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Educational Broadcasting in Africa: The Case of Uganda

by James Kiwanuka-Tondo*

Abstract

This article discusses the concept of development communication and the role which communication can play in the development process. Using the Ugandan example, it shows how the broadcast media have been used for formal and non-formal education in select African countries. It reveals the potentialities and constraints of educational broadcasting in particular and broadcasting in general — including technological underdevelopment, lack of financial and human resources, as well as political instability and upheavals.

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Formation dans les techniques de radiodiffusion en Afrique: cas de l'Ouganda

Résumé

L'exposé passe en revue le concept de la communication de développement et le rôle que la communication peut jouer dans le processus du développement. Se basant sur l'exemple de l'Ouganda, l'article indique comment les médias de radiodiffusion ont été utilisés pour l'éducation formelle et informelle dans une série de pays africains. Ce faisant, il révèle les potentialités et contraintes auxquelles est confrontée la radiodiffusion de l'éducation en particulier et la radiodiffusion en général. Parmi ces contraintes on compte l'instabilité politique, le sous-développement technologique et le manque des ressources humaines et financières.
Introduction

Wherever the mass media have been established, education has been put at the forefront of the fruits to be reaped or as an objective for the development of the mass media.

The presumed importance of the role the mass media can play in education can be illustrated by the views of the former Vice-President of Tanzania, Sheikh Aboud Jumbe. Speaking at an African symposium on colour television jointly organized by the Zanzibar Ministry of Information and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, he stressed that in installing colour television the Government of Zanzibar's emphasis was on education 'in the widest meaning of the word, including instructional programming, vocational guidance, home education and dissemination of healthy political ideas' (Quoted in Katz and Wedell: 1977:11).

In Uganda, the Twining Report (1939) quoted the Interim Report of a Committee on Broadcasting Services in the Colonies (1937), which recommended that radio broadcasting was to be 'an instrument not only, and perhaps not even primarily for the entertainment, but for the enlightenment of the population for their instruction in public health, agriculture, etc'.

Because educational facilities are not enough to satisfy the demand of the ever growing population of school age children, the media (particularly the broadcast media) have been seen as a substitute for this formal education. This is more so given technological advances which have resulted in the invention of the FM technology and the low cost transistor radio which can use relatively cheap batteries that have enabled mass communication to reach the most remote areas in the world.

Since education has been linked to the creation of communication systems that can reach wide populations, educational broadcasting has been identified with development and nation building.

This article addresses the concept of development communication, the use of educational broadcasting in parts of Africa, and how educational broadcasting has been used in Uganda. It also discusses the constraints that have hindered the development of educational broadcasting in Uganda, and draws some conclusions and makes recommendations on the development of educational broadcasting in Uganda in particular, and Africa as a whole.

The Concept of Development Communications

The concept of development communication owes its beginning to the fathers of the modernization theory of development, i.e. Lerner (1958,
1963), Schramm (1963, 1964) and Rogers (1962). These empirical researchers saw communication as a vehicle with the potential to bring about social change and, consequently, development.

Lerner (1963) saw social mobility as the key to social change. His view was that the role of communication was to create empathy in the individual. This would in turn arouse social mobility. Consequently, social change would be realized. The mass media were therefore to play the role of mobility multipliers. Lerner was of the opinion that for all this to happen people must first attain literacy. As he put it, ‘Literacy is in this sense also a precondition for motivation’ (p. 34).

Similarly, Wilbur Schramm (1963, 1964) considered that the communication media must help to eliminate illiteracy by multiplying the opportunities for education in agriculture, health and technical skills.

Everett Rogers (1962) held that the communication media were to play the role of disseminating innovations. In his view, ‘the individual becomes aware of the innovation mainly by impersonal and cosmopolite sources such as the mass media’ (1962:307).

However, the beginning of the 1970s witnessed a shift in mass communication research. This shift culminated in viewing mass communication as an interactive process that must be studied in the long term and not in the short term. With this shift came the theories of ‘agenda-setting’ by McCombs and Shaw (1972) and the ‘spiral of silence’ or creation of the climate of opinion by Noelle-Neumann (1973).

This new outlook on mass communication together with the defining of development culminated in a new era of research in development communication. The research focused on mass communication as an interactive process in social systems.

Freire (1972), for example, felt that communication should activate conscientization, that is, awaken the critical awareness of oneself. In complementing Freire, Bordenave (1977) felt that this critical awareness would help the society to realize its needs, formulate its own solutions and organize politically so as to achieve its aspirations in development.

