

AN AUDIENCE SURVEY DONE IN LIBERIA AROUND USES OF RADIO TO ADVANCE POST-WAR PEACEMAKING, CONFLICT RESOLUTION, AND RESETTLEMENT

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I. INTRODUCTION.

This is a report on a survey conducted in early 1998 in Liberia around uses of radio to advance post-war peacemaking, conflict resolution, and resettlement. The report also introduces a new survey method, applied for the first time in this study, that was expressly designed to be suitable for use in war zones. This dual reporting purpose accounts for the greater-than-usual length of the report, which not only presents the data but also explains the new survey method, and does so in a way that adds a third purpose -- namely, to make the report a teaching tool in the use of the method. The reader interested mainly in a quick summary of the results will find one in the Review and Conclusions section at the end of the report.

Survey research can contribute in many useful ways to the creation of radio and television programs that promote peacemaking, reconciliation, and resettlement in war zones. The fact that its previous use in this context has been highly limited is due in part to the lack of a low-cost method that can be implemented by minimally trained survey teams in war zones while still achieving an acceptably high standard of survey quality. Common Ground Productions (CGP), the radio and television arm of the Washington, DC.- and Belgium-based peacemaking organization, Search for Common Ground, made a potentially useful methodological breakthrough in 1998 when it commissioned the creation of the CGP Rapid Survey Method. The method, developed and first applied in Liberia, is intended to be suitable for use in war-disrupted circumstances around the world.

CGP is the world's leader in volume of radio and television program production focused on peacemaking and conflict resolution in war zones. The Liberia survey marks the initial step in the implementation of an ambitious CGP plan to become a leader in the field's development and use of innovative, situationally appropriate forms of audience research and evaluation. This report on the first use of the CGP Rapid Survey Method is intended not only to make the method more widely known, and to suggest a variety of potentially useful applications, but also to invite groups with a similar interest to help extend the method's usefulness by contributing to its wider application and further technical

refinement.

CGP commissioned two companion pieces to this report, the first a technical document, titled, "The CGP Rapid Survey Method: A New Tool for Broadcasters in War Zones." The technical document combines a detailed conceptual overview of the method with practical suggestions for its use, in terms accessible to non-specialists in survey research (see Palmer, 1998a). The second companion document, the title of which is self-explanatory, is, "A Guide to Training Indigenous Survey teams in the Use of the CGP Rapid Survey Method" (Palmer 1998c). Both are available from CGP headquarters in Washington, DC.

Liberia was still in a heavily disrupted, post-war condition at the time when the survey was conducted. Large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons wished to return to their communities but required both physical protection and material assistance to ensure their safety and reasonably smooth resettlement. Another important type of assistance needed then and well into the future is information and ideas -- for both returnees and communities -- on how they might more quickly and efficiently resolve the countless returnee-related conflicts they face around issues of property ownership and occupancy, theft, belligerence on the part of former combatants who in some cases are still armed, and care for single mothers, children, widows and the elderly -- among countless other squabbles and feuds. The difficulties Liberians face in coping with this swirl of post-war conflicts are exacerbated by a combination of the following:

- (a) the wide incidence of profound and often debilitating war trauma, and
- (b) the war-disrupted state of the machinery for conflict resolution at the community level-- just at the time when the tide of post-war conflicts makes it so widely and urgently needed.

All the above factors figure prominently in explaining why the rate of post-war resettlement is proceeding very slowly in Liberia. The same factors also explain why there is an urgently needed, continuing role for radio, as an informational and otherwise facilitative or even educational tool with respect to resettlement. The goal is not to resolve all post-war returnee problems, but, far more modestly, is to help the large numbers of still-displaced Liberians return safely, to which end they must first substantially rebuild the community-level judiciary function that will permit them to resolve the most disruptive of their myriad resettlement-related conflicts. CGP and TDS recognize many ways in which radio can contribute to this rebuilding process.

The traditional means of conflict resolution in Liberia consist mainly of the system of elders (who adjudicate in community-level conflicts) and the hierarchy of uncles (who pass binding judgments in family-level conflicts). Civil law is an entirely separate sphere, accessible mainly to the wealthy class. The war substantially disrupted this judiciary system at all levels. The exact extent of population displacement during the war is unknown -- although this survey found that a high number of Monroviaans were displaced. What is known is that the great majority of all Liberians were displaced at one time or another, and that the members of the traditional judiciary bodies fled their homes and

communities along with all the others.

During the height of hostilities, generals of the Nigeria-dominated peace-keeping force, ECOMOG, meted out to a civilian population that had no other recourse a form of hastily decided, often arbitrary, judgments. Life-and-death decisions were made and enforced on the spot, with no chance of appeal, no professional representation, and no semblance of a jury. Most importantly for post-war resettlement, many elders reportedly were beaten or otherwise humiliated, and some were killed, on orders of a military that, we may conjecture, looked upon them as a troublesome, competing source of authority.

The difficulties that Liberian communities are experiencing in coping with resettlement-related conflicts are compounded by several factors. One is that the elders and uncles, among many other Liberians, continue to live in prolonged displacement from their home communities. Another is that respect for the elders and uncles has eroded substantially among many returnees and potential returnees. This loss of respect has various causes in addition to the unprecedented humiliations these entities suffered at the hands of the military. One factor is the extensive disruption of the traditional schools that since time immemorial provided all children at puberty with up to three years of training in cultural beliefs, and in community laws and customs. Another is that the returnees include individuals such as former combatants and persons who fled to urban settings, who became acculturated to lifestyles very different from the ways of the traditional rural communities. Whether or not there will emerge a grassroots demand for reforms in the traditional system, to remedy the flaws that greatly privilege men and persons of rank at the expense of women and the underclasses, only time will tell.

This is a brief overview of the situation in which CGP's Talking Drum Studio(TDS) operates. TDS is a Monrovia-based radio production center -- one of several CGP radio and TV production centers that attempt to advance conflict resolution, reconciliation, and resettlement in war zones around the world. At the time when the survey was conducted, in February of 1998, TDS had been active in Liberia for approximately eight months, and the studio's output had leveled out at around 15 new program hours per week. These programs, played on six Liberia-based radio stations, garnered approximately 30 hours of total air time each week. TDS programs are produced by a full-time, indigenous staff of 19 Liberian scriptwriters, performers, and presenters, under the direction of John Langlois, an American with extensive experience in Liberia dating back to pre-war times.

The CGP/TDS rationale for undertaking an audience survey in Liberia at this particular time was twofold. The longer-term goal was to build indigenous survey capacity that could provide audience information at all stages, from the time of up-front situation mapping and program planning to follow-up evaluation.

The immediate purpose of the Liberia survey was to gather information on the general patterns of radio listening, plus specific data on listener reactions to TDS programs, with emphasis on the following:

1. to determine the proportion of individuals who listened to radio, and, more especially, the number who listened to TDS programs and could accurately describe the issues they

address.

2. to measure the over-all amount of radio listening for each hour of the broadcast day -- needed to guide program scheduling decisions.

3. to learn from respondents in a wide range of listener categories their perceptions concerning the acceptability and likely usefulness of the TDS programs as tools for peacemaking, reconciliation, and resettlement.

