



THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PROMOTING UNITY AND RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA

**Media Content Monitoring and Analysis on Coverage of the 25th
Commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi**

Kigali, August 2019

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings of a media content monitoring analysis conducted by Rwanda Media Commission (RMC) on behalf of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) to examine the local media's coverage of the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi. The aim of the analysis was to ascertain the role of media in promoting unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. The present report is the product of a team of media monitors composed of two (2) ladies and five (5) men under the supervision of the RMC's Executive Secretary.

The variables and units of analysis that provided guidance to the elaboration of the coding books were drawn on the basis of shared terms of reference by NURC and some standards of professional media practice. The coding book was instrumental in gathering and analysing data collected from the sampled 6 radio stations, 4 digital televisions, 2 daily newspapers and 18 active websites. The RMC's broadcasting monitoring machines were mainly the source of the gathered data for analysis.

The methodology applied to carry out this media monitoring work is both quantitative and qualitative. In other terms, a number of variables and their respective units of analysis/values were predetermined to obtain numerical data which in turn were supplemented by interpretation of these data in light of journalistic professional standards and relevant literature. The SPSS software was utilized for this purpose.

The findings of this report cover the period of 7th April to 3rd July 2019. The undertaken media monitoring work was purposively targeting the media's work in terms of news and talk show coverage. According to the findings with regard to media's *news content*, over the three month commemoration period, 13.84% of total coverage was dedicated to the 25th commemoration of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The monitoring of news content reveals that "*commemorative events*" were predominantly reported at a rate of 36.02%. Other top emerging topics include: "*Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.)*" with 16.99%, "*History of the Genocide against Tutsi and truth about the past horrific experiences*" with 16.18% , and "*Genocide*

survivors' welfare" with 7.49%. The topic of "*Unity & Reconciliation*" per se was tackled at a rate of 2.94%. Topics which were less focused on in news include: "*Ndi umunyarwanda*" (0.98%), "*Fight hate speech*" (0.64%), "*Abarinzi b'igihango*" (0.51%), "*Itorero*" (0.51%), "*Survivors' security*" (0.43%), "*Survivors' education*" (0.09%), and "*Survivors' association*" (0.09%).

A deeper analysis into the organization of commemorative events indicates that central Government agencies were the most visible at a rate of 31% (as reflected in the news), followed by local administrative entities (from Village to District levels) at a rate of 26%. It is interesting to note that the private sector, the civil society as well as Rwanda's diplomatic missions also took part in organizing such events as reported at rate of 7% each. The findings also indicate that events and issues of national scale were the most reported in news at an outstanding rate of 31.32%, while internationally they were reported at 9.96%. Looking at geographical considerations, the City of Kigali based districts received more news coverage than districts in other provinces: Gasabo (10.05%), Kicukiro (5.02%) and Nyarugenge (4.72%).

It is also important to note that quite a good number of best messages and voices in favour of Unity and Reconciliation were identified from public comments or readers' feedback on news content published via internet based media, and a few from broadcast and print media as well. The overall picture indicates that most of the detected comments were generally positive and in favour unity and reconciliation (37%), while in contrast a few of them were in disfavour (2%). However, the biggest portion of comments was not applicable to this particular topic but relevant to the commemoration of the Genocide in general (61%).

Concerning talk show programming, *interviews* and *talk show discussions* turned out to be the most predominant at a rate of 50.0% and 16.67%. Of the tackled topics in talk shows, the "*History of the Genocide against Tutsi*" emerged the most frequent with 17.6%, followed by "*Itorero*" and "*Social cohesion and trust building*" with 11.8%.

All in all, in light of results of this analysis, the work accomplished by media during the 25th Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda is commendable. That said however, some recommendations should be highlighted to improve the media's work.

- Although equally important, journalists should go beyond event reporting, but also interpret and analyse facts and issues related to Genocide against Tutsi in the perspective of fostering unity and reconciliation;
- Topics such as “Itorero”, “Ndi umunyarwanda”, and “Abarinzi b'igihango” also need special treatment by media so as to raise public information and education on values and lessons of unity of reconciliation;
- To have all the truth about Genocide and its history from all corners of the country, media operators need to strengthen efforts that would ensure more coverage of rural districts;
- Reconciliatory voices and messages, especially from survivors and perpetrators, should be more widely circulated to restore peace and social cohesion in the Rwandan society;
- Online media houses should establish internal mechanism to filter comments from the public so as not to harm the unity and reconciliation process;
- News reporters, radio & TV presenters should be particularly trained on how to analyse, investigate and report on Genocide issues;
- In talk show programming, media practitioners should diversify guests by involving more experts and researchers, FBOs, and CSOs;
- Last but not least, media should engage experts, clergy men and women to speak much on the doctrines of unity, forgiveness, and the common identity of “Ndi Umunyarwanda”.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

RMC: Rwanda Media Commission
NURC: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TV: Television
FM: Frequency Modulation
CNLG: Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre le Génocide
RTV: Rwanda Television

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and context

The post Genocide media have a social responsibility of contributing to rebuilding Rwanda's social, economic and political fabric as provided by the preamble of the Code of ethics and standards in force¹. In this regard, assessing the media's contribution in restoring social cohesion amongst Rwandans attracts the attention of different actors including Government and Non-Government agencies, civil society, academia as well as independent researchers.

From the above perspective and in cognizance of efforts made to relieve the country from the worst situation ever experienced, the journey to uphold values of unity, reconciliation and resilience remains long and calls for the responsibility and contribution from individuals, public and private institutions, the civil society, religious organizations, and non-profit organizations. To that end, the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation was put in place and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was established and put in the driver's seat to ensure its implementation. This policy is guided by eight (8) core founding principles which are:

- to promote the spirit of Rwandan identity and put national interests first instead of favours based on ethnicity, blood relations, gender, religions, region of origin, etc.;
- to combat genocide and its ideology;
- to strive for creating a nation governed by the rule of law and respect for human rights;
- to combat any form of divisionism and discrimination;
- to promote interdependence and synergy in nation building;
- to mutually strive to heal one another's physical and psychological wounds while building future interpersonal trust based on truth telling, repentance, forgiveness;
- to commemorate the 1994 genocide with the aim of making "Never Again" a reality; and
- to strive for self-determination and have passion for work.

¹ Rwanda Journalists and Media Practitioners' Code of Deontology and Ethics, Amended 5 April 2014, p. 32

Further, the policy highlights the role expected from the civil society (media included) in the following terms:

- to play their part in bringing about people's healing process, truth telling, repentance, forgiveness and to help build trust and hope for the future;
- to play their part in popularizing national programs designed for unity and social welfare of the citizens;
- to display a significant role in combating poverty and ignorance especially among the rural community, since poverty and ignorance are major obstacles to unity and reconciliation.

It is against this backdrop that NURC engaged RMC to carry out this media content monitoring report to highlight the contribution of media in promoting unity and reconciliation by assessing the media behaviour during the three month period of Genocide commemoration starting from 7th April to 3rd July 2019. This assignment was carried out to implement a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed on 4th April 2019 between the two parties.

1.2. Objectives

1.2.1. General objective

The ultimate objective of this monitoring work is to measure media's performance in promoting unity and reconciliation during #KWIBUKA25 or the 25th commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi.

1.2.2. Specific objectives

The above overall objective is further sub-divided into the following specific objectives:

- Highlight and underline the civic contribution of the media during the 25th commemoration of the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi;
- Discern the level of quality in terms of program and talk-show content and interpretation and analysis of commemoration coverage and make actionable recommendations;
- Reflect on the impact of media's role in Rwanda and share the lessons learned in the process of unity and reconciliation;

- Enlighten and engage NURC staff to support the monitoring process by mainly developing an awareness of the meaning and messages relating to the subject matter that are produced and conveyed differently by local media. This will refine the monitor's analytical skills and enable them to better reflect upon the variables to be monitored for coding and reporting purposes.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1. Concept definition

In the context of the present work and by definition, media content monitoring refers to “*the activity of monitoring the outputs of the media during a specific period. This activity includes the systematic recording of radio and television broadcasts, the collection of press clippings from print media publications, and the collection of data from online information sources. Media monitoring is practically achieved by a combination of technologies, including audio and video recording, high speed text scanners and text recognition software, human readers and analysts*”².

2.2. Quantitative and qualitative methods

The RMC monitoring methods of collecting, monitoring and interpreting how media covered and reported #KWIBUKA25 (or the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda) are both quantitative and qualitative. This methodology enables measuring the extent to which public, community, faith based, private, print, internet and social media tackles this theme while abiding by journalistic professional standards. On the one hand, quantitative methods allow gathering numerical data. Analytically, statistical data gives a descriptive picture of media’s overall conduct and allow measuring, for example, how many times the media reported on Genocide related topics, the level of territorial coverage, the type of stories, the level of fairness or bias, etc. On the other hand, the qualitative method allows both developing a deeper understanding of quantitative data and making subject analysis of quality of content. This approach also facilitates the evaluation of media conduct in ways that enable media policy designers and partners to make objective commentary, and propose actionable recommendations.

2.3. Variables and units of analysis

To thoroughly analyse media coverage of this broad theme “The 25th Genocide commemoration” in the perspective of “Unity and Reconciliation”, it was deemed important to make a breakdown

² KAYUMBA, C. (2008, Introduction to Media Monitoring, School of Journalism and Communication, UNR (Training Material for the Media High Council, Kigali)

of related topics that could attract the attention of journalists and thus be subject of news and talk shows. The topics into question are statistically termed “variables” to which are associated “values” or “units of analysis”. This process has enabled the numerical measurement of coverage rate per topic. In the same vein, the type or format of news and talk shows, the area of coverage, the sources of best messages favouring unity and reconciliation, public comments or readers’ feedback, etc. were also measured. It is worth noting that special attention was paid to how media coverage tackled the national leading theme under its three components: “Remember, Unite, Renew”, the quantitative results of which are also discussed in this report.

2.4.Scope

As earlier stated, in this media monitoring work, the focus of the assignment sticks on the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Therefore, from 7th April to 3rd July 2019 any related news item and talk show was considered as part of the data. The broadcast data collection was facilitated by the media monitoring equipment which executes systematic recording of radio and television outputs. In addition, the purchase of the sampled newspaper issues enabled to gather targeted publications, while data from online media was directly downloaded from the source. To this, active hash tags (#Kwibuka25 and twitter handles @KwibukaRwanda) were equally put under analysis. In more concrete terms, the content which was subjected to analysis is comprised of:

- Broadcasted and published news content from 7th to 3rd July 2019;
- Radio and TV talk shows specific to the subject of commemoration from 7th to 13th April 2019;
- Public comments on online articles relating to the 25th Commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi;
- Tweets and comments on hash-tag #Kwibuka24 and twitter handle @KwibukaRwanda from 7th to 13th April 2019.

2.5. Sampling

Given the nature and focus of this media monitoring work, some media houses were purposively selected to reflect the media’s work during the commemoration. This monitoring exercise could

not encompass all media broadcasts and publications. In this respect, the selection process led to the identification of 4 television stations, 6 radio stations, 2 daily newspapers, 18 websites, plus one hash-tag and one twitter handle. The selected media outlets are categorized as follows:

a) Radio & TV stations

☞ **Public broadcaster:**

1. Rwanda Television
2. Radio Rwanda

☞ **Community broadcaster:**

1. Huguka Community Radio

☞ **Faith Based broadcaster:**

1. Voice of Africa
2. TV7

☞ **Private broadcaster:**

1. Flash FM
2. Isango TV
3. TV1
4. KT Radio
5. City Radio

b) Print

1. The New Times
2. Imvaho Nshya

c) Online

1. www.umuseke.rw
2. www.igihe.com
3. www.ktpress.rw
4. www.makuruki.rw
5. www.bwiza.com

6. www.umuryango.rw
7. www.inyarwanda.com
8. www.nonaha.com
9. www.chronicles.rw
10. www.touchrwanda.com
11. www.muhabura.rw
12. www.ukwezi.com
13. www.intyoza.com
14. www.panorama.rw
15. www.taarifa.rw
16. www.hanga.rw
17. www.rwandainspirer.com
18. www.isimbi.rw

d) Social media

[www.twiter.com: #Kwibuka25](https://twitter.com/Kwibuka25) & [@KwibukaRwanda](https://twitter.com/KwibukaRwanda)

2.6.The monitoring team

To obtain a quality and reliable report, RMC selected a team of highly skilled personnel in media content analysis. Hence a team of six skilled monitors and a supervisor was constituted to undertake the assignment. The team met first to get briefed and acquire documentation on the policy and strategies of unity and reconciliation, and they discussed variables and their units of analysis so as to have a common understanding of the concepts, the process and analysis. Each team member was then assigned to monitor a specific sampled media platform, guided by the developed coding book so as to populate the designed coding sheet in SPSS accordingly.

