UNIVERSITY of RWANDA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE CENTRE FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Exploring peace journalism practices for conflict prevention in Rwanda

The case study of Pax Press initiative

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation

Presented by Gratien HAKORIMANA (Reg. No. 219014948)

Supervised by Dr Aggée MUGABE SHYAKA

Kigali, December 2020

DECLARATION

I, Gratien HAKORIMANA, declare that this thesis on **"Exploring Peace Journalism practices for conflict prevention in Rwanda: The case study of Pax Press initiative"** is my own work and has not been presented in any other university for academic award.

Signature: ……………………….

Date: …./…./2021

AUTHORISATION TO SUBMIT THE CORRECTED DISSERTATION

I, undersigned, **Professor François MASABO**, member of the panel of examiners of the dissertation done by **Gratien HAKORIMANA**, entitled: **EXPLORING PEACE JOURNALISM PRACTICES FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION IN RWANDA:**

 THE CASE STUDY OF PAX PRESS INITIATIVE

Hereby testify that, s/he successfully entered the suggested corrections by the panel of examiners and stands with authorization to submit required copies to the administration of CCM for administrative purpose.

Done at **Kigali**   Date:…../……../**2021**

Signature of the examiner: ....

For Administration of the CCM MA Program: Name, Signature

DEDICATION

To my parents Mukagakwisi Donathile and Late Karekezi Sylvand

To my beloved wife Cecile Mukandutiye

To my sons and the entire family

I dedicate this work

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I'd like to extend my gratitude to all people who contributed to the completion of this academic step. I am especially indebted to the whole staff of the Centre for Conflict Management and the College of Arts and Social Sciences, for their assistance during our academic activities, though it seemed to be their usual duties.

My unprecedented thanks go to the entire team of our lecturers in MA class who showed a high level of devotion to help us embark on this academic journey.

My most acknowledgements are also addressed to my workmates who stood in my place when I was on academic duties; to the Pax Press management, the members and partners, for their fully commitment to sacrifice their time in order to contribute to this work.

I then acknowledge the excellent supervision of Dr Aggée Mugabe Shyaka. His outstanding guidance has been for me the source of strength to carry on such project, from even the initial stage.

I'd also like to express my appreciation to those who morally contributed to the success of this work, namely my wife and children who accepted to stay alone in times I was supposed to be at home.

Lastly, my heartfelt gratitude goes to each and everyone who contributed to my success in this MA studies journey. Please find here my appreciation and acknowledgement. May the Almighty God bless you abundantly!

Gratien HAKORIMANA

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AUO: African Unity Organization

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CDR: Coalition pour la Défense de la République

CNN: Cable News Network

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

GMO: Gender Monitoring Office

GBV: Gender Based Violence

ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

MAJ: Maison d'Accès à la Justice

MDR-Parmehutu: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain-Parti du mouvement de l'émancipation hutu

MRND: Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

ORINFOR: Office Rwandais d'Information

RBA: Rwanda Broadcasting Agency

RMC: Rwanda Media Commission

RGB: Rwanda Governance Board

RFI: Radio France Internationale

RPF: Rwanda Patriotic Front

RTLM: Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines

TV: Television

UNAMIR: United Nations Mission to Rwanda

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USA: United States of America

VOA: Voice Of America

ABSTRACT

This research focuses on media practices related to Peace Journalism in preventing and transforming conflict in post-genocide Rwanda. It has as a case study the Pax Press, a local organization that provides practical and professional skills in regards to Peace Journalism promotion. Its two specific objectives are to assess how the media professionals in Rwanda comply with peace journalism practices and to identify the challenges that hinder the media sector to improve in order to contribute to conflict prevention and transformation.

The researcher uses the qualitative approach to conduct this study, notably collecting data using interview guides and interpreting the data that are categorized by themes. The research sample consists of 15 journalists from all types of media outlets and who have the work experience at national and international levels.

The findings reveal that by complying with peace journalism practices, the journalists who are members or partners of Pax Press contribute to conflict prevention and transformation through community debates, news reporting and talk shows. At the same time they work more professionally than before. They have their own guiding principles they abide to in dealing with conflict situations in rural areas where they are encouraged to cover stories from. The research has also identified three types of challenges that affect the profession of journalism in Rwanda and constitute a danger to the future of Peace Journalism. They are related to financial resources, to the regulation of the media sector where there is a lack of clear media law that protects the profession from being open to non trained people, and violation of the media code of ethics, expressed through behaviors that lead them into what has been labeled in this research as *confrontational* and *suicidal* journalisms. However there are some other media journalists who practice what peace journalism scholars call accidental peace journalism and this is actually dictated by the editorial line of their media houses, or the general political line of the country which promotes unity and reconciliation among Rwandans.

Keywords: peace journalism, conflict prevention, conflict transformation, Pax Press

Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURE AND TABLES

CHAPTER I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the background of the research which is situated in the fields of both media and peace studies. It also presents the research problem statement, the research objectives, its guiding questions, and the significance of the study, its scope and the way it is structured.

1.1 Background to the research

The negative use of the media in Rwanda has contributed to sporadic violence, the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi being the climax. In the aftermath of the tragedy, the capacity of the local mass media outlets and professionals to play a role in the reconstruction of the social fabric that was destroyed using the same channel was uncertain. The media sector itself was heavily affected by the genocide. About 50 journalists were killed, others fled the country, and few were in prison, the media infrastructure and equipments were damaged (Rwanda Governance Board [RGB] 2013; Monique & Mpambara, 2003: 19).

Before the country got to the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi, it had two types of media houses, the private print media and the State owned broadcaster and print outlets. In fact, the first media which is Kinyamateka newspaper was created in 1933, by the Catholic Church, which also in 1967 created the Dialogue, a monthly magazine(Chrétien, 1995:19-20). Both media were used in the interest of the catholic missionaries and the Belgian colonial masters in their 'divide and rule' policy manifested by the issuance of ethnic identification cards early 1930s which have been in use during two Republics (African Unity Organization, AUO, 2000: 16). In 1955, Grégoire Kayibanda, a graduate of the Catholic seminary, was appointed chief editor of Kinyamateka (Chrétien, 1995), and he later on became the president of the first Republic of Rwanda from 1962 to 1973. Also, he was among the nine signatories of the Bahutu manifesto of 1957 that contained ethnic hatred against the Tutsi. So, he continued the colonial legacy of divisive ideology and extremism through his political party, MDR Parmehutu (AUO, 2000: 14-16).

In the 1960s the first state broadcaster was launched, Radio Rwanda. It played the same role of spreading the official rhetoric of the first and second republic regimes, instead of giving the audience the space to enjoy the right to neutral information. In practice, the 'media-political relationship' was unilaterally shaped by the elites in power(Price et al, 2009). In 1988 the new generation of independent newspapers which could criticize and expose the malpractices of the regime was launched. Kanguka newspaper created in the same year (1988)was however overtly countered by the creation,in 1990, of Kangura, an extremist newspaper which ceased to exist in April 1994.

With the emergence of the multiparty system, after the armed attack of the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPF-Inkotanyi armed wing), between 1990 and 1994, Rwanda had the proliferation of newspapers. "The Habyarimana government in the early 1990s substantially relaxed state controls on the media. Almost instantly a vibrant press emerged" (AUO, 2000: 43). Particularly, in 1991 the regime recognized and legalized the political pluralism and promulgated the press law. So, the number of newspapers started to increase.

The following year was called "the Rwandan media's golden age" because the opposition politicians withdrew Radio Rwanda from the ruling party MRND's control but they failed to make it more independent (Monique & Mpambara, 2003: 10). This period between 1992 and 1993 was also considered as "the sprint of the press in Rwanda" (Chrétien, 1995:29-30) such that it left the country with around sixty newspapers (RGB, 2013:25).

However the majority of these media were aligned to ideologies of the political parties to serve their respective interests. There was polarization of the media sector, as some were supportive of ethnic ideology of the then government while others denounced it (ibid.). This was due to the absence of a clear legal framework to regulate the sector and to ensure the sustainability of these newspapers. The greater part of journalists were public servants because they worked for the state 'Office Rwandais d'Information, ORINFOR, that was running two newspapers (Imvaho and La Relève), a radio station (Radio Rwanda) and a television, since 1992 with the launch of Rwanda Television.

The year 1992 also corresponded to the creation of the *Coalition pour la Défense de la République*, CDR, an ethnic political party that claimed to be the defender of Hutu primacy

(Manifesto). The creation of this party was followed by the start, in April 1993, of the *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, RTLM, the well known 'hate media' that played a critical role in inciting people to the killings during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. All efforts to stop it from broadcasting were fruitless because it was the war weapon of the then government (Dallaire *in* Thompson et al., 2007: 18). The radio also attracted many citizens because one out of 13 Rwandans had a radio by the 1980s (Monique & Mpambara, 2003). Also the country had a single party system which used the radio as a propaganda tool (Des Forge *in* Thompson et Al, 2007: 42). So, as the media is the mirror of a given society, Rwanda was a single party nation till June 1991 and with a single radio station till the creation of RTLM in 1993.

The state radio (Radio Rwanda) was as active as RTLM in instigating the killings of the Tutsi even before the genocide itself began. It is the national radio that broadcasted a fabricated communiqué that incited to the killings of the Tutsi in Bugesera region in March 1992 (ibid.). With the creation of Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines both radio stations were not rival but sisters in terms of their role in spreading hate speech (idem, 48). The massacre of Tutsi in Bugesera, took place while the country had the coalition government; and the State office of information (ORINFOR) that managed Radio Rwanda was placed under a new ministry of information headed by an opposition party. Since then, it ceased to be manipulated by the ruling party and the president's circle (AUO, 2000: 44 & Frere, 2009:345). Nevertheless, when the opposition was split into "Hutu power" and moderate Hutu factions, radio Rwanda took a radical political line against the Tutsi as did the RTLM station since its creation, and even Kangura newspaper as well. Particularly Kangura appealed Hutu to unite against Tutsi, and requested their dismissal in public services and other political organs (Chrétien, 1995:224-226).

The spillover effect from the extremist newspaper, Kangura, and the so-called 'private radio station', RTLM, to a state radio had a significant impact on organized groups like militias when the genocide broke out. Yanagizawa (2014:4) specifically shows that the influence of the RTLM radio messages during the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda had important effect on organized criminal groups than on individuals. The broadcast was so powerful that it managed to convince killers to enter even in the churches saying they were used by RPF combatants as their military base, referring to Tutsi who went to hide there (ibid.).

Before this media pluralism, Radio Rwanda was the sole national radio station from which all Rwandans got news information. However, it served the interests of both ruling parties, respectively MDR-Parmehutu and MRND. It was the channel for the president Habyarimana to pass all his messages to the nation at the start of every news bulletin (Chrétien, 1995: 48). And this gave power to the radio station so that citizens, whose majority was illiterate (RGB, 2013:26), believed in whatever it said, because it "was considered truth" and "nobody contested its authority" (Monique & Mpambara, 2003). Romeo Dallaire (*in* Thompson et al., 2007: 12) goes further and affirms that Rwanda was a radio country and the radio was "God's voice". In practice, the oral tradition was the main way of communication among the Rwandan populations. So the radio perpetuated this culture linked to illiteracy of the country's citizens.

The private and independent media would remedy to this lack of accurate and balanced information suitable for opposition political parties and ordinary citizens. Therefore, the media pluralism and political multi-party system were not the real solutions to this problem. They both acted the same way being influenced by political ideologies (AUO, 2000). The polarization of the political system was also reflected in the media sector, and this impacted on news production. The state media were promoting hate speech and war propaganda, while media that supported the opposition's political ideology were harassed and their journalists imprisoned in order to silence them (Chrétien, 1995: 24).

Even though Radio Rwanda was a State media, the journalists were not well trained and some couldn't discover the contradictions between the government politics and their social responsibility to prevent ethnic hatred and conflict. Others adhered to the propaganda used as a war tool to win the war against RPF Inkotanyi and against the Tutsi labeled their accomplices (RGB, 2013: 26). Finally the radio station staff members including journalists fled the country alongside the government officials, because they obeyed to their unethical orders. Kellow and Steeves (1998) referring to the "media trial" by the international criminal tribunal for Rwanda, ICTR, adds however, that journalists who were found guilty, couldn't argue that they were 'small fish' and executed the received orders.

Besides that, there are examples of journalists including Janvier Afrika (Chretien, 1995), Thomas Kamilindi (Thompson et al., 2007) who resigned from their positions because they didn't want to be part of the 'hate media'. So, this explains how in the media sector there were journalists who

consciously stuck to their professional obligations and others who were aspiring to other personal and ideological interests, despite the weak professional training (Monique & Mpambara, 2003).

After the genocide against the Tutsi, there was a need of media regulation. More than 20 newspapers appeared and some were supported by international organizations that requested them to avoid hate speech (Frere, 2009: 341). Rwanda was very strict to media and the regulations of this sector were very tough to avoid the occurrence of hate media. However, the preparation of a new press law took six year, from 1996 to 2002 and it opened space to private radio stations (idem, 342). However, little by little, the profession was liberalized in 2001, in terms of ownership, content and sources of information. Private radio stations and newspapers started providing audience and the readership with a variety of content (RGB, 2013: 53).

The first Rwanda Media Barometer showed that in 2001 the country had 32 newspapers, 30 radio stations, 34 websites, 2 TV stations (one being the public TV) and 11 magazines (idem, 54). But these figures of TV and radio stations have tremendously increased after the digital migration achieved in July 2014 offered to the spectrum capacity to host more TV channels (Kagabo, 2017:2). Apart from commercial radios, in 2003 a new generation of community radios affiliated to the public broadcaster (RBA with 5 stations) and to Civil Society Organizations (with 4 stations) plus one that belongs to the school of journalism of the University of Rwanda. Also, there are religious radio stations for Muslim, catholic and protestant churches (RGB, 2013: 54). These pluralistic media houses faced the problem of lack of educated and trained journalists because there was no school of journalism in the country until 1995 (Monique & Mpambara, 2003). So, the first cohort of fully trained journalists at the level of university went on the labor market in the start of the year 2000.In addition, the media sector in Rwanda has always been open to non trained people, though it was expanding since its liberalization. So, there was still the lack of qualified local journalists that could play a role in the reconstruction of the country in its phases of peace building. Thus, the school had limited resources at that time and couldn't enroll and train the needed number of professionals. In the meantime, the international media the country had were the French radio, RFI, the British radio station, BBC, the American radio VOA and the German Deutsch Welle. Their audience was composed by the educated urban population and they could have access to balanced news items (Monique & Mpambara, 2003).

Peace journalism initiatives and projects were launched by international organizations. A US NGO Search For Common Ground (see www.sfg.org), in conjunction with different radio stations in Rwanda, Burundi and DRC, launched a regional project that produced a talk show known as 'Generation Grands Lacs' and involved essentially the youth from the three countries of the Great Lakes Region. At local level, immediately after the genocide started, the United Nations mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) initiated *Agatashya* radio station with the support of other "big powers". (Dallaire *In* Thompson et Al., 2007: 18) This radio station was intended to 'counteract' RTLM with "strong messages (…) about the UN and its role in Rwanda" (idem, 12).A fully local media initiative was implemented in 2008 with the foundation of *Pax Press* organization. It brought together journalists who had been working in the similar framework, with international NGOs or news agencies involved in the peace building processes through news reports, for instance *Syfia Grands Lacs* that was promoting reconciliation since 2004 (see www.syfia-grands-lacs.info), *Fondation Hirondelle* (Media for peace and human dignity [seewww.hirondelle.org]) that was in Rwanda just after its foundation in 1995 to manage the radio station Agatashya. There is also the Dutch radio, La Benevolencija, which is still producing a soap opera, *Musekeweya*, aired since 2004 on the national radio. It promotes unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. It is a "social psychological media intervention". It uses an educational and entertainment approach through a fictional drama to show how two villages address the land disputes (Rezarta, 2014; Kogen & Price: 2014).

In regard with legal framework, in 2013, the new press-law was adopted to replace the ones of November 1991 and 2002, respectively. The media regulation duties shifted from a public institution, the Media High Council, to an independent self-regulatory body, the Rwanda Media Commission; and a journalists' code of ethics was written after the consultations of the media practitioners to adapt the one of 2004 to the media sector environment which had changed.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

In many post-conflict contexts, the media sector is regulated and empowered in order to contribute to the prevention of the relapse into violent conflict. The promotion of peace journalism is one of the ways that lead to conflict prevention and transformation, because in this perspective journalists are conflict sensitive in reporting on societal issues. The history has proven beyond any doubt that if media is not well regulated and organized, it can be used to

nurture even the most deadly conflicts such as the genocide. Rwanda has been shown as an example in many researches on that. There is still a need of studies that examine if this media power used in instigating the violence is being used positively in the interest of peace promotion.

Indeed, the hate media and speech in pre-genocide Rwanda has been fairly studied. But the way media contributes to peace, peace journalism, has not. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to address the knowledge gap pertaining to the role of media in preventing and transforming conflicts in post-genocide Rwanda. Though many researchers have focused on the role of Rwandan media in diffusion of genocide ideology, there are few that addressed the subjects related to peace journalism, but not very explicitly neither did they do detailed researches. They were limited to its role in the reconstruction of Rwanda in a broad sense (see Monique & Mpambara, 2003) and to unity and reconciliation for those who tried to be specific (McIntyre & Sobel, 2017; Rezarta Bilali, 2014 and Kogen & Price, 2014). It is also known that conflict is exacerbated by lack of communication between rivaling parties. So, peace journalism plays the role of the third party by "balancing the situational power of parties, synchronizing confrontation efforts, pacing the phases of the dialogue, promoting openness [and] enhancing communication"(Fisher , 1997quoted in Peleg, 2006: 2). This media role can only be played by professional outlets, well-organized and supported by a clear media laws and professional ethics.

1.3 Research questions

The following questions will guide the researcher in assessing how the media outlets and practitioners, who are expected to contribute to conflict prevention, are aware of that responsibility, and then in identifying challenges that may hinder some initiatives related to that endeavour.

1) What, if any, are the practices of Peace journalism in Rwanda in general, and at Pax Press in particular?

2) How do these practices contribute to conflict prevention and transformation?

3) What needs to be improved with regard to the media sector in order to support and promote peace journalism in the country?

1.4 Purpose of the research

Every research in the field of peace and conflict studies must contribute to the promotion of peace and to the eradication of root causes of violent conflicts (Abdallah A., 2003). Indeed, one of the causes of the genocide against the Tutsi was the spread of hate speech and propagation of ethnic ideologies through media channels. So, journalists were instrumental in the preparation and implementation phases of that deadliest conflict the country has ever gone through. This research intends to show the other side of the coin, because there has been a shift in the Rwandan media sector from hate media to professional and conflict sensitive media. We do have media initiatives that promote peace instead of hate speeches. This research aims at examining the role of peace journalism practices to conflict prevention and transformation, in the post-genocide Rwanda.

This research assesses the challenges the sector faces that may constitute an obstacle to peace journalism which is at infancy phase. Its aim is also to provide an analysis of the journalistic practices to see if they don't favor loopholes so that media can be manipulated in the interests other than those traditionally assigned to it as their primordial mission of informing, educating and entertaining the audience. The purpose is to see how Rwandan media have become conflict sensitive in a fragile context like Rwanda, which needs a professional and organized media to replace the famous "hate media" or "death media" (Frere: 2009). Such media made genocide against the Tutsi the most deadly of the genocides in the 20th century (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014).

A specific focus is on enabling Rwandan media practitioners to participate in the processes of peace building, via some initiatives in regard to conflict prevention and transformation. The nexus between media social responsibility and the promotion of peaceful cohabitation will be established, through the lens of peace journalism practices. In a general perspective, this study focuses on how peace journalism can help prevent and transform conflicts, by peaceful means. This is in opposition to conflict-oriented or war journalism that is seen as 'negative stand' media can take vis-à-vis conflict situations, aiming to exacerbate them. It envisages finding out how Rwandan journalists adhere to peace journalism practices in order to resist to external manipulations and ideologies.

1.5 Objectives of the research

1.5.1   General Objective

Mainly this research seeks to know how Rwandan media practitioners adhere to the practices of peace journalism in their social responsibility of preventing violent conflicts. In fact, we assume that the new generation of media practitioners has drawn lessons from the experience of their predecessors who chose to be manipulated by those who negatively used mass communication channels to achieve their own interests.

1.5.2   Specific objectives

(i)   To highlight peace journalism practices that guide the media practitioners in post-genocide Rwanda

(ii)   To assess how the media professionals comply with peace journalism practices in their social responsibility in regard to conflict prevention and transformation

(iii)   To demonstrate how the media sector can improve in order to contribute to conflict prevention and transformation.

1.6 Significance of the research

This dissertation is based on the multidisciplinary body of knowledge, because it combines the fields of communication and journalism as well as peace and conflict studies. Even though the domain of peace journalism seems to be new in the context of peace studies, in general; it is subject to analysis and criticisms that contribute to its development, because it can be confusing to some people who see it through the lens of war or conflict reporting. Conflict is basically a social phenomenon that brings dynamism in human relationships. The divergence of goals and basic needs, that must be fulfilled using limited resources, causes conflicts that range from verbal to mental and physical violence. Nonetheless, when it leads to destruction of social fabric, by physical, structural or even cultural violence, it becomes a societal problem. And it is worse when media practitioners get manipulated and involved in that violent conflict.

This research highlights what scholars think are the preconditions for the media to contribute successfully to peace building processes, including preventing and transforming conflicts; and showcases the common practices of peace journalism in comparison to traditional journalism,

and in opposition to hate media that prevailed during the genocide period in Rwanda. Also, peace journalism is presented as a means of promoting peace through mass communication channels while avoiding reluctance to tell the truth, but instead, being 'conflict-sensitive', so that the journalists help in peaceful conflict prevention and transformation.

Indeed, after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, there have been efforts to promote peace journalism with an aim to prevent the relapse into such horror, starting by conflicts that may arise at the community level, known as "*intra* personal and *meso*-conflicts" (Galtung, 2004). It is in that perspective that a local NGO called *Pax Press,* was founded in 2008. This enquiry sees how the journalists working with this organization cope with the practices of peace journalism and the results of such initiative as the institution claims to be the press for peace. It is this case study that has led us in identifying and assessing any obstacles that may hinder the implementation of peace journalism as one of the strategies of reaching sustainable peace.

