MEDIA AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: THE ROLE OF RADIO IN THE MANAGEMENT OF BURUNDI CONFLICT

BY

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES
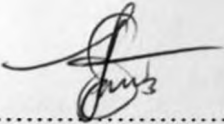
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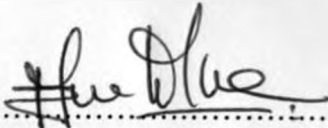
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this academic work to my dearest family especially my Mum and Dad who have always encouraged me on my academic journey.

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I wish to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all those who made it possible for the completion of this study. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the support and guidance from my lecturer and project supervisor Mr. Patrick Maluki for being patient with me and getting me on the research track.

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Table of Content   **Page**

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

The media in more ways than one contributes to the density of violence in the world. In many media reports, the media has been accused of focusing on what is irrational without looking at the reasons to resolve conflict, portraying one side as good and demonizing the other side as evil, presenting violence as inevitable and omitting alternatives and failure to explore peace proposals that offer peaceful outcomes. But this does not mean that the media cannot play a positive role in resolving or managing conflicts.

This research project investigates the role of radio in managing Burundi conflict. The research paper focuses on a position grounded in some of the basic communication theories and principles that have projected media as a powerful tool in managing social problems. The paper further discusses the content used in radio programs, the method used to produce these programs in order to de-escalate conflict in Burundi. The research also gives a comparison approach to what medium is effective in passing messages that manage or resolve conflict.

The research therefore administered structured and unstructured questionnaire key informants to collect data. A representative sample was selected randomly from residents of Bujumbura city. Using statistical data analysis, the research draws probable solutions and constrains to achieving conflict management in Burundi. And in conclusion the paper underlines recommendations emanating from the study that can be used to front peaceful resolution and conflict management to post- conflict countries of Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"It must be possible for the people of Burundi to materially distinguish between destructiveness of the conflict and the benefit of peace' – Nelson Mandela

Inter-ethnic conflict has become a central characteristic of the post-cold war era as many groups and leaders around the world have turned to ethnicity as the answer to their dilemmas of identity. Structural factors, including economic, social, and political issues relating to wealth distribution and inter-ethnic relations, facilitating factors, including the degree of politicization and ethnic consciousness, and triggering factors, such as a sharp economic shock, sudden escalation of inter-group tension or the collapse of central authority, are generally argued to be the main causes of ethnic conflicts (Costy & Gilbert 1998).

The relationship between war and mass media has been studied extensively. In most cases, scholars examine the destructive use of media as a powerful instrument for war promotion and war propaganda. Examples are studies describing the use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in the First World War, the extensive propaganda machinery in Nazi Germany (Lowery S.A. & DeFleur 1995) and, more recently, the abuse of mass media in Rwanda, Burundi and post-election violence in Kenya

As a result, knowledge about the involvement of media in the onset and continuation of intergroup conflicts around the globe is abundant. Although radio and television have

long been considered as potential agents of social advancement and national integration, academic knowledge about the involvement of media in conflict resolution has remained deficient.

The notion that mass media could contribute to this process was first proposed shortly after World War II. Triggered by the widespread use of propaganda in the war, early psychology research explored how the media could play a role in reducing prejudice and conflict by communicating anti-prejudice messages. But psychologists later on drifted away from the subject. The field of communication took over the study of media effects, but the potential impact of media on conflict resolution remained relatively unexplored until today. Although radio and television have long been considered as potential agents of social change and national integration.

Quincy Wright defines conflict as a struggle or contest between people with opposing or incompatible needs, ideas, beliefs, values or goals and if not handled well. Conflict may escalate and lead to non-productive results. We talk of conflicting values, beliefs or loyalties in society but a conflict starts when there exist two sets of interests, aims, values or beliefs. In other words, a conflict is a state of affairs characterized by incompatible aspects of a relationship. But practically a conflict exists only when both parties concerned perceive the incompatibility of interests and values.

Conflict resolution is a process of working through opposing views in order to reach a common goal or mutual purpose. Howard et al define conflict resolution as the

indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence, as a means to achieve human security (Howard, et al., 2003). Historically, conflict resolution evolved in 1950s and 1960s at the height of the Cold War when the development of nuclear weapons and conflict between superpowers was threatening human survival.

Conflict management is defined as activities undertaken with the main objective to prevent the intensification or spread of existing violent conflict. This is what this research is about, exploring one of the core conflict management activities; the use of radio in management of Burundi conflict.

Burundi is a small republic, landlocked between Tanzania to the East and South, Rwanda to the North, and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the West. Within its surface area of 27,840 square kilometers, Burundi's population is estimated at 6 million people.

According to the colonial historians, Burundi was a homogeneous society. It was a long-established and decentralized kingdom until the 15th century. People in Burundi spoke the same language shared same culture and practice. Historically, the Tutsis have held power and still control the military forces; they dominate educated society (Ndayizigiye, 2005).

The events, which may have triggered the actual crisis in Burundi can be located in the brutal political and social changes introduced by the democratic process, which include the contradiction in leadership vision: the Tutsi fight to maintain the status quo while the

Hutu increasingly demand for democratic elections. In 1993, the country held its first presidential and legislative elections. For the first time in history, a member of the Hutu ethnic group, President Ndadaye Melchior, became Burundi's supreme executive officer. He incarnated the aspirations and hopes of the Hutu ethnic groups to assume the management of the state affairs from which they had been excluded for centuries.

The Tutsi were deeply humiliated by the victory. They interpreted the elections as an ethnic census. The democratic reforms upset the status quo, threaten entrenched political and economic interests, and raised issues of minority rights and in the short-term they saw in the elected government and parliament a new order, which no longer protected their own interests. They believed their security was at stake and decided to overthrow the new democratic institutions. On October 21, 1993, a group of military assassinated the new president and his cabinet. The Hutu majority population considered this act as serious insult, a Tutsi deliberate refusal of the newly established democracy and intolerable arrogance. Inter-ethnic massacres followed which culminated in a civil war (Ndayizigiye, 2005).

After unsuccessful attempts of direct negotiations between political parties divided along ethnic lines in order to re-establish the democratic process, the late Tanzanian President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere decided to step in as mediator, marking the beginning of a long and tedious peace process. After the death of, Mwalimu Nyerere in October 1999 the leadership of the peace efforts were taken over by the former South African President,

Nelson Mandela who steered the peace process to the signing of a peace agreement on 28 August 2000. During the historic event the former president said,

> *"It must be possible for the people of Burundi to materially distinguish between destructiveness of the conflict and the benefit of peace"* (Nelson Mandela speech, 2000).

In spite of the fact that Burundians have a long history of conflicts, many scholars present ethnic differences as the primary motives of so much animosity, massacres, genocides, and daily violence. But they forget to explore the origin of the Hutu- Tutsi conflicts and the fundamental relationships between the two tribes to determine the root of the problem.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The media in conflict-ridden countries often play a significant role in creating and furthering both facilitating factors and triggering factors, for example by utilizing 'oppositional metaphors' ('us' vs. 'them') linked to internal and external issues or 'threats' facing the nation

Similarly, the media in more ways than one contributes to the density of violence of the world. In many media reports, the media has been accused of focusing on what is irrational without looking at the reasons to resolve conflict, portraying one side as good and demonizing the other side as evil, presenting violence as inevitable and omitting

alternatives and failure to explore peace proposals that offer peaceful outcomes. (Maluki, 2010)

The fact that the media often does contribute to the escalation of tensions and conflicts, it does not mean it cannot play a positive role in resolving or managing a conflict. Managing conflict can be difficult and challenging, one way of managing conflict is through the use of radio. Radio shapes the peoples destinies in real ways both positive and negative for example in Rwanda in 1994, radio helped make the genocide possible by instigating violence and the use of propaganda against the ethnic groups and in Burundi it form part of the hate media period 1993-1996. It contributed to the development of political discourses of division and hate through the use of rhetoric and reinforced stereotypes, fear of the 'other' and sense of imminent threat. (Frère and Marthoz, 2007).

But with the incriminating background of radio on Burundi conflict can radio play a positive role in managing the conflict and bring people together and re-establish a civil society. Current studies indicate that radio is contributing to positive change in managing the Burundi conflict. This research sets to find out the role of radio in the management Burundi conflict. What were the issues discussed on the radio to manage the conflict?

1.2 Objectives of the Study

1.   What radio programs were used to de-escalate the conflict?

2.   What content was dominant in these radio programs?

3.   What was the impact of the radio as compared to other media?

1.3 Justification of the Study

Radio is the most important form of communication in terms of the reaching the numbers outstripping all other forms of media. In parts of Africa where people are illiterate there are no newspapers or TV only few roads link to the outside world. Most people in these marginalized areas own a radio. They spent a high percentage of their income on radio batteries, money they poorly earn but which they regard as essential expenditure. Radio is literally a lifeline to them in informing, educating and entertaining.

All of over the world people depend on the radio for news of what is going on in their own country even in their own districts. It is their only source of information and entertainment and if they don't trust the national radio (and frequently they don't) they listen to all available local and international ration stations and they compare the events. Checking for themselves what to believe and what to reject.

