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HOW THE CELL PHONE WAS SUCCESSFUL IN AFRICA? AN ANALYSIS FROM THE EXAMPLE OF THE CITY OF LOMÉ (TOGO)

Abstract

In recent years, the use of mobile phones experienced a rapid success in African cities, as is the case of the city of Lomé, in Togo. In this city, characterized by a political and technical socio-economic environment, a priori unfavourable to ICT, adoption and diffusion of mobile phones have been a success. This article aims to identify and analyze the factors that explain the success of mobile phones in Lomé.

Keywords: Africa, rapid expansion, ICT, Mobile Phone

Introduction

The mobile phone was introduced in Togo in 1998 by the company cell Togo, the first mobile operator (a subsidiary of Togo Telecom company). This was seconded by a private operator, Telecel Togo, which later will hand the company Moov Togo of Atlantic Telecom Group. In this country, the penetration rate of mobile telephony, which was 22.34% in 2007 and 27.69% in 2008 increased from 38.06 % in 2009 to 42.63 % in 2010. The total number of subscriptions to mobile telephony at the same time experienced high growth. From 1 190 319 in 2007 this figure rose to 2 187 336 in 2009 to 2 452 433 on December 31st, 2010 (1,625,857 to 826,576 and Togo Cellulaire to Atlantique Telecom Togo)¹.

These data demonstrate the rapid adoption of this communication tool by Togolese in general and especially by inhabitants of Lomé. Called "*portable*" or "*mobile*", the mobile phone has been rapidly integrated into different habits and daily practices by inhabitants of Lomé. It is present in almost every household where there are actually several uses (call, SMS, web browsing,

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stopwatch, calendar...). Its use is tucked into the manners and is no longer restricted to a privileged social class or individuals belonging to a given age.

However, the Togolese capital as most other capitals of sub-Saharan Africa also is characterized, despite the influence of western lifestyle, by the importance of verbalism and face to face (physical) contact (Goffman, 1972). In Gabon, for example (and still in many other African countries), people sometimes walk for miles on foot to visit each other. However, if this way of life exists in the West, the relationship seems to have outlived its usefulness. Social ties through the media (mail, Minitel, telephone, etc.), in industrialized countries, it has long been part of manners. For the peoples of Africa the fact of being face-to-face still retains all its nobility (Modandi, 2005).

To this is added the fact that many people are still illiterate² and live in a state of poverty³ that does not allow them to meet their subsistence needs. However, the acquisition and use of mobile phones requires a minimum of knowledge (education) and investment. It is also noted in the town of Lomé, the absence in some households of the electrical installation needed to use modern means of communication. Also, the socio-economic and political context is it not conducive to the establishment and competition within the mobile phone companies environment. Under these conditions, one would expect that growth of the mobile phone is hard to achieve in the city of Lomé, which is not the case. What may have caused the popularity of the mobile phone for Lomé populations?

Based on some theories, research work, reports, our own observations (companies with our DEA), a questionnaire survey and individual interviews of mobile phone users in Lomé, and after accurate positioning of our theoretical analysis and the specific context in which mobile phone was introduced, this study analyze factors explaining the success of this modern communication tool in Lomé.

1. Theoretical – Positioning

The adoption and diffusion of information and communication have been analyzed and listed in several paradigms and epistemological orientations, such as, among other: diffusion model, theory of reasoned action, theory of translation, the orientations of the sociology of uses... But we retain two complementary models of diffusion of innovations in this analysis: it is the theory of psychosocial determinants and the model of technology acceptance.

The theory of psychosocial determinants considers that the adoption of a technology is determined by factors related to the individual belonging to a group, culture and an environment that influence their attitudes and motivations. Fischer (2003), one of the proponents of this school of thought focuses on social influence that changes the behaviour or beliefs of a person under the effect of an actual imaginary or voluntary coercion, exercised by a person or group of people. The individual in this position is required to adopt a model of behaviour under the influence of his/her social group or under the influence of a leader. In the same perspective, Mayo (Quoted by Mousli, 2007) focuses on the social motivation of the individual in his/her ways of doing things, seeks to become visible to others, to obtain recognition and consideration and to develop a sense of belonging. It is thus consistent with the practices and behaviour pattern dominant in his/her social environment.

Seen in the context of the adoption of ICT, this theory then leads us to consider the adoption of technology by an individual as determined by the social group to which it seeks to integrate and be accepted and even considered.

