Representation of Women in the news: An analysis of *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* Newspapers in Rwanda

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Abstract

The research on gender and media in Rwanda has been limited over the past 20 years. Although women in Rwanda constitute an important force in the building of the nation, the media have not reflected this important development. This study investigates the representation of women in the news section of the Print media via an analysis of The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers. It sheds light on the type of stories in which women appear and the roles in which they are depicted. The study also investigates the type of stories female journalists report on in comparison to their male counterparts and identifies some patterns. Attention is also paid to the female voice in the print media in terms of women as sources of news and women as subjects of news. The data of this study was generated through a quantitative content analysis research. The content analysis was conducted on articles of the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers and was based on the research questions regarding frequency of appearance of women in news stories compared to men and the roles played by women when they are portrayed in the news. The study revealed that there is a big gap between men and women when it comes to coverage of *hard news* stories. The study also reveals a negligible effort in projecting women and a noticeable imbalance in the assignment of news stories to journalists. These findings are consistent with the existing academic literature at both global and regional context. Due to the limited research in this field in the Rwandan context, this study is one of its kind and its findings are instructive for the print media filling the gap in the literature.

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List of Acronyms

ARJ- Rwandan Media Association

CEDAW- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

EAJA- East African Journalists Association

FRITT ORD- Norwegian private foundation, whose aim is to support freedom of expression and a free press

GMMP- Global Media Monitoring Project

GMPS – Gender and Media Progress Study

IPU- Inter-Parliamentary Union

MHC- Media High Council

MMPZ – Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe

NWC- National Women´s Council

RGB- Rwandan Governance Board

RQ - Research Question

RMMP- Rwanda Media Monitoring Project

RTLM – Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines

UMWA – Uganda Media Women´s Association

UNESCO- United Nations Education and Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WACC- World Association for Christian Communication

WIJ – Women in Journalism

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.0   Introduction

The media in any society have an enormous role to play in informing, entertaining, representing and educating the masses. This role can be extended to bridging the gender gap between men and women at all levels of society. "For the media to accurately mirror our societies and to produce coverage that is complete and diverse, it is critical that the news reflect the world as seen through the eyes of women as well as men" (Ruud et al. 2011, citing UNESCO Report 2009). A significant number of scholars (Isanovic 2006, Ross et al. 2006, Ammu & Kalpana, 2006), Ndlovu & Mutale (2013) have studied the representation of women in the media coverage and results have shown that women are underrepresented both as news subjects and as sources of information and opinion.

Apart from the essential roles of the print media of information, education, entertaining and transmitting culture, the media are also well placed to influence attitudes about women, their relationships and their place in the world. (Happer and Philo, 2013). However, what is regularly seen, heard or read in media is a selection reflecting particular priorities and views. This selection and its representation in specific media output, reproduces certain assumptions about women´s roles and status. (Harper and Philo, 2013).

In the case of Rwanda, the status of women has improved drastically which has led to an increase in the number of women participating at various levels of Rwandan politics (Bauer, 2012). Rwanda has had the highest number of women in parliament in the world and ranks the fifth out of the 114 countries world wide (Global Gender Gap index 2017) and a significant number of different levels of leadership. According to data provided by the Inter Parliamentary Union IPU, 2018, the number of women parliamentarians, has increased from 10.0% to 63.8% between 1990 and 2016, and this has contributed to the development of the country.

Despite the fact that women have had a significant contribution to the country´s development, the media have not reflected this in terms of quantity and quality of

attention given to them. There has been a significant amount of research that have revealed gender imbalances in the media institutions and unequal portrayal of women and men in the media (White, 2009, Gallagher et al., 2010). In a survey to map out gender manifestations and profiling within the media in the East African region, The East African Journalists Association (EAJA) revealed that gender portrayal in the media is heavily skewed in favour of the men and that women are customarily portrayed as victims (EAJA Report 2014:15). The majority of respondents also stated that gender awareness and sensitivity is yet to be built into news reporting requirement (EAJA report 2014:15). This is the case else where on the global arena where women are frequently ignored and even if the topic is clearly of significance to women, or is of central concern to them, they may not be represented (GMMP, 2015; North, 2014). The fact that very few women are specialists in various sectors contributes to weak visibility for women as key sources of information. According to North´s (2014) study, the general perception of women dominating soft news is seen as reflective of their interests, while men dominating hard news is seen as given (p.14). That implies that men are inclined to report on soft news but fear that it would not be acceptable masculine position. The study results are also reflected by the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2015) results which indicate that very few women are specialists in political science, very few medical doctors, very few historians and so on. The report further reveals that most of the coverage centres around what is usually termed as soft stories, culture, health, beauty, and other social issues (GMMP, 2015; North, 2014). This report has also indicated that the status quo has moved to online media with very few adjustments. This scenario challenges the principles of democracy, free speech and freedom of expression, which journalists profess to defend and promote. It further demonstrates that only a segment of the population is given a voice. It should be noted that where gender stereotypes are propagated in and through the media, they reinforce inequalities in gender power relations and provide justification for the propagation of discriminatory practices based on gender. Perpetuation of discriminatory practices based on gender is a violation of human rights. Journalists should therefore advocate for a fair and balanced gender representation in the mass media in recognition of women´s human rights. (ibid.).

For the case of Rwanda, the EAJA (2014) report revealed that the media portray women as victims of rape or other physical abuse. It further stipulates that the lack of

sufficient visibility of women in Rwanda is not only limited to the media but also to their participation as key sources of information because of the Rwandese culture which restricts women from expressing themselves in public. They dare not make public statements; they dare not take part in phone in programmes and they dare not write articles for the press (p.30). Studies such as these triggered my interest to find out more about the situation of women in the media, their portrayal as sources in news stories, whether their voices are heard or denied.

1.1 Background to the study

This section gives a review of the status of women in Rwanda and the challenges they face as well the media landscape in Rwanda.

1.1.1 Women´s advancement in Rwanda

The 1994 Genocide and its aftermath in Rwanda caused misery, physical and emotional suffering and the need for Rwandan women to survive and support their families, which made them resilient. (Uvuza, 2014:18). As a result women rose up out of necessity to find survival for themselves, and those who depended on them such as surviving children, and needy people in their custody. (Hamilton, 2000:1). As Burnet (2011:20) claims, women continued to search for and promote solutions to their difficulties. They became autonomous and self-confident. Reconstructing Rwanda in general and rebuilding lives specifically was a huge task to the newly formed transnational government, which had no resources to support such families. Rwandan women stepped out of their houses to search for work, sustain themselves as well as rebuild their communities. Rwandan women empowerment was boosted through the government´s continued inclusion of women in politics and this started before gender quotas were legalised in 2003 (Burnet, 2011).

Rwanda´s first parliament, for example, (transitional) in 1994 was a single chamber composed of 70 seats with 8% held by women. In January 1997, women´s representation increased from 10% to 17% and in November 2000 it again rose to 25.7%. In 2003, Rwandans underwent dramatic political changes that would impact on women´s lives. A new constitution was adopted and it provided for atleast 30% of seats for women at all decision-making levels. It also provided for 24 women representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. In addition to the constitutional changes, the year 2003 marked the first democratic elections where Rwandans elected a

president, eighty members of the Lower house (48% were women), and twenty six members of the Upper House. (Uvuza, 2014).

In 2008, the Rwandan government broke the world record by being the first country to ever reach and exceed gender parity when women acquired 56 % seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The position of quotas alongside twenty-four women elected in reserved seats appears to be the major reason behind a large number of women in Rwanda´s parliament´s Chamber of Deputies (Tumwebaze, 2009).

Today, according to recent statistics from the Global Gender Gap index (2017), Rwanda maintains the top position of having the highest number of women parliamentarians with 63.5%.

The commitment to gender equality in Rwanda is manifested, for example, by the 2003 Rwandan Constitution which has a number of articles in reference to gender equality (Preamble 9, 10 and Article 9). Progressive inheritance and land laws give women equal rights with men to own and inherit property, including land, and to the joint ownership of property in legal marriage- the Matrimonial Regimes, Liberties and Succession Law (Law No 22/99 of 1999) and the Land Law of 2013 (Law No 43/2013 of 16/06/2013). Land "owned" by couples married under community of property (the vast majority) has to be registered in the joint name of both spouses and all the legitimate children have to have their interest recorded on the land title. Other domestic legislation to support gender equality and the empowerment of women includes the 2008 Labour Law (Law No 10/2009). The Labour Law provides for equal pay for work of equal value, sets the minimum age for employment for men and women alike at 16 years and protects young people under the age of 18 from the worst forms of labour. It also provides protection for pregnant and nursing mothers and makes provision for maternity leave for women working in the formal sector.

Rwanda, according to Abbort (2015), has ratified and domesticated most international and regional laws that promote the rights of women, including the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW). However, as the author notes, there is no provision in the domestic law that prohibits direct and indirect discrimination (Article 1 of CEDAW) or specifically requires the state to

ensure equal development for women in rural areas. (Article 4 of CEDAW). There is little legal protection for the vast majority of women who work in the informal sector, and where the law does provide protection its enforcement is almost impossible because of the small number of labour inspectors. (Pamela A. (2015) quoting P. Abbot and J. Rwica (2014).

The advantage of the quota scheme in Rwanda according to a survey conducted by Burnet (2011) has had a number of advantages namely; the ability of women to speak out in public, greater access to education, joint decision making and have gained dignity in the community. This quota scheme as she notes has mainly benefited the urban elite women. The rural inhabitants interviewed about their perceptions of the quota scheme have revealed that the gender roles in Rwanda had not changed at all. Instead the resolution in Rwanda had increased domestic conflict for some families.

The law will continue to permit bride price (payment by the future husband to the father of the bride) and offers little protection to the property rights of women in consensual unions, as it will continue to only recognise civil marriage, thus not protecting about 30 per cent of co-habiting women (Burnet, 2011).

The lack of protection for the property rights of these women is arguably a form of indirect discrimination, because the law does not have the same negative impact on the property rights of men living in consensual unions. The national gender machinery comprised of the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, the Gender Monitoring Office and the National Women´s Council (NWC) still lack a mechanism of coordination and division of responsibilities between them.

To conclude this section it is worth noting that while laws and policies are important in promoting the rights of women in Rwanda, real progress has to be measured by the outcomes. It is only in the political arena and for senior government posts that positive discrimination has been extensively used. In other areas the government has set targets for gender participation but has generally not set quotas or implemented specific programmes to enable women to make up their historic deficit. The transformative potential of gender equalities policies is limited by the deep-rooted social norms and practices within which gender inequalities are embedded. Rwanda

remains a deeply patriarchal society and cultural attitudes to women remain negative, especially in rural areas. (Uvuza, 2014).

