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### **ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 15<sup>th</sup> COMMEMORATION OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI IN RWANDA**

Final Draft

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## **Statement from the Board Chairman**

The Media High Council (MHC), as an independent institution mandated with

promoting, protecting and regulating media in Rwanda, commissioned monitoring on media coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. This exercise, the sixth of its kind was conducted within the general context of promoting peaceful co-existence and sustainable development harnessed through a responsible, pro-active and free media. Given the well known power of the media in creating such a society and bearing in mind the crucial role played by the media in igniting the 1994 Tutsi Genocide, it is of profound importance that media covers genocide commemoration events with the ultimate goal of contributing to building of a society immune from such humanly inflicted shame and tragedy.

This monitoring exercise was conducted with the objective of ensuring that media adherence to and respect of media code of conduct as well as the law governing media in Rwanda is observed all the time and by all media including during the periods of grief and tragedy. In this respect, journalists are not only obliged to report accurately, objectively, fairly and without bias at all times, but are also expected to promote peaceful co-existence, national unity and reconciliation inherent in Rwanda's media policy as well as the general spirit of *Never Again* among Rwandans.

Like in the previous reports, the scope of analysis in this report comprises news items broadcast by radio and TV stations operating in Rwanda as well as foreign radio stations particularly BBC and VOA's Kinyarwanda and Kirundi language programmes. It incorporates a picture of talk shows aired on those stations in April 2009. The report also includes reporting done by the print media.

In general, monitoring findings indicate that, overall, the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration received more coverage than previous genocide commemoration periods. In addition, the 2009 commemoration theme is well reflected in the reporting in both the print and electronic media and

contrary to previous years in 2009, media stepped up efforts in contributing to unity and reconciliation process in Rwanda.

However, some pitfalls were noted both among the print and broadcasting media mainly at the level of inadequate editorial balance, poor coverage of rural areas, events rather than issue based reporting, incidents of trivialisation and denial of genocide, etc.

The Media High Council encourages media owners, managers as well as editors to redouble their efforts in reaching out to the rural areas and respect professional standards. They are encouraged to provide training on ethics and seek guidance from competent bodies and individuals on genocide ideology to ensure that those involved in reporting during such periods and at all times, avoid words and language that might derail national reconciliation efforts as well as put the reputation of the profession in contempt.

**Arthur Asiimwe,**  
Chairman

## **Executive Summary**

The Media High Council (MHC) is a constitutional institution mandated with Media regulation, promotion and protection of media freedom and media development in Rwanda. As Rwanda prepares for the 16th mourning period in which Rwandans and the rest of the world commemorates the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi that claimed more than a million innocent lives, the MHC is preparing to undertake the seventh monitoring and analysis of Media coverage of the Genocide commemoration of April 2010.

As a regulatory institution, the MHC has to ensure that media outlets always abide by the law, established regulations and professional ethics, including when reporting tragedy and grief like the commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi.

Like other reports published before, and those to be published in future, the objective of this monitoring exercise was to analyse the role played by media in informing and educating the public about the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, including highlighting the importance of preserving victims' memory as well as the dangers of divisionism and genocide ideology to sustainable peace and development among other topics. It was also aimed at making an in-depth content analysis of programmes and newspapers that were broadcasted and published from 1<sup>st</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> April 2009 and examine the extent to which this was done within the law and established journalistic code of ethics in Rwanda.

The present monitoring report captures news stories, current affairs and/or programmes published and broadcast in both print and electronic media during the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The methodology applied to this piece of study is both quantitative and qualitative. It is a scientific research in that its findings are objectively derived, controlled and involves empirical analysis of one or more variables»<sup>1</sup>.

As such, all media outlets in the country but *Restore Radio*, *Isango Star*, *Musanze* and *Nyagatare* community radios were monitored. The latter were not operational during the monitoring period. Also, a number of newspapers which do not feature in the report were not monitored because they did not publish any issue during the monitoring period.

For all monitored media outlets, each news item and talk show related to the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide against the Tutsi was recorded and analysed.

Overall, the media played a crucial civic role of informing and educating Rwandans and foreigners about genocide memory (49.05% of the total airtime), the security and welfare of genocide victims, unity and reconciliation, justice, genocide ideology, etc. Also MHC findings indicate that most monitored media outlets (both broadcasting and print) relatively managed to abide by media ethics and journalistic legal requirements. The fact that 321 (55%) of the news items aired on both radio and TV during the monitoring period reflected the 2009 genocide commemoration theme shows that media contribution in this area was higher more than ever before.

It should however, be noted that some violations of the law and ethical standards were noted and if not checked by all those concerned can be a source of challenges not only for the media but the Rwandan reconstruction and reconciliation process as a whole. Specifically, the following key findings are noted:

- In both broadcasting and print media most items fell into news category compared to interviews, shorts, features, etc. (95.18%) in broadcasting and 62.03% for print. This shows that most media reports were more event focused rather than issue focused. Such events as public ceremonies, testimonies, etc were more predominant. Consequently, real challenges faced by the Rwandan society during the genocide commemoration period are rarely addressed by media since their reporting is much more event focused than issue centred;
- In both print and broadcasting media *Gasabo* was the most covered district scoring at a peak of 22.38% in broadcasting and 13.32% of the entire scope under analysis. This could mainly be attributed to the presence of the Kigali Memorial site which attracts many visitors during the commemoration period and the fact that more than 80% of the media in Rwanda is based in Kigali city;
- The 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration period benefited from an intensive coverage, especially in radio broadcasts, with particular touch from almost all media networks and across the world. E.g the BBC gahuzamiryango radio whose correspondents' network extended its reporting not only to the official ceremonies in Kigali, but also to the Rwandan Diaspora in Belgium, London, South Africa, and Uganda. Apart from

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<sup>1</sup> Wimmer & Dominick (2006), *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, Eighth Edition

the national mourning ceremony in Rwanda, VOA took advantage of its proximity with the UN headquarters in New York to cover the commemoration ceremony in the Rwandan embassy there.

- The media supported in an extra-ordinary manner the reconciliation process during the genocide commemoration period. For instance Umuvugizi vol. 54 of 14-27 April 2009) published an article titled: “Mu murenge wa Mutete: Abacitse kw’icumu nabo bubakiye abakoze Jenocide batishoboye!” describing an unusual experience of reconciliation in Gicumbi, northern province.

Unfortunately, the above and other wonderful contributions of the media in the commemoration period risk being watered down by errors and mistakes of some of their peers in the same period.

Although there is no indication that “the tones, words and statements used by the journalists in some media outlets intentionally support the ideology of genocide, divisionism, incitement to hatred and violence, racism, revisionism and negationism among others”, those of some of their guests, panelists and therefore the media organs themselves did. Indeed as this monitoring noted, cases of unbalanced reports, benign forms of negationism like genocide memory trivialization and denial in some print and broadcasting media outlets were prevalent and must be aggressively fought not to “derail the efforts of national unity and reconciliation”.

As such, media managers and editors are advised to desist from granting airtime to such persons because such ideologies cannot build but destroy. Also foreign media outlets broadcasting to or distributed in Rwanda and the local ones alike must abide by the relevant national legislations to avoid violations of the law in their content. More importantly they must always remember article 13 of the 2003 Constitution which states that “genocide is a crime without prescription, and denying or trivializing it, is punishable by the law.”

## List of acronyms

AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CEPGL	Communauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs
CNLG	Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre Génocide
EAC	East African Community
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
EU	European Union
FARG	Fond d’Appui aux Rescapés du Génocide
MHC	Media High Council
NURC	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
ORINFOR	Office Rwandaise de l’Information
UN	United Nations
VOA	Voice of America

VOAF	Voice of Africa
VOH	Voice of Hope

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## General introduction

### 0.1. Preamble

The Media High Council (MHC) is an independent public institution constitutionally mandated to regulate the media, promote and protect media freedom and media development. It acquires this mandate from the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 2003 as amended to date, Law n° 22/2009 of 12/08/2009 governing the media and law n° 30/2009 of 16/9/2009 determining the mission, organisation and functioning of the MHC.

To achieve that mandate, the MHC monitors the media industry and conduct of media practitioners as they abide by professional ethics, media law, as well as various MHC regulations.

Given the role played by the media in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, and aware of the corresponding power of the media to transform society for peaceful co-existence and development, the MHC monitored media coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> Genocide commemoration. This monitoring exercise was the 6<sup>th</sup> since the establishment of the MHC in 2002. The first such monitoring was done in April 2004 as Rwanda and the rest of the world remembered the genocide against Tutsi for the 10<sup>th</sup> time. Within this context, this report exhibits analysis of news items and current affairs which were published by both print and electronic media.

The monitoring period covers the month of April 2009 for both print and electronic media. However, a stratified random sample of talk shows aired on radio and TV stations was picked from the seven days of the national mourning week.

As adopted by the government of Rwanda, the 15<sup>th</sup> Genocide commemoration theme was: **“TWIBUKE JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI, TURWANYA IPFOBYA N’IHAKANA RYAYO, TWUBAKA IGIHUGU CYACU” (Let us Commemorate the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Fighting Deniers and Revisionists, and Build our Country).** Considering that media policy in Rwanda aims at promoting unity and reconciliation while preserving the spirit of *Never Again* inherent in Vision 2020, the present report highlights media coverage of various commemoration events and highlights the extent to which this was done to raise awareness of Rwandans and foreigners about the inhumanity of genocide, the importance of *Never Again*, preserving victims’ memory and the fight against the genocide ideology as the cornerstone of national unity and reconciliation, justice for all and sustainable peaceful co-existence.

## **0.2. Objectives**

### **0.2.1. General objective**

The overall objective of this monitoring was to show how and discern the extent to which media played their role of informing and educating the public about the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. This also includes discerning the extent to which media highlighted the importance of preserving victims' memory as well as the dangers of divisionism and genocide ideology to sustainable peace and development among other topics. It was also aimed at making an in-depth content analysis of programmes and newspapers that were broadcasted and published from 1<sup>st</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> April 2009 and examine the extent to which this was done within the law and established journalistic code of ethics in Rwanda.

### **0.2.2. Specific objectives and guiding questions**

To systematically bring this piece of research to its end, specific objectives and guiding questions were formulated as follows:

- To highlight, where applicable, the civic contribution of the media to government policies of promoting national unity and reconciliation, justice, genocide survivors' welfare, fight against divisionism and genocide ideology;
- To find out the extent to which media contributes to national healing and reconstruction process and provide actionable recommendations as appropriate;
- To discern the extent to which media abide by journalistic code of ethics and media law;
- To make actionable recommendations.

To achieve these objectives, the report aimed at answering the following questions:

- To what extent do the media educate and inform the public about the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration in Rwanda?
- To what extent do media reflect their coverage on the 2009 national genocide commemoration theme?
- To what extent do the media respect professional standards, the law and ethics during the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration coverage?

The mourning period is a special and sensitive time of grief for Rwandans and foreigners whereby media continue their role of informing, educating their audience to help them remember the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. In doing so, their publications should come out with

special attention to professional ethics, not only with remorse but also with resolve.

### **0.3. Report outline**

This report comprises three parts. Part one introduces the relevancy of monitoring. It sets forth objectives of analysing media coverage during genocide commemoration, and presents the applied monitoring methodology. The second part presents and analyses the audiovisual coverage and the third part summarises the print media during the commemoration period

## **Chapter 1: Methodology**

Bailey defines methodology as the philosophy of conducting research-which is a process that encompass assumptions and values that serve as the rationale and standard for conducting research (1987:33, Bernard, 2000)<sup>2</sup> . The methodology applied to this piece of research is both quantitative and qualitative. As Wimmer & Dominic (2006:10) put it, «Scientific research is an organized, objective, controlled, qualitative or quantitative empirical analysis of one or more variables»<sup>3</sup>. In this respect, this work has gone through the following steps:

- i. Determining monitoring period i.e. April from 1<sup>st</sup> - 30<sup>th</sup> for both electronic and print media. This period was due to the fact that, every April, Rwandans and foreigners mourn the victims of the 1994 genocide and most media reports are focused on commemorative events.
- ii. Identifying media outlets to be monitored (See *Table 1* on the next page).
- iii. Selecting tools to use in capturing necessary information from news items and talk shows published or broadcast. This phase consisted of purchasing recorders and newspapers to constitute archives to be explored.
- iv. Collecting information and feeding database. At this stage, media monitors recorded evening news and all talk shows that reflected genocide commemoration.
- v. Sorting, laying out and analysing data to make the report.

### **1.1 Sampling**

To gather data to be analyzed, the monitoring team used the purposive sampling. Wimmer & Dominick (2006:92) state that the purposive sampling starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include people of interest and exclude those who do not suit the purpose.

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<sup>2</sup> Bailey D.K (1978), *Methods of Social Research*, Free Press, New York

<sup>3</sup> Wimmer & Dominick (2006), *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, Eighth Edition

They further assert that “this method is popular with newspapers and magazines which want to make a particular point. This is also true for marketing researchers who are seeking support for their product. They typically start with people in the street, first approaching only 'likely suspects' and then starting with questions that reject people who do not suit”.

Given that the main objective of the present work was to assess media coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the genocide against the Tutsi, any item that reflected commemoration was first identified from newscasts and was considered as part of the analysis. Hence, given the purpose of this work, this selection process led to the identification of 581 news items as broadcast by both radio and TV stations, and 503 news items as published by newspapers.

In the same way, the MHC recognized talk shows as a key means for the transmission of messages related to the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The monitoring identified 191 talk shows aired in April 2009 on both radio and TV stations that conveyed commemorative messages on different topics. Based on the findings indicated in table 21, an in-depth analysis was carried out on interviews and roundtable discussions given their outstanding frequency over other types (features, profile/ analysis, documentaries, magazines and debates). These interviews and roundtable discussions randomly covered the period between April 7 and 13, which is the official mourning period in Rwanda.

For a deeper analysis a more careful reading and listening of the same material, focusing on genocide ideology related items was carried out. This was done empirically and without bias.

The final step was the actual scrutiny and interpretation of the data with regard to the variety of the themes, their importance and recurrence; particular topics of interest as well as specific issues of concern with regard to reporting.

## **1.2 Monitored media outlets**

Suffice to note that not all media outlets in the country were monitored as is clear from the following table. Those not monitored include *Restore Radio*, and *Isango Star* while ORINFOR's community radios located in *Musanze* and *Nyagatare* had not yet started operating. Again, as is clear, a number of newspapers do not feature in the table hereunder and were not monitored. This is because they did not publish during monitoring period. It is also worth mentioning that the number of issues monitored for all newspapers is not the same for all newspapers due to their diverse

periodicity. Moreover, some newspapers do not respect and adhere to their stated regularity.

For all monitored media outlets, each news item and talk show related to the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide against the Tutsi was recorded and analysed. It is worth mentioning hereby that Kinyarwanda news bulletins were chosen due to the fact that they have a large listenership/ audiences of more than 98% countrywide. As far as other bulletins in foreign languages are concerned, the content is the same as in Kinyarwanda. BBC-Gahuzamiryango and VOA Kirundi-Kinyarwanda services were the only foreign media outlets and programs monitored because of their special programmes on the Great Lakes Region. The table below shows media houses monitored and analyzed.

**Table 1 : List of media outlets covered in this monitoring period**

<b>Type of Medium</b>	<b>Name of medium</b>	<b>Issue number / Date</b>	<b>Publishing/ Broadcasting language</b>	<b>Periodicity</b>
RADIO	BBC	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda & Kirundi	Daily (6:30PM)
	CITY RADIO	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (7:00PM)
	CONTACT FM	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (7:00PM)
	FLASH FM	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (12.00 PM)
	IZUBA	1-15 April 2008	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (7.00 PM)
	RA-HUYE	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (6.05 PM)
	RA- RUBAVU	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (6.05 PM)
	RA- RUSIZI	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (6.05 PM)
	MARIA RWANDA	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (7:00PM)

	RRW	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (7:00PM)
	RADIO 10	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (6.00 PM)
	SALUS	1-15 April 2008	Kinyarwanda, French, English, Swahili	Daily (5.00PM)
	VOA	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, Kirundi	Daily (6.00AM)
	VOAF	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English and Swahili	Daily (3.00PM)
	AMAZING RADIO	1-30 April 2009	English, Kinyarwanda	Daily
TELEVISION	RTV	1-30 April 2009	Kinyarwanda, French, English	Daily (7:30PM)
PRINT	THE RWANDA FOCUS	N° 77, 78, 79	English	Weekly
	GLH	N° 521	French	
	IMVAHO NSHYA	N° 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1780, 1781	Kinyarwanda	Tri weekly
	INGENZI	N° 015	Kinyarwanda	Weekly
	KINYAMATEKA	N° 1762, 1763	Kinyarwanda, English	Bi -monthly
	LNR	N° 720, 721, 722, 723,	French	Weekly
	RUGARI	N° 43, 44	Kinyarwanda	Bi- monthly
	RUSHYASHYA	N° 74, 75, 76	Kinyarwanda	Bi -monthly
	THE NEW TIMES (+SUNDAY TIMES)	N°1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 169, 172,	English	Daily
	UMUSESO	N° 347, 348, 349, 350, 351	Kinyarwanda	Weekly
	UMUVUGIZI	N° 54	Kinyarwanda	Bi- Monthly
	UMWEZI	N° 43, 44	Kinyarwanda	Bi -Monthly
	INYENYERI IWACU	014	Kinyarwanda	Bi- Monthly
	ITOTO MAGAZINE	002	Kinyarwanda	Monthly
	UMURINZI	026	Kinyarwanda	Bi- Monthly
AMANI	108	French	Monthly	
UMUHANUZI	03	Kinyarwanda	Bi- Monthly	

### 1.3 Criteria of analysis

To delve into a detailed analysis of collected data, a number of criteria had to be predetermined following the objective of the present work. These criteria served as a cornerstone throughout the elaboration of the report. They include topic of the information, source of information, source's gender and profession where applicable, area of coverage as well as the type of information. These criteria are listed in the following tables showing the data classification.

**Table 2 : Topics**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Causes of genocide</b>
11	Role of government in power
12	Foreign country's role in Genocide
13	Role of political parties in Genocide
14	Media role in Genocide
15	Religious organisations' Role in Genocide
16	International community's indifference
<b>2</b>	<b>Effects of genocide on survivors</b>
21	Health, comfort/console
22	Sexual harassment
<b>3</b>	<b>Effects of genocide on government</b>
31	Economy
32	Human resources
<b>4</b>	<b>Effects of genocide on the general population</b>
41	Unity and reconciliation
42	Refugees
<b>5</b>	<b>Genocide survivors' welfare</b>
51	Survivors' associations
52	Donations/ partners/ funds (e.g.: One dollar campaign)
53	Compensation/ reparation
54	Housing
<b>6</b>	<b>Security</b>
61	Genocide Survivors
62	Gacaca Witnesses
63	Memorial sites
<b>7</b>	<b>Genocide memory</b>
71	Site visits, burial ceremonies, procession, ...
72	Testimony, information gathering
73	Research on Genocide (books, plays, films, etc)
74	Preparation of the commemoration
75	Religious ceremonies
76	Commemorative assemblage (local administration) and press conferences, commemoration statements, commemoration tournaments (sports or any other entertaining programme)

<b>8</b>	<b>Justice</b>
81	Specialized jurisdictions (Gacaca, ICTR)
82	Ordinary tribunals and courts
83	International justice
<b>9</b>	<b>Genocide ideology</b>
91	Ethnicity
92	Sectarianism
93	Racial discrimination
94	Genocide denial
<b>10</b>	<b>Genocide (ideology) prevention Policies</b>
<b>110</b>	<b>Other</b>

**Table 3: Source of information**

<b>Cod e</b>	<b>Status/ profession</b>
1	National leaders/ Local leaders
2	Citizens
3	Civil servants
4	Foreigners
5	Media/news agencies/ Documents
6	Genocide survivors (individual/association)
7	Genocide perpetrators
8	Religious / Civil Society organizations
9	Others (letters to the editor, SMS, ...)

**Table 4: Area of coverage**

Code	Description	Code	Description
1	Bugesera	22	Nyanza
2	Burera	23	Nyarugenge
3	Gakenke	24	Nyaruguru
4	Gasabo	25	Rubavu
5	Gatsibo	26	Ruhango
6	Gicumbi	27	Rulindo
7	Gisagara	28	Rusizi
8	Huye	29	Rutsiro
9	Kamonyi	30	Rwamagana
10	Karongi	31	National
11	Kayonza	32	Sub regional
12	Kicukiro	33	Regional
13	Kirehe	34	International
14	Muhanga	35	Eastern Province
15	Musanze	36	Western



			Province
16	Ngoma	37	Southern Province
17	Ngororero	38	Northern Province
18	Nyabihu	39	City of Kigali
19	Nyagatare	40	Inter Province
20	Nyamagabe	41	Inter District
21	Nyamasheke		

**Table 5: Type of stories**

Code	Description
1	News Story
2	Brief / Shorts
3	Editorial
4	Cartoon / Graphic
5	Opinion Piece
6	Analysis / Feature
7	Portrait and profile
8	Photograph/ Image
9	Opinion polls
10	Interview (Question & Answer)
11	Commentary (Letters to the editor, testimony...)

## **Chapter 2: Audiovisual Media**

### **2.1. News programmes**

The traditional role of the media has often been stated as to inform and educate the public. It does this by providing timely news and information that is true, valid and complete. In this report, topics covered by the media, area of coverage, sources of information as well as types of stories published and broadcast serve as indicators of the role played by media during the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration.

