Community media and peace building in post-conflict Rwanda.

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Abstract
The main import of this case study is to understand how community radio has contributed to peace in the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda which in essence was the massacring of the Tutsi and Hutu moderates by Hutu extremists. The inquiry embraces the citizen participation theory and a rhizomatic approach to the study of community media as its analytic lenses. This task is accomplished through expert interviews with community media practitioners. The main research question for the study is; How has community radio contributed to peace building in post-conflict Rwanda? A subsidiary question is posed: How have changes in post genocide Rwanda’s media environment impacted the operations of community radios? These questions are important in post-conflict Rwanda where one ethnic group fought the other aided by the radio amidst accusations and counter accusations of marginalisation in developmental matters and political influence.

The study finds that community radio has contributed to peace by defining community in terms of region and not defining the concept along the same ethnic lines that have proven to be problematic in the past They have instead placed emphasis on homogeneity e.g. same language and culture rather than difference and have adopted a new narrative to describe the socio-economic challenges of the Rwandan people. A platform for citizen participation was created for people to share experiences and resolve disputes and regular reconciliatory messages pass through the airwaves. While there have been challenges with the restructuring of the media-legal framework which in the eyes of some resulted in too harsh media laws and strict government control, community media is one of the major beneficiaries of the changes. A measure of decency was established.
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Acronyms

ADEB Association pour le Development et le Bien-être Social
ADECCO Association for Community Development through Communication
AMARC Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires
CDR Coalition for the Defence of the Republic
CPJ Committee to Protect Journalists
CSO Civil Society Organisation
HRW Human Rights Watch
ICT Information Communication Technology
IРЕX International Research and Exchanges Board
MNRD National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development
MHC Media High Council
RBA Rwanda Broadcasting Agency
RGB Rwanda Governance Board
RPF Rwanda Patriotic Front
RTLM Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines
UN United Nations
UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNPBF United Nations Peace building Fund
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1. Introduction

According to official census results released in 2004, a total of 937 000 people died in the 100 days between April and June 1994 in the Rwanda genocide. Independent estimates put the toll at 800 000 lost lives. Nevertheless, while there were tensions between the majority Hutu ethnic group and the minority Tutsi ethnic group, the death of president Juvenile Habyarimana a Hutu, sparked an orgy of killings of the Tutsi and Hutu moderates by Hutu extremists. It is not clear who brought down the plane carrying president Habyarimana and his Burundian counterpart on 6 April 1994. Hutu extremists opposed to the August 1993 power-sharing deal penned in Arusha, Tanzania the previous year seized the opportunity to blame the Tutsi and the RPF which had invaded Rwanda in October 1990. This was systematically done using the media and in particular a pro-government private station Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) and the newspaper Kangura. They called for the extermination of moderate Hutus who supported the power sharing agreement along with the Tutsi who were accused of masterminding the assassination.

The genocide was certainly not caused by the media per se, as the ethnic tensions in Rwanda as indeed in most parts of Africa, go a long way back in pre-colonial times but were also shaped and reshaped by colonialism. Jean-Marie Vianney Higiro (2007) sums the underlying causes of the genocide by stating that "The media tapped into a context of social discontent, war, high population growth rate, economic crisis, regionalism, historical ethnic conflict opposing Hutus to Tutsis, bad leadership and such external forces such as the structural adjustment programme and the rivalries between foreign powers". What is apparent is the cataclysmic, facilitative and legitimating role that the media played in inciting the mass extermination of thousands of people.


While the local media is known for the notorious role it played in inciting violence, the international media has been accused for its absence or limited presence during the genocide, only to go there in throngs afterwards. Some media scholars argue that things would have been different if the horrendous killings were immediately carried by the international media i.e. the international community would have quickly intervened. Some analysts however argue that the international media coverage would have not made much difference as some countries like the USA were already fatigued by the failed intervention in Somalia.\(^4\)

Whichever way one looks at it, the power of the media cannot be underestimated. That a private radio was turned into a hate broadcasting apparatus that led people to kill fellow human beings so gruesomely tells a lot about the power of the media. As Higiro (2007) rightly points out, "the media has the potential to shape the views of their readers."\(^5\) Furthermore, it shows how the media, both public and private (in this case RTLM and Kangura) can be hijacked by the powerful elite and abused in committing such heinous crimes against humanity.

### 1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the role played by community radio in building peace after the Rwanda genocide. In other words, the intention is to assess if community radio has contributed meaningfully to Rwanda’s peace building efforts and if so, how? This work is to a large extent motivated by my profound interest in the functions of community media in general and community radio in particular. The interest is born out of years of political activism in the opposition politics of my home country Zimbabwe where one of the political struggles include the opening up of the airwaves and establishment of community radios in the country. While Rwanda boasts several community radios and a host of private radio stations, the Zimbabwean state still firmly controls the airwaves with only a handful of ‘private’ stations which are in essence owned and controlled by ruling party functionaries.


Ndlela (2010), notes that besides developing policies that limit access to the media, the Zimbabwean government maintains control through manipulating the ownership structure and by implementing legal and extralegal measures\(^6\). The Zimbabwean government which in my opinion is a dictatorship is opposed to the establishment of community radios. There is admittedly an obvious bias in my thinking that, whatever is denied by a dictatorship has some benefit that should otherwise accrue to the people as this partly influences my optimistic perception of the functions of community radio. While this optimism may appear to be driven by political sentiment, there is however ample evidence of the benefits of community media which ground the study in sound scientific theory as the study will show.

Rwanda is interesting to me personally because the current government of Paul Kagame is the outcome of a protracted struggle against dictatorship. As a political activist, I personally relate to the struggle, resilience and the vision to expand the personal freedoms of its people and extricate the country from poverty. While these matters should ordinarily represent a total bias towards the Rwandan government, I however choose to remain objective and even cautious in the wake of concerns on human rights abuses and questions on the quality of democracy in the country as matters of good governance are close to my heart.

Lacking practical experience in the field of community media, my interest in the field thus stems from a combination of encounters and experiences in broad political struggles and theoretical knowledge gathered in the course of academic studies. My optimism and enthusiasm for what community media can do for peace and development gives me a somewhat emic role as a researcher where I immediately identify with the cause of community radios albeit indirectly through more general political activism. I am however naturally inclined to adopt a mixed view and more objective view in my assessment of the Rwandan government and the nature of its relationship with community radios.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The significance of this paper is informed by several factors. While several books and journal papers have been written about the role played by both the local and international media before and during the genocide, there is an apparent lack of analytic treatment of how community media and specifically community radio has contributed to peace building in post-genocide Rwanda. Many studies find that media regulation in Africa in general and Rwanda in particular poses serious challenges for private and local media (which also includes community media) but fall short of a detailed study of how it affects particularly community media. The result is that community media ends up being bundled up with private commercial stations under the term local media in these studies notwithstanding its uniqueness in terms of structure and interests. The study, by no means exhaustive, provides the opportunity to explore the potential of community media in promoting and sustaining peace and therefore development and how regulation has impacted its operations and relationship with the state. In addition, the genocide was to a great extent fuelled by hate media including a private radio station RTLM, making it imperative to explore and learn how Rwanda is turning that around to channel communication media resources to disseminate information on peace-related issues.

Besides providing valuable lessons to other countries on harnessing community media towards peace-building, this study will unveil the challenges faced by stakeholders and hopefully help facilitate appropriate support interventions.

1.3 Research Questions

The main research question for this case study is:

- How has community radio contributed to peace building in post-conflict Rwanda?

In order that the role of community radio in peace-building is fully explored, it is necessary to complement the main research question with the following subsidiary question:

- How has changes in post genocide Rwanda’s media legislation impacted the operations of community radios?
The research questions raised above are important as they highlight peace building, a central theme of the Rwandan government given its unfortunate past. Community media is not only a new phenomenon in the Rwandan media landscape but a tool that was importantly introduced as part of the solution to the history of violence, considering too that the genocide was to a great extent aided by the media. The special circumstances of Rwanda thus make it imperative to examine the role of the media in promoting peace and development.

Freedom House, an independent and internationally reputable media monitoring organisation lists Rwanda’s media as Not Free\(^7\). Former prosecutor in the post-genocide media trial Charity Kangwi-Ndungu once remarked at the time that, "The challenge is how to counter war propaganda and speeches in the future that jeopardise the lives of minority groups."\(^8\) The challenge that Kangwi-Ndugu probably referred to was the need to maintain a balance between media freedom on the one hand as well as promote responsible media practices that protect minority and national interests on the other. It shall be noted that the existence of community media in Rwanda cannot be divorced from an active legislative role played by the government in creating a legal framework for them to be licensed and operate. It will also be noted that the attendant legal framework as formulated by the state has both positive and negative impact on the operations of community media with the effect of diluting the textbook ideal community media. It is against this background that the subsidiary research question is posed with the view to explain the findings from the main research question. An analysis of relevant media laws gazetted leading up to the setting up of community radios and subsequent laws together with accounts from community media practitioners will provide insight into the challenges and opportunities for community radio to promote peace and development in Rwanda.

An aspect raised by the second question is for example the controversial notion of regulating the community media content in what can be perceived as an unstable political environment as that goes against a basic tenet of democracy i.e. freedom of expression. This problem applies to all forms of media but community media provides the best opportunity for locals` voices to be heard.

\(^7\) Freedom House Rwanda available online at [https://freedomhouse.org/country/rwanda](https://freedomhouse.org/country/rwanda)

1.4 Hypothesis

Howley (2005) makes the claim that community media enhances community relations and promote community solidarity\(^9\). In addition, Rodriguez (2011) makes an interesting and particularly relevant proposition for the inquiry at hand by stating that community media "is a privileged partner in peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation given its capacity to foster diversity, intercultural dialogue and tolerance."\(^10\) In exploring the role of community radio in Rwanda’s peace building efforts, this study thus puts to test the hypothesis that:

*Community media enhances peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation*

According to Baxter and Jack (2008), propositions are helpful as they help place a limit on the scope of the study\(^11\). The above proposition therefore ensures that the line of inquiry remains within the parameters of the causal relationship between community media and peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation.

1.5 Delimitation

The study by and large focuses on the role of specifically community radio in peace building after the genocide or lack thereof. There is already extensive scholarly research on the role played by the public, private and international media prior to and during the genocide. In reviewing community media in the post-genocide era, the study will however make reference to media developments in the lead up to the genocide if only to put the recent developments in community media into context. This study would have immensely benefited from an extensive field research, i.e. visiting the various community radio projects and talking to the locals on site. Time and financial resources could not permit but hopefully the methods deployed for the study will suffice to elucidate the role of community radio in building peace.

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1.5 Thesis Disposition
The rest of this paper proceeds as follows: the next section carries an extensive review of community media and peace literature. The discussion includes media developments before the genocide in Rwanda and after. In reviewing literature on more recent developments in the media and communication landscape in general and more specifically community media, emphasis will be placed on the changing political climate which has seen the Rwandan government being criticised for autocratic tendencies.

The same section reviews general theoretical perspectives of community media and peace within the specific context of Rwanda. Section 3 outlines the methodology, design and materials including a discussion of theories that qualify the choice of approaches or perspectives for this research. Section 4 analyses the empirical data by paying particular attention to the research questions and applying the theoretical framework to the empirical findings. This will be followed by the conclusions in section 5 wherein inter alia final comments and answers to the research questions etc are contained.

2. Literature Review /Theoretical Framework
This section discusses theoretical concepts in defining community media with a view to highlighting its complexity through a selection of a few of the many definitions available as the discussion narrows down to the specific context of Rwanda. A major theoretical concept which informs community radio is participation and it is discussed first from Rousseau’s perspective and later theorists including mainly Arnstein.

The various chapters in Thompson (2007) provide relevant specific accounts of the media and genocide in Rwanda while Curtis’s work also adds input on the efforts of local media in building peace. Myers (2008) provides a general overview of radio in Africa. Doudaki and Carpentier (2014)’s research on the potential for a bi-community radio station in bringing peace to two communities in Cyprus is considered relevant for this study as it offers important insights and proposals for what community media can do for peace building. Carpentier et al (2001) provide an important theoretical tool with which to analyse and locate community media in Rwanda in terms of its role in peace building and its relationship with the state. The relationship between community media and state is important as the study will show because it in part defines and limits the functions of the former.
A brief review of Galtung (1967)’s work on peace is considered relevant for this study as a guide on the type of peace community media in Rwanda is seized with.