The model of technology acceptance for its part, takes issue against the tendency to regard the individual as a passive actor in the grip of technological determinism or under the influence of psychosocial factors. According to the proponents of this model, the individual makes choices and adopts behaviours on the basis of a rational calculation in terms of investment and gain. Thus, the adoption of a technology does not mean only making it available. It actually must reassure recipients that this technology will meet their needs and they have the means to adopt. Davis et al (1989) hold two beliefs that guide the adoption of technology: perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use. These two beliefs explain the behaviour of ICT adoption by individuals. The adoption of technology by an individual or a social group is favoured by the perceived utility of the technological aspects. If the use of this technology meets their needs, they are willing to adopt it. Through their complementarities, these two theories allow us to elucidate the factors underlying the rapid adoption of mobile phones in the city of Lomé.

But it is also important to note that the use of technology in general does not always correspond to forms of ownership imposed by the technology. They may also reflect a manipulation thereof by social actors to meet specific purposes they pursue in a given (Do-Nascimento, 2004) socio-economic context. Therefore, we use third place in the sociology of uses (Jouët, 2000; Chambat 1994; Proulx, 2001) for which the concept of the impact of ICT on the

social actors must understand not only how these technologies determine or condition the life of the latter, but also as the way they meet and match the designs pursued by these actors.

2. An expansion of the mobile phone in a particular environment

Since August 7, 2011, the adoption of a new telephone numbering added 100 million more numbers in Togo. This reflects the expansion and the rapid adoption of mobile phones in this country and especially in Lomé, its largest urban agglomeration.

In reality, there exists in this country a set of socio-economic and political problems, which a priori are an obstacle to the evolution of the mobile phone. Indeed, Togo is one of the poorest countries in the world, and many indicators converge to confirm this fact. This country has an annual growth rate of 2.5%. Its per capita income in 2009 stood at a low level compared to the average of all sub-Saharan Africa (U.S. \$ 440 against U.S. \$ 1135 according to the method of the Atlas of the World Bank) and that of all low-income countries (estimated at \$ 512).

Faced with all these indicators that reflect a state of generalized poverty in which the inhabitants of Lomé live, one finds as expensive communication costs charged by the two operators which share the market of mobile telephony in Togo. Indeed, Togo is one of the West African states where communication (wired and mobile) is still expensive, as shown by the data presented below.

Table 1 : Comparison of prices (FCFA) with WAEMU countries in H1 2012

Countries	Intra-network	Inter-network	Internet monthly subscription
Togo	85	125	20 000
Average WAEMU	82	111	21409

Source: ARTP Togo Observatory (tariffs)

Besides this fact, it should be also noted that the capital of Togo, five decades after independence, remains a city that is not fully electrified (especially the new suburbs). This resource is required in order to use the mobile phone, and because of those who are deprived of it, and do not always have the financial means to make use of alternative energy sources (solar,

wind ...), this should be a real obstacle to the expansion of mobile phone in the city of Lomé.

One focused on the segment of mobile gaze is sceptical about the chances of differentiation offers that can induce effective competition. Exorbitant charges set by the State and the monopolization of the market by the first company of extra-public character, that has more privileges, do not promote competition. But competition has been a major factor in the decline in prices of mobile phones in all African countries. To date there are only two major mobile phone companies in Togo, which is not the case in other neighbouring countries such as Benin, Ghana and Burkina Faso where we note three to five companies. The world of telecommunication in Togo is characterized by a quasi monopoly Togo Telecom. This does not actually promote a more open approach for the benefit of users and consequently the expansion of this technology competition.

All factors contribute to creating a socio-economic, political and technical environment, which, at first sight, should be a real obstacle to the success of mobile phone in the Togolese capital. This is not the case.

3. Factors favouring the adoption and rapid diffusion of mobile phones in the city of Lomé

The reform of the telecommunications market

The telecommunications market has long been dominated by the theories of natural monopoly. It was not until the nineteenth century, that industrialized countries widely opened the telecommunications sector to competition and made appeal to private management techniques.

If for some African countries the liberalization of the telecommunications sector meant the implementation of public policies in the framework of a sovereign decision for others, however, it will take place as part of a policy of multilateral liberalization global services sector (Devey, 1996). It is in this perspective that the law 98-005 of 11 February 1998 on Telecommunications (amended by Law No. 010 /2004 and No. 011/ 2004 of 3 May 2004) enabled Togo to create a regulatory authority posts and Telecommunications (ART & P), and define the role of different stakeholders (Ministry, regulator, network operators and service providers). This has led to the opening of the market for data transmission, the Internet and mobile telephony to competition.