With the above background, this study will examine the representation of women in print media in Rwanda with focus on *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* Newspapers.

1.1.2   Media background

Building a professional media infrastructure has been an on going challenge in Rwanda. The country has had a short history of mass media. Newspapers have been the longest established news media outlets. *Kinyamateka*, begun in 1933 by the Catholic Church, was Rwanda's oldest newspaper until it ceased publication in 2013. The government newspaper *Imvaho* ("Truth") began publication in 1959 (Kabuye, 2012).

Before the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, there was no professional school of journalism in Rwanda, and the country had no tradition of formal journalism education or training (Thompson, 2007). Journalists were either trained on the job, or in fewer instances, outside the country. The first professional journalism program was established in 1996 at the National University in Butare, but "its original curriculum was very theoretical and focused on the role of the media—not the formation of journalists" (Thompson, 2007, p. 25). As recently as 2009, Patrice Mulama, executive secretary of Rwanda's Media High Council, remarked that of the more than 400 registered Rwandan journalists, only 27 percent have "some journalistic training" (Haba, 2009, p. 4).

Since 2002, media in Rwanda have been overseen by the Media High Council (formerly the High Council of the Press). The Media High Council (MHC) has described itself as "an independent public institution whose primary responsibility is to promote and protect media freedom and regulate the media by ensuring respect of the law and professional code of ethics in Rwanda" (MHC, 2010-2011, p. 5). The MHC controls accreditation of journalists. According to the current information provided by the Media High Council, the country has 50 privately owned newspapers, 31 local radio stations as well as 4 international radio stations

relaying to Rwanda in Frequency Modulation (FM), 2 televisions and more than 100 online media outlets.

The Media High Council could have a critical role in addressing Rwandan's mistrust of media based on the country's historical experience of hate propaganda and incitement to violence. According to Beyene, countries with "press councils and journalism training are more likely to regulate such undesirable behaviour and discourse" (2012, p. 16). The establishment of the Media High Council and annual reports on the state of the media may be aimed at addressing such distrust of the media as well as the government's tendency to silence critical voices under the guise of suppressing hate speech.

The Rwandan government has been widely considered to be antagonistic toward press freedom, though there have been signs of improvement. In its 2013 country report on Rwanda, Freedom House rated the press "Not Free" and gave poor marks on the legal, political, and economic environment of the media. Freedom of the press is guaranteed by Article 34 of the Rwandan constitution, but Freedom House noted that "other clauses broadly define circumstances under which these rights can be restricted, and in practice the media remain under the tight control of the government" (Freedom House, 2013). As described by Freedom House, this control takes the form of strict regulations and accreditation and licensing requirements.

The Freedom House report illustrates the media dilemma in Rwanda; in order to address the historical experiences of unregulated, untrained and untrusted media, the government instituted controls that have been viewed as antithetical to the free practice of the press. But some scholars feel that extra controls may at times be necessary, that "Africa needs a condition where subversive elements from outside will not be permitted to perform disruptive communication" (Lee, 1986, p. 189). Rwanda's historical experience with unfettered private media development resulted in media outlets that fomented discontent and, ultimately, violence. Beyene (2012) noted Western democracies also have free speech limitations, for example with incitement to violence not accepted speech. In the Rwandan context, that balance has been more delicate ethnically and politically and has resulted in conditions where any speech that promotes disunity or hate could be considered incitement. Freedom House noted that

the government had made "progressive amendments" to its 2009 media law, but that significant limitations and periodic abuses of the press persist.

The result has contributed to an uncertain media environment. Much of the focus on media within Rwanda has been on sustainable enterprise models, freedom, and responsibility from an indigenous African perspective (MHC, 2016, p. 13). Rwandan President Paul Kagame also has expressed his sentiment on the importance of unbiased local journalism over "misrepresentation" from outside journalists (MHC, 2016, p. 13). Significant structural challenges remain a reality for indigenous Rwandan media, especially for non-government-supported outlets. Kanuma stated that "the independent press has never earned money and so it can afford neither the staff, the infrastructure... nor the capacity to publish newspapers or broadcast on a regular basis," trapping independent media "in a vicious cycle of poverty" (2006, p. 22). Underpaid journalists may be susceptible to corruption and influence by large investors or the government. Rwanda has experienced regular media outlet failures resulting from high production costs, low circulation, lack of advertising revenue, and government intervention. In 2012, there were "several dozen" publishers registered with the government, though "only about 10 of them published regularly" (Freedom House, 2013).

A 2010 study by Search for Common Ground, a nongovernmental organization focused on conflict prevention, presented the difficult conditions for newspaper publishers in Rwanda. While almost half of survey respondents nationally never read a newspaper, only 5 percent nationally read a newspaper every day, with a slightly higher 7 percent of respondents in the capital Kigali. This result was qualified, however, by the fact that many newspapers are not published every day. Another 14 percent read a newspaper more than once a week, and 33 percent once a week or less. In contrast, 77 percent of respondents listened to the radio every day or nearly every day. Of the four most frequently read newspapers in 2010—*Imvaho Nshya*, *Umuseso*, *The New Times*, and *Kinyamateka*—only two, *Imvaho Nshya* and *The New Times*, continued to publish through 2013.

Low readership numbers for newspapers in Rwanda, however, belie the relative importance that the medium has maintained for agenda-setting in the country. The relative proportion of the news hole in newspapers as opposed to the high

entertainment content of radio and television, for example, yields an outsized possibility for agenda-setting by newspapers.

The High Council of the Press's Rwanda Media Monitoring Project (RMMP) in 2004 reported that of 16 media outlets in all formats, two newspapers, *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*, carried by far the most news items, more than double the number on the national Radio Rwanda (p. 9). Pollock et al. noted that newspaper circulation was growing annually in Africa, and that newspaper coverage was particularly relevant because "newspapers set news agendas for broadcast media (e.g. radio) to communicate broadly to the public" (2010, 10). While newspapers may be considered elite media, they nonetheless "play a very important agenda-setting role" (Haque, 1986, p. 86) for other media.

Historically, newspapers' role in agenda-setting was illustrated during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Between 1990 and 1994, "*Kangura* set a trend" that provided the media generally with "a language and tools with which to convince the population to undertake violence as a form of 'self defence'" (Kimani, 2007, p. 111). The media market in Rwanda at the time was dominated by radio, as it continues to be today, but newspapers played an important agenda-setting role. Radio broadcaster RTLM, as a strategy to animate its audience, drew from the *Kangura* newspaper with questions like "In which issue of *Kangura* will you find the sentence "We have no more Tutsi because of Kanyarengwe"? and "When did *Kangura* become the voice to wake up the majority of people and defend their interests?" and listeners were encouraged to read issues of *Kangura* to learn more (Temple-Raston, 2005, p. 33). Before the Genocide, issues of *Kangura* were known to be widely shared, photocopied, read aloud, even framed (Kagwi-Ndungu, 2007).

The agenda-setting capacity of newspapers is very relevant for development journalism, a model of journalism practice that promotes national economic development. Salawu (2001) noted how newspapers offer functions conducive to development communication that radio and television do not. Newspapers have enduring qualities that broadcast media do not, and can be read and re-read as convenient, or stored away for future use. Salawu (2001, p. 173) quotes Nwoso that print also offers flexibility in the place, speed, and time of exposure to development

news items that promotes and understanding of development as processes rather than events.

Other media initiatives in place include the Great Lakes Media Centre that trains practising journalists and three other private journalism departments in private universities besides the birth of a number of journalists´ and media associations, such as the Rwanda Journalists Association (ARJ), the Rwandan Women Journalists Association and others with specific professional needs of journalists. (Rwanda National Media Strategy).

The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers just like the rest of the print media in Rwanda face a number of challenges including high printing costs, lack of sufficient equipment and distribution. (Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), 2015). According to a survey to assess the effect of print media marketing strategies on newspaper distribution in Rwanda, it was indicated that the use of new technology by *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers has a significant and positive significant relationship with newspaper distribution in Rwanda. (Nuwagira et al., 2017).

1.2   Research objectives

The purpose of the study is to analyse gender representation in the news and the narratives promoted by this coverage. It is my hope that this research will provide data that organisations, media houses as well as academia can use to advance work on improving gender balance in the media in Rwanda.

Specifically, the study aims;
- to determine the extent to which women are represented in the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* Newspapers in comparison with men.
- to identify the roles in which women are cast compared to men in the news.

1.3   Research questions

The study will analyse the content of the news stories in an attempt to find out the gender balance in the coverage.

The study will be guided by the following research questions
- RQ1. How often are women covered in the news compared to men?
- RQ2. How do women explicitly appear when presented in the news?

1.4 Significance of the study

Quite a number of studies, as sources cited here may show, have been accomplished on the representation of women in the media. However none have so far tackled the prominence given to women in the print media in Rwanda. This study will therefore fill in the gap by providing facts and figures about women´s coverage in the news section of the print media.

For scholars, academicians and researchers, I hope that the findings of the study will contribute to the existing literature in the field of media and gender representation. The findings will be shared with media houses and organisations promoting the use of media coverage of women in order to help develop strategies on media use and how the media works. I also hope that the findings can be used to lobby media players to ensure a balanced media coverage of both women and men.

1.5 Scope of the study

This study focussed on two newspapers because of their ability to extend their reach to other media audience through convergence with the Internet. Besides that most television and radio stations in Rwanda review newspaper stories in their programs and also use them as sources of information, which extends the information, published in newspapers to reach even non-newspaper readers. According to a report by the Media High Council (2016), The *New Times* is the most distributed paper in institutions followed by *Imvaho Nshya.*

In addition to that to assess government newspapers, the study used *Imvaho Nshya* whereas, to assess the private newspaper the study used The *New Times* Newspaper.

Further, this study analyses news articles from a specific period of time, from January 2017 to December 2017. The time frame was limited to this particular period in order to provide current data and therefore 2017 was selected as adequate period. Initially I

had planned to use in-depth interviews in addition to the content analysis. However, after the preliminary review of my research proposal, in-depth interviews were considered irrelevant given the aim of the study is to document content of the news therefore adding another research method would point the research into two different directions. The collection of newspapers was a big challenge as Rwanda has now embarked upon using paper bags in place of the plastic bags. There is a big number of unsold copies which are sold at a cheaper price to be used in packaging. (Media High Council, MHC, 2014). During fieldwork which I conducted in October 2017, I was able to get a significant number of the *New Times* Newspapers from UN offices with the help of a relative who works there. However the *Imvaho Nshya* Newspaper being published in the local language was not available at many government and UN offices. When I contacted the sales office of *Imvaho Nshya*, I could not locate all the editions that I needed at the time I inquired about them. However I selected articles from the available editions that I could get and got PDF files of the rest of the missing copies.