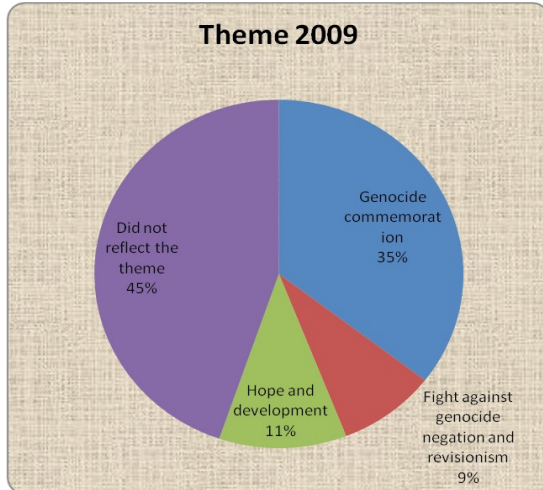
### **Theme of the 15<sup>th</sup> Genocide Commemoration**

Every year, the Government of Rwanda formulates a theme that guides all Rwandans in the commemoration of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi that cost over a million innocent lives. The theme for 2009 was: “TWIBUKE JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI, TURWANYA IPFOBYA N’IHAKANA RYAYO, TWUBAKA IGIHUGU CYACU” (*“Let us Commemorate the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Fighting Deniers and Revisionists, and Build our Country”*). The key objective in monitoring media coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration, was to show the extent to which, the media focused on, reflected and reported on this theme.

Among the 581 news items identified and analysed as aired on radio and TV stations, only 321 of them (that is 55% of the total sample) reflected the 2009 genocide commemoration theme.

### **Figure 1 : Reflection on 2009 national genocide commemoration theme**

The figure below statistically shows, the 2009 theme set by the Government of Rwanda to ensure that Rwandans and foreigners focus their attention upon over one million victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the fight against genocide denial and revisionism, as well as hope for a better future.



It is good to note that the majority of analysed reportage (55%) hinted upon the commemoration theme as set by the government of Rwanda. However, most reporters used a narrative approach towards various events that were organised to mourn the victims, whereby they described the event on the ground and merely recited the theme. This leads to assert that few / no initiatives were made to investigate or gather the vox pop throughout the collection of information. In other words, a bigger part of the analysed news items were event centred other than issue centred thus not bringing solutions to existing problems. As a result, the aspect of genocide commemoration came out with a bigger percentage (35%) as compared to genocide negation and revisionism (9%) as well as hope and development (11%).

### 2.1.2 Topics coverage

Based on the theme of the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration, news broadcast during the monitoring period was categorized into various topics. This means that to better analyse the story, media monitors had to summarize it and identify which subject matter prevails in each news item. These topics include *“the causes of genocide, effects of the genocide on survivors, effects of genocide on the general population, security, genocide memory”*. Details of topic coverage are presented in Table 6.

### Major Genocide related themes in the audiovisual media

BBC and VOA radio broadcasts in Kinyarwanda / Kirundi specifically dedicated to the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration or other genocide related issues correspond to almost eight hours of listening, out of the total 52 hours they run their programmes. That is 15.23 % for BBC total airtime allocation and 6.45 % for VOA.

The predominant story format on both radios is news with 39 recurrences out of 69 (56.5 %), followed by feature stories (current affairs and talk shows) totaling 26 (37.6 %), and press review with 4 recurrences (5.7 %).

The main themes are seven, with the following order of frequency: memory of genocide with 25 recurrences out of 64 (39.06); justice and negationism with 14 recurrences each (21.8 %); reconciliation with 6 (9.3 %); survivors' welfare and security, each theme totaling 2 (3.1 %); and ideology of genocide with a single occurrence (1.5 %).

**Table 6: Topics covered during the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration**

Topic/ Medium	Amazing Christian	BBC	City Radio	Contact FM	Flash	Huye	Maria Rwanda	Radio 10	Radio Rwanda	Rubavu	Rusizi	Voice of Africa	Voice of America	Salus	Umucyo	RTV	Izuba Radio	Total	%
<b>Causes of genocide: 16 news items (2.75%)</b>																			
Foreign country's role in genocide	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	1	4	0.69
Role of political parties in genocide	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0.69
Media role in genocide	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.52
International community's indifference	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0		0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0.86
<b>Effects of genocide on survivors: 7 news items (1.20%)</b>																			
Health	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	2	6	1.03
Sexual harassment	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.17
<b>Effects of genocide on the general population: 107 news items (18.42%)</b>																			
Unity and reconciliation	1	1	1	0	4	0	2	2	3	0	1	3	0	3	1	1	7	30	5.16
Survivors' associations	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	0		1	0	0	0	2	0	11	1.89
Donations/ partners	1	1	0	1	4	1	0	1	6	2		2	0	1	0	16	3	39	6.71
Compensation/ reparation	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	0		2	0	1	0	2	2	13	2.24
Housing	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	0	2	2	14	2.41
<b>Security: 57 news items (9.81%)</b>																			
Genocide survivors	1	2	0	1	2	10	0	0	4	4		8	0	2	1	3	2	40	6.88
Gacaca witnesses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.17
Memorial sites	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0		6	0	1	1	3	0	16	2.75
<b>Genocide memory: 285 news items (49.05%)</b>																			
Site visits & burials	3	5	2	5	11	27	2	11	17	10	7	4	1	19	0	37	4	165	28.40

<b>T estimony</b>	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1		0	1	0	0	0	4	<b>12</b>	<b>2.07</b>
<b>Research on genocide (books, plays, films, etc)</b>	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0		1	1	4	0	2	0	<b>13</b>	<b>2.24</b>
<b>Preparation of the commemoration</b>	0	0	0	0	4	4	1	1	5	0	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	<b>26</b>	<b>4.48</b>
<b>Religious ceremonies</b>	1	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	1		0	0	1	0	1	0	<b>12</b>	<b>2.07</b>
<b>Commemorative assemblage (local administration &amp; press conferences)</b>	0	6	0	0	10	2	12	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	20	0	<b>57</b>	<b>9.81</b>
<b>Justice: 51 news items (8.78%)</b>																			
<b>Specialized jurisdictions (Gacaca, ICTR)</b>	1	2	4	0	1	3	0	0	3	0		0	5	2	0	1	0	<b>22</b>	<b>3.79</b>
<b>Ordinary tribunals and courts</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	0	1	0	0	0	<b>3</b>	<b>0.52</b>
<b>International justice</b>	2	3	0	2	3	1	0	4	3	0		2	0	5	0	1	0	<b>26</b>	<b>4.48</b>
<b>Genocide ideology: 48 news items (8.26%)</b>																			
<b>Ethnicity</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2		0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>3</b>	<b>0.52</b>
<b>Sectarianism/divisionism</b>	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	0	1	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.69</b>
<b>Racial discrimination</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	1	0	2	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.69</b>
<b>Genocide denial</b>	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	4	2		0	1	1	0	3	0	<b>14</b>	<b>2.41</b>
<b>Genocide (ideology) prevention policies</b>	2	0	1	1	2	4	0	4	2	0	2	1	1	1	0	2	0	<b>23</b>	<b>3.96</b>
<b>Other: 10 news items (1.72%)</b>																			
<b>Other</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0		0	1	0	0	3	3	<b>10</b>	<b>1.72</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>3.10</b>	<b>4.13</b>	<b>2.41</b>	<b>2.41</b>	<b>8.26</b>	<b>11.36</b>	<b>4.13</b>	<b>5.16</b>	<b>10.50</b>	<b>3.79</b>	<b>3.10</b>	<b>6.54</b>	<b>3.27</b>	<b>7.92</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>17.90</b>	<b>5.34</b>	<b>100</b>	

During the mourning period in 2009, especially on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2009, many commemorative events were organised at the grass root level where the citizens gathered to mourn the victims of the 1994 holocaust. In addition, both public and private institutions, local and foreign organizations, foreign missions accredited to Rwanda, and religious organizations among others held a number of ceremonies to mark the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration against the Tutsi all through the one week mourning period.

Hence, these events attracted the attention of local and foreign media. Consequently, as the table above indicates the topic "*genocide memory*" was given more airtime than any other with 49.05% of the total airtime. As mentioned earlier, the corresponding reportage were mainly event focused other than issue focused and sounded as mere narration or description of events. Such pieces of information do not effectively contribute to solving the existing problems and do not leave lessons to the target audience.

However, this analysis indicates that an important coverage was devoted to real problems facing the Rwandan population. Hence, stories related to "*effects of the genocide on the general population*" got 18.42% frequency, while "*Security of genocide survivors*" was also a remarkable subject matter in news to a 9.81% level of the total airtime.

The 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the Rwandan Tutsi genocide got a wide coverage in the analyzed media outlets, in the electronic media. Commemoration ceremonies of April 07<sup>th</sup> 2009 benefited from an intensive coverage, especially in radio broadcasts, with particular touch from the BBC radio whose correspondents' network extended its reporting not only to the official ceremonies in Kigali, but also to the Rwandan Diaspora in Belgium, London, South Africa, and Uganda. Apart from the national mourning ceremony in Rwanda, VOA took advantage of its proximity with the UN headquarters in New York to cover the commemoration ceremony in the Rwandan embassy there. Both radios also managed to carry out other broadcasts pertaining to genocide memory, justice, reconciliation, survivors' welfare and security in various geographical areas, be it in rural Rwanda or other countries in the world.

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was among others fuelled by Rwandan media. Conscious of this negative role, the post genocide media are challenged by an immense task of informing and educating Rwandans in a bid to eradicate the genocide ideology. In the present study, issues related to the fight against the genocide ideology amounted to 4.30%. This chapter presented how, Radio and TV stations operating in Rwanda supported Rwandans to mourn those who perished during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. They produced a considerable coverage and hinted upon various aspects of Rwandan lives, with a great emphasis on commemoration ceremonies. However, the dominance of event centred reporting should be turned into issue centred coverage so as to come up with solutions to existing problems. This implies that much work lies ahead in building a peaceful society. The media has its own role to play.

### **2.1.3 Types of stories**

Journalistically, it is considered professional and desirable for the media to divide stories into categories so as listeners/viewers or readers can understand whether what they are viewing/listening to or reading in newspapers is a *news story* without a commentary or otherwise. In that way, stories are classified into various types: *news stories, interviews, commentaries, features, opinion pieces, editorials, opinion polls, profiles*. These different types of stories serve different purposes and interests. For instance the *editorial* in any media represents the views of that medium as a whole about an issue. News bulletins from radio and TV stations are *news stories* by nature. However, letters to the editor, interviews, in brief/shorts and SMSs are also heard as proven by the present work.

**Table 7: Types of stories**

<b>Radio/TV</b>	<b>News Story</b>	<b>Briefs / Shorts</b>	<b>Interview</b>	<b>Commentary (letters to the editor, observations, ...)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Amazing Christian	12	6	0	0	18	3.10
BBC	24	0	0	0	24	4.13
City Radio	14	0	0	0	14	2.41
Contact FM	14	0	0	0	14	2.41
Flash FM	48	0	0	0	48	8.26
Huye	66	0	0	0	66	11.36
Maria Rwanda	23	0	0	1	24	4.13
Radio 10	26	2	1	1	30	5.16
Radio Rwanda	48	4	9	0	61	10.50
Rubavu	22	0	0	0	22	3.79
Rusizi	18	0	0	0	18	3.10
Voice of Africa	38	0	0	0	38	6.54
Voice of America	17	0	2	0	19	3.27
Salus	46	0	0	0	46	7.92
Umucyo	4	0	0	0	4	0.69
RTV	103	0	1	0	104	17.90
Izuba	30	1	0	0	31	5.34
<b>Total</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>95.18</b>	<b>2.24</b>	<b>2.24</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>100</b>	

Table 7 shows, out of a total number of 581 news items which were monitored, 95.18% of them were *news stories*, 2.24% were *briefs*, 2.24% were *interview*, while 0.34% were classified into *others* (letters to the editor, testimony, SMS). It is implied that most radio and TV stations rely on news stories put forth and initiated by news sources or authorities rather than journalists initiating stories or organizing interviews with newsmakers with the objective of scrutinizing issues like genocide prevention policies, unity and reconciliation programs, genocide survivors' welfare, etc. This also reflects low initiative and research by media houses and journalists. It is important to note that public media outlets dominate in coverage. RTV, Huye Community Radio, Radio Rwanda came up with over 10% of the analysed sample. While these media enjoy government



facilitation, other newer radio stations are still confronted with financial, material and infrastructural limitations.

#### **2.1.4 Area of coverage**

The national mourning period is a special time for all Rwandans regardless of where they live. Media are expected to cover issues related to the commemoration of the genocide victims in the entire country and abroad. In doing so, they let truth and history of genocide be properly known without exception. It is in this respect that the report highlights the extent to which genocide mourning was covered by media both nationally and internationally.

**Table 8 : District coverage**

Medium / Coverage area	ChristianAmazing	BBC	City Radio	Contact FM	Flash	Huye	Maria Rwanda	Radio 10	Radio Rwanda	Rubavu	Rusizi	Voice of Africa	Voice of America	Salus	Umucyo	RTV	Izuba	Total	%
Bugesera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	1	5	2	13	3.06
Burera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0.71
Gakenke	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.71
Gasabo	5	1	2	3	18	0	2	10	13	0	0	20	1	8	0	47	0	130	30.59
Gatsibo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.24
Gicumbi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.24
Gisagara	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	14	3.29
Huye	0	0	0	0	1	27	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	13	0	1	0	43	10.12
Kamonyi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.24
Karongi	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	1.41
Kayonza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.24
Kicukiro	4	1	1	1	8	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	2	2	0	15	3	47	11.06
Kirehe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.24
Muhanga	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	4	0		0	0	2	0	0	0	15	3.53
Musanze	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.24
Ngoma	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	22	5.18
Ngororero	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0.94
Nyabihu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1.18
Nyagatare	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.24
Nyamagabe	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	11	2.59
Nyamasheke	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	8	1.88
Nyanza	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.71
Nyarugenge	0	1	0	0	7	1	5	4	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	15	0	38	8.94

<b>Nyaruguru</b>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.94</b>
<b>Rubavu</b>	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>22</b>	<b>5.18</b>
<b>Ruhango</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	<b>6</b>	<b>1.41</b>
<b>Rulindo</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.94</b>
<b>Rusizi</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>11</b>	<b>2.59</b>
<b>Rutsiro</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	<b>2</b>	<b>0.47</b>
<b>Rwamagana</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	<b>3</b>	<b>0.71</b>
<b>Inter-district</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>	<b>0.24</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>1.17</b>	<b>0.94</b>	<b>1.17</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>12.</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>5.</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>7.05</b>	<b>0.</b>	<b>22.</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>
	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	

Table 9: Province and inter-province coverage

<b>Medium / Coverage area</b>	<b>ChristianAmazing</b>	<b>BBC</b>	<b>City Radio</b>	<b>Contact FM</b>	<b>Flash</b>	<b>Huye</b>	<b>Maria Rwanda</b>	<b>Radio 10</b>	<b>Radio Rwanda</b>	<b>Rubavu</b>	<b>Rusizi</b>	<b>Voice of Africa</b>	<b>Voice of America</b>	<b>Salus</b>	<b>Umucyo</b>	<b>RTV</b>	<b>Izuba</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Western province</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3.23
<b>Eastern</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
<b>Southern province</b>	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	19.35
<b>Nothern province</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3.23
<b>City of Kigali</b>	0	0	6	2	3	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	4	0	23	74.19
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>19.35</b>	<b>12.90</b>	<b>9.68</b>	<b>16.13</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>6.45</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>3.23</b>	<b>3.23</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>12.90</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>16.13</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 10: Regional, sub-regional, national and international coverage**

Medium / Coverage area	ChristianAmazing	BBC	City Radio	Contact FM	Flash	Huye	Maria Rwanda	Radio 10	Radio Rwanda	Rubavu	Rusizi	Voice of Africa	Voice of America	Salus	Umucyo	RTV	Izuba	Total	%
<b>National</b>	0	4	0	4	3	2	0	0	6	0	4	1	7	7	1	1	0	<b>40</b>	<b>32.00</b>
<b>Sub regional</b>	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	<b>18</b>	<b>14.40</b>
<b>Regional</b>	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	7	0	0	6	0	1	1	0	0	<b>20</b>	<b>16.00</b>
<b>International</b>	6	11	4	1	1	2	0	8	5	0	0	1	5	1	0	0	2	<b>47</b>	<b>37.60</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>4.80</b>	<b>15.20</b>	<b>3.20</b>	<b>4.00</b>	<b>6.40</b>	<b>4.80</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>9.60</b>	<b>16.80</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>3.20</b>	<b>6.40</b>	<b>11.20</b>	<b>9.60</b>	<b>1.60</b>	<b>1.60</b>	<b>1.60</b>	<b>100</b>	

As portrayed in table 8, 9 & 10, to find out how information is scattered throughout the country and abroad, media monitors sought to know to which extent various districts of Rwanda are covered in relation with the mourning period. In addition, a look into issues of national, regional and international scale were put under consideration. Of 581 news items, the district (and interdistrict) coverage was equal to 425 news items (i.e.73.15%), province coverage equal to 31 news items (i.e. 5.34%), national and international coverage equal to 125 news items (i.e. 21.51%). Table 8 presents all districts in the country and shows that Gasabo district received more coverage with 30.59%, Kicukiro 11.06%. Gasabo district is located in Kigali City and houses the Gisozi Genocide Memorial Centre. It attracted many town dwellers and foreigners who paid visit to the national memorial Centre. On the other hand, the starting and ending ceremonies of the mourning week on the 7<sup>th</sup> and

the 13<sup>th</sup> April 2009 at the national level were organized and took place at Kicukiro and Rebero memorial sites, also located in Kigali City.

Comparatively, RTV and Huye Community Radio covered more districts of the country than any other station, and this is attributed to ORINFOR's financial and human resource capacity provided by government. Umucyo Community Radio had less coverage probably as a result of the nature of their news. Its news bulletins are just a flash of not more than 3 minutes and this radio seems not to be readily organised to run serious news due to its current staffing. Unlike in the past years where some districts were left uncovered by the media, in 2009 all districts were covered but not at the same rate.

The commemoration of the 1994 genocide is not only a national concern but also an international one. Table 10 indicates national and international stories represent 32.00 % and 37.60% respectively. The regional coverage (with reference to countries of EAC and CEPGL) got 37.60%.

## 2.1.5 Editorial balance

It is a journalistic principle that all parties concerned in a story should be given equal opportunity to express their stand on the issue. In the present work, the monitoring found it desirable to mention, in each media outlets, the presenter and reporter, the individual source or institution, as well as their status, sex or profession as they have an impact on the output of the station.

### 2.1.5.1 Reporters by gender

Table 11: Reporters by gender

Radio/TV	Male	Female	Not applicable	Total	%
Amazing Christian	18	0	0	18	3.10
BBC	19	5	0	24	4.13
City Radio	13	1	0	14	2.41
Contact FM	14	0	0	14	2.41
Flash	48	0	0	48	8.26
Huye	65	1	0	66	11.36
Maria Rwanda	22	2	0	24	4.13
Radio 10	14	16	0	30	5.16
Radio Rwanda	39	22	0	61	10.50
Rubavu	13	9	0	22	3.79
Rusizi	18	0	0	18	3.10
Voice of Africa	35	1	2	38	6.54
Voice of America	10	9	0	19	3.27
Salus	46	0	0	46	7.92
Umucyo	4	0	0	4	0.69
RTV	49	55	0	104	17.90
Izuba	12	19	0	31	5.34
<b>Total</b>	<b>439</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>75.56</b>	<b>24.10</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

The Vision 2020,<sup>4</sup> set up by the Rwanda government, testifies its commitment to promote gender equality and equity. As a cross-cutting issue, media analysts have sought to highlight the gender of news reporters as male and female. Despite all efforts made, the global picture depicts there is imbalance between male and female reporters as they represent 75.56% and 24.10% respectively. However, according to our findings, the number of female reporters outweighs that of women at RTV and Radio 10.

### 2.1.5.2 Presenters by gender

News presenters depict a similar picture. Table 12 below provides related details.

**Table 12: Presenters by gender**

<b>Radio/TV</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Amazing Christian</b>	18	0	<b>18</b>	<b>3.10</b>
<b>BBC</b>	13	11	<b>24</b>	<b>4.13</b>
<b>City Radio</b>	14	0	<b>14</b>	<b>2.41</b>
<b>Contact FM</b>	14	0	<b>14</b>	<b>2.41</b>
<b>Flash</b>	44	4	<b>48</b>	<b>8.26</b>
<b>Huye</b>	59	7	<b>66</b>	<b>11.36</b>
<b>Maria Rwanda</b>	24	0	<b>24</b>	<b>4.13</b>
<b>Radio 10</b>	14	16	<b>30</b>	<b>5.16</b>
<b>Radio Rwanda</b>	38	23	<b>61</b>	<b>10.50</b>
<b>Rubavu</b>	8	14	<b>22</b>	<b>3.79</b>
<b>Rusizi</b>	18	0	<b>18</b>	<b>3.10</b>
<b>Voice of Africa</b>	37	1	<b>38</b>	<b>6.54</b>
<b>Voice of America</b>	9	10	<b>19</b>	<b>3.27</b>
<b>Salus</b>	46	0	<b>46</b>	<b>7.92</b>
<b>Umucyo</b>	4	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.69</b>
<b>RTV</b>	39	65	<b>104</b>	<b>17.90</b>
<b>Izuba</b>	13	18	<b>31</b>	<b>5.34</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>70.91</b>	<b>29.09</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

Similar to reporters, Table 12 indicates that female presenters are still few as compared to their male counterparts. They represent 29.09% and 70.91% respectively. Therefore, this is a call for more efforts by all concerned media stakeholders and policy makers to sensitize women to practice journalism.

