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A REPORT OF THE REVIEW OF THE MEDIA ENVIRONMENT IN UGANDA: 2003 - 2006



By Panos Eastern Africa

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBS	.....	Central Broadcasting Service
CPJ	.....	Committee to Protect Journalists
DW	.....	Deutsche Welle
EHAHRD-Net	.....	East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Network
FM	.....	Frequency Modulation
IBMS	.....	International Institute of Business and Media Studies
ILO	.....	International Labor Organization
MC	.....	Media Council
NIJU	.....	National Institute of Journalists of Uganda
TV	.....	Television
UBC	.....	Uganda Broadcasting Commission
UMCAT	.....	United Media Consultants and Trainers
UMI	.....	Uganda Management Institute
UNESCO	.....	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UTV	.....	Uganda Television
WBS	.....	Wava Broadcasting Service
UYD	Uganda Young Democrats
UBC – TV	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation Television

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Introduction

This report is a review of the media environment in Uganda in the last three years (2003-2006) by Panos East Africa. Though the assignment required a review of four thematic areas – media landscape; access to the media; media content; and existing links between the media and research communities – the review went beyond that and also examined the relationship between the media and the state, especially private and independent media; the relationship between the media and the public; how the media relate with each other; and media perception and coverage of national issues such as the war in Northern Uganda and the first multi-party elections held on February 23, 2006 after over two decades of non-party governance.

The review’s findings are intended to establish what type of audience can be accessed through the media, and to also know how the media uses development research findings, if at all.

The review adopted a “deep-drilling”¹ approach to examine the three-year period to generate essential data and information. This involved a systematic desk research and analysis and poring through existing media reports, surveys, media audits, media directories, media statutes, websites, documents from Panos and the Uganda Media Council. To enrich findings from these documents, a number of face-to-face key informant interviews were carried out with editors, broadcasters, key academics, NGO representatives and marginalized communities. Documents analysed are: *The Uganda Constitution 1995*; *The Press and Journalists Statute 1995*; *The Electronic Media Statute 1996*; *The Uganda Communications Act 1997*; *Up in the Air? The State of Broadcasting in Eastern Africa*; Edited by Lynne Muthoni Wanyeki et al 2000, Panos; *Daily Monitor and The New Vision* reports on press freedom in Uganda; *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* libraries and archives.

Individuals interviewed and gave their identities are: Mr. Patrick Mulindwa, Research Secretary, Makerere Institute of Social Research, tel: 0772490310, email: mulindwapatrick@yahoo.com; Fred Guweddeko, researcher, Makerere Institute of Social Research, tel: 554582/0712526354; David

¹ Deep-drilling (Dahl, 1978:132) implies looking at the resulting interactions between technology, politics, economics and culture at a particular point in time in order to try and untangle shifting relationships between the media institutions, the government and the public.

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Mukholi, ⋮ Editor, *Sunday Vision*, tel: 0772521341; Kelvin Kizito, academician/researcher/writer, tel: 0752428937; Kenneth Oluka, Editor, *Etop*; Chris Banya, Editor, *Rupiny*.

The report also raises critical issues which need to be addressed in order to enable the media function effectively. The major worrying development is government apparent growing hostility against the media. Other issues like relevance of training and training facilities, lack of media research, the quality of media content, and need for community media development have also been raised.

Overview

The social, economic, political and technological forces that often shape and determine the media landscape in a country are not static but dynamic, constantly evolving and changing with times. In the case of Uganda, a combination of these forces has caused several shifts in the media map. For instance the media landscape which was in Uganda in the 1980s is quite different from what was there in the 1990s. And the prevailing media terrain in Uganda now is quite different from that of the 1990s.

Take the case of the collapse of Communism over a decade ago, economic trends emerged whose impacts have profound bearing on media operations. The collapse of Communism ushered in a new economic dispensation which dictates that the media industry must operate as business and make profit to survive. This is characteristic of media the world over as very competitive. In Uganda, *The New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor* are in stiff rivalry to out-scoop and outsell each other.

Other economic trends whose impact has affected the media landscape are: Concentration – The tendency of the financially stronger and stable media houses to buy up weak ones. A good example is *The Daily Nation* of Kenya bought the *Daily Monitor* and its radio station. Convergence: The use of technologies to collect, produce stories, adverts and other graphic materials. This is what *The East African* is doing. Based in Nairobi, Kenya, it has regional offices in Kampala and Dar es Salaam. These offices collect and assemble printable matter and send to Nairobi electronically where *The East African* is printed and distributed. Liberalisation: The process of state intervention to expand the number of participants in the market, typically by creating or easing the creation of competing providers of commercial

services. : Uganda government accomplished this through statutory instruments in the 1990s by liberalizing the media industry and privatizing public enterprises. Internationalism/globalization, too have influenced the local media content because there is a tendency to imitate and copy what happens elsewhere in order to be uniform or of ‘international standard’.

On the political front, the period of the 1990s will be remembered in the socio-political history of Africa as the era which accelerated, and in many cases , ushered in changes in political structures and ignited the demand for pluralism (new wave of democracy) for most African countries (Munyuki, F 1994). Inevitably, Uganda too, has reluctantly had to allow multi-party politics, and the first multi-party elections in over two decades were held on February 23, 2006. In principle this should be a harbinger for the realization of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. But this is not promising because there are dangerous and inimical signals emerging in the way the state relates with the media.

The most telling impact on the media landscape has been created by the new information and communication technology. This is evident both in the print and electronic media. Most newspapers subscribe to and publish material from Reuters, AFP, IRIN, Xhinua, AP, UPI to mention but a few. The Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) hooks up onto BBC and Radio Deutsche Welle daily. Wava Broadcasting Service (WBS) hooks onto CNN. Most Ugandans love to listen to BBC and to watch BBC TV and the ubiquitous CNN. And European football is more than adored in Uganda, especially the English Premiership which has a huge audience. *The New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor* have modern printing plants and can compete with any media houses in the world. Besides, they have websites and can be accessed through the Internet. Technology has therefore reduced distance, connected the Ugandan audience to the outer world and provided a rich variety of content.

Status of Press Freedom in Uganda

If the freedom of the press is defined as the right to fully report or criticize the conduct of government without fear of official recriminations (Hachten, 1971) then the prevailing media situation in Uganda falls far too short of it. Because, judging by the developments in the last three years alone (2003-2006), press freedom in Uganda is becoming an ‘endangered species’ as government moves in to reduce its leverage in reporting sensitive issues of

public interest. Government demonstrated its intolerance for media freedom during the recent presidential and parliamentary elections when it blocked the *Daily Monitor* website and jammed broadcast of its KFM Radio because they were tallying and relaying results of the elections. Only the Electoral Commission was authorized to announce results. Commenting on press freedom in Uganda one of the top editors said: “The history of the Ugandan press can only read like a description of a graveyard.” And the Human Rights Status Report 2005 states that generally the space for media freedom has been shrinking since 2003 when the media could comment on a range of issues without government interference. But in 2005, the situation is less rosy.”² In comparison to the previous regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote, the Museveni Administration has been relatively tolerant and warm to the media, though subtle cases of media harassment existed throughout the twenty years of his government. But now this honeymoon appears to be coming to an end, or entering an unpredictable period. This ominous development is borne by a litany of incidents in the way the state is relating with the media. In the most recent case³ police raided Open Gate FM Radio, arrested two presenters and confiscated computers. This happened only two days after ministers from the same area nearly fought a parliamentarian outside the studios, claiming the parliamentarian was allowed in the air to slander them and abuse the President.