This reform of the telecommunications sector and the opening of the market for mobile telephony to competition (between two people) had some

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positive impact on users and the explosion of mobile phone especially in the city of Lomé. Access to tools was limited to a class of individuals. Starting today it is accessible to all (or almost). Indeed, thanks to the competition, we can see among others, extension of coverage areas, improving the quality and diversity of services, lower prices telephones and their accessories, kits connection and recharge card and communication costs compared to previous years.

One way to address deficits

Before the introduction of mobile phones in 1998, the landline was one of the main channels of individualized communication used in Togo. But the network of this means of communication has been managed since 1986 by the Office of Post and Telecommunications of Togo (OPTT) and from 1996 by the telecommunications company of Togo (Togo Telecom) and was less dense and the terms and costs installation were not within the reach of all budgets (in 2011 the cost of installation is believed to have reached 35,400 FCFA). This context, coupled with the relatively high communication costs and the method of payment unsuited to the socio-economic conditions in which the citizens of Lomé lived (invoices payable monthly) did not allow a population that was mainly poor to use progressively, as was the case in the developed countries, the landline phone before the mobile phone.

It is therefore important to note with Do-Nascimento (2004) that this massive rush of people to this instrument is not a rush to the new product but to rush a product finally available. One can even say that African societies have a predisposition to heavy use of the phone. In this context the phone carries an incommensurate use value. But because of the shortcomings of public telecommunications services in Africa, access to fixed telephony possibilities were not able to meet the social demand for access to the phone as we have noted with the example of the city of Lomé. The arrival of the mobile phone has to meet the social demand for telephone access by overcoming the shortcomings of public service delivery of telecommunications. As says Alidou, 47 years old, a businessman from the bus station Agbalépédogan: "My communication needs within my business is increasingly felt, but I had no means for me to install and manage a landline. From the introduction of the mobile phone, I did not hesitate to buy one". Rapid introduction of this tool for the user was immediately appeared to people of the city of Lomé as a direct access channel to this communicative resource that had been characterized before by its rarity in terms of access.

The massive rush of inhabitants of Lomé to mobile phone is also a response to the difficulties posed by the absence or dilapidated road and transport infrastructure in the Togolese capital. Indeed Lomé extends unbridled speed and the needs of the population in terms of movement to meet the requirements of urban life to be lived day by day are increasingly enormous. Individuals found themselves before the introduction of the cell phone in the "obligation" to travel miles to visit their family members or relatives to take their news or information to pass. It is the same for others as well that in the course of their activities they were in the "obligation" to move a long distance to take information or give an instruction when they could just make a phone wire for the same purpose.

With the increasing urbanization of the city of Lomé, distances became increasingly imposing between old neighbourhoods and new suburbs. However, since the socio-political crisis of the 1990s experienced by Togo, no real plan for the rehabilitation and construction of roads and the development of a transit system could be implemented. Therefore the inhabitants of Lomé, because of some dilapidated and impassable roads and the absence of a dense and efficient transit system and other modes of transport⁴ (taxis and taxis words commonly used modes of transport are expensive), face a real problem with their movements. In this context, the mobile phone has emerged as a way to fill the gap related to the dilapidated road infrastructure and the high cost of transportation in the city of Lomé.

Factors related to the use of mobile phones

The adoption of an innovation by an individual is often determined by the degree to which the benefits and results of the use of this innovation are understood and appreciated by the user. The work of Davis (1989) indeed demonstrates that the link between the intention to use an information system and the perceived usefulness is very strong.

