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## From Conventional Towards New Frames of Peace Journalism: The Cases of Uganda and Burundi

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### Introduction

The debate in the peace journalism community has been unrelenting about the need to deconstruct the conventional journalism norms that until now favour conflict or violence and develop new frames that promote common ground and communal harmony (Ross and Tehranian 2008). Developed normative models have proposed a deconstruction of the war/violence media frames that Galtung and Ruge (1965) outlined and later reformulated (Galtung 1998). Scholars such as Lynch and McGoldrick (2005:28-31) have developed an elaborate list of 'dos and don'ts' of peace journalism that outline what differentiates peace or conflict-sensitive journalism from war or violence journalism. Tehranian (2002:80-81) uses Biblical language in what he called the 'ten commandments for peace journalism', proposing a blend of conventional journalism ethics based on values such as 'accuracy, veracity, fairness' tempered with peace-oriented ones such as 'giving voice to the oppressors and peacemakers'. Mutere and Ugangu (2004:71-72) propose what they call a 'diversity checklist for Conflict Sensitive Journalism' in which they also call upon journalists, despite deadline pressures, to always take an introspective look to examine how reports adhere to journalism ethics such as balance and fairness. Howard (2003:8-9) outlines a list he refers to as 'elements of conflict resolution journalism' in which he stipulates grand roles of journalism in society, such as to educate but also to bring parties in a conflict to a common ground.

While the profile of scholars proposing normative frameworks is long, the literature is grounded on a problematic assumption that journalists have a good understanding of what constitutes 'peace' and, therefore, appreciate the journalistic norms of peace. Yet, such an assumption ignores the complexities of conceptualising 'peace' and how to develop frames of peace reporting from field experiences and

practices (Lynch and McGoldrick 2012). This chapter, therefore, sought first to probe an underlying hypothesis that journalists covering conflicts lack well-formulated media frames of what constitutes 'peace' and continue to present media content using the well-developed and known conventional frames that favour conflict or violence. From a wide pool of Ugandan (n=183) and Burundian (n=58) journalists, the chapter probes whether conventional news frames that often favour conflict or violence – such as drama, crisis and internal discord, extremism, threats, destruction, ethnocentrism, hostility among others – are still considered of satisfactory news value. To the counter perspective, the chapter taps into scholarly conceptualisations of peace journalism to interrogate the journalists on whether the extrapolated values of peace could indeed be reframed into journalism norms. The chapter's original contribution is to provide empirical evidence from a wide pool of Ugandan journalists (n=183) and their Burundian counterparts (n=58) about the feasibility of deconstructing the conventional news frames that favour conflict or violence and develop peace frames that favour a common ground.

### **Conceptualising Peace Journalism**

Shinar (2007: 5-7) makes a pointed observation that while a lot of work has been done on the 'deconstruction of war discourse', hardly has any work been done on the 'invention, development and marketing' of a media peace discourse. He observes, for instance, that while reporting peace, such as in peace processes, journalists were still using war jargon and frames. At an epistemological level, he calls for the development of clearer philosophical and conceptual norms that would encompass 'a deconstruction of journalism principles such as truth, objectivity, accuracy, responsibility ...' (Shinar 2007:5). However, Wolfsfeld (2004: 15), in what he calls a 'static model', belabours the point that conventional news values are so grounded in conflict to the extent that 'when peace appears to be taking hold in a particular area, it is time for journalists to leave.' In an enumeration of the conventional news values, he observes that journalists and their editors select what is newsworthy based on a sacrosanct set of values such as 'immediacy, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism' (Wolfsfeld 2004:15). He argues that these news values are so well established so much so that even competing political actors use these frames to convey their messages effectively in order to gain the attention of the mass media. With regard to the Ugandan media practice, Birungi (2009) scrutinised the challenges of integrating peace journalism into conventional journalism practice by focusing on the coverage of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) peace process. After examining the coverage of the peace process in five newspaper articles as well as interviewing six journalists who covered the LRA peace process in Juba (Southern Sudan), she noted that the journalists covering the process exhibited a strong tendency to look for 'the drama, disagreements, clashes and irreconcilable positions' (Birungi 2009:102). While she established that journalists in the conflict zone of Northern Uganda appreciated what peace journalism had to offer in 'promoting

harmony and not stirring antagonisms', the overall view was that journalists in Uganda considered peace journalism a 'noble beat, but one that was not yet ripe for their kind and nature of reporting orientation' (Birungi 2009:86).

Nassanga (2007:6) also conducted a newspaper content study of media coverage of the Northern Uganda civil war and noted 'Confrontational articles took the stance that there was a 'zero-sum' conflict going on and used negative, emotionally charged words to characterise one of the sides, such as 'rebels', 'terrorists' etc, which tends to aggravate rather than reduce mistrust and fighting.'

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Like Shinar (2004), she also calls for increased training of journalists in peace reporting in addition to other issues such as attention to media ethics, increased networking among journalists as well as the development of public relations skills (Nassanga 2007:8-9).

Taking the case of television, Hackett (2007:48) notes the framing of conventional journalism whereby warfare makes better television than reporting on peace because 'it is filled with highlighted moments, contains action and resolution, and delivers a powerful emotion: fear'; while 'peace is amorphous and broad' and 'the emotions connected with it are subtle, personal and internal ...far more difficult to televise.' The other argument advanced in the conventional model is that covering peace is hard because 'war satisfies all the news value demands of the present, the unusual, the dramatic, simplicity, action, personalisation and results' (Shinar 2007:5).

The middle ground of the reframing debate is occupied by the scholars who do not envision a new model altogether, but rather a repositioning of conventional journalism to re-focus on the norms that have fallen along the way at the behest of market-oriented journalism (Tehrani 2002). For instance, Galtung (2000:163), the first proponent of the peace journalism model, noted the failure of journalists to stick to the trade's basic conventional principles and stated that 'objective journalists are those who are able to cover all sides of the conflict' and who 'make an effort to tell it in their (protagonists) own words', which are features recognised as conventional journalistic norms of 'balance' and 'neutrality'. In the same line of argument, Howard (2003) perceives peace journalism as a more 'reliable journalism' that connotes 'practices which meet the international standards of accuracy, impartiality and social responsibility' (in Rukhsana 2010:338). These arguments are representative of those in the peace journalism community who are not positioning it as a new genre, but rather as a call to re-tool and re-focus on the conventional journalism norms of balance, truthfulness, accuracy, fairness, objectivity, neutrality/impartiality, detachment and social responsibility (Howard 2003, 2009; Hackett 2006; Kempf 2007; Rukhsana 2010).

Yet, despite the challenges highlighted above in distinguishing a peace journalism model, the literature outlining the normative propositions of the model keeps growing (Perez de Fransius 2013). The dominant argument of its proponents is that peace journalism is a positioned genre that focuses on covering conflict potentials with a view to ensuring they do not escalate into violence. Scholars, such as Lugalambi (2006), propose specific normative roles of journalism in peace-building. Among such roles are to 'champion a common vision based on those core principles and values around which citizens ought to be encouraged to unite'; focus citizens' attention on 'issues of collective concern, to generate agreement, and to persuade people to voice their opinion'; provide 'social intelligence that captures the essence of citizens' perceptions of issues at stake, thus identifying points of tension before they crack'; direct 'the current of public opinion by articulating the concerns of the few who may hold legitimate but contrary views from the dominant thinking held by the majority'; and finally 'critically engage with issues by rigorously inquiring into the motives of all the parties' (Lugalambi 2006:15).

