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Framing Peace, the case of conciliatory radio programming in Burundi and Uganda

William Tayeebwa
Lecturer, Department of Journalism and Communication, Makerere University, Uganda
Visiting Research Fellow, Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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Abstract: This working paper uses insights from completed research on 'peace radio' in Uganda to discuss the strategy for completing the same interrogation of 'peace radio' in Burundi. In relative detail, the paper discusses how and why the peace journalism model is the most appropriate theoretical framework to study the 'peace radio' model in Burundi. The paper presents three cases chosen for study namely: a) Murikira Ukuri *programme, Kirundi for 'enlighten with the truth', produced by Studio Ijambo; b)* Le Burundi Avance *(Burundi Advancing) produced by the BINUB (*Bureau Intégré des Nations Unies au Burundi*); and c) the* Rondera Amahoro *programme, Kirundi for 'in quest of peace', produced and broadcast by RTNB (*Radio Télévision Nationale Burundaise*). From the Ugandan research, the 'peace journalism' model manifests a shaky uptake (Tayeebwa 2012). While Ugandan journalists and media actors were able to appreciate the media values of peace, they were still equally entrenched in their practice using the conventional media values that favour conflict and violence. In this paper, the research questions and methods to interrogate the Burundian cases are discussed.* [*]

1. Introduction

For two decades from 1987 to 2006, the three million inhabitants of Northern Uganda lived under a civil war, between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF), which left half a million people dead (Murithi 2002; International Crisis Group 2004). Conversely in Burundi, now a member country of the East Africa Community (EAC), ethno-political violence has been for much longer and with more frequency constituting what Lemarchand (1994) calls an "ethnocide", defined as "ethnic violence as a mode of discourse and a mode of political action" (p.xii). René Lemarchand, a scholar who works on both Rwanda and Burundi, estimates that the cumulative number of people killed in Burundi since 1965 is higher than those killed in Rwanda (Lemarchand 1994, 1996); and yet Burundi has not featured as prominently on the global mass media agenda.

In both Burundi and Northern Uganda, several initiatives have been undertaken to end the ethno-political violence. One of such initiatives has been the use of 'peace radio' broadcasts. This research project in Burundi builds on work that has analysed three 'peace radio' broadcasts on two radio stations in Northern Uganda to end the LRA rebellion (Tayeebwa 2012). *Dwog Cen Paco* (Luo language for 'come back home') and *'Ter Yat'* (Luo language for 'discussion under a tree') broadcast weekly on 102 Mega FM from war-ravaged Gulu town. Both programmes follow a radio talk-show format with a host who is often a broadcast journalist moderating a real time discussion with invited guests comprising a mixture of government or army officials, community workers, religious and/or cultural leaders, former rebels, and sometimes opposition politicians. Whereas the host journalist asks most of the questions during the show, the guests often take questions directly from listeners on the topic of the day. The *Dwog cen Paco* programme focuses on former LRA child soldiers within the framework of DDR (Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration), while the *Ter Yat* programme is broader in scope dealing with issues of national peace-building.

The second radio station, *Radio Wa 89.8 FM*, 'Our Radio' in the local Luo language, is based in Lira District, which was for long also affected by LRA insurgency. Following the LRA's push to Eastern Uganda in 2002, *Radio Wa* started early that year a weekly talk-show programme known as *Karibu,* a Swahili word meaning 'welcome', that called upon LRA rebels to disarm and return home

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under the 2000 government amnesty. When dozens of rebels started to isolate themselves from the main fighting parties and escaping, the LRA were enraged, attacked the station on 27 September 2002 and burned it.[1] When the station re-opened in March 2003, it continued airing peace programmes and in December 2008 launched another discursive programme known as 'Vision for peace' to focus on peace-building issues. The programme airs every Thursday for one hour from 8.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. As in the case of Mega FM's *Dwog cen Paco*, the programme is interactive. However, in this case, the hosts are usually not former combatants, but victims of the LRA conflict in the Lango region. The other difference is that while Mega FM is government owned, Radio Wa is owned by the Roman Catholic Church.