TDS foresees using Liberia's trained local survey team in the future not only to perpetuate the survey activities mentioned above, but also to undertake the following:

4. to gather detailed program reactions and advice of a formative (diagnostic) nature from key stakeholder groups, such as internally displaced persons, leaders of governmental and non-government organizations, other especially knowledgeable or influential individuals, and persons across a wide range of demographic categories -- done to identify strong and weak aspects of the subject matter and presentation.

5. to learn what measurable outcomes are brought about by the programs in the categories of knowledge, attitudes, and actions -- done to evaluate program effectiveness.

6. to allow for the acquisition of trend data -- needed to track changes in audience responses over time.

7. to perform situation mapping, which consists of measuring, for example: (a) the extent, nature, and dynamics of resettlement conflicts, (b) the nature and extent of disruptions in the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution, and (c) the presence of factors that might tend to advance or impede conflict resolution, ranging from ethnic feuds, war trauma, and counterproductive community attitudes toward returnees, to a spirit of grassroots generosity, tolerance, and innovativeness in the creation of coping mechanisms -- all of which are carried out for the two-fold purpose of identifying the priority needs that radio might attempt to address, and informing decisions on the establishment of curriculum content and goals (in terms of pre-intended audience outcomes), and on the choice of program formats and presentational designs.

These survey activities are not mere abstract possibilities, but are integral to the emerging CGP Research in Action Plan for Liberia and other CGP production centers.

II. SURVEY METHODS AND PROCEDURES.

The study reported here, due to applying the CGP Rapid Survey Method, required only two weeks' time to plan and field, which included conceptualization of the survey method, designing of a six-page survey questionnaire, establishment of respondent categories and sample-size quotas within each category, training of an 11-member Liberian survey team, and collection of complete questionnaire returns on a sample of 400 Monroviaans, complete with quality checks on the returned questionnaires. The Liberian survey team was assembled and led by Mrs. Medina Weseh, head of

Communication Matrix, a private research consulting firm. Other personnel required to carry out the survey included one senior and one junior researcher, both of whom devoted about one-half time to the activity over a two-week period, plus substantial time of the TDS Director and his secretarial staff and drivers. The two-week period did not include the processing of the data. However, within the period of a day or two after all the completed questionnaires were in, the head of TDS was able to report a small number of key results based on simple hand-counts of responses to selected survey questions.

A. Scope.

The survey was limited to Monrovia, Liberia's capital city, whose population at the time was estimated by many in the assistance community to be around 1 million out of a total Liberian population of 3.75 million. A later survey phase -- not reported here -- extended the study to Liberian communities outside Monrovia.

B. The interception point sampling strategy.

Interception point sampling, as the term suggests, consists of intercepting respondents at convenient locations -- i.e., at locations where many individuals who fit each of the survey's pre-designated audience categories can be found. Thus, all the respondents required to fill a pre-set sampling quota of displaced persons were intercepted at a camp for displaced persons, taxi drivers at the taxi garage, Liberian nationals employed by international NGOs at the weekly luncheon of professional NGO staffers, college students on the university campus, ministry professionals outside the particular ministry of interest, street vendors, housewives, and unemployed in the city's four main vending districts, and so on.

The use of interception point sampling is the key not only to the speed and affordability of the CGP Rapid Survey Method, but also to its special suitability for use in war zones, where travel can be hampered by physical obstructions, and where the application of classical survey sampling methods can expose survey teams to violent or otherwise unsafe conditions. In terms of personnel qualifications, the interception point sampling method, as compared with classical survey sampling, also greatly reduces the demand for sophisticated survey planning and sampling expertise which otherwise would be required to select and physically locate the respondents.

One caution in the use of interception point sampling is that the two critical steps that include making the choice of respondent categories, and establishing pre-designated sample-size quotas within these categories, are activities that require some technical understanding. Guidelines for identifying a suitably diverse and balanced sample of respondents are given in the previously cited companion document (Palmer, 1998a), where this and other technical matters associated with the use of the method are addressed. Although these technical considerations concerning the method are grounded in powerful statistical models, they are described in the related CGP documents in commonsense terms. By a "suitably diverse" sample is meant a set of respondent categories that reasonably well reflects the diversity that is found in the population group to which the results are to be generalized. By "balanced" is meant that the relative quota

sizes established for the different respondent groups should correspond reasonably well to the relative occurrence of these groups in the larger population. The exception to this (in the case of any survey, no matter what the method) is that sometimes a population sub-group is intentionally over-sampled because it is for some reason a focus of special surveyor interest. This over-sampling of selected respondent groups was done in the case of the Liberia survey, for reasons explained in the section that follows.

C. Sample size and composition.

The sample consisted of 400 Monroviaans, chosen according to the interception-point sampling plan described below. The respondent categories, along with (a) the pre-designated and (b) the actually obtained sample/quota size of respondents for each category, are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Pre-designated respondent categories and associated sample-size quotas, along with actually obtained sample sizes.

Respondent categories	Pre-designated	Actually obtained
sample/quota size	sample size	sample size
NGO-employed Liberians (professional)	20	20
Career Ministry officials	20	20
University students	20	23
Soldiers	20	10
School teachers	20	30
High School students	20	40
Small business/cookshop operators	40	42
Marketeers	40	20
Housewives	20	36
Unemployed	40	20
Taxi drivers	20	21
Farmers	20	19
Christians	10	10
Muslims	10	10
Displaced persons	40	40
Other	40	39
TOTAL	400	400

The discrepancies between the pre-designated quotas and the sample sizes actually obtained consist of two types. The first reflect changes made in category quotas after the commencement of the field interview process. For example, when soldiers proved unexpectedly averse to cooperating, the quota for soldiers was simply halved, and other

categories were increased to compensate. Similarly, to compensate for the difficulty that the survey team encountered in filling the quota for female marketeers, the quota of housewives was increased. The category "Other," established as another way to ensure sample diversity, consists of whomever walked up or submitted to an interview at two different downtown interception sites.

The second type of discrepancy might be termed microdiscrepancies -- differences of perhaps one or two points between the pre-designated and actually obtained sample sizes. Whereas microdiscrepancies are corrected in surveys that aim for strict precision, they were tolerated in the Liberia survey as a part of the price paid to obtain a rapid and low-cost result. Two of the microdiscrepancies occurred when someone on the survey team unnecessarily transferred a taxi driver out of the "Other" category, leaving it one short, into the "Taxi driver" category, leaving it one long. However -- and this is the crucial point -- discrepancies between pre-designated and obtained sample sizes were accepted only if the survey management team saw no way in which the discrepancy might systematically alter (bias) the key, over-all survey results. Each discrepancy in the Liberia survey was scrutinized quite deliberately according to this criterion to determine its acceptability. Where changes in quotas were made after the start of the field data collection, they were made with the same attention to over-all sample diversity and balance that guided the establishment of the original quotas.

Many technical and situational considerations went into setting the over-all sample size of 400, and category sample sizes in the range from 10 to 40. Because these are discussed at length in the previously cited report on the survey method, they are summarized here only to the extent useful to a clear understanding of the survey results.