"Radio can be a powerful weapon in the hands of those who know how to use it," said the Nazi propaganda chief, Joseph Goebbel in World War II. It can reach the mass educated and uneducated, yet if used for the wrong purpose in can be disastrous. For instance, in the case Rwanda in 1994 radio helped make the genocide possible.

Academic knowledge about the involvement of media in conflict resolution has remained deficient. Therefore, this research is important in exploring how the radio can be used to resolve conflict and participate in peace building and in particular the role of radio in the

management of Burundi conflict, where radio is emerging as a positive force in helping to bring people together and re-establish civil society.

The relationship between media and conflict resolution is a subject attracting contemporary scholars and idea of using media to foster conflict resolution kept inspiring practitioners from international government agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Over the past fifteen years, the number of media interventions aimed at conflict resolution has increased. Specialized organizations have been established, ready to implement media interventions in conflict areas all around the world. For example, recently, a foundation launched radio station Dabanga in Darfur, an initiative of Sudanese journalists to provide independent news and relevant information to the population of Sudan.

According to Howard et al., press now exemplifies the majority of media interventions aimed at conflict resolution. The main goal is stimulating the development of independent, reliable and diverse news media in conflict-stressed societies. Most interventions focus on the traditional role of journalism as the watchdog of democratic governance, monitoring human rights and holding government representatives accountable. Training journalists in non-partial, balanced reporting, providing communication technology and promoting legal protection for journalists are key priorities.

"The news media, or journalism, remains in the forefront of peace building initiatives because at its best, it is the safeguard of democratic governance." However, in recent years the focus has become wider, especially in post-conflict situations, governments and NGOs came to realize that the promotion of legitimate news coverage is not enough to overcome years of hostility and alienation between groups and prevent renewed conflict. Transferring factual knowledge appeared non- sufficient to reduce prejudice and dismantle longstanding distrust between people.

For the purpose of contributing to the society, this research will help the governments and policy makers to realize that it is possible to manage a conflict media especially using radio. Radio is been condemned by many people as a tool that instigates hate, this negative impact of radio can be turned around to create the same impact but in a positive way especially in post –conflict countries where pockets of violence are felt from time to time. Leaders in these countries can use the outcomes of this research for effective management of their conflicts.

Non governmental organization (NGOs) inspired to start healing programmes in conflict areas across Africa will find this research useful especially when designing ways and approaches in the mitigation of the conflict. In addition, the research hopes to bring out the content used in radio programs as it is the case of the Search for a Common Ground Organization and how it is communicated to the masses. This will build the confidence and encourage the media owners, governments, and political parties not only to think of making profits at the expense of 'deaths' of people die as result of listening or watching

negative content transpired through their channels but to also propagate peace using their media. The main achievement this research aims to demonstrate is that the powerful effects of radio can be used de-escalating conflict.

1.4 Hypotheses

1. Conflict related content dominate radio programs more than any other general content

2. Radio programs presented through talk shows are highly effective in de-escalating Burundi conflict.

3. Conflict management information send through radio have more impact than message send through other media channels.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

This research explores various media effects theories that are relevant to the research topic. It examines the role of Agenda-setting theory where people always rely on the media for guidance on issues that are important to society. Walter Lippman, an American journalist promoted the idea that media have the potential for structuring issues for the public. He argues that the public responds not to actual events in the environment but to a pseudo-environment that are imprinted in our minds by the media.

Even though today the Agenda setting function of the media has come under intense scrutiny, studies a have shown that there is always intermediary between the media and the people. This is more so with growth of the information in the society (Mencher M,

1993) the human intermediaries basically known as the opinion leaders are perceived to have more literate understanding of the media content, which they interpret to the society.

Consequently the media has acquired the agenda setting function. Researchers Gladys and Kurt Lang 1983 studied the relationships between press and public opinion and suggested that the concept of Agenda setting be expanded to include the concept of agenda building. They identified issues pertinent to societal needs and amplified them through coverage and media framing so that the society can have a platform to discuss issues. Through this role the media is able to influence the society and in the process bring the desired change (Mcombs and Shaw 1972).

This research sought to determine how agenda setting theory is being used on the radio programs produced in the management of Burundi conflict and what level are these programs structuring conflict issues for the public.

The research looks into Everett Rogers's Innovation theory, where a new idea goes through five stages of mental process of Knowledge, Persuasion, Decision, Implementation and Confirmation. He specifies five adapter categories per their rate of adoption of an innovation thus: Innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards.

Using this theory, the research show how the radio programs are observing the five mental stages of mental process of passing of new information that is going to change

people attitudes and beliefs. In Burundi, where many people in the rural areas listen or trust the opinion leaders, how is this theory making it possible to adopt the new ideals for managing the conflict. This theory relates to the hypodermic needle theory, which evolved out of the Magic Bullet theory when it was found not to be accurate. It postulates that information flows from the media to opinion leaders, and then to less involved members of society (the followers). Magic bullet theory has evolved to a multi-step flow model, which postulates that information that flows in a culture or group is actually filtered or passed through a series of opinion leaders before reaching all segments of the group or culture. (McQuail, Denis, 1985).

What is common to these theories is the notion that the media impacts on society in terms of the ideas and images they project, and that members of the public either acculturate or react to such ideas in discernible ways.

Studies done Carl Hovland in his search for the magic keys in communication found that people were influenced by any single exposure to a persuasive message made to change a person's mind or attitude and the Payne fund studies, sought to investigate media effects on children. These studies have shown that there is always an intermediary between the media and the people and this is more so with the growth of information society. McCombs and Shaw argue that despite the human intermediaries (opinion leaders) the media is still able to influence the society and bring about the desired social change however, the media may not determine what the public may think. (McCombs et al (1972).

12

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature available and relevant to this research is limited because most media authors have consecrated on the powerful effects of media. It is widely felt that the mass media comprise a powerful instrument which may be used for good or for ill and that, in the absence of adequate controls, the latter possibility is on the whole more likely (Lazarsfeld & Merton 1971)

2.1 Burundi Conflict

In Burundi groups of people lived and intermingled in the small mountainous country. These groups had everything to live peacefully together by complementing each other. But history shows that the Burundians have a long history of conflicts, becoming more increasingly intense in the second half of the twentieth century, and culminating in a bitter civil war in 1993. Many scholars present ethnic differences as the primary motives of the massacres and daily violence.

Burundians recognized each other according to their clans. They evoked their merits and achievement by naming the clan they belonged to. The Hutu's were referred to as subordinates in relation to Tutsi's who considered themselves as the aristocratic group.

Sixty years of colonial rule greatly affected relationships among the groups. Burundi was colonized and absorbed by the German East Africa in 1989, and then administered by the Belgians as the United Nations Organization Mandate in 1918. The Tutsi received preference during the colonial administration especially in the colonial-run school

system. In 1933, the Belgians ousted traditional Hutu chiefs and ruled the country through the pool of better-educated Tutsi. This created a cyclical of violence between the Communities (Betz, 2004)

Gahama 2002, in his research paper on '*Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Burundi*' points out that the colonial administration and commercial system favored the Tutsi ethnic group with educational and employment opportunities that resulted in their subsequent monopolization of civil service and clerical positions. Such favoritism left a legacy of unequally shared opportunities and this overtime developed a cold conflict situation.

As time went on the enforcement of the traditional ruler's privileges and authority was utterly repulsive and unacceptable to the Hutu majority who were committed to achieving a modern structure of authority through democratizing the political process.

Gahama agues that the choice of French as an administrative language by the colonialists immediately favored the Tutsi for civil career chances because for historical reasons they had became more highly educated and urbanized and raised fear among the Hutu in a government dominated by the Tutsi ethnic minority.

After the independence, the country rushed to initiate social and economic development programs, but did not address any of the past grievances between Hutu and Tutsi. They were completely ignored. The competition for the distribution of scarce goods and

political advantages led to clashes of interests between Hutu and Tutsi. This increased ethnic antagonisms also contributed to promoting regional polarization.

> '*Despite the colonial manipulation, which strongly contributed to the ethnic tension the first incidence of violence between the major Burundi communities took place during the years following independence where some Hutu leaders were assassinated and of houses belonging to Tutsis in Kamenge, north of Bujumbura burnt, in 1962. There were also incidences in Ndora and Kabarore which are localities in the north western part of the country where the government imposed a state of emergency in 1964 and where the coup attempt against the monarchy took place in 1965 led by Hutu officers in the gendarmerie and army. Consequently a large number of Hutu leaders were brought to trial and executed followed by the massacre of innocent Tutsis in the province of Muramvya.*' (Gahama, 2002:6)

Jean Ndayizigiye (2005), in his round table presentation in Columbia University, talks about '*The humiliations and violent conflicts in Burundi*'. In his paper, he argues that the classifications of Burundians into clans had historically led to conflicts. Their coming together generated tense relationships, which have been manipulated and politicized. The actual civil war is among the consequences of such conflicts perceived by scholars as incompatibility over the symbolic power and the management of the national resources.