Wielding strong arm tactics, the Uganda Broadcasting Council (UBC) summarily closed Choice FM, an independent radio station in Gulu. The police effected the closure on March 13, 2006. An official of the UBC who signed the closure order explained that the station had no licence to operate, in addition to failure to produce a retained copy of the programme recording for over 30 days as required by law. But the directors of the station counter that it was closed because it broadcasts programmes critical of government⁴ Moreover, two weeks earlier, the station manager had been arrested and detained before being released without a charge.

This came barely three days after government deported the Canadian journalist, Blake Lambert reportedly for annoying three government departments.⁵ It was such an unfortunate incident because Lambert was

² “Judiciary, media under threats – rights report.” *The New Vision* p.1, Friday, March 24, 2006.

³ “Ministers in near fight as police raid FM radio station”, *Daily Monitor* p.6, Tuesday March 21, 2006

⁴ “Government closes Choice FM radio station”, *Daily Monitor* p.7, Thursday, March 16, 2006.

⁵ “Booted scribe irked three departments”, *Sunday Vision* p.1, March 12, 2006.

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physically barred from entering the country at Entebbe Airport, and was instead bundled off in another plane to Nairobi, Kenya, where

He stayed at the lounge for 28 hours before picking his next connection. He is the first journalist to be subjected to this kind of treatment under the Museveni regime.

These signals within such a short period do not augur well for press freedom to thrive in Uganda, which has returned to pluralism and just held general elections under multi-party politics. So far two international media watchdogs have expressed their concerns over this gloomy unfolding scenario. The New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) laments that there is a deterioration of press freedom in the East African region. Ethiopia, with 16 journalists jailed has the worst record in the region, while Kenya and Uganda follow the footsteps.⁶

Another body, the East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Network (EHAHRD-Net) has condemned the continued deterioration of media freedom in Uganda.⁷

In general state machinery and Government security agencies continue to interfere with freedom of the press in Uganda. This will jeopardise the push and desire for accountable governance in the country, because the whistle blowers will either be gagged or demoralised, and impunity will continue shamelessly. In 2002 the privately owned *Daily Monitor* newspaper was closed by the army and the police. Its journalists have continued to come under attack and in 2004 two of them were publicly denounced as “rebel collaborators” by a spokesman of the Uganda People’s Defense Forces. Yet again, this year Kfm, a radio run by the Monitor Publications, was closed down for a week and Andrew Mwenda, its leading talk show host, was detained at the Central Police Station for “insulting” the President. The denting of press freedom in Uganda is escalating although in 2004, the Supreme Court ruled the offence of “publication of false news” to be void and unconstitutional.

⁶ “Press watchdog laments worsening media freedom in East Africa.” *Daily Monitor* p.9, Thursday, March 16, 2006.

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In yet another development, government threatened to shut down any radio station or newspapers which defied its ban outlawing the discussion of Dr. Kizza Besigye's case. Besigye was a formidable opposition presidential candidate in the February 23, 2006 elections challenging President Museveni. Besigye was arrested and jailed on many trumped up charges. This generated a lot of public and media debate and commentary. And a perception emerged that Besigye was being witch-hunted and persecuted for daring Museveni, which made government very uncomfortable and raised serious questions about government's commitment to press freedom⁸.

A new law, adopted in March 2002, threatens death penalty for any journalist who publishes material in support of terror. It encourages self-censorship among journalists who fear prosecution under the law. Several international press freedom organizations have raised concerns that the anti-terror law has been used to restrict the ability of journalists to carry out their professional practices. The General-Secretary of the Uganda Journalists' Union, Stephen Ouma, said the law poses a threat to journalists' impartiality, their ability to report independently and their freedom to use different sources of information. Under the new law, journalists "who talk to dissidents, opposition politicians or people with divergent views" can be charged, according to the International Press Institute⁹. This restrictive law greatly limits the scope and breadth of issues that journalist' can inform the public about and did much to overshadow positive legislative changes that took place recently.

A reporter for CBS radio and vice-president of the Association of Ugandan Journalists Association was attacked in a Kampala hotel on December 7, 2005 while covering a meeting of the Young Ugandan Democrats (YUD), the youth wing of the opposition Democratic Party (DP). Some 15 people suspected of being members of the ruling party burst in, beat her and other people present, and smashed a camera belonging to the commercial TV channel WBS¹⁰.

In 2005, the *Daily Monitor*, *The Weekly Observer*, and the KFM radio station got into trouble with the government over publishing or broadcasting material deemed to be a threat to national security when in real terms the information was simply aiming to make the NRM government accountable

⁸ Please see www.bbc.co.uk

⁹ Please see www.freemedia.at/wpfr/Africa/uganda.htm

¹⁰ Please see http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=8755

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for some of its actions. For example, there is almost no real detailed information on President Museveni's personal life or that of his immediate family in the newspapers. An unwritten rule makes their personal lives off-limits. Yet Uganda today is believed by many to be ruled, in real terms, by this family.

If the First Family cannot be scrutinized by the media without major consequences and it is this family that essentially runs Uganda, then there is no point in the appearance of a free media that probes minor politicians, parliament, and other public officials.

To counter this black-out and self-censorship, a website called radiokatwe.com was launched clandestinely. Articles posted there are critical of the First Family and give a lot of information about Museveni's extramarital life and other shocking sleazy stories. Government has also tried to block this website.

Legal framework and media Institutions

Though the Uganda Constitution (1995) gives hope to the media industry, at the same time throws constraints on the pathways of media practice. For instance, Article 29 (1) (a) of the Constitution stipulates that, "every person has a right to freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media." But this article has not yet been operationalised, and its application is subject to other articles like the right to individual privacy, home and other property (Article 21) which curtails its vigour.

