

**REPUBLIC OF RWANDA**  
***HIGH COUNCIL OF THE PRESS***  
**Rwanda Media Monitoring Project**

**MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 10<sup>th</sup>  
COMMEMORATION OF 1994  
GENOCIDE IN RWANDA**

**June 2004**

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## **About the Rwanda Media Monitoring Project (RMMP)**

The RMMP started in October 2003 as part of the supporting structure of the High Council of the Press in its mission to promote and regulate the media sector.

Through periodic reports based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of media news items, the RMMP aims at enhancing professional standards of the Rwandan media, in providing key stakeholders with systematic data and clear picture of deficiencies and performances in the sector.

### **Mission statement of RMMP**

1. To develop professionalism in the media through balanced, fair, accurate, informative and ethical coverage of all fields of Rwandan life.
2. To promote principles of democracy, integrity, diversity and a high level standard of work through monitoring the media within the framework of human rights.

### **Objectives of RMMP**

1. Work towards professionalism in the media,
2. Monitor the media in Rwanda within a framework of human rights;
3. Through its monitoring, work to ensure legal adherence underpinned by democratic principles, the constitution, promotion and protection of Rwandan rights;
4. Inform the public, government, civil society, key stakeholders to enable them to make informed decisions;
5. Work towards fair and equitable treatment/coverage of all political actors in the media;
6. Protect the role of media as watchdog;
7. Ensure the protection of the interests of all Rwandan citizens.

The High Council of the Press addresses its thanks to the **International Media Support** (Denmark) and **Norwegian People's Aid** for their support to the creation and functioning of the RMMP.

## **Abstract**

The present report is an account of the media coverage of the 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda. The monitoring period lies between the 1<sup>st</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> April 2004. The purpose of this report was to see whether the media have played their role of informing and educating the public about the events; it also compared the event coverage by Rwandan and foreign media especially those that use Kinyarwanda language in their publication.

After grouping the necessary elements for the analysis, the following tendencies were identified:

- Genocide memory, Foreign countries' role in genocide, International Community's Indifference and Commemoration Day are the topics that have received the most coverage whereas topics such as Media and Political parties' role in genocide as well as Traumatism and Counselling, received very low coverage or are completely ignored by the media;
- Activities at the national level attracted more the media's attention where they focused on official ceremonies and quoted most of the time leaders and events at the national level;
- Insufficiency of analyses and comments either from journalists or other specialists on genocide related issues and on the commemoration of genocide;
- No major difference has been observed between national and international media monitored in terms of area and topic coverage. But international media have been more balanced in terms of sources of information than local media.

In brief, the media monitored manifested a great interest in covering the 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of genocide in Rwanda at provincial, national and international levels.

What one would expect to media was not only a shallow reporting of the events as it was the case in the most of news coverage, but also comments and analyses on some vital issues to be more educative.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>BBC</b>	: British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>KM</b>	: Kinyamateka
<b>RMMP</b>	: Rwanda Media Monitoring Project.
<b>TNT</b>	: The New Times
<b>TOT</b>	: Total
<b>UN</b>	: United Nations
<b>TVR</b>	: Télévision Rwandaise (Rwanda Television)
<b>VOA</b>	: Voice of America

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## **General Introduction**

### **1. Presentation**

The 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of 1994 Genocide in Rwandan has got a particular significance. Apart from its habitual remembrance of victims by Rwandan community, the International community joined Rwandans and observed at least one minute of silence on the 7<sup>th</sup> April, at 12:00 noon local time in each time zone. This was in conformity with the decision of the United Nations General Assembly which designated that date as *the International Day of Reflection on the Genocide in Rwanda*.

The monitoring team examined how the media tackled and covered the event. The monitoring period lies between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> April 2004 for radios and television, and from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> April 2004 for printed press.

During a period of twenty days, the RMMP team monitored 278 news items among which 192 news items (that is 69.06 %) are from printed press, 63 one (that is 22.66 %) from radios and 23 news items (that is 8.27 %) from TVR.

In this phase of monitoring two foreign radios VOA and BBC, especially their programs broadcasted in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, were also monitored for the sake of comparison with local media coverage of the event.

### **2. Objectives**

- To see how the media played their role to inform and educate the public about the events related to the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of 1994 genocide in Rwanda;
- To compare the coverage of the event by Rwandan media and foreign one especially those that use Kinyarwanda language;
- To see how media have abided by professional ethics.



### 3. Methodology

The analysis of the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide media coverage is both quantitative and qualitative. That is why the monitoring process comprises the following steps:

- Identify the media to be monitored;
- Select the tools to use in capturing necessary information from the news items;
- Collect the information and fill them in the database;
- Sort and arrange the information to make a report.