The research findings from these three 'peace radio' programmes point to a generally controlled media agenda by the radio stations not to promote inflammatory rhetoric. For instance in the discourse that involved former child combatants, all callers into the radio programmes seemed to be aware of the conciliatory framing and steered clear of phrases that would be interpreted as hate talk. In the broader discussion of political issues, however, callers and invited guests were more critical of government and non-state actors, often using harsher words to describe inaction by politicians and other service providers. Based on such insights from research on Ugandan 'peace radio' programming (Tayeebwa 2012), this comparative study uses the same approach to interrogate three 'peace radio' programmes in Burundi.

i. The *Murikira Ukuri* programme, Kirundi for 'enlighten with the truth' is produced by *Studio Ijambo* and aired on *Radio Burundi, Radio Isanganiro, Radio Bonesha* as well as *Radio Publique Africaine* (RPA). The programme adopts a soap format in which a group of people in a village setting are discussing sensitive issues with the ultimate purpose being promotion of a culture of dialogue and reconciliation in the communities. Since it is pre-recorded for airing on various stations, it does not facilitate immediate audience feedback. However, the programme appeals to local sensibilities and discusses issues in a format that breaks down stereotypes with humour and satire. The programme is also available for the Burundian Diaspora online on *Radio Isanganiro*.[2]

ii. The *Rondera Amahoro* programme, Kirundi for 'in quest of peace' is produced and broadcast by RTNB (*Radio Télévision Nationale Burundaise*), which unlike BINUB has a government agenda at stake. This programme takes on a discussion format with invited guests interacting live with listeners who call into the program. The range of issues discussed on the show vary, but all of them feed into the national peace-building agenda, highlighting various peace-building initiatives.

iii. The programme *Le Burundi Avance* ('Burundi Advancing') is a weekly news roundup magazine produced by the BINUB (*Bureau Intégré des Nations Unies au Burundi*) aired on several stations including *Radio Burundi, Radio Isanganiro, Radio Bonesha* as well as *Radio Publique Africaine* (RPA). It is mainly a discussion of a wide range of issues on the national and sometimes global peace-building agenda that cover a given week. The programme is broadcast every Friday, but occasionally on a Saturday and is moderated by a journalist who often has invited studio guests to provide expert commentary on the issues on the agenda.

The study will seek to establish who Burundian journalists and media actors identify as the actors of peace, conflict or violence. What media institutional factors would Burundian journalists identify as hampering factors to their practice and to the rootedness of a 'peace journalism'

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[1] Catholic World News.(2002). "Ugandan Rebels Destroy Catholic Radio Station; 2 Killed" at http://www.catholic culture.org/news/features/index.cfm?recnum=19024. Confirmed access in October 2013.
[2] See http://www.isanganiro.org/spip.php?article5331.

model? What values of peace do they discern and propose for reframing into peace media frames?

2. Background of the research problem in Burundi

In mid-1995, *Radio Rutomorangingo* started broadcasting anti-Tutsi diatribes in Burundi using the same format as had been used in 1994 by Rwanda's genocidal *Radio-Television Libre des Milles Colline* (RTLM). While requests by the Burundian government to jam it were not readily implemented by the USA, the radio was in 1996 successfully jammed with help from the Israeli government (Des Forges 2007:53). However, as radio stations such as *Rutomorangingo* were trying to propagate incendiary rhetoric, the Swiss NGO *Fondation Hirondelle* was busy laying foundations of a flourishing network of peace media in the region.[3]

Taking cue from what *Fondation Hirondelle* was doing in then Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and the region, an American NGO, Search for Common Ground (SCG), with funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), set up in August 1995 "*Studio Ijambo*" (Kirundi for 'wise words'), as an independent radio production studio to produce programmes promoting dialogue, peace, and reconciliation (Hagos 2001; Burton 2006). While most *Studio Ijambo* productions air on *Radio Isanganiro* 89.7 FM under the slogan of "Dialogue for the Future", several of the Studio's programmes are also broadcast on the RTNB (*Radio Télévision Nationale Burundaise*) as well as seven further radio stations in Burundi, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and via the internet; reaching an estimated 12 million people throughout the Great Lakes region.[4]