The events, which may have triggered the actual crisis in Burundi, can be located in the brutal political and social changes introduced by the 1991 democratic process, which carried along ethnic division. The Tutsi fought to maintain the status quo while the Hutu increasingly demanded for democratic elections. (Ndayizigiye 2005)

In 1993, Burundi held its first presidential and legislative elections and a member of the Hutu ethnic group, President Ndadaye Melchior, became Burundi's the president for the first time. He fulfilled the aspirations and hopes of the Hutu ethnic groups in the management of the state affairs from which they had been excluded for centuries.

The Tutsi were deeply humiliated by the victory they interpreted the elections as an ethnic census. The democratic reforms upset the status quo, threaten entrenched political and economic interests, and raise issues of minority rights and in the short-term they saw in the elected government and parliament a new order, which no longer protected their own interests. They believed their security was at stake and decided to overthrow the new democratic institutions. On October 21, 1993, a group of military assassinated the new president and his cabinet and inter-ethnic massacres followed which culminated in a civil war (Ndayizigiye 2005)

As the civil war escalated as many as 150,000 Tutsi were killed in retribution, and perhaps 50,000 additional people were killed in smaller outbreaks. Amid the violence, leaders of the attempted coup and members of Ndadaye's government vied for power. The main political parties finally chose Cyprien Ntaryamira, a Hutu, as president.

Ntaryamira took office in February 1994, but two months later he and Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana were killed when the plane they were on crashed. The civil war escalated. (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011)

Burundi's two main ethnic groups, the Tutsis and Hutus have been affected by conflict and bloodshed for long period of time. The mayhem was finally halted when regional leaders mediated talks between more than 17 warring groups, who subsequently signed a peace agreement, in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha in 2000.

Views of the Burundian people were collected and reflected in the establishment of transitional justice systems in the country. Central to the Arusha agreement was the establishment of three transitional justice mechanisms: an international commission of judicial inquiry, a national truth and reconciliation commission, and an international criminal tribunal. The agreement also stipulated that national consultations be held, before any decisions were taken on what form of justice systems should be adopted. (OHCHR, 2006)

Since 2005, when the civil war came to an end the situation in Burundi has become stable enough to allow further development of systems. The Government with the assistance of the United Nations has embarked on national consultations to ensure the views of the Burundi people are taken into account. So far consultations have been carried out in various parts of the country.

2.2 Media and Conflict management

'By giving voice and visibility to all people - including and especially the poor, the marginalized and members of minorities - the media can help remedy the inequalities, the corruption, the ethnic tensions and the human rights abuses that form the root causes of so many conflicts' (United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan)

Godwin (2005) defines conflict management as the measures that limit, mitigate and or contain a conflict without necessarily solving. This is similar to earlier scholars who defined conflict management as basically the use of open and clear dialogue to assist opponents or parties not only to have agreements against hostile images or actions but compliance to agreed resolutions and strategies.

Godwin goes on to explain that conflict management is a whole effort, a process that spans through conflict phases to prevent conflict, its escalation or to restore confidence of greater safety to parties even when a given conflict case is considered under control. Functionally, conflict management takes a more action driven dimension to conflict resolution especially when media is used to participate in its management. The global media field is changing. There is expansion in the number of sources of information to which people have access. Media organizations are now less likely to be state controlled. They are commercial driven with the aim to please and secure audiences. This gives attracts content to be shaped by what is referred to 'professional ideas' of what makes a story. (Godwin 2005).

Okunna argues that conflict is irresistible to the media, a fact demonstrated by the editorial content of print and electronic media. Thomas and Lee agree with Okunna by stating that conflict is the 'bread and butter 'of journalism. Conflict sells. Ideally, there are various roles that the media should play when reporting on conflicts. Okunna is of the view that while media practitioners have a duty to report on conflict as they see them, they also have the responsibility to enhance opportunities for their peaceful resolution social responsibility (Maluki, 2010).

Actors in the conflict respond to how the conflict is presented in the media. Instead of reflecting pluralism in the social and political structures and thereby contributing to the creation of an informed critical citizenry within a country, the media often act as a mouthpiece for ethnic power circles. Thus a deliberate distortion of news coverage for particular interests easily exacerbates the tension between opposed factions and becomes a main trigger of violent conflict (Terzis 2000).

The topic 'conflict and the media' may relate to both the national and international media such as the so-called 'CNN effect' of war images on TV audiences around the world. There is a distinction between news journalism and other forms of media. While the former is important for the communication environment of a country, it only represents one component of all of what is referred to as 'the media'. The latter term refers not only to journalism itself, but may also comprise a whole host of communication types, varying both in content and in format, and ranging from drama and documentary to discussions, using a host of technologies, such as radio, television, print media and the Internet. In this

research the use of the expression 'media' in this wider sense. (Melone, Terzis & Beleli 2002)

James Der Derian is quoted in the war and the media as describing this as virtues of war, which combines virtual technologies with a claim to embrace humanitarian motives. This US led imperative initiative relies on computer simulation, media manipulation, global surveillance and networked warfare to deter discipline and if need be destroy potential enemies (Maluki, 2010). Despite these being clear roles that the media should and can play in conflict situations and their resolution another school of thought posits that their role in the new generation of regional conflicts is ambiguous unclear, overrated and often misconstrued.

Rarely are conflicts resolved. More often than not they are reduced, downgraded, or contained. Such development can be followed by reorientation of the issue, reconstitution of the divisions among conflicting parties. Conflict management should not be viewed as a simple linear or structural process. Those involved in conflict management must overcome an intensely chaotic situation. Conflicts are frequently managed by the societies they occur. When not possible or when conflict becomes national in scope, government normally assumes the task, provided it is not a party to the conflict. In cases where the government is unable or unwilling to intervene, international organizations like the UN Security Council assume the role of conflict manager.

'Conscious examination' of media's role in the conflict management and a focus on reconciliation is the primary aspects of transitional journalism development. This type of intervention is commonly referred to as "peace journalism." Media-based intervention exists only for a narrow purpose and extremely specific viewing, listening, reading audience. Often, media-based interventions are funded and spearheaded by NGOs and other peacekeeping organizational structures and thus, tend to work against negative messages and provide important information to receivers of the messages. The intended outcome programming is a highly unconventional type of journalism and is extremely difficult to carryout and is most often used to foster peace. The main goals of this type of intervention are promoting reconciliation, establishing a transformation of attitudes doctrine and de-intensifying conflicts (Howard, 2002).

The watchdog role of the media is lagging behind in the developing world. The media focus has been on the sensational reporting of issues that sometimes divide rather than unite the people. For instance, Thompson Allan in his book, *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, writes that the news media played a crucial role in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Thompson examines how the local radio was used as a tool of hate, encouraging neighbors to turn against each other. (Thompson 2007).

The principal democratic role of the media, according to traditional liberal theory, is to act as a check on the state. The media should monitor the full range of state activity, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority. This watchdog role is said in traditional liberal theory to override in importance all other functions of the media.

It is true to say that the media play a crucial role in nurturing and consolidating a democratic ethos and facilitating the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms, one of which is the right to free expression of thoughts and ideas. The media in fulfilling their mandate as the "fourth estate of the realm" check the exercise of power by state agents. In so doing, the media play an important role in fostering respect for the rule of law and promoting accountability in governance, as is usually the case in emerging, new democracies. It also involves playing other, more formidable roles in regard to social engineering and nation building such as facilitating the processes of political participation and democratization. (Uzodike & Whetho, 2006)

2.3 The Role of Radio in Managing Burundi Conflict

Radio has long been seen as an important tool in the social, economic and political mobilization of developing countries. Modern studies are discussing how radio might be used in post-conflict and management of conflict scenarios. The broadcasting of local radio programs in sub- Saharan Africa is critical and radio is an effective means of getting issues put across, while couching them in a way the people can relate to (Zachary, 2000). The lack of education and resources, the impact of the written press is largely confined to the urban elite able to read and buy newspapers. The radio, however, is able to reached out to the masses, and in the times of conflict has a remarkable ability to inflame or quiet the situation.

BBC monitoring service notes that, 'Burundi media are strongly influenced or controlled by the government.' The government runs the main radio station as well as the only

newspaper that publishes regularly. The principal newspaper in the country is *Le Renouveau*, the government-owned paper. *L'Avenir* is another newspaper favorable to the government, as is *La Nation*, a private, pro-government paper. The Tutsi-based National Recovery Party publishes the private newspaper, *La Vérité*. The Catholic Church publishes its own newspaper, *Ndongozi*. The Hutu-backed Frodebu party published *La Lumière*, the only opposition paper in the country until it too, ceased publication in March 2001 after its publisher, Pancrace Cimpaye went into exile.

The Radio Television Nationale du Burundi (RTNB) the government controlled radio has always been used for state propaganda. It was always considered to be a symbol of power. It was the first target in all coups in Burundi. For example, when in April 2001 when a group of Tutsis extremist soldiers turned against president Buyoya, they sized the national radio to announce the overthrow of the regime (Frère and Marthoz, 2007)

Overtime a progressive mobilization for peace has led the Burundi national radio to change over the past few years. The Burundian privately owned radio stations have played an important role in promoting a pluralism of ideas, bringing to the forefront the impact of the Tutsi - Hutu conflict on the population and restoring confidence in the communities.