### 2.1.5.3 News source by gender

<sup>4</sup> Government of Rwanda (2002), [2020 Vision. Draft 3](#). Kigali.

While collecting information, reporters should keep in mind the gender equality and equity policy so as to get balanced and credible data. In this study, media analysts sought to determine the extent to which media respect gender balance, thus giving a voice to both male and female sources. Table 13 exposes details for each medium under study.

**Table 13: News sources by gender**

Sources by gender / Medium	Male	Female	Not applicable <sup>5</sup>	Total	%
<b>Amazing Christian</b>	10	6	4	<b>20</b>	<b>2.19</b>
<b>BBC</b>	28	7	7	<b>42</b>	<b>4.59</b>
<b>City Radio</b>	17	1	0	<b>18</b>	<b>1.97</b>
<b>Contact FM</b>	19	0	1	<b>20</b>	<b>2.19</b>
<b>Flash</b>	52	11	3	<b>66</b>	<b>7.21</b>
<b>Huye</b>	90	26	2	<b>118</b>	<b>12.90</b>
<b>Maria Rwanda</b>	33	9	0	<b>42</b>	<b>4.59</b>
<b>Radio 10</b>	31	7	4	<b>42</b>	<b>4.59</b>
<b>Radio Rwanda</b>	63	21	2	<b>86</b>	<b>9.40</b>
<b>Rubavu</b>	34	7	0	<b>41</b>	<b>4.48</b>
<b>Rusizi</b>	22	7	1	<b>30</b>	<b>3.28</b>
<b>Voice of Africa</b>	42	5	4	<b>51</b>	<b>5.57</b>
<b>Voice of America</b>	11	10	7	<b>28</b>	<b>3.06</b>
<b>Salus</b>	53	9	6	<b>68</b>	<b>7.43</b>
<b>Umucyo</b>	5	0	0	<b>5</b>	<b>0.55</b>
<b>RTV</b>	152	40	1	<b>193</b>	<b>21.09</b>
<b>Izuba</b>	25	20	0	<b>45</b>	<b>4.92</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>687</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>915</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>75.08</b>	<b>20.33</b>	<b>4.59</b>	<b>100</b>	

From Table 13 it is clear that female sources were fewer than male ones. It assumed cultural mentality influences news reporting, like lack of confidence on the part of women. Most male reporters do not approach female sources for information. Hence, reporters are recommended to always be gender sensitive while gathering information for publication

#### **2.1.5.4 News sources by Institution**

Source institutions/organisations from which the news source is collected, enhances the principle of variety or diversification of sources. It also implies fairness and credibility of

<sup>5</sup> « Gender » is not applicable for media news agencies, internet and documents.



information. In this report, MHC sought to know which institutions were newsmakers. This portrays the attention paid to the 15<sup>th</sup> annual genocide commemoration against the Tutsi as indicated by the figures below.

Table 14: News sources by Institution

Institution/ Medium	Amazing Christian	BBC	City Radio	Contact FM	Flash	Huye	Maria Rwanda	Radio 10	Radio Rwanda	Rubavu	Rusizi	Voice of Africa	Voice of America	Salus	Umucyo	RTV	Izuba	Total	%
Academia	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	6	0	5	0	25	2.74
Associations & Cooperatives	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	12	1.31
AU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.11
Banks	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0.33
British Court of Justice	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.33
Business companies	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	10	1.09
Catholic Church	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	3	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	16	1.75
Central government	1	2	2	4	9	5	1	6	8	4	2	10	3	8	0	18	1	84	9.19
Copenhagen University	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.11
EAC	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.33
Embassies	1	2	0	0	6	0	0	4	5	0	0	5	1	0	1	1	0	26	2.84
EU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.11
Genocide related NGOs	7	3	5	3	11	8	2	5	5	5	5	8	3	5	1	7	4	87	9.52
Government institutions	4	6	1	5	13	8	9	6	15	12	1	8	2	14	0	33	2	139	15.21
IMARARUNGU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.11
International NGOs	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	2	1	1	0	5	0	16	1.75
IRDP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.11
Local government	1	0	1	2	8	48	15	1	12	7	12	6	0	8	0	31	12	164	17.94
Local NGOs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.22
Media	3	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	3	7	0	4	0	26	2.84
Not specified	2	24	3	5	12	40	9	7	21	15	5	3	13	15	2	55	28	259	28.34
Political parties	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	7	0.77

<b>Rwanda Diaspora</b>	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.66
<b>Sports Clubs</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.22
<b>UN</b>	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	3	4	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	17	1.86
<b>US President's Office</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0.22
<b>Total</b>	22	42	19	23	67	117	46	43	82	43	26	49	31	70	4	182	48	914	100
<b>%</b>	2.4	4.6	2.0	2.5	7.3	12.8	5.0	4.7	8.9	4.7	2.8	5.3	3.3	7.6	0.4	19.9	5.2		
	1	0	8	2	3	0	3	0	7	0	4	6	9	6	4	1	5	100	

Diversification of sources is an added value to a piece of information. Table 14 indicates that most radio and TV reporters have tried to contact a wide range of sources, thus publishing credible and complete information. However, sources from institutions, not specifically mentioned, came up with a greater percentage (28.32%). Statistically, local government institutions have been captured by the media more than other government institutions with 15.21%. Among civil society organizations which took a lead to organize commemorative events, the genocide related NGOs like IBUKA and AERG came up with 9.52%, while among government institutions the CNLG was a key source. As for central and local government, they scored 9.19% and 17.94% respectively. It is then a reminder to all organizations that any form of remembrance gesture to honour the victims of the 1994 holocaust is a must, so as to enforce the “*Never Again*” to genocide.

### **2.1.5.5 Sources by status/profession**

Professionally reportage considers source status as an important issue to be included in the story. This is not only appropriate for the proper identification of sources to verify the reliability of the story but also important for listeners/viewers/readers to know who is who in a story and to what extent s/he should be believed.

**Table 15: Sources by status/Profession**

Medium/ status	National/ local leaders	Citizens	Foreigners	Media/ News agencies/ documents	Genocide survivors	organizations Religious/ civil society	SMS... )Others (letters to the editor,	Total	%
Amazing Christian	7	5	1	5	2	0	0	20	2.19
BBC	8	13	3	4	12	0	2	42	4.59
City Radio	13	2	0	0	3	0	0	18	1.97
Contact FM	14	3	1	1	1	0	0	20	2.19
Flash	35	20	1	3	7	0	0	66	7.21
Huye	61	42	5	1	8	0	1	118	12.90
Maria Rwanda	26	12	0	0	3	1	0	42	4.59
Radio 10	16	11	7	4	3	1	0	42	4.59
Radio Rwanda	36	30	6	1	5	6	2	86	9.40
Rubavu	29	10	0	0	2	0	0	41	4.48
Rusizi	16	4	0	0	4	2	4	30	3.28
Voice of Africa	33	5	2	4	7	0	0	51	5.57
Voice of America	4	6	4	6	6	2	0	28	3.06
Salus	37	14	5	6	6	0	0	68	7.43
Umucyo	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.55
RTV	94	46	15	1	27	10	0	193	21.09
Izuba	14	30	0	0	0	1	0	45	4.92
<b>Total</b>	448	253	50	36	96	23	9	915	100
<b>%</b>	<b>48.96</b>	<b>27.65</b>	<b>5.46</b>	<b>3.93</b>	<b>10.49</b>	<b>2.51</b>	<b>0.98</b>	<b>100</b>	

As table 15 above shows, national and local leaders like other sources that were identified in the news items that were monitored during the 15th commemoration scored as far as 48.96%, therefore an indication that leaders had a higher participating rate as compared to others. The citizens follow, to a close range, the national leaders with 27.65%. The other source status scored averagely lower. These include 10.49% from

genocide survivors, 5.46% from foreigners, and 3.93% from media/news agencies/documents,. This implies that all citizens were given the voice to participate, though some more than others.

### 2.1.5.6 Accuracy

Accuracy is one of the key principles in professional journalism, which journalists in Rwanda, in their code of conduct agreed to practice in their reporting. To do this, the journalists have to ensure that: *a news item gives a clear presentation/ process of what the case is, the story presents issues in their proper order of occurrence and the news item is comprehensive and covers every aspect of the story and lastly gives the source of information.* Table 16 below presents how accurate audiovisual media have been while covering the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration.

**Table 16: Accuracy**

Medium	Monitored stories	Process / sources	Logical sequence	Comprehensive	Accurate stories
Amazing Christian	18	18	18	13	13
BBC	24	24	24	23	23
City Radio	14	14	14	11	11
Contact FM	14	14	14	14	14
Flash	48	44	45	25	22
Huye	66	65	65	55	54
Maria Rwanda	24	24	24	20	20
Radio 10	30	29	30	19	19
Radio Rwanda	61	59	58	49	46
Rubavu	22	21	21	16	15
Rusizi	18	18	18	18	18
Voice of Africa	38	30	31	22	15
Voice of America	19	19	19	16	16
Salus	46	45	46	42	42
Umucyo	4	1	4	1	1
RTV	104	103	104	94	94
Izuba	31	29	28	21	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>557</b>	<b>563</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>450</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>95.87</b>	<b>96.90</b>	<b>79.00</b>	<b>77.45</b>

**Figure 2: Accurate vs. Inaccurate stories**

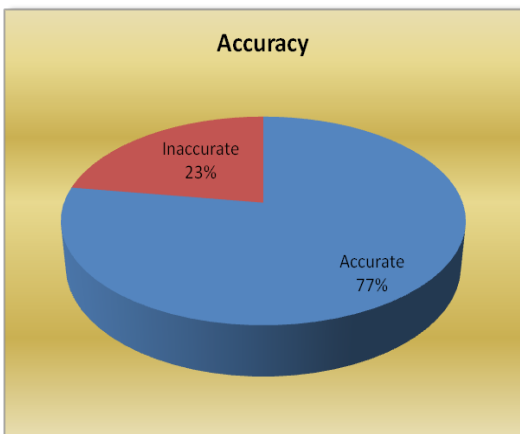


Table 16 and Figure 2, reporting of the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration in the electronic media was in form largely accurate (450 stories of 581, i.e. 77.45% of all the stories broadcast were accurate). Most stories were convincing, hence a positive development. Contact FM and RUSIZI Community Radio were maximally accurate.

However, as portrayed in the table, most of the noticed inaccuracies consisted of omission of some important elements like participants' voice in event (thus contravening the balance principle). It is important to mention that these inaccuracies also were mainly noticeable in event reporting other than issue reporting.

### **2.1.5.7 Bias per medium**

Professional journalists should not be biased in their reporting. It is unfortunate that some news items monitored were judged biased in the mirror of the utilized language. In this study, cases of unsubstantiated allegations, generalization, exaggeration, omission and trivialization were thus categorised.

**Table 17: Bias per medium**

Medium	Monitored stories	Allegations	Generalization	Exaggeration	Omission	Trivialization	Biased stories
Amazing Christian	18	0	0	0	2	0	2
BBC	24	0	0	0	1	0	1
City Radio	14	0	0	1	5	0	1
Contact FM	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Flash	48	0	0	0	33	0	21
Medium	Monitored stories	Allegations	Generalization	Exaggeration	Omission	Trivialization	Biased stories
Huye	66	1	5	1	3	0	7
Maria Rwanda	24	0	0	0	4	0	4
Radio 10	30	0	0	0	5	0	5
Radio Rwanda	61	0	0	0	10	0	8
Rubavu	22	0	1	0	0	0	1
Rusizi	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
Voice of Africa	38	0	0	1	26	0	16
Voice of America	19	0	0	0	3	0	3
Salus	46	0	1	0	0	0	1
Umucyo	4	0	0	0	3	0	3
RTV	104	0	0	0	9	0	9
Izuba	31	1	0	0	11	3	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>0.52</b>	<b>19.79</b>	<b>0.52</b>	<b>16.01</b>

The general picture reflected that, of the 581 news stories that were monitored during the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration, only 93 news items (16.01%) were biased in nature while 84% were not biased. This simply means that, electronic media tried to adhere to the principle of balance and giving all concerned parties a chance to comment on most of the issues that related to genocide commemoration. It is worth noting that Contact FM and Rusizi Community Radio were the only two stations whose news stories were found unbiased.

## 2.2 Respect of the media law and Journalistic principles

In April of every year, since 1995, Rwandans commemorate victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. This is not an ordinary period for Rwandans, in particular and the world in general. News reporting and writing, if not treated well, by media practitioners can be

characterized by sentiments and go beyond media ethical boundaries. Compassion is a moral obligation for journalists especially in times of sorrow as stipulated in the Rwandan media code of conduct, in its article 7: *“Be sensitive and compassionate when dealing with production and publication of stories and photos involving tragedy and grief”*. Journalists are requested not to let their sentiments influence their reporting. They are expected to be fair and respect both the media law and professional ethics. Therefore, to implement one of its missions of ensuring respect of media ethics and laws, MHC media monitors observed to what extent media outlets abided by these obligations. Table 18 below shows some media legal provisions and journalistic principles that were not respected during the coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration against the Tutsi. The flouting of ethical and legal provisions was observed in unsourced, non-objective items, biased or imbalanced news items as well as images that are not supported.



**Table 18: Respect of journalistic ethics and media law**

Media ethics							
Media law no. 22/2009							
Medium/ Violated article	Unsour ed items (art. 11)	Non objecti ve news items (art. 2)	Imbalanc ed news items (art. 3)	Non support ed images (art. 4)	Medium	Unsour ed news items [art. 12(4)]	Imbalanc ed informati on [art. 12(5)]
Amazing Christian	3	0	2	0	Amazing Christian	3	2
BBC	1	0	0	0	BBC	1	0
City Radio	1	1	4	0	City Radio	1	4
Contact FM	0	0	0	0	Contact FM	0	0
Flash	6	3	21	0	Flash	6	23
Huye	0	1	5	0	Huye	0	6
Izuba	4	0	7	0	Izuba	4	7
Maria Rwanda	0	0	4	0	Maria Rwanda	0	4
Radio 10	9	0	3	0	Radio 10	9	3
Radio Rwanda	2	0	10	0	Radio Rwanda	2	10
RTV	0	0	9	1	RTV	0	9
Rubavu	0	0	2	0	Rubavu	0	2
Rusizi	0	0	0	0	Rusizi	0	0
Salus	0	0	1	0	Salus	0	1
Umucyo	3	0	1	0	Umucyo	3	1
Voice of Africa	1	0	25	0	Voice of Africa	1	24
Voice of America	1	0	2	0	Voice of America	1	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>5.34</b>	<b>0.86</b>	<b>16.52</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>5.34</b>	<b>16.87</b>

As regards respect of professional ethics and principles, 18 table shows that out of 581 news items that were monitored in the electronic media coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration, 31 of them (i.e 5.34%) were not source , 5 non objective (i.e. 0.86%), 96 news items not balanced (i.e. 16.52%), while one news item contained non supported image. As per individual radio stations, the monitoring exercise proved that only Contact FM and Rusizi Community Radio respected professional ethics while Radio Umucyo, Voice of Africa and Radio Flash violated professional ethics the second, third, fourth and eleventh articles as quoted hereunder.

In the conduct of their profession, journalists shall:

**Article 2 :** « Be objective, accurate and disseminate honest news and information: bearing in mind the critical role of the mass media in our society which calls for utmost confidence from the general public, journalists shall at all times ensure that the information disseminated is accurate, fair and objective without giving undue emphasis or knowing omissions. This means that journalists shall avoid any distortion, misrepresentation and falsification by verifying the authenticity of any information or material, **including** pictures ».

**Article 3:** « Ensure that news is balanced, impartial and fair by giving all sides to an issue and all efforts be made to give an opportunity to subjects of news and information to respond to allegations or accusations made against them.

**Article 4:** « Make sure that headlines, captions, photos, video, audio, graphics and introductions are supported and reflected in the information. This is intended to avoid sensationalism ».

**Article 11:** « Always question the motive of, and identify sources. The only exception to this rule shall be in relation to information given in confidence. Before making any promises, always clarify conditions attached. Whenever such a pledge is made, keep the promise ».

In addition to professional ethics, the media law n<sup>o</sup> 22/2009 of the 12<sup>th</sup> August 2009 has been put in place to provide a legal framework to media practitioners in Rwanda. This law provides for journalists rights and obligations. this work established which legal provisions have been transgressed while undertaking analysis of coverage on the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration. The following provisions were found unobserved:

**Article 12:** Responsibilities of a journalist

A journalist shall have to fulfill the following main responsibilities

4. to publish verified information ;
5. to give the floor to all parties subjected to the information.

From Table 17, it is clear that a certain percentage of electronic coverage on the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration was unverified and imbalanced; yet it is imperative for the media practitioners to abide by these legal provisions by sourcing their stories, thus avoiding bias reports. Statistically, of 581 news items monitored and analyzed, only 31 of them (i.e. 5.34%) were found unsourced, while 98 (i.e. 16.87%) were not balanced. This implies that a great effort has been made to abide by the law during the mourning period, since a lower coverage was found unprofessional. Among the radio and TV stations monitored, only Contact FM and Rusizi Community Radio fully respected the law..

## 2.2.1 Airtime allocation to genocide news stories per medium

While analysing media reports on genocide, it was found important to discern how much airtime was allocated to the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration per medium. As the table below illustrates, all radio and TV stations accorded airtime to genocide related news stories but on different percentages.

**Table 19: Airtime allocation per medium**

Medium / Airtime	Airtime allocation		
	Total airtime allocated to monitored newscasts	Airtime allocated to genocide commemoration stories	Airtime allocated to other news
Amazing Christian	7h03m24s	3h00m13s	2h03m11s
BBC	6h40m04s	40m23s	5h19m37s
City Radio	03h20m00s	1h00m54s	2h19m06s
Contact FM	6h47m04s	3h00m06s	2h12m54s
Flash	2h20m00s	1h00m10s	1h19m50s
Huye	11h30m05s	5h28m05s	6h02m00s
Izuba	3h30m43s	1h20m40s	2h10m03s
Maria Rwanda	2h40m25s	1h10m05s	1h30m20s
Radio 10	4h10m00s	1h08m00s	3h02m00s
Radio Rwanda	13h30m25s	7h30m20s	6h00m05s
RTV	13h28m50s	6h27m40s	7h01m10s
Rubavu	12h28m05s	4h22m00s	8h06m05s
Rusizi	10h02m15s	6h00m09s	4h02m06s
Salus	11h29m45s	5h20m05s	6h09m40s
Umucyo	1h01m05s	10min	51mn05s
Voice of Africa	10h02m32s	3h00m30s	7h02m02s
Voice of America	11h30m05s	1h20m30s	10h09m35s
<b>Total</b>	<b>131h34m47s</b>	<b>56h04m16s</b>	<b>74h20m49s</b>

Table 19, shows that despite the differences of radio and TV stations in terms of newscast duration, all monitored media outlets managed to allocate a considerable airtime to genocide related issues though at different rate. Their efforts to back government theme to remember those who perished in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, and to rebuild the country are evident.

### 2.2.2 Fairness per medium

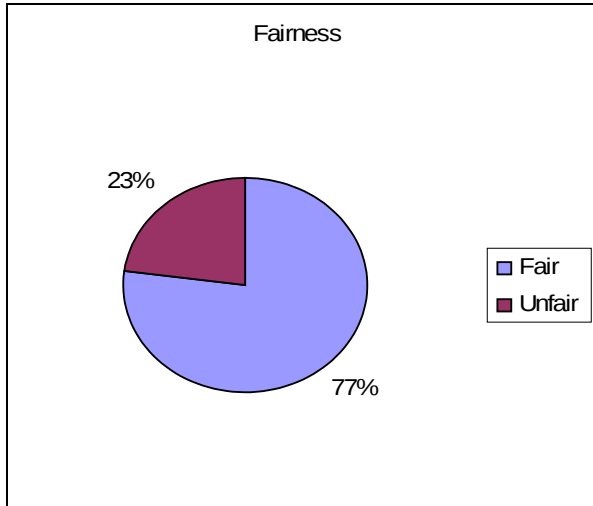
To conclude the analysis of a news item, media analysts had to state whether the item is fair or not, basing their judgment on all professional principles to be adhered to, as illustrated in the present report, also considering respect paid to the journalistic code of conduct and the media law in general. For example, an imbalanced story is unfair towards both concerned parties in the story and media consumers. In this context, table 20 below illustrates the number of fair versus unfair news stories per medium.

**Table 20: Fairness by medium**

Medium	Fairness		
	Fair	Unfair	Total
Amazing Christian	13	5	18
BBC	23	1	24
City Radio	8	6	14
Contact FM	14	0	14
Flash	18	30	48
Huye	60	6	66
Izuba	20	11	31
Maria Rwanda	20	4	24
Radio 10	18	12	30
Radio Rwanda	49	12	61
RTV	94	10	104
Rubavu	20	2	22
Rusizi	18	0	18
Salus	45	1	46
Umucyo	0	4	4
Voice of Africa	12	26	38
Voice of America	16	3	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>581</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>77.11</b>	<b>22.89</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 20 indicates that electronic media were relatively fair during the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration. The chart below indicates that of 581 news stories monitored, 448 news stories (77.11%) were fair compared to 133 news stories (22.89%) which were unfair.

