

**Preparing for the Information Society: a critical analysis of Uganda's Broadcast  
Policy in light of the principles of the WSIS**

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## **Abstract**

This study analyses Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles in order to establish whether the policy enables radio to build an inclusive and people-centred Information Society, and if so, in what ways it does this. The study specifically focuses on radio, which it views as the dominant medium in Uganda, and therefore the medium with the greatest potential to build a sustainable Information Society in the country. The study is informed by media policy theories as well as Information Society theories.

It is argued that although most definitions of the Information Society consider the newer ICTs, especially the Internet, as the key drivers in the Information Society, most developing countries like Uganda are far from reaching the desired level of computer and Internet access as proposed by some Information Society theorists. Instead, most people in Uganda rely heavily on older ICTs, especially radio, for information about key issues in their daily lives. Inevitably, radio ends up being a key player in building the Information Society in these countries. The study, therefore, finds most of the common Information Society theories lacking and adopts the WSIS definition, which is more relevant to Uganda's situation. This study also maintains that if radio is to be a key player in building an inclusive and people-centred Information Society in Uganda, the 2004 Broadcast Policy has to create that enabling environment, by, for example, promoting public service radio through local content programming, and diversifying radio ownership.

The data for this study was obtained using the qualitative research approach, and specifically the research tools of document analysis and individual in-depth interviews. The findings indicate that the policy's emphasis is on building a broadcast sector that addresses the public's interests through local content programming and provision of diversified media services. However, the study also found that the policy is vague on some very crucial aspects, which would benefit the public, namely, local content quotas and the independence of the public service broadcaster.

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## **List of acronyms**

FM	Frequency Modulation
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISDN	Integrated Services Digital Network
IT	Information Technology
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NIJU	National Institute of Journalists in Uganda
NRM	National Resistance Movement
UBC	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation
UBS	Uganda Broadcasting Service
UN	United Nations
WAN	Wide Area Network
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society

## **Dedication**

*To Denis, Andrew, Kyazze, Margaret, Adolf and Wakabi. Mmhn... I am sure you all know why!*

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“To God be the glory, great things He has done...” goes one of my favourite hymns. Listing everything that God has done for me is almost an unachievable task. Suffice it to say, therefore, that the completion of this thesis is one of them. Indeed, I have seen God’s promise come true that “I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me” (Philippians 4:13)”. Hurray, the thesis writing process is over!

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# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the general background to the study and provides an introductory discussion into the theoretical context, objectives of the study, and the research methods, procedures and techniques employed in this research. In addition to providing the rationale for focussing on radio in Uganda and the role radio can play in building an inclusive and people-centred Information Society as envisaged by the WSIS, this chapter also provides a thesis outline.

### 1.1. General background to the study

The availability of vast amounts of information concerning various issues in most countries in the world today has led to the argument that the world is now an 'Information Society.' The term the 'Information Society' is an evolving concept that has been conceptualised in different ways depending on the level of infrastructure development of those using it (WSIS, 2005b). Literature on the issue suggests that there is contention over what constitutes the Information Society. Webster (2002; 1995), for example, highlights five definitions of the Information Society namely, the technological, economic, occupational, spatial and cultural. In Uganda, the Information Society is viewed by the National Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Policy as "a prerequisite for a knowledge society where individuals as well as institutions are valued (and judged) according to what they know and how much they know" (Ministry of works, housing and communications, 2003: 21).

The technological definition is by far the most common view of the Information Society (Webster, 2000). According to this view, the Information Society is characterised by the centrality of technology, specifically computers and computer networks, resulting from the convergence between telecommunications and computers. This convergence has led to vast links between terminals and within and between offices, banks, homes, shops, factories and schools (Webster, 2000). It is this network of computers supported by the spread of broadband, which provides instant



information whenever and wherever needed. This vast connection makes it appear as though we are surrounded by information everywhere we turn, hence the term, the Information Society.

The technological view of the Information Society has been criticised for, among other things, not setting standards for measuring what kind of technology qualifies a society to be an Information Society (Webster, 2000). The definition is also criticised for focusing heavily on new ICTs, especially the Internet, and viewing these as the main drivers of information in the Information Society. Despite such shortcomings, most developing countries seem to have embraced the technological view of the Information Society (Biebl, 2004).

This study sets off from this position and argues that the Information Society in Uganda would not necessarily be built around the new ICTs and would therefore not fit into Webster's technological definition of an Information Society. This is because most people in Uganda still rely heavily on 'older ICTs' especially radio, for information required for their daily lives (Nyamnjoh, 2005; Deane et al, 2003). For example, 92 percent of the 1.2 million residents of Uganda's capital city Kampala listen to radio everyday (Steadman and Associates, 2002) while only 4.2 percent of the capital city's audience uses the Internet (The New Vision, 2005). Informed by this background, this study argues that the older ICTs, and particularly radio in this case, play a crucial role in information delivery and should be viewed as a central building block of the Information Society (Deane et al, 2003).

It is the argument of this study also that in order for radio to play this crucial role in the Information Society, it has to be guided by a policy that creates an enabling environment for it to become a public service medium and to be regulated in order to benefit the wider society. Otherwise, radio risks promoting an Information Society where the majority of the citizens do not receive relevant information needed to make decisions that affect their daily lives. This is because in a liberalised and commercialised environment such as Uganda, radio tends to deviate from its public service role in order to target advertisers on whom it relies for funding. This applies not only to commercial radio, but to public service radio as well, which was plunged into crisis after the liberalisation of the broadcast sector. The public service broadcaster, the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) has four commercial FM stations, which rely heavily on advertising for their funding. As one critic observes, this has seen developmental programmes shift from prime time hours to the early

hours of the day when the stations have little listenership. This restructuring is a move to make room for sponsored programmes that bring in revenue during prime time (Jjuuko, 2002). Hence, although radio is the dominant medium in Uganda (Mwesige, 2004) and arguably “the only real mass medium in the country” (Onyango-Obbo in Ogozo, 2004:35), it still does not address the needs of the majority of the population. By virtue of the Broadcast Policy raising the issue of the Information Society and proposing ways for Ugandans to prepare to be a part of the Information Society, it can be argued that the Uganda government views broadcasting, and radio in particular, as a key player in preparing Ugandans for the Information Society.

This study therefore seeks to establish whether the 2004 Broadcast Policy creates an enabling environment for radio in a liberalised and commercialised Uganda, to promote an inclusive and people-centred Information Society. The study also seeks to establish whether the policy enables radio to become a public service medium in order to benefit the bigger population, and in order to build an Information Society that is inclusive and people-centred.

## **1.2. Theoretical context**

This study is located in the context of the World Summit for the Information Society (WSIS) because the WSIS provides a common vision for the Information Society (Raboy, 2004a; WSIS, 2003b). The WSIS is also useful to this study because it “managed to accommodate and synthesise the various competing interpretations of the features of an Information Society” (Berger, 2004:14).

Also informing this study, are the policy theories of functionalism, pluralism, power, participatory and chaos. These theories are useful for understanding how problems are defined, agendas set, policy formulated, decisions made, and policy evaluated and implemented. They are also helpful in establishing in whose interests policy is made. The insights that these theories provide are particularly useful because the study sets out to establish whether the Uganda Broadcast Policy goals and objectives actually enable radio to become a public interest medium while remaining commercially viable. The study also investigates how the policy achieves this goal.

In addition to the policy theories, various Information Society theories are applied in this study because of their relevance to understanding the different perspectives of what constitutes the Information Society. These theories point to what

most scholars consider to be the most important aspects of the Information Society, namely, the technological, economic, occupational, spatial and cultural aspects of society.

### **1.3. Objectives of the study and relevance of the research**

The study sets out to achieve two objectives. The first is to establish whether Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy provides an enabling environment for radio to promote an inclusive and people-centred Information Society as envisaged by the WSIS. The second is to find out whether the policy enables radio to become a public service medium. This is especially in regard to commercial radio stations that form the majority of the radio stations. Public service radio is crucial for preparing Uganda for the Information Society because the biggest percentage of the population uses radio for their daily and most crucial information needs.

The value of this study can be found in the insight it gives into how commercial and public service radio can be enabled by policy to address the needs of the majority of the citizens especially the poor and vulnerable. The study is also important because it helps to understand the reality that while policies are usually formulated to address certain issues at given times, they can sometimes be too ambitious and impracticable. In such cases the policy may have to be discarded after the specific goals have been achieved. The results of this study could also inform future revisions of the policy.

### **1.4. Research methodology, techniques and procedures**

This study was undertaken within the qualitative research tradition. Qualitative research pays substantial attention to detail in the research process and conveys the notion of interconnection and change, meaning that research can be more concerned with the objectives of the policy as well as the process of origins and implementation rather than solely its outputs. Qualitative research is also flexible and allows for the researcher to follow new insights that might arise during the research process and that were not foreseen (Bryman, 1988).

This study specifically employed the research methods of document analysis and individual in-depth interviews. Document analysis offers reflections on

significant theory propositions, which link critical insights into the public policy process (Yin, 1984). The individual in-depth interviews helped in presenting varied interpretations of the policy since document analysis is likely to reflect the perceptions of the researcher. The respondents included the chairman of the parliamentary committee on science and technology, three radio journalists/producers, a representative from the Broadcasting Council and one of the legal advisors on the formulation of the policy.

## **1.5. Thesis outline**

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter One broadly introduces the thesis while Chapter Two provides the theoretical framework and the literature review that is relevant to the study. It discusses the policy theories of functionalism, pluralism, power, participatory and chaos, as well as the debates on the Information Society in terms of the technological, economic, occupational, cultural and spatial theories. The chapter also reviews literature on the WSIS, what it is and the key WSIS principles that inform this study.

Chapter Three provides the socio-historical and policy context of radio in Uganda. The chapter discusses the Information Society in Uganda as well as the national laws that are relevant to radio broadcasting namely, the 1996 Electronic Media Act, the 1995 Press and Journalist Act and the 2004 Broadcast Policy.

Chapter Four presents the research methods and procedures employed in this study, that is, document analysis and individual in-depth interviews, and gives justification for their suitability to this study. It also spells out the goals of the research and presents the qualitative tradition in researching the media.

Chapter Five presents the findings, interpretations and discussion of the findings. It analyses Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles as well as the policy and Information Society theories. It specifically discusses the policy areas of ownership and control, public service, commercial and community broadcasting, human resource development, local content and digital broadcasting.

Chapter Six is the conclusions chapter. In this chapter observations arising from the discussion in Chapter Five are made and the study proposes some areas for future study.

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## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature review and theoretical framework**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the literature underpinning the theory of policy, the Information Society and the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). It starts off by exploring the different versions of what constitutes policy from the functionalist, pluralist, power, participatory and chaos paradigms. The chapter argues that in order for policy to be effective, it must adopt the participatory paradigm's key point that the policymaking process has the potential to be participatory by allowing all the participants to negotiate policy together and come to a consensus (Colebatch, 2002).

The discussion on the policy theories is followed by a discussion on the different theories of the Information Society and their critiques as informed by Webster (2000; 1995). These are: the technological, the economic, the occupational, the spatial and the cultural theories. For purposes of this study however, the WSIS definition of the Information Society is adopted because none of the others adequately serve the research undertaken for this study. It is argued that although the Information Society is a concept under contention, the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) managed to accommodate and synthesise various perspectives and hence drew up a holistic definition (Berger, 2004). Accordingly, a discussion of the WSIS follows, starting with the history and background of the WSIS, and followed by the key WSIS principles that inform this study.

#### **2.1. Theories of policy**

##### **2.1.1 Introduction**

Policy means different things to different people depending on which paradigm informs one's definition. There are five paradigms that are useful in the understanding of what constitutes policy, namely, the functionalist, pluralist, power, participatory and chaos paradigms (Berger, 2003a). These paradigms emphasise

different moments in the policy process (Parsons, 1995; Berger, 2003a) hence the need to discuss each of them as will be done in the following section.

The study maintains that the participatory paradigm offers the standard for effective policy when it argues that obtaining the insights of those at whom the policy is aimed, as well as their perception of the formulation and implementation processes, is central for a policy to be regarded as effective (Colebatch, 2002).

### **2.1.2 Functionalist paradigm**

According to the functionalist paradigm, policy is a sequence of functional activities which work to synchronise dysfunctions so that the functioning of the whole institution can be improved (Anderson, 1990). It is argued that policies emerge in response to a problem or conflict (Anderson, 1990) and, dysfunctions are seen as opportunities, challenges or problems around which policy can be made in order to achieve harmony (Parsons, 1995; Berger, 2003a).

Hence, policy is seen as “systematically defined procedures and guidelines” (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994: 62) based on a set of norms, principles, values or intentions to direct an institution’s actions (Colebatch, 2002). Policy can also be viewed as rational and predictive in this case since the procedures and guidelines are clearly spelt out (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994). However, as will be seen with the chaos paradigm, policy is not always rational and can sometimes be ad hoc. And, although the policy process can generally be divided into phases and stages, beginning with policy formulation, followed by implementation and ending with evaluation (Parsons, 1995), it is the functionalist paradigm that emphasises the need to follow rigid stages. For example, Lasswell’s functionalist model argues for a logical process which starts with identifying the problem, formulating policy and then implementing the policy (Lasswell, 1951 in Parsons, 1995). This approach is generally known as the stagist approach (Parsons, 1995) and this characteristic is one of the most criticised aspects of the functionalist paradigm.

The functionalist approach suggests that policymaking is a logical succession of steps and is natural, cohesive and rational (Colebatch, 2002). However, it is not always clear whether policy will develop or be implemented according to the stages suggested by some policy models (Sharkansky, 2002). Besides, the stages are usually not as distinct, and often merge (Anderson, 1990). Consequently, restricting the

policy process to rigid stages creates an unreal view of the policymaking process. It “greatly overstates the rational nature of policymaking and gives a false picture of a process which is not a conveyor belt” (Parsons, 1995:79). Parsons further observes that the real world is far more complicated and does not provide much room for neat, tidy steps.

Regarding implementation, functionalism generally assumes that all policies will be implemented. But examination of the pluralist and power paradigms reveals that this is not always the case. Sometimes officials may decide not to take action on a problem and instead let matters work themselves out (Anderson, 1990). Clear objectives, support from the constituencies and public support through out the implementation process are all factors that assist policy implementation (Sharkansky, 2002). The policy is more likely to be implemented when the policy goals, and the policy generally, are simple (Grindle, 1980). This is probably because the policy will be interpreted more easily by those in charge of implementation. Successful policy implementation would also be aided by a simple and straight forward implementation programme (Harman, 1984 in Hough, 1984). Further, in order for policy to be effective, it should bring more information, thought and analysis into the policymaking process (Lindblom, 1980). This would involve consulting those at whom the policy is aimed, as suggested by the participatory paradigm. Such consultation will not only aid in obtaining consensus, it will lead to the “policy takers” buying into the policy and even help to improve it in order to suit their needs (Colebatch, 2002:24-25).

On evaluation, functionalists argue that clear guidelines and measures for evaluation need to be put in place or else the evaluation will not take place and it will therefore be difficult to determine whether the policy is successfully addressing the problem for the good of the whole institution (Venter, 2005). This calls for simple, clear policies that are easy to implement and therefore easy to evaluate.

In spite of the shortcomings of the functionalist approach, it is useful for understanding that, although it is not usually the case, policy is sometimes administered and evaluated as proposed by the functionalist model (Sharkansky, 2002; Rossi and Freeman, 1993 in Colebatch, 2002). Furthermore, the stagist approach to policy (which the functionalists favour) enables one to discover that definitions, origins and formulation of policy may profoundly influence the implementation and the consequent impact of policy as a whole (Venter, 2005).

### **2.1.3 Pluralist paradigm**

The pluralist paradigm differs from the functionalist paradigm in that while functionalists view policy as systematic procedures and guidelines that are meant to ensure harmony for the institution as a whole, (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994), pluralists maintain that policy results from the unstable compromises reached after “free competition between ideas and interests” (Parsons, 1995:134). Therefore, policymaking as a process is not as smooth as the functionalists suggest.

Further, the pluralists observe that not everyone can be involved in the policymaking process since it is only the elite or the ‘official policy makers’ who have control over policymaking (Colebatch, 2002; Lindblom, 1980). As such, policy issues are defined by the elite since they are the ones who have access to the policy process and are able to get their ideas on to the policy agenda. But this is usually a competitive process characterised by opposition and/or unwillingness by other powerful groups (Anderson, 1990). As a result, the policymaking process involves a wide range of actors (all of whom are elite but who come from different backgrounds) who work with a variety of competing views (Colebatch, 1998). Different actors are therefore likely to have different policy goals as well as contradictory ideas concerning the problem. Hence, the best ideas will become policy (Colebatch, 2002). The actors in the case of a Broadcast Policy might include government officials, media owners, journalists and academics.

Contrary to functionalism which argues that the policy process is characterised by consensus at all the stages, pluralism takes cognisance of the disagreements and conflicts involved in the policymaking process and the possibility that not all stages of the process will be reached. As Anderson (1990) observes, not all ideas will make it to the policy agenda and as such, only the best will win. The policy process is thus a competitive one and “often activity at each stage acts as stimulus (either immediate or delayed) to new pressures for change or redirection” in the process (Harman, in Hough, 1984:16).

On implementation of policy, the pluralist paradigm maintains that conflict is also to be found at this stage (Venter, 2005). The conflict may be seen in the way different actors view the success of the implementation of policy. For example, while the Broadcasting Council may quickly state that the Broadcast Policy is successful, some of the journalists might differ since their experiences are different.



The pluralist paradigm is helpful for highlighting the possible reasons for the failure of effective policy implementation since it takes into consideration that not all the stages will be reached. Some of the reasons for non-implementation include, “opposing interests, coordination problems, difficulties in deciding what different individuals want from the policy, who is in charge of implementation and what to expect from officials” (Sharkansky, 2002:29).

It is also worth noting at this point that policy is shaped by those who are responsible for its implementation (Barrett and Fudge, 1981 in Colebatch, 2002) and as such it might end up reflecting their interests. This view is also shared by the power and participatory paradigms.

One of the criticisms of the pluralist paradigm is that it dismisses the idea that policymaking is a process and argues that “policymaking has no beginning and no end” (Lindblom, 1980:5). Anderson (1990) observes that this is an overstatement and that there must be some point at which the process begins and ends. He argues that, for instance, it is clear when a policy has been terminated.