1.7 Scope of the study

Our topic is limited on the journalists who work with Pax Press, a local non-governmental organization established in 2008. Promoting peace through media outlets is its core mission. We take it as a case study of peace journalism also referred to as "constructive journalism" (McIntyre & Sobel, 2017). The choice to Pax Press was motivated by the fact that it involves local journalists from various editorial lines, different social and geographic backgrounds and their work is to promote peace. The organization was founded by journalists who had been working with international actors. It was in the framework of perpetuating the practices of peace journalism. This is another factor that pushed us to take it as our case study.

For the time scope of our study, we are interested in the period that corresponds with the start of our case study, the year 2008 till 2019. We identified journalistic practices applied in Rwanda that match with peace journalism through the framework of Pax Press organization. On the side of the scientific literature, our study mainly is based on the general one due to lack of specific academic work dedicated to Rwanda. Peace journalism is a new field in the context of Rwanda, a country where 'hate or death media' prevailed for decades. The specific literature on that topic is not available. Geographically, our research focuses on journalists that work from the City of Kigali but produce nationwide stories and programs. This is due to multiple factors, including

time and financial inconveniences, but the most important is that many media houses in Rwanda are located in Kigali, and it's where the greater part of journalists live and work from.

1.8 Research organization

The chapter one covers the introduction of the research and includes its objectives, the historical background, the problem statement, the research questions, the scope of the research and its organization. The second chapter exposes the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the research in which we go through literature review and define the main terminologies that are used in the whole work. It eases the understanding of the fields of peace journalism and the process of conflict prevention and transformation.

The third chapter focuses on research methodology, and justifies the choice of the research design, and show how the data collection has been done. The chapter also explains the sampling methods, defines target population and its size; it presents the whole data analysis, interpretation procedures and the researcher's ethical engagement and quality assurance strategies.

The forth chapter covers the presentation and interpretation of the research findings, relates them with media professionalism, reconciling it with the principles and practices of Peace Journalism. It showcases if peace journalists can remain professional while promoting conflict prevention and transformation with an intention of supporting the peace building process the country has undertaken.

The fifth chapter formulates the general conclusion, sets recommendations that may contribute to the improvement of the peace journalism initiatives and the betterment of the media sector. The aim is to help the media cope with challenges that can undermine the policies that promote peaceful conflict prevention and transformation among Rwandans.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the literature review, the conceptual and theoretical frameworks related to the field of peace journalism and to its large domains that are peace and conflict studies, as well as media and communication studies. It depicts how various academicians, authors and media practitioners understand and theorize the concept of Peace Journalism which constitutes a "paradigm shift in the traditional media's approach to conflict situations" (Rukhsana Aslam, 2011: p.119). This has enabled the researcher to explore and compile the guiding media practices journalists would abide to, in their social responsibility of preventing and transforming conflicts.

2.2 Clarification of key concepts

2.2.1 Peace Journalism

Peace Journalism is an approach which suggests that in the news making processes editors and reporters, plus presenters and producers of talk shows seek to help individuals and communities deal with conflicts by peaceful means. Lynch J. and McGoldrick A. (2005: 5) define peace journalism through the work of the whole editorial team, not at the level of individual journalist's initiative. So, they believe that peace journalism is when editors and reporters take decisions concerning the stories to report on and how they will be published with an aim to bring the society to the level of valuing and adopting peaceful solutions to conflict situations. In this sense, Peace Journalism is any journalistic endeavor that supports the "forces of peace" instead of being on the side of the "forces that lead to violent conflict" (Vladimir Bratic, 2006: 2).

Also, Peace Journalism can be understood as a way by which media practitioners produce and publish news stories and programs that promote peace by exposing all possible causes and consequences of imminent or overt violent conflicts, and opportunities for peace applicable to all conflicting parties. Johan Galtung compares this approach of peace journalism to health journalism, because it finds out the root causes of a conflict and suggests the possible opportunities to solve it (Galtung and Fischer, 2013:95). He goes further and suggests that peace journalism exposes tangible and intangible consequences while journalists are covering an

ongoing violent conflict. Here, the voices of victims of trauma for instance are heard, in addition to other war casualties and material damages are exposed.

2.2.2 Conflict prevention

(i) What is a conflict? A conflict is simply defined as the pursuit of incompatible goals and/or incompatible needs and interests that brings to the clash between two or more parties (Galtung, 1958). Other scholars like Wallensteen (2007: 14, cited in Christoph O. Meyer et al., 2018: 4), conceptualize a conflict as a "severe disagreement" that opposes at least two sides whose demands cannot be satisfied using the same resources available at the time of that disagreement. In other words, if two or more sides' demands cannot be met using the same resources at their disposal and at the same time, the conflict is imminent. Resources here include 'tangible realities' or material things financial resources, property, etc. It's also about 'intangible realities' such as values and norms shared among individuals or communities in a given society. They include also "psychological needs" to be fulfilled on condition one conflicting party renounces to its own needs (ibid.).

McGoldrick and Lynch (2000: 6) then define a conflict as "a process" in which there is not only the pursuit of irreconcilable goals between two or more parties, but also the obstruction to the other party or parties from pursuing their own goals. The conflicting parties can be individuals, communities, States, or regional and global entities depending on the levels at which the conflict is manifested, and given the parties it involves.

Conflicts are also measured following their intensity. On the one hand, we have ***high intensity conflict*** (HIC) in which violence is manifested through the interstate wars, on the other hand there is ***Low Intensity Conflict*** (LIC) which is essentially asymmetric and is sometimes referred to as "*small war*" or "*fourth-generation wars*" because it involves regular against irregular forces, like governmental forces against rebel groups. Hence, in both situations other regional, international and global actors may be involved in those conflicts (Eytan Gilboa, 2009: 91).

Lastly, the conflict is expressed through various forms of violence. It becomes violent in three ways because the violence it implies may be visible or invisible. Johan Galtung

distinguishes **direct violence** which is physical harm to an individual, **structural violence** which is expressed through various structures, legalized frameworks and institutions that favor social inequalities and injustices; and lastly **cultural violence** that is expressed through cultural institutions like language, attitudes, behaviors, symbols, speeches and texts even those produced in the media (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 35).

(ii) Conflict prevention: In this study 'conflict prevention' means a set of actions intended to counter the occurrence or the recurrence of violent conflict, with an aim of promoting the peaceful cohabitation between individuals, communities or states. The aforementioned Glossary of Peace Studies defines conflict prevention as the "anticipation of conflict" by dealing with all causes that may lead to the escalation of violent conflict, to the relapse into violent interactions. Conflict prevention also has to contain the occurrence of both scenarios (University of Peace, 2005: 24).

In terms of actors in conflict prevention, it has to rely on the "indigenous capacity" to manage conflict without violence". That capacity must be enhanced in a bid to help people participate in the peace-building process. Here, the first step is made internally and the external support would not replace the local efforts (Ross Howard**,** 2002: 5). In brief, conflict prevention consists of stopping disagreements from becominga conflict. (Spiess, 2008: 68)

2.2.3 Conflict transformation

Conflict transformation is deeper than conflict prevention, and it happens when the conflict is already there. Also, some scholars believe that a conflict is not preventable as it is a catalyst of social change and dynamism. So, they prefer the concept of conflict transformation. Oliver Ramsbotham, recognizes that this process comes in because a conflict cannot be overcome in all of its aspects. Then, he explains the process as a "deeper long-term project" of addressing the three aspects of the violence, physical, structural and cultural in order to transform both identities and relations (Ramsbotham, O., 2010: 52).

In the same orientation, Stephen Ryan (2007: 2-3) argues that conflict transformation takes into account the root of the conflict and suggests the root change as its solution. The aim of this process is that after a violent conflict a community enters in a better situation (positive transformation) than into a status quo, or a worse situation or relationship (negative transformation). For the positive transformation to happen, Hugh Miall (2001) suggests the

"reframing of positions and the identification of win-win outcomes". So, he perceives that conflict transformation targets to transform the relationships, interests, discourses and, other social institutions that perpetuate the culture of violent conflict (Miall 2001: 4).

Transforming a conflict implies also the efforts to work on its three aspects initially indroduced by Johan Galtung in what he called a conflict triangle.The latter is made of**Attitude** characterized by hatred, **Behavior** expressed through violence, and **Contradiction** over a certain issue (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 62). So,conflict transformation means to eliminate attitude of hatred, then to overcome the violent behavior, and to resolve the social issues peacefully. Departing from this thinking, Stephen Ryan formulates the transformation strategies which include *actor-centred strategies* whose target is reconciliation and forgiveness; and concentrate on improving personnal qualities such as acceptance of wrong done, moving beyond hate and respect for different cultures. Then, the *structural strategies* which emphasize economic and political transformation. Lastly, *sentimental education strategies* which would be equal to 'cultural transformation strategies' because they address the causes of cultural violence. Stephen Ryan underscores that these strategies contribute to the transfromation of institutions that played a role in the "reproduction of inter-communal hostility such as the schools, the media, the arts and the family" (Ryan, S., 2007: 3-4).

Apart from these strategies, the process of conflict transformation uses three elements called 'social energies of conflict transformation' also referred to as the 'soul of peace-building' developed by John Paul Lederach and Laura K. Taylor (2014: 13-17). They highlight that these social energies of change are *truth*, *mercy*, *justice* and *peace*. The *truth* is known by 'retelling story in public space' and enables conflicting parties to acquire knowledge of what really happened and the offenders acknowledge their wrongdoings. This is similar to what was done in Rwanda with the *Gacaca* courts. *Mercy* is not only seen as an amnesty to perpetrators, but also helps to 'rehabilitate perpetrators and victims' of violence. Both sides recognize that even though they were divided, they have to continue to live on a shared space. This pushes them to redefine their relationships. On its part, *justice* plays the roles in regard to its two dimensions: *retributive justice* that deals with wrongdoing and *restorative justice* that encourages "perpetrator responsibility for the impact of his or her actions on real people" (ibid.). Lastly, *peace* as social energy for conflict transformation, leads to ending violence and stopping brutal human righs

violations. Hence, it contributes to 'building more constructive relationships and flourishing communities'. These social energies play an ultimate role of achieving reconciliation between victims and perpetrators and serving as agents of change in human relationships, which is the utmost target of conflict transformation. Ultimately, these social energies help in the journey of peace building, by redefining violent relationships in "into constructive and cooperative patterns" (Lederach and Taylor, 2014: 14-15).

In addition to these social energies, other structural changes are needed, especially in societies where the culture of domination prevails and the glorification of violence and militarism takes over citizens' participation, in finding solution to problems that affect their lives and those of others. These changes will focus on the use of power in all of its aspects, and the result will be "the transformation of culture and of social, political and economic structures". Such conflict transformation will ensure that all conflict actors in the social settings characterized by "structures of domination" become aware and develop the power to participate in what affects them" (Francis, 2002: 8). This approach creates a space for what Diana Francis calls 'people power' which enables them to have a voice on international, national or local levels.

2.3 Literature review

2.3.1. Media

The media in this study means any platforms using various communication technologies to share information gathered by journalists with their audience. This includes print, online and broadcast media outlets. The term media also refers to mass communication tools including printed and published books, magazines and newspapers, and other photographic or electronic copying procedures as well as broadcasting outlets (Niklas, 1996: 2).

As a system of communication through which the world reality is known, the mass communication media or mass media are perceived as platforms through which journalists pass ideas, information, and stories to the listeners, viewers, or readers (Ogenga, 2019: 50). Here, media are part of the "social system" which is "a series of interrelated subsystems"and their fundamental functions include gathering and disseminating information (Donohue, Tichenor & Olien, 2012: 652).

In regard to this context, the media have various functions that include knowledge and information dissemination. Traditionally, media have to inform, educate and entertain the audience. On these functions, some researchers add the one of maintaining the social system. That's the reason why mass media are seen as tools for social conflicts control, and this implies the control of information as well (idem, 654).

In many scientific works on the role of the media in conflict, they are mostly shown as conflict instigators than peace promoters. So, the media influence negatively the conflict in a way that it fails to comply with its social responsibility. If media outlets do not support the efforts to end the conflict and instead take the side of war propaganda, the conflict could not be solved peacefully. Media is always taken as a tool to win a battle, and that's why the conflicting parties invest efforts in getting and expanding sympathy from media outlets (Christoph, 2018: 5). This is very crucial because it may be done through helping media operate under revenues generated by advertisements. On the contrary, media can also influence positively the public opinion over conflict, by exposing it and the sufferings it causes to human beings. Here, media coverage attracts aid and support, calls for action to end the conflict (Jayotti Das & DiRienzo, 2014: 92-93).

Also with the emergence of the new information technologies, the number of actors in a conflict news reporting has increased. Any citizens can reveal any information they possess about a conflict in their surroundings using their social media networks. So, news dissemination is no longer the monopoly of trained journalists, as long as every interested individual, institution or organization can produce and publish information at their disposal. However, this can have an impact on conflict because that information can be biased with an aim to instigate violence, like it has been the case for the Arab Spring. Or, it can be of a great importance as long as it brings the opinion to know the reality in cases of areas that are not covered by the professional media houses.

The negative role of media in fuelling conflicts is associated with the notion of war propaganda, in inciting people to violent conflict or triggering it. Here researchers refer to this kind of media as tools of political or military propaganda. In this context of mass communication, propaganda means that various forms of mass media are used to persuade people to adhere to one-sided statement, opinion, cause or interest.

The Webster's dictionary (1985:942) quoted by Vladimir Bratic (2008: 488) defines propaganda as the 'spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person'. Also propaganda is defined by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:6) as a process of persuasion which is a 'deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perception, manipulate cognition, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist' (idem). Media have mostly been used in this enterprise since the First World War, when almost all governments involved tried to get allies from the neutral countries, and mobilize them against the Germany. Thus, press, pamphlets, films, posters, telegraphs, sign-boards, etc, were used alongside other forms of political mobilization like youth clubs (ibid.).

However, with the emergence of new watchdog media, one that is free from government influence; people still need to enjoy their right to information. The one that is not restricted on the basis of political propaganda and war agenda. In this context, the media can impact on the government policies in the good of the citizens, instead of following the agenda set by the elites. Also, the media can influence the decision making process in the management of any phase of the conflict. Jamie Metzk (cited in Allan Thompson et al, 2007: 389) recognizes the influence of mass media on the audience, because they "reach not only people's homes, but also their minds, shaping their thoughts and sometimes their behavior".

As explained above, the media has the potential that needs to be 'utilized rather than abused' (Taylor, 1992 quoted in Bratic, 2008: 491). So, like violence itself has two sides, one directed to someone's body, the other on their mind, the latter being mainly cultural; to deal with it, requires the use of media to change people's attitudes and behavior in a positive way. The role of media will comprise of long term processes to teach how conflict as a result of the pursuit of incompatible goals, can be handled in a peaceful manner, because Bratic assumes that cultural violence is created using the mass media channels he considers as a venue where cultural violence is created"(idem, 492).

Jayoti Das and Cassandra E. DiRienzo (2013: 94) argue that free and independent media play the role of gatekeeper and can expose issues that could become the sources of conflicts, putting pressure on governments to act in the interest of their citizens, which includes preventing conflicts from occurring as well as resolving those that are already going on.

On the other hand, the media controlled by the governments can help the latter know the messages and images to use to mask potential sources of conflict (ibid.). So, in our view both scenarios depend on how the media sector is regulated, if it is free or under control of the government and the intentions the government has in a given conflict situation. That's why media can help in preventing conflict in both democratic and non democratic countries, depending on the level of cooperation between the two sides, media and government. But all in all, there should always be regulations determining the dos and don'ts for each party, in regard with conflict prevention. However, the role of media in conflict prevention is questioned, because news coverage of the conflicts often comes late, when there is violence outbreak except few cases (Bläsi, 2009:2), but this is the case for the international news agencies or channels.

2.3.2. Peace

Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (2007: 6) use the term 'peace' to refer to the absence of all forms of human violent conflict. It is what Johan Galtung calls "the negative peace" or the "absence of war" in a simple way. This is in comparison with "positive peace" that means there is cooperation among people in terms of human interaction, and equity in terms of economic power and resources distribution; equality and equity meaning that there is elimination of injustices; and finally positive peace entails the presence of culture of peace and dialogue (Galtung J. and Fischer D., 2013: 173-174). Dennis Sandole and Ingrid Sandole-Staroste (1987) look at peace in its four perspectives. First, peace is seen as harmony, which is for them a utopian conception of human relationship exempted from violence and even disagreement, and therefore no conflict would be existent. Second, peace is taken as order and means stability that results from the efficiency of political both home and international systems. Third, peace as justice, refers to "equality of treatment in respect of everything that matters to people" as stipulated in the constitutional and other legal frameworks of their State. The forth dimension, is peace as conflict management, by developing institutions that can catch the conflict at its early stage and all involved parties have to be part of the decision makerswho sort it out.

2.3.3. Conflict prevention

There exist two ways of preventing conflict. One is 'structural prevention' that adresses underlying causes of the conflict, and the other is 'operational prevention' that adresses particular confrontations once they have formed (Ramsbotham, 2010: 213-214).

The operational prevention involves immediate actions. They include fact-finding and monitoring missions, negotiation, mediation, conciliation which means the voluntary referral of a conflict to a neutral party that suggests a settlement (University of Peace,2005:22); creation of channels for dialogue among conflicting parties, preventive deployments, and confidence-building measures. The preventive diplomacy occurs at this stage.

Another is the 'structural prevention' which is long-term in nature and has the ingredients such as good governance, respect of human rights, economic, political and societal stability as well as civil society building (Ackermann, 2003: 341-342). Conflict prevention in post-conflict settings includes also reconciliation and in this perspective, it aims at inhibiting reccurrence of violence (University of peace, 2005:24).

Apart from the actions it involves, the prevention must be timely and start by breaking the cycle of violence. This cycle according to McGoldrick and Lynch is made up by an 'atrocity' as the starting point, then it causes shock and terror to victims who feel fear and pain that lead to grief, the latter leading to anger and anger hardening to bitterness that push people to revenge, and on its part revenge is countered by retaliation and the two lead to the relapse into atrocity. The authors advise that the conflict has to be contained before the "anger hardens into bitterness, revenge and retaliation" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000:11-12). Thus, there will be a number of interventions for physical security such as peacekeeping, protection of civilians, weapons collection and destruction. Conflict prevention includes also interventions to restore 'political security' and 'psychological security' which are primarily concerned with conflict resolution or mitigation initiatives (ibid.).

Conflict prevention is a matter of dealing with the life cycle of a conflict shown below in Figure 2.1. The cycle starts by being aware of incompatibility of pursued goals, needs and interests by different parties or sides. Then this incompatibility creates frustration of the party whose needs, goals or interests are not fulfilled. The frustration leads to hatred which is expressed through aggression that may be verbal or physical violence. Lastly, to end the conflict cycle a peacemaking initiative comes in. The latter can fail to bring the sustainable or positive peace, and the conflict reappears. Galtung and Fischer warn that in some cases, a violent conflict may have an "eternal life" (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 61).

Figure 2.1: A conflict life cycle
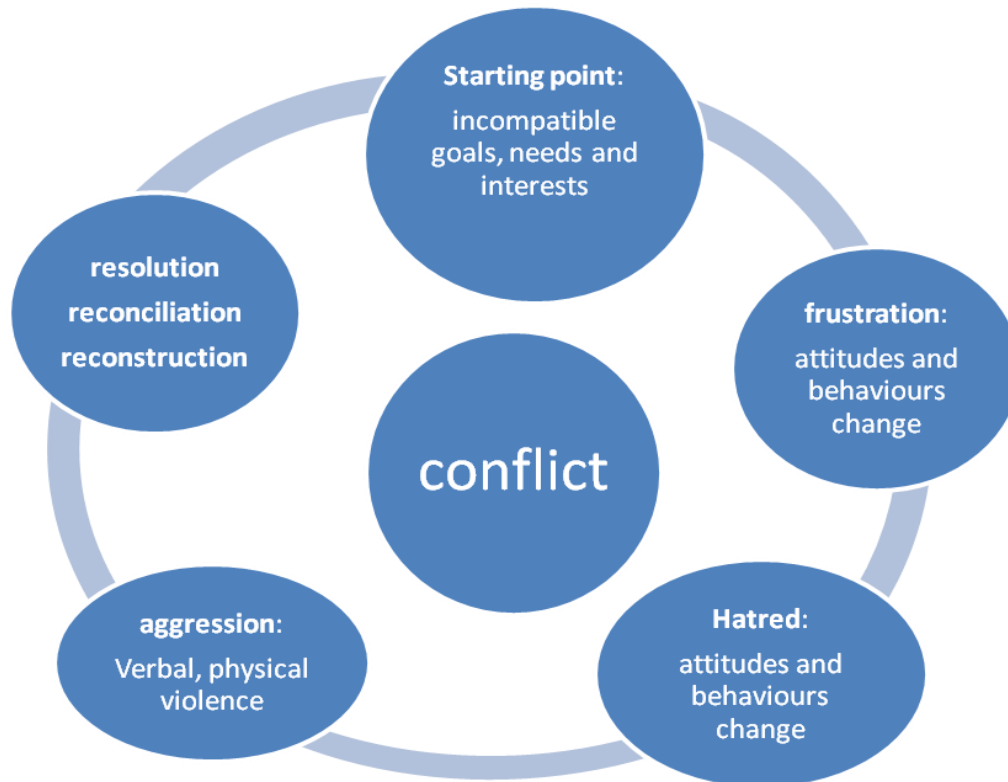
Source: Researcher based on Chapter 5 of Galtung and Fischer (2013:61-62)

Besides those five stages of a violent conflict, in other litteratures we find seven stages of a conflict. They are *latent conflict* stage, with no or few attempts to resolve the underlying issue; the stage of *conflict emergence* that corresponds with its outbreak; the *conflict escalation*, when it has increased in insensity and severity; the *stalemate*, when a conflict has reached a deadlock and neither party can make progress; the *de-escalation*: the conflict lessens in the magnitude; the *settlement*, when the opposing parties agree to solve the conflict; and the post-conflict*peacebuilding* when application of measures to maintain peace in a social setting previously affected by a conflict is possible (Christoph et al, 2018: 4). Peace-building refers to all efforts to improve the political, security, social and economic dimensions of a society by putting in place political structure of governance and the rule of law which will consolidate peace, reconciliation and development (Murithi, 2006: 13).