The following mediums were monitored:

**Table 1. List of media monitored**

Type of medium	Name of Medium	N°/Date	Editing/ Broadcasting Language	Periodicity
<b>A. Prints</b>	<i>Gasabo</i>	13 (20/4-20/5/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Monthly
	<i>Imbarutso</i>	6 (26/3-2/4/2004) 7 (8 - 15/4/2004) 8 (18-25/4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Weekly
	<i>Imvaho Nshya</i>	1544 (12-19/4/2004) 1545 (19-25/4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Weekly
	<i>Ingabo</i>	109 (4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Monthly
	<i>Inganzo</i>	37 (29/3-5/4/2004) 38 (5-12/4/2004) 39 (12-19/4/2004) 40 (19-26/4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Weekly
	<i>Kinyamateka</i>	1643 (4 I/2004)	Kinyarwanda, French	Bimonthly
	<i>La Nouvelle Relève</i>	Special Genocide (-) 486 (15-30/4/2004)	French	Bimonthly
	<i>The New Times</i>	516 (5-6/4/2004) 517 (7-8/4/2004) 518 (9-11/4/2004) 519 (12-13/4/2004) 520 (14-15/4/2004) 521 (16-18/4/2004) 522 (19-20/4/2004)	English	Biweekly
	<i>Ukuri</i>	162 (15-22/4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Monthly
	<i>Umurage</i>	22 (6-13/4/2004) 23 (15-22/4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Weekly
	<i>Umuseso</i>	171 (3-9/4/2004) 173 (15-21/4/2004)	Kinyarwanda	Weekly

<b>B. Radio</b>	<i>BBC-Gahuzamiryango</i>	From 1/4/2004 to 14/4/2004	Kirundi, Kinyarwanda	Daily (18:30-19:00 local time)
	<i>Radio Rwanda</i>	From 1/4/2004 to 14/4/2004	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (19:00 local time)
	<i>VOA: Kirundi-Kinyarwanda</i>	From 1/4/2004 to 14/4/2004	Kirundi, Kinyarwanda	Daily (5:30-6:30 local time)
<b>c. Television</b>	<i>Rwandan Television (TVR)</i>	From 1/4/2004 to 14/4/2004	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (19:30 local time)

For all media, each news item related to the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide in Rwanda was captured. For *Radio Rwanda* and *TVR*, Kinyarwanda bulletins were chosen since they are the ones that reach a large number of audiences. As far as other bulletins in foreign languages are concerned, the content is the same as in the Kinyarwanda ones. *BBC-Gahuzamiryango* and *VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda* were the only foreign media chosen because of their special programmes on the Great Lakes Region that are followed by the majority of Rwandan citizens.

The way used in capturing information to be recorded in a database is the same as the one in previous reports except that topics and issues have been adapted to the new context.

**Table 2. Topic used**

<b>Codes</b>	<b>Topics</b>
A	Causes of Genocide
B	Survivors welfare
C	Genocide Prevention Policies
D	Survivors' Security
E	Survivors' Compensation
F	Genocide Memory (Sites, Testimonies, Documents, Plays, Genocide memorial tournaments, apologies)
G	Foreign Country's role in Genocide
H	International Community's indifference and its role in rebuilding Rwanda
I	Research on Genocide
J	Role of Political Parties in Genocide

Codes	Topics
K	Unity and Reconciliation
L	Justice
M	Religious Role in Genocide
O	Survivors' Associations
P	Commemoration Day
Q	Ethnicity
R	Human Rights
S	Media role in Genocide
T	Traumatism and Counselling
U	Sexual Abuse
V	Preparation of the Commemoration
W	Reports from Foreign Media
X	Post genocide period and reconstructing the country
Y	Point of View from Opposition
Z	Genocide negation

Genocide related issues:

**Table 3. Issues used**

Issue Code	Description
3a	Issue of human rights is broadly raised.
3b	Issue of ethnicity/divisionism is raised.
3c	Issue of sexual abuse is raised.
3d	Issue of genocide survivors' problems is raised.
3e	Issue of justice and suing genocide suspect is raised.
3f	Issue of international community irresponsibility is raised.
3g	Issue of children's right is raised.
3h	Issue of widows and orphans' conditions raised.
3i	Issue of survivors' security is raised.
3j	Issue of survivors' compensation is raised.
3l	Issue of victim's memory is raised.

The above procedure has helped in observing how media have been efficient in informing and education the public about the event with respect of professional ethics and deontology.

This report is presented in 4 chapters:

The first chapter deals with the informative role of the media; the second one examines the role of the media in educating the people; the third one deals with biases and fairness in reporting; the last chapter compares the foreign media coverage to the local media one.

## Chapter1. Informative Role of the Media

The first duty of media is to inform the public providing them with the information that is as varied and complete as possible. Topics covered, area coverage and sources of information serve as indications of the variety and completeness of the media coverage.

### 1.1. Topic coverage

Topics related to the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide in Rwanda are varied according to the themes they are related to. Major themes that have been tackled are causes and consequences of genocide; the tenth commemoration; after genocide period and reconstruction; justice, unity and reconciliation; role of different actors in genocide. The list of topics is shown in table 2.

**Table 4. Topic coverage by media**

Medium	Topic Codes																									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	TOTAL
BBC Gahuzamiryango	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	13
Gasabo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Imbarutso	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	9
Imvaho Nshya	3	2	2	0	1	9	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	31
Ingabo Magazine	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Inganzo	2	0	0	0	0	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
KM	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9
La Nouvelle Relève	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	16
Radio Rwanda	2	2	2	0	0	13	0	8	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	35
TNT	1	4	3	2	2	13	22	5	1	0	3	2	2	0	14	0	2	0	1	3	6	1	5	0	0	92
TVR	0	3	2	0	0	4	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	23
Ukuri	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Umurage	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Umuseso	0	2	0	1	0	0	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>278</b>

As it can be observed in the table above, topic coverage has been different from one topic to another. The topics that have received the most coverage are: Genocide memory (**F**), foreign countries' role in genocide (**G**), International Community's Indifference (**H**) and Commemoration Day (**P**). Some other topics received very low coverage or are completely ignored by the media. These are Media role in Genocide (**S**), Political parties' role in genocide (**J**) and Traumatism and Counselling (**T**).