#### **2.1.4 Power paradigm**

The power paradigm is more concerned with issues of control and influence of the policy process, as well as the exercise of authority aimed at achieving collective goals (Colebatch, 2002). In this case, it is those elites with power who have the ability to introduce or exclude issues from the policy agenda (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970 in Parsons, 1995; Anderson, 1990). Thus, it is the powerful individuals to “seize particular problems, publicise them, and propose solutions” (Anderson, 1990:85). Policy can be seen to be authoritative and legally coercive (Anderson, 1990).

The power paradigm differs from the pluralist paradigm in that while the pluralist paradigm recognises a wide variety of competing actors in the policymaking process, the power paradigm highlights the fact that some players are more powerful than others and as such, the policy process is not an equal platform (Colebatch, 2002). This perhaps explains why there is no room for competition and the process can end up being top-down or authoritative (Lindblom, 1980). This results from powerful officials having their own interests to pursue, thus making it impossible for all ‘problems’ to make it to the policy agenda (Anderson, 1990).

Implementation, according to the power paradigm is a “struggle for control” (Jenkins, 1978:217). As such, it is important to understand the roles that participants play: what authority and powers they hold and how they deal with and control each other (Lindblom, 1980). This is because different actors possess different power capabilities and some of them may have used their power to exclude certain policy goals or even downplay the aims of the less powerful actors (Grindle, 1980). As noted earlier, it is those with power who are most likely to determine the problem, publicise it and even propose solutions (Anderson, 1990).

The uneven distribution of power among the actors impacts on the amount of attention given to a policy issue, which further depends on the way in which the policy is framed (Parsons, 1995). The powerful have the authority to choose who to include in the implementation process among those for whom the policy is made and the policy might therefore end up serving the needs of the powerful. Hence, policy is concerned with the downward transmission of authorised decisions and “the authorised decision-makers select courses of action which will maximise the values they hold” (Colebatch, 2002: 23). This brings to mind the issue of power and responsibility both of the Broadcasting Council and the media owners in implementing policy.

Another key aspect of the power paradigm to this study is the recognition of chaos as a function of power (Venter, 2005). Anderson (1990) observes that inaction or non-decision-making becomes a policy when officials decline to act on some problem. As such, non-decision-making becomes an exercise of power. It can be seen to be operating when those in authority deliberately exclude issues that are considered harmful to the system from the policy agenda (Offe, 1974 in Colebatch, 2002; Bachrach and Baratz, 1970 in Parsons, 1995).

The power paradigm is useful to this study because it calls for the investigation of those in whose interest policy is made, even more so because the Ugandan Broadcast Policy claims to have been made with the consideration of the Ugandan public’s interests at heart. The power paradigm also highlights the role of the powerful in policymaking, (Strelitz, 2000) showing that the policymaking platform is not even ground, as the functionalists argue, and therefore needs to be questioned.

### **2.1.5 Participatory paradigm**

Contrary to the power paradigm which highlights the control of the policy process by the powerful elite, the participatory paradigm argues that the “policy takers”, or people for whom the policy is intended, should also be involved in all the stages of the formulation process (Colebatch, 2002:24-25). As such, the policy process can be empowering to the policy takers, hence the need to consider their individual perception of the process (Berger, 2003a). This particular point makes this paradigm useful for highlighting issues of legitimacy and implementation (Venter, 2005) since a policy will be considered legitimate if the policy takers are involved in its formulation and implementation.

From the participatory view, it can be argued that the policymaking process has the potential to be participatory, allowing all participants to negotiate the policy together and come to a consensus (Colebatch, 2002). Hence, policy is sometimes a result of the compromises among the different actors (Lindblom, 1980). The participatory paradigm is useful when considering the ‘non-organised’ stakeholders who can be a significant group in challenging the authority of the powerful groups when they participate in the process (Colebatch, 2002). This point is particularly worth noting since the broadcast journalists as an interest group were not consulted by the Broadcasting Council in the formulation of the Uganda Broadcast Policy on the grounds that “they are a difficult group to mobilise” (Linda, 2005: no page number).

At the implementation and evaluation stages, the participatory paradigm argues that although everyone is involved in the policy process, there is a possibility that some participants might use their power to eliminate the goals of the less powerful participants, thus pointing to the issue of unequal power relations in the policy process (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994). And although groups might recognise their own interests and wish to have them met through policy responses, they are unable to persuade others to acknowledge the need for a particular policy (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994). In that case, whether the Broadcast Policy is effective or not is worth being assessed from the media owners and journalists’ point of view since both parties occupy different positions in the policy process. Policy implementation recognises that “policy is an ongoing process and that participants have their own agenda and their own distinct perspectives on any policy issue” (Colebatch, 2002:53).

The participatory paradigm argues that effective policy should be in line with the interests of those who are meant to benefit from the policy hence the need to include them in the formulation process (Grindle, 1980). Likewise, Jenkins (1978) notes that policy administration should be examined in light of the demands it places on the resources of an institution as opposed to considering whether the policy was implemented as it is written. This would be useful for establishing the commitment of the implementing institution.

For the participatory paradigm, the evaluation process consists of a negotiated review process which should involve all the participants (Venter, 2005). "Evaluation has to be predicated upon wide and full collaboration of all programme stakeholders: agents, (funders, implementers), beneficiaries (target groups, potential adoptees) and those who are excluded 'victims' " (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 in Parsons, 1995:567-8). This will allow for the input of the various stakeholders in the form of different opinions, experiences and perceptions in order to determine whether they believe it is an effective policy or not (Venter, 2005). It is therefore particularly important in this view to measure the attitudes of those whom the policy is aimed at helping. In the case of the Broadcast Policy it is the journalists, broadcast media owners and members of the civil society.

### **2.1.6 Chaos paradigm**

According to the chaos paradigm, policy is not necessarily an automatic and rational solution to a problem as the functionalists argue (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994). Sometimes, there is no intention or comprehensive plan for making policy and this might result in policy being made anytime and in an ad hoc fashion (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994). The chaos paradigm is therefore useful for understanding a policy that did not particularly follow the stages proposed by the functionalists.

From this view, each policymaking experience is different from the other and order is not a prerequisite in the policy process. The result is that some policies arise out of a confused interaction in which no one takes responsibility for, and there is no recognised author, of a policy (Lindblom, 1980). In the case of the chaos paradigm, policies are sometimes ambiguous and ambiguity in language becomes a means for reducing conflict (Anderson, 1990). Hence, the chaos paradigm leaves the policy process open to abuse by the powerful through its reluctance to spell out clearly the

roles of those involved in the policy process in that for example, anyone or no one can decide to implement or not implement the policy.

The chaos paradigm sees implementation and evaluation as processes of “interrelated decisions, involving a multiplicity of actors, none of whom have any marked degree of control over the situation” (Parsons and Wildavsky, 1973 in Jenkins, 1978:212). This leads to situations in which policy is made unintentionally and sometimes before all the facts have been gathered (Parsons, 1995; Lindblom, 1980). Consequently, policymaking is dynamic and leaves room for learning during the process. However, it is difficult to tell at which stage policy stops being made and starts being implemented and then evaluated (Venter, 2005).

This paradigm takes cognisance of cases where policy may have unintended effects which may come up during the evaluation process (Venter, 2005). For example, policy implementation may be a result of pressures on time and resources and not necessarily the “real need” to implement the policy (Jenkins, 1978). Given the content and the context of policy, it may not always be possible to realise the policy goals in an entirely predictable manner and this process is not always manageable (Grindle, 1980). As such, the realisation of policy goals is seen as “an ongoing process of decision making involving a variety of actors” (Grindle, 1980:10).

On the other hand, the lack of awareness and agreement about policy guidelines and the belief that they were unlikely to succeed is one possible reason of the failure of policy (Sharkansky, 2002). The other reason could be that the policy is unclear, complicated and generally problematic especially when the stakeholders disagree on the objectives set out in the policy (Grindle, 1980; Gunn, 1978 in Ham and Hill, 1984).

An important value of the chaos paradigm is that it would accept the option of ‘doing nothing’ as a legitimate way of dealing with obstacles which might arise during the implementation. According to this paradigm, inaction becomes a public policy when it follows from officials declining to act on a problem (Anderson, 1990). In addition, ‘doing nothing’ may turn out to be useful when there is controversy about policy (Sharkansky, 2002).

### **2.1.7 Conclusion**

This section has discussed policy theory in the light of five paradigms namely functionalism, pluralism, power, participatory and chaos. It has been pointed out that functionalists view policy as being able to solve problems for the benefit of the whole society while pluralists view policy as a contest of different ideas. The power paradigm sees policy in terms of how power is both used and abused in the policy process while the chaos paradigm views the policy as an ad hoc process. The insights provided by these paradigms are useful to this study in varying ways although the emphasis is on the participatory paradigm.

The participatory paradigm argues that in order for policy to be effective, policymaking, implementation and evaluation have to involve both the powerful and the powerless groups. This highlights the need for the negotiation and compromise of all views and is particularly useful for the Ugandan Broadcast Policy which is meant to regulate the entire broadcast industry in order to benefit the public (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). The next section presents the debates on the Information Society.

## **2.2 Debates on the Information Society**

### **2.2.1 Introduction**

The Information Society is a concept that has been applied in different ways depending on infrastructure development across the world, reflecting different stages of development (WSIS, 2004b). Whereas some argue that the Information Society has arrived and the Third World needs to catch up with the West to be part of the Information Society, others are still wondering what a true Information Society is. These divergent views probably explain the contention over what constitutes the Information Society.

The concept originated from Japan and was used to refer to the post-industrial society (McQuail, 1994; Lyon, 1988). Information societies were defined as “those which have become dependent upon complex electronic information and communication networks and which allocate a major portion of their resources to information and communication activities” (Melody, 1990:26 in McQuail, 1994). The key issue here is that information is seen to be predominant in an unprecedented manner. As will be seen in the discussion that follows, information is seen to have

infiltrated the cultural, the occupational, the technological and the economic spheres of daily life. By looking at the impact of information on these different spheres, one is able to point to different theories that are useful for understanding the Information Society.

Hence, Webster, drawing on these spheres offers a useful way of understanding the Information Society by looking at the technological, economic, occupational, spatial and cultural definitions of the Information Society (Webster, 2000; 1995). These definitions not only critique the usually taken-for-granted features of the Information Society, they also point to some of the key aspects of an Information Society by emphasising different aspects of the Information Society. This section therefore discusses these definitions, starting with the technological definition.

### **2.2.2 Technological definition**

The technological definition focuses on the centrality of technology in the Information Society. It sees new technologies as some of the most visible indicators of new times, hence new technologies are often taken to indicate the coming of an Information Society (Webster, 2000). The emphasis is placed on computers, specifically computer networks, resulting from the convergence between telecommunications and computers, which have led to vast links between terminals within and between offices, banks, homes, shops, factories and schools (Webster, 2000). It is this network of computers, supported by the spread broadband, that provides information whenever and wherever needed (Webster, 2000). Because of this vast connection, it would appear that we are surrounded by information everywhere we turn.

Proponents of this definition argue that the world is experiencing a 'technology revolution' in which technologies are seen as the major distinguishing features of the new order (Webster, 2000). They argue that new possibilities in information processing, storage and transmission result in the spread of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in almost all areas of life (Van Audenhove, 2003b). The new technologies include cable and satellite television, computer-to-computer communications, Personal Computers and CD-ROM facilities (Webster, 2002).

Although it is by far the most common view of the Information Society, this definition encounters two main objections (Webster, 2000). The first has to do with the problem of measurement, both in terms of quantity and quality of the technology (Webster, 2000). In terms of quantity, it is not clear how much Information Technology (IT) it takes for a society to qualify for Information Society status and no standards have been set for measuring this quantity (Webster, 2000). When it comes to the quality of technology, there are no guidelines for what technology to consider as relevant technology even if one was to just consider the quantity of technology (Webster, 2000). For example, it is not clear whether video equipment is more relevant than a personal computer.

The second objection is to this definition's assertion that in a given era, technologies are first invented and then subsequently impact on the society. In this case, people are compelled to remodel their lives around the new technology (Webster, 2000). Such an argument places technology above humanity when technology is seen to influence society and yet it is actually society that determines the type of technology that should be innovated and not vice versa (Webster, 2000). Overall, this definition characterises a whole society on the basis of technology, thus reducing human existence to technology (Berger, 2003b). It also assumes that ICTs are neutral and that anyone can use them for any purpose (Berger, 2003b). It should be noted however, that ICTs originate mostly from the West and are tailored to the needs and purchasing power of the West and may therefore not necessarily meet the needs of the people in the developing countries.

Despite this heavy focus on technological development, most developing countries seem to have embraced the technological definition of the Information Society (Biebl, 2004), which views the new ICTs, especially the internet, as the main drivers of information in the Information Society. The problem here is that most people in the developing countries still rely on 'older ICTs' such as radio and television for information required for their daily lives (Deane et al, 2003; Nyamnjoh, 2005). As such, this study argues that older ICTs such as radio, and the role they play in information delivery, should be given a central place in the Information Society (Deane et al, 2003).



### **2.2.3 Economic definition**

The economic definition goes beyond technology and looks at the wider economy. Here, information is a tradable commodity with financial value (Berger, 2003b; Webster, 2000). It is argued that “once the greater part of economic activity is taken up by information activity rather than, say subsistence agriculture or industrial manufacture, then it follows that we may speak of an Information Society” (Jonscher, 1999 in Webster, 2002:25). In this society, information is both the critical raw material and the central product (Berger, 2003b).

In broadcasting, this means that media houses would have to attach a financial value to their content. This study argues that such a situation would exclude those who cannot afford the information, and yet they form the majority in developing countries such as Uganda. Radio stations especially would be doing the community injustice since radio is by far the cheapest and most accessible medium in the developing countries.

Like the technological definition, the economic definition is also been critiqued because it does not provide standard measurements for the quantity and quality of information. It does not take into account the issue of the qualitative worth of information, especially the social value of information (Berger, 2003b; Webster, 2000). Hence, “pornography may be a big money-spinner, but its social value is different from that of investigative journalism” (Berger, 2003b:2). There needs to be a standard for information that is sufficient to enable an Information Society.

The other criticism arises from the quantitative measurement of the information sector. It is not clear at which point on the economic graph one enters an Information Society (Webster, 2000). Is it when 50 percent of the GNP is contributed to by the information sector? The economic definition, just like the technological, does not therefore offer a proper definition of the Information Society.

### **2.2.4 Occupational definition**

This view interprets the Information Society as a society in which the preponderance of occupations is found in information work (Berger 2003b; Van Audenhove, 2003b; Webster, 2002). In this society, the economy is led by people who are mainly involved with the manipulation of information (Webster, 2002). Put simply, the Information Society has been reached if the number of those supplying

information such as clerks, teachers, journalists and entertainers outnumber production-based labour (Webster, 2000).

This definition is criticised on the grounds that the methodology for allocating workers to particular categories of information work is flawed (Webster, 2000). Like the economic definition, it is difficult to distinguish between informational and non-informational workers since most occupations involve a degree of information processing and cognition (Webster, 2000). For example, it is not clear whether a bus driver who talks into a microphone while ferrying passengers to a destination should be regarded an information worker or a worker within the transportation sector (Berger, 2003b). This view therefore does not clearly define the information society.

### **2.2.5 Spatial definition**

Here the major emphasis is on information networks which have led to the shrinking of time and space, making communication instant. The main determinant of the Information Society in this case is the transnational interconnectedness and interdependence due to the increased speed and spread of information flows (Berger, 2003b). For example, one can easily and instantly access information off the internet and also send information on the internet via email.

According to this view, the electronic highways result in a new emphasis on the flow of information (Castells, 1996-8 in Webster, 2002) which can have profound effects on the organisation of time and space (Berger, 2003b; Webster, 2002). For example, corporations are capable of managing their affairs effectively on a global scale thanks to connections such as Wide Area Networks<sup>1</sup> (WAN) (Webster, 2002). In broadcasting, this implies universal service and access, especially to public broadcasting services.

The spatial definition has been criticised on the grounds that although it is true that new technologies help to shrink time when they make communication instant, it is not clear what constitutes a network and how much information should flow on the networks to constitute an Information Society (Webster, 2000). Webster observes that no one has produced reliable figures capable of giving a clear picture of information

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<sup>1</sup> A wide area network (WAN) is a computer network covering a wide geographical area, involving a vast array of computers. WANs are used to connect local area networks (LANs) together, so that users and computers in one location can communicate with users and computers in other locations. (Wikipedia, 2006)

traffic. Besides, this definition runs the risk of resembling the technological approach to the Information Society if it defines networks as technological systems (Webster, 2000).

### **2.2.6 Cultural definition**

According to the cultural definition of the Information Society, “there has been an extraordinary increase in the information in social circulation” (Webster, 2000:21). Consequently, the huge volume of information today defines and shapes our very identities as contemporary culture is evidently more heavily information laden than ever before (Berger, 2003b; Webster, 2002). The “everywhere-ness” of the media has had a marked effect on the way we dress, talk, walk, taste and model our lives (Van Audenhove et al, 2003a:91). For example, today’s generation is much more exposed to brands than the previous generations (Berger, 2003b).

The criticism here is whether this information flood should qualify the society to be called an Information Society when indeed this information only leads to cultural imperialism (Berger, 2003b). The cultural imperialism thesis holds that the North dominates cultural trends and tastes in the South via the media. Indeed, what we call “African culture” today is a mixture of European, American and local ways of life, a process commonly referred to as “cultural imperialism” (Berger, 2003b:3).

Webster also observes that there seems to be a paradox of more information but less meaning (Webster, 2000) which can also be linked to the argument of the need to address the issue of the quality of the information that is in circulation. People become accustomed to televised images of, for example, violence and in the end, the term the Information Society becomes unsuitable since it is difficult to differentiate between kinds of information (Berger, 2003b).

### **2.2.7 Conclusion**

This section has presented five different definitions of the Information Society and their critiques. It has highlighted the divergent views on what constitutes an Information Society and has shown that one way to understand the Information Society is by drawing on Webster’s (2000;1995) five definitions of the Information Society. These definitions are the technological, the economic, the occupational, the spatial and the cultural. Because of their emphasis on specific aspects, these

definitions have been inadequate in this research. This is because this research argues for a holistic definition of the Information Society; one that includes both old and new media. As such, the study will endeavour to establish a suitable definition in section 2.4 of this chapter. The next section looks at the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS).