Specifically:

1. Statistical tables and widely accepted survey practice point to a figure of around 30 as the sample size needed within a respondent category or sub category in order to make valid generalizations, within an acceptable margin of statistical error, to all persons in that category or sub-category in the larger population.
2. In some cases, where the purpose for including a category was not to make population projections to all persons in that category, but simply to provide for category diversity in the over-all sample, the quota size for that category was set lower than the 30 mentioned above.
3. In some cases, the quota was set higher than 30, in order to over-sample groups of special interest. This was the case, for example, in the category of displaced persons, who as a special stakeholder group and intended audience for TDS programming, were of special interest. Unemployed persons were also oversampled to reflect the fact that this is a very large and diverse group in the over-all Liberia population, and was thought to include many war-displaced persons. Any possibility of setting strictly proportional category quotas was ruled out, of course, by the absence of reliable population statistics in light of Liberia's war-disrupted condition and fluid population movement.

4. For three categories, the sample size quota was set higher than 30 to allow for desired sample diversity at the sub-category level. Specifically, the pre-designated sample size quota for small business/cookshop operators, marketeers, unemployed, and taxi drivers was set in each case at 40, to accommodate sub-category quotas of 5 males and 5 females from each of four ethnically distinct districts of the city.

5. The need to reflect Monrovia's ethnic diversity in the sample was ensured in two ways, the first of which, as mentioned immediately above, was to take substantially large samples from each of four somewhat ethnically distinct sections of the city (specifically, from Waterside, Red Light, Rally Time, and Dualla). Secondly, because the Liberian survey team knew it was unacceptable to ask prospective respondents direct questions about their ethnicity, the questionnaire included a surrogate for a question on ethnicity in the form of a question on the county of one's birth.

6. A reasonable balance across gender was also desired. Accordingly, for most (but not all) respondent categories, gender quotas were set, calling for equal numbers of male and female marketeers, housewives, and so on. Equal male-female quotas were also set in the category of university students.

Table 2 below shows the sample distribution actually obtained for each of three important demographic groups.

Table 2. The composition of the obtained respondent sample in terms of gender, age, and education.

Gender	Age	Education
male		209
female		180
missing information		11
		400
	25 or under	89
	26 thru 40	208
	41 or over	76
	missing information	27
		400
	No formal education	28
	1st thru 6th grade	53
	7th grade thru H.S.	149
	some post-H.S.	123
	finished coll. or univ.	23
	some post-grad.	8
	missing information	16

To summarize, because the interception point sampling method departs from the textbook ideal of random sampling, special measures were taken to minimize departures from representativeness in the sample. These measures were meant to insure that the sample would reflect the two important qualities of demographic diversity and reasonably proportionate representation (balance) of different respondent groups. The depiction of the over-all sample in Table 1 reflects the fact that diversity and balance in the over-all sample was achieved in part by judicious category selection and quota setting. Diversity and balance were also achieved by other means. For example, ethnic diversity was insured by taking the sample from ethnically distinct sections of the city. The solid representation of women was achieved in part through direct quota setting, as described earlier, and in part by including a special category of housewives. By contrast, the desired balance in education levels was achieved not by quota setting, but by deliberately selecting respondent categories that would yield a credible range and proportionate representation of different education levels.

Several aspects of the survey reflect the fact that it was rapidly conducted, in difficult circumstances, on a minimal budget. While the authors feel the compromises made do not appreciably diminish the quality and usefulness of the resulting data, still the reader should be aware of them. They are the following:

1. The questionnaire format for the demographic data -- i.e., on gender, age, and education level -- was confusing to the field survey team. This difficulty did not show up in the preliminary field trial of the questionnaire. Although the problem was caught and corrected early in the course of carrying out the actual field survey, thanks to an immediate quality check done on all questionnaires as they came in from the field, several contained missing demographic data, as seen in Table 2. In the interest of speed and efficiency, the questionnaires that were returned with missing demographic data were kept. This decision was made with two considerations in mind. First, the total number of questionnaires involved is small, and, secondly, the survey management team, based on a considered judgment, found no reason to believe that respondents with missing demographic data differed in any systematic way from those for whom complete demographic data existed. The same rule was applied in deciding whether or not to accept returned questionnaire that contained missing answers to substantive questions. In some cases, returned questionnaires actually were discarded as being unacceptably botched, and the survey team was obliged to replace it with a fully completed questionnaire from another person in the same respondent category.
2. The analysis is less detailed than is usual for surveys of this scope and complexity. The head of TDS chose to process only the results that he considered worthy in light of priorities, and considering that his office has precious few resources to devote to research. As a result, no cross-tabs were done at all. This kind of selectivity, which under more normal circumstances would be considered a lapse and a deficiency,

actually reflects the spirit and intent behind the development of the CGP Rapid Survey Method, which seeks always to let pragmatic considerations prevail. The alternative would be research done for its own sake.

In conclusion, the Liberia survey sample, while established by a method that departs from standard survey practice, nevertheless compensates in the several ways described above for the potential loss of precision. The two important tests of technical and commonsense judgment leave no cause to believe that the results differ markedly from what would be obtained through the use of a much more painstaking, time-consuming and costly sampling method. Considering in retrospect what changes might have been made in the category composition of the sample, in the category quotas, or in the over-all sample size, the only change would be to eliminate the "Farmer" category -- which was considerably more difficult to fill in terms of the survey team's time and travel than the other categories -- the result of which would be to make the survey more urban-based.

The factors that lend credence to the results are not either interception point sampling or quota setting per se, although these provide essential under girding, but the emphasis that the survey places on achieving respondent diversity and proportional balance, combined with the fact of that the over-all sample size of 400 is substantially large. The earlier written technical report on the method (Palmer, 1998a) goes even further to give evidence from the respondent data that the magnitudes and patterns of obtained results make logical sense. Taking these considerations into account, the authors advise that it would be irrational in the absence of specific methodological objections to ignore or substantially discount the results obtained in Liberia with the use of the CGP Rapid Survey Method.

D. The survey instrument.

Qualifying questions. The survey began with two qualifying questions which required that prospective respondents be someone who "sometimes listens to radio," and has been "a resident in Monrovia for the last six months."

Displacement questions. Two early questions asked whether the respondent was forced by the war at any time to leave Liberia, or was ever displaced from her or his home.

Recency and location of listening. One early question focused on recency of radio listening, and another asked in what various locations the respondents listened to radio.

Listening times. One part of the survey listed each hour of the broadcast day, and asked the respondents to check the hours when they were "most likely to be listening to the radio." This question was given first for "Mondays through Fridays," then was repeated in exactly the same format for "Saturdays and Sundays." Follow-up questions asking the respondents to identify "the three hours when you are most likely to be listening to the radio" had to be discarded when it was found that several members of the survey team logged the data wrongly. A final question on listening times asked each respondent how much time they usually spent listening to the radio on each of three days -- namely: Tuesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays.

Stations frequently listened to. A single question asked the respondents which stations they frequently listened to, in a question format that called for volunteered responses (i.e., in a format that did not prompt the respondents by providing station names). The responses were recorded on a list available only to the survey giver, that named all the stations available in Liberia: Kiss FM, Veritas, Star, ELBC, ELWA, Radio Hope, Radio Liberty, Radio Monrovia, DC 101, Radio Liberia International, and BBC.