The first four articles published in each edition of the sample were selected making the total number of news articles to 48 from each newspaper. This was done while acknowledging that the editions had other articles that could have been relevant to the study. The sample of the 96 news articles was considered representative of all the news publication from both newspapers in as the study focuses on the news section of both newspapers.

1.6   Justification for choosing newspapers

One of the advantages newspapers have over media for example radio and television is its ability to offer details to its audience. People may listen to news on radio and television but they will still buy newspapers to get the detailed story and this is because newspapers have a big news hole as compared to electronic media (see Craig, 2004 p. 79).

The influence of newspapers as examined by Craig (2004) in "Media, Politics, and Public life" has a big role to play as active agents of political change, economic development and social formation. Craig stated that newspapers have facilitated

political change through shaping the knowledge and value public life (p.71 & 72). Craig´s findings also propose that newspapers are the most politically influential medium because of their ability to set the agenda. He further states that providing a platform for debate through commentary or opinion and letters to the editor does this. (p.79).

However it should be notable that Craig´s findings are substantial to developed countries where the literacy levels are high and the newspaper readership is reasonable probably because the readers have access or can afford to buy a paper. This however may not be true of most countries and Rwanda in particular where majority of the population are illiterate and many among the few literate can neither afford daily newspapers nor have interest in reading.

According to the World Democracy Group (WDG) (2016 p.19), radio is reported to be the most influential in Africa, dominating the mass media spectrum because of its ability to reach the rural population.

Nonetheless, despite radio´s influence on the African continent it is important to note that newspapers (although with low circulation) have a big news hole in comparison to the electronic media (see Craig, 2014 p.79). Moreover, although they are urban centred as stated in Buckley et al (2008)-, Temin and Smith (2002), the content therein reaches the rural populace through newspaper reviews on both radio and television, particularly since they are used as sources of news by most rural radio stations.

The current study chose to use newspaper articles because of the influence in setting the day's agenda. Besides that, in Rwanda today the *New Times and the Imvaho Nshya* are one of the leading daily publications, which cover almost the whole country.

This study employs the Framing and Agenda setting theories as a basis to analyse the print media´s portrayal of women and raise important questions such as how are women portrayed in the print media compared to men? Does this reflect the true picture on the ground? What positions do women hold in print media and society as a whole?

1.7   Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into six connecting chapters, following the typical process of an empirical study.

Chapter one introduces the topic and gives the background of the study. This is followed by the objectives of the study and highlights the study´s significance. In addition, the chapter highlights the advancement of women in Rwanda and challenges, which gives a background to the study. It then moves to mention the limitations of the study and points out the existing gap in the literature.

The second chapter is divided into two parts; the first section examines the international as well national literature on women representation in the media. The chapter maps out the situation for women representation in the news and explores obstacles and struggles that female journalists might face. In addition, it discusses gender balance in decision-making positions of the print media and the assignments of beats. The second section of the chapter explores the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis and discusses the theories I use namely; framing theory and agenda setting. Each theory is discussed within a framework of its key proponents and critics. Each of the theory helps in elucidating specific aspects of the data I assembled in the thesis.

Chapter three mainly describes the research process and explains the employed methodologies. It specifies the techniques used in the content analysis of the articles. Furthermore, it elaborates the research questions and justifies the selection of the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* as sample. Afterwards, the limitations of the study are described.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the content analysis. It provides statistics and data generated on women representation in Rwanda from the content analysis of the sampled articles and attempts to answer the research questions.

Chapter five discusses the findings of the study and relates to the literature review as well as the theories used in the study.

The last chapter makes some concluding reflections of the research. It re-examines the research questions and gives some recommendations as well as further research in the field.

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is a review of literature in this thesis and this is done in two levels. The first part discusses previous studies on issues of gender representation in the media both at regional and international levels. The second part explores the theories that act as an anchor for the arguments I advance in the thesis and the understanding of gender roles in society.

2.1 Previous studies on gender representation in the media

The issue of media portrayal of women has been on-going among various journalists, researchers, feminists and scholars alike. One important aspect that cuts across international and national research is the changing nature of journalism that has impacted on the role of the media and women participation in news and production. Commercialisation, the rise of celebrity, lifestyle, the columnist and freelance journalism has opened more job opportunities for women in journalism. Rather than blurring the boundaries of a gendered public –private division, their presence in fact assumes and reconstructs it (Van Zoonen, 1991:227; Thornham, 2007:98). In the same vein, Ammu (2004) observed the need to understand women access and employment in the media in the context of increasing recognition that newspapers have to cultivate women readers.

This aspect has been traced to previous events in history. For example the social upheaval and newsroom battles of the 1970´s in the United States when women activists and journalists demanded the same career and life options as men and the same news coverage and treatment of their activities. (Okiring, 2013 quoting Miller 1993 p.169). Women bustled at women´s sections as both career and coverage ghettos.

Gallager (1981) demonstrates that even in developed Western countries of North America and Europe, women were under represented in media coverage and were

depicted predominantly in domestic and maternal roles, and where employed, they were likely to be in service occupations rather than positions of authority.

This attempt to include women and simultaneously suggest that their primary identification is with personal and domestic issues produces a precarious balance. Another trend noticed from 1970´s and 1990´s concerns women´s posts in news media. Creedon and Cramer (2007:39) report that women in the US newspapers have penetrated to the top editorial posts and more have become top editors, CEOs, presidents and publishers (Creedon and Cramer, 2007:35, 141; Nicholson, 2007:35). This is important as it indicates women´s increasing participation in the process of news production. However, other research points to differential treatment between men and women in news media. Women are reported to have problems with promotions and their career advancement (UNESCO 1989:13). In the study conducted by the Media Management Centre at North- Western University, Women in News (WIN) 2003, 73% of executive jobs and 82 % of the top jobs in newspapers were still held by men while women holding top posts were less than one fifth or 18% (WIN: 38). The report showed that two thirds, or 65.2% of newsroom supervisors were male and 34.8% were female.

Studies further indicate that women are often found at lower end of the newspaper employment and in middle management, having serious difficulty moving from managing editor to positions like CEOs. One of the reason for this is that women have not been in management pipeline long enough to reach the top and that it takes two decades for women to gain the experience necessary to be a CEO (Hemlinger & Linton, 2002 cited in Creedon and Cramer, 2007:35). As such, women in newspapers face barriers to advancement, lack mentors, role models and professional development opportunities. This may contribute to women´s desire to leave the news business entirely for careers they see as more rewarding.

Moreso, Creedon and Cramer (2007) have noted that women have not achieved power and influence that reflects their numbers in newsrooms. The lack of influence and opportunity for women in newspapers has major implications for the news industry and for society. The Annenberg Public Policy Centre, at the University of Pennyslavia, stressed on a report on *glass ceiling* and other issues for women in

corporations and communication that companies have a responsibility to address diversity and discrimination, because of their function in society.

In yet another survey on how women and men are represented in the news in the Nordic countries and how the media convey and reinforce gender stereotypes, it was revealed that in all the Nordic countries women are clearly underrepresented in the news media both as news subjects and as sources of information and opinion. The survey also revealed some examples of good practices for promoting more gender-equal media. (Manila S. 2016).

Placement of the story refers to the location of the stories in the newspapers. Different newspapers have different sections in the paper some of which are constant and others vary according to the days. (Kantono, 2016). The common sections in the daily newspapers include; national news, regional news, international news, business news, and adverts. In most cases the top stories are placed between page one and five, and if it is a sports story then it will be placed at the back pages which are also prime.

In Poindexter, (2008), it was revealed that the issue of placement of women's stories is associated with what she termed as "gendering of news topics". To her, there is a difference between "news about women" and "news of interest to women" (Poindexter, 2008, p. 80). She argues that there is no male or female topic, although male and female could most likely be interested in different topics. The basis of her argument stems from the claims that media associates topics such as entertainment, health, and education among others to women, while topics such as politics, security, and foreign affairs among others are associated with the men.

The Women in Journalism (2012) research team conducted a study on front pages of seven national newspapers in order to get an insight into the role played by women- both as writers and the written about- in the main news stories of the day. The analysis fell into three broad categories: By-line count; Content analysis of lead story and Analysis of photographs. The findings indicated that 78% of all front-page by-lines were male; 22 % were female. As per the gender of the journalist whose name appeared first on the lead story, the results were similar with 81% male; 19%female.

As well as writing of the front-page news, men also dominated the content of the news stories themselves. Of all those quoted or mentioned by name in the lead stories, 84% were men, and just 16% women. The study also revealed significant differences in the roles that names men and women play in news stories, for example three-quarters of "experts" were men; and 79% of "victims" were women. (2012, p.8). The detailed analysis of the representative sample to determine the roles women played in the lead stories in which they were named, 61% of them were mentioned or quoted in their capacity as "experts"; 19% of them as victims; 11% as "celebrities"; 5%, "family members", 4%, aggressors/perpetrators (ibid.). The corresponding figures for men were; 82% "experts", 2% "victims", 5%, "celebrities"; 4 % family member; 6 %, aggressors/perpetrators.

The research team found that while nearly a fifth (19%) of women quoted or mentioned were victims hardly any men fell into this category (2%); and that men featuring in news stories are significantly more likely than women to be "experts" (82% of total men, compared with 61% of total women). (WIJ, 2012, p.8).

The same study also revealed that there were less of a gender divide in the use of front-page photographs. Out of the 808 photos of people, women accounted for 36%; men 50% and the remaining 14% would have been mixed groups or where the gender was unclear.

Similarly, Garberg and Ruud (2011) conducted a study in which they investigated women as news makers and news subjects in Kenya and Uganda's print media. Their findings suggest that the number of women as news makers was very low (16% in Uganda and 20% in Kenya, Garberg and Ruud, 2011, p.16). However, their study only focused on stories published by female journalists, who are also few in number compared to the male journalists.

In addition to that, Garberg and Ruud, (2011) while examining the coverage of news makers and news subjects found that very few stories of female reporters in Ugandan newspapers, unlike in Kenyan newspapers end up on the front page. Their study findings indicate that only 4% of stories written by female reporters were placed on the front page.