Despite the challenges posed to the private radio, independent forces are skillfully addressing problems inherent in the national reconstruction of an interethnic community and fostering peace and reconciliation. Studio Ijambo radio based in Bujumbura, is one of

23

the successful efforts at creating new types of programmes to counteract the kind of "hate radio" promulgated in the early 1990s that contributed heavily to the genocide in Rwanda that overflowed into Burundi.

Since inception, Studio Ijambo radio aimed to build tolerance and understanding between Tutsis and Hutus by creating news and educational programs in Kirundi and French for broadcast on state and private radio stations in Burundi. Funded by The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) the program had two purposes: first, to enhance peace building efforts in Burundi and second, to assist in resolving conflict while strengthening local capacity. Until Studio Ijambo's formation, the Burundian press not only reflected the deep ethnic division but also actively promoted it (Michael 2001).

Studio Ijambo's first concern was to work towards better mutual understanding. It developed a range of programs, magazines, radio plays and game shows that promoted discussion and dialogue. It created a soap opera titles *Ababanyi ni twebwe/Umubanyi Niwe muryango* (We are the neighbours/ The neighbour is part of the family) this program talked about the daily life of two families, one Hutu and the other Tutsi, showing that understanding between the communities was still possible. Another program, *Inkinyi Y'Ubuntu* (A pillar of dignity) turned the spotlight on the experiences of anonymous righteous people who risked their own lives during the crisis to save people belonged to the other ethnic group (Frère and Marthoz, 2007).

Similarly, following a needs evaluation of the newly arrived refugee population in Ngara, in Tanzania, the Jesuit Refugee Service - an international organization dedicated to the service and accompaniment of refugees and displaced people established Radio Kwizera in Ngara town, near the large refugee camps from Burundi its role was to encourage dialogue and the promotion of peace and reconciliation.

Radio Kwizera, which means, "hope" in the Kinyarwanda language was established in 1995. From the onset of the radio project, a dual mandate of serving both the refugee and local population was clearly established. The station's agenda was to offer an alternative media source, while promoting dialogue between the communities, and supplying accurate, balanced and comprehensible information. There are forty hours weekly of refugee programming in Kirundi on issues like the envi- ronment, health, education, culture, women, children, tracing parents and children among others. This educates the host population about refugee culture but also helps refugees sustain their own cultures. Special attention is given to refugee women and children, providing them airtime to articulate and share concerns (Munyua 1989).

In his PhD thesis, Michael C. Aho of George Mason University, analyzed radio Kwizera. He notes "For many Burundian refugees, telling the truth is the most important step towards opening a space for reconciliation, especially the truth about the origins of the conflict driving them into Tanzania. Giving the refugees a forum to speak about how they perceive the conflict has been Radio Kwizera's major challenge." (Michael, 2001)

Both Studio Ijambo radio and Radio Kwizera have contributed to a great deal in managing and resolving the Burundi conflict. However, this exercise one cannot afford to be over ambitious. It should be understood that conflict management is a long-term and a complicated process involving many levels of society. But radio can play an important role in the process through education and entertainment.

The new privately owned radio stations committed themselves straightaway to this movement towards pluralism and openness. They worked in many ways to prepare people for peace and promote good citizenship in the fractured country. Radio Bonesha FM came into existence and tried to emphasize reconciliation initiatives. In 2000, when Arusha Accords were signed the radio station dedicated many broadcasting hours popularizing the agreement which very controversial at the time.

The Radio Publique Africaine (RPA) came to existence and explicitly set out to be the voice of the voiceless. The idea of creating this radio was the fact that Burundian people had nowhere to express their suffering, aspirations and vision of the social and political life of their country and take a part of rebuilding it.

The radio stations played an essential role in helping various forces to express themselves in order to dispel rumors and disinformation generated by the refusal to communicate. This openness and truthfulness landed many of the radio stations in trouble with the government in power. In November 2003, Radio Publique Africaine and Radio Isanganyiro were closed down for a week because of giving airtime to armed rebel

movement. The unity of the other radio stations Bonesha FM, Studio Ijambo and others decided to boycott covering the government activities until measures were lifted.

Foreign media play an important role in the perception of internal conflicts. However this does not seem to have been the case in Burundi. Frère and Marthoz argues that international radio stations like Radio France International (RFI) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Voice of America (VOA) were blind because they didn't perceive the reigning tensions in the country on the eve of the 1993 elections. They reported the elections campaign animated by the rediscovered pluralism but missed the explosive character of certain inflammatory political speeches made in Kirundi. However, Frère and Marthoz notes that for a long time these international radio stations were important counterbalance to the far too official manipulative Burundi national radio. (Frère and Marthoz, 2007)

In the Management Systems International analysis of Burundi conflict and peace building, Hagos's assessment of Studio Ijambo radio concludes that there is substantial evidence that the journalistic, dramatic and cultural components of Studio Ijambo's radio programs have had positive effect in five areas: Inter-group relations, social and political mobilization, political elite negotiations, public institutions and processes and mass or elite conflict behavior. He notes that these are key to peace building and that's why Studio Ijambo radio has a lasting impact in Burundi conflict management because it transformed the methods in which media gathered news and trained journalists (Hagos 2001)

A key concern regarding the role of radio in conflict management is whether the level of fighting and polarization that exists may be a serious constraint. Since radio fed the fire in Rwanda, it seems clear that it might be used to put it out in Burundi, where similar conditions existed and continue to exist. It is not clear whether radio was able to affect the level of violent conflict in Burundi but like other post conflict countries like Bosnia the multi-ethnic nature of the conflict makes radio programming very challenging.

Whether radio can actually reach almost all of the affected populations in conflict prevention is critical. Without very strict ethnic diversity in programming, the message is weakened. But teams of journalists that represent all groups have been successful in building public trust in the message. People want to see their group represented in the face or the sound of the journalists.

Melone, et al in their research on *Media for conflict transformation: the Common Ground Experience,* underlines that the role of Radio is a crucial element in bringing Hutus and Tutsis together, especially after the experience in Rwanda had shown the aggravating role played by radio in inciting violence. Because after listening to people on the streets, they found that it was evident that the talking heads on television were far removed from normal people's daily lives (Melone, Terzis & Beleli 2002).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research methodology refers to the explicit rules and procedure upon which the research was based and against which claims of knowledge are evaluated. These enables constructive criticism and scientific progress. The methodology component of this research includes the proposed research design, population and sample, data collection procedures, ethical considerations, limitation and data analysis procedures.

3.1 Research Design

The researcher used both quantitative and qualitative methods in finding out the role played by radio programs aimed at managing Burundi conflict. This was achieved through disseminating of a detailed questionnaire and call- in-interviews and use key informants and media professionals to determine the impact of the programs aired in terms of conflict management in Burundi. The strength of this method is that it allows and identifies the presence of certain broadcast ideological positions or styles and acquiring data sources in quantitative manner.

Qualitative approach was used to analyze case studies and explain phenomena exhaustively. This research design was appropriate for this research because it enables the researcher to give an account of the implications of the role of radio programmes in conflict management in Burundi. Cooper and Emory (1995) highly recommend this type of research design where several respondents give answers to specific questions at one point in time survey.

29

The study was descriptive and exploratory in nature especially in the predictive models in answering the study objectives and in the analysis of the sources of data used. Therefore qualitative approach was important to adopt at that stage of the study. Comparative approaches were used in the results discussion on post conflict African countries that are equally emerging from the conflict like Burundi.

3.2 Population and Sample

This study targeted the population of Bujumbura residents aged 15 years and above. It also targeted independent media organization and stakeholders. Due to time constrain the study used random sampling method to get a representative population of the city of Bujumbura. It was the intention of the research to get a sample that is representative of the country but due to budget constrains and time the researcher sampled every 20th of households in Bujumbura capital arriving at a total of 100 households.

Burundi citizenry formed the unit of analysis because they make the majority of the radio audience. In the social platform, it is widely assumed that people living in urban areas often influence more people living in the rural areas especially in decision making or in believing what they hear on radio.

In general, the study was based on Burundi radio stations. There are 15 radio stations in Burundi and selection had to be done to get a representative number of radio stations.

Purposive sampling method was used to select the radio stations in the country. The criterion of selection was based on the following guidelines:

- When they come in existence before, during or after the civil war?
- What role did they play in the conflict management and resolution?

Out the 15 radio stations only four local radio stations were in existence during the conflict. These include Radio Publique Africaine, Radio Television Nationale De Burundi (RTNB), Radio Culture and Studio Ijambo. These included two foreign radio services England's (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA).

3.3 Data Collection Procedures

The data collection instruments were identified, defined and their relevance discussed below.

3.3.1 Structured Questionnaire

Both closed and open-ended questionnaire were used to collect the data from Bujumbura audiences and journalists. The questionnaires were administered face to face while others were sent by e-mails especially to journalists who produce conflict related programs to find out the content of the programs produced, the style of production used to make the programs to attract the audiences and drive the message home.

3.3.2 Face-to-Face Interviews

This procedure was a pertinent data collection tool because the research used it to get more detailed information from the key informants comprising of local media experts and civil society groups in Bujumbura. This procedure helped the researcher to get more solid information on the development process on role of radio in managing the conflict.