CHAPTER THREE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The present chapter highlights major findings on the work done by media outlets in terms of news coverage from 7th April to 3rd July 2019. And talk show coverage from 7th to 13th April 2019. During this period, there is concentration of commemoration activities which attract the attention of media, plus a number of ideas and issues which are newsworthy. Hence, while analysing the news section, media monitors identified any news item related to the Genocide against Tutsi per se and Genocide commemoration, and they had to determine which news format/type utilized by journalists, which topics and sub topics are tackled, and the attention paid to the general commemoration theme “Remember-Unite-Renew” as the national leitmotiv. In addition, the coverage area and institutional visibility and participation to the commemoration are highlighted as well. Most importantly, special attention was paid to the best messages promoting unity and reconciliation, as well as comments from the public as far as online media are concerned.

In addition to news reporting, broadcasting media devote part of their airtime to talk shows whereby a number of Genocide related topics are discussed. Similarly, this work has sampled a number of them and sought to know in which format they are organized, which topics are tackled, which best messages/voices promoting or denigrating the unity and reconciliation process.

3.1. News analysis

3.1.1. News coverage rate per media house

As earlier mentioned, the Genocide commemoration period attracts the attention of local and international media. From sampled media houses and in observance to the overall objective of this work, from 7th April to 3rd July 2019 the monitoring team identified and analysed a total of 2,289 news items. Table 1 and Table 2 indicate the disaggregate number of news publication per media type/category and per month respectively. Further, Table 3 establishes a comparison between Genocide commemoration coverage and other topics as published by print and broadcasting media.

Table 1: News coverage rate per media type & category

Media type	Media category						Total
	Public	Community	Faith Based	Private	Print	Online	
Radio	172	39	38	169	0	0	418
TV	132	0	16	116	0	0	264
Website	0	0	0	0	0	830	830
Print	0	0	0	0	777	0	777
Total	304	39	54	285	777	830	2289

Table 2: News publication by month

Media house	News Publication by month			July	Total
	April	May	June		
Broadcasting media					
Rwanda Television	97	25	10	0	132
Radio Rwanda	112	27	25	8	172
Huguka	33	3	3	0	39
Voice of Africa	23	4	9	2	38
TV 7	16	0	0	0	16
Flash FM	51	13	4	0	68
Isango TV	35	5	5	0	45
TV 1	43	14	10	4	71
KT Radio	45	18	13	2	78
City Radio	19	1	1	2	23
Print media					
The New Times	194	33	23	3	253
Imvaho Nshya	353	85	75	11	524
Online media					
www.umuseke.rw	45	5	7	1	58
www.igihe.com	231	36	57	8	332
www.ktpress.rw	23	2	3	3	31
www.makuruki.rw	15	2	0	0	17
www.bwiza.com	77	19	14	5	115
www.umuryango.com	45	2	3	1	51
www.inyarwanda.com	33	5	7	0	45
www.nonaha.com	5	0	2	1	8
www.chronicles.rw	11	1	2	0	14
www.touchrwanda.com	19	0	2	0	21
www.muhabura.rw	14	6	10	2	32

Media house	News Publication by month				Total
	April	May	June	July	
www.ukwezi.com	3	0	1	0	4
www.intyoza.com	17	1	1	0	19
www.panorama.rw	14	4	2	0	20
www.taarifa.rw	9	2	0	0	11
www.hanga.rw	13	6	4	0	23
www.rwandainspirer.com	8	0	0	0	8
www.isimbi.rw	21	0	0	0	21
Total	1624	319	293	53	2289

Results exhibited in Table 1 and Table 2 indicates that the number of stories published by online and print media outweighs those that were broadcasted on radio and TV stations. This is not surprising given that, on the one hand, it goes without saying that the treatment collected information in broadcasting media (especially TV) is highly demanding in terms of time and resources. On the other hand, the dailies Imvaho Nshya & The New Times and the number of active websites showcase an increased visibility during the Genocide commemoration. As indicates Table 2, another important observation is that, media outlets give much attention to Genocide commemoration events in April and in the months that follow. The following chart reflects this fact.

Chart 1: News publication by month

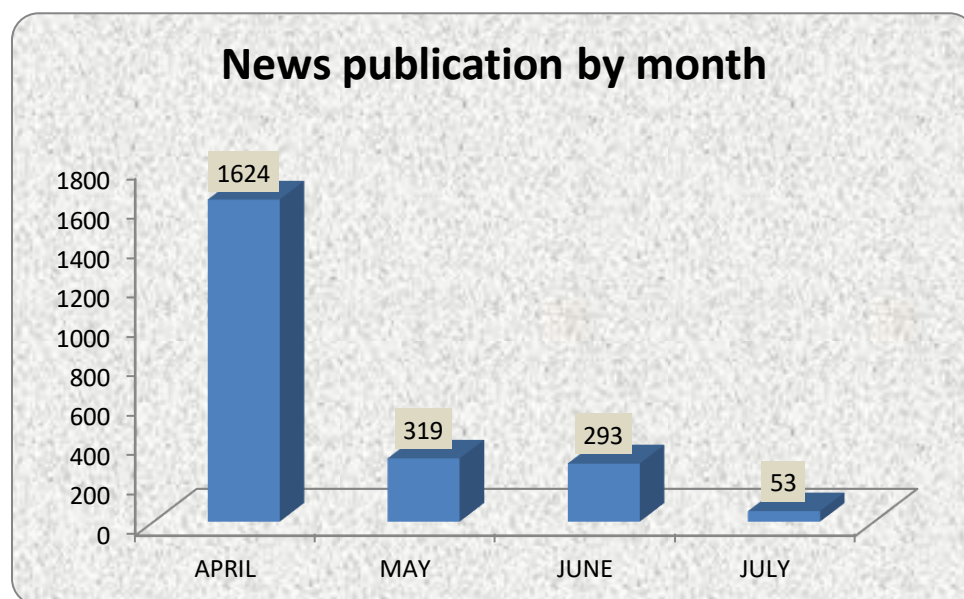


Table 3: Number of published stories (7th April – 3rd July 2019)

Media house	Total stories	Genocide comm. stories	%
Rwanda Television	1082	132	12.20
Radio Rwanda	754	172	22.81
Huguka Community Radio	585	39	6.67
Voice of Africa	232	38	16.38
TV 7 ³	44	16	36.36
Flash FM	668	68	10.18
Isango TV	506	45	8.89
TV 1	756	71	9.39
KT Radio	603	78	12.94
City Radio	363	23	6.34
The New Times	2354	253	10.75
Imvaho Nshya	2595	524	20.19
Grand total	10542	1459	13.84

The results exhibited in Table 3 indicate that, over the three month commemoration period, only 13.84% of coverage was relevant to the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. This measurement has only been possible for broadcasting and print media, but it can more or less reflect the same reality for online media. As for media house individual performance (TV7 put aside, see footnote 3) Radio Rwanda and Imvaho Nshya got higher records with 22.81% and 20.19% respectively. Other media outlets which moderately got pleasant performance include Voice of Africa (16.38), KT Radio (12.94%), Rwanda Television (12.20%), The New Times (10.75%), and Flash FM (10.18%). It is worth recalling that, as earlier mentioned, the media coverage rate went in decreasing order from April to July 2019 as reflected by Chart 1.

3.1.2. News format

Monitoring and analysing media's coverage on Genocide commemoration in terms of news format or type is important in a sense that, journalistically, different formats of stories serve different purposes and respond to different listener/viewer/reader needs. For example, news stories are supposed to descriptively provide listeners, viewers and readers with accurate, balanced, objective, fair and truthful representation of events and what happened or is happening.

³ Given the RMC's recording machines did not capture TV7, the data put under analysis are those of 8th April to 12th April 2019 from TV7. The station itself had no systematic archiving system.

With this type of stories, journalists are supposed to provide news of what happened or is happening without mixing it with their own opinions. On the other hand, an opinion provides what an individual, media house or any other organization thinks of and reads from what has or is happening while an analysis and commentary discusses the possible meaning of what happened or is happening. It is from this perspective that media monitors classified different stories according to their format, thus exposing and assessing the extent to which media outlets went beyond providing news to interpreting and analysing what was happening during the commemoration. It is with such an approach that one can track diversity of opinion and truth about the Genocide towards Rwanda's unity and reconciliatory path, and transformation journey.

Table 4: News format

Media house	News Story	Investigation	Pictorial	Commentary	Feature/analysis	Editorial	Opinion	Portrait and profile	Interview	Documentary, chronicles	Testimony	Others	Total
Broadcasting media													
Rwanda Television	132	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	132
Radio Rwanda	135	0	1	2	2	0	8	16	1	2	4	1	172
Huguka	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
Voice of Africa	35	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	38
TV 7	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	16
Flash FM	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	68
Isango TV	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	45
TV 1	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	71
KT Radio	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	78
City Radio	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
Print media													
The New Times	143	1	6	9	24	23	28	1	10	1	6	1	253
Imvaho Nshya	416	0	4	2	14	14	7	9	0	31	11	16	524
Online media													
www.umuseke.rw	52	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	58
www.igihe.com	275	0	0	3	24	0	0	0	3	24	3	0	332
www.ktpress.rw	21	0	1	0	5	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	31
www.makuruki.rw	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	17
www.bwiza.com	102	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	115
www.umuryango.com	39	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	2	51

Media house	News Story	Investigation	Pictorial	Commentary	Feature/analysis	Editorial	Opinion	Portrait and profile	Interview	Documentary, chronicles	Testimony	Others	Total
www.inyarwanda.com	42	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	45
www.nonaha.com	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
www.chronicles.rw	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
www.touchrwanda.com	12	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	21
www.muhabura.rw	27	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	32
www.ukwezi.com	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
www.intyoza.com	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
www.panorama.rw	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
www.taarifa.rw	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11
www.hanga.rw	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
www.rwandainspirer.com	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
www.isimbi.rw	14	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	21
Total	1891	1	14	16	90	37	46	34	17	78	39	26	2289
Percentage	82.61	0.04	0.61	0.70	3.93	1.62	2.01	1.49	0.74	3.41	1.70	1.14	100

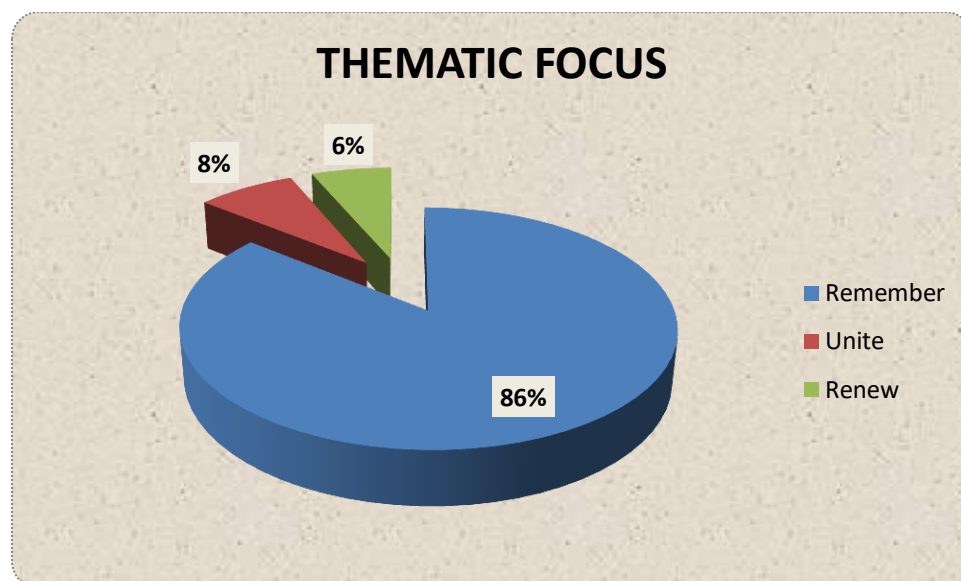
As indicated in Table 4, the biggest portion of analysed information was found as “News story” at a rate of 82.61% which implies that much of the work done by journalists lie into event reporting and coverage. Further, “analysis” or “feature stories”, especially in print and online media emerged at a rate of 3.93% of the analysed data during the commemoration week. It is worth noting that “testimonies”, “documentaries” and/ or “chronicles” were considered as special formats given the nature of the theme under analysis (Genocide issues) to measure the extent to which witnesses of Genocide are given the floor in news publications. These formats were recorded at 3.41% and 1.70% respectively. Identified opinion pieces were equivalent to 2.01%, while “Editorial” items represent 1.62% of the analysed package. The format “Others”, in the context of this report, represents commemorative and compassion messages, speeches and social media posts at a rate of 1.14%.