Other proponents of the model such as Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) insist that the genre's uniqueness is to focus, for instance, on highlighting the work of peace actors as well as peace processes and initiatives wherever they happen; while diminishing the voice of promoters of war and violence. They further point out that it is only through the genre that journalists find ways of reporting on the invisible effects of violence or war such as the 'long-term consequences of psychological damage and trauma' since it is such effects that increase the likelihood for future spirals of violence (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005:28). It is such a specific genre that valorises 'pro-activity' by focusing on 'prevention before any violence or war occurs' as opposed to war journalism which is often 'reactive, waiting for violence before reporting' (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005:6). However, as Patindol (2010:193) points out, the peace journalism model is bound to meet significant opposition across the spectrum of the institutionalised media system since it is an intrinsic challenge to 'the main assumptions, paradigms and practices of traditional journalism.' That is why this chapter argues in support of Shinar (2007:4) that peace journalism ought to be developed as an independent normative framework with 'legitimate alternative frames of reference for journalistic coverage.' This chapter's plural contribution, therefore, is to evaluate using primary research data the rootedness of conventional journalism norms that favour conflict or violence, while at the same time presenting media frames of peace as an alternative.

### **Peace Journalism Practice in Burundi and Uganda**

Journalists in Burundi were possibly the first on the African continent to immerse in the contemporary practice of peace journalism. In mid-1995, *Radio Rutomorangingo* started broadcasting anti-Tutsi diatribes into Burundi using the

same format as had been used in 1994 by Rwanda's genocidal *Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines* (RTLM). While requests by the Burundian government to jam it were not readily implemented by the United States of America (USA), the radio was successfully jammed in 1996 with the help of the Israeli government (Des Forges 2007:53). However, as radio stations such as *Rutomorangingo* were trying to propagate incendiary rhetoric, the Swiss NGO *Fondation Hirondelle* was busy laying the foundation of a flourishing network of peace media in the region.<sup>1</sup>

Taking a cue from what *Fondation Hirondelle* was doing in then Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and the region, an American non-governmental organisation (NGO) known as Search for Common Ground (SCG), with funding from USAID, set up in August 1995 'Studio Ijambo' (Kirundi for 'wise words'), as an independent radio production studio to produce programmes promoting dialogue, peace, and reconciliation (Hagos 2001; Burton 2006). While most 'Studio Ijambo' productions air on *Radio Isanganiro* 89.7 FM under the slogan of 'Dialogue for the Future', several of the Studio's programmes were also broadcast on the RTNB (*Radio Télévision Nationale Burundaise*) as well as seven more radio stations in Burundi, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and via the internet; reaching an estimated 12 million people throughout the Great Lakes region.<sup>2</sup>

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

In addition to the Search for Common Ground's *Studio Ijambo* productions, radio audiences in Burundi benefitted from other peace radio programmes produced by:

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

- The IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks) Radio productions started in 1999 and diffuse on *Radio Kwizera* in Tanzanian refugee camps as well as on several other stations within Burundi (Ibid.).

As in Burundi, Peace journalism practice in Uganda can also be traced mainly from the radio broadcasting sector. In the two decades between 1987 and 2006, the three million inhabitants of Northern Uganda experienced a civil war between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF), which left half a million people dead (Murithi 2002; International Crisis Group, 2004). To end the insurgency, several initiatives were undertaken, including the use of 'peace radio' programming. The first peace radio initiative was in 2002 and was flagged off by *Radio Wa 89.8 FM*, 'Our Radio' in the local Luo language, based in the conflict-prone Lira District. It aired in early 2002 a weekly talk-show programme known as *Karibu*, Swahili language word meaning 'welcome'. The programme called upon LRA combatants to disarm and return home under the 2000 government amnesty. When dozens of LRA combatants started to isolate themselves from the main fighting parties and escaping, the LRA leadership were enraged, attacked the station on 27 September 2002 and burnt it.<sup>3</sup> The radio station re-opened in March 2003 and was soon in December 2003 joined on the airwaves by another radio station, *102 Mega FM*, based in neighbouring Gulu District, which started its own weekly radio talk show known as *Dwog cen Paco*, meaning in the Luo language 'Come Back Home'; an open invitation to the LRA combatants to lay down their arms. A September 2004 report by the *Christian Science Monitor* captured the views held by several civil society groups claiming that many former rebels who laid down their arms attributed their change of heart to the reassuring messages heard over *Radio Wa* and *Mega FM* from their former colleagues who had returned and were living a normal life.<sup>4</sup>

Another peace journalism initiative in Uganda is a project known as 'promoting peace journalism through Radio in Uganda' implemented by the Uganda Media Development Foundation (UMDF) with funding from the Church Development Service of Germany (EED). The UMDF is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) founded in 1994 by a group of journalists who wanted to see the mass media more engaged in the democratic and development processes of the country. Since its inception, the UMDF has been central in the mid-career training of journalists across the country in various genres including investigative, environment, health, human rights and democracy, and most recently peace journalism. The first phase of the UMDF-EED project was implemented for twenty-four months from January 2009 to December 2010 with the core objective of promoting peace through radio programming as well as nurturing a functional network of mass media practitioners in partnership with Church workers to reduce and resolve regional conflicts.<sup>5</sup> The second phase covered the years 2011 and 2012.

The project focused on the four regions of the country that had been affected by armed insurgency over the years. During the first two years of its implementation, the UMDf targeted one hundred media practitioners working in radio stations. These included journalists, talk-show presenters as well as programmers in the four conflict-prone regions of the country, namely, Rwenzori (Western), West Nile (North Western), North Eastern, and Northern. The UMDf also trained ten church media personnel engaged in peace and justice work for their respective churches. These trained church-based media personnel ensure that any media house that makes incendiary broadcast is brought to the attention of the peace journalism network for concerted action.<sup>6</sup> The project also runs two Google group platforms under the rubrics of 'peace journalism' and 'conflict-sensitive reporting' where the trainee peace journalists share their experiences and post news stories for peer review.

Whereas the forty-two radio stations – seven in West Nile, sixteen in Northern, ten in Eastern, and nine in the Rwenzori region – benefitted from the training, one radio station was chosen to be a programming model. In the Eastern region, *Kyoga Veritas Radio (KVR 91.5FM)* based in Soroti town runs a 'peace radio' programme known as *Teso mai koton* (meaning the 'Teso we want'). The programme is a talk-show that runs every Saturday from 10:00hrs to 12:00 noon. The hosts endeavour to present topical issues on human rights, justice and governance. While previously the station dwelt on negative news pitting the various warring ethnicities in the region against one another, programming now deliberately promotes communal harmony by focusing particularly on the perennial conflict between the warrior ethnic Karimajong and the Ateso. The breakthrough in programming was to change the approach to newsgathering by providing more sound bites to proponents of peace. By so doing, the station is sending a message to the public that if you want your voice to be heard, don't propagate incendiary talk, but be conciliatory.<sup>7</sup> The main challenge remains the limited local voices due to the inability of programme producers and journalists to access distant areas in the vast region often in control of ethnic warriors.<sup>8</sup> As of August 2011, however, KVR had been besieged by management challenges, including poor administration of the financial facilitation for the model programme. This model station has been replaced by *Voice of Teso 88.4 FM* in Soroti. In the second phase of the UMDf-EED project, *99.8 Step FM* in Mbale was added for support in the Eastern region.<sup>9</sup>

In the West Nile region (North Western), *Radio Pacis (90.9 FM)* based in Arua town runs the appropriately titled '*Let's Talk Peace*' programme every Wednesday at 17:00hrs for thirty minutes. Through the programme station has been able to handle a wide range of issues on governance, border conflicts, government programmes implementation, religious conflicts such as the emergence of cults, drug abuse and environmental degradation among other social vices.<sup>10</sup> The outstanding challenge

remains sustainability of the programme which is currently sponsored by the Justice and Peace Commission of Arua Catholic Diocese. There is also the problem of the programme being in English while the majority of people speak local languages.<sup>11</sup> To cater for local language issues, *Radio Paidha 87.8 FM* broadcasting from Nebbi town was added in the second phase of the UMDF-EED project.

