



Disseminators, advocates and watchdogs

A profile of Ugandan journalists in the New Millennium

■ **Peter G. Mwesige**

Indiana University

ABSTRACT

Based on a national survey carried out in 2001, this study provides a demographic and attitudinal profile of Ugandan journalists at an interesting time when we are not only witnessing increasing media globalization but also democratic, if shaky, transitions in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study explores the demographics and job conditions of news people in this East African country, their role perceptions, professional attitudes and beliefs, as well as the major constraints on journalistic freedoms in Uganda. Where it is possible and appropriate, comparisons are made to both African and western journalists.

The results show that Ugandan journalists highly value the so-called western journalistic functions of information, analysis and interpretation and investigation of official claims. They also show strong support for 'populist mobilizer' functions such as giving ordinary people voice and setting the political agenda. However, despite the relative press freedom in recent years, Ugandan news people work under conditions that pose major legal, political and economic limitations on their journalistic freedoms. In spite of such constraints, they showed a commitment to the public affairs benefits of their jobs.

KEY WORDS ■ attitudinal profile ■ journalism Africa ■ journalism Uganda ■ journalist survey ■ mass media Africa ■ mass media Uganda ■ press freedom Africa ■ press freedom Uganda ■ Ugandan media

Introduction

The last two decades have not only witnessed increasing globalization of the mass media but also the worldwide spread of the practices and ideologies of the western, especially the American, communication industry (Gurevitch and Blumler, 1990; Shah, 1999). Globalization has led to much convergence in

media systems around the world. While a lot has been written about media content and audiences in the new global environment, very little has been done to compare the people who work in journalism in developing countries, especially in Africa, to their counterparts in developed countries. This study, therefore, seeks to contribute some groundwork for such comparison.

The study examines the sociological portrait of Ugandan journalists at the beginning of the New Millennium. In particular, it explores the demographics, background, job conditions and education of news people in Uganda; their role perceptions; professional attitudes and beliefs; and the major constraints on journalistic freedoms in Uganda. Where it is possible and appropriate, comparisons are made to western journalists. As McLeod and Blumler (1987: 315) note: one can 'only understand a given system by comparing it with others'. Suffice it to note that this cross-national perspective needs to be shaped by an understanding of the institutional, historical, political and media system contexts in which journalists work.

National portraits of journalists are important because journalism is deemed to be a central influence on society. The mass media are not only the main sources of information for a majority of people but they also have the power to establish an agenda on public issues which the leaders and the citizenry regard as important. Moreover, the media can also play an important watchdog role that can increase the accountability of the state to the citizenry, which, some say, is even more critical to democratic sustainability than participation (Blair, 1998). However, the media can only play these noble roles if they are credible and can provide reliable information about the state and its sociopolitical environment. They cannot rise up to the challenges of democratic participation and sustainability if journalists do not have the wherewithal, knowledge, skills and freedom required to investigate all matters of public concern. That is why it is very important for us to have a sense of the people who work in journalism, more so in countries such as Uganda, where the democratization process remains shaky.

As Hyden and Leslie (2002) point out, although several aspects of democratization in Africa have received increasing scholarly attention in recent years, not enough systematic inquiry has been directed at the role of the media in this process or the people who man this industry. Democratization implies a transition toward open political competition, the existence of those civil and political freedoms (guaranteed by law) to speak, publish, associate, assemble and organize that are 'necessary to political debate and the conduct of electoral campaigns' (Huntington, 1991), as well 'as accountability operating through an electoral relationship between citizens and their representatives' (Luckham and White, 1996: 2).

An appreciation of the role of journalism and the media in societies undergoing democratic transitions cannot be complete without an understanding of the people who work in this important institution that has been christened the 'fourth estate'. As Weaver (1998b: 2) succinctly puts it:

The major assumption is that journalists' backgrounds and ideas have some relationship to what is reported (and how it is covered) in the various news media around the world, in spite of various societal and organizational constraints, and that this news coverage matters in terms of world public opinion and policies.

In Uganda, as elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, this study is especially important because of the role of journalism in the shaky democratic transitions of the 1990s. Uganda has gone through some of the worst political and economic chaos anywhere in the world. However, in the 1990s, the success of macroeconomic stabilization and sustained economic growth, coupled with relative sociopolitical stability, and some modest gains in the provision of social services led international observers to declare the country a 'success story in Africa' (UNDP, 1998). The fortunes of Ugandan journalism and the media very much reflect the country's troubled post-independence history as well as recent political and economic transformations, which have come against the backdrop of international developments following the end of the Cold War. While independent journalism was not tolerated in the past, the sociopolitical transformations of the 1990s saw the proliferation of private newspapers and broadcasting stations, as well as a relative degree of press freedom (Ogundimu, 1996; Robbins, 1997).

With the exception of Kirat's (1998) work on Algerian journalists, Ramaprasad's (2001) and Lederbogen's (1992) research on Tanzanian journalists and Roser and Brown's (1986) work on African newspaper editors, there are no studies that systematically examine portraits of African journalists. The importance of this study cannot be overemphasized. The results of the survey provide the first comprehensive portrait of journalists in this East African country and they come at a time when it is still undergoing wide-ranging political and economic changes.

Uganda: political, social and economic context

The East African territory that came to be known as Uganda was declared a British Protectorate in 1894 and remained a British colony until political independence in October 1962. Before the advent of colonial rule, European explorers and missionaries had penetrated the region, home of some of the most powerful kingdoms in eastern and central Africa. After independence, the new African rulers soon turned the guns on their own people. Post-

independence Uganda has been what Mutibwa (1992) describes as a story of 'unfulfilled promises'. The greater part of this period has been a story of human tragedy, political upheaval and economic stagnation.

By the time the current President, Yoweri Museveni, took power in 1986 after a five-year guerrilla war, Uganda had gone through horrendous political and economic turmoil. More than 500,000 Ugandans had been killed in political violence since 1971 when the dictator Idi Amin took power. The economy had been shattered by endless political instability, civil war and mismanagement. At about US\$180, Uganda's per capita GDP was one of the very lowest in the world.

Calling his takeover a 'fundamental change', Museveni promised to restore personal freedoms and to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the people (Mutibwa, 1992). With the support of the World Bank and the IMF, Museveni has vigorously pushed for the liberalization of the economy and privatization of most state enterprises. By the late 1990s, Uganda was acclaimed as a 'success story' in Africa. The country registered some of the fastest growth rates in the world in the 1990s and also made some progress in fostering democratic governance.