3.1.3. Thematic focus

The national theme for the 25th Genocide commemoration or KWIBUKA25 was stated in these terms: “*Remember-Unite-Renew*” in English or “*Kwibuka Twiyubaka*” in Kinyarwanda. This

monitoring sought to know to which extent the theme is reflected in news through its three aspects as news reporters collect and treat KWIBUKA25 information for publication. The following chart indicates subsequent details.

Chart 2: Thematic focus



With the presumption that the targeted media coverage was carried out in the general context of Genocide remembrance, it was found out that the aspect of “remembrance” outweighs others with 86%, whereas that of “unity” and “renewal” were sounding at a small rate of 8% and 6% respectively.

3.1.4. Topic coverage

To dig deep into analysis of media coverage on the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi, it was deemed important to classify news stories per subject matter being discussed. A total of nineteen topics were predetermined to facilitate the exercise. Although with disparity, most topics were tackled by news reporters as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5: Topic coverage

Topic	Frequency	%
Commemorative events (by local administration, media, conferences, religious gathering, etc.)	846	36.02
Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.)	399	16.99

Topic	Frequency	%
History of Genocide against Tutsi, truth about the past	380	16.18
Survivors' welfare (life conditions recovery, daily subsistence, housing, etc.)	176	7.49
Genocide ideology (negation, distortion, revisionism)	103	4.38
Symbolic memory (poems, plays, films, research & book publications)	83	3.53
Unity and reconciliation	69	2.94
International justice (international tribunals, residual mechanism)	64	2.72
Local tribunals and courts (Gacaca, ordinary and extra courts, legal support)	59	2.51
Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness	34	1.45
Social cohesion and trust building	31	1.32
Survivors' health	29	1.23
Ndi umunyarwanda	23	0.98
Fight hate speech	15	0.64
Abarinzi b'igihango	12	0.51
Itorero	12	0.51
Survivors' security	10	0.43
Survivors' education	2	0.09
Survivors' associations	2	0.09
Total	2349	100

Table 5 reveals that commemorative events were predominantly covered by media at a rate of 36.02% followed by “Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.)” and “History of the Genocide against Tutsi, truth about the past” at a rate of 16.99% and 16.18% respectively. Topics reflecting “Genocide survivors’ welfare”, the “fight against Genocide ideology” and “Symbolic memory” were also identified though at lower rate of 7.49%, 4.38% and 3.53% respectively. The topic of “Unity & Reconciliation” per se was tackled at a meagre rate of 2.94% of the analyzed news package.

From a quantitative view, it is worth clarifying that one story could evoke multiple topics and in such as cases the latter were all captured (and this justifies why the number of topics outweighs the number of news stories gathered for analysis, i.e. 2349 topics out of 2289 news stories).

In light of statistical results displayed in Table 4, it is evident that journalists give much coverage and reporting to commemorative events compared to other equally important topics such as “Itorero” (0.51%), “Ndi umunyarwanda” (0.98%), “Abarinzi b'igihango” (0.51%), “Survivors’ associations” (0.09%), etc. Yet they relate highly to reconciliation. Furthermore,

intepretation and analysis of facts related to Genocide turned lower, yet there is still need of public information and education to constanly foster the unity and reconciliation processs through media's work.

Although all topics deserve attention, one cannot help commending journalists who, through their reporting, promptly denounce cases of Genocide ideology. Here is an illustative example: *«Umwana w'umukobwa witwa Uwamahoro Denise avuga ko ngo yaraye akubiswe bamuziza ko ari umututsi. 'Twari abakobwa babiri hamwe n'uyu nguyu, nuko abaza mugenzi we ati uyu mukobwa ubu si umututsi? Mugenzi we aravuga ati ese ntubibona? Nuko ndavuga nti niba ndi we muranziza iki? Uyu anatabaye ni we bahise bakubita [...] mfite ubwoba ko twahura akanyica, kubera ko nyuma yaho yaragiye avuga ngo ni hahandi nawe tuzahora' [...] »* (A young girl named UWAMAHORO Denise was yesterday beaten for the only reason she is Tutsi. "We were two young girls together with this one, and then her friend asked her: "Isn't this girl a Tutsi?" Her friend replied: "Don't you see it yourself?" Then I said: "If I am Tutsi why do you harass me?" This man came to my rescue and he was beaten in return [...] I am scared of being killed if I ever come across him, because he fled away saying that, he shall at all cost revenge", (Own translation), Isango TV on 8th April 2019. Reporting such incidences does not only help competent organs take appropriate measures, but also inform and educate people about misdeeds of divisionism.

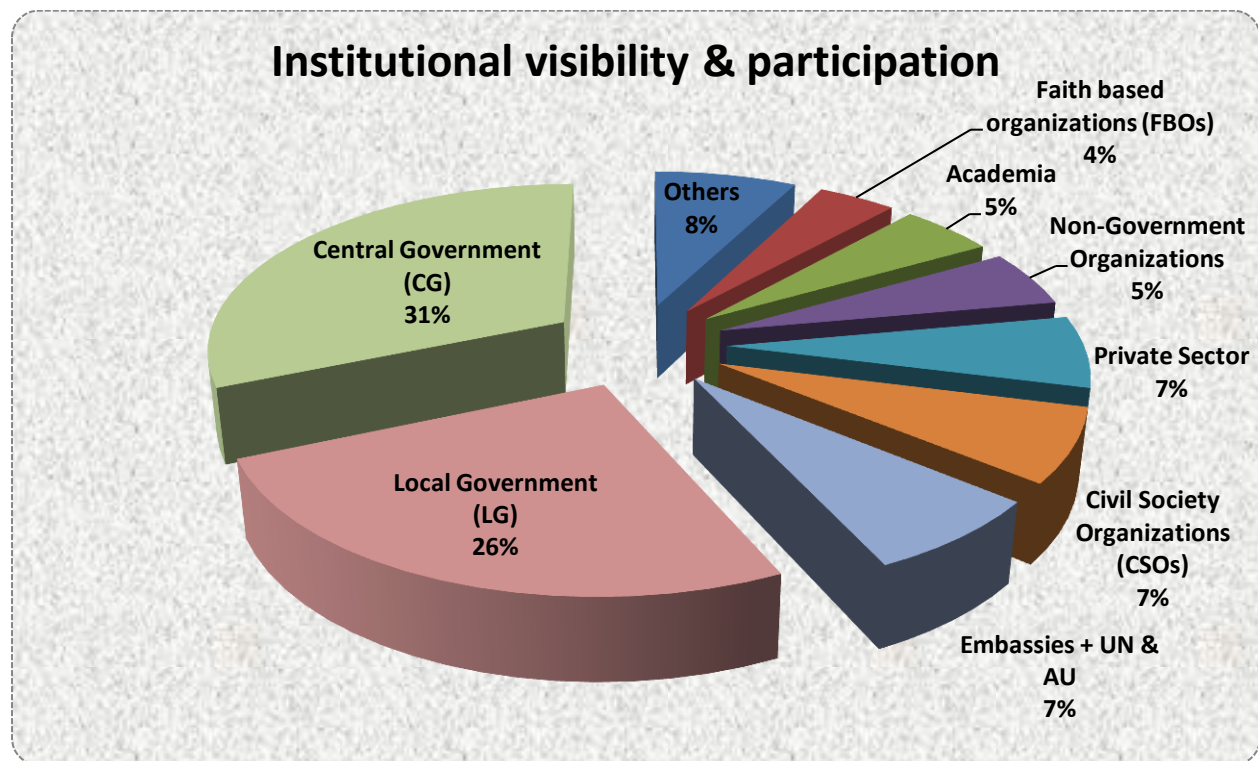
3.1.5. Insitutional visibility and participation to the commemoration

The present media monitoring work sought to also measure the extent to which Government and Non Government entities were involved in commemorating the Genocide against Tutsi. This responds to the guidelines⁴ of the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) on the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The guidelines call upon Rwandans and foreigners, administrative entities and various organizations to play an active role into continuous dialogue with a flashback to the dark history of Rwanda, with attitude of truth telling, compassion, determination to conflict resolution, reconciliation and unity, and commitment towards a more resilient Rwanda. Analytically, this variable can only be measured

⁴ https://cnlg.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/documents/Amabwiriza_ya_Kwibuka25.pdf

on news items in “news story” format which generally encompass commemoration activities organized by different actors. Chart 3 exhibit subsequent satatistical findings.

Chart 3: Insitutional visibility and participation to the commemoration



Results of this monitoring report indicate that commemorative events made up the biggest portion of published news (amounting to 1753) during the commemoration period. Chart 3 above showcases that, the Central Government and its agencies took the lead with 31%, followed by local government administrative entities (from Village to District levels) with 26%. It is interesting to note that the private sector and the civil society took part in organizing such events at rate of 7% each. Rwanda’s diplomatic missions worldwide, the diaspora and foreigners or friends of Rwanda also organized KWIBUKA25 events at a rate of 7% as reported in news. This is a good sign that the NEVER AGAIN leitmotiv is spread across the world. Again inside Rwanda, other active stakeholders include academia (5%), local and international NGOs (5%), and FBOs (4%).

3.1.6. Area of coverage

The media reach while reporting on Genocide matters is very important since this tragedy was perpetrated against Tutsi on the entire territory of Rwanda. Therefore, it is evident that every village has a story to tell and share for unity and reconciliation. Table 6 shows how different districts of the country were reached by media reporters. As well as the identification of stories at national, international, regional and sub-regional levels.

Table 6: Area of coverage

Area of coverage	Media House																												Total	%		
	Rwanda Television	Radio Rwanda	Huguka	Voice of Africa	TV 7	Flash FM	Isango TV	TV 1	KT Radio	City Radio	The New Times	Imvaho Nshya	www.umuseke.rw	www.igihe.com	www.ktpress.rw	www.makuruki.rw	www.bwiza.com	www.umuryango.com	www.inyarwanda.com	www.nonaha.com	www.chronicles.rw	www.touchrwanda.com	www.muhabura.rw	www.ukwezi.com	www.intyoz.com	www.panorama.rw	www.taarifa.rw	www.hanga.rw			www.rwandainspirer.com	www.isimbi.rw
Bugesera	10	11	2	0	0	2	2	7	0	0	6	10	3	12	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	75	3.28
Burera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.04
Gakenke	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	7	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	19	0.83
Gasabo	31	21	0	2	0	7	3	17	9	3	27	35	5	38	1	3	7	2	7	1	0	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	230	10.05
Gatsibo	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	15	0	3	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	36	1.57
Gicumbi	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	19	0.83
Gisagara	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0.61
Huye	7	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	6	28	0	5	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65	2.84
Kamonyi	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	20	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	1	0	0	0	0	44	1.92
Karongi	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	0	3	19	3	5	0	0	6	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	2.10
Kayonza	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	3	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0.83
Kicukiro	12	5	0	5	1	1	1	5	4	3	12	24	5	17	0	1	5	0	6	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	115	5.02
Kirehe	0	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	23	1.00
Muhanga	0	4	14	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	2	18	3	2	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	2.45
Musanze	0	4	0	0	0	1	3	1	6	0	1	28	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	2.27
Ngoma	1	2	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	3	5	26	3	6	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	62	2.71
Ngororero	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0.44
Nyabihu	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0.57
Nyagatare	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0.66
Nyamagabe	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	2	5	2	4	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	26	1.14
Nyamasheke	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	21	0.92
Nyanza	4	3	2	0	0	4	0	3	1	0	4	7	3	5	1	0	3	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	47	2.05

Area of coverage	Media House																											Total	%			
	Rwanda Television	Radio Rwanda	Huguka	Voice of Africa	TV 7	Flash FM	Isango TV	TV 1	KT Radio	City Radio	The New Times	Imvaho Nshya	www.umuseke.rw	www.igihe.com	www.ktpress.rw	www.makuruki.rw	www.bwiza.com	www.umuryango.com	www.inyarwanda.com	www.nonaha.com	www.chronicles.rw	www.touchrwanda.com	www.muhabura.rw	www.ukwezi.com	www.intyoza.com	www.panorama.rw	www.taarifa.rw			www.hanga.rw	www.rwandainspirer.com	www.isimbi.rw
Nyarugenge	9	0	0	1	1	3	1	3	3	4	10	16	2	22	3	0	7	6	1	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	9	0	1	108	4.72
Nyaruguru	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	7	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	0.92
Rubavu	2	3	0	1	0	1	2	0	3	0	1	21	2	2	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	44	1.92
Ruhango	2	1	4	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	12	2	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	1.35
Rulindo	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	3	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	0.79
Rusizi	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	26	1.14
Rutsiro	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0.17
Rwamagana	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	12	5	7	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	41	1.79
National	21	72	6	22	12	22	20	9	21	1	111	121	15	100	16	8	27	27	12	2	6	13	13	2	4	5	2	7	4	16	717	31.32
Sub-Regional	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	0.74
Regional	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	24	1.05
International	10	8	1	1	1	6	3	2	2	1	41	44	2	69	5	1	11	7	1	0	6	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	228	9.96
Total	132	172	39	38	16	68	45	71	78	23	253	524	58	332	31	17	115	51	45	8	14	21	32	4	19	20	11	23	8	21	2289	100

Findings exhibited in Table 6 indicate that events and issues of national scale were the most reported in news at a rate of 31.32%. Another important observation is that local media reported such happenings from outside Africa at 9.96%. This record may be associated with the fact that the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi was somehow special as it marked a quarter of a century, and therefore many efforts were invested to report it both nationally and internationally.

