



**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PROMOTING UNITY AND
RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA**

**Analysis of media coverage of the 26th Commemoration of the
Genocide against Tutsi**

June 2020

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and context

Introduction on unity and reconciliation principles

According to the National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation¹, the role of civil society organizations including media encompasses the following:

- 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 show significant role in combating poverty and ignorance especially among the rural community, since poverty and ignorance are major obstacles to unity and reconciliation;

In addition to this role, the 26th Commemoration period started during the outbreak of COVID19 pandemic which resulted into a total country lockdown to curb its spread. Activities including the commemoration gatherings and visits to genocide memorials couldn't be organized. Therefore, media was expected to play the role to bring together the Rwandan and international community to participate to the commemoration activities from their home. Commemoration messages, testimonies, presentations and discussions were shared through radios, TVs and social media².

Against that background, Rwanda Media Commission took an initiative to conduct a monitoring and analysis study on media's performance in promoting Unity and Reconciliation among Rwandans.

1.2. Objectives

1.2.1. General objective

The ultimate objective of this monitoring is to measure media's performance in promoting unity and reconciliation during the 26th commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi.

¹ https://nurc.gov.rw/fileadmin/Documents/Others/POLICY_NURC.pdf

²

https://cnlg.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/documents/ITANGAZO_KU_MIGENDEKERE_Y_IBIKORWA_BYO_K_WIBUKA26.PDF

1.2.2. Specific objectives

To the above overall objectives are further sub-divided into the following specific objectives:

- Highlight and underline the civic contribution of the media during the 26th 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;

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Methods used to collect data and analyse how media covered and reported the 26th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda were both quantitative and qualitative. To thoroughly analyse media contents in the perspective of "Unity and Reconciliation", it was deemed important to make a breakdown of related topics that could attract the attention of journalist and thus be subject of news. In the same vein, the type or format of news, 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 hereby 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.

2.1. Scope

As stated above, this media monitoring assignment sticks on the 26th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Therefore, from 7th to 13th April 2020, any related news item was considered as part of the data.

Collection of broadcast data was facilitated by the media monitoring equipment which systematically records radio and television outputs, while data from online media was directly downloaded from the source. Twitter posts with hashtags "#Kwibuka26" were equally put under analysis. In more concrete terms, the content which was subjected to analysis is comprised of:

- Broadcasted and news content published online during the period from from 7th to 13th April 2020;

- Public comments on online articles relating to the 26th Commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi;
- Tweets on hashtag #Kwibuka26 from 7th to 13th April, 2020.

2.2. Sampling

Given the nature and focus of this media monitoring work, 26 media houses were purposively selected to reflect the media's work during the commemoration. These include 4 TV stations, 8 radio stations and 14 news websites, plus one hashtag on social media. The selected media outlets are categorized as follows:

TV stations

- Rwanda Television
- TV 10
- Isango TV
- TV 1

Radios

- Radio Rwanda
- Huguka
- Voice of Hope
- Voice of Africa
- Flash FM
- Royal FM
- KT Radio
- City Radio

Online Media

- www.umuseke.rw
- www.igihe.com
- www.ktpress.rw
- www.makuruki.rw

- www.bwiza.com
- www.umuryango.com
- www.inyarwanda.com
- www.chronicles.rw
- www.muhabura.rw
- www.ukwezi.com
- www.intyoza.com
- www.panorama.rw
- www.taarifa.rw
- www.isimbi.rw

d) Social media

- [www.twitter.com: #Kwibuka26](https://www.twitter.com/#Kwibuka26)

CHAPTER THREE: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

This chapter highlights major findings on the work done by local media outlets when reporting and covering the 26th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi during the week from 7th to 13th April 2020. 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 analyzing 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 identified 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.

3.1. News coverage rate per media house

Over a period of 7 days (7th to 13th April 2020), the monitoring team identified and analyzed a total of 477 news items. Figure 1 and Table 1 below indicate the disaggregated number of news publications per media category and date of publication.