Station ratings on objectivity and trustworthiness. A single, forced-choice question asked respondents to say which one in an provided list of all available stations "offers the most objective and trustworthy news." The entire station list was read to each respondent by the survey giver.

Name recognition and subject-matter knowledge. One question asked whether the respondent had ever listened to "Talking Drum or Common Ground programs on radio." A follow-up question for those who said they had done so asked each respondent to say "what kinds of questions and issues ... these programs talk about." The latter question requires that the respondents themselves supply the program descriptors. This is a far more demanding test of what the respondents know about the programs than would have been obtained by an item format that presented a list of program qualities and asked the respondents to say which did or did not apply to the radio programs in question.

Recognition of Talking Drum program theme music. For each of the three main TDS radio series, in succession, the survey giver played a tape-recorded excerpt of its standard theme music, then asked, "Is this a program you have heard on the radio?" Subsequently, a fourth tape segment was played, in the form of a composite of theme music from all three TDS radio series, and the respondents were asked, "Are these programs you have heard on the radio?" Those who responded to the composite in the negative skipped to a later part of the survey. Those who responded in the affirmative were asked to respond to the following six questions about the programs:

Frequency of listening. The respondents were asked how many times they had listened to the programs in the last month. They were provided with three response alternatives, 1-5, 6-15, or 16 or more times.

Opinions about the programs on given dimensions. The next five questions, respectively, asked the respondents whether they thought these programs: "tell the truth"; "describe the situation in Liberia as it really is"; "help to resolve conflict in Liberia"; "are mainly about health issues"; and "make a useful contribution to post-war reconciliation in Liberia." The forced-choice response options consisted of "yes," "no," and "no opinion."

Performer/presenter name recognition. The next three questions focused, respectively, on how many times in the last month the respondent had listened to a radio program with one of TDS's main performers or presenters in it. The performer/presenter names (Manjoe, Barbara Koffa, Joe Karbar) were presented singly, in succession.

Perceived contribution of radio to repatriation and resettlement. The next question cluster asked about the perceived contribution made by radio. In that no program or station was named, the question referred to radio in general. Included were the following three questions:

has radio provided the kind of information that refugees need to make a wise decision about whether to come back and when to come back?

has radio provided returning refugees and internally displaced people with good advice they need for smooth and informed resettlement?

has radio helped to make Liberians more willing to help and accept returning refugees and internally displaced people into communities?

The responses to these three questions were recorded on the following five-point, bi-polar scale: definitely yes, somewhat yes, no opinion or don't know, maybe not, definitely not.

Demographics. The questionnaire concluded with four items on respondent demographics. Specifically, these items asked for gender, age (using the age categories shown in Table 2 above), education level (also as shown in Table 2), and county of origin (a question that, as indicated earlier, was used as a surrogate for the sensitive question of ethnicity).

III. RESULTS.

The results for the two-question cluster on displacement, as shown in Table 3, reveal the great extent to which the lives of Monroviaans were disrupted by the war. The result helps to establish that the survey actually reached large numbers of individuals in the category of persons who are currently or recently have been displaced from their homes. As expected, the number of internally displaced persons far exceeded the number who fled the country.

Table 3. Displacement due to the war.

Did the war force you to leave Liberia?	Have you ever been displaced?	
Yes		
No		
Missing data		
		Total
		164
		235
		1
		400

	Yes	
No		
Missing data		
		Total 327
		72
		1
400		

Prior to the survey, TDS had no clear way to know how many Monroviaans either possessed or actually listened to radio -- or, if they did listen, where and at what times of day. This information was needed mainly to help guide program scheduling decisions. Because TDS is a studio, not a station, its director must negotiate with station directors for air time. It was anticipated that this information would allow TDS to negotiate for times of day when the greatest number of people actually listen to radio.

On the advice of the Liberian survey team, who felt strongly that almost all Monroviaans listen to radio, we geared the survey to actual listeners. Persons approached at interception points who said they did not listen to radio were excluded from the survey. Due to a lapse in planning, which should be corrected in future surveys, no count was kept either of the number of people thus excluded or of their backgrounds and circumstances. Thus, the only data on how many Monroviaans listen comes from the anecdotal report made by the survey team, who said that only extremely rarely did a potential respondent claim not to listen to radio at all.

The first of the two questions reported in Table 4 asked the respondents to say when they last listened to radio, within the given time-period categories of "yesterday," "within the past week," and so on.

Table 4. Frequency and locations of reported radio listening.

Apart from today, when did you last listen to radio? Where do you listen to the radio?

Yesterday	
Last 7 days	
Last 4 weeks	
Last 6 months	
Missing	
	Total 328
	54
	6
	6

400

At home		
At work		
Others' home		
Entertain. center		
Other		
	Missing	346
		117
		78
		44
		23
6		

Among radio listeners, listening frequency is very high. Of the 400 respondents, 328 (82 percent) reported having listened "yesterday," and an additional 54 (13 percent) reported that they listened within the "last seven days." Thus, among those who listened to radio at all, 95 percent listened within the past week (a total of 382, consisting of 328 plus 54).

Those who said they listen "at home" represent 87 percent of all respondents, while those who listened at work (totaling 117), are 29 percent of all respondents. The 44 who listen at entertainment centers represent 11 percent of the total.

Table 5 shows reported listening rates for each hour of the broadcast day on Mondays through Fridays. This information was wanted for program scheduling purposes. Notice that the question was not whether they "ever listen" during each given hour, but instead asked them to mention the hours when they are "most likely to be listening."

Table 5. Numbers of respondents who chose each given broadcast hour as a time when they are "most likely to be listening to the radio on Mondays through Fridays."

6:00-7:00a.m	
7:00-8:00a.m.	
8:00-9:00a.m.	
9:00-10:00a.m.	
10:00-11:00a.m.	
11:00a.m.-noon	
noon-1:00p.m.	
1:00-2:00p.m	
	2:00-3:00p.m. 222
	182
	73
	102
	66
	48

102	3:00-4:00p.m.	
	4:00-5:00p.m.	
	5:00-6:00p.m.	
	6:00-7:00p.m.	
	7:00-8:00p.m.	
	8:00-9:00p.m.	
	9:00-10:00p.m.	
	10:00-11:00p.m.	
	11:00p.m.-midnite	56
75		
188		
78		
145		
182		
135		
159		
78		

The most popular listening time, mentioned by 56 percent of the sample, was the first hour of the broadcast day, at 6:00 to 7:00 a.m., followed, in descending order, by 47 percent at 5:00 to 6:00 p.m., 46 percent at both 7:00 to 8:00 a.m. and 8:00 to 9:00 p.m., 40 percent at 10:00 to 11:00 p.m., and 36 percent at 7:00 to 8:00 p.m.. The least popular period, 1:00 to 2:00 p.m., was mentioned by only 7 percent of the respondents.

The data shown in Table 6 goes beyond the question of how many listen, and when, to ask how much time people say they spend in listening to radio on a given day. Most importantly, as a guide to scheduling decisions, the results make it possible to compare the rate of radio listening on a typical weekday (Tuesday) with the rates on Saturdays and Sundays.