Regarding district coverage, Kigali City based districts received more news coverage than districts in other provinces: Gasabo (10.05%), Kicukiro (5.02%) and Nyarugenge (4.72%). The over coverage of Kigali is probably understandable considering the over concentration of more commemorative events and numerous memorial site visits at Kigali Genocide Memorial (at Gisozi), and at Nyanza and Rebero Genocide Memorials. This can also be associated with the fact that the City of Kigali is the seat of most media outlets. Bugesera District, as satellite city which is closer to Kigali, got an interesting coverage at rate of 3.28% compared to others.

The least coverage of rural Districts by media leaves a number of interrogations. If all citizens are to equally, actively and informatively partake in the process of Genocide remembrance and fostering unity and reconciliation, all media stakeholders need to strengthen efforts that would ensure more coverage of rural districts as well.

3.1.7. Language bias

In the context of this work, *language bias*⁵ refers to the use of language in a news item which clearly and distinctly favors one party/source above another, or substantially disfavors or damages the image of another source. Language bias consists of *exaggeration*, *trivialization*, and *generalization*". The identified case was found in the editorial of The New Times whereby there was use of demeaning language in these terms: "*All the above mini Genocides were not triggered by the death of the Head of State, but by a sinister ideology*," Sunday Times (The New Times), issue N°691 of 7th April 2019, p.6. The term "mini Genocides" was used to refer to the mass killings of Tutsi in Mukingo Sector (Northern Province), Bugesera (Eastern Province) as well as massacres of Bagogwe (Western Province) in 1992. Though this inappropriate term might have

⁵MMP/ RMMP, Rwanda Media Monitoring Project : A Monitoring User Guide, Kigali, Media High Council, 2006

been used unintentionally, the monitoring team believes that there is no “*mini-Genocide*” or “*micro-Genocide*” but rather *Genocide* regardless of the number of victims. Law N° 84/2013 of 11/09/2013 on the crime of genocide ideology and other related offences as the legal reference reminds us of the concept of Genocide as a crime against humanity and its magnitude.

Article 2: Definitions of terms

As used in this Law, the following terms shall have the following meaning:

1° genocide recognized by the United Nations: any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such, whether in time of peace or in time of war:

- a. killing members of the group;
- b. causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c. deliberately inflicting on the group, in whole or in part, conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- d. forcibly transferring children from the group to another group;

2° Genocide committed against the Tutsi: the Genocide committed in Rwanda against the Tutsi from 1st October 1990 to 31st December 1994;

3° Genocide: Genocide committed against the Tutsi or any other genocide recognized by the United Nations;

4° in public: a site in which acts are performed or words are uttered in the presence of or in a place accessible by at least more than two (2) persons;

5° deliberate: willingly and with intent to promote genocide ideology.

3.1.8. Best messages and voices promoting unity and reconciliation

It is well known that media shape people’s opinion and perception of the world. While analysing news items published during the commemoration period, it was equally judged important to detect some messages which promote the process of unity and reconciliation with the belief that they positively impact Rwanda’s social fabric by helping it recover from the aftermath of the

Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994. Messages into question could be from different sources including leaders, Genocide survivors, Genocide perpetrators, experts, etc. In this regard, Table 6 reflects related highlights.

Table 7: Best messages and voices promoting unity and reconciliation

Media House	Best message & voices promoting unity and reconciliation
The New Times	<i>"All Rwandans should be Rwandan without looking at the ethnic tag. I think those who committed the Genocide now regret it; what they did was beyond barbaric. There is nothing civilized or human about it. I think Nyange students serve as good example and good foundation for the nation as we rebuild and become the humans we are supposed to be", Antoine SEBIRORO, a Genocide survivor from Bisesero, The New Times of April 8, 2019, p.5</i>
Imvaho Nshya	<i>"Igishimishije ni uko gahunda yo kwibuka itakiri iy'abarokotse Jenocide gusa, ahubwo ni gahunda y'abanyarwanda bose, ari yo mpamvu nk'umuryango Ibuka twumva ari igihe kiba gikwiye kuba igihe kidasanzwe yaba mu mitima n'imitekerereze, haba mu mvugo abantu bavuga, haba mu myitwarire kugirango turusheho gushyigikirana no kubakana kugirango bidufashe kubaka ubumwe bwacu"</i> (What is interesting is that the commemoration day is not merely for genocide survivors but for all Rwandans, that is why IBUKA believes it is a special time to inwardly rethink our past, to diligently behave and mind our language, and in a bid to foster mutual support towards unity) (Own translation), MBONIREMA Jerome, Ibuka President, Gisagara District; Imvaho Nshya 4825 of 10th April 2019, p. 11
The New Times	<i>"In the end, the only conclusion to draw from Rwanda's story is profound hope for our world. No community is beyond repair, and the dignity of a people is never fully extinguished. We Rwandans have granted ourselves a new beginning. We exist in a state of permanent commemoration, every day, in all that we do, in order to remain faithful to that choice. Twenty-five years</i>

Media House	Best message & voices promoting unity and reconciliation
	<p><i>later, here we are. All of us. Wounded and heartbroken, yes. But unvanquished"</i>, HE Paul KAGAME, The New Times of April 8, 2019, p.4</p>
Imvaho Nshya	<p><i>"Ubu urubyiruko rw'igihugu cyacu nta rwitwazo dufite rwo kuvuga ngo twabuze ibyangombwa mu gukumira no kuwanya ingengabitekerezo ya Jenoside kuko twamaze kumva ko gahunda ya Ndi umunyarwanda ko ari yo izatuma u Rwanda n'abarutuye bakomeza kugira amahoro n'ituze, nkaba ahubwo nsaba cyane urubyiruko gukora rufite intego kuko nanjye numvaga ko nubwo nabuze mama na barumuna abanjye nzaharanira kuminuza kandi nabigezeho"</i>, (The youth has now no excuse to fail preventing the Genocide ideology since they have now grasped that “Ndi Umunyarwanda Programme” is catalyst of unity and prosperity. I therefore request them to always be purpose driven in life, given I also managed to do university studies and I succeeded despite the loss of my mother and younger sisters) (Own translation), Imvaho Nshya 4826 of 11th April 2019, p.IV(suppl.) (quoting Dusangirihirwe Fébronie, Genocide survivor from Mugunga sector, Gakenke District)</p>
www.inyarwanda.com	<p><i>"Hari umuntu wigeze kumbaza impamvu dukomeza kwikoreza abarokotse umutwari wo kudufasha gukira ibikomere. Cyari ikibazo gikomeye kandi giteye agahinda. Ariko nasanze n'igisubizo cyoroshye ndetse cyumvikana. Ni uko abacitse ku icumu ari bo bonyine bafite icyo batanga, imbabazi. 'Ndagira ngo abacitse ku icumu mbabwire ngo mwarakoze cyane. Imbaraga, ubutwari, no kwihangana kwanyu byerekana ko ntacyaseny ubunyarwanda dusangiye twese."</i> (Once someone asked me a very complicated question, wishing to know why we still burden Genocide survivors by requesting them to help us heal from the wounds of Genocide. It was a difficult and sorrowful question, but I realized there was an easy answer: Genocide survivors are the only ones who have what to offer: forgiveness. To Genocide survivors I say “thank you” for your strength, courage, and endurance which prove that none shall destroy our Rwandan citizenship) (Own translation), HE. KAGAME</p>

Media House	Best message & voices promoting unity and reconciliation
	Paul, www.inyarwanda.com , 7th April 2019
www.igihe.com	<p>«Ubushobozi bw'ikibi bugaragara hose mu miryango tubamo ariko ni nako indangaciro zo kumva, ubugwaneza, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge ziturimo. Reka dufatanye kubaka ejo heza huzuye amahoro kuri twese. Ni bwo buryo bwiza bwo guha icyubahiro abatakaje ubuzima bwabo mu Rwanda, imyaka 25 ishize », (The capacity for evil resides in all our societies, but so, too, do the qualities of understanding, kindness, justice and reconciliation. Let us work together to build a harmonious future for all. This is the best way to honour those who lost their lives so tragically in Rwanda 25 years ago), António Guterres, UN Secretary General, www.igihe.com, 7th April 2019</p> <p>(Original text: https://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/commemorations-2019-sg-message.shtml)</p>
www.igihe.com	<p>«Wowe ukibufite buruke, uracyafite igihe cyo kurwanirira iki gihugu, ntikizongere gucikamo kabiri, harabaye ntihazongere kuba. Jenocide yabaye ntizongere, niduhaguruka twese tukavugisha ukuri aya mateka, Jenocide ntizongera kuba » (Please give up your profound hatred. You still have strength to fight divisionism in this country, and if we all embrace the NEVER AGAIN to Genocide though truth telling about this dark history) (Own translation), Nyirandegeya Mwamini, www.igihe.com, 8th April 2019</p>
KT Radio	<p>“Nk'uwahoze ari Minisitiri ushinze kurwanya ihohoterwa, NYIRASAFARI Esperance asaba abanyarwanda kwirinda ibikorwa n'invugo bigamije kugirira nabi abarokotse jenocide yakorewe abatutsi, baharanira ineza rusange y'abanyarwanda. Yabivugiye mumuhango wogushyingura imibiri 65 kurwibutso rw'i Ruhanga mu Karere ka Gasabo”, (The former Minister of Gender and Family Promotion, Mrs NYIRASAFARI Esperance, urged Rwandans to refrain from aggressive acts and hate speech towards Genocide survivors, but rather strive for the wellbeing of all Rwandans) (Own translation), KT Radio on 15th April 2019</p>

Media House	Best message & voices promoting unity and reconciliation
KT Radio	“ <i>IBUKA mu Karere ka Huye iremeza ko abacitse ku icumu biteguye kwakira abagororwa bakoze Jenocide bagiye kurekurwa guhera 2022, nibaze dufatanye kwubaka u Rwanda</i> ” (IBUKA members from Huye District expressed that they are ready to welcome Genocide convicts who will be released from 2022. Let them join us in building our country) (Own translation), IBUKA Chairperson – Huye, KT Radio on 10 th May 2019.
TV1	“ <i>Kuba abanyururu 51 bakoze Jenocide bemeye ibyaha bagasaba imbabazi mu ruhamwe abo biciye, NURC isanga ari intambwe nziza nubwo umubare munini ari uw’abinangiye bari mu magereza hose</i> ” (According to NURC, the fact that 51 Genocide convicts recognized their crime and publicly expressed repentance, it is good step forward although a big number of prisoners remain adamant in that regard) (Own translation), Executive Secretary – NURC, TV1 on 31 st May 2019

From these examples, it is clear that most messages in favour of unity and reconciliation are from leaders, and this is, on the one hand, obvious given to the leaders’ responsibility. But on the other hand, it is the responsibility of media to primarily expose the VOX POP on issues of unity and reconciliation with voices from non leaders. That said however, it was noticed that Genocide survivors are given the floor to share their testimonies, their recovery process as well as their commitment to unity and reconciliation process. Again, views from Genocide perpetrators showcasing remorse or repentance were also identified though not at satisfactory level.

3.1.9. News comments / feedback

In addition to news release, it is nowadays a common practice for media outlets to offer an open social media platform to their audience or readers for comments on issues raised. Such public commentary forum is generally in-house regulated before getting exposed to information consumers. On the one hand, the space for comments is always incorporated into news portals while on the other hand, broadcasting media have to recourse to the creation of accounts/ pages on social media such as www.twitter.com and www.facebook.com .