However, the majority of the country's predominantly rural population is yet to enjoy the benefits of the impressive national growth figures. Forty-six percent of the population is still classified as poor (see Table 1 for some indicators). Thomas Babatunde, the former UNDP Resident Representative in Uganda, sums it up well:

Table 1 Uganda: selected indicators

Population (millions)	23.9
Life expectancy at birth (years)	43.3
Literacy rate (%)	67
Official language	English
Government type	'No-party/Movement' system
GDP (US\$)	26.2 million
GDP per capita: purchasing power parity (US\$)	320
Population below poverty line (%)	46
Telephone lines per 1000	2
Mobile telephone subscribers	60,000
Radio broadcast stations	AM 4; FM 62
Radio sets per 1000 people	123
Television broadcast stations	6
Television sets per 1000 people	26
Average daily newspaper circulation	90,000
Internet penetration (%)	0.2
Personal computers per 1000	0.5

Source: CIA *World Factbook*, 2001; World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1999/2000; Nsambu, 2003.

Despite . . . commendable achievements, however, Uganda still exhibits two faces – on the one hand there is impressive economic performance as indicated by key macroeconomic indicators, and on the other there is abject poverty manifested by pervasive human deprivation, vulnerability and inadequate social services. (UNDP, 1998: i)

Moreover, the economic liberalization of the 1990s has not been followed by a similar degree of political liberalization. In 1995, Uganda adopted a new constitution that entrenched the so-called Movement political system under which political party activity is banned in favor of ‘individual merit’ in public elections. Critics view this essentially as a return to the one-party states of the past (Oloka-Onyango, 2000). Whereas western donor nations still consider this a blotch on the country’s democratization process, they have so far given Museveni the benefit of the doubt. His government is hailed for establishing peace and security in a large part of the country and for restoring the rule of law, respect for human rights, and relative freedom of the press.

Uganda: changing media context

African politics and identities have been strongly influenced by pre-colonial traditions, colonial legacies and the crisis of the post-colonial state (Werbner and Ranger, 1996). As Eribo and Jong-Ebot (1997: xii) suggest, ‘each “departing” colonial power left its indelible imprint or colonial “habits of mind” which are visible today among the continent’s rulers, people, institutions and actions’.

The press and broadcasting in Africa are colonial inventions. As Asante (1996: xxv) points out, ‘the whole notion of media development and use (in Africa) was essentially Western in orientation’. Tunstall (1977: 108) asserts that British-style media were imposed on the former colonies of Britain in Africa.

The press was established for the use of British businessmen, settlers, teachers, government officials and soldiers . . . As with the press, broadcasting was set up to appeal mainly to the British themselves. Inevitably, then, the media were set up to appeal to a foreign elite; inevitably also not only equipment such as transmitters and printing presses were imported, but so also were media models such as the serious daily newspaper. So also was material – news, entertainment, and advertising.

The forerunners of the press in Uganda were 19th-century missionary publications that were originally meant to serve the information needs of missionaries in the country and those on leave at home. They were later published in indigenous languages to disseminate church-related information to natives (Robbins, 1997), and soon they became fully fledged mainstream newspapers. The 1950s saw a proliferation of African-owned news publications

in Uganda, which coincided with the peak of African opposition to the colonial establishment.

The media in post-colonial Africa were involved in what Tunstall (1977: 111) calls 'only a modification of the new "white-press" phase'. Today, the front pages of Uganda's mainstream newspapers are not unlike British national tabloids, while the new private FM stations have not only borrowed American-style programming but also 80 percent of their programs are imported from North America and Western Europe (Ogundimu, 1996). In addition, Uganda inherited the British tradition of journalism apprenticeship.

In the colonial period, journalism training mainly involved acquiring technical skills on the job or on short overseas courses (Katzen, 1975: 166). In any case, the African press in the colonial period was, to a large extent, an advocacy press that required commitment to nationalist causes more than professional skills in journalism (Boafo, 1988). Thus, formal media training in Uganda, as in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa was a post-independence phenomenon.

Normative theories of media performance suggest that the media are not only a 'product' and a 'reflection' of the history of their own societies but they also play a part in that history (McQuail, 1994: 121). Bourgault (1995: 176) puts it eloquently:

The history of journalism in [Sub-Saharan Africa] in the 1970s and 1980s is a history of a continent coming to grips with the contradictions in which it found itself. It is a history of the struggle for the newly independent nations to forge a national consciousness among disparate ethnic groups. It is a history of elite policy makers who had clamored for independence trying now to shore up the newly found freedoms. It is a history of politicians discovering that political freedom from the colonial masters had been easier to achieve than economic prosperity. It is a history, in fact, of the failure of the nation-state and the modernist paradigm to satisfy the hopes of African peoples, elites as well as masses, urbanites as well as rural dwellers.

Communication practice in the first decades of post-colonial Africa was predicated on the premise that the mass media were important for political integration, mobilization, national unity and economic development in the new nations. The media were to be used to foster the values and development objectives of the governments of the new independent nations (Hachten, 1992).

Government officials repeatedly called on journalists to disregard the kind of critical, hard-hitting, no-holds-barred reporting seen in the western press. Press freedom was often circumscribed in the name of achieving national objectives. Official newspapers as well as state owned and controlled electronic

broadcasting dotted the post-independence media landscape in Uganda. The media were often subservient to the interests of ruling parties and independent journalism was not tolerated. However, the motives for African governments' direction of the mass media were not always, if at all, altruistic. The mass media ended up being used to legitimize what were, in most cases, ruthless dictatorships (Barton, 1979).

In the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War and a new focus in international development discourse on issues of good governance and human rights, the issue of press freedom and free expression took center stage. Free and independent mass media have been identified as crucial components not only in the strengthening of civil society but also in maintenance of political stability (Ungar, 1990; Martin, 1992; Kasoma, 1995; Hadenius and Uggla, 1998).

In Uganda, this period saw a remarkable proliferation of freewheeling private newspapers and the liberalization of broadcasting, as well as increasing professionalism in the media. In fact, Uganda is often cited as an 'exciting' example of a vibrant free press in East Africa (De Beer et al., 1995; Robbins, 1997). Robbins (1997: 125) suggests that 'the diversity of ownership and range of topics covered [in the Ugandan media] seems to speak well of official tolerance and openness both to an independent press and to the winds of democracy said to be blowing across the continent'.

In spite of these developments, the country's journalists and media continue to battle against the government's entrenched hostility to free expression and criticism. While overt political controls on the media are shrinking, media-government relations are still characterized by a lot of conflict. Besides, the media still have to surmount often-draconian legislation in order to operate (Oloka-Onyango, 1996; Onyango-Obbo, 1996; Robbins, 1997; Baguma et al., 2000).

Moreover, economic roadblocks against vibrant mass media remain. These include a poor advertising base due to low levels of investment, low purchasing power due to poverty and a poor transport and distribution network. Illiteracy and the predominance of the oral tradition have compounded the woes of Ugandan publishers. Thus, newspapers continue to be the preserve of a small urban middle class, while radio remains the predominant mass medium not only because it is cheap but also because it plays right into the oral tradition prevalent in most African countries.

This is an important time to examine the sociological portrait of Ugandan journalists. How do they perceive their roles within an African context that is informed by pre-colonial traditions, colonialism, the post-colonial crisis and recent global trends?