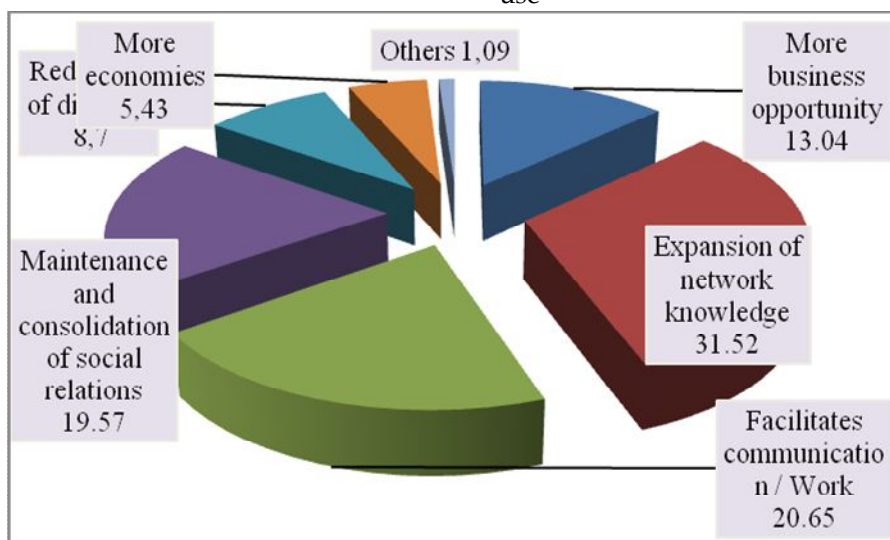
Like any innovation, ICT cannot escape to the arbitrariness of the social imaginary.. The sociology of uses of ICT in Africa confirms this view. It teaches us by Do-Nascimento (2004) that the considerable desire for appropriation of ICTs that are found in African populations can be explained less by the existence of an infrastructure supply (present and future) in the material, and more by the ability of this offer to generate digital services that meet and satisfy their daily problems. The daily problem which is that of a constant search for palliative or opportunities freed from the burdens of a political and economic context of scarcity. Therefore African populations craze for ICT

springs in the correlation between certain digital services and solutions to the daily problems of origin and local expression.

Reviews of cell phone users polled in the city of Lomé, the adoption of this modern communication technology lies in the fact that they derive benefits from its use. It responds very effectively to their many needs related to daily life both personally and professionally.

The mobile phone is very useful on a personal level with regard to the many benefits derived by users. This tool in addition to its basic functions (call, SMS) has many useful gadgets for the management of everyday practices. The camera, video player and audio, torch, radio and games functions are very popular due to their practices and games by users utilities.

Chart: Distribution of respondents according to the benefits related to mobile phone use



Source: GNANE, September 2012

A large proportion of mobile phone users in the city of Lomé is used to communicate with their friends, relatives and loved ones in order to maintain and strengthen relationships with them without travelling any longer long distances to meet them (cf. graph.). And as to support this fact, Yindoutiè, 57, pensioner, added: "Even if I am wrong very often about buttons to answer, hang up, or to call, I think it is worth having because it allows me to hear my children and grandchildren where they are, whenever I want, this is a really great tool!".

Circles of friends, members of associations, couples are used to pass information to solve problems, discuss various topics in short time. It is a tool that facilitates contacts, another meeting, an exchange of phone number and the contact is created.

It is also used for business purposes, it now allows the entrepreneur to give instructions to remote economic operator to negotiate contracts and place orders without moving. This tool facilitates economic exchange and is a real support for the development of the informal sector because it abolishes distance and saves time.

Table 2: Distribution of users according to their views on the ability of the mobile phone to improve their lives and the possibility to be separated

Separate from mobile Improve the daily life	Yes		No		Total	
	Eff	%	Eff	%	Eff	%
Yes	39	20,97	126	67,74	165	88,71
No	9	4,84	12	6,45	21	11,29
Total	48	25,81	138	74,19	186	100

Source: GNANE, September 2012

Throughout the city of Lomé, we can notice that the various service providers do not hesitate to write on signs, neon signs services or shops, buses and taxis, and the facades of apartments, garage mechanics or hairdressers, their telephone number as if to say "do not hesitate to call me to serve you".

It also has many gadgets like calendar, alarm clock, clock and calculator that facilitate the practical organization of work. The vast majority of users (88.71%) state also that this tool has improved their lives to the point where 74.19% they do not think they can be separated (see Table 2).

The widespread adoption of mobile phones is the fact that this technology meets the multiple needs (business opportunities, maintaining and strengthening social relations, facilitates communication/work, expanding the network of knowledge...) and has advantages in the eyes of the population of Lomé that can meet its many practical and communication needs.

Mobile phone management

According to Davis (1986)⁵ the perceived ease of use of a system strongly influences the attitude of an individual as regards its adoption through two main mechanisms: self-efficacy and instrumentality. The easier a system is to use, the more the user will have a sense of self-efficacy according to The Annals of Dunărea de Jos University of Galați, Fasc. XX, Sociology, n°. 10, 2015, 23-40.

to the theory of Bandura (1982). The perceived ease of use of a tool can strongly influence or even determine the attitude of an individual to its adoption.