Figure 1: News coverage rate per media category

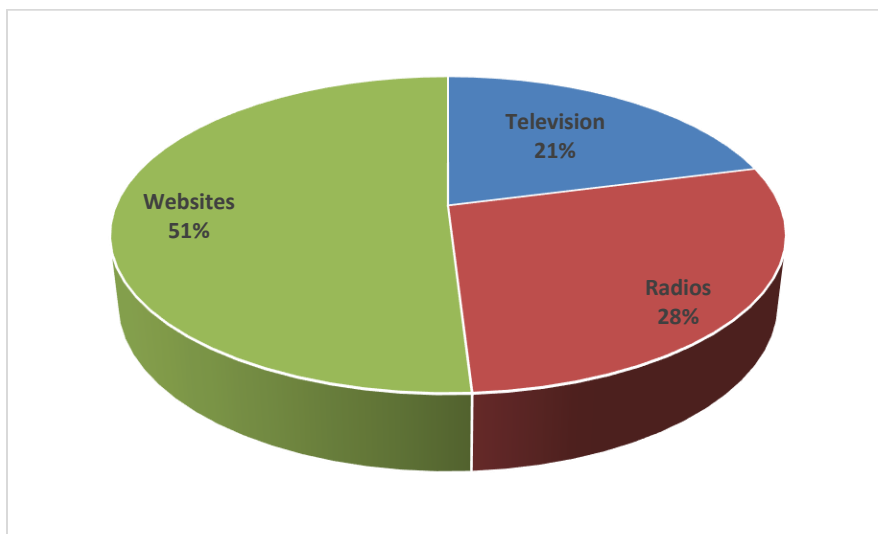


Table 1: News publication by date

	07-APR-2020	08-APR-2020	09-APR-2020	10-APR-2020	11-APR-2020	12-APR-2020	13-APR-2020	TOTAL
Rwanda Television	13	6	7	4	6	7	5	48
Radio Rwanda	14	8	8	8	5	5	4	52
Huguka	3	2	2	1	2	3	2	15
Voice of Hope	7	3	2	0	0	0	3	15
Voice of Africa	1	3	2	1	0	0	1	8
TV 10	12	3	3	3	0	0	4	25
Flash FM	5	3	4	3	0	0	2	17
Isango TV	5	0	3	3	3	0	5	19
TV 1	2	1	0	2	0	0	3	8
Royal FM	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	5
KT Radio	0	1	3	1	2	1	4	12
City Radio	1	3	3	3	0	0	0	10
www.umuseke.rw	5	0	0	0	1	2	0	8
www.igihe.com	23	14	15	19	13	7	10	101
www.ktpress.rw	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
www.makuruki.rw	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	6
www.bwiza.com	6	3	1	0	0	3	0	13
www.umuryango.com	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	12
www.inyarwanda.com	9	7	7	6	6	1	6	42
www.chronicles.rw	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
www.muhabura.rw	4	2	3	2	2	0	5	18
www.ukwezi.com	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
www.intyoza.com	2	1	0	0	1	1	3	8
www.panorama.rw	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	13
www.taarifa.rw	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
www.isimbi.rw	2	4	4	3	1	0	1	15
TOTAL	130	70	71	65	45	33	63	477

Results exhibited above indicate that a total of 477 stories were broadcast/published by 26 media houses in a period of 7 days. This makes an aggregate of 68 news stories per day and 18 news stories per media house. The figure above shows that radios and TV stations had a lower number of news items compared to news websites.

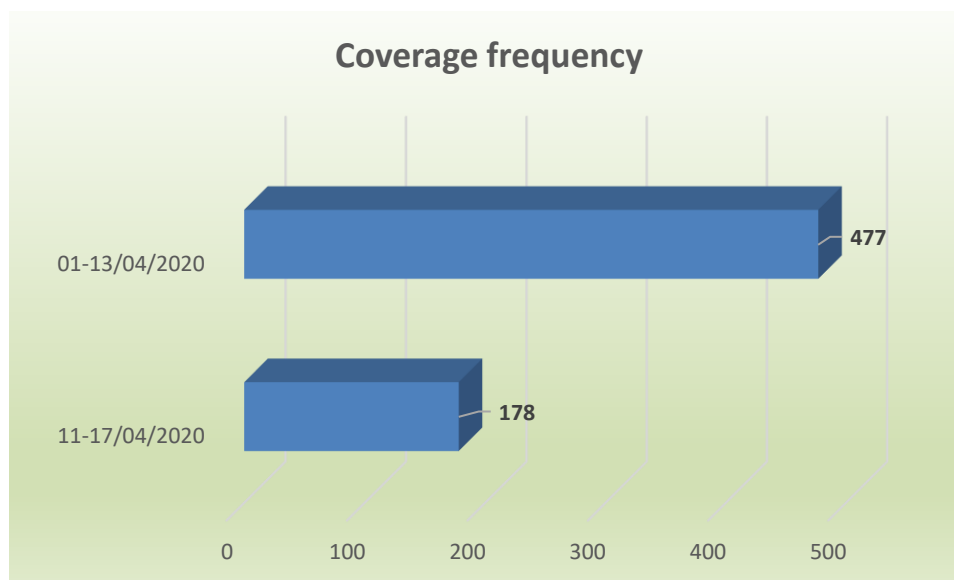
This may be explained by the fact that covering news during the COVID 19 lockdown was tricky as movements between provinces were restricted and journalists had to limit their movements for precautions, plus the fact that no commemoration events were being organized in different areas of the country for journalists to cover. Therefore, online media which did not necessarily have to be on the ground took the occasion to publish more news contents. In addition to this, we cannot ignore the fact that treatment of collected information in broadcasting media (especially TV) is always highly demanding in terms of time and resources.