The model radio station chosen in the Rwenzori region (Western Uganda) was *Grace FM 94.2* in Kasese town. Until August 2011, it ran a programme calling to mind the concept of citizenship titled *Uganda Neyoha?* (meaning in the local Runyakitara language 'To whom does Uganda belong?'). The programme was a two-hour talk-show aired every Saturday from 8:00 hrs to 10:00 hrs. From its inception in June 2010, the show had been so successful that, quite routinely, 'in the 25 minutes [the station] opens for listeners to call in, an average of 30 calls is received.'<sup>12</sup> When *Grace FM* shifted from its original operation area in Kasese to Rubiriizi district, its performance deteriorated. Despite the UMDF's intervention which included instituting better management systems, it was already facing several challenges by the end of 2011.<sup>13</sup> Following the many internal problems, *Grace FM*, like its counterpart *KVR* in Soroti, lost the privileged status of model peace journalism station. It was replaced by *Guide FM (90.3)* in Kasese town, while *Life FM (93.8)* in Fort Portal town is the second project station in the region.

In Northern Uganda, the region most affected by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebellion in the last two decades, the chosen peace journalism model station was *Luo FM (92.4)* in Pader district. The station runs the '*Pem*' programme (meaning 'Let us debate') every Saturday from 10:00 hrs to 12:00 noon, with an allowance for an extension of an extra hour if the issues being discussed draw immense public interest as indicated by calls. The station puts a premium on identifying the conflict issues in the community and highlighting them before they reach violence level. The station also puts a premium on giving voice to all parties to state their positions in their own voices without journalists interpreting the events. The main challenge for the station, however, remains insufficient financial and logistical resources to facilitate grassroots guests from communities to come to the station since most of them are situated far from the station.<sup>14</sup> There is also the problem of political interference whereby the station has on occasions been ordered to change a scheduled topic. In the second phase of the UMDF-EED project, *Radio Wa 89.8 FM* based in Lira town was added as a model station.

This presentation of the initiatives in Burundi and Uganda, while not necessarily exhaustive in scope, provides a good case study of places where peace journalism practice has taken root. As indicated in the methodology section, the majority of journalists who participated in the evaluation of the peace journalism model in Burundi and Uganda were from the aforementioned peace radio stations. The model radio stations presented above subscribe to the concept of communitarian

media where local participation in programming is central. The ownership of the stations is mixed, but concentrated in the hands of private individuals and religious institutions. The funding, however, remains a thorny issue with western donors financing the peace journalism programmes. Government also still has some control on the kind of issues discussed on radio by ensuring nothing contradicts the positions of the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) government. While the topics discussed on the shows are relatively open, covering the broad spectrum of social justice and development issues, it is also a fact that ownership/ sponsorship dynamics, as well as government's media regulatory mechanisms, impinge on the freedom of expression, notably through self-censorship.<sup>15</sup>

### Theoretical Framework

The arguments developed in this chapter are informed by three theoretical frameworks namely; normative theory, agenda-setting and framing theory.

According to Baran and Davis (2006:33), the normative theory 'explains how a media system should operate in order to conform to or realise a set of ideal social values.' McQuail (2000:8) points out that normative theory is 'concerned with examining or prescribing how media *ought* to operate if certain social values are to be observed or attained.' In formulating the normative theory, Christians et. al. (2009:74) point out the need to engage in a 'legitimizing process' where the moral claims of all major actors in a particular public communication context are taken into account. While it is not easy to find an acceptable formula to respect the moral claims of all major actors, it is key to engage in that process by making recourse to values and norms that have societal appeal; such as the peace journalism norms proposed in this chapter.

Bringing normative media theory to bear on the specific genre of peace journalism, Shinar (2007:2) defines the model as:

A normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict, that aims at contributing to peace making, peace keeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals and audiences to wards war and peace.

Likewise, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005:5) point out that 'peace journalism can be seen as a set of tools, both conceptual and practical, intended to equip journalists to offer a better public service.' In an elaboration of a 'media peace discourse', Shinar (2004:2) argues that normatively, 'the code-of-conduct that calls for media responsiveness to social change also calls on the media to join in peacemaking efforts.'

In this chapter, Ugandan and Burundian journalists evaluate the normative propositions by proponents of the peace journalism model. The chapter further discusses the feasibility of operationalising normative journalism values of peace coverage. The frames of peace coverage that are extrapolated from the

peace journalism literature for evaluation in this chapter include 'patience and moderation'; 'cooperation and consensus'; 'calm belligerents'; 'processes e.g. peace negotiations'; 'humanisation of enemies'; 'civil society and community players'; as well as 'institutions involved in peace processes' (Galtung 2000; Wolfsfeld 2004; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005).

On the other hand, the agenda-setting theory is grounded on the principle that the mass media, or journalists for that matter, have the capacity to either positively or negatively influence public perceptions on any given issue. The media scholar credited with refining the agenda-setting theory is Bernard Cohen (1963). He coined a widely cited foundational statement worth stating in detail:

'The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on them apt hat is drawn forth em by the writers, editors, and publishers of the papers they read'(Cohen,1963:13).

Other scholars such as McCombs and Shaw (1972), after conducting widespread studies on the effect of media campaigns on USA political voting decisions, expounded on the theory observing that by choosing and displaying news, media gatekeepers play a key role in influencing political reality: 'Readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position....' (in Baran and Davis, 2006:316).

Proponents of the theory argue that the issues the mass media decide to emphasise inevitably take a central place on the public agenda. In so doing though, Berger (1995:63) points out that those issues not emphasised are consigned 'secondary status or, in some cases, relative obscurity.' At the micro level, an acknowledged level of agenda-setting is the role played by individual journalists who by way of their biases and prejudices interpret events and relay their subjective perceptions to the public. Rukhsana (2010:339) points out that at the time of reporting, it is 'journalist-the-individual whose words are being read or heard, whose images are being seen and whose interpretation of the events forms the 'first draft of history'.' This process, according to some scholars, is linked to what is referred to as the gate-keeping role of the media; the view that individuals in media organisations (reporters and editors) determine what issues or personalities would make news and the importance to accord to each (Scheufele 2000).