Given the evidence that sex of reporter determines the sex of source used in the story, then women have lower chances of making it to the front page as reported in Garberg and Ruud, (2011, p. 14). This may invoke insinuation that media finds stories written by female reporters less important, majority of which are stories about women. Therefore, according to the above scholars, the main assertion here is that most news stories which appear on the front pages, focus more on men as sources of information than women.

Quoting credible witnesses, experts, scholars, consultants, and other sources is what is supposed to be done by journalists to bring credibility and correctness to their statements in the story. In journalism, the kind of sources one chooses determines the balance and fairness of the story. For a good story to be fair and balanced, the subject(s) of the story have to be given a chance to make a comment on the subject matter. This therefore implies that a reporter of well-sourced and balanced stories wins credibility from readers.

Nearly all studies which have examined media and news sources have found that to a larger extent, media relys more on male sources than female sources. (See, WDG, 2016; Semujju, 2014; Insenga, 2014; Tamale, 2010; and Made, 2008). Yet, it is said that the relationship between the journalists and their sources is dipicted as a battle for power over public opinion and public consent (see Mcquail, 2000; Johnson, 2006 as quoted in Berkowitz, 2009, p.102).

To add on that, Phillips, (2010), in Natalie Fenton's book; "New media, Old News" examined the relationship between journalists and their news sources. Some of the questions Phillips answered were; who journalists speak to?, how journalists obtain information?, how they evaluate information? And whose stories they choose to evaluate? One of her interesting findings is that people who have access to journalists have the powers to control the information flow. According to Phillips, official sources have the power and therefore have access to the journalists (Phillips, 2010, p. 88; see also Lester, 2010).

In terms of sex, the implication here is that the sex with majority in powerful positions will have more access to the media through the journalists than the sex with a minority population in power positions.

In the book tittled "Kenya", Firestone, (2008) expressed his concern about how media portrays women. In one chapter of the book which focused on culture, Firestone examined a number of aspects including media and women and the media. According to Firestone, media only portrays women in their capacity as mothers, wives, healers, teachers, and members of the extended lineage yet women have particularly participated in the political and economic development of their countries (Firestone, 2008, p. 45).

UMWA (2014), in its study tittled " Gender dimensions in Uganda's print media: A case for engendering practioners", found that out of a total of 14,598 news makers, only 3,387 (23%) were women (UMWA, 2014, p.13). UMWA's findings further indicate that the majority of these news makers are from the topical areas of politics and government. However, it is important to note that there is still lack of flexibility when it comes to balancing of political/government sources in terms of gender.

Made (2008), in her study Women in the News: strengthening the voice and visibility of women in the african media's coverage of election, politics and governance", analyzed how media covers women in politics and public life. In one of her book chapters, "Women, Politics, and the News", Made found that media does not see women as sources of political and governace news, which she claims makes women invisible in the media (Made, 2008, p.33).

Made (2008) echoes that male domination has made the media to continuously omit the voices and images of women hence rendering them invisible.

Insenga, (2014: p. 189) argues that male journalists tend to quote male politicians than females even in cases where the females are the subjects in the story. Made (2008)'s findings confirm Insenga's assertion as her findings indicate that out of 86% of all people who feature in news stories as spokespersons, men's domination goes up to 83% of all experts.

Similarly, Poindexter's, (2008) study analysed women as sources. In her findings, out of the 1,102 expert sources in stories published in 30 different newspapers, only 18.9% of the expert sources were female (Poindexter, 2008, p.82).

According to WACC, 2013, p.17 cited in Kantono 2016), while men dominate as experts in stories written by male reporters, women only appear there as non-experts. The same study further explains that as much as there is evidence that female sources are quoted mostly in stories written by women, when it comes to hard news stories, female reporters also use male sources as experts.

Irvin's, (2013) investigation of reporters and sources in the hard news stories revealed that women sources are rarely used in hard news stories. Her findings show that out of 239 sources in the analysed stories, 136 were sources in the hard news stories, out of which only 32% featured women sources.

She also found that female reporters wrote more soft news stories than hard news (p. 42), adding that male reporters relied more on male sources as experts while male reporters would rely more on female sources if used as non-expert sources. See also Garberg and Ruud, (2011, p. 16)

However, it should be noted that marginalization of women cannot be established by mere counting of a number of female sources in the news story, but rather by critically analysing the text in which male or female or both sexes are cited or quoted to establish the presentation of the facts and the direction of the reporter.

Ericson et al., (1989:377 as cited in Tuchman, 2002 p. 87) stresses the importance of investigating the reporter-source relationship in order to establish the reality of news:

> ……The primary source of reality for news is not what is displayed or what happens in the real world. The reality of news is embedded in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources, and in the politics of knowledge that emerges on each specific newsbeat.

Almost all findings of studies that have examined media coverage have demonstrated a high level of gender bias in favour of men (see UNESCO, 2014; Made, 2008; Tamale, 2010; Insenga, 2014; UMWA, 2014; UMWA, 2016).

Ross et al. (2013) examined the relationship between sex and politics in the press coverage of the 2010 British election. Their findings indicate that media content and coverage in general is skewed in favour of male candidates than it is for female candidates.

In Ross et al. (2013), there were a total of 799 articles where political candidates feature. However, their results indicate that only 8% female candidates were mentioned in the 799 articles, leaving the biggest percentage of 71 to the male candidates, while 21% of the stories featured both male and female candidates (Ross et al, 2013, p.9.

In their analysis of the same study, Ross et al explains that during election, media mainly focused on party leaders in their coverage, leaving all back benchers to fight for media space (Ross et al 2013, p. 10). They added that those candidates who trailed party leaders stood more chance of being mentioned that those who campaigned independently.

Ndlovu and Mtale, (2015, p. 77) report that many gender analysts and scholars have raised concern about the absence of women in the media, and that they have trained journalists in gender sensitive training but still little has been achieved. The absence or invisibility of women in the media insinuates that their views are not as important as those of the men (Insenga, 2014; UMWA, 2014, Ross et al, 2013; WACC, 2013; Garberg and Ruud, 2011).

A possible explanation for differences in news coverage is the link between news content and the reporter´s gender. For example, Aday & Devitt (2001) found that male reporters were half as likely as female reporters to include issue-framed content in stories. While most men report on "hard news" such as politics and crime, women tend to cover "soft news" such as education or health (Ross & Carter, 2011). Hard

news is regarded as the more serious and more prestigious form of journalism. (North, 2014, p.1). Soft news on the other hand is supposed to invoke emotions and is regarded as less prestigious (North, 2014, p.2). According to North´s (2014) study, there exists a general perception of women dominating soft news because it is seen as reflective of their interests, while men dominating hard news is seen as given. The study further indicates that men are inclined to report on soft news but fear that it would be an unacceptable masculine position. This suggests that there exists a gender disparity in the allocation of stories. (North 2014, p.14). Not only does this gender disparity in the story allocation represent an obstacle for female journalists advancing their careers, but also represents a trivialisation of women (Magin & Shark, 2010:389). However, some studies imply that women do embrace different ethical values than men and are drawn to stories with depth and emotional elements as well as stories that are relevant to their lives including topics such as social concerns or education (Beam & Di Cicco, 2010, p. 396; Everbach, 2006, p. 479). Female journalists are limited not only in terms of the topics they cover, but also in terms of which regions they report on. Previous studies indicate that women are more likely to cover local stories than to report on international news (Zoch & VanSlyke Turk, 1998, p. 767; Geertsema, 2009, p.155).

As far as the representation of women in media is concerned studies have indicated a bias. For example, in their study, Ross and Carter (2011) revealed that as few women appeared as celebrities (9% newspapers; 5% radio and 0% across TV). They were much more likely to be framed as victims of various crimes and events, including domestic violence. (p.115).

One of the challenges female journalists worldwide face is that of balancing work and family. (Hernandez, 1996:12). Another vital factor is that many female journalists feel as if they are treated inferior to their male counterparts, and get frustrated if their efforts do not result in promotions or do not receive as much appreciation as their male counterparts (Elmore, 2009:235).

According to one of the most comprehensive baseline study on Gender and Media, "Women and Men Baseline Survey (GMBS)", carried out in twelve Southern Africa countries in 2002, a quarter of all the over 25,000 news items monitored during the

one month study, in the print and broadcast media, related to politics and economics. Although at the time of these studies women comprised 18% of the members of Parliament in the twelve countries, they constituted only 8% of the news sources in the category of politician.

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2015) with participation of more than a hundred countries has carried out a survey that revealed a series of persistent and emerging gaps in gender portrayal and representation in not only traditional (print and broadcast) media, but also in the new electronic media platforms. The monitoring, which was conducted over a 20-year period, revealed an extremely slow progress in bringing women´s voices to bear in public discourse taking place in the news media. Not only does the news present a male-centric view of the world, it is also characterised by gender bias and extensive stereotyping that underpin marginalisation, discrimination and violence against women. (Global Media Monitoring Project 2015: 1). For instance the report revealed that only 24 % of the people heard, seen or read about in all news stories surveyed were women in 2015 and 2010, in comparison to 76% men. The report further adds that the gender gap is narrowest in stories on science and health, the major topic of lowest importance on the news agenda and occupying only 8% of the overall news space; women make up 35 % of the people in news under this topic, in contrast to only 16% in political news stories. The gap is widest in news about politics and government in which women were only 16% of the people in the stories.

Before, the global average of women in the news was increasing with every monitoring starting from 17% women and 83 % men in 1995. For the first time the share of female news subjects did not rise in 2015 (GMMP, 2015).

As a result of the findings from the GMMP research an advocacy campaign entitled "End News Media Sexism" has been launched in partnership with the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) among other partners. This campaign is intended to remind news media of their responsibility to uphold professional ethics on fair coverage, balance, accuracy and non-discrimination (GMMP, 2015).

As to whether research findings elsewhere on the continent relate to the regional context Rwanda inclusive, there were still some inequalities in the visibility of women in the news.

A study on Enhancing Gender Equality in the Media in Eastern Africa by the Eastern Africa Journalists Association (EAJA, 2014) revealed that although women make up 52 % of the population, only 17 % of the stories are female sources, less than 10 % of the sources for politics, economics and sports are women and that only 8 % of politician sources are women even though 17 % of the members of parliament in the region are women.