In addition to the above, RBA channels (Rwanda TV and Radio Rwanda) and Igihe.com had the highest rate of news item covered during the commemoration period.

3.2. Coverage frequency

To assess whether the Rwandan media plays its role during the whole commemoration period or whether they only take interest during the commemoration from the 07th to 13th April, this monitoring exercise made a comparison of the frequency of covered news during the commemoration week and another week randomly chosen during the period after the country's total lockdown. To be exact, this monitoring compared the number of news published/broadcast between the 7th to 13th April 2020 and the period between 11th to 17th of May 2020.

Figure 2: Coverage frequency



Findings in the graph above indicate that media cover more stories during the commemoration week while during the other 100 commemoration days they tend to have less interest in reporting on it. The number of stories dropped from 477 per week to 178 in only one month.

3.3. News format

Monitoring and analyzing 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. 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 analyzing 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 resilience, and the transformation journey towards unity and reconciliation.

It is from this perspective of considering different formats of presenting media stories that 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 analyzing what was happening during the commemoration. It is with such diverse approach of presenting content relating to commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi that the public gets to acquire informative and educative content.

Table 2: News format

	News Story	Pictorial	Commentary	Feature/analysis	Opinion	Portrait and profile	Interview (Question & Answer)	Documentary, chronicles	Testimony	Others	
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Rwanda Television	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48
Radio Rwanda	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
Huguka	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Voice of Hope	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	15
Voice of Africa	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
TV 10	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Flash FM	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Isango TV	15	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	19
TV 1	5	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8
Royal FM	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5
KT Radio	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
City Radio	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
www.umuseke.rw	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
www.igihe.com	61	2	1	10	1	3	1	13	8	1	101
www.ktpress.rw	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
www.makuruki.rw	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
www.bwiza.com	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	13
www.umuryango.com	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	12
www.inyarwanda.com	33	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	2	0	42
www.chronicles.rw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
www.muhabura.rw	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	10	0	1	18
www.ukwezi.com	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
www.intyoza.com	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
www.panorama.rw	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	13
www.taarifa.rw	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
www.isimbi.rw	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	1	15
	377	2	7	13	1	9	1	47	16	4	477

As indicated by Table 3, the biggest portion of information was presented as “News story” at a rate of 79.04% which implies that much of the work done by journalists lies into event reporting and coverage.

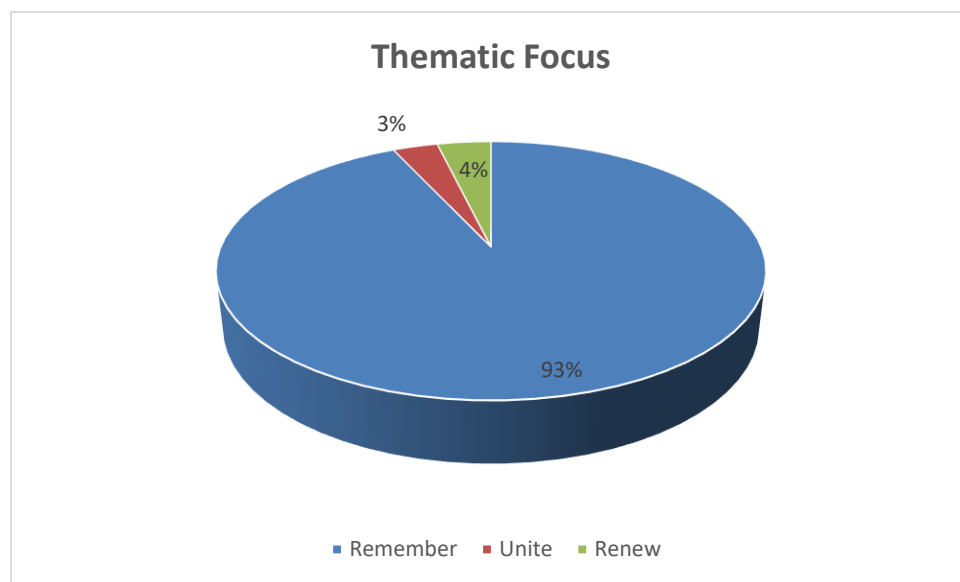
Further, documentaries and chronicles, especially in online media emerged at a rate of 9.8% of the analyzed data during the commemoration week compared to the last year findings, the number increased by 6%.

3.3. Thematic focus

The national theme for the 26th commemoration of the Genocide against Tutsi or KWIBUKA26 is stated as “*Remember-Unite-Renew*” or “*Kwibuka Twiyubaka*”. This monitoring sought to know which aspect of the

theme is focused on by each of the analyzed news items. The following chart indicates the extent to which the theme was reflected in news.