## **2.3 The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS)**

### **2.3.1 Introduction**

The previous section presented five definitions of the Information Society and has shown that there seems to be no agreement on what constitutes an Information Society. Despite these disagreements, some attempts have been made to try and develop a common understanding of the Information Society. One such attempt was made during the WSIS (Beibl, 2004).

Berger (2004) argues that the WSIS “managed to accommodate and synthesise the various competing interpretations of the features of an Information Society [...] and avoided one-sided and exclusive emphases about the Information Society” (Berger, 2004:14). In so doing, the WSIS achieved its goal, which was to provide a common vision for the Information Society (Raboy, 2004b; Klein, 2003). This study takes cognisance of the fact that the WSIS reflects the highly contested modernisation paradigm which equates technology with development, and advocates for top-down non-collaborative policies (Moll and Shade, 2004 in Raboy, 2004a). This theory blamed the state of underdevelopment on the third world people themselves and on their tradition, attitudes and backwardness (internal factors). No other factors are considered such as the internal politics or external factors for that matter. For these countries to develop, they had to be modernised by abandoning their traditions and adopting western attitudes, values and practices, hence this definition of development, “Development is a spontaneous irreversible process every society has to pass through from being backwards to becoming modern” (Linden 1998:72).

### **2.3.2 WSIS: what is it?**

The WSIS was an attempt by the UN system to deal with information and communication issues on a global scale (Raboy, 2004a). It was, according to the

United Nations' Secretary General, Kofi Annan, born out of the need to make a connection between the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for the alleviation of poverty, and ICTs that can benefit all of humankind (Armstrong, 2004). The eight MDGs, which range from halving extreme poverty to providing universal primary education by 2015, form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and the world's leading development institutions (UN, 2005). Armstrong explains that by ICTs, Annan meant all the different means through which information flows or is collected or stored these days. These ICTs therefore include radio, television, telephone lines, computers, cell phones, fax, internet and satellite systems (Armstrong, 2004).

The WSIS was conceived in 1998 by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and in 2001, the UN general assembly formally authorised the summit to be held in two phases (Klein, 2003). The first phase took place in Geneva from 10 to 12 December 2003 and the second phase took place in Tunis from 16 to 18 November 2005 (WSIS 2003c). The first phase was aimed at developing and fostering a clear statement of political will, as well as take concrete steps to establish the foundations for an Information Society for all, that reflected all the different interests at stake while the second phase was meant to be a follow up and an evaluation of the first phase (WSIS, 2003c).

The summit focused on two major aspects: one was to forge a common understanding of the concept of the Information Society and the second was the need to ensure the urgent access by the world's inhabitants to ICTs for their own development (WSIS, 2003b). At its first phase in Geneva, the WSIS was also charged with drawing up the Declaration of Principles and Plan of Action (Biebl, 2004). Both documents served as a call to various governments to invest in ICTs in view of achieving the MDGs, for capacity building and most importantly (for the purpose of this study), for the guarantee of freedom and plurality of the media. In light of this study, aspects of both documents that are relevant to the liberalisation and democratisation of the media in general and broadcasting in particular are discussed below.

### **2.3.3 WSIS Geneva 2003 resolutions and principles<sup>2</sup>**

The Summit came up with a Declaration of Principles and a Plan of Action that set the stage for international focus on bridging the digital divide not only between the North and the South, but within the South itself. Heads of states and other stakeholders recognised the need to create enabling environments based on clear policies, laws and regulatory frameworks, to enable universal, equitable and affordable access to the knowledge-based society, especially for marginalised minorities, women, children and the disabled in the South (Raboy, 2004a). Some of the principles adopted at the Summit, and that are relevant to this study discussed below, starting with the principle of access to information. This section also provides a brief interrogation of the WSIS process and highlights some of the weaknesses.

#### **2.3.3.1 Access to information and knowledge**

The WSIS noted that everyone's ability to access and contribute information, ideas and knowledge is essential in creating an inclusive Information Society. This should be enhanced by government's support to public information institutions such as libraries and community based information centres because it is such institutions that most people have access to. This principle also calls for the promotion of universal access to information and knowledge, with equal opportunities for everyone in the society. Capacity building is discussed next.

#### **2.3.3.2 Capacity building**

On this point, the Summit focused on the need to empower everyone with the necessary skills and knowledge in order for everyone to understand, participate actively in, and benefit fully from the Information Society. Since ICTs such as the internet have the ability to enable instant access to information, there is a need to equip local communities, especially those in the rural areas, with skills to make use of these ICTs. Also, content creators, publishers and producers (including the media), are considered key contributors to the promotion of the Information Society through the production of content that is useful to the public. The WSIS called for the

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<sup>2</sup> This section is mainly drawn from the WSIS Declaration of Principles and the WSIS Plan of Action

involvement of local communities in the production of local content in order for these communities to have access to information that is meaningful to them.

Journalists are also seen as key targets for ICT training and training of information professionals (including journalists) ought to focus on new methods and techniques of information development, as well as on relevant management skills in order to ensure the best use of technologies.

### **2.3.3.3 Cultural diversity and identity, linguistic diversity, local content**

This principle emphasised the promotion of local forms of expression and languages in the media as a foundation for entry into the Information Society. The WSIS considers respect for cultural identity, cultural and linguistic diversity as stimulants for dialogue among peoples from different cultures. The creation, dissemination and preservation of content in diverse languages is an essential element in building an inclusive Information Society. This is because, the development of appropriate local content for either domestic or regional needs will foster the participation of all stakeholders including ‘man on the street’.

Cultural and linguistic diversity and local content can only be promoted by policies that support the respect, preservation, promotion and enhancement of cultural and linguistic diversity. As such, governments ought to design cultural policies that promote the production of cultural content relevant to the local contexts of the users.

### **2.3.3.4 Media**

The WSIS reaffirmed its commitment to freedom of the media, as well as editorial independence, pluralism and diversity in the media by encouraging the development of domestic legislation that guarantees the independence and plurality of the media. The Summit noted the importance of conformity with ethical and professional standards and placed traditional media at the centre of this. It was argued that “traditional media in all their forms have an important role in the Information Society and ICTs should play a supportive role in this regard” (WSIS, 2003b). The WSIS pointed to the need to encourage traditional media to bridge the digital divide by facilitating the flow of cultural content especially in the rural areas. National

governments are also charged with the responsibility to encourage the diversity of media ownership as long as it is in conformity with existing national laws and relevant international conventions.

More importantly, the WSIS notes that not all content is good in the Information Society and as such, measures are needed in order to fight illegal and harmful content in the media. This point is particularly noteworthy because one of the criticisms of the Information Society definitions is that they do not differentiate between harmful and useful information (Berger, 2003b).

### **2.3.3.5 An enabling environment**

The WSIS argued that in order to build a people-centred Information Society, the rule of law, backed by a supportive, transparent, pro-competitive, technologically neutral and predictable policy that bears in mind the different national social-economic and technological contexts, is essential.

This point somehow summarises all the previous points since it is an enabling environment that will permit the implementation of the rest of the principles. For example, in order to have free and independent press, the policy and legal frameworks must enable that to happen.

### **2.3.4 WSIS and Webster's five definitions of the Information Society**

#### **The technological definition**

In view of this definition, the WSIS proposed the spread of ICTs in social life as a way to attain the Information Society. However, the WSIS Declaration of Principles also states that “we are aware that ICTs should be regarded as tools and not just as an end in themselves... they can also promote dialogue among people, nations and civilisations” (WSIS, 2004a). Thus the WSIS did not fall into the trap of technological definition trap.

#### **The economic definition**

In terms of the economic view, which the business community at WSIS was pushing for, the WSIS would have concentrated on the commercialisation and commoditising of information (Berger, 2003b). Such emphasis would have meant the



exclusion of an Information Society that also benefits the poor, and upholds indigenous knowledge and the ethical quality of information (Berger, 2003b). However, as pointed out in Section 2.3.3.3, the WSIS encouraged the production of local content in various forms and languages and the involvement of the community in this process.

### **The occupational definition**

Proponents of this definition argue that the Information Society should constitute a majority of people whose occupations are all information-related (Webster, 2000). Such an understanding of the Information Society makes light of the gender aspects of employment and international disparities (Berger, 2003b). The WSIS Declaration of Principles and the Plan of Action, however, salvaged the WSIS when they call for the inclusion of women and children in every aspect of the Information Society.

### **The spatial definition**

This definition views the Information Society as a society that is globally networked (Berger, 2003b; Webster, 2000). According to Berger (2003b), this approach greatly favours multinational business interests and underplays national policy and international governance issues. Berger further argues that there were those who did not want WSIS to discuss these issues.

### **The cultural definition**

This definition views the Information Society in terms of the everywhere-ness of information and symbols in everyday life. Berger (2003b) observes that this definition disregards the majority of the people in the world who only receive cultural products but do not produce any themselves. Berger further argues that the WSIS was prone to taking up this definition given the few voices from “the margins” at WSIS (Berger, 2003b:13).

From the point of view Webster’s five definitions of the Information Society, this study agrees with Berger’s observation that “the WSIS did not do too badly in the way it dealt with these issues” (Berger, 2003b:13). Instead it took all the existing trends and emphases and shaped them into an Information Society in which “everyone can create, access, utilise and share information and knowledge, enabling individuals,

communities and peoples to achieve their full potential in promoting their sustainable development and improving their quality of life”(WSIS, 2004a:1).

### **2.3.5 Conclusion**

In concluding this section, I agree with Berger (2004) that the WSIS managed to accommodate and synthesise the various competing interpretations of the features of the Information Society and as such is a useful guide in defining the Information Society. As Berger (2004) observes, its final position avoided one-sided and exclusive emphases about the Information Society and in the end, the summit came up with a perspective that attempts to integrate different aspects into a holistic approach. The WSIS also provided a guideline for the growth of an Information Society at the national, regional and international levels.

## **2.4 Towards a working definition of the Information Society**

The central criticism of the Information Society definitions discussed earlier on is that quantitative indices of the spread of information and information technologies cannot be interpreted as evidence of real deep-seated social change (Webster, 2002). Information Society definitions offer a quantitative measure, for example, the number of workers, and assume that the Information Society is achieved at the point when the predominance of occupations is found in information work.

As such, this study stresses the need to query the kind of technology and the quality of the information that this technology delivers when referring to the Information Society. Doing so would leave room for the inclusion of other ICTs, such as radio, which are the dominant information and communication technologies in developing countries like Uganda. It would also point to the questions of who creates the information in circulation, and who is able to access this information? Does it matter whether it is public service radio that is the key player in the society or private radio? These are questions that are worth looking into when investigating the effectiveness of Broadcast Policy as far as creating an all-inclusive people centred Information Society as Uganda’s policy aims to do.

This study is specifically guided by the WSIS definition of the Information Society. The WSIS proposed that the Information Society should be all inclusive, people-centred and development-oriented (WSIS, 2003a).

## **2.5 Summary**

This chapter has discussed the policy paradigms of functionalism, pluralism, power, participatory and chaos and has adopted the participatory paradigm's central point as the standard for effective policy. This paradigm stresses the value of obtaining the insights of those at whom the policy is aimed and how they perceive its formulation and implementation (Colebatch, 2002). The chapter also discussed the Information Society paradigms and adopted the WSIS definition of the Information Society. It has also presented the WSIS, its relevance to this study and the key principles that are relevant to this study.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Socio-historical and policy context of radio**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This study is set in contemporary Uganda where the number of radio stations outnumbers any other medium as compared to pre-independence (before 1962) and the first 30 years after independence, when government held the monopoly to radio broadcasting. The aim of this study is to analyse Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles, in order to establish whether the policy enables radio to build an inclusive and people-centred Information Society and in what ways. It specifically focuses on radio which it views as the dominant medium in Uganda and therefore the medium with the greatest potential to build a sustainable Information Society in the country. The study is informed by media policy theories as well as Information Society theories, as discussed in Chapter Two.

This chapter provides the socio-historical and policy context of radio in Uganda. It starts by looking at the history of radio in Uganda which is followed by the current media situation. It then looks at the state of the Information Society in Uganda followed by a discussion of the relevant national laws and policies.

#### **3.1 History of radio in Uganda**

##### **3.1.1 Uganda Broadcasting Service**

Like that of most former British colonies, broadcasting in Uganda was an initiative of the colonial government. It was established on the recommendation of the Plymouth Report of 1937 which contained the views of a committee formed to address the establishment and foundation of broadcasting in Uganda (Kayanja, 1994). The Uganda Broadcasting Service (UBS) was launched two years later under the Colonial Ordinance Act, and placed under full government control as a state broadcaster (Balikuddembe, 1992).

Radio was the earliest broadcast service to be introduced in Uganda and at the time, UBS only operated a state-owned and state-managed radio station which received all of its funding from the colonial government (Wamala, 1992). UBS was

made the immediate responsibility of a minister who had the authority to control the country's broadcast affairs (Balikuddembe, 1992). Consequently, the broadcaster ended up serving the interests of the government, a trend that continued even after Uganda gained independence in 1962.

UBS was modelled upon the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) public service broadcasting model and was meant to serve both the public and colonial government interests (Carver, 1995; Oketch, 1994). As a public service broadcaster, UBS was obliged to promote the country's economic, political and social development through programmes that addressed issues such as agriculture, public health and political mobilisation. These programmes were broadcast in a number of local languages, since there was no common language for all the citizens (Wamala, 1992). In addition, UBS was responsible for relaying BBC news which was translated into Luganda, one of the local languages. As a national broadcaster, UBS was also responsible for publicising Uganda abroad (Wamala, 1992).

As a government tool, one of UBS' tasks was to kill rumours and fight dissident propaganda aimed at frustrating government measures within the country (Balikuddembe, 1992). The government therefore aired programmes that explained government motives and policies (Matovu, 1990). It is worth noting that UBS was established at a time when there was growing demand for independence, from some nationalist groups in the country. As such, the British colonial government needed an effective tool to reach out to the entire nation in order to counter the growing movement of pro-independence agitators and in the process, reaffirm colonial rule (Oketch, 1994). Radio served this purpose well since it could be listened to by illiterate citizens, who formed the majority of the population, and in both the urban and rural areas.

### **3.1.2 Radio Uganda: radio in the post-independence era**

When independence was achieved in 1962, UBS radio was renamed Radio Uganda and was kept under tight state control by the new government, a common occurrence throughout most post-independence Africa (Deane et al., 2003). As Deane et al (2003) further argue, for most post-independence African governments, radio was viewed as a key tool of nation building and therefore governments were keen to maintain strong control and monopoly over its ownership. Radio was also perceived

by the government as having strong influence since it was the major source of information for most citizens. This was compounded by radio's ability to transcend barriers such as illiteracy. In Uganda, specifically, it was the only mass medium accessible by the majority, including those in the rural areas (Kayanja, 2002).

Just like the colonial government, Uganda's post-colonial governments considered radio a powerful tool that could be used to communicate the government agenda to the people, as well as spread propaganda. In Uganda, even if the printed press was flourishing at this time, newspaper circulation was limited to the urban areas where only a small percentage of the population lived. Moreover, most of the citizens were illiterate in both English and other vernaculars (Kayanja, 2002). In order to increase radio listenership, the number of local languages used on radio increased to 22. However, there was no room for independent journalism or reporting that was critical of the government in power. As such, programming was mostly top-down and the public was subjected to official pronouncements by government officials (Mwesige, 2003; Kayanja, 2002). Such programming was an abuse of radio that was aimed at maximising political control over the people and was particularly evident during the recurrent violent changes of government in which radio played a major role (Deane et al., 2003; Kayanja, 2002). Whenever there was a change of government, which was usually through violent means, Radio Uganda was one of the first institutions to be seized by the army officers or civilian dictators in order to announce that they had taken control of the government (Ogoso, 2004; Deane et al., 2003; Kayanja, 2002). This was because Radio Uganda was the only means of communication accessible to the whole country and the only government controlled medium. It was therefore considered by the population as the final authority on most matters (Kayanja, 2002).

Because radio was associated with power and the ability to reach most of the population, no regime considered the possibility of liberalising the radio sector in Uganda and Radio Uganda, therefore, remained the sole broadcaster for three decades (1962-1992) after independence (Kayanja, 2002). Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s however, most governments worldwide, including that of Uganda, were put under pressure from different fronts, especially donors and other international actors, to liberalise the media (Deane et al., 2003). The liberalisation process was aimed at introducing competition in sectors where the government had previously held a monopoly (Kiyaga, 1997). For the media it was a means to establish free and

plural media that would enable democratic and inclusive societies (Deane et al., 2003).

In Uganda, the pressure to liberalise the media came from the IMF and the World Bank, thereby compelling the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government, which came into power in January 1986, to embark on a process of liberalisation of most sectors in the country, including the broadcast sector (Kiyaga, 1997). Consequently in 1990, the minister of information, Paul Etyang, presented a policy statement to parliament, announcing that private radio and television stations would begin to operate in Uganda (Kayanja, 2002). In 1992, two privately owned FM radio stations, Sanyu FM and Capital Radio, were opened in Kampala (Kayanja, 2002) and since then, the radio sector has continued to grow. By December 2004, Uganda had about 148 registered and licensed FM radio stations of which 109 are in operation while the rest wait to be allocated frequencies. Of these, about 100 are private commercial stations and the rest are community and public service radio stations (Uganda Communication Commission, 2005a; Uganda Communication Commission, 2005b).

### **3.2 Ugandan media today**

Today the media landscape in Uganda can best be described as a complex one (Ogoso, 2004) with very vibrant broadcast and print media sectors. The telecommunications sector has also grown to include mobile telephones and internet services. However, radio remains a key player and “perhaps the only real mass medium in the country” (Onyango-Obbo, 2001 in Ogoso, 2004:35). Statistics show that a quarter of the Ugandan homesteads own a radio set and that in the capital city, Kampala, 92 percent of the 1.2 million residents listen to radio on a particular day compared to 50 percent who read a newspaper on a particular day (Steadman and Associates, 2002). Radio’s central place in Ugandan society has been attributed to the low literacy levels, poor infrastructure and traditions of oral culture which have made it the ideal tool of mass communication (Mwesige, 2003; Kayanja, 2002). A brief look at the other media sectors will perhaps help in painting a clearer picture of the current media situation in Uganda.