But the technologies for communication media are new products in developing societies. There are problems of their availability, accessibility and even intelligibility. Therefore, the traditional networks of communication should be utilized in development communication.

In Africa, the role of family clans in communication cannot be overemphasized. Furthermore, folk media such as drama, songs, storytelling and proverbs are a vital and integral part of communication patterns particularly in educating people. In Nigeria, for example, novelist Chinua Achebe has described proverbs as the ‘palm wine with which words are eaten’.

The successful interaction of any message in the rural areas can, to a
great extent, be measured by the degree to which such a message finds its way into the traditional networks. If, on the other hand, the traditional networks supply contradictory information, then developmental information will be rendered useless. This problem was realized in Uganda at the launching of the ‘Child Survival and Development’ information campaign in 1986, when traditional beliefs in some areas were found to be negative to the information.

If the communication media are to activate social change and, hence, development, then the people whom the change affects must be involved. This dictates that development communication must adopt a horizontally layered participative model. As Servaes (1986) stipulates, development communication must be ‘public-oriented’. This means that the public should cease to be seen just as passive recipients but as actively participating in the communication process.

The target audience should be involved in the process of development communication by participating in the production of programmes on development. For example, in Tanzania and Mozambique, the rural population are involved in gathering news about local events in their areas. In Uganda today, children are becoming more and more involved in the production of programmes on health education on radio and television while the secretaries for information in the Resistance Councils at all levels are intended to become an integral part of the gathering of developmental news in the rural areas.

Educational Broadcasting: An Overview

In developing countries, educational broadcasting was taken up very enthusiastically. This was due to the fact that the modernization theorists, such as Schramm (1964), saw the media as vital in the efforts towards development. They felt that the mass media would substitute for the teacher where there was none. Furthermore, where books were scarce and printing either too slow or completely lacking, one textbook, used by a teacher on television or radio, could suffice for a multitude of students across the whole country.

In Africa, many experiments with educational television were carried out in countries such as Cote d’Ivoire, Niger and Senegal sponsored by UNESCO, UNDP, The World Bank and countries like France, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

All in all, the ability of the broadcast media in imparting knowledge in formal education is no longer doubted. Consequently, many African countries use radio and television in formal education.

The broadcast media have also been used in non-formal or extensive education. In this case, the broadcast media have been used in four main areas: (i) giving pre-school education; (ii) giving basic education at all
levels to the financially or physically disadvantaged; (iii) continuing adult education; and (iv) promoting social change.

In Africa, the area that has been most enthusiastically taken up in extensive educational broadcasting is promoting social change. Here the broadcast media have been used in literacy campaigns, health education, and in rural development extension services.

In Tanzania, a literacy campaign, *The Choice is Yours* was launched in 1970 before general elections using radio listening groups supported by printed materials such as booklets. The success attained here was largely attributed to a favourable climate of opinion and the co-operation received from the ruling party, TANU, the Institute for Adult Education, the University of Dar-es-Salaam and the Ministry of Education.

Similarly, a health campaign, *Man is Health* was launched on radio in Tanzania in 1973 with the aim of promoting preventive medicine through the creation of a healthy rural environment. The campaign was successful in that although it was originally aimed at reaching one million people, it finally reached two million listeners. Practical changes in the environment such as more latrines built and used were registered. (Hall and Dodds 1977).

Whereas the formal educational broadcasting has proved successful, the use of the broadcast media in extensive education, particularly in promoting social change, is rarely successful. This is due to the fact that the way research was conducted in the first half of this century resulted in major flaws.

Firstly, it resulted in a misconception of the processes of mass communication and, hence, a short-sighted framework of interpretation of mass media messages, namely, the sender-receiver (S-R) theory. To-date, the S-R theory still dominates a lot of broadcast media programmes aimed at social change. And when after World War II, the two-step-flow theory of communication was formulated it still left a lot of unanswered questions.

As research continued into the second half of this century, a number of issues surfaced. For example, the research by Star and Hughes (1950) on the United Nations plan for Cincinatti in the U.S.A. revealed the notion of selectivity by the audience and credibility of the medium and the communicator in the opinion of the audience. These two issues affect the response of the audience to the communication.

Today, mass communication research has gone beyond the search for short-term, behavioural effects and has turned to the long-term effects of the media. Research has also shown that mass communication is an interactive process and must be studied in its social, cultural, economic and political contexts.