Bringing the theory to bear on the specific practice of peace journalism, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005:5) define the model in agenda-setting terms as 'when editors and reporters make choices – about what to report, and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict.' In this definition, the agenda of society is dependent upon

the choices made by the journalists reporting on conflicts and the editors who decide on what to include in the reports. On his part, Shinar (2007a:56) argues that while the mass media 'can contribute to war, genocide, terrorism, oppression, and repression', they also have the potential to contribute to 'security, dignity, growth, and decision-making by citizens on the basis of accurate, credible, and manageable information.' But in her study to assess the application of the peace journalism model to the peace process in Northern Uganda, Birungi (2009:114) established that the potential of the mass media to impact on the agenda-setting process had been overstated; noting how the conflicting parties actually set the agenda by fine-tuning their messages to attract the attention of the media since they knew what stories the journalists wanted. Her work highlights the influence news sources have on the process of determining which issues are to be fronted to journalists for eventual dissemination.

Whatever the scope of argumentation on how media agendas are set, the overarching realisation is that the mass media and its actors have incredible capacity to not only highlight the issues that society ought to think about, but also the presumed importance of those issues as determined by placement on front pages or prime time as well as the frequency of coverage. With that hindsight, this chapter argues that journalists as the first chroniclers of events can use their power to set an agenda for peace.

Finally, framing theory, according to Baran and Davis (2006:281) is grounded on the notion that 'people use expectations to make sense of everyday life.' Resse (2010:17) defines frames as 'organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world.' As a mass media theory, Entman (1993:52) conceptualises framing as 'to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.' Resse (2010:18) highlights the role journalists play in frame construction and calls for a good understanding of journalism routines and values, which would inevitably help elucidate how and why certain frames are favoured over others.

In their framing role, journalists play a key function of assisting citizens to determine what is common sense or socially normal through both regular repetition and a preference for particular framings of events (Scott 2001:137). D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010:1) take it further and point out the important dialectical relationship that exists between news sources who frame topics to make information interesting and pleasant to journalists, and the journalists who adopt such frames or often overlay their own set of frames to come up with the final hybrid framing of the events.

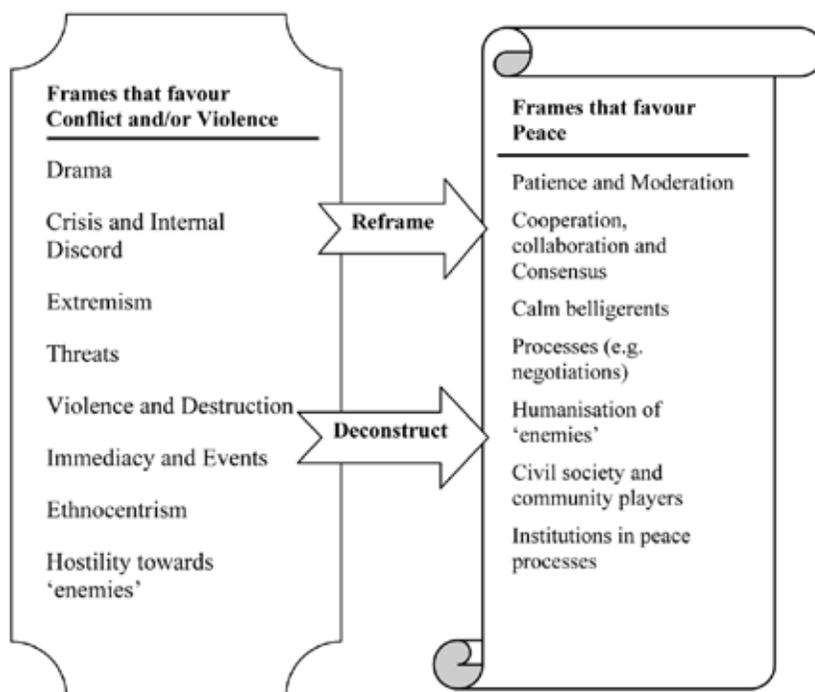
In the specific situation of news making, Perry (2002) cites extensively the frames developed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) that continue to guide reporters

and editors in their news selection decisions. These conventional frames of news include the frequency with which events occur, the cultural proximity or relevance of the event or issue, the unexpectedness of an event as well as whether a particular event concerns elite nations and elite people. The other key news value is whether the event has negative consequences. He argues that 'the more of these factors an event embodies, the more likely that it will become news' and that 'if an event is low on one factor, it will have to be high on another to become newsworthy' (Perry 2002:107). In his study of news framing, Lugalambi (2006:134) argues that by selectively determining what to include and exclude, journalists allow some frames to emerge at the expense of others, thus allowing the dominance of frames that support the status quo. He argues that 'a frame is important insofar as it can determine whether people notice, understand, and remember an issue [as well as] how people assess and decide to act upon an issue' (op.cit.:131).

Bringing the conceptualisation about framing to bear on the discussions about peace journalism, Rukhsana (2010:336) puts it succinctly: 'Thus it follows that if the agenda of the media is for peace and the framing is done in a manner that aims to promote rapprochement, then it can influence public opinion towards the resolution of conflict.' For instance, in her analysis of media coverage of the LRA and Government of Uganda peace talks in 2008, Birungi (2009:112) highlights the problematic framing of the peace process whereby 'the journalists found themselves looking for news values of prominence, conflict, drama, novel and trivial.' She notes that the framing was influenced by several factors, including the journalists' lack of confidence in the peace process, the unpredictable actions of the actors on the negotiating table as well as editorial policies and journalistic routines (ibid.). This chapter applies the framing theory in the evaluation of the applicability of the conventional news frames in the light of newer ones as proposed by proponents of the peace journalism model (Lynch 1998; Galtung 2000; Tehranian 2002; Wolfsfeld 2004; Shinar 2004, 2007a-b; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005).

### **Conceptual Framework**

The arguments in this chapter are grounded on the need to evaluate the extrapolated frames of conflict/violence for deconstructing and reframing to progressively pave the way in journalism practice for the frames that favour peace



**Figure 9.1:** Deconstructing and (Re)framing the values of peace, conflict/violence

## Methodology

In both Burundi and Uganda, the main data gathering method was a survey involving journalists across all the five traditional geographical regions (North, South, East, West, and Central). As Hansen *et. al.* (1998:225) observe, survey research 'seeks to provide empirical data collected from a population of respondents on a whole number of topics or issues.' They, as well as Wimmer and Dominick (2006), suggest that the key research instrument in a survey research is a survey questionnaire. They state that the standard questionnaire comprises 'closed-ended questions' whereby several choices are suggested to the respondent, albeit with some 'open-ended' options for respondents to present independent responses (Wimmer and Dominick 2006:181-182).

In the design of the questionnaire, this study used the Likert scale, which Reinard (2008:139) describes as comprising 'statements that reflect clear positions on an issue, for which subjects indicate their agreement on typically five-point scales from 1-5, i.e. Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.' Based on Reinard's argument for adjusting scales based on the nature of subjects under investigation, this study used three scales of

‘Strongly Agree’, ‘Somewhat Agree/Disagree’ and ‘Strongly Disagree’ so as to have a more robust aggregation of respondents’ extreme views, with a middle ground (somewhat agree) that represented for some ‘a neither agree nor disagree’ scenario, but for some a framing that leaned to an agreement than a disagreement position (Tayebwa 2012:316-321). The choice of having more closed-ended questions was borne from an understanding of newsroom dynamics whereby journalists do not have much time to work on a long questionnaire that demands open-ended responses. However, to capture the views of those who wanted to provide detailed responses, the questionnaire had an option for a follow-up telephone interview as well as fields for additional comments.