It has been observed that media reports focused on topics evoked by leaders and personalities. As an illustration, international community's indifference and foreign countries' role in genocide appeared in several news items reporting Rwandan President's speech on the commemoration day (« Ubufaransa bwagize uruhare rugaragara mu itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda » *Imvaho Nshya* 1544, 12-18/04/2004, p. 3.; « Renaud Muserilere yagiye amennye kubera ukuri Kagame yavugiye kuri stade Amahoro » *Inganzo* 039, 12-19/04/2004, p. 2), or some foreign dignitaries like General Romeo Dallaire, the Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt (« La MINUAR fut un échec... » *LNR* 486, 15-30/04/2004, p. 1 ; « Hagomba gahunda ihamye yo gusana u Rwanda » *Imvaho Nshya* 1544, 12-18/04/2004, p. 7; “Dallaire stuns conference with 85.000 death statistics : Catholic Church, France blamed,” *TNT* 517, 7-8/04/2004, p.1-2).

Other topics which attracted the media's attention are that Genocide memory due to the visits to different genocide memorial sites around the country by Rwandan high ranked leaders with delegations from abroad; also, the commemoration days was reported to a great extent: “Mu Rwanda hose hari kwitegurwa umunsi w'ejo wo kwibuka ku nshuro ya cumi jenoside yo muli 1994,” *BBC Gahuzamiryango*, 6/4/2004, 18h30, item 2; “Mu Bisesero bunamiye abazize jenoside y'abatutsi”, *Imvaho Nshya* 1545, 19-25/04/2004, p. 5; “I Byumba bunamiye ababo bazize jenoside yo muli mata 1994,” *TVR*, 10/04/2004, 19h30, item 2).

Unexpectedly, topics like Role of Political parties, role of media in genocide and traumatism and counselling got an insignificant media's interest whereas they are of the great importance in the context of genocide.

## 1.2. Area coverage

In the previous reports, it was noticed that media coverage was mostly based on official ceremonies at the national level or others which took place essentially in the city of Kigali. A very insignificant coverage was devoted to the local population in their respective milieu.

This monitoring will purposely see if any improvement has been made in the media coverage to reach various people and reveal their life and thinking ten years after genocide.

**Table 5. Area coverage by media**

<b>Medium</b> \ <b>Areas</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Regional</b>	<b>Butare</b>	<b>Byumba</b>	<b>Cyangugu</b>	<b>Gikongoro</b>	<b>Gisenyi</b>	<b>Gitarama</b>	<b>Kibungo</b>	<b>Kibuye</b>	<b>Kigali City</b>	<b>Kigali Ngali</b>	<b>Ruhengeri</b>	<b>Umutara</b>	<b>International</b>	<b>Total</b>
BBC-Gahuzamiryango	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	13
Gasabo	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Imbarutso	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	8
Imvaho Nshya	13	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	3	4	0	0	0	4	30
Ingabo Magazine	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5
Inganzo	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Kinyamateka	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	9
La Nouvelle Relève	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	6	16
Radio Rwanda	13	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	2	1	5	3	3	1	3	36
The New Times	37	5	8	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	10	2	1	0	25	93
TVR	12	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	2	23
Ukuri	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Umurage	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Umuseso	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	15
VOA: Kirundi-Kinyarwanda	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>278</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

As it can be observed from the table above, activities at the national level attracted more attention of the media. This shows that media focus on official

ceremonies and quote most of the time the leaders at national level. Information dealt with the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide on the international level also appeared in media monitored. This was due to the ceremonies and manifestations organized in different countries in memory of 1994 genocide victims. Such are those which took place in Addis Ababa capital of Ethiopia, Quebec in Canada and Paris in France (“Mu Bufaransa habaye imyigaragamyo y'abanyarwanda baba hanze” **BBC-Gahuzamiryango**, 18h30, 06/04/2004, item 3; “DIASPORA yunamiye abazize jenoside bo mu Rwanda” **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, 12-19/2004, p. 36; (“Moi govt ‘shielded’ Rwandan killers” **TNT** 521, 16-17/04/2004, p. 1; “Igihugu cya Canada ntikizemera kuba indiri y'abakoze jenoside mu Rwanda » **Radio Rwanda**, 12/4/2004, 19h00, item 2).

Provincial coverage, however, has been very low. This is a clear indication that media reports do not provide a variety of information in terms of views from various social strata. This observation is confirmed by the sources reached by the media in their news reports.

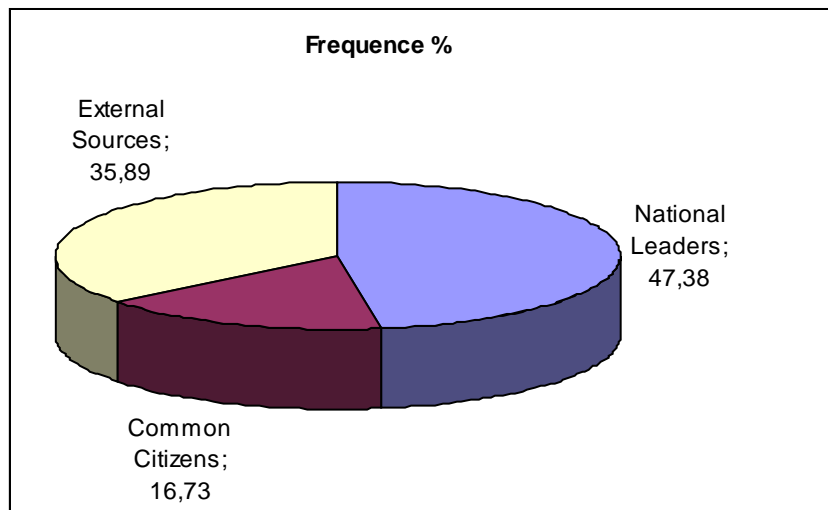
### **1.3. Sources of information in media coverage**

In this analysis, sources of information will not only help in assessing the reliability of the information but also in evaluating its variety.