In this perspective, the monitoring team conducted qualitative content analysis of readers' views or public feedback vis-à-vis the promotion of unity and reconciliation amongst Rwandans. Thus, this section reflects the nature and quality of comments from listeners and readers' divergent views, as directly extracted the sampled websites and as read by news anchors. After a discourse analysis, the comments were tagged as either positive or negative vis-à-vis the topic of "unity & reconciliation". Further still, media monitors had to detect whether the positive comments are favourable to unity and reconciliation in terms of the following four aspects:

- a) Healing process (comments that are comforting and counselling), and forgiveness (comments that help to build trust and hope for the future);
- b) Truth telling (comments that are reconciliatory even when not spoken often);
- c) Repentance (comments that are remorseful, penitent, apologetic, etc. of what happened); and
- d) Genocide denying (hate comments with words that are divisive, trivial, and negating the genocide against Tutsi).

Table 8 exhibits the trend of news comments gathered from news portals and broadcasting media as well.

Table 8: Status of comments/ feedback

News comments / feedback						
Healing process	Truth telling	Repentance	Genocide denial	N/A	No comments	Total comments
64	63	8	7	1371	749	1513
4.23	4.16	0.53	0.46	90.61		100.00

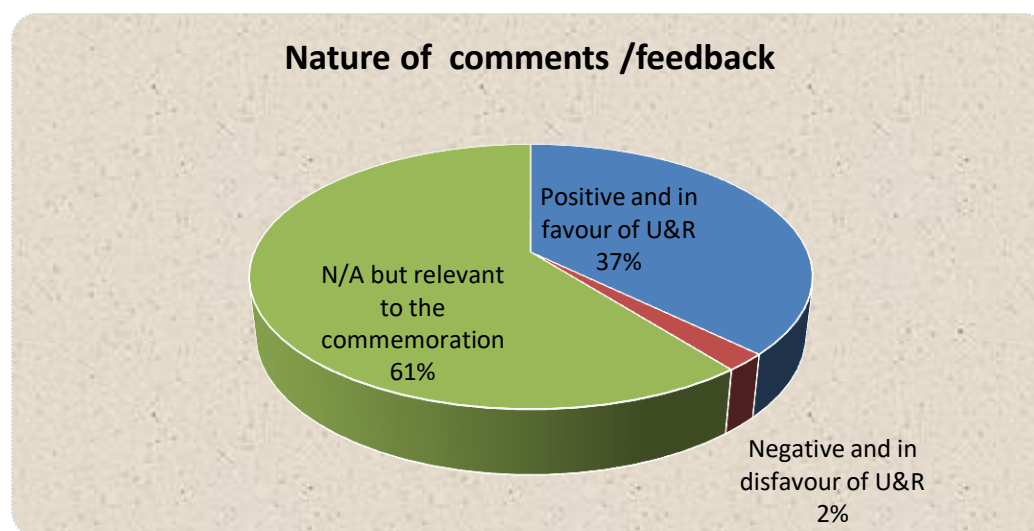
It is worth noting from Table 8 that not all comments could fall into the aforementioned aspects of unity and reconciliation, and not all stories were commented. That is why the outstanding number of comments at the rate of 90.61% were not specifically related to the identified variables but relevant to the commemoration in general. Further, it was observed that commentators expressed their views on; the healing process (4.23%), truth telling (3.16%), Genocide denial (0.46%) and repentance (0.53%). To make a particular notice on Genocide denial, Table 9 highlights some cases identified on www.igihe.com.

Table 9: Cases of Genocide denial

Link	Comment
https://igihe.com/amakuru/mu-mateka/article/iya-5-gicurasi-1994-rtlm-yavuze-ko-ari-umunsi-wo-guhumbahumba-abatutsi	“*itariki 6/04/1994 FPR yavuzeko ari umunsi wo gutsemba ABAHUTU...*” (RPF said that the 6 th April 1994 is the D day to exterminate the Hutu) (Own translation)
https://igihe.com/amakuru/u-rwanda/article/iya-7-mata-yemejwe-nk-umunsi-wo-kwibuka-jenoside-yakorewe-abatutsi-mu-bufaransa	“Ubu se bivuze ko n'umuryango wa Habyarimana uzibuka le 07 nawo cyangwa undi wese wibuka abe bishwe mu buryo bunyuranye bitewe n'ababisha?” (Does this mean that even Habyarimana’s family shall pay tribute to him on 7 th or any other person shall mourn theirs on different days depending upon who were the culprits?) (Own translation)
https://www.igihe.com/amakuru/u-rwanda/article/n-umuntu-umwe-ufite-ingengabitekerezo-ya-jenoside-tugomba-kuyishiririza-gen	“Ntibikwiye kuvugwa nkawe, none urumva mukenewe kuvugwa neza gusa? Ese amaraso mwamennye mwebwe azabazwa nde? U Rwanda si mwe rurangiriraho. Ikindi banza ukire iyo virusi ufite. Mwinjiye murya intsinzi musambanya bashiki bacu. Ese mwibuka ko ari mwe mwakwirakwije SIDA mu Rwanda mwa nyenzi mwe?” (This should not be told by you! Do you think only good things should be spoken of you? Who shall pay the price of the blood shed by you? You are not the only ones who make Rwanda. Another thing, first get cured of HIV/AIDS. You entered victoriously raping our sisters. Do you ever remember that you spread HIV/AIDS among Rwandans, you cockroaches? (Own translation)
http://igihe.com/spip.php?page=v5article&id_article=117234	“Abo bese birirwa bavuga neza igihugu, ababo biciwe Kibeho na Tingitingi kandi ntawe ujya ubavuga. Ntimukirare bantu... Ngo umuntu aguhisha ko akwanga, nawe ukamuhisha ko ubizi. Mubanye mubindikirana ariko ntibirama” (All those who are ironically praising the Government, their families were exterminated at Kibeho and Tingitingi but none tells their story. When someone hides their hatred towards you, you pretend not to know it”. (Own translation)

Although not preponderant, it is clear from these examples that some poisonous comments escaped the attention of news editors. Comments or feedback messages should normally be filtered before getting exposed to readers/ listeners so as not to hinder efforts invested into the unity and reconciliation process. That said however, the overall picture indicates that most of the detected comments were generally positive and in favour of unity and reconciliation (37%), while in contrast a few of them were disfavour (2%). In addition to this, the biggest portion of comments was not applicable to this particular topic but relevant to the commemoration of the Genocide in general (61%). The chart below portrays the findings of the monitoring team.

Chart 4: Nature of comments / feedback



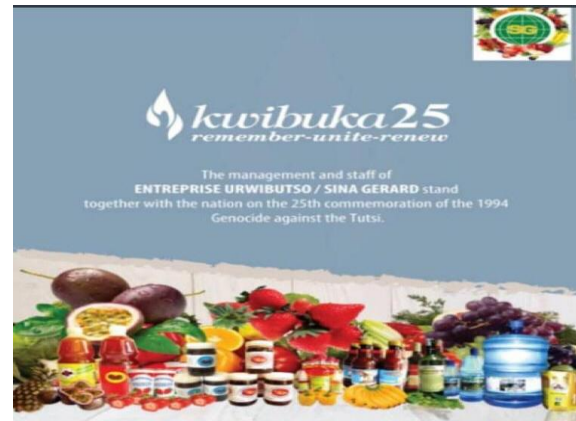
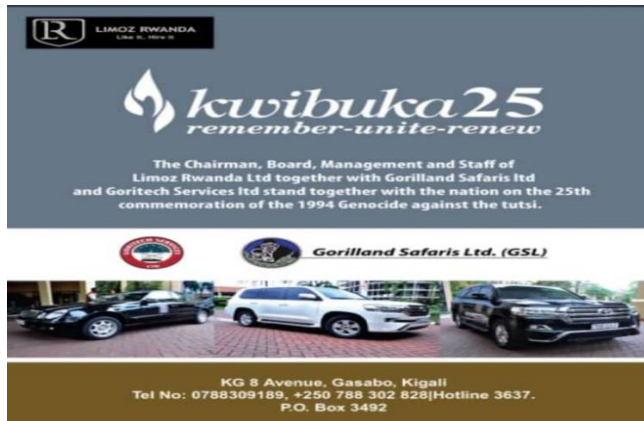
3.1.10. Issues of concern as observed in social and online media

3.1.10.1. Advertorial messages

As earlier mentioned, the monitoring team was at some level interested in social media. It was then noticed that, on social media especially www.twitter.com logs, some private companies expressed compassion messages bearing the KWIBUKA25 logo issued by CNLG plus their own as partners, but also exposing their products and services. This was considered to be abuse as it was judged to be products advertisement yet in times of national grief. This provoked tense discussion in social media especially amongst media practitioners. On this matter, CNLG made a public and official notice⁶ on acceptable use of logo and corporate colours meant for Genocide

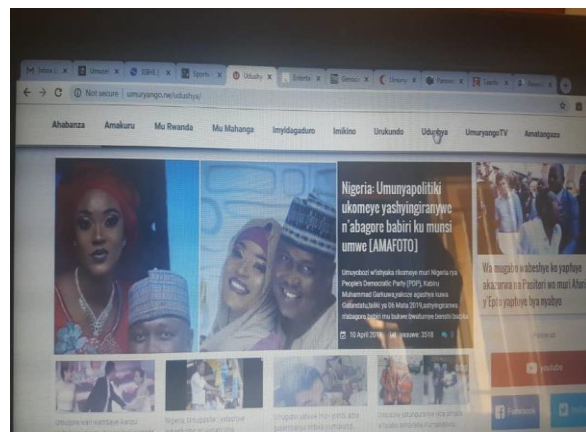
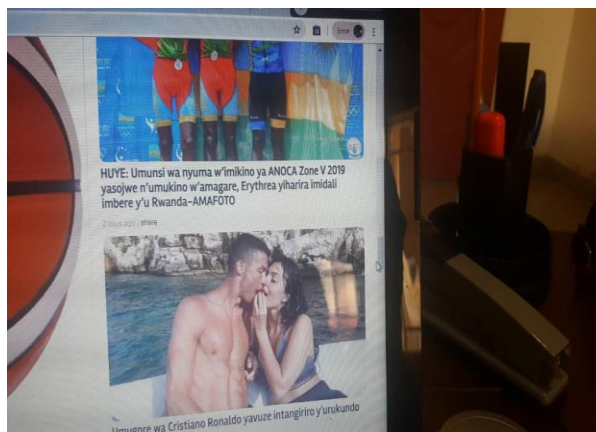
⁶ https://cnlg.gov.rw/fileadmin/migrated/media/BANDEROLES_ZO_KWIBUKA.pdf

remembrance as earlier discussed among partners. Following are some of the condemned advertorial messages.



3.1.10.2. Entertainment news

The guidelines on the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi established by the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) provide that entertainment activities are prohibited⁷. In the context of this work, the monitoring team believes that entertainment news and talk shows are by extension prohibited as well. Yet, another important observation made on some entertainment news portals (www.inyarwanda.com, www.umuryango.com) consists of inappropriate content posted during the mourning week. This was even condemned by public members themselves through their comments. Following are some illustrations.



⁷ https://cnlg.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/documents/Amabwiriza_ya_Kwibuka25.pdf

3.2. Talk show analysis

More than news programmes, talk show programmes are considered as the most important instruments used by media outlets to discuss issues, policies and programmes that are considered to be of public interest. Comparatively, the latter offer more airtime to analytically dig deep into topical issues. It is in line with this thinking that the monitoring methodology considered *talk-shows* as equally important to be monitored and analyzed in view of the Kwibuka25 commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi. Talk shows that were sampled are those which were specifically organized to discuss Genocide related matters during the commemoration week (i.e. from 7th to 13th April 2019).

3.2.1. Sampled talk show programmes

This analysis could not encompass all broadcasted talk show programmes given time limitations. Therefore, under the guidance of chief editors, the selected talk shows were chosen among those assumed to be with wider audience compared to others. Table 10 indicates sampled talk show programmes that were monitored and analyzed.

Table 10: Sampled talk show programmes

Media house	Talk show title
Rwanda Television	1. Imboni musesenguzi (Monday @9:00 pm) 2. Sobanukirwa ⁸ (Sunday @6:00 pm) 3. Booklab
Radio Rwanda	1. Isi ya none (Mon., Wed., Thurs. @9:00-10:30 PM) 2. Amahumbezi (Mon. – Fri. @3:00-5:00 pm)
Huguka Community Radio	1. Iwacu mu mudugudu (Mon. 7:00-8:00 am) 2. Gospel time (Sun. 7:30-8 :00 am) 3. Ibihe n'amateka (Sun. 9 :00 pm)
Voice of Africa	1. Islam n'ibihe (Mon.-Sun. 4:50 pm)
TV7	1. The Gospel celeb ⁹ (Tues. & Fri. 5:00-6:00 pm)
Flash FM	1. Ikaze Munyarwanda (Mon – Fri 5:40-8:20 am)

⁸ Sobanukirwa was not broadcasted due to the *Walk To Remember* programme which was covered live by RTV on 07th April 2019.