It ought to be pointed out that in both Uganda and Burundi, the study was conducted during an opportune time when peace journalism workshops were being conducted in Uganda across the country in 2010-2011 by the Uganda Media Development Foundation (UMDF) as well as by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under the auspices of Park University of the USA on ‘the Peace, Development, and Electoral Journalism Project’ (Youngblood 2011). The first phase of research in Burundi in early 2010 coincided with preparations for provincial and presidential elections that took place in the middle of that year. Using a longitudinal approach, more fieldwork in Burundi was done in 2014 at a time journalists had become more wary of government actions as the country prepared for the May/June 2015 provincial and presidential elections.

Overall, the completion rate of all distributed questionnaires in Uganda was 78 per cent (n=183 of 250); while it was 44.6 per cent (n=58 of 130). The sampling criterion was to target half the estimated population of journalists in each country; with Uganda (n=500) and Burundi (n=260). However, sending the questionnaires to journalists in all the provinces of Burundi was a challenge. Hardly was any returned from the provinces. The provincial gap was bridged on the understanding that journalists based in Bujumbura, where most respondents were based, serviced the provinces.

The data was entered into and analysed using the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) computer software (Mike et. al. 2009:18-25). In addition to generating descriptive statistics in cross-tabulated tables, SPSS also helps aggregate research data for more analysis to probe correlations between variables, thus helping the researcher to tell a more compelling story using what the data presents. In the determination of relationships between variables, this chapter uses the Pearson Chi-square measure whereby the closer the values are to zero, the more statistically significant is the relationship between the variables. Mike et al. (2009: 25) note that in the social sciences, any probability point less than or equal to  $p < .05$  is considered significant since the relationship is 5 per cent less likely and 95 per cent most likely; meaning that random chance was unlikely to

have resulted in the observed test statistic. For instance, in measuring whether the experience of journalists impacts on given variables such as the appreciation of news values of violence, a Pearson Chi-square test score of  $p < 0.02$  is an alert that the measured correlation is statistically significant; and therefore there may be an association between experience and appreciation of violence as a news value. However, if the Pearson Chi-square test score is  $p < 0.568$ , this confirms that the observed differences (or association) could most likely be by chance.

The analysis of data takes into account views about the framing of peace, conflict or violence by gender whereby females are in Uganda ( $n=41$  of  $183$ ,  $22.4$  per cent) and Burundi ( $n=15$  of  $58$ ,  $25.8$  per cent). The males are in Uganda ( $n=142$  of  $183$ ,  $77.6$  per cent) and in Burundi ( $n=43$  of  $58$ ,  $74.2$  per cent). The analysis is also done based on the experience of journalists by assessing views of those less than six years (Uganda,  $n=101$  of  $182$ ,  $55.2$  per cent; Burundi,  $n=39$  of  $58$ ,  $67.2$  per cent) and the experienced ones of more than five years practice (Uganda,  $n=81$  of  $182$ ,  $44.5$  per cent; Burundi,  $n=19$  of  $58$ ,  $32.7$  per cent). The results presented below are responses to two main research questions:

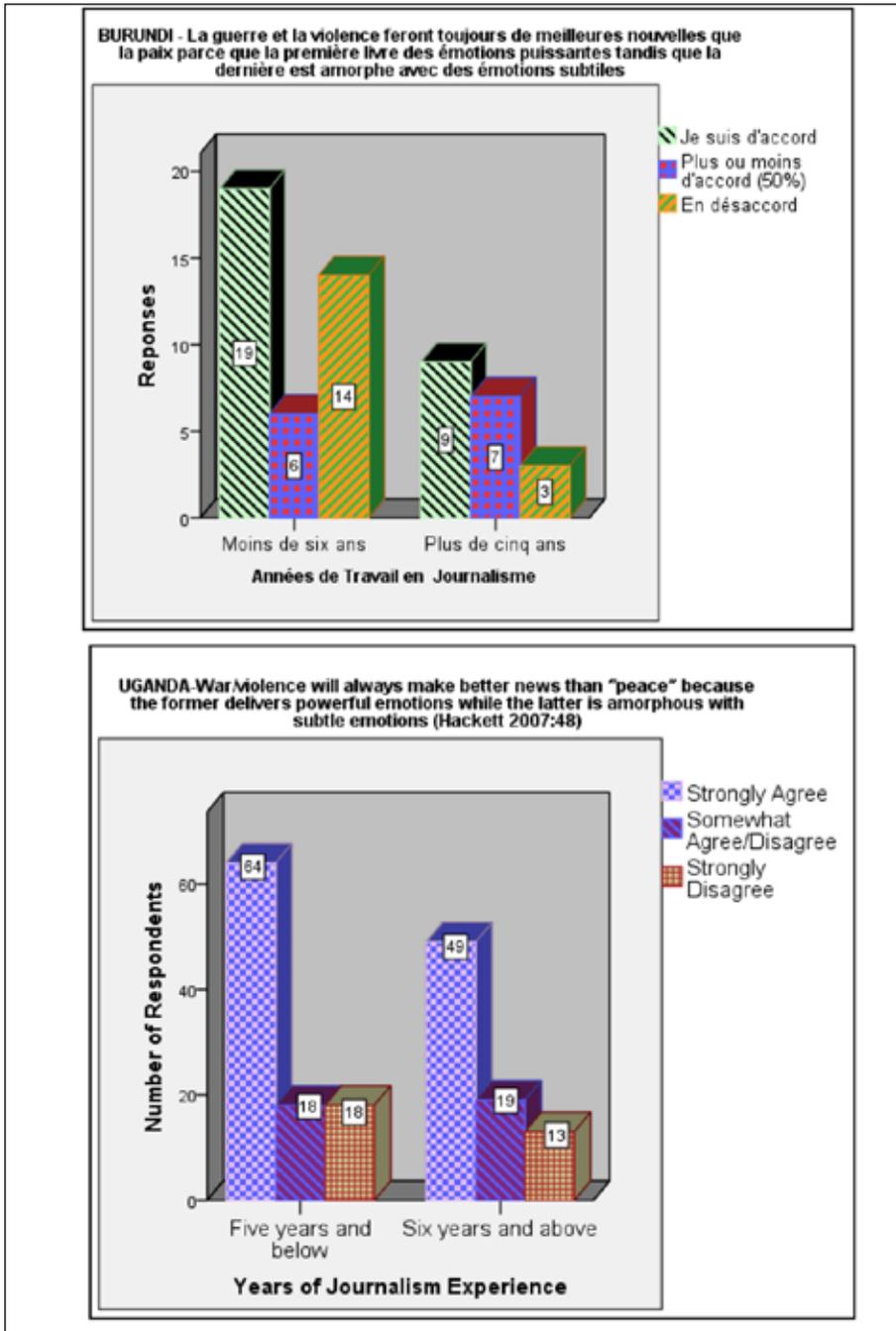
RQ1: How did Ugandan and Burundian journalists evaluate the rootedness of what peace journalism scholars consider conventional journalism values that favour conflict or violence?