Sources of information have been grouped into three main categories supposed to be living in different conditions, and hence, giving different views. The three categories are national leaders, common citizens and external sources.

The total number of people sourced in news items monitored was 496 on which 235 (that is 47.38 %) are leaders, 83 (that is 16.93 %) are common citizens and 178 (that is 35.89 %) external sources.

**Figure 1. Source categories in media coverage**



Even though the three categories have been sourced in news items, statistics from RMMP's database show that leaders and foreign prominent figures' speeches have dominated media reports. As an example, President Paul Kagame, Minister of Youth Robert Bayigamba and the President of IBUKA François Xavier Ngarambe appeared 64 times in different news items as sources of information. Also, the Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt and the Former UNAMIR Commander General Romeo Dallaire appeared respectively in 12 and 18 news items. Common citizens were not given enough occasions to provide their views on their post genocide living conditions, their understanding of the government's policies and their role in implementing them.

Considering topic coverage, area coverage and sources of information, it has been noticed that media reports are unbalanced. They do not provide the whole reality of information related to the 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of genocide since they are limited to impressive events that are also superficially reported. In addition, their reports are based on a small number of people and a small portion of national territory.



## Chapter 2. Educative Role of the Media

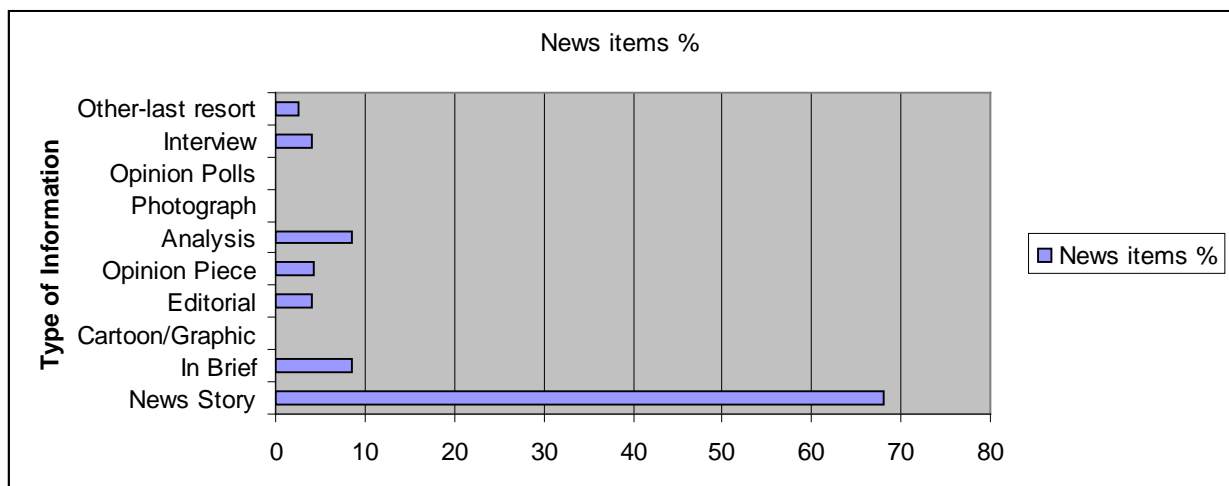
The press has a communicative power that plays a role in spreading ideas and knowledge in the society. Through this power, media can influence public opinions, thinking and mentalities. Generally, media should participate in building the society by educating the people and communities through appropriate information which could help them in handling problems encountered in their every day's life. On the other side, when the power mentioned above is not controlled for an appropriate use, it can destroy the society. Rwanda has experienced such a case in 1994, when some media incited the people to hatred and genocide.

The monitoring of the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration media coverage of genocide is intended to examine whether the media have fulfilled their role of educating the people about relevant issues such as unity and reconciliation, eradication of genocide ideology, justice, everyone's role in rebuilding the country. The types of information analysis have been based on examining what kind of information attracted the most media's attention and how they reported it.

### 2.1. Analysis of Type of Information

The following chart shows different types of information identified in the media coverage of the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the 1994 genocide concerned about the monitoring period.

**Figure 2. Type of information in media**



A big number of news items monitored are of a type “news stories” or “in brief” stories. Most of them were generally based on the events that took place on the seventh of April and the visits to the genocide memorial sites around the country. These types of news items are generally more informative than educative. However, in most cases they have been educative because they some of them were quoting speeches from top leaders or other dignitaries calling the population to support good principles of unity and reconciliation, eradication of genocide ideology, justice through *Gacaca* courts among others.

It would have been interesting if journalists had provided to the public with news items sufficiently analysed and well commented. In addition, journalists would have interviewed leaders, specialists or even common citizens to get their views on a particular subject. Such news items based on analyses, comments, and views from various people are more educative. Thus, they would help in emphasising and making people understand more such issues of great importance or others that have not been mentioned in speeches.