Research questions

- 1 What are the demographics, background and education of Ugandan journalists?
- 2 What are the role perceptions of Ugandan journalists? That is, how do they rate various news media functions? How do these role perceptions compare with those of western journalists?
- 3 What are the professional attitudes, beliefs and values of Ugandan journalists?
- 4 How do these compare to those of western journalists?
- 5 What are the major constraints to journalistic freedoms in Uganda?
- 6 How (if at all) has the portrait of Ugandan journalists changed over time?

Methods

This study relies on primary data from a national survey of Ugandan journalists conducted by the author between June and August 2001. By the time of the survey, the total number of Ugandan journalists was about 550. The estimate of the national population of journalists was obtained from the registry of the National Institute of Journalists of Uganda (NIJU), the Media Council and editorial staff lists from all newspapers and broadcasting stations. After crosschecking the NIJU and Media Council lists with the editorial staff lists, a total of 550 names remained and these were organized in alphabetical order.

A systematic random sample was obtained by choosing every fourth person on the alphabetized master list of journalists. The author visited almost all newspapers and broadcasting stations in Kampala and delivered self-administered questionnaires mostly in person to 140 journalists. Questionnaires for journalists who worked outside the capital, Kampala, were delivered by mail. Of the 140 questionnaires sent out, 101 had been returned by August 2001, making a decent response rate of 72 percent.

This survey was modeled along national studies of British journalists done by Henningham and Delano (1998) and US journalists by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986, 1996). The Ugandan findings are also compared to those from studies of British and American as well as Australian journalists. The comparison with Britain and the United States was conditioned by the former's colonial relationship with Uganda and the latter's growing influence on the global media industry. Moreover, data from the three countries were readily available. Australia was included because it provides an interesting parallel. Like Uganda,

it is part of the British Commonwealth, even if its colonial history is markedly different. Suffice it to note that the choice of these three countries by no means suggests that they typically represent all the facets of western media and journalists. We should recognize the diversity in the West, even as we strive for some meaningful generalizations. For instance, Italy, France and Germany are all part of the West but they have markedly different media traditions from Britain and the United States.

The Uganda questionnaire contained both closed- and open-ended questions. In most cases, the questions were similar to Weaver and Wilhoit's questionnaire, although several other Uganda-specific questions were incorporated to take into account the different contexts in which journalism is practised.

Some will object to the idea of asking African journalists questions originally designed for their western counterparts. While these are legitimate concerns, the fact that journalism practice in Africa closely mirrors western conceptions of the press is inescapable. In any case, globalization of media is increasingly blurring the lines between the 'local' and 'foreign'. However, as already mentioned, this study tries to be sensitive to Uganda's special history and context.

Of course the study suffers the same problem that most research that is designed as replication over time or across nations faces. While such comparisons are important, there are important methodological tradeoffs involved, such as sticking to previously worded questions that may be problematic in different contexts of time and place.

Findings and discussion

Demographics, background and work

A majority of the respondents were male (73 percent), with a median age of 31 and a median journalism experience of seven years. Less than half (43 percent) of the respondents were married, while 52 percent said they had been brought up as Protestants. Over two-thirds of the respondents indicated they were 'independent' or had no political affiliation.

Fifty-four percent of the respondents had graduated from university, while 33 percent had graduated from some other tertiary institution. Only 13 percent reported having no tertiary education. Of those who graduated from university or tertiary institutions, 59 percent majored in journalism. In addition, 56 percent of the respondents thought journalists should have a university degree. This appears to suggest that, compared to their counterparts in

western countries such as Britain, Ugandans place a lot of importance on journalism training in the university setting. For instance, according to the most recent survey of British journalists available, while 49 percent had a degree and another 20 percent were attending a tertiary institution, 30 percent had had no exposure to tertiary education. Moreover, only 2 percent of those who had degrees had taken undergraduate courses in journalism (Henningham and Delano, 1998). The Ugandan journalists' hunger for formal journalism education could be explained partly by a 1995 law that requires journalists to have university degrees if they are to become full members of the National Institute of Journalists of Uganda, the nation's premier professional organization. While this law has generated controversy (Bahemuka, 1999; Lugalambi, 1999; Onyango-Obbo, 1999), more journalists without formal training have sought to acquire university degrees in recent years.

However, other studies also indicate that in countries where the free press has developed recently and the press corps has expanded, high percentages of journalists, especially younger ones, have university degrees in journalism (De Mateo, 1989; Asante, 1996).

Sixty percent of the Ugandan respondents worked in the print press, while 39 percent were in broadcasting. Despite the recent proliferation of private newspapers and radio stations, 60 percent of the respondents worked for government-owned media, while 36 percent worked for private media. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (92%) work in the nation's capital, Kampala. Slightly over half of the respondents (51%) said their main responsibility was reporting or news-gathering. Seventy-seven percent belonged to at least one professional association.

While two-thirds of the respondents reported using the internet in their work at least several times a week, a significant 24 percent said they did not use it all. Most of these cited 'limited' or complete 'lack of access' as the main reason they were not online.

Press freedom, professional autonomy and freedom

Considering the context within which they work – especially the political threats to free expression – one would expect Ugandan journalists to be working under conditions of little professional autonomy and freedom. To measure this, journalists who do reporting regularly or occasionally were asked about their clout in proposing stories, their freedom in selecting stories they worked on and deciding which aspects should be emphasized, as well as how much editing their stories received.

Forty-five percent said they 'almost always' could get a story covered, if they thought it should be followed up. Another 29 percent said they were

successful 'more often than not', while 22 percent were able to get stories covered only occasionally. In other words, at the very least almost three-quarters of the respondents had their story proposals approved more often than not.

The numbers were not as good for freedom in selecting stories to work on. Just 33 percent reported having 'almost complete freedom', 35 percent had 'a great deal of freedom', while 29 percent said they had 'some freedom'. Four percent reported having no freedom at all. Still, over two-thirds of the respondents reported having at the very least a great deal of freedom.

Asked about their freedom in deciding which aspects of a story should be emphasized, only 26 percent reported having 'almost complete freedom', 41 percent had 'a great deal of freedom', while 27 percent said they had 'some freedom'. Six percent reported having no freedom at all. Again, taken together, over two-thirds of the respondents reported having at least a great deal of freedom.

However, fewer journalists (13 percent) reported having their stories not edited by others at their organizations. An overwhelming majority of 75 percent said their stories got 'some editing' from other people, while 12 percent said they received 'a great deal' of editing.