Apart from dealing with the life cycle of conflicts, the preventive actions must also considerthe Johan Galtung's *conflict triangle*. Ramsbotham (2010) interprets its elements as follow:

contradiction is the underlying conflict situation with concrete or perceived 'incompatibility of goals' between the conflicting parties; *attitude* being 'perceptions and misperception' conflicting parties have of each other and of themselves'; and *behavior* characterized by 'threats, coercion and destructive attacks' (Ramsbotham, 2010:43-44).

2.4. Conceptual framework

Peace Journalism is a concept known since 1970s introduced by the peace scholar Johan Galtung. By this concept he thinks media practitioners produce and publish reports and programs that promote peace by exposing all possible causes and consequences of imminent or overt violent conflicts, and opportunities for sustainable peace applicable to conflicting parties (Galtung and Webel, 2007: 254).

This media model, called Peace Journalism, constructive journalism, etc has a link with the Rwandan history. In fact, according to Lynch and McGoldrick it has been more 'widely discussed, developed and carried out' when the Great Lakes region was in the crisis of 1996-97 related to the consequences of the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda, "in which media played a sinister role". It was globally debated among journalists, media and development workers and within universities (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005:1).

The concept directly fitted in the news making process including the work of the editors and reporters. Indeed, peace journalism is a way of making journalistic decision that supports the promotion of peace building processes, which include conflict prevention and transformation, unity and reconciliation. The journalists are engaged in supporting peace initiatives and strive to expose the potential causes of conflicts. (Vladimir Bratic, 2006: 2) That's why Lynch and McGoldrick provide a definition of peace journalism that takes into consideration the role of editors and reporters in thinking about stories that help in creating opportunities for peaceful solutions to conflicts in their respective societies.(Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: 5)

In 2007 the two academicians and former war correspondents, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, reiterated the role of Peace Journalism in changing the way violent conflicts are reported on. This model of journalism does not just mean 'reporting peace' as they stressed, but it fetches insights from the field of peace and conflict studies. It has to present the dynamics of

the conflict and its potential for transformation. And this must be considered in every step of news editing and reporting (*in* Webel and Galtung, 2007: 248).

In other research and academic works, peace journalism is also referred to as ***constructive journalism*** because of its positive effects on the society in regard to conflict sensitivity. The term ***journalism of attachment*** (David Loyn, 2007: p.1) is also used by those who criticize peace journalism, to not be as detached, objective and neutral as traditional journalism. For instance David Loyn emphasizes that the role of journalists is "always to seek to find out what is going on, not carrying any other baggage". So, in his thinking a journalist reports on a conflict when it is there, as he or she will report on the process of its resolution, but without engaging in it.

On the contrary, the same concept of 'journalism of attachment' is used by Johan Galtung (cited in Ogeng, 2019: 65-66) to explain how journalists have to be peace-oriented in their news coverage of conflicts. Here, he differentiates peace journalism and "war journalism". While peace journalism, in his view, is a "journalism of attachment" to all actual and potential victims of a conflict, being also truth-oriented; "war journalism" attaches importance to "our" side and promotes war propaganda. The peace studies scholars think that good journalism means peace journalism and they accuse 'war journalism' of promoting war and conflict because the stories reported in this way, do not help neither solve the conflicts nor end the wars.

Those who criticize peace journalism as being normative like Suleyman Irva (2006) say it is opposed to the principle of journalism because it sets guidance on what to report, how and why to report it. However he notes that peace journalism relies on the tradition of fact-based but with a particular attention to word and images to use in the story:

> *"Journalists must avoid emotive and imprecise expressions, dichotomies of good versus bad, a focus on the victimhood and grievances or the abuses and misdemeanors of one side only and the use of racial and cultural identities when they are not necessary. Journalists must attribute unsubstantiated claims to their sources rather than presenting them as facts, avoid focusing on the victimhood or causes of one party to the exclusion of [an] other, and seek diverse sources and viewpoints"* (Irva, 2006:34).

Thomas Hanitzsch (2007:2) talks about 'interventionist reporting' in the place of peace journalism and refers to the tradition of advocacy journalism. This pushes him to affirm that

peace journalism, being of this category, does actively promote peace through means of public communication. In their article, McGoldrick and Lynch did a list of names frequently used in the place of Peace Journalism. They all reflect its role in addressing conflicts in a particular way. The names include:

"New Journalism, Post-realist Journalism, Solutions Journalism, Empowerment Journalism, Conflict Analysis Journalism, Change Journalism, Holistic Journalism, Big Picture Journalism, Real Journalism, Open Society Journalism, Development Journalism, Analytical Journalism, Reflective Journalism, Constructive Journalism, and Ethical Journalism" (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000: 42).

Peace journalism once promoted will change the shared perception that pushes people to believe that media love violence basing on some says like 'if it bleeds, it leads or sells'. This is ascertained by Johan Galtung (1965: 66) who links this belief with the primacy a violent event can have in news. Then, he concludes that "the more violent the murder the bigger the headlines it will make". That's why Mander even finds that some types of violence match with specific media outlets depending on how the human emotions are expressed differently in different situations. So in his viewpoint:

"War is better television than peace. It is filled with highlighted moments, contains action and resolution, and delivers a powerful emotion: fear. Peace is amorphous and broad. The emotions connected with it are subtle, personal and internal. These are far more difficult to televise" (Mander, 1978: 323).

In the same spirit, Simon Cottle (2006) seems to prove that journalists enjoy exposing violent conflicts because they are "increasingly played out and performed in the media". Peace scholars believe that Peace journalism is the only professional way of reporting on conflict situations. Jake Lynch for instance takes the same stand:

"Peace Journalism, it is argued, produces findings of material relevance to both the operation of conflict reporting and its likely influence on source behavior, in a feedback loop of cause and effect, as well as highlighting appropriate steps editors and reporters could take to ensure accuracy and balance in their coverage" (Lynch, J., 2006: 74).

Looking at these various viewpoints, it is clear that one side thinks the conflicts must be reported as they are, and the other condemns that approach because it has contributed to conflict instigation, because of dramatizing violent events and its sensationalism. Nevertheless, those who support peace journalism, on one hand and war or conflict journalism, on the other, claim each of them to be professional journalism. What they advance in common is reporting on conflicts in the way they are. But in addition to that, Peace Journalism goes deep in analyzing the conflict and advocates for peace promotion, by exposing all the causes, aspects, actors and dynamisms of the conflict being reported on. Not only that, but also peace journalism shows the prospects of peace from conflicting parties. In this study, the concept of peace journalism will be perceived as that approach of reporting on conflicts without being biased, by promoting peaceful alternatives to violent solutions.

2.5 Theoretical framework

2.5.1 Mass Media theories

This part of the study seeks to match media effects theories to the media contribution to peace promotion using Peace Journalism model. In fact, this model draws on media effects theories "on which efforts to promote peace journalism have been based" such "framing" (Lynch and McColdrick, 2012: 1042-1043), Agenda-setting theory (McComb & Shaw: 1972) and Media social responsibility theory. To understand the role media can play in conflict prevention or transformation processes in a broader context, the study looks at these main three media effects theories to showcase the impact of the mass media on interpersonal and intergroup relations, without ignoring others that derived from them, such as Gatekeeper theory. Thus, if peace studies researchers believe that media can promote peace or fuel conflict, they also believe in media effect theories.

The Table below (Table 2.1) summarizes what researchers have labeled as "micro-level media effects theories", those that base their observations and conclusions on individual media users rather than on groups, institutions, systems, or society at large (Patti M. Valkenburg et al., 2016: 319). Some of these theories in the table below were developed in 1956 by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, to reflect the societies the media operate in. It is was widely recognized that media always reflect the "form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (Siebert et al., l956 cited by Kaarle Nordenstreng, 2006: 35).

Table 2.1: Micro-level media effects theories

Author(s)	Theory/model	description
Lazersfeld et al. (1948) Katz and Lazersfeld (1955)	Two-step flow theory	Argues that media effects are indirect rather than direct and established through the personal influence of opinion leaders
Tichenor et al. (1970)	Knowledge gap theory	Discusses how mass media can increase the gap in knowledge between those of higher and lower socioeconomic status
McComb & Shaw (1972)	Agenda-setting theory	Describes how news media can influence the salience of topics on the public agenda
Katz et al. (1973) Rosengren (1974)	Uses-and-gratification theory	Attempts to understand how and why people actively seek out specific media to satisfy specific needs.
Gerbner et al. (1980)	Cultivation theory	Argues that the more time people spend "living" in the television world, the more likely they are to believe the social reality portrayed on television
Berkowitz (1984)	Priming theory	Argues that media effects depend on the preconceptions that are already stored in human memory
Petty &Cacioppo (1986)	Elaboration likelihood model	Explains how mediated stimuli are processed (via either the central or peripheral route) and how this processing influences attitude formulation or change
Entman (1993) Scheufele (1999)	Framing theory	Discusses how the media draw attention to certain topics and place them within a field of meaning (ie., frame), which in turn influences audience perceptions
Lang (2000)	Limited-capacity model	Analyses how people's limited capacity for information processing affects their memory of, and engagement with, mediated messages
Bandura (2002)	Social cognitive theory of mass communication	Analyses the psychological mechanisms through which symbolic communication through mass media influences human thought, affect, and behavior
Slater (2007)	Reinforcing spiral theory	Argues that factors close to one's identity act as both a predictor and an outcome of media use

Source: Patti M. Valkenburg et al. 2016: 319

Traditionally there were four theories of the press. Their foundation is laid on the relationship between mass media and the political systems. Others were developed on the relationship between media and the society toward which *the press had responsibilities* whereas *the public had rights* (Kaarle Nordenstreng, 2006:37).

(i) Authoritarian theory: it gives the State the power of control over media using methods of licensing the media outlets, censorship of their content and prosecution of journalists. Licensing included issuance of permit or license to all materials to be printed and distributed to the general public (ibid., 22; Fung & Ostini, 2002: 42-45). Censorship was used to not let go to the public the undesired news content, and the authoritarian State was there to filter that content. Even today news editors and journalists can exercise self-censorship (Kaarle 2006: 23).

(ii) Libertarian theory: opposed to authoritarian theory, this theory is linked to the ideal in which the prime function of society is to advance the interests of its individual members (Siebert et al., 1956 cited in Ostini and Fung, 2002: p. 40). Its supporters refuted the involvement of government and the State in the control of the media activities. It is however the media that have the State control in their social function (Wright, 1986). Libertarian theorists argue that the citizens have the right to be uninformed or misinformed, and so there is no need of controlling the media (Ostini & Fung, 2002: p.42).

(iii) Uses and gratifications theory: it stresses intrapersonal needs rather than interpersonal factors, not even the interrelationships between audience, media and society (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976:7). The media outlets are considered as principal vectors of information and news, but their primary role being the means of entertainment to satisfy the personal needs. Therefore, people pay attention to a given media content in order to fulfill their personal needs (Shaw, 2008: 98). Also, the foundation of this theory lays on the fact that the audience activity relates to their already existing needs. However in violent conflict situation, audiences need information than in any other situations. The illustration for this is the internet traffic that was ten times on CNN website after the 2001 September 11 terror attack (Bratic, 2006).

(iv) Hypodermic-needle effects theory: this theory supposes that if a message is widely spread through media, it then produces similar effect (Shaw, 2008: 102). Though the *Hypodermic needle* theory was abandoned by communications researchers, some still think the public continues to feel that the media have 'direct, usually menacing, and effects on their audiences'. The scientific community also leaves the issue of direct or *magic bullet* effects

open because many studies have failed to prove such a conceptualization (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976: 6).

(v) Development Media Theory: it entails the roles of the media in promoting development by blocking obstacles to this enterprise such as insecurity, wars, crises and other barriers to development (Adelakun, 2014).

(vi) Media Social responsibility theory: it derived from the libertarian theory of the media so that in some writings it is the same theory that has been re-labeled. This theory showcases that there is influence of the news reports on people, communities and societies so that journalists have to be responsible of their deeds, despite the pressures of accuracy, deadlines, objectivity, and even patriotism. So, they must ensure that every story is based on facts rather than on their own emotions (Ogenga, 2019: 57). The particularity of this new theory resided in the fact that, it assumes that the resources of the public or state media must help them be free (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971/1979:164).

(vii) Agenda setting Theory: the theory was developed by McCombs and Shaw in 1968. They assume that the mass media concentrate their attention to selected issues they present to people. As a result, the media shape the public opinion because they suggest what individuals should think about, know about, and have feelings about by describing and detailing what is out there (McComb and D.L Shaw, 1972: 177-184, D. A. Scheufele & D. Tewksbury, 2007:11). Later on in 1996, McComb linked the Agenda setting theory to the "need of orientation". McCombs who was the first to advance this theory suggests that when there is that particular need of orientation, there must also be greater power of media to influence audience (Bratic, 2008). This evokes the power of media to shape and manipulate people on the level of what they like or dislike; what they support or not, be it political, social or economic affairs.

The agenda setting theory says that because of media outlets that include newspapers, television, and other news media, people's awareness is related to the effects of importance the media have accorded to a set of issues and events. Eugene F. Shaw (2008: 96) shows that the attitude of the people towards a given phenomenon, issue, personalities or event is

dictated by the importance the media has given to that phenomenon, issue, personality or event. So, what is excluded or included in the media gains or loses the public attention. Also, the public tends to give a similar importance to events as the one they are given by the media in their content (ibid.).

The agenda setting theory also is seen through other approaches like the *diffusion, or multiple-step flow, model*, developed in 1984 to analyze the media effect. This approach stresses the impact of intermediate people's influence in changing human behavior, following the media message. So, the ultimate influence of the media content on the individual's behavior is determined by the interpersonal contacts. The agenda setting uses interpersonal factors to help explain the conditions under which its effects are more pronounced.

(viii)   Framing theory: it examines how journalists choose what to report on and how they report what they chose. Now, both theories, agenda-setting and framing, are critical in peace journalism because "*any meaningful debate about journalism must include some efforts to set out the basis on which some forms of representation should be preferred to others*".
Agenda setting and framing theories are often combined together, because they share the focus on the influence of media to the audience. This is why they are recognized as important in the Peace journalism, and other advocacy forms of journalism according to some studies (Ogenga, 2019: 68).

(ix) Gatekeeper theory: In other literatures framing and agenda setting theories are associated with the "gatekeeper studies" model which entails the role of editors in selecting news items and decide on their content worth to be shared to the public. They take into consideration the values of the media they work for, and the values of its audience holds, in rejecting what to publish or broadcast or leave untold (ibid.).

In analyzing mass communication effects, Vladimir Bratic (2006: 3) suggests that three elements must be taken into account. The first is the nature of the **message** that is spread through mass media; the second is the target **audience**, and the third is the **situation** or environment in which the audience is. So, he elaborates that some social scientists are convinced that during conflict situations the audiences are as so naïve that they passively absorb the messages that pass in media, to the extent that media could influence their audience to behave alike depending on the

prevailing conflict situation and the message the media have delivered to the audience. Vladimir Bratic also puts that social scientists and mass communication researchers found that in other situation, audiences are selective in terms of media messages. However this process of selecting the messages starts with opinion leaders that are shown to filter the messages from mass media in order to pass them on the not much active audiences (Bratic, 2006: 3).

There has been also a persistent conviction that media can influence decision makers to intervene or not in a conflict, especially in the context of Western governments. This is the case of the so-called *CNN Effect*. It was argued that media got the USA in and out Somalia following intensive media coverage, by the CNN, of the violence phase of the conflict in 1991, because the pre-violence's effects were invisible. So, opinion leaders urged the government to do something and that's how the USA got to Somalia (Jakobsen, 2000: 131-133).

The role of media in preventing and transforming conflict is closely linked to the media effect theories and models. They have been developed and the starting point was the agenda setting theory, and those related to it, like the Social responsibility theory, the Hypodermic Needle Theory and the Development Media theory as well. In the following section we'd like to focus on how various researchers think the media influence the attitudes, the cognition capacities and the behavior of an individual. The dependency model of the media has attracted our attention.

This model developed by Ball-Rokeach and M.L. DeFleur explores how and in which conditions media can influence the human attitudes, behavior and cognitive abilities. These authors think that though the *Hypodermic needle* theory was abandoned by communications researchers, as we discussed it in this session, the public continues to feel that the media content still has impact on their audiences. The same source underscores that media potential will be further increased when there is a high degree of structural instability in the society due to conflict and change. Hence, these authors explain that scientific community has left open the issue of direct or magic bullet effects of media, because a myriad of studies have failed to support such a conceptualization. But they both illustrate some scenarios in which this effect may be manifested (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976:6-7).

So, with the *Dependency model of mass-media effects*, the two authors consider that media have a range of effects on a society because they create cognitive effects. The first cognitive effect is

the *creation and resolution of ambiguity*. This ambiguity results from incomplete or conflicting media reports and is resolved by more complete information subsequently delivered by media to their audiences. The ambiguity is created and resolved by media in social settings characterized by instability or social conflict (idem, p.8).

The second effect is *attitude formation* resulting from the fact that media display a variety of social events and persons like political figures, religious leaders, sports personalities, scientists and artists. As they gain "public eye" they become the focus for the attitude formation. They are like role models in the society in various dimensions such lifestyle, housing, health options, use of technologies to mention that a few. Ball-Rokeach and M.L. DeFleur note that due to continuous influx of several events, issues, objects and persons in the media, people formulate their feelings vis-à-vis the messages spread through the media (idem, pp.9-10).

The third cognitive effect is the *control over the selection activities of the media*. It centers on the media's role in "agenda-setting". According to this hypothesis, this effect is generated by the media which select among potential topics or available sets of information about those topics for presentation. Topics are filtered through media information-gathering and processing system and then selectively disseminated to the audience. The public then sorts out what is interesting to them or constitutes their concern (idem, p.11).

The forth effect is the "*expansion of peoples' systems of beliefs*". In 1909, Charles H. Cooley (cited in Ball-Rokeach and M.L. DeFleur, 1976:12) talked of "enlargement" referring to the idea that people's knowledge and belief systems expand because they learn from other people, places, and things from the mass media. This means that the media have the effect of broadening their audiences' belief categories and enlarging their belief systems.

The fifth effect is the *Media's impact on **values***. Those values include those people hold about either "desirable end states of existence" like salvation, equality, freedom; and others which are "preferred modes of conduct" such as honest, forgiving, etc. In the context of this study, there is what the authors called *value conflict* that can be created by the information that passes through media. They may present information that precipitates *value conflict* within audience members and between social groups. In that case, the value conflict inherent in such movements such as the activists are posed and clarified by the media; then the audience members are moved to

31

articulate their own value positions. Such articulation can be painful because it can force a choice between mutually incompatible goals and the means for obtaining them (idem, pp.12-13).

2.5.2 Peace journalism models

The field of peace journalism emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century, introduced by the pioneer of the field of Peace Studies, Johan Galtung who rejects the "zero-sum" and game theories of "war journalism". He realizes that in conventional reporting of conflicts, journalists focus on its superficial causes and consequences, while there are other invisible damage and root causes of the conflict being reported on. This author presents journalism in two ways referring to other disciplines like medicine and sports (Galtung, 2013). Reporting on conflict in a perspective he called *'low road'* is like reporting on a disease indicating that one side, a human being, must win the battle. The same applies in sports where one party always wants to win. However on the other hand there is the '*High road'* which is like a preventive medicine. In this case, the media must address the root causes of a conflict. He argues that the "first victim of a war is not truth that is only the second victim. The first victim is, of course, peace" (Galtung: 2013, p. 97). In the same direction, he suggests that the peace journalism reports on conflict are done in truthful ways combined with finding in it new opportunities and alternatives for lasting peace.

He observes that war journalism or violence journalism doesn't take into account the political context, preceding history, aftermath or devastating human consequences, including invisible ones; but rather tends to dehumanize the enemy, privilege elite views and focus on the events of war. Johan Galtung considers peace journalism as that journalism seeking to know the root causes of a conflict and show how it can be treated (Galtung J. and Fischer D. 2013) or transcended to avoid it in a sustainable way (Galtung: 2007).

The opponents of peace journalism accuse it to be very normative because of the methods drawn by the peace studies academics who think that journalists have to play a role in the process of peace building. David Loyn (2007) is among them and considers this approach as being prescriptive to journalists. For instance, he thinks that peace journalism is the opposite of good journalism because it sets norms and involves journalists in other responsibilities like being part of peace building processes (ibid.). So, in his viewpoint, the task of the journalists is not to promote peace, this being the role of good politicians. However, he is convinced that journalists

should not report only on peacemakers rather than on warriors. Here he refers to the principle of a balanced story that includes all parties involved in a story. And he criticizes the peace journalism to ignore that the practitioners of traditional journalism always try to find out "the 'why' as well as the 'who', 'how' and 'what' of war" and these are key elements in news reporting. Here, he means that this way of news reporting exposes even the root causes of the war suggested by peace journalism supporters. For him, there is no need for that restrictive journalism, if the journalists can find out the root causes of a violent conflict, talk to all involved parties and expose its consequences (Loyn, 2007). However, in the views of peace journalism, the journalists' six questions, "five Ws" and "H", correspond roughly to what peace researchers call 'conflict dynamics' (Lynch & McGoldrick, *in* Webel and Galtung, 2007: 254-255).

The complexity of the term *Peace Journalism* is another angle of discontent. The two elements, peace and journalism, that make it, cannot easily be harmonized because journalism abides to norms of truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality, accuracy and detachment; while peace is considered as an *external aim* (Wilhelm Kempf, 2007:2). Both Kempf and Loyn criticize peace journalism saying that it can compromise the integrity of journalists, and confuse their role when they strive to be neutral in disseminating the accurate facts during the coverage of conflicts.

In the same vein, Simon Cottle (2006) compares Peace reporting as the *war's invisible twin*, because it "mirrors, with few exceptions, the media's relative lack of interest in processes of non-violent conflict resolution and reconciliation". The author puts it in the categories of *corrective journalism* that also includes development journalism, public journalism and on-line alternative journalism. This position is linked to the fact that those forms of journalism claim to "harness [traditional] journalism to normatively informed projects of change and thereby shift the media's role and responsibilities in mediatized conflicts" (Cottle, 2006: 100).

