerned being in minor posts. Hence the background of the sample is working-class in the Dakar urban area.

5. Education

The level of education, like the socio-occupational category of the woman or husband, may be a very important parameter in analysing the replies obtained.

Women interviewed	Age (years)			%
	16 - 25 %	26 - 35 %	36 - 50 %	
No schooling	52	89	90	71
Primary unfinished	17	9	5	13
Primary completed	18	2	0	10
Post-primary	11	0	5	5
No reply	2	0	0	1
Totals	100	100	100	100

With the exception of the 15% who have completed primary or gone further, the sample is composed of illiterates or near-illiterates (85%). Hence the significance of the educational television experiment. The fact that the proportion of illiterates or semi-illiterates increases in the older age-groups reflects recent progress in regard to schooling among the population.

A comparison of the educational levels of women and their husbands is interesting.

Husband's education	Percentage
No schooling	24
Primary unfinished	23
Primary completed	28
Post-primary	16
No reply	9
Total	100

Account should be taken of the possibility of considerations regarding the husband's prestige distorting some of the above replies.

Nevertheless, illiteracy is almost certainly less among the men, confirming that girls will have less opportunities for schooling than boys in a country like Senegal.

6. General

By age distribution, the two samples (panel and February 1966) are similar. By marital status the February 1966 survey included more single girls, and more women living in polygamous marriages.

The two samples are fairly comparable in regard to the large number of dependent children, the socio-occupational status of the women and their husbands, and the educational level of both.

The February 1966 sample is considered to be more truly representative of the women as a whole who attended the educational television meetings.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

A. Attitudes towards illnesses

We found during the first survey that illness in the families of those interviewed was taken all the more seriously by the women because three-quarters of them were wives and mothers without any outside occupation.

The women were questioned about malaria and dysentery because of their frequency at Dakar and in tropical areas generally, and about tuberculosis and typhoid because of their gravity.

The results obtained during the two surveys are compared below.

(a) Malaria

Malaria is known to everyone in Dakar, but not its causes, or its mode of transmission.

In the replies, any reference to the mosquito as the agent of transmission was reckoned as knowledge of the real cause, any other explanation (e.g. the air, water, contaminated fluids) as ignorance or misunderstanding.

The following are the results on this basis.

	First survey %	Second survey %
Correct	41	76
Incorrect	0	16
No cause suggested	59	8

After the broadcasts on the mechanism of malaria transmission, accordingly, the proportion giving the correct explanation increased considerably, from 41% to 76%. This alone would justify the programmes, since it can be assumed that, once they knew what the agent was, the women would not only try to destroy the mosquitoes in their own homes but get others in their districts to do likewise.

It will be noted that in the first survey, there were only two groups: those who knew, and those who gave no reply. In the second survey, another group appeared who gave incorrect explanations (16%), indicating that there was not only a real advance in knowledge thanks to the educational programmes, but that some of the women had acquired enough confidence in the interviews to reply, even if their answers were wrong.

About a quarter of the women in all failed to reply correctly - mostly women who were older than the average for the group, indicating some increased resistance with age to the educational work undertaken.

Asked about treatment for someone suffering from malaria, the replies suggested quinine and its derivatives, recourse to dispensary, hospital or doctor, aspirin, and traditional remedies, more or less from the African pharmacopoeia. The following is the breakdown.

	First survey %	Second survey %
Dispensary, hospital or doctor	82	0
Quinine and derivatives	0	71
Aspirin	0	14
Traditional remedies	2	6
Traditional remedies plus doctor	5	4
No reply, no treatment	11	5

In the first survey, the women mostly gave the reply they thought the interviewer wanted: 82% therefore suggested sending the patient to the dispensary or hospital - in short to the doctor.

The second survey showed a complete change. After seeing the programmes on malaria and its

remedies, nearly three-quarters suggested using quinine and its derivatives. As malaria is common and doctors are few, this is obviously a change for the better.

More women say they use traditional remedies in the second survey (6%) than in the first (2%) - doubtless because of a more widespread honesty in the replies.

(b) Dysentery

We tried to find out whether dysentery was related back to its real causes, the intestinal parasites so prevalent and harmful in tropical countries:

	First survey %	Second survey %
Real causes	44	78
Incorrect	3	16
No cause suggested	53	6

Before the programmes on dysentery, the majority were ignorant of the causes: after, more than three-quarters ascribed the illness to intestinal parasites. The success is manifest.

Once again, the replies are more honest in the second survey, as is shown by the percentage attributing dysentery to vague, imaginary or irrelevant causes. The incorrect answers or non-replies are chiefly among the older women - here again, age is the only parameter that explains the differences in the replies.

What is the treatment for dysentery? One of the best known traditional remedies is the guava leaf, which is undeniably astringent and anti-diarrhoeal. The television drew the women's attention to the shortcomings of a remedy which does not remove the causes but only mitigates or for a time suppresses the effects, and recommended appropriate diets and medicines. The following summary of answers shows the results.

	First survey %	Second survey %
Dispensary, hospital or doctor	87	0
Diets and appropriate medicines	0	47
Traditional remedies	1	50
Traditional remedies plus doctor	10	0
No reply, no treatment suggested	2	0

This frankly represents a setback for the experiment, since a higher proportion (50%) opted for

traditional remedies than for modern methods, European in origin (47%).

These results further demonstrate how far replies during the first survey were distorted by the fact of the interview, when the vast majority (87%) spoke of going to the doctor simply because they thought this was the reply the interviewer wanted.

There was thus a remarkable increase in their willingness to reply honestly to the questions asked in an inquiry like ours. However, the number convinced by the propaganda for modern methods of controlling dysentery was unsatisfactory.

But why the resistance here, and not in regard to the modern treatment of malaria? Were the programmes on dysentery technically less good than the programmes on malaria? Our own view is that the partial setback is explained by psychological factors.

The traditional pharmacopoeia and medicine of Africa have been concerned with malaria and dysentery. For malaria, infusions and quinine decoctions were recommended, so that, to Africans, modern European treatment follows traditional lines, the radically new factor being the idea of systematically destroying the mosquito as the agent of infection. With dysentery, the guava leaf undoubtedly had curative effects. On the other hand, a special diet and, as a preventive measure, the use of permanganate for the purpose of destroying the parasites meant upsetting all the customary cooking. In other words, the modern remedy of European origin and the traditional African remedy have no common ground.

So far as most of the women are concerned, this probably explains the resistance which the television meetings could not overcome.

(c) Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis was the subject of one broadcast during which the rôle of Koch's bacillus was explained, and the dangers of spitting. The replies regarding the causes of tuberculosis were as follows:

	First survey %	Second survey %
Correct	30	59
Incorrect	2	16
No cause suggested	68	25

The same pattern recurs: the number of no replies falls off considerably; practically no incorrect causes are suggested in the first survey, but in the second, many women are prepared to hazard a view.