The Communication Initiative Network states that *Studio Ijambo* produces about 100 radio programmes per month including radio drama, live interactive programmes, roundtables, magazine programmes, documentaries, children's programmes and other diverse formats such as sports and music programmes. For instance, one of the most popular programmes for years was *inkingiy'ubuntu* ('Pillars of Humanity') which exposes real life stories of people who, during the crisis, risked their own lives to save the life of someone of another ethnic group. A popular radio soap opera, *Umubanyi niwe Muryango* ('Our Neighbours, Our Selves'), based on the daily challenges of two neighbouring families - one Hutu and one Tutsi - inspires listeners to identify with problems faced by others, and to appreciate positive, non-violent ways of resolving conflicts (Hagos 2001; Burton 2006).

In addition to SCG's *Studio Ijambo* productions, radio audiences in Burundi benefit from other peace radio programmes produced by:

- Studio Tubane, which was started in 1996 by the Burundian diaspora in Bruxelles, Belgium. Its programmes were initially run on *Radio Umwizero* (now *Radio Sans Frontière Bonesha* FM) until 2000 when the Studio moved to Bujumbura (Burton 2006).
- BINUB (*Bureau Intégré des Nations Unies au Burundi*) created their own studios in June 2004 and continue to produce content that feeds into Radio and Television broadcasts (Ibid.).

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[3] "Since its founding in 1995, Hirondelle has established and managed Radio Agatashya in the Great Lakes Region of Africa; Star Radio in Liberia; the Hirondelle News Agency at the ICTR in Arusha, Tanzania; Radio Blue Sky in Kosovo; Radio Ndeke Luka in Bangui in Central African Republic; MorisHamutuk, a radio programme for refugees in Timor; Radio Okapi, a national network in the DRC; Radio Miraya, a national network in Sudan; as well as a support project with the Radio-Television of Timor-Leste (RTTL)" (Dahinden 2007, p.382).

[4] See "Studio Ijambo" by Communication Initiative Network at http://www.comminit.com/en/node/119655/36 as well as "Studio Ijambo" website at http://www.studioijambo.org/.

- Studio Transworld Radio (TWR) is an American Christian NGO, which produces programmes for Radio *Ivyizigiro* and Radio Burundi (Ibid.).
- The IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks) Radio productions started in 1999 and diffuse on *Radio Kwizera* in Tanzanian refugee camps as well as on several other stations within Burundi (Ibid.).

During the first phase of the study in September-November 2009, Burundi was preparing for provincial and presidential elections due in May and June 2010 respectively. Since the parliamentary elections of 2005 that saw a former rebel leader, Pierre Nkurunziza of the CNDD-FDD party (National Council for the Defense of Democracy–Forces for the Defense of Democracy) become president, political tensions were already rising in late 2009. In the past, such a national event had pushed the ethnic tensions to breaking point. The wounds of the June 1993 landmark elections, when the first elected Hutu president Melchior Ndadaye was assassinated four months later by Tutsi elements in the army, have not healed and national elections always bring sour memories to each group (Lemarchand 1994; Burton 2006). Most notably, the start of the electoral season was characterised by accusations and counter-accusations by the various opposition political parties of unfair treatment by the ruling party.[5]

It was also during 2009 that national discussions were ongoing towards the establishment of the Burundian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as well as an International Criminal Tribunal for Burundi. In August 2009, the first phase of demobilization, disarmament and rehabilitation (DDR) of up to 23,000 former combatants ended and a follow-up DDR operation financed by a World Bank (IDA) grant had been approved in June 2009.[6] All these hot-button issues were on the mass media agenda and attracted heated debates. In such a charged political environment, and with the many peace radio programmes outlined above, how were the contentious political issues framed and relayed by radio to the population? Which issues dominated the mass media agenda? How did Burundian peace radio frame the concept of peace and peace-building? Ultimately, how does the radio discourse on foreign-funded broadcast programmes navigate what Devon Curtis, writing about Burundi, refers to as "outside ideas and interests" within the framework of the "multiple Burundian ideas and interests" (Curtis 2012: 72)?

3. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This study of 'peace radio' in Burundi is grounded in the burgeoning scholarly field of 'peace journalism'. Norwegian sociologist, Johan Galtung, is credited as the first scholar to coin the phrase 'peace journalism' and for having conceptualized how 'peace/conflict-oriented' reporting differed from the 'war/violence-oriented' strand (Lynch 1998; Lynch & McGoldrick 2005: 6; Shinar 2004: 3, 7). In his initial argument, Galtung (1998) noted that in conventional journalism, nobody referred to those covering health issues as 'disease journalists' and wondered why it seemed ordinary for journalists covering conflicts and wars to be called 'war correspondents' and not 'peace journalists' (p.9). As the model gained more adherents, its unique character as a direct call to journalists covering war and violence to promote voices and outcomes geared towards consensus and common-ground became more pronounced.[7] For instance, Tehranian (2002) defined the genre as "a kind of journalism and media ethics that attempts, as well as possible, to

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[5] See "L'opposition accuse le camp présidentiel d'avoir créé une milice" at http://www.burunditransparence.org/opposition_accuse.html. Confirmed access in October 2013.

[6] See "Transitional Demobilization and Reintegration Program (TDRP) in Burundi" at http://www.tdrp.net/en/bur.html. Confirmed access in October 2013.

[7] The journal, *Conflict & Communication Online,* is dedicated to the scholarly debates of the Peace Journalism paradigm. See http://www.cco.regener-online.de/.

transform conflicts from their violent channels into constructive forms by conceptualizing news, empowering the voiceless, and seeking common grounds that unify rather than divide human societies" (pp. 79-80).

Lynch & McGoldrick (2005), who were among the first adherents of the model and currently its most prolific proponents, point out that it is about "identifying and predicting patterns of omission and distortion in conflict coverage" in as much as it "offers a basis for identifying and rethinking [journalistic] concepts, values and practices alike" (pp.1, 5). Shinar (2007a) argues that peace-oriented strategies in media "provide space for alternative voices and encourage an interest in learning the views of all involved parties while ensuring that conflict - rather than involved parties - is seen as the problem" (p.57). The 'peace journalism' model, according to Shinar, is the only one that allows for a strategy focusing on the "connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover, and the consequences of their reporting, including the common interests of media owners and power structures" (Ibid.).

Bringing the conceptualization to bear on war coverage, Hanitzsch (2004) credits the model for enabling journalists to be on the side of the "victims of war" (p.487). He thus defines 'peace journalism' as "a programme or frame of journalistic news coverage which contributes to the process of making and keeping peace respectively, to the peaceful settlement of conflicts" (Ibid.). Writing about African journalism practice, Mutere & Ugangu (2004), without using the term 'peace journalism', explain instead that "pro-active journalism" is "a method of covering conflict-related issues in a manner that gets beyond the limitations of inverted pyramid formats to capture historical context, exacerbating factors and the significance of events" (p.18). They also note that pro-active journalism is a move from "events-oriented to process-oriented journalism" (p.20).

Hackett (2007) conceptualizes 'peace journalism' as a "reform movement" that is a rallying point for a challenge to the increasingly homogenized global news discourse, and a campaign for change by journalists and activists (p.49). Likewise, Keeble (2010) calls it a "form of revolutionary alternative media" akin to that deployed in some parts of the world to highlight the woes of the oppressed majority in countries such as apartheid South Africa, Vietnam, Colombia, Afghanistan or Iran (p.55). He argues that the 'peace journalism' mantra fits the bill for radical alternative journalists and publications in which presenting views that are counter to the status quo are possible (p.57). The objective of such alternative media outlets, he argues, would be to "seek to invert the hierarchy of access to the news by explicitly foregrounding the viewpoints of 'ordinary' people (activists, protestors, local residents), citizens whose visibility in the mainstream media tends to be obscured by the presence of elite groups and individuals" (p.58). Further, 'peace journalism' is the kind that should showcase the works of radical peace movements and groups such as IndyMedia, UK Peace News and International Peace Bureau whose work rarely makes it into mainstream corporate media (p.59).