Thus, in addition to the factors mentioned above, the relative ease of use of mobile phones contributes to its widespread adoption and hence its explosion in Lomé. Indeed, despite their relatively low level of education, the vast majority of users (91.93%) considered the use of mobile phone easy to realised. Generally the transmission and reception of calls from a mobile phone are quite simple operations for all users regardless of their socio-economic profile and whatever the complexity and type of cell used. The user appropriates these actions very quickly after reading a manual for their phones or a brief explanation concerning the use. But some users because of the phone's functions they want to use sometimes have some difficulties handling their telephones. These (6.45%) benefit from the aid of relatives or sometimes a passer-by (Unknown) to set up their phone (Ringtone selection, setting the time, the screen saver...) to save a new number in the directory, find a missed call, write and send an SMS ... Toussa, 43years, mason, said to this effect: "I can neither read nor write, but I agreed to use a mobile phone because it is easy to use, more in case of trouble, I can always count on someone to help me out. "Beyond ease of use, it should be noted that unlike the landline phone as indeed its name indicates a mobile character. The user can take it anywhere (hanging from his belt, putting it in his bag, holding it in hand...) and make it reachable permanently; this tool appears to have a power of ubiquity.

Moreover, in societies that have developed a culture of orality as that of Togo, the importance of speech is still very strong despite the transformations undergone by the cultural contributions of the West. In this country of more than forty ethnic communities (and therefore languages), the official language is French. Yet in everyday exchanges and this even in the capital which registers a high literacy rate, almost all people used local languages (Kotokoli, Watchi, Moba, Mina Ewe, Bassar Naouda, Akposso...). Much of the telephone conversation is in local languages. The importance of common speech is somehow a positive asset to the introduction and expansion of the mobile phone in Lomé.

Availability of the product on the market

Since its introduction in Togo, the mobile phone was not within the reach of every budget. Both mobile operators who disputed the market (cellular and *Telecel Togo*) had the monopoly of the distribution of the product

on the market at exorbitant prices. It cost a fortune to buy a mobile phone. But more than a decade after its introduction in Togo, this tool is now available on the market, especially in the capital Lomé. It is now a tool within the reach of every exchange.

The market for mobile telephony Lomé generates all kinds of trade used or new products. Traders import from China or Dubai machines of all brands. These products, once arrived in Lomé, ~~is~~ dumped in stores, shops and other outlets neighbourhoods. They are found mostly at large crossroads from Decon to downtown, a real hub which also sells other electronic devices (digital cameras, radio station, computers...). It is a place where we can see stores and shops selling found, kiosks of all kinds and showcases along the sidewalks which displays all kinds of telephones and other imported accessories. These products, mostly from China, are relatively less expensive, which makes it possible for users to get a new phone. Moreover, the vast majority of users surveyed (64.52%) reported having acquired their device in new condition.

Phones of all brands and also used by thousands arrive at the port of Lomé Container. This place is also a real mobile phone market where the inhabitants of Lomé buy their phones. These devices are sold at very affordable prices. This proliferating market opportunity invades the entire city through street vendors and other outlets.

Note also that as the Togo now has a large population of immigrants in Western countries and other African countries. This population also takes a very active role in the proliferation of electronic devices and especially mobile phone in the city of Lomé. These indeed send, for several reasons, telephones to friends, relatives or family members back home. So many people have been owners of a mobile phone due to this "transfer of electronic devices" of migrants to their country of origin.

Strategies of mobile phone companies

The rapid expansion of mobile phone in the city of Lomé also finds its explanation in the different strategies adopted by mobile phone companies. One of the strategies adopted by the two mobile phone companies in Togo is the simplification of the subscription and the combination of their services customers compared to the company landline. They get closer to their customers, regularly organizes promotions periods during which street vendors offer connection kits door to door and at very reduced price (about 500 FCFA to 1000 FCFA in 2012) compared to non-promotional periods. Prices

of connection kit dropped considerably: they reached around 90,000 FCFA in 1998, 12 500 FCFA in 2005, and increased to 2,000 FCFA in 2011 with the company cell Togo. For the second company, known as *Atlantic Moov Togo Telecom*, the connection kit which was 10 000 FCFA in 2005 and rose to 1,000 FCFA in 2011.