In a study to determine the portrayal of women in Kenya´s print media in three newspapers the *Daily Nation, The Standard* and *Kenya Times* (Omari, 2008), it was revealed that by Kenya´s print media standards, women and women issues were not important subjects worth either informing about or engaging the public domain´s discussion. (p. 69)

Women and their voices may be considered unworthy of serious deliberation even in media content that is intended specifically for them. In Tanzania, says one analyst, women´s programmes still encompass topics of motherhood, housewifery and lectures from leaders who happen to visit villages or inspect projects. Women are deprived of their right of expression. By extension, issues that are particularly central to women´s lives come low down in the scale of what is regarded as newsworthy. At best, they may become `news `in coverage around a particular event such as Women´s Day. (Gallagher, 2001 quoting Sanga 1996, p.110).

For neighbouring Uganda, the scenario is not any different. As Anyango (2009), found out in the study to analyse the perceptions of journalists on women access, employment and participation in news production, women journalists still struggled against being pigeon holed to covering soft issues and more so women voices as news sources remained marginal while negative portrayal of women in the media persisted.

In Kantono (2016), the findings of the study on women parliamentarians among others indicated a great imbalance in the usage of sources in the media for women parliamentarians, which have an impact on the audience.

 Correspondingly, scholars assert also that male news subjects dominated in other areas as well, which answers the question of how frequent women appear in the media in comparison to male counterparts.

This has caused uproar amongst the media and gender scholars because the issue of politics is one of the topical issues, which dominate the front page and other prime pages (see Garberg and Ruud, 2011). Besides that, although Brown and Udomisor, (2015) claimed in their study that political stories that featured on the front page were few, the statistics presented in their study indicate that political stories that appeared on the front page were more than any other stories.

Nevertheless, GMMP, (2015) attributes the influx in male subjects in writing hard news stories. According to UMWA (2014); Garberg and Ruud, 2011, MMPZ, (2012), male reporters have a tendency of interviewing male news subjects, while female reporter interview female subjects.

This perhaps is in line with Made's (2008) concern that men's voices dominate in the hard news, leaving women with only 14% of the news hole for stories about politics and government issues. The same studies reveal that hard news stories get prime places in the newspaper while soft news is usually buried inside the newspaper.

This therefore implies that the topic under which a news subject is covered determines the prominence given to that person. This informed this study, which aimed at finding out to what extent the female voice, is represented in the news compared to the male voice.

These findings, and those of countless other studies, illustrate clearly that despite the small shifts noted in retrospective analyses, by and large media content still reflects a masculine vision of the world and of what is important. (Gallagher, 2001 p.7). Rather than increasing the number of female journalists and getting rid of the worst sexism in advertising the author, suggests a wide –scale social and political transformation in which women´s rights- and women´s right to communicate- are truly understood,

respected and implemented both in society at large and by the media. (Gallagher, 2001)

There could be various ways to examine the coverage of women in the news. However, this study will focus on the extent to which women´s voices are heard by examining patterns of coverage and the roles that the news print media in Rwanda represent women in the coverage of news. The next section will look at the two theories that are relevant to this study.

2.2 Theoretical framework

In this thesis I employ the framing and agenda-setting theories.

2.2.1 Framing Theory

The theory of frame analysis, according to Baran & Davis (2006), is grounded on the perception that "people use expectations to make sense of everyday life" (p.281). Reese (2010) defines frames as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p.17). As a mass media theory, Entman (1993) conceptualizes 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" (p.52). The journalism enterprise, as Van Gorp (2010) points out entails a dynamic process of meaning construction and a constant process of creating social reality in which the role of the journalist is to "present additional layers of interpretation of issues and events in the form of a news story" (p.84).

Framing is understood through the process of message construction, with the focus on journalists, their construction of news texts, and the related implications for audience understanding. (Entman, 1993; Gitlin; 1980). Framing in the field of mass communication generally refers to the process by which meaning is given to an account of a political issue or event. (Shah et al., 2009: 83). It is the result of the

complex interplay among political elites, individual journalists, news organizations, professional norms and practices, and the broader culture or ideology. (ibid.).

Framing, as a process by which the emphasis or construction of a message affects the interpretation of the receiver, has a long tradition that transcends its application to mass communication research. (Shah et al. 2009, quoting Goffmann, 1974). In the field of sociology, for example, Bateson (1972) adopted the metaphor of a picture frame to describe the way that frames organize information and provide a perspective through which message receivers come to understand the subject matter. (ibid.). Implicit in many of the sociological studies from which the concept of media framing originated, textual and visual devices order and organize the perception of audience members by including and excluding certain elements, and turn "unrecognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event" (Shah et al; 2009 quoting Tuchman, 1978 p. 192). Framing theorists Gramson and Modigliani (1989) call a frame "a central organizing idea…for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (p.3).

Resse (2010) also 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 (p.18). In its framing role, the media 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. p.137).

D´Angelo & Kuypers (2010) 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 selection decisions. He enumerates twelve factors, eight of which are assumed to work in all cultures, while four factors presumably apply primarily within Western cultures. These frames continue to feature as the conventional news values in

journalism training literature (Mencher, 2006; Itule and Anderson, 1994). They include frequency at 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 (in Perry, 2002, p.102). It is observed "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 2012, p.102).

In his study of news framing, Lugalambi (2006) 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 (p.134). On the part of the media consumers, he points out that while they are not necessarily beholden to the frames they happen upon, they cannot easily escape the undercurrent of issue framing that pervades public political discourse (p.140).

Thus, argues Lugalambi (2006), "a frame is important in so far 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" (p.1319). He further points out that the units of observation or analysis commonly used are the message (news, campaign rhetoric and arguments); textual components (words, sentences and paragraphs); the individual (recall of information and opinion about an issue); and the social system (behaviour and attitudes of institutions and audiences)" (p.127).

In frame analysis, Baran & Davis (2006) argue that it is crucial to understand the social-cultural as well as political context in which any particular framing takes place in view of establishing the consequences of those frames on a given society (p.285). Reese (2010) also argues that "frames don´t just arise as free-standing entities", but are a product of " a web of culture" (p.18). He accordingly urges framing scholars to pay attention to how the frames emerge in their cultural contexts (p.18). Van Gorp (2010) also notes that culturally embedded frames are often the most appealing for journalists and media audiences since they tap into the already familiar ideas and social reality, thus making interpretation and internalization of messages easier (p.87).

In their study to investigate the impact of news frames on readers´ thoughts and on their ability to recall the information presented to them in a story, Valkenburg et al. (1999) observed that " the news media can have capacity not only to tell the public *what* issues to think about but also *how* to think about them" (p.567). Anaeto et al. (2008: p.89 cited in Okere, S. 2013) further articulates this role of the media, stating, " Although we have a right to think what to think, surprisingly, we tend to think that most of the things the media highlight are important". Simply put, the theory says that the way mass media audience attach importance to the issues they access from the media is dependent on the level of importance that the media attach to those issues.

Other framing devices according to Reese (2010) include specific linguistic structures such as metaphors, visual icons, and catchphrases that communicate frames". (p. 19).

This study will examine the portrayal of women to determine the frequency of appearance in the news and the extent to which they are framed in the stories as well as photographs. The study will also determine the amount of coverage done by female journalists compared to their male counterparts. Although this study does not focus on whether the content differs depending on the gender of the author of the story, it is interesting to note what kind of stories female journalists report on. While the type of coverage women receive is an important aspect of framing, the amount must be considered as well Huffmann et al, (2012). By conveying the importance of both "presence and absence" in framing, as the authors stated, powerful meaning can also be conveyed in what does not receive attention from the media. (Huffmann et al. 2012 p. 477).

The media framing is important because it can offer an alternative to research solely on media bias or objectivity (Tankard, 2001). It is a more sophisticated concept that can reflect the subtle differences when topics are presented in different ways. Framing recognises the ability of a media presentation to define a situation and its issues. (p. 96).

Just like all other media in the world, the print media take their framing cue from the social milieu of their existence. (Okere, 2013). The media practitioners- reporters, writers and editors are products of society. They understand how their audience think and so in their framing act, they deliberately reflect what the audience will unsuspectingly accept. (Okere, 2013). This is often drawn from socio-cultural structures in-built in society. The next section looks at the agenda setting theory.

2.2.2 Agenda setting theory

The second related theoretical approach in this study is one that is premised on the notion that the media has a role in setting the agenda.

Mass Communication plays an important role in our society: its purpose is to inform the public about current and past events. Mass communication is defined in *Mass Media, Mass Culture* as the process whereby professional communicators use technological devices to share messages over great distances to influence large audiences. Within this process the media takes control of the information we see or hear. The Media then uses gatekeeping and agenda setting to "control our access to news, information, and entertainment" (Wilson, 2004, p.14). Gatekeeping could be defined as a series of checkpoints that the news has to go through before it gets to the public (McCombs, 2000, p. 3). Along this process many people have to decide whether or not the news is to be seen or heard. Some gatekeepers might include reporters, editors and sub-editors.

Agenda setting is the process where mass media determine what we think and worry about. Walter Lippmann, a journalist, first observed this function in the 1920´s. Lippmann claimed that the media dominates over the creation of pictures in our head. He believed that the public reacts not to actual events but to the pictures in their heads. Therefore the agenda setting process is used to remodel all the events occurring in our environment, into a simpler model before we deal with it. McCombs and Shaw, as pointed out by Littlejohn (2002, p. 345), have best described the agenda-setting function. They noted that there is abundantly collected evidence that editors and broadcasters play an important part in this process as they go through their day-to-day tasks in deciding and publicizing news.

> "This impact of the mass media – the ability to effect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking – has been labelled the agenda setting function of mass communication. Here may lie the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organise our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think about". (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, p.5)

The common assumption of agenda setting is that the ability of the media to influence the visibility of events in the public mind has been a part of our culture for almost half a century.

Agenda setting has two levels. According to Littlejohn, the first level refers to the common subjects that are considered to be most important, and the second level decides what parts of the subject are important. The two levels of agenda setting lead path into its function. This concept designates a process that is divided into three parts. The first part of the process is assigning importance to issues discussed in the media. Second, the issues discussed in the media have an impact over the way the public agenda thinks. This is referred to as public media agenda. Ultimately the public agenda influences the policy agenda. Thus "the media agenda affects the public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy agenda" (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 320).

McCombs and Shaw brought the importance of agenda setting to our attention when they carried out the Chapel Hill study conducted in 1972. The result of this study was that the agenda issue found in the news media and among the general public is what sets the policy agenda. Then in 1972 David Weaver joined McCombs and Shaw in a project where they panel studied the 1972 U.S. presidential elections. Within this project the researchers studied the attributes of the agenda, the description of presidential candidates in the news and the agenda attributes in voters´ descriptions of the candidates (McCombs, 1977, p. 4). Throughout this study the researchers found out that there was a relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda.