In general all data collected quantitatively or qualitatively was analyzed cleaned codes were used and equated in percentages through the computer software. Statistical Package for social Science (SPSS)

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Pre-Analysis of data

Data collected in the field was in raw and in order to make sense of it, the data was cleaned, coded and entered into the computer and systematically organized in manner that facilitated analysis through the common used statistical procedures.

The analysis was carried out using Statistical Package for social Science (SPSS) application software for windows and involved descriptive statistics like means and percentages for continuous data and frequency distribution and proportions for categories variables.

SPSS is a comprehensive computer package for statistical of analysis of data that allows easy input and validation of the data. Statistical techniques available range from the simple to sophisticated ones. It can take data from most types of file and use to generate tabulated reports, charts and plot of distribution and trends, descriptive statistics and complex statistical analyses.

The questionnaire was piloted in Bujumbura the main area under study. The questionnaire was emailed though a research assistant in Bujumbura, who administered the questionnaire for testing and emailed back for analysis. It was found out that the information drawn from the sample questionnaire was insufficient, there was important

33

missing information required in the study. This prompted the adjusting of the questionnaire structure in order to yield as much information as possible. It was then pre-tested again and passed the viability for the actual study.

4.2 Sample Size and Composition

A total of 100 respondents both men and women participated in the study. Their age ranged from 15 to 50 years. This age was classified in five age groups who were subjected to questionnaires. Random selection was done in different areas of Bujumbura capital. Key informants were selected from various media experts, the civil society groups depending on the degree of involved and influence in the de-escalating and managing Burundi conflict.

The respondents of the study were categorized into two groups:

- General Public were 100 respondents

- Interviews with Key informants

Table 4.1: The table below shows the median obtained for age categories

Age category	Frequency	Cumulative frequency
15=20	13	13
21=25	20	33
26=30	21	54
31=35	16	70
36=40	12	82
41=45	9	91
46=50	5	96
51=55	4	100
Median	30.49	

The table 4.2 below shows the respondent's sample presented in categories in terms of ethnicity, gender and age along with the obtained percentages size of representation

Table 4.2: Shows the sample distribution obtained for each of three important categories for sample of the study

Categories	Percentage				
Age	15-20: 18.2%	21-25: 24.7%	26-30: 34.6%	31-35: 13.4%	36 or Older: 9.1%
Ethnicity	Hutus: 50.4%	Tutsis: 49.6%			
Gender	Male: 59%	Tutsis: 41%			

Technical and situational considerations went into setting the over-all sample size of 100, and approximate category sample sizes. The need to reflect Burundi's ethnic diversity in the sample was ensured by taking consistent instructions to obtain ethnically equal samples from different parts of Bujumbura. A reasonable balance across gender was also desired. Accordingly, the same instructions as with ethnic representativeness were given about women to ensure adequate gender representativeness.

In summary, Burundi research sample was achieved through random sampling practices. It was important to sample a representative population across the two major ethnic groups because historically, Burundi has been divided in between Hutus and Tutsis, therefore the researcher wanted to get respondents and answers that were representative of the ethnic division.

The above table 4.2 shows a representation of 50.4% and 49.6% of Hutus and Tutsis respectively. There is a slight difference in gender representation and from experience in the field; it was found out that men were willing to talk more than women. 34.6% of the respondents were aged between 26-35 and the explanation for this was that the age category that comprised of youth who witnessed civil war and saw its adverse effects on their people.

4.3 Data Analysis

This section is made up of ten questions, which sought information from the respondents about their attitude in general regarding to the main radio stations in Burundi and their programs. Question 9 in this section was structured specifically to measure the impact of radio programs in managing the Burundi conflict. This question was asked to the respondents and during the interviews with key informants.

Question 1: What radio station do you listen to and how much do you trust that radio station?

This became an important question in the research because the researcher needed to know which of the selected radio stations were more popular stations than others because there were new ones that now shared the market with the traditional ones. These included Radio Publique Africaine, Radio Television Nationale Du Burundi (RTNB), Radio Culture, Studio Ijambo and two foreign radio services England's (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA).

36

Possible responses were then drawn from the question 1; *which radio station do you listen to and how much do you trust it?* The results reveal diversity in listening patterns as more stations options become available. Although the question involving trust in the radio station of choice was treated like a separate question. It has been tabulated together with what stations respondents listen to in order to maintain a sense of consistency throughout the research. For both questions, percentages for the *Very Often* response choice are in the table below.

Table 4.3: Which Radio station do you listen to and how much do you trust it?

Name of the Radio Station	Listen to it very often	Trust it very often
Radio Culture	33.3%	50%
Radio Bonesha	50%	58.3%
Radio Television Nationale Du Burundi (R.T.N.B) Government owned	16.6%	25%
Radio Publique Africaine	83.3%	91.6 %
Studio Ijambo	50%	75%
BBC	25%	41.6%
VOA	16.6%	50%

In reference to the table 4.3, which tabulates the radio station often listened to and the level of trust. Radio Publique Africaine (RPA) turned out to be the most listened station and most trusted station respectively. 83.3 % of the listeners in Bujumbura tune into

37

Radio Publique Africaine because they believe the message is more credible than all other radio stations in Burundi. 91.6 % respondents trust it RPA. The government owned station (R.T.N.B) demonstrates a varied listening public but have lower proportion of listenership trust compared to the other radio stations.

The international radio stations received a relatively high confidence in rating but not a very high listening public, particularly the BBC and VOA. In general, the respondents divisions by radio preferences are interesting and seem to indicate that much more attention needs to be paid to programming and the editorial policy control to left to professionals.

Question 2: Where do you listen to radio?

Respondents were given five options for where they listen to radio; at home, at work, at the market, in the car, and other places. From the percentages shown in the table 4.4 below, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of respondents listen to the radio while at home.

Table 4.4: Where do you listen to radio?

Place	Percentage
Listening at home	73%
Listening at work	4.3%
Listening at the Market	5.3%
Listening in the car	7.1%
Listening at other places	1.8%

In general, listening habits seem to be predominant at home with 76% of respondents saying they listen radio at home after work or before going to work. It was anticipated that in Burundi there are more women staying home than those going to work, therefore they are more likely to listen to the radio at home. However, since the research was conducted in an urban area and most people have to work everyday and can only get the opportunity to listen radio at home. 7.1% of the working class who own a car said they listen to radio the while driving to or from work. These findings perhaps, reflect increased availability of radio listening habits before and after work. Apart from the market, the other places to listen to radio yielded such low percentages and no further analysis was justified.

Question 3: Do you listen to conflict management programs?

Listening to radio is one thing and listening to conflict management programs is another. Therefore, the fact that the previous question revealed that more people listen to radio at home than other places, the immediate inference question prompted here is; what

programs are these people listening to? Question 3 sought to find out if there is certain interest in listening to conflict management programs. There were four options for answers to this question: Very Much, Sometimes, Rarely and Never.

Table 4.5 below shows that 73% of the respondents in Bujumbura said that conflict management programs were being aired 'very much'. Only a small significant number of people felt that the conflict related programs were rarely or never aired. The simple explanation for this was that the choice of programs depended on the psychological disposition of the people some not wanting to hear or remember anything conflict.

Table 4.5: Do you listen to conflict management programs?

Respondents Answers	Percentage
Very much	73%
Sometimes	4.3%
Rarely	5.3%
Never	7.1%

For those respondents who answered 'very much' to question 3, the researcher was compelled to ask what conflict managements themes were being addressed. These themes were categorized across the ethnic tribes.

Question 4: What areas do the conflict management programs address?

This question was important to this research because the researcher wanted to find out what key areas conflict management programs address. The issue on whether or not conflict management programs cover every aspect of the conflict was not the focus here. However, there was clear pattern regarding to the effectiveness in addressing these subjects.

All the respondents were asked various themes that were very often and always addressed by the conflict management programs, these included; *Political Conflict, Land Settlements, Peace and Reconciliation, Promotion of Dialogue across the ethnic division.* The comparison was tabulated across the ethnic groups.

Table 4.6: What areas do the conflict management programs address?

Types of respondents	Political conflict (Very often)	Land settlement (Very often)	Peace and reconciliation (Always)	Dialogue promotion across ethnic division (Very often)
All respondents	37.6%	46.1%	53.3%	46.1%
Hutus	37.1%	48.4%	57.7%	55.6%
Tutsis	37.9%	44.4%	49.2%	35%

Majority of Hutu and Tutsi respondents reported that Peace *and Reconciliation* and *Promotion of dialogue* across the ethnic divide were the dominant themes addressed by the conflict management programs. They said the programs provide them with the truth, comfort and solace, they offer some hope in the return of peace and dialogue.

41

Almost 48.4% of Hutu respondents compared to approximately 44.4% of Tutsi respondents said the radio conflict programs addressed candidly the issues of *Land settlement* especially for the Internally Displaced People (IDPs)

Radio helps to promote *Peace and Reconciliation* 'always' according to 53.3% of respondents. By looking at the percentages and similar trends in this study, it becomes evident that the Hutus and Tutsis agreed reasonably at the same percentage that *Political conflict* especially amongst political parties and opposition opponents were also addressed within the conflict management programs. The general coverage of ethnic problems gives almost an equivalent agreement between the Hutus and Tutsis.