The analyses carried out in support to peace-journalism place it in the core place in relation to conflict prevention and transformation. They focus on the ideal roles media systems should play and suggest the conditions under which media fulfil these roles. They justify this position by the fact that peace journalism puts a focus on non-violent outcomes, empathy with all parties and brings in creativity, so that these elements once are combined in the news production process are expected to help in bringing peace (Galtung, 1998).

In addition, Galtung distinguishes *war journalism* which is violence-oriented, elite-oriented, propaganda-oriented, and victory-oriented from *peace journalism* which is conflict sensitive and peace-oriented, people-oriented, truth-oriented and solution-oriented (*in* Lynch and Galtung, 2010). So, he suggests that Peace Journalism follows a win-win perspective instead of 'the zero-sum' or 'win-lose' where "winning is the only thing" like in sports or courts reporting (Galtung, 1998).

2.5.3 Peace journalism practices

The UNESCO mass media declaration sets a number of guiding practices for the peace journalism to succeed. On one hand, there must be media pluralism so that the public can have an access to information from a variety of sources and must have means to verify the accuracy of the facts. On the other hand, journalists must have freedom to report and have to their disposal facilities of the full access to information. Also, media practitioners have to be aware of their social responsibility towards the audience whom it must 'be responsive' to its 'concerns' and finally ensure that the public is involved in the elaboration of information (UNESCO, 1978).

Basing on the aforementioned declaration and other research outputs, this study has identified a number of elements that can be considered as key practices for peace journalists:

(i) **To Exercise responsible Framing**: this refers to how journalists and editors decide on "which aspects of stories to emphasize, what to minimize, what to ignore" while organizing and presenting their news stories (Galtung & Ruge, 1965: 65). So, there should be 'responsible framing' in applying peace journalism with an intent of promoting 'positive peace'.

(ii) **To make rational choices of word and picture:** the peace journalists write the facts and don't use subjective and imprecise words; they use objective words and let audience take 'subjective decisions' (Ogenga, 2019: 9). For instance, if one hundred people are killed they don't use massacre, tragedy, etc. They simply say One hundred people were killed. For labels like talking about terrorists, peace journalists should use neutral words that "make reference to individuals and groups they really represent" (idem, p. 20). On the use of picture in Peace Journalism, Rune Ottosen, advises that visual elements like graphics and photographs, can make Peace journalism a stronger instrument for developing a critical journalism during wars

and conflicts because the human being remember "visual impression better than verbal". But those visual elements have to match the context of the narratives in order to mobilize sympathy and public support (Rune Ottosen, 2007:1-3).

(iii) To move beyond physical violence: peace journalists assess the root causes (cultural and structural violence) of a conflict and possible alternatives for peace, from the conflicting parties. They also cover invisible damage of the conflict like trauma and mental problems resulting from it (Galtung, 1998).

(iv) To avoid sensationalism: peace journalists don't have to be trapped in a violence-oriented conceptualization of news and news values like "if it bleeds, it leads" (Fredrick Ogenga, 2019: 23). Noshina and Hanan add that if this perception persists, media contributes to the escalation of a conflict by fuelling tensions, '*sensationalizing*' events and indulging in false propaganda against adversaries. But, it "plays the role of a de-escalation agent when it permits the conflicting parties, governments and communities to resolve any conflict and helps in shaping up public opinion for this task". They assume that media doesn't have to take any position in a conflict because it serves as a mirror in that conflict, so that it must base on the actual facts (Noshina and Hanan, 2014: 181).

(v) To help audience identify and understand the dimensions, root causes, the actors and dynamics of the conflict: this is an approach of conflict analysis that may lead to the fully understanding of the conflict and its transformation basing on informed decisions. Despite the fact that some conflicts are of internal nature, they have international implications or even involve external actors. That's why peace journalists have to be aware of all dynamics of a covered conflict. According to Diana Francis, any statement of the dynamics of a conflict must identify "its history, recent causes and internal composition – the different parties, the nature of their involvement, their perspectives, positions and motivations, and the different relationships between them in terms of power, allegiance and interest" (Francis, 2002: 28). These elements according to Lynch and McGoldrick match with the famous Five 'Ws and an H'-who, what, where, when, why and how that are used in journalism to bring answers to

audiences and they correspond to the conflict dynamics in peace studies (*in* Webel & Galtung, 2007: 254).

(vi) To practise watchdog journalism: peace journalists should be extra careful in choosing topics to cover as it is the same in the conventional news reporting (Percy H. Tannenbaum, 1968: 355). Thus, initiatives in this sense should be free from government control, so that they could defy its propaganda (ibid). Peace journalism doesn't follow the agenda set by government instead of the other way round. Then, the initiatives should intend to hold accountable those who compromise the peace-building process without any discrimination (Bratic, 2009: 491).

(vii)   To use a third party: in their storytelling, peace journalists should not only echo the voice of the conflicting parties or a single party, but also include a third and neutral party. In news reporting, Peace Journalism would:

> *"use the insights of conflict analysis and transformation to update the concepts of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting, provide a new route map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their journalism, builds an awareness of nonviolence and creativity into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting"* (Lynch &McGoldrick 2005: 5)

(viii)   To provides space of 'elite peacemakers' and 'people peacemakers': Lynch and McGoldrick recommend that in peace journalism space should be given to those who support the return to peaceful situation or who suggest peaceful resolution of a violent conflict (*in* Webel & Galtung, 2007: p.256). Furthermore, the same space is needed for those who struggle for a sustainable peace in the aftermath of conflict situation and those who initiate preventive measures against a potential overt violent conflict. This will equally keep the journalists from being part of the problem, and put them on the track of being truth oriented and seeking peaceful solutions (Suleyman Irva, 2006:37).

(ix) To be more responsible to society: in traditional journalism, a practitioner is a mere observer not an actor in any situation: "a reporter is an observer not a player" (Loyn, 2007:2).

Hence, in peace journalism perspective, the peace journalists should be responsible because their news reports have an impact on the society (Fredrick Ogenga, 2019: 52).

It is important to also note that in analyzing the peace journalism practicability, a particular attention should be put on the news production process, to the conditions under which journalists actually work, in times of conflict and war; and to factors that impact on the process of producing conflict coverage (Burkhard Blasi, 2004:1). That's why during wartime, war correspondents or conventional news reporters are usually under the control of one side, and their information is filtered or censored by that side, military or political authorities or their allies (ibid.).

Not only this, they can also practice what Simon Cottle calls "patriotic war reporting". This is in line with the war's aim. The media is included among the battlefields and the warring parties seek to control the media in order to win the 'battle for hearts and minds' and conduct 'the propaganda war', said the author. Also during wartime the media is mostly censored and oriented in military interests and success. Therefore,the media is also used on both "home and military fronts, to the enemy's front and to the international front of potential allies, as well as to global political elites and 'broker of world opinion such as the United Nations'(Cottle, 2006: pp.74-76).

Given the above analysis, it is obvious to note that peace journalism is applicable in all stages of a conflict. During the pre-violence phase, peace journalism will help prevent organized, armed violence from taking place; while in the violence phase, Peace Journalism will promote effort to limit, to de-escalate and end the conflict. In post violence, it will showcase the necessity of peace-building and reconciliation so that there are supportive conditions to lasting peace.

2.6 Brief presentation of Pax press

The Pax Press is a Non-Governmental Organization with a legal personality since 2014 but in operation since 2008. The idea to launch such initiative was born in 2006 following the end of activities of a similar organization called Syfia Grands Lacs, which was managed by Syfia International (Albert Baudouin, interviewed on 3rd July, 2020). It works as a network of journalists from different media houses including print, broadcast and online news platforms. Till July 2020, the network has 184 journalists from 35 media houses including 15 radio stations, ten newspapers, 4 TV stations and six news websites. It has two categories of journalists: those who

are members and others who are partners. The difference is that a partner can become a member, while the latter is eligible to various positions in the management of the organization. Pax Press encourages a "community based" news reporting and deep analysis approach for issues pertaining to peace, good governance and rule of law (Pax Press website). An emphasis is put on the implementation of policies related to those fields and on citizen's participation in the processes of policy elaboration and implementation. The end mission of the Pax Press is "to inform for peace" as it is their slogan. So, the member and partner journalists disseminate news stories and programs aiming at promoting peace, good governance and rule of law. The organization also plays the role in grooming media houses and practitioners who will contribute to the promotion of citizens' participation, public accountability and transparency. It creates space for dialogue between authorities and citizens' through community debates introduced in 2014. On the part of professional training, journalists are empowered in terms of thematic reporting, organizing and hosting radio talk shows, community debates and promoting advocacy on citizens concerns. This organization also ensures that journalists are trained on covering news on electoral and democratization processes.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter elucidates our research design or the approach adopted to carry out this research and the chosen case study as well. Then, it details various procedures used in data collecting, the methods and techniques applied to get, analyze and interpret those data. It also defines the research population, and sheds light on the size of the sample population. Lastly, it presents the procedures followed in analyzing the data, evaluating the quality assurance, the research ethical considerations and shows the strategies used to mitigate the study limitations.

3.2 Research design

3.2.1 Qualitative research approach

This study draws on qualitative research approach that seeks to explain social phenomena using visual and verbal rather than numerical data (Masue et al., 2013: 211). It focuses on interpreting specific aspects of a particular unit of enquiry, or a case study (ibid.). So, we are not carrying out a quantitative or a mixed research designs. In fact John W. Creswell (2014) differentiates those three types of research designs as resulting from the fact that qualitative research uses words than numbers which belong to the quantitative research.

Qualitative research also uses open-ended interview questions instead of closed-ended ones destined to quantitative research. The mixed approach uses both designs. The same author defines the qualitative research as "an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswel J.W, 2014:32). He explains that this process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particular to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data (ibid.). He then places a case study research inquiry in the category of qualitative phenomenological research. It allows the researcher develop an in-depth analysis of that case which can be a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals (idem, p.43). Besides this, the qualitative research also brings into play other various approaches. Thus, it is both exploratory as it intends to answer the "what, when, where" questions, and explanatory in case the researcher aims at finding answers to "why and how" questions (Abdallah Amr, 2010, p.10). Being exploratory in nature and based in an

interpretive paradigm, the qualitative research also enables researcher to gain information about a research field where little is known (Dickson-Swift et al. 2007: 329). In this case, the same approach helps understand, through individual's narrative, the experiences of the research participants. Being a case-oriented research, this study concentrates on a limited research population rather than a large or whole research population. This study matches better with this research approach as it intends to explore and describe the specific practices related to peace journalism that are being implemented in the Rwandan context. The research is also co-relational as it establishes the relations between peace journalism and conflict prevention and transformation processes.

3.2.2 The Case study

The case study enables the researcher to deeply understand the research topic, rather than describing a large sample of a population (Masue et al., 2013: 211). David Gray (2004: 123) also elaborates that the case study allows investigating a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. Hence, this research is centred on the case study which is a local media organization, the *Pax Press*. This is a nongovernmental organization that brings together stakeholders interested in the peace journalism promotion. It was chosen because it has among other objectives, the promotion of peace. As the research is situated in the fields of both media and peace studies, this case study, for us, is relevant and matches with the topic.

3.3 Methods of and data collection procedures

3.3.1 Documents review

The topics like this are tackled using a combination of both conflict analysis approaches developed by scholars in the field of peace and conflict studies, but also media and communication approaches as well. So, the desk research was used to explore literature and theories related to these aforementioned research fields, and also to enrich discussion and analysis of the findings.

We then collected data from documents of other media institutions such as the Self-Regulatory Body known as the Rwanda Media Commission, RMC. Here we analyzed the cases filed to this entity to see if there is no persistent conflict-oriented journalism for personal motives. Other data were collected from the documents like reports and minutes on activities of the Pax Press, its

members and partners to relate their news production processes to conflict prevention and transformation. Apart from basing our research on solely existent scientific works and other official documents, we tried to carry out our own field research, using interview techniques to gather primary data.

3.3.2 Interviews

The researcher collected data in form of individual's narrative on Peace Journalism understanding, practices and their contribution to conflict prevention and transformation in the Rwandan context. These data include investigator's observation through watching, interacting with respondents and asking them questions while taking notes (Tracy, 2013: 66). The tools used were interview guides that allowed the interviewees tell their stories, and the interviewer inserting follow up questions in the course of the interview, in order to maximize the time allocated to the session.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with support of those interview guides. In fact, this research instrument helped to keep the track of pre-established questions. All the questions were of an open-ended nature, to let the respondents express themselves till the research reaches the end point of the needed information, which means the *data saturation* (Joan Sargeant, 2012: p.1). Interviews were done in a face to face way and were recorded. We also conducted phone interviews for participants we couldn't reach and they were recorded as well. Apart from using one-on-one interviews, the researcher collected other data through focus group discussion (FGD). The latter has contributed to the collection of less personal information on the research topic (Batmanabane & Kfouri, 2017:10).

3.4. Selection of respondents (sampling)

This research excluded to focus on media channels that usually work and produce conventional news reporting content. Instead, it looked at a media initiative aimed at transforming conflict and which is implemented with the involvement of media practitioners from different editorial lines. Consequently, the research population is constituted by the journalists who are members and partners of the professional network, the *Pax Press*. By 2019, only journalists were 184.They all makethe sample frame. They include news reporters, editors, programs managers and talk show producers, from print, broadcast and online media outlets. Note that with media convergence

some respondents belong to the print, online and broadcast categories at the same time. The interviews conducted during the fieldwork were all semi-structured. This kind of interview is "often the sole data source for a qualitative research project" (ibid.).

3.4.1 Target population

We chose to conduct our study on a population which is made of 184 members and partners of the Pax Press. This is a big number for a qualitative research. So, we decided to downsize it and remained with a sample of 20 participants, but on field we stopped on fifteen people because we reached data saturation on the thirteenth interviewee and decided to add two more to check if we really could get new information but it was not the case. This is because we used purposive sampling, and we chose participants who are responsible of news and talk shows production because they are directly in interaction with the audience, viewership and readership. They are of various editorial lines and social backgrounds so that they may represent the whole research population. The number also included one of the managers, the National coordinator of Pax Press who is in charge of daily affairs of the organization, two of its editors who deal with stories and other broadcast activities. Each participant's case is viewed as an interpretable whole. In other words the case-oriented researchers consider cases as meaningful but complex configurations of events (Masue et al., 211).

3.4.2 Sampling methods

The research used the *non-probability sampling* also referred to as *non-random sampling* methods (Gay 2003:114) because they are common in case study research, while carrying out a qualitative research (Hamed Taherdoost, 2016: 22). The case study focuses on a small sample that can provide relevant data which would be generalized to the whole research population. That's why the researcher looked for participants who really understand the concept of peace journalism, because of experience in the field or by professional training (graduates from schools of journalism and trained professional journalists). Consequently, the following sampling techniques were used:

(i) Purposive sampling: The method suggests that the researcher decides to downsize the number depending on how many participants are necessary to reach the saturation principle (Gay: 2003:117). For this study, the initial research population was a big number of

participants. It included journalists and media house owners, who are all current partners and members of Pax Press organization. Thus, they were totaling to over 180 people. So, we had to reduce the number to a researchable group of 15 persons.

(ii) Homogeneous sampling: The researcher has chosen participants who have the same level of understanding on the research topic. This brought to a narrow sample in order to simplify the collection and interpretation of data. Once some participants were excluded, those who were maintained were journalists, meaning news reporters, editors and producers, program and talk show producers. This technique was applied to select those who participated to the focus group discussions. On the side of the Pax Press we chose to interview the national coordinator and the editors.

(iii) Criterion sampling: The researcher has set the criteria on which participants should be selected. They should be journalists working under the framework of peace journalism set by Pax Press within a period covered by the research. Others were excluded. Participants were professional journalists, meaning those who have academic training from recognized teaching institutions. We believed these were the journalists who understand what peace journalism means. In additional to these two categories, we had the managers of Pax Press who also have a rich experience in the media profession.

(iv) Snowball sampling: In order to find the expected number of respondents, the first participants who meet this research requirements, have in return helped in getting others, until the desired number is reached. However, this technique did not apply to participants from *Pax Press* management team who were selected upon criterion sampling technique.

3.5 Data analysis

This study is based on qualitative data. This category of data includes "observation notes, interview transcripts, literary texts, minutes of meetings, historical records, memos and recollections, documentary films" (Nicholas Williman, 2017: 73). Their analysis requires a set of approaches. So, the deductive approach (Carrie Williams, 2007: 67 & Tracy, 2013:21) helped the researcher throughout the process of data interpretation, understanding and description. The qualitative enquiry uses the data in form of words or narratives collected through interviews.

These narratives are expressed in the form of 'descriptions, accounts, opinions, feelings etc-rather than numbers' (Nicholas Williman, 2017:130).

All data used in this research were recorded with a voice recorder and transcribed into texts for further interpretation. The interviews captured in Kinyarwanda were translated and then transcribed in texts. Initially we considered all collected data equal and worthy of analysis as required in similar research (St Pierre, 2003: 715). The transcription of the 'spoken word' was accurate as the first step of data analysis. According to Dickson-Swift et al. (2007: 336-337) accurate transcription consists of listening to the recorded materials a number of times and becoming familiar with data on each listening, and then followed the coding process on the basis of the themes related to the research questions. The analysis approach was essentially the interpretation. Creswell argues that interpretation is a research stage in which the inquirer makes a description of an individual or setting, analyzes data for themes or categories, and finally draws conclusions about the personal or theoretical meaning of the interpretation. Also the researcher states the lessons learnt, and suggests further questions to be asked (Creswell, 2003: 144-145) and this is done in the present study.

3.6 Quality assurance

The quality assurance refers to 'authenticity' of the data used in the research, as well as the 'trustworthiness' in analyzing those data (Joan Sargeant, 2012). Indeed, the authenticity of the data is seen through the selection of research participants and sampling approach. In this research both elements match with research question so as to get suitable answers from the right participants. The authenticity is also measured through the variety of sources, which is known as *data triangulation* (ibid.). To achieve it, the researcher interviewed journalists from different media types and various professional backgrounds, the advocates of peace journalism who are the managers of the Pax Press, the partners of this NGO who participated in public debates. In addition to those sources, the investigator used literature review from multiple disciplines including media and communication, peace and conflict studies, and sociology.

In regard with the research methods, the study involves the ones found appropriate because it uses individual and focus groups interviews as it is centered on a topic that required the collection of data in form of narratives. The interviewer did not show any biased position vis-à-

vis the interviewees' narratives. A rapport between both sides was established to get familiar with each other. On the other hand, in regard to trustworthiness of the analysis, the process has been clearly described. Finally, the researcher's view and belief have not had an impact on the analysis, because the whole work was submitted to another person for a peer review before it was handed to the supervisor.

3.7 Research ethics

This research observes the research principle of 'do no harm and informed consent' (Gay, 2003:79-81, Nicholas Walliman, 2010:48). This means that those who provided with information had clear-cut explanation about its overall objectives, and this being done prior to the start of interview. They were also assured that the research outcomes will only be used for academic purposes, not for personal gains, and the participants were guaranteed to never face any risks related to this research. So, they voluntarily agreed to participate to the research upon informed consent, so that they understood the expected results it will produce. Again, this study respects the privacy and confidentiality of the informants and they had option of keeping anonymity if they wished. In addition, their full address doesn't appear herein. In regard with researcher's integrity, this study recognizes the rights and dignity of informants and other researchers as well. Therefore, they are quoted wherever parts of their works and opinions are used in full or paraphrased. However, this doesn't exclude some unintentional shortcoming that may be related to the researcher weaknesses as a human being, or to his personal understanding of the field covered in this study.

3.8 Study limitations and mitigation strategies

While carrying out this study some firsthand data were not accessible, especially in the part related to theoretical, conceptual and literature frameworks. So, our choice was directed to secondhand research analyses. That's why in some cases, the study quotes authors cited by others, or tried to trace their works in scientific reviews and journals. Another limitation was the unavailability of respondents and it was difficult to fix appointment with people who work in the media sector due to their busy days, and they are always on pressure of meeting the deadlines for their news stories or talk shows to air. To get their interviews, we had to meet during days and hours suitable to them, even during late hours and non working days.

Another limitation was related to field visit of beneficiaries of some programs like public debates. Initially, the journalists were taken to rural areas by Pax Press, to meet citizens and discuss some critical issues specific to a visited region. This research was conducted when such sessions were not allowed due to the pandemic of Covid-19 that broke out in the country since March 2020. So, this research didn't go in depth to see what have been the fruits of such public debates. The researcher watched and interpreted some of the videos captured during different sessions which are available on YouTube channel of Pax Press. Despite the fact that citizens should have another stance on the issues discussed, we were confined to those videos.

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, discusses and analyzes research findings. The findings are essentially drawn from data collected in form of narratives during the fieldwork. The data have been interpreted using qualitative approaches. This part of the study relates the findings with its objectives. The general objective is to find out how Rwandan media practitioners adhere to the practices of peace journalism. While the specific objectives are respectively assessing how the media professionals in Rwanda comply with peace journalism practices and looking at how the sector should be improved to contribute to both conflict prevention and transformation. The chapter addresses research questions based on the responses collected from participants.

4.2 Characteristics of the Research Participants

The characteristics taken into account to choose the respondents include the age group, the level of experience in the profession, the partnership or membership in regard to Pax Press, types of media they work for, education background and sex. These criteria are of a paramount importance because they determine the relationship between the participants and their narratives.

Table 4.1 Age groups of the respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
30-35	3	20%
36-40	6	40%
41-45	1	6.7%
46-50	2	13.3%
51-55	2	13.3%
56-60	1	6.7%
Total	**15**	**100.0**

Source*: Primary data

The table 4.1 shows that our research participants' age ranges from thirty to sixty years. The youngest is 30 years old, while the most senior is 60 years old. At least 60% of them are below the age of 40 years. This age group is dominant because it includes the category of less than 35 years that makes the main proportion of the country's active population. The 4[th]Rwanda Population and Housing Census of 2012shows that Rwandans aged between 0-35 years account for 78.7% of the country's population and 60% of them are employed (NISR, 2012). This research also includes views from 10 male journalists who represent 66.7% and 5 female journalists who represent 33.3%. In the media sector, women are fewer than men. The total accredited journalists in Rwanda in June 2020 were 1132 and women were 263 representing 23.23% (RMC's data released to researcher on 29th July 2020).In 2018, the Gender Monitoring Office had reported that accredited female journalists accounted for 24.5% (GMO, 2019:65). For the Pax Press female journalists are 38.04% (data from Pax Press).This means that the research has tried to capture the views of all categories of the research population.