⁹ The RMC's system did not capture TV7 signal. Efforts to get recordings from the media house were fruitless as there is no systematic archiving system.

Media house	Talk show title
Isango TV	1. Urubuga rw'itangazamakuru (Sun. 2:00-3:30 pm)
TV1	1. Uruhare rw'abahanzi mu isanaminitima (Mon. 8:00-9:00 pm) 2. Uruhare rw'abanyapolitike (Wed. 8:00-9:00 am & Sat. 9:00-10:00 am) 3. Uruhare rw'amadini muri Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi
KT Radio	1. Uyumva ute? (Mon – Fri. 7:30 – 8:45 pm)
City Radio	No talk show was broadcasted during that period

Before delving into deeper analysis of these talk shows, it is worth noting that there is often full reschedule of weekly line ups on most radio and TV stations. Ideally, three titles per radio / TV station were targeted but it turned out that the mourning week saw many special programmes. Table 11 contains the disaggregated number of talk shows per media outlet.

Table 11: Number of talk shows

Media house	Number of talk shows							Total
	07-APR-2019	08-APR-2019	09-APR-2019	10-APR-2019	11-APR-2019	12-APR-2019	13-APR-2019	
Rwanda Television	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Huguka Community Radio	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	6
Flash FM	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	5
Isango TV	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TV 1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	4
KT Radio	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	3
Radio Rwanda	0	2	1	1	0	2	2	8
Voice of Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
Total	4	8	4	5	5	5	4	36

All in all, 36 talk shows were collected and analyzed. As earlier mentioned, broadcasting media houses organized special talk shows to discuss topics relating to the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi. In some cases, they had to use prior set programs and selected a relevant topic to fit in the context of Commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi.

3.2.2. Talk show format

Radio or TV talk show programming is usually done in different genres / formats in which one person (or group of persons) discusses various topics put forth by talk show hosts. Talk shows can either be live (with phone inns or not) or pre-recorded. This can happen in form of interview, debate, documentary, magazine, etc. In this regard, this monitoring sought to know which talk show genre / format were used by radio / TV presenters to discuss issues relating to the Genocide against Tutsi and its 25th commemoration. Table 12 reflects the details.

Table 12: Format/ type of the talk shows

	Format /genre of the talk shows						Total
	Interview	Debate	Round table	Feature/analysis	Documentary	Magazine	
Media house							
Rwanda Television	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Huguka Community Radio	1	0	1	0	0	4	6
Flash FM	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
Isango TV	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TV 1	1	0	3	0	0	0	4
KT Radio	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
Radio Rwanda	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Voice of Africa	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
Total	18	3	6	5	0	4	36
%	50.00	8.33	16.67	13.89	0.00	11.11	100

As indicated in the above table, the “Interviews” variable was the most predominant at a rate of 50%, and they were held with knowledgeable persons on various topics related to Genocide. Then followed by “round table discussions” at a rate of 16.67% where as other forms of talk show programming was less utilized by radio and TV presenters. These include “features/analysis/ investigation” which scored 13.89%, “magazines” (11.11%), and “debates” (8.33%).

3.2.3. Thematic focus

“Kwibuka Twiyubaka” or *“Remember, Unite, Renew”* as the National theme of #KWIBUKA25 featured on all branding materials and was applied to activities undertaken in the context of Genocide commemoration by different institutions, organizations, administrative entities, families or individuals. Surprisingly, journalists moderating the sampled talk shows hardly did they expound and talk more about those key elements of the National Theme mainly the “Unite” and “Renew” so as to promote the public’s better understanding of the Theme as showcased by the findings in Chart 5 below.

Chart 5: Thematic focus

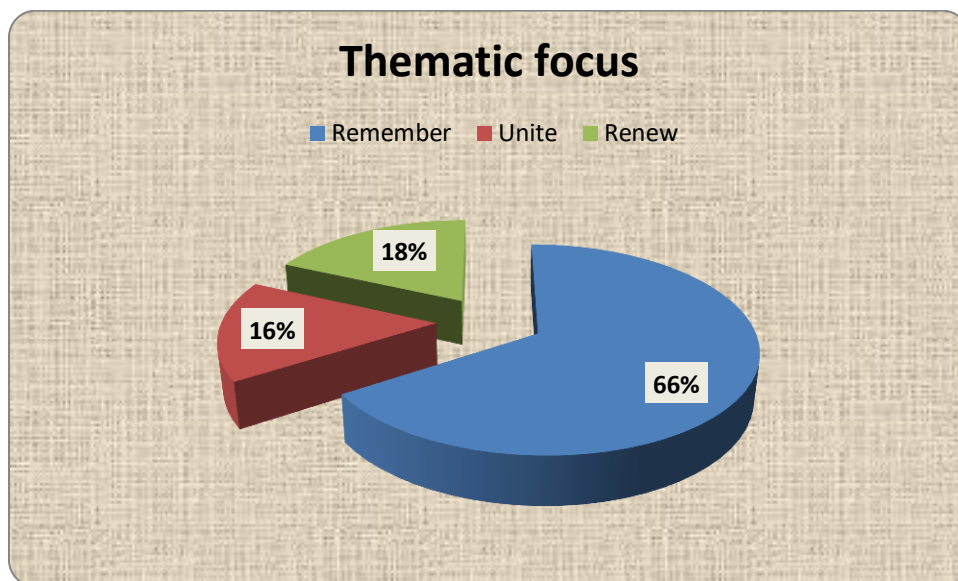


Chart 5 informs us that the aspect of “Remembrance” was the most focused on at 66% by either talk show presenters or their hosts. This is not surprising since whatever is discussed makes, to some extent, a flashback to the history of the Genocide against Tutsi. The other aspects of “Unity” and “Renewal” were less talked about at a rate of 16% and 18% respectively.

3.2.4. Topics covered on talk shows

Topics covered serves to identify which issues dominated or were considered important and covered in the sampled talk-shows. Such data may also serve to identify both the issues that may

have been considered important by the media outlets or journalists as it may indicate the contents of policies and programs advanced by citizens vis-à-vis unity and reconciliation or any other topics relevant to the 25th commemoration against Tutsi in Rwanda. Table 13 provides related data.

Table 13: Topics covered on talk shows

Topic	Number of talk shows	%
Commemorative events	3	5.88
International justice	1	1.96
Local tribunals and courts	4	7.84
Survivors' health	1	1.96
Survivors' welfare	1	1.96
Unity and reconciliation	5	9.80
Genocide ideology	5	9.80
Ndi umunyarwanda	2	3.92
Fight hate speech	1	1.96
Social cohesion and trust building	6	11.76
History of the Genocide against Tutsi	9	17.65
Itorero	6	11.76
Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness	2	3.92
Symbolic memory	5	9.80
Total	51	100

Of the covered topics (51 in total)¹⁰, as indicates The findings in Table 13 above reveal that “History of the Genocide against Tutsi” was the predominant variable discussed in the talk shows with 17.6%, followed by “Itorero” and “Social cohesion and trust building” at a rate of 11.8%. In the same vein, the “Unity and reconciliation” per se as well as the fight against “Genocide ideology” equally received important attention by both hosts and guests in studios at a rate of 9.80%.

3.2.5. Best messages on talk shows promoting unity and reconciliation

More like news content, talk shows equally offered an appropriate forum to deliver messages on unity and reconciliation by leaders, Genocide survivors, Genocide perpetrators or citizens in

¹⁰ More than one topic could be discussed in one talk show, and that is why the number of topics outweighs that of talk shows.

general. By so doing, the monitoring team believes that the media play a crucial role to cement the unity and reconciliation journey. Table 14 contains some illustrative examples.

Table 14: Best messages on talk shows promoting unity and reconciliation process

Media House	Best message & voices promoting unity and reconciliation
KT Radio	<p><i>“Gutanga imbabazi ntabwo ari agahato, ahubwo ni icyo umutima wawe uguhatira gukora. Ubumwe n'ubwiyunge mu banyarwanda ni gishoro kandi cyunguka”</i> (Forgiveness is not done by force but rather comes from inner heart. Unity and reconciliation amongst Rwandans is a profitable investment”) (Own translation), NURC Executive Secretary, Talk show: <i>Ubyumva ute?</i> , 15th April 2019</p>
TV1	<p><i>“Abarokotse bakwiye kwiyakira no kwakira kubaho, kuko kongera kubaho ni bwo butwari”</i> (Genocide survivors should accept what happened to them and to be resilient to live again) (Own translation), Local artist MANI Martin, Talk show: <i>Uruhare rw'abahanzi mu isanamitima</i>, 8th April 2019</p>
Voice of Africa	<p><i>“Quran 49:13: Imana iragira iti: Yemwe bantu (abantu twese), mu by'ukuri twabaremye tubakomoye ku mugabo n'umugore (Adamu na Eva), turangiye tubaremamo amoko menshi atandukanye n'ibihugu bitandukanye kugirango mumenyane”</i>, (Quran 49:13) Human beings, We created you all from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another) https://quran.com/49/13?translations=43,19,101,85,84,21,20,17,95,22,18, Sheikh UWASE Hassani, Talk show: <i>Islam n'ibihe</i>, on 11th April 2019</p>
Radio Rwanda	<p><i>“Abanyarwanda tugomba kuba vigilan, kubera yuko Jenoside yakomerekeje abantu benshi, baba abakorewe jenocide ariko n'abantu bo mu miryango ifite abantu bagize uruhare muri jenocide. Bivuze ko ya mategeko yo ubwayo adahagije [...]”</i> (As Rwandans we should all be vigilant, given the fact that Genocide has broken hearts of many people, mainly Genocide survivors but also family members of Genocide perpetrators. This means that the established laws alone are no sufficient [...]) (Own translation), Dr. MUREFU Alphonse, Talk</p>

Media House	Best message & voices promoting unity and reconciliation
	show: <i>Isi ya none</i> , on 13 th April 2019

3.3. #Kwibuka25 trend as expressed on www.twitter.com

As hinted upon right from the methodology, this media monitoring sought to highlight major trends found on social media, namely www.twitter.com. Hence, from the 7th to 13th April 2019, Twitter data collected from the hash tag #Kwibuka25 (purposely created for the 25th Genocide commemoration) were put under analysis. By analyzing this type of content, the monitoring team believes that it is of crucial importance to shed light on views from a highly influential social cluster which is media literate vis-à-vis the unity and reconciliation process. In so doing, policy designers and implementers can then make informed decisions accordingly. In this perspective, this section exposes major topical issues raised by twitter users, their contribution to the unity and reconciliation journey and/or divergent opinions disfavoring the process.

3.3.1. Content type

Before delving into deeper analysis, it was judged very important to classify the posted content according to their types, i.e. text messages, news articles, videos, pictures and comments. Table 15 reflects related details.

Table 15: Content type

Date	CONTENT TYPE					Total
	Text message	News article link	Videos	Pictures	Comments	
07.04.2019	79	10	31	213	17	350
08.04.2019	9	2	6	16	1	34
09.04.2019	27	3	6	40	2	78
10.04.2019	6	1	5	5	4	21
11.04.2019	63	32	19	144	7	265

Date	CONTENT TYPE					Total
	Text message	News article link	Videos	Pictures	Comments	
12.04.2019	168	95	40	286	42	631
13.04.2019	19	4	5	5	5	38
Total	371	147	112	709	78	1417
%	26.18	10.37	7.90	50.04	5.50	100

We can learn from Table 15 that most Twitter users expressed their views by utilizing pictures and text messages at a score of 50.04% and 26.18% respectively. The use of videos emerged at 7.90% while some news articles were shared at a peak of 10.37%. In addition, commented re-tweets were also at a rate of 5.50%.

3.3.2. Topics and issues raised

As mentioned earlier, this monitoring sought to also detect the preoccupation of twitter users by exposing topics and issues raised. Table 16 summarizes the findings.