Figure 3: Thematic Focus



With the presumption that the targeted media coverage was carried out in the general context of Genocide remembrance, the aspect of remembrance outweighs others with 93%, whereas unity and renewal were captured at a small rate of 3% and 4% respectively.

3.4. Topic coverage

To dig deep into analysis of media coverage on the 26th 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 the table below.

Table 3: topic coverage

Topic	Frequency	%
Commemorative Events (by local administration, press, in conference, by religious gathering,..)	225	47.17
Genocide against Tutsi History, truth about the past	97	20.34
Genocide ideology	38	7.97

Symbolic memory (poems, films, plays, research& book publications...	29	6.08
Survivors welfare (life conditions recovery (daily subsistence, housing...))	20	4.19
Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc)	16	3.35
Survivors' security	12	2.52
International justice	9	1.89
Unity and reconciliation	9	1.89
Survivors' health	7	1.47
Fight hate speech	6	1.26
Social cohesion and trust built	4	0.84
Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness	3	0.63
Local tribunals and courts (Gacaca, ordinary, extra courts, Legal Support to survivors)	1	0.21
Survivors 'education	1	0.21
Total	477	100

Table above reveals that commemorative events were predominantly covered by media at a peak of 47.17%, followed by stories about “History of the Genocide against Tutsi, truth about the past” and “fight against Genocide ideology” with 20.3% and 7.9% respectively. The topic of “Unity & Reconciliation” per se was tackled at a rate of 1.89%. Findings show that journalists are much more attracted by event reporting and efforts to cover other Genocide related topics such as “Itorero”, “Ndi umunyarwanda”, “Abarinzi b’igihango” and “Survivors’ associations”, etc remain less covered.

It is evident that journalists gave much coverage and reporting to commemorative events compared to other equally important topics highly relating to reconciliation. Furthermore, interpretation and analysis of facts related to Genocide are still lower, yet there is still need of public information and education to constantly foster the unity and reconciliation process through media’s publications.

One may wonder how events were mostly reported while the commemoration week coincided with the country’s total lockdown due to COVID 19 pandemic outbreak. This may be explained by the fact that most of the news stories were published on the 07th April, the day on which the commemoration at national level was launched and the following day (8th April). Most of the stories published on these two days were reporting about the national commemoration day which took place at Gisozi officiated by H.E the President of the Republic. Other event related stories were reporting the commemoration events held mostly online done in different embassies abroad.

Although all topics deserve attention, one cannot help commending journalists who, through their reporting, lauded unity and reconciliation initiatives and successes and promptly denounced cases of Genocide

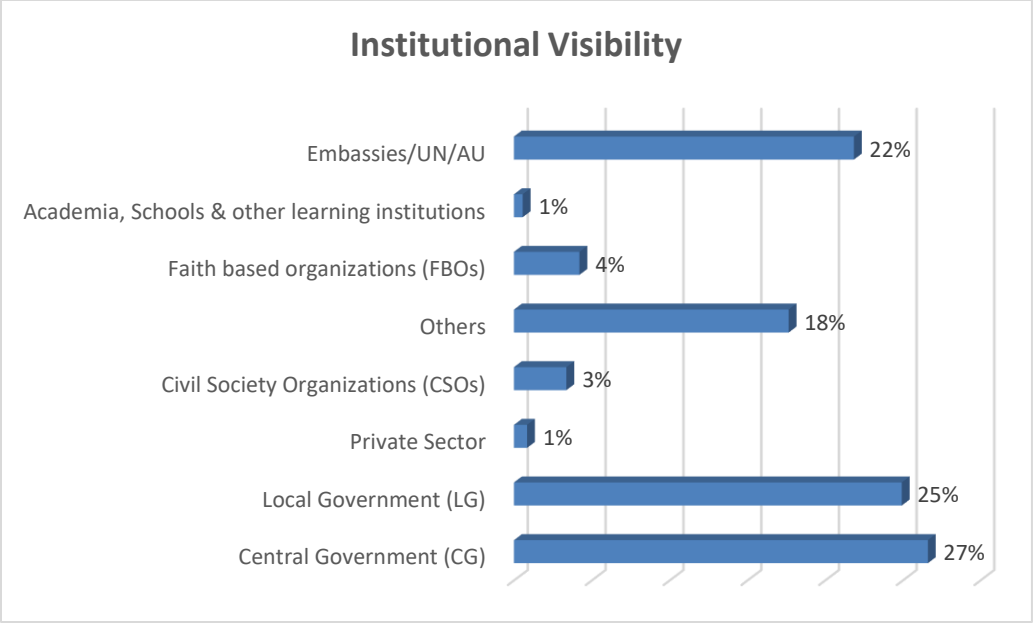
ideology. Such incidences do not only help competent organs take appropriate measures, but also inform and educate people about misdeeds of divisionism. Below are some examples of titles of news stories published:

- **#Kwibuka26: Icyanga cy'imbabazi n'ubwiyunge nyuma ya Jenocide (Inkuru mu mafoto):** This was a pictorial story depicting the taste of pardon and reconciliation after the Genocide against Tutsi. It was published on igihe.com
- **Ruhango: Umukecuru w'imyaka 80 akurikiranyweho kuvuga amagambo arimo ingengabitekerezo ya Jenocide:** This article also published on igihe was about an old lady who was being sued due to the words that she said full of genocide ideology.
- **Kurwanya ihakana n'ipfobya rya Jenocide ntibikwiye guharirwa u Rwanda gusa: AU:** The story published by bwiza.com quotes the AU Commission Chairperson saying that the fight against trivialization and negationism of the Genocide should not be only a fight of Rwandans only.

3.5. Institutional visibility and participation to the commemoration

The present media monitoring work sought also to measure the extent to which Government and Non Government entities were quoted and involved in the 26th commemoration of Genocide against the Tutsi.

Table 4: Institutional visibility and participation to the commemoration



As far as visibility of institutions in the news related to the commemoration, central Government agencies took the lead with 27%, followed by local government administrative entities (from Village to District levels) with 25%. It is interesting to note that, thanks to Rwanda’s diplomatic missions worldwide, the diaspora and foreigners or friends of Rwanda actively participated to KWIBUKA26 at a rate of 22, realizing an increase of 11% compared to last year’s findings.

3.6. Area of coverage

The media reach while reporting on Genocide matters is equally important since this tragedy was perpetrated against Tutsi on the entire territory of Rwanda. Therefore, it is evident that every village entails a story to tell and a remedy to share and recover from the wounds of Genocide thus restoring peace, unity and reconciliation. Table 6 below shows how different Districts of the country were reached by media reporters. In addition, stories of national, international, regional and sub-regional levels were also given particular attention in this work

Table 5: Area of coverage

	Rwanda Television	Radio Rwanda	Huguka	Voice of Hope	Voice of Africa	Flash FM	Isango TV	TV 1	Royal FM	KT Radio	City Radio	www.umuseke.rw	www.igihe.com	www.ktpress.rw	www.makuruki.rw	www.bwiza.com	www.umuryango.com	www.inyarwanda.com	www.chronicles.rw	www.muhabura.rw	www.ukwezi.com	www.intyoza.com	www.panorama.rw	www.taarifa.rw	www.isimbi.rw		%
National	10	16	3	9	3	7	15	4	5	6	3	1	57	3	5	5	3	34	1	12	1	1	11	1	13	254	53.2%
International	17	14	0	5	1	4	1	1	0	0	1	2	23	0	0	6	3	5	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	88	18.4%
Kayonza	4	6	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	5	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	25	5.2%
Gasabo	9	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	18	3.8%
Ruhango	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	16	3.4%
Musanze	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	2.7%
Bugesera	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	2.1%
Kamonyi	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	9	1.9%
Sub-Regional (EAC)	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1.7%
Kicukiro	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1.0%
Muhanga	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.8%
Nyarugenge	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.8%
Regional (Rest of Africa)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0.8%
Gatsibo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.6%
Kirehe	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.6%
Gakenke	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	2	0.4%
Nyagatare	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.4%
Nyanza	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.4%

Gicumbi	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2%
Huye	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2%
Ngoma	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	0.2%
Nyabihu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2%
Nyamasheke	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	1	0.2%
Rubavu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2%
Rwamagana	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	1	0.2%

Findings in the table 6 show that commemoration events and issues of national scale were the most reported in news at an outstanding rate of 53%. This may be explained by the lockdown to curb the spread of COVID 19 pandemic which was ongoing during the mourning week and which didn't allow districts to organize commemoration events that gather people in public spaces. Regarding district coverage, Kayonza, Gasabo and Ruhango districts received more news coverage than districts in other provinces. Kayonza (5%), Gasabo (4%) and Ruhango (3%).

3.7. Best messages and voices promoting unity and reconciliation

It is well known that media shape people's perception of their world view. While analyzing news items published during the mourning period, it was equally judged important to detect messages which promote the process of unity and reconciliation with the belief that they positively impact Rwanda's social fabric in helping it recover from the aftermath of the Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994. This section presents highlights of this nature.