Like in most developing countries, ICT penetration in Uganda is still very low. A recent survey on ICT usage in Uganda puts the national penetration of computers at

0.7 percent meaning that there are only 182,000 computers serving 27 million Ugandans (The New Vision, 2005). The survey also states that on average there is roughly only one computer for every 100,000 people in Uganda. When it comes to the internet, with the exception of the urban centres, most of the rural areas do not have an internet presence (Deane et al., 2003; Ministry of Works, Housing and Communications, 2003; Kayanja, 2002). More still, internet use is far from reaching internationally acceptable standards as most people use the internet once a month, at most. For example, only 4.2 percent and 0.1 percent of the urban and rural populations respectively have email addresses (The New Vision, 2005).

The print media in Uganda has been described by one scholar as “fluid” (Kyanja, 2002:163). This description is in reference to the constant emergence and disappearance of newspapers, a situation which is not only unique to Uganda, but is also a common occurrence in most Sub-Saharan African countries (Deane et al., 2003). After independence, there were over 30 newspapers in circulation, but today, only three are published as dailies. These are, the state-owned The New Vision and the private The Monitor and The Red Pepper newspapers. The New Vision also publishes four regional local language newspapers (Kyanja, 2002). The New Vision is the largest paper with a daily circulation of 35,000 while The Monitor has a daily circulation of 25, 000 (Broadcasting Council, 2006b). There are a few weekly newspapers, whose circulation stands at less than 5,000 copies (Kyanja, 2002). Placed alongside a population of 27 million, these circulation figures are a drop in the ocean.

On the other hand, the liberalisation of the radio sector in Uganda revolutionised the radio industry, further making radio the dominant medium in the country (Kyanja, 2002). The radio sector in Uganda today is characterised by six main features. The first of these is that there has been an explosion of private, mainly commercial FM radio stations, a phenomenon which some have called, the “FM revolution” (Onyango-Obbo, 2001 in Ogozo, 2004:35). These stations have brought the number of radio stations in the country to about 148, from one which was owned and run by the ministry of information until 1992. These stations depend entirely on advertising for their funding and are generally seen as being independent (Deane et al., 2003; Kayanja, 2002). Out of the 109 radio stations that were operational by December 2005, about 99 are commercial stations (Uganda Communications Commission, 2005a). Worth noting is that governments generally remain content with



the mushrooming of FM radio stations in the urban areas since they remain an urban phenomenon due to their limited geographical reach that is attributed to technical factors (Deane et al., 2003). Uganda's case appears to be different however. As the 2003 Afrobarometer notes, even though most of the FM radios are located in the urban areas, almost every region in Uganda, including the rural areas, is served by at least one radio station (Afrobarometer, 2003). Consequently, the audience have more choice and probably variety to choose from. Another result has been that "the language of programming has shifted significantly towards the local dialects that the people in the area the radio is located can understand" (Mbaine, 2005:3). The use of the vernacular on radio, it can be argued, has led to more relevant programming and more audience participation (Mwesige, 2003; Kayanja, 2002), thus making radio an inclusive medium. Commercial radio has therefore been able to fill the gap created by the collapse of Radio Uganda after the liberalisation of the radio sector. It is mainly these points that have led to this study's argument that if any medium is going to assist in building an inclusive and people-centred Information Society in Uganda, that medium is FM radio.

The second common feature of Ugandan radio today is entertainment and mostly music-based content on the airwaves (Broadcasting Council, 2004b; Mwesige, 2003; Deane et al., 2003). Until recently, most of this music was mainly foreign but today, some radio stations such as Radio Simba specialise in playing local music. This is one of the ways in which local content and local talent are being promoted by the FM radio stations (Broadcasting Council, 2004b). However, FM radio stations in Uganda, like elsewhere in the world, have been criticised for neglecting issues of public concern, and concentrating on entertainment programmes (Deane et al., 2003). The heavy reliance on music by these radio stations can be explained by their profit-driven motive since they do not have to incur any costs. All they do is receive the music from the producers and play it as it. By neglecting issues of public concern such as agriculture and public health, these radio stations are promoting "a consumer-oriented, advertising-dependent and generally youth lifestyle agenda" (Deane et al, 2003:74). This point is one of the reasons I have chosen to establish whether the 2004 Broadcast Policy will help the radio stations to balance between entertainment and public interest in order for radio to be more meaningful in the knowledge society that Uganda hopes to develop into. In the Information Society, information is meant to

help society members make important decisions concerning their lives (Deane et al, 2003).

A third feature of the radio sector in Uganda today is what I refer to as ‘a dead state broadcasting system’. Like in many other African countries, the state broadcast system in Uganda plunged into crisis after the liberalisation of broadcast services. This crisis has also been the expense of programming in minority languages (Deane et al., 2003). **Previously, it was the state-owned radio stations that were responsible for prioritising public interest issues through programming that covered areas such as public health, agriculture and education and broadcasting in minority languages.** However, as in most countries, it appears that when government lost the monopoly over radio broadcasting, it also lost the incentive to invest in technology, human resources and infrastructure. In effect it neglected Radio Uganda which could therefore not afford to produce these sorts of programmes. In order to compete with the mushrooming commercial stations, most former state-owned radio stations in the world tended to turn into commercial broadcasters, allowing advertising income to supplement the little government funding they did receive (Deane et al., 2003). Uganda’s case was not any different and the government responded by establishing four commercial radio stations, namely Star FM, Green Channel, Gulu FM and Kabale Station (Baguma et al in Muthoni, 2000). These radio stations have followed the same content agenda as their private commercial counterparts, and as Jjuuko (2002) notes, developmental programmes have been shifted from prime time hours to the early hours of the day when the programme has very little listenership. This move is aimed at making room for sponsored programmes that bring in revenue during prime time.

The fourth characteristic of Ugandan radio today is the regurgitation of news from the daily local newspapers or the international news agencies such as the BBC and Radio France Internationale (RFI ) for briefs on local and foreign news respectively (Deane et al., 2003; Kayanja, 2002). Most radio stations are unable to invest in their news services given that they are out to maximise profit, as has already been discussed. However, the news carried by the foreign news agencies is hardly relevant to most people in Uganda. This practice has resulted in little local news analysis (Deane et al., 2003). Even in the light of such a situation, Uganda is one of the countries where the local audience turns to some of the local FM stations instead of international broadcasters such as the BBC, for news. For example, Deane et al

note that the BBC's audience share in Uganda is generally low because "domestic news sources and the domestic environment do provide sufficient, locally relevant news and information" (Deane et al, 2003:77).

Community radio is the fifth feature of today's liberalised radio sector in Uganda. Most definitions of community radio view it as radio that is significantly owned and/or controlled by a community and that is not run specifically for profit (Deane et al., 2003). **This category of radio caters for those communities whose specific interests may not be met by most of the commercial or public FM stations. Such communities include women, the youth, the disabled and the minority ethnic groups. Community radio is significant for an inclusive Information Society because it caters for the needs of specific audiences and also encourages audience participation in programming. As one scholar argues, "community radio makes broadcasters out of listeners" (McLeish, 1988:1 in Mbaine, 2005:2).** Such participation is a key WSIS principle if everyone is to be enabled to create, access, share and utilise information in order to achieve one's full potential (WSIS, 2004a). On a sad note though, Uganda only has two radio stations that can be considered community radio, the others (which were licensed as community radio stations) having abandoned ship when they realised that they could not stand the competition from the commercial sector (Mbaine, 2005). The ease with which these other stations turned into commercial stations is a weakness in the policy system because the current law (the 1996 Electronic Media Act) does not require stations to keep to their licence requirements (Mbaine, 2005).

The last and arguably most interesting feature of Ugandan radio is what Mbaine refers to as the "*ekimeeza*<sup>3</sup> fame" (Mbaine, 2005:4). The *ekimeeza* is a talk show format in which self-selected members of the public as well as politicians and civil society activists gather at specific venues every weekend and, guided by a moderator, debate the major issue of the week live on air. These programmes, also called open-air talk shows, are organised and aired exclusively by individual radio stations (Mwesige, 2003). Interestingly, many Ugandan *ebimeeza* (plural for *ekimeeza*) were all held in bars, until recently. Although talk shows are still heavily urban-based (Deane et al., 2003), they are a good way of encouraging public debate since almost every radio station now hosts this kind of talk show. Further, they can be argued to be more participatory than call-in talk shows. As Mwesige (2003) argues

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<sup>3</sup> *Ekimeeza* is a Luganda word that means table. It is normally used to refer to round table discussions and was adopted by FM radio stations in that context.

“... this format appears to offer even more participatory possibilities for citizens than the call-in shows, considering that telephone penetration remains very low in Uganda” (Mwesige, 2003:1). Worth noting perhaps is that, apart from one station that broadcasts its *ekimeeza* in English, the rest use vernaculars, especially Luganda, which is one of the most widely spoken languages in the country. The use of the vernacular in radio programming has not only made public debate more meaningful, it has also created a sense of identity for the Ugandan audience. Moreover, the audience is in effect creating and sharing information, when they participate in such programmes. This is one way that radio can enable an inclusive society in Uganda as proposed by the WSIS. The next section briefly discusses the Information Society in Uganda.

### **3.3 The Information Society in Uganda**

As discussed in Chapter Two, the Information Society is an evolving concept that has reached different levels across the world reflecting the different stages of development (WSIS, 2005b). Its uneven development also probably explains the contention over what constitutes the Information Society. For example, Webster (1995; 2002) highlights five definitions of the Information Society namely, the technological, economic, occupational, spatial and cultural.

Uganda is one of the developing countries in which the concept of the Information Society is not fully developed. Unlike other African countries like Rwanda, Egypt and South Africa where the debate on the Information Society is already taking place, Uganda is yet to clearly define its vision of the Information Society (Rugamba, 2005). The concept is only mentioned in various policy documents which include the 2002 ICT policy and the 2004 Broadcast Policy. The lack of a clear vision of the Information Society for Uganda probably explains why the policy documents use the future tense when referring to the Information Society.

The ICT policy views the Information Society as a precondition “to the knowledge society where individuals as well as institutions are valued and/or judged according to what they know and how much they know” (Ministry of works, housing and communications, 2003: 21). The policy also argues that in the Information

Society, people need new knowledge and new skills in order to benefit fully from, and utilise ICTs efficiently.

The 2004 Broadcast Policy also talks about the Information Society in Uganda. As one of its key objectives, the policy aims to create “an enabling environment in which the new services help Ugandans integrate into the global Information Society” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:23). The new services being referred to are the digital broadcasting services. Digital technologies are seen by some Information Society theorists as one of the major drivers in the Information Society.

Because of the lack of a proper vision of the Information Society for Uganda, this study finds the WSIS view of the Information Society useful. This is because the WSIS provides a holistic definition of the Information Society. As Berger (2004) argues, the WSIS “managed to accommodate and synthesise the various competing interpretations of the features of an Information Society” (Berger, 2004:14). However, the older ICTs can only be major drivers in the Information Society if enabling policies and laws are put in place. Hence one of the objectives of this study is to establish whether the 2004 Broadcast Policy enables radio to build an Information Society in Uganda.

### **3.4 Relevant laws and policies**

Uganda’s broadcast sector is governed by three major pieces of legislation, namely, the 1996 Electronic Media Act, the 1995 Press and Journalist Act and the 2004 Broadcast Policy. The Electronic Media Act was the first form of legislation that was enacted to regulate broadcast services in Uganda following the liberalisation of the sector in 1993. However, it can be argued the Act is too broad to address concerns specific to the broadcast sector since it covers a number of sectors which include the telecoms, film sectors, as well as theatre. In 2004, the Broadcasting Council proposed a Broadcast Policy that would address specific concerns of the sector (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). Therefore, whereas both the Electronic Media Act and the Press and Journalists Act address electronic media issues, the Broadcasting Policy is more specific to the sector.

### 3.4.1 The 1996 Electronic Media Act

The liberalisation of the broadcast sector led to the passing of the 1996 Electronic Media Act. Prior to 1993 when the airwaves were liberalised in Uganda, broadcasting was a monopoly of the state through Radio Uganda and Uganda Television. The Electronic Media Act was therefore meant to address the developments such as the liberalisation of media ownership, which had seen new players entering the broadcast sector (Kayanja, 2002). For a long time, it remained the only law that governed the sector.

The Electronic Media Act created the Broadcasting Council which consists of 12 members, all of whom are appointed by the information minister (Broadcasting Council, 2006a; The Uganda Gazette, 1996). The Broadcasting Council is responsible for issuing licences to radio and television stations. These licences are renewable on an annual basis, a move that critics argue is meant for government to keep private radio stations in check (Kayanja, 2002). “The government continually refers to its power of licensing to bring order and ‘professionalism’ in the broadcasting industry” (Mbaine, 2005:5). The Broadcasting Council also controls and supervises broadcast activities and is responsible for the setting of ethical broadcast standards, arbitration in cases of dispute and advising government on broadcast matters (The Uganda Gazette, 1996).

The Electronic Media Act also provides for the television viewer licence, the payment of which also enables one to sell or transfer possession of his or her television set (The Uganda Gazette, 1996). The law states that contravention of this section is commission of an offence.

Critics argue that this legislation gives a lot of power to the Broadcasting Council which hardly enjoys any autonomy from the executive minister who also has direct supervisory powers over it (Mbaine, 2005). It can be argued that the Council infringes on the pluralism, independence and freedom of the media especially since it has the authority to shut down radio stations whenever it sees fit, usually on order from above. For example, in August 2005, the Broadcasting Council indefinitely closed KFM radio, saying it breached sections of the electronic media law. This was after a journalist with this radio station made utterances that were considered “irresponsible” by the Broadcasting Council (Musoke and Nalunkuma, 2005). The

radio station was later reopened but warned to report responsibly by the Broadcasting Council chairman.

The Electronic Media Act can be seen as a threat to radio in Uganda (Mbaine, 2005) as discussed above. Unfortunately, it has not been revised to accommodate some of the recommendations of the 2004 Broadcast Policy. As one interview respondent argues,

For the Broadcast Policy to meet the independence and plurality stipulations of the WSIS, the Electronic Media Act would need to be revised and brought in consonance with the spirit of the policy (interview with Linda).

Pluralism and diversity of the media are key principles of the WSIS if the media is to enable an inclusive and people-centred Information Society.

### **3.4.2 The 1995 Press and Journalist Act**

Although the Press and Journalist Act mostly deals with print media issues, it puts in place some regulations that affect the broadcast sector. The Act specifically establishes the Media Council and the National Institute of Journalists of Uganda (NIJU).

The role of the Media Council is to regulate the conduct of journalists in order to ensure that they maintain good ethical standards and discipline. It is also responsible for censoring films, video tapes, plays and other related apparatuses for public consumption (The Uganda Gazette, 1995).

Some critics view the existence of both the Media Council and the Broadcasting Council as unnecessary (interview with Bossa). They argue that the two should be merged to avoid clashing of roles.

The Press and Journalist Act also created NIJU, a professional body for journalists, whose role is to establish and maintain professional standards for journalists, among others. Every journalist is required to register with NIJU, but he or she must be “a holder of a University degree in Journalism or Mass Communication; or a holder of a University degree plus a qualification in Journalism or Mass Communication and has practised journalism for at least one year” (the Uganda Gazette, 1995:12). Generally journalists and academics object to these standards arguing that they limit those who are interested in practising journalism since the

statute defines a journalist in terms of educational qualifications. This is especially due to the fact that before 1989, there was no degree programme for journalism at any university in Uganda. Most journalists therefore obtained diplomas and other qualifications. This situation is made worse by the requirement to obtain a practising certificate which is renewed annually. Anyone practising journalism without this certificate commits an offence and can be imprisoned.

### **3.4.3 The 2004 Broadcast Policy**

The liberalisation of the broadcast sector in most developing countries has been partial and haphazard, having taken place in “a regulatory environment that in many cases can be described as rudimentary” (Deane et al., 2003:66). Uganda has not been any different. For a long time after the liberalisation of radio broadcasting, the 1996 Electronic Media Act was the only legislation that guided the operations of radio in Uganda. Critics have argued that this law was too harsh to enable a free and plural broadcast sector (Mbaine, 2005). The lack of a proper law or policy led to the uneven and uncoordinated growth of the broadcast sector (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). For example, most of the radio stations are concentrated in the capital city, Kampala and have ended up congesting the spectrum, to the extent that the Broadcasting Council has suspended the issuing of new licences until this problem is resolved (Mbaine, 2005:3).

The Broadcast Policy was proposed in 2004 to ensure the regulation of the sector, while holding onto the principles of pluralism and liberalism. At the time of this research, the draft policy had been submitted to cabinet and it was not clear whether any changes were made. According to the Broadcasting Council, the policy was then forwarded to Parliament for discussion although Parliament has not yet discussed it (Linda, 2005).

The issues of particular concern for the policymakers were foreign and cross-ownership, signal distribution, local content, pornography and violence-particularly in the film/cinema sector. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. The policy is aimed at enabling the broadcast industry to develop in line with the overall long-term vision of the country which is to eradicate poverty as envisaged in the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). It hopes to achieve this through establishing broadcast services that address the needs of the poor and



vulnerable groups in a sustainable manner by promoting the delivery of high quality and efficient broadcast services by both public and private service providers (Broadcasting Council, 2004c).

The Broadcast Policy creates a three tier broadcast system which consists of the public service broadcaster (Uganda Broadcasting Corporation), commercial broadcasters and community broadcasters (Broadcasting council, 2004c). Each of these categories of broadcasting is meant to ensure universal service and access to broadcasting, especially radio, in addition to diversity and plurality of information. It is hoped that universal service will be achieved through the requirement to have a fixed amount of local content, and for the call to all broadcast services to have a public service mandate (Broadcasting council, 2004b).

The public broadcaster was under the ownership of the government for a long time even after the liberalisation of the sector. However, the creation of the public service broadcasting tier is meant to, among other things, establish a viable, independent, professionally-run public broadcaster that is accountable to the public (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). This goal is to be realised by passing the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) law that enables the merging of UTV and Radio Uganda to form the Uganda Broadcast Corporation. The UBC law was passed early last year and is already in effect. As such, the public service broadcaster is no longer under state ownership and /or management.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has briefly discussed the history of radio broadcasting in Uganda and radio's role as both a government and public service broadcaster. The current situation of the media in Uganda has also been discussed and it has emerged that the liberalisation of the broadcast sector has led to the diversity of media ownership especially since government relinquished its monopoly over radio ownership to private individuals. The state of the Information Society and the other existing national laws affecting broadcast services in Uganda have also been discussed. From these discussions, three things can be concluded.