2.1 Community Media: Theoretical Perspectives

An underlying theme in defining community media, also referred to as "the third sector media" is the involvement of the community in ownership and production. Jankowski (2002), states that it "...serves the community by providing news and information relevant to the needs of its members while promoting access and participation of the latter." 12 McNair (1998) notes that while mainstream media demonstrate a structural bias in favour of the elites, community media encourages the expression of marginalised groups thereby builds alternative news agendas. 13

These distinctive features of community media are pervasive in all academic definitions. Howley (2005) defines it as "grassroots or locally oriented media access initiatives predicated on a profound sense of dissatisfaction with the mainstream media form and content, dedicated to the principles of free expression and participatory democracy and committed to enhancing community relations and promoting community solidarity." 14 The World Association of Community Broadcasters (AMARC) specifically labels a community radio as "a non profit station, currently broadcasting, which offers a service to the community in which it is located, or to which it broadcasts, while promoting the participation of this community in the radio." 15

What is clear from the definitions is that community media serves the important purpose of providing their respective communities with the opportunity to own and control the production of news and information. While communities faced with mounting dissatisfaction with mainstream media can start their grassroots based media, it must also be noted that they often operate one way or another in a regulatory framework imposed by the state. The same state that in most cases own and control the mainstream media or at least a significant part of it thus has a vested interest in ensuring citizens do not shun its own mouthpieces.

15 http://www.amarc.org/?q=node/47
The above definitions somewhat assume that there is an enabling legal environment that permits communities to set up their own radio stations for example, whereas the reality on the ground is that the legal framework in some countries especially in the global south make it difficult to broadcast.

Myers (2008) notes that in most African countries the body that regulates the media either operates directly out of the ministry of information or is composed of appointees of the ruling party. She cites Rwanda as an example of heavy-handed regulation. Even though Myers work takes a broad look at radio and development in Africa, she makes pertinent observations in relation to the aspect of regulation and its impact on community radios. She notes that the particularity of community radios is not recognised in some media legislation with the result that they are bunched up with large-scale commercial stations and forced to pay the same taxes and licence fees. In addition, community radios in some cases are not allowed to collect advertising revenue and face restrictions in the use of local languages to avoid fomenting ethnic divisions. The history of radio as a tool in inciting ethnic violence and coups d'état is often used as justification by governments for stringent regulation of the airwaves as Myers notes.

Even where they can broadcast, the state always has influence and can distort the ideal or true community media as defined above, for example with respect to free expression by simply enacting laws that make it illegal to broadcast certain issues. So while the above definitions all fulfil a functional purpose i.e. define what community media does ideally, they do not capture the underlying power struggles of the communities vis-à-vis the elite. A more helpful definition in that respect would add that these functions are often carried out within the confines of the legal framework of the given polity to reflect the omnipresent influence of the state. Community media’s capacity to achieve the ideal principles of free expression and participatory democracy cannot be taken for granted as it depends on the media organisational structure and culture as constrained by the state. For that reason, this study is not limited to an exploration of the contributions made by community radio towards peace-building but probes how this contribution if any has been influenced by the state through its legislative function.

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17 ibid... p.33
A certain threshold of media plurality and diversity must thus be permissible if the functions of community media are to be initiated and fulfilled. In countries like Zimbabwe, broadcasting is the exclusive province of the state and ruling party functionaries and there are no registered community radios. In stark contrast, there were more than 600 community radio stations in Colombia in 2008 according to Rodriguez (2011).18

Carpentier et al (2003), take a multi-theoretical approach to define the concept of community media.19 One approach places emphasis on the concept of community where community denotes concrete human ties and a collective identity usually based on geography and ethnicity. Outside geographically defined spaces are communities formed in cyberspaces also known as virtual or online communities. What commonly characterises all forms of community however defined or constituted is as Carpentier et al describes them the "frequent contact between the members and the feeling of belonging and sharing."20 Besides the re-conceptualisation of community in terms of the virtual community is another way of thinking about communities which is linked to its construction. Cohen (1989) points out that a community is constructed by its members who derive an identity from the construction.21 This ability to construct and reconstruct community and identity is, as shall be argued, critical for the role of community radio in Rwanda’s peace building process insofar as the community identity is extracted from members’ constructed social communication structure.

The second approach is based on the concept of alternative media where a distinction between mainstream media and non-mainstream media is made where the latter is seen as a supplement and at times contradiction to the former. Under this approach, community radio in Rwanda would be seen as an alternative whose purpose is to carry "non-dominant or possible counter-hegemonic discourses and representations stressing the importance of self-representation."22 It is important to note that the term alternative media connotes a negative relationship to mainstream media.

18 C Rodriguez (2011) cited in Doudaki V & Carpentier N Availble online at http://goo.gl/UzTlw1 p.3
A third approach places importance on the independence of community media from the state and market to then argue that it is a part of civil society in the form of a third voice. The aims and objectives of community media according to this approach resonate with the broad objectives of civil society i.e. individuals’ right to freedom, the rights of groups to define and express their various social identities in a democratic dispensation etc.

The final approach acknowledges the identity and role of community media actors, the market and state but recognises their interdependence. Viewing community media as a rhizome enables its characterisation as both antagonistic and oppositional to the state and market (alternative media) and as part of the larger body of civil society which can, as and when need arises, establish different relationships with the market and state for survival.

These four approaches permit theorisation of the complexity and diversity of community media but even more relevant for this study is that they also show the role of participation, a central theoretical concept for this endeavour. Participation implies actors and therefore attendant power positions vis-a-vis each other in the production and distribution of information.

2.2 Community Media and Conflict Resolution

The concept of a community is interesting to understand in a post-conflict situation like Rwanda where it can be argued that one community or more specifically ethnic group’s access to the media was responsible at least in part for the genocide. If the various communities are empowered through ownership of their own radio stations, what would stop them from being hijacked by powerful members e.g. those that contribute more funding? Myers states that community radio when truly community oriented can have impressive results but risk appropriation by negative political forces and be turned into hate radio \(^{23}\). This observation by Myers is important because even if we control for government influence e.g. if we assume that the state is not interested in interfering in any way with the operations of a community radio station, equal participation by all community members cannot be guaranteed. Differences in for example gender, wealth and levels of education would translate to asymmetric power relations and thus different levels of participation and influence in decision making processes.

Because of the wide scope that Myers (2008)’s study covers, it does not provide detailed study of how a truly community-oriented community radio can produce the impressive results in practice and how that has been possible given the ever present hand of the political forces which she alludes to. She however provides interesting examples where radio is said to have had positive effects in promoting peace e.g. Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of Congo where 36% of voters were reportedly prompted by the station to vote. In the Mopti region of Mali, Radio Daande Douentza led to increased awareness about AIDS prevention as a study by Save the Children Fund showed that those exposed to the radio knew more than people who lived outside the radio’s range. Myers’s study on radio and development in Africa notes that Izuba a community radio played a strong role in encouraging local people to participate in the traditional gacaca courts that were trying cases of genocide throughout Rwanda. Noteworthy is that this study and that of others including Curtis (2000) do not focus specifically on community media but local media which of course includes private commercial stations.

Curtis (2000) argues that if the media can be channelled to spew hate messages and incite violence, it is logical that the same media can be used to preach the peace message. Writing on the role of local media in peace building in Rwanda and Bosnia, she notes that despite the lack of sophisticated evaluation measures, "basic and anecdotal evidence show that local media can effectively contribute to peace building goals, though success is by no means guaranteed." Research on media and conflict points to the importance of media in times of conflict and Curtis notes that given the "crucial role played by the media in mobilising people and sustaining conflict, perhaps more balanced local media can serve as a tool to promote peace in war-torn divided societies." She cites the powerful role played by the RTLM radio in the genocide in Rwanda arguing that radio can also play an important role in Rwanda’s post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

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26 ibid.. p.143
The fact that Curtis is not committal but states that local media can play a role in conflict points to a need for interrogation of the conditions under which that can prevail. McQuail (1994:72) also identified this dual perspective on the relationship between media and social order where media can be centripetal i.e. contributing to social order or can be centrifugal by encouraging disorder.27

In her study of radio and development in Africa, Myers (2008) also acknowledges the double edged nature of the media but concedes that it is an assumption and not a hard fact that radio can change people’s behaviour in a positive direction adding that radio seems to have less direct influence the more media- rich the context. She also makes the point that any successful radio initiative is aided by other players/actors and forms of communication thereby raising methodological problems in assessing radio’s impact on development. For example, she points at the problem of attributing a particular effect to a radio campaign, giving a value to qualitative anecdotal and subjective indicators among other assessment problems.28

In the face of such assessment challenges she notes that some techniques for understanding the relationship between communications and behaviour change such as Outcome Mapping and Most Significant Change can be employed. Outcome Mapping is particularly interesting as far as it documents short term outcomes while acknowledging that in the long term project activities will be contributing to the desired goals along with many other factors that we cannot control. The point is not to discuss the various alternatives but indicate the existence of various techniques like the Most Significant Change which involves the collection of significant change stories.

Myers’s observation that radio seems to have less direct influence the more media- rich the context deserves to be looked at closely in relation to community media. The argument made here is that RTLM may have had so much impact due to the lack of alternative radio stations at the time and therefore to argue that community radios can have similar impact today would be unrealistic given the number of radio stations now and the plethora of other media players.

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For the first, RTLM was also assisted by other forces e.g. the military, militias and influential members of society in instigating violence much as community media is admittedly assisted by other players. Secondly, the plurality of media in Rwanda generally should not be seen to drown down the impact of community media because of the uniqueness of its ownership structure, production and focus on the matters affecting a given community as opposed to media providing broader national and international coverage which to a large extent does not affect community members directly.

It is as well that Myers does not paint a completely bleak prospect for the assessment of radio impact and raises instead interesting characteristics of radio that increase potential for positive impact and are relevant for community radio. An interesting argument she raises for radio’s possible impact for behaviour change relates to how interactive, entertaining and engaging the radio content is. Participation by listeners through new ICTs for example and edutainment through dramas and soap operas keep listeners engaged for long periods of time and thus more susceptible to behaviour change adding another point that relates to the element of trust when she argues that listeners are likely to trust a message if they trust the message sender. Here a local community radio has the advantage that besides being inclusive and interactive, the staffs are usually locals too who are known to the audience. In her view, the listeners are best placed to judge if the radio station is genuinely interactive and inclusive. The present study does not however interview listeners and that is addressed adequately in the methodology section of the paper.

In a study of the Namibian community broadcasting sector’s sustainability, Lush and Urgoiti (2012) note that participation should go beyond broadcasters interaction with audiences through phone-ins, SMS lines and interviews. They recommend that the audience should also be involved more in the production of programmes and that audiences should be consulted regularly about programme content, format and scheduling to make it more representative. Their finding was that in Namibia’s community media sector participation of this nature was limited as programming was largely produced by paid staff, volunteers and those who paid for airtime.30

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30 ibid..p.17-18
They recommend that stations identify volunteers who are motivated by a commitment to their community and passion for broadcasting and not motivated by money. Like Myers (2008) they also point out that people would be more likely to invest time and effort if they trust the station and know that their efforts will be recognised and appreciated by the community. This, they argue is more sustainable than chasing money to produce programmes because when the money is no longer available programming is cut. They also recommended extensive use of broadcasting in the local languages spoken in respective communities arguing that the more community members actively participate in the development of programmes, the more likely these programmes to reflect not only issues relevant to the community but also the diversity of languages spoken in the community.

Lush and Urgoiti’s study while not focused on peace-building raises the aspect of participation from the perspective of sustainability. It nonetheless gives interesting lessons for peace building by tying a broader view of participation to ownership and social cohesion. Deep participation i.e. in the programming and governance of the stations reflects the broad diversity of community interests while simultaneously increasing community ownership and therefore cohesion. One thing lacking in that study which the present will provide is a link between the community and the power holders through participation in the community radio.

In a study of how community media could give a voice to and promote dialogue between two Cypriot communities, Doudaki and Carpentier (2014) concluded that the mainstream media did not foster reconciliation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in the south and north respectively. This is attributed to several interrelated factors namely, a strong role of the state in society, a strong role of political parties and clientilism. Cypriot mainstream media also has links to Greek and Turkish television which further compromises media neutrality as the two latter countries have a long history of conflict over the Cypriot problem and therefore push different political agendas. In short and more importantly, the effect of clientilism and all the above factors is that the mainstream media plays to the whims of its clients and not necessarily reflect public sentiment.