It was noticed, as it can be depicted from the above chart, that news items with educative character are rare in media coverage.

## **2.2. Focal Points in Media Analysis**

Analysis by media intends to attract people’s attention to some important issues so as to help them having a proper view and understanding of a particular situation.

Even though analysis in the media coverage of the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of Genocide in Rwanda was insufficient, the news items monitored focused their analyses on the following:

- *Causes of genocide*: On this point, journalists tried to show that genocide was not caused by the assassination of the former president Juvenal Habyarimana. The reasons given were that genocide started earlier in the end of 50’s. (“Ten years of Organized Genocide Laundering,” **TNT** 521, p. 17; “Habyarimana yishe agifata ubutegetsu,” **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, p. 12; “Abagogwe bishwe kuva mbere ya 1994,” **Imvaho Nshya** 1545, 19-25/04/2004, p. 3; “Jenoside si iya none kandi si ugutema gusa,” **Inganzo** 38, 05-12/04/2004, p. 2; “Imiyoborere myiza yarabuze, jenoside ibona icyuho,” **Kinyamateka** 1643, Mata

I/2004, p. 5; « Ibisobanuro ku mpanvu ya genocide no ku iraswary'indege ya Habyarimana,» **VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda**, 4/4/2004, 5:30-6:30 am, item 1).

- *Participation in genocide:* Media analyses pointed out the role played by different parts in genocide. (“Ingwe ikwicira umwana ikakurusha kurakara,” **Inganzo** 37, 29/03-05/04/2004, p. 3; “France's Active role in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide,” **TNT** 516, 05-06/04/2004, p. 5).
- *International Community indifference:* It was stressed here that the International Community knew that genocide was taking place in Rwanda and did nothing to stop it. (“The betrayal of the Rwandan people by the international community goes without saying,” **TNT** 520, p. 8; “Learn from Rwanda”, **TNT** 518, p. 8; “Itsembabwoko ry’abatutsi ryari rizwi,” **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, 12-19/4/2004, p. 6).
- *Negation of genocide and perpetuation of genocide ideology:* About this point, journalists mentioned some countries, institutions or persons that are trying to hide their role in the genocide in Rwanda by negating it, by supporting genocide suspects or undermining Rwandan effort to stop genocide and its ideology. (“Abafaransa biyemeje kunga ubumwe n’abicanyi n’ibisambo,” **Inganzo** 40, 19-26/04/2004, p. 2; “This Week: France is also remembered,” **TNT** 516, 5-6/4/2004, p. X; “Abafaransa bashatse guteza imvururu mu cyunamo,” **Imbarutso** 06, 26/3-2/4/2004, p. 5; “Why has France Protected genociders?” **TNT** 522, p. 20).
- *Eradication of genocide ideology:* Media raised strategies and principles that can prevent genocide to happen again everywhere in the world. (“Bana murwanye jenocide,” **Inganzo** 40, 19-26/4/2004, p. 3; “We need to draw from the past,” **TNT** 516, p. V).
- *Unity and reconciliation:* Analyses on this theme were very few in media coverage. The only newspaper which devoted some articles on that issue is *The New Times*. On one side, it expresses skepticism (“Is it reconciliation or acquiescence?” **TNT** 516, 5-6/4/2004, p. XV). On the other side, it reported an optimistic view of the Executive Secretary of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, Ms. Fatuma Ndangiza

(“Unique show of the national unity and reconciliation in Rwanda,” **TNT** 516, -6/4/2004, p. VII).

- *Justice*: This theme did not catch enough attention of media analysis. (“Abacitse ku icumu bakwiye kwitabwaho, **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, 12-19/4/2004, p. 7; Abafaransa mu butabera kubera itsembabwoko bakoreye abanyarwanda!” **Umurage** 22, p. 10; “Why Rwandans prefer the gacaca system,” **TNT** 516, p. XII).
- *Words that are not properly used*: Some media analysis commented on terms that do not match with the context in which they are used. This is the case of Kinyarwanda words “*indishyi, icyiru, impozamarira*” all used to mean “compensation” to genocide victims. (“Nta jambo nyaryo ari icyiru, ari indishyi n’impozamarira,” **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, 19-25/4/2004, p. 3; “Nta ndishyi ihwanye n’ibyabaye,” **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, 19-25/4/2004, p. 36). Unfortunately, the journalist did not propose the suitable word. Other controversial words are “*isabukuru*” and “*ibirori*” which mean respectively “anniversary” and “festivity.” (“Itsembabwoko cyangwa itsembatsemba si ibirori!” **Umurage** 22, p. 1-2; “Kwibuka jenocide ngo ni isabukuru!!!” **Inganzo** 38, 5-12/4/2004, p. 2).

The 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of Genocide in Rwanda received an important coverage in both Rwandan and International media. Media coverage endeavoured to highlight and attract the public attention on important issues as mentioned above. Majority of news items were more informative than educative. To be more educative, media should provide to the public with more analyses, comments and opinions either from themselves or any other informed person to help people to get a better understanding of the situation.

### Chapter 3. Bias and Fairness in Media

The journalist's ability to report professionally contributes to the quality of information. It also helps in achieving the main goal of informing and educating people. However, the interference from the journalist's sentiments and beliefs may constitute a handicap to fair reporting and can make the information biased.