With this renewed thinking, there have emerged two important theories about the way the mass media influence people in the long term.
In their agenda-setting theory, McCombs and Shaw (1972) have proposed that the media structure for us the issues around which to centre a discussion about the world that we live in. Noelle-Neumann (1973) has proposed that the mass media play an important part in the formation of the climate of public opinion. Her theory of the ‘spiral of silence’ suggests that because of the fear of isolation, dissident views tend to disappear from public awareness. In the long-run, as the proponents of these dissident views become mute, they are swallowed up by the dominant views in society. Consequently, there results an apparent consensus to conform with the dominant views.

These two theories attempt to explain how issues enter into the public sphere and how public opinion is formed. It is important to understand this, if one is to use the mass media in promoting social change.

**Background to the Broadcasting System in Uganda: Radio and Television**

Radio Uganda was established in 1954 by the colonial government with three major aims. There was the need to broadcast information for the benefit of expatriates from abroad to keep them informed about what was happening in the world. The events of World War II had made broadcasting in the colonies vital for the colonial administration. There was also a need for a medium which could help to mobilize people towards the feeling of ‘nationess’. This would facilitate the governance of the country. Finally, broadcasting was established for the education of the public as recommended by the Twining Report (1939).

Today, it is government policy that the media serve the purposes of informing, entertaining and educating the public. Therefore, Radio Uganda, like Uganda Television, is a public service body and, therefore, is owned and funded by the government.

The radio network covers the whole country. There are four booster stations: Bobi in the north, Butebo in the east, Mawagga in the south and Kyeriba in the west. Radio Uganda broadcasts on two channels. The blue channel is for listeners who speak the Bantu language of the east, west, south and central regions. The red channel broadcasts to listeners who speak vernaculars from the north and north-east. And with the introduction of the low-cost transistor radio, at least 30% of the population has access to radio messages and signals.

Uganda television was opened in 1963 after independence. In 1975 Idi Amin introduced colour television. Before the political turmoil of the 1970s and early 1980s, the television signal could be received in many urban centres in the country. Today there are booster stations at Mbale in the east, Soroti in the north-east, Lira in the north, Masaka in the south-
west and Mbarara in the west. Currently, these booster stations are under rehabilitation. Because of high costs of purchasing and maintaining television receivers, only a few Ugandans can afford them. Another problem is that television mostly depends on electricity yet many rural areas have no access to it. Therefore, television remains an urban medium.

The Use of the Broadcast Media in Education in Uganda

The Colonial Era: 1954-1962

One of the major aims of starting radio broadcasting by the colonial government in 1954 was public education. In this, the target group was the adult population who had not had the chance to attend school. An adult literacy campaign had already been initiated way back in 1948 using folk media such as music, dance and drama as well as film shows in rural areas. The role of radio was seen as boosting this literacy campaign. Apart from the programmes on the literacy campaign, programmes on general education such as talks on health and hygiene, women and current affairs were also broadcast on radio.

The Post-Independence Era: 1962-1971

The introduction of television in 1963 laid the foundation for the establishment of educational broadcasting in 1964. According to Roselie Engoloa (1985), the first government of independent Uganda argued that 'the principal justification for the initial enormous expenditure was the agreement that the service would primarily serve as an instructional and educational network'. (p. 20).

When educational broadcasting was established, emphasis was put on the intensive model, that is, radio and television broadcasts to schools and colleges. A section in the Ministry of Education was created to produce educational programmes for schools and colleges. The Ministry of Information was to co-ordinate and broadcast them.

The programmes were to serve a number of purposes. First, they were to supplement the school and college curricula as audio-visual aids. Secondly, as many schools were opened after independence to cater for the growing demand for education, there were simply not enough teachers to go round. A-level education had been introduced less than a decade before and this demanded more qualified teachers. Also, a number of expatriates were leaving the country and there were not enough indigenous teachers to replace them.

Thirdly, there was need to develop a curriculum more relevant to the new realities, challenges and aspirations of independent Uganda.
Therefore, a number of syllabi were designed and adapted at that time, for example, the School Mathematics Project and School Science Project in physics, chemistry and biology for secondary schools.

Teachers qualified in the new syllabi were not enough for the many schools and colleges that had been opened. Therefore, it was felt that the mass media could substitute for teachers.