The percentage giving the correct cause rises from 30% before broadcasts to 59% after. It will

be noted, however, that nearly 40% refuse to accept the microbiological explanation, because tuberculosis - often known as the bad cough in Senegal - is ascribed rather to climate than to organisms so little known as the tuberculosis bacillus.

For educational television, this would appear to be a problem of teaching techniques: how can the elements of Pasteur's microbiology be conveyed to women who are mostly illiterate?

During our first survey, we asked what treatment should be given to tubercular patients. The following are the replies.

	%
Dispensary, hospital or doctor	96
Traditional remedies	0
Combination of both the above	4

We had no illusions about these percentages or the extent to which they represented the women's real views.

During the second survey, we asked whether, in most cases, tuberculosis was curable:

	%
Yes	63
No	20
No reply	17

The majority belief that tuberculosis can be effectively treated can therefore be said to have formed under the influence of the broadcasts.

We then asked about remedies:

	%
Appropriate remedies suggested	61
Traditional	5
No reply	34

The belief that tuberculosis can be cured (63%) links up with confidence in the remedies modern medicine proposes (61%).

(d) Yellow fever

We did not raise the question of typhoid during the second survey, attention being directed instead to

yellow fever because of the epidemic towards the end of 1965 in the inland Diourbel area in Senegal.

Yellow fever is propagated by an insect, the aedes aegypti. We asked our audience for their views regarding the cause of yellow fever.

	%
Correct	43
Incorrect	21
No cause suggested	36

The percentage knowing the real causes was relatively low. No special broadcast had been devoted to yellow fever, but some information on it and other illnesses had been given during broadcasts on vaccination.

It would seem that, in any individual subject, maximum effect can be obtained only by devoting a specific educational programme exclusively to it.

B. Hygiene

Illness links up with problems of hygiene, and both were dealt with in the Thursday broadcasts.

The first survey provided certain data on living conditions from the standpoint of hygiene: 62% had running water in their homes, 38% had not; 72% had a water closet, 23% had to use public conveniences; there were rats in the homes of at least 46%, and 90% used various methods to exterminate them.

Information was also obtained regarding household refuse and dirty water, house cleaning, and the disposal of stagnant rainwater in winter.

The hygiene broadcasts demonstrated the dangers of dirt to the women themselves and their families.

To test the results on this point, we asked the women during the second survey whether they possessed a refuse bin:

	%
Yes	66
No	22
No reply	12

Despite the programmes they saw, a substantial minority (probably a third), had no bins, so that their conditions of domestic hygiene leave a lot to be desired.

During the first survey, we asked the women when they made their children wash their hands:

	%
Before or after meals	65
After play	1
When dirty	10
Various	7
No reply	17

Television explained in detail why it is important to have clean hands. During the second survey we then asked why should hands be washed before eating. Replies:

	%
To avoid microbes	54
To remove microbes, stains and dirt from the hands	27
To be healthy	12
No reply	7

Thus, at least 93% considered it necessary to wash their hands before meals - a large advance on the 65% in the first survey, and attributable to the programmes.

Finally, many women said that their home habits had changed as a result of their television experience, and that they were now much more careful about the cleanliness of their houses and their children. Practical observation in the home would be necessary to confirm how much everyday habits have in fact changed.

The hygiene campaign on television may be considered, in conjunction with others undertaken by the public authorities, to have reinforced the women's interest in greater physical and domestic cleanliness.

C. Food

Nutrition problems were regularly and carefully dealt with on Tuesdays.

According to information provided during the interviews, the daily family expenditure on food was as follows:

CFA francs	First survey %	Second survey %
0-200	24	30
201-300	33	42
301-400	14	16
401-500	15	6
501-600	4	1
601-1,000	3	1
No reply	7	4

Neglecting the 10% included in the first survey but not in the second, the expenditure on food tends to drop, the proportion spending less than 301 francs per day increasing from 57% to 72%, the proportion spending over 300 francs per day falling from 36% to 24%.

We laid special emphasis on the question of oil consumption, as large quantities are used in traditional Senegalese cooking. The broadcasts warned against excessive fats and recommended a greater use of protides so far as they could be afforded.

Weekly consumption of oil:

Litres	First survey %	Second survey %
Less than 3	12	66
3-6	27	68
7-10	39	15
11-15	10	0
No reply	12	1

Thus, the numbers consuming less than 7 litres weekly has risen from 39% to 84%, while those consuming 7 litres and more decreased from 61% to 15%.

These changes are so spectacular that it may be wondered whether the women, in their approximate estimates, have not tended to underestimate their consumption in order to conform to the standards implicitly recommended by television. Here again, observation in the home would provide the only real check.

However, we can confirm the remarkable increase in the number of women who are now convinced of the drawbacks of too liberal a use of fats.

To find out what was usually drunk in the homes, we asked, at the first survey, whether they took wine or alcoholic drinks. Replies:

	%
Never	59
Sometimes	5
Every day	4
No reply	32

We found that 8 of the 9 women who said they took wine or alcoholic drinks were Catholics and married to Catholics.

During the second survey, we asked: What is your usual drink? Replies:

	%
Water	94
Mineral water	4
Fruit juice and water	2

For religious reasons - and because it costs nothing - water is thus the usual drink.

It might be cheaper to buy food cooked in the street, but it is somewhat risky from the health and cleanliness aspects. Attention was drawn to these points, with the following results:

	First survey %	Second survey %
Buy cooked food in the street	22	26
Do not	66	73
No reply	12	1

There was an appreciable drop in the no replies (12% to 1%); replies were thus given more readily on the second occasion. There seems to be a slight tendency to buy food cooked in the street less frequently.

Food protection and food conservation are closely linked, especially in a tropical climate. Method of conservation used:

	First survey %	Second survey %
Refrigerator	31	23
Food-safe	16	38
Other	38	39
No reply	15	0

Assuming that the no replies in the first survey generally meant no refrigerator or food-safe, the proportion who do not properly protect food seems to be diminishing.

Incidentally, the number who possess a refrigerator at home is probably nearer a quarter than a third; on this point, the second survey is probably the more accurate of the two.

Food most usually consumed in the home (second survey):

	%
Rice and fish	82
Rice and ground-nut sauce	5
Couscous	3
Rice and chicken	1
Other	9

Rice and fish thus appears to be the favourite dish in the working-class families to which the women belong. It is interesting to compare these replies with the answers in the first survey to the question: What food do you offer on special occasions?

	%
Meat or poultry with potatoes	36
Chicken and salad	10
Rice and fish	14
Rice and chicken (yassa)	7
European dishes	20
Other dishes	15
No reply	8

Meat, chicken and European dishes are thus for special occasions only, in place of rice and fish which is considered too commonplace.

One television programme was devoted to millet and couscous with millet. It recalled that millet had been the basic food of the Senegalese long before rice, and that couscous with millet had more claim to be called the national dish than rice and fish, which was more recent and less widely used inside the country.