Sounding a warning, Patindol (2010) makes a case against those who present the genre as "peace propaganda", which concentrates on covering only 'positive' news by avoiding 'bad' stories such as those of violence (p.199). More so, the genre should also not be limited to "only reporting about peace, peace movements and peace initiatives - with no critical reporting on peace efforts" (Ibid.). She, like Howard (2003, 2009), proposes that 'peace journalism' should instead be known as "conflict sensitive reporting", which is a concept that "applies to the reporting of conflict, not to avoiding it" with the emphasis being on encouraging journalists to pro-actively report on conflict potentials so they don't escalate into violence (p.200).

On the other hand, the 'peace journalism' model has not been without critics. Lee (2008) summarizes the views of several scholars who have argued that such conceptualizations of

journalism practice are an "unwelcome departure from objectivity" and could compromise the integrity of journalists by upsetting their role as "neutral disseminators" of media content (p.4). He surmises from the scholarship that proponents of 'peace journalism' are in conflict with "traditional journalistic values of objectivity, neutrality, and detachment" (Ibid.). Further, he highlights another criticism of 'peace journalism' based on the charge that "it gives too much credence to powerful and direct media effects, ignoring the fact that journalists can rarely stand outside the cultural consensus of the societies in which they live and work" (p.5).

From the operational perspective, and taking the example of television, Hackett (2007) captures the view of war correspondents who argue that warfare makes better television than reporting on peace because "it is filled with highlighted moments, contains action and resolution, and delivers a powerful emotion: fear"; while "peace is amorphous and broad" and "the emotions connected with it are subtle, personal and internal…far more difficult to televise" (p.48). The other argument advanced by war correspondents is that covering peace is hard because "war satisfies all the news value demands of the present, the unusual, the dramatic, simplicity, action, personalization and results" (Shinar 2007b: 5).

As the debate concerning what constitutes 'peace journalism' persists, some scholars conceptualize it additionally as a call to re-focus on the conventional norms and values of journalism that have fallen along the way at the behest of market-oriented journalism (Mutere & Ugangu 2004: 71; Tehranian 2002: 81). For instance, Galtung (2000), noted the failure of journalists to stick to the trade's basic conventional principles and stated that "objective journalists are those who are able to cover all sides of the conflict" and who "make an effort to tell it in [the protagonists'] own words"; which features are recognized as journalistic norms of 'balance' and 'neutrality' (p. 163). In the same line of argument, Howard (2003) perceives peace journalism as a more "reliable journalism" that connotes "practices which meet the international standards of accuracy, impartiality and social responsibility" (in Rukhsana 2010: 338). These arguments are representative of those in the 'peace journalism' community who are not positioning it as a new genre, but rather as a call to re-tool and re-focus on the conventional journalism norms of balance, truthfulness, accuracy, fairness, objectivity, neutrality/impartiality, detachment and social responsibility (Howard 2003 & 2009; Hackett 2006; Kempt 2007; Rukhsana 2010). Overall, however, the dominant thrust is towards the development of 'peace journalism' as a positioned genre that focuses on covering conflict potentials with a view to ensuring they do not escalate into violence.