The first is that radio in Uganda is the medium with the most potential to promote an inclusive and people-centred Information Society. This is because in addition to being omnipresent, radio has the ability to overcome boundaries such as

illiteracy, which is a major set back especially in the rural areas. Although Uganda's literacy rate rose from 65 per cent in 1997 to 70 per cent in 2003, the illiteracy rate increases as one moves away from the city centres to the rural areas (UNDP, 2005). Since radio is accessible even in the rural areas, it is arguably the most effective tool of mass communication in Uganda.

The second is that radio as it stands today, can be argued to be inclusive and people-centred especially in the sense that it uses local languages and airs programmes such as *ekimeeza* which are participatory in nature. However, because most of these radio stations in Uganda depend on advertising for funding, they have tended to neglect their public service role, by broadcasting programmes that will attract advertisers. It is argued here that if radio is to enable a 'true' inclusive and people-centred Information Society in Uganda, it has to be facilitated by the 2004 Broadcast Policy, to return to public service programming. As Deane et al. (2003) argue in order to address the challenges of providing public service radio in a liberalised and commercialised environment, countries must create intelligent, flexible and creative regulatory environments that encourage diversity and true pluralism.

And lastly, critics have argued that the 1996 Electronic Media Act is detrimental to the development and growth of radio as a true mass medium (Mbaine, 2005; Linda, 2005). This is because the legislation has been found to be going against press freedom, pluralism and independence. It also does not clearly spell out the role of radio in Ugandan society, a gap that I hope the 2004 Broadcast Policy fills. Media freedom, pluralism and independence are key principles of the WSIS.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Research methods and procedures**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodology used to carry out this research. It is divided into five sections. The first section spells out the goals of the research and the key research question while the next section presents the over all research design. The qualitative research tradition is discussed next as well as the sampling techniques, the interview guide, the research techniques of document analysis and individual in-depth interviews and the pilot study, respectively. The last section concludes the chapter.

#### **4.1 Goals of the research**

This study sets out to critically analyse Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles. The policy was drawn up in order to regulate the broadcast sector and to address the needs of the poor and vulnerable groups in a sustainable manner by promoting the delivery of high quality and efficient broadcast services by both public and private service providers (Broadcasting Council, 2004). The policy also states one of its objectives is to create an enabling environment in which the regulated broadcast sector helps Ugandans to integrate into the global Information Society. Because Uganda lacks a proper vision of the Information Society, this study finds the WSIS principles quite useful.

This is because WSIS is concerned with forming a common vision of the Information Society in which the business community, media and government agencies have a stake. According to the WSIS principles, the Information Society has to be sustainable, inclusive, people-centred and development-oriented and it should enable everyone to create access, utilise and share information in order to meet their needs. The WSIS recognises the media, and specifically radio, as one of the key players in the Information Society (WSIS, 2004a). It also calls for the development and implementation of policies that are favourable to the Information Society.

This study attempts to answer the question "does the 2004 Broadcast Policy enable radio to promote an Information Society that is inclusive and people-centred

and based on the WSIS principles?” In answering this question, the study hopes to achieve two objectives. The first is to establish whether Uganda’s 2004 Broadcast Policy provides an enabling environment for radio to promote an inclusive and people-centred Information Society as envisaged by the WSIS. The second is to find out whether the policy enables radio to become a public service medium. This is especially in regard to commercial radio stations which form the majority of the radio stations. Public service radio is crucial for preparing Uganda for the Information Society because the biggest percentage of the population uses radio for their daily and most crucial information needs.

## **4.2 Research design/procedure**

This study is carried out within the qualitative research tradition. It specifically employs the research techniques of document analysis and individual in-depth interviewing. The researcher started off by selecting the research techniques to be employed, followed by the sampling of the documents to be analysed during the document analysis process and the individuals to be interviewed. Document analysis was then carried out followed by the drafting of the interview guide. The interview guide was then tested on the researcher’s classmates after which the actual interviews were conducted in Kampala, Uganda. The next section discusses the qualitative research tradition.

## **4.3 The qualitative research tradition**

Qualitative research views events, actions, norms and values from the perspective of the people being studied. Hence its relevance to this study which needed to consider the opinions of the Ugandan policy makers and others involved in or affected by the policy process. The qualitative approach was also suitable for this study because it pays substantial attention to detail in the research process (Bryman, 1988). This characteristic of qualitative research enabled the researcher to consider a lot of material especially at the document analysis stage. Paying attention to detail allows the researcher to view events and situations within a social context, such as the Ugandan one in which the policy was formulated. Another important contribution of detail to research is that it marks a context for the understanding of subjects’ interpretation of what is going on (Bryman, 1988).

This research also found the qualitative approach suitable because the approach favours an unstructured approach to research (Bryman, 1988). The unstructured approach allowed the researcher to collect data within unspecified boundaries something which was quite helpful since the research dealt with a lot of documents at the analysis stage. The approach therefore left the research more open and more flexible, allowing the researcher to venture into other important topics which he or she may not have paid attention to at the beginning of the study (Bryman, 1988). Applying this open research strategy enabled me to, for example, explore the issue of public interest radio as an essential player in the promotion of an inclusive and people-centred Information Society. The issue came up after undertaking the document analysis which was the main data source for this research. Including this issue would not have been possible with a more rigid research strategy.

Since different research traditions are suited to different research goals, the qualitative approach was appropriate in this study as it goes beyond pure descriptions and provides room for new analyses and insights (Cantrell, 1993; Bryman, 1988; Lincoln and Guba, 1988). Considering that both the WSIS and the Information Society discourses vary from one geographical location to another, pure description would have been insufficient because it would most probably provide a one-sided view. As Bryman (1988) points out, going beyond pure description helps the researcher understand what is going on in a particular context. Analysis which may be informed by some of the findings is essential in providing a detailed understanding of what one is studying.

The qualitative research approach was also suited to this study because it relies heavily on the human being as the tool of research (Lincoln and Guba, 1988). This is particularly important to this study because document analysis alone would have produced an analysis that was more descriptive and more one-sided because the analysis is likely to be influenced strongly by the researcher's perspective. Interviewing individuals involved in the policy process as well as those affected by the policy helped to provide a human perspective and more varied interpretation of the policy process. This point leads to the next issue which deals with the techniques used in qualitative research.

Qualitative research was also fitting because it allows the use of various techniques in studying a phenomenon (Lincoln and Guba, 1988). Multiple methods allow references drawn from one data source to be followed up by another (Bryman,

1988). For this study, using the document analysis alone could have led to the researcher missing some relevant issues that came up during the individual in-depth interviews. Using more than one method also allowed the researcher to avoid producing one sided analysis informed by the researcher's understanding of the documents under study. The study specifically employed the research techniques of document analysis and individual in-depth interviews.

#### **4.4 Sampling**

The study employed purposive sampling for both the document analysis and the individual in-depth interviews. Purposive sampling involves the selection of small, manageable and information-rich samples, whether informants or documents (Deacon et al., 1999). It may allow for the researcher to customise the interview to individual respondents, something that was particularly helpful in this study since the respondents came from different social backgrounds. For example, during the interview, I ended up skipping some of the questions that I had planned to ask some respondents, on discovering that they would not provide the information I sought. In other cases I ended up following up certain responses in order to obtain richer answers.

In this study a number of respondents were 'selected' from different sectors. The respondents were selected on the basis of their ability to provide expert information on the policy process and the WSIS in relation to Ugandan media. These individuals had either participated in the policy formulation process, were key informants on the WSIS and broadcasting in Uganda, or were in one way or another affected by the 2004 Broadcast Policy. They included the chairman of the parliamentary committee on science and technology, three radio journalists/producers, a representative from the Broadcasting Council and lastly, one of the legal advisors on the formulation of the policy. For purposes of confidentiality, pseudonyms are used in the analysis chapter.

The primary documents used in this study were the final draft of the 2004 Broadcast Policy, as well as the final WSIS Declaration of Principles and the WSIS Plan of Action. The study only considered the final WSIS Declaration of Principles and the final Plan of Action as endorsed by the Geneva 2003 summit since these are the principles that were ratified by every nation including Uganda. The secondary

documents, which are records about primary documents (Altheide, 1996) included the commentaries on the WSIS as well as newspaper excerpts, and minutes of the public hearings on the policy as well as commentary on the policy. These documents proved helpful in obtaining criticisms of the policy by various groups such as civil society and the journalists. They also provided some information that backed up the interview responses.

#### **4.5 The interview guide**

An interview guide was drawn up in order to aid the administration of individual in-depth interviews. The interview guide consisted of open-ended questions that were divided into different sections each representing a theme. The different sections included questions on the policy formulation process, the Information Society in Uganda, the WSIS principles in relation to the Broadcast Policy and lastly, the role of radio in building a sustainable Information Society in Uganda. The guide was adjusted to suit each respondent since they all came from different social backgrounds and they provided different information. This was done during the actual interviewing process. Also, the researcher was not restricted to the questions on the guide but rather used them as a reminder of what the key issues were.

#### **4.6 Document analysis**

Document analysis has been defined as “an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving and analysing documents for their relevance, significance and meaning” (Altheide, 1996:2). Documents can be an important source of information because they are likely to reflect an authentic situation that occurred at some stage in the past, especially since they are not likely to be altered (Chikunkhuzeni, 1999; Lincoln and Guba, 1988). As such, documents are not “biased” by the researcher (Jensen, 1982:243) since their existence is independent of the researcher. Document analysis is therefore an unobtrusive research method (Jensen, 1982).

In document analysis, the meaning and significance of the documents is informed by the researcher’s interest and relevance (Altheide, 1996). Hence the use of the purposive sampling technique to rule out certain documents from the large number that was available on the subject.

The success of document analysis heavily depends on the availability of the documents and therefore the absence of relevant documents can be a hindrance to the process (Altheide, 1996). Fortunately, the documents that were analysed during this study are generally available to the public especially through various websites. The draft and final broadcast policies are also available in printed form at the Broadcasting Council headquarters and electronic copies can be obtained from various websites. This confirms Altheide's (1996) observation that information technology has greatly enhanced document analysis in the last 20 years. "Information technology has opened up a potentially enormous source of new documents for investigation..." (Altheide, 1996: 7).

One problem that a researcher is likely to encounter when undertaking document analysis is that he or she is likely to influence the findings and interpretations of the data. As one scholar explains "the document has an existence independent of the researcher, although its meaning and significance for the research act will depend on the researcher's focus" (Altheide, 1996:2). Altheide further argues that the researchers' findings and interpretations of the document reflect a perspective, orientation, and approach. In my case, this problem was minimised by the use of information obtained from in-depth interviews with individuals involved in and affected by the policy. These interviews helped to present more views on the subject at hand. The document analysis provided the themes that were investigated during the interviews.

#### **4.7 Individual in-depth interviews**

Individual in-depth interviews are employed by the researcher in order to obtain expert insight or information (Lindlof, 1995) as was the case in this study. Also as one scholar puts it, "the best way to find out what people think about something is to ask them" (Bower, 1973 in Jensen, 1982). Jensen (1982) further argues that in-depth interviewing is particularly suited to tap social agents' perspectives on the media because of its similarity to conversation. He notes that this could be attributed to the fact that spoken language remains a primary and familiar mode of social interaction.

In-depth interviewing was suitable to this study because it is flexible and can consist of open questions (Frey et al., 2000). Open questions were helpful during this



research when it came to discussing the formulation process of the policy. This is because the respondents came up with some ideas that I had not thought of earlier and that would not have come up in response to close-ended questions. More importantly perhaps, an in-depth interview is highly exploratory and allows researchers to learn gradually about participants and events, and modify the interview strategy as they proceed (Frey et al., 2000). In this research, I discovered during the interviews that different respondents required different questions in order to provide the sought after information. Hence, the interview guide ended up being tailored to each respondent.

This study also found in-depth interviews beneficial because they enable the interviewer to obtain very rich data concerning the respondents' opinions, values, motivations, recollections, experiences, and feelings (Wimmer and Dominick, 1991). This is because as individual respondents, they most probably feel free to interact with the interviewer in a more relaxed manner, than would have been the case in a group discussion. This is something that proved to be particularly helpful in my study since I was interviewing some high profile politicians who needed to relax and 'come down to my level'. Also, some of the information I obtained was of a very political nature and would most probably not have been given to me in a group interview. Stating that the participants' identities would not be disclosed made them feel more comfortable and ready to speak to me.

#### **4.8 Pilot study**

Before conducting the actual interviews, a pilot interview was carried out in order to assess the effectiveness of the interview guide. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1991), a pilot study is used to refine both the research design and the field procedures. It is useful for establishing whether indeed the research design will work (Hansen et al., 1998). It is helpful for bringing out variables that the researcher may have missed during the design phase. The results of the pilot study are used to revise and even polish the whole research process.

In this case, the pilot study was conducted for the individual in-depth interviews. The respondents were selected from the MA Journalism and Media Studies class of 2005. I carried out three interviews in all.

As Hansen et al., (1998) write, the pilot study enabled me to assess the clarity of the questions, to check whether the respondents would understand the questions

and answer them accordingly and lastly, to ensure that the interviews flows in a meaningful manner. From the comments obtained from the pilot study, I was able to rephrase some questions and even do away with others.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the research methods and procedures used in this study and has justified the decision to use such methods. The chapter has also explained the value of each method to the study at hand. It has been pointed out that the qualitative research approach was suited to this study because of its ability to allow for flexibility in research. The goal of research and the research question have also been discussed. Document analysis and in-depth interviews as specific research methods used in this study are discussed in detail as well as the sampling techniques and the interview guide used in the individual in-depth interviews.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Analysis, interpretations and discussion**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents an analysis, interpretation and discussion of Uganda's Broadcast Policy in light of the key WSIS principles. It seeks to establish whether the policy, whose purpose is to ensure that "the broadcast industry is regulated and the public are assured of quality programming" (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:7), enables radio to promote an inclusive and people-centred Information Society. The policy has been sent to cabinet and has not yet been discussed in parliament. This chapter investigates whether the policy enables public service radio and regulates radio in order to benefit the public. This study argues that public service radio (as discussed in Chapter Three) is essential to building an inclusive and people-centred Information Society, as envisaged by the WSIS. The WSIS principles are useful to this study because the WSIS provides a holistic vision of the Information Society. The WSIS also views older ICTs, such as radio, which is the focus of this study, as key drivers in the Information Society.

The chapter starts with a general discussion on the three-tier broadcast system which is followed by a discussion of a number of areas within the policy, namely, public service, community and commercial radio tiers, ownership and control, as well as human resource development. The discussion on human resource development also includes digital broadcasting because of its links with the use of ICTs in broadcasting. These policy areas were chosen because of their relevance to the WSIS principles. The discussion of each policy area begins with a presentation of that policy area's objectives and strategies, followed by a discussion of their relation to the WSIS principles. This is then followed by a discussion of the policy area's position within policy theory in order to establish in whose interests the policy is made.

#### **5.1 The three-tier broadcast system**

It can be argued that the creation of the three-tier system was in order to fulfil the Broadcast Policy's vision to create "a diverse, responsible and viable broadcasting sector" (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:12) by creating specific tiers with specific

licence obligations. As one respondent explains, “the policy also stipulates specific roles and responsibilities for broadcasters” (Linda, 2005). In this way, the policy can also be said to fulfil its mission “to provide guidance and a framework for a co-ordinated broadcasting industry” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:12). Chapter Three, noted that the liberalisation of the broadcast sector in Uganda, like in most African countries, was undertaken before any elaborate Broadcast Policy was put in place. Hence,

...the broadcasting sector has operated without an explicit national policy. This is partly due to the fact that the airwaves were liberalised before any policy was developed or law enacted. This trend of events led to the uncoordinated development of the broadcasting sector and the need for a national broadcasting policy that addresses concerns of the broadcasting industry cannot be over-emphasised (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:7).

The liberalisation of the broadcast sector in Uganda led to the proliferation of new, private commercial FM radio stations that are urban-based, (Mbaine, 2005; Mwesige, 2003). These radio stations are entirely dependent on advertising for revenue, and have come to characterise the industry as one where “cut-throat competition” is the order of the day (Mbaine, 2005:6). The explosion of these FM radio stations in the urban areas created an imbalance in the broadcast sector since some communities, especially those in the rural areas, were not being serviced by radio stations. Further, the law was not strict on radio stations sticking to their licence requirements and as one critic observes, for example,

Radio stations that were registered as community broadcasters have since abandoned the tag and gone fully commercial, firm in the knowledge that the current law does not hold them to submit to such obligations. Even the word community radio was a misnomer for most of the stations so registered (save for Kagadi Kibaale Community Radio and MAMA FM), considering their ownership, programming and business interests (Mbaine, 2005:6).

In relation to the above remarks, another respondent argues that “to the best of my knowledge, the broadcasting policy was motivated by a desire to bring order to a chaotic industry” (Linda, 2005). Arguably, this influenced the development of a policy that “envisages three *clearly distinguished* tiers of broadcasting [namely], the public, the commercial and the community broadcasters” (my emphasis; Broadcasting Council, 2004a:2). The policy “focuses the broadcasting sector on providing services that address the needs of, among others, the poor and vulnerable groups in a

sustainable manner” hence the creation of the public service and community radio tiers (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:8).

### **5.1.1 The public service radio tier (Uganda Broadcasting Corporation)**

#### *Policy objectives and strategies*

Under the policy area of public service broadcasting, the 2004 Broadcast Policy provides for the creation of the public service broadcaster, Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC), which consists of UBC TV and UBC radio. The overall aim of this policy area is to “introduce a viable, independent, professionally-run public broadcaster, accountable to the public, to ensure efficiency and quality programming” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:18).

Specifically this policy area aims:

- To provide services which will inform, educate and entertain the whole country;
- To offer a high percentage of local content;
- To offer programming of a high standard;
- To enrich the cultural heritage of Uganda through support for the indigenous arts and cultural diversity;
- To contribute, through its programming, to a sense of national identity and unity;
- To ensure programming that will cater for the poor and vulnerable;
- To ensure that the public has access to information;
- To serve the overall public interest, avoiding one-sided reporting and programming in regard to religion, political orientation, culture, race and gender (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:18).