During the second survey we asked what was the dish most typical of Senegalese cooking. Replies:

	%
Rice and fish	74
Couscous with millet	22
Other	4

Among the Dakar working class, therefore, rice and fish has supplanted the older couscous with millet, at least in the opinion of our audience - showing, incidentally, that the persuasive powers of television are not unlimited, especially if it clashes with everyday experience.

The broadcasts, being addressed to mothers and prospective mothers, naturally dealt also with child nutrition problems. We asked at what time they weaned or intended to wean their babies. Replies:

	First survey %	Second survey %
Less than one year	11	59
Between 1 year and 18 months	14	37
Between 18 months and 2 years	20	4
Between 2 and 3 years	29	0
At 3 years	12	0
No reply	14	0

It is impossible to say whether the women actually do as they say in the second survey, and still less possible to foresee how they will act in future. However, nearly all have certainly been impressed by the television recommendation to wean gradually much earlier than is customary in African families.

The programmes gave details of diets recommended for young children by specialists, and we tried to find out how much of this information was assimilated:

Diet for (age in months)	% correct replies
0-6	82
6-8	92
8-12	94
12-24	93

Thus, except for occasional resistance (18%) in regard to the diet for the first 6 months, the women seemed convinced of the superiority of modern over traditional diets for young children.

In certain families, the older children were forbidden to take meat or fish during meals, from the common dish. This way of learning good manners unfortunately involved the danger of depriving them of the proteins essential for growth, and attention was drawn to this in the programmes. Replies on this subject were as follows:

	First survey %	Second survey %
Children forbidden to take meat or fish during meals	44	33
Not forbidden	47	53
No reply	9	14

The percentage of the not forbidden tends to rise, but obviously the wife is not the only person to decide and, although convinced herself, her husband still often remains to be convinced.

The women who maintained the prohibition were asked to give their reasons:

	Second survey %
Loyalty to African custom	83
Courtesy to grown-ups	15
No reply	2

The following explanations were given for not enforcing the prohibition:

	Second survey %
Meat and fish are good for children's health	20
No good reason for the prohibition	18
It would make the child unhappy	18
The children are spoilt by their father	13
The children do not eat with the grown-ups	6
No reply	25

Thus, custom seems to be the chief reason for the prohibition; the reasons for not enforcing it are based on considerations of health and fairness, the affection of the mother or father, or the fact that the children do not eat with the head of the family.

Finally, the nutrition broadcasts showed that certain illnesses had nutritional causes, and that dieting should be used in treating them. The breakdown of replies on this subject is as follows:

	Real cause %	Incorrect %	No reply %
Stomach pains	75	17	8
Diarrhoea	70	22	8
Vomiting	71	22	7

In other words, nearly three-quarters of the audience had grasped the main points of these broadcasts.

D. Interests and problems

(a) Interests

We first wanted to know which subjects our television audience found most interesting. We gave them six subjects, asking them, if possible, to indicate three in order of preference: child care; nutrition; women's problems (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity, and so on); conjugal relations; sickness, medicine and hygiene; housekeeping. They could also give other subjects if they preferred.

The following were the totals of first, second and third choices in respect of each subject:

Child care	125
Nutrition	77
Women's problems	93
Conjugal relations	12
Sickness, medicine and hygiene	74
Housekeeping	103
Other subjects	18

Three clearly outnumbered the rest: child care, housekeeping, and women's problems i.e. they were interested primarily as mothers or prospective mothers, next as housewives and then as women in the physiological sense.

Interests other than those in our list were mentioned 18 times (3.5% of the total replies), and included women's jobs and the future jobs of their children.

Conjugal relations are low in the list. We were told that, for various reasons, many of the women did not attend the meeting mainly devoted to this subject.

Interests by order of preference:

	Preference		
	First	Second	Third
Child care	50	49	26
Nutrition	17	28	32
Women's problems	47	29	17
Conjugal relations	1	6	5
Sickness, medicine, hygiene	28	23	23
Housekeeping	25	37	41
Other subjects	6	5	7

Child care heads the first choices, closely followed by women's problems; then sickness and health, slightly before housekeeping.

Adding the first and second choices, child care (99) still leads, women's problems (76) still follows next, but housekeeping (62) precedes sickness and hygiene (51).

Hence, child care has an absolute preference on all counts. Adding first and second choices, women's problems (76) is cited more often than house-keeping (62), whereas this is reversed if first second and third preferences are totalled (103 and 93 respectively).

Order of preference in relation to age-group

1. 16-25 years of age

	Preference			Total	Percentage ¹
	First	Second	Third		
Child care	29	33	10	72	74
Nutrition	13	14	16	43	44
Women's problems	20	12	12	44	45
Conjugal relations	0	4	3	7	7
Sickness, medicine, Hygiene	15	14	11	40	41
Housekeeping	15	21	25	61	62
Other subjects	4	0	4	8	8

2. 26-35 years of age

	Preference			Total	Percentage
	First	Second	Third		
Child care	14	12	10	36	65
Nutrition	3	9	13	25	45
Women's problems	22	11	5	38	69
Conjugal relations	1	1	2	4	7
Sickness, medicine, hygiene	10	7	8	25	45
Housekeeping	7	11	12	30	54
Other subjects	1	3	2	6	11

3. 36-50 years of age

	Preference			Total	Percentage
	First	Second	Third		
Child care	7	4	6	17	85
Nutrition	1	5	3	9	45
Women's problems	5	6	0	11	55
Conjugal relations	0	1	0	1	5
Sickness, medicine, hygiene	3	2	4	9	45
Housekeeping	3	5	4	12	60
Other subjects	1	2	1	4	20

The percentages for the three age-groups show a general and predominant interest in child care, housekeeping, and women's problems - much the same for the first two subjects, with a greater interest in women's problems in the 25-35 group.

Other subjects are indicated more often among the older women, but the answers are too few to justify saying whether this figure is significant. In the youngest group, nutrition and sickness and hygiene have almost the same frequency as women's problems; they continue to be important for the older women but are clearly outdistanced by women's problems.

The youngest group welcome a greater variety of subject; the older women seem mainly interested in the most popular subjects only - this may explain why they often seemed less receptive to education by television.

Before these results became available, it was not clear whether interest in a subject depended on the relative importance the organizers attached to it, or on the women's own preferences.

In this respect, the results are unequivocal: despite the importance the organizers attached to nutrition and sickness, the women were more interested in their original concerns: child care and house-keeping.

Although these were dealt with in considerable detail, it was not easy to foresee the preference the women in fact assigned to them.

The interest in women's problems no doubt always existed, but the programmes helped to bring their knowledge up to date and made it easier for them to speak in public on the subject.

(1) The ratio is the number of times mentioned in relation to the number of women in the age-group.