Question 5: Which radio station airs conflict management programs compared to other programs?

The question was made to find out how many radios dedicate more of their airtime in broadcasting conflict issues. Most of the radios in Burundi are privately owned and the owners control editorial policies and even for those owned by the government they are controlled by the state. The table 4.7 below shows the percentages of the conflict management programs aired in comparison to other programs.

Table 4.7: Which radio station airs conflict management programs compared to other programs?

Name of the Radio Station	Conflict management programs	Other programs
Radio Culture	22.2%	41%
Radio Bonesha	33.1%	45%
R.T.N.B.	11.1%	56%
Radio Publique Africaine	47%	61%
Studio Ijambo	67%	39.3%
BBC	11.1%	36%
VOA	16.6%	32%

In summary, conflict related programs seems to be given a high priory by Studio Ijambo, Radio Publique Africaine and Radio Bonesha showed a representation of 67%, 47% and 33.1% respectively. However, when crossed tabulated in comparison with other programs, Radio Publique Africaine showed that 61% of the programs address different issues. While studio Ijambo showed 39.3% of programs were not conflict related compared to 67% that were solely about conflict resolution.

The government radio (R.T.N.B) which in theory is supposed to be in the lead to airing conflict management issues aired only 11.1 % of the conflict resolution programs the non-conflict programs took a 56% of the airtime. The international radio station BBC and VOA aired 11.1% and16.6% respectively, this is a low score in a country emerging from

a conflict and also compared to the 36% and 32% of the content they broadcast, which is not conflict related.

Question 6: Do conflict management programs aired promote Burundi peace process?

This question could be the answer to whether radio conflict management programs contribute to the Burundi peace process. There were four options given for the respondents to answers to this question: *Very Much, Sometimes, Never and Don't Know*

Table 4.8: Do conflict management programs aired promote Burundi peace process?

Name of the Radio Station	Very much	Sometimes	Never	Don't know
Radio Culture	36.3%	54.5	9.09%	0
Radio Bonesha	63.6%	30%	0.9%	0
R.T.N.B.	27.2%	40.9%	56.3%	14.5%
Radio Publique Africaine	81%	23%	9.09%	0
Studio Ijambo	90%	16%	2.5%	0
BBC	45,4%	31.8%	3.5%	1.5%
VOA	54.5%	36.3%	3%	3.6%

44

The results showed a strong compliment from the listeners of top local radio stations and International radio stations. The highest percentage of confidence was given to the four local radio stations especially towards promoting peace. Studio Ijambo took the lead with 90% closely followed by Radio Publique Africaine compared to 36.3%, 63.6%, 27.2%, 45,4% 54.5% Radio Culture, Radio Bonesha R.T.N.B, BBC and VOA respectively.

Radio Television National of Burundi (R.T.N.B), when cross-tabulated with the same variables that the program questions were crossed with, only small significant number said the national radio programs were promoting peace. On the contrary most of the respondents felt the national radio had let them down with 56.3% saying the station was quiet on matters of the conflict management.   When asked why they felt that way, the explanation given was that the editorial policy was controlled and manipulated by the government in power. There is a considerate role played by the international radio station BBC and VOA to promoting peace in Burundi, however a small percentage didn't know about it.

The table 4.8 also shows slightly lowered percentage began to create variations in the cross-tabulations, which are also worthy noting. For example, a significantly high number of respondents believed that Studio Ijambo (90%) and Radio public Africa (81%) could promote peace compared to 27.2% of the Radio and Television National Burundi (R.T.N.B). This continues and confirms previous observations about a general mistrust of the Radio and Television National Burundi. Although the gender and age differences are not significant, they maintain the same pattern as in the previous questions. Majority

45

of the people in the Bujumbura believe that conflict management radio programs could promote reconciliation and bring peace in Burundi.

Question 7: What method of producing conflict programs is effective in capturing the attention of the audience?

The researcher wanted to know, which modes of producing conflict management programs were effective in capturing the audience. The modes of producing radio programs were presented as; *News, Drama, Music, Comedy and Talk shows.*

Table 4.9: What method of producing conflict programs is effective in capturing the attention of the audience?

Method of production	Most effective production
News	18.2%
Drama	63.6%
Music	45.4%
Comedy	36.3%
Talk shows	72.7%

The results showed that 72.7 % of the respondents said they followed programs that were presented through live talk shows. The respondents were asked as to why they found talk shows to be most effective, the reason given was that people had a chance to react by calling at the station and asking questions and getting feedback there and then. Some respondents said talk shows attracted the politicians and leaders. The president or even

46

government ministers appear live on the talk shows and address peoples questions satisfactorily.

Drama scored 63.6% as most effective way of presenting conflict management programs. Respondents said dramas programs are funny and when conflict programs are presented in a drama style people listen to the humor and in the process the message is passed through the humor. News programs were less effective compared to Music and Comedy with 45.4% and 36.3% respectively.

Question 8: Which media do you think is more effective broadcasting conflict management programs?

The aim for this question was to find out what media respondents thought was more effective in broadcasting conflict issues. All the media channels were presented and the questions provided were; *Most effective, Effective and Not very effective*

Table 4.10: What method of producing conflict programs is effective in capturing the attention of the audience?

Name of the Radio Station	Most effective	Effective	Not very effective
TV	20%	60%	40%
Radio	90%	60%	10%
Newspapers	30%	64%	25%
Others	19.5%	10%	0.00

47

The results showed that there is a significant difference in media channels through which message is passed. What emerged from this question was that the effectiveness of a medium depends on how spread or accessible it is to most people and the resources required to purchase and keep it functional. For example, there is a huge difference in cost of buying a radio compared to a TV set.

90% of the respondents said radio was most effective in airing the conflict management programs as compared to television and newspapers where 40% and 25% respectively. Respondents gave their varied reasons as to why radio was the most effective. It emerged that:

- Radio is widely spread in the country than all other forms of media

- Radio is cheap compared to TV and majority of people both in urban and rural Burundi can afford a radio

- Radio is powered by low cost affordable batteries as compared to TV which you require electricity and there is no rural electrification in Burundi.

- Radio can be listened anywhere as you work, walk or drive but for TV you have to get home or in a restaurant to watch it.

- Newspapers don't usually reach all the corners of Burundi and again not everyone is literate.

- People as express their views especially on the live talks shows and the calling in to the presenter

Question 9: What impact did the radio conflict management programs contribute towards de-escalating the Burundi conflict?

The purpose of this questing was to find out whether conflict programs aired over the radio had any impact to peace building and whether radio could be credited for contributing massively to the current peace Burundians are enjoying today?

Table 4.11: What impact did the radio conflict management programs contribute towards de-escalating the Burundi conflict?

Impact of radio towards Burundi conflict	Percentage
Opened peoples eyes	54.5%
People can air views, fears and aspirations	30.3%
Helped to solved social conflict problems, like hate, revenge etc	71.8%
Changed of peoples attitudes towards the conflict	67.4%

In reference to the above table, radio had a great impact in the de-escalating Burundi conflict. 71.8% of respondents felt that conflict management programs helped to solve some social conflict problems like hatred, revenge attacks within the ethnic division. When asked why they felt that way, they said the repeated broadcasts on issues of forgiveness and messages like *"we are all brothers and sisters from the same family"* contributed to influencing people to change altitudes and softening their hard stands. This is also connected to second highest impact where 67.4% of respondents said radio had overtime-changed people's attitude towards the conflict. This question is also connected to the question 10 below, where 54.5% of respondents said they were tired of the war.

Question 10: Do you think Burundi conflict is coming to an end? Yes/ No. If yes why?

This question was closed and open-ended answer. For those that answered, "Yes", the researcher asked them to qualify their "Yes" with reasons as to why they thought the conflict was coming to any end. A total of 61 respondents answered, "yes" to the question and their reasons have been categorized on the table below.

Table 4.12: Do you think Burundi conflict is coming to an end? Yes/ No. If yes why?

Reasons as to why conflict is coming to an end	Percentage
People are tired of the war	50.5%
People don't trust the government in power	29.3%
Ethnic conflict is over only political conflict is remaining	69.8%
People were influenced by media to change altitudes	67.4%

The common response to this question was that the ethnic conflict was over but the remaining conflict was now in political circles. 71.8% of respondents believed that the ethnic conflict between Tutsi and Hutus was over but now the problems lied with their leaders. This response is strongly connected to 54.5% of respondents who felt that people were tired of the war. The current political conflict between opposition parties and ruling party is the very reason that may have influence 29.3% of the respondents saying that people did not trust the government in power.

The second most cited cause for believing that the crisis was nearing an end was that 67.4% of the respondents said radio had done a significant job in changing people's attitude towards the conflict and had cultivated the culture of reconciliation. This information resonates well with the information gathered from the key informant interviews, where respondents echoed the same themes. The only difference was that key informants assigned more weight to the fact that people were tired of the war.

4.4 Key Informant Interviews

Primary sources of information on conflict related issues were drawn from first hand experiences and discussion and interviews from people who have been there and seen the conflict and observed or influenced the media trend in de-escalating the conflict.