Table 4.2: Education background of the respondents

Field of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Journalism	7	46.7
Sciences	1	6.6
Other subjects	7	46.7
Total	15	100.0

Source*: Primary data

The table 4.2 presents the figures based on education background of the respondents and shows that more than 53% have not a degree in Journalism. Among the 7 who studied journalism, one holds a master's degree but in a different discipline, and the remaining 14 interviewees have bachelor's degrees in other fields of social sciences and humanities. This is very significant because in their narratives they share a lot of views on many themes included in this research.

The following table 4.3 indicates that the media sector in Rwanda has evolved in terms of information and communication technologies. That's why it is dominated by online media platforms such as website-based news platforms.

Table 4.3: Media affiliation by respondents

Media platform	Frequency	Percentage
Radio	4	26.7
Television	1	6.7
Radio and TV	3	20
Print /website	7	46.6
Total	15	100.0

Source*: Primary data

Even the traditional media outlets have gone online, because radio and TV stations have their respective websites and social media platforms that help them increase their presence and coverage. Also, in Rwanda many radio stations have the TV channels, and former print media have migrated to websites and social media. This phenomenon is called media convergence eased by the digitization of the media content and the spread of internet connectivity. Thus, our research participants belong to all types of media houses operating in Rwanda, and one of them is a correspondent of two international news channels.

Table 4.4: Professional experience of the respondents

Experience (In Years)	Frequency	Percentage
5-10	5	33.3
11-15	5	33.3
16-20	2	13.3
21-25	1	6.7
26+	2	13.3
Total	15	100.0

Source*: Primary data

The table 4.4 shows that the research participants are mainly journalists who have a professional experience ranging from above five years to more than twenty five (25) years. This is linked to the knowledge and skills gained that enable them to depict the media sector in relation to peace

journalism. These are the people who have followed the changes made in the sector leading to that endeavor. The majority of the research participants (13) work for the private media, but 5 of them have an experience in the State-run news outlets Imvaho Nshya, La Nouvelle Releve, Radio Rwanda and Rwanda TV) in the former Rwandan Office of Information, ORINFOR. The two remaining work for the Public Broadcaster, Rwanda Broadcasting Agency, RBA.

4.3 Presentation and analysis of the research findings

The data collected by the researcher have been categorized in various themes in relation to the study objectives and research questions. The findings are centered on the practices of Peace journalism in Rwanda and at Pax Press in particular, and how they contribute to conflict prevention and transformation, as journalists abide to their social responsibility. The findings also elucidate the principles that guide media professionals in compliance with peace journalism principles, and demonstrate how regulating and organizing the media sector should contribute to conflict prevention and transformation.

4.3.1 Peace Journalism as understood by Rwandan media practitioners

Peace journalism is widely understood as the choice of what stories to cover and about how to report them for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict (Lynch J. and McGoldrick A., 2005: 5). This is a definition by peace studies and conflict research scholars. However, for our research participants peace journalism has various dimensions. A journalist who works with Pax Press since the last four years understands it as "a way of approaching a conflict with an aim to bring solutions to it, instead of being part of it" (Interview, on 1st July 2020). Another journalist who has a degree in journalism and thirteen years experience in the profession underscores that "Peace journalism focuses on those stories that can promote reconciliation, that can promote unity, promote sustainable development." (Interview, 2nd July 2020).

Sustainable development is tightly associated with sustainable peace, adds the interviewee. In his views, peace journalism is close to 'constructive journalism' he learnt from a trainer at Pax Press not at university. He admits that such kind of constructive journalism is practiced by the majority of journalists in Rwanda without knowing it (ibid.). The same orientation of Peace Journalism in uniting the society is pointed out by another journalist, 32 years old male, who joined Pax Press

in 2018: "*Peace journalism is the journalism which unites people and doesn't divide the society. It is rather constructive to the society*" (Interview, 2nd July 2020).

A 36 year old female journalist joined Pax Press in 2013 and later on became a full member. She is a 10 years experienced journalist. She perceives Peace journalism as:

"a type of journalism that provides news stories needed in the society, news stories which don't intend to cause conflict, so that people have all the information they need, but which is published in a way that doesn't traumatize them, doesn't cause fear to them, and doesn't make them fight one another" (interview of 5th July 2020).

The national coordinator of Pax Press, on his part relates peace journalism to 'solutions journalism': "*it gives space to people who have ideas, people who have solutions to problems the society has after a period of conflict, and they can help overcome its consequences*" (A.B. Twizeyimana, interview held on 3rd July 2020).

After explaining what peace journalism is, they then talk about what Peace journalism is not. According to one journalist "Peace journalism is not *Confrontational journalism*" where a journalist is in confrontation situation with authorities, citizens or even with other fellow journalists bearing in mind that people will think he or she is a great journalist" (interview of 1st July 2020). This respondent thinks this confrontational journalism is related to "the way of thinking of some authorities who think that whatever a journalist says means exposing, means confronting, means ashaming (sic), also there is the so-called 'Forth Power' that is in a way or another exercising some pressure on three other powers" (ibid.). The confrontation situation in the Rwandan media sector is also highlighted by other research participants, but this one links it with the misconception around practicing journalism in general:

"In journalism we used to have a principle that a journalist fights with his or her microphone or pen. But since we work with Pax Press, we have other principles showing that a journalist is a peace promoter, so that a journalist lives peacefully, so that a leader and a citizen live in peace. This brings harmony and complementarities in the society, and makes life better" (interview, 3rd July 2020).

This point however contradicts the narrative of another journalist who adds that Peace Journalism is not the kind of journalism that helps journalists stay peaceful, as long as they have to report on even sensitive issues:

> *"It doesn't mean that you will not cover corruption; you cover it, because if you don't expose corrupt people, that corruption will harm unity, that corruption will harm peace. So, you have to cover those sensitive stories. But you have to know how to treat them so as not to cause more problems. But, some people think that peace journalism is that kind of journalism you will do so as to stay peaceful, and that kind of stories you do without causing harm, No!"* (Interview, 2nd July 2020)

On the same point, another aspect of Peace Journalism mentioned during the fieldwork, is the style of writing a story. The respondents overwhelmingly mentioned that peace journalists avoid sensationalism. This is the tendency of repeatedly produced news content that displays crime, violence, and other shocking events like war, in order to frighten and stimulate the public emotion. Sensationalism intends "to dramatize the bloody, tragic, and horrific conflicts that may violate an audience's comfortable distance from their perception of the world" and for commercial purposes this kind of journalism is taking a pace in media outlets (Wang, 2012: 712-713). This research confirms the same situation in Rwandan media, especially in what respondents called *byacitse* (sensationalized stories). The table below illustrates how different categories of Rwandans complain about stories filed by some journalists.

Table 4.5: General statistics of cases adjudicated and mediated by RMC as of June 2020

Year	Total received Complaints per year	General Public Vs. Journalists	Journalists or Media houses Vs Journalists or Media Houses	Government institutions or Officials Vs. Journalists	Journalists Vs Government institutions or officials	Journalists Vs. the Public
2013	16	9	0	2	5	0
2014	37	21	5	5	5	1
2015	69	40	16	5	3	5
2016	83	47	25	4	3	4
2017	70	46	15	4	3	1
2018	41	36	4	1	0	1
2019	50	29	13	5	3	0
2020	25	17	5	2	1	0
Total	391	245	83	28	23	12

Source: Rwanda Media Commission (released to researcher on 3rd July 2020)

This table is brought in this section to illustrate what research participants labeled *confrontational journalism*. In fact, cases in which journalists are sued by the public are so high (62.65%) compared to other cases of journalists against the general public or other institutions and officials. Confrontational journalism is also characterized by sensationalized news stories.

However, journalists have to avoid those stories that exaggerate the reality. Instead they have to report truthfully. Their stories must be supported by tangible right facts from various parties involved in the issues being reported. This is also deep-rooted in the guiding principles promoted by Pax Press. One of the journalists who moderate community debates states: "for us a story is not a man who eats a dog but a dog that eats a man. We don't promote sensationalism!" (Interview, 06th July 2020)

4.3.2 The Four Principles of Peace Journalism at Pax Press

Pax Press inherited these principles from Syfia International. Its founders used to work in the program called Syfia Grands Lacs. The latter was operational in Rwanda, Burundi and DRC. The perpetuation of these principles proves that Pax Press is a continuation by local journalists, of the Peace Journalism spirit introduced in the region by that international organization (A. B. Twizeyimana, interview on 3rd July). These principles which are memorized by the members and partners of Pax Press evoke the social responsibility of the journalists as they explain. Below we reproduce them with the original language which is French.

(i) **Tell without harming** (*dire sans nuire*): Appropriate words should be used by both journalists and people involved in a story or a talk show. If a journalist gives the space to people using dehumanizing or insulting language, this principle would be violated, and the journalist could be held accountable for that. This happened in Rwanda during the genocide against the Tutsi, when the journalists used the same words as those of politicians in their hate speech. For example the Tutsi ethnic group was tagged as 'cockroaches', 'snakes' to convince ordinary citizen to kill them (Chrétien, 1995:78-80). So, the wording in professional journalism is very important, and extremely important in conflict prevention.
The research participants however believe this principle calls upon journalists to being extra careful in choosing the words they use in their storytelling. Albert Baudouin Twizeyimana, the national coordinator of Pax Press, explains this as an everyday task of a journalist. "We

cover all kind of stories. But you have to turn and turn again your tongue, you have to write, erase and re-write, with your pen or computer, till you get the proper words which will not embarrass the public" he explains (interview, 3rd July 2020).

A female member of Pax Press, 36 year old, relates this principle to the role of journalists in conflict prevention and transformation:

"If there is an issue somewhere and you have to file a story on it, you have to do a story that will not cause conflict either to the side of the victims or to the one who seems to be the origin of the problem. You can expose a conflict without hurting the people the story talks about, this principle really promotes peace" (interview, 5th July 2020).

Finding appropriate words to a story requires the cooperation between the reporter and the editorial team if there is any in the newsroom of a media house, A. B. Twizeyimana adds. If the media house doesn't have editors, the journalist, who is either a member or a partner, is assisted by the editors of Pax Press:

"You can write a story and publish it, but its adverse effects may be manifested after one month or one year. So, here we are editors, the watchdogs of the Rwandan society for today, tomorrow and for years to come. We strive for peace promotion because we have learned a lot from the genocide, and our consciousness always pushes us to prevent conflicts from happening". (FGD, 3rd July 2020)

'Tell without harming, or without causing nuisance', also means avoiding confusion to the public. Stories which do not cause harm to the society do neither cause harm to the journalist as a 34 years female journalist emphasizes: "they told us, if you do a story that promotes peace in the community, what harm does it causes to you?" (Interview of 3rd July 2020) However in the view of another respondent, he doesn't care if a story has consequences on those who cause troubles in the society: "you have to cover even those [stories] which will cause harm to some people, to those wrongdoers" (interview, 2nd July 2020).

(ii) Inform without discouraging (*informer sans décourager*): The principle refers to the restoration of hope and morale in the society. One editor at Pax Press explains, "the story doesn't have to dishearten the public, you tell the people stories that help them and boost

their morale" (FGD, 3rd July 2020). This principle can apply to any kind of news stories and programs:

> *"Let's say, if there is an armed attack through the Lake Rweru, from Burundi, you have to be very careful on how you publish such story, so that it will not push local residents to flee that area. You have to help the resident be informed, but you don't discourage them. You provide them with true news. And true news doesn't discourage people. By the way, discouraging news stories almost don't have real facts. So we produce news stories which are not going to spread fear to the public"* (interview, 06th July 2020).

From what the respondents said, the principle may be reconciled with the principle of objectivity, that means journalist has to be detached from biases and emotions in order to produce a balanced and fair news story that includes 'conflicting accounts' and 'supporting evidence' starting with the most important or interesting in respect of the news inverted pyramid (Tuchman, 1972: 665–679). It also relates to the other principle of conventional journalism which is accuracy. This one refers to the use of right facts instead of expressing personal opinions, emotions or biases.

(iii) Show without shocking (*montrer sans choquer*): this principle specifically concerns the audio-visual media outlets. In covering violent events, like war, accident, disaster, etc, journalists in general are requested to not use shocking graphics like dead bodies, blood, etc. (interview, 3rd July 2020). Pax Press believes that "you can capture a very nice photograph, as you have learnt it, and if you don't interpret it well, you don't think about it carefully; it can destroy your country" (A. Baudouin, interview 3rd July 2020). With an example related to the period of the Covid-19 that broke out in Rwanda early 2020, the female journalist, 36 years old, explains how this principle is very fundamental in news production:

> *"You may report a story on a situation like Covid-19. Let's say it has killed a million people, this story can traumatize people due to how you approach it. For instance if you show people who are about to die lying helplessly on the streets, or even you use images of dead bodies that are put in a same place, or showing open coffins with bodies inside, this will not help prevent from contracting covid-19, it will shock people and even they may not read or watch that story"* (interview, 06th July 2020).

Another male journalist, 37years old, shares the same understanding:

> *"If you are reporting an accident, why do you use a photo of amputated parts of a child who was with its mother and both were knocked and killed by a car? And you focus on the heads apart and the bodies apart, whereas you should have showed this accident in a very different way and people get informed but not shocked."*(Interview, 06th July 2020)

(iv) Denounce without condemning (*dénoncer sans condamner*): With this principle, a journalist should know how to criticize a misdemeanor without judging people in the story, said one member of the focus group discussion (interview, 03rd July 2020). Hence, a journalist must avoid putting someone on spot in order to show that they are the scapegoat of a given conflict. "Sometimes when journalists report on a trial, you will find out that some of them are accusing, condemn and even sentence the suspect involved in the court case. So, this is not the task of journalists", (interview, 06th July 2020). Also, the journalists must understand other helpful principles that are complementary to those related to the profession or to the issues they are reporting. In this case of not condemning any person in the story, one of the journalists we interviewed said:

> "*The journalist is not a prosecutor. This is in line with another principle of 'presumption of innocence'. As long as a person is not yet judged by courts and tribunals and found guilty, it's not a journalist who will establish the guilt of that person. This helps me very much in my everyday professional life.*" (Interview, 5th July 2020)

This principle of presumption of innocence is also in the code of ethics of Rwandan journalists. Its article 18 stipulates that "*a journalist shall observe the principle of presumption of innocence for those suspected of punishable or criminal facts before the verdict from competent courts and tribunals is announced.*" (RMC, 2014)

Talking about the implementation of these principles, an editor at Pax Press referred to the theory of 'social responsibility' as a very important aspect of Peace Journalism. He mentioned that each journalist has to bear in mind that he belongs to the society.

In application of this theory, each member and partner of Pax Press is monitored even on their social media platforms:

"At Pax Press we encourage responsible news reporting and we work on the professional part of it, we look at how a story is structured, if it is to air on TV or radio, or to be published in a newspaper or on a website. Also we monitor what they post on their social media platforms. So, a journalist who makes a mistake is advised to no longer repeat it." (FGD, 3ʳᵈ July2020)

Monitoring the content of social media platforms of the members and partners of Pax Press helps to always see if they comply with these four principles even in their normal life. This is what the national coordinator of the organization, A. B. Twizeyimana highlighted:

"we ask them to be fully peace journalists. If they do a story that builds peace in their media houses, with our facilitation, they don't have to do adverse things and spread hatred on their social media; we control it" (interview, 3ʳᵈ July 2020).

On their part, journalists who work with Pax Press take these principles like the "Bible of a journalist" as they say. The principles help them change the way they used to produce and write stories. A research participant acknowledged that he was fired by a private radio due to non compliance to those principles:

"We did a press review and in our personal comments, we denounced and condemned people in the stories. So, after I was sacked, I asked myself why I didn't follow those principles whereas I was aware of their meaning and importance. This was an experience, and since then I can't repeat the same mistake"(interview, 06ᵗʰ July 2020).

4.3.3 Practices of Peace Journalism at Pax Press

From the data collected by the researcher, eight points have been sorted out as the particular practices that really make Pax Press a peace journalism initiative. Each of the following practices has its importance because they all contribute to peace promotion, but also to the professionalization of the media sector in regard to being more conflict sensitive.

(i) Intensive training of journalists: Pax Press members and partners are all journalists. They work for other newsrooms except few who are the permanent staff of the organization. So, before any journalistic activities with Pax Press, they are trained on how to cover stories, moderating public debates and hosting live talk shows on radio and television. This practice

helps journalists cope with sensitive topics in presentation or reporting and avoid that they cause conflicts in the society. "*I should say that the most, the biggest, the greatest practice Pax Press has sown in people is not just going first to the field, [you] go to the training for you to learn how the house is ran*", explains a journalist who is also a correspondent of international news agencies (interview, 01st July 2020). The training is done on a regular basis in order to keep the journalists reminded their social responsibility: "*They train us on how to manage our microphones so that they don't cause harm to society*" (interview, 2nd July 2020). Besides the formal training there is also a continuous coaching of journalists by Pax Press editors and a kind of peer training which facilitates journalists to get guidance from the colleagues using what they call virtual newsroom because they get connected to their social media group (A. Baudouin, on 3rd July 2020).

(ii) Rigorous preparation of topics to be discussed in talk shows: Pax Press has editors who cross-check the topics to be discussed in a live talk show sponsored by this organization. These editors meet with the presenters of the talk show, agree on how the call-ins will be handled, decide on which guidance the audience will observe, and how they will behave if an unexpected caller intervenes. Here it is referred to people who can bring in controversial issues that may cause conflict in the Rwandan society (FGD, 3rd July2020). They also decide on how to ask questions not as someone who is running out of time, but the host of the show makes sure the questions are answered to and the presenter can insert follow-up questions if they are necessary (interview, 01st July 2020).

(iii) Doing an impact-oriented reporting in terms of conflict responses: Journalists report on conflicts or particular issues and after a "reasonable period" they go back to assess if the news stories have produced an impact:

> "*You go back to find out what has been the solution of the conflict or any other social injustices you covered. This is different from doing what is commonly known as 'breaking news' which is publishing or reporting a very fresh story and you leave its other aspects like the effects of an event that happened on a single day. An impact is also what your story brings back to the society*" (interview, 01July 2020).

Usually in traditional journalism reporters are like mere observers because they focus on events that happened and ignore their root causes and even their consequences. This impact-oriented reporting helps journalists check if the stories brought solutions to problems and conflicts, and make sure they didn't cause harm to the society. In this last scenario, the journalist still has the opportunity to do a remedial story if he/she made a mistake in the previous reportage (interview on 2nd July 2020). However, "this impact-based reporting" must be in line with professional principles of accuracy, impartiality, truthfulness, and they are not neglected in peace journalism: "*Pax Press keeps reminding us these professional principles*" (Interview, on 2nd July 2020). Moreover, an impact-oriented story has to be very analytical so that it doesn't confuse the audience. A respondent gave an example of a story on teen pregnancy:

> "*If a journalist files a story and shows teen mothers receiving sewing machines, and doesn't go further and expose hardships and consequences those teenagers face during and after the pregnancy, the story may cause much more problems. Other teenagers would wish to get pregnant so that they receive sewing machines. Such a story can contribute to the increase of conflicts in families.*" (Interview, 06th July 2020)

(iv) Careful script editing: Some participants said that the first stories they shared with Pax Press, looked like those they were used to doing in their respective newsrooms. They were impressed by the way the Pax Press editors shaped them and gave guidance on how a story should look like in the framework of Peace Journalism designed by the NGO. "They show you how the story should have been structured" said one respondent (interview on 1st July 2020).

The story editing is mainly fact-checking by Pax Press editors who then check the reliability of the sources, and providing editorial advices to reporters, said an editor at Pax Press (FGD, 3rd July 2020). A journalist illustrates this:

> "*Since we started working with Pax Press, you give your story to editors and they read through it. They show you par example 'here you seem to be very angry or you are part of the story', because sometimes a journalist who has a personal problem for example if*

his/her house was demolished by local leaders, he/she inserts that frustration, and this produces conflicts through media outlets" (interview, 3rd July 2020).

Script editing is not a common practice in all news outlets in Rwanda, as some respondents said. Due to financial constraints or lack of professionalism, reporters are also self-editors:

"Nowadays, in the common journalism some reporters are at the same time the editors of their own stories. Many of the outlets work like that. The reporter is also an editor. Nobody will edit his or her scripts. But for those who work with Pax Press, their story is shared and discussed among journalists, and help to correct the mistakes. They tell him or her use that word in the place of the other one. They are like a family. But for those who don't work with Pax Press, when you try to show them their mistakes, it becomes like a fight, saying that's the editorial line of their media house" (interview, 3rd July 2020).

In the same orientation, the script editing is also done in form of peer review. This practice is shared at the regional level (A.B. Twizeyimana, 3rd July 2020). This means that journalists can seek assistance from his fellow in Rwanda, Burundi or DR Congo. It's possible when the script is in the language one understands. With this practice, one journalist advises another on how to write a story that would not cause harm to his/her audience. This is made possible by the fact that in the three countries of the Great Lakes Region, journalists have formed a network after an international news agency Syfia international, phased out its project of Syfia Grands Lacs, in 2006.

(v) Being a neutral player in reporting on a conflict: An impartial journalist could not be a conflict instigator. If a reporter finds a conflict affecting the population, he/she will be obligated to talk to them and other people from whom originated the conflict (interview on 1st July 2020). Being neutral also means to avoid being influenced by political ideologies, like it is the case in many countries, where media house's editorial line is dictated by the ideology of the political party the owner belongs to. An example that came throughout this research was that of USA, where a media house can be labeled to be on Democrats or Republicans side (ibid.), to the Right or Left wing in European countries (FGD, 3rd July 2020). Neutrality also refers to taking distance from the story. One interviewee who is a

partner of Pax Press since 2018 regrets that before she was trained on Peace Journalism, she used to make some mistakes that should have caused problems to others:

> "*I started working at TV1 in 2014. You know we do stories of human interests. So, a citizen should tell me that a local leader has injured his or her head, and then I could become furious asking myself how this injustice could have happened, how a leader could brutalize a citizen to that extent. Then I could reach to the leader with extreme anger and frustration of the citizen, and interview would be accusing that leader. However, when I joined Pax Press we were taught that we have to value in an equal way the information we get from our sources, whether it is an institution or an ordinary citizen. Since then, when someone tells me a story I don't feel it boiling in my head any more. I first hear it, I calm down, then I find the truthfulness of it in a peaceful way*" (interview, 3rd July 2020).