When responses to the four questions are taken together, one gets the sense that within their own news organizations, Ugandan journalists enjoy a modest amount of professional autonomy and freedom. But this is not to suggest there are no organizational and political threats to journalistic freedoms. In fact, a majority of Ugandan journalists would appear to rate press freedom at best as only moderate. Using a press freedom scale where 0 means 'no press freedom' and 10 means 'absolute freedom', respondents scored an average of six. That rating seems to be supported by recent studies on the Ugandan media, which have suggested that despite the improvements in the 1990s, press freedom in Uganda remains at the mercy of those in power (Oloka-Onyango, 1996; Onyango-Obbo, 1996; Robbins, 1997). Robbins (1997: 132) sums it up thus: 'Uganda's press freedom continues to be fragile, although the tightrope that its journalists walk is perhaps thicker than in some other African countries.'

Over half of the respondents cited official laws such as sedition and criminal libel as the most significant limits to their journalistic freedoms (see Table 2). Other limits cited by a significant percentage of respondents included self-censorship due to government ownership of some media, lack of access to information as well as political interference.

A majority of journalists denounced the current laws governing the media, such as those on sedition, criminal libel and the publication of false news, as 'draconian' and 'archaic' and called for their immediate repeal. A

Table 2 Major limits on journalistic freedoms for Ugandan journalists

	Percentage citing this reason (<i>N</i> = 101) ^a
Official laws	53
Ownership-related censorship	30
Political interference	30
Lack of access to information	27
Money-related problems	10
Editorial policies	8
Advertiser influence	4

^a Total percentage is over 100 because respondents gave multiple responses.

middle-aged producer at the government-owned Uganda Television captured the sentiment thus: 'We don't need such laws. We need to build a strong media institution that will regulate itself with as little government interference as possible, but with the media guarding against excessiveness.' A feature writer at a daily newspaper stated: 'The Ugandan laws appear to have been conceived in bad faith,' while a news editor at a Kampala FM station was more blunt: 'They are archaic and should be repealed immediately.' A news editor at another FM station stated: 'Many of the laws are intended to safeguard the political interests of those in power.' A sub-editor at a daily stated: 'These laws are bad and should be scrapped because they frustrate or intimidate journalists. Civil laws should be invoked to protect those who are injured by professional flaws.'

Despite their yearning for more freedom, however, most Ugandan journalists would appear to be receptive to some form of controls and regulation on the media. Thus, 70 percent of the respondents said there were circumstances when limits on access to information were justified. Of these, 81 percent cited national security as an area where such limitations were tolerable, while 24 percent mentioned privacy.

Moreover, an overwhelming 93 percent of the respondents supported the idea of a peer-dominated 'media council' to arbitrate disputes between the press and public, as well as those between the press and state. The most frequently cited justification was that such a council would reduce resort to courts of law. Others felt it would strengthen the profession.

The foregoing suggests that just like their counterparts in the West, Ugandan journalists would like to operate in a freer atmosphere. While they recognize the imperative of national security and privacy as legitimate justifications for limits to press freedom, they still feel the current legal and political regime governing the media limits them in the performance of their public roles.

Importance of job aspects and satisfaction

It would appear that in rating jobs in journalism, a majority of Ugandan journalists consider both material and public affairs benefits as very important. Here the study relied on a professional values scale used by Johnstone et al. and Weaver and Wilhoit. Nine items measuring job benefits were factor analyzed using principal-axis factoring with varimax rotation. Three distinct factors emerged. The first factor contained the perceived importance of 'pay', 'fringe benefits', 'job security' and the 'chance to get ahead in the organization'. This could be called the material benefits cluster. The second factor included the perceived importance of the 'chance to influence public affairs', the 'chance to help people' and 'organizational editorial policies'. This could be considered the public affairs benefits cluster. The last factor included the perceived importance of 'autonomy' and the 'chance to develop a specialty' and could be called the professional benefits cluster. The reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the scale for items loading on the first factor was .658. The alpha for the second factor was .500, while the alpha for the last factor was considerably lower at .398. All factors were rated above average in importance. The means were 4.14 for material benefits, 4.17 for public affairs benefits and 4.14 for professional benefits. The scale ranged from 1 to 5 and the highest possible score was 5, with a higher score associated with greater importance. Table 3 compares the Ugandan journalists' ratings to those of their counterparts in Australia, Britain and the United States.

The degree of journalists' satisfaction with their jobs has a bearing on their attitudes and behavior in producing news (Bramlett-Solomon, 1992). The media cannot play their 'noble' roles if journalists do not have the morale and long-term commitment to the field. Unfortunately, the results show low levels of job satisfaction among Ugandan journalists, as well as a high rate of planned defection from the field.

About 40 percent of the respondents said they were either 'somewhat' or 'very dissatisfied' with their current jobs. Only 6 percent said they were 'very satisfied', while 55 percent said they were 'fairly satisfied'. A regression analysis revealed that income and perceptions of organizational performance were the strongest predictors of job satisfaction. Journalists who earned more money were more likely to report being satisfied with their current jobs than those who earned less. This relationship confirms what we already know from studies of job satisfaction in other regions of the world (e.g. Johnstone et al., 1976; Pollard, 1995; Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996). Most of the answers to the open-ended questions on job conditions also bear out the importance of pay to job satisfaction. For instance, a producer at a radio station said he was very dissatisfied because 'the pay is miserable and the [supervisors'] attitude is not

Table 3 Ugandan, British, US and Australian journalists: importance of journalism job aspects

	Percentage saying 'very important'			
	Ugandan (N = 101)	British (N = 726)	US (N = 1156)	Australian (N = 1068)
Job security	81	56	61	58
Editorial policies of the organization	76	56	69	55
Chance to get ahead in the organization	67	45	39	51
Pay	63	62	21	23
Chance to develop a specialty	63	28	40	40
Chance to influence public affairs ^a	62	—	38	—
Amount of autonomy you have	55	47	51	51
Chance to help people	52	26	61	44
Fringe benefits	39	10	35	7

Source: British and American data, Henningham and Delano (1998: 155); Australian data from Henningham (1998: 101).

^a The British and Australian studies did not include this item. The American data for this item are from Weaver and Wilhoit (1996).

encouraging'. As in many other parts of the world, journalism is not that lucrative in Uganda. About two-thirds of the respondents said they had earned under five million shillings (US\$2900) the previous year, while 21 percent earned between five and eleven million. Only 14 percent earned over 11 million shillings (US\$6400) a year.

Also, there was a significant positive relationship between perceptions of organizational performance and job satisfaction. That is, journalists who thought their organizations did a good job of informing the public were likely to be more satisfied than their colleagues who did not think highly of their organizations' performance. Again, some of the answers to the open-ended questions appear to bear this out. For instance, the editor of a daily newspaper said he was very satisfied because, among other reasons, his newspaper was 'the organization to reckon with'.