RQ2: What was the assessment by Ugandan and Burundian journalists of the extrapolated frames of peace journalism?

## **Data Presentation and Discussion**

### ***Evaluating Media Frames of Conflict or Violence***

The first general research question sought to assess the rootedness of the conventional news frames that often favour conflict or violence. One of the foundational questions in the evaluation sought to assess the perspective of some peace journalism critics such as Hackett (2007: 48) who claim that war or violence will always make better news than 'peace' because it delivers powerful emotions, while the latter is amorphous with subtle emotions. While the question was admittedly a mix of an evaluation and substantiation, when taken together the answers provide an insight into the appreciation of why war journalism remains more entrenched than peace journalism. The assessment, as shown in Figure 2, is by years of journalism experience.



**Figure 9.2:** Evaluation by Ugandan and Burundian journalists of whether war or violence makes better news than peace

The results in Figure 2 combine an evaluation of war/violence news framing by years of experience in Burundi and Uganda. In both countries, the bar charts show 'strong agreement' with the proposition that war or violence makes better news than peace, which conforms with the conventional framing of news that often favours conflict or violence (Wolfsfeld 2004:15-16; Hackett 2007:48; Shinar 2007:5). When the statistics are computed for Uganda, the Pearson Chi-square value of  $p < 0.002$  is a confirmation that the observed agreement levels by experience, particularly the combined 'strong agreement' (62.4 per cent,  $n=113$ ) contrasting with 'strong disagreement' (17.1 per cent,  $n=31$ ) is not by chance. The high percentages, combined with the low Chi-square test score, confirm that the appreciation of war/violence framing is the same across years of experience. For Burundi, the Pearson Chi-square value of  $p < 0.193$  shows that the levels of agreement or disagreement with the proposition across years of experience, based on the relatively spread percentages, is not significant. The results in Figure 2 present a challenge for peace journalism proponents to package 'peace' to also deliver those powerful emotions that Hackett (2007:48) is referring to. It is a call for journalists to package peace events, actors and processes in such a way as to tap into the emotions of readers, viewers and listeners to spur empathy and a move to action.

In another question, respondents were asked to assess a hypothesis that African journalists lacked well-formulated media frames of what constitutes 'peace', thus the reason why they continue to produce media content using frames of conflict or violence. Again this question presents to the respondent a mix of an evaluation and substantiation. When taken together, however, the answers provide an insight into the appreciation of why war journalism is more entrenched than peace journalism.

**Table 9.1:** Whether African journalists lack well-formulated frames of 'peace'

African journalists lack well formulated media frames of what constitutes 'peace' and therefore continue to flame media content using frames of conflict				
Uganda-Years worked in journalism ( $p < 0.048$ )	Strongly Agree (%)	Somewhat Agree/Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)	Total
Five year and below	N=21(21)	N=61(61)	N=18(18)	N=101
Six years and above	N=17(21)	N=49(60.5)	N=15(18.5)	N=81
Les journalistes africains manquent de modèles de médias bien formulés pour ce qui concerne « la paix », donc ils/elles continuent à utiliser des modèles de conflit				
Burundi- Nombre d'années de travail en journalisme ( $p < 0.352$ )	Je suis d'accord (%)	Plus ou moins d'accord (50%)	En désaccord (%)	Somme
Moins de six ans	N=5(12.8)	N=14(35.9)	N=20(51.3)	N=39
Plus de cinq ans	N=1(5.3)	N=5(26.3)	N=13(68.4)	N=19

The results in Table 1 show that the majority of journalists in Uganda, irrespective of experience, showed an ambivalent position on the proposition by 'neither agreeing nor disagreeing' with the proposition. For Burundi, however, the majority of journalists across years of experience 'strongly disagreed' with the proposition. The 'strong disagreement' among Burundian journalists is noteworthy since journalists there have a much better appreciation of formulating media frames of what constitutes 'peace', taking the example of initiatives such as '*Studio Ijambo*' earlier discussed. The Burundian journalists, especially the more experienced (n=13 of 19, 68.4 per cent), do not believe that they have continued to present media content using frames of conflict. Even the less experienced journalists in Burundi of less than six years strongly disagreed with the proposition.

For Uganda, the combined Chi-square value of  $p < 0.048$  shows that the observed ambivalence across years of experience is a product of reflection and not by chance. For Burundi, however, the high Chi-square value of  $p < 0.352$  shows there is no association between experience and levels of agreement with the proposition. Overall, there is confirmation among Ugandan journalists across years of experience that the lack of well-formulated media frames of peace favours the entrenchment of the more developed frames that favour conflict or violence.

In Tables 2 and 3, a more detailed evaluation of the rootedness of the frames of conflict or violence in journalism practice is done on the specific norms of peace coverage or of war journalism as extrapolated from peace journalism literature (Galtung 2000; Wolfsfeld 2004; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005).

**Table 9.2:** Evaluation by Ugandan journalists of the media frames of conflict or violence\* by years of experience

Drama is a good news value				
Years worked in journalism	Strongly Agree (%)	Somewhat Agree/Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)	Total
Five years and below	N=35(35.7)	N=45(45.9)	N=18(18.4)	N=98
Six years and above	N=36(48.6)	N=30(40.5)	N=8(10.8)	N=74
Crisis/internal discord is a good news value				
Five years and below	N=52(52.5)	N=29(29.3)	N=18(18.2)	N=99
Six years and above	N=41(57.7)	N=23(32.4)	N=7(9.9)	N=71
Extremism is a good news value				
Five years and below	N=27(27.8)	N=38(39.2)	N=32(33)	N=97
Six years and above	N=27(37.5)	N=25(34.7)	N=20(27.8)	N=72
Threats are a good news value				
Five years and below	N=50(52.1)	N=17(17.7)	N=29(30.2)	N=96
Six years and above	N=21(28.4)	N=31(41.9)	N=22(29.7)	N=74
Violence/destruction is a good news value				
Five years and below	N=59(59.6)	N=18(18.2)	N=22(22.2)	N=99

Six years and above	N=45(63.4%)	N=18(25.4)	N=8(11.3)	N=71
Ethnocentrism is a good news value				
Five years and below	N=35(36.1)	N=40(41.2)	N=22(22.7)	N=97
Six years and above	N=19(26.8)	N=28(39.4)	N=24(33.8)	N=71
Hostility towards 'enemies' is a good news value				
Five years and below	N=28(29.5)	N=29(30.5)	N=38(40)	N=95
Six years and above	N=20(27.8)	N=23(31.9)	N=29(40.3)	N=72