31 Doudaki V and Carpentier N Availble online at http://goo.gl/UzTlw1
32 ibid.. p.8
33 ibid...p.8
Minimal state influence, reduced role of political parties and clientilism, in part explains why community media in Rwanda would in part be expected to foster reconciliation and be different from RTLM. An interesting observation though is that while Carpentier and Doudaki advocate the creation of a bi-community media organisation in recognition of Cypriot diversity, the Rwandan model emphasises homogeneity and seeks to do the exact opposite by reducing individuals to one national identity. This shows that there is no straight jacket model of community media that fits all when it comes to the use of community media to foster peace and reconciliation. Equally importantly, it points to the fluidity of the concept of community and how this can be modelled and remodelled with the help of the media. In other words, community media does not necessarily have to follow a pre-existing pattern of communities but can if need be, help reconfigure and redefine communities. Despite the handicap that the Cypriot study is itself not an evaluative study of an existing community media enterprise, it is a rare and important study of what community media can do in conflict resolution. It confirms the universality of the important roles played by state, political parties and clientilism while also showing the importance of context in designing community media for peace and reconciliation.

2.3 Peace building and Citizen Participation

The UNPBF defines peace building as the "range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development". There are several points worth noting about this definition. The first being that there are several measures and therefore players which are at play in the peace building process. Taken together with Rodriguez (2011) `s observation above that, community media is a privileged partner in peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation it is apparent that community media does not work in isolation for peace. This consequently makes evaluation of the effectiveness of any one of the measures by any single partner in isolation difficult and as such this study acknowledges the problem of attribution. Secondly, the definition acknowledges that peace building does not start and end with attaining a cessation of fire but also targets measures to reduce the risk of relapsing into conflict.

34 UNPBF What is Peace building? Available online at http://www.unpbf.org/application-guidelines/what-is-peacebuilding/
Thirdly, the UN acknowledges the importance of peace for the development process by explicitly stating that peace building measures lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. These three factors of the definition are important considering that community media in Rwanda does not operate in isolation in peace building and that despite the war having ended in 1994 many other institutions including the government are still seized with peace building. In addition, the definition further attests to the relevance of this study for the subject of communication for development since the study essentially inquires the role played by community media in the pursuit of peace which according to the UN definition is inherently linked to development.

Doudaki and Carpentier make the claim that community media is a privileged partner in peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation given its capacity to foster diversity, intercultural dialogue and tolerance. This, they argue is mainly because community media provides a platform for robust debate and deliberations on matters of mutual and general concern without undue influence of the state and commercial interests. Habermas (1993) calls such a platform the public sphere i.e. a realm or "space in which a public comes to understand and define itself, articulate its needs and common concerns and act in the collective self interest." The isolation of the state and commercial interests in the formation and operation of the public sphere as equally idealised by community media is helpful for peace and reconciliation given the role played by both local and international political interests in inciting violence in Rwanda.

The state is however never completely isolated from the public sphere. It defines and lays the legal framework for the establishment of media institutions including community media. There is therefore some inevitable encroachment of the state into the public sphere which Habermas sees as the greatest threat to that realm, degree of which determines its robustness. Thus, while the main question for this research probes the role of community media in building peace, the subsidiary question inquires how the Rwandan state has shaped and reshaped the media landscape through enactment of media laws and how these have impacted on the operations of community radios.

35 Doudaki V and Carpentier N Availble online at http://goo.gl/UzTlw1 p.6
There is a striking resemblance between the notion of a public sphere and functions of community media in several respects. The first relates to how a community is defined in the context of community media namely that the community defines itself without a top down imposition. Secondly, there is the element of collective self interest and the need to articulate needs by the community in community media or by the public in the public sphere. As for community media this need is seen for example in Jankowski’s definition that community media serves the community by providing news and information relevant to the needs of its members while promoting access and participation of the latter. A common denominator of the concepts is participation by citizens.

2.3.1 Citizen Participation Theory

According to UNESCO, the root causes of most internal conflicts in Africa can be traced to among other things "denial of freedom of expression and lack of popular participation and democratic structures." That observation makes a perfect fit with the principles and practices of community media where according to Doudaki and Carpentier, the close connection to civil society and a participatory culture at the levels of both production of content and management is cherished. Peace is thus promoted through enabling citizens to dialectically shape their community and identity without top to down impositions but allow people of diverse cultures and subcultures to collectively produce media content which relates to all societal groups. It is therefore the participatory-democratic ideology of community media that essentially makes it a facilitator of intercultural dialogue, tolerance and therefore peace.

Classical political theorist, Rousseau’s case for participation in the Social Contract was hinged on the premise that individual participation of each citizen in political decision making was a protective adjunct to a set of institutional arrangements and has a psychological effect on the participants. While absolute equality would of course be impossible his argument was that economic inequalities should not lead to political inequalities. With a minimal gap between the poor and the rich coupled with property ownership, Rousseau saw the possibility of citizens assembling as equal, independent and interdependent individuals.

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38 Doudaki V and Carpentier N Availible online at http://goo.gl/UzTlw1 p.2
Interdependence stems from the logic that citizens are to be ruled by the operation of laws, a political situation that they have collectively created thereby precluding rule by an individual.

What is clear from this brief presentation of Rousseau’s participatory system is that it involves taking part in decision making and participation is meant to protect private interests and ensuring good governance. The main import of the participatory system in respect of peace is that the individual is forced to deliberate justly because fellow citizens can always resist the implementation of inequitable demands. In other words, the individual becomes both a private and public citizen thereby reducing conflict between demands of the private and public spheres. As Pateman (1970) put it, the individual finds that “he has to take into account wider matters than his own immediate private interests if he is to gain co-operation from others and he learns that the public and private interests are linked.” ⁴⁰ In addition, participation fulfils an integrative function important in the peace process by instilling the psychological feeling of belonging to the community.

Rousseau’s argument that democracy could only exist on a face to face basis as he found in the Swiss cantons raises problems in modern representative democracies. Wengert (1976) criticises advocates of Rousseau’s advocates for neglecting issues of intercommunity coordination and resolution of conflicts in larger communities like cities and states.⁴¹ In Wengert’s view, “no theory or procedure for participation can be adequate if it does not deal explicitly with how participatory processes relate to the formal structures of government including the regular representative system, political parties etc”⁴². While he accepts that town meeting situations provide for the exchange of information and may induce modification of values and opinions given that conflict rest upon misinformation he however contends that in non-homogenous communities increased participation will highlight difference and increase conflict. For participation to contribute to conflict resolution there must be institutional procedures and willingness to accept unacceptable decisions like litigation.⁴³

⁴² ibid... p. 38
⁴³ ibid...p.27
It can be pointed out that these minimum requirements are present in Rwanda and the question of whether it is a homogenous society depends on what one looks at. One cannot ignore the existence of the Hutu/Tutsi divide but there are also common things among the Rwandan people including generally a common language and near to similar way of life for the two main ethnic groups. Given the existence of formal structures of government and that public participation may imply change and can be viewed as a threat to existing decisional (power) arrangements, what is required is a theory of participation which recognises these realities. As mentioned earlier, the definitions of community media in academia tend to ignore the underlying power struggles within communities and between them and the elite. Arnstein (1969)’s ladder of citizen participation(see fig 1) recognises that participation can be meaningless if it does not achieve the desired goal of including what she calls the have-not citizens presently excluded from the political and economic processes.

These processes include determining how “information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated and benefits like contracts are parcelled out.” Arnstein, Sherry R. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," JAIP, Vol. 35, No. 4, July 1969, pp. 216-224

**Fig 1. Arnstein`s ladder of Participation**

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Her typology of eight levels of participation above illustrates this phenomenon. (1) Manipulation and (2) Therapy describe “non-participation”. Under Manipulation, citizens or their representatives are placed on rubberstamp advisory committees or boards by power holders to create an illusion of citizen involvement or engagement where in fact the purpose is to “educate” them or engineer their support. Therapy involves putting citizens through activities not to change their condition but to make them see their situation in another light favourable for the power holders. A good example here is public clean-ups and repairing of roads instead of the power holders allocating resources for the social services like refuse collection etc. Tokenism is represented from (3) to (5). In Informing and Consultation, citizens may be heard but there is no assurance that the power holders will effect any changes. Citizens may be informed of their rights and responsibilities which is important but they cannot influence program designs for their benefit and communication is usually one way through news and responses to inquiries. Consultation can also be a window-dressing ritual when citizens’ views are eventually not taken into account while only serving the process of providing evidence that “the people” were involved. Placation does not give the hand-picked representatives of citizens on public boards to decide as power holders retain the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice.

It is only when citizens negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders in (6) Partnerships or have (7) Delegated Power that they get assurance that their participation produces meaningful and beneficial results. Citizen control entails more power for the citizens to govern policy and managerial aspects of a program or institution and the conditions under which traditional power holders or outsiders may change them.

There are several limitations with Arnstein’s ladder that are worth noting. By juxtaposing powerless citizens with power holders the model overlooks divergent points of view and interests in each of the two groups. Within the powerless citizens for example are the poor of the poorest peasants and a middle class who may have different interests. The degree of difficulty to scale up the ladder varies for each of these sub groups depending for example on levels of education and abilities to organise and lobby for their interests.
It would appear as the ladder cannot be used to assess participation levels for community media in the context of peace building as the emphasis can be seen to be on dialogue between citizens within the community rather than between citizens and outsiders or the powerful. That line of thinking would be flawed on two accounts. The first being that peace is not limited to the absence of war but includes the availability of certain socio-economic conditions including political and civic rights most of which can only be obtained from the powerful divide. Secondly, in the Rwandan case it has been pointed out that there are institutional procedures following Wengert’s argument that for participation to contribute to conflict resolution there must be institutional procedures and willingness to accept unacceptable decisions. It effectively eliminates as a barrier the inability of the ethnic groups to organise themselves as evidenced by the formation of community radio stations across the ethnic divide. This does not rule out the importance of sustained dialogue within and among the powerless from the different ethnic groups but the point is they are not fighting physically because of institutional arrangements including laws and they perceive themselves generally as the powerless vis-a-vis the power holders. In fact, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that many of the genocideurs regret having been used by the powerful people to kill their fellow poor citizens.

2.4 Understanding the peace-development nexus

Addressing the relationship between peace and development is important as this paper categorically stated that peace is a prerequisite for development while some schools of thought argue otherwise. The liberal/neoliberal argument taken for this paper is that war produces impediments to development. Thus in the absence of war (negative peace), conditions that support and encourage economic and political development can be easily created. The economic and political conditions so created encourage non-violent conflict resolution because for example citizens have more to lose from the physical danger and economic disruption that war brings. This creates a virtuous self-sustaining circular process in which peace encourages development and development encourages peace.

If the conditions that support and encourage economic and political development can best be created in peace, one could ask, what role are Rwandan community radios expected to play in peace building and development then, since they were established after the war i.e. when there was already peace in Rwanda?
According to John Galtung (1967), peace is much more than the absence of war, otherwise known as negative peace. He argued that there was a more complex meaning of peace which takes into account structural violence. This refers to a form of violence which is built into the structure of political, social and economic systems. While victims of malnutrition, preventable diseases, crimes committed by desperate and marginalised people etc are not victims of war, they are victims of structural violence and thus cannot be at peace. In this line of thought, these people are equally damaged as much as war casualties. Positive peace as he called it is the presence of decency. It means, community radio stations as media institutions have a role to play in advancing the causes of the victims or potential victims of structural violence through airing programmes on health, nutrition, agriculture, education, human rights etc to promote positive peace while simultaneously preventing the breach of negative peace.

The link between peace and development can be made clearer by critically looking at what constitutes positive peace.

**Figure 2:**

![Diagram showing demands for accountability, services, responses, and positive peace](http://goo.gl/pEMsA7)

Freedom of speech and association, eradication of malnutrition and disease just to take a few examples are some of the elements of what constitute or contribute to positive peace.