 These studies are for the purpose of looking at the media issues and determining whether these issues were important in forming opinion. Therefore the second level of agenda setting, in which media have an impact on the way people think, plays an important role in this study because it decides what parts of the issues are important in the selection of news.

Other factors that affect agenda setting may be the combination of gatekeepers, editors and managers, and external influences. These external influences may be from

non-media sources, government officials and influential individuals. These people affect the agenda setting process to an extent that depending on what power each may have will eventually influence the media agenda. For example " if the media has close relationship with the elite society, that class will probably affect the media agenda and the public agenda in turn" (Littlejohn, 2002, p. 321). This view is shared by McCombs who emphasises that the media agenda presented to the public results from countless day-to-day decisions by many different journalists and their supervisors about the news of the moment (McCombs, 2000, p.2). He further states that the agenda of the news organisation is found in its pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time, a week, a month, an entire year. Over this period of time, some issues are emphasized, some receive little coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned (McCombs, 2000).

2.3 Concluding remarks

In light of the above review of literature on previous studies on media representation of women I have identified patterns that depict imbalances in gender coverage of news. It is of interest therefore to find out the situation in Rwandan print media where women dominate the political scene.

 The theories of framing and agenda setting as used for this study are helpful in trying to understand the relationship between gender coverage in the media and particularly in the print media. The theory acknowledges the media´s power to determine both what events/phenomena will be transformed in news and thus reach the public, and what aspects or dimensions of these events and or phenomena are worthy of being publicised. Therefore framing is used for many purposes to establish the media agenda and to retrieve the opinion of the public.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss the method used for this study, which is content analysis. Content analysis was chosen as the most appropriate method to answer the research questions as stated in section 1.3. I further justify the choice of the sample used, coding categories as well as give an overview of the two newspapers under study namely; The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*.

3.1 Content Analysis

In this thesis I employ content analysis methodology. Content analysis is defined as the systematic sampling, coding and analysing of media texts (Treadwell, 2014, p. 215).

Berelson (1952), one of the very first scholars to employ the method, defined content analysis as the research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest of communication. As a standard methodology in the field of social sciences on the subject of communication, content analysis can be applied in quantitative and qualitative ways.

This method is chosen because of its various advantages that would be of much benefit to the study.

One of the biggest advantages of content analysis is its being systematic. As Wimmer and Dominick (2003) observe, the content to be analysed is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rules. This follows through from sample selection to evaluation of findings (p.142).

Content analysis also provides the advantage of objectivity in this study. As a systematic method, content analysis may be used to describe and analyse media content in a more comprehensive way, a way less prone to subjective selectiveness and idiosyncrasies (Hansen et al., 1998, p. 91); Wimmer and Dominick 2003, p.141). However, it is not objective in a value-free sense as the researcher chooses the units

of analysis as well as the coding categories. (Hansen et al. 1998, p. 94). In this way the method prevented me from sneaking my personal biases into the findings.

The quantitative nature of the method is another advantage to the study. As a quantitative method, the purpose of content analysis is to identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts and through this, to be able to say something about messages, images, representations of such texts and their social significance (Hansen et al. 1998, p. 95). With quantification, it is easier for the findings to be made precise in figures and percentages instead of speculating or estimating.

An important aspect of content analysis is to construct a representative sample. In relation to representativeness two aspects are important: the sample period and extent of the sample (Deacon et al. 2002, p. 119-120). In terms of the sampling period, one needs to decide how far forwards or backwards to extend the sampling period and whether the sampling will be retrospective or prospective. In order to determine the size of the sample it is also important to consider how extensively one will sample across the elements of the selected universe (Deacon et al. 2002, p.120).

Being an extremely directive method, content analysis can only answer previously formulated questions or prove/disprove hypotheses (Deacon et al. 2002, p.117). A content analysis can only count the frequency of the specified features but not based on that conclude the wider social impact. Rather, the findings have to be placed into a theoretical framework that addresses the relationship of the analysed texts to their context of consumption and production in order to be able to explain their social significance (Hansen et. al., 1998, p. 96, 123). In the analysis stage of a content analysis the previously fragmented, counted and constituted parts are re-assembled to investigate in which context they occur, with implications, and for what purpose (Hansen et al. 1998, p.98).

The reason why content analysis was chosen to deal with the present topic rests upon several virtues of the specific approach. First, it is agreed on as an objective, systematic and general approach. Compared to mere qualitative studies, the features of variables can be quantified into particular data. Therefore with the use of quantitative approach, the results of the study are believed to be more precise and objective (Berelson, 1952 as cited in Larsen, 2012, p.132).

I needed to identify and count the occurrence of specified dimensions of texts, and through this, to be able to say something about messages, and representations of such texts and their social significances, as Riffe et al, (2005, p.25) stated. In this case i needed to count dominant topics or issues, origin, appearance in news, use of photographs, placement in terms of front page, page three or other inside page, function in the story as well as gender of author.

According to Barbie (2014), coding is the process in which raw data are transformed into a standardised form suitable for machine processing and analysis. Wimmer and Dominick (2003) defined it as "placing a unit of analysis into a content category". (p.152). As previously discussed, the unit of analysis for the current study is the news articles and accompanying photographs in the selected *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspaper articles.

 The units of analysis were categorised according to a combination of aforementioned categories that have been established by previous research on media coverage of gender and media as such as one by the GMMP (2015).
A coding instrument was created for coders to use (see Appendix 1).

3.1.1 Reliability and Validity

Reliability is one of the defining aspects of content analysis; in order for it to be objective a content analysis must be reliable (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). A study is reliable if it is replicable, meaning that when another researcher repeats the analysis the same results are found. (Wimmer & Dominick 2006:166). In order to achieve reliability it is important to clearly define the coding categories. Reliability was reached in the current study by using measures and coding procedures that have been established by previous research.

 Validity is another important aspect of content analysis, meaning that an instrument actually measures what it sets out to measure (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p.170). This is another reason why the coding categories must be clearly defined and mutually exclusive; if they overlap, the results will have little validity. The intention of this study was to measure the amount of coverage of women in the news.

Recording the total amount of articles along with photographs, measured what was intended to be measured. The other intent of the study was to measure the function/roles in which women are depicted. By using pre-existing categories to analyse the articles and photographs, ensured that the study measured what it intended to measure.

Inter-coder reliability is the level of agreement among independent coders who use the same coding instrument to code the same content (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). As solely the researcher conducted the coding, no inter-coder reliability tests were needed.

3.2   Limitations

Content analysis, although used as the main method in this study, was not without limitations.

Although quantification allows for precise reporting of findings, there is always a problem with how far quantification is taken in content analysis and to what degree the quantitative indicators are read or interpreted in relation to questions about the intensity of meaning in the social impact of texts, or the relationship between media texts and the realities which they reflect (Hansen et. al, 1998, p. 95). Thus, all inferences made about the quantified findings cannot be taken on their own without looking for what exactly they mean. In the case of this study, the question of whether the findings will reflect reality about gender coverage in the media, I suggest that this can be addressed in further research in this field.

3.3   Choice of sample

The units of analysis of this content analysis are articles from the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers. In order to collect articles for the analysis, whole editions of the newspapers were used. However, not all sections of the newspapers were included. For the case of the *New Times* Newspaper, daily supplements that run on different days of the week such as the *Health Times, Business Times, Education Times, Women Today, Society, Sport*, were excluded. Including these supplements in the analysis would probably not increase the number of stories that clearly challenge gender stereotypes. For the case of *Women Today* supplement, particular focus is on

women's issues like beauty, family relations and other issues that affect women. I also excluded articles from the opinion and arts sections as well as advertisement content. The reason for this choice is that this I wanted to focus on mainstream news in my analysis. I do however believe that these supplements deserve a study on their own, as they would provide interesting information about what is considered specific women´s issues and would reveal numerous gender stereotypes.

The New Times and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers were chosen because they have the highest circulation and are published on a daily basis. They also displayed significant differences – in language and ownership- for comparison: *The New Times* the privately-owned, English language daily and *Imvaho Nshya* the government-owned, local *Kinyarwanda* language daily newspaper. On the basis of this i assumed that the newspapers have an increased potential for agenda-setting influence and likelihood of professional level of standards and practices.

The sampling period spans from January to December 2017. Due to the overwhelming amounts of publications available for analysis, a systematic sampling technique was adopted. Every month, one edition of the *New Times* was randomly selected for analysis, making a total of 12 editions worth of articles from each paper that were examined for the purpose of this study. The samples were selected from the weekday editions of the *New Times*. The selection of these editions was conducted through systematic random sampling. A sampling pattern was conducted to ensure the randomness of the sample. The sampling followed the weekday pattern. As a starting point Monday was selected for January, followed by Tuesday for February, Wednesday for March and so on. To ensure that the samples would not all be selected from the same time of the month (beginning of the month, for example) a sampling pattern was developed for that too. Every month was divided into four weeks and each month one sample was selected from the first and last week. As a starting point instead of January, the first week was selected, for February the last week was selected, for March the first week and April the last week. For those editions that were unavailable like January and April, the following month was selected. Thus the sample was from February. This way a random sample was created without any bias. At the same time, the sampling pattern made the selection easier and less time intensive than a completely random sampling process. The year 2017 has been

selected to be reflective of the current journalism content available. This period was also characterised by presidential campaigns prior to the elections on August 2017 in Rwanda and therefore coverage could be expected to be ´gender balanced´.

The themes under which content was analysed include: type/genre of articles, use of photographs, origin/source of articles and placement of the articles.

The articles that mention women were analysed by looking at the framing of the stories, the roles in which women are cast in the coverage, the use of photographs and language used to refer to women. The coding sheet of the analysed coverage is presented in the appendix 1.

3.4   Coding categories

Before commencing with the analysis, a coding frame consisting of a coding schedule and a coding manual were developed. While the coding schedule is a sheet where values for each variable are entered, the coding manual contains the codes for all the variables listed on the coding sheet as well as the coding guidelines as recommended by Deacon et al. (2002:124) and Treadwell (2014, p. 219).

For this particular study I took some of the categories and codes from "Who makes the News", a global media-monitoring project from 2015. I settled on restricting my analysis to the first four news stories published as this would keep the scale of the thesis manageable while provide a telling insight into the paper´s priorities and preoccupations. There were two samples identified, the overall sample and the gender- specific sample. In the overall sample I registered the newspaper on the following categories: the name of publication, the total number of articles with by-lines and the scope of coverage. The categories in the overall sample include story topic; political, economy, education, science/health as well as the scope of coverage whether local/national, regional/international.