**Figure 3: Fair vs. Unfair stories**



As per individual media outlets, some radio stations like CFM and Rusizi Community radio which news stories monitored were totally fair in their reporting. Flash FM and Voice of Africa presented a large number of unfair stories while Umucyo Radio among all its four news stories analyzed were entirely unfair.

## Conclusion

This report presents the analysis of 581 news items related to the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration aired on both radio and TV stations operating in Rwanda. According to the findings, one of the outstanding points is that genocide related events to mourn the victims of the 1994 genocide were the most covered. This topic *Genocide Memory* represented 49.05% of the entire coverage. Again, given audiovisual media reports are news stories by nature, most news items (95.18%) fell into that category as compared to interviews, shorts, feature, etc. It is worth noting hereby that, as proved by the analysis, most media reports were event focused other than issue focused. Regarding area of coverage, *Gasabo* was the most as covered district scoring at a peak of 22.38%. This analysis also shows that male presenters, reporters and sources dominated their female counterparts, respectively with 70.91% vs. 29.09%, 75.56% vs. 24.10% and 75.08% vs. 20.33%. Finally, a congratulatory note goes to monitored media outlets given they managed to abide by professional ethics and media law at satisfactory level, given 77.45% of the analysed news items were accurate.

## 2.3. Talk show programmes

The informative, educative and entertainment role of media requires a variety of programmes to satisfy their audience. Such programmes include diverse talk shows of various subjects affecting the lives of the population. MHC recognized talk shows as a key means for the transmission of messages related to the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The monitoring team has identified 191 talkshows aired in April 2009 on both radio and TV stations that conveyed commemorative messages on different topics. These talkshows have been first classified into categories according to their nature/type as presented in the table 21.

**Table 21 : Talk identification**

Medium	Type of the talk show									Total	%
	1. Interview	2. Debates	3. Roundtable discussion	4. Documentary	5. Magazine	6. Feature (profile, analysis)	7. Commemoration ceremony / message	8. Testimony	9. Gospel lecture		
Amazing Grace	2	0	0	1	0	0	4	2	0	9	4.71
BBC	1		0	1	6	0	0	1	0	9	4.71
City Radio	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	6	12	6.28
Contact FM	8		6	7	0	0	0	0	2	23	12.04
Flash FM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Huye	2		1	4		0	1	1	0	9	4.71
Izuba	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	7	3.66
Maria Rwanda	3	0	1	0	0	0	2		9	15	7.85

Radio 10	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	2	<b>11</b>	<b>5.7</b> <b>6</b>
Radio Rwanda	4	0	9	7	2	1	3	1	1	<b>28</b>	<b>14.</b> <b>66</b>
RTV	1		4	1	3		4			<b>13</b>	<b>6.8</b> <b>1</b>
Rubavu	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	<b>8</b>	<b>4.1</b> <b>9</b>
Rusizi	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	<b>4</b>	<b>2.0</b> <b>9</b>
Salus	1	0	6	3	1	0	2	0	0	<b>13</b>	<b>6.8</b> <b>1</b>
Umucyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>	<b>0.0</b> <b>0</b>
VOH	9	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	<b>13</b>	<b>6.8</b> <b>1</b>
Voice of Africa	10	0	3		1	0	0	0	0	<b>14</b>	<b>7.3</b> <b>3</b>
VO A	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	<b>3</b>	<b>1.5</b> <b>7</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>100</b>
%	<b>24.</b> <b>08</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>24.</b> <b>08</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8.3</b> <b>8</b>	<b>2.09</b> <b>4</b>	<b>11.52</b>	<b>3.6</b> <b>65</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>	

As indicated table 21, various types of talk shows have been identified (interviews, roundtable discussions, magazines, documentaries, etc) at different rates. It is impressive that interviews and roundtable discussions have been the most frequent of all types representing 46 talk shows, (i.e. 24.08%) each, followed by documentaries and gospel lectures, representing 27 (i.e.14.14%) and 23 talk shows (i.e.12.04%) respectively. Besides, some other live shows including gospel lectures, commemorative ceremonies and testimonies were also identified and recognized as comforting messages during the commemoration period. Surprisingly, there were no debates among all the identified shows, though they normally rise up different views from different people so as to address existing societal challenges.

As per individual medium, Radio Rwanda appeared to be the most active with 28 talk shows (i.e.14.66%), followed by Contact FM with 23 talk shows (i.e.12.04%). Flash FM and Umucyo Community Radio did not avail any show related to the commemoration, and they were not analyzed.

### **2.3.1. Interviews and roundtable discussions**

Based on the findings indicated in table 21, and as explained under the methodological chapter, an in-depth analysis has been carried out on interviews and roundtable discussions given their outstanding frequency over other types (features, profile/ analysis, documentaries, magazines and debates). That is, interviews and roundtable discussions presented in table 22 covered the period between April 7 and 13, 2009.

**Table 22 : Interviews and roundtable discussions**

	Type of the talk show		
	Interviews	Round table discussions	Total
<b>Medium</b>			
<b>Amazing Christian</b>	2	0	<b>2</b>
<b>BBC</b>	1	1	<b>2</b>
<b>City Radio</b>	2	0	<b>2</b>
<b>Contact FM</b>	1	2	<b>3</b>
<b>Huye</b>	1	1	<b>2</b>
<b>Maria Rwanda</b>	1	1	<b>2</b>
<b>Radio 10</b>	2	2	<b>4</b>
<b>Radio Rwanda</b>	2	2	<b>4</b>
<b>Rubavu</b>	2	2	<b>4</b>
<b>Voice of Africa</b>	2	2	<b>4</b>
<b>Voice of America</b>	0	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Voice of Hope</b>	1	2	<b>3</b>
<b>Salus</b>	1	1	<b>2</b>
<b>RTV</b>	1	2	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>50.00</b>	<b>50.00</b>	<b>100</b>

From table 22, it is remarkable that the number of interviews and roundtable discussions was haphazardly found equal. Note hereby that the random sampling principle was to consider two interviews and two roundtable discussions per medium. To analyses them,, the first step was to highlight which topics were discussed. Table 23 presents the details.



**Table 23: Topic coverage**

<b>Medium/ Topic</b>	<b>ChristianAmazing</b>	<b>BBC</b>	<b>City Radio</b>	<b>Contact FM</b>	<b>Flash FM</b>	<b>Huye</b>	<b>Maria Rwanda</b>	<b>Radio 10</b>	<b>Radio Rwanda</b>	<b>Rubavu</b>	<b>Voice of Africa</b>	<b>Voice of America</b>	<b>Voice of Hope</b>	<b>Salus</b>	<b>Umucyo</b>	<b>RTV</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Genocide (ideology) prevention policies	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	5.26
Media role in genocide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.63
Health, comfort/ console	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	6	15.79
Unity and reconciliation	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	8	21.05
Survivors' associations	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	10.53
Genocide survivors	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	5.26
Gacaca witnesses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	5.26
Site visits & burials; procession	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.63
Testimony, information gathering	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5.26
Research on genocide (books, plays, films, etc)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2.63
Preparation of the commemoration	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	13.16
Commemorative assemblage (local administration), statements and press conferences	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	5.26
Genocide denial	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	5.26

<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>38</b>	100
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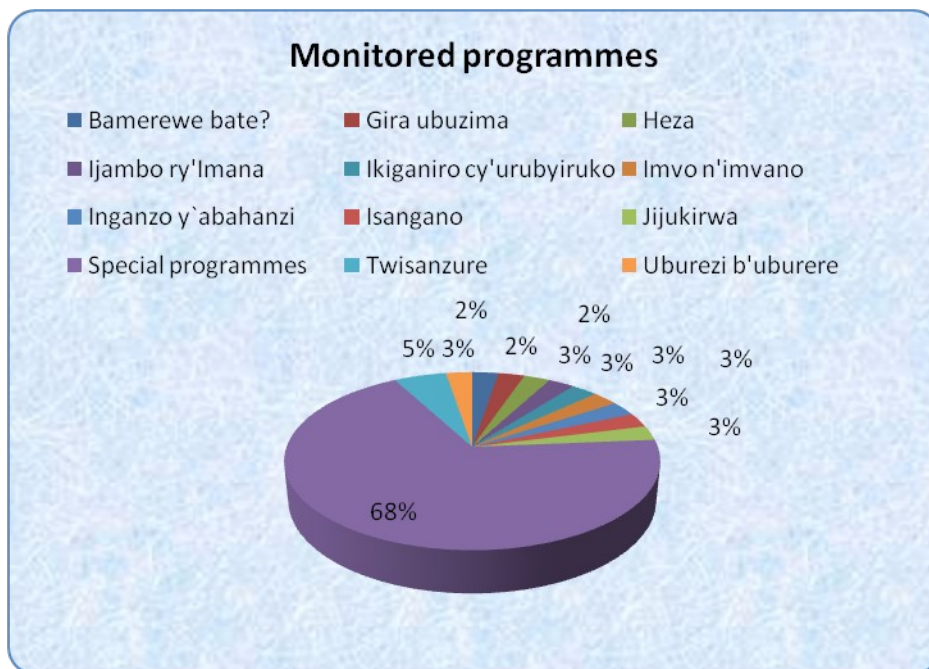
As table 23 indicates, most of the analyzed interviews and roundtable discussions were focused on unity and reconciliation, survivors welfare (health, comfort/ console) and preparation of commemoration, representing 8, 6 and 5 talk shows of the whole sample (i.e. 21.05%, 15.79% & 13.16%) respectively. Based on the findings in the table, it is good that audiovisual media moderators tried to discuss different topics related to the main theme of the 16<sup>th</sup>

genocide commemoration. However, analysis of data leads to assert that these topics were merely talk shows and did invite deep discussion provoking reactions from the audience. As for media moderators, their questions sounded superficial and not documented enough to really provide solutions to existing problems in various sectors. In so doing, they let their guests simply present their achievements and forthcoming policies.

### 2.3.2 Monitored programmes

The monitoring exercise findings indicate that most radio and TV stations set up special programmes during the commemoration week in a bid to help Rwandans mourn the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Such programmes totalled 26 talk shows of the sample put into consideration. Furthermore, there are other ordinary programmes (already existing on radio and TV station weekly programmes totalling 12 shows) whereby genocide related matters were evoked. These include *Bamerewe bate?* aired on *Gira ubuzima* over Amazing Grace Christian Radio, *Heza* aired on Voice of America/ Kirundi-Kinyarwanda *Ijambo ry'Imana* aired on CFM, *Ikiganiro cy'urubyiruko* aired on Voice of Hope, *Imvo n'imvano* aired on BBC Gahuzamiryango, *Inganzo y'abahanzi* aired on Radio 10 and, *Isangano* aired on Radio 10, *Jijukirwa* aired on City Radio, *Uburezi b'uburere* aired on Voice of Hope and *Twisanzure* aired on City Radio, CFM and Salus. All these ordinary programmes were aired once except *Twisanzure* which was captured twice.

**Figure 4 : Monitored programmes**



As indicated on the figure above, 68% of the monitored talk shows analyzed herein are special programmes, inserted in radio and TV ordinary programmes meant for commemoration. This implies a great effort and attention paid to the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi on the part of audiovisual media producers.

### 2.3.3 Respect of Media Ethics, Law and professional standards

Respect of media ethics, laws and professional standards is a key requirement for every media practitioner. Having analyzed what was broadcasted by the media during the commemoration period, it was found out that media tried to abide by the Media ethics and Law. However, suffice is to say that not all provisions were respected. Table 24 statistically indicates a few shortcomings observed.

**Table 24: Respect of Media Ethics, Law and professional standards**

Medium	Respect of media ethics, laws		
	Yes	No	Total
Amazing Christian	2	0	2
BBC	2	0	2
City Radio	2	0	2
Contact FM	2	1	3
Huye	2	0	2
Maria Rwanda	2	0	2
Radio 10	4	0	4
Radio Rwanda	3	1	4
Rubavu	4	0	4
Voice of Africa	4	0	4
Voice of America	1	0	1
Voice of Hope	3	0	3
Salus	2	1	2
RTV	3	0	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>38</b>

From table 24, it is clear that two incidents were observed: use of abusive language, unfair airtime allocation and diversion from the main topic, thus contravening some of the ethical and legal provisions. To illustrate this, the following are descriptive examples:

#### 2.3.3.1 Abuse of language

The following statements sounded in an interview Professor José Kagabo on the genocide denial and revisionism, particularly on the role of France in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi: *“Bene ibyo rero by’abashakashatsi*

*b'inyana z'imbwa simbitindaho*"; (Ref. CFM, April 2009) . He further states: "... Ni bwo bwa mbere u Bufaransa bukubitwa nk'akabwana kaneye mu rugo ... " (Ref. CFM, April 2009).

Though stated by the interviewee in such an abusive language, the interviewer should have intervened and redress the situation, reminding that polite language is a moral requirement over mass media.

### 2.3.3.2 Unfair time allocation

In the roundtable discussion aired on Radio Rwanda on April 8, 2009, the introduced topic was mainly focused on the preparation of the commemoration by religious organizations. Yet, the religious leaders were given little chance to give their plan and were asked few questions. In addition, the show started as a round table discussion but ended in a debate on the role of religious organizations in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Though the two topics are correlated, the moderator did not manage to keep his guest on the main track.

From the above, analysis leads to assert that there was disrespect of the following ethical provisions:

In the conduct of their profession, journalists shall:

**Article 3:** Ensure that news is balanced, impartial and fair by giving all sides to an issue and all efforts be made to give an opportunity to subjects of news and information to respond to allegations or accusations made against them.

**Article 29:** Ensure self-respect.

In the same way, the following provision of the media law n<sup>o</sup> 22/2009 of the 17<sup>th</sup> August 2009 was not respected.

**Article 12(5):** Responsibilities of a journalist

A journalist shall have to fulfill the following main responsibilities  
5. to give the floor to all parties subjected to the information.

### 2.3.4 Issues of concern in radio broadcasts

BBC radio aired a number of broadcasts on the topic of reconciliation, and VOA mentioned once the theme of ideology of genocide in a press review. BBC and VOA on the other hand developed major forms of negationism through a number of broadcasts as shown below.

#### 2.3.4.1 Granting airtime to renowned negationists:

During the month of April 2009 alone, BBC granted airtime to six renowned negationists, and VOA did the same to three of them. Ignace Murwanashyaka is the chairman of FDLR (Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Rwanda), the infamous Rwandan rebel group operating in D.R.Congo. FDLR is known to be, -among others- the military, political and ideological heir of the forces responsible for the 1994 Rwandan Tutsi genocide. Its chairman was interviewed three times by BBC, on the 1<sup>st</sup>, 09<sup>th</sup>, and 17<sup>th</sup> April 2009 respectively.

Matata Joseph presents himself as the coordinator of CLIIR (Centre de Lutte contre l'Impunité et l'Injustice au Rwanda) based in Brussels, Belgium. His negationist stance is well known through countless communiqués and many other initiatives including conferences and public demonstrations. He was interviewed twice on BBC (22 and 25 April 2009), once on VOA (06 April 2009), and the two negationist demonstrations he conducted before the Brussels Rwandan Tutsi genocide memorial on 06 and 22 April 2009 were widely covered by both radios.

Rutayisire Boniface is the president of three organizations whose membership is quite limited to individual level: Banyarwanda political party, Tubeho Twese Association and Comité International pour les Victimes des Massacres et Genocide. His negationist views are mainly spread through a number of communiqués to international organizations as well as the airwaves of sympathetic radios, namely BBC and VOA. He was interviewed twice by BBC during the mourning period; on the 09<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> April, 2009 respectively. He was also hosted once by VOA on the 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2009.

Paul Rusesabagina became famous thanks to the Hollywood movie Hotel Rwanda on the Rwandan Tutsi genocide. With fame came money and political ambition, both of which have no conflicting relationship with professional journalism. He however started developing a hard negationist stance many observers tend to downplay because of his strong political opposition to the current RPF regime in Kigali. He has set up what he calls "Hotel Rwanda Paul Rusesabagina Foundation" through which he fund-raises donations, and tours cities and universities around the world spreading his negationist views on the Rwandan Tutsi genocide. He was interviewed twice by BBC on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2009, and hosted by VOA on April 11, 2009.

Twagiramungu Faustin is a former renowned political figure in Rwanda. He became Prime Minister immediately after the genocide, and was presidential candidate in 2003 elections. His political opposition to the RPF regime has developed alongside with a negationist stance mixed with ethnicist ideology which can be traced in his political declarations and his testimony before the ICTR (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda). He was hosted by BBC on April 25, 2009.

Vincent Bajinya is the least famous of the group. He appeared before a London court with three other genocide suspects to examine possibilities of

their extradition to Rwanda, and BBC granted him an interview afterwards, on 10<sup>th</sup> April 2009. He was able to make the following comment during that very interview: *“nifatanyije n’abanyarwanda bose ku bantu bapfushije, ariko **ntabwo abahutu bose bakoze icyaha cy’itsembabwoko**”*; echoing a well known expression forged by negationists who wrongly attribute it to the Rwandan post-genocide government, in order to emphasize its purported “globalization and persecution of all Hutus” over the Tutsi genocide.

We are fully aware that there is an open debate over the limits of the freedom of expression regarding serious civic matters as racism, or negationism. Legal traditions are also divided on the issue. The first amendment of the constitution<sup>i</sup> in the United States guarantees a total freedom of speech, though in the practice, serious limitations are imposed either by courts or by local governments.<sup>ii</sup> Other countries, like Germany, Canada, and France (with la loi Gayssot of 1990 against negationism) have set up laws criminalizing denials of genocide, especially the Holocaust.<sup>iii</sup> In Rwanda, article 13 of the 2003 Constitution states that “genocide is a crime without prescription, and denying or trivializing it, is punishable by the law.”

But professional journalists do not need the end of the legal debate to know what the media code of ethics urges them to do. Are they allowed to air unacceptable views on civic matters, and anyhow, just in the name of the free speech? As Charny Israel rightly observes, “ Many revisionists are exploiting structures of democratic society, including the institutions of free speech and the inherent principles of political open-mindedness and respect for controversy, diversity, and complexity, but theirs is not a genuine exploration of history, nor do they honestly subscribe to what we really mean by free speech. The revisionist message is, after all, one of suppressing truth and rewriting history without reference to and in violation of reality. Their basic message is also a celebration of fascism and violence. I suggest that their calls of “Fire, Fire” in the crowded and vulnerable theaters of human life are fuel on the fires of prejudice, hatred and violence, and these are malignant forces that healthy democratic societies must control even at the expense of some tension with democratic values of free speech.”<sup>iv</sup>

#### **2.3.4.2 Airing unacceptable views without challenging them**

Analyzing the example of France on the case of media coverage of extremist politician Jean Marie Le Pen and his political party Front National, French Media specialist Jerome Bourdon suggests a response to the freedom of speech dilemma. “The point of view considered “unacceptable” is generally expressed by journalists ... with techniques of euphemisms and devaluation.”<sup>v</sup> But BBC and VOA do not even bother to take such precautions while giving airtime to these Rwandan negationists / revisionists. There are rather journalists on these radios who openly defend similar views. A VOA correspondent could make this comment while concluding his report on a negationist demonstration before the Brussels genocide memorial on 06<sup>th</sup> April 2009: *“Bamwe mu rubyiruko rwigaragambyaga bafite ikizere cy’ubwiyunge bushingiye ku butabera no kugaragaza ukuri.”*

### 2.3.4.3 Offering a platform to negationist expressions

#### 1 Trivialization of genocide

In a broadcast on BBC on 10 April, 2009, a genocide survivor recounts her ordeal as a lady who was raped during the genocide and got pregnant, and who now faces the rejection of her own family members.

*“...intambara ikirangira ndibuka ko CHK hari hari ngo aba docteurs bashinzwe gukora ibyo bintu bagakuramo inda z’interahamwe, nanagiyeyo umuntu yaraje anjyanayo narimfite basaza banjye bo kwa data wacu, bo bakavuga ngo niba iyo nda nyikomejanyije nanjye bazanyica, cyangwa nzarebe aho njya ndetse bampa akato. Ubwo rero nagiyeye kubona mbona bazanyeye umugore anjyana CHK, mpagize nagize ikibazo **ntekereza ko n’uwo mu docteur** sinanamubonye niba yari anariho, **yakoraga bibi biruta iby’interahamwe**, kuko nasanze hari umwana w’amezi 7 bari bakuye muri nyina yanze gupfa, njye nahise ngira ubwoba mpita nkwepa, ndigendera ndataha, nyine ndemera baranyanga kugeza ubwo natwize nyine umwana wanjye gushyika mubyaye, no ku mubyara nagize ikibazo bankorerera sezariyene, ndi mu bitaro nnyenyine nta muntu wanjye turi kumwe bose baranyanze.”*

The lady states, in her testimony, that the medical doctor who made abort victims of genocide rapes, was more criminal than the Interahamwe militias. Such a comparison is a trivialization of genocide because it is a falsification of facts related to genocide. It is indeed another case of benign negationism because the deep intention is not to deny, but to emphasize a point which besides, deserved proper clarification. The talk show host did not make any comment or bring in any other knowledgeable person to explain the context, background, policy and arguments that had made possible the exceptional legalization of such abortions immediately after genocide.