There are statutes enacted to provide guidance of how the media should work. The Press and Journalist Statute (1995) elaborate on the freedom of the press and other media. It lays down stiff requirements for one to be a journalist in Uganda and sets up institutional frameworks for the media:

a) The Media Council

It is a regulatory body set up to oversee the conduct of journalists and to enforce professional discipline and ethics. Among other things, its functions include:

- Publishing a code of ethics for journalists in consultation with the Broadcasting Council, which will produce a code for broadcasters
- Considering complaints directed against print-publishers by individuals, organizations and government departments

- Monitoring the work of the National Institute of Journalists of Uganda (NIJU) in regulating the conduct of its members, and in consultation with the Institute, develop training schemes to raise the quality of journalism and increase the numbers of qualified journalists available to staff the planned expansion of media outlets
- Fostering the development of book publishing and computer software, with a particular emphasis on low-cost activities
- Acting as a censor of plays, films, and video-tapes intended for public exhibition
- Making an annual report to parliament

b) The National Institute of Journalists of Uganda (NIJU)

Also created by the Press and Journalist Statute, it is mandated to issue one year practicing certificates to journalists after paying registration fees, because no person shall be granted a practicing certificate by the Council if he/she is not enrolled, and has failed to comply with any order made under this statute. It is a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, whose objectives are to:

- Establish and maintain professional standards for journalists
- Foster the spirit of professional fellowship among journalists
- Encourage, train, equip and enable journalist to play their part in society
- Establish and maintain mutual relationship with the international journalists' organizations with a view to enhancing the objectives of the Institute
- Carry out such activities as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the objects specified.

Its functions include:

- Advising on courses of study, conduct of qualifying examinations and generally on matters related to professional education for journalists in Uganda
- Ensuring the maintenance of professional education for journalists
- Promoting the usage of journalism which is not contrary to public morality
- Encouraging research in journalism for the advancement of professionalism

c) The Electronic Media Statute, 1996

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It replaced the Cinematography and Television Licensing Acts, and is very emphatic on its conditions: “No person or authority shall, on the ground of content of programmes, take any action not authorized under the statute or any other law to prevent the broadcasting of the programme.” Despite this rosy proviso, a number of private broadcasters have been closed several times on this and other flimsy reasons. It also stipulates penalties for establishing a radio or television station contrary to the provisions of the statute, which include imprisonment for between two and five years, a fine between ten and thirty million Uganda shillings (Approximately US\$ 5,000 – 15,000) or both.

The Statute creates a regulatory authority for the electronic media as well as being responsible for:

- The licensing and operations of radio and television broadcasters
- publishing a code of ethics for broadcasters in consultation with the Media Council which will produce a code for journalists
- standardizing, planning and managing the frequency spectrum in public interest so as to ensure its optimal utilization and the widest possible variety of programming, including incentive payments where appropriate to ensure provision of broadcasting to rural remote areas
- developing training schemes to raise the quality of programme-making and increase the numbers of qualified staff available to support the planned expansion of media outlets
- the coordination between relevant national and international organizations in relation to broadcasting
- the licensing and operations of cinematography, theatres and video-tape libraries
- the sale and transfer of radio and television receivers
- making an annual report to parliament including the results of its monitoring of programme output and research into audience attitude

d) The Uganda Broadcasting Corporation Bill, 2004

It provided for the merger of Radio Uganda and Uganda Television into a Corporation. The Uganda Broadcasting Corporation’s (UBC) function, among other things, is to provide radio and television broadcasting services and to reflect on government vision regarding broadcasting services.

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Despite putting in place these institutions, the government has yet gone ahead to establish the Media Centre (2005) whose role is supposed to redeem and defend government image nationally and internationally. It is also in charge of accreditation and licensing journalist, when this is NIJU's role. The first major accomplishment of the Media Centre was the deportation of Blake Lambert, a Canadian journalist. It has also reduced the accreditation period of another foreign journalist to only four months, from the legal 12 months.

e) Training Institutions

Media training in Uganda is offered both in public and private universities. The Department of Mass Communication, Makerere University is the leader in this respect because it offers bachelor degrees and postgraduate training at diploma and masters levels. Private universities like Uganda Christian University, Mukono, Islamic University, Mbale, Namasagali University and Kampala International University also offer courses in Mass Communication. In addition, other smaller institutes like United Media Consultants and Trainers (UMCAT) and International Institute of Business and Media Studies (IBMS) also train media practitioners. The oldest School of Journalism in Uganda based at the Uganda Management Institute (UMI) which used to offer the most focused and hands-on practical training experience at diploma and postgraduate levels, was summarily and mysteriously closed by UMI management in 2002.

The biggest challenge to the media training institutions is to try and catch up with the rate at which media outlets (broadcast and print) are expanding, and whether their training and curricula are responsive to the market needs. There is still need for well-trained and qualified media practitioners to man the ever mushrooming outlets. Training in media management is especially still lacking and yet very critical to the performance and survival of the media houses.

Media Landscape

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The media¹¹ in Uganda have metamorphosed through a number of changes from colonial times. This review will dwell on press, radio and television. Unlike film, these are the most developed media channels. Uganda got independence on October 9, 1962. In the 1990s, through statutory instruments, the government liberalized the media industry. This has seen an unprecedented mushrooming of the print media and a proliferation of radio stations throughout the country. Television stations are also steadily picking up.

a) Print Media

Print media history started in Uganda in 1897 with the publication of *Mengo Notes* as the first newspaper. And since government liberalized the media industry in 1993, print media serves as the most extensive and vibrant source of news coverage. Consequently independent press has grown exponentially. It is estimated that there are at least 20 published in Uganda. The number appears constant due to mortality rate out of mismanagement. The state-owned *The New Vision* published in English is the largest daily with a print run of 40,000, a circulation of 35,000 daily and an estimated readership of one million readers. Produced by the New Vision Printing and Publishing Corporation, it is 80% owned by the state and 20% public shares. The most notable feature is that President Yoweri Museveni is one of the public shareholders in the corporation. The Corporation also produces four vernacular papers, commonly referred to as ‘sister’ papers. These are: *Bukedde*, *Orumuri*, *Etop* and *Rupiny*.

Closely following *The New Vision* is the independent *Daily Monitor* with an average daily circulation of 25,000.

Table a: Sample of Newspapers on Kampala streets.

Paper	Ownership	Circulation	Frequency	Language
New Vision	State	35,000	Daily	English
Daily Monitor	Daily Nation	25,000	Daily	English
Bukedde	State	13,000	Daily	Luganda
Orumuri	State	8,000	Weekly	Runyakitara
Etop	State	5,000	Weekly	Ateso
Rupiny	State	3,000	Weekly	Luo

¹¹ At the most basic level, media refers collectively to the press, radio, television and film (Bennett, 1982:30-31)

Weekly Observer	Private	12,000	Weekly	English
Sunrise	Private		Weekly	English
Red Pepper	Private		Daily	English
Uganda Confidential	Private		Monthly	English
East African	Aga khan	3,000	Weekly	English
Scroll	Private		Weekly	English
Weekly Message	Private		Weekly	English
Mirror	Private		Weekly	English
Jobs Weekly	Private		Weekly	English
Campuser	University		Monthly	English
Farmers' Voice	private		Monthly	English

b) Radio Broadcasting

Radio broadcasting was started by the colonial administration in 1954. It was liberalized in 1987 under the Broadcasting statute for Radio and TV. As at September 2, 2005, there were up to 134 radio stations operational (see *Annex A*). Of these, 93 are parent radio stations and 41 booster stations. There were another 18 licensed but not yet operating (The Broadcasting Council data, 2005). A significant point to note is that there is at least one radio station in each district or region, with central region hosting over 11 stations. Access to radio sets is still low as indicated by the ratio of 123 receivers per 1,000 people.¹² However, the July 2003 Afro-barometer study on freedom of speech and press in Africa (www.dec.prg/pdf) found that 52% of Ugandan respondents said they received daily radio exposure. Radio Uganda and Uganda Television have merged to form the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC).