The proponents of the 'peace journalism' model insist that the genre's uniqueness is to focus on highlighting the work of peace actors as well as peace processes and initiatives wherever they happen, while diminishing the voices of promoters of war and violence. As Lynch & McGoldrick (2005) point out, the genre also calls for humanisation of 'enemies' and seeking the 'other' in the 'self' as well as to focus on the "the suffering, fears and grievances of all parties" in a conflict (p.28). In this genre, journalists find ways of reporting on the invisible effects of violence or war such as the "long-term consequences of psychological damage and trauma" since it is such effects that increase the likelihood for future spirals of violence (Ibid.). It is the 'peace journalism' genre that allows for a pointed focus on issues, needs and interests of those affected by violence and war with the view of addressing human development challenges to create a culture of peace (p.31). It is the 'peace journalism' genre that promotes 'pro-activity' by focusing on "prevention before any violence or war occurs" as opposed to war journalism which is often "reactive, waiting for violence before reporting" (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005: 6; Shinar 2004: 3). But as Patindol (2010) points out, the 'peace journalism' model is bound to meet significant opposition across the spectrum of the media system since it is an intrinsic challenge to "the main assumptions, paradigms and practices of traditional journalism" (p.193).

In the Burundian research, the 'peace journalism' model will be examined to assess how its propositions bear on individual journalistic practices as well as on the entrenched structural and institutional mechanisms. What other extra-media factors would impinge on the implementation of such a model? The study pays specific attention to how the paradigm bears on African journalism practice since the analysis of the peace radio broadcasts is informed by propositions from the model. Using the three radio programmes, in addition to interviews with journalists and key media actors, this study seeks answers to three research questions:

RQ1: Based on the radio discourse, what (or who) are the drivers of peace, conflict or violence in Burundi; and how are they framed in media discourse?

RQ2: What are the factors that would hamper or propel the development of a 'peace journalism' model in Burundi?

RQ3: What values and norms of peace can be reframed into journalism frames to transform the entrenched conventional news frames that often favour conflict and violence?

The first research question is based on arguments by proponents of the 'peace journalism' paradigm who claim that human conflicts usually turn into violent confrontations in circumstances where structural issues are ignored; and that the mass media, therefore, ought to play a central role in deciphering those issues and bringing them to the fore in public discourse (Galtung & Jacobsen 2000; Mutere & Ugangu 2004; Lynch & McGoldrick 2005). Structural violence, according to Galtung & Jacobsen (2000), manifests itself as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances caused by the skewed distribution of resources such as education, health, and income. Mutere & Ugangu (2004: 3-5) also argue that, in situations of conflict, it is ideological constraints that often prevent journalists from providing accurate, enlightened and fair accounts of events. They challenge specifically African journalists to appreciate the historical origins of conflicts, the structural root causes of violence, the exacerbating factors as well as the triggering factors. In their seminal work titled *'peace journalism'*, Lynch & McGoldrick (2005), also note that violence usually occurs in societies where "resources are scarce (employment, income, housing, water); power is unevenly distributed; and unresolved grievances exist from the past" (p.1).

From such a wider reading of the scholarship of peace and conflict, this study takes the assumed view that journalists and media actors engaging in the broadcasts in Burundi do not recognize the wider array of the drivers of conflict and/or violence, and that this explains why their reporting privileges simplistic immediate events to the detriment of causative factors. By examining the three peace radio programmes in Burundi, the study seeks to establish how journalists and media actors in the country frame issues; and to discern the ideologies some of them advance and promote. Whom do Burundian journalists and mass media actors identify as the key actors of peace, conflict and/or violence? With regard to language, what are the keywords used to frame peace, conflict and/or violence on the radio broadcasts? What proposals for peace are discernible in the broadcasts?

On the other hand, the second research question (RQ2) is informed by an argument developed by Shinar (2007a) that the major challenges in the development of a 'peace journalism' model are the "day-to-day problems and dilemmas in the activities of media organizations and professionals" (p.55). In a specific study of the media coverage of the peace process in Northern Uganda, Birungi (2009) noted the "significant media control and interference coordinated by the government-controlled [Uganda] Media Centre" (p.103). She further points out that "80% of reporters depended for their reports on official news sources, particularly the military", which hampered the

journalists' independence in covering the peace process (Ibid.). Also writing about 'peace radio' in Northern Uganda, Brisset-Foucault (2011) provides an analysis of how the dependency on NGOs by peace radio journalists of *Mega FM* conflates their roles since they have to adhere to the agenda set by the organisations sponsoring their radio programmes. Further, Lugalambi (2006) studied Ugandan media practices and notes that "matters of peace are barely covered in the media" owing to the "very organisation and structure of the media system and its influence on the production of media content" (p.112). He points out the personal pitfalls individual journalists willing to challenge the conventions of the trade have to face, notably the entrenched corporate culture in which they work (Ibid.).