#### 2. Double genocide by equalisation

This form of negationism has been aired plenty of times both on BBC and VOA. It asserts that the genocide committed by Hutu against Tutsi is not the only one in Rwanda. Tutsi (or RPF) also perpetrated genocide against Hutu. Some Tutsi even committed genocide against fellow Tutsi, according to Rutayisire Boniface.

*“... tuzi neza y’uko ku mpande zombi ari impande za FPR ari ku mpande z’interahamwe, n’ibiki bose twishe abanyarwanda nta wabihakana n’ibintu bigaragara.... tugomba kwemera y’uko na FPR nayo yakozeye ibintu byinshi cyane bibi, yarishe ku buryo bugaragara... niba Samputu uko ajya mu bantu muri za prison, ... , namusabaga y’uko yakavayo akajya noneho no mu batutsi baba baragize uruhare mu kwica abahutu kuko nabo bahari.... hari abantu b’abatutsi bishe abahutu babaziza y’uko ari abahutu....”* ( Habimana, based in Holland, on BBC, 04 April 2009; reacting to Samputu’s reconciliation initiative with the teacher who killed his family during the Tutsi genocide).



**Question:** *“Abo bandi mwagiranye ibyo kuza kuzibira amabarabara mwamenyera n’abahutu n’abatutsi?”*

**Answer:** *“N’abantu bagize ibibazo bijyanye n’itsembabwoko ku mpande zombi, ari abahutu biciwe ari n’abatutsi biciwe.”* (one of the demonstrators before the Brussels genocide memorial, on BBC, 06 April 2009).

*“Urabona nko mu karere aho ngaho k’iburasisirazuba, habaye ubwicanyi, abatutsi baricwa, noneho FPR nayo ihageze irica, akaba ari nayo mirambo myinshi bagiye batoragura muri Lake Victoria n’uyu muni wa none hakaba hariho imihango yo kuyihamba i Bugande. Ngirango urabizi ko aho yagiye ihambwa hamwe bahita mu gihutu.”* (Rutayisire Boniface, on BBC, 25 April 2009).

*“FPR niyemere ko yakoze amahano mu gihugu, yemere ko yakoze ibyaha. Ntikomeze kwitwara kimarayika abandi ngo nibitware gishitani, ngo bo, ngo bakomeze bategeke. Ibyo ntibizashoboka. ...Naho ubundi gukomeza guhingira ku rwiri, tugahingira ku byaha, tugahingira ku ubwicanyi, ngo twebwe, ngo wenda ubwo ngo tutari dutuye mu Rwanda, tukaza, wenda duturutse mu bindi bihugu tukarimbura abantu, ngo nta muntu uzabimenya! Twarabimenye.”* (Twagiramungu Faustin, on BBC, 25 April 2009).

*« k’uruhande rwo kwibuka hari ikintu gisa naho ari ugupfobya jenocide cyane cyane ku batutsi kuko bafite nabo abatutsi bagize nabi b’aba criminels, bicanye ugasanga babavanze n’abatutsi victime biciwe kuko hari n’abatutsi biciwe n’abandi batutsi, noneho babivangavanga ugasanga ninde wibuka, ninde wibukwa, ugasanga basa n’abayipfobeje gato, bikaba atari byiza nabyo. »* (Rutayisire Boniface, on BBC, 25 April 2009).

*“Abantu bavugiye I Kigali bombi bavuze ku byerekeye iby’ubwoko bumwe bwagiye burengana, ariko nta muntu numwe nigeze numva avuga abahutu barenganyijwe n’ingabo za FPR zitwa ingabo, muri za Byumba na Ruhengeri kuva muri 90 intambara itangira kugeza ndetse no hanyuma ya jenocide no muri icyo gihe cya jenocide abantu benshi bagiye bicwa, kuko jenocide yo mu Rwanda yabaye mu gihe cy’intambara kandi ibingibi umuntu wese arabizi. Ntanutwe wigeze uvuga abantu za Kibeho bishwe n’ingabo z’igihugu zamaze gufata ubutegetsu, zikabicisha za hélicopters ndetse no hasi ku butaka hari izindi ngabo zifite za mitrailleuses zirimo zirimbura abantu.”* (Paul Rusesabagina, on VOA, 11 April 2009).

The best response to these allegations of double genocide can be extracted from “The Genocide Studies Reader”, a publication of a wide array of articles by some of the most noted scholars addressing the issue of genocide. “Despite the ample documentation that exists regarding all aspects of the genocide, the deniers persist in their denial. The extremists also accuse the RPF of having committed many of the atrocities as they made their way into Rwanda from Uganda. While certain massacres were committed by RPF troops –some of whom have been tried in Rwandan courts and been found guilty of such atrocities- the genocide was the sole work of the extremist Hutus.”<sup>vi</sup>

### 3. Victimhood competition

Closely related to the “double genocide theory”, the victimhood competition (*concurrency victimaire*, in French) is another expression of negationism / revisionism. Deniers try to establish a parallel victimhood between Tutsi and Hutu with regard to the 1994 genocide. Consequently, they claim public mourning for “Hutu victims”, justice against alleged “Tutsi perpetrators”, and remorse and apologies from the Tutsi community! A number of these negationist expressions have been aired as well on BBC and VOA during the 2009 Tutsi genocide mourning month.

*“...mu Rwanda ikibazo gihari ni uko hari uruhande rumwe rwemera gusa ko ari victime n’urwemera ko rwaba rwarakosheje. ...Samputu n’intwari ariko ubutwari bwe agomba kuba intwari pe de A à Z, akemera y’uko hari abahutu victime kandi benshi cyane. ...Akajya no mu mfubyi z’abahutu akazibwira ati nimubabarire abatutsi babiciye. ....Byanshimisha cyane aramutse abikoze. Wongeye ukamutumira akagarukana wenda nk’umuntu w’umututsi kuri Radio wemera y’uko yaba yarishe umuhutu nangwa abahutu kuko nabo barahari. ...na n’ubungubu ntiturabona n’umuntu n’umwe uvuga uti twebwe twemeye ko twishe abahutu muri Ruhengeri, Byumba, Gikongoro, iyo ngiyo za ntuza za Kibeho.”* (Habimana, based in Holland, on BBC, 04 April 2009; reacting to Samputu’s reconciliation initiative).

*“hari uruhande rugifite ikibazo gikomeye kuko ntawe urusansibiliza ngo aruhe imbaraga z’uko narwo rugomba kumva ko ibyo rwakoze narwo nta tegeko kwihorera cyangwa se gukora ibindi birenze ibyo ngibyo. ...hari abanyarwanda bafite intimba ikomeye, nagirango ngusabe ubampere nk’igisubizo, ntabwo yenda bantumye ariko abo tunganira baravuga bati: dore ubu tugeze mu kwezi kwa 4, abandi bagiye kwibuka ababo bapfuye, twebwe se abacu bapfuye turabibuka gute, turabaririra gute ko tudafite n’ububasha bwo kuba twanagenda ngo turebe aho babajugunye nabo ngo tubashyingure natwe mu cyubahiro. Abo bantu wabahoza gute? Wabaha ubuhe butumwa muri kino gihe gikomeye nabo?”* (Eric, based in Sydney, Australia, on BBC, 04 April 2009; reacting to Samputu’s reconciliation initiative).

*“Nkuko nabishyize mu nyandiko, mpamagaye abanyarwanda bapfushije ababo i Kibeho n’abaharokokeye kimwe n’abiciwe muri Congo cyane cyane kuri chemin de fer ..., abantu bishwe tariki ya 22/4/1997, Kibeho tariki ya 22/4/1995, ibyo bintu nyine nibyo twaje guhagararira hano, mémorial tuyifite hano imbere yacu, dufite abapolisi bahagaze na bariyeri zikomeye cyane n’imbwa, ariko ubwo nyine twababwiye ko twaje kubahiriza uburenganzira bwacu. ...Uburenganzira bwo kuririra umuntu wawe waramupfushije ntibisaba uruhushya, nta n’ubwo bisaba ko hari itegeko ribyemera, ...”* (Joseph Matata, on BBC, 22 April 2009; leading the negationist demonstration before the genocide memorial in Brussels).

*“reka abanyarwanda bose, baba ari Leta, abatavuga rumwe na Leta, amadini, abaturage, société civile, bicare hamwe barebere hamwe ukuntu koko ibibazo amahano yabaye mu Rwanda, turebe ababikoze; baba abahutu babikoze bakoze amarorerwa bayahanirwe, baba abatwa bakoze amarorerwa bayahanirwe, baba abatutsi bayakoze bayahanirwe”. ... tuzi neza ko kuva*

*muri 1990 kugeza ubu hari abatutsi nabo bakoze amarorerwa! Abo nabo rero bagomba kubihanirwa. Hari abatwa tuzi bakoze amarorerwa! ...Ibyo ndabizi ko buri muni bahora baca imanza cyangwa se bahora bacira abantu ibihano biremereye cyane mu manza za Gacaca! Ariko ngira ngo iyo urebye neza izo manza za Gacaca , zireba igice kimwe rw'abanyarwanda. Barimo abenshi usanga ari abahutu barimo baregwa ibyakozwe.» (Dr Dukuze Augustin, Executive Secretary of RUD URUNANA, a political party, hosted on BBC, 25 April 2009).*

*“...uwabaye ‘victime’ yemere yumve ko muri sosiyete nyarwanda harimo n’abandi ba victimes batavugwa b’abahutu nabo bakeneye ubucamanza. ...uyu muni wa none ikibazo gihari ni uko muri uko kubabarirana cyangwa mu bwiye buri wese ashaka, hari abafite uburenganzira bwo kurira no kwibuka, hari n’abandi basabwe guceceka yanavuga mbese akaba yanabizira. ...kubaka ubucamanza kandi ubwo bucamanza wubaka budashobora kuburanisha abantu bagize nabi mu moko yose, nk’ubu urabizi ko ubucamanza buriho butaburanisha abatutsi biciye abahutu, urumva ko iyo politiki iriho ni iy’ikinyoma.” (Rutayisire Boniface, on BBC, 25 April 2009).*

*“ariko hari abantu bibwira ko, abahutu bahutse mu batutsi gusa, aba aribo bicwa. ...Nkaba rero nkubwira ko nanjye nariciwe. Bakuru banjye barabarimbaguye babahukamo barabatema, abagore babo barabatema, bamwe babahambira mu mashara barabatwika, abana babo ni uko, abuzukuru babo, ikibondo cy’amezi atatu, n’umukobwa wa mukuru wanjye umwe, wari ufite inda y’amezi ane, barakase inda bavanamo, barakandagira barica, baratema nk’abatema ibitunguru basiga aho. ... Bishwe n’abahutu. ...*

*Abatutsi niba bashaka kubaka u Rwanda, nibiyumvishe, twiyumvishe ko rwose nta na rimwe iki gihugu dushobora kuzacyubaka bibwirako ari bo bababaye bonyine. Ibyo ntibizashoboka. (Twagiramungu Faustin, on BBC, 25 April 2009).*

The last statement from Faustin Twagiramungu is particularly illustrative of the bad faith which characterizes negationists. He feels comfortable to compare the loss and suffering at an individual (family) level to that of a whole group, namely the Tutsi, targeted as such. The genocidal project intended to wipe out all the Tutsi. Its particular nature, magnitude and disastrous effects to the targeted group should not be compared and equated to other types of violence occurred in Rwanda during the same period. This does not imply, however, any indifference or denial of those other human sufferings which are, or have to be equally dealt with, but in their proper respective dimensions.

#### **4. Denial by terminology**

This is another classical form of negationism. It consists of rejecting the official qualification of Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, with attempts to replace it by other terminologies, preferably that of “Rwandan genocide”.

Faustin Twagiramungu and Boniface Rutayisire once again used BBC and VOA as an ideal platform to express this particular type of negationism.

*“Ni ibyo rero m'ubukuri byatumye mbandikira, Bwana Mugenzi Ally Yusufu, kuko no mu ibaruwa nakwandikiye nakubwiye ko, mudashobora kubona igihe kirekire kugirango mvuge ibyanjye bimbabaje kubyerekeye n'icyo kibazo, cy'abanyarwanda, cyerekeranye n'ubwiyunge, kerekeranye na jenocide, jenocide y'abatutsi twarangiza tukavuga ko n'abahutu n'abatutsi batakibaho!”* (Twagiramungu Faustin, on BBC, 25April 2009).

*“Mbese kubera iki genocide Rwandais ko ari nayo yemejwe na ONU yagiye ihindura amazina? Urabizi ko ubu ng'ubu itakitwa 'Génocide Rwandais' nk'uko byitwaga mummyaka yashize ari na Leta yabikoreshaga, noneho ubu bisigaye byitwa 'Génocide Tutsi'. Kubera iki? Ni uko basanze ukuri kwaramenyekanye. Uzabwire umuntu wo muri Leta asobanure icyo kintu ukuntu bahinduye imvugo inshuro zingahe. Iryo hindagura rero ndagirango nkubwire ko ari uburyo bwo gushaka guhunga ikibazo cy'iyicwa ry'abahutu badasobanura. Ni ukuri kwambaye ubusa. Rero ni nayo mpamvu mbigarukaho muri make, niba ubumwe n'ubwiyunge ari ubw'ukuri, bizagaragara ko ari ukuri budasiga ikibazo na kimwe inyuma.”* (Rutayisire Boniface, on BBC, 25/04/2009).

*“...ikindi bigaragaza ko u Rwanda rugenda rusubira inyuma n' inyito ya jenocide igenda ihinduka nkuko yatangiye muri 94,95,96,97,98, bagenda bahindura inyito babyita itsemba n'itsembabwoko, none bakaba bageze kuri jenocide tutsi gusa. Urabona ko ari ijamba rigenda rihinduka uko ibihe biza, buri mwaka hagenda haza imvugo nshyashya ikoresha na leta,...”* (Rutayisire Boniface, on VOA, 11/04/2009).

*Denial under disguise of political criticism:*

Depicting the RPF regime as suppressing dissident opinion and basic human rights is an easy way to shield oneself from the scrutiny while spreading negationist message. In the same logic, comparing the current political situation to the one prior to genocide is indeed a coarse lie, but it allows negationists to mislead with impunity under disguise of political criticism. Faustin Twagiramungu and Boniface Rutayisire come again as the perfect prototypes of this particular form of genocide denial. They were granted airtime on BBC and VOA to spread it!

*“Umuhutu aravugira iyi, umututsi akavugira iyi, ushatse kuvuga ukuri, uwo bakamwita ko ngo... Niba atabaye 'divisionniste', abaye 'négationniste', niba atabaye 'négationniste' abaye umuhutu w'intagondwa, umututsi nawe ni uko. »* (**Twagiramungu Faustin**, on BBC, 25 April 2009).

*“FPR igenda irushaho kuba nk' ishyamba ry'igitugu, ugasanga mu bihe bitaha ahubwo biteye n'impungenge kurushaho kuko bisa nkaho bigenda bifata isura nk'iya kera yatumye jenocide ibaho.”* (Rutayisire Boniface, on VOA, 11 April 2009).

## **5. Giving an open forum to the ideology of genocide**

A research commissioned by the Rwanda Senate and published in 2006 defines the ideology of genocide as “a set of ideas or representations whose

major role is to stir up hatred and create a pernicious atmosphere favouring the implementation and legitimization of the persecution and elimination of a category of the population.”<sup>vii</sup> The ideology of genocide can also be considered as synonymous to ethnicism, or ethnicist ideology. Ethnicism “consists of taking the so-called “ethnic groups” (mainly Hutu and Tutsi) as absolute identities and determining factors, otherwise exclusive, in the definition of social relationships and the management of political power.”<sup>viii</sup> This ideology has taken various forms in Rwandan modern history, including Hamitic ideology during the colonial time; anti-tutsism or pan-hutism from the so-called “Rwandan revolution” to date, with the 1994 Tutsi genocide as its paroxysmic era; and finally, the Tutsi genocide negationism as the dominant form today.

Apart from the various forms of negationism pointed out above, BBC and VOA offered an open forum to the expression of the ideology of genocide in its two main characteristics: stirring up hatred and working, by virtue of political opportunism, to a permanent separation of seemingly fossilized ethnic groups. The old slogan of Tutsi oppression; the refusal to move beyond ethnicism to rebuild a national Banyarwanda identity; the destructive stance to mock Hutu who attempt to genuinely reconcile with Tutsi apologizing for the crime of genocide committed in the name of their group; misleading statements falsely asserting favouritism and Tutsi domination in the Genocide survivors’ Fund and in the army; all these are the new ingredients of the deadly ideology that unscrupulous politicians are stirring up again, with the conniving help of “reputable” world class radios; as shown by excerpts below.

*“usanga bamwe aribo barira kandi ari nabo bafite ingufu baryamiye abandi kuva kera na mbere y’uko FPR ifata ubutegetsu, na n’ubungubu habayeho icyahindutse, ...”* ( **Habimana**, based in Holland, on BBC, 04 April 2009; reacting to Samputu’s reconciliation initiative with the teacher who killed his family during the Tutsi genocide).

**Mugenzi Ally Yusufu:** *“Iki gitekerezo cy’uko bose bakwibagirwa iby’ubuhutu, ubututsi, ubuhutsi, ubutwa, bose bakiyita abanyarwanda. Ntacyo cyaba kimaze muri uko kwiyunga?”*

**Dr Dukuze Augustin:** *Njyewe ntabwo...ku bindeba ku giti cyanjye ntabwo ibyo mbyemera. ...Ahubwo reka tuvuge tuti: “amoko niba ariho, reka tuyakoreshe kugirango atubere ikintu kizahuza abanyarwanda, icya ngombwa ntihazagire uzarenganywa hakurikijwe ubwoko afite, cyangwa se uko asa, cyangwa se uko aremye, cyangwa kubera ko... aho yaturutse cyangwa se aho yavutse, ibintu ni uko tugomba kubireba. Naho kuvuga ngo amoko ntabwo abaho, ku isi ntabwo ibyo bibaho. »* (**Dr Dukuze Augustin**, Executive Secretary of RUD URUNANA, a political party, hosted on BBC, 25 April 2009).

*“Ariko icyo nashakaga kuvuga cyane ni uko, abantu bibwira kenshi ko abahutu bishe abatutsi gusa. Cyane icyo mbivugira n’ukubera ijamba, umuhutu umwe yavuze, witwa ngo Yosefu Nyamutera. Yarakarase cyane avugako abantu be baguye muri Kongo, bishwe na Cholera, arahindukira ati “bishwe na Cholera rero ngeze mu Rwanda ndetse nshaka kwiyoberanya mvuga n’ibiswahile biterekeranye, kubera amarorerwa abahutu twakoze,*

*ariko mvuze ibyanjye mbibwiye abatutsi nsanga nabo barabyumva bagira n'impuhwe barababara cyane kubera ibyago nagiriye muri Kongo.*

*...Ashingira aho rero agira ati'bamwe ndetse twagiye tubambutsa kuko ngo atuye ku mupaka, ati barababaye cyane, nkaba nsaba abahutu bose, bose ariko nta n'umwe, ko bakwemera bakaza tugafatanyaga tugasaba abatutsi imbabazi." Cyane cyane n'icyo cya nyuma, cya nyuma cyatumye nandika. ... Gusa rero muri iki gihe, ndagirango mbwire abo bahutu b'abicanyi, njyewe Faustin Twagiramungu, umwicanyi w'umuhutu, aho yumva ari hose akumva ashaka gusaba imbabazi umututsi yiciye, nahaguruke agende amusabe izo mbabazi. ...Ariko, abo bahutu bavugaga ko abahutu bose bagomba gupfukama, ndagirango mbahakanire ku mugaragaro no kuri iyi radio n'abayumva bose, ko njyewe Twagiramungu Faustin ntazigera mfukamira umututsi, rwose. Mvugaga ngo musabye imbabazi mu izina ry'abahutu. Ntabwo bizashoboka. (Twagiramungu Faustin, on BBC, 25 April 2009).*

*« Nta muntu wigeze uvugaga n'umwe kubyerekeranye na FARG ariyo kigega gifasha imfubyi z'u Rwanda ariko z'ubwoko bumwe zacitse ku icumu, ibingibi bigatandukanya abana b'abanyarwanda. Ntwigeze avugaga ku kintu kitwaga akarengane mu ngabo, iyo urebye ingabo z'u Rwanda muri iyi myaka 15 ishize 90% zikozwe n'ubwoko bumwe bw'abatutsi abandi barapyanagajwe. » (Paul Rusesabagina, on VOA, 11 April 2009).*

## **Conclusion**

To sum up, the analyzed shows were fairly well produced despite a few incidents of laps in professional practices. Amongst other inefficiencies observed from the analyzed stories, some talk shows were not announced before or during the show by moderators or related jingles (esp. the special ones not featuring in the ordinary programme), no reminder of the main topic along the show course, poorly documented questions initiated by moderators; all these tended to affect the quality of the programmes.

Also, as seen above two foreign based radios (BBC and VOA) made a wider coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the Rwandan Tutsi Genocide, but a number of their broadcasts spread messages of genocide denial or genocide ideology. These cases of negative reporting may unfortunately overshadow many other interesting programmes of the same radios, on reconciliation, youth, women, etc....

## **Chapter 3: Print Media**

### **3.1. Print media coverage**

While writing this report, media monitors had also to examine the role of print media in informing and educating Rwandans as well as foreign audiences about the 1994 genocide. It was also an occasion to see whether the media law and the journalistic code of conduct are rigorously respected. This exercise took into account all periodicals that were published during the mourning period of April 2009. While analysing information from the print media, the methodological approach remained the same as for audiovisual media. The major highlighted points include topic coverage, area of coverage, and localization of information and news sources, which served as criteria for this analysis.