These objectives also tie in well with the overall mission, vision and goals of the policy which include among others, a policy that focuses “the broadcasting sector on providing services that address the needs of the poor and vulnerable groups in a sustainable manner” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:8).

#### *Relevance to WSIS principles*

This study finds that the specific objectives of the policy area on public service radio are in line with several WSIS principles. The overall objective of the policy area to create an independent and viable public service broadcaster is consistent with the WSIS Declaration of Principles’ call for a free and independent

media industry in order to build an inclusive and people-centred Information Society (WSIS, 2004a).

The policy area also intends for the UBC radio to cater for the needs of the poor and vulnerable groups in society. This is also a fulfilment of the WSIS principle on minority and disadvantaged groups, which states that “in building the Information Society, we shall pay particular attention to the special needs of marginalised and vulnerable groups of society, including...unemployed and underprivileged people, minorities...” (WSIS, 2004a:2-3).

Another objective of this policy area is to ensure that the public has access to information. This objective is also consistent with the WSIS principles when they state that “the ability for all to access...ideas and knowledge is essential in an inclusive Information Society” (WSIS, 2004a:4).

### *Position within policy theory*

The policy area on public service broadcasting is informed by the chaos paradigm because of the vague and ambiguous way in which some of the goals are written. The chaos paradigm maintains that ambiguity in language becomes a means for reducing conflict and can be seen to work when the policy is not implemented and the policymakers blame the ambiguity in the language (Anderson, 1990).

Unfortunately, in this case, the ambiguity applies to a very crucial area that deals with how the public service broadcaster will serve the public’s interests, that is, through local content. The reluctance of the policy to clearly spell out the quotas of local content can be viewed as a lack of commitment by the policymakers, to achieving the policy goals. This is consistent with the chaos paradigm’s view that the realisation of policy goals is aided by clear objectives and strategies (Sharkansky, 2002). Grindle (1980) also notes that sometimes it may not be possible to realise the policy goals in an entirely predictable and manageable manner. In this case, the ambiguity might end up benefiting the public service broadcaster instead of the public since the implementation of the policy is at the former’s discretion.

The Broadcast Policy is also vague on how it is going to establish an independent public service broadcaster which is free from political interference. The UBC law (discussed in Chapter Three) which facilitated the creation of the public service broadcaster has been viewed by some critics as leaving the ownership of UBC to the government. For example, one newspaper reported that “the bill vests whole

ownership of the corporation in the hands of government” (Namutebi, 2005). Also according to the law, the Board of Directors of the UBC is appointed by the information minister, thus making the Board accountable to the Minister and not to the public. As Tleane and Duncan (2003) observe, public service broadcasters usually account to the public through board members, who should represent the broad spectrum of public opinion since they are appointed through a public process for the offices.

Further, the policy does not clearly state how the UBC is going to become and remain economically independent. Economic independence is important for public service broadcasters to ensure access to information, knowledge, culture and entertainment for all citizens including the vulnerable and minority groups (WBU, 2004). The Broadcasting Council position paper on the matter proposed that the UBC be financed using funds realised from the television viewer licence as provided for under the 1996 Electronic Media Act. The Broadcasting Council explains that,

...what the Broadcasting Council aspires for is a Public Service Broadcaster similar to the BBC in the United Kingdom and SABC in South Africa. The License fee funds these successful bodies. The Uganda Public Service Broadcaster will be answerable not to the advertisers or the government, but to the public. And its broadcast license will have specific obligations within its mandate (Broadcasting Council, 2004a:2).

However, these aspirations were shattered in September 2005 when the President banned the television license saying it should not be levied on poor people, but on the business community only. As one newspaper report put it

President Yoweri Museveni this week directed Nsaba Buturo [information minister] to stop levying tax on TV sets that are not used for commercial purpose... The president told UBC members that ‘any tax that affects the *bakopi* (peasants) should be avoided’ (Olupot & Mubiru, 2005).

This presidential directive resulted in the UBC law scrapping the television tax which led to one respondent’s argument that “the law literally condemns the public service broadcaster to total dependence on commercially generated funds. This creates room for manipulation by both government and advertisers in future” (Linda, 2005).

It can be argued therefore that at the implementation stage, the policy area on public service radio is consistent with the chaos paradigm’s view that the implementation and evaluation of policy are “interrelated decisions, involving a

multiplicity of actors, none of whom have any marked degree of control over the situation” (Parsons and Wildavsky, 1973 in Jenkins, 1978:212). Hence, although the goals and objectives of the policy seem to have been stated quite clearly, their implementation is still questionable.

### **5.1.2 The community radio tier**

#### *Policy objectives and strategies*

According to the policy document, the policy area on community radio was drawn up with the following objectives:

- To provide citizens with a platform to articulate their local issues;
- To provide more opportunities for programming in the indigenous Ugandan languages;
- To provide indigenous programmes relevant to development at the grassroots;
- To reduce the gap between urban and rural communities in accessing communication for development;
- To encourage members of the community to participate in the planning, production and presentation of programmes;
- To promote ownership of media by low income groups of society i.e. the poor and vulnerable (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:21).

These objectives point to several benefits of community radio such as programming in indigenous languages, participation of the community in programme planning, production and presentation and media ownership by groups with small incomes. These are discussed in detail in the section that deals with local content. Despite these benefits of community radio, community radio’s sustainability is usually a problem especially in a context such as the Ugandan one where they have to compete with the more dynamic and better funded commercial stations for audiences. As one respondent explains, community radio stations are faced with the challenge of raising the annual licence fees levied by the Broadcasting Council. These fees are determined by the geographical location of the station, whether urban or rural, as outlined in the 1996 Electronic Media Act (Bossa, 2005). Currently this fee falls between one million (approx \$ 555) and five million (approx \$ 2777) Uganda Shillings.



Another respondent explains that unlike the 1996 Electronic Media Act, the 2004 Broadcast Policy takes cognisance of the special financial needs of community radio (Timothy, 2005) when it requires the Broadcasting Council to ensure that “community media are well managed, financially-stable...” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:22). The policy also requires the Broadcasting Council to “support capacity building in terms of human and financial resource development” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:22). Despite these proposed measures, the policy does not seem to lay out a concrete and clear plan to support community radio. One respondent points to the loopholes in this part of the policy when she states that

Although it is commendable and necessary that the policy recognises the unique financial position of stations that operate in the rural areas it appears to be blind to the fact that regulation should be based on the nature and mission of the station as location is not enough. There are commercial rural FM stations that are likely to benefit more from this kind of regulation, by paying less for the license yet their operations are purely commercial (Kyomuhendo, 2005).

Kyomuhendo’s views confirm Mbaine’s (2005) observation that, when one considers the ownership, programming and business interests of some of the community radio stations, the label community radio becomes a misnomer.

The nature of community radio however, makes it a sure way of improving access to information and knowledge for rural, poor, minority and vulnerable groups in society. This is because it is aimed at specific geographical and special interest communities. Therefore, for a Broadcast Policy such as this one which seeks to address the needs of the poor and vulnerable, the establishment of a community radio tier is commendable but perhaps still unachievable.

### *Relevance to WSIS principles*

It can be argued that the objectives of this policy area are generally consistent with the WSIS principles. The WSIS’ ideal of an Information Society is one in which “...everyone can create, access, utilise and share information and knowledge...” (WSIS, 2004a:1). Community radio in Uganda can contribute to this kind of Information Society in three ways. Firstly, it has the potential to promote local content and the use of indigenous languages therefore enabling creation of information; secondly, it has the potential to encourage participation from members of the

community in programme planning, production and presentation, thus enabling information and knowledge sharing; and thirdly its contribution to diversity in ownership through its promotion of ownership by groups with the low income which promotes access to information and knowledge. In this way, community radio promotes the ability for rural populations to access and contribute information, ideas and knowledge. According to the WSIS principles, these factors are essential for an inclusive Information Society (WSIS, 2004a). The factors are discussed in more detail below.

Local content and the use of various indigenous languages in broadcasting are also viewed by the WSIS as key to building an inclusive and people-centred Information Society. “The creation, dissemination and preservation of content in diverse languages... must be accorded high priority in building an inclusive Information Society...” (WSIS, 2004a:7). The WSIS also contends that local content production and accessibility that suits the domestic or regional needs can encourage social and economic development and will stimulate participation of all stakeholders including those people living in rural, remote and marginal areas. The social and economic benefits of local content are discussed later on, under the section on local content.

Community radio also creates potential for participation of the community in programme planning, production and presentation. Such participation may lead to the creation of locally relevant content since it is produced from the recipient’s perspective. This participation also creates local cultural identity since the policy stipulates that the programmes should reflect local interests and perspectives. It can also be seen as enabling the people in those communities to create and share information, which is consistent with the WSIS principles for an inclusive Information Society.

### *Position in policy theory*

The policy area on community radio can be said to be participatory at the implementation stage. This is because the policy takes into consideration the contribution of those whom it is meant to benefit, that is, the poor and vulnerable and the community generally (Colebatch, 2002). Such a policy can be empowering to the people at whom it is aimed who would most probably embrace it and work towards its

successful implementation (Berger, 2003a). These people are also most likely to improve it to suit their needs since they can identify with it.

This policy area also manifests the chaos paradigm at the implementation stage when one considers that the other laws have not been brought into tandem with the Broadcast Policy. Specifically, the 1996 Electronic Media Act has not yet been revised to accommodate the new policy issues such as special licence fee considerations for community radio stations. And

Without statement of clear mandate of the relevant agencies in the sector, there will be delays in having the sectoral reforms implemented, as a lot of time will be spent in 'building empires', let alone loss of invaluable resources in duplicating efforts (WOUGNET, 2005: 53).

Such inconsistency can be seen as being consistent with the chaos paradigm's view that sometimes policies are unsuccessful because of their failure to spell out clearly the roles of those involved in implementing the policy. This leaves the policy open to abuse by the powerful who may decide not to implement it.

The policy also reflects the chaos paradigm by not stating clearly how the Broadcasting Council is going to ensure that community radio stations are managed well and are financially stable. This is a major weakness in the policy given that community radio is one of the main channels through which information can reach the poor rural and marginalised groups of society. The policy also does not state how the Broadcasting Council is going to support capacity building for community radio stations. The uncertainty on how these strategies are going to be implemented only benefits the Broadcasting Council which might decide on when or even whether to implement them.

### **5.1.3 Commercial radio and subscription radio tiers**

#### *Policy objectives and strategies*

The overall objective of this policy area is to “ensure that commercial operators strike a balance between profit and social responsibility” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:20). Specifically commercial radio stations are required to

- Provide the Council with their up-to-date programme line-up to enable it monitor content and ensure proper standards;

- Provide for the linguistic and cultural needs of the area in which they operate;
- Ensure a balance in programming between entertainment, information and education (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:21).

On the other hand, the Broadcasting Council is required to

- Ensure that all operators are licensed;
- Ensure that commercial broadcasters provide adequate local content;
- Ensure availability of all categories of commercial licences;
- Ensure that new services are provided to increase diversity in the programming;
- Ensure fair and sustainable competition in the provision of services (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:20-21).

By making it mandatory for commercial radio stations to produce and air local content as well as consider the cultural and linguistic needs of the areas in which they operate, it can be argued that the policy is in a way trying to make radio more inclusive. Local content produced and aired in local languages can also be argued to make radio more relevant because of the familiarity with the themes and languages in programming. This specifically benefits the populations in the rural areas who may not necessarily have access to community radio to cater for their unique needs.

Although commercial radio has been criticised for neglecting its public interest role and serving mainly the interests of the advertisers, it has been argued that “commercial broadcasting whether funded by advertising or subscription, contributes to the delivery of key policy goals such as the production of original and varied content and the existence of a plurality of news sources” (WBU, 2004:4). Maintaining the commercial radio tier could therefore be viewed as the policy’s commitment to the production and dissemination of local content. It is also in fulfilment of the policy’s vision which is to create a “diverse... viable broadcasting sector” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:12) through encouraging more ownership of radio stations by the general public and by encouraging self-funded radio stations that do not depend on public funding like the public service radios, or on donor funding like the community radio stations. It can also be taken as a commitment to the establishing of a broadcast system based on access to and diversity of information (Broadcasting Council, 2004c) since commercial radio stations are found in almost every region in Uganda and are owned by different individuals.

*Relevance to WSIS principles*

It can be argued that the 2004 Broadcast Policy is consistent with the WSIS principles when it retains the commercial radio tier, as this move can be viewed as the policy's recognition of the need to respect press freedom and freedom of information. The WSIS advocates for a media environment that is based on "the principles of freedom of the press and freedom of information, as well as those of the independence, pluralism and diversity of the media" (WSIS, 2004a:8).

Although the Broadcast Policy generally respects the issue of press freedom and freedom of information, the requirement by the Broadcasting Council that all commercial radio stations present their programme line-up to the Broadcasting Council can be seen as the Broadcasting Council's infringement on the independence of the radio stations which goes against the basic WSIS principle of an independent and free media. As one respondent puts it "Uganda is a liberalised economy and everyone can get a licence. However, the policy does not guarantee independence of the radio stations" (Bossa, 2005).

Under the commercial radio policy area, the Broadcasting Policy requires radio stations to produce and air local content as well as broadcast in the languages of the area in which the radio stations operate. These provisions are consistent with the WSIS principles which call for the production of local content and for the use of diverse languages in programming (WSIS, 2004a). The requirement on local content by commercial radio stations can also be viewed as an effort to make commercial radio people-centred. This is because it somehow places the interests of the public above those of the radio stations.

More importantly perhaps, it can be argued that, by striving to have commercial radio stations strike a balance between profit and social responsibility, the policy is attempting to regulate commercial radio in the interest of the public, given the past experience where commercial radio focuses more on profit than the public interest. This study argues that regulating radio in the interest of the public is the key to helping radio build and promote an Information Society based on the WSIS principles.

### *Position within policy theory*

The vague language in which the policy strategies under this policy area are written reflects the chaos paradigm. For example, the policy states that the broadcaster is required to "ensure a balance in programming between entertainment, information

and education”. However, it does not clearly spell out the amounts required to ensure a balanced broadcast environment. Also the Broadcasting Council is only required to “ensure that commercial broadcasters provide *adequate* local content” without stating exactly how much constitutes ‘adequate’. As such, the policy might end up benefiting the radio stations more than the public since according to the chaos paradigm, the failure to spell out clearly the roles of those involved in the implementation can lead to anyone or no one implementing the policy. This is further confirmed by one respondent who argues that “there is so much commercialisation in radio broadcasting and without setting proper quotas, you end up killing diversity. These people are not committed to what they are doing” (Bossa, 2005).

It can be argued that some of the strategies of the policy area are unrealistic and have been created in the interest of the policymakers. For example, the broadcasters are required to provide the Broadcasting Council with updated programme line-ups so that the Broadcasting Council can ensure adherence to proper standards. Because the proper standards are not defined in the policy, they are likely to change in different situations. At this point the chaos paradigm would argue that there is no comprehensive plan for making policy which might result in that policy being made anytime and in ad hoc fashion (Meenaghan and Kilty, 1994).

The requirement by the Broadcasting Council that all radio stations submit programme line-ups is characteristic of the power paradigm which views policymaking and implementation as being in favour of the interests of those with authority. The government, through the Broadcasting Council, could use this provision to push for its own agenda on the radio stations. The possibility of this happening is made greater by the fact that the Broadcasting Council members are appointed by the information minister and therefore accountable to him. This is also contrary to the freedom of expression provisions that are supposed to form the foundation of the Broadcast Policy.

## **5.2 Local content**

### *Policy objectives and strategies*

Local content is not an independent policy area in the Broadcast Policy but it falls under a number of different policy areas. Because of its relevance to the WSIS

principles, it has been discussed as a separate point in this chapter. The Broadcast Policy defines local content as “broadcast content which recognises the cultural and linguistic diversity of Uganda, carries themes of relevance to the local audience and is produced under Ugandans’ creative control” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:5).

In a position paper on local content in the Ugandan media, the Broadcasting Council observes that a number of stations regularly play local content in the form of local music, drama and sometimes feature and documentary programmes, out of their own will mainly to meet their own profit interests (Broadcasting Council, 2004b). Because of the need to adhere to advertisers, entertainment-based local content forms the majority of local content on these radio stations. As such, most of the local content is entertainment-based and not necessarily educative.

The policy institutes mandatory local content production for all the radio tiers. One of the objectives of creating the public service tier is to “to offer a high percentage of local content” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:18). The commercial radio tier was also established to, among other things, “ensure a significant percentage of local content” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:20). The commercial radio stations are also required to provide programmes that promote the cultural and linguistic needs of the area in which the radio stations operate. In addition to requiring community radio to specifically “provide local content programming” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:22), the policy also calls for the promotion of programmes in the indigenous Ugandan languages.

In line with the overall goals and objectives of the policy, local content is meant to benefit the public in three main ways. The first is that it has the potential to provide employment and revenue for the Ugandan public (Broadcasting Council, 2004b). The policy requires local content to be produced under the creative control of Ugandans. According to one respondent however, Uganda generally lacks the capacity - both technological and human - to produce local content (Timothy, 2005). To this end, the Broadcasting Council realises the need to develop the capacity. To the Broadcasting Council therefore, “because local production capacity is poor that sector needs to be protected to enable it compete with its global counter-parts” (Broadcasting Council, 2004b:2).

The second benefit of local content to the public is that it gives exposure to themes and languages that most Ugandans are familiar with (Broadcasting Council, 2004b). It is this familiarity with these themes and languages that arguably turns radio

into a relevant and inclusive source of information. This is especially in the case of community radio which is concerned with the specific geographic communities or communities of interest (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). Local content, broadcast on community radio, can play a major role in closing the information gap between the rural and urban regions.

In connection to the above point, the third benefit of local content is that it can promote a diversity of debate especially in the rural areas hence making freedom of expression more meaningful (Broadcasting Council, 2004b). This is because the population will be familiar with the issues raised in the programmes, and they can therefore comfortably participate in the debate around these issues.