Some of the other most frequently cited reasons for job dissatisfaction included lack of adequate facilitation, a frustrating bureaucracy and difficulties with management. Also, journalists who work with government-owned radio and television appeared to be more likely to be dissatisfied because of bureaucracy and what they called the 'poor attitude' of their supervisors. An editor at Radio Uganda said: 'There are a lot of malicious, envious, retrogressive and mediocre old guards bent on frustrating efforts of progressive journalists.' A

manager of another government radio station said: 'The structures of the government broadcast media are irrational and frustrating to many professionals,' while a senior TV producer said he was very dissatisfied because of 'lack of editorial independence, very little pay, and limited opportunities to get ahead'.

With such a state of affairs, it should perhaps not be surprising that a significant number of Ugandan journalists do not plan on staying in the profession much longer. While a majority of respondents (64%) said they would remain in the news media, a substantial 33 percent reported that they would be working outside the media in five years' time.

A regression analysis showed three significant predictors of commitment to or defection from journalism. These include gender, current job satisfaction and the perceived importance of pay in rating jobs in journalism. In other words, the results show that journalists who are likely to stay in the news media are male, do not think of pay as very important in rating jobs in journalism and are satisfied with their present jobs.

Gender turned out to be the strongest predictor of journalists' future work. It appears that journalism is a demanding and stressful profession that is not likely to retain high percentages of women in a society where they are still expected to play a major domestic role and where – despite recent progress – opportunities for their professional advancement are still limited.

Job satisfaction is perhaps a more obvious predictor of commitment to or defection from journalism. Journalists – and employees in other fields – who are not satisfied with their jobs are bound to generate high rates of occupational mobility. A news editor at a private FM station captured the frustration of many journalists: 'I have had enough of journalism. There has been no improvement in my professional career, on top of poor pay.' A young reporter who plans to go into public relations said: 'In Uganda, the news media are not fully professional, they are constrained by [official] laws, and there is gross underpayment. I deserve more.'

The perceived importance of pay in rating jobs in journalism also neatly explains commitment to the news media. We have already seen that journalism is not a lucrative occupation. It makes sense that those who are committed to this field do not think of pay as very important. If they did, they would perhaps be elsewhere in the first place.

Other frequently cited reasons for quitting journalism were 'to explore other opportunities' and 'stress or exhaustion'. Most of those who planned to quit said they would go into public relations, teaching and research, private business and the non-profit sector.

It is not all gloom, however. It is encouraging that some of the most frequent reasons cited by those who are committed to journalism were the

public affairs benefits of their jobs, such as the opportunities to help people and influence public affairs. For instance, the editor of a rural-based newspaper said: 'I am satisfied with working in the rural area, influencing the lives of ordinary people, and the fair amount of autonomy I have.' Added a senior reporter with a daily newspaper: 'I am very satisfied because I like the editorial policies, I am very autonomous and independent in my work, and I have also helped people and influenced public affairs.'

Perceptions of media functions

As do their counterparts in the West, it would appear that Ugandan journalists tend to support both the *disseminator* and *interpretive* roles of the news media. But the Ugandans also show more support for advocacy or what Weaver and Wilhoit (1996: 140) called the *populist mobilizer* role than the Australian, British or American journalists.

The study applied a 13-item scale devised by Johnstone et al. (1976) and developed by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986, 1996) to rate journalists' views on media functions. Unlike Weaver and Wilhoit's study, a factor analysis of the 13-items did not produce clear-cut clusters of media functions. But the rating of the individual items is still revealing.

Getting information out quickly to the public, investigating government claims, analysis and interpretation, as well as discussion of national policy before it is developed were all rated as very important functions of the news media (see Table 4). Getting information out quickly was the highest rated media function, supported by 86 percent of the respondents. It was followed by 'giving ordinary people a chance to express themselves', supported by 80 percent, and investigating government claims, supported by 75 percent.

However, Ugandan journalists were less likely to support the *adversarial role* of the news media. Thus, only 14 percent of the respondents thought it was 'extremely important' that the news media should be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions and only 11 percent felt journalists should be an adversary, in the same sense, of business. Those who argue that the African press is tied a conceptualization of journalism that is not questioning of official authority (e.g. Roser and Brown, 1986) will perhaps point to this to support their case. Yet, the Ugandan figures are not that different from data from the United States that show that only 21 percent of American journalists thought it was 'very important' that the news media should be an adversary of public officials and only 14 percent felt the same about the media and business (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996: 136). Australian journalists also showed little support for this role, although British journalists were much more likely to support the adversarial role, with 51 per-

cent saying it was 'extremely important' that the news media should be an adversary of public officials and 45 percent saying the same about business (Henningham and Delano, 1998: 152–3).

Table 4 Ugandan, British, US and Australian journalists: importance of news media functions

	Percentage saying 'extremely/very important'			
	Ugandan (N = 101)	British (N = 726)	US (N = 1156)	Australian (N = 1068)
Get information to the public quickly	86	88	69	74
Give ordinary people a chance to express themselves ^a	80	56	48	—
Investigate claims and statements made by the government	75	88	67	81
Provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems	63	83	48	71
Concentrate on news which is of interest to the widest possible audience	55	45	20	38
Discuss national policy while it is still being developed	50	64	39	56
Develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public	44	30	18	37
Influence public opinion ^b	37	—	—	—
Set the political agenda ^a	32	13	5	—
Stay away from stories where factual content cannot be verified	32	30	49	45
Provide entertainment and relaxation	32	47	14	28
Be an adversary of public officials by being constantly skeptical of their actions	14	51	21	30
Be an adversary of businesses by being constantly skeptical of their actions	11	45	14	27

Source: British and American data, Henningham and Delano (1998: 153); Australian data from Henningham (1998: 103).

^a The Australian study did not include this item.

^b The British, American and Australian studies did not include this item.

It is not clear what explains this difference from the British and similarity to the American and, to some extent, the Australian journalists on the adversarial role. One could argue that it is because of the strong American influence on the Ugandan journalism curriculum. While this appears to make sense, especially considering that Ugandan respondents cited journalistic training as the strongest influence on their concept of what was newsworthy, the American journalists' consistent low rating of the adversary function is itself 'a persistent puzzle' given popular perceptions of modern journalists as 'a "generation of vipers"' (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996: 139). It is possible that this apparent contradiction is a result of the question wording. 'Adversary' and 'being constantly skeptical' arguably give the items that were used to measure the adversarial role a very extreme tone that could significantly decrease journalists' rating of the importance of that function. Weaver himself concedes as much (personal commun., August 2003).

Whatever the case, overall it appears that Ugandan journalists highly rate what Ramaprasad (2001) has called western journalistic functions. She found that Tanzanian journalists also rated these functions highly.

Some African scholars are concerned by this reflection of a 'western conceptualization' of journalism. Kasoma (1996: 95), for instance, argues:

The tragedy facing African journalism of the 1990s and beyond . . . is that the continent's journalists have closely imitated the professional norms of the (West), which they see as the epitome of good journalism. Consequently, the African mass media's philosophical foundations, their aims and objectives have been blue-prints of the media in the industrialized societies of the (West).