Table 6. Numbers of respondents who reported listening to the radio from 1 through 9+ hours on given days of the week.

Days of the week										TOTAL	
Reported number of hours of radio listening											
Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Tuesday	Missing	
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9+</u>	<u>Missing</u>		
87	79	79	39	25	15	10	10	54		2	400

47	72	72	43	21	30	8	17	88	2	400
50	38	53	46	27	26	15	18	125	2	400

Most of the respondents (61 percent) say they listened only 1-3 hours on Tuesdays, although 19 percent say they listened 7 hours or more, and 14 percent claimed a Tuesday listening rate of 9 hours or more. Whether those who say they listen for long periods listen intently or, more likely, simply have the radio going for much of this time, there is no way to tell from the survey.

On Sunday, while 60 percent say they listen only 1-3 hours, a notably large 40 percent reported listening 7 hours or more.

The results presented in Table 7 relate to the question of which radio stations TDS should favor in seeking air time for its programs. The answer might depend in part on which stations are most popular, and in part on which are perceived to offer the most objective and trustworthy news. Table 7 deals with both questions. Some understanding of the stations, in terms of their ownership and proclivities, is required to interpret the data. Briefly:

KISS-FM is owned by the President, Charles Taylor, is very partisan, and reportedly is listened to mainly by loyalists and those who like the music programs.

Veritas, owned by the Catholic Archdiocese, is controlled by one of Taylor's most vocal critics, Bishop Michael Francis, and has been on the air since the 1980s. It has a reputation of integrity, especially among the political opposition, but is also likely to be listened to by many of those in government.

Star Radio, the U.S. Agency for International Development station, is run by the Swiss organization Fondation Hirondelle, and broadcasts mostly news and information for approximately eight hours per day. During several hours of their broadcast day, they simulcast Radio Monrovia's signal, which likely results in boosting listener ratings for Radio Monrovia.

ELBC, the national government-owned station, is the oldest in Liberia, and is less partisan than KISS-FM. Their news broadcast has always been the standard, with the government line.

ELWA is a non-secular, evangelical Christian station, only recently back on the air.

Radio Hope was off the air for financial reasons at the time of the survey, and only started broadcasting prior to the July 1997 elections.

Radio Liberty -- which no longer broadcasts but remains licensed and could come back -- was opened by citizens connected to a presidential aspirant and his associates shortly before the elections. Low in power, and heard mainly in Monrovia, it had a credible news broadcast.

Radio Monrovia, established by Liberian journalist and private businessman, Charles Snetter, has been primarily an entertainment station, and Liberia's most popular music station. It has a very popular daily show, however, in which the top stories from Monrovia's daily newspapers are read.

DC101, owned by a private citizen, has been primarily a music station that has adopted a news and information format as well.

Radio Liberia International is Charles Taylor's short-wave station that broadcasts from Totota, about 90 miles outside Monrovia. It is popular in rural areas where FM signals are not available.

BBC, although not Liberia based, is tuned in by many on short-wave radio during the large portions of the day when it is available. The BBC's "Focus on Africa" is the "gold standard" for world reporting on African news and is extremely popular and widely listened to. A confounding factor for survey purposes is that "Focus" is simulcast by at least two of Monrovia's FM stations.

Note that for the question on stations most frequently listened to, the respondents were not given a list of station names, but had to come up with the names themselves. On the question of which station is perceived to carry the most objective and trustworthy news, the names of all the stations were read to them prior to their responding.

As an interpretive caution, note that by forcing the respondents to choose only one station as most objective and trustworthy, the survey set up a situation in which, for one station to rate high, all the others had to rate correspondingly low. Another way to look at it is to say that only 100 percentage points of objectivity and trustworthiness were made available, and the respondents had to apportion the 100 points across the 11 stations. All else being equal, the statistically expected rating for each station is one-eleventh of 100 percentage points, which equals 9.09 points. If the question were constructed to allow for rating each station independently, each station's rating could range from zero to as high as 100 percent. It is recommended that in future uses of the survey, the forced comparisons, as reported in Table 7, should be preceded by set of questions in which each station is rated independently.

Table 7. Respondent ratings of local radio stations for over-all popularity, and for perceptions regarding the objectivity and trustworthiness of their news programming.

Stations named by respondents when asked what stations they frequently listen to.

Stations named by respondents when asked which radio station offers the most objective and trustworthy news.

Kiss-FM		
Veritas		
Star		
ELBC		
ELWA		
Radio Hope		
Radio Liberty		
Radio Monrovia		
DC101		
Radio Liberia Int'l.		
BBC		
Missing	155	
251		
147		
235		
67		
11		
88		
273		
213		
14		
18		
8		Kiss-FM
Veritas		
Star		
ELBC		
ELWA		
Radio Hope		
Radio Liberty		
Radio Monrovia		
DC101		
Radio Liberia Int'l.		
BBC		
Missing	29	
137		
34		
58		
5		
2		
30		
52		
23		
4		
18		
8		

The six most popular stations, listed in descending order, are Radio Monrovia (68 percent), Veritas (63 percent), ELBC (59 percent), DC 101 (53 percent), Kiss-FM (39 percent), and Star (37 percent).

The six stations rated most objective and trustworthy, in descending order, are Veritas (34 percent), ELBC (15 percent), Radio Monrovia (13 percent), Star (9 percent), Radio Liberty (8 percent), and Kiss-FM (7 percent).

TDS was not included in the station list, of course, because it is a studio, not a station. The importance of the above results to TDS, which places programs on many different stations, is that it helps TDS forge close associations with the collective trust enjoyed by several of those stations. This pattern of associations is only one of the many advantages that derive from TDS's strategic decision to operate in Liberia as a studio. The reader is referred to Table 11, below, for a rating of the perceived truthfulness of TDS programs.

Veritas, controlled by the Catholic Archdiocese, is likely perceived to be a high quality alternative to government-based news. ELWA, as mentioned earlier, only recently returned to air. Also, at the time of the survey it carried no news. Radio Hope had been off the air for two months at the time of the survey, and did not have a news broadcast. Radio Liberia International, as a short-wave station, is not listened to much in Monrovia, where people have several FM options.

Table 8 below gives the reported listening rate to TDS/Common Ground programs, and the respondents' own descriptions of the kinds of problems and issues that these programs address. This question is a measure of name recognition, in that only the Talking Drum and Common Ground names were mentioned, with no description given of the programs.

Table 8. Listening rates for and audience perceptions of TDS/Common Ground programming.

People who say they "ever listened to Talking Drum or Common Ground programs on the radio." Frequency with which respondents accurately described the problems and issues that TDS/Common Ground programs talk about.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Number</u>		
<u>Percent</u>		
Yes		
No		
Missing		
TOTAL	362	
36		
2		
400	90.5	
9.0		
0.5		

100		Yes	
No			
Missing			
TOTAL	295		74.0
103	25.5		
2	0.5		
400	100		

The reported TDS/Common Ground listening rate exceeds 90 percent. Three out of four respondents (74 percent) gave one or more accurate descriptors when asked what TDS/Common Ground programs talk about. Following are actual quotes of comments made in response to this question:

"Peace and reconciliation."