c) Television Broadcasting

Though the first independent government launched television broadcasting way back in 1963, television is not yet a big factor in the Ugandan audience because most of the country still has no electricity and most people cannot afford a screen. TV ownership is therefore still very low as indicated by the ratio of only 26 receivers in 1,000 people.¹³ To date, there are 9 TV stations

¹² Department of Information data

¹³ Department of Information data

operating: seven terrestrial and 2 pay TV. And a total of 12 applicants have been granted licenses, but not yet operational. Those operating are:

1. Uganda Broadcasting Corporation-TV (UBC- TV)
 - Signal reaches all parts of Uganda.
 - Programmes are mainly transmitted in English. However, there are news broadcasts in Swahili and Luganda and several other programmes may have people speaking local languages.
 - Has both on air equipment and a field transmission van
2. Wavah Broadcasting Service (WBS)
 - Privately owned.
 - Programmes are transmitted in English and Luganda (local)
 - Signal reaches Jinja, Masaka, Kampala, Mbarara and a few other places
3. DStv
 - The pay TV is privately owned; a joint venture between Multichoice and local business partners.
 - Direct to home satellite service, supported by five installation companies
 - Signal reaches all parts of Uganda.
 - All programmes transmitted in Uganda are mainly in English
4. East African TV
 - Privately owned, broadcasting done from Tanzania, with shows from Uganda recorded.
 - Programmes are mainly broadcast in English and Swahili
5. Lighthouse Television
 - Privately owned; part of the Trinity Broadcasting Network based in the US.
 - Programmes are transmitted primarily in English, and those where local languages are spoken usually have someone translating into English.
6. Pulse Africa TV
 - Privately owned
 - Programmes are transmitted primarily in English

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- 7. Top TV (Christian Life Ministries)
 - Most programmes are in English, although local languages may be used in some parts of some programmes
- 8. Bornfree Technologies Network
 - Privately owned.
 - Broadcast in Arua, West Nile.

Access to the Media

Because of poverty (38% of Ugandans live in absolute poverty – Uganda Human Development report, 2005) most Ugandans cannot afford to buy a newspaper daily. Whereas the *Daily Nation* alone circulates over 200,000 copies daily, *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* combined only manage about 50,000. This is attributed to Kenya's broad industrial base and a much stronger and stable economy.

It is a common practice for one newspaper to be read by more than three people. This practice is both in rural and urban areas. Television sets are scarce; and, the poor programming has not helped matters. However, access to radio sets is easier since they are cheaper; and, can easily be used in rural areas which have no access to electrical power. This explains why there are over 130 FM radio stations licensed by the Uganda Communications Commission; operating as either community or rural-based radio stations that broadcast in local languages.

The media in Uganda appears to be segmented along income and age levels. But this façade is for purposes of marketing and attracting advertisers. Capital Radio, Radio One and Kfm, for instance, seem to target the educated, adult, working, urban individuals. Central Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Simba and many other radio stations whose programmes are in local languages appear to target the rural, less educated poor. Yet, in reality, some their programming cuts across a wide range of audiences.

However, the print media (especially *The New Vision*, *Daily Monitor*, *The Weekly Observer*) are mainly for the elite since radios can be accessed by anybody who has a radio set. Access to online media is limited to the educated and the very rich. But even then most of them prefer buying the

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hard copies or listening to radio sets or watching actual television (WBS is the only TV station that does online broadcasting in Uganda).

One salient feature though is that Sanyu Radio evidently targets the youth, given the type of music mostly played. But there is no evidence to match the type of music and the targeted, or rather perceived audience.

Given the current political situation, the most widely read newspaper today in Uganda, is the *Daily Monitor*. But when asked, “Which newspaper, in your opinion, is the most widely read by policy makers and decision makers in Uganda?” most interviewees (50%) said *The New Vision*, is the most widely read newspaper by policy makers and decision makers in Uganda followed by the *Daily Monitor* (40%). *The Weekly Observer* (10%) was also mentioned by a significant number of interviewees.

The choice for watching TV stations, for most policy makers and decision makers is limited to UBC TV and WBS. Most interviewees (90%) said the former was mostly watched by policy makers and decision makers in Uganda.

With so many radio stations in the country, it is interesting to note that when asked, “Which radio station is the most widely listened to by decision makers and policy makers?” the interviewees responses were limited to only four. The majority (40%) said Kfm was the most listened to, followed by Radio Uganda (20%), Radio Simba (20%) and CBS (20%).

Andrew Mwenda Live, Kfm, is the most widely listened to by policy makers and decision makers, according to most interviewees (40%). Others are *Nambooze* on CBS, *Mambo Baado* on CBS, and *Ekimeeza* on Radio One. *Issues at hand*, on WBS, is the most widely watched TV programme by policy makers and decision makers, according to most interviewees (85%).

Even if Every Ugandan citizen had access to a TV, newspaper, or radio, as long as the media mainly entertains the public or tackles only the public officials of little consequence and leaves untouched the powers that be, the idea of freedom of the press remains a mockery.

Uganda currently has a radio station in every region of the country. Since it is an oral society, radio has filled in the gap that the poorly distributed newspapers have left. There has been real relation between this abundance of radio stations and a decline in corruption.

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In 2005, parliament proved powerless before the president and the judiciary was overrun by the military. This became widely known; yet for the public to know alone was not enough.

One startling finding is that although the *Daily Monitor* is the most widely read news paper at the moment, most interviewees (20%) said *The New Vision* newspaper was the most popular source of information for students, university graduates and the general literate public in Uganda. Other sources included British Broadcasting Corporation documentaries, WBS, Radio One, *Daily Monitor*, Kfm, and DW TV and BBC documentaries.

Editors of *The New Vision's* vernacular papers claim that the local papers *Orumuri* (1989), *Etop* (1990) and *Rupiny* (1993) provide a medium for the rural masses in western, eastern and northern regions respectively, to get information relevant to their needs.

Orumuri Editor: "We have enabled the masses to know government policies, programmes and obligations."

Etop Editor: "The greatest contribution of the newspaper to our community has been peace-building in the Teso region, beginning with the first insurgency from 1987 to 1992, and the incursion in 2003. During the first insurgency, the paper played a very big role in mobilizing people for peace, reaching out to the rebels to persuade them to hold dialogue with government."

Rupiny Editor: "Apart from the traditional role of the media (inform, educate and entertain) we focus specifically on the peace process in the North."

Research institutions, the Internet, development reports are the major ways of accessing information on development issues. The institutions include Bank of Uganda, Uganda Bankers Association, National Planning Authority; and, by interviewing certain government officials, especially from the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development. Other means of access include journals, magazines, radio talk shows and research papers.