Table 16: Topic and issues raised

Topic	Frequency	%
Commemorative events	962	67.37
History of the Genocide against Tutsi	167	11.69
Genocide ideology	95	6.65
Symbolic memory	69	4.83
Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.)	60	4.20
Survivors welfare	15	1.05
Unity and reconciliation	14	0.98
Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness	14	0.98
International justice	6	0.42
Survivors' health	3	0.21

Topic	Frequency	%
Abarinzi b'igihango	3	0.21
Fight hate speech	3	0.21
Social cohesion and trust built	2	0.14
Itorero	2	0.14
Local tribunals and courts	1	0.07
Ndi umunyarwanda	1	0.07
Other	11	0.77
Total	1428¹¹	100

It is observed from Table 16 that findings on @KwibukaRwanda and the related hash tag #Kwibuka25 are very similar to those obtained in classic and online media. It was found out that “*commemorative events*” turned out the most predominant at a peak of 67.37%. Other topics and issues which were frequently raised include “*History of the Genocide against Tutsi*” (11.69%), “*Genocide ideology*” (6.65%), “*Symbolic memory*” (4.83%), and “*Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.)*” (4.20%). The least covered topics include “*Abarinzi b'igihango*” (0.21%), “*Itorero*” (0.14%) “*Social cohesion and trust building*” (0.14%), “*Ndi umunyarwanda*” (0.77%), etc.

3.3.3. Public comments / feedback

It is a common fact that social media posts attract the attention of users thus resulting into numerous comments depending upon the nature raised topics. In the context of this monitoring work, comments related to the commemoration in general and unity and reconciliation in particular were detected, examined and classified accordingly. Table 17 below is an overall picture.

¹¹Some tweets bore the concept of more than one topic; hence the total number of topics outweighs the tweets' one (i.e. 1417 tweets vs. 1428 topics).

Table 17: Public comments / feedback

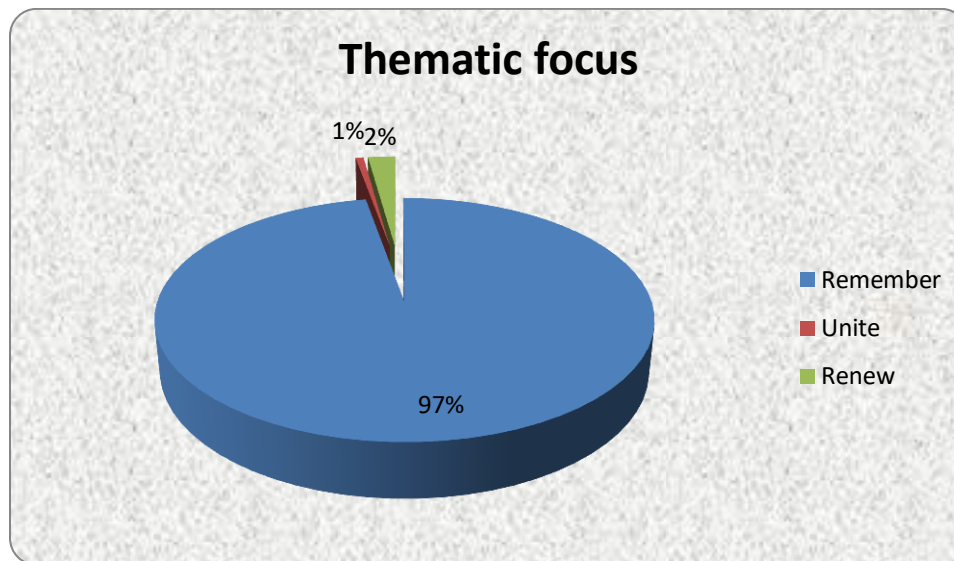
Comment type	Public comments/ feedback					Total
	Healing process	Truth telling	Forgiveness	Genocide denial	Other (event based, comforting messages)	
Message	10	12	2	2	345	371
News article link	2	2	1	1	141	147
Video	0	3	0	0	109	112
Picture	3	2	2	1	700	708
Comment	1	3	0	2	72	78
Total	16	22	5	6	1367	1416
%	1.13	1.55	0.35	0.42	96.54	100

As indicated on Table 17, almost all comments were expressed vis-à-vis “*commemorative events*” at a rate of 96.54%, while a few of them went along with the “*healing process*” (1.13%), “*truth telling*” (1.55%), “*forgiveness*” (0.35%), no “*Genocide denial*” (0.42%). Again, a few cases of Genocide denial were equally detected at a lower rate of 0.42% (as we shall illustrate more on this).

3.3.4. Thematic focus

This monitoring work also examined the extent to which social media users, namely www.twitter.com, pay attention to the national theme of #Kwibuka25: “*Remember, Unite, Renew*” in English or “*Twibuke Twiyubaka*” in Kinyarwanda. Chart 6 reflects the outcome.

Chart 6: Thematic focus



Again like in classic and news portals, the thematic aspect of “*Remember*” was outstandingly evoked by twitter users at a peak of 97%, while the “*Unite*” and “*Renew*” were the least expressed with 1% and 2% respectively.

3.3.5. Best messages promoting unity and reconciliation

More than at any other times, social media were a platform of diverse opinions and free expression during the 25th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. In this regard, the present sub-section presents some highlights on best messages in favor of unity and reconciliation process as directly downloaded from twitter messages and their comments as well.

"Ibigize ubwoko, abantu bahuriraho ni 5: - Ubutaka,- Imyemerere, - Umutware (Umwami), - Ururimi, - Umuco. Nicyo gituma, nk'abanyarwanda, ubwoko dufite ni bumwe, ubunyarwanda."
Padiri Consolateur Innocent
("There are five common characteristics of ethnic identity: land, religion, leadership, language, and culture. That is why, as Rwandans, our ethnic identity is "being Rwandan"- Father Consolateur Innocent) (own translation)

"Today, there is no segregation in job recruitment. It's only based on entry exams tests. You might think you are only an employee of @Cogebanque1 but You have a major role to play in building #Rwanda." (*Muri iki gihe nta vangura riba mu gutanga akazi. Hashingirwa gusa ku bizamini by'akzi bitangwa. Ushobora gutekereza gusa ko uri umukozi wa COGEBANQUE, ariko ufite uruhare runini mu kubaka u Rwanda*) (Own translation), Marie Ashimwe, Umuyobozi w'Ishami Rishinzwe Abakozi n'Ubutegetsi

#Kwibuka25 @ralgarwanda

- Abarokotse Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi ni intwari. Batanze imbabazi kabone n'ubwo bamwe mu bishe ababo binangiye gusaba imbabazi. Bahora batanga ubuhamya ku byabaye nubwo bibatoneka, kugirango tutazibagirwa hato bikongera. (*Genocide survivors are heros. They forgave even though murderers of their relatives remain adamant to repent. They always give testimonies on what happened though abstract, so as not to forget and avoid recurrence*) (Own translation)

#LessonsfromRwanda: "The capacity for evil resides in all societies. But, so too, do the qualities of understanding, kindness, justice and reconciliation. That is one of the profound lessons of the Rwandan experience". @antonioGuterres, the #UN General Secretary.#Kwibuka25 (*Ubushobozi bwo gukora ikibi buba mu miryango yose y'abantu. Ariko na none imiryango yose igira ubushobozi bw'ubwumvikane, ubwitonzi, ubutabera n'ubwiyunge*) (Own translation).

#Survivor: "Why are you asking us to forgive? Haven't we suffered enough? We weren't the cause of this problem. Why must we provide the solution"? #ThePresident: "I don't know what to ask the perpetrators. You're the ones left with something to give". #Kwibuka25 #Rwanda (#Uwacitsekuicumu: "Kuki mudusaba kubabarira? Ese ntabwo twababaye bihagije? Ntabwo ari twe twateje iki kibazo, kuki mudusaba igisubizo?" #PerezidawaRepubulika: "Ntacyo mbona nasaba abicanyi. Ni mwe mufite icyo mushobora gutanga") (Own translation)

Hon @mukabaramba: we recognize the courage demonstrated by survivors in forgiving and living together with convicted perpetrators. (*Turashima ubutwari bwaranze abacitse ku icumu bababariye kandi bakaba babana n'ababiciye babihaniwe*) (Own translation).

"Our strength lies in unity," said Pacifique Kayihura, President of the Rwandan Diaspora in Côte d'Ivoire at #Kwibuka25 commemoration hosted by the Bank. He also urged participants not to be indifferent to the suffering of others. (*"Ubumwe bwacu ni zo mbaraga zacu"*, Pacifique

Kayihura, Perezida w'abanyarwanda baba muri Côte d'Ivoire mu muhango cyo kwibuka Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi ku nshuro ya 25 wateguwe na Banki. Yashishikariye kandi abari bitabiriye uwo muhango kutigira ba "ntibindeba" ku kababaro k'abandi) (Own translation).

3.3.6. Messages denigrating unity and reconciliation

As earlier explained, the biggest portion of analyzed messages and their comments were positive and emphasizing the importance of commemoration, but few of them were found abusive and denigrating efforts invested in the reconciliation process. Following are some examples.

Et si on se reconciliait (photo from le Mondefr)
Peter Verlinden: According to #TPIR researchers there were mass deliberate killings by #RPF. Collateral damage with one bullet by person? Strange. #kwibuka25
Peter Verlinden: So why not nominate them? As #tutsi are called by their ethnic origin, just call the others as well so and cite their numbers to recognize them. According to academic research around 500.000 only in 1994. And once again more in 1996-1997 in #Congo. #rwanda #kwibuka25
Renegade Giana: Pendant ce tps #Kagame & ses enfants se la coulent douce aux #USA
Rwanda – Génocide ? Il faudra réécrire l'histoire du génocide rwandais
Tutsi Crash, Le Genocide Rwanda enfin adapté en jeu smartphone

The media monitoring team cannot help point out the virulent condemnation of the French newspaper *Le Monde* which, on 12th April 2019, published a cartoon undermining the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and mocking the reconciliation process in Rwanda. Inacceptable to many readers and truth tellers, the cartoon was subject to hot debate though social media platforms including twitter¹².

¹² <https://twitter.com/jessicamwiza/status/1116620718823759873?s=08>



This inappropriate portrayal of Genocide and the reconciliation process in Rwanda provoked numerous tweets, comments and news articles in form of opinion pieces by different categories of people including leaders, journalists, experts and honest individuals accusing *Le Monde* of revisionism. Interestingly, from this kind of feedback the newspaper ended up with an official apology¹³.

¹³ https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2019/04/12/rwanda-un-dessin-inapproprié_5449590_3212.html?xtmc=rwanda_dessin&xtr=1

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of findings of this analysis, media houses have done a commendable job in contributing to unity and reconciliation amongst Rwandans. Informing and educating older and younger generations about the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in Rwanda remains an obligation to media practitioners to enable them rethink about the past, refresh the present and strive for a bright future. That said, however, a number of recommendations can be formulated to improve the media's work.

- Although equally important, journalists should go beyond event reporting, but also interpret and analyse facts and issues related to Genocide in the perspective of fostering unity and reconciliation;
- Topics such as “Itorero”, “Ndi umunyarwanda”, and “Abarinzi b’igihango” also need special treatment by media so as to raise public information and education on values and lessons of unity of reconciliation;
- To have all the truth about Genocide and its history from all corners of the country, media operators need to strengthen efforts that would ensure more coverage of rural districts;
- Reconciliatory voices and messages, especially from survivors and perpetrators, should be more widely circulated to restore peace and social cohesion in the Rwandan society;
- Online media houses should establish internal mechanism to filter comments from the public so as not harm the unity and reconciliation process;
- News reporters, radio & TV presenters should be particularly trained on how to analyse, investigate and report on Genocide issues;
- In talk show programming, media practitioners should diversify guests by involving more experts and researchers, FBOs, and CSOs;
- Last but not least, media should engage experts, clergy men and women to speak much on the doctrines of unity, forgiveness, and the common identity of “Ndi Umunyarwanda”.

APPENDICES

1. References

- a. Rwanda Journalists and Media Practitioners' Code of Deontology and Ethics, Amended 5 April 2014
- b. KAYUMBA, C. , Introduction to Media Monitoring, School of Journalism and Communication, UNR (Training Material for the Media High Council), 2008, Kigali
- c. Law N° 84/2013 of 11/09/2013 on the crime of genocide ideology and other related offences
- d. MMP/ RMMP, Rwanda Media Monitoring Project : A Monitoring User Guide, Kigali, Media High Council, 2006
- e. https://cnlg.gov.rw/fileadmin/migrated/media/BANDEROLES_ZO_KWIBUKA.pdf

2. The Coding Book for News

VARIABLES	DESCRIPTION
Monitors: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. MUNYESHYAKA Abdul Karim 2. SANGWA Jean Pierre 3. BAHATI Imelda 4. IBAMBE Jean Paul 5. NDAYIKUNDA Lydia 6. BAZIREMA Eric Supervision: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mugisha Emmanuel 	
Date of publication (dd-mm-yy)	dd/mm/yyyy
Media type <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Radio 2. TV 3. Website 4. Print 	
Media houses a) Radio & TV <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ☞ Public: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rwanda Television 2. Radio Rwanda ☞ Community: 	Note: On radio & TV stations, Kinyarwanda news bulletins from 5:00 PM to 9:30 PM will be considered for analysis.