Through interviews and a survey questionnaire, this study will interrogate Burundian journalists on what factors significantly hamper their practice; notably their aptitudes as individual journalists, the limitations ensuing from institutional imperatives as well as the extra-media factors such as the social-cultural and political environment in which they function. How do individual factors such as social-cultural influences (ethnicity and tribalism), insufficient professional training and the various influences (such as religious and political party affiliation) impinge on the development of a peace journalism model? How do institutional factors such as media ownership and control as well as daily newsroom routines impact of journalism practice? What should be done to media institutions and journalists who engage in spreading ethnic or tribal hatred? With respect to extra-media factors, how does the poor attention to issues of gender and minorities impact on 'peace journalism' practice?

The final research question (RQ3) seeks to assess the rootedness of conventional news values that often favour conflict and violence against some extrapolated news or mass media frames of peace. Shinar (2007b) observes that while a lot of work has been done on the "deconstruction of war discourse", there is hardly any work being done in the "invention, development and marketing" of a media peace discourse (p.7). He observes for instance that even while reporting peace in such contexts as during peace processes, journalists were still using war jargon and frames (p.6). He, therefore, challenges journalism scholars to work towards the "development of a media peace discourse"; which is a departure from conventional Western-centric media values and frames that favour war or violence.

At the epistemological level, Shinar calls for the development of clearer philosophical and conceptual norms that would encompass "a deconstruction of journalism principles such as truth, objectivity, accuracy, responsibility…" (2007b:5). However, Wolfsfeld (2004) in what he calls a "static model" expounds the point that conventional news values are grounded in conflict to such an extent that "when peace appears to be taking hold in a particular area, it is time for journalists to leave" (p.15). In an enumeration of the conventional news values, he observes that journalists and their editors select what is newsworthy based on a sacrosanct set of values such as "immediacy, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism" (Ibid.). He argues that these news values are so well established to the extent that even competing political actors use these frames to position their messages and actions for the effective attention of the mass media.

With reference to Ugandan media practice, Birungi (2009) scrutinized the challenges of integrating 'peace journalism' into conventional journalism practice with focus on the coverage of the LRA peace process. After examining coverage of the peace process in five newspaper articles as well as interviewing six journalists who covered the LRA peace process on site in Juba, Southern Sudan, she noted that the journalists covering the peace process exhibited a strong tendency to look for drama and immediacy: "most journalists covering the LRA peace process looked for the here and now stories – the drama, disagreements, clashes and irreconcilable positions. The sense of immediacy was high and few journalists expressed efforts at follow-ups" (p.102). While she

established that journalists in the conflict zone of Northern Uganda, "understand that 'peace journalism' is a new kind of journalism with a new unique tone, bent at promoting harmony and not stirring antagonisms", the overall view was that "journalists in Uganda consider 'peace journalism' a noble beat, but one that is not yet ripe for their kind and nature of reporting orientation" (p.86).

In another newspaper content study of media coverage of the Northern Uganda civil war, Nassanga (2007) noted that the Ugandan army and government officials predominated as news sources (p.5). She also observed that "confrontational articles took the stance that there was a 'zero-sum' conflict going on and used negative, emotionally charged words to characterize one of the sides, such as 'rebels', 'terrorists' etc, which tends to aggravate rather than reduce mistrust and fighting" (p.6). She observed that the high level of confrontational reportage in the *New Vision* newspaper could be attributed to the high use of army and government sources as opposed to the *Daily Monitor* newspaper that used more local sources (p.6). Like Shinar (2004), she also calls for increased training of journalists in peace reporting in addition to other issues such as attention to media ethics, increased networking amongst journalists as well as the development of Public Relations skills (pp.8-9).