Some access is a result of sanctioned investigations, for example, the probe into Global Funds, and the illegal sale of land in Kampala. "Even through tips as the case when AIDS activists expressed about the Global Fund. They had the information and one thing lead to another." But in general access is based on press releases, workshops, reports from the Internet and the United Nations Development Programme Development Index.

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The four media outlets mentioned above are used differently by different groups of society, depending on their status. Different sets of research in the recent years show however, that radio is the most accessible media outlet for all the groups in society.

Online Media

While the internet has been in Uganda since 1993 and grown faster than in most other African countries, its use as a media outlet is still very limited. There are more than 10 internet service providers connecting the more developed corporations and business entities. Usually, some workers at some of these places can access the internet, but for many of them, this comes with restrictions. Some private businesses and homes also access the internet, but these are the minority. Due to the high prices of connectivity and buying computers, most people have had to resort to the hundreds of internet cafes that have mushroomed in urban areas over the years.

However, this has not made much difference in the area of online media. In a report by Simon Gitta and J.R. Ikoja-Odonga, “The Impact of Cyber-Cafes on Information Services in Uganda,” only a little over 30% of their respondents said that they use the internet everyday; and of these, most used it for email services only.

Cybercafe use demonstrates a tremendous future for the Internet society in Uganda. The potential for meeting user needs in Uganda is high. The application of the Internet in the various disciplines and professions is hampered by low user skills, limited facilities, lack of support for the rural community, low downloading speed, high charges, and a lack of monitoring. (Giita, Odonga, 2003)

There is also, the issue of rural areas where in some places, the internet has never even been heard of, let alone its usefulness. Gitta and Odonga present the problem:

Despite some organisations initiating ICT projects to benefit rural communities through telecentres, Internet service has just recently begun to spread all over the country. It is still confined to major towns, such as Mbarara, Masaka, Jinja, Mbale, Soroti, and Gulu. Few prominent schools in villages have Internet facilities, which

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The same students will listen to the radio stations that have political talk shows, moving from station to station until they find a controversial politician or a politician from the side that they believe speaks for them. Students who are more interested in the social aspects of life have a greater leaning towards specific columns in all the papers: looking for gossip columns and the lighter articles on life generally out of politics. It is a trend that seems to be true for all society. Those who are literate and able to buy the paper will buy the paper which appeals to them. By and large, however, newspaper reading isn't that wide a source of information:

Adult literacy in Uganda was 68% in 2001 and is increasing, but Uganda generally

Remains a country with a weak reading culture, but with a strong oral culture. This is

One of the driving forces behind the huge growth in broadcast media in Uganda.

Circulation figures show that daily newspapers published on one day have a

maximum reach of approximately 5.5% of the Ugandan adult population. Mostly the

urban population is reached, and although some newspapers filter into the villages

there is no planned rural distribution. Newspapers play an important role as they

reach the urban, educated elite, which include policy makers, government, formal

businesses, public civil servants and development employees.

(MSE Radio Listener Survey by FIT-SEMA, September 2004)

Television and Radio

The broadcast media then, seems the way to go for the majority of Ugandans as television clearly does not play a big role here. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, only 6% of Ugandan households own a TV set and only 9% have any form of electricity. Communication through television, therefore, is growing very slowly.

However, surveys by research institutions have shown that as with newspapers, people will watch what they are most inclined to and that isn't always development. Young men will be more interested in football, young

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women in soap operas; older people won't miss the news. Those with political leaning find a programme like *Issues at Hand* on Wavah Broadcasting Station is a must watch. According to research surveys, most people have access only to UBC-TV because it has booster stations throughout the country. While the DStv signal can be got all over the county, the fact that it is a pay TV makes it inaccessible to the majority of Ugandans. Most people only get to watch it when they pay some money to a subscriber to watch the popular European Football matches aired live.

Radio is then, the most available media outlet for Ugandan communities, rural and urban, literate or illiterate. A Steadman Research survey in April 2004 indicated household radio ownership to be between 80% and 90% while the Uganda Bureau of Statistics puts it at 63%. Despite 9% of the surveyed population not owning a working radio, only 6% did not listen to radio for at least half an hour a week, indicating that lack of ownership of a radio was not necessarily a barrier to listening.

Therefore, radio has a much wider audience than any other media outlet. As shown earlier, with more than 130 operating radio stations around the country, the radio reach is gigantic. According to the *MSE Radio Listener Survey by FIT -SEMA*, the only limitation with radio is that for all the people to get a single message, it would be necessary to broadcast it on 10 radio stations due to the languages and signal cover.

However, there are still groups that are unable to access the media, even when it would otherwise be available to them. There are different causes of this, such as the ones discussed below:

Women

Women have for a long time been one of the largest marginalised groups in Uganda. Power belonged to the men. That meant power over anything, including access to information. The liberalisation of the media, however, has changed that to some degree. The media have begun to give women an opportunity to air their views and it is rather successful, especially with more women gaining their own education, wealth and therefore, power. For instance, Mama FM is owned and managed by Uganda Media Women Association.

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However, in many areas, the problem still exists. A woman may not be able to use any media simply because she is a woman. A case in point is from the MSE Radio survey in Central, Western and Eastern Uganda that was completed in September 2004. The survey included both rural and urban populations; and both women and men.

In 45% of households radio listening was controlled by the male head of the household. Only 5% said that this had any impact on their listening habits.

This clearly implies that 40% have no control. They may be forced to listen in to the programmes that a man wants to listen to or worse, they may not be allowed to listen at all.

There are other factors such as the one Makerere University lecturer found out when he helped groups of women in Eastern Uganda to access agricultural information.

The project first set out to identify the constraints on women's access to media such as radio, the most important source of agricultural information in the region. One major finding was that about three-quarters of the women did not know how to operate a radio. It was also found that in households that possess a radio, the men considered it their exclusive property, restricting its use by other household members, women inclusive. **(ICTA Update, October 2004)**

People with Disabilities

As if being disabled isn't a challenge enough, it brings with it even more challenges. Disabled people, especially in developing countries have no access to many basic necessities and rights including education and information.

A common example given by organisations that deal with the disabled people in Uganda is that of the deaf. While there are media outlets where not much can be done in face of the current economic situation in Uganda, there are issues like translations into sign language for the deaf that have proven to be possible. UTV does it for its main news bulletin, but not for any other programme. No other TV station makes any such attempt.

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Media Content

Although poverty is one the most pertinent economic development issue in Uganda, it is not of major concern in the media, according to a number of journalists and editors interviewed. This explains why there are no reporters assigned to cover poverty or poverty reduction as a beat. Most media houses have business reporters who have tried to cover the subject but, according to one journalist, this has not been done so well.

When asked, “Does your media outlet have reporters who cover poverty or poverty reduction as part of their beat? If so, what kind of stories do they produce or write?” some responses to this question were:

“Not really.”