The media coverage of the 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of genocide in Rwanda has been characterized by reporting events and speeches related to that ceremony. This kind of reporting does not very often allow the appearance of biases since it is factual and not influenced by the journalist's opinions. The bias breakdown from monitored news items is shown in the table below:

**Table 6. Bias and Fairness in media**

	Medium	Total Number of Items monitored	Fair News Items	Biased News items				Total of Biases	Percentage	
				Generalisation.	Exaggeration	Allegation.	Omission		Fair	Biased
1	BBC Gahuzamiryango	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	100,00	0,00
2	Gasabo	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	50,00	50,00
3	Imbarutso	8	5	0	1	1	1	3	62,50	37,50
4	Imvaho Nshya	32	30	0	2	0	0	2	93,75	6,25
5	Ingabo Magazine	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	100,00	0,00
6	Inganzo	10	5	0	5	0	0	5	50,00	50,00
7	KM	9	8	0	0	1	0	1	88,89	11,11
8	La Nouvelle Relève	16	12	1	2	1	0	4	75,00	25,00
9	Radio Rwanda	35	35	0	0	0	0	0	100,00	0,00
10	TNT	92	77	1	1	12	1	15	83,70	16,30
11	TVR	23	23	0	0	0	0	0	100,00	0,00
12	Ukuri	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	100,00	0,00
13	Umurage	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	50,00	50,00
14	Umuseso	15	12	0	1	0	2	3	80,00	20,00
15	VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda	15	14	0	1	0	0	1	93,33	6,67
	<b>TOTAL</b>	278	242	2	14	16	4	36	87,05	12,95

As it can be stated from the table above, the following biases have been identified in news items monitored:

**A. Generalisation:** where a journalist considered a single case for a whole group. This is the case of items like:

- « Lettre ouverte à Sa Sainteté le pape Jean-Paul II, à l'occasion de la 10ème commémoration du génocide du Rwanda, » **La Nouvelle Relève**, Special Genocide, pp. 14-16 ;
- “A stitch in time...” **TNT** 517, 7-8/4/2004, p. 8.

**B. Exaggeration:** a journalist has a tendency to dramatise the events and give them greater importance than they should deserve.

- “Ibiganire ku myiteguro yo kwibuka itsembabwoko ku nshuro ya cumi biratangwa n'abantu batandukanye,” **VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda**, 1/4/2004, 6h00, item 7.
- “Kiliziya yigaritse uruhare rwayo mu itsembabwoko ryo mu Rwanda,” **Imvaho Nshya** 1544, 12-19/4/2004, p. 13.
- “Tapis dans l'ombre, il existe des pourfendeurs aigris, jaloux du régime en place » **Inganzo** 37, 29/3-5/4/2004, p. 1.
- « Abafaransa bashatse guteza imvururu mu cyunamo ! » **Imbarutso** 006, 26/3-2/4/2004, p. 1.
- « Imyaka icumi irashize, » **Umuseso** 171, 03 - 09/4/2004, p. S I.
- « Rwanda: une commémoration incomplète. » **La Nouvelle Relève** Special Genocide, p. 10.
- « Abafaransa mu butabera kubera itsembabwoko bakoreye abanyarwanda ! » **Umurage** 22, 06 - 13/4/2004.

**C. Allegation :** authors of news items accused or sounded at the side of those accusing without mentioning the defence side.

- « French centre refuses to stage genocide play,” **TNT** 517, 7-8/4/2004, p. 3.
- “Pasika yahuye n'icyunamo,” **KM** 1643, 4 I/2004, p. 1.
- “Bubahirije icyunamo nyuma y'abandi,” **Imbarutso** 008, 18-25/4/2004, p. 2.
- “Nyuma y'imyaka 10 ya jenocide hari abakigira abacikacumu atari bo,” **Gasabo** 13, 20/4-20/5/2004, p. 4.
- « Butare: La peur et le désespoir des rescapés du génocide méritent une attention particulière, » **La Nouvelle Relève** 486, 15 - 30/4/2004, p. 14.

**D. Omission** : consists of omitting an important element of information which clarify or complete the information.

- “France guilty over genocide-Biruta,” **TNT**, 516, 5-6/4/2004, p. 1.
- “Uw'imyaka icumi yatumwe gutanga ubuhamywa ko ababyeyi be bishwe na FPR,” **Umuseso** 173, 15-21/4/2004, p. 2.
- “Muri Rugenge uwashoreye abantu mirongo irindwi na babiri yagizwe umwere !” **Umuseso**, 171, 03 - 09/4/2004, S VII.
- « Inama ku ruhare rwa kiriziya mu itsembabwoko: Abicaga n'abicwaga ngo bose bari abana ba kiriziya. » **Imbarutso** 007, 08 - 15/4/2004, p. 3.

While comparing fair and biased items, one can observe that most of the news items were not biased as the percentages indicate it in the table above. Some media have totally reported fair news items, such as *BBC*, *Ingabo Magazine*, *Radio Rwanda*, *TVR* and *Ukuri News Paper*. The most biased were *Gasabo*, *Inganzo* and *Umurage* with half of their news items biased.

The bias which happened in most cases were the “Allegation” due to some journalists who made a lot of comments and opinions pointing out the role of France, Catholic Church and the UN in the Genocide of 1994. None of them, however, has tried to get any of those accused parties’ response to the allegations made against them.

Even though media have generally tried to be fair, most of them failed to provide balanced information. They focused on government officials and prominent figures’ views and not show any view from the opposition side or from the main accused parties of being involved in genocide like France, Catholic Church and International Community.