Then in the gender-specific sample, I took a closer look at the articles in which women were sources. The gender specific sample includes categories such as female-male appearance in hard and soft news, use of photographs, page placement, function/role of sources in the story and gender of author. In this sample I coded the sources. I define sources as those directly or indirectly quoted in a story. People who

are simply mentioned or listed in the story are not coded. For each newspaper i registered the date and name of the publication, the total number of stories, the number of stories with one or more female sources. For stories with one or more female sources I looked at the page placement of the story (front page, page 3, or other inside page), whether the story was written by a woman or a man or the gender of author was not mentioned and the function of the source in the story. By registering the capacity in which the source, whether female or male, was used I again borrowed categories from the GMMP (2015). With this category, "function in the news story", I separated between sources functioning as spokespersons, experts or victims. This makes it possible to see how often women are quoted as experts or if they tend to be included in stories because of they are victims of circumstances such poverty, natural catastrophes like floods, disease etc.

Registering female sources portrayed as a victim and /or survivor was interesting because earlier media monitoring projects (for instance the GMMP, 2015) have shown a tendency where a high percentage of women appear in media as victims. Often these women victims are portrayed as passive, they lack agency to confront their challenges and deal with their problems. The stories focus on their trauma and their suffering instead of their courage, will to fight and actively struggle for their rights (GMMP, 2015).

3.5 The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* Newspapers

The *New Times* is Rwanda´s leading daily newspaper that was created in 1995 by three stakeholders who sought to "create a platform through which Rwandans and non- Rwandans would reason together, seek dialogue, promote reconciliation and healing and contribute to the country´s development."(Munyaneza, 2016). Beginning in a post genocide context, just one year after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, the shareholders´ aim was to help rebuild the country by changing the role of the media, as it had a largely negative impact on the country leading to the 1994 genocide. (Snide, 2016, p.10). By delivering legitimate news and promoting development and unity, the New Times investors fought against the propaganda that was intertwined with media prior to 1995. The paper has a sister paper called *Izuba Rirashe* that is

owned by the same shareholders that was created in *Kinyarwanda* language. Further, a paper is published every Sunday by the same shareholders called the *Sunday Times.*

In 2006, an online version of the *New Times* was launched called the *New Times Online;* which expanded readership and modernized the media source to be more compatible with present times´ electronics and mobile devices and expanded to a daily newspaper. The online version, according to Tasamba (2016), is one of the most viewed websites among Rwandans in Rwanda and abroad. He further claims that the paper has significantly expanded readership through Facebook, twitter and instagram. One of the challenges to the growth of the paper faces is the low readership culture throughout Rwanda, which has a negative effect on profits. (Snide, 2016).

In an interview that Snide conducted with the leading editor of the *New Times*, James Munyaneza, the paper was explained as free independent and professional media with no government affiliation, but are aware of the complexity of the world around us and particularly the burdens left behind by a tragic history ". However, according to the all Africa website, *The New Times* is a "government-leaning" newspaper. According to Snide, Rwanda has faced much scrutiny for media censorship, something that none of the *New Time's* editors felt was oppressing the news outlet. (2016, p.10). The constitution states " freedom of the press and freedom of information are recognized and guaranteed by the state, " but restrictions remain, such as jail time for anyone who slanders "the head of state or other public officials". In a statement to the author, Tasamba revealed that while restrictions are in place, journalists from the New Times feel it necessary to self-censor due to negative forthcomings of past media no matter what the law states. (Tasamba, 2016).

According to Snide (2016) unpublished internship report at *The New Times,* the paper has numerous full time journalists, but often uses articles from supplement writers also, expanding their fluctuating number of writers to over 50. The paper has a total of 9 sections: news, business, opinions, women, lifestyle, technology, sports, education, and health; and two editors, one news editor and head editor who control the paper´s content. Writers first review story ideas with either editor, who then approves or disapproves the content, or then revise the finalized product before it is published. (2016, p.12).

The *Imvaho Nshya* started in Rwanda in 1958 as a government owned newspaper. Until 1994 it was called "Imvaho" meaning "truth". After the 1994 genocide, the paper changed its name to Imvaho Nshya meaning "new truth" (Kelleher, 2014). According to the Rwandan Office of Information (ORINFOR), the paper was a tri-weekly publication until 2012 when it started publishing on a daily basis.

Low readership numbers for newspapers in Rwanda disprove the relative importance that the medium has maintained in agenda setting in the country. However, the relative proportion of the news hole in newspapers as opposed to the high entertainment content of radio and television, for example yields an outsized possibility for agenda setting by the newspapers. The High Council of the Press´s Rwanda Media Monitoring Project (RMMP) in 2004 reported that of 16 media outlets in all formats, two newspapers *The New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* carried by far the most news items, more than double the number on the national Radio Rwanda (p.9).

Pollock et al. noted that newspaper circulation was growing annually in Africa, and that newspaper coverage was particularly relevant because "newspapers set news agendas for broadcast media (e.g radio) to communicate broadly to the public" (2010, p. 10).

In a study to assess the effect of print media marketing strategies on newspaper distribution in Rwanda, it was concluded that the use of new technology has a significant positive relationship with newspaper distribution in Rwanda (Nuwagira et al. 2017).

3.6   Limitations

This research has not been without challenges. There has not been much research conducted on this topic in a Rwandan context. The Global Media Monitoring Project does not include Rwanda making this study timely. The study has some limitations such as that the study was conducted on a small scale. The focus on only two newspapers makes it difficult to generalize the findings for all print media. By using The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers as sample for the content analysis, the

study may be limited. However, focussing on The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* as an analysis, as sample of all Rwandan print newspapers, does give an indication of the current state of affairs with respect to print media.

3.7   Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented and discussed the methods used in this study in order to better answer the research questions stated in the first chapter. The method used to analyse the content, content analysis was the most appropriate method given the objectives I set out to investigate. The selection of the sample used under study was appropriate as both news papers differ in language as well as scope of coverage. The next section presents the findings of the data analysed.

4 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present the findings of the study. The analysis of the findings is dictated by the research questions as stated in chapter one subsection 1.4 which are; how often are women covered in the news compared to men? How do women explicitly appear when presented in the news? Two newspapers were selected namely *The News Times* and *Imvaho Nshya.* 12 editions from each newspaper spanning from January to December 2017 were selected, amounting to a total of 96 analysed articles. The focus of the content analysis was on the prominence of female voices in the news articles as well as how women are represented in comparison to their male counterparts.

The section presents the data captured using content analysis. This section accounts for the main story topic, the scope of the news articles analysed, use of photographs and functions/roles in which both women and men are presented. The gender of authors of the articles is also analysed. The coding schedules of the analysed coverage are presented in the appendix 4.

4.1 Overall sample

These categories help to identify the type of articles featured in the newspaper as well as collect figures regarding journalists. The content variables consist of the overall sample as well as a gender specific sample. As the name indicates, the overall sample variables focussed on the content of the articles and gave insight into coverage of the stories, what type of sources are cited in the articles, are they mainly political/government, economy, education and science/health. In cases where the article could have fitted in more than one category, I used my judgement to determine what the story was mainly about. The sample also located the article whether it was local/national, regional/international. The first step was to identify the first four articles in each newspaper edition selected and type of story, what each was about and categorised under politics/government, economy, education, science /health. In the gender specific sample, I determined whether women and men equally quoted, are photographs predominantly showing females, males or both, are stories in which women appear on the front page or page 3, or other inside page, what is the gender of

the journalists. By combining the two categories in both samples, insight was gained as to how many articles in which women appear and how are they depicted in these articles as well as what topics female journalists mainly write about.

4.1.1 Main story topic

For the purpose of this research articles were classified as belonging to one of four possible categories on the basis of their primary content. In order to get a picture of how women are covered i first got the overall coverage of news by coding the headlines of the chosen sample. The main topics in the news were categorised as follows; the first category government/politics, the second category; economy, the third; education, and fourth; science and health. (These were categories borrowed from the GMMP- Global Media Monitoring Project).

According to findings from the *New Times* content analysis schedule, the most common topic covered in the "hard news" is political and government with 62.5% of articles (30 articles out of the 48 articles sampled). The second rated area in which the stories are covered is the Economy with 20.8% followed by Education with 14.6 %. The least area covered was science and health (2.1%). On the other hand the *Imvaho Nshya* newspaper political and government covered over 44% of news stories (21 articles of the 48 articles sampled), followed by economy 50%, education 4 % and science and health 2% (see table 1 below). There was a slight difference in coverage of topics between the two newspapers especially political topics. This is probably because the *Imvaho Nshya* mainly wrote about government economic policies to empower rural areas. As table 1 indicates there were in total more stories on political and government when combined the percentage is 48.9% compared to other topics combined. This is the overall news category.

Topic	The *New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Political & Government	26 62.5%	21 44%	47 48.9%
Economy	10 20.8%	24 50%	34 35.4%
Education	7 14.6%	2 4%	9 9.4%
Science & Health	5 2.1%	1 2%	6 6.3%
Total	48 100 %	48 100%	96 100%

4.1.2 Scope of the news stories

I also examined whether articles carried by the *New Times* were local/national news stories, or regional/international news. Results show that the majority of the stories in the *New Times* sample were local/national news with 90% national while 10 % regional or international news. Local/National news here were news stories that covered the whole country. International/regional stories were those stories that covered regional actors. *Imvaho Nshya* on the other hand had slightly more stories covering the regional provinces in the country with 95.8 %. This could be due to the language of publication *Kinyarwanda* that is widely used especially in rural areas. For particular publications areas were demarcated to indicate which particular area is being covered.

Table 2: Scope of News stories

Scope	The *New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*	Total
Local/National	43 90%	46 95.8%	89 92,7%
Regional/International	5 10%	2 4.2%	7 7,3%
Total	48 100%	48 100%	96 100%

4.2 Gender-related sample

In this sample, i referred to the first research question, which was to assess the prominence given to women in the news stories in comparison with the men. Prominence has been interpreted to mean importance. In journalism, prominence of a given story or the person in that story is determined by the frequency (number of times a person appears in the news), use of photographs, placement (where the story is placed), sources (whether the subject of the story was quoted or not).

In this study prominence was measured as presented under the sub-topics of female-male appearance in hard news and soft news stories, use of photographs as well as page placement of articles mentioning women.