Despite the absence (referred to above) of many of the women at the discussion, it is surprising that the subject of conjugal relations did not arouse more interest.

This may be due to reserve and traditional morals - women and girls are not often disposed to discuss in public their relations with an existing or prospective husband.

On the other hand, there was very keen interest in housekeeping - the wife's responsibility, and background to such relations.

This would seem to indicate a desire to strengthen family and conjugal relations, challenged in different ways by current social developments.

To revert to the subject most frequently cited (child care), the women were not satisfied, believing they could make better use of what modern life offers. In fact, judging by the three most popular topics, they are anxious, in all their various capacities - as mothers and future mothers, as wives and as women conscious of their basic femininity - to adjust better to modern life.

(b) What was learned?

We tried to find out what our audience remembered from the programmes regarding child care, nutrition, women's problems, sickness and hygiene, housekeeping and the development of Senegal.

The no replies were between 0% and 1% only, except in the case of national development (16%), which had not been the subject of a specific programme in either of the two series.

The replies were classified into: good (giving main points, without any major mistakes), fair (giving details, missing the essential, important mistakes), poor (too few details and a high rate of mistakes), very poor (usually because of poor attendance at the meetings) and no replies.

	Good	Fair	Poor	Very poor	No reply	Total
Child care	124	17	25	5	1	172
Nutrition	102	68	0	1	1	172
Women's problems	95	43	6	26	2	172
Conjugal relations	90	17	5	60	0	172
Sickness and hygiene	90	68	9	5	0	172
Housekeeping	86	68	10	6	2	172
National development	118	9	0	17	28	172

Taken on the whole, the rate of good answers, varying between 72% (child care) and 50% (housekeeping), is satisfactory.

However, the three best percentages (child care (72%), national development (68%) and nutrition (59%)) are not for the three subjects considered the most interesting (child care, housekeeping, women's problems).

Child care comes first in both categories, but housekeeping, second among the interests, is only in seventh - last - place among the good answers. Novelty thus seems to stimulate interest in some women, but does not provoke good answers in proportion.

Women's problems, third in the interests, comes fourth among the good answers (55%).

Nutrition is third among the good answers, fourth among the interests. National development shows the greatest difference as between the two categories: second among the good answers, and neither suggested originally to the women, or proposed by them. Everything seemed to indicate that the subject had been adequately covered by Senegalese radio, that the women knew enough about it and did not need to have it again on educational television. It is less a specific theme than one which is common to and underlies all the others. This could explain why there were so many good answers, very few fair, no poor and, at the same time, a comparatively high rate of very poor (10%) and no replies (16%).

In civics, there is no half-way: it seems to be all or nothing.

Apart from national development and conjugal relations, women's problems also produced a fairly high proportion of very poor answers (15%) - less for lack of interest than because of a certain inability to assimilate what the television tried to impart.

These results show that preferences are decided by the women's particular interests, but what they learn of a subject is not necessarily proportional to the intensity of their interest in it; but governed rather by its own degree of intrinsic difficulty and the teaching and technical qualities of the programme devoted to it.

The three leading places among the good answers obtained by national development, child care and nutrition suggest that the programmes on them provided by television or other mass media such as radio are good, and that they lend themselves better to such treatment than other subjects.

(c) Some socio-psychological findings

It was taken as a working hypothesis that the women would not only learn something from the educational television but modify certain aspects of behaviour as a result.

To verify the hypothesis, we asked them whether television had changed anything in their lives. The replies were as follows:

	Age (years)			Total
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
Yes	94	51	19	164
No	1	2	1	4
No reply	2	2	0	4
Totals	97	55	20	172

Thus, the replies were almost unanimous: 95% gave a positive answer, without any significant difference within the age groups.

Of the 95%, a further 95% said they now knew more.

This may not faithfully represent the extent of the real change, but only their impression of it.

It is important for us to know that this was what first impressed them. It can be agreed that changes of behaviour which may have taken place in their lives started with the novelty of the information they had acquired. The novelty was two-fold. Not only was the information itself new in most cases, but it was something radically new to follow a course and apply themselves to certain tasks connected with it.

We next asked what in the programmes they had been unable to put into practice:

	Age (years)			Total
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
Eat millet	3	2	1	6
Help husband	3	2	1	6
Give children vegetables	3	4	1	8
Teach children to be hygienic	2	1	1	4
Totals	11	9	4	24

If these results can be believed, the number who could not put what they had learnt into practice was very small (14%), the percentage being higher in the case of the older women.

The obstacles obviously reside in ingrained habits.

The panel survey had shown us that rice had so completely replaced millet, at least in great urban centres like Dakar, that propaganda in favour of millet was useless so far as many people were concerned.

Helping the husband is practicable only if he so wishes and, in this respect some of the women may have been discouraged by the husbands themselves.

Deeply rooted prejudices in the family circle may explain obstacles on the other two points: giving children vegetables and teaching children to be hygienic.

When asked why they had been unable to apply the advice given, their replies were as follows:

Too expensive	6
Not got the means	4
Not working	12
The children forget	1

Lack of money is thus the usual reason given, and it must be admitted that hygiene, proper feeding and the prevention and cure of illness may involve additional expenses which families cannot always bear.

Nevertheless, half the women gave the fact that they did not work as the reason. This would indicate that the television club experiment had made them realize that the absence of an outside job was a handicap in relation to the husband, whose authority over them was thereby enhanced.

To the question whether they always agreed with what was said in the programme, or disagreed at times, they replied as follows:

	Age (years)			Total
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
In agreement	83	51	10	144
Not always in agreement	11	4	10	25
No reply	3	0	0	3
Totals	97	55	20	172

In other words, 16% had reservations, the proportion being distinctly higher amongst the older women.

The following were the points of disagreement: treating measles by baths (11 times), giving children concentrated milk (once), the programme on the phases of pregnancy (once), the explanation of the causes of abortion (once), the recommendation to eat with the children (once); ten women did not reply to this question.

The traumatic effect of the broadcast on measles was very striking, and the sight of the dead child recalled how dangerous the disease can be. But it did not have the educational effect expected,

and did not convince a number of the audience of the value of treatment with drinks and baths. The idea that a person with fever should be deprived of water continued to be widely held. It will accordingly be necessary to revert to the question of preventing dehydration.

We always believed that our 500 viewers would talk to others around them of what they had seen and, in fact, they unanimously stated that they had done so. To whom?

	Age (years)			Total
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
Husband	30 times out of 97	47 times out of 55	12 times out of 20	80 times out of 172
Other members of the family	79 times out of 97	36 times out of 55	16 times out of 20	131 times out of 172
Neighbours	38 times out of 97	41 times out of 55	17 times out of 20	96 times out of 172
Friends and others	56 times out of 97	33 times out of 55	5 times out of 20	94 times out of 172

It will be recalled that 62 of the women are unmarried or divorced. For those who are married, it is thus to the husband that they most often talk about the club.