"Talks mainly about teenage pregnancy and resettlement of refugees and displaced people."

"Reconciliation, corruption, education, resettlement."

"People should come home and rebuild; do not toilet near your well; harassment of taxi drivers."

"Forgiveness; people should come back together; people should not have plenty children."

"These programs are about the war that was fought in our country and how we can help the government rebuild our one and only country, Liberia."

"Society, marriage, peace, reconciliation, and corruption."

"I love listening to the special features with Barbara Koffa. I think the program is very informative. It is helping the Liberians to forget about their differences."

Table 9 presents data on listening rates to the three main program series that make up TDS's "Common Ground" program offering. For each of the three series, the respondents first heard a tape-recorded Common Ground program excerpt, then were asked if they had ever heard the series. The excerpts for each series was simply a snippet of the series' standard music tag. A fourth recorded segment, also played for each respondent, contained a composite of program elements, consisting not only of standard opening and closing music tags, but also of other elements that it was thought might further jog their memories. The rationale for the use of audio-taped program excerpts was to establish a more direct basis for positively identifying the different series to the respondents than by

merely alluding to Talking Drum Studio/Common Ground by name.

Table 9. Frequency with which respondents said they had ever listened to each of TDS's three main Common Ground program series, and to a montage of Common Ground programming, based on their hearing tape-recorded program excerpts.

Respondents who said they recognized the Common Ground radio news feature program after having heard a soundbite.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	338	93.4
No	23	6.4
Missing	1	0.3
TOTAL	362*	100

Respondents who said they recognized TDS radio dramas after having heard a soundbite.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	351	97.0
No	10	2.7
Missing	1	0.3
TOTAL	362	100

Respondents who said they recognized the Common Ground discussion program, "One Step Beyond," after having heard a soundbite.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	279	77.0
No	82	22.7
Missing	1	0.3
TOTAL	362	100

Respondents who recognized Common Ground radio programs based on their having heard a montage of program excerpts.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	351	97.0
No	10	2.7
Missing	1	0.3
TOTAL	362	100

* Only 362 of the 400 respondents heard the tape-recorded Common Ground program

soundbites, because one member of the survey team was unable to play them. The percentages shown are for the 362 respondents who did hear the program excerpts.

Common Ground dramas are thirty-minute programs that feature the Talking Drum Studio drama troupe. Manjoe Borlay, an established entertainment figure who works for TDS, appears regularly in the Common Ground dramas along with other members of the TDS drama troupe. The dramas run anywhere from one to six episodes, and generally involve playing out a conflict situation to its resolution. Titles have included, "Reconciliation Is a Must," "Health Is Everyone's Business," and "Police Are Law Enforcers." At the time of the survey, dramas were produced three times per week, and received more on air exposure than either of the other two TDS series.

Common Ground News Features are thirty-minute magazine-format programs, hosted by Barbara Koffa, and made up of news, human rights, and development features, all promoting the Common Ground theme and reconciliation. Feature segments typically run from three to six minutes in length. At the time of the survey, the news features aired twice a week on each of at least four different radio stations.

"One Step Beyond" Discussion Series. The "One Step Beyond" issue discussion series is produced and moderated by Joe Karbar, and consists of 30-minute, pre-recorded weekly episodes. Most episodes address current, newsmaking controversies and problems, while others probe into long-standing conflict issues. Guests are brought into the studio to speak for different positions. These programs were airing once a week at the time of the survey, and played on two different stations.

The listening rates based on program excerpts are higher for both TDS news features and dramas than the listening rates obtained previously based on mention of the TDS/Common Ground names. Most notable are the two listening rates of 97 percent, obtained both for the radio dramas and the montage. Recognition rates for the three Common Ground radio series, in descending order, were 97 percent for the drama series, 93 percent for the news feature series, and 77 percent for the discussion series.

These very high recognition rates no doubt are a reflection of two important facts -- namely, that TDS/Common Ground programs appear regularly on many different radio stations, thus potentially broadening the audience, and, secondly, that these programs often are broadcast multiple times. As a result of the fact that TDS programs play on several stations, the weekly TDS program output of around 15 hours a week accounts for close to 30 hours a week of actual air time.

These comparative recognition rates for the three program series are consistent, first of all, with the known high popularity of the TDS drama series (which TDS believes on the basis of anecdotal data to be the most highly listened to program on all of Liberian radio), and, secondly, with the fact that new dramas and news features appear twice or more each week, while the discussion program, with its 77 percent listening rate, is weekly and is the most recent of the three to go to air.

Table 10 below shows the reported frequency of listening "in the last month" to the

Do these Talking Drum programs help resolve conflict in Liberia?

Are the Talking Drum programs mainly about health issues?

293	4	11	1	309
94.8%	1.3%	3.6%	0.3%	100%

115	137	54	3	309
37.2%	44.3%	17.5%	1%	100%

Do the Talking Drum programs make a useful contribution to post-war reconstruction?

265	6	35	3	309
85.7%	2%	11.3%	1%	100%

Taking the responses to the question cluster in descending order of magnitude, 96.5 percent felt that TDS programs "tell the truth," 95 percent felt they "help resolve conflict in Liberia," 93 percent agreed that they "describe the situation in Liberia as it really is," and 86 percent agreed that they "make a useful contribution to post-war reconstruction."

Responding to the planted question on health, 62 percent either said "no," that the TDS programs are not mainly about health, or registered no opinion. A surprisingly large 37 percent said "yes," indicating that, indeed, many held to a yes-saying response bias. It is impossible to determine whether this is the result of (a) a short-term yes-saying tendency, built up by the high rate of "yes" responses to the previous three questions, (b) a tendency to give the answer that the respondents believe the surveyor wants to hear, (c) a tendency to confuse or conflate all positive programming with programming that promotes health, or (d) some other dynamic.

*****John: did TDS programs ever focus on health?

Table 12 below displays responses to questions on how often in the last month the respondents had listened to one of the three main TDS radio series. Each of the three TDS series was identified to the respondents solely by mention of the name of its principal performer/presenter, thus making the question a combined test of name recognition and measure of series popularity. For each question, the respondents were asked to choose among the given response alternatives of 1-2 times, 3-6 times, and 7 or more times in the case of Manjoe; of 1-2, 3-4, and 5 or more times for Koffa; and of 1 time, 2 times, or 3 times for Karbar.

Table 12. Frequency of reported listening in the last month to each of the three major Talking Drum radio series, where each series was identified to the respondents solely by the name of its main performer or presenter.

Manjoe (drama) How often in the last month the respondents report having listened to a program with the named performer in it.

None	1-2 times	3-6 times	7 or more	missing	TOTAL
33	149	114	64	2	362

Barbara Koffa (news)

None	1-2 times	3-4 times	5 or more	missing	TOTAL
118	178	38	21	7	362

Joe Karbar (discussion)

None	1 time	2 times	3 times	missing	TOTAL
200	84	45	28	5	362

Fully 90 percent of the respondents said they had listened to Manjoe one or more times in the last month, while 18 percent (nearly one in five) said they had listened to him 7 or more times in during the same period.