The programmes covered formal subjects such as science, mathematics, history, geography and literature. They were scheduled both for morning and afternoon on radio and television from Monday to Friday.

From the mid-1960s, the then Makerere University Extra Mural Department (now the Centre for Continuing Education CCE), also started producing programmes for adults who wanted to continue with education. The programmes were, however, not regular.

From about the same time, the Ministry of Agriculture in conjunction with the Ministry of Information initiated programmes on coffee and cotton growing to farmers. Television also introduced programmes on farming. These were in the form of documentaries produced by the film unit of the Ministry of Information. The programmes comprised demonstrations on pruning, planting, picking and drying coffee as well as cotton growing and involved farmers in the rural areas.

The Idi Amin Era: 1971-1979

The Idi Amin era can be divided into two periods: his first two years, 1971 and 1972, and his last six years, 1973-1979.

In 1971, the Farm and Rural Broadcasting Division of Radio Uganda introduced the programme *Calling Farmers* in several languages. About the same time, Radio Uganda in conjunction with the Coffee Marketing Board, introduced a programme called *Coffee Club*. This programme was introduced to give farmers more information on coffee growing and has since been produced by a comedian who is fairly well known and popular among the target audience, i.e. the Luganda-speaking coffee growers. The programme involves talks by co-operative officers, Coffee Marketing Board officials and agricultural officers. At the same time,
educational broadcasts to schools and colleges continued during these first two years.

The last six years of Amin's rule were marked by economic decline. This was due to two reasons: first, Amin's declaration of the 'Economic War' which sent away the Asians who formerly dominated the economy. Although this move enabled Ugandans to take over control of their economy, it meant that inexperienced people inherited businesses which they were not able to run efficiently. This resulted in a lot of mismanagement and the economy began to slacken.

Secondly, Amin lost political support both nationally and internationally as his army started killing the civilian population. This resulted in mass exodus of Ugandan professionals into exile. The ensuing brain drain resulted in further economic decline.

The broadcasting system which had been growing inevitably began to slacken; likewise educational broadcasting started to deteriorate due to lack of properly trained personnel and equipment. Many programmes such as the broadcasts to schools and colleges virtually stopped.

By the time Amin was overthrown through war in 1979, educational broadcasting had almost come to a halt. Furthermore, the war caused destruction to booster stations such as the television booster at Masaka and the external service booster station of Radio Uganda at Bobi, while others were neglected.

The Post-Amin Era: 1979 To-date

The first three governments that followed the fall of Idi Amin were not given time to rehabilitate what had been destroyed by the war and Amin's rule in general as political instability continued. Lack of proper maintenance resulted in further deterioration of the broadcasting system and educational broadcasting in particular.

By the time the rehabilitation of educational broadcasting began in 1981, a lot had to be done. The whole broadcasting system needed restructuring, new staff had to be recruited, production equipment needed replacement and the booster stations needed repair. With the establishment of the Directorate of Educational Broadcasting in 1982, educational programmes resumed. For pre-school children, Story Time, a locally produced programme was introduced on television, while on radio, a children's programme was introduced in several vernacular languages. The producers of both radio and television programmes use pre-school children and have them tell stories to their listeners and viewers.

In 1983 a programme called Around and About was introduced on radio and television for students during their holidays. The programme focuses on general topics, for example, simple business management such...
as pig rearing, health and academic problems.

In the previous year, a series of programmes had been introduced in eight languages which aimed at teaching rural farmers simple history, geography and economics. The goal was to make farmers aware of who, what and where they were in the world system. The programmes also helped farmers to become more literate and numerate so as to enable them to travel to trading centres and carry out their day-to-day business.

Today, there are a number of programmes in the form of talks and magazines both on radio and television. There are programmes for farmers such as Calling Farmers and Coffee Club, women’s programmes, health programmes, programmes on the youth, the environment and development projects.

The broadcast media have also been used in information campaigns such as health campaigns and the 1980 general elections. Two different models have been used during this period.

The period dating from 1980-1985 was dominated by the market model of advertising and persuasive messages on radio and television. The health information campaigns organized at this time were aimed at informing and educating the public about such diseases as cholera and typhoid. They comprised advertisements aimed at persuading people to boil their drinking water, cover their food and improve sanitation. As for the 1990 general elections, a mass information campaign was launched to inform the public about the election procedure such as registration of voters, the ballot boxes, the returning officers, voting and registration centres, and the casting of votes. This information campaign was also in the form of advertisements and talks on radio and television.