The table indicates that each age group talks mainly with a different category of persons:

the girls with family and friends;

the women aged 26 to 35 with the husbands and neighbours;

the women of 36 to 50 with neighbours and members of the family.

Four groups of personal relations are thus involved: family, conjugal, friends and neighbours.

What was learnt on television thus seems to have been propagated through all four.

The occasions of such conversations were as follows:

	Age (years)			Total
	16 - 25	26 - 35	36 - 50	
Everyday life	82/97	35/55	17/20	134/172
Family occasions	36/97	15/55	3/20	54/172
Journey inland	5/97	4/55	2/20	11/172
Visits, work, and so on	45/97	25/55	5/20	75/172

Ordinary, everyday conversations are thus the main occasion.

How did the other person to the conversation react?

	%
Easily convinced	54
Convinced after discussion	8
Disagreed on certain aspects	11
Not at all convinced	3
Depends on the individual	24
Total	100

The majority accordingly believe they can easily convince others who have not attended, and so propagate what they have learnt; this is strong evidence of their own conviction regarding the validity of what they have learnt.

The figures regarding resistance are not surprising: absolute (3%), partial (11%), provisional (8%).

Who were most difficult to convince?

	%
Women	45
Men	15
Young people	5
No reply, or irrelevant	35
Total	100

Half the women thus thought that other women were the most difficult to convince - because women are less open to modern ideas than men, or because, in personal relations, women find it easier to convince men than other women? It is difficult to say.

It was the youngest of the women who most frequently said that young people were the most difficult to convince, i.e. it seems easier to convince when the age or sex groups are heterogeneous rather than homogeneous.

On what subjects did our group fail to convince or sufficiently influence others?

	%
Conjugal relations	27
Family allowances	28
Baths as a treatment for measles	38
Certain questions of hygiene	7
Total	100

The question of measles and its treatment which already provoked resistance amongst the group themselves thus reappears, together with the new subject of family allowances, with which public opinion is not always sufficiently acquainted. This example from Senegal recalls difficulties in adapting public opinion which the industrialized nations formerly encountered. It should be pointed out that in Senegal, the women themselves must draw the family allowances to which they are entitled - a precaution against spendthrift husbands which is not always understood or acceptable - especially by the men.

The changed relationship between husbands and wives has upset too many established traditions for it to be easy for the women to convince others of what they have learnt on the subject. Again, advice on hygiene is much more easily accepted by those who attended the broadcasts than those outside.

(d) Views on future programmes

After the experiment, the women were asked what subjects they would like to see on future programmes. Their choices are indicated below.

	Age (years)		Total %
	16 - 35	36 - 50	
Women's jobs	58	5	52
Pregnancy and childbirth	50	45	49
Illnesses, including leprosy and operations	45	30	43
Conjugal relations	43	0	39
Polygamy problems (relations between co-wives)	64	5	57
Prostitution	25	0	22
Other problems	0	25	3
No reply	12	43	15

Their first concern, therefore, is with woman and polygamy or the possibility of being involved in a polygamous marriage, and a job as a way of changing her status, i.e. they question polygamy, aspire to emancipation and see a job as a way of achieving it. This applies mainly to women under 35; with a break between generations, the older women are more concerned with their own physiological problems and medical and surgical care.

The latter themes are, however, well represented throughout. Next come two problems which mainly concern the younger women: conjugal relations and prostitution.

Other questions which it is suggested future programmes might deal with are: arranged marriages, the excessive cost of marriage, excessive expenditure on the pilgrimage to Mecca, family duties and, in a rather vague sort of way, topical questions.

Except for six no replies, all the 172 questioned believed television could further development in Senegal - in the following ways:

By educating the group themselves and citizens generally	96
By using word and image to enhance understanding	44
By establishing other such centres	21
By promoting hygiene and fighting disease	5
Total	166

Although the broadcasts had immediate practical purposes, e.g. promotion of hygiene, effective prevention and treatment of disease, better food practices, over 80% thought that television could contribute to national development by enhancing the level of education and understanding. This denotes a great thirst for knowledge and a very high opinion of the rôle of knowledge in the historic changes that are now taking place.

We had in fact decided to end with two questions regarding traditions that should be defended and those that should be criticized or destroyed, as an indication of the women's views on development.

Are there traditions in Senegalese life which television should defend and help to preserve?

	%
Yes	76
No	6
No reply	18
Total	100

There is thus a large majority who believe that traditions should be maintained; an interesting feature of the revolt against tradition is that the 6% of negative answers are all from persons between 16 and 25 years of age.

What are these traditions that should be defended and preserved?

	Age (years)	
	16 - 35	36 - 50
Cultivation of millet, African-style food	75	5
Food crops, stock-raising, fishing	55	0
The woman working at home	15	0
Hygiene	13	0
Education of child in traditional fashion (respect for parents and friends)	12	2
Respect for husband	9	0
Being specially careful during pregnancy	7	0
Community life	0	1
Female bravura	0	1
Craft development	5	0

(Many made several suggestions)

The broadcast advocating millet may not have changed any customs, but it did draw the attention of many to an ancient tradition that has vanished in the towns. The reference to agriculture, stock-raising and fishing indicated a certain nostalgia for rural life. Many sensed that "tradition" and "rural" are inseparable. Children and young people respecting their parents and elders, and the wife the husband, are traditions that are sometimes mentioned approvingly.

It may be noted that no reference is made to religious traditions, although similar questions evoked such references from workers in Dakar and Thiès in other surveys. This is because, in Senegalese Islam, religion is primarily a man's affair.

Are there traditions in Senegalese life which television should criticize and help to destroy?

	%
Yes	71
No	4
No reply	25
Total	100

Those who refuse certain traditions (71%) are accordingly almost as numerous as those who defend

others (76%), so that there is neither a narrow-minded traditionalism nor a spirit of general revolt. Changes are taking place, and it is realized that if some traditions should be maintained and protected, there are others which must go. What are these?

	Age (years)	
	16 - 35	36 - 50
So-called traditional remedies	80	3
Poor hygiene	28	0
Arranged and premature marriages	23	2
The caste system	13	0
Extravagant ceremonies	26	3
Excessive dowries	16	2
Exploitation of children and adolescents by marabouts (Muslim ascetics)	12	0
Alcoholism, tobacco, misconduct male adultery	7	2
Parasitism	7	0
Work during pregnancy	0	3
Female unemployment	0	2
Other habits	5	7
No replies	35	2

(Many made several suggestions)

The television programmes on the treatment of illness helped, not to discredit the authentic traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia, but the old wives' cures. Poor hygiene is a related topic.

Next follow a series of criticisms of certain aspects of traditional society now become archaic and incompatible with modernization, e.g. extravagant ceremonies, arranged and premature marriages, the caste system and dowries, which instead of being symbolic, often becomes an excessive amount which the prospective husband must pay to obtain a wife.