Two-thirds reported having listened to Barbara Koffa in the last month, while 16 percent said they had done so 3-4 or more times. The fact that the TDS news programs with Koffa rate lower than the TDS dramas with Manjoe is in part due to the high popularity of drama in general and Manjoe in particular, and in part to the greater competition that exists in the news category. TDS news programs, with their narrow focus on conflict resolution and resettlement, have to compete for listeners with other news programs that focus on a wider range of subjects. Also, they are newer than several other news series that are well established.

The much lower rating for Karbar's discussion series was expected, both because it had been on for only a short time, and because only one show a week is produced. Considering these factors, it is impressive that 43 percent said they had listened to Karbar once or more in the last month, while one out of five claimed that they listened to two or more -- which means half or more -- of the four Karbar programs that aired in the last month. This result suggests that while more than half said they did not listen to Karbar, those who did so tended to be somewhat loyal listeners. In this respect, it seems quite

remarkable that 28 persons (nearly 8 percent of the total) said they had heard three of the four Karbar programs that had played in the last month.

Only 33 respondents (9 percent) said they listened to none of the dramas featuring Manjoe in the past month, compared with 33 percent who said they listened to no news programs with Barbara Koffa, and 55 percent who indicated that they had not listened to any of the discussion programs with Karbar.

Table 13 below presents the last question cluster, in which the respondents are asked to give their opinions on the effectiveness of radio programs in general in addressing specific needs of returnees. The survey design team is well aware that the opinions expressed by a cross-section of the TDS listeners in this regard are at best a poor surrogate for more direct and reliable measures of audience outcomes. The team included the question cluster anyway, largely on the premise that strongly negative listener opinions would tell us that radio is seen to be seriously off the mark in its efforts to meet the needs of returnees. The team also felt that by virtue of including the two positive alternatives of "definitely yes" and "somewhat yes," the survey encouraged the respondents to make a clear choice between a strong or a tepid level of enthusiasm. The team felt, similarly, that by providing three non-positive alternatives ("no opinion/don't know," "maybe not," and "definitely not," the survey gave ample opportunity for the responses to scatter across a wide, bipolar continuum of opinions. For each question, the pre-designated response alternatives were read to the respondents.

Table 13. Respondent opinions on the effectiveness of radio programs in general in addressing specific needs of returnees.

Has radio provided the kinds of information that refugees need to make a wise decision about whether to come back and when to come back?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Definitely yes	269	67.6%
Somewhat yes	92	23.1
No opinion/Don't know	19	4.8
Maybe not	6	1.5
Definitely not	9	2.2
Missing	3	0.8
TOTAL	398	100

Has radio provided returning refugees and internally displaced people with good advice they need for smooth and informed resettlement?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Definitely yes	242	60.8%
Somewhat yes	106	26.7
No opinion/Don't know	25	6.3

Maybe not	10	2.5
Definitely not	9	2.2
Missing	6	1.5
TOTAL	398	100

Has radio helped to make Liberians more willing to help and accept returning refugees and internally displaced people into communities?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Definitely yes	268	67.3%
Somewhat yes	86	21.7
No opinion/Don't know	21	5.3
Maybe not	9	2.2
Definitely not	9	2.2
Missing	5	1.3
TOTAL	398	100

The three questions received responses of either "definitely yes" or "somewhat yes" from 88 to 91 percent or more of the respondents. Two out of three chose the strongest affirmative response alternative, a "definitely yes," in answering the first and last of the three questions. The first question asked whether radio provided information the returnees needed to decide whether and when to come back. The third asked whether radio helped to make Liberians more willing to accept returnees. Nearly as many (61 percent) said "definitely yes" when asked whether radio provided the advice returnees needed for smooth and informed resettlement. Fewer than five percent responded negatively (either "maybe not" or "definitely not") to any of the three questions.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Viewed from a formative research perspective, where the purpose of the data is to inform project decisions, the Liberia results are of highly satisfactory quality. They provide the TDS staff with its first empirical data for selected decision-making purposes -- most notably for program scheduling. The authors feel that the results also hold up well in providing generalizable data on program awareness, and on such key dimensions as perceived veracity, perceived accuracy in reflecting resettlement conditions and problems as they really are, and perceived effectiveness in helping Liberians to cope with these conditions and problems.

The 400 respondents included in the survey were drawn from all regions of the city and all the most prevalent demographic groups and sub-groups. The above section on Results opens with descriptions of the sampling methods and results. The make-up of the sample will not be reviewed here except to note that care was taken to achieve an acceptable balance in terms of gender, age and ethnicity, education level, geographic locale, and

occupational status.

In a city where only a scant few claim that they never listen to radio, Monrovia reported exceptionally high listening rates for TDS programs.

The first survey result shows how many of the 400 respondents had been displaced by the war.

82 percent reported having "ever been displaced," while half this number (41 percent) said they had been forced to leave Liberia.

These high percentages reveal, if only in statistical terms, the great magnitude of human and institutional disruption caused by the war. The results show, too, that the respondents were in a position to understand the problems of refugees and internally displaced persons, and thus to judge the performance of TDS radio programming in its efforts to address these problems.

The second result shows the rate of radio listening. Because the power grid was still out in Monrovia at the time of the survey, and because radio batteries are costly in Liberian terms, the survey sought to reveal the extent to which these factors might impede radio listening.

Reported radio listening is very high -- 95 percent reported having listened within the last week, and 82 percent "yesterday."

The high rate of radio listening supports the decision to use the medium as a means to reach the Monrovia population. Because the survey was limited to Monrovia, no results are available on radio listening more widely in Liberia, or on listening rates for TDS programs elsewhere in Liberia or in refugee camps outside the country.

Information on listening venues was sought as a means to help identify preferred program scheduling times.

87 percent said they listened "at home," 29 percent "at work," 20 percent at some "other's home," and 11 percent "at entertainment centers."

The high rate of reported in-home listening is significant, because it makes possible large early morning and evening audiences.

Information was gathered on the most popular listening times throughout the week. This information was wanted also to help identify preferred program scheduling times.

A question that identified the most and least popular listening times on Mondays through Fridays showed, for example, that during the four most popular listening hours, the proportion of all Monrovia listening ranged from 40 to 56 percent. Only 7 percent listened during the least popular hour.

The extensive survey information on listening rates throughout the broadcast day has proved a useful guide to TDS in its identification of most and least favored broadcast hours. TDS uses this information to place its programs on the six different Liberian stations that regularly carry TDS-produced radio fare. A surprising result for the TDS Director was unexpectedly high listening rates in certain evening hours. This information had an immediate influence on subsequent scheduling choices.

A question on the reported number of hours of radio listening, respectively, on Tuesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays found that for Tuesdays, 61 percent said they listened only 1-3 hours, while 19 percent said they listened 7 hours or more. The comparable figures for Sundays were 35 percent listening for 1-3 hours, and 40 percent tuning in 7 hours or more.

The evidence of extensive listening on Sundays confirms that this is a prime day of the week for scheduling of TDS programs.

Two additional considerations in program scheduling, especially given that TDS places its programs on many different radio stations, are the comparative popularity of the stations and their relative standing in terms of perceived objectivity and trustworthiness. The next two questions addressed these matters.