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Now, these same elements equate with development which Sen (1999) defines as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy.46 Figure 2 above illustrates that point with arrows depicting information flows and community media acting as a mediator between citizens and power holders while also providing a platform for dialogue between the citizens.

According to Sen, it is myopic to only view development in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) growth. While noting that such measurements like a rising GNP are important as a means to expanding people’s freedoms, she points out that it "depends also on other determinants, such as social and economic arrangements… as well as political and civil rights."47 Importantly, political and civil rights are enshrined in the participatory-democratic ideology of community media, making community media a facilitator of peace and development recalling the UNESCO observation above, that lack of popular participation and democratic processes causes conflict.

This way of understanding peace in terms of its two distinct forms and connecting it to development as defined by Sen as illustrated above, reduces the problem of attribution to a quantitative rather than a qualitative one. In other words, what is difficult is to measure how much community radio contributes to peace in percentage terms or any other unit of measure for that matter in comparison to other players in the peace building process rather than if it does contribute anything at all. What is important therefore is that a community radio station meets the following conditions i.e. it involves community members in its production of news, is interactive internally within the community and with power holders and that programming is targeted at the factors that constitute positive peace and thus development according to Sen’s extended version of the term.

2.5 Radio before and during the genocide

Understanding the role of community radio in peace building in Rwanda calls for a contextual analysis of political developments. Caplan (2007) notes that King Rwabugiri, a Tutsi king ruled a centralised Rwanda in the late 1800s "with an elaborate series of subordinate structures."48

46 Sen A (1999), Development as Freedom, Oxford University Press p.3

47 ibid..p.3

When the German and later the Belgian colonised the country they attributed superior status to the minority Tutsi vis-a-vis the Hutu in typical divide and rule strategy characteristic of the colonisation period. Caplan makes the point that the colonial establishment institutionalised hatred between the two groups through the education system and Catholic teachings. Even though one was already subjugated the two groups never had any major open violence before independence but this does not mean that the Hutu did not resent their treatment and status. Not all Tutsi benefited from colonialism and the ethnic groups would intermarry easily as they shared the same language and religion etc. The unfortunate result of the superior status accorded the Tutsi was that the Hutu directed their liberation struggle at the favoured Tutsi. Upon realising that in an independent Rwanda, Hutu rule would be inevitable given their overwhelming majority; the Belgians started supporting the Hutu to secure their interests. The revolution of 1959 saw the fall of the Tutsi aristocracy and in the following years to 1967, 20 000 Tutsi were killed with about 300 000 fleeing into exile. The children of these refugees returned from exile in Uganda in 1990 as the rebel group Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). Every attack the RPF made however led to more brutality against the local Tutsi by Habyarimana`s government even if not all Tutsi supported the invasion.

Under pressure from internal and external forces Habyarimana had to accept multi-party politics. Several Hutu parties were formed during the mid 90s including the Coalition for the Defence of the Republic (CDR) which had youth militias and notably Habyarimana`s MNRD party formed the Interehamwe. Factions emerged within his party formed along acceptance and implementation of the Arusha Accords and a coalition of extremists known for their rallying cry `Hutu Power` formed and financed the private station RTLM in 1993 which started broadcasting immediately after the signing of the Arusha Accords. Prior to the emergence of RTLM, the Habyarimana regime as that of Kayibanda his predecessor had maintained a monopoly of the airspace through the state controlled Radio Rwanda which had been broadcasting since 1961.


50 Rwanda Governance Board, Rwanda Media Barometer 2012 available in PDF at http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.11
Hate speech by RTLM included underlining "the inherent differences between the Hutu and Tutsi, the foreign origin of Tutsi and hence their lack of rights to claim to be Rwandan, the disproportionate share of wealth and power held by Tutsi and horrors of past Tutsi rule". This also included naming specific people who were to be eliminated and use of derogatory terms. According to Des Forges (2007), when diplomats brought this to Habyarima’s attention they were told that RTLM was a private radio station exercising its right of freedom of speech and RTLM was in that sense used as a ‘democratic alibi’ by the government elite as whatever was broadcast was deemed to be in congruence with the right of expression. Hate speech intensified after Habyarimana’s assassination with the authorities using RTLM and Radio Rwanda to incite and mobilise, then to give specific directions for carrying out the killings.

During the genocide, Human Rights Watch (HRW) and other international nongovernmental organisations advocated for the closure/jamming of the radio broadcasts inciting violence but the US refused, arguing first during the genocide that it was against its policy of freedom of speech and later that the RPF had silenced the RTLM after the genocide even though HRW countered that the station continued broadcasting from a mobile transmitter. According to Des Forges, the French sent troops in June 1994 under Operation Turquoise managed to destroy some of the RTLM and Radio Rwanda transmitters but as already mentioned the RTLM station continued to broadcast via a mobile transmitter albeit to a smaller area. RTLM finally vanished from the airwaves in late 1994. The RPF operated its own radio station called Radio Muhabura from the National Park (Park National des Volcans) during the war and genocide broadcasting in full AM frequency to most parts of the country.

52 ibid..p.47
53 ibid..p48
54 ibid.. p.45
55 ibid..p.52
According to a confidential report by the US department of State dated 3 May 1994, Radio Muhabura broadcasted RPF propaganda since the death of Habyarimana but the broadcasts were not bloodthirsty compared to RTLM\(^{58}\).

### 2.6 Independent media and initial attempts at peace-building

As already mentioned peace building refers to the broad range of activities and programmes that aim to strengthen the prospects of peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict. While it is difficult to measure and evaluate the role of local media in peace building, media scholars including Curtis (2000) argue that balanced media can do the opposite of what it does in mobilising and sustaining conflict in a polarised political environment. There are however challenges in achieving reconciliation as the fate of one station, Radio Agatashya shows.

As Curtis (2000) rightly observes, "control over communication is central to maintenance of social power and domination since it allows leaders, governments, factions or other social groups to publicise their own definitions and perspectives of reality."\(^{59}\) Radio Agatashya, launched during the genocide by Reporters Sans Frontieres, was one of the first post- conflict media peacebuilding projects whose editorial policy was not to broadcast anything that would promote hatred but focused on national reconciliation, peace, respect for human rights, sanitation, nutrition, search for disappeared people etc.\(^{60}\) Hirondelle Foundation, an organisation of journalists which operates media services in crisis areas established and managed Radio Agatashya and its first broadcast was on 4 August 1994 in Kinyarwanda and French and the station operated from the DRC\(^{61}\). The radio closed in 1996 due to financial difficulties having also failed to broadcast from within Rwanda as the Rwanda government denied them permission to do so and to allocate them a frequency claiming they were pro-Hutu probably because of their emphasis on refugees\(^{62}\).

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\(^{58}\) [http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/162936.pdf](http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/162936.pdf)


\(^{61}\) ibid..p..383

Hutu leaders on the other hand accused them of being biased towards the Tutsi and Western interests after their failure to develop information on the deaths of returning Hutu refugees in camps of displaced people. According to Crevoisier and Grobet (cited in Curtis 2000), Radio Agatashya did not develop the information because they did not want to spread fear and panic among remaining refugees.63

2.7 Post-genocide media laws and media pluralism

The first major attempt to reconstitute the media legal framework in Rwanda was initiated in 1996 with the consequent adoption and publication of the Press law 18/ 2002 of 18/05/2002 establishing the then High Council of the Press(HCP) whose functions and structure were subsequently determined by presidential decree 99/01 of 12/11/2002.

Article 34 of the new Rwandan constitution promulgated in June 2003 also provided for the HCP leading to amendment of the earlier presidential decree in 2009 renaming the institution to the Media High Council(MHC).With that came the mandate to regulate broadcasting and print media, promoting freedom, responsibility and professionalism of the media64.

According to the Rwanda Governance Board, the 2002 law was too punitive for the practice of journalism as for example unsuccessfully trying to incite commitment of genocide through the press attracted a 20 year jail term and successfully inciting genocide attracted the death penalty65. The law was revisited with a view to amend the articles on genocide and the new law promulgated in March of 2013 provides for press freedom in Article 8 and outlaws censorship of information while giving the former MHC the new mandate of media capacity building. 66 Conditions are however posed in Article 9 as follows “... the freedom of opinions and information shall not jeopardize the general public order and good morals, individual’s right to honour and reputation in the public eye and to the right to inviolability of a person’s private life and family; the freedom shall also be recognized if it is not detrimental to the protection of children.”67


64 Media High Council available online at http://www.mhc.gov.rw/index.php?id=283

65 Rwanda Governance Board Rwanda Media Barometer 2012 available in PDF at http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.14

66 Media High Council available online at http://www.mhc.gov.rw/index.php?id=283

67 Rwanda Governance Board Rwanda Media Barometer 2012 available in PDF at http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.23
As noted above, initially the MHC had responsibility to regulate the media but that function was later transferred to the independent union of journalists in 2013 following criticism of the previous arrangement by journalists\(^{68}\). The Rwanda Media Commission established by a general assembly of all journalists was therefore mandated as the Media Self Regulatory Body “to protect journalists, regulate their conduct and the daily functioning of media and advocate for media freedom in Rwanda”\(^{69}\). Today, the MHC’s responsibilities include advocating for media capacity building, participating in initiating and implementing policies and strategies to develop the media sector, to build innovative capacities and to produce media content that disseminates and promotes the Rwandan values, culture and products etc.\(^{70}\)

According to the RGB report, Rwanda had 32 Newspapers, 11 Magazines, 2 TV stations (Rwanda Television and the newly created, Ten TV), 30 Radio Stations, and 34 websites operating in Rwanda as of May 2013\(^{71}\).

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Media</th>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Area</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musanze Community Radio</td>
<td>RBA</td>
<td>Musanze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubavu Community Radio</td>
<td>RBA</td>
<td>Rubavu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rusizi Community Radio</td>
<td>RBA</td>
<td>Rusizi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Huye Community Radio</td>
<td>RBA</td>
<td>Huye</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyagatare Community Radio</td>
<td>RBA</td>
<td>Nyagatare</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ishingiro Radio</td>
<td>IREX</td>
<td>Gicumbi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isangano Community Radio</td>
<td>IREX</td>
<td>Karongi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Association Huguka</td>
<td>Muhanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio Izuba</td>
<td>ADECCO</td>
<td>Ngoma</td>
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\(^{68}\) Rwanda Governance Board *Rwanda Media Barometer 2012* available in PDF at [http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.23](http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.23)

\(^{69}\) Rwanda Media Commission available at [http://rmc.rw/about/](http://rmc.rw/about/)


\(^{71}\) Rwanda Governance Board *Rwanda Media Barometer 2012* at [http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.40](http://goo.gl/OdnDkW p.40)
Of the 30 radio stations is Radio Rwanda which immediately adopted a new editorial line of unity and reconciliation after the genocide and following a merger with Radio Muhabura.\footnote{Rwanda Governance Board \textit{Rwanda Media Barometer 2012} at \url{http://goo.gl/OdnDkW} p.14}

Nine of the radio stations are called community radios (see table above) but the RGB report explains that 4 are owned by CSOs while 5 are run by the state controlled Rwanda Broadcasting Agency (RBA) with the aim to “inform the community about government policies and spread their ideas and best practices throughout the country and link the population to local leaders.”\footnote{Rwanda Governance Board \textit{Rwanda Media Barometer 2012} at \url{http://goo.gl/OdnDkW} p.40} In respect of the 5 RBA (formerly ORINFOR) run so-called community radios listed in the table above, the definition thus involves the location and content rather than ownership which is critical in defining community media.

Despite the coming on board of several players and blossoming of the media environment following liberalisation in 2001, the RGB report noted the frequent arrests of journalists for various offences including the arrest of a Huguka community radio reporter, Epaphrodite Habarugira in 2012 for trivialising the genocide and spreading the genocide ideology.\footnote{ibid... p.14}

He allegedly mixed up the Kinyarwanda words for victims and survivors while reading a news broadcast. Freedom House concludes that the press status for Rwanda in 2013 was Not Free and gives the country a press freedom score of 80 where 0 is best and 100 is worst.\footnote{ibid... p.40} According to the 2013 Freedom House report, the Rwandan "parliament passed amendments to the 2008 Law Relating to the Interception of Communications that empower the police, army and intelligence services to listen to and read private communications, both online and offline in order to protect public security."\footnote{Freedom House, \textit{Rwanda}, available online at \url{https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/rwanda#VJA4riAV_IU}} In addition, the law requires all communication service providers to have the technical capability to enable interception upon request.
3. Methodology, Design and Material

This is an exploratory qualitative case study with embedded units as it seeks to explore the role of several community radios in building peace in the specific context of Rwanda coming out of genocide and years of dictatorship and stringent state control of the airwaves. The main research question, "How has community media contributed to peace building in post-conflict Rwanda?" attests to the exploratory nature of this endeavour. The embedded units are the various community radio stations and as Baxter and Jack (2008) point out, "the ability to look at sub-units that are situated in a larger case is powerful when data can be analysed separately within the subunits (within case analysis) as it serves to better illuminate the case."  