## Chapter 4. Rwandan media versus International ones

The comparison has been made between the two international media monitored (*BBC-Gahuzamiryango* and *VOA: Kirundi-Kinyarwanda*) and two national media (*Radio Rwanda* and *TVR*) chosen according to:

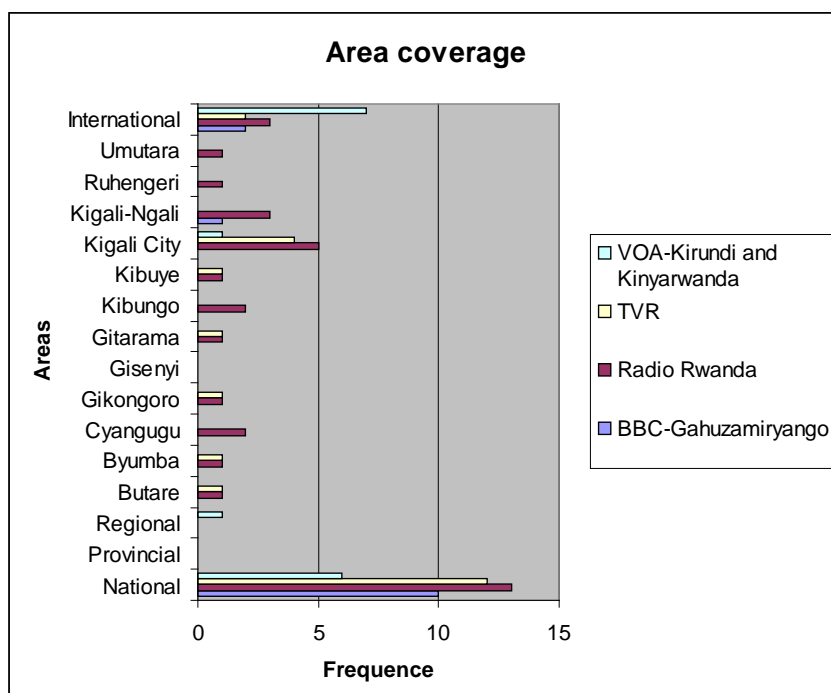
- the **monitoring period**: this period lies between the 1<sup>st</sup> April and 14<sup>th</sup> April 2004;
- the **number of bulletins monitored**: 1 Kinyarwanda bulletin a day;
- the **regularity**: broadcasting time is respected.

The comparison focuses on: variety of information viewed through area and topic coverage, variety of sources, and fairness and biases in media reporting.

### 4.1. Area coverage

Different areas have been covered differently by media in order to diverse their news as much as possible. The chart below indicates the areas coverage by media.

**Figure 3. Area Coverage**





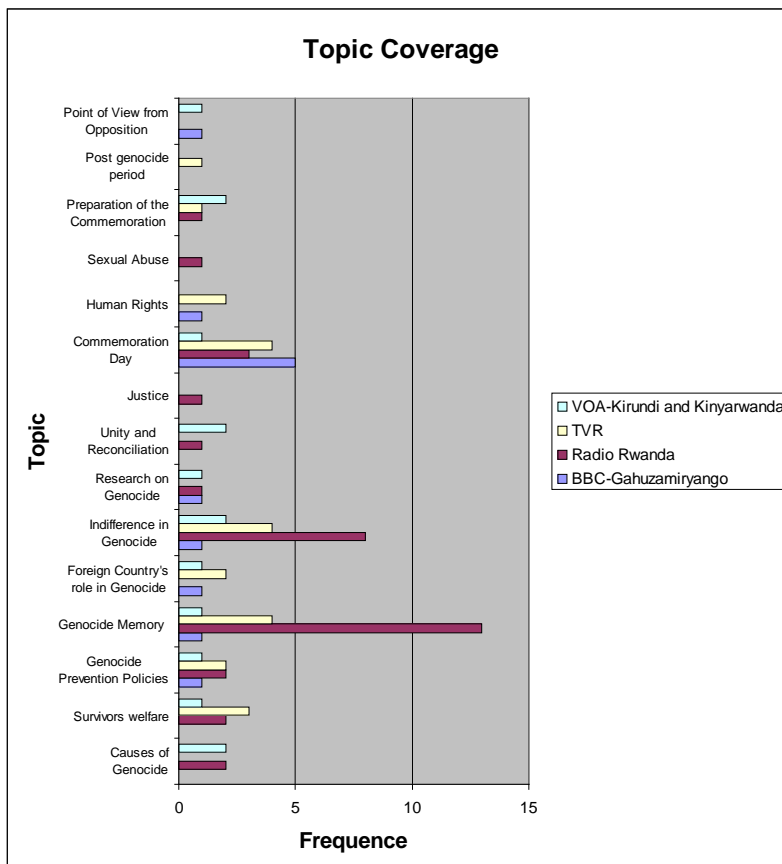
Coming to the comparison between the international media with the local ones in terms of area coverage, national media covered great number of areas. Example: **Radio Rwanda** 13/16; **TVR** 9/16. The international media got poor area coverage with only three area covered by each one. Most of their news reports were based on events at national and international levels. It is clear that international media did not report much on Rwanda life in deep countryside.

### 4.2. Topic coverage

Topic refers to important issues related genocide and its 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration in Rwanda raised in media reports. The list related to topic has been presented in methodology.

The media that have been compared have covered these topics almost in the same way as it can be depicted in the chart below:

**Figure 4. Topic Coverage**



None of the mentioned media covered more than 11 out of 24 topics in total. Both international and local media devoted a large part of their coverage to the topics of Genocide memory, International Community Indifference, commemoration Day and Genocide Prevention Policies.