### *Relevance to WSIS principles*

The regulation of local content in the media is viewed by the WSIS as an essential element to the building of an inclusive and people-centred Information Society. The WSIS Plan of Action appeals to governments and other stakeholders to “support local content development... and diverse forms of traditional media by local authorities” (WSIS, 2004b:10). It also calls for the use of traditional and digital media services to promote content that is relevant to the cultures and languages of individuals in the Information Society. The Broadcast Policy could therefore be seen as fulfilling the WSIS principles on local content.

The Broadcasting Council argues that the one of the main reasons for regulating local content in the Ugandan, even when there is lack of both technical and human capacity, is the need to protect and boost the local production sector in Uganda. This can be viewed as being consistent with the WSIS’ call “to enhance the capacity of indigenous people to develop content in their own languages” (WSIS, 2004b:10).

The policy requires community radio to provide local content programming, a move which can be viewed as heeding to the WSIS Plan of Action’s proposal that support be given to “media based in local communities...for their role in facilitating the use of local languages...” (WSIS, 2004b:10). By making it mandatory for all the three types of radio stations to produce and air local content, the Broadcast Policy can be seen as fulfilling one of the key WSIS principles which is to enable the access to and sharing of information, ideas, and knowledge by all (WSIS, 2004a).



### *Position in policy theory*

As noted earlier on in this section, the justification for regulating local content is that the local production industry needs to be protected and boosted, in order to increase the capacity to produce local content. At this point, the policy can be viewed as being consistent with the functionalist paradigm which views policy as emerging in response to a problem. The functionalist paradigm also views dysfunctions as opportunities, challenges or problems around which policy can be made (Berger, 2003a; Parsons, 1995). In this case, the problem is the lack of capacity to produce local content and the Broadcasting Council turned this into an opportunity to protect the local production industry thus assuming the industry will deliver.

The policy at this point also manifests some characteristics of the chaos paradigm. The chaos paradigm argues that policies are sometimes vague and ambiguous and that such vagueness and ambiguity in language is a means of reducing conflict (Anderson, 1990). The policy does not clearly spell out the required quotas for the different radio tiers and uses sweeping statements such as ‘high percentage of local content’, ‘a significant percentage of local content’, and ‘adequate local content’ (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). Vagueness in language can be seen to reduce conflict when the policy is not implemented citing lack of clarity. Such policies may have been developed without necessarily intending for them to be implemented.

## **5.3 Ownership and control**

### *Policy goals and strategies*

The policy area on ownership and control aims “to ensure effective regulation of media ownership in order to safeguard pluralism, diversity and the overall national interest” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:27). In order to attain this goal, the Broadcasting Council is specifically allocated the following tasks:

- Make and enforce regulations on foreign and cross-media ownership to ensure that pluralism, diversity and the overall national interest are safeguarded.
- Ensure full and extensive disclosure of the shareholding and financial structures of commercial broadcasting licences are provided and adhered to for transparency and accountability (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:28).

On their part, the radio stations owners are not expected to engage in joint cooperation deals, mergers and acquisitions, or cross acquisitions without prior written approval of the regulator (Broadcasting Council, 2004c).

The objectives of this policy area fit in well with the broader vision of the Broadcasting policy, which is a diverse, responsible and viable broadcast sector. Considering that the majority of Ugandans receive their information from radio stations, it is important that ownership not be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals or groups so that diversity and pluralism are promoted.

Further, the creation of the three-tier system can be seen as a commitment of the policy to the promotion of diversity in the media. This is because the three different tiers will provide the Ugandan public with more media outlets which provide diverse kinds of information. As Linda explains, “in order to regulate ownership in the interest of diversity, the policy establishes three tiers of broadcasting thus catering for the poor and vulnerable who tend to be neglected in an unregulated environment ” (Linda, 2005).

However, the policy has been criticised by one respondent for its potential to limit diversity by not allowing cross-ownership. The respondent argues that

The policy should not for any reason be bothered whether a newspaper owns a radio station or not. Individuals should also be allowed to own as many media houses as they want so long as these houses do not serve the same audience segment. It is therefore okay for The Monitor to own KFM as well as William Pike of The New Vision to own Capital Radio and Beat FM because this does not kill media diversity. If they have the financial resources they should be left to go ahead since other people may not have the necessary resources (Bossa, 2005).

According to this respondent cross ownership should be permitted as long as it is different audiences that are being targeted. I agree with this respondent and argue that the Broadcasting Council should be concerned more with reaching more audiences than with limiting media ownership through regulating cross-ownership. This is important for encouraging more diverse media.

### *Relevance to WSIS principles*

This overall objective of the policy area is in tandem with the WSIS which calls for a diverse, plural and free media. According to the WSIS, such a media

environment not only increases access to information, it contributes to the freedom of expression as well as the plurality of information (WSIS, 2004a; WSIS, 2004b). This part of the policy also aims to achieve diversity in ownership, which puts the policy in line with WSIS principles. The WSIS Declaration of Principles states that “diversity of media ownership should be encouraged...” (WSIS, 2004a:8).

### *Position in Policy theory*

This is one of the policy areas that is clearly written and the objectives clearly stated. From the policy document, it can be seen that the policy area is stated in a simple style, with a few goals to attain and with clear role allocations for the Government, the Broadcasting Council and the radio stations. Implementation of such a policy area is likely to be successful since clear objectives, simple policy goals and a simple policy, generally, are some of the factors that assist successful policy implementation (Sharkansky, 2002; Grindle, 1980). According to the functionalist paradigm, this is because each implementing authority will have their roles clearly stated, making it easy for them to implement the policy.

The policy can also be said to be functionalist at this point because when it is aimed at, among other things, serving the interests of the poor and vulnerable. In so doing, the policy seeks to work together for the good of the majority of the population, which is a characteristic of the functionalist paradigm.

## **5.4 Human resource development**

### *Policy goals and strategies*

One of the objectives of the policy area on human resource development is to equip broadcast journalists with the necessary skills and knowledge to enable them to help in the production and presentation of information and education programmes to the Ugandan population. The policy states that “it is also designed to ensure the maintenance of appropriate knowledge and skills for broadcast practitioners” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26).

The policy therefore requires radio stations to “undertake to develop staff through a staff training and development programme” (Broadcasting Council,

2004c:27). Proof of commitment to human resources development is a prerequisite to licensing. As three respondents put it, this is one area of the policy that the radio journalists could probably benefit from (Timothy, 2005; Rugamba, 2005; Linda, 2005).

The policy area on human resources development also seeks to promote local content development. Hence one of the goals is “to develop capacity to address the challenge of local content” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26). As pointed out earlier, the capacity to produce local content in Uganda is still low.

The human resources development policy area is also aimed at creating “an enabling environment in which the new services help Ugandans integrate into the global Information Society” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26). As such, part of its overall objective is “to ensure that broadcasting supports the provision of information and education to the Ugandan population, especially those sections that have no access to formal education” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26).

The policy area on digital broadcasting is also related to that on human resources development. The policy on digital broadcasting is aimed at “preparing Uganda for the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:25). Broadcasters are encouraged to convert from analogue to digital programming and “to develop all necessary capacity to operate as a digital broadcaster” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26).

This section of the policy on human resources development can be viewed as directly working towards the yielding of a broadcast sector that “contributes, in a sustainable manner, to economic growth and development” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:17). As such, human resource development is essential to the realisation of most of the goals of the policy and it is important that it is given special recognition by the policy.

### *Relevance to WSIS principles*

The policy area on human resources development is in agreement with the WSIS principles on capacity building in the Information Society when it sets out to create an environment in which Ugandans will be enabled to integrate into the global Information Society. The WSIS Declaration of Principles states that “each person should have the opportunity to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge in order to

understand, participate actively in, and benefit fully from, the Information Society...” (WSIS, 2004a:4).

The policy also encourages the use of ICTs by journalists and this can be seen to be implementing the WSIS plan to “design specific training programmes in the use of ICTs in order to meet the educational needs of information professionals such as ...journalists” (WSIS, 2004b:5).

According to the WSIS, ICTs and digital technologies in this case, should “empower local communities, especially those in the rural and underserved areas, in ICT use and promote the production of useful and socially meaningful content for the benefit of all” (WSIS, 2004b:5). Digital content has several benefits that the rural communities could take advantage of such easy storage and easy replication.

### *Position in policy theory*

The policy can be seen to be informed by the power paradigm because the radio journalists were not consulted during the policy development process. The power paradigm maintains that it is the powerful elite who have the authority to decide those to include and exclude from the policy process (Colebatch, 2002). In this case, the policymakers chose to include the radio proprietors but exclude the radio journalists (Mbaine, 2005; Linda, 2005). The exclusion of the radio journalists from the policy process is an oversight on the part of the policymakers because there are aspects of the policy that needed the journalist’s input. One such aspect is the staff development and training programme that is a prerequisite for licensing. The journalists’ input would have been valuable in deciding which specific areas needed skills development. Their knowledge of the policy would also enable them to hold the authorities accountable and therefore aid the implementation of this policy.

However, as two respondents put it, radio journalists are a difficult group to organise, making it difficult for their views to be gathered. Linda says, “it is difficult to put a finger on broadcast journalists as a fraternity in Uganda or to identify anybody whose views would be representative of that body of broadcast journalists” (Linda, 2005).

Timothy argues that journalists in Uganda have all sorts of associations for example, the National Institute of Journalists in Uganda, Uganda Media Development Foundation and Uganda Journalists Association, to mention but a few (Timothy, 2005). This study agrees with these two respondents that it is difficult to gather the

views of non-organised stakeholders but maintains that it is even more difficult when the policymakers are not committed to involving them. As Mbaine (2005) argues, by excluding the radio journalists from the policy process, the Broadcasting Council implied that the journalists are not as valued as the proprietors.

At this point the policy can be said to be consistent with the power paradigm's view that policies are made in the interests of the powerful. In this case, the powerful are the proprietors and the Broadcasting Council and this policy would be in the interest of the proprietors since they would determine when to train or not to train the journalists, or what to train them in. It is even more worrying when one considers the fact that those who were involved in the policy process were considered to constitute the relevant population. As one respondent explains, "we consulted only those groups who were deemed to constitute a cross section of the relevant population" (Linda, 2005). Linda's remark leads to the power paradigm's assertion that it is those with authority who have the power to decide who to include in the policy process among those for whom policy is made and policy might therefore end up serving their interests (Colebatch, 2002). As one critic argues,

...the broadcasting policy has implications for radio journalism practice but there was no input from journalists working in this sector. It is only the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) that brings together proprietors that is quite active and even represented on the Broadcasting Council. The absence of journalists' input into the policy and regulatory framework of the industry is indicative about what aspects of it really matter (Mbaine, 2005:6-7).

As such, this policy may not be as effective as expected because it lacks the insight of those who are meant to benefit from it. According to the participatory paradigm, policy is only effective if it is in line with the interests of those who are meant to benefit from it (Colebatch, 2002; Grindle, 1980).

The success of this policy will depend on the commitment of the radio station owners and managers as well that of the Broadcasting Council, since the radio journalists were not consulted in the drafting of this policy. They may not therefore be aware of such opportunities and therefore fail to pursue these policy goals. Besides, it is up to the Broadcasting Council to "ensure that the aspect of human resource development is considered when licensing" (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:27). This might turn out to be difficult to prove since it is not clear exactly what is required. If

the journalists had been consulted on the policy, they could have embraced it and even helped improve it in order to suit their needs, as the participatory paradigm argues.

It is worth noting the chaos paradigm's argument that the lack of awareness and agreement about policy guidelines is one possible reason for the failure of policy (Sharkansky, 2002). This study maintains that clear objectives and support from the constituencies through out the policy process are some of the factors that lead to the success of a policy.

## **5.5 Preparing Ugandans for the Information Society**

Although this area falls within the policy under human resources development, it is discussed separately because of its centrality to the study. One of the objectives of the policy on human resources development is “to create an enabling environment in which the new services help Ugandans integrate into the global Information Society” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26). This is the first time that the term the Information Society is used in this policy and it is worth exploring what kind of Information Society it envisages.

One quick observation is that the policy looks beyond the local Information Society and envisages a ‘global informal society’. Such an interpretation of the Information Society is a feature of the spatial definition of the Information Society. This definition views the Information Society in terms of information networks which have led to the shrinking of time and space, therefore making communication instant (Berger, 2003b). For example, one can easily and instantly access information off the internet and also send information via email. The main emphasis here is the flow of information (Castells, 1996-8 in Webster, 2002).

It can be argued that in broadcasting, this implies universal service and access, especially to public broadcasting services as defined in Chapter Two. The three-tier system created by the 2004 Broadcast Policy could therefore be viewed as an attempt at creating universal access to broadcast services while the requirement for programmes in local languages can be viewed as promoting universal service. This can be seen especially with the already existing set up of radio in Uganda where almost each region is served by at least one radio station (Mbaine, 2005; Afrobarometer, 2003). Mbaine adds that the “the net beneficiary of the spread of radio

has largely been the Uganda listener, as radio stations exist across the width and breadth of Uganda” (Mbaine, 2005:3). And as noted in Chapter Three, the language used in radio broadcasting in Uganda today is mostly the vernacular. This study argues that currently, commercial radio is more likely to provide universal access than public service radio which went into limbo after the liberalisation of the airwaves.

Universal service is somehow far from being attained mainly due to the diverse languages and cultures of the Ugandan people. Hence, one respondent’s argument that

Although radio in Uganda is literally omnipresent, having access does not mean you have the service. For example, people in Arua might have access to UBC but if the programmes are in Luganda or any other language that they do not understand, they do not have the service (Bossa, 2005).

In Uganda, the existence of many small ethnic groups (usually referred to as tribes) which speak different languages complicates communication. There are about 30 tribes (Nsibambi, 1971). It can be argued that the 2004 Broadcast Policy attempts to address the complex language set-up by making it mandatory for commercial radio stations to provide for the cultural and language needs of the people in the area that the radio stations operate in. This is a positive step towards attaining universal service since commercial radio stations outnumber the public service and community radio stations.

The policy area on “cable and other multi-channel distribution services” (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:24) is also a clear indicator of the Broadcast Policy’s inclination towards the spatial definition of the Information Society. The policy area’s key objective is to

Provide a platform for growth of additional television and radio services either via conventional television and radio services or by interactive multi media, and other services delivered from the Internet (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:24).

It can be argued that the policy objective as stated above is aimed at creating instant access to broadcast services and to information. This is through the use of online and cable services to enhance the traditional radio systems. The main determinant of the Information Society in this case is the interdependence between the increased speed and spread of information (Berger, 2003b). It can also be the presence of the relevant infrastructure.



The policy's position on the Information Society can also be determined by looking at the strategies it proposes in order to attain its goals. The strategies point to the technological definition of the Information Society. This definition emphasises the central role that technology plays in the Information Society and focuses on new ICTs and digital technologies, arguing that new possibilities in information processing, storage and transmission result in the spread of ICTs in almost all areas of life (Van Audenhove, 2003b). The human resource policy area's objective therefore "to utilise information and communication technologies for development" (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:26) can be viewed as urging Ugandans to prepare to be a part of an Information Society where ICTs are a key part of daily life. Also the Broadcast Policy's plan to have all radio stations convert to digital broadcasting is a sign of the technological definition since the digital technologies are also considered part of the newer ICTs which the technological definition promotes.

Although there are varying interpretations of what constitutes the Information Society, it can be argued that Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy basically applies just the spatial and the technological definitions, as defined by Webster (2000) in his five definitions. These two definitions have been critiqued on various grounds especially when they emphasise new technology while ignoring traditional technologies which are the dominant ones in most developing countries such as Uganda.

## **5.6 Discussion of findings**

A discussion of Uganda's 2004 Broadcast Policy in light of the policy theories, the WSIS principles and the information society theories leads to six major observations. The first is that the policy generally embraces the WSIS spirit of building an inclusive and people-centred information society where everyone can access, utilise, and share information for his or her own benefit. The policy achieves this in various ways that include its emphasis on the production and dissemination of local content in terms of cultural and linguistic relevance to the Ugandan context. It also provides for the participation of grassroots populations in programme selection, planning and presentation under the community radio tier. In this way, it can be argued that the Broadcast Policy advocates for public service radio which this study views as being crucial for building an inclusive and people-centred information society. The policy also upholds the principle of liberalisation and plans for

commercial radio to work alongside public and community radio in order to provide not only media diversity and media ownership diversity, but through these, information diversity as well.

The second observation is that the policy prepares Ugandans for the information society by encouraging diverse forms of media (both traditional and new media). In so doing, the policy also promotes a diversity of information from both private and public service media. The policy does not rule out the centrality of the new ICTs such as the internet but remains realistic by recognising the fact that the biggest percentage of the Ugandan population depends on radio for its information and communication needs. It therefore proposes that radio stations also find ways of using ICTs in their daily work.

The third observation is that the Broadcast Policy is to a very large extent informed by the chaos paradigm, which has both positive and negative implications. On the positive side, a policy informed by the chaos paradigm is likely to be a flexible policy. This is because the chaos paradigm takes cognisance of cases where policy may have unintended effects that might come up during evaluation (Venter, 2005). For example, policy may be implemented in a rush to beat a deadline and not out of a real need to implement the policy (Jenkins, 1978). As such, it may not always be possible to realise all the goals in an entirely predictable manner and the process is not necessarily manageable (Grindle, 1980). This aspect of the chaos paradigm is particularly worth highlighting given that for certain goals to be reached in the Ugandan situation, the capacity first has to be built. As this excerpt from the minister's forward to the policy puts it

Cognisant of the fact that changes are inevitable in the development process and that priorities and strategies will have to change with time as new issues and challenges emerge and new options become available, the objectives and strategies in this policy are presented in broad terms (Broadcasting Council, 2004c:7).

As such the policy goals may not be realised the first time. **For example it might not be possible to reach the desired level of local content production because, currently, the country lacks the capacity to do so.** However, the policy provides for capacity building in order to develop this area. It can therefore be argued that the

realisation of goals is sometimes “an ongoing process of decision making involving a variety of actors” (Grindle, 1980:10).

The minister’s statement also points to the chaos paradigm’s view that policymaking is dynamic, and has no beginning or end. As such there is room for learning during the process especially since sometimes policy might have unintended effects which may come out during evaluation (Venter, 2005). Grindle (1980) also argues that given the context of the policy, it may not always be possible to realise the policy goals in an entirely predictable manner and that this process is not always manageable. As such, the realisation of goals is seen as “an ongoing process of decision making involving a variety of actors” (Grindle, 1980:10). In Uganda’s context for example, the capacity to produce local content is still very low and therefore it might be sometime before this ‘high percentage of local content’ is attained by the public service radio.