The criticism against certain marabouts who exploit their pupils (talibés) financially will also be noted.

Without any doubt, the club meetings led the women to pose many questions or at least to pose them more clearly than they would have done previously. The change-over from traditional to modern, the changes through which they have actually lived, have become the subject of their thoughts and planning.

CHAPTER IV

THE LESSONS OF THE EXPERIMENT

The panel technique enabled us to compare attitudes before and after ten months' attendance at the clubs.

The following, provisionally, are our findings.

1. The experience gave viewers a capacity to express their opinions which most of them did not possess before.

During the first survey the percentage of no replies was high, e.g. 50% regarding causes of illnesses; this dropped to less than 10% in the second survey.

Causes not scientifically admissible were rarely suggested in the first survey, but represented approximately one-sixth of the replies in the second.

In other words, they were prepared to venture an opinion where they would previously not have dared to do so.

This socio-psychological advance transcends the mere increase in knowledge about questions dealt with in the club.

2. It also generated practical action.

In most cases, participation in home and community life has become more conscious and intensive.

This derives both from the programmes and from the discussions which regularly followed.

The number of women with no outside job was 73% at the first survey, 65% at the second, i.e. television had stimulated in some women a need or desire to take up some form of work, so intensifying their participation in community life and tending to develop the personality in the modern sense.

3. Content was more readily understood and assimilated when there was no conflict with traditions, and motives for accepting were strong.

The modern treatment of malaria, a refinement of the traditional cure with quinine, is a case in point. Again, in the case of remedial diets for infants, mothers and prospective mothers were strongly enough influenced by parental love to accept what they saw and heard despite the novelty of the diets and of the advice regarding the time and manner of weaning.

The comparison between the growth of the African child, slowed down after the first six months by the nutritional poverty of the customary diets, and that of the European or European-nurtured child apparently made a big impact.

4. Resistance was strong when there was conflict with established habits and ideas, no strong motivation, or inadequate presentation.

The causes of dysentery, for example, had been well explained and were usually understood (78%). But as the traditional remedy attenuated or banished the effects, the women were divided: half preferring the old remedy (50%), half in favour of the modern (47%). They would probably adopt the best, but in many cases had not been convinced that the new was very much better than what they had found to be at least partially successful in the past.

Again, propaganda in favour of millet couscous as a national dish in preference to rice and fish failed because the latter has been widely eaten for so long that the earlier tradition was forgotten. As millet dishes are also long and arduous to prepare, there was little incentive to substitute millet for rice. The attempt to raise the prohibition forbidding children from taking fish or meat from the communal dish was only partially successful (53%), but other factors are involved here, e.g. the attitudes of the husband and other members of the family.

5. On the whole, the younger women were more open-minded, and better able to give correct replies afterwards, while the older ones were less receptive and more resistant to instruction.

Racial group, religion, social and occupational status, and educational level, do not appear to matter very much here, age being the really significant parameter.

Women with the heaviest family responsibilities in many cases attended less regularly than the others.

6. The two surveys and subsequent comparisons enabled us to evaluate changes in opinion and attitudes but not in actual behaviour.

Changes in actual behaviour, in the women themselves and in their friends and relations, could be confirmed only by checking in their homes; however, it may be hoped and expected that they will sooner or later follow changes in opinions and attitudes.

Nevertheless, adult education by television cannot be treated as a matter of mechanical cause and effect. More likely what occurs is that the capacity for self-expression and the increased activity mentioned earlier, employed by the women themselves in a continuous give-and-take with others in various social groups, ultimately produce a whole series of end-results.

7. The educational television project in Dakar in 1965 was essentially experimental. Success would seem to depend on:

- (a) the educational quality of the broadcasts;
- (b) their technical quality;
- (c) finding socio-psychological subjects which appeal to the spectator's interests;
- (d) finding satisfactory ways of effecting the transition from traditional to modern;
- (e) finding socio-cultural values to reconcile conflicts between native tradition and a modernity partly foreign in origin.

In short, the Unesco-Senegal Pilot Project at Dakar should be continued with due regard to the above considerations, i.e. with a clearer idea of the aims it can and should pursue, and of the means to achieve them.

By selecting new audiences and new topics it should now be possible to do more advanced experiments on techniques and methods.

CONCLUSIONS

The February 1966 survey suggests the following conclusions.

1. Women viewers chose women's interests

Interest centred most frequently on child care, housekeeping and women's problems, i.e. the topics that interested the spectators as women, wives and mothers.

The fact that child care was more popular than the other two underlines the importance African women attach to child-bearing - the subject would hardly have had the same priority had the women been European or American.

The interest in children is traditional, but the women frequently felt there were better ways of bringing up children. Emotionally, they are still bound by tradition, but intellectually they accept or even seek modern ways. This is one effect of city life and the various influences at work there.

In the housekeeping and physiological programmes television brought something new - something they were prepared for as a result of the social changes around them.

Uprooted from a village community and set down in a city, the African woman or girl does not immediately adjust to the new setting. Idleness weighs on her. While the husband and the other men in the family are at work she has nothing to do. The housekeeping programmes thus filled a gap.

The physiological programmes aroused interest among women whose ideas and practices regarding menstruation, pregnancy and child-birth derive from village life and are not always very adequate, especially in a modern-type city where so many new factors challenge or contradict them; so the women felt an obscure need for knowledge which television at least to some extent satisfied.

Education through mass media is more effective if it is addressed to a homogeneous audience and meets specific needs.

2. The new demands arising from these interests promise well for the future shaping of society

Conjugal relations were mentioned much less often than housekeeping, but the two subjects are linked.

Many viewers were not satisfied to be dependent on their husbands, as most African women are - and, naturally, were even less satisfied about polygamy.

But they realize that their husbands will do nothing so long as they have no resources of their own; hence the mention of jobs.

There are four possibilities: housekeeping, work which is itself socially useful; paid work which can be done at home; unskilled work outside; training and a skilled job.

This question did not arise in the countryside where women have a monopoly of many skilled and thankless agricultural tasks. In the cities, the prospect of becoming a worker, clerk, official, or shopkeeper is beginning to look to many women and girls like a means of emancipation.

Educational television does not create new social problems but heightens the awareness of the new exigencies in periods of transition. Properly used and planned, it can be a potent factor in national development.

3. The degree of assimilation was remarkable

The discussions in February 1966 showed that many women retained and understood what they had seen and heard as far back as March 1965.

Whence this capacity in people who were mostly illiterate or semi-literate?

Primarily, we feel it is because they regarded the meetings as study sessions.

Not that emotion did not play a big part - it certainly did. But the women regarded attendance as an intellectual exercise and felt it their duty to try to learn.

Moreover, the discussions following the programmes undoubtedly picked out and helped to consolidate the memory of the sequences that aroused interest or emotion.

Discussion groups are necessary in conjunction with mass media education in order to render the information imparted socially dynamic.