3.1 Choice of Design

According to Robert Yin (2009), the case study design is most suitable when among other considerations (a) the research project seeks to answer "how" and "why" questions (b) the behaviour of the subjects cannot be manipulated by the researcher and (c) the researcher seeks to cover relevant contextual conditions. Yin also categorises case study designs into three, namely the exploratory, explanatory and descriptive types. Further, once the researcher has decided to use the case study design for any or all of the above reasons, he/she needs to consider whether to do a single or multiple case study.

While the occurrence of genocide is a rare phenomenon in postcolonial Africa, the magnitude of atrocities makes it unique in modern history. Given that background and that the conflict was by and large fuelled by hate speech broadcast on radio which is now engaged in peace building, there is need for an extensive analysis of the turn of events. While genocides may occur again elsewhere, they will have different contexts in terms of motivations, magnitude of atrocities, reconciliation strategies etc. As such, and indeed as Fylvbjerg (2011) rightly notes, case studies generally "produce concrete context-dependent knowledge."


This does not mean that context dependent knowledge cannot be used to inform strategic or policy decisions elsewhere. Falk and Guenther point out that qualitative study may form a basis for understanding situations other than those under investigation. According to Yin (2003) that depends on the rigour of the study’s design and methods for gathering and analysing information-rich data. Patton (2002) emphasises the study’s attention to validity, reliability and triangulation. Johnston and Christensen (2004) argue that generalisation is closely linked to theory and point out that "A well-developed theory explains how something operates in general and it enables one to move beyond the findings of any single research study."

### 3.2 Case Selection

Baxter and Jack (2008) state that it is important to consider what the case would be when formulating the research question. Miles and Huberman (1994) define the case as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context," adding that it is in fact the unit of analysis. Identifying the unit of analysis is important as it makes it easy to streamline what is to be explored, explained or described. Baxter and Jack (2008) warn against attempting to answer a question that is too broad or a topic that has too many objectives for one study. To avoid such pitfall, this study focuses on the role of community radio stations in peace-building in post-conflict Rwanda. This effectively binds the case by time, place, activity, definition and context to ensure that it remains reasonable in scope. For example, community radio is defined generically to exclude "community radios" owned by the Rwandan state and on time, the term post-conflict essentially binds the study to the period after the genocide to date. The case is bound by activity by focusing only on the peace building activities of the community radio stations excluding any other programmes not related to peace-building.

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3.3 Material

Primary qualitative data for this study is obtained through questionnaires sent out to the heads of two community radio stations operating in two different provinces and to a former programme manager with a third radio station (see appendix). This is supplemented by information sifted from the respective community radios’ websites whereas secondary data from various literature sources enrich the work.

3.3.1 Questionnaires

The questions are open ended or completely unstructured. Unstructured questions have the advantage that the respondents can give their expert opinion on issues without being constrained by a possible set of possible responses. This is also important as it enables the researcher to capture important insights as there is limited literature on community radio in Rwanda. It is however acknowledged that this methodology can also lead to exaggerations of detail as Lilleker (2003) warns in relation to semi-structured interviews. It is equally possible that the interviewees for this study may have found it difficult to be openly critical of the media environment which they operate in for fear of reprisals from the government making it even more important to reinforce data so collected with independent secondary data like the Rwanda Media Report, HRW, Freedom House etc.

3.3.2 Selection of Interviewees

The selection of the community radio stations is based on that they represent true community radio stations going by the definition of the same in terms of ownership and programming. As noted earlier, there are other so-called community radios in Rwanda which are controlled and owned by the government. The interviewees are professionals who have worked many years with community media. According to Driscoll, interviews are best used when seeking to learn detailed information from a few specific people e.g. experts. Given the small number of community radio stations in Rwanda a survey would not have been necessary considering also that the latter are suitable for gaining small amounts of information from a wider selection of people.


Emails were sent to them with the questionnaire and that was immediately followed up by telephone communication and later through Whatsapp. Whatsapp communication was also used as reminders to email their responses and to check if the interviewees needed any clarification on the questions considering too that English was not widely used in Rwanda until very recently. These messages were unfortunately not saved. It was however important to gain the confidence of interviewees by having personal and regular Whatsapp contact given the sensitivity of genocide discussions and the political environment in which they operate. Besides attesting to how Rwanda has embraced ICTs, the added advantage was that respondents would also be reminded to respond and send back the questionnaires without incurring further costs and clarification on unclear responses would be sought and settled in minutes. Since the study partly touches on the media environment in Rwanda, in particular the enactment of new media laws which has been viewed by some as harsh, it was necessary and objective to get the government’s intentions. The Rwanda embassy in Stockholm, Sweden did not respond to the questionnaire.

3.4 Data Treatment

Data obtained from the interviews is presented as excerpts from the emailed responses in the Findings and Analysis section with the full responses appearing as an appendix to the paper. In the Analysis section a detailed discussion and analysis is carried out to determine who communicates to whom, what and with what effect as guided by the various steps on Arnestein’s ladder. The objective is to determine if participation by community members in the catchment areas of the community radios is effective i.e. if it leads to greater cohesion amongst community members and if participation gets favourable responses from authorities and contribute to peace. Recalling the earlier discussion on the role of the state or institutional arrangement as Wengert calls it or as power holders as Arnestein put it, process tracing is used to analyse how legislation has enabled or hindered effective functioning of community radios. Process tracing is a within-case analysis of qualitative data to describe trajectories of change and causation. Pieces of relevant legislation or amendments thereto will be analysed in terms of their negative or positive impact on community media.

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3.5 Methodological Limitations

This study would have been enriched by hearing the voices of a broad cross section of ordinary community members on how they perceive their participation in the community radios through a survey where respondents would be anonymous. That the representatives of the radio stations seem to be speaking on their behalf raises questions of whether generalisations can be drawn from these views. It is also possible that their views may have been influenced by the need to maintain or obtain funding and therefore keep their jobs by portraying their respective stations in a positive light. In addition responses could also have been influenced by fear to openly criticise the government for fear of reprisals. There is however no guarantee that responses would have been different even if the interviewees were kept anonymous for the simple reason that they could have suspected that researcher was a disguised state informant. It could also be argued that choosing not to be anonymous the interviewees were strategically proving to the state authorities that they were patriotic and not working against the government, in order for the stations to survive.

On the face of it, three interviewees seems a relatively small number given the number of “community radios” including those owned and controlled by the state through ORINFOR. It is prudent given the foregoing to limit the generalisations and validity of the findings to the interviewees as experts and heads of community radio stations e.g. that generally the heads of community radio stations excluding those owned and run by the state see the introduction of programme A as having increased community participation and resulted in outcome B rather than make a more general statement that includes government controlled community radio stations.

Process tracing as an explanatory method has the disadvantage that it heavily relies on the descriptive aptitude of the researcher and there is always the problem that the researcher may wrongly ascribe a wrong cause to an outcome. For example the closure of Radio Agatashya is said to have been due to the Rwandan government’s refusal to grant them a frequency and to allow them to broadcast from Rwanda yet the station is also said to have had financial problems. It is not certain which of the factors outweighed the other.
3. 6 Ethics

Exploring and discussing media development involves issues which are sometimes politically sensitive. Anonymity and confidentiality were therefore guaranteed for all respondents to the questionnaires and their identities appear herein with their explicit permission. None of them objected to having their names published. All respondents were also provided with all necessary information about the research objectives and how research findings will be used. Due diligence and care was also taken in the framing of the questions and subsequent discussion to ensure that the research maintained sensitivity to the emotion and trauma suffered by the people of Rwanda because of the genocide.

4. Empirical Findings and Analysis

In this section, a brief description of each of Rwanda’s four community radios is presented followed by presentation of the interview data from the first two community radio stations below i.e. Isangano and Ishingiro. The third interviewee is a former programme manager at Radio Huguka and Radio Izuba did not respond. The Rwandan embassy in Stockholm did not respond either.

Fig 3: Map of Rwanda

Source: http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/rwanda-admin-map.htm
4.1 Isangano Community Radio

Isangano community radio is based in Karongi District in the Western Province and first went on air in April 2011. The station is owned by Isangano Community Association, an organisation "created by the population to steward the work of establishing this radio."

The station’s mission reads as follows: "Isangano Community Radio aims to deliver a quality, diverse and independent alternative to mainstream information to its community, information that nurtures and encourages the community’s popular participation. We aim to be a viable, culturally-diverse community-based radio station with strong ties to local groups. We intend to entertain and to stimulate interest in local issues/affairs through information exchanges. We also intend to educate by tying together all three elements in the radio station’s programming." According to the station’s website, the people of Karongi had always dreamt of one day alleviating their isolation and lack of access to information. This dream was realised when Karongi was chosen as one of two locations for community radios to be established with the help of the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), an American nongovernmental organisation. The Rwanda government played a critical linking role as IREX’s media strengthening project was under an agreement signed by the Rwandan government and the US based Millenium Challenge Corporation Threshold Programs. What is however important to note is that the station was an initiative of the Karongi population and they are totally involved in the day to day management of the station through the Isangano Community Association’s management committee which includes the station manager.

4.2 Ishingiro Community Radio

Like Isangano, Ishingiro community radio is almost four years on air and is based in Northern Province high up in the hills of Rwanda’s tea-growing region. Owned by the community through the Association pour le Development et le Bien-être Social (ADEB) its motto is "Advocacy to Action, Delivering Active Change for Our Community." Radio Ishingiro is the largest of Rwanda’s independent community radio stations.

90 http://www.radioisangano.com/about_us.php

91 ibid.

92 http://www.radioisangano.com/about_us.php

93 http://www.irex.org/project/rwanda-mcc-threshold-program-civil-society-strengthening-project-cssp-rwanda
The station has a board of trustees that represent a wide-range of interests in the community and is proud to be a voice for the community, holding those in authority to account.

Sinabubariraga who explains that their website is not yet public adds that Ishingiro is much more than a radio station. As part of an ambitious development strategy, the management team has set out to play an active role in supporting the most vulnerable families and individuals in the community. It also works to champion the professional and creative skills needed to develop a vibrant, digitally connected and media literate society. Along with delivering popular local content, Radio Ishingiro has set about establishing a reputation for providing high levels of expertise to a wide range of clients.94

4.3 Izuba Community Radio

Radio Izuba is Rwanda’s oldest community radio having been launched in July 2004 with a particular emphasis on the promotion of agriculture, small trade and the role of the youth and women in development. The station is based in Kibungo, in the country’s Eastern Province which has an estimated 2 million people, most of them farmers and staff is drawn from the local community including volunteers and journalists elected by the people. It is owned by the Association for Community Development through Communication (ADECCO) whose members are drawn from the private and public sectors and civil society. According to the station's homepage, "Radio Izuba brings together different groups regardless of their isolation, illiteracy, distances and conflicts"95. The station boldly claims that it has managed to unify the community and made them powerful by facilitating the sharing of experiences and learning from each other in order to improve. Regular talk shows involving the community are also aired to promote good governance. As part of its efforts to maintain high levels of community participation in production and programming, special clubs were set up to listen to Imboni (Community Reporters elected by the people) including clubs for child journalists. Another initiative to adapt the content of the programmes to the concerns and expectations of the population is Inshuti za Radio Izuba (inseparable friends).96 The station’s programmes are also streamed on its website and its Facebook page is also important for feedback from listeners.

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94 Additional notes sent by Ildephonse Sinabubariraga on Whatsapp

95 http://www.izubaradio.com/?q=page/about-us

96 ibid
4.4 Radio Huguka

Huguka Radio is a community farm radio owned by Association Huguka. It started airing in November 2010. However, it also used to have a newspaper also carrying the name of Huguka. The editorial line of the paper was the same as Huguka Radio's. Radio Huguka is based in Rwanda’s second-largest city of Gitarama. According to coordinator Eugene Ndekezi, the station makes it possible to achieve "greater diffusion of best agricultural practices and promote community development with better access for illiterate people".