“No”

However, a few media outlets do assign reporters to cover poverty and poverty reduction as beats on people’s lives in the internally displaced people camps. The main areas covered include effects of insurgency in northern Uganda with emphasis on wars and poverty, credit schemes and their availability and access to government help/projects.

Some journalists noted that although their media outlets do assign reporters to cover poverty or poverty reduction as a beat, the coverage is mostly about health, particularly HIV/AIDS and malaria; and, that the coverage is mostly reactive journalism and not enterprise journalism.

Have you ever written/produced a story based on development research for your media outlet? If so, what was it?

Some editors have been involved in covering poverty related stories basing on health issues, “I assigned and supervised coverage of analytical stories on land and condom use.”

A few who have covered stories based on development research for their media outlets had done so mainly on economic/business related stories including stories on inflation; and, exports especially fish, coffee, vanilla, and cotton

“Yes,” he responded. “But I don’t remember, for the last two to three years, I have specialized in political/investigative reporting.”

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Other journalists have taken the issue of development research to a regional level. “Yes I have,” one journalist who had covered a story based on development research answered. “It was based on a survey on the prospects of the East African Federation and investment prospects in the region.”

What development issues are you personally interested in covering?

The national budget and budgeting for local governments. National reconstruction, especially for northern Uganda. Education sector impact of business trends and development on people’s lives. Health and land because these are issues that directly impact on the people. Investment; corruption and its effects on national development. Improving the standard of living for people in internally displaced camps. Humanitarian situations in war-torn areas. Use of information communication technologies to check poverty.

Over the last three years the media content has changed in several ways. The use of colour, glamour and stylistic design is rampant, especially among the mainstream print media. There is also increased use of foreign material – stories and graphics, pictures – even by small papers, to appear to follow and be familiar with international events. Sexism has been more rampant with the *Daily Monitor* introducing several products in that regard especially the “Women and Men”; “Full Woman” pull-outs. The *Red Pepper* newspaper, although heavily political started as a sexually explicit tabloid. *The Weekly Observer* introduced *Street Talk* and columns on relationships. *The New Vision* has a revamped entertainment section about relationships and a column about sexual matters.

Emphasis on entertainment has increased as well. WBS TV takes the lead with Show Time magazine, “Late Night Show,” “Jam Agenda,” “African Rhythms,” and extended coverage of PAM awards. Apart from entertainment, WBS offers its viewers value for money. As already pointed out, “Issues at Hand” is very widely viewed and it attracts a lot of interactions through phone-ins. The station also launched the first live footage of parliamentary debates in the House. UBC-TV followed later. WBS uses outside broadcasting to take viewers to the event scenes directly. On top of Capital Radio’s “Capital Doctor”, WBS introduced “Health Zone”, which, like capital doctor, is very interactive through phone-ins by viewers. *The New Vision* now has City Beat, Weddings, and a revamped *Sunday Vision* spiced with “It’s Kawa” alight-hearted entertainment section

magazine: *Daily Monitor*, Friday pull-out “It’s Friday” with revamped sections in the *Sunday Monitor*.

Opinion sections in newspapers have increased significantly and so is coverage of education issues. Both *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* now have pull-outs with questions and answers regarding Primary Leaving, O-Level and A-Level exams. This change was preceded by the introduction of the jobs and tender sections both in *The New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor*. However, the standard of business coverage has deteriorated mainly due lack of professional business/financial journalists. *The New Vision* stopped producing its *Business Vision* pull-out; *Daily Monitor* revamped its pull-out and re-named it *Business & Finance*, but the section is far from being a point of reference. *The Weekly Observer’s* section *Business & Technology* does not cut the grade. But on Sundays *Sunday Monitor* has introduced a business/financial section called, Money Matters and *Sunday Vision* has a Personal Finance section. Both are one page each.

On the whole, the content of the print media – *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* - has drifted more and more to shorter and lighter news items and an increase in sports and leisure. Both papers extensively produce big pullouts, supplements, commentaries and personal columns. Opinion and letters pages show that readers follow issues and respond to them promptly.

The question of whether the content transmitted to their audiences by the Ugandan media outlets is of developmental consequence to them is an old one. Usually, the best way is to ask the audiences themselves.

In 1998, UNESCO did a study that assessed people's views on access and dissemination of information using the available channels of communication especially by rural communities. In this study most women in rural communities indicated that what is relevant and useful to them seems not to appear in dominating programmes (especially among private media) being aired/viewed and printed in our media today. They gave examples of too much music, obscene language, foreign language, etc.

Six years later in an ILO study (September 2004), survey respondents were asked whether FM radio stations were giving sufficient airtime to several issues. Responses varied with the different radio stations people had access to, but the trends were generally the same. Radio is viewed by listeners as far more than an entertainment media that needs to provide them with humour and music. For many it is an education and information source, to

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which people are active listeners, putting into practice what they learn through the programmes.

It appears that while media houses have put into consideration the different issues of development research, they simply touch the surface. A newspaper will run a major news story on an environmental issue, for instance, but will not do in-depth analysis and follow up, one environmental journalist claimed. Super FM will tell a 5-minutes rag-to-riches story, but will not have an hour dedicated to business advice and information.

Radio Uganda, UTV and WBS have several development research programmes. However, often times these are not adequate for the populations that they target. TV is not widely received and where it is, the programmes will be in English which may not be beneficial to many. The timing of programmes on Radio Uganda is also not always the best as targeted audiences may not be able to listen at the time.

In many instances, therefore, it has been left to civil society to take up the role of the media and deliver the messages themselves. Broadcast journalists may not bother much with the research – they will call in "experts" to talk about the issues. Sometimes, civil society organisations may have to pay for time or space to air the views that the public badly needs. A frequent occurrence in newspapers are pull-outs mentioned above by the different development NGOs talking in depth about their issues.

The Uganda Debt Network for instance, has a website but that is not available to the majority of Ugandans as earlier discussed. They also run a pull-out in the New Vision but this is usually in English and again, not very useful for the majority of the public who can't speak English or even afford the paper in the first place.

The Straight Talk Foundation also runs several pull-outs monthly that talk about sex *Straight Talk* and *Young Talk*, education *Teacher Talk* and the environment *Tree Talk*, which they also deliver free to communities. They have begun to translate the publications into the local languages. Yet this is but a drop in an ocean.

The one media outlet that can be depended on in matters of development research, it would appear then, is the community media, such as, which

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generally provide a vital alternative to the profit-oriented agenda of the corporate media:

They are driven by social objectives rather than the profit motive; empower people rather than treat them as passive consumers, and nurture local knowledge rather than replace it with standard solutions. Ownership and control of community media is rooted in, and responsible to, the communities they serve. They are committed to human rights, social justice, the environment and sustainable approaches to development.