This market model of advertisements however follows the S-R theoretical framework of interpretation which cannot easily bring about social change even if it sometimes leads to information or knowledge gain.

At the end of 1986, a different model of information campaign was initiated by the broadcast media. Instead of the market model of persuasive messages and advertisements, a dramatized information campaign using school children and drama groups was initiated.

Such a campaign was first adopted for the ‘Child Survival and Development’ information campaign which was launched by the Uganda National Expanded Programme for Immunization (UNEPI) and UNICEF in conjunction with the Directorate of Educational Broadcasting. The campaign was launched with the aim of informing and educating the public about the six child killer diseases, i.e. measles, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis, tetanus and diarrhoea and to encourage parents to utilize the already available vaccines to immunize their children.
Before the campaign was launched, UNICEF and UNEPI organized a seminar to re-orient the mass media personnel on 'child survival and development'. The seminar involved officials from the Ministry of Health, UNICEF, Makerere Centre for Continuing Education's communication division, and print and broadcast journalists. In this seminar, it was decided that to arouse interest and, at the same time, ensure intelligibility, a dramatized campaign should be adopted using children and drama groups on radio and television. The broadcast media were backed up by printed posters in public places, hospitals, dispensaries and trading centres.

In January, 1987, the 'Accelerated Expanded Immunization Programme' was launched by the President of Uganda. This support from the government together with the co-operation and participation of Resistance Councils, the well established network of religious institutions, and the Scout and Girl Guide movements, created a favourable climate of opinion for the campaign. In addition to this, the Ministry of Education with assistance from UNICEF, prepared a new primary school syllabus for health education giving emphasis to immunization.

The success of this campaign was due to the acceptance of the fact that the mass media were to act as information supports among many other channels through which the campaign was launched.

The success of this campaign encouraged the initiation of an information campaign against AIDS along the same model. Again schools and drama groups have been used in dramatizing the campaign. This was illustrated on BBC television when Princess Anne visited Uganda in March 1989. The campaign on radio and television is again backed up by posters in public places all over the country. UNICEF has initiated the teaching of AIDS prevention in secondary schools, and sex education for school leavers with emphasis on AIDS has also started. There is some evidence that this campaign is beginning to yield some positive results.

Constraints that have Affected the Development of Educational Broadcasting in Uganda

There are six major constraints that have affected the development of educational broadcasting, and the broadcasting service in general, in Uganda. These are political, economic, physical, technological, structural and organizational problems. Of all of them, the political instability that bedevilled Uganda between 1971 and 1986 has been the biggest factor that has hindered the development of educational broadcasting.

First, political instability caused a mass exodus of qualified
professionals, including broadcasters and production staff, to neighbouring countries and beyond. They emigrated either to flee Idi Amin's terrorist regime or to escape the economic hardships that resulted from this instability. This brain drain has, to-date, led to poor production of educational broadcasting programmes.

Second, the political instability caused the problem of credibility of the broadcast media. This was so because during Amin's and Obote's second regime, the broadcast media, which are owned and controlled by government, were used for propaganda against the guerrilla movements fighting them and also for political socialization. As the public became more and more aware of this, they abandoned the government media and resorted to the private press or foreign media such as the BBC, Voice of America, Deutch Welle and others. The public even invented their own channel called 'Radio Katwe' which used to communicate rumours which in many cases turned out to be true. As a result, the broadcast media lost credibility. Therefore, however good the educational broadcasting programmes could have been, they were broadcast to an absent audience.

The second major factor is the economy. The political instability caused a spiralling inflation and a very high cost of living. This has been aggravated by the global economic hardships particularly in the Third World. This means that to-date, the educational broadcasting staff who are civil servants are very poorly paid and therefore lack morale and commitment. They have consequently resorted to perpetual absenteeism in order to make their ends meet. Furthermore, the economic decline and the global inflation means that broadcasting equipment has become too expensive for a country like Uganda. Therefore the programmes are of poor quality because the government cannot afford better equipment.

The physical factor falls into three categories. First, because of high costs, television receivers have become too expensive for the ordinary citizen. This raises the physical contraints of availability and accessibility to television. On the other hand, the introduction of the low cost transistor radio means that the radio set is more accessible and available to the ordinary citizen in Uganda. Hence the International Commission for the study of Communication Problems (1980) asserted that: 'No other medium now has the potential to reach so many people so effeciently for information, educational, cultural and entertainment purposes. Radio can be used easily and economically to reach outlying regions and for communication in many venarculars ...' (p. 61). Even then, radio sets are not yet available and accessible to every citizen of Uganda.