#### **3.1.1. The 2009 genocide commemoration theme**

Every year, the Government of Rwanda states a theme to help Rwandans and foreigners mourn over one million victims of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Before delving into deeper analysis of the 15<sup>th</sup> coverage of the genocide, it has been judged important to make a brief description of how the monitored newspapers captured the following statement: “TWIBUKE

JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI, TURWANYA IPFOBYA N'IHAKANA RYAYO, TWUBAKA IGIHUGU CYACU" (*Let us Commemorate the Genocide Against the Tutsi by Fighting Deniers and Revisionists, and Build our Country*). Table 21 below presents the extent to which every aspect of the aforementioned theme was reflected in news reporting by print media.

**Table 25: Reflection on 2009 genocide commemoration theme**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Number of items</b>	<b>%</b>
Genocide commemoration	212	42.15
Genocide negation and revisionism	9	1.79
Hope and development	32	6.36
Did not reflect the theme	250	49.70
<b>Total</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>100</b>

As illustrated in Table 21, only half (50.30%) of the analysed data from print media echoed the commemoration theme proposed by the National Commission Against Genocide and approved by the government of Rwanda so as to help Rwandans aim at a better future. This implies that, apart from the daily *The new Times*, the tri-weekly *Imvaho Nshya* and the weekly *La Nouvelle Relève*, most newspapers were silent. Therefore, in finding out solutions to existing challenges such as the ideology of genocide, print media should make a considerable effort given the bigger task lying ahead.

### **3.1.2 Topic coverage**

As done for audiovisual media, the monitoring team sought to categorize news items under analysis by topic in relation with the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration so as to identify which messages are much more circulated in newspapers during the mourning week. As it is illustrated in Table 22, the topics covered ranged from "causes of genocide, to effects of genocide on survivors, effects of genocide on the general population, genocide survivors' welfare, security, genocide memory, genocide ideology, and justice" among others. The table statistically portrays the contribution of each medium in informing and educating their readership in times of grief.

### **Major Genocide related themes in the print media**

The major themes brought out in different newspapers are eight, with the following frequency:



Out of a total of 101 related items, genocide memory takes the lead with 47 occurrences which makes 46.53 %. This general theme comprises sub-topics; the most dominant with 28 occurrences being commemoration messages in form of announcements or elaborate institutional communication. Other sub-topics are commemoration related stories (3); memorial sites (8) and symbolic memory (8).

Justice comes in the second position with 17 stories (16.83 %); followed by genocide survivors' welfare (12.87 %). Corruption in genocide related justice or embezzlement of resources devoted to survivors or victims' memory (8.91 %); survivors' security (5.94 %); reconciliation (4.95 %); negationism (2.97 %); and ideology of genocide (0.99 %).

**Table 26: Topic coverage**

Topic / Medium	Amani	Grands Lacs Hebdo	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	La Nouvelle Relève	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	The Rwanda Focus	Umuhanuzi	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
<b>Causes of genocide: 34 news items (6.75%)</b>																					
Foreign country's role in genocide	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	2.19
Role of political parties in genocide	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	11	2.19
Media role in genocide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
Religious organisations' role in genocide	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.60
International community's indifference	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1.59
<b>Effects of genocide on survivors: 14 news items (2.78%)</b>																					
Health	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1.79
Sexual harassment	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.99
<b>Effects of genocide on Government: 8 news items (1.59%)</b>																					
Economy	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1.59
<b>Effects of genocide on the general population: 45 news items (8.95%)</b>																					
Unity and reconciliation	0	0	2	1	0	3	4	5	0	0	1	21	2	0	0	2	2	1	0	44	8.75
Refugees (repatriation, ...)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
<b>Genocide survivors' welfare: 55 news items (10.93%)</b>																					
Survivors' associations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
Donations/ partners	0	0	5	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	20	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	36	7.16

Topic / Medium	Amani	Grands Lacs Hebdo	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	La Nouvelle Relève	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	The Rwanda Focus	Umuhanuzi	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
Compensation/ reparation	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	2.98
Housing	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.60
<b>Security: 53 news items (10.54%)</b>																					
Genocide survivors	0	0	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	3	2	15	0	0	0	6	0	4	0	37	7.36
Gacaca witnesses	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.60
Memorial sites	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	13	2.58
<b>Genocide memory: 219 news items (43.54%)</b>																					
Site visits & burials	0	0	8	0	1	0	2	4	3	1	1	32	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	57	11.33
Testimony, information gathering	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	6	1	1	29	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	8.35
Research on genocide (books, plays, films, etc)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	15	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	4.77
Preparation of the commemoration	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	13	2.58
Religious ceremonies	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.99
Commemorative assemblage, statements and press conferences	0	0	16	2	0	0	4	4	9	6	5	23	2	0	0	0	0	7	0	78	15.51
<b>Justice: 31 news items (6.16%)</b>																					
Specialized jurisdictions (Gacaca, ICTR)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	2.19
Ordinary tribunals and courts	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.40

Topic / Medium	Amani	Grands Lacs Hebdo	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	La Nouvelle Relève	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	The Rwanda Focus	Umuhanuzi	Umurinzzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
International justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	14	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	18	3.58
<b>Genocide ideology: 42 news items (8.75%)</b>																					
Ethnicity	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.80
Sectarianism/ divisionism	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.99
Racial discrimination	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.40
Genocide denial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.60
Genocide (ideology) prevention policies	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	16	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	28	5.57
<b>Other 2 news items (0.40%)</b>																					
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.40
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>100</b>
%	0.4	0.9	11.9	1.3	0.9	0.6	2.9	6.9	4.5	3.5	3.1	51.8	2.3	0.9	0.2	3.1	0.8	2.7	0.2	100	

As Table 26 indicates, among the topics covered, *genocide memory* was given more space than other topics with 43.54% of the total space. Analysis of newspaper content leads to affirm that most news reporters were much more attracted to genocide commemoration event covering to inform the public on what is happening within the country and abroad. Little effort was made to address existing challenges since most items were more event oriented rather than issue focused.

However, a number of other topics received significant coverage in the following manner: genocide welfare got 10.542%; security was accorded 10.54%, effects of the genocide on the general population was accorded 8.9%; justice 6.16%, genocide prevention policies also featured with 5.57%, issues relating to genocide ideology totalled to 3.18%, while effects of the genocide on the government was given 1.59%.

As per individual media, the only existing daily newspaper *The New Times* published an outstanding pattern of new items (261) related to genocide more than half of all other newspapers combined. The tri-weekly *Imvaho Nshya* ranked second with 60 items. The dominance of *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* is attributed to the fact that both newspapers appeared regularly during the month of April.

### 3.1.3 Area of coverage

. Like in the chapter two, media analysts have sought to identify how administrative entities are covered by print media while commemorating the 1994 genocide. In this respect, Table 27 illustrates to what extent different districts were reached by media. Provincial, national, as well as international issues coverage was captured as indicated in table 28 and 29.

**Table 27: District coverage**

Area / Medium	Amani	Hebdo Grands Lacs	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	La Nouvelle Relève	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	FocusThe Rwanda	Umuhanuzi	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
Bugesera	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	3.54
Gakenke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Gasabo	0	4	16	1	0	3	3	6	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	67	33.84
Gatsibo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.51
Gicumbi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1.52
Huye	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	3.54
Kamonyi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.51
Karongi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2.02
Kayonza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Kicukiro	0	1	4	0	1	0	1	5	9	0	0	11	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	35	17.68
Muhanga	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	7.07
Musanze	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2.02
Ngoma	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01

Area / Medium	Amani	HebdoGrands Lacs	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	La Nouvelle Relève	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	FocusThe Rwanda	Umuhazu	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
Ngororero	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2.02
Nyamagabe	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Nyamasheke	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2.53
Nyanza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.51
Nyarugenge	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	6	0	1	0	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	24	12.12
Rubavu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2.02
Ruhango	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Rusizi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Rutsiro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Rwamagana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.01
Inter-district	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.51
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>2.53</b>	<b>16.16</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>1.52</b>	<b>3.54</b>	<b>12.63</b>	<b>4.55</b>	<b>1.01</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>52.02</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>1.52</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>1.01</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>10.00</b>	

Table 28: Province coverage

Area / Medium	Amani	HebdoGrands Lacs	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	RelèveLa Nouvelle	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	The Rwanda Focus	Umuhazu	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
Eastern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Western	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Southern province	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10.00
Nothern province	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6.667
City of Kigali	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	17	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	25	83.33

<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>66.6</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>10</b>	
	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	

**Table 29: Regional, sub regional, national and international coverage**

<b>Area / Medium</b>	<b>Amani</b>	<b>Grands Lacs Hebdo</b>	<b>Imvaho Nshya</b>	<b>Ingenzi</b>	<b>Inyenyeri Iwacu</b>	<b>Isimbi</b>	<b>Kinyamateka</b>	<b>La Nouvelle Relève</b>	<b>Rugari</b>	<b>Rushyashya</b>	<b>Rwanda Dispatch</b>	<b>The New Times</b>	<b>The Rwanda Focus</b>	<b>Umuhanuzi</b>	<b>Umurinzi</b>	<b>Umuseso</b>	<b>Umuvugizi</b>	<b>Umwezi</b>	<b>Itoto Magazine</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	
<b>Regional</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	4.7 3
<b>Sub regional</b>	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2.5 5
<b>National</b>	1	0	16	6	4	0	6	7	14	16	14	98	9	4	0	13	3	11	0	222	80. 73	
<b>International</b>	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	33	12. 00	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>50.1</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>4.3</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>100</b>		
	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>		

From table 27, 28 & 29, it is clear that media organs analyzed herein covered genocide related issues at different territorial entities and abroad. Of the 503 recorded news items, the district coverage was found equal to 198 news items (i.e 39.36%). Events and issues at the national level (275 news items) have been the most attractive to media practitioners in the the selected territorial segments to a 54.67% rate. This is attributed the fact that most journalist remain alert to the starting (April 7) and the closing (April 13) days of the mourning week to cover various ceremonies organized for that cause. Consequently, local and/or international periodicals are marked by national events on their front pages.

At the district level, Gasabo (one of the three districts constituting Kigali City) was the most covered district with 33.84%. Given its location in the City of Kigali, easy accessibility to the Gisozi Memorial Centre by many City dwellers and foreigners to pay homage to the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. It is worth mentioning that The New Times, the only existing daily, has contributed much in covering of events taking place at Gosozi memorial site, has reached a wider range of districts compared to other periodicals. The same applies to Kicukiro and Nyarugenge districts which got covered to a 17.68% and 12.12% rate respectively. As for Kicukiro district, this was due to the location of the Rebero Memorial site where the closing ceremony took place on April 13th 2009. The three districts of Kigali City (Gasabo, Kicukiro, and Nyarugenge) appeared to be the most covered given most media houses are located in Kigali, thus making easy accessibility to various commemorative events

According to the findings, the area coverage reach did not satisfactorily hit all corners of the country. Yet, given the 1994 *Genocide* against the Tutsi, was spread over the entire Rwandan territory and the role played by the media of the time to fuel hatred amongst Rwandans, the post- genocide media have a big challenge to contribute to the reconstruction of peaceful coexistence in society. In doing so, media organs have to play a role in making the countrywide history of genocide known to the public

### **31.4 Type of stories**

Newspaper content is journalistically and professionally divided into different categories. In this regard, stories which are published are of different types. *News stories, Interviews, Commentaries, Features, Opinion pieces, Editorials, and Letters to the editor* et cetera are run to serve different purposes and appetites. For instance the *editorial* in any newspaper represents the views of that medium on a given issue.



**Table 30: Types of the story**

<b>Medium / Type</b>	<b>News Story</b>	<b>Brief s/ Shorts</b>	<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Opinion Piece</b>	<b>Analysis / Feature</b>	<b>Photograph</b>	<b>Interview (Q&amp;A)</b>	<b>...) Commentaries (letters to the editor, testimony</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Amani	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0.40
Grands Lacs Hebdo	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	0.99
Imvaho Nshya	51	0	3	2	1	0	1	2	60	11.93
Ingenzi	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	7	1.39
Inyenyeri Iwacu	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	5	0.99
Isimbi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.60
Itoto Magazine	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
Kinyamateka	8	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	15	2.98
La Nouvelle Relève	27	0	2	1	3	0	2	0	35	6.96
Rugari	4	0	2	0	0	8	0	9	23	4.57
Rushyashya	11	0	1	3	0	0	0	3	18	3.58
Rwanda Dispatch	8	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	16	3.18
The New Times	168	2	16	11	29	5	1	29	261	51.89
The Rwanda Focus	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	12	2.39
Umuhanuzi	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	5	0.99
Umurinzi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
Umuseso	7	0	3	3	0	0	0	3	16	3.18
Umuvugizi	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	0.80
Umwezi	4	0	2	1	0	0	0	7	14	2.78
<b>Total</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>62.03</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>7.75</b>	<b>4.97</b>	<b>7.55</b>	<b>2.58</b>	<b>1.19</b>	<b>13.32</b>	<b>100</b>	

As indicated in Table 26, the majority of print media publications are of the type `news story`, i.e. 62.02% of the 503 news items. The dominance of news stories was largely attributed to the fact that, many pieces of information were got from different events that were staged countrywide, hence allowing the media to cover them. Second to the news stories was `others` (referring to letters to the editor and testimonies) with 13.32%. It is a positive trend that Rwandan newspapers allocate

space to ideas and opinions from the general public. However, as is clear from the above table, less effort is made by journalists to conduct research and produce investigative reports, deep analysis or feature, commentaries, etc so as to provide their respective readership with a variety of information and opinions.

### 3.1.5 Section

Professional newspapers classify information they publish into various section according to their order of importance and the newspaper's editorial line. This is deduced from the principle known as hierarchy of information. In this respect, *main, supplements and magazine, commemoration messages, letters to the editor testimony, health and entertainment/sports* are major sections that were observed as indicated in Table 27.

**Table 31: Section**

Medium / Section	Main	Supplement / Magazine	Letters to the editor	messageCommemoration	Testimony	Business	Health	Entertainment	Total	%
Amani	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.40
Grands Lacs Hebdo	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.99
Imvaho Nshya	52	0	0	1	0	1	1	5	60	11.93
Ingenzi	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	7	1.39
Inyenyeri Iwacu	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	0.99
Isimbi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.60
Itoto Magazine	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
Kinyamateka	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	2.98
La Nouvelle Relève	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	35	6.96
Rugari	14	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	23	4.57
Rushyashya	16	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	18	3.58
Rwanda Dispatch	8	0	1	5	2	0	0	0	16	3.18
The New Times	192	13	23	12	7	5	2	7	261	51.89
The Rwanda Focus	8	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	12	2.39
Umuhanuzi	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0.99

Umurinzi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.20
Umuseso	13	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	16	3.18
Umuvugizi	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.80
Umwezi	7	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	14	2.78
<b>Total</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>76.14</b>	<b>2.58</b>	<b>4.77</b>	<b>8.35</b>	<b>2.39</b>	<b>1.79</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>3.38</b>	<b>100</b>	

As shown in the table above, many articles about the genocide commemoration were grouped into the 'main' section, representing 76.14%. Though this section is dominant, all other sections were also represented at different rates.

### 3.1.6 Editorial balance

To come up with a better and complete analysis of print media publications, it was judged crucial to consider the editorial balance under its various aspects. It is professionally desirable that all media outlets should provide editorial balance by disseminating accurate information to the readers, giving all sides equal coverage i.e. avoiding bias in the reporting, identifying the author of the article, the sources and finally adhering to journalistic code of conduct and the law.

#### 3.1.6.1 Accuracy

As defined in Chapter two, media analysts sought to identify whether a news item is accurate or not. In this regard, an accurate story should be well sourced, no factual errors, and comprehensive. Table 32 statistically presents these qualities as proved by the present analysis.

**Table 32: Accuracy**

<b>Medium</b>	<b>Monitored stories</b>	<b>Process / sources</b>	<b>Logical sequence</b>	<b>Comprehensive</b>	<b>Accurate stories</b>
Amani	2	2	2	1	1
Grands Lacs Hebdo	5	5	5	5	5
Imvaho Nshya	60	60	60	55	55
Ingenzi	7	7	7	7	7
Inyenyeri Iwacu	5	5	5	4	4
Isimbi	3	3	3	1	2
Itoto Magazine	1	1	1	1	1

Kinyamateka	15	15	15	11	11
La Nouvelle Relève	35	34	35	20	20
Rugari	23	23	23	22	22
Rushyashya	18	18	17	12	13
Rwanda Dispatch	16	16	16	16	16
The New Times	261	258	259	236	236
The Rwanda Focus	12	12	12	12	12
Umuhanuzi	5	5	5	5	5
Umurinzi	1	1	1	1	1
Umuseso	16	16	15	15	15
Umuvugizi	4	4	4	4	4
Umwezi	14	13	14	11	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>503</b>	498	499	439	<b>441</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99.01</b>	<b>99.20</b>	<b>87.28</b>	<b>87.67</b>

In the light of the predefined criteria of factual process of events , logical sequence and comprehensiveness characterizing a well produced story, the overall judgment is that print media have been accurate to a satisfactory level, i.e 87.67%, the equivalent of 441news items out of 503. This is an indicator that most of the news stories were professionally produced though few of them were inaccurate. It also reflects a positive development towards professionalism and accurate reportage, as always the target should be total accuracy.

### 3.1.6.2 Bias

Journalists are required not to be biased in their reporting. In this respect, the second article of Journalists code and Ethics in Rwanda stipulates that a story should « *be objective, accurate and disseminate honest news and information: bearing in mind the critical role of the mass media in our society which calls for utmost confidence from the general public, journalists shall at all times ensure that the information disseminated is accurate, fair and objective without giving undue emphasis or knowing omissions* ».

As done for audiovisual media, the monitoring team had to identify language bias through allegations, generalization, exaggeration, omission and trivialization. These concepts are defined as follows :

- **Allegation:** authors of news items accused or sounded at the side of those accusing without mentioning the defence side.
- **Exaggeration:** a journalist has a tendency to dramatise the events and give them greater importance than they should deserve.
- **Generalisation:** a journalist considered a single case for a whole group.
- **Omission:** consists of omitting an important element of information which clarify or complete the information.

- **Trivialization:** consists of the use of demeaning or dismissive language towards any particular incident/event/issue/source.

**Table 33: Bias**

Medium	Bias						Biased stories
	Monitored stories	Allegatiions	Generalizatio n	Exaggeration	Omission	Trivialization	
<b>Amani</b>	2	0	0	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Grands Lacs Hebdo</b>	5	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Imvaho Nshya</b>	60	0	0	0	3	0	<b>3</b>
<b>Ingenzi</b>	7	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Inyenyeri Iwacu</b>	5	0	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Isimbi</b>	3	1	2	1	3	0	<b>3</b>
<b>Itoto Magazine</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Medium	Bias						Biased stories
	Monitored stories	Allegatiions	Generalizatio n	Exaggeration	Omission	Trivialization	
<b>Kinyamateka</b>	15	1	0	0	4	0	<b>4</b>
<b>La Nouvelle Relève</b>	35	0	0	0	11	0	<b>10</b>
<b>Rugari</b>	23	0	0	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Rushyashya</b>	18	3	2	3	3	1	<b>4</b>
<b>Rwanda Dispatch</b>	16	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>The New Times</b>	261	2	1	0	16	1	<b>19</b>
<b>The Rwanda Focus</b>	12	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Umuhanuzi</b>	5	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Umurinzi</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Umuseso</b>	16	1	3	2	0	0	<b>3</b>
<b>Umuvugizi</b>	4	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Umwezi</b>	14	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1.59</b>	<b>1.79</b>	<b>1.19</b>	<b>8.35</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>9.74</b>

From Table 33, the monitoring findings indicate that of the 503 news items written on the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration, only 49 were found as biased, i.e. 9.74%. Nine of 19 newspapers never reported stories with biased statements. They include Grands

Lacs Hebdo, Ingenzi, Itoto Magazine, Rwanda Dispatch, The Rwanda Focus, Umuhanuzi, Umurinzi, Umuvugizi and Umwezi.

### 3.1.6.3 Reporters by gender

Promoting gender equality and equity constitutes one of the crosscutting issues the Rwandan government is advocating in Vision 2020<sup>6</sup> is . In line with this policy of gender promotion, media can also serve as mirror and a tool to assess the progress made in this domain. While undertaking this work, media analysts intended to draw a comparison between male and female reporters as presented hereunder.

**Table 34: Reporters by gender**

<b>Medium</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Not specified</b>	<b>Not applicable</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Amani	1	0	0	1	2	0.40
Grands Lacs Hebdo	5	0	0	0	5	0.99
Imvaho Nshya	43	12	1	4	60	11.93
<b>Medium</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Not specified</b>	<b>Not applicable</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Ingenzi	3	1	2	1	7	1.39
Inyenyeri Iwacu	0	4	0	1	5	0.99
Isimbi	2	0	0	1	3	0.60
Itoto Magazine	1	0	0	0	1	0.20
Kinyamateka	13	0	1	1	15	2.98
La Nouvelle Relève	19	13	0	3	35	6.96
Rugari	6	0	17	0	23	4.57
Rushyashya	8	0	9	1	18	3.58
Rwanda Dispatch	5	0	9	2	16	3.18
The New Times	170	48	13	30	261	51.89
The Rwanda Focus	7	0	5	0	12	2.39
Umuhanuzi	2	0	0	3	5	0.99
Umurinzi	1	0	0	0	1	0.20
Umuseso	10	0	4	2	16	3.18
Umuvugizi	1	0	3	0	4	0.80
Umwezi	5	1	0	8	14	2.78
<b>Total</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>503</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>60.04</b>	<b>15.71</b>	<b>12.72</b>	<b>11.53</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<sup>6</sup> Op cit.