4. There was also a remarkable thirst for knowledge

There is no lack of evidence that men and women in the developing countries are very keen to learn - a socio-psychological potential that must be tapped if development is to succeed.

This is borne out by the practical and precise evidence of our survey.

Although the women first wanted information on problems that are vital to them (polygamy, jobs) they did not leave it at that, but also wanted to learn about social and topical questions.

Adults will learn if the subject really interests or concerns them.

5. Educational television is very revealing on the socio-psychological aspects of modernization

The audience was helped to decide what they want to retain and what to outgrow; television also bred a more selective approach to imported cultures.

The viewers - as indeed the observers also - found they need not blindly follow tradition, or indiscriminately swallow all that comes from the West.

If development ultimately depends on public awareness of its importance, then mass media are one of its most vital weapons.

The educational use of the mass media can accelerate, extend and provide a control over the modernization of man.

6. Nevertheless, to be fully effective, educational television must recognize its limitations

Education should not be confused with conditioning people to behave as we might like.

Rather must it operate on latent motives, bringing forth what is already there in embryo.

Age was the only factor we could discover that affected the capacity to absorb and assimilate, the girls and younger women frequently being more receptive.

The weaker, and narrower range of motives means that educational television will naturally be less effective with older women.

Adult education through mass media must always keep the background in mind and adapt its teaching methods to the needs of development in any specific socio-psychological situation.

In connexion with underdevelopment, television and other mass media are often considered in the West as providing an almost automatic means of adapting people to cope with modern techniques.

The Dakar experiment since the beginning of 1965 shows that there is not and cannot be any question of mass-conditioning.

A people can be brought into the mainstream of modern civilization in two ways: by having it imposed on their social life from outside, without their having any active, creative part in the process, or by taking the matter in hand themselves, integrating the external elements they need into their community life, so creating the requisite conditions. The first course causes social and psychological upsets, and ultimately, failures, in national development; only through the second can a developing country gradually pave the way for participation in the technological society of the space age.

It is in this perspective that the Dakar experiment in educational television should be considered and, in particular, the way in which it enhanced the social awareness of the women concerned.

The educational effort so urgently needed in the developing countries must attempt to transform passive submission to the crumbling of traditional institutions and the invasion of all that is modern from abroad into conscious direction of the transition from old to new. From this starting point, various generalizations can be made on the basis of the Dakar experiment, viz.:

1. For maximum efficiency, educational television must be addressed as far as possible to socially homogeneous audiences.

2. Each such audience should have a television club, democratically organized and run in accordance with its own internal dynamics.

3. The actual education should concentrate on subjects where major national concerns and major individual interests in the particular group overlap.

4. The aims, in terms of knowledge and know-how to be imparted, must be quite clear from the start, although the end-results may in fact transcend them. Sociological and psychological checks from time to time will show how far the experiment is succeeding. Such checks may or may not have been planned by the organizers, but - especially if they have not - a comprehensive evaluation, combining all such data, should be made at the end.

5. Mass education by television will impart certain knowledge and skills to a certain number of people. More important, the conviction carried by word and image will have enhanced their social awareness and each part of the project should have this ultimate aim in view. Success in this respect comes indirectly, almost as a by-product of the constituents that go to make up the capital rôle collectively played by those who attend the television clubs.

It is by maintaining a vigorous intellectual give-and-take between screen and spectator, between each member of the audience in the club and his neighbours, and by a proper balance between what he is asked to absorb and what he is capable of assimilating that television can be made into a powerful means of rapidly making accessible to men in large numbers all that can profit them most in modern life.

ANNEX I

PANEL QUESTIONNAIRE

Centre: Year: 1965
Interviewer: Month:

Name and address of
person interviewed:

1.2.3. Number of questionnaire

4. Age group: 16-25
26-35
36-50
Over 50

5. Marital status:
unmarried
married, no co-wife
married, 1 co-wife
married, 2 co-wives
married, more than 2 co-wives

6. Number of dependent children living in:
None
1
2
3
4
5
Over 5

7. Dependent children:
Under 3 years
3-6
6-12
12-21

8. Occupation:
None
Manual
Clerical
Civil servant
Shopkeeper
Liberal profession
Market vendor
Domestic
Other

9. Husband's occupation:
None
Manual
Clerical
Civil servant
Shopkeeper
Liberal profession
Hawker, market vendor
Domestic
Clergyman
Other

10. Monthly earnings (if employed):
No occupation
Less than 5,000 CFA francs
5,000-10,000
10,000-15,000
15,000-20,000
20,000-50,000
50,000-100,000
Over 100,000

11. Monthly earnings of husband:
No occupation
Less than 5,000 CFA francs
5,000-10,000
10,000-15,000
15,000-20,000
20,000-50,000
50,000-100,000
Over 100,000

12. Contribution from persons other than
wife and husband:
Less than 5,000 CFA francs
5,000-10,000
10,000-15,000
15,000-20,000
20,000-50,000
50,000-100,000
Over 100,000

13. Total income of family unit:
Less than 5,000 CFA francs
5,000-10,000

10,000-15,000
15,000-20,000
20,000-50,000
50,000-100,000
Over 100,000

14. How many persons supported on these earnings (count each adult as 1 and each child under 15 as 1/2)?
TOTAL:

15. Educational level:
Never at school
Primary unfinished
Primary completed
Post-primary

16. Educational level of husband:
Never at school
Primary unfinished
Primary completed
Post-primary

17. What causes malaria?
Correct answer
Incorrect
No reply

18. What causes dysentery?
Correct answer
Incorrect
No reply

19. What causes tuberculosis?
Correct answer
Incorrect
No reply

20. What are the causes of stomach aches, diarrhoea and vomiting?
Correct answer
Incorrect
No reply

21. What causes yellow fever?
Correct answer
Incorrect
No reply
Not given

22. What remedies do you use for malaria?
Quinine and derivatives
Aspirin and the like
Traditional remedies
Other remedies
No reply

23. What remedies do you use for dysentery?
Diet and medicine, hospital treatment, etc.
Traditional remedies (guava leaves, etc.)
Other remedies
No reply

24. Can tuberculosis usually be cured?
Yes
No
No reply

25. If so, how?
Appropriate treatment
Traditional remedies
Other
No reply

26. Have you a dustbin?
Yes
No
No reply

27. About how much do you spend daily on food for your family?
0-200 CFA francs
201-300
301-400
401-500
501-600
601-700
701-800
801-900
901-1,000
Over 1,000

28. What food is normally eaten in your home?

29. How much cooking oil does your family use per week?
Less than 3 litres
3-6
7-10
11-15
Over 15
No reply

30. What is usually drunk in your home?
Mainly ordinary water
Mostly mineral water
Water and fruit juice
Water and milk
Mineral water and fruit juice
Mineral water and milk