(World Association for Christian Communication, 2003)

A perfect example of a community radio in Uganda would be 101.7 Mama FM, which was started to accelerate the crusade for community media in the country. The radio, which covers a population of over 13 million people in the central, part of west, south Western and Eastern Uganda, addresses a wide range of issues of critical concern to women and other marginalised groups in the fields of health, legal, land, economic empowerment, education, human rights, good governance, leadership, religion, agriculture, peace building, environment and politics. The issues are addressed in English, Kiswahili and Uganda's local languages such as Luganda, Lusoga, Runyoro, Rutooro, Runyankore, Rukiga, Ateso, Luo and Lumasaaba.

With the rest of the media not concentrating much on these issues, therefore, there is a great need to encourage the growth of alternative information packages with indigenous cultural expressions in an innovative manner meant to address the development question.

Existing Links between Media and Research Communities

Because of bureaucratic requirements and inherent suspicion about media, it was only Makerere Institute of Social Research that was open and willing to talk. Address: P. O. Box 16022, Kampala. Tel: 041- 554582; email: misrlib@imul.com. Other research institutions identified which either refused to give their views or did so on condition they are not named are: Uganda Debt Network, UMA Show Ground, tel: 223152/543974/533840; The Steadman Group, P.O.Box 2171, Kampala, tel: 041-531411/2/075273747, email: Uganda@steadman-group.com; Economic Policy Research Centre, Makerere University, P.O.Box 7441, Kampala, tel: 041-541023/4, email: eprc@eprc.or.ug; Centre for Basic Research, 15 Baskerville Ave, tel: 231228/242987/235534; Centre for Applied Research in Development, Jinja Road, tel: 346587/346646; Uganda Bureau of

Statistics, P.O.Box 13, Kampala, tel: 041-320741, email: unhs@infocom.co.ug; Uganda Industrial Research Institute, P.O.Box 7086, Kampala, tel: 041-286124/245, email: uiri@utlonline.co.ug; Uganda Trypanosomiasis Research Organisation, Tororo, tel: 045-44356, fax:045-42135; Joint Clinical Research Centre, Box 10005 Kampala, tel: 041-270283/270622/273515, email: jcrc@jcrc.co.ug; Network of Uganda Researchers and Research Users, Box 24011, tel: 041-288781/223020; and National Chemotherapeutic Research Laboratory (Wandegeya), Box 4864, tel: 041-250488.

Which national research institutions or individual researchers does your media outlet approach for expert opinion on development issues?

Most research institutions in Uganda do neither have press officers nor press facilities. This is because of several reasons. Most are small and cannot afford the “luxury” of press officers. Others are not bothered about public opinion and information since their findings are not for public consumption. Even when it comes to press coverage most shy away. They only seek press coverage in liaison with their clients; in most cases the research institutions are acknowledged by their clients.

Despite the limited linkage between most research institutions and the media, most findings are presented to the public through public forums and reports are given to the relevant parties. The findings vary, but most are the corporate community, donor community and other leading stakeholders in the public and private sectors. The size of most research institutions in Uganda, in tandem with the nature of the perceived audiences of the research findings, renders it useless to have well developed communication strategies. Small wonder that most research institutions in Uganda do not have well mapped-out communication strategies.

On the whole, there is little public interest in research activities and most Ugandans do not understand the importance of research. This scenario has widened the gap in attempting to communicate research findings. Low awareness on issues that are important has also taken its toll. Consequently, most research findings are not appreciated and many reports have gathered dust, as they lay on shelves in most offices.

Discussion and Conclusion

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The good news is that Uganda has restored political pluralism. Under this dispensation, multi-party general elections were held on February 23, 2006, and in parliament, there will be representatives from five opposition parties – Forum for Democratic Change (40 seats), Uganda People’s Congress (10), Democratic Party (3) JEEMA (one) and the Conservative Party also (one). In addition, there will be 30 legislators who stood as independents. This will be a good mix of pluralism and another beginning of freedom of speech and association of people with diametrically opposed political views. If combined with a free media, this cocktail would enable Ugandans enjoy a new wave of democracy and governance that is constantly under the spotlight of media vigilance and scrutiny of vicious opposition legislators.

However, this seems not about to be. Government and its security agencies do send contradictory signal for the growth and nourishment of Uganda’s budding democracy under pluralism. It is ironical that in a pluralistic society government should openly exhibit tendencies aimed at gagging the media or to simply cow it down into a passive and submissive media. The very act of security agents storming, ransacking and closing a media house; the very act of armed security agents in masks storming the sanctity and serenity of the High Court in broad daylight speaks volumes in terms of what message is intended to be delivered: “Who has the power and control. Therefore no playing around in the name of freedom and democracy.”

What is mind-boggling is that the Media Council was established through a statutory instrument as an arbiter between the media and those wronged by it. Whether knowing or by default, the Media Council has been ignored and the ‘aggrieved’ party (read government) directly confronts and assaults media practitioners without recourse to it. The Media Council only remains toothless because its role has been hijacked.

The other alternative would be for the aggrieved party to go to court as a constitutional right. But, even this avenue is not used as it should be. Government therefore ought to be reminded that it set up the Media Council and appointed its members, and that there are courts of law to resort to in case of media wrongs. But taking the law into its own hands, deporting journalists, and issuing threats now and then, makes government appear a dictatorship.

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The liberalization of the media industry augurs well for the development and nurturing of democracy. The vibrancy of Ugandan media and its lively debates is akin to Jurgen Habermas' (1982) "structural transformation of the public sphere." However, looked at critically, media role in this dispensation raises a number of concerns. In the first place, is the media in Uganda now a public, private or individual sphere? And, in terms of agenda setting, whose agenda is the media advocating for? Can the answer be public agenda? Publisher's (owner's) agenda? Media's own agenda? Or government agenda? It would be important to know whether the media is people-centred or owner-centred. This is because during the recent political campaigns, some media houses openly took sides with certain candidates and denied other candidates coverage and airtime in their studios.

Other vexing questions are: who should originate the public agenda? Public? Media? Media owners? Government? Civil organizations? Should the media be 'guided' in its agenda setting mission?

The issue of media role in development is now going to be difficult to determine, since most of the media outlets are in private hands, and media is now a business enterprise that must be run on profits. No media house will devote its efforts on development issues which do not sell instead of going in for sexy stuff. A viable alternative would be to develop community media that is rural-based and serves particular communities by raising issues pertaining to their well-being and reflecting on their aspirations.

The best way out of this, is to go back to the drawing board and review the media training curricula. Training should not only emphasise the pyramid structure of a hard news story and the 5W + H of an intro, but should go beyond and ground students in critical knowledge that is crucial for the development of a country. Aspects like community issues reporting, media management, investigative journalism, economic and business reporting ought to be given special and serious attention.

To safeguard state-media relations, quite an independent regulatory body should be set up and given full powers and autonomy to enable the two live in harmony. This body should also oversee the performance of media houses to ensure the quality of journalism is standard. Some media houses and practitioners still do not seem to follow professional ethics and end up publishing and airing material not in tandem with expectations of good morals and society values.