**Table 9.3:** Evaluation by Burundian journalists of the media frames of conflict or violence\* by years of experience

Le drame fait de meilleures nouvelles				
	Je suis d'accord (%)	Plus ou moins d'accord (50%)	En désaccord (%)	Somme
Moins de six ans	N=12(31.6)	N=9(23.7)	N=17(44.7)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=8(44.4)	N=7(38.9)	N=3(16.7)	N=18
La crise/la discorde interne fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=14(38.9)	N=8(22.2)	N=14(38.9)	N=36
Plus de cinq ans	N=9(47.4)	N=7(36.8)	N=3(15.8)	N=19
L'extrémisme fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=6(17.1)	N=8(22.8)	N=21(60)	N=35
Plus de cinq ans	N=4(22.2)	N=4(22.2)	N=10(55.5)	N=18
Les menaces font de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=13(33.3)	N=9(23)	N=17(43.6)	N=39
Plus de cinq ans	N=9(50)	N=5(27.8)	N=4(22.2)	N=18
La violence/la destruction fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=18(46.2)	N=6(15.4)	N=15(38.5)	N=39
Plus de cinq ans	N=12(63.2)	N=2(10.5)	N=5(26.3)	N=19
L'ethnocentrisme (l'emphase sur « nos » problèmes et non les « leurs ») fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=7(18.4)	N=8(21)	N=23(60.5)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=3(15.8)	N=12(63.1)	N=4(21.1)	N=19
L'hostilité envers les ennemis fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=9(25)	N=7(19.4)	N=20(55.5)	N=36
Plus de cinq ans	N=4(21)	N=10(52.6)	N=5(26.3)	N=19

In Uganda across both categories of journalists by experience, there was a joint 'strong agreement' for the majority that 'violence/destruction' as well as 'crisis/discord' are good news values. The same level of 'strong agreement' for those same frames of conflict/violence is observed among the majority of Burundian journalists. For the

'extremism' frame, the majority of both categories of journalists in Burundi 'strongly disagreed' that it is a good news value. On the other hand, the majority of the more experienced Ugandan journalists of six years and above 'strongly agreed' (n=27 of 72, 37.5 per cent) that 'extremism' is a good news value, while their junior colleagues were ambivalent. On the frame of 'ethnocentrism' being a good news value, the majority of both categories of Ugandan journalists were undecided. However, the majority of the Burundian journalists of less than six years' experience 'strongly disagreed' (60.5 per cent) and those of six years and more were ambivalent. On whether 'hostility towards enemies' is of good news value, the majority of Ugandan journalists across both categories of experience 'strongly disagreed'. Their Burundian counterparts of less than six years' experience also 'strongly disagreed' (n=20 of 36, 55.5 per cent), while their more experienced colleagues were ambivalent. In one case of 'drama' as a good news value, the majority of the older generation of journalists in both Uganda and Burundi 'strongly agreed'.

A look at the column of 'strongly disagree' in Burundi shows that in six of the seven variables, except the 'violence' frame, the percentages of the younger generation of journalists who 'strongly disagree' that frames of conflict or violence make good news are higher than those of the older generation. While overall Ugandan journalists show a higher appreciation of frames of conflict/violence as good news values, still the younger generation exhibit a lesser appreciation than the older generation. For Uganda, the overall higher appreciation of the conflict or violence frames being good news values by the older generation of journalists could be based on their longer situatedness in the reality of conventional journalism that tends to favour those frames.

A comparative examination of the evaluation of the frames by Ugandan and Burundian journalists clearly shows that the many years of peace journalism training and practice in Burundi are evident. It is also clear that Burundian journalists are more sensitive to some frames such as 'extremism' and 'ethnocentrism' that have defined their practice in the country more than their Ugandan counterparts. It is also a fact that in both Uganda and Burundi, it is the younger generation of journalists who are being targeted in the peace journalism training workshops. In the particular case of Uganda, the questionnaire was administered mainly during the peace journalism workshops facilitated by the UMDf and Park University of the USA, which were dominated by younger journalists.

An analysis by gender for both Burundi and Uganda of the frames of conflict or violence does not show significant disparities. When Pearson Chi-square tests are conducted on all the frames of conflict or violence with gender for Ugandan journalists, all the values are more than  $p < 0.05$ , meaning no significant disparity in the views of female and male journalists. Other than the 'ethnocentrism' frame where the majority of female journalists in Uganda 'strongly agreed' (47.4 per cent, n=18) and majority of males 'somewhat agreed' (43.8 per cent, n=57), their views

are the same in the rest of the frames. In the case of Burundi, the majority of female and male journalists 'strongly agreed' that 'crisis/discord' and 'destruction' were good news values. They also 'strongly disagreed' that 'extremism', 'ethnocentricism' and 'hostility towards enemies' were good news values. The Burundian female journalists differed with their male counterparts in only two frames of 'drama' and 'threats' where they 'strongly agreed' as opposed to their male counterparts who 'strongly disagreed'.

The above analysis of the news frames of conflict/violence based on gender shows no marked difference, which implies that the appreciation of news values of conflict or violence is a professional one and not gendered.

### ***Evaluating Media Frames of Peace***

The second research question sought to evaluate whether what peace journalism scholars identify as frames of peace reporting make good news values. Such frames as extrapolated from the literature include 'patience and moderation'; cooperation and consensus'; 'calm belligerents'; 'processes e.g. peace negotiations'; 'humanisation of enemies'; 'civil society and community players'; as well as 'institutions involved in peace processes' (Galtung, 2000; Wolfsfeld 2004; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005). Like in the 'frames of conflict or violence' analysed in Tables 2 and 3, responses as provided in Tables 4 and 5 were sought based on years of journalism experience.

**Table 9.4:** Evaluation by Ugandan journalists of the frames of peace\* by years of experience

<b>Patience/moderation is a good news value</b>				
<b>Years worked in journalism</b>	<b>Strongly Agree (%)</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree (%)</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree (%)</b>	<b>Total</b>
Five year and below	N=36(37.5)	N=41(42.7)	N=19(19.8)	N=96
Six years and above	N=32(44.4)	N=29(40.3)	N=11(15.3)	N=72
<b>Cooperation/consensus is a good news value</b>				
Five year and below	N=49(50.5)	N=37(38.1)	N=11(11.3)	N=97
Six years and above	N=24(33.3)	N=37(51.4)	N=11(15.3)	N=72
<b>Calm belligerents are a good news value</b>				
Five year and below	N=24(26.1)	N=55(59.8)	N=13(14.1)	N=92
Six years and above	N=14 (22.2)	N=28(44.4)	N=21(33.3)	N=63
<b>Processes such as peace negotiations are a good news value</b>				
Five year and below	N=58(61.1)	N=29(30.5)	N=8(8.4)	N=95
Six years and above	N=34(49.3)	N=30(43.5)	N=5(7.2)	N=69
<b>Humanisation of enemies is a good news value</b>				
Five year and below	N=47(47.5)	N=43(43.4)	N=9(9.1)	N=99
Six years and above	N=28(41.2)	N=25(36.8)	N=15(22.1)	N=68

Civil society and community players are a good news value				
Five year and below	N=54(54.5)	N=34(34.3)	N=11(11.1)	N=99
Six years and above	N=35(47.3)	N=33(44.6)	N=6(8.1)	N=74
Institutions in the peace process are a good news value				
Five year and below	N=46(47.4)	N=37(38.1)	N=14(14.4)	N=97
Six years and above	N=33(47.1)	N=31(44.3)	N=6(8.6)	N=70