Topics like Survivors' compensation, Role of Political Parties in Genocide, Role of Media in Genocide and the Negation of the Genocide did not appear anywhere either in the national or international media even though they are very sensitive topics.

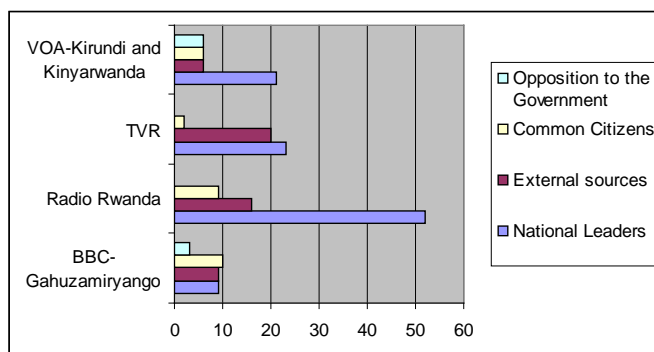
The variety of information in terms of topic coverage has been weak both in Rwandan and International media because they concentrated on the reporting on some issues and neglected others which were very relevant in the context of this 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide.

### 4.3. Variety of Sources of Information

Different persons have expressed their views on various issues related to genocide and its tenth commemoration in Rwanda. Those views were either from national leaders, external sources, common citizens and the opposition.

What is expected from the media is to provide a variety of information including different views from all the sources mentioned above. The chart below helps to make a comparison between the national and the international media in terms of variety of sources of information.

**Figure 5. Variety of sources**



As it can be observed on the chart, the international media gave a considerable importance to common citizens and opposition side views, whereas Radio Rwanda and TVR have not a single report which was devoted to

the opposition side. Even common citizens got a very low coverage compared to the official leaders and external sources. From this statistics, one can observe that the international media have been the most balance in terms of sources of information.

#### **4.4. Professional Ethics**

The RMMP has examined the professional reporting in the media. This comparison was based on two major elements: equitable treatment of sources of information and respect of people's rights.

On the issue related to equitable treatment mentioned above, national media tended to cite prominent figures in their sources. They have also pointed out the role of France, the Catholic Church and the UN in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda ("How France covered up genocide in Rwanda?" **TNT** 522, 19-20/4/2004, p. 19, "Inama ku ruhare rwa kiriziya mu itsembabwoko: Abicaga n'abicwaga ngo bese bari abana ba kiriziya," **Imbarutso** 007, 08 - 15/4/2004, p. 3). But rarely, reactions on these allegations appeared in media reports.

As for international media, however, they extended their coverage by citing sources of information from common citizens and leaders at the same level. They even reported views from the opposition to Rwandan government. ("Mu bufaransa habaye imyigaragamyi y'abanyarwanda baba hanze," **BBC Gahuzamiryango**, 6/4/2004, item 3; "Abanyarwanda batavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda baba mu mahanga baragaragaza ibitekerezo byabo ku kwibuka jenoside," **VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda**, 12/4/2004, item 10).

As far as rights of people are concerned, no case violation of people's rights reported. Instead, remarkable efforts have been observed in some news reports where media like *The New Times*, tried to hide survivors and witnesses' identities for respect of their privacy.

Generally, the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration coverage in all media monitored had not presented serious cases of unethical practices.

## Conclusion

The theme chosen by the RMMP for the third work on media monitoring is the 10<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of Genocide committed between April and July 1994 in Rwanda. This commemoration was a particular event in Rwanda because it coincided with the date of the 7<sup>th</sup> April as an *International Day of Reflection on the Genocide in Rwanda* by the UN General Assembly.

Given the importance of this ceremony, the RMMP's mission was to check how far Rwandan and international media have gone in performing their main mission of informing and educating the public especially when it is a event for a great importance.

Apart from that, two international media (*VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda* and *BBC Gahuzamiryango*) were also monitored for the sake of comparison between them and the local media.

The RMMP's attention focused on the variety of information in terms of Area coverage, topic coverage, access to varied sources of information. It also focused on analysis, comments and fairness in media coverage of the event.

From the statistics, both international and local media have devoted greater coverage to the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide in Rwanda. Each of them however has shown good performances or weaknesses to a particular point. Local media for example, have tried to cover almost all the areas of the country whereas the international ones concentrated only to 3 areas. These media, on the other side, have been well balanced in terms of sources of information and this is what local media can learn from the international ones.

As regard to the topic coverage, both types have been characterised by the same weaknesses by concentrating on some issues mostly those raised by prominent leaders but failed to make their analyses and comments especially on those topics very significant but not risen by other persons.

## Recommendations

### **A. To Rwandan media:**

1. Not limit themselves on reporting events and speeches but try as much as possible to make comments and analyses in order to help the public to get a clear understanding of relevant issues.
2. Try to balance sources of information in order to provide information that has variety of ideas from various people from all tendencies and layers of the society. Include in news items information on the living conditions of the population, how they understand policies and their role in implementing those policies.
3. Try to find out relevant issues not mentioned by leaders and prominent persons in order to raise their importance to the public life and try to get different views on such issues that people need to know and understand well.

**B. To International Media** especially those reporting in the Kirundi and Kinyarwanda: they should try to reach the countryside. Besides this, it would be better for them to integrate issues related to local population and not limit themselves on some particular issues of the national and international importance.

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