31. Why should hands be washed before eating?

32. Do you buy cooked food in the street?
Yes
No
No reply

33. If so, what?

34. Where do you keep your food?
Refrigerator
Food-safe
Elsewhere

35. What is the typical traditional Senegalese dish?

- Couscous
- Rice and fish
- Other
- No reply

Incorrect
No reply

39. What should children be given to eat between 8 and 12 months?

- Correct answer
- Incorrect
- No reply

36. From what age should a child be gradually weaned?

- months
- 4-6
- 7-12
- 12-18
- 18-24

40. What should children over one year of age be given to eat?

- Correct answer
- Incorrect
- No reply

37. What should children be given to eat during the first 6 months?

- Correct answer
- Incorrect
- No reply

41. Do you forbid your children to take meat or fish during meals?

- Yes
- No
- No reply

38. What should children be given to eat between 6 and 8 months?

- Correct answer

42. Why do you forbid them?

43. Why do you not forbid them?

ANNEX II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR
FEBRUARY 1966 SURVEY

Centre:
Interviewer:

Ring code numbers.
Write nothing in margin.

Civil servant	3
Shopkeeper	4
Liberal profession	5
Hawker, market vendor	6
Domestic	7
Clergyman	8
Other	9

1.2.3. Number of the questionnaire

4. Age group: 16-25	0
26-35	1
36-50	2
Over 50	3

5. Marital status:	
Unmarried	0
Married, no co-wife	1
Married, 1 co-wife	2
Married, 2 co-wives	3
Married, more than 2 co-wives	4

6. Number of dependent children living in:	
None	0
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
Over 5	6

7. Occupation:	
None	0
Manual	1
Clerical	2
Civil servant	3
Shopkeeper	4
Liberal profession	5
Market vendor	6
Domestic	7
Other	8

8. Husband's occupation:	
None	0
Manual	1
Clerical	2

9. Educational level:	
Never at school	0
Primary unfinished	1
Primary completed	2
Post-primary	3

10. Educational level of husband:	
Never at school	0
Primary unfinished	1
Primary completed	2
Post-primary	3

11. In the television programmes you have seen, which subjects interested you most (in order of preference)?

- (a) child care
- (b) nutrition
- (c) women's problems (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity, etc.)
- (d) conjugal relations
- (e) illnesses, medicine, hygiene
- (f) housekeeping
- (g) other subjects (please mention)

12. What do you remember from the programmes on child care?

13. From those on nutrition?

14. From those on women's problems (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity, etc.)?

15. From those on conjugal relations?

16. From those on illness?

17. From those on housekeeping?
 18. From those on development and national affairs?
 19. Have the broadcasts changed anything in your life?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 20. If so, what?
 21. If not, why not?
 22. What things did you see on television that you have been unable to put into practice?
 23. For what reasons?
 24. Were there things said on television with which you do not agree?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 25. If so, what?
 26. Do you talk to others about what you see on television?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 27. If so, to whom?
 Husband
 Other members of the family
 Neighbours
 Others (specify)
 28. Under what circumstances?
 Everyday life
 Family occasions (e.g. christenings, weddings)
 Journey inland
 Other (specify)
 29. How did the other person to the conversation usually react?
 Easily convinced
- Convinced after discussion
 Disagreed on certain aspects
 Not at all convinced
30. Who were the most difficult to convince?
 Men
 Women
 Young people
 Old people
 Husband
 Parents
 Others
31. On what subjects was there disagreement?
 32. Are there any particularly serious and urgent problems which television should, in everyone's interest, help to solve?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 33. If so, what are they?
 (Note to interviewer: try to obtain the fullest possible answer.)
 34. Can television help in Senegal's development?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 35. If so, how?
 36. Are there any traditions in Senegalese life which television should defend and help to preserve?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 37. If so, what are they?
 38. Are there any traditions in Senegalese life which television should criticize and help to destroy?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 39. If so, what are they?

ANNEX II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR
FEBRUARY 1966 SURVEY

Centre:
Interviewer:

Ring code numbers.
Write nothing in margin.

Civil servant 3
Shopkeeper 4
Liberal profession 5
Hawker, market vendor 6
Domestic 7
Clergyman 8
Other 9

1.2.3. Number of the questionnaire

4. Age group: 16-25 0
26-35 1
36-50 2
Over 50 3

5. Marital status:
Unmarried 0
Married, no co-wife 1
Married, 1 co-wife 2
Married, 2 co-wives 3
Married, more than 2 co-wives 4

6. Number of dependent children living in:
None 0
1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
Over 5 6

7. Occupation:
None 0
Manual 1
Clerical 2
Civil servant 3
Shopkeeper 4
Liberal profession 5
Market vendor 6
Domestic 7
Other 8

8. Husband's occupation:
None 0
Manual 1
Clerical 2

9. Educational level:
Never at school 0
Primary unfinished 1
Primary completed 2
Post-primary 3

10. Educational level of husband:
Never at school 0
Primary unfinished 1
Primary completed 2
Post-primary 3

11. In the television programmes you have seen, which subjects interested you most (in order of preference)?
(a) child care
(b) nutrition
(c) women's problems (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity, etc.)
(d) conjugal relations
(e) illnesses, medicine, hygiene
(f) housekeeping
(g) other subjects (please mention)

12. What do you remember from the programmes on child care?

13. From those on nutrition?

14. From those on women's problems (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity, etc.)?

15. From those on conjugal relations?

16. From those on illness?

17. From those on housekeeping?
 18. From those on development and national affairs?
 19. Have the broadcasts changed anything in your life?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 20. If so, what?
 21. If not, why not?
 22. What things did you see on television that you have been unable to put into practice?
 23. For what reasons?
 24. Were there things said on television with which you do not agree?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 25. If so, what?
 26. Do you talk to others about what you see on television?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 27. If so, to whom?
 Husband
 Other members of the family
 Neighbours
 Others (specify)
 28. Under what circumstances?
 Everyday life
 Family occasions (e.g. christenings, weddings)
 Journey inland
 Other (specify)
 29. How did the other person to the conversation usually react?
 Easily convinced
 Convinced after discussion
 Disagreed on certain aspects
 Not at all convinced
 30. Who were the most difficult to convince?
 Men
 Women
 Young people
 Old people
 Husband
 Parents
 Others
 31. On what subjects was there disagreement?
 32. Are there any particularly serious and urgent problems which television should, in every-one's interest, help to solve?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 33. If so, what are they?
 (Note to interviewer: try to obtain the fullest possible answer.)
 34. Can television help in Senegal's development?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 35. If so, how?
 36. Are there any traditions in Senegalese life which television should defend and help to preserve?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 37. If so, what are they?
 38. Are there any traditions in Senegalese life which television should criticize and help to destroy?
 Yes
 No
 No reply
 39. If so, what are they?

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by Pierre Fougeyrollas

A First Report on the Unesco-Senegal
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