Table 6: Best messages and voices promoting unity and reconciliation

<p><i>"Aho u Rwanda rugeze mu rugendo rw'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge no kwiyubaka, bitanga icyizere kidashidikanywaho ko imbere ari heza, ariko buri wese akeneye gukomeza gutera intambwe muri uru rugendo"</i> Igihe.com quoting H.E. Paul Kagame, on 07th April 2020</p>
<p><i>"Kurwanya ihakana n'ipfobya si ibyo guharira abayobozi 'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda gusa"</i> Bwiza.com quoting Faki Mahamat, 07th April 2020</p>
<p><i>"Ubwiyunge bwarashobotse! Uko Mukaremera yababariye uwamwiciye umugabo muri Jenocide"</i> Title of a news article on igihe.com published on 07th April 2020</p>
<p><i>Twamenye akamaro ko gukorera hamwe, tukubaka ejo hazaza habereye Abanyarwanda bose. Ubudatezuka n'umutima w'impuhwe biranga Abanyarwanda bizakomeza kudufasha mu kunyura mu bibazo bishya duhura nabyo, harimo n'ibyo muri iyi minsi."</i> Igihe.com quoting H.E. Paul KAGAME, on 07th April 2020</p>
<p><i>"Ibikorwa by'abatifuriza u Rwanda ibyiza byakomeje kubaho, icyo nabwira Abanyarwanda ni uko ibyo bikorwa bitazatsinda kuko twabitsinze nta ngufu zihari, nta bushobozi igihugu cyari gifite, twabitsinze igihugu kitarubaka ubumwe nk'ubwo gifite kugeza ubu."</i>, Kigalitoday quoting Minister Busingye Johnston on 07th April 2020</p>

From the above examples, it is clear that most message in favour of unity and reconciliation are from leaders, which is on the one hand seems to be obvious given to their responsibility. 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 and *repentance* were also found out though not frequent. The following are some illustrations:

- *“Kuva namusaba imbabazi ngisohoka muri gereza, nkemera ibyaha byanjye nkamusaba kumbabarira, yarabyemeye. Hari n’igihe musigira abana banjye iyo ntahari”*: In a news story published by Igihe, a genocide perpetrator



(Nkundiye Tasian) says that he was forgiven by the widow survivor (Mukaremera Laurencia) whose husband was killed by him. He says that now they are friends and he even lives to her his children. A picture of them both is highlighted on the top of the page. They both live in Bugesera District. *“Yaraje ambwira ko yabikoze, ananyereka aho umubiri w’umugabo wanjye bawutabye. Nyuma yo kubyemera no gusaba imbabazi, naramubabariye”* [he came and told me what he did, showed me where he buried my husband and I accepted to pardon him] says Laurencia.

- Again on Igihe, a series of pictures were published in a pictorial story showing survivors who have pardoned the perpetrators of the Genocide against Tutsi. Below are the illustrations:



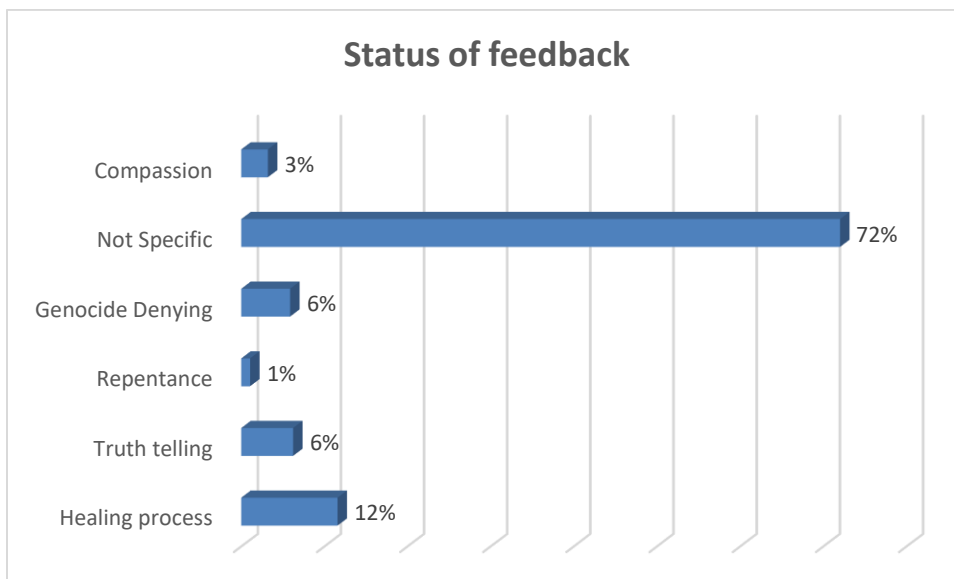
3.8. Online news comments

It is a common practice that news portals/internet media offer to their readers a public commentary forum which is in-house regulated before getting exposed to information consumers. It is in this perspective that the monitoring team deemed important to implement a quick qualitative content analysis of readers' views or public feedback vis-à-vis the promotion of unity and reconciliation amongst Rwandans. Therefore, this section reflects the quality of comments from website readers' divergent views (as extracted from the eighteen sampled websites to be part of this work) which were tagged as either positive or negative. Further still, media monitors had to detect whether the positive comments are favorable to unity and reconciliations in terms of these four aspects:

- a) Healing process (comments that are comforting and counseling), 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).