In addition to this strategy, we must emphasize the occurrence on the market of prepaid cards. This adaptation of economic operators to profile African consumer has largely contributed to the spread of mobile phones in Africa. The majority of African consumers belongs to the informal sector. However, in this sector, the consumer does not meet the usual instruments of payment transactions in the formal sector: check books, bank accounts, debit etc. Not to alienate the majority fraction of potential consumers, operators of mobile telephony in Africa have adopted and generalized system of payment by the prepaid card. In Lomé, as in other regions of Togo, the two operators are available to users and this through a very dense and highly developed extensive distribution network a very dense and highly developed, recharge cards at varying prices⁶, which allows users, whatever their income and occupational status of their credit accounts, to keep them active and communicate costs adapted to their socio-economic profiles.

Distribution strategy airtime through a network of outlets sufficiently dense and well organized as the success of mobile telephony in Lomé. This allows the accessibility to service for all clients who can now buy airtime anywhere and anytime with the same ease that they can obtain food or basic care products... Since 2010 users also have the possibility of using electronic systems recharge credit line from phone to phone. They also have the ability to transfer credit to another subscriber via SMS from very small amounts: 100 FCFA.

Each year, the amount of investment for the development of the market has steadily increased. These investments have helped to increase the network capacity. Indeed, from 2005 to 2006, the capacity of *Togo Cellulaire* network from 400 000 to 700 000 subscribers. Over the same period, the capacity of the network Telecel Togo (Today Atlantic Telecom) increased from 60,000 to 200,000 subscribers. In 2010 the capacity increased to 1.75 million subscribers for *Togo Cellulaire* and 1.5 million subscribers for Atlantic Telecom. In terms of geographical coverage, the city of Lomé, its outskirts and all cities are covered by the telephone networks, which makes all the inhabitants of an area covered by potential users. To top it all, the operators use advertising to gain market share. Through posters, radio broadcasts, television and other means, people

are constantly invited and encouraged to use the services of operators who do not lack creativity.

Factors related to social representations

The success of the mobile phone is also linked to representations that the inhabitants of Lomé this technology. A social representation is the result of a mental activity and social interaction generated collectively by the members of a group. We can say we related to Roland (Cited By Modandi, 2005) that the representations of the mobile phone refer to all opinions, images, attitudes, prejudices, stereotypes and beliefs generated partly in the context of interpersonal interactions generated by individuals mobile phone users in the city of Lomé. Through the use they make of the mobile phone users always associate it with specific representations. These are to be compared with the components of individual orders, but also of cultural. If there is a manifest function to communicate (that many people put forward to justify the purchase of a mobile phone), others are latent and do not necessarily have relationships with communication (Ndiaye, 2008).

Mental representations (Individual and social) fed with respect to the mobile phone in the city of Lomé and discussed in this analysis are twofold: the mobile phone as a symbol of social distinction and prestige, the mobile phone as a factor reaffirmation of social belonging.

For understand the rewarding and distinctive mobile phone use must understand the beginnings of using this tool in the city of Lomé. It should be remembered that one of the factors making the cell phone a factor of distinction, in the early years of its introduction in Lomé, was its cost (minimum price to acquire a phone revolved around 100,000 FCFA and the online amounted to about 90 000 FCFA-). Indeed, in its infancy, the notebook was not within the reach of every budget, and those who had did not hesitate to show off as a trophy, a mark of their social success. They did not lack strategies to make visible the luxury gadget. Deborah, 39, under the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, reflects this fact by saying: "The cell phone was an indicator of the social and economic situation of the individual. "So it was a consumption tool, which showed a comfortable standard of living that had to be held in order to be "seen".

Table 3: Distribution of users according to the determinants of the choice of a mobile phone

Determinants	Its actuality	Its mark	Its features / efficiency	Price / availability	Total
Effective	27	42	90	27	186
Percentage	14,52	22,58	48,39	14,52	100

Source: GNANE, September 2012

Over time, the use of mobile phones ended up popularize this usage is no longer reserved to a privileged layer of the population. The prices generally go down. But the reality is quite different because the mobile phone is still largely a product of social distinction and prestige. Now the war of mobile phones companies change the field. It is now on a quantitative and qualitative field but especially not at the level of its possession as in its infancy. This is less the fact of owning a laptop that is a striking phenomenon. It is rather owning a mobile phone of a particular kind, in this case one bearing the features of the latest innovations that appear with the popularization of this communication tool. To this end, users shall make every effort to acquire the branded phones, high-tech (Camera with two or three SIM cards at once, television with a digital screen, giving the ability to surf internet...) that are not within the reach of every budget. They do not hesitate to invest to have the latest addition to the phone to stand out and be fashionable. Many users (37.10%) pay more attention to the brand (Nokia, Samsung, Motorola, HTC...) and model of the telephone (Technology Blackberry model with android application, I phone...). Those wishing to be in tune with fashion most often tend to follow the evolution of devices. They attach great importance to the new, the latest innovations in integrated telephones.