The West has certainly influenced African journalism but the bashing of the 'Imperial West' is sometimes uncalled for and the rejection of everything that is western appears foolhardy. Why should it be a problem that just like their western counterparts, African journalists cherish the role of disseminating information quickly to the public, investigating government claims, analyzing and interpreting or discussing national policy before it is developed? Considering the long and torturous journey of African journalism, this should, in fact, be cause for a toast. In any case, as we shall see shortly, while they have adopted western functions, Ugandan journalists also showed support for other media roles and, therefore, they cannot be easily pigeonholed into narrowly constructed role conceptions. And there is no reason to believe that this does not extend to other parts of Africa.

But what explains these western-type role perceptions among Ugandan journalists? Both regression and correlation analyses failed to produce any significant predictors. It had been hoped that perhaps factors such as age, education and media type could have a relationship to conceptions of media functions, but none was found.

It may well be that the closeness of African journalistic conceptions to those of the West represents the gradual rise of journalism as a global profession. Sparks and Splichal (1992), who surveyed 1800 first-year journalism students in 22 different countries, found evidence to support this conclusion, although others have challenged this view (Weaver, 1998a).

However, the apparent closeness of Ugandan journalists' conceptions of their roles to western journalistic functions does not necessarily translate into similar journalistic practice. In fact, some of the values that Ugandan journalists endorsed are not necessarily reflected in what they produce. For example, much of the information on government-owned radio and television stations remains 'protocol news' about the activities of the President and government ministers. Private radio stations have adopted a more liberal attitude towards news but most of their programming is entertainment-based, although, as already pointed out, only 32 percent of the respondents rated this media function as very important. Apart from the social and political talk shows that have proliferated in recent years, there is very little public affairs programming on Ugandan radio and television. While there are some occasional investigative pieces in both government and private newspapers, by and large the traditional 5Ws and H reporting remains predominant. There is little or no interpretive reporting on the front pages, although the inside pages of most newspapers are filled with robust opinion columns and feature stories.

What would explain this apparent discrepancy between the conceptions and values that Ugandan journalists endorse and their actual practice? It would appear that the legal and political regime under which the media operate forces many journalists to 'play safe'. Reporting the speech of a government minister in the traditional format (who said-what-when-where) is much safer than adopting an interpretive frame that tells that audience what the minister's speech really adds up to. The independent private newspaper, *The Monitor*, has often run into trouble with government over the latter style of reporting. Likewise, as Onyango-Obbo (1996) notes, private radio owners were quick to realize that entertainment programming was not only cheap but also non-controversial and, therefore, less likely to attract the wrath of government.

As pointed out earlier, support for western role conceptions does not preclude more diverse orientations on the part of Ugandan or African journalists. For instance, although Ramaprasad found a high rating for the so-called western journalistic functions among Tanzanian journalists, they also approved of the so-called African/Third World journalistic functions such as assisting/aiding national development.

This study did not ask Ugandan journalists about their rating of the so-called development journalism functions. However, it offers evidence that

appears to suggest that despite their support for the so-called western journalistic functions of dissemination and interpretation, Ugandan journalists also embraced an advocacy or populist mobilizer role that is, in some ways, consistent with some of the aspirations of the advocates of development journalism. Weaver and Wilhoit (1996: 140) have suggested that the populist mobilizer role consists of the following items: 'develop intellectual and cultural interests of the public', 'set the political agenda' and 'give ordinary people a chance to express themselves'. I added one more item from the Ugandan study: 'influence public opinion'. The Ugandan journalists' rating of the importance of all these items was significantly higher than that of the Australians, British or American journalists. Moreover, as we saw in Table 3 on the importance of journalism job aspects, the Ugandan journalists also rated the 'chance to influence public affairs' more highly than the Americans (the British and Australian studies did not include this item).

These results, then, appear to indicate a degree of the 'missionary' orientation that Lederbogen (1992) found among Tanzanian journalists. Köcher (1986: 63) also found the missionary approach more common among German than British journalists who saw themselves as more of 'bloodhounds – as hunters of news'.

All this appears to suggest that Ugandan journalists are not reliant on a single model of media functions. They have adopted several ideals from different 'western' and 'Third World' models, which they have then adapted to their local context.

Ethics: influences and views on practices

The biggest influences on journalism ethics were day-by-day newsroom learning, followed by journalism teachers, a senior editor and family upbringing. Seventy-one percent rated day-by-day newsroom learning as extremely influential, 53 percent said the same about journalism teachers, while 51 percent said so about a senior editor.

The results on views on ethical practices gave a mixed picture. Ethical stances were arrived at using Weaver and Wilhoit's (1996) scale, although an additional set of questions pertinent to the Ugandan situation was included. Respondents were asked: 'Given an important story, which one of the following methods do you think may be justified on occasion and which would you not approve under any circumstances?' In half the cases, a majority of Ugandan journalists were likely to respond that controversial or questionable reporting practices 'may be justified on occasion' (see Table 5). Thus, 66 percent of the respondents said they would approve of paying people for confidential information, 70 percent said they would use confidential business or

government documents without authorization and 73 percent said they would use hidden microphones and cameras. While all these practices may be questionable, they may indeed appear justifiable for journalists who work in

Table 5 Ugandan, British, US and Australian journalists: views on controversial ethical issues

	Percentage saying 'justified on occasion'			
	Ugandan (N = 101)	British (N = 726)	US (N = 1156)	Australian (N = 1068)
Being paid by a source to facilitate information-gathering process ^a	75	—	—	—
Using hidden microphones or cameras ^b	73	73	60	—
Using confidential business or government documents without authorization	70	86	82	79
Paying people for confidential information	66	65	20	31
Badgering unwilling informants to get a story	55	59	49	55
Getting employed in a firm or organization to get inside information	53	80	63	46
Using re-creations or dramatizations of news by actors ^b	39	78	28	—
Making use of personal documents such as letters and photographs without permission	33	49	48	39
Claiming to be somebody else	29	47	22	13
Agreeing to protect confidentiality and not doing so	21	9	5	4
Being paid by a source to publish a story ^a	12	—	—	—
Disclosing the names of rape victims ^b	10	11	43	—
Being paid by a source to kill a story ^a	8	—	—	—
Being paid by a source to change a story ^a	5	—	—	—

Source: British and American data, Henningham and Delano (1998: 157); Australian data from Henningham (1998: 104).

^a The British, American and Australian studies did not include this item.

^b The Australian study did not include this item.

an environment of impenetrable bureaucracies and severe lack of access to information. But, overall, the Ugandan results do not show remarkable differences from those of the British or even the Australians.

However, it was disturbing that 75 percent of the Ugandan respondents said being paid by a news source to facilitate the information-gathering process might be justified on occasion. This question was included because the practice appears to be widespread in Uganda. Some editors and media managers, in fact, approve of the practice. At the government-owned Uganda Television, for instance, organizations that want their events to appear on the news are often required to pay transport and other allowances for journalists. Some will argue that it is perhaps understandable, considering that Ugandan journalists earn very little and are not adequately supported by their organizations. But there is a danger that news sources will end up unduly influencing media coverage. Moreover, Ugandan media organizations do not employ ombudsmen who could act as internal checks on unethical behavior.