4.5 Interview Data-Community Radio Stations

Managing directors of two community radios were interviewed, namely Jerome Rwasa of Isangano hereinafter referred to as JR and Ildephonse Sinabubariraga (IS) of Radio Ishingiro. The third interviewee Oswald Niyonzima (ON) is a former programme manager at Radio Huguka. All three respondents interviewed confirmed the widely held view that Radio is the most common form of community media. Explaining why this is so, both interviewees cited low cost of acquiring radio receivers and low literacy levels which make it difficult for many to read newspapers and magazines for example. The widespread access and use of the radio has also been increased by the advent of radio receivers on cell phones as explained by Jerome Rwasa:

"...Things have been made easier with the installation of radio receivers even in phones and the interaction approach between presenters and listeners have greatly improved the relationship between them." 98

Since the main task is to find out how community radio has contributed to peace building, one of the interview questions was to find out which news elements dominate community media? Responses show a wide range of issues as exemplified by the following responses:

"The news about the daily life of the rural people dominates community media in Rwanda. Just to list a few: agriculture, health, education, socio-economic programs, unity and reconciliation, etc." 99

97  http://spore.cta.int/en/component/content/article?id=2851:1903
98  Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p. iv
99  Ildephonse Sinabubariraga interview, see appendix p. i
"Developmental issues, social welfare such as common health insurance, good governance issues such as local community based, sector policy meetings are some of the dominant elements. However, as a community that has a tragic past of the 1994 genocide, some reconciliatory message pass on the airwaves from time to time".  

The final response to that question was more or less similar to the others: “Best practices in development such as in agriculture, business, infrastructures and health.”

These responses indicate that the community radios report on socio-economic programs including specific reconciliatory messages. It is important to recall at this juncture that the underlying causes of the genocide in Rwanda included social discontent, economic crisis, regionalism, historical ethnic conflict opposing Hutus to Tutsis, bad leadership and such external forces such as the structural adjustment programme as articulated by Jean-Marie Vianney Higiro. Even where community radios are not specifically and directly transmitting a peace message or passing a specific reconciliatory message but any of the issues raised in the above responses like agriculture, health, education etc, they are in essence therefore contributing to peace building. This is made clearer if the definition of peace building is recalled- a broad range of activities and programmes that aim to strengthen the prospects of peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict in society. The following response to the question of how community media has contributed to peace further explains this:

“The community media bring an important contribution to building peace in Rwanda. 1) During the commemoration period, they put much emphasis on programs promoting peace, unity and reconciliation. 2) You can’t have peace if you have hunger or you don’t have food security. Then the community radio stations put much emphasis on radio programs that help people get socio-economic welfare. In this context, they play an important role in peace, unity and reconciliation as well as community development”.

It is important to note how the above response connects food security to peace. This supports Galtung’s argument for the notion of a positive peace and that it is lack of such peace that leads to violent conflict a was experienced in Rwanda.

100 Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p.v
101 Oswald Niyonzima interview see appendix p.viii
102 Ildephonse Sinabubariraga interview see appendix p.ii
Community radios like Isangano, Huguka and Ishingiro as evidenced by the above responses are engaged through their programs, with the same underlying issues that caused the genocide and as such are decreasing the likelihood of a degeneration to violent conflict while promoting what Galtung called positive peace. This effectively makes the role of community radios in peace building therefore two-pronged i.e. ensuring negative peace is maintained and promoting positive peace. By their own admission, the community radios came later after the end of violent conflict and thus did not take part in the end of physical violence as the response below shows:

"Rwanda was already registering success and progress in consolidating peace even before the emergence of the community radios. The first Community Radio in Rwanda was IZUBA and was created 2004. By that time the reconciliation process was on high gear, however the introduction of community radios accelerated the process because through them a platform for sharing the challenges and success stories on reconciliation was created. The radio stations carry stories and have talk shows concentrating on this issue and have been hosting shows especially designed to accompany the population in this endeavour". 103

This response raises a very pertinent issue on what causes violence on the one hand and what contributions community radio can play in peace building through raising the opportunities for participation. By stating that the creation of a platform for sharing the challenges and success stories accelerated the reconciliation process, JR is implicitly making the point that the absence of such platform was partly responsible for the violence in the first instance. Now, that affirms the UNESCO finding above that the root causes of internal conflicts is denial of popular participation, a proposition which seems to resonate with the Rwandan experience under Habyarimana’s dictatorship. This means that community radios are contributing towards peace by providing talk shows and participatory platforms and opportunities akin to the Habermasian public sphere through programmes like Inshuti za Radio Izuba and Imboni described above. In what JR is explaining, it is important to look beyond the process of learning from shared experiences to include the satisfaction and spiritual fulfilment of participation, involvement and in other words a sense of belonging that the platform that community radio has created.

103 Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p. vi-vii
The element of participation forms the cornerstone of community broadcasting and as noted is directly linked to the promotion of intercultural dialogue and tolerance. It is only when people share their experiences that they can understand each other empathetically and get a mutual sense of belonging. Oswald Niyonzima gives an account of how drama and similar programmes carried out by community radios have changed perceptions of ethnicity and promoted peace and reconciliation.

"Some of them have drama programs that are dedicated to unity and reconciliation and through those dramas we have a big number of people who witness to have been positively changed and consider themselves as Rwandans instead of what used to be their ethnicities. Others give witnesses of how they helped them to forgive genocide perpetrators who killed their relatives. On the other hand we witness some genocide perpetrators who took courage and bowed the genocide survivors to beg for forgiveness".  

According to Jerome Rwasa, Radio Isangano carries the voices of the people through hosting programs sponsored by civil society organisations, its own designated radio programs and/or field visits where people can comment on issues.

"Either through pre paid/sponsored shows run by organizations engaged in advocacy or wellbeing of the ordinary people or some designated programs run by radio itself or the animation done by the radio, ordinary people have their say through our airwaves. This is sometimes done by going to the field and meets people where they express their views freely; sometimes we bring them to the studios and give them enough space to interact, share, ask or comment on issues ".

The participatory platform offered by community radios in Rwanda has been used as an important tool for dispute resolution involving community members and local authorities. The ability to talk back to authority can be contrasted to the downward flow of information witnessed when for example RTLM issued instructions on how to conduct the genocide. Oswald Niyonzima and Ildephones Sinabubariraga explain how community members make demands through the radio and get instant responses from local authorities and this is preemptive to violent conduct.

104 Oswald Niyonzima interview see appendix p. ix

105 Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p. vi
According to Sinaburiraga “Community Radio play an important role to be the voice for the voiceless. Examples: - There are some cases where people have worked in Road constructions or other public activities and they have not been paid or they have been paid lately, in this case, the people feel comfortable to go to community radio stations to express their problems, and once during the course of making a news story, the officials replying by giving a deadline by which they have to have resolved the problems and in many cases these problems are resolved because the community radio stations have intervened.”

Niyonzima also states that “.And now you see, local people (ordinary citizens) running to media when they face any injustice”

This mediatory role is also made possible because of proximity i.e. the community radio station is easily accessible to the community members. Turning to the media in the face of injustice, using it as a tool to talk back has often led to amicable solutions. Inherent in this aspect of empowering the local people is the fact that community radio is not only easily accessible but manned by staff the local people know, people they selected and can thus trust. In other words community radio is not some detached, elite institution and the aspect of trust is itself important for peace building and reconciliation.

In a country of 11 million people, the voice of some unpaid villagers in one corner of the country would hardly be heard if the country had only one state controlled radio based in Kigali. That would not only reduce their chances of ever getting their money but perhaps the only way their plight could find its way through the airwaves is when they become riotous and destroy public property etc. Community radio intervention in Rwanda has thus averted what could have been flagrant abuse of people’s rights which in the past has resulted in untold suffering and ultimately violence.

Explaining how community media has empowered the local people to speak out and air their grievances, Oswald Niyonzima narrates how as a journalist he observed that people initially thought that it was only politicians who could talk through the media.

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106 **Ildephonse Sinabubariraga** interview see appendix p.ii

107 **Oswald Niyonzima** interview see appendix p. ix
The advent of community radios has since shifted that culture, he explains:

"I think they do a good job. I remember starting my job as a journalist, ordinary citizens could not accept to be interviewed. They used to think that only leaders especially politicians can talk in media." 108

Oswald Niyonzima’s observation is important in several respects. First it supports the notion of culture generation brought about by community radio. Whereas people would use other means to settle disputes including violence which led to the infamous genocide we now see people preferring softer means like lobbying and negotiated settlements. A culture of receiving information and instructions is now replaced with talking back. Accessing the microphone on the same basis as the previously revered politician gives an iota of equality and gives the individual a measure of decency which as Galtung explained is part of the large body of peace.

Looking back at how the media was arranged in Rwanda before and during the genocide, newspapers like Kangura and the RTLM station could be easily classified as ethnic mouthpieces. Such ethnic based stations can be easily manipulated to spread hate speech and tend to reinforce difference. The present arrangement where community radio stations are based on province and need rather than a Hutu/Tutsi basis also help in peace building. Both respondents vividly emphasise that all Rwandans speak the same language and share the same values and culture according to the responses below:

“In Rwanda there is no clear distinction of a community and the other because all Rwandans speak the same language and share the same culture. However, regions of Rwanda have slight difference in terms of what they cultivate and what not, the rainfall varying from place to place, areas with high mountains and others being plateau and the like. So for example people in the mountainous zones have hindrance in receiving radio signals, hence a need for a radio of proximity. Ethnic group has nothing to do with distinctions of communities in Rwanda because what I mentioned above is applicable to all Rwandans without exceptions based on any of the above.” 109

108 Oswald Niyonzima interview see appendix p.ix

109 Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p.v
“The Rwanda context is different from other contexts. All Rwandans speak the same language (Kinyarwanda), share the same values and culture. So by ordinary people, I would understand voiceless, those people who need support, who need advocacy. Community Radio plays an important role to be the voice for the voiceless.”

“It is not well specified as these local media are at the reach of everyone. But they are initially destined to rural population regardless any difference.”

What can be deduced from the above and important for peace building is that community radios in Rwanda emphasise homogeneity rather than difference. It is difference, real and/or imagined amplified by the media that eventually led to the genocide. Community radios are therefore reversing long held stereotypes that created enmity between people who otherwise largely share the same culture. In other words the community radio stations are using a new narrative to articulate the socio-economic conditions of the population, different from the RTLM which sought to blame the ills of the Rwandan society on the Tutsi thereby setting up one group against the other.

Hall(2013) points out that meaning is constructed by people. As such, representations by the media of individuals, groups of people or society’s problems etc, contribute to how people eventually relate to one another. This is why Curtis(2000) argued that if media like RTLM could play such a crucial role in mobilising people and sustaining conflict through making representations(albeit false) of the Tutsi, perhaps more balanced local media can serve as a tool to promote peace.

The community radios’ choice of geography as opposed to ethnicity in conceptualising community is therefore not accidental but can be seen in the light of a series of strategic decisions which have aided them in maximising their efforts in peace building and reconciliation efforts. A quick glance at available evidence points to a community approach as described above i.e. they seem more concerned with serving their respective communities more than contradicting dominant discourses in the mainstream media(alternative approach).

110 Ildephonse Sinabubariraga interview see appendix p.ii
111 Oswald Niyonzima interview see appendix p.ix
Neither do they seem to envisage themselves as part of civil society (civil society approach) e.g Jerome Rwasa explains that Isangano carries the voices of the people through hosting programs sponsored by civil society organisations without referring to them as fellow CSOs. Radio Isangano’s mission statement however explicitly mentions the aim to be an alternative to mainstream information among other things, indicating a mix of the different approaches and therefore rhizomatic relationships. It has to be recalled too that it was through the Rwandan government’s agreement with the USA that saw IREX assisting some of the community radios. It appears, the community radios in Rwanda do not have a marked antagonistic relationship with the state despite a few isolated challenges like the occasional arrest of a journalist. A possible explanation as Carpentier et al put it, "community media establish different types of relationships with the market or state often for the reasons of survival". It can be argued that one way community radio stations in Rwanda are contributing to peace building is by keeping the state happy and remaining on air.