4.2.1 Female-Male Appearance in Hard News and Soft News Stories

In this sample I examined the topics covered in the overall sample and these were categorised according to the hard news and soft news stories.

The focus was to find out how frequent women were featured in the various articles analysed, under the themes that I grouped in the hard news (political/government and economy) as well as soft news (education, science & health).

The results show that men dominated the hard news stories as sources of news stories (political/government and economy) with 57.7% and 60% respectively of the total stories compared to women who appeared in only 34.6 % and 30% of the same categories.

As far as the stories under the category of education were concerned, out of the total sample of the analysed stories, the topic of education had 7 stories, 43 % of which featured females as news sources while 57% of the articles features males as sources of news stories. More so women appeared in one article out of the five articles which is 20% under the category of science and health in the *New Times* Newspaper while they were three articles making 60% in which males appeared in news stories under the same category as shown in table 3.

Table 3: Female-Male appearance in hard news and soft news- *The New Times*

Topic	Female	Male	Not mentioned	Total
Political & Government	9 34.6%	15 57.7%	2 7.7%	26 100%
Economy	3 30%	6 60%	1 10%	10 100%
Education	3 43%	4 57%	0 0%	7 100%
Science & Health	1 20%	3 60%	1 20%	5 100%
Total	14	28	6	48

On the other hand the frequency of women´s appearance in the *Imvaho Nshya* was very low compared to the numbers indicated above in *The New Times*. As table 4 indicates women appeared in 2 out of the 21 articles under the category of Political/Government, which is just 34.6 % while they appeared in the category of Economy in 30 % of the articles while they appeared in the education category in 14.4% of the total articles. As for the category of Science and Health there was no appearance of women at all.

Table 4: Female –Male appearance in hard news and soft news- *Imvaho Nshya*

Topic	Female	Male	Not mentioned	Total
Political & Government	2 9.5%	17 81%	2 9.5%	21 100%
Economy	2 8.3%	14 58.3%	8 33.3%	24 100%
Education	1 50%	1 50%	0 0%	2 100%
Science & Health	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	1 100%
Total	5	33	10	48

4.2.2 Use of photographs

Given the significance of visual communication in telling a compelling story, I sought to measure the proposition of females versus males who appeared in photographs alongside their appearance as newsmakers and sources. Photographs add personal presence to the persons being covered in the news and depending on whether such persons are featured alone, or in group-photographs, they enjoy different levels of prominence. I also analysed the portrayal and depiction of the newsmakers in the photographs.

Out of the 36 photographs that appeared in the sample of 48 articles analysed, women appeared alone in only 11% of them while men appeared alone in more than half of the total photographs taken, 53% of the photographs. Group photographs and photographs in which both females and males appeared were 28% While a few photographs were of other objects took only 8%. This shows that women appeared less in photographs alone than they appeared in group photographs, which illustrates the prominence given to men.

In addition, when taking a closer look at some of the photographs women tend to be seen as onlookers or passive while men were portrayed as active. For example in a story entitled "Leadership retreat to assess Vision 2020 targets", the male minister for Justice is photographed addressing journalists while the female minister looks on in the background. (*New Times* article published Tuesday, February 2017). This pattern is also repeated in another photograph where women appear standing besides the men or in the background and only men are mentioned in the caption.

Table 5: News subjects photographed by gender

Use of photograph	*New Times*	*Imvaho Nshya*
Females alone	4 11%	6 13%
Males alone	19 53%	30 66.7%
Group photo	10 28%	6 13%
Other photo	3 8%	3 7%
Total	**36/100%**	**45/100%**

4.2.3 Page placement of articles with women as sources

The placement of a story in a newspaper article indicates the importance and significance attached to the story. Stories that are considered important and significant are usually placed on the front page or page three where they usually catch the eye of the reader while those stories that are considered important but not significant are placed in the inside pages as illustrated in table 6 below. The study found that stories in which women are the main source of the story rarely make front-page news unless there is a special occasion concerning them.

For example, the story on International Women´s Day entitled "Women urged to preserve their dignity" was published on page 3, which is also one of the pages that catch the eye of the reader. However, the story should have been given a more positive angle to reflect the achievements of women.

Table 6: Page placement

Placement	*New Times*	*Imvaho*
Front page/page 2	2	2
Page 3	1	1
Other inside page	9	1
Total	**11**	**4**

4.2.4 Function/roles in the news story

I analysed the function/role in which women are featured in comparison to men. Three key functions were isolated in this study: spokesperson, expert and victim

Spokesperson: the person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group or an organisation.

Expert or commentator: the person provides additional information, opinion or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise.

Victim: this could be of crime, illness, accident, poverty, natural catastrophe the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said, etc. Registering if female sources were portrayed as a victim and/or survivor was interesting because

earlier monitoring projects (for instance the GMMP, 2015) has shown a tendency where a high percentage of women appear in media stories as victims.

The findings indicate that the majority of women featured in the news as news subjects than as news sources. Most information in the news stories analysed is attributed to the males as sources even in cases where stories are about women.

Out of the 11 articles in which women appeared in the *New Times* stories, 27% of the articles analysed featured women as spokesperson and 9 % as experts. In contrast Women in *Imvaho Nshya* were mentioned as spokesperson in only 1 article (7%) and were covered as experts in one article (9%) and as victims in 7 articles, which is 63% of the total number of articles. See tables 7 & 8 below. Men largely dominated the news as spokespersons in *Imvaho Nshya* newspaper with 48% of the articles and 24 % as experts. (see tables 7 and 8 below).

Table 7: Function in the story- *The New Times*

Function	Women	Men	Both men & women	Total
Spokesperson	3 27.3%	10 47.6%	5 31%	18 37.5%
Expert	1 9.1%	5 23.8%	1 6%	7 14.5%
Victim	7 63.6%	6 28.6%	10 63%	23 48%
Total	**11/ 100%**	**21/100%**	**16/100%**	**48/100%**

Table 8: Function in the story- *Imvaho Nshya*

Function	Women	Men	Both men & women	Total
Spokesperson	1 7%	10 48%	5 31%	16 37.5%
Expert	1 9%	9 24%	1 6%	11 14.5%
Victim	7 63%	2 28%	10 62%	19 48%
Total	**9/ 100%**	**21/100%**	**16/100%**	**48/100%**

4.2.5   Gender of author

In this section, the authors of news articles are journalists. The results indicate that male journalists contributed the majority of the articles with over 62% of the total analysed sample. Women journalists wrote 18.8% of the total analysed articles. Meanwhile there were about 16 % of the articles in which the gender of the author was not identified. In this case the *Times Reporter* authored article. It is also noted that men wrote mostly the hard news stories (political and government as well as the economy. When combined political/government and economy, female journalists contributed only 7 articles compared to 22 articles written by male journalists.   In analysing the articles from the *Imvaho Nshya* sample, male journalists wrote almost all the news articles. Out of the 48 articles, men wrote 79.2% while female journalists wrote only 4.2 %. The remaining 16.6% (8 articles) did not mention the gender of the writer. In this case the "reporter" was indicated as author. The analysis did not bring out the gender perspective of the stories written by women compared to those written by men. Neither was it able to establish whether men were more likely to write stories that reinforce gender stereotypes. However the selection gives a picture of what women journalists write about.

Table 9: Gender of author- *The New Times*

Topic	Women	Men	Not mentioned	Total
Political & Government	5	15	6	26
Economy	2	7	1	10
Education	1	5	1	7
Science & Health	1	3	1	5
Total	9 18.8%	30 62.5%	8 16.7%	48 100%

Table 10: Gender of author – *Imvaho Nshya*

Topic	Women	Men	Not mentioned	Total
Political & Government	0	15	6	21
Economy	0	22	2	24
Education	1	1	0	2
Science & Health	1			1
Total	2 4.2%	38 79.2%	8 16.6%	48 100%

4.3 Concluding remarks

The findings in this study clearly depict evidence of imbalances between men and women in the coverage of news stories in the print media in Rwanda. Women´s voices are rarely heard in the important news and when they are portrayed they appear as victims of circumstances such as sickness, poverty and so on. This is despite the media´s power to create change opinion, attitudes and relationships besides educating people.

5   DISCUSSION

5.0   Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings from the study in light of the literature review presented in chapter two. The findings of the content analysis of 96 articles from January to December 2017 editions of the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* yielded results that are informative as some aspects concur with previous research while other aspects differ. In order to capture the gender aspects of the coverage two samples were used the overall sample and the gender-related sample.

5.1   Overall sample

I used the overall sample in this study in order to give an overview of the news coverage in terms of the main story topics covered in the newspapers as well as the scope of coverage. The overall study gives a basis for the gender related sample that follows suit in the second section (5.2) of this chapter.

5.1.1   Main story topic

The main topics of news stories covered by both papers were categorised under politics/government, economy, education and science and health. As indicated in the findings chapter both The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* had majority of stories on government/political stories, followed by economy, education and science and health. Story topics such as "*Leadership retreat to assess Vision 2020 targets", Rwanda, India sign three bilateral deals* are some of the typical stories that made front-page headlines.

5.1.2   Story scope

As regards the geographical scope of the stories the variables that were chosen include local/national, regional or international. For the two newspapers analysed findings indicated that majority of stories were local/national compared to regional/international stories. However when closely reading the stories, *The New Times* mostly covered stories in urban areas than in rural areas. This in my opinion

could be due to the fact that *English* is mainly spoken in the urban areas than in rural areas. The *Imvaho Nshya* specifically has subsections of the different provinces in the country where the news is reported from in contrast to the *New Times* newspaper.

5.2   Gender-related sample

This sample will look at the appearance of women and men in hard news and soft news stories, the use of photographs, page placement of articles mentioning women, functions/roles in which women are portrayed as well as the gender of author of articles.

5.2.1   Female- Male appearance in Hard News and Soft News

When analysing the appearance of women and men in both the hard news and soft news stories, it is evident that men dominated the hard news stories (politics and economy) compared to women. This confirms previous studies that have shown that gender representation in the coverage of news stories is skewed in favour of males. (GMMP, 2015, p. 32). The report revealed a wider gender gap between men and women in news about politics and government. Although the GMMP (2015) study focused on all media outlets across the different regions on the globe, its findings are still relevant as the results indicated that women are less visible in political news. The results indicated that women make up 24% of persons in the media including print, electronic as well as online media. More so, studies have reported the domination of politics as a topic in media coverage with men appearing more as news subjects than women. (GMMP, 2015, Onyinyechi, 2014, UMWA, 2014