The following charts exhibit the trend of online news comments from public, indicating whether they favor or disfavor the unity and reconciliation process.

Figure 4: Status of feedback



The chart above indicates that most of the comments were not specific as the stories published during the 1st seven days were event based. To deeply explain this fact, here are examples of comments made on the published talking about the national 26th commemoration of the Genocide against the Tutsi:

- afande ndakwibuka uyobora batayo ya 13
- Birenze ubwenge! Ntago byoroshye kubyakira!!
- Mujye mudushyiriraho nayo majwi tuyumve.
- Ese burya nitorero ADEPR rifitemo imigabane? Ntabyonarinzi murakoze banyamakuru.umva ndumiwe gusa ubu haricyo binyeretse Bavandimwe.
- byiza cyane dufite inshuti nyinshi

Other observed areas of comments were where commentators were talking about truth about the Healing Process (12%), while 6% were giving testimonies about what happened during the Genocide and 6% were about Genocide denying.

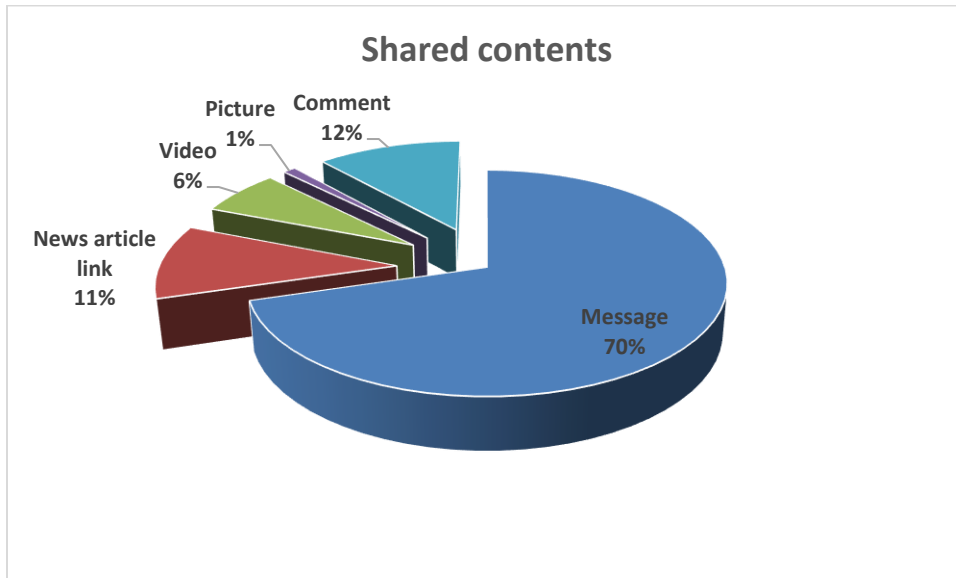
3.9 Kwibuka26 on Twitter

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 2020, Twitter data collected from the hash tag #Kwibuka26 (purposively created for the 26th 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.

Figure 5: Types of shared tweets



We can learn from figure 3 that most Twitter users expressed their views by utilizing text messages and links at a score of 70% and 11% respectively. Videos and pictures were used respectively at the rate of 6% and 1% respectively. The rest of the tweets were retweets or feedbacks on messages already shared.

i. Topics and issues raised

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

Table 7: Topics and issues raised on twitter

Topic	%
Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc)	4%
Commemorative Events (by local administration, press, in conference, by religious gathering,..)	56%
International justice	2%
Survivors' health	0%
Survivors 'education	0%

Survivors welfare (life conditions recovery (daily subsistence, housing...)	1%
Unity and reconciliation	1%
Genocide ideology	11%
Fight hate speech	7%
Social cohesion and trust built	0%
Genocide against Tutsi History, truth about the past	14%
Acknowledgement, Apology and Forgiveness	3%
Symbolic memory (poems, films, plays, research& book publications...	2%
Other	1%

It is observed from Table 16 that findings on @KwibukaRwanda and the related hash tag #Kwibuka26 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 56%. Other topics and issues which were frequently raised include “History of the Genocide against Tutsi” (14%), “Genocide ideology” (11%), “Fight against hate speech” (7%), and “Memorial sites (visits, burials, etc.)” (4%).

A good thing to note is that during the first week of the commemoration, as the whole country was under **lockdown**, Rwandans on twitter (RwoT) made it special whereby a daily program and testimonies were shared for virtual commemoration.

ii. Negationism

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, posts 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.