The approach chosen by the stations to be less antagonistic contributes to peace building because the concessions and small losses to regulation or self censorship are overweighed by the gains of media pluralism, participation by community members etc.

4.6 The Media Environment and Community Radios

Despite getting a very bad press score from internationally recognised organisations like Freedom House, all respondents do not express any problem with the regulation of the media or the relationship between the media and the state. Ildephonse Sinabubariraga, for example states that:

"The Rwandan Laws and regulations are very fair and favourable to media development"

While as explained, this could be indicative of survival strategies but it is also important to realise that the current Rwandan media environment is far better than it was before the RPF came to power and community radios owe their existence to the evolution of media laws since then especially opening up of the airwaves to multiple players.

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115 Ildephonse Sinabubariraga interview see appendix p.iii
The table below shows how the media environment evolved and how it has resulted in the kind of relationship that exists between the state and community radios. While not exhaustive since all the amendments made to the media laws are not included in the table, the few distinctive legal changes selected show that from the time the genocide ended the media environment was not favourable for journalism. The onslaught on media including for example the arrest of the Huguka community radio journalist may have built an atmosphere of fear over the years such that even if some positive changes occurred recently especially with the new media law of 2013, practitioners find it hard to take it for granted that the government will not quickly amend the laws and punish critics.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Law/Government policy</th>
<th>Impact Characterisation</th>
<th>Diagnostic Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radio Agatashya closure 1996</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>It took 8 years until a truly community radio could be launched (Radio Izuba in 2004) after the closure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press law 18/ 2002 of 18/05/2002</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Punitive for practice of journalism, 20 year jail term for trying to incite genocide and death penalty for successfully inciting genocide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amendments to the 2008 Law Relating to the Interception of Communications in 2012</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Securitisation - empower the police, army and intelligence services to listen to and read private communications, both online and offline in order to protect public security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Law N°02/2013 on regulating media (Media law)  | Positive and Negative   | Positives - Self regulation, legal rights for journalists, no requirements for special qualifications etc  
|                                               |                         | Negatives - State retains control of media, not provide a clear explanation of when there will be a necessity to restrict media reporting etc |

Whereas community media should theoretically provide for free expression, it is difficult to do so with laws like the Press Law 18 of 2002 for example which essentially made it hard to openly discuss the genocide.
While the media environment improved markedly since the end of the genocide, there may be a danger that media players including community media may feel constrained to openly criticise the state. This may be either because by antagonising the state they may be shut down which is easily justifiable in the eyes of the state and perhaps many given the history of media and genocide in the country. While the present arrangement where community radio stations pay half the amount in spectrum fees compared to commercial radio stations is a good thing, it can also be argued that it makes the community radio stations beholden to the state for their financial survival. With an overwhelming majority in parliament, the Rwandan government could easily force the community radios off air by increasing their spectrum fees with very little if any opposition to such move.

It may also be that the community radios feel genuinely that they benefited most from whatever changes have happened as the current media environment is relatively better and allows for their operation. An example is for example the removal of the requirement that journalists should hold relevant academic qualifications given that most citizen journalists elected by the communities in the community radios would otherwise not qualify.

Indeed, the current government has loosened media control including leaving the media to regulate itself as explained above. The Committee to Protect Journalists interviewed 25 journalists and however find that there is massive self-censorship as "many remain fearful of testing the limits of the newly granted freedoms, particularly since the government continues to act ruthlessly against critics at home and abroad."\(^{116}\)

### 4.7 Summary of Findings

Citizen participation through community media in the context of peace building can be looked at from two perspectives as this case study shows. Firstly, in the community itself where as Rosseau argued that citizens assemble to take part in decision making and participation to protect private interests and ensure good governance. From the evidence gathered e.g. Radio Izuba’s Imboni or community reporters elected by the people and listeners’ clubs, there seem to be fulfilment of the critical community media principle of involving citizens in the ownership, management and production of news.

This interaction of citizens at the community level is as explained earlier important for peace as Rosseau argues that individuals become interdependent and are forced to deliberate justly because fellow citizens can always resist implementation of inequitable demands. Take an example of an elected childless Imboni citizen reporter who neglects to report on what the community has tasked him to report, say shortage of children’s school books at a local school. He would be removed or not re-elected. It is evident that with community radios in Rwanda citizens can hardly be said to be at the nonparticipation level on Arnestein’s ladder.

We now know that experts from different core sectors like health and agriculture use the stations to assist community members with information relevant to their region as Jerome Rwasa stated “.. regions of Rwanda have slight difference in terms of what they cultivate and what not, the rainfall varying from place to place, areas with high mountains and others being plateau and the like”¹¹⁷. So while one of the major benefits of community media is that citizens upload information, communication remains a two way traffic where individuals not only download information from the station but also share and discuss it amongst themselves enhancing prospects of peaceful co-existence. Whereas Arnestein would have labelled as Tokenism such flow of expert information from health, education and agricultural specialists be they from government or NGOs it would be simplistic to dismiss it as non beneficial to the community. This is because unlike mainstream media where the community has no control and ownership, in community media citizens decide to download information on their own terms. Information is not imposed on them but they decide what sort of expert they would like to listen to according to their needs and not only listen to but ask relevant questions through the phone in programmes for example.

The associations that run and own the stations on behalf of the community members are led by people elected by community members themselves making it difficult for power holders to use the stations to simply inform and “educate” them or engineer their support as Arnestein defines tokenism. This can be contrasted with the Rwanda Broadcasting Agency owned and controlled community radios whose main purpose is to inform the community about government policies and spread the ideas and best practices from the government’s perspective which according to Arnestein would be step 3 and therefore tokenism.

¹¹⁷ Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p.v
Secondly, participation can also be looked at from the perspective of voices to authorities or power holders and how this is beneficial to citizens as Arnestein outlined. We now know that the Rwanda community radios do sometimes ask power holders to respond directly to citizens’ questions through phone in programmes for example. From the evidence, the voices of the citizens are heard through community radios. The question is if power holders care and act on the voices.

The example by Ildephonse Sinabubariraga that there are cases where people worked in public activities and were paid after citizens aired their grievances on the radio provides albeit subtle evidence that the power holders do not only hear the voices but do act too though there is no assurance that will always do. What is important to note is that once again there is evidence of community media’s mediatory role and in this example, the participation of community members and the airing of their voices on the radio cannot be said to have been a mere ritual or tokenism on Arnestein’s ladder.

There are some grey areas going up the Arnestein ladder with regard to participation by and through community radios in Rwanda. Here the citizens have a high measure of control i.e. they have the power to govern most policy and managerial aspects of their stations but there is no evidence that they can negotiate in partnership with the government on close to equal terms. Neither do the stations and indeed the citizens that own and run them have control over the conditions under which government can change policy governing community radios. This partly explains why community radios cannot afford as explained above to be too antagonistic to the state. It does not however mean that participation is not beneficial because for purposes of peace building, part of the work is done through participation within the community and secondly even when juxtaposed with power holders we have seen evidence the latter giving concessions.

The very existence of community radios in Rwanda was a result of a “response to people’s quest for a most wide source of information and their need to have a broader platform for them to participate in the process of good governance”\(^\text{118}\). What is not there is just the assurance that policy cannot be changed.

\(^{118}\) Jerome Rwasa interview see appendix p. v
Looking at participation from these two perspectives is important in the context of peace building as community media has a dual role i.e. provide a platform for citizens to interact at the community level while also acting as a conduit for the community members to interact with power holders on their own terms.

5. Conclusion

Based on the narrations of practitioners in community radio stations in Rwanda, there are ample reasons to believe that the stations are making positive impact on peace building thereby supporting the hypothesis that community media enhances peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation. Recalling that the main question was focused on how they are contributing towards peace building rather than how much they have contributed, the study finds that the stations do so in several ways, namely:

(a) Direct transmission of peace and reconciliatory messages from time to time and on special occasions like genocide commemoration day
(b) Shared experiences of challenges and successes by the local people through narrations, drama and song on radio
(c) Addressing underlying causes of violence that led to the genocide like food security, social development in areas of health, education, agriculture, small business, good governance etc by providing a platform for the local people to participate in the shaping of their lives and identity
(d) Ensuring that the conceptualisation of community is not ethnic based but geographic bearing in mind too that the people of Rwanda speak the same language and basically share a common culture, in other words the radio stations emphasise homogeneity as opposed to difference
(e) Providing a dispute resolution tool which local people can run to in the face of injustice to talk back and hold authorities to account thereby pre-empting violence.

The role of community radios in peace building cannot and does not necessarily have to be measured in terms of how many news bulletins or programs carry a specific call to unity and reconciliation. What is important is that the radio station operating with and within the community addresses the socio-economic and political structures and issues that impinge on both negative and positive peace. In other words, daily calls for people to live side by side peacefully alone as other forms of media would otherwise do without providing people the opportunity to collectively participate in reshaping the above structures in a mutually beneficial manner would be fruitless.
It is the participatory and interactive platform that makes community media unique and effective in peace building and particularly community radio in the Rwandan context owing to low literacy levels, radio’s wide reach and relatively low cost.

On the question of how changes in the media environment impacted on the operations of community radio stations, the study finds that on a positive note, the stations owe their existence primarily to the liberalisation of media in the early 2000s. By the time the first community radio was going on air in 2004 (Radio Izuba) there was already talk of the media laws being harsh and since then there has been positive changes to the media laws over the years. What has however been problematic according to independent observers is the state’s heavy handedness to journalists to the extent journalists are sceptical to test the newly granted freedoms. Self-censorship is therefore common and as for community radio stations, it seems this state of affairs has resulted in a rhizomatic approach where they neither want to identify too much with radical civil society nor push the state too hard and be seen as antagonistic. They seem to realise that their survival is more important than to be antagonistic and be shut down. This strategy allows community media to remain in position and continue to serve their communities while acting as alternative to mainstream media discourse. This allows them to continue pushing for good governance and democratisation which to great extent contributes to the peace building process.

There is however need for further research through a broad survey to determine the perceptions of citizens on their participation, involvement in programming and responsiveness of authorities to the issues they air on the community radio stations. Such research could importantly tackle these issues from a gender and/ or youth perspectives to assess their participation.
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8. Appendices

8.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE: Communication Experts

Purpose of the Study
This questionnaire is part of an MA thesis. The purpose of the study is to explore the role played by community media in building peace after the Rwanda genocide. In other words, the intention is to establish if there is a direct and explicit connection between the role played by community media after the genocide and the prevailing peace and development in the country.

Kindly answer the following questions. Your name and contact details will not be published or given to third parties without your explicit permission.

Name and occupation Ildephonse Sinabubariraga - Managing Director, Ishingiro Community Radio

1. What is the most common type of community media in Rwanda i.e. radio, newspaper, TV etc? Radio

2. Why do you think this is so? Radio is the cheapest media, it does not require someone to be educated to listen to it. For print, you have to be able to read and have a reading culture, TV is expensive; so Radio remains in Rwanda and many countries the easiest media.

3. Does this vary between rural and urban communities? How? Yes, in rural areas, almost everyone has a radio receiver/radio set. Also the electricity, education, poverty factor favour the rural areas to access easily radio sets but for urban areas, the radio remains the main media vehicle but some of the people read print newspapers and have TV sets.

4. How frequently do you access the community media in a month? Very often, almost everyday I access community media/community radio.

5. What news element(s) dominate community media in Rwanda? The news about the daily life of the rural people dominates community media in Rwanda. Just to list a few: agriculture, health, education, socio-economic programs, unity and reconciliation, etc.

6. Briefly describe how Community Media coordinate their activities in Rwanda e.g. if they have an umbrella organisation and what is it called? By now, Rwanda has four private/independent community radio stations. It has also the so-called community radio stations owned by the Public Broadcaster RBA (Rwanda Broadcasting Agency). The 4 pure and private community radio stations are members of RCRN (Rwanda Community Radio’s Network). The Managing Directors and even Chief Editors meet on a regular basis.

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7. Do you think new community media projects were started in the past two decades and what was the main objective? Of course yes. All the community radio stations (the private owned by associations) have started in less than 10 years. Radio Izuba is almost at the stage of celebrating 10 years. Radio Huguka will celebrate soon its 5 years. Radio Ishingiro and ISANGANO, have celebrated 3 years on air and before end of June next year, they will have celebrated the 4 years on air.