**Table 9.5:** Evaluation by Burundian journalists of the frames of peace\* by years of experience

La patience/la modération fait de meilleures nouvelles				
	Je suis d'accord (%)	Plus ou moins d'accord (50%) (%)	En désaccord (%)	Somme
Moins de six ans	N=29(76.3)	N=4(10.5)	N=5(13.2)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=8(44.4)	N=5(27.8)	N=5(27.8)	N=18
La coopération/le consensus fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=22(57.9)	N=12(31.6)	N=4(10.5)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=9(47.4)	N=8(42.1)	N=2(10.5)	N=19
Les belligérants discrets font de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=9(23.1)	N=13(33.3)	N=17(43.6)	N=39
Plus de cinq ans	N=6(33.3)	N=6(33.3)	N=6(33.3)	N=18
Les processus (ex: les négociations de paix) font de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=26(68.4)	N=9(23.7)	N=3(7.9)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=14(73.7)	N=5(26.3)	N=0(0.0)	N=19
L'humanisation des ennemis fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=18(48.6)	N=14(37.8)	N=5(13.5)	N=37
Plus de cinq ans	N=10(52.6)	N=6(31.6)	N=3(15.8)	N=19
La société civile et les gens qui participent au bien-être de la communauté fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=24(63.2)	N=10(26.3)	N=4(10.5)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=15(78.9)	N=3(15.8)	N=1(5.3)	N=19
Les institutions impliquées dans le processus de paix fait de meilleures nouvelles				
Moins de six ans	N=20(52.6)	N=17(44.7)	N=1(2.6)	N=38
Plus de cinq ans	N=12(63.2)	N=6(31.6)	N=1(5.3)	N=19

The Ugandan data in Table 4 shows that neither category of journalists 'strongly disagreed' in the majority that the proposed frames of peace are not good news values. Furthermore, the majority of both categories of journalists by experience share 'strong agreement' in four of the seven values analysed ('peace processes', 'humanisation of enemies', 'civil society actors' and 'institutions of peace'). They

differ in opinion in two frames, namely, 'patience/moderation' and 'cooperation/consensus'. The majority of both categories 'somewhat agree' with the proposition that the 'calm belligerents' frame is a good news value.

The Burundian data in Table 5 presents a unique scenario because journalists across years of experience 'strongly agree' that six of the seven frames of peace reporting are good news values. It is only in the 'calm belligerents' frame where the majority of journalists below six years of experiences 'strongly disagreed' (n=17, 43.6 per cent).

An analysis by gender for Burundi and Uganda, like in the case of the values of conflict or violence above, does not show a significantly differentiated position on the values of peace reporting. For Uganda, the majority of male and female journalists share 'strong agreement' in four of the seven values ('peace processes', 'humanisation of enemies', 'civil society actors' and 'institutions in peace processes'). In Burundi, the majority of male and female journalists share 'strong agreement' in all the frames of peace reporting except 'calm belligerents' whereby females are ambivalent (n=8 of 15, 53.3 per cent) and males 'strongly disagree' (n=18 of 42, 42.9 per cent).

What emerges from the analysis of female and male journalists in both Burundi and Uganda is that they have the same 'strong' appreciation of the proposed news values of peace, which again points to a non-gendered mindset to news framing.

## Conclusion

The main task of the study was to evaluate, from the perspective of Burundian (n=58) and Ugandan (n=183) journalists the feasibility of making operational the normative frames of peace reporting as expounded by peace journalism scholars against the more entrenched news frames that favour conflict or violence. As Christians *et al.* (2009) point out, there is always a need to engage in a 'legitimising process' when faced with competing moral claims. In the case of journalism, one normative moral claim is based on the entrenched conventional journalism frames first catalogued by Galtung and Ruge (1965) that favour conflict or violence (Wolfsfeld 2004; Hackett 2007). The other normative moral claim is to promote frames that would propel creativity in resolving conflicts by building common ground (Galtung 1998; Shinar 2004, 2007; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005).

While such a 'legitimising process' has for a while been playing out in academic discourses (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005; Ross and Tehranian 2008), this chapter has acknowledged some of the projects in Burundi and Uganda designed to operationalise the peace journalism model in newsrooms (Hagos 2001; Youngblood 2011; Tayeebwa 2012). However, given the entrenched nature of news frames that favour conflict or violence, what chance does the peace journalism model stand?

The findings discussed in this chapter show that, overall, Burundian and Ugandan journalists still emphasise the frames of conflict or violence as viable news values. The survey results confirm the claim by scholars who have observed that conventional journalism frames that favour conflict or violence are well-entrenched and routinely influence media content (Wolfsfeld 2004: 15-16; Hackett 2007:48; Shinar 2007b: 5; Mutere and Ugangu 2004:16). The rootedness of the frames of conflict or violence is evident across gender and years of journalism experience. This rootedness is most likely due to the training which is still dependent on literature and models of what Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified as favouring the conflict or violence framing of news (Mencher 2006; Itule and Anderson 1994). However, the appreciation of frames of conflict or violence could also be due to entrenched institutional newsroom routines that still favour such framing in news reports (Wolfsfeld 2004; Hackett 2007; Birungi 2009). Evidence for this claim can be observed in the higher appreciation of the frames of conflict or violence among the more experienced journalists of more than six years in both Burundi and Uganda.

Furthermore, the findings confirm the lack of well-formulated frames of peace as well as the fact that violence frames are preferred because of their emotional appeal (Hackett 2007:48). This, therefore, calls for more engagement by proponents of the peace journalism model in the academia as well as in practice to work towards a deconstruction of the conflict or violence news frames given their diminishing popularity among journalists covering events in the field and those framing them for public consumption in newsrooms (Figure 1). It also calls for a pedagogical and practical engagement to develop frames of peace reporting in an equally emotionally appealing manner (Shinar 2007:7; Tayeebwa 2012: 266).

Looking at the findings on the normative values of peace coverage, it is noteworthy that Burundian and Ugandan journalists showed a high appreciation of those values, with none across all categories (gender and experience) 'strongly disagreeing' in the majority.

While the entrenchment of peace journalism will pose some challenges due mainly to the institutional nature of mass media as observed by Patindol (2010: 193), it is also true that the more appreciation of the frames of peace reporting by individual journalists as this chapter has shown will lead to a progressive change in their attitudes and propel a natural and nuanced deconstruction of the conflict or violence frames to inform their agenda-setting roles. When that happens, peace journalism will have taken its place as an independent normative framework with 'legitimate alternative frames of reference for journalistic coverage' (Shinar 2007:4).

## Notes

1. 'Since its founding in 1995, Hirondele has established and managed Radio Agatashya in the Great Lakes region of Africa; Star Radio in Liberia; the Hirondele News Agency at the ICTR in Arusha, Tanzania; Radio Blue Sky in Kosovo; Radio Ndeke Luka in Bangui in Central African Republic; MorisHamutuk, a radio programme for refugees in Timor; Radio Okapi, a national network in the DRC; Radio Miraya, a national network in Sudan; as well as a support project with the Radio-Television of Timor-Leste (RTTL)' (Dahinden 2007:382).
2. See 'Studio Ijambo' by Communication Initiative Network at <http://www.comminit.com/en/node/119655/36> as well as 'Studio Ijambo' website at <http://www.studioijambo.org/>.
3. Catholic World News, 2002,. 'Ugandan Rebels Destroy Catholic Radio Station; 2 Killed.'
4. Palmer, 21 September 2004, 'The Power of Radio Helps to End Uganda's Long War.' URL: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0921/p07s01-woaf.html>.
5. Interview with John Bosco Mayiga, UMDF National Coordinator, Kampala, Uganda, 23 July 2010
6. UMDF-EED Final Evaluation Report, 'Promoting Peace Journalism through Radio in Uganda', Project Period January 2009-December 2010, (Kampala, UMDF Headquarters)
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