Interviews were conducted with several officials from the Media stakeholders, civil society, media professionals and NGO organizations who promote media pluralism in Burundi. In summary, key informants were clear of media role in creating an atmosphere of dialogue and on peace building and reconciliation. Media techniques, such as working with the public, going to where events are happening, facilitating dialogue between rivals, even warring factions, and treat all groups with fairness and neutrality, were all present in the responses of interviewees.

Most respondents also indicated that they believed that various radio stations were reaching to these goals to a great extent. Several of them suggested that the government should establish truth and reconciliation commission, where the media could help to

broadcast the process through open dialogue, where people talk and discuss and forgive each other for the sake of peaceful co-existence in the country.

Most interviewees also asserted that radio especially private owned had been successful in breaking through several social taboos. One of those taboos was discussing ethnic identity, because until few years ago it was unacceptable in the Burundian society to discuss such a matters, or to reveal one's ethnic identity. Now people are willing to discuss their identity and to address a variety of social, economic and political issues associated with such identity. The second taboo is the culture of secrecy, especially when it is related to what the society may consider to be an embarrassing condition. The efforts of radio have changed these norms to a great extent. For example, radio talks shows have revolutionalised the whole aspect of silence in Burundi.

In general, the key informant interviews gave an excellent review of media efforts. They credited the journalists in Burundi and how they have tried to bring the two sides together. The findings show that respondents in the field seemed to confirm much of the data that had been collected from the key informant interviews. Such confirmation only assures us that the positive information gathered through the key informant interviews were valid, and reflected an accurate assessment of the role of radio in managing Burundi politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A total of 100 respondents both men and women participated in the study with a reasonable gender balance representativeness of 59% and 41% respectively.

Their age ranged from 15 to 46 years with a median of 30.49. There was need to reflect Burundi's ethnic diversity. The sample was ensured ethnic representative of 50.4% Hutus and 49.6% Tutsis. This ethnic categorization was important given the history of Burundi which was based on ethnic conflict, it was to important to have the sample highly representative of the two tribes.

The data collected was in quantitative and qualitative methods both approaches were used to analyze the data. The questionnaire administered had ten questions most of which yielded qualitative data and quantitative data. Data was cleaned and coded and punched into the computer and systematically organized in manner that facilitated analysis through the common used statistical procedures.

5.1 Summary of the findings

According to the study findings on Table 4.3 Radio Publique Africaine (RPA) emerged as the most listened station and most trusted station in Burundi with 83.3 % of the respondents saying it was their favorite while 91.6 % trust the station more than all other radio stations. Radio Bonesha and Studio Ijambo shared equally the level of listenership

53

with 50% but differed on the level of trust. Studio Ijambo was more trusted than radio Bonesha with 75% and 58.3% respectively. On the other hand, it emerged that even though the international radio stations were trusted BBC 41.6 and VOA with 50% they did not have significant listeners. The government stations (R.T.N.B) emerged as the least listened station and least trusted radio.

On listening habits the study showed that 76% of people listen radio at home. A small insignificant number listened radio in the car, at work, market or other places. It was also found that there is equally high listenership to conflict management programs with 73% of respondents saying they listen to these programs. 4.3% listen sometimes, while 5.4% listen rarely and 7.1% have never listened to such programs. This is small percentage compare to the majority who listen to conflict related programs

Regarding to themes conflict management programs address, it emerged that 53.3 % of all respondents said *peace and reconciliation* is addressed 'always' as showed on table 4.3.4 other issues addressed by these programs include *political conflict* which 37.6% is very often addressed. *Land settlement* and *dialogue promotion* issues share equal representation of 46.1%. Majority of Hutu and Tutsi respondents reported *peace and reconciliation* and *promotion of dialogue* across the ethnic divide were the dominant issued addressed by the conflict management programs. They said the programs provide them with the truth, comfort and solace, they offer some hope in the return of peace and dialogue.

The study further showed that conflict related programs seems to be given a high priory by Studio Ijambo, Radio Publique and Africaine and Radio Bonesha with a representation of 67%, 47% and 33.1% respectively. It turned out that to 67% of programs aired by studio Ijambo were solely about conflict related issues, only 39.3% of programs that were not conflict related. The findings indicate that only 11.1 % of programs aired by the government radio (R.T.N.B) address the conflict resolution programs, this was also low on the international radio station BBC and VOA whose programs address conflict issues by only 11.1% and16.6% respectively

Regarding the issue of promoting peace in Burundi, local radio stations were given the highest percentage of confidence towards promoting peace. Studio Ijambo took the lead with 90% closely followed by Radio Publique Africaine compared to 36.3%, 63.6%, 27.2%, 45.4% 54.5% Radio Culture, Radio Bonesha R.T.N.B, BBC and VOA respectively. Radio Television National of Burundi (R.T.N.B.) was down with 56.3% respondents saying the station was quiet on matters of conflict management

The results showed that 72.7 % of the respondents followed programs that were presented through live talk shows. This proved right one of the hypotheses of this study that radio programs produced or aired through talk shows were highly effective in de-escalating the conflict. Programs produced through drama scored 63.6% while news programs were less effective compared to music and comedy with 45.4% and 36.3% respectively.

Regarding to the media which is more effective in broadcasting conflict management programs, radio emerged to be the most effective with 90% of the respondents saying it was more effective compared to television and newspapers, whose percentage was as low as 40% and 25% respectively.

In reference to table 4.11 radio had a great impact in the de-escalating Burundi conflict. 71.8% of respondents felt that conflicted management programs helped to solve some social conflict problems while 67.4% of respondents said the media particularly radio had overtime- changed people's attitude towards the conflict. 54.5% of respondents gave radio credit for opening people eyes to see the reality of the things.

Regarding whether Burundi conflict was coming to an end 69.8% of respondents believed that the ethnic conflict between Tutsi and Hutus was over but now the problems lied with their leaders. This response is strongly connected to 50.5% of respondents who felt that people were tired of the war on table 4.3.10. It also emerged that a significant number of 29.3% did not trust the government in power.

5.2 Discussion

The study sought to investigate the role of radio in managing Burundi conflict. The objectives of the study were:

1. To find out the radio programs used to de-escalate Burundi conflict,

2. To find out what content was dominant in these radio programs

3. To find out the impact of the radio as compared to other media?

According to the first objective of the study- *to find out the radio programs used to de-escalate Burundi conflict*, the findings of the study indicates that conflict management programs were used to de-escalate the conflict. The first objective of the study, quickly ties in to the second objective, which sought *to find out the dominant content used in the conflict management programs*. The study found out that there were varied themes that dominated the content. These themes addressed peace and reconciliation, political conflict, land settlement issues and dialogue promotion across the ethnic division of the two major tribes Tutsi and Hutu.

The results indicate that 53.3 % of peace and reconciliation theme was 'always' addressed by the radio programs as showed on table 4.6. 37.6% of Political conflict was addressed 'very often'. Land settlement and dialogue promotion issues share equal representation of 46.1% on the conflict management programs themes. In reference to these themes addressed by the conflict management programs, it emerged that majority of Hutus and Tutsi said the programs provide them with the truth, comfort and solace, they offer some hope in return of peace.

The third objective of the study *to find out the impact of the radio as compared to other media*. The study found out that radio was the most effective media with 90% of the respondents saying, it was the most effective in broadcasting conflict management programs compared to television and newspapers whose percentage was low by 40% and 25% respectively.

The study sought to prove the following hypotheses:

1. Conflict related content dominate radio programs more than any other content

2. Radio programs aired through talk shows are highly effective in de-escalating Burundi conflict

3. Conflict management information send via radio have more impact that message send through other media.

According to the first hypotheses of the study, the results proved that conflict management content dominate radio programs more than any other any other content. In reference to table 4.7 the data clearly supported the hypothesis that conflict related programs were given a high priory by the four main radio station in Burundi. For instance, 67% of Studio Ijambo programs were solely about conflict resolution, while 47% of programs of the most listened radio in Burundi (Radio Publique Africaine) was on conflict resolution. Radio Bonesha, which has a history in bringing peace since the beginning of the civil war had 33.1% of its programs set purely on peace building.

The second hypotheses that states that *radio programs aired through talk shows are highly effective in de-escalating Burundi conflict*. This hypothesis is supported right by the results on table 4.9. There results show that 72.7 % of the respondents said talk show programs were highly effective compared to 63.6% of drama, 45.4% of music, 36.3% comedy and 18.2% of news.

In the third hypotheses which states that *conflict management information send via radio have more impact that message send through other media*, the results on table 4.11 proves this hypotheses right because it shows 90% of the respondents saying radio was the most effective in airing the conflict management programs as compared to television and newspapers which showed 40% and 25% respectively. Respondents described as being 'not very effective'

This research is supported by other studies especially on power effects of media. Early studies in the areas of agenda setting, framing and effects explain how media forms differ in conveying information. Miller (2002) indicated that media does not express direct opinions about a topic but instead highlights the topic people should have opinions about.