It is clear from Table 34, a big difference in number was noticed between male and female reporters, given the former outweigh the latter by far (i.e. 60.04 vs. 15.71%). Despite the enforcement of equal opportunities for both males and females to practice journalism, the number of women who adhere to journalism is still lower (one fourth of male practitioners according to these findings).

### 3.1.6.4 Source by gender

As stated in the previous section, gender equity promotion can be captured through media. In this piece of work, it has been judged crucial to verify the extent to which media respects gender balance and give voice to both female and male sources, while covering events related to the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration against Tutsi. Following is a statistical presentation.

**Table 35: Source by gender**

Medium / Sex	Male	Female	Not specified	Not applicable	Total	%
Amani	1	0	0	0	1	0.15
Grands Lacs Hebdo	9	0	0	1	10	1.50
Imvaho Nshya	59	14	7	8	88	13.23
Medium / Sex	Male	Female	Not specified	Not applicable	Total	%
Ingenzi	1	2	1	3	7	1.05
Inyenyeri Iwacu	1	1	0	3	5	0.75
Isimbi	2	0	1	1	4	0.60
Itoto Magazine	2	0	0	0	2	0.30
Kinyamateka	14	2	3	3	22	3.31
La Nouvelle Relève	37	9	0	6	52	7.82
Rugari	11	1	10	0	22	3.31
Rushyashya	8	1	8	2	19	2.86
Rwanda Dispatch	10	4	2	2	18	2.71
The New Times	225	80	10	44	359	53.98
The Rwanda Focus	7	5	0	0	12	1.80
Umuhanuzi	2	0	0	2	4	0.60
Umurinzi	1	0	0	0	1	0.15
Umuseso	9	1	2	5	17	2.56
Umuwugizi	3	2	1	0	6	0.90
Umwezi	3	2	0	11	16	2.41

<b>Total</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>60.90</b>	<b>18.65</b>	<b>6.77</b>	<b>13.68</b>	<b>100</b>	

As illustrated in Table 35, male sources dominated their female counterparts with 69.90% and 18.65% respectively. This might be resulting from the fact that given most reporters are male; they might be tempted to interview their fellow male sources, thus paying less attention to women's views on genocide related issues. Note that there are sources where the aspect of sex was not applicable: sources like news agencies and reports or any other document are referred to as "*Not applicable*" and represent 13.68% of all analyzed sources, while unknown ones were 6.77%.

### **3.1.6.5 News source by institution**

Identifying news source institutions or organization is vital in discerning accuracy and credibility of the information published. Recurrence of various sources from various institutions and organizations enforces the information being delivered. Below are presented the details.



**Table 36: News source by institution**

Instituion/ Medium	Amani	HebdoGrands Lacs	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	RelèveLa Nouvelle	Rugari	Rushyashya	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	FocusThe Rwanda	Umuhanuzi	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
Academia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	1.75
Association & Cooperatives	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.87
Banks	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.73
Business companies	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	1	4	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	18	2.62
CCM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
Central government	0	0	3		0	2	1	6	1	0	2	34	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	53	7.71
Centre of Research on Justice,Oxford	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
Copenhagen UnivDenmark	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
COTRAF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.15
Diaspora	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.29
EALA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
Embassies	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	1.60
EU	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.29
Genocide related NGOs	1	0	12	1	0	0	7	9	0	1	0	33	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	71	10.33
Government institutions	0	3	10	3	0	1	3	13	6	3	1	45	3	2	0	3	1	6	1	104	15.14
Houghton College	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
International NGOs	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.58
IRDP	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0.29
Karama Sec. School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15

Instituion/ Medium	Amani	HebdoGrands Lacs	Imvaho Nshya	Ingenzi	Inyenyeri Iwacu	Isimbi	Kinyamateka	RelèveLa Nouvelle	Rugari	Rushyasha	Rwanda Dispatch	The New Times	FocusThe Rwanda	Umuhanuzi	Umurinzi	Umuseso	Umuvugizi	Umwezi	Itoto Magazine	Total	%
Local government	0	0	14	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	43	6.26
Local NGOs	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.29
Media	0	0	11	1	2	0	2	1	11	5	1	31	1	0	0	9	1	2	0	78	11.35
Not specified	0	7	19	2	2	1	5	17	0	5	10	141	3	1	0	0	1	4	0	218	31.73
Oxford District	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
PL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.15
PM's Office, Sweden	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
Religious organizations	0	0	3	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	0	10	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	22	3.20
Sports Clubs	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1.31
UK Ministry for Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.15
UN	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>687</b>	<b>100</b>
%	<b>0.15</b>	<b>1.46</b>	<b>13.10</b>	<b>1.16</b>	<b>0.73</b>	<b>0.58</b>	<b>3.93</b>	<b>7.71</b>	<b>3.06</b>	<b>3.06</b>	<b>2.77</b>	<b>53.71</b>	<b>1.75</b>	<b>0.58</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>2.62</b>	<b>1.02</b>	<b>2.33</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>100</b>	

While reporting, print media reporters have tried to contact a wide range of sources that are diverse and credible. However, a number of them did not identify which institution, thus diminishing, to some extent, the reliability and credibility of information. Sources whose institutions were not specified counted 31.73% of all.

Statistically, information from the central government was identified 53 times, representing 7.71%, while the local government represented 6.26%. Amongst top individual organizations covered by print media, different genocide related organizations played a great role and got covered to a 10.33% rate. The national umbrella of genocide survivors, IBUKA, took the lead. According to the findings, government institutions manifested their participation through a number of events, and their coverage was found equal to 15.14%.

The National Commission for Fight Against Genocide and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission were the most frequently cited. These institutions were newsmakers given their implication in preparing and carrying out genocide victims commemoration activities.

From these statistics, it can be deduced that central and local administration entities came out as the first ones in organizing genocide commemoration activities. The opening day activities of the mourning week (i.e. April 7, 2009) were held at the lowest grassroots level or local village *Umudugudu*. Though not highly covered by media, religious and civil society organizations, played a role in commemorating the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The influence of such organizations remains crucial to the awareness of genocide “*Never Again*”.

### 3.1.6.6 Sources by status/Profession

Professional reportage normally exhibits a clear and complete identification of people who give information. To this end, mentioning source status/profession establishes credibility and reliability of information to the benefit media consumers. This allows them to know who is who in a story and to what extent s/he could be believed. Table 37 depicts the extent to which various focus groups susceptible to deliver reliable information were contacted according to their respective positions/ professions.

**Table 37: Sources by status**

Medium/ status	National/ local leaders	Citizens	Foreigners	News agencies/ documents	Genocide survivors	Genocide perpetrators	Religious/ civil society organizations	editor ...)	Others (observation, letters to the	Total	%
<b>Amani</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		<b>1</b>	<b>0.15</b>
<b>Grands Lacs Hebdo</b>	3	1	3	2	0	0	1	0		<b>10</b>	<b>1.50</b>
<b>Imvaho Nshya</b>	42	11	5	11	10	0	6	3		<b>88</b>	<b>13.2</b>

										<b>3</b>	
<b>Ingenzi</b>	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	<b>7</b>	<b>1.05</b>	
<b>Inyenyeri Iwacu</b>	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	<b>5</b>	<b>0.75</b>	
<b>Isimbi</b>	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.60</b>	
<b>Kinyamateka</b>	4	2	2	2	5	0	5	2	<b>22</b>	<b>3.31</b>	
<b>La Nouvelle Relève</b>	24	13	5	2	3	1	4	0	<b>52</b>	<b>7.82</b>	
<b>Rugari</b>	7	3	0	11	0	0	1	0	<b>22</b>	<b>3.31</b>	
<b>Rushyashya</b>	4	5	0	2	0	0	5	3	<b>19</b>	<b>2.86</b>	
<b>Rwanda Dispatch</b>	7	4	3	1	1	0	2	0	<b>18</b>	<b>2.71</b>	
<b>The New Times</b>	117	82	36	32	46	7	14	25	<b>359</b>	<b>53.98</b>	
<b>The Rwanda Focus</b>	6	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	<b>12</b>	<b>1.80</b>	
<b>Umuhanuzi</b>	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>4</b>	<b>0.60</b>	
<b>Medium/ status</b>	<b>National/ local leaders</b>	<b>Citizens</b>	<b>Foreigners</b>	<b>News agencies/ documents</b>	<b>Genocide survivors</b>	<b>Genocide perpetrators</b>	<b>Religious/ civil society organizations</b>	<b>editor ...)</b>	<b>Others (observation, letters to the</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Umurinzi</b>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>	<b>0.15</b>	
<b>Umuseso</b>	3	5	0	1	0	0	1	7	<b>17</b>	<b>2.56</b>	
<b>Umuvugizi</b>	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	<b>6</b>	<b>0.90</b>	
<b>Umwezi</b>	1	0	0	2	5	0	7	1	<b>16</b>	<b>2.41</b>	
<b>Itoto Magazine</b>	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>2</b>	<b>0.30</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>35.64</b>	<b>19.70</b>	<b>8.27</b>	<b>10.23</b>	<b>11.28</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>7.07</b>	<b>6.62</b>	<b>100</b>		

The above table indicates that the dominating group to serve as source of information is labelled 'national/local leaders' given they appeared in 35.64 % of the entire coverage on the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration. For many reporters, the first temptation while covering a national event was to record the speech of guest of honour, some times forgetting to collect opinion from the participants. As

earlier mentioned, the starting day of the mourning week (i.e. April 7, 2009) for the 15 time was held at the lowest administrative entity or local village *Umudugudu*. Consequently, commemorative ceremonies organized from *Umudugudu* up to the district level got an important coverage by print media, whereby local leaders' excerpts sounded in various reportage. However, attendants to ceremonies, labelled herein as 'citizens' got a less significant voice, equivalent to 19.70%. It is of crucial importance to point out that there was a need to emphasize on the floor given to genocide survivors, given we believe they deserve a special attention. Hence, it was found out that print media nonetheless tried to approach them, to expose the challenges they are faced to, help them recount their memory of the 1994 genocide and let them mourn their beloved ones who perished fifteen years ago. They were captured to a 11.28 % rate.

It is important to mention that, given the influence of religious and civil society organizations to positively shape people's minds, their activities in relation with genocide commemoration got little coverage (i.e. 7.07%) as proved by the present analysis. Yet, the work ahead to build a peaceful and developing society remains immense. Finally, as is statistically clear print media journalists paid little attention to research, thus publishing poorly documented information (i.e. 10.23%).

### 3.2 Respect of the Professional ethics and the media law

As mentioned in Chapter two, journalists are ethically required to be compassionate in times of sorrow and grief. The genocide commemoration period is a very sensitive period in Rwanda during which minds of all people affected by the 1994 genocide and those who committed it may have strange reactions. In this regard, media practitioners are required to always respect their professional code of conduct as well as the media law, paying much attention to the language they use. The present section exhibits the level to which these principles have been respected by print media.

**Table 38: Respect of media law and professional ethics**

Medium	Media ethics								Media law		
	Non objective news items [art. 2]	Imbalanced information [art. 3]	Unsupported photos [art. 4]	Exaggeration cases [art. 5]	Non separation of news from analysis [art. 6]	Unsigned report [art. 9]	Non indication of source [art. 11]	22]Non respect to the presumption of innocence [art.	Outsourced news items [art. 12(4)]	Imbalanced news items [art. 12(5)]	No signature and/ or legend to photographs [art. 29(3)]
Amani	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Grands Lacs Hebdo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Imvaho Nshya	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	0
Ingenzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Inyenyeri Iwacu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Isimbi	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
Itoto Magazine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinyamateka	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	2
La Nouvelle Relève	0	15	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	14	24

Rugari	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	1
Rushyashya	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1		2	1	6
Rwanda Dispatch	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	7
The New Times	1	16	0	0	0	0	7	0		7	15	30
The Rwanda Focus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Umuhanuzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1
Umurinzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1
Umuseso	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0		1	0	5
Umuvugizi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Umwezi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>82</b>
%	<b>0.8</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>0.2</b>		<b>2.9</b>	<b>6.96</b>	<b>16.3</b>
	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>6.96</b>	<b>0</b>

The overall picture tends to indicate low rates of cases print media flouted journalists' code of ethics and law. Table 34 indicates some of the mistakes made by print media journalists including non objective, unsourced, and imbalanced reports. Cases of unsigned reports and unidentified photographs were frequent in media publications. fewer were cases of exaggeration were noticed. The following were violated principles of the code of conduct for media and journalists in Rwanda.

In the conduct of their profession, journalists shall:

**Article 2** : « Be objective, accurate and disseminate honest news and information: bearing in mind the critical role of the mass media in our society which calls for utmost confidence from the general public, journalists shall at all times ensure that the information disseminated is accurate, fair and objective without giving undue emphasis or knowing omissions. This means that journalists shall avoid any distortion, misrepresentation and falsification by verifying the authenticity of any information or material, including pictures ».

**Article 3** : « Ensure that news is balanced, impartial and fair by giving all sides to an issue and all efforts be made to give an opportunity to subjects of news and information to respond to allegations or accusations made against them.

**Article 4** : « Make sure that headlines, captions, photos, video, audio, graphics and introductions are supported and reflected in the information. This is intended to avoid sensationalism ».

**Article 5** : «Avoid rumors, amplifying or keeping it alive, speculation, staged news events, falsification of documents or suppression of essential information».

**Article 6 :** «Distinguish news from analysis, comments, opinions and advertisements».

**Article 9 :** «Bylines in newspapers, and programmes on radios and televisions should bear the legal names of journalists, presenters and producers. The exception to this rule is when the publication of their names may compromise their security and well being».

**Article 11 :** « Always question the motive of, and identify sources. The only exception to this rule shall be in relation to information given in confidence. Before making any promises, always clarify conditions attached. Whenever such a pledge is made, keep the promise ».

**Article 22:** «Respect the presumption of innocence for suspects and cases until concluded by competent courts or tribunals. This shall include avoiding implicating innocent persons not involved in the case but who may be directly related to the suspect or referring to his/her ethnicity, tribe, religion, sex, family or friends, unless their mention would serve public interest».

In addition to the code of conduct for media and journalists in Rwanda is supplemented by the media law n<sup>o</sup> 22/2009 of the 17<sup>th</sup> August 2009 to five a legal framework to media practitioners. The following are violated legal provisions as indicated in table 32.

### **Article 12 :** Responsibilities of a journalist

A journalist shall have to fulfill the following main responsibilities

4. to publish verified information;
5. to give the floor to all parties subjected to the information.

### **Article 29 :**

3. Photographs or articles published from a separate edition shall bear the true names or the true identity of the person who received the photos or an author of the article or of the owner the copyright.

Despite these fewer inappropriate outbursts as indicated above, we can generally conclude that print media have done their best to abide by professional ethics and the media law. As per individual media organs, *Grands Lacs Hebdo, Ingenzi, Inyenyeri Iwacu, Rwanda Focus, Umuvugizi and Itoto Magazine* did not violate any of the aforesaid ethical principles and media law provisions.

### **3.2.1 Space allocation per medium**



Print media organs are often faced to space limitations and sometimes due to their financial means. In addition to this, their editorial line and their periodicity are the major factors which determine what is newsworthy and which space to allocate to it. Besides, some space in newspapers is used for commercial purposes while news dissemination plays informative, educational and entertainment roles to the benefit of media consumers. To come up with a clear picture on genocide coverage in April 2009, it has been judged important to identify how much space is allocated to it by different periodicals operating in Rwanda.

**Table 39: Space allocation per page per medium**

Medium	Space allocation in pages				
	Total space of the monitored volumes	Space allocated to genocide commemoration stories	Space allocated to other stories	% allocated to genocide commemoration stories	% allocated to other stories
Amani	24	3	21	12.50	87.50
Grand Lac Hebdo	16	5.99	10.01	37.44	62.56
Imvaho Nshya	272	31.98	240.02	11.76	88.24
Ingenzi	12	6.91	5.09	57.58	42.42
Inyenyeri Iwacu	12	3.5	8.5	29.17	70.83
Isimbi	16	3	13	18.75	81.25
Itoto Magazine	14	1	13	7.14	92.86
Kinyamateka	40	9.41	30.59	23.53	76.48
La Nouvelle Releve	100	23.75	76.25	23.75	76.25
Rugali	24	12.3	11.7	51.25	48.75
Rushyashya	48	24	24	50.00	50.00
Rwanda Dispatch	64	23.41	40.59	36.58	63.42
The New Times	754	116.99	637.01	15.52	84.48
The Rwanda Focus	60	7.41	52.59	12.35	87.65

Umuhanuzi	12	4.5	7.5	37.50	62.50
Umurinzi	12	0.5	11.5	4.17	95.83
Umuseso	64	13.5	50.5	21.09	78.91
Umuvugizi	16	4.33	11.67	27.06	72.94
Umwezi	40	11.5	28.5	28.75	71.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>1600.00</b>	<b>306.98</b>	<b>1293.02</b>	<b>19.19</b>	<b>80.81</b>

A vertical reading of Table 39 shows that the only existing daily Rwandan newspaper, *The New Times*, gave more space (116.99 pages) to cover genocide commemoration, followed by the tri-weekly *Imvaho Nshya* (31.98 pages). On the contrary, a horizontal interpretation enables the reader to consider which space was allocated per individual medium, putting into consideration its volume and periodicity.

### 3.2.2 Fairness per medium

As done for audiovisual newscasts, a similar analysis of news items published by newspapers was carried out by measuring their fairness in the mirror of professional and legal standards news reporters had to abide by. Any publication that transgressed any given article of the code of conduct or the media law was marked unfair.

Table 40 presents fair vs. unfair news items per medium.

**Table 40: Fairness per medium**

Medium	Fairness		
	Fair	Unfair	Total
<b>Amani</b>	1	1	<b>2</b>
<b>Grands Lacs Hebdo</b>	5	0	<b>5</b>
<b>Imvaho Nshya</b>	55	5	<b>60</b>
<b>Ingenzi</b>	7	0	<b>7</b>
<b>Inyenyeri Iwacu</b>	3	2	<b>5</b>
<b>Isimbi</b>	0	3	<b>3</b>
<b>Itoto Magazine</b>	1	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Kinyamateka</b>	10	5	<b>15</b>
<b>La Nouvelle Relève</b>	7	28	<b>35</b>
<b>Rugari</b>	22	1	<b>23</b>
<b>Rushyashya</b>	10	8	<b>18</b>
<b>Rwanda Dispatch</b>	9	7	<b>16</b>
<b>The New Times</b>	215	46	<b>261</b>
<b>The Rwanda Focus</b>	12	0	<b>12</b>

<b>Umuhanuzi</b>	4	1	<b>5</b>
<b>Umurinzi</b>	0	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Umuseso</b>	8	8	<b>16</b>
<b>Umuvugizi</b>	4	0	<b>4</b>
<b>Umwezi</b>	12	2	<b>14</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>503</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>76.54</b>	<b>23.46</b>	<b>100</b>

The overall picture indicates that print media reporters did their best to observe professional standards. They have been fair to a high level of 76.54%.

### **3.2.3 Main observations from the media content analysis**

Contrary to electronic media, Rwandan private print media did little in area coverage. On a total of 76 items related to genocide commemoration, only three articles had rural settings, others having been carried out in Kigali. Umuvugizi vol. 54 of 14-27 April 2009) published an article titled: “Mu murenge wa Mutete: Abacitse kw’icumu nabo bubakiye abakoze Jenoside batishoboye!” describing an unusual experience of reconciliation in Gicumbi, northern province. Rugari n° 43 (April 2009) published two articles from Rusizi in western province, one on Gacaca justice, another on reconciliation and memory of genocide titled: “Rusizi: Abaturage bo ku Ishyamba bakwiye kwambikwa imidari.” The two articles in both newspapers are of high informative and educative value, and one can deplore the scarcity of such articles on rural areas in private media, where the lack of means hampers and limits the impact and mission generally expected from the industry.