The good news is that over 90 percent of the respondents said they would not approve being paid by a source to publish, kill or change a story to reflect the wishes of the news source. Again, this question was included because of the prevalence of complaints about Ugandan journalists taking money from news sources either to publish or kill stories.

It is worrying that unlike their counterparts in the West, a whole 21 percent of the Ugandan respondents said breaking confidentiality agreements with sources may be justified on occasion. This is even more confounding, considering that the controversial press law of 1995 actually allows journalists to protect their sources.

Henningham and Delano (1998: 157) argue that 'the strongly competitive newsgathering environment in the UK . . . may result in a culture in which ethical constraints are somewhat blurred'. In Uganda, competition in the media industry has increased in recent years but the temptation to adopt questionable information-gathering and reporting practices may result more from the lack of access to, especially official, information. Moreover, as we have already noted, formal journalism training in Uganda, as in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, is a recent phenomenon. Also, politics, economics and internal wrangling have hindered the development of strong professional journalism associations in Uganda. It is telling that in the US, where there has been a strong tradition of journalism education and a strong culture of professional associations and watchdog organizations, journalists appear less likely to approve of certain questionable reporting practices (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1996) than the British or Ugandans. Of course it is also possible that because many American newspapers are primarily chain or group newspapers

(in a sense, a monopoly), they do not face the same competitive pressures under which the British press operates.

Conclusion

Before drawing conclusions, it is important to remember that there are no previous national studies of Ugandan journalists with which to compare the results of this study. Second, while the sample of 101 journalists is a significant percentage of the entire population of Ugandan journalists, we are bound to run into problems of a large sampling error. Therefore, we should be careful not to overstretch the significance of the results of this comparative study. Yet, we can make several important conclusions.

It appears that Ugandan journalists are far more likely to possess university education today than in the first decades after independence. This is perhaps due to the growing sophistication of the market place and the importance attached to formal education. However, compared to their counterparts from developed countries such as Britain, it would appear that Ugandan journalists overrate the importance of university education to journalism.

As do the British and Americans, Ugandan journalists appeared to be likely to approve of several controversial reporting practices such as paying for confidential information and subterfuge. While in the West this is mostly blamed on competitive pressures, it is more likely that in countries such as Uganda where access to official information remains a major problem, journalists cannot help embracing controversial ways of getting stories.

Perhaps not surprisingly, there are several structural differences in the context in which journalism is practised in the West and in Uganda. Thus, more Ugandan journalists work for government-owned media and are constrained more by political strictures ranging from draconian official laws to direct political interference.

These limitations on journalistic freedoms have important implications for democratization. The media's contribution to the current political transitions is inevitably undermined when journalists operate in an environment where free expression is only exercised at the mercy of those in government.

It should also be a cause of concern that a significant number of journalists are dissatisfied with their current jobs and plan to defect from the profession in the next few years. Such occupational mobility denies new generations of journalists the opportunity to learn from the experience and wisdom of the veterans.

The good news is that despite the constraints under which they work, Ugandan journalists showed a commitment to the public affairs benefits of their jobs. Moreover, despite the infringements on press freedom, Ugandan journalists believed they had considerable professional freedom and autonomy within their own organizations.

Perhaps the most important finding of this study is that Ugandan news people highly value the so-called western journalistic functions of information, analysis and interpretation and investigation of official claims. Some have argued that African journalists are still beholden to the notion of development journalism that was prevalent in the 1970s. As already pointed out, this study did not ask questions about journalism and national development. However, even if such questions had been asked, and the respondents had shown support for national development, it would not have subtracted from the evidence that Ugandan journalists do not see themselves as working for the patronizing outlets that development journalism inevitably led to. Rather, they seem to have embraced a conceptualization of independent journalism at the core of which is information, entertainment, analysis and interpretation, as well as giving ordinary people a voice. Again, this has important implications for democratization, for the media cannot rise up to the challenges of popular participation and accountability of the state to the citizenry when those who work in journalism do not have a commitment to those roles that make the media central to democracy.

It is not clear whether support for western-type role perceptions is a result of the enduring colonial legacy, universal conventions on the place of journalism in society or the globalization of the media in recent years. It appears, however, that with the end of the Cold War, a western conceptualization of journalism is taking hold in the rest of the world, at least in so far as it provides information and entertainment, investigates claims by government and gives ordinary people a voice.

Despite differences in cultures, institutional and historical backgrounds, it appears that journalists rate many aspects of their work, professional roles and ethical practices in the same way. But in some other ways, the attitudinal profile of the Ugandan journalist also differs significantly from that of their western counterparts, which – it must be noted – also differs in several respects from country to country.

The Uganda survey also shows that the threats to independent journalism in developing countries do not appear to stem from the profession itself, but rather from the ruling class. As Lee (1991) argues, the question of whether a free press is incompatible with development is either 'insufficient' or an 'ideological' one favoring the position of the ruling elite.

It is not inherently an either-or question. The two values, national development and freedom of the press, can be pursued simultaneously, if so desired. The question itself, however, has been routinely formulated by power elites in developing countries in such a way as to imply that it is necessary or even inevitable to sacrifice freedom of the press at least during the period of modernization. (Lee, 1991: 157)

Ugandan journalists will agree with this assessment but the power elite probably has a different take.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr David Weaver at Indiana University, Dr Jyotika Ramaprasad at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

References

- Asante, C. (1996) *The Press in Ghana: Problems and Prospects*. New York/London: University Press of America.
- Baguma, R., G. Lugalambi and D. Zawadi (2000) 'Uganda', in L. M. Wanyeki (ed.) *Up in the Air? The State of Broadcasting in Eastern Africa*, pp. 107–39. Lusaka, Zambia: Panos-Southern Africa.
- Bahemuka, P. (1999) 'Journalists, Not Legislation Will Rescue Journalism', *Uganda Journalism Review* 1(1): 10–15.
- Barton, F. (1979) *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perseverance*. New York: Africana.
- Blair, H. (1998) 'Civil Society and Building Democracy: Lessons from International Donor Experience', in A. Bernard, H. Helmich and P. B. Lehning (eds) *Civil Society and International Development*. Development Center of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Paris: OECD.
- Boafo, K. S. T (1988) 'Journalism Profession and Training in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case Study of Ghana', *Africa Media Review* 2(3): 56–74.
- Bourgault, L. M. (1995) *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bramlett-Solomon, S. (1992) 'Predictors of Job Satisfaction Among Black Journalists', *Journalism Quarterly* 69(3): 703–12.
- CIA (2001) *World Factbook*, URL (consulted March 2002): <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.html>
- De Beer, A. S., F. P. Kasoma, E. R. Megwa and E. Steyn (1995) 'Sub-Saharan Africa', in J. C. Merrill (ed.) *Global Journalism: Survey of International Communication*, pp. 209–68. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- De Mateo, R. (1989) 'The Evolution of the Newspaper Industry in Spain', *European Journal of Communication* 4(2): 221–6.
- Eribo, F. and W. Jong-Ebot, eds (1997) *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa*. Trenton, NJ/Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press.