<p>3. Huguka Community Radio</p> <p>☞ Faith Based:</p> <p>4. Voice of Hope 5. Voice of Africa 6. TV7</p> <p>☞ Private:</p> <p>7. Flash FM 8. Isango TV 9. TV1 10. FINE FM 11. KT Radio 12. City Radio</p> <p>b) Print</p> <p>1. The New Times 2. Imvaho Nshya</p> <p>c) Online (private)</p> <p>1) www.umuseke.rw 2) www.igihe.com 3) www.ktpress.rw 4) www.makuruki.rw 5) www.bwiza.com 6) www.umuryango.rw 7) www.inyarwanda.com 8) www.nonaha.com 9) www.chronicles.rw 10) www.touchrwanda.com 11) www.muhabura.rw 12) www.ukwezi.com 13) www.intyoza.com 14) www.panorama.rw 15) www.taarifa.rw 16) www.hanga.rw 17) www.rwandainspirer.com 18) www.isimbi.rw</p> <p>d) Social media @Kwibuka25 & @KwibukaRwanda</p>	
<p>Format</p> <p>1. News Story (Event reporting and coverage) 2. Investigation (self-initiated story to</p>	<p>The format of the analyzed content relating to the 25th commemoration</p>

<p>uncover unknown information by the public)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Pictorial (news story told by use of pictures) 4. Commentary (expert opinion on the subject matter under coverage) 5. Feature/analysis (in-depth coverage for clarity/follow-up coverage) 6. Editorial (a position of the media organ on a subject matter) 7. Opinion (individual ideas published on a subject matter) 8. Portrait and profile (description of people, event, place...) 9. Interview (Question & Answer) 10. Documentary 11. Testimony 12. Others 	
<p>Thematic focus</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Remember 2. Unite 3. Renew 	<p>Please indicate the major aspect of the national theme highlighted in the news item.</p>
<p>Topic</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.) 2. Commemorative events (by local administration, press, in conference, religious gathering, etc.) 3. International Justice (international tribunals, residual mechanism) 4. Local tribunals and courts (Gacaca, ordinary and extra courts, legal support) 5. Survivors' health 6. Survivors' associations 7. Survivors' education 8. Survivors welfare (life conditions recovery, daily subsistence, housing, ...) 9. Survivors' security 10. Unity and reconciliation, peace building 11. Genocide ideology (negation, distortion, revisionism) 12. Ndi umunyarwanda 13. Abarinzi b'igihango 	<p>Please indicate the major topic the news item is about.</p>

14. Fight hate speech 15. Social cohesion and trust building, recovering from Genocide 16. History of Genocide against Tutsi , truth about the past 17. Itorero 18. Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness 19. Symbolic memory (poems, films, plays, research & book publications, ...)	
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<p>Location:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bugesera 2. Burera 3. Gakenke 4. Gasabo 5. Gatsibo 6. Gicumbi 7. Gisagara 8. Huye 9. Kamonyi 10. Karongi 11. Kayonza 12. Kicukiro 13. Kirehe 14. Muhanga 15. Musanze 16. Ngoma 17. Ngororero 18. Nyabihu 19. Nyagatare 20. Nyamagabe 21. Nyamasheke 22. Nyanza 23. Nyarugenge 24. Nyaruguru 25. Rubavu 26. Ruhango 27. Rulindo 28. Rusizi 29. Rutsiro 30. Rwamagana 31. National 32. Sub-regional (EAC, CEPGL) 33. Regional (rest of Africa) 34. International 	<p>The area the news item is reported from</p>
<p>Institutional visibility and participation to the commemoration</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Central Government (CG) 2. Local Government (LG) 3. Private sector 4. Civil society organizations (CSOs) 5. Faith based organizations (FBOs) 6. Academia, schools & other learning institutions 7. Embassies, AU, UN 8. Non-Government Organizations (local, 	<p>For news items of the format “news story” reflecting commemorative events, please classify them according to the organizing entity. This shall enable to measure participation, visibility and even ownership of organizers towards NEVER AGAIN</p>

international NGOs) 9. Others	
Language bias 1. Yes 2. No	Point out any case of language bias in form of GENERALIZATION, TRIVIALIZATION or EXAGGERATION with illustrative example (quotation).
Best messages & voices promoting U&R 1. Leaders 2. Survivors 3. Perpetrators 4. Experts 5. Others	Brief status of best messages published promoting unity and reconciliation (social cohesion, Ndi umunyarwanda, truth about the past, acknowledgment, apology and forgiveness). Please indicate who delivers the message.
Unfavorable messages & voices denigrating U&R 1. Leaders 2. Survivors 3. Perpetrators 4. Experts 5. Others	Brief status messages published relating to incidences of genocide denial, promoting divisionism, revisionism, alienating social cohesion, promoting hatred. Please indicate who delivers the message.
Public comment messages: 1. Healing process (comments that are comforting and counseling), forgiveness (comments that help to build trust and hope for the future) 2. Truth telling (comments that are reconciliatory even when not spoken often) 3. Repentance (comments that are remorseful, penitent, apologetic, etc. of what happened) 4. Genocide denying (hate comments with words that are divisive, trivial, and negating the genocide against Tutsi) 5. N/A	Comments from public through online feedback section
Nature of the feedback: 1. Positive 2. Negative	
Defamation: 1. Yes 2. No	Point out any case of defamatory message with illustration (quote)
General comments	Especially explaining variables, giving qualitative description, or quote relevant to the monitoring

3. The Coding Book for talk shows

VARIABLES	DESCRIPTION
Monitors <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. MUNYESHYAKA Abdul Karim 2. SANGWA Jean Pierre 3. BAHATI Imelda 4. IBAMBE Jean Paul 5. NDAYIKUNDA Lydia 6. BAZIREMA Eric 	
Date of publication	dd/mm/yyyy
Media type <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Radio 2. TV 	A sample of broadcasting media is concerned
Media houses <p>a) Radio & TV</p> <p>☞ Public:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Rwanda Television 14. Radio Rwanda <p>☞ Community:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Huguka Community Radio <p>☞ Faith Based:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. Voice of Hope 17. Voice of Africa 18. TV7 <p>☞ Private:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. Flash FM 20. Isango TV 21. TV1 22. FINE FM 23. KT Radio 24. City Radio 	Purposively, twelve radio and TV stations were selected depending upon their category of ownership and mission (public, private, community, and faith based).
Talk show titles	
Rwanda Television	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imboni musesenguzi (Monday @9:00 pm) 2. Sobanukirwa (Sunday @6:00 pm) 3. In-Focus (Sunday @9:00 pm) 4. Booklab
Radio Rwanda	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Isi yano none (Mon., Wed., Thurs. @9:00-10:30 PM) 2. Amahumbezi (Mon. – Fri. @3:00-5:00 pm)

	3. Isesenguramakuru (Saturday 7:00 am) 4. Wari uzi ko (Sunday @8:00 am)
Huguka Community Radio	1. Iwacu mu mudugudu (Mon. 7:00-8:00 am) 2. Gospel time (Sun. 7:30-8 :00 am) 3. Ibihe n'amateka (Sun. 9 :00 pm)
Voice of Hope	1. Duhumurizanye (Every Tuesday 6:00-8:00 am) 2. Nawe birakureba. (Every Wednesday 6:00-8:00 am) 3. Ibyiringiro by'umugisha (Sunday 4:00 pm) 4. Kwisanga (Mon. 6:00-6:30 am) 5. Ubuzima buzira umuze (Tues. 6:10 pm)
Voice of Africa	1. Youth Voice (Wed. to Thurs. 05-4:00 pm) 2. Ivomo ry'ubumenyi (Sat. 4:00-6:00 pm) 3. Islam n'ibihe (Kiba buri munsu) 4. Tambagira Qur'an (Sat.- Sunday) 5. Inshuti y'abasomyi (.....)
TV7	1. The Gospel celeb (Tues. & Fri. 5:00-6:00 pm)
Flash FM	1. Ikaze Munyarwanda (Mon – Fri 5:40-8:20 am) 2. Ibyasohotse mu binyamakuru (Sat. 9:30-10:00 am)
Isango TV	1. Biravugwa (Mon – Fri 7:15-8:30 am) 2. Isango na muzika (4:00-5:30 pm) (occasional) 3. Mutima w'urugo (10:00-11:00 pm)
TV1	1. Isanamitima (8:00-9:00 am) 2. Uruhare rw'abahanzi mu isanamitima (Mon. 8:00-9:00 pm) 3. Uruhare rw'abanyapolitike (Wed. 8:00-9:00 am & Sat. 9:00-10:00 am) 4. Uruhare rw'amadini muri Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
KT Radio	Ubyumva ute? (Mon – Fri. 7:30 – 8:45 pm)
City Radio	No regular talk show. Rather invite guests depending on topics.
Time of broadcast	Please mark the time on which the talk show was aired (hh:mn)
Talk show format <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In studio: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interview 2. Debate 3. Round table • Packaged <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Documentary 2. Feature (profile, analysis) 3. Magazine 	Please indicate the type or format of the talk show
Thematic focus <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Remember 5. Unite 6. Renew 	Please indicate the major aspect of the national theme highlighted in the news item.

<p>Topic</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.) 2. Commemorative events (by local administration, press, in conference, by religious gathering, etc) 3. International Justice (international tribunals, residual mechanism) 4. Local tribunals and courts (Gacaca, ordinary and extra courts, legal assistance) 5. Survivors' health 6. Survivors' associations 7. Survivors' education 8. Survivors welfare (life conditions recovery (daily subsistence, housing,)) 9. Survivors' security 10. Unity and reconciliation, peace building 11. Genocide ideology (negation, distortion, revisionism) 12. Ndi umunyarwanda 13. Abarinzi b'igihango 14. Fight hate speech 15. Social cohesion and trust building 16. History of Genocide against Tutsi , truth about the past 17. Itorero 18. Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness 19. Symbolic memory (poems, films, plays, research & book publication, ...) 	<p>Please indicate the major topic the news item is about.</p>
<p>Best messages & voices promoting U&R</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Leaders 7. Survivors 8. Perpetrators 9. Experts 10. Others 11. Not applicable 	<p>Brief status of best messages published promoting unity and reconciliation (social cohesion, Ndi umunyarwanda, truth about the past, acknowledgment, apology and forgiveness). Please indicate who delivers the message.</p>
<p>Unfavorable messages & voices denigrating U&R</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Leaders 	<p>Brief status messages published relating to incidences of genocide denial, promoting divisionism, revisionism, alienating social cohesion, promoting hatred. Please indicate</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Survivors 8. Perpetrators 9. Experts 10. Others 11. Not applicable 	who delivers the message.
Public comment messages: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Healing process (comments that are comforting and counselling), forgiveness (comments that help to build trust and hope for the future) 2. Truth telling (comments that are reconciliatory even when not spoken often) 3. Repentance (comments that are remorseful, penitent, apologetic, etc. of what happened) 4. Genocide denying (hate comments with words that are divisive, trivial, and negating the genocide against Tutsi) 5. N/A 	Comments from public through call ins and SMSs
Nature of the feedback: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive 2. Negative 	
Defamation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 	Point out any case of defamatory message with illustration (quote)
General comments	Especially exact time the talk show was aired

4.Task distribution for media monitoring

The monitoring team:

- 1) MUNYESHYAKA Abdul Karim
- 2) SANGWA Jean Pierre
- 3) BAHATI Imelda
- 4) IBAMBE Jean Paul
- 5) NDAYIKUNDA Lydia
- 6) BAZIREMA Eric

Team leader & Report writer:

- BAZIREMA Eric

Supervisor & Report editor:

- MUGISHA Emmanuel

SN	NAMES	MEDIA HOUSES
1	MUNYESHYAKA Abdul Karim	Radio Rwanda
		Voice of Africa
2	IBAMBE Jean Paul	Huguka Community Radio
		Isango TV
		TV7
3	NDAYIKUNDA Lydia	Rwanda Television
		City Radio
4	BAHATI Imelda	TV1
		Flash FM
		KT Radio
5	BAZIREMA Eric	The New Times
		Imvaho Nshya
6	SANGWA Jean Pierre	1) www.umuseke.rw 2) www.igihe.com 3) www.ktpress.rw 4) www.makuruki.rw 5) www.bwiza.com 6) www.umuryango.rw 7) www.inyarwanda.com 8) www.nonaha.com 9) www.chronicles.rw 10) www.touchrwanda.com 11) www.muhabura.rw 12) www.ukwezi.com 13) www.intyoza.com

		14) www.panorama.rw 15) www.taarifa.rw 16) www.hanga.rw 17) www.rwandainspirer.com 18) www.isimbi.rw
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