So, being neutral implies that a journalist doesn't have to be part of the story. The story is made by the ideas of the concerned people not those of the reporter. Some respondents called this *stepping in a story*. "*They always tell us: Do not step in a story, distance yourself from the story*" (interview, 06th July 2020). Peace Journalists avoid this mistake. They don't include in story their personal emotions and biases because they could create tensions and conflicts in the society.

Other respondents argued that some journalists get partial in stories because of the media houses they work for. Therefore, they behave like public relations officers not journalists. "*If a journalist of a State-run media hosts two guests in studio, s/he is always on the side of the one who came from the State institution. At Pax Press, they trained us that in every circumstance a journalist has to be neutral*" (Interview, 3rd July 2020).

(vi) Protection of humanism: This practice entails the protection of human beings in general including the journalist as well. At Pax Press they have a say that: "*A good journalist is the journalist who is alive and who is not imprisoned*" (FGD, 3rd July 2020). This is the outcome of practicing peace journalism because as a respondent disclosed, the journalist's life matters a lot, and so does the life of other people: "*Peace Journalism makes you become a real human being, and a professional human being, a journalist*" (interview, 06th July 2020). This

practice is opposed to the common say *'when it bleeds it sells, or it leads'*. One respondent said it is obsolete in the context of Rwanda, and in the views of peace journalists:

> "*In peace journalism it's just the opposite, because humanity is sacred. Thus, if some media houses earn money from reporting on violent conflicts, they can fuel them; invest in troublemaking in order to find what to cover and what to sell. So that statement when it bleeds it leads, is very dangerous, we should not promote it, we should use what it can cost to avoid it, especially we, Rwandans who went through the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, that bitter history should not come back*" (interview, 2nd July 2020).

Consequently, Peace journalists in the context of Rwanda, helps journalists transcend the sensationalism, and focus on conflict prevention and transformation.

(vii) Use of four sources of information: At Pax Press, a story must have information from the public, the expert or technical side, the documentation and the officials, explains an editor. If a reporter goes to field and covers a conflict, there should be the witnesses from all sides involved, use documentation to understand that conflict and to bring in the views of an expert on the matter to suggest a solution, and the official side on the anticipated solution to that conflict (FGD, on 3rd July 2020).

These practices are meant to protect the journalist from causing conflicts in the society and subsequently there won't be any effect on him or her related to their work. This is why to date no member or partner of Pax Press has been jailed due to professional setback, declared confidently the national coordinator, Albert Baudouin Twizeyimana (interview of 3rd July 2020). Other journalists ascertained that the guidelines provided by this NGO have empowered them professionally. And being professional has built credibility and their media houses respect them and the whole community entrusts them as well (interview, 3rd July 2020 & interview, 06th July 2020).

(viii) Synergy among journalists: On this practice, respondent commended how journalists work together in the framework of Pax Press. The research participants talked about synergy (interview, 5th July 2020), others about sharing experience young with elders, graduates from schools of journalism with those who were trained in other fields (interview, 06thJuly 2020 &

interview, 2nd July 2020). This synergy has been extended to the neighboring countries but in the framework of Syfia Grands Lacs:

> "*To date since 2004 we have a network of at least 240 journalists who have a common understanding as the ones from Kigali, Matadi, Kisangani, Butembo, Bujumbura, if we agree that a given story can't be aired it can't, because we find it harmful to our societies. Now I can file a story or a journalist from Kisangani can do a story in French and send it to me for editing.*" (A. B.Twizeyimana, interview 3rd July 2020).

As the result of this synergy, the journalists share knowledge and skills, and become more professional because the well trained, on their turn train others in their respective newsrooms (interview, 3rd July 2020). Not only that, they also share the best practices and the understanding on issues pertaining to conflict prevention and transformation in their respective countries and in the region at large (A.B, Twizeyimana, 3rd July 2020).

4.3.4 Pax Press approaches to conflicts

This section examines how community debates, radio talk shows and news reporting in the approach of peace journalism; contribute to conflict prevention and transformation.

(i) Community debates: The debates consist of forums of citizens and local leaders. Prior to the debates schedule, Journalists who will moderate them do what is like field survey. They go in the community to assess the problems and conflicts that are very sensitive and inform the local leaders that they will return after a couple of days or in a week, and ask the leaders to get ready and invite all those who can give appropriate responses to those issues they have identified:

> "*This is very important. We send our team on the field to identify the problems, and those journalists are the ones who will moderate the debate. This helps journalists be precise and concise while moderating it. They are straight to the point, and get to know what topic can harm either side, or cause conflicts in the area. Those that can harm or cause conflicts are also tackled but in a professional way, avoiding inciting people to kill each other or to have disputes among them*" (FGD, 3rd July 2020).

This pre-debate session is held with local leaders and they participate in the problems identification:

> "*We don't go to investigate in the population. No! We hold a meeting with local leaders who we identify before: the one in charge of health and welfare, the youth and women councils' coordinators, and other representatives of the population at sector level including the Executive Secretary. We inform them the kind of debate we are planning to have with the population. So, they are the ones who identify the problems they face and that can be debated. Hence, during the debate, a citizen can bring in another issue not identified by the leaders. But at least you have a list of 8 points for instance and you choose and keep 4, like Ubudehe categorization, as being a current issue, school dropout, we choose serious problems. So during the debate those leaders must be present to answer the questions related to those topics and or others that may arise in the course of the debate. This prevents conflicts between leaders and citizens, because the issues are addressed publicly*" (ibid.).

This phase consists of writing down the needs and problems of the local population, then informing the authorities about the schedule of the debates and the potential issues to be debated. It's the Executive Secretary of the sector who convenes the population. However, on the D-day, the residents may bring in new issues which are addressed by the invited authorities from the sector down to the cell and village levels (interview, 1st July 2020).The debates are covered live by three radio stations and one TV station, so that other people may be inspired by the local peace initiatives:

> "*If we are having a debate in Muhanga, there can be a situation in which the citizens in Kirehe or elsewhere in the country who listen to the radio can find the solutions for their problems and can be inspired by their counterparts. In these debates, our objective is to promote peace initiatives and to promote stability in the country so that people work in a peaceful environment*" (A.B. Twizeyimana, 3rd July 2020).

All respondents commended this approach as it promotes the problem solving at the grassroots level, in a participatory way. It creates a forum open to both leaders and the population. In the debates, the journalist serves as an impartial moderator. "we give equal

chance to all citizens and we have also to control their emotions by following carefully their narratives and asking specific follow-up questions to challenge the ones who may exaggerate in their complains", explains one of the respondents who moderates these debates (interview, 06th July 2020). The citizens ask questions or expose their own concerns, conflicts and other social injustices, while the local leaders are there to provide responses or solutions, and are therefore held accountable. In the views of one respondent this approach promotes democracy and citizen participation at the local level, and finds in it a way of preventing and transforming conflicts:

> "*It promotes democracy, because the mayor has equal opportunity with the ordinary citizen (…). As the mayor is there, he will not be one-sided because the media is there, media is the watchdog of the society, so the mayor will listen carefully to the citizens' concerns, and citizens will not fear the mayor because media is there, and the problem is heard, the mayor will try his/her best to solve the problem because Pax Press will do what we call follow up, they will go back there to see whether the problem was solved. So, it's really important, it can prevent conflicts, it can resolve conflicts in place.*" (Interview, 2nd July 2020)

As the researcher's observation, each debate starts by a description of local socio-economic development done by the moderator who applauds initiatives that target problem solving. Then the moderator highlights some issues identified in the area and gives space to residents to comment on them. All categories of the population (ordinary citizens, opinion leaders, women and youth) and leaders intervene to answer the questions or suggest future solutions to underlying issues. The moderator also challenges the population and local leaders because of prior information collected during the field survey.

The researcher viewed 6 videos of these debates, and identified three common characteristics related to handling contradicting views, to how people express themselves and to the satisfaction of the citizens on how problems are settled.

- **Managing contradicting views**: through community debates people learn to exercise their freedom of expression and opinion, to tolerate the divergent views from others. "*No one can be offended because of their opinions, to promote stability in the country and mutual respect*

among citizens" (A. B, Twizeyimana, 3rd July 2020). This is illustrated by debates held in Muyumbu on issue of water shortage, and in Muhura sector on Ubudehe categorization. In Muhura sector local residents claimed to be put in wrong categories, given their socio-economic statuses, because leaders wanted to hide the real image of the whole entity. So, poor families were put in the same categories as those of the businessmen and public servants. The leaders explained that this happened to those who didn't attend village meetings which decided the categories of each family. The suggested solution to the problem was the harmonization of data on Ubudehe categories, and Pax Press was included in the taskforce that revised these categories. (ibid.)

- **People speak their mind:** These debates make citizens dare to speak publicly what goes wrong in their daily life. In Giti sector for example the population pointed out that the dismissed Executive Secretary of the sector had confiscated wetland areas used by farmers' cooperatives and gave them to individuals, and they called it *dictatorship of the local leadership*: "*it's the dictatorship, how could a leader take the wetland areas belonging to cooperatives and give them to two individuals?*" said a citizen. Another illustration of this is about the village leaders who mismanaged the distribution of fertilizers and cause conflict between 'poor and rich' families. The victims' side thought their rights were violated: "*they came and wrote down our names and invited us to go and take the fertilizers, but when we got there, we found they were taken by others*", said an old woman in the video. "*The fertilizer was given to non farmers. There are people who said they grow maize and got it, but when we complained we found that they kept it at their homes*" added another resident of Giti sector in Gatsibo district.

- **Reaching satisfaction of the citizens:** The debates end when both sides reach a common ground to solve a given conflict or a problem. An illustration on that are the debates held in Rugarama sector, Burera district over an issue of the middlemen in the business of potatoes. The farmers claimed that those middlemen contributed to the decrease of the prices. The local leaders agreed that this problem was above their capacities, and it's the ministry of trade that should solve it. Another illustration is also on debate held in Muyumbu sector, Rwamagana district. The same issue of prices to plots and land tenures in general was discussed. Local residents were advised to not sell their land on lower prices because they have to buy big arable gardens in remote areas so that they don't become a burden to the

government and regret to have sold theirs. So, people stopped complaining on these issues because they were convinced.

This approach like other practices explored in this chapter, is in line with the Social responsibility of the journalists. Sehene Ruvugiro is one of the highly experienced journalists in the country. He has spent more than 25 years in the profession. He worked with Hirondelle News Agency, in the framework of post-conflict justice news coverage. Then, he joined Pax Press after this news agency ended its activities in Rwanda. He recalls that during a community debate in Kisaro sector, Pax Press exposed a then very sensitive issue of drug smugglers, known as *Abarembetsi* in the Northern Province:

> "*They were drug smugglers, and destabilized the security of people, killing some of the local residents, everybody feared them even security organs had failed to handle this problem. But when we reached there, people dared to speak out, but still with a little bit reservation. However the little information they revealed helped because the central government in Kigali, here I mean ministries like the one of internal security, took seriously this problem and collaborated with other institutions they deployed people in the Northern Province to solve the problem of drug smugglers*" (interview, 06th July 2020).

A big number of people attend such gatherings compared to those who come when the local leaders convene meetings, because citizens think they can freely express their concerns in the presence of the media, stated respondents quoting the testimonies of these authorities.

(ii) Live talk show: Pax Press doesn't own a radio station or a TV channel, but has a YouTube page and a website. It works with journalists from several media outlets, including radio and TV stations, websites and newspapers. It sponsors the talk show called *Ikaze Munyarwanda* (Welcome Rwandan, direct translation). It airs from Monday to Friday in morning hours on Flash FM. In addition, journalists that host popular morning live shows on private radio stations are partners or members of Pax Press. This is the case of KT Radio (two consecutive morning shows), Radio 10, and Flash FM as well. These talk shows aim at giving space to all citizens to express their daily concerns through phone call-ins. The talk shows are also impact-oriented; they have to bring changes in communities with an emphasis on peaceful

cohabitation (interview, 02ⁿᵈ July 2020, & interview, 3ʳᵈ July 2020). For the show sponsored by Pax Press, the themes are mainly related to the fight against gender-based violence and other forms of domestic violence.

The themes to be discussed in other live shows focus basically on issues that affect the community, like misunderstanding of gender balance, divorce, land conflict, domestic violence, human rights abuse, the promotion of unity and reconciliation, etc. These topics have a paramount importance in peace-building because journalists help people in addressing them in a non violent way, starting by those minor conflicts at the level of individuals and families.

The topics are determined by journalists who host the show sponsored by this organization together with Pax Press editors. They both have to always attend a weekly editorial meeting to Pax Press, held every Friday:

> "*The journalists who host the show come to our office and brief us on tentative topics to be discussed on current affairs. So, we pick one topic and ask them to tell us who they will have as guests, what he/she will talk about, then we discuss possible scenarios on questions that may be asked by the audience, because during live call-ins, a person may say anything or insult people. This is the risk of the live talk show, but they are trained on how to handle such situation. The journalists must be very attentive on the words they will use to answer such person, and avoid prompting the answer and this lessens the risks of conflicts that may be caused by a live talk show*"(FGD, 3ʳᵈ July 2020).

This is also acknowledged by one of the journalist who hosts the *Ikaze Munyarwanda* show. The preparation with editors prevents substantial mistakes that may lead also to causing conflicts:

> "*We meet with editors and discuss the topics, decide on the people to invite in the show, and even those we will use in the vox pops. We also assess the impact this show will have in line with conflict prevention so that it's not that kind of talk show that can provoke a conflict, and put you in trouble as well. We try to avoid that. For example, if we are talking about gender balance misconception, we don't put the whole burden to men's shoulders. We choose men and women, and in our language we avoid generalization and*

use the word 'some of...' for instance we don't say 'men beat their wives', we say 'some men beat their wives, some women didn't understand the concept of gender balance', this helps us a lot in avoiding being the source of the conflicts"(interview, 06th July 2020).

To reach this level of maturity and professionalism the journalists have to be trained on how to deal with any happenings in the live show, even for those who work for partner radio stations. "*The way you handle a talk show with ministers is not the same as the one that involves ordinary citizens, Pax Press trains you in all that. They equip you with skills on how to behave and which language to use for both talk shows and community debates*" (interview, 06th July 2020).

(iii) News production and reporting: In the news production and news reporting, journalists have to be well informed about conflicts or other issues they are talking about. This enables journalists to contribute to finding solutions to them, as a respondent discloses:"*a journalist doesn't only report an issue in a superficial way, but he/she assesses it and do an in-depth analysis of the causes of a conflict between parties*"(interview, 5th July 2020).The journalist pitches a story idea to Pax Press editorial team which discusses its newsworthiness vis-à-vis its impact on the society. When it is approved, the reporter goes to field for the story, and receives the facilitation fees for the whole fieldwork.

Concerning the types of stories covered by Pax Press collaborators, they focus on those susceptible of causing conflicts. "*We look for issues that are causing conflicts in the society, and find out how they can be addressed without causing further problems,*" an editor mentioned (FGD, on 3rd July 2020). Though these stories tackle conflicts and other issues that may produce conflicts, the journalists say they approach them in a professional manner so that they counter potential conflicts as well:

"*The way we approach a story helps us avoid conflicts among people. We must include in a story all the concerned parties and if you need to do recording you inform the persons you are interviewing. You don't record them in secrecy as if you are conducting a criminal investigation*" (interview, 5th July 2020).

4.3.5 Nature of most covered conflicts and impact of media coverage

The conflicts that are mainly reported in news stories or covered in community debates and talk shows are essentially at the level of the individuals' relationships. They are what Johan Galtung (2010) termed 'micro-conflicts' that are among individuals or communities. This is in comparison with 'meso-conflicts' that are within a country. Galtung recognizes that peace journalism is not relevant to interstate wars only but "applies also to violence between other groups-to rape and wife battering, mistreatment of children, racial or class conflict-where violence is reported and blame usually fixed on one side" (Galtung J. 1998).

(v) Gender Based Violence, GBV: The conflicts happening in Rwandan families are basically linked to GBV. Journalists who report on them say they result from misinterpretation of the gender balance policy.

> "*It is creating great violence, and it is extending day after day. Today we are counting more than nine thousand divorces in the Rwanda community (...) It is related to the fact that gender balance has not been fully inculcated to the population in terms of teaching them.*" (Interview, 1st July 2020)

One female respondent stated that gender based violence is spreading even in the rural families because of poor relationships between spouses. Most of domestic violence has a link with the GBV.

> "*Cases of divorce are increasing tremendously. The spouses disagree on lots of issues like property management, infidelity these issues are becoming very serious even in rural areas, it's not only in urban families. That's why people are killing each other, it's an issue that needs to be assessed carefully to get know the real root causes of these conflicts that are increasing so fast*" (Interview, 5th July 2020)

Another component of this GBV is an intra-family conflict, the teen pregnancies. These are engendering also inter-family conflicts. Parents fail to support their pregnant young daughters, whereas on inter-family side of the conflict, it occurs when the family of the boy or the man who impregnated the teenager is known even when he is jailed. The girl's family asks the other family to provide financial assistance to care for the newborn.

"Teen pregnancies are sources of conflicts. These girls are abandoned by parents. So, parents need a kind of counseling, so that they avoid conflict affecting the child to be born, causing it trauma at the same time causing it to the pregnant young mother, even that parent can have trauma. So they all need counseling in order to accept what happened in the family". (Interview, 06th July 2020)

(vi) Land conflicts and disputes over property rights: Rwandans are mainly farmers even though they do small scale agriculture. Therefore, their well-being is tightly associated with land tenure, and conflicts linked to it are to be expected. *"Mostly, the debates we hold in the community, you find that land tenure is very crucial; it is a big topic that people discuss every day"* said a respondent (interview, 1st July 2020). These conflicts are related to land ownership and they are articulated on official documents causing disharmony in the society (interview, 3rd July 2020). In rural areas there are conflicts on succession rights, on family land tenure sharing among relatives and these are very frequently taken to MAJ or to other grassroots entities. (Interview, 5th July 2020)

Respondents highlighted land conflicts and disputes on property rights as serious issues that lead also to extreme cases of murders among members of the same families, including spouses. In other cases these conflicts and disputes cause divorce and separation of couples like the above mentioned GBV (interview, 1st July 2020&interview, 3rd July 2020)

(vii) Social injustices: respondents pointed out that issues related to social categorization known as *ubudehe*, have caused conflicts between citizens and local leaders. One respondent said that *"local leaders have used the Ubudehe categorizations to punish the citizens"* (A.B, Twizeyimana, interview, 3rd July 2020). So, due to the fact that Pax Press covered numerous stories on this matter, the ministry of local government has decided to revise those categorizations, and Pax Press participated in the process up to education and awareness campaign (Ibid.).

On the same point of social injustices, a respondent included also discrimination against people with disabilities like albinos. She gave an example of a woman who gave birth to three albinos and her husband and the whole family and even neighbors stigmatized her and the kids (interview, 2nd July 2020).

(viii)   Violation of Economic rights: This is the conflict between employers and employees over salaries and other legal incentives, or between shareholders in a company over dividends sharing (interview, 3rd July 2020). The category includes also illegal public auctions of private properties (interview, 3rd July 2020), taxes collected in local markets from low scale farmers (Interview, 5th July 2020).

Reporting on such conflicts, journalists have to understand what their contribution is in terms of preventing them from re-occurring. "*When I did a story on marital conflicts I assessed if they were the last solution for that couple referring on the family law*" (ibid). In this case, a journalist helps people in the community understand how they should avoid conflicts and how they can deal with them once they are there.

(ix) Poverty and Food security issues: when people don't have enough food stuff and livestock they are not peaceful. A respondent told the researcher that: "*if I do a story showing how to solve food insecurity, I am contributing to conflict prevention, because a hungry man is an angry man, poverty causes conflicts in families and among individuals*" (Interview, 2nd July 2020)

An overall impact of reporting the conflicts in news stories and talk shows is that the decision makers are informed and they take appropriate actions. On the side of citizens, the stories and talk shows educate people on how they can solve the conflicts in a peaceful way.

4.3.6 The role of journalists in conflict prevention and transformation

The Rwandan society still has trust in the media, and this is an advantage for journalists to play the role in conflict prevention and transformation. They are considered influential; they should really play the role of the "Fourth Estate", in urban social settings where the television and online media are the source of information, and especially in rural areas where radio in particular is merely the sole source of information. Respondents agreed on this point.

"*When citizens hear that something has been said on radio, they take it seriously. Particularly if you go in the rural areas and say that the radio has said this or that, they will feel that they have to comply with it. This means a journalist is a mirror of the society. Any word you will say, anything you will publish as journalist will be valued by the population, if*

it is harmful, maybe they will not execute it, but you will cause mental damage to them, so that they can argue that we are doing it because we have heard it in media. So media can be destructive by inciting people to do evil things, as we've seen it happening in Rwanda, but also it can be constructive. Another example is the words created by young journalists labeled as stars, after a certain period, those words become the Kinyarwanda words and all people start using them while they were nonexistent in their mother tongue. This explains how a journalist can create a thing and that thing becomes real. So if you create an evil thing, it becomes a reality. Also if you create a good one, it exists as well"(Interview, 06ᵗʰ July 2020).*

Apart from being influential in the society, journalists are seen also as channels through which conflicts can be solved.

"People in rural areas especially, see in journalists a way to solve challenges they face on a daily basis. This is very clear when we go to the community debates. So they entrust the journalists, and the journalists have the responsibility of working more professionally in order to do impact-oriented stories or talk shows" (Interview, 06ᵗʰ July 2020).

However this channel which vehicles messages that counter and transform conflicts has to be clean as disclosed by the national coordinator of Pax Press.

"Media is the vector of any kind of messages that exist, it is the channel for good messages for those who need them, but also it is a channel of the evil messages to those who are eager to receive them. I always say that the government should invest enough money in media because it is the only way it has to promote good governance, to promote the culture, to do everything. But a channel for the good message must be good and clean as well. You can't take a golden ring and put it on the pig's nose as the Bible says! The constructive message can't pass through a bad journalist. So, journalists have to be trained, so that they deliver the messages they understand" (interview, 3ʳᵈ July 2020)

Professionalism is mentioned as key for the journalists to successfully contribute to conflict prevention.