This desire to stand out gives rise to other types of behaviour that do not leave indifferent. Some still "ruin" themselves to acquire the most expensive phones even if they have difficulties in maintaining their active account, the main thing is to make an impression on others.

The social and economic success has a meaning only when it is recognized in the society. The individual is first a member of an entity such as the family, the neighbourhood, the original place, clan, ethnic or religious brotherhood.

Table 4 : Classification of mobile phone users based on their reaction to those who do not yet have this communication tool

Reactions	Indifferent	Surprisingly / Surprise	Taunts	Superiority	Total
Effective	109	51	6	20	186
Percentage	58,60	27,42	3,23	10,75	100

Source: GNANE, September 2012

Possession also responds to the logic of identity. The user in possession of the cell phone tries to identify with a social group, social class, mobile holders. This group formed around mobile phone creates exclusion (see Table 4). And to be fashionable, well seen and accepted by holders of the group, we must take ownership of a mobile phone.

Representation of the mobile phone as a symbol of prestige and social distinction is largely shared by the entire society, it exerts pressure on those who do not. Those who do not yet possess a phone, show face holders. In addition, the various uses allow members of society to strengthen their sense of belonging to the group of users.

In total, apart from purely utilitarian and communicative aspects, the mobile phone performs other functions. At the same time it is represented as a symbol of social distinction and prestige.

Conclusion

This article is based on the observation of rapid development experienced by the mobile phone in the city of Lomé since its inception in 1998. This finding points to a paradox in the sense that the city of Lomé in relation to social practices (relations based on the rule of physical contact), income and relatively low level of education of its people, lack of adapted infrastructure and the existence of an unfavourable competition (Gage get down prices of communication), political-economic environment was not favourable to its extension. This paradox has been at the heart of the problem of the analysis that led us to the elucidation of the factors explaining this situation.

Inspired by theories of psychosocial determinants of technological acceptance and guidance of the sociology of uses, it is clear from this study that the reform of the telecommunications market, the availability (Affordability), economic strategies adopted by mobile phone operators (prepaid recharge cards and accessible to all...), the relative ease of use of the cell are factors that favour the adoption of mobile phones by the inhabitants of Lomé. This means of communication, through its multiple functions, is used

for various purposes and responds mainly for practical and communicational needs of users. There is also linked to the image that people have of this new communication technology aspects. Having this tool is not the only concern. It takes beyond its possession to get noticed and distinguish themselves from others through the brand, the number or the news of his telephone. It is a tool, a factor of social distinction. This representation, because shared by the entire population, promotes the adoption of this modern communication tool.

Moreover, the mobile phone, even if it is not a "magic" solution to the problems facing the population of Lomé and Togo in all, it is nonetheless a start solution for development problems. Multiplication of small and medium business, large business around recharge cards and mobile objects derivatives, reconciliation between users, opening up cities and villages factor, etc., are positive signs in the development process. However, its use generates significant costs as a burden for the less affluent users; it is also a source of imbalance of privacy, traffic accident or scams of all kinds. It is then necessary to adopt appropriate strategies to make it a development tool for Africa.

Notes:

¹Data activity reports ART & P.

² The gross enrollment rate at the national level is 112% and is estimated at 114% for the Lomé-Golf area. Note that these rates do not reflect the level of education of the population, but the ability of the Togolese educational system to accommodate school-age children (IMF, 2010: 20).

³ The poverty rate is estimated at 61.7% at the national level, it is 79.9% in rural areas and in urban areas. This rate is 24.5% in Lomé (IMF, 2010: 14).

⁴ For five years, efforts to rehabilitate roads and setting up a system of efficient public transport can be observed in the city of Lomé.

⁵ http://edutechwiki.unige.ch/fr/Modèle_de_l'acceptation_de_la_technologie
Accessed 12/04/2011

⁶ In 1998 Togo Cellular Operator offered only recharge cards 11800 FCFA available only in the rare agencies operator.

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