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If media has to develop in Uganda, media research – qualitative and quantitative - needs to be carried out continuously and documented in order to establish a data and information bank to be accessed by media practitioners, scholars and researchers. The absence of this facility makes any attempt at media review and research slow, frustrating and painstaking. One cannot evaluate the performance of media without research that has been done and data made available. For instance, there is a need to establish challenges and constraints faced by the new media landscape since the media industry was liberalized and privatized. To make matters worse, researchers are still wary about the media. They think media are illiterate and thrive by distorting and misrepresenting their reports.

Challenges/Constraints that hinder the Communication of Research Material

Editors and researchers talked to were unanimous that:

- Research documents are too bulky, written in technical/scientific uninviting style and language, which is boring to read. Therefore media avoid them.
- Research documents are not available or very difficult to obtain.
- Ugandans are slow readers and therefore have a poor reading culture. Because of this, they cannot finish reading bulky reports arising from research.
- Because of poverty, most Ugandans live from hand to mouth. Therefore, they have no interest in long term knowledge offered by researchers.
- The newspaper industry in Uganda is still too general. Because there are no newspapers which specialize in specific areas of interest such as HIV/AIDS, farming, education, sports population issues etc. This could improve readership because people would anticipate the contents of such publications.
- Most researchers are difficult to interview and do not want to be named.
- No collaboration or working relationship between media and researchers.

Barring all these constraints, some editors still maintain that there is abundant goodwill and unlimited capacity to report research materials. For

instance, *The New Vision* reports researched material on health and environment. They are able to do this because they have specialized writers in these fields and, most important, they have identified easy to contact persons in these sectors with whom they have established an enduring working understanding. RELAY can build on this goodwill and capacity to report research material in health and environment as a starting point. And RELAY should also try to educate research institutions on the importance of publishing research findings in the media. In addition, RELAY should facilitate the identification of individuals in research institutions who can work with the media. Not only that, even editors should be sensitized on how crucial research material is to development, and journalists should be trained on how to make research material readable and interesting.

To address the problem, it was proposed that:

- Research documents should be simplified and made interesting to read. One way could be to write policy papers and recommendations from which publishable articles of public interest could be derived.
- Media houses should start publishing specialized newspapers targeting specific readers.
- Researchers should work closely with the media during the research process. They should hold regular press briefings to acquaint media with their findings and allow questions to make clarifications and simplify concepts.
- Researchers should have media specialists attached to them to assist in making the writing simple and easy to read and comprehend.

All said and done, all is not yet lost for Uganda. If the government and its agencies can only change their hostile attitude to the media, especially now that there is political pluralism, a new and vibrant society living in harmony but with divergent views would emerge. This is how to go forward in a democracy that is conducive to the development process.

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World Service				
14. Campus FM	Private		Makerere University	
15. Capital FM	Private		Kampala	
16. Central Broadcasting Service (CBS)	Private		Mengo	
17. Childcare International (Peace Radio)			Kitgum	
18. City FM	Private		Gayaza	
19. Choice 92.1 FM	Private		Gulu	
20. Continental FM	Private		Kumi	
21. Dembe FM	Private		Kampala	

22. Dunamis FM	Private		Kibuye	
23. Spirit FM (96.6)	Private		Mukono	
24. East Africa FM	Private		Kampala	
25. Family Radio	Private		Kitintale	
26. Greater Afrikan Radio	Private		Mbarara	
27. Impact FM	Private		Ndeebe	
28. Impact FM (Mbale)	Private		Mbale	
29. Impact	Private		Masaka	

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FM				
30. Kachwekano – Kabale	Private		Kabala	

31. Kagadi Kibaale Community	Private		Kagadi	
32. Kampala Afrikan Radio	Private		Kampala	
33. Kampala FM	Private		Kampala	
34. KIU FM Radio	Private		Kampala	
35. Kinkizi FM	Private		Kinkizi	
36. Mbale FM	Private		Mbale	
37. Madison Baptist Church (New Life Radio)	Private		Hoima	
38. Mama FM	Private		Kisasi	
39. Mega FM ¹⁴ – Gulu			Gulu	
40. Messiah Radio	Private		Kasese	
41. Metro FM	Private		Kampala	
42. 93.3 K-FM	Private		Kampala	
43. Nkabi Broadcasting Services	Private		Kampala	

¹⁴ Mega FM is one of the government radio stations affiliated to the Uganda broadcasting Corporation-TV. However, it does receive some external funding from abroad.

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(NBS Kodheyo 89.4 FM)				
43. Nkabi Broadcasting Services (NBS Kodheyo 89.4 FM)	Private		Jinja	
44. Nile FM Radio	Private		Kampala	
45. Open Gate FM	Private		Mbale	
46. Power FM	Private		Kampala	
47. Prime FM	Private		Kireka	
48. Radio ABC	Private		Kampala	
49. Radio Apac	Private		Apac	
50. Radio Equator	Private		Masaka	
51. Radio Four	Private		Gulu	
52. Radio France International	Private			
53. Radio Hoima	Private		Hoima	
54. Radio Kiira	Private		Jinja	
55. Radio Kioga (Kioga Veritas FM)	Private		Soroti	
56. Radio Kitara	Private		Masindi	
57. Radio	Private		Arua	

Koboko				
58. Radio Lira FM	Private		Lira	
59. Radio Maria	Private		Kampala	
60 Radio Maria	Private		Mbarara	
61. Radio Maria	Private		Fort Portal	
62. Radio Maria	Private		Gulu	
63. Radio Maria	Private		Mbale	
64 Radio North	Private		Lira	
65 Radio One, Kampala	Private		Kampala	
66. Radio Paidha	Private		Paidha, Nebbi	
67. Radio Pacis	Private		Arua	
68. Radio Rhino	Private		Lira	
69. Radio Sapientia	Private		Nsambya	
70 Radio Simba	Private		Naguru	
71. Radio Sky Net Ltd	Private		Mityana	
72. Radio Two	Private		Kampala	
73. Radio Uganda	Public		Kampala	
74. Radio Wa	Private		Lira	
75. Radio West	Private		Mbarara	
76. Rock FM	Private		Tororo	
77.	Private		Rukungiri	

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Rukungiri FM				
78. Sanyu FM	Private		Kampala	
79. Star FM	Private		Kampala	
80. Super FM	Private		Rubaga	
81. Top Radio (Power of Praise)	Private		Kampala	
82. Top Radio – Masaka	Private		Masaka	
83. Top Radio – Mbale	Private		Mbale	
84. Top Radio – Masindi	Private		Masindi	
85. Top Radio – Mbarara	Private		Mbarara	
86. Touch FM Radio Ltd	Private		Kamwokya	
87. Unity Radio a Lwak	Private		Lira	
88. Voice of Africa	Private		Kampala	
89. Voice of Kigezi	Private		Kabale	
90. Voice of Life	Private		Arua	
91. Voice of Teso	Private		Teso	
92. Voice of Toro	Private		Fort Portal	
93. Western	Private		Kamwenge	

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Broadcasting Services				
94. Lion of Judah Ltd Grace Radio 94.2 FM	Private		Kasese	

Source: Broadcasting Council Documents, 2006