"*A journalist has to be transparent, talk to all parties involved in a conflict, officials and their superiors, dig deep-down to find solutions anywhere in the policies. Every time a journalist does a story on conflicts whether they are interpersonal or between people and public authorities, they are immediately solved. When they are based on the mindset, deep-rooted in the society it takes time and the journalist keeps educating the society*" (Interview, 5th July 2020).

On the individual side, a journalist is supposed to be exemplary to others, be knowledgeable, a person of integrity, and responsible in everything (FGD, 3rd July 2020). In addition to professionalism, journalists have to improve their behavior:

"*The journalists have to know that they work for the general public not for a group of people, they have to value that. A journalist who is not impartial causes conflicts in the society. Secondly, they have to comply with principles of the profession of journalism, thirdly respecting the laws of the country, we always say each country has its own press, each country has its own journalists, and the society has its own way of living, if a journalist doesn't abide to all that, he/she will be that journalist who is in confrontation with others, who always is in unnecessary troubles*" (Interview 3rd July 2020).

Also respondents noted that conflicts in news stories sometimes reflect the behavior of the journalists. This female, 34 year old, argues that:

"*There are journalists who have intrapersonal conflicts that lead them to almost every day doing stories lying on violence as if there is war in the country. In my views, Peace journalism should be taught in combination with common journalism. This will help journalists understand that publishing a story is not a fight*" (interview of 3rd July).

A media house owner, a male aged over 50 years, added:

"*The most important thing is that conflicts start as intrapersonal conflicts, within a journalist. Such a person will not publish any other stories besides those fueling conflicts. He/she will reproduce their emotions. It will require the change of mindset, and in that case, if a fellow journalist wants to help him/her, s/he will understand and be cooperative with others.*" (Interview, 3rd July 2020)

The journalists suggested that for the whole media sector to contribute to the prevention and transformation of conflicts, a change of mindset is of an utmost importance:

"*Media is greatly important in conflict prevention and transformation. I like telling my colleagues to first think about what would be their reactions if the same story they intend to do on others was done on them instead. So, as journalists we have to analyze and re-analyze what we are going to do especially stories on conflicts in the Rwandan community. If we carefully assess and re-assess the situation, and file stories and programs and publish them, but we have to take time and educate people to help them understand that conflicts undermine the society, then show them how they can avoid them*" (Interview, 2nd July 2020).

4.3.7 Challenges faced by peace journalists

The following challenges have been stated by journalists that work with Pax Press, and they seem to be common to the entire media sector, though they affect Peace Journalism as well.

(i) **Media houses routines and editorial lines**

Pax Press works with journalists from different media outlets, those journalists may publish stories without seeking advice from editors of Pax Press because it doesn't have a say on them. The only thing Pax Press does is to advice that journalist to no longer repeat an already made mistake, reminding that the media house he/she works for has signed a Memorandum of understanding of partnership with Pax Press: "*You tell that journalist in a friendly way, that a person who works with us should have surpassed such level of thinking, of doing biased stories. In that case you make sure that next time the story that person will bring to our platforms will not look like that one*" an editor at Pax Press stated (FGD, on 3rd July 2020). So, editorial lines and routines of media houses can influence journalists in the sense of conflict sensitive journalism. "*Sometimes, due to the editorial lines of news outlets, for example State-run or pro-State media outlets, a journalist in a story looks like a Public Relations officer, and when you try to find the emotions and concerns or feelings of a citizen you can't find them in that story*" (Sehene, 06th July 2020)

(ii) **Competing for breaking the news or *Kumena Umuti***

There is a strong competition among journalists and media outlets themselves. They struggle to be the first to publish a unique story, a not yet told or an untold story. This is what they call *kumena umuti*. On one hand it has a positive connotation, when the journalist breaks a story that has all the required elements of a professional news story. In some cases traditional media compete with new media outlets, and consequently, some stories are published without all facts. There is also the negative connotation of that competition especially when reporters fabricate stories or publish wrong facts to attract audience, viewership and readership. A respondent realized that "*journalists feel they have the power of shaking even public and private institutions, or causing conflicts between individuals*" (interview, 2nd July 2020). This is done in a kind of breaking news. Therefore, this kind of competition undermines the profession and constitutes an obstacle to peace journalism.

Another respondent made it clear that journalists should not abuse that power they believe they have:

> "*You have that power to tell a story; so, you have to think twice about what you intend to do. Do I want the mayor to resign? So, if the mayor resigns am I the one who will replace the mayor? What is the objective of my story? Some of us do stories without a clear purpose and sometimes we attack individual persons and that is wrong. A good story requires taking your time. Hence nowadays things happen very fast and journalists strive to break the news which is very often lacking many facts*" (interview, 06th July 2020).

(iii) **Violation of Media Ethics**

The Rwandan Journalists and media practitioners' code of ethics says that journalists have to resist any pressure that aim at modifying or distorting information at their disposal (RMC, 2014: art.10). However, respondents unanimously confirmed that this is not the reality on the field. They mentioned three Kinyarwanda words that refer to phenomena which have a little bit similarities, but all illustrate unethical behavior. The first is ***munyandikire,*** means write that person on my behalf; the second is ***Mungaragarize,*** show him/her on my behalf; and the third is ***mumvugire*** or talk of him/her on my behalf. This means that there is someone who orders a

76

journalist what to write, what to say and what to show, depending on the media outlet the journalist works for.

In this case, journalists cover stories with intent of targeting a given person. "*They expose an issue to make someone else ashamed*" said a male respondent (Interview, 1st July 2020). Respondents pointed that unbalanced stories are always money-motivated. "*They do one-sided story for the one who has paid them, and the remaining side would pay thereafter to get another story done in their favor*" said a female journalist (interview, 06th July 2020).Another interviewee, a male who hosts a talk show sponsored by Pax Press, added: "*there are some promises made to a journalist by one side of a story, in order to humiliate the other side, you know there are journalists who are paid by those who want to tarnish image of others or want to publish false news*" (Interview, 06th July 2020).

(iv) **Money-oriented media**

To some extent, this is linked to unethical behavior of journalist as aforementioned, but to another extent, it has its own implications on conflict reporting. "*Media is like a shortcut that leads to money for some people. So, the regulators have to rescue the profession of journalism here in Rwanda because it is tarnished*" mentioned one respondent (Interview, 06th July 2020).

Pursuing financial gains pushes journalists in what their colleagues called *suicidal journalism* because of the consequences it may cause.

> "*They can do anything provided that they get money from it. Our media is mainly dominated by breadwinning journalists; but you can make money without doing 'suicidal journalism'. This is my view. If you have a media outlet and expect getting everything from it to survive, any source of money is welcomed and you say I will deal with the consequences after. This will not work! Another owner of a radio station even if it is dedicated to sports news, may decide whether there will be talk shows about other people, or professional debates. Hence professionalism would have the primacy over other financial gains. You can get profit from professionalism but when you focus on personal benefits at the expense of professionalism you may lose everything*" (FGD, 3rd July 2020).

According to journalists who participated in this research, some stories are produced in an unprofessional way due to the fact that reporters have been bribed by people outside their respective newsrooms.

> "*There are some journalists who file stories basing on an amount of money they have received from people. So, they cover one side that has given the money, and do a story without talking to the other side, though it's an issue between two parties. So, the journalist waits for the second party to pay and get coverage to rectify or retort the previous story. But a peace journalist can't do that. This happened in stories on conflicts among religious leaders who were allegedly involved in corruption. The journalist wrote one-sided stories and ignored the other side's position because they chose to do so*" (Interview, 06th July 2020).*

However the code of ethics says that a journalist "*shall refuse any advantage, financial or in kind, from those who might wish to influence the coverage of an event and thereby endanger the professional integrity and honor of the journalist*" (RMC, 2014: Article 9).

(v) **Financial Challenges**

Besides ethical-based challenges, some media houses face financial constraints such that they can't pay their journalists and this may expose them to external manipulations. Also these challenges prevent those media from accessing rural areas and cover conflicts that persist in the community. However uncovered conflicts will not get a public attention as stated by one respondent who mainly covers stories in rural areas of the Eastern Province: "*Journalists are very few in rural areas and it is not easy for them to access the cases of conflicts. If media presence increases, this will help prevent conflicts as well*", (Interview, 5th July 2020). The lack of enough resources in Rwandan media is pointed as a serious obstacle to Peace journalism:

> "*The media in Rwanda don't have enough resources, people in private media houses face poverty in general, and hence they are expected to practice Peace Journalism. There have been discussions on the media fund, but I no longer hear of it. So, institutions like RGB which is in charge of media, and Media High Council which is in charge of capacity building of the media, have a great challenge to empower financially the media sector so that it can fully get*

involved in Peace Journalism, because Peace Journalism requires motivation in terms of money like any other professional media" (interview, 06th July 2020).

All respondents agreed that Peace Journalism requires not only professional media, which also must have financial resources because it is time and money consuming; but also have enough human resources because it needs mature and trained journalists. The respondents suggested a media fund to assist the sector in general.

"If a person buys a TV set, it's not the media that gain benefit, but the vendor and the manufacturer of that TV set make money. But he/she buy it for the purpose of watching news in the evening. Those who buy mobile phones don't contribute anything to media revenues. It's the manufacturers and shop owners who benefit from that purchase. So, it should be decided that if a person buys a TV set, there is 1% of the money that goes to the media fund. If another buys the batteries for the radio set or a mobile phone, a small percentage goes to that fund. At a certain period the fund would have sufficient amount of money, and help media practitioners produce quality news. We have more than two hundred news websites they don't make money from people who click on them to get news. It's rather MTN and Airtel [local telecoms companies] that benefit from our efforts, because they sell internet. I saw such fund in Denmark and in Sweden. It's possible to have it and feed it without causing losses to anyone" (A.B. Twizeyimana, interview on 3rd July 2020)

(vi) **Gaps in the legal frameworks**

The period covered by this research has been marked by institutional and structural changes in the Rwandan media landscape. The government of Rwanda undertook the professionalization of the media sector by putting in place new policy in 2011 and a new media law in 2013 (RGB, 2019: vii). The reforms were initiated since 2013 and had as additional outcome the access to information law. The reforms aimed at boosting the sector's contribution to socio-economic transformation, creating citizen-focused media, improving media regulation (a self regulatory body was put in place), assuring media freedom, building its capacities and continuing to improve the image of media, and introducing a public broadcasting to replace the state media (idem, p.5).

These reforms allowed the media sector to open doors to pluralism in content and in ownership. But it also continued to open doors to non trained people. For instance one respondent said:

"*As a nurse who is trained in nursing can't be a lawyer, he /she could neither become a journalist. This profession is somehow unregulated or neglected as many of the practitioners criticize. If it is a profession it should only be open to the professionals. It should be protected by the laws*" (Interview, 06th July 2020).

Another journalist complained that a journalist is not everyone who is in the media:

"*It's not anyone who wakes up in the morning and launches a radio station; it's not anyone who talks on microphone without any further knowledge about journalistic principles. That's why we are called journalists even though we don't deserve it. This is really frustrating for us who did journalism; people think everybody can practice it and no need of spending years studying such subject.*" (Interview, 3rd July 2020).

Journalists think this lack of a clear profile of who qualifies to be a journalist; can be related to the general perception of the society.

"*There should be a clear differentiation between a journalist and someone else that writes and publishes any content. Let me give you an example: a person who makes billboards, the one who captures video and posts on Whatsapp, the master of ceremony in a wedding, they are all called journalists. So, in the social context the Rwandans don't know who is a journalist and who is not. Again on the side of issuing official documents, any jobless person who wishes can become a journalist overnight, because there is no obstacle. Being a journalist in Rwanda doesn't require any academic qualification in journalism. So, the biggest challenge is there. There should be a legal framework determining the profile of the person who qualifies to be a journalist. You may have a degree in geography but at least you have also a certificate in journalism, not necessarily a degree in journalism. But, we need a legal framework that stops those unprofessional media practitioners from undermining the profession itself*" (FGD, 3rd July 2020).

This may have adverse effect on the society prone to conflicts and which values and entrusts journalists in general as aforementioned in this chapter. Another gap is on the enforcement of

media related laws. Respondents confirmed that some local leaders violate the access to information law and refuse journalist to get information from their administrative entities and or force citizens to not talk to journalists. (All respondents)

(vii)   **Social media and citizen journalism**

Another challenge to Peace journalism is the proliferation of uncontrolled social media platforms. Journalists consider them in two ways. On one hand social media are good at spreading messages, though they don't have editors; on the other they may fuel conflicts, if used in a destructive way (2nd July2020). So, they require a specific regulation or other vigilant people to respond and counter the rumors and destructive ideas and messages that may intend to cause conflicts (ibid.).

Thus, these social media platforms have made each and everyone a journalist in a simplistic sense.

"*Any person happens to be a journalist anytime they want because of social media, provided they have a camera and a recorder. This is a crucial challenge to Peace Journalism, because the media sector has been invaded by unethical journalists, and the media itself got confused, to the extent that managing it is really difficult.*"(FGD, 3rd July 2020)

Such comment was also made to show how it's easy to become a reporter because of mobile phone technology and internet penetration:

"*Today everyone is a reporter, everyone is a journalist because they have their smart phones, everything is in shops you can go and buy equipments and start filming and you become a journalist. It's just seeing how things are done, you don't even have to write a script, you just say 'something is happening here*'" (interview, 1st July 2020)

Social media platforms also are affecting journalists in regard to professionalism, because they tend to imitate the format of other messages spread via those platforms. "*Journalists also can be good in their respective newsrooms, but once on their own social media platforms, they do stories different from the ones they are used to be doing*" observed one respondent (06th July 2020). The users of social media should take all messages posted as personal thoughts because "*they do not follow the news story production processes*", advises a research participant

(interview, 1ˢᵗ July 2020). Otherwise, through social media, the journalists also may cause problems to the society instead of building it:

> "*On social media there is lack of facts. For instance many stories on murders in families, are very short and non educative. Stories on teen pregnancies may let people think it's a project. For example a journalist did a story showing that in Gisagara pregnant teenagers received sewing machines from donors, and those who were not pregnant should be jealous because they thought it was a reward for those who misbehaved. So, that story was misleading, it is a negative advertisement.*" (Interview, 06ᵗʰ July 2020)

(viii)   **Lack of appropriate technology**

Even though this was disclosed by one respondent (interview, 2ⁿᵈ July 2020) it has captured the researcher's attention. Indeed, in live talk shows, people who call in are directly on air, which is very dangerous. An unknown individual can interfere and spread harmful message. There should be technologies to delay the call-ins so that the aired message is first of all heard and filtered. This would limit risks of giving space to trouble makers.

4.3.8 Lessons to learn from Pax Press

(i)   The principles and practices

Peace Journalism is applicable to all forms of news gathering and reporting, and to production of sorts of talk show content. As an indicator, Pax Press refers to RGB annual development journalism awards. "*At least a half of them go to journalists who are Pax Press members and partners*" said the national coordinator, Albert Baudouin Twizeyimana (interview, 3ʳᵈ July 2020). This is also supported by editors of Pax Press (FDG, 3ʳᵈ July 2020) and one of the media owners who commended those principles and practices saying they are constructive to the profession of journalism in general (Interview, 3ʳᵈ July 2020). Another lesson to learn from both the principles and practices is that there have not been any cases of imprisonment or murder of a member or a partner of Pax Press following a misconduct or lack to professional duties. They have a say that "a good journalist is not the one who is dead, or imprisoned" as we have discussed it earlier.

The four principles and peace journalism practices also help prevent and transform conflicts in the society and protect journalists against mistakes and other risks.

> "*You have heard journalists who have cases in RMC, you will find there is one of these principles they have violated, because these principles of peace journalism keep you in the right line of your story. We call them a backbone of the journalism profession. If you apply them, and have all the sources of your story, and you use them without an intention of attacking a person or a group of people, no one will accuse of doing a story that causes problems to society. Also, there is a story one can do, and the person who reads it becomes a hater of another person, or an ethnic group due to how the story is reported. So, when you abide to those principles, they guide you as a journalist, but also prevent you from causing problems to yourself and to those who will read or listen to your story* (interview, 6th July 2020).

The Peace Journalism practices on their part, help journalists share experience one with another, and each published story has to bring solution to a given problem. "*Before I used to do a story for the sake of doing it, and I didn't care whether it may contribute to problem solving or not*" a respondent admitted. (Interview, 2nd July 2020) Commenting on the emphasis Pax Press puts on the practical skills, another research participant said that "*many journalists have academic qualifications but lack practical skills that enable them to understand how they can help the society to be more resilient and peaceful. This requires thinking about the social responsibility of the journalist.*" (Sehene, 06th July 2020)

(ii) Fighting bribe (*Giti*) in media practitioners

There is a sort of corruption in Rwandan media, commonly known as 'Giti' which undermines the profession. To overcome this malpractice, Pax Press provides everything to a reporter going to field and stay for a long time. This includes accommodation, transport and pocket money and if the journalist receives a bribe from other people with an aim to influence the content of the story, he/she is suspended in the network. It's this bribe that has introduced what journalists called "*munyandikire*, *mumvugire* and *mungaragarize*" in this research. So, a person comes to a journalist and proposes an amount of money and asks to write a story that tarnishes the image of another person with whom he/she has conflicting interests.

"Pax Press doesn't cover stories based on events like conferences that take place in hotels. Journalists do stories from the community. So, they cannot be easily corrupt. Also, Pax Press gives incentives to journalist on every accepted pitch of a story. When the editors at Pax Press give a green light to a story that fulfils all the requirements, if it matches with the angle of Pax Press in line with reconciliation, peace building, gender-based violence, agriculture promotion, the reporter receives 47 thousand Rwandan francs. So, a journalist cannot choose to receive a bribe of five thousand Rwandan francs instead of 47,430 Rwf he/she will receive on a story" (interview, 06th July 2020).

If fighting bribe has been possible at Pax Press, this can be an inspiration to other media houses that face the same challenge as the media sector in general:

"Pax Press has fought what we call 'giti' because it caused a conflict of interests, because a journalist receives 10 thousand Rwandan francs and is obliged to do a story as those who gave the money dictate it, in their own interests. But a journalist doesn't work for individuals' interests; he/she works in the interests of the general public. Also Pax Press gives motivation in terms of money and a reporter cannot accept 5 thousand and looses that big amount. (Interview, 3rd July 2020)

(iii) Remote areas media coverage

Pax press provides facilitation to journalists who want to cover stories far away from urban areas. Many media houses report on stories which have only urban aspects due to lack of resources in terms of financial means. So, some conflicts are not exposed and stay untold and unsolved, which is dangerous. This research has found that there are journalists who went to cover stories in rural areas for the first time with the support of Pax Press. Their own newsrooms couldn't afford the cost of such news coverage (interview, 2nd July 2020).

(iv) In-house regular training

At Pax Press there are five clusters of specialization: politics and elections, gender and children issues, environment and climate change, health and justice. At any opportunity of training the cluster members are reminded how they have to report professionally the stories related to their respective clusters. In other media houses, journalists can spend years without being trained, as

one of the respondents who worked with more than three media houses recalled (interview, 1st July 2020).

(v)   Collaboration with public authorities

Journalists always argue that they serve as a bridge between the public and the leaders. This is concrete with the community debates held and moderated by Pax Press especially in rural areas. Also in their practices, they have to include an official side in every story of human interest to provide inputs as an official position or solutions to a problem or a given issue.

4.4 Research implications (in relation to the theory)

These research findings confirm and challenge some media theories. The research is grounded on four theories: Agenda-setting, Social responsibility, Framing and Gatekeeper theories. Let's recall that *Agenda Setting Theory* ascertains that media shape the general orientation of what the public think about, know about and have feeling about by selecting issues to present to them (McComb and D.L Shaw, 1972, D. A. Scheufele & D. Tewksbury, 2007). For the *media social responsibility theory*, it is argued that journalists have to be responsible of their work because it has influence on the society. According to the *Framing theory*, journalists choose what to report on and how they report what they have chosen. Similarly, the *Gatekeeper theory* emphasizes the role of editors in selecting news items and deciding on their content worth to be shared to the public.

The research findings have corroborated the media social responsibility, but showed that this requires a well organized, regulated and financially capable media sector. For example the findings confirmed that some journalists violate the professional principles and the code of ethics, others are bribed unless they are controlled by a vigilant and capable institution.

The findings also challenged the Agenda setting theory. It's believed that the public opinion is shaped by the media messages. These findings suggest that the public opinion is shaped when the media messages meet the needs and interests of the general public. For example, if the public needs peaceful conflict transformation, it will not be easy to convince them to use violent means to settle conflicts. This happened also in Arab countries, during the Arab Spring. In Tunisia the protestors called the populations to violence whereas in Egypt they used peaceful manifestations

in respect to messages that didn't mismatch with their needs related to the then political situation (Comninos, A., 2013).

Finally, framing and gatekeeper theories have been confirmed, because journalists and editors have to frame the messages to share with the public with a specific target in a specific situation. The findings have shown that each news story must contribute to the improvement of the relationships or the well-being of the members of the community. In some cases conventional journalism is done in a manner that creates confrontation between members of a community. Consequently, in all circumstances there should be good practices that enlighten journalists and media outlets to fulfill their social responsibilities.

CHAPTER V: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to address the knowledge gap pertaining to the role of media in preventing and transforming conflicts in post-genocide Rwanda. On one hand hate media and speech in pre-genocide Rwanda has been largely studied, while on the other the way media contributes to peace, peace journalism, has not. The study used qualitative research methods to collect data. Then those data have been categorized in themes for interpretation and analysis.

The study has identified the practices and principles of Peace Journalism specific to Rwanda media practitioners that help in preventing and transforming conflicts. Some are complementary to the general principles and practices known worldwide, but others are unique to the Rwandan context, due to the historical background of the country. The research has also highlighted weaknesses in the media sector in Rwanda related to violation of the code of ethics, to its inefficient enforcement and a gap in the media law on the side of accessing to the profession. Other challenges reported in this work are of internal and external factors. The internal factors are linked to lack of enough training of journalists their unprofessional behaviors. These factors reflect the way the profession is not well organized. External factors are mainly the lack of financial means due to low income of the media houses that rely primarily on adverts from public institutions. That is why their presence is very limited and they don't reach the rural areas to cover issues pertaining to conflicts prevention and transformation in the community.