Two questions elicited audience opinions about the 11 radio stations operating in Liberia at the time. The first, in the form of a popularity rating, asked the respondents to mention the names of the stations they "frequently listen to." The six most popular ranged from Radio Monrovia, mentioned by 68 percent, to Star Radio, mentioned by 37 percent. The second question asked which one of the 11 stations (whose names this time were read to the respondents) "offers the most objective and trustworthy news." Statistically, i.e., by chance alone, each station should have been mentioned by 9.09 percent (one eleventh) of all the respondents. Radio Veritas, chosen by 34 percent, led by a substantial margin. This is strikingly higher than the proportion who chose the second-ranked station, ELBC, at 15 percent. The third and fourth most frequent choices, respectively, were Radio Monrovia (mentioned by 13 percent) and Star (by 9 percent).

TDS was not included in this slate of comparisons because it is a studio, not a station.

A key purpose in undertaking the survey was to discover the extent to which the TDS/Common Ground programs were widely listened to and understood. A two-question cluster dealt, respectively, with the rate of listening to them, and the extent to which the respondents could accurately describe, in their own terms, what they are about.

One of the two questions focused on the proportion who said they "ever listened to Talking Drum or Common Ground programs" (which was 90.5 percent), and the other on the proportion who could describe accurately, in their own words, the kinds of "problems and issues that TDS/Common Ground programs talk about" (which was 74 percent).

The first of these results shows that the TDS programs are widely recognized, while the second shows that they are broadly understood in terms of subject matter and constructive purpose.

Considering that positive program identification in the case of these two questions hinged on name recognition for the terms, "Talking Drum/Common Ground," the high numbers that were obtained are especially impressive. It is important to bear in mind that these results apply only for Monrovia, not all of Liberia.

The next set of four questions, also on the rate of listening to TDS/Common Ground programs, removed the name recognition requirement by playing tape-recorded program excerpts.

The survey giver first played an audio taped excerpt from a given TDS/Common Ground radio program -- or, in one case, played a montage from all three series -- then asked the respondents to say whether they had ever listened to the programming they heard on the tape. By this method, the survey found 97 percent recognition rates for both the TDS radio drama series and the montage of excerpts from three different TDS series. By comparison, 93 percent recognized the TDS news feature series, while 77 percent said they had heard the less frequently aired (i.e., weekly) and comparatively new TDS discussion series.

Most importantly, the results show that the TDS drama and news programs are almost universally recognized by Monrovians as ones that they have listened to. The drama series, which is couched entirely in popular Liberian idioms, scored the highest, followed closely by the news feature series.

On a methodological note, the extra effort that was required to assemble and present the tape recorded program excerpts clearly paid off. The reported listening rate for TDS programs, among those who heard a montage of tape recorded program excerpts, was 97 percent. Compare this with the 90.5 percent listening rate found through the earlier question that used only the Talking Drum/Common Ground names to identify the programs to the respondents.

A total of 68 percent said they had listened "one to five times" in the last month to the programs presented in the TDS/Common Ground montage, while another 29 percent said they listened during the same period anywhere from "6 times" to "16 times or more."

Reporting on a cluster of opinion questions, in descending order of magnitude, 96.5 percent felt that TDS programs "tell the truth," 95 percent felt they "help resolve conflict in Liberia," 93 percent agreed that they "describe the situation in Liberia as it really is," and 86 percent agreed that they "make a useful contribution to post-war reconstruction." A planted item, included for earlier-described technical reasons, asked whether the programs are mainly about health (they are not), to which a surprisingly large 37 percent said "yes."

Professional surveyors will suspect from the response to the planted question that the high opinion ratings for the other questions in the cluster contain some degree of positive response bias. In this light, perhaps the most important message to be taken from the question set is not that the respondents gave the TDS/Common Ground programs such high ratings, but that they rejected so many opportunities to rate them low. Clearly, opinions toward the programs were highly favorable for many key program attributes.

Presented with the name of a top presenter or performer for a Talking Drum/Common Ground radio series, and asked how frequently they had listened to a program with that performer in it during the last month:

- (a) 90 percent indicated they had listened once or more to Manjoe (the drama series), with 18 percent saying they listened to him "7 or more times";
- (b) 65 percent said they had listened once or more to Barbara Koffa (the news series), with 16 percent saying they had heard her program 3-4 or more times; and
- (c) 43 percent said they had listened to Joe Karbar (the discussion series), with 20 percent saying they listened to two or more (i.e., half or more) of his weekly programs in the last month.

The high listening rate for Manjoe was expected, both because of his extraordinary personal popularity and due to the popularity of drama. Anecdotal reports suggest that Manjoe dramas tend to rate higher than any other programs on Liberian radio.

Barbara Koffa receives quite a solid rating, considering the strong competition from other news series that, in addition to being long-established, cover a wide spectrum of news subjects in contrast to her narrow focus on conflict resolution and resettlement.

Although fewer than half reported listening to Karbar, probably because his show is both new and airs only weekly, his audience includes a large cadre of loyal listeners, as indicated by the fact that 20 percent of those in the survey sample reported that they had heard two or more of his last four programs. This level of listener loyalty, involving one out of every five Monroviaans, is all the more impressive when we consider that they are free to choose among 11 different radio stations.

The final question cluster focused on the perceived efficacy of radio in general -- not just TDS/Common Ground programs -- in advancing resettlement. Following are the findings:

- (a) Asked whether radio has provided the kinds of information displaced persons need to decide whether and when to come back, 68 percent said "definitely yes," and an additional 23 percent "somewhat yes."
- (b) Asked whether radio provides good advice needed for smooth resettlement, 61 percent said "definitely yes," and an additional 27 percent "somewhat yes."

(c) Asked whether radio made Liberians more willing to help and accept returnees, 67 percent said "definitely yes," and an additional 22 percent "somewhat yes."

Monrovia clearly hold radio in high regard for its perceived real contribution in facilitating the post-war resettlement process.

A key survey finding from the TDS perspective is the very strong and positive audience response to its programs. This was evident not only for listening levels and audience awareness of the issues the programs address, but also for audience perceptions concerning the truthfulness of the programs, their grasp of the situation in Liberia, and their useful contribution. These impressive outcomes are due in part to the fact that TDS is a studio, not a broadcast station. Its studio status confers a double advantage in audience terms. Firstly, it allows for TDS programs to be broadcast on many different radio stations, which tends to broaden the audience, and, secondly, this access to multiple stations in turn makes possible a high rate of repeat airings. As mentioned in the Introduction section, TDS creates approximately 15 hours of new programming each week, yet its programs account for around 30 hours of weekly broadcast time -- or two plays on average for each hour of programming turned out.

The CGP Rapid Survey Method performed very well, in the view of the authors. Operationally, the survey was easy for TDS to manage, due in large part to the ease of interception point sampling. This fact bodes well for future uses where there is a similar premium on speed and affordability, where indigenous survey capacity is limited, and where conditions around war tend to compromise the field survey team's safety and mobility. Some flaws showed up in the survey design and implementation, as might be expected of a trial run in difficult circumstances, but certainly nothing went seriously enough amiss to erode the usefulness of the data. Much was learned to guide refinements in instrument design and survey team training for the future.

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