In this study radio talk shows emerged to be the most effective way of producing and airing programs especially those related to conflict management of Burundi conflict. Hollander, (1997) p, 365 points out that talk radio is unique genre of media that aims to elicit great emotion from those who listen it. Talk radio is often ideological and unbalanced, dramatic and leading to conflict. For instance, in this study respondents praised talk radio because it offers two way debate and exchange of opinions. Radio Publique Africaine emerged to be the most listened radio because it uses live talk shows on her programs.

On the other hand, while critics argue that when talk radio becomes infused with political talk, it breeds cynicism and distrust among listeners often making a big issue out of trivial

issues (Hollander 1997) it may be correct to say that both sides are speaking the truth but when such radio is influenced by politics or powerful people it may be biased, unfair and dismissed as a news entertainment where everything may be exaggerated to make it entertaining to the listeners. However, in the case of Burundi, talk radio is the 'in thing' as people identify themselves with the radio station that uses this mode of production to reach its audiences.

Respondents in this study felt that talk radio was the platform, where the oppressed could share the views and get instant feed back. Hollander 1997 is right in the sense that in such a fragile country like Burundi, if politicians denominate the opportunity then there is likelihood that they may mislead many people and conflict is bound to happen again.

The study showed that conflict related programs produced using a drama model had a great impact of 63.9% coming second in terms of popularity compared to 72.7% talk shows programs. Modern studies show that drama theories portray creative development of entertainment-education interventions offered by radio programming. In these theories, the roles that people play and/or the scripts they follow in their daily lives reflect their real situations being addressed.

Kincaid (2002), theory on conceptualization of drama, states that individuals pass through the stages of scene setting, problem build-up, climax, conflict, resolution, and implementation of new collective action. Central in Kincaid's model is confrontation, which is most prominent in the stages climax and conflict and is often very emotional.

60

Emotion is the motivational force that drives the characters into conflict and, eventually, to its resolution. The empathetic emotional response in the audience is the motivational force that induces members of the audience to realize the central problem. This drama theory explains well why conflict related programs produced using drama had significant impact on Burundi audience.

This research also sought to determine how Agenda setting theory is being used on the radio programs produced in the management of Burundi conflict and how these programs are structured to address the conflict issues for the public consumption. But how Burundi audience perceives the information and consumes it is not part of this research but it important to point out that Everett Rogers's Innovation theory, where a new idea goes through five stages of mental process of Knowledge, Persuasion, Decision, Implementation and Confirmation is key. The research shows how radio programs especially the conflict related programs have changed people's altitude towards the war. This compliments Everett Rogers's mental process of passing of new information that goes to change people attitudes and beliefs. For instance, in Burundi, many people listen or trust opinion leaders and that makes it possible to adopt new ideas for managing the conflict. This research in away supports multi-step flow theory which postulates that information flows in a culture or group actually filtered or passed through a series of opinion leaders before reaching all segments of the group or culture as argued by McQuail 1985. But whether the listening Burundi audience is part early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards is quest for more research to determine the information consumption and the time taken to change the altitudes.

5.3 Conclusion

Burundi like any post-conflict African countries such as Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan, went through a crisis characterized by violence of a rare intensity. Despite the civil war, which resulted to massive destruction and psychological wounds hitting a major proportion of the people, Burundi has a good number of forces contributing to the reconstruction and the reconciliation of its people. The media for example has played a major role - the radio for instance has been in the frontline battle in de-escalating the conflict and building basic social cohesion.

The study sought to investigate what role radio played in managing Burundi conflict. The findings show that conflict management programs were used to de-escalate conflict and the content that was dominant on these programs addressed various themes; peace and reconciliation was the main theme discussed always by all radio stations selected for the study. Political conflict, land settlement for internally displaced and promotions of dialogue were some of the themes addressed often.

The study showed that the use of radio in the early stages of the crisis was an effective tool in changing the track of the crisis. The use of radio to disseminate information to the people of Burundi about the conflict resolution and management helped, the ethnic crisis. The programs on peace and reconciliation played a great role in constantly calling for forgiveness and the oneness, one family. This transformation facilitated the second stage of intervention: the direct dialogue promotion between the two tribes Hutus and Tutsis. The remarks made by the Hutu and Tutsi respondents about the process of bringing

people from both sides together were truth and justice commission that should be established in Burundi for people can talk and express themselves, forgive each openly and continue to live peacefully.

The intervention by radio in this crisis serves as an example of integration efforts by the media. The ability of the two groups to address the crisis in a timely manner, using the proper types of intervention, and dividing the tasks between themselves according to the strength that each brought to provide an excellent example of the potential success that radio in general may anticipate should such efforts continue to be coordinated within the emerging Integration Initiative.

Key informants in this research suggested that strengthening of media and civil society was the beginning of the road to democratization process. Educating the masses in the grass roots was crucial in sustaining peaceful resolution because ethnic conflicts were bound to happen at every little negative intrigue. They felt that civil education would eventually enlighten the people and change their attitudes based on informed choices.

The study also revealed the power of radio over television and newspapers among others. What emerged from this question was that the effectiveness of a medium depends on how spread or accessible it is to most people and resources required. For example, there is a huge difference in cost of buying a radio compared to a TV set. Radio is widely spread in the country than all other media.

The findings of this study will help the governments and policy makers to realize that it is possible to manage a conflict media especially using radio. It's true that earlier studies have shown radio being condemned by many people as a tool that instigates hatred. But this research proves that this negative impact of radio can be turned around and create a positive impact especially in post – conflict countries like Burundi where pockets of violence are felt from time to time.

The findings show that only private radio in Burundi has gained mileage in resolving the conflict, the government-controlled radio has lagged behind. The leaders can used the findings of this research to help support media, support journalists and also improve the credibility of the national radio in order to unite towards effective management of Burundi conflicts.

Non governmental organization (NGOs) inspired to start healing programs in conflict areas across Africa will find this research useful especially when designing ways of approaches to mitigation of the conflict. They will see the impact of radio and develop strategies that utilize the powerful effects of the radio in the management of Burundi crisis.

The research will build the confidence and encourage the media owners, governments, and political parties not only to think of manipulating the media for their own selfish ends which more often that not results to 'deaths' of people after listening or watching negative content transpired through their channels but to also propagate peace using their

medium. The main achievement of this research is that it demonstrates the powerful effects of radio can be used de-escalating conflict. However there are recommendations that need to be addressed to support radio or media in managing Burundi social and political conflicts successfully.

5.4 Summary and Recommendations

The people of Burundi have suffered for a long time, however they are slowly emerging out of the conflict. However, there pockets of violence from time to time especially politically instigated violence ones. For example, during the last general elections and the referendum held 25 July 2010. Agence France Presse (AFP) reported that the day before the elections three-grenade attacks was reported in the early hours of the morning. Two were in the capital's Buyenzi and Kamesa districts, causing no injuries, and one exploded in the western town of Kanyosha, killing one and wounding two. Another man was shot dead in Bujumbura's Musanga neighbourhood in a suspected politically motivated attack. On Election Day, three more grenade attacks occurred in the capital Bujumbura, while two more exploded in the north of the country. In all, at least eight people were killed and more than 60 wounded since the opposition candidates pulled out of the race. (AFP, 2010)

These incidents of violence clearly show how volatile the Burundi politics still are. However, Burundians can no longer continue to blame each other for their own mistakes. Nor have they to blame colonialism experiences, or the international community for its silence. They must responsibly take their destiny together. They must burry their mutual

hatred, heal their history, and reconcile with themselves. The study has shown that the media has help to fix these social conflicts.

The following recommendations emerged from this study.

1. Since 1993, the Burundian media has been operating in the context of chronic instability and violence, which made it difficult to conduct professional high quality work. Therefore to improve on professionalism thus training for journalists should be provided. Especially on media ethics, governance and issues on conflict resolution and peace building. Journalists should be given skills on how to cover these subjects comprehensively and as well as practice self-regulation rules for credibility purposes.

2. The government should support media in areas of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). For instance, the government should lower the tax rates levied to newsgathering and broadcast equipment.

3. Strengthen media capacities and how they should manage media houses. For example, if journalists are paid poorly then that alone is a problem. They may be compromised by political parties and powerful individuals hence this affects their independence and impartiality in their work.

4. Strengthen Journalist associations in order to fight freedom of press and of expression.

5. Sensitize the local communities and institutions on the role of the media in conflict management and peace building in Burundi.

6. The media and civil society should work together and continue to fight injustice and conflicts because the solution Burundi conflict will not come from outside but from within.

7. The international community should follow closely Burundi conflict management procedures and provide assistance where necessary. Burundians need a new face of leadership that can positively mobilize people energy and direct tensions produced by conflicts toward creative solutions of the nation problems. It would be desperate for the Burundi leadership to continue to hide the evil that has been eroding the Burundi social fabric. It would be better to tackle openly and find solution for a lasting peace.

8. So far the study shows that radio has bee doing a significant work in bringing people together. But creative ways of transformation through dialogue and participation would give the conflict resolution a great stride. The media should address the deepest structural causes of contemporary conflicts in the social, political, economic, and cultural institutions of our society and deal with them constructively. The big task is to find mechanisms to rebuild the trust among Burundians and change the mentality of which tribe is superior into a constructive and integrative dialogue.

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