5.1 Conclusions

The research findings show that peace journalism in Rwanda is still expanding alongside with traditional journalism. The latter is considered money-oriented, the one that prioritizes sensational news stories, labeled as *confrontational* and *suicidal* journalism. The practiced peace journalism is an impact-oriented and responsible journalism vis-à-vis the society. Thus, a country that has experienced the highest pick level of the conflict which is the genocide against the Tutsi, has the task of not only promoting the traditional journalism, but also encouraging peace journalism with a particular attention in order to increase its role in conflict prevention and transformation.

5.2 Recommendations

From what the research has revealed, we suggest the following recommendations to various media sector partners and institutions.

1. **To the Government of Rwanda**

- **The Government** should put in place a *Media Fund* that could help media houses overcome financial challenges. The revenues for the fund would come from various sources. The supporters of this idea believe that media will become less money-oriented and more responsible towards their society because they will be more focused on their profession without any other hindrances or influence that can push them in provoking conflicts. The majority of the research participants pointed out that poverty may undermine the professionalism which is one of the ingredients of peace journalism. For them, if journalists cannot fulfill their basic needs they may lose some positive values in order to stay breadwinners for their families.

- **The ministry of education** through public and independent high learning institutions should introduce *Peace Journalism* as a module in the teaching curricula of schools of journalism and communication. The Rwandan society is fragile because of the 1994 genocide in which media played a crucial role. The same media still have a strong influence in the country. The third report of Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers (NURC, 2015: 112) has revealed that media played a role in promoting unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. The public Media contributed to this endeavor at 78.6% while the private being among the mechanisms that had a low score accounted for 64.3%.Some respondents illustrate that they are considered as role models to society and councilors to families facing various conflicts. So, they need to do it professionally.

2. **To media regulatory bodies**

- They should look back at the media law and amend it to include specific requirements for people to qualify for practicing journalism. As it is today, anyone who wants to become a journalist can easily get there and receive a press card. In the views of the journalists being able to read, write and talk is not enough to become a journalist. In addition, respondents suggested that the media profession should be regulated like the one of medical doctors,

nurses, lawyers and others which are only reserved to those who had been specifically trained for that profession not a catch-all profession. Others suggested that a test of entry may also bring changes in the profession so that those who have skills and knowledge can qualify and the remaining ones should have another name which is not professional journalists. The same term apply to focal points of media houses, the so-called ambassadors of radio stations, to masters of ceremony and amateur photographers among others.

- In particular, RMC should set appropriate mechanisms of enforcing the media practitioners' code of ethics to limit the number of cases of confrontation between journalists and the general public or other institutions and officials.

- The Rwanda Media Commission, RMC should also revise the code of ethics so that it "can guide journalists in producing peace oriented news coverage of conflicts issues" (Irvan, 2006: 35). One respondent observed that Peace Journalism is taken as informal journalism practices, which should not be the case.

- The Rwanda Utilities Regulatory Authority, RURA should on its side think about lasting solutions to the regulation of social media platforms, such as YouTube channels, Twitter accounts, Blogs, Facebook pages and other new media using mobile phone technologies. Appropriate actions should be taken against the Rwandan nationals who use these platforms to cause conflicts and spread hatred, being in the country or abroad.

3. **To Civil society organizations, international and local NGOs**

- The non-governmental and civil society organizations working for peace-building, conflict prevention and transformation should support the promotion of peace journalism in Rwanda. This should be done by working with journalists' organizations in order to help citizens understand some public policies misunderstood and that are sources of fatal conflicts in the society. An example given is the law on succession, gender policy, and land policy to mention but a few. The majority of ordinary citizens don't know much about those policies which constitute the main sources of conflicts. They are not aware of their rights and obligations one toward another, even inside the same nuclear family.

- Pax Press in particular should have a radio station that educates citizens about conflict prevention and transformation and this would enable its members and partners to practice peace journalism principles and set example to other local journalists.

4. To media houses

- Train their journalists: many journalists do what is called *accidental Peace Journalism*, doing it without knowing it. The ways conflicts are covered depend on editors' choices and understanding. However, in some cases a reporter is at the same time an editor and doesn't have someone else to edit the script and to do fact-checking. Even media owners have also to learn and understand what peace journalism is, so that they contribute to its promotion.

5. To the Association of Rwandan Journalists, ARJ

- Promote synergy among media practitioners, so that they help each other, and from that will result mutual respect, and resist to external manipulations because of peer critiques. "There should be a forum in which journalists discuss professional issues" deplored a respondent. (06th July 2020) This refers to inefficiency of this association to fully bringing together all professional who are supposed to be its members.

6. To journalists and media practitioners

- Put efforts in learning and complying to peace journalism principles and practices in particular; and at least to the media principles in general.
- Understand that they have a social responsibility of contributing to the prevention and transformation of conflicts, so they have to be respectful of values and norms of integrity, of the Rwandan society, in terms of being conflict sensitive.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

This study was mainly conducted on Peace Journalism practices vis-à-vis conflict prevention and transformation. Future researchers would focus on the following areas:

- The role of social media in fuelling hatred and conflict, because these new media platforms are not structured in a way that thoughts spread are filtered to exclude those that are harmful to the society.
- Another suggestion would be a research on the impact of media self-regulation mechanism in improving media participation in unity and reconciliation process in Rwanda.

- A comparative study on the content produced by Pax Press members and partners and ones done by other journalists to examine their impact on conflict prevention and transformation.

- Lastly an analysis of Media pluralism in peace promotion in Rwanda should also be conducted.

REFERENCES

A. BOOKS

African Unity Organization. (2000). *Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide*. Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia.

Ball-Rokeach, S.J. & DeFleur, M.L. (1976). A dependency model of mass-media effects, Washington State University.

Chrétien, J.P. et Al. (1995). *Rwanda : Les medias du génocide*, Karthala, Paris.

Comninos, A. (2013). *The role of social media and user-generated content in post-conflict peacebuilding*, Washington DC.

Cottle, S. (2006). *Mediatized conflicts: Developments in media and conflict studies*. Open University Press, Berkshire, England.

Creswel, J.W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th Ed.), SAGE Publications, London.

Denzin, N. & Lincon, S. Y. (2005). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research,* SAGE Publications, London.

Dickson, S. et al. (2007). *Doing sensitive research: what challenges do qualitative researchers face?*SAGE Publications, London.

Francis, D. (2002). *People, peace and power. Conflict transformation in action*, Pluto Press, London.

Frère, M.S. (2009). *After the hate media: Regulation in the DRC, Burundi and Rwanda*. SAGE Publications.

Frohardt, M. & Temin, J. (2003). Use and abuse of media in vulnerable societies. *Special report 110 of the United States Institute of Peace*, Washington DC.

Galtung, J. & Fischer, D. (2013). *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*. Springer, London.

Galtung, J. (2004). *Transcend and transform: An introduction to conflict work*. Pluto Press, London.

Galtung, J. (1998). High Road, Low Road: Charting the course for Peace Journalism. In Galtung, J. & Fischer, D. (2013). *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*. Springer, London.

Galtung, J. (1958). *Theories of conflict. Definitions, dimensions, negations, formations*, Columbia University.

Gavilan Ma, T.N. (2011). *Framing the news: from political conflict to peace. How the 'framing theory' and the 'political context model' can enhance the peace journalism model*. Universidad Panamericana.

Gay, L.R. &Airasian, P. (2003). *Educational Research: Competencies for analysis and applications*. Merill Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Gender Monitoring Office, GMO. (2019). *The state of gender equality in Rwanda. From transition to transformation*, Kigali, Rwanda.

Gray, D. E. (2004). *Doing research in the real world*. SAGE Publications.

Howard, R. (2002). *An operational framework for media and peacebuilding*, IMPACS: Vancouver.

Jowett, G. S. & O'Donnell, V. (1999). Propaganda and Persuasion, 3rd ed. London: SAGE.

Kagabo, J.P. (2017). *Impact of Digital Migration on television programmes in Rwanda. A case study of Rwanda Television* (MA thesis). Mount Kenya University, Kigali.

Kellow, C.L. & Steeves, L.H. (1998). *The role of radio in the Rwandan Genocide*. University of Oregon.

Lederach, J.P. (1996). *Preparing for peace, conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse University Press.

Luhmann, N. (1996). The_Reality_of_the_Mass_Media. Stanford University Press: California.

Lynch, J. & Galtung, J. (2010). Reporting conflict: New directions in peace journalism, University of Queensland Press, Australia.

Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2005). Peace Journalism. Stroud: Hawthorn Press.

Mander, J. (1978). *Four arguments for the elimination of television*, Colorado Springs, New York.

Miall, H. (2004). *Conflict Transformation: A multi-dimensional task.* Berghof Research Centre for constructive conflict management.

Miller, C.E. & King, E.M. (ed.). 2018. *A glossary of terms and concepts in peace and conflict studies (2nd ed.)* University of peace.

Murithi, T. (2006). *African approaches to building peace and social solidarity. Paper presented in an international conference*, Addis Ababa.

National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, NISR. (2012). *Rwanda population and household census*. Kigali, Rwanda.

Nordenstreng, K. (2006). Four Theories of the Press reconsidered. In N. Carpentier et al., *Researching media, democracy and participation*, Tartu University Press.

Ogenga, F. (Ed.) (2019). *Africa Peace Journalism: A Manual for Media Practitioners in East Africa*, Rongo University, Kenya.

Percy, H. T. & Greenberg, B.S. (1968). *Mass Communication*, Wisconsin.

Price, M.E. et al. (2009). *Media in the peace-building process: Ethiopia and Iraq*. Penn Libraries, University of Pennsylvania.

Ramsbotham, O. (2010). *Transforming violent Conflict: Radical disagreement, dialogue and survival*, Routlegde, London.

Rwanda Governance Board. (2013). *The Rwanda Media Barometer*. Kigali, Rwanda.

Rwanda Media Commission. (2014). *Rwanda journalists and media practitioners' code of ethics*, Kigali, Rwanda.

Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. (2015). *Rwanda Reconciliation Barometers*, Kigali, Rwanda.

Ryan, S. (2007). *The Transformation of violent intercommunal conflict*. Ashgate publishing limited, Hampshire.

Schoemaker, E. & Stremlau, N. (2014). *Media and Conflict: An assessment of the evidence*, SAGE Publications.

Spiess, W. & Felding, F. (2008). *Conflict prevention in project management: strategies, methods, checklists and case studies*, Springer, Berlin.

Irva, S. (2006). *Peace journalism as a normative theory: premises and obstacles*. Mediterranean Edition.

Thomas, N. S. et al. (2010). *MOSES: Exploring new ground in media and post-conflict reconciliation*, Atlanta, Georgia.

Thompson, A. et Al. (2007). *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*. Fountain Publishers, Kampala, Uganda.

Tracy, S. J. (2013). Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact, Blackwell Publishing.

Webel, C. & Galtung, J. (2007). A Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies. Routleadge, London.

Webel, Ch. & Galtung, J. [Eds] (2007). *The handbook of peace and conflict studies*. Routledge, London.

Williman, N. (2010). *Research Methods. The basics*, Routledge.

Yanagizawa-Drott, D. (2014). *Propaganda and conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide*. Harvard University.

B. JOURNALS' ARTICLES

Ackerman, A. (2003). The idea and practice of conflict prevention, *Journal of Peace Research, vol. 40* (3), pp. 339-347, SAGE Publications, London.

Adelakun, L. (2014). Finding Justifications for the practice of peace journalism: A public assessment of media roles towards peace promotion in Nigeria. *Journal of Mass Communication Journalism, 4*(193), National Open University of Nigeria.

Aslam, R. (2016). Building Peace through Journalism in the Social/Alternate Media. In *Media and Communication*, vol. 4(1), pp. 63-79. Lisbon: Portugal.

Bläsi, B. (2004). Peace Journalism and the news production process. *Conflict & communication online, 3*(1/2), pp. 1-12, Verlag Irena Regener, Berlin.

Creswell, J.W. (1999).*Qualitative inquiry and research design. Review of the literature,* pp.112-139, SAGE Publications, London.

Das, J. & DiRienzo, C. (2014). Conflict and the freedom of the press. *Journal of Economic and social Studies, 4*(1), pp. 91-112, The Love school of business, Elon University.

Fung, A.Y.H &Ostini, J. (2002). Beyond the Four Theories of the Press: A New Model of National Media Systems. In *Mass communication & Society*, vol.5(1), 2002, pp.41–56.

Galtung, J. &Ruge, M.H. (1965). The structure of the world news, *Journal of Peace Research*, *2*(1), pp. 64-91, Sage Publications.

Jakobsen, P.V. (2000). Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible And Indirect. In *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 38, issue 2, pp.131-143.

Jayoti, D., DiRienzo, C., Lanier, J. D. & Coleman, R.(2013). Anti-Human Trafficking Policies and Freedom of the Press: A Cross-Country Study. In *International Journal of Management and Marketing Research*, Vol. 6 (2), pp. 1-10, 2013.

Kempf, W. (2007). Peace journalism: A tightrope walk between advocacy journalism and constructive conflict coverage. In *Conflict & communication online*, Vol. 6(2).

King, E. (2005). Educating for conflict or peace: Challenges and dilemmas. *International Journal, 4*(60), pp. 904-918.

Kogen, L. & Price, M.E. (2014). Scholar-practitioner collaboration in media-related interventions: A case study of Radio La Benevolencija in Rwanda. *International Journal of Media & cultural politics, 10*(3), pp. 301-313, Intellect Limited.

Lederach, J.P. & Taylor, L.K. (2014). Practicing Peace: Psychological Roots of Transforming Conflicts. In *Global Journal of Peace Research and Praxis*, Vol. 1(1), 2014, pp. 12-31.

Loyn, D. (2007). Good journalism or peace journalism? *Conflict & communication online, 6*(2).Verlag Irena Regener, Berlin.

Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2012). Responses to peace journalism. *Journalism, vol.14* (8), pp. 1041-1058, SAGE Publication, London.

Lynch, J. (2006). What's so great about peace journalism.*GMJ: Mediterranean Edition, vol.1*(1), pp. 74-87, Spring.

McCombs, M.E & Shaw, D.L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media, *Oxford Journals*, *36*(2), pp. 176-187, Oxford University Press.

Monique, A. &Mpambara, I. (2003). The Rwanda Media Experience from the Genocide, *IMS assessment Mission.* International Media Support.

Moolakkattu, S. J. (2005). The concept and practice of conflict prevention: a critical reappraisal. In *International Studies, 42*(1), SAGE Publications, London.

Noshina, S. &Mian, A.H. (2014). Media and conflict resolution: Toward building a relationship model. In *Journal of Political Studies, 2* (1), pp.179-198.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2010). Racism, ethnicity and the media in Africa: Reflections inspired by studies of xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 45(1), pp.57-93.

Orest, S. Masue et al. (2013). The Qualitative-Quantitative 'Disparities' in Social Science Research. *Asian Social Science, Vol. 9*(10).

Ottosen, R. (2007). Emphasising Images in Peace Journalism. In *Conflict & Communication, Vol. 6*(1)

Robie, D. (2012). Conflict reporting in the South Pacific: A critical reflexive approach to Timor-Leste and West Papua. *Media Asia,* vol. 40(2), pp.147-161.

Sargeant, J. (2012). Qualitative research. Part II: Participants, Analysis, and Quality Assurance. *Journal of Graduate Medical Education*, Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Scheufele, D. A. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda setting, and Priming: the evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication, vol.57* (special issue), International Communication Association.

Shaw, E.F. (2004). Agenda-setting and mass communication theory. *International Communication Gazette*, SAGE publications.

St. Pierre, E. A. & Richardson, L.(2003). Writing: A Method of Inquiry. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y. S.L. (Eds). The SAGE handbook of qualitative research. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Taherdoost, H. (2016). Sampling methods in research methodology. How to choose a sampling technique for research. *International Journal of Academic Research in Management*. Helvetic editions, Switzerland.

Valkenburg P.M., Peter, J. & Walther, J.B. (2016). Media Effects: Theory and Research. *Annual Review of Psychology*, No.67, doi: 10.1146/annurev-psych-122414-033608

Viggo, J.P. (2000). Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect. *Journal of Peace Research,* 37(2), pp.131-143, Sage Publications, London.

Williams, C. (2007). Research Methods. *Journal of Business & Economic research*. Grand Canyon University.

C. *ELECTRONIC SOURCES*

Batmanabane, V. & Kfouri, J. (2017). *Qualitative data collection: Interviews (2nd ed.)*, retrieved from: https://trp.utoronto.ca/students2016/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2016/09/Interviews-JK_VB-V7-March-1.pdf

Bratic, V. (2008). Examining peace-oriented media in areas of violent conflict. *International Communication Gazette,* pp. 487-503, SAGE Publications, retrieved from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1748048508096397

Donohue, G. A. Tichenor, P. J. & Olien, C. N. (1973). Mass media functions, knowledge and social control. *Journalism Quarterly*, pp.652-659, retrieved from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d282/5aa7a0101cdc7d7d10b19e591d1eeb89d4a9.pdf

Elizabeth, A., St Pierre & Alecia,, Y. J. (2014). Qualitative data analysis after coding. *SAGE journals, 20*(6), pp 715-719, SAGE Publications, Retrieved from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1077800414532435?journalCode=qixa

Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis, *Marquette Law Review,* vol. 87, issue 1, 2009. Available at: http://scholarship.law.marquette.edu/mulr/vol93/iss1/9

Hanitzsch, T. (2007) Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Toward a Universal Theory. In *Communication theory*. Vol. 17(4). Pages 367–385, from: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2007.00303.x

Howard, R. (2008). Conflict sensitive journalism: Where does it fit in? *Media, Conflict and Peacebuilding.* Retrieved from: http://www3.telus.net/public/a3a41372/md/md-conflict-rosshoward.pdf

Irvan, S. (2006). Peace Journalism as a normative theory: Premises and obstacles. *GMJ: Mediterranean edition, 1*(2), pp.34-39. Retrieved from: http://i-rep.emu.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11129/584/Peace%20Journalism%20as%20a%20Normative%20Theory.pdf?sequence=1

Jake, L. (2007). Peace journalism and its discontents. In *Conflict & communication online*, Vol. 6(2) 2007. Available at: https://regener-online.de/journalcco/2007_2/pdf/lynch.pdf

McGoldrick, A. & Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism: what is it? How to do it?* Retrieved from the website: www.reportingtheworld.net

McIntyre, K. & Sobel, M. (2017). Reconstructing Rwanda. How Rwandan Reporters use constructive journalism to promote peace. In *Journalism Studies*, Routledge. Retrieved from: http://karenmcintyre.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/reconstructing_rwanda_2017.pdf

Meyer, C., Frère, M-S., & Baden, C. (2018). Navigating the Complexities of Media Roles in Conflict: The INFOCORE Approach. In Media, War & Conflict, 11(1), pp.3-21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635217719754

Paffenholz, T. (2005). *Peace and conflict sensitivity in international cooperation: An introductory overview,* pp. 63-82, retrieved from: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/8b16/97e32cbc5d3558890978837ab3a5a6de0bbd.pdf

Peleg, S. (2006). Peace Journalism through the lens of conflict theory: Analysis and Practice. *Conflict & Communication online*, *5*(2). Retrieved from https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/34261883/peace_journalism.pdf

Shaw, E. F. (1979). Agenda-setting and mass communication theory. *International Communication Gazette*, 25(96), retrieved from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/001654927902500203

Siebert et al. *Four theories of the press*. Retrieved from: https://books.google.rw/books?id=4Q-oePDdcC8C&printsec=frontcover&dq=four+theories+of+the+press&hl=rw&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwipuprfwfzoAhWToFwKHU7DC4IQ6AEIIzAA#v=onepage&q=four%20theories%20of%20the%20press&f=false

UNESCO (1978). *Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, apartheid and incitement to war*. Washington: D.C. Available at: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Anti plagiarism report

Exploring peace journalism practices for conflict prevention in Rwanda

4   Cottle. Mediatized Conflict, 2006-01-05
    Publication   <1%

5   hdl.handle.net
    Internet Source   <1%

6   mafiadoc.com
    Internet Source   <1%

7   Submitted to Mount Kenya University
    Student Paper   <1%

8   www.usp.ac.fj
    Internet Source   <1%

APPENDIX 2: Interview guide with the National Coordinator of Pax Press

1. How do you define Peace Journalism at Pax Press?

2. How do you work with individual journalist in promoting peace in Rwanda?

3. What are, if any, the key practices do you request your members and partners to observe in their news and talk show production/presentation? How do they contribute to conflict prevention or transformation?

4. What has been the contribution of Pax Press to conflict prevention and transformation in Rwanda?

5. What are the challenges have this organization addressed related to peace journalism promotion in Rwanda?

6. How do you work with media houses to let their journalists embrace peace journalism practices you inculcate to them?

7. How effective has been peace journalism approach in conflict prevention, the case being the Pax Press initiative?

8. Why did you think media can play a role in conflict prevention and transformation?

9. What needs to be improved with regard to the media sector in order to support and promote peace journalism in the country?

APPENDIX 3: Interview guide with Focus Group Discussion

1. Why did you choose to join and work with Pax Press, in terms of expectations in your career of journalist?

2. What practices of peace journalism did you learn by working with Pax Press?

3. How do those practices help you avoid being conflict instigators as it has been the case in pre-genocide Rwanda?

4. What has been the audience feedback on your approach of news production after you opted for peace journalism?

5. What role should media practitioners play in conflict prevention and transformation in Rwanda?

6. What should be improved in the media sector in order to promote peace journalism in Rwanda?

APPENDIX 4: Interview guide with individual journalists

1. How do you understand Peace Journalism?

2. What are the PJ practices have you learnt from Pax Press that guide you in the process of informing people?

3. Since you joined Pax Press, what changes have you made in your way of covering sensitive stories? Can you give examples of what you say?

4. In your views, how are Peace Journalism practices complementary to traditional journalism principles? Then how are they different?

5. What should be the role of journalists in conflict prevention and transformation?

6. How can a journalist help prevent conflict in a country like Rwanda?

7. What kind of conflicts do you usually report on?

8. What has been the impact of your work vis-à-vis their prevention or transformation?

9. What are the hindrances to Peace Journalism promotion in Rwanda?

10. What can be improved in the media sector in regard to peace journalism promotion in Rwanda?