- Gurevitch, M. and J. G. Blumler (1990) 'Comparative Research: The Extending Frontier', in D. L. Swanson and D. Nimmo (eds) *New Directions in Political Communication*, pp. 305–25. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hachten, W. A. (1992) *The World News Prism: Changing Media of International Communication*. Ames: Iowa State University.
- Hadenius, A. and F. Uggla (1998) 'Shaping Civil Society', in A. Bernard, H. Helmich and P. B. Lehning (eds) *Civil Society and International Development*. Development Centre of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Paris: OECD.
- Henningham, J. (1998) 'Australian Journalists', in D. H. Weaver (ed.) *The Global Journalist: News People Around the World*, pp. 91–107. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Henningham, J. and A. Delano (1998) 'British Journalists,' in D. H. Weaver (ed.) *The Global Journalist: News People Around the World*, pp. 143–60. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Huntington, S. (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hyden, G. and M. Leslie (2002) 'Communication and Democratization in Africa', in G. Hyden, M. Leslie and F. F. Ogundimu (eds) *Media and Democracy in Africa*, pp. 1–28. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Johnstone, J. W., E. J. Slawski and W. W. Bowman (1976) *The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and Their Work*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kasoma, F. P. (1995) 'The Role of the Independent Media in Africa's Change to Democracy', *Media, Culture & Society* 17: 537–55.
- Kasoma, F. P. (1996) 'The Foundations of African Ethics (Afriethics) and the Professional Practice of Journalism: The Case for Society-Centered Media Morality', *Africa Media Review* 10(3): 93–116.
- Katzen, M. (1975) *Mass Communication Teaching and Studies at Universities: A Worldwide Survey on the Role of Universities in the Study of Mass Media and Mass Communication*. Paris: UNESCO Press.
- Kirat, M. (1998) 'Algerian Journalists and Their World', in D. H. Weaver (ed.) *The Global Journalist: News People Around the World*, pp. 323–48. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Köcher, R. (1986) 'Bloodhounds or Missionaries: Role Definitions of German and British Journalists', *European Journal of Communication* 1: 43–64.
- Lederbogen, U. (1992) *Watchdog or Missionary? A Portrait of African News People and their Work: A Case Study in Tanzania*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Lee, J. K. (1991) 'Press Freedom and National Development: Toward a Reconceptualization', *Gazette* 48: 149–63.
- Luckham, R. and G. White, eds (1996) *Democratization in the South: The Jagged Wave*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Lugalambi, G. W. (1999) 'Professionalizing Journalism in Uganda', *Uganda Journalism Review* 1(1): 1–6.
- McLeod, J. M. and J. G. Blumler (1987) 'The Macro-social Level of Communication Science', in C. R. Berger and S. H. Chaffee (eds) *Handbook of Communication Science*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (1994) *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

- Martin, R. (1992) 'Building Independent Mass Media in Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30: 331–40.
- Mutibwa, P. (1992) *Uganda Since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Promises*. Kampala: Fountain.
- Nsambu, J.-M. (2003) 'Uganda: The Land of FM Radios', *The New Vision*, 7 March.
- Ogundimu, F. F. (1996) 'Private Enterprise Broadcasting and Accelerating Dependency: Case Studies from Nigeria and Uganda', *Gazette* 58: 159–72.
- Oloka-Onyango, J. (1996) 'Telling Jokes and Upsetting the Government', Paper presented at the Makerere University Human Rights and Peace Centre Conference, Kampala, December.
- Oloka-Onyango, J. (2000) 'New Wine or New Bottles? Movement Politics and One-partyism in Uganda', in J. Mugaju and J. Oloka-Onyango (eds) *No Party Democracy in Uganda: Myths and Realities*, pp. 40–59. Kampala: Fountain.
- Onyango-Obbo, C. (1996) 'East African Doors Unlocking – Except in Kenya', *Nieman Reports* 50(1): 69–73
- Onyango-Obbo, C. (1999) 'Uganda's Press Law: Are Journalists in Touch With Public Opinion?', *Uganda Journalism Review* 1(1): 7–9.
- Pollard, G. (1995) 'Job Satisfaction Among Newswriters: The Influence of Professionalism, Perceptions of Organizational Structure, and Social Attributes', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72(3): 682–97.
- Ramaprasad, J. (2001) 'A Profile of Journalists in Post-Independence Tanzania', *Gazette* 63(6): 539–55.
- Robbins, M. B. (1997) 'Press Freedom in Uganda', in F. Eribo and W. Jong-Ebot (eds) *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa*, pp. 121–34. Trenton, NJ/Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press.
- Roser, C. and Brown, L. (1986) 'African Newspaper Editors and the New World Information Order', *Journalism Quarterly* 63(1): 114–21.
- Shah, H. (1999) 'Journalism in an Age of Mass Media Globalization', Unpublished manuscript, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Sparks, C. and S. Splichal (1992) *Journalists for the 21st Century: Tendencies to Professionalization in First-year Journalist Students in 22 Countries*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Tunstall, J. (1977) *The Media are American*. London: Constable.
- United Nations Development Programme (1998) *Uganda Human Development Report*. Kampala: United Nations Development Programme.
- Ungar, S. (1990) 'The Role of a Free Press in Strengthening Democracy', in J. Lichtenberg (ed.) *Democracy and the Media*, pp. 368–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weaver, D. H. (1998a) 'Journalists Around the World', in D. H. Weaver (ed.) *The Global Journalist: News People Around the World*, pp. 455–80. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Weaver, D. H., ed. (1998b) *The Global Journalist: News People Around the World*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Weaver, D. H. and C. G. Wilhoit (1986) *The American Journalist: A Portrait of US News People and Their Work*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Weaver, D. H. and C. G. Wilhoit (1996) *The American Journalist in the 1990s: U.S. News People at the End of an Era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Werbner, R. and T. Ranger, eds (1996) *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. London: Zed Books.

World Bank (2000) *World Development Report 1999/2000*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Biographical note

Peter Mwesige is a PhD Candidate in Mass Communications at Indiana University, Bloomington, in the United States. A former journalist and the first elected President of the National Institute of Journalists of Uganda, Mwesige is currently on study leave from Makerere University, Kampala, where he taught journalism.

Address: School of Journalism, Indiana University, 940 East Seventh St, Ernie Pyle Hall 2000, Bloomington, IN 47405, USA. [email: pmwesige@indiana.edu]