The research in Burundi taps into the perspectives of a wider pool of journalists and key media players to establish how the various components of the concept of 'peace' could be constituted into news/media values. The study will also probe whether Burundian journalists still consider values of conflict and/or violence – such as drama, crisis and internal discord, extremism, immediacy, threats, destruction, ethnocentrism, hostility, major personalities – as satisfactory news values (Wolfsfeld 2004).

4. Methodology

This study makes recourse to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which helps in scrutinizing spoken texts (broadcasts); processes of media production, distribution and consumption; as well as the broader societal appropriations of those texts. Carvalho (2008) argues that CDA is the single most authoritative line of research regarding the study of media discourse because it has "set itself the goal of looking beyond texts and taking into account institutional and socio-cultural contexts" (p.162).

CDA scholars agree that reality is accessed and constructed through language, and the main research value of CDA is to help examine the structure and functions of language use to expose the workings of power and ideology (Jorgensen & Phillip 2002; Matheson 2005; Johnstone 2002). For several CDA scholars, however, the focal point of inquiry on language is a linguistic one focusing on morphology (structure of words), syntax (structure of sentences) or semantics (meaning of words) (Johnstone 2002: 5).

While content analysis of the radio broadcasts is an important undertaking, it is not the only or even the main focus of this study. Beyond the analysis of the broadcasts, the study further examines how the content of the selected broadcasts is appropriated by some members of the audience in their sense-making processes. This kind of analysis is possible through a broader conceptualization of CDA as defined by Fairclough (1995):

> "CDA is a three dimensional framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts; analysis of discourse practice

(processes of text production, distribution and consumption); and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice" (p. 2).

In the same vein as explicated by Faiclough above, Philo (2007) argues that to overcome various constraints with regard to media texts, one "requires a method which analyses processes of production, content, reception and circulation of social meaning simultaneously" (p.175). The specific approaches of this study are therefore:

i. to use a Discourse Analysis Coding schedule to scrutinize the broadcasts based on the same set of variables such as format, demographics of the radio guests, actors of peace or conflict and violence, peace-building issues discussed, language used, and proposals for peace.

ii. to conduct in-depth interviews with the producers and journalists to probe the framing of the broadcasts. The focus will be what informs the choice of the issues discussed and the guests hosted? The study also seeks to probe some of the invited guests or their associates as well as some donor actors about Burundi's peace-building agenda as discussed on radio.

iii. to investigate through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) within the five provinces of Burundi how the audiences make sense of the messages in the broadcasts.

iv. to conduct a survey with journalists to evaluate the rootedness of the conventional journalism frames that favour conflict or violence against the media frames of peace as proposed by 'peace journalism' scholars.

5. Conclusion

The nuances in the above conceptualizations of peace journalism notwithstanding, a common denominator is that the mass media, particularly radio, ought to be used in a deliberate manner to promote an agenda of peace and common-ground. The various conceptualizations of peace journalism provide an excellent framework in which to evaluate the feasibility of 'peace radio' in developing countries such as Burundi.

While the dynamics of conflict and violence in Burundi and Uganda differ, it is plausible to assume that factors such as the aptitudes and competences of individual journalistic practices might have a bearing on curtailing or exacerbating conflicts. It is also important to probe the institutional factors such as the daily newsroom routines journalists follow as well as the ownership and control regimes of the radio institutions in Burundi and how that affects the production of radio content. For instance the *Studio Ijambo* model of sending ethnically mixed teams of reporters to cover events with potential for conflict needs probing to establish whether it is a model that can be used in other countries in the African Great Lakes region facing ethnic strife.

Finally, peace journalism practice, as Hackett (2007:51) notes, is influenced by several extra-media factors that need probing such as sources, advertisers and market structures, various political, religious and social-cultural forces. Success of a peace journalism model depends largely on how each of the above factors is navigated to ensure there is promotion of peaceful co-existence and common ground within restive societies.

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