Table 8: Posts denigrating unity & reconciliation

Date	Posts Denigrating Unity & Reconciliation	Positive messages	Total
07-04-2020	7	124	131
08-04-2020	3	6	65

08-07-2020	0	1	1
09-04-2020	3	26	29
10-04-2020	6	19	25
11-04-2020	3	30	33
12-04-2020	9	51	60
13-04-2020	0	55	55
TOTAL	31	368	399
%	8%	92%	100%

As indicated in the table above, 8% of the messages posted on twitter related to Kwibuka26 had contents with genocide ideology denigrating unity and reconciliation. The following are exemples extracted:

- Le #génocide de 1994 a touché chaque Rwandais dans sa chair. Les victimes et les bourreaux étaient aussi bien dans le camp des Hutu que dans celui des Tutsi. Il n'y a donc pas les "bons" d'un côté et les "méchants" de l'autre. Toutefois, le responsable No 1 de ce drame est le FPR
- Beaucoup en #RDC se réjouissent que @onduhungirehe ait été révoqué par #Kagame. Peu en connaissent les circonstances. Il défendait le droit de se souvenir des centaines de milliers de Hutus modérés massacrés en 1994, pendant les commémorations du génocide. 1 combat juste. #Rwanda
- Flag of Rwanda Amb. @onduhungirehe : "Every Rwandan remembers his or her loved ones. No one has the right to tell others when or how to remember them." This?
- I fear the future for Rwanda when someone can look at their neighbour and tell him his loved ones who were killed were "collateral victims".. #RwandanGenocide
- Exactly. @corneillemusic do you call your father a collateral victim as well ? So from 90 to 97/98 to now all the millions of people killed by @rpfinkotanyi in Rwanda then Congo were just collateral victims? How insane is that?! Shame on you!
- Collateral implies accidental. I wonder how Hutu populations from Byumba & Ruhengeri that RPF killed in 92, 93 & 94 while cleansing those areas for future occupation by #tutsis were all collateral victims.
- Without hypocrisy, there were dead everywhere. I regret the one way reading. it doesn't help reconciliation. I lost loved ones in all ethnic groups. In my opinion, this genocide is Rwandan. I forget the causes for reconciliation at this difficult time.

A good thing to note is the reaction of the Rwandans on such messages containing genocide ideologies. The solidarity of Rwandans to fight such ideologies was observed in the responses made on any tweet trivializing or negating the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In accordance with findings of this analysis, media 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, 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 Rwandan society;
- Online media houses should establish internal mechanism to filter comments from the public so as not harm the unity and reconciliation process;
- Last but not least, media should engage experts, clergy men and women to speak much on the doctrines of unity, forgiveness, shared identity: “Ndi umunyarwanda”.

References

1. Rwanda Journalists and Media Practitioners' Code of Deontology and Ethics, Amended 5 April 2014
2. The National Policy on Unity & Reconciliation, NURC, 2007
3. Itangazo ku migendekere y'ibikorwa byo Kwibuka ku nshuro ya 26 Jenoside Yakorewe Abatutsi, CNLG, 2020

Appendices

The Coding Book for News

VARIABLES	DESCRIPTION
Monitors	
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 <p>a) Radio & TV</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ☞ Public: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rwanda Television 2. Radio Rwanda ☞ Community: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Huguka Community Radio ☞ Faith Based: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Voice of Hope 5. Voice of Africa 6. TV7 ☞ Private: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Flash FM 8. Isango TV 9. TV1 10. FINE FM 11. KT Radio 12. City Radio <p>b) Print</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The New Times 2. Imvaho Nshya <p>c) Online (private)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) www.umuseke.rw 	<p>Note: On radio & TV stations, Kinyarwanda news bulletins from 5:00 PM to 9:30 PM will be considered for analysis.</p>

<p>2) www.igihe.com 3) www.ktpress.rw 4) www.familymag.org 5) www.makuruki.rw 6) www.bwiza.com 7) www.umuryango.rw 8) www.ibyishimo.com 9) www.inyarwanda.com 10) www.nonaha.com 11) www.chronicles.rw 12) www.touchrwanda.com 13) www.muhabura.rw 14) www.ukwezi.com 15) www.intyoza.com 16) www.panorama.rw 17) www.focusafrica.rw 18) www.taarifa.rw 19) www.hanga.rw 20) www.rwandainspirer.com 21) www.isimbi.rw</p> <p>d) Social media www.twitter.com: #Kwibuka26 & @KwibukaRwanda</p>	
<p>Format</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News Story (Event reporting and coverage) 2. Investigation (self-initiated story to uncover unknown information by the public) 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 	<p>The format of the analyzed content relating to the 26th commemoration</p>

12. Others	
Thematic focus 1. Remember 2. Unite 3. Renew	Please indicate the major aspect of the national theme highlighted in the news item.
Topic 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 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, ...)	Please indicate the major topic the news item is about.

<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 	<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>

8. Non-Government Organizations (local, 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