8. In your view what constitutes a community in relation to community media in Rwanda?
(a)village (b)district (c)province (d)ethnic group (e)sex (f)profession (g)other-specify

9. How has community media contributed towards building peace in Rwanda after the genocide? The community media bring an important contribution to building peace in Rwanda. 1) During the commemoration period, they put much emphasis on programs promoting peace, unity and reconciliation. 2) You can’t have peace if you have hunger or you don’t have food security. Then the community radio stations put much emphasis on radio programs that help people get socio-economic welfare. In this context, they play an important role in peace, unity and reconciliation as well as in community development.

10. How well does community media carry the voices of the ordinary people in Rwanda? The Rwanda context is different from other contexts. All Rwandans speak the same language (Kinyarwanda), share the same values and culture. So by ordinary people, I would understand voiceless, those people who need support, who need advocacy. Community Radio play an important role to be the voice for the voiceless. Examples: - There are some cases where people have worked in Road constructions or other public activities and they have not been paid or they have been paid lately, in this case, the people feel comfortable to go to community radio stations to express their problems, and once during the course of making a news story, the officials replying by giving a deadline by which they have to have resolved the problems and in many cases these problems are resolved because the community radio stations have intervened.

11. Community media normally carries the voices of the members of its particular community. How does it report on other communities? Kindly give examples if possible. This doesn’t apply to the Rwandan Context, this is for countries where they have communities based on ethnic groups, tribes, languages, etc.

12. Were there instances when community media fuelled tensions after the genocide? What had happened and how was it resolved? Never, community radio stations in Rwanda have not even been accused of any breach of ethics or professional code of conduct.

13. How is community media content regulated in Rwanda? There is no difference in terms of regulations. But for instance, when paying the radio license spectrum fees, They pay half of the amount of money paid by commercial radio stations. Of course they are required not to be money oriented and it is respected.
14. What are your views concerning regulation of the media in general and community media in particular? The Rwandan Laws and regulations are very fair and favourable to media development.

15. What are the challenges facing community media in Rwanda? Budget constraints. Community media are based in rural areas where there are no advertisers and people who really understand how to use the radio for their own benefits (growth of their businesses). So they struggle and run but they would contribute a lot to the community if they were not facing budget constraints.
8.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE: Communication Experts

Purpose of the Study

This questionnaire is part of an MA thesis. The purpose of the study is to explore the role played by community media in building peace after the Rwanda genocide. In other words, the intention is to establish if there is a direct and explicit connection between the role played by community media after the genocide and the prevailing peace and development in the country.

Kindly answer the following questions. Your name and contact details will not be published or given to third parties without your explicit permission.

Name and occupation:

Jerome Rwasa-My Occupation is Journalism for the last 18 years though am currently a founding director of Isangano Community Radio.

1. What is the most common type of community media in Rwanda i.e. radio, newspaper, TV etc?

The most common type of community media in Rwanda currently is Radio though in the near past also magazines and other informative bulletins were popular but are now fading out.

2. Why do you think this is so?

Radio is the easier way to getting information, entertainment and the like because it is a channel that can be used and accessed by almost everyone including the illiterates or semi illiterates, rich and poor, people in town and those in villages. Things have been made easier with the installation of radio receivers even in phones and the interaction approach between presenters and listeners has improved greatly relationship between them.

3. Does this vary between rural and urban communities? How?

There is a slight variation between urban and rural because, most community radio stations are based in rural areas and the stations are liked by the communities due to proximity and content made easy for their consumption. This results into staying connected almost the whole day contrary to the urban populations which may be perceive to be developed and somehow busy thus taking a little care to media content except on some shows of their choice.

4. How frequently do you access the community media in a month?

If this is relevant for me to tackle (because we are a broadcaster not consumer), this is done every day by Isangano Community Radio station. We run 24hrs a day and we have entertainers/journalists in the studio between 5 AM up to 10 PM, and each time the presenter is in the studio is busy airing a content and receiving feedback; and this is the daily routine.
5. What news element(s) dominate community media in Rwanda?

Developmental issues, social welfare such as common health insurance, good governance issues such as local community based, sector policy meetings are some of the dominant elements. However, as a community that has a tragic past of the 1994 genocide, some reconciliatory message pass on the airwaves from time to time.

6. Briefly describe how Community Media coordinate their activities in Rwanda e.g. if they have an umbrella organisation and what is it called?

Each community media in Rwanda is fully independent and autonomous be in policy and management of the station, be it in funds generation and management, local content, National or International content gathering and broadcasting all community media do it independently. The Radios are managed by hired staff representing the community through an elected board, and it is responsible to manage the station fully.

However Rwanda having four real community radio stations, these radio stations decided to put in place an umbrella called Rwanda Community Radio Network with a mandate of broadening the platform for advocacy and promotion of a bigger space for negotiation with prospected partners/customers. The network is funded by the radio through monthly contributions.

7. Do you think new community media projects were started in the past two decades and what was the main objective?

Community media is a new phenomena in Rwanda, most of the community radios were started in a collaboration of the Government of Rwanda and partners mostly the USAID in response to people’s quest for a most wide source of information and their need to have a broader platform for them to participate in the process of good governance.

8. In your view what constitutes a community in relation to community media in Rwanda?

In Rwanda there is no clear distinction of a community and the other because all Rwandans speak the same language and share the same culture. However, regions of Rwanda have slight difference in terms of what they cultivate and what not, the rainfall varying from place to place, areas with high mountains and others being plateau and the like. So for example people in the mountainous zones have hindrance in receiving radio signals, hence a need for a radio of proximity. Ethnic group has nothing to do with distinctions of communities in Rwanda because what I mentioned above is applicable to all Rwandans without exceptions based on any of the above.

(a)village  (b)district (c)province (d)ethnic group (e)sex (f)profession (g)other-specify
9. How has community media contributed towards building peace in Rwanda after the genocide?

Rwanda was already registering success and progress in consolidating peace even before the emergence of the community radios. The first Community Radio in Rwanda was IZUBA and was created 2004. By that time the reconciliation process was on high gear, however the introduction of community radios accelerated the process because through them a platform for sharing the challenges and success stories on reconciliation was created.

The radio stations carry stories and have talk shows concentrating on this issue and have been hosting shows especially designed to accompany the population in this endeavour.

10. How well do community media carry the voices of the ordinary people in Rwanda?

Either through pre paid/sponsored shows run by organizations engaged in advocacy or wellbeing of the ordinary people or some designated programs run by radio itself or the animation done by the radio, ordinary people have their say through our airwaves.

This is sometimes done by going to the field and meets people where they express their views freely; sometimes we bring them to the studios and give them enough space to interact, share, ask or comment on issues.

11. Community media normally carries the voices of the members of its particular community. How does it report on other communities? Kindly give examples if possible.

Refer to the communities, the Rwandan context

12. Were there instances when community media fuelled tensions after the genocide? What had happened and how was it resolved?

It has never happened; there is no live example to give.

13. How is community media content regulated in Rwanda?

Just as other media in Rwanda, community media is regulated under the existing rules and laws governing media. Currently this work is done by a self regulatory body called Rwanda Media Commission. Since its creation in 2013, the body has never in any given instance or circumstance intervened, interfered or summoned our radio or any other community radio on a matter related to content. Otherwise as I said, the board of the radio is responsible through its managing team for the radio, ours and other radio alike to regulate advice and decide on such matters.

14. What are your views concerning regulation of the media in general and community media in particular?

Media content regulation in Rwanda has been transferred to the media fraternity itself to take care of, this organ or initiative is still new in Rwanda it needs some time to organize and be at a stage of doing things competently; however the initiative is good and it is yielding positive results.
Matters of censorship, harassment by and to some media practitioners have diminished a great deal. Almost there is no particular scenario for the community media because all media categories in Rwanda fall under similar laws and similar bodies. The advantage for the community media is that orders come from within the community thus implementing decisions becomes much easy.

15. What are the challenges facing community media in Rwanda?

Community media (Radio) is a new instrument of mass media in Rwanda, being nascent it is facing challenges such as not having special consideration in terms of how to support it grow or even survive given special circumstance it surrounding their existence.

These media outlets operate within poor communities where to manage running costs one is ought to seek partnerships’, sponsorships, customers away from it. Being a new thing, even the communities (refer to what community means in Rwanda) do not feel ownership, thus organizing event such as fundraising event has not been such easy. Other challenges include little qualifications that most of its volunteers has in the domain, expensive and not locally available radio spare parts and the inability to pull in talented people to work for it due to financial limitations.
8.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE: Communication Experts

Purpose of the Study

This questionnaire is part of an MA thesis. The purpose of the study is to explore the role played by community media in building peace after the Rwanda genocide. In other words, the intention is to establish if there is a direct and explicit connection between the role played by community media after the genocide and the prevailing peace and development in the country.

Kindly answer the following questions. Your name and contact details will not be published or given to third parties without your explicit permission.

Name and occupation: Oswald Niyonzima- Journalist and former Program Manager at Radio Huguka

1. What is the most common type of community media in Rwanda i.e. radio, newspaper, TV etc? Radio. TV sets are expensive.

2. Why do you think this is so? The culture of reading is still poor in Rwanda. Rwandans prefer listening than reading.

3. Does this vary between rural and urban communities? How? Absolutely yes. In rural areas, they don’t easily get access to newspapers and TV sets and access are expensive. In some parts, they don’t even have electricity.

4. What news element(s) dominate community media in Rwanda? Best practices in development such as in agriculture, business, infrastructures and health.

5. Briefly describe how Community Media coordinate their activities in Rwanda e.g. if they have an umbrella organisation and what is it called? A part from community radios attached to RBA, Rwanda Broadcast Agency and community media are privately owned.

6. Do you think new community media projects were started in the past two decades and what was the main objective? Sure, in Rwanda, before the genocide we used to have only one radio-Radio Nationale du Rwanda. However now we have 33 radio stations among which community media make a big deal. The main objective of these community media was to enforce unity and reconciliation and the reconstruction of the country through educating programs whose contents were mainly development initiatives, local communities engagement in unity and reconciliation and youth engagement in both unity and reconciliation and national development.
7. In your view what constitutes a community in relation to community media in Rwanda?

(a) village (b) district (c) province (d) ethnic group (e) sex (f) profession (g) other specify. It is not well specified as these local media are at the reach of everyone. But they are initially destined to rural population regardless any difference.

8. How has community media contributed towards building peace in Rwanda after the genocide? Through these media we have many groups such as audience groups, ambassadors of radios, etc that have been created regardless their origins and they are now good friends and do different activities together. For instance, journalists and ambassadors of Nyagatare Communit Radio (RC Nyagatare) in 2012 during the commemoration week collected money together to help genocide survivors with little financial means. This explains how these community radios are bringing people together. Some of them have drama programs that are dedicated to unity and reconciliation and through those drama we have a big number of people who witness to have been positively changed and consider themselves as Rwandans instead of what used to be their ethnicities. Others give witnesses of how they helped them to forgive genocide perpetrators who killed their relatives. On the other hand we witness some genocide perpetrators who took courage and bowed the genocide survivors to beg for forgiveness.

9. How well does community media carry the voices of the ordinary people in Rwanda? I think they do a good job. I remember starting my job as journalist, ordinary citizens could not accept to be interviewed. They used to think that only leaders especially politicians can talk in media. It’s through Radio Salus, the Radio of the National University of Rwanda currently University of Rwanda, which trained students from the School of Journalism and Communication that cut off that culture. They gave, though would push to get an ordinary person a mic, a space and leaders were frustrated to solve people's claims. And now you see, local people (ordinary citizens) running to media when they face any injustice.

10. Were there instances when community media fuelled tensions after the genocide? What had happened and how was it resolved? I never heard such a case. They are always attentive not to hurt healing wounds.

11. How is community media content regulated in Rwanda? Like other media, they are regulated by RURA. They differentiated from commercial media by their contents. Otherwise, I don’t see any big difference as far as regulations are concerned.

12. What are your views concerning regulation of the media in general and community media in particular? Well, media law are very threatening due to the role hate media have played in the Genocide against Tutsi. One has to always pay attention in whatever he says not to fall in the trap in which media fell during the genocide.

13. What are the challenges facing community media in Rwanda? Mostly financial means and trainings.