The third physical factor is that of intelligibility. Even if the problems of availability and accessibility are solved, intelligibility can still be a hinderance to communication. The mass media are new phenomena given the cultural background of a country like Uganda. Therefore, it
should not be taken for granted that as long as messages are broadcast they will be perceived in the desired form. The messages might simply not be understood.

Technological barriers and failures have also hindered the development of educational broadcasting in Uganda. The continued wars resulted in the deterioration and dilapidation of broadcasting equipment. On top of this, the new technological advancements and the rate at which information technology as a whole is changing has meant that a developing country like Uganda cannot cope up with the changes.

The biggest structural constraints have been lack of proper policy and planning. This means that educational broadcasting has had to suffer from crisis management. For instance, when educational broadcasting was initiated, there was no feasibility study as to who the audience was, where they were, and whether they had access to the necessary gadgets. Nor was any study done to find out where intensive education model should be used and where the extensive model should be used, and whether alternative audio visual aids, such as film and slides, could be used, particularly in the intensive model. And, while literacy was given primacy during the colonial era, numeracy was neglected. Yet 80% of the population are small scale farmers who live in rural areas and, therefore, need numeracy skills when selling their produce. This was very evident during the currency changes of 1980 and 1987.

Lack of clear cut policy resulted in Idi Amin misallocating the meagre foreign exchange earnings to the tune of US$ 6 million in 1975 to introduce colour television. Such funds could have been better utilized in improving the already existing radio and television stations.

Similarly, lack of proper policy and planning resulted in inadequate training facilities for broadcasting staff in general in Uganda. The three schools of Engineering and Broadcasting, Media Development and Graphic Arts and the Uganda School of Journalism at IPA are so poorly equipped and staffed that they cannot impart proper skills. Therefore, the broadcast media lack properly trained staff and, therefore, cannot produce good programmes.

Lastly, Uganda, like many other developing countries, is faced with numerous organizational constraints in the day-to-day running of the broadcast media. Lack of adequate facilities, such as transport, hinders the production of good programmes and hence the development of educational broadcasting in Uganda.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Uganda is developing and her population is predominantly rural and, therefore, depend on agriculture. Since it is the rural areas that lack proper facilities for formal education, they are therefore the ones that
development communication should mostly aim at.

Since the formal model of educational broadcasting, i.e. educational broadcasts to schools, mostly benefits the urban areas which already have adequate formal educational facilities and can supplement it with audio visual aids such as films and slides, it is suggested that the meagre resources being spent on this model should be diverted to the extensive model which will benefit the majority of the population in rural areas.

It has been demonstrated that information campaigns, if well designed, can succeed. It is recommended that it is information campaigns such as the ‘Child Survival and Development’ information campaign, and *Man is Health* information campaign that use the mass media as information supports that can bring about social change and development.

It has also been shown that television is too expensive for the ordinary citizen and for the country as a whole to maintain properly. With the introduction of the low cost transistor radio which uses cheap batteries, the mass media have become more accessible to the rural population, It is therefore, recommended that the Uganda government and African governments in general should give primacy to the development of the radio networks. This dictates that educational broadcasting should utilize radio more than television in order to reach bigger target groups.

It is further recommended that, now that peace has returned to most parts of Uganda and Resistance Councils have been established throughout the country, the government should adopt the participative model of development communication so that the people are involved in the making and designing of programmes and in the communication process as a whole. If this is to work efficiently, it is recommended that Uganda should adopt a decentralized rural or community radio network. With the introduction of the FM technology, this can easily be realized.

The problem of intelligibility has also been discussed. To overcome this problem it is strongly recommended that Uganda, and Africa as a whole, should seriously study the traditional communication networks and the role they play in modern society. After a careful study of the current communication systems in Africa, broadcasters should then integrate the best ingredients of the traditional communication networks into the modern technological communication networks in the production of their programmes, particularly in educational broadcasting. This will enable the broadcaster and the receiver to be at the same wavelength and, therefore, increase intelligibility.

Lastly, it is recommended that Africa as a whole should take up the issue of communication policy and proper planning very seriously so as to avoid crisis management and minimize the foreseen constraints that have so far hindered the development of educational broadcasting, and broadcasting in general, in Africa.
References