On the negative side, policies informed by the chaos paradigm are written in ambiguous and vague ways which can be interpreted as a lack of commitment by the policymakers to implement the policy. It can be viewed as a case in which policy is made for the sake of making policy, to be implemented as and when it suits whoever is in charge of implementing it. Such a policy ends up serving the interests of the implementing authority. Unfortunately, in this case, the ambiguity applies to three very crucial areas of the policy, namely, local content, the independence of the public service broadcaster and the skills requirements for radio staff. The reluctance of the policy to clearly state how these goals are going to be attained can be viewed as a lack of commitment to achieving the policy goals by the policymakers and therefore making the policy benefit the proprietors and government, and not the journalists or the public. It can only be hoped that the positive side of the chaos paradigm will stand in this case. Otherwise, the policy risks fulfilling one respondent’s sceptical remarks that

The language used in drafting the policy seems to suggest that the document was only designed to fulfil a certain obligation. Such a policy is intended to covering the Broadcasting Council from any blame when the policy is not implemented (Bossa, 2005).

The fourth observation is that unless the Electronic Media Act and the Press and Journalists Act are revised and brought in tandem with the 2004 Broadcasting

Policy, the policy's goal to create an independent radio sector will remain compromised. This is because the Broadcasting Council, which is in charge of implementing the policy, licensing the radio stations and monitoring radio programme content, has been accused of not being independent given that its members are either directly appointed by the Minister of Information or appointed after consulting him. As one respondent argues,

For the Broadcast Policy to meet the independence and plurality stipulations of the WSIS, the press and journalists act and the electronic media act would need to be revised and brought in consonance with the spirit of the policy (Linda, 2005).

Without revising these two pieces of legislation, Mbaine's remarks stand a chance of being true. Mbaine observes that

In spite of the importance of radio in Uganda, it is still under threat, mainly from the government. The Broadcasting Council, created under the Electronic Media Act 1996, enjoys hardly any autonomy from the executive as the Minister has direct supervisory powers over it (Mbaine, 2005:5).

Hence, although the Broadcast Policy is to a great extent consistent with the WSIS principles and therefore promotes an inclusive and people-centred Information Society, the Electronic Media Act and the Press and Journalist Act, unless changed, will not allow the policy to be effective. As these two people observe, the policy is likely to be ineffective unless the other regulations operating alongside it are revised to in order to harmonise the broader regulatory framework.

The fifth observation is that the power paradigm can also be seen as applying to this policy in two ways. First is when the policy requires the commercial radio stations to submit an up-to-date version of their programme line-up to the Broadcasting Council in order to facilitate monitoring and ensure that proper broadcast standards are adhered to and second is when the Broadcasting Council chose to consult only the radio stations proprietors and not the radio journalists, even though some of the policy areas, such as the one on human resource development, directly affect the journalists. Just like the chaos paradigm, the power paradigm in this case has both positive and negative implications for the policy. On the positive side, it can be seen as a genuine concern on the part of the Broadcasting Council, for the public, since it provides a way for the Broadcasting Council to monitor radio content and to ensure that the radio stations operate within their licence limits. By allowing

the Broadcasting Council to monitor radio programmes, it can be argued that the policy is trying to keep within its mission and vision which is to broadcast services that benefit the public and specifically the poor and vulnerable groups of society.

On the negative side, the power paradigm leaves policy implementation in the hands of the powerful institutions who in this case are the Broadcasting Council and the government. Such a policy is likely to be abused by these powerful authorities who can very easily impose the government's agenda into the radio stations' programming. In such a case, the power paradigm would argue that implementation is a "struggle for control (Jenkins, 1978:17). The Broadcasting Council controls what the public is allowed to listen to and what the radio stations are allowed to air.

The sixth and last observation is that a policy like this one which claims to have been made with the interest of the public in mind should be located mainly within the participatory policy paradigm. This is because the participatory paradigm has the potential to empower the policy takers whose input is vital in deciding the policy goals and strategies (Berger, 2003a). The participatory paradigm maintains that in order for policy to be effective, it has to be in line with the interests of those who it is meant to benefit hence the need to include them in the formulation process (Grindle, 1980). From the findings that have been presented, the policy is only participatory as when it comes to the implementation of the community radio policy area. One of the objectives of this policy area is to encourage community participation in the planning, production and presentation of programmes. In this case, the policy is likely to be effective because those at whom it is targeted have a stake in it and will see to its successful implementation.

However, the policy ought to have taken the participatory approach during the formulation process and involved the radio journalists in the formulation process. Their input would have been especially useful in the area on human resource development whose objectives include ensuring the maintenance of appropriate knowledge and skills for broadcast practitioners (Broadcasting Council, 2004c). This is because the journalists are most likely to know which skills they need to acquire and would have these prioritised by the radio station owners and managers. At this point, the participatory paradigm would argue that in order for policy to be effective, it has to be in line with the interests of those who are meant to benefit from it (Grindle, 1980). In this case, those who are meant to benefit from this policy area are the radio journalists.

In conclusion, although the policy is unclear on crucial issues such as the independence of the public service radio and the local content quotas, it is flexible, relevant and up to date. Such a policy holds the key to re-establishing public service radio in liberalised and commercialised environments like Uganda (Deane et al., 2003). As argued in Chapter Three, public service radio is vital for building an information society in Uganda since the majority of the population depends on radio for information about crucial issues concerning their lives. Further, the policy is also capable of yielding a holistic information society as envisaged by the WSIS. The WSIS managed to consider and synthesise varying and competing interpretations of the information society and avoided one-sided and exclusive emphases about the same (Berger, 2004). These have been discussed in Chapter Two.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the analysis, interpretations, and discussions of Uganda's Broadcast Policy. The analysis was informed by the policy theories of functionalism, power, participatory and chaos, the Information Society theories and the WSIS principles that are relevant to this study. From the foregoing discussion, two general conclusions are made.

The first is that the Broadcast Policy promotes public service radio by placing public service obligations on all three tiers of broadcasting. It does this by introducing mandatory production of local content as well as the use of indigenous languages in programming. The policy also highlights ways in which the interests of the poor and vulnerable and marginalised groups can be addressed by the radio stations especially when it creates the community radio tier. Participation of communities in programme production and presentation through community radio is also a way of creating public interest radio. The regulation of ownership also promotes diversity of ownership which in turn is likely to lead to diversity of information. It can therefore be argued that the Broadcast Policy, to a large extent, enables radio in Uganda to promote an Information Society based on the WSIS principles.

The second is that the Broadcast Policy is informed by three policy paradigms, namely, the chaos, power and participatory paradigms. However, it is the chaos paradigm which is prevalent. The prevalence of the chaos paradigm could mean that the policy is likely to serve the interests of the Broadcasting Council and those of the

radio proprietors who may choose whether or not to implement certain aspects of the policy.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Conclusion and recommendations**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

The previous chapter presented the findings of this study and discussed Uganda's Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles. It also drew on insights from policy and Information Society theories. It was concluded that the policy, to a very large extent, is consistent with the WSIS principles and that it promotes public service radio. It was also concluded that the policy is informed by the policy theories of power, participatory and chaos with chaos being the prevalent theory. This chapter makes observations on an inclusive and people-centred information society, and the possibility of implementing the policy. It also makes some general recommendations which are vital if the Broadcasting Council is to achieve the goals of the Broadcast Policy, and makes suggestions for further research.

#### **6.1 An inclusive and people centred Information Society**

Radio in Uganda is the main source of information for both urban and rural populations. As such, it is arguably the only medium with the potential to promote an inclusive information society as proposed by the WSIS. This belief is compounded by the fact that programming in indigenous languages is already taking place and fairly inclusive talk shows, such as *ekimeeza*, discussed in Chapter Three are also a common phenomenon on Ugandan radio. Given that the Broadcast Policy emphasises local language programming especially by the commercial radio stations which outnumber the community and public service radio stations, it can be argued that the Broadcast Policy enables an inclusive information society as far as programming is concerned.

Also, the Broadcast Policy enables an inclusive information society when it recognises the role of community radio in information production, sharing and delivery at the grassroots level. By introducing community radio whose licence obligations are tailored to suit the interests of the geographical or special interest groups, the Broadcast Policy is in effect extending broadcast services to areas and groups that were previously ignored by commercial radio stations.



The Broadcast Policy also enables a people-centred information society when it sets out to ensure that the public is assured of quality broadcasting services while the radio stations remain commercially viable. Commercial radio stations do not necessarily have to depend on public funding or donor funding which, in most cases, comes with strings tied to it, unlike the public service and community radio stations. The commercial radio stations also outnumber the other two types of radio stations and as such serve as the biggest source of information for most citizens in Uganda. For the Broadcast Policy therefore to impose public service obligations on commercial radio stations, it can be viewed as turning commercial radio into a people-centred medium and thus promoting a people-centred information society. It specifically does this when it requires commercial radio stations to address the needs of the poor and vulnerable groups in Uganda.

## **6.2 To implement or not to implement the policy?**

One respondent argued that “the [policy] document looks too good to be Ugandan! Because it is one of the best...” (Rugamba, 2005). Rugamba’s argument is based on the fact that despite the political history of government intervention and monopoly of the broadcast sector, the Broadcast Policy proposes an independent, free, diverse and people-centred broadcast environment. He argues that if the Broadcast Policy were implemented, then the poor and rural populations would also benefit from the broadcast services. Rugamba points to the call for all the three tiers of radio stations to produce and air local content as well as to consider the language needs of the people in the area in which the radio stations operate and argues that “this in a way brings the rural, illiterate and poor groups on board” (Rugamba, 2005).

Despite such high praise for Uganda’s Broadcast Policy, its successful implementation is questionable. This is because the policy predominantly operates within the chaos paradigm. As argued in Chapter Five, a policy that is operated within the chaos paradigm can be viewed as a policy that has been developed for the sake of developing one. Such a policy is usually not necessarily intended to be implemented and is meant to cover the authority in charge. As such, the policy is written in a vague and ambiguous way, and with unclear goals and strategies. The implementation of the policy therefore is left to the authority that may choose to implement or not to

implement the policy, depending on which position benefits them more. It is my hope that evaluation stage, this issue of vagueness is cleared and that the policy is made more explicit especially on the issues of independence of the public service broadcaster, local content quotas as well as human resources development for the radio journalists.

### **6.3 General recommendations**

As seen in Chapter Five, the Broadcast Policy is generally written in a vague and ambiguous style. The Information Minister's forward to the policy states that such wording is to make room for new strategies and objectives as new challenges. The policy however fails to separate the radio and television roles resulting in certain policy areas not making sense in certain cases. For example, the policy area on pornography and violence in the media does not necessarily apply to radio and yet radio in Uganda broadcasts some inappropriate programming that is equivalent to pornography but the policy does not address this issue. The policy should make this distinction clear for purposes of easy implementation.

There is also a need for the public service broadcaster, UBC, to become and remain independent from political and economic pressures in order for it to fulfil its mandate to provide access to information to all citizens of Uganda. The policy should for example, require UBC to draft its own editorial policies and solicit public input as well as have them presented before parliament before implementation. In addition to developing editorial policies, the policy should also provide for the Board of Governors to be appointed by Parliament and not by the information minister as is the case currently.

The study also recommends that when considering issues of cross ownership, the Broadcasting Council should be more concerned about the target audience of the proprietor and not necessarily whether they own other kinds of media. Such a provision will not only promote diversity of the media, it will also enable those individuals with the financial resources to invest more in the media sector.

The Broadcasting Council should also state exactly how much of the programming should be dedicated to local content. As the policy is right now, the radio stations are required to just ensure that they air substantial amounts of local

content. The amounts are not clearly spelt out and such a loophole could lead to this policy goal not being attained. In addition to setting quotas, the Broadcasting Council should also develop quality control standards in order to ensure that the public is not subjected to low quality information produced by radio stations just to fulfil their licence obligations. In this way, the capacity of the local content producers will also be boosted more meaningfully.

This point is related to the previous one and concerns the skills development programmes which also form part of the licence requirements for the radio stations. The Broadcasting Council should perhaps clearly spell out in the licences, the kinds of skills that need to be developed and the period over which they are to be attained. Before renewing the licence, the Broadcasting Council should evaluate the progress of these stations in that area. Such a move will hold the proprietors accountable and will also help the skills development programme to be taken seriously.

#### **6.4 Need for further research**

This study specifically analysed the Broadcast Policy document and investigated the policy process and the objectives of the policy. The study did not necessarily intend to find out whether the policy is actually implemented or not. That this was not the aim of this study provides an opportunity for further research in order to establish whether the policy could be regarded as a success or failure in future.

#### **6.5 Conclusion**

This study discussed Uganda's Broadcast Policy in light of the key WSIS principles. It set out to establish whether the Broadcast Policy enables radio in Uganda to promote an information society which is inclusive and people-centred and generally based on the WSIS principles. According to this study, the policy could achieve this by promoting public interest radio and by enabling and promoting diversity of the media as well as diversity of media ownership. The study was informed by the policy theories of functionalism, pluralism, power, participatory and chaos, as well as information society theories and their critiques as presented by Webster (2000).

It is concluded that Uganda's Broadcast Policy is to a very large extent consistent with the WSIS principles and therefore promotes an inclusive and people-centred information society. It does this by promoting local language programming, local content produced under the creative control of Ugandans, promoting community radio stations in order to cater for the rural and minority populations and by requiring community radio stations to encourage community participation in programme planning and presentation. The study also concludes that by fulfilling the WSIS principles, the policy promotes public interest radio.

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix 1: Interview guide for Radio station owners/managers/journalists**

#### **Introduction**

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. It will be published as a Masters thesis at Rhodes University and may also appear elsewhere. The study seeks to analyse the 2004 Uganda Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles. Please kindly fill in the answers in the spaces below the questions. If you wish to remain anonymous, your name will not be mentioned anywhere in this study as being connected with it in anyway. If you wish not to be named, you are also entitled to choosing which of your comments you want to remain anonymous. This interview should take no longer than one hour or one hour and a half hours.

#### **Policy experience**

- 1) Have you read the Broadcast Policy document or other documents related to it? If yes, how and when did you come across it?
- 2) Were you involved or consulted in drawing up the document? If yes, what was your involvement and was it direct or indirect?
- 3) In your opinion, which aspects of the policy affect the station most?
- 4) What do you think are the weaknesses of the policy? What kind of changes and in what areas do you suggest?
- 5) Are there any laws outside broadcasting that affect the operations of the radio station? If yes, which ones?
- 6) How do they affect you in relation to the Broadcast Policy?

#### **WSIS principles, the Information Society and radio**

##### **WSIS**

- 1) Please tell me what you know about the WSIS.
- 2) What do you know about the Information Society?
- 3) What do you think is the role of radio in the Information Society in Uganda?

##### **WSIS principles**

Are the following requirements realistic in relation to the current regulatory regime and the Broadcast Policy in Uganda?

- 1) Local content
- 2) Access to information and knowledge for all
- 3) Cultural diversity and identity,
- 4) Linguistic diversity and local content and
- 5) The pluralism and diversity of the media and media ownership
- 6) Development of Legislation that Guarantees Independence and Plurality of the Media and media ownership.
- 7) The Promotion of Transparency in Media Governance

Do you have anything else you wish to add?

## **Appendix 2: Interview guide for policy makers/civil society members**

### **Introduction**

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. It will be published as a Masters thesis at Rhodes University and may also appear elsewhere. The study seeks to analyse the 2004 Uganda Broadcast Policy in light of the WSIS principles. Please kindly fill in the answers in the spaces below the questions. If you wish to remain anonymous, your name will not be mentioned anywhere in this study as being connected with it in anyway. If you wish not to be named, you are also entitled to choosing which of your comments you want to remain anonymous. This interview should take no longer than one hour or one hour and a half hours.

### **The policy formulation process**

1. What exactly was your role in the formulation process of the Broadcast Policy?
2. Who else was involved/ consulted in the formulation process i.e. who were the stakeholders for example, media owners, journalists etc.
3. Why those particular stakeholders?
4. Journalists as an interest group were not involved in the formulation of this policy. What is your comment on that?
5. Apart from the uncoordinated growth of the broadcast industry in Uganda, what else influenced the making of this policy at this particular time?
6. Who do you think stands to benefit from this policy? Is it the community, the broadcasters or the policymakers?
7. What was the role of government in this process?
8. Is the policy practically applicable? Explain.

### **The Information Society in Uganda**

1. What do you understand by the term, the Information Society?
2. What in your view is Uganda's vision of the Information Society?
3. Who do you think are the key players in promoting and sustaining this Information Society? (Probe: the media i.e. radio, TV, print; the internet and other ICTs).

### **WSIS principles and the Broadcast Policy**

1. WSIS calls for the creation of an enabling policy and legislation environment that guarantees the independence and the plurality of the media. Do you think

the 2004 broadcasting policy meets this stipulation? (Probe for links to the press and journalist statute and the electronic media statute).

2. Does the Broadcast Policy enable the pluralism and diversity of (a) the media, and (b) media ownership? Explain.
3. Do you feel that radio can generate the necessary information needed to create awareness about the Information Society to the community at large given the current legislation environment? (Probe: community, private/commercial and public radio). Why?
4. Do you feel that radio can open channels of communication to reach out to all citizens? Explain.
5. Do you think the Broadcast Policy enables radio to provide:
  - a. access to information and knowledge to the whole community?
  - b. cultural diversity and identity?
  - c. linguistic diversity and local content?
  - d. for the creation of information
  - e. sharing of information?
6. Comment on the requirement by the WSIS that radio should provide access to information to all in the light of this policy.
7. How does the policy hope to achieve a broadcasting system based on access to and diversity of information, promotion of national unity, education of communities?

#### **Radio and the Information Society in Uganda**

1. Do you think radio is able to promote the building of the Information Society in Uganda? (Probe: private, public and community radio). What role can radio play in building the Information Society in Uganda?
2. In what ways does radio contribute to capacity building in Uganda?
3. In your opinion, what specific needs of the poor and vulnerable can radio in Uganda meet? (Probe).

Do you have anything else to add?

### **Appendix 3: Interview respondents**

1. Rugamba, V.
2. Linda, N.
3. Bossa, L.
4. Timothy, T.
5. Kyomuhendo, G
6. Mukasa, K.