The print media has however written extensively on other topics including genocide survivors’ welfare and security, the impunity of political figures suspected of involvement in genocide, as well as corruption in Gacaca justice or embezzlement of resources devoted to the memory of genocide or survivors’ welfare. With a very critical tone, the editorial of Umuseso n° 348 of 6-9 April 2009 titled “Aho kubibukana ishema, turabibukana ipfunwe” reads:

*“ Ikintu cyaba mbere cyari gutuma abo twibuka ubungubu baruhuka mu mahoro, ni uguhana ababambuye ubuzima, ariko siko byagenze. Abenshi bari muri Leta, abandi baridegembya kubera ruswa, ahubwo hari abatagira icyaha bahanwe, na none kubera ruswa.*

*Icyaba kabiri, ni ukurinda abashoboye kurusimbuka, ariko kugeza ubu, abarenga 170 bamaze kubakurikira.*

*Icyaba gatatu ni ugufasha abavandimwe babo bacitse kw’icumu rya jenoside, basigaye iheruheru, badafite n’inzara zo kwishyamba, ariko ibyakabafashije byarigishijwe n’abifite. Kubera icyo mpamvu, abacikacumu barenga ibihumbi*

*30 ntibafite aho bahengeka umusaya, ntibafite uko bivuzwa, cyangwa se uko biga, bigeretse ku kuba bahora ku nkeke yo kwicwa n'abagifite uwo mugambi, kugeza ubu Leta yananiwe gukumira.*

*Dushoboye gukemura ibyo bibazo, nibwo twabibukana ishema n'isheje, ariko ubu, turabibukana ipfunwe n'ikimwaro."*

In another article in the same issue, titled "Twibuke abazize jenocide, tunibuka ko Leta yananiwe kurinda abacitse kw'icumu", Umuseso vehemently criticizes the insecurity of genocide survivors' as well as the impunity of political leaders suspected of involvement in the genocide:

*"Ikigaragara n'uko FPR (yo mu 1994) yahagaritse jenocide, ariko Leta ya FPR y'ubungubu ikaba yarananiwe kurinda abacitse ku icumu. Impamvu ni uko si b'ibanze FPR y'ubungubu, nkuko twakomeje kubigaragaza mu nyandiko zitandukanye muri iki kinyamakuru, irimo n'abakekwaho icyaha cy'itsembabwoko, kuva mu butegetsi bw'ibanze, ari nabo abacitse ku icumu baba bari ku nkeke biyambaza, kugeza ku nzego nkuru z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu.*

*Kwibuka inzirikarengane zazize jenocide, cyane cyane kuri guverinoma, biyane no kwibuka ko yananiwe kurinda umutekano w'abasigaye. Binibutse Leta kandi ko, niba ntagikozwe kigaragara mu kurushaho kurinda umutekano w'abacitse ku icumu, kuri iyi ntera, mu gihe kizaza, nta n'uwo kubara inkuru uzasigara."*

Rushyashya n°75 of 27April-15 May 2009 raises similar issues, though with a milder tone. It reads:

*"...hari abarokotse bacyandagaye, batiga, batavuzwa, badafite aho baba, ku buryo kuvuga iby'ikizere, kwaba ari nko gushinyagura. Ntibyumvikana ukuntu Gacaca zirekura abicanyi ruharwa kubera ruswa. N'aho ibimenyetso byabonetse, ntibyitabweho. Ikindi, FPR yarashyize yemera ko abayobozi bamwe bakekwaho jenocide batakomeza kwidageme bya mu gihugu. Ba Elysee Bisengimana, Butare, Mwumvaneza barakatirwa. Ariko kandi ni nayo yaciriye icyanzu P.C. Rwigama (sic) na Mukezamfura, bagenda badasubije ibyo bakoze ngo nibura babisabire imbabazi. Tukaba dusaba ko n'abandi bayobozi bakiri mu butegetsi, bashinjwa kwica abantu babihanirwa."*

"Kwibuka: ikizere kirava he?" titles another editorial of Umuseso (n° 349, 13-16 April 2009) emphasizing the criticism on the same topics:

*"Iki cyizere cy'ejo heza cyava he abacitse ku icumu bakinyagirwa, bakicwa n'inzara?"*

*Iki cyizere cyava he abacitse ku icumu bakomeje kwicwa?"*

*Iki cyizere cyava he impfubyi za jenocide zibura amafaranga y'ishuri, zikirukanwa ku ishuri, imfashanyo zabo zitahiye mu mifuka y'abategetsu?*

*Umupfakazi wa jenocide wasezeranijwe kubakirwa kuva mu 2000 yagira icyizere ate, atarubakirwa kugeza iyi saha?*

*Amagambo y'abategetsu b'u Rwanda akwiye kujyana n'ibikorwa.*

*...gusaba umuntu ushonje, utizeye ko ejo azaramuka (kubera gutinya kwamburwa ubuzima n'abiyemeje kurangiza umugambi wabo), cyangwa se wirukanwe mu ishuri, ngo agire icyizere cy'ejo hazaza, ni ukumushinyagurira."*

Conveying genocide widows' grievances, Umuseso n° 350 of 20-23 April 2009 extends the criticism to genocide survivors' organizations, namely Ibuka and AVEGA, in an article titled: "Ntibaduhagarariye, bahagarariye ibifu byabo" and it reads:

*" Nyuma y'imyaka cumi n'itanu, agahinda bafite ni kenshi cyane, ariko ubu bababajwe n'ibyo bakorerwa n'umuryango AVEGA na Ibuka kurusha ibindi byose. ... AVEGA na Ibuka ntibifuza ko ibibazo bafite byamenyekana, ku mpamvu bemeza ko ari uko inkunga zibagenerwa baziriye, bakaba bashaka kubeshya ko zibageraho, ibibazo bigakemuka.*

*... Nkuko bakomeza babivuga, bahora bumva radiyo, ubundi bareba tereviziyo, ngo inkunga zo gufasha abacitse kw'icumu zaje, inkunga z'abapfakazi zatanzwe, ntibamenya aho zinyura. Hellen yabishakiye imvugo ibabajwe cyane. Aragira ati: "Turi ingagi, turamurikwa, tukagurishwa."*

The statements and the tone in these newspapers sound extreme and unbalanced. But a deeper analysis reveals that there is no reason to fear any breach of law or code of ethics on their part. In the straight line of their usual editorial line known to be critical towards the government, these newspapers chose deliberately to draw attention to very serious issues, in a provocative way. And for this, they used the opinion as the appropriate genre. However, there are other actual issues of concern with regard to the professional reporting; not only in the above quoted newspapers, but also in other media outlets analyzed in this report, as shown in the section below.

### **3.2.4 Specific issues of concern with regard to reporting**

The themes of genocide memory; justice; survivors' welfare and security; as well as corruption in Gacaca justice, survivors' welfare programs and genocide victims' memory have got a relevant coverage as explained above. A few articles in the print media were devoted to reconciliation (Umuvugizi and Rugari), ideology of genocide (Rushyashya), and negationism (an official message from the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, in Rugari).

The way these topics are dealt with in the print media are neutral and even constructive from a general point of view. There is no indication that “the tones, words and statements used in these media outlets support the ideology of genocide, divisionism, incitement to hatred and violence, racism, revisionism and negationism among others”, or even “derail the efforts and programmes of national unity and reconciliation.” The only issues of concern with regard to professional reporting are few cases of unbalanced reports; benign forms of negationism like genocide memory trivialization.

### **3.2.4.1 Unbalanced reporting**

A story related to Gacaca justice offers the best illustration of this unprofessional practice. “Kabgayi: Indi migambi mibisha ya Musenyeri Mbonyintege yo kugambanira padiri Yozafati” is the title of the article in *Rushyashya* vol. 74, 7-15 mata 2009. *“Abashinjabinyoma no mu nzu y’Imana bagezemo. ... ahavugwa ni mu bapadiri b’I Kabgayi, ari ababa kwa Musenyeri cyangwa se kuri paruwasi... Amakuru dufite akaba avuga ko hari abashishikarije umuryango w’uwitwa Jean de Dieu utuye I Musumba waguriwe n’abo bihaye n’Imana (sic) ngo bashinje mugenzi wabo Padiri Hitimana Yozafati. Mu gihe abamuzi neza bamutangaho ubuhamya buzima no kugira umutima utabara kandi witangira abandi. icyo kinyoma ariko ntabwo cyaje gufata Inteko y’Urukiko Gacaca kuko mu bushishozi bwayo yasanze ari umwere.*

*...Gusa ikigaragara cyane n’uko bitangira byitirirwa umuturage rwimbi ariko mu iherezo ryabyo ugasanga umuntu nka Musenyeri ariwe uri inyuma y’utwo tuntu tw’ubutindi n’amacakubiri. ... Padiri Yozafati Hitimana na none arashyirwa mu majwi ko azongera kwitaba Gacaca. Nyamara urimo ubyirukaho ngo byanze bikunze asubizwe imbere ya Gacaca ni Umupadiri mugenzi we witwa Karangwa Hildebrandt, ubu uyobora Paruwasi ya Gitarama. ... Ni yo mpamvu hakwiye gukurikirana iby’uwo Karangwa Hildebrandt, bakamenyekana (sic) amavu n’amavuko ye kuko nayo yibazwaho n’abantu benshi cyane abo babyirukanye. Usibye ko amakuru dufite yizewe ahamya neza ko ubutindi n’ubutiriganya akunze kwijandikamo atari uby’ubu (sic).”*

These excerpts alone show how the article is extremely assertive from the onset; with strong accusations against some individuals and an open advocacy for another; without proper investigation to substantiate the allegations. Nowhere in the article, the author gives an opportunity to the accused persons to express their own views and worse than that, one of them is accused on grounds of his purported origins. All these are clear violations of “Journalists and media code of deontology in Rwanda” which states:

“Art. 3. Ensure that news is balanced, impartial and fair by giving all sides to an issue and all efforts be made to give an opportunity to subjects of news and information to respond to allegations or accusations made against them.

Art.15. Always distinguish between advocacy and news reporting.

Art. Respect the presumption of innocence for suspects and cases until concluded by competent courts or tribunals. This shall include avoiding implicating innocent persons not involved in the case but who may be directly related to the suspect or referring to his/her ethnicity, tribe, religion, sex, family or friends, unless their mention would serve public interest.”<sup>ix</sup>

### 3.2.4.2 Trivialization of genocide

In the analyzed print media, we consider this as a “benign” form of negationism because the thought process of the journalists obviously differs from the one in the classical definition of negationism as suggested by Historian Henry Rousso, the one who coined the term in 1987. Negationism is “a lie, a manipulation of words and facts with the aim to falsify the information and to conceal the facts of genocide.”<sup>x</sup> There are two predominant forms of such benign negationism in the analyzed newspapers. One consists of assimilating ordinary wrong doers with genocide perpetrators or deniers, in order to emphasize their misdeeds. The other formulates serious charges of “genocide memory killing” against some individuals or institutions, without credible reasons.

In an editorial, advocating for the construction of memorials wherever people have been killed in numbers during the 1994 genocide, Rugari states this: *“Aho hose ni hubakwe inzibutso kandi hubakwe nk’ahamenekeye amaraso y’inzirakarengane, ndetse buri muturage abigiremo uruhare **uwanze afatwe nk’abakoze ibyo byose kandi akurikiranwe n’itegeko rireba uwo wese upfobya genocide.**”*(Rugari n°43, mata 2009). In another editorial titled *“Abarokotse jenocide nibitabweho kurushaho”* in the following issue, the same newspaper writes: *...“mu kigega FARG bateyemo amasiha rusahuzi mu yandi magambo twita ba “RUSONGIMBABARE.” Baba abayobozi cyangwa abandi, rwose ntaho bataniye n’abandi bagizi ba nabi, **ndetse n’uwavuga ko ntaho bataniye n’ababahekuye ntiyaba aciyeye inka amabere.**”* (Rugari n° 44, vol. II, Mata 2009).

The same type of negationism is picked out of Umuseso (n° 349, 20-23 mata 2009). In an article titled *“Ntibaduhagarariye, bahagarariye ibifu byabo”* expressing the anger of genocide widows against survivors’ organizations IBUKA and AVEGA, the newspaper writes: *“Kubera uburyo baducuruza, (twabaye ingagi mbese) ntibifuza ko twava muri ubwo buzima bubi kuko ariho barira. Kuri njye **ntaho bataniye na CDR yatwiciye, ntabwo natinya kubivuga ngo batanyica kuko n’ubundi narapfuye.**”* In the same issue, Umuseso titles : *“Abanyereza aya FARG ni abicanyi nk’abandi”* and emphasizes with this statement: *“**Abantu banyereje bene ayo mafaranga ni abicanyi ba ruharwa....**”*

The second form of negationism in the analyzed newspapers is illustrated by Rushyashya in two articles related to genocide victims’ remains. The

newspaper makes strong accusations of using those remains for various ends, an act assimilated to the killing of the memory of genocide victims. But it does neither provide credible proofs for the allegations, nor does it quote its sources. “*Ikiganiro na Simburudari: **Amagufwa y’Abatutsi mu mihango y’abapfumu!?**”* is one of the articles, which reads in part: “... Simburudari yavuze ko abantu bashyinguwe muri Uganda ari ikibazo, ko ariko IBUKA yifuza ko abantu bari yo batabururwa, bakazanwa mu Rwanda, aho kugira ngo **amagufwa yabo akomeze kugirwa ibikoresho by’abapfumu bo muri Uganda, birirwa bayacana.** Nubwo hari **Umuhinde wagerageje kuyatunganya, nyuma akaza kuyahinduramo business y’ubukerarugendo.**” (Rushyashya, vol. 74, 7-15 mata 2009).

In the second article titled: “*FPR: irivuguruza*”, Rushyashya suggests that while exposing genocide victims’ remains in memorials, the government does not perform a genuine act of remembrance, but rather targets white people, for some interests. “*Amashyaka arajya mu matora, agakurayo ubusa, FPR yatinya amahanga, ikabavunguriraho, ngo amahanga nayo arekure ifaranga, ubuzima bukomeze. Interahamwe na yo iracunga aho igufwa ry’umututsi warokotse riri ngo irigugune, **Leta nayo ikarimanika mu birahure ngo abazungu baribone!** Ibi byose tuvuze hari abo byasize iheruheru na n’ubu bakibana na byo, bazanapfana na byo, kuko nta “cyizere” cyo kubivamo bafite.* (Rushyashya, vol. 75, 27 Mata-15 Gicurasi 2009).

As noted earlier, these forms of genocide denial should not be mistaken for the classical ones referred to by scholars, and which mean that “the perpetrators, their descendants, successor governments, and/or individuals who sense an affiliation with the perpetrators, all deny that genocide was ever perpetrated in the first place.”<sup>xi</sup> It rather derives from “routinization, desensitization or banalization of events of genocide”, according to the classification of renowned scholar Israel W. Charny, who also talks of “human shallowness”, or “the dulling and depletion of a genuine sense of tragedy and moral outrage.”<sup>xii</sup> It is a denial in more “innocent” form, “often even in conscious sincerity of the deniers that they are doing good and not out to harm anyone.”<sup>xiii</sup> However, “these denials too must be fought vigorously and aggressively,” as rightly observes the same scholar.<sup>xiv</sup>



## Conclusion

The contribution of print media in covering the 15<sup>th</sup> Genocide Commemoration against the Tutsi in Rwanda appeared significant. They published an amount of five hundred and three news items. A scrutinized analysis by the MHC monitoring team indicates that most stories were related to commemorative ceremonies events; hence, the topic '*Genocide memory*' acquired a greater coverage with 43.54%. As news items were classified into a variety of types (i.e. news story, analysis, editorial, feature, etc), a huge pack of items of the type 'news stories' came first with 62.03%, a proof that most reporters are much more attracted to event covering than investigating and conducting research. Consequently, real challenges that the Rwandan society is faced to are no addressed by media since their reporting is much more event focused than issue centred.

As indicated in this work of analysis, male reporters dominated their female counterparts with 60.04% and 15.70% respectively. Consequently, throughout information gathering processes, reporters are much more tempted to contact male sources than female ones (60.90% vs. 18.65%).

In terms of area coverage, issues of a national scale got more coverage amounting to 44.14%, while Gasabo emerged first amongst districts with 13.32% of the entire scope under analysis. As regards respect of the media law and professional ethics, the encountered violations include unsourced information (2.96%), imbalanced reports (6.96%), unsigned reports (0.20%) and photographs (16.35%) as well as statements that trivialise and negate the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

The objectives of monitoring media coverage of the 15<sup>th</sup> genocide commemoration was to find out the extent to which both the print and audio-visual media play their informative and educative role by bringing to the attention of all Rwandans and foreigners what happened in 1994 as well as ongoing strategies for peaceful co-existence in a developing society. A related objective was to figure out the extent to which this is done within the limits of law and established journalistic code of ethics.

To attain the aforementioned objective, as demonstrated, a methodology was developed that allows use of journalistic standards like identification of types of stories, topics covered, area of coverage and sources of information. To come up with reliable results, the stratified random sampling and quota sampling methods were applied to gather the data to be analyzed.

Findings indicate that audio-visual media broadcasted 581 stories related to the 15<sup>th</sup> commemoration of genocide from 1-30 April, 2009, while print media published 503. Analysis of content has proved that commemorative events attracted the attention of most reporters from both print and audio-visual media. The classification of news items into categories leads to note that the majority are of the type '*news story*' an indicator that less effort is made to conduct research and publish enough documented pieces of information.

This analysis further indicates that the dominance of male reporters over their female counterparts might have resulted into the dominance of male informants over female one. Yet, media remain a good path and tool to not only promote gender equality and equity but ensure that effects of the genocide on women as well as men are clearly spelt out during the commemoration. As regards areas of coverage, audio visual media mostly covered *Gasabo District* while print media focused much more of their attention on issues of a national scale. There is less coverage of rural areas than urban areas especially by the print media. Further, the analyzed shows were fairly well produced despite a few incidents of laps in professional practices. Amongst other inefficiencies observed from the analysis some talk shows were not announced before or during the show by moderators or

related jingles (esp. the special ones not featuring in the ordinary programme), no reminder of the main topic along the show course, poorly documented questions initiated by moderators; all these tended to affected the quality of the programmes.

Moreover, imbalanced, unsourced, unsigned reports and photos without legends are amongst the fewer noticed unprofessional practices, thus transgressing some ethical and legal provisions. Overall however, based on statistical findings of the report, it is worth noting that both print and audio visual media managed to abide by the law, and in large part fulfilled their responsibility of informing and educating Rwandans about what happened in 1994 as well as the importance of fostering unity and reconciliation as well as *Never Again* to genocide. The fact that a number of their broadcasts spread messages of genocide denial or genocide ideology however, may unfortunately overshadow many other interesting programmes of the same radios, on reconciliation, youth, women, etc if not checked by those responsible.

Bearing in mind the dramatic experience of genocide that befell Rwanda and the risks of recurrence of hate and incitement messages, a systematic media monitoring in this respect may enormously contribute to the prevention of potential future tragedies. Other initiatives directed to a better understanding of such civic issues, as well as to the strenghtening of the related regulatory framework, may also prevent freedom of speech to be merely deadly.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. As stated above, genocide trivialization and denial of all forms including “denial in more “innocent” form, “often even in conscious sincerity of the deniers that they are doing good and not out to harm anyone” must be fought vigorously and aggressively” both in the media and outside the media to avoid a potential alteration of facts and historical realities. Media managers and editors must desist from granting airtime to such persons because such ideologies cannot build but destroy;
2. Foreign media outlets broadcasting or distributed in Rwanda must abide by the relevant national legislations to avoid violations of the law in their content. More importantly article 13 of the 2003 Constitution which states that “genocide is a crime without prescription, and denying or trivializing it, is punishable by the law.”
3. Continue their role of informing, educating their audience to help them remember the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. In doing so, their publications should come out with special attention to professional ethics, not only with remorse but also with resolve.
4. Media reporters should always keep in mind the gender balance principle and undertake their role to promote gender equity and equality. This will enable media to always bring forward issues affecting both male and female members of our society during both the genocide commemoration periods and other ordinary times.
5. Consider a continued engagement and constructive dialogue with relevant media outlets on issues of concern raised in this report to ensure that the findings and recommendations herein are communicated effectively to all and implemented;
6. Organise a permanent monitoring of hate speeches, genocide ideology and Tutsi genocide negationism expressions in local and international media;

7. Support deeper scholarly research on the same matters, in order to avail scientific reference tools for regulators, other decision makers, media practitioners and other partners.
8. Media professionals should consider future amendment of the Rwanda media code of ethics in order to include articles related to genocide ideology and negationism.



- <sup>i</sup> The first amendment to the United States Constitution reads as follows: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”
- <sup>ii</sup> Claude-Jean Bertrand, « Le Premier Amendement : un mythe », *Transatlantica* [En ligne], 1 | 2003, mis en ligne le 27 mars 2006, Consulté le 12 mars 2010. URL : <http://transatlantica.revues.org/index545.html>
- <sup>iii</sup> Charny, Israel, W. (2009), « A Classification of Denials of the Holocaust and Other Genocides,” in Totten, S. and Bartrop, Paul R., *The genocide Studies reader*, op. cit. pp 518-537.
- <sup>iv</sup> Charny, Israel, W. (2009). Art. Cited.
- <sup>v</sup> Bourdon, Jérôme.(1996). *Les Medias, une Ethique de la transgression*, Paris: Réseaux, n° 78 CNET.
- <sup>vi</sup> Totten, S. and Bartrop, Paul R., eds. (2009), *The genocide Studies reader*, New York and London: Routledge, p 518.
- <sup>vii</sup> Rwanda Senate (2006). *Rwanda Genocide Ideology and Strategies for its Eradication*. Kigali: s.d., p16
- <sup>viii</sup> Rutazibwa, P. (2008). “ Eglise et Ethnisme au Rwanda: le Temps du Repentir?” in *Dialogue*, n° 184-185, janvier-mai 2008, pp5-22.
- <sup>ix</sup> Maison de la Presse du Rwanda, *Journalists and Media Code of Deontology in Rwanda*, May, 2005.
- <sup>x</sup> Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix (IRDP) (s.d), *Mécanismes de lutte contre le négationnisme du génocide des Tutsi*, Kigali, p.12.
- <sup>xi</sup> Totten, S. and Bartrop, Paul R., eds. (2009), *The genocide Studies reader*, New York and London: Routledge, p 517.
- <sup>xii</sup> Charny, Israel, W. (2009), « A Classification of Denials of the Holocaust and Other Genocides,” in Totten, S. and Bartrop, Paul R., *The genocide Studies reader*, op. cit. pp 518-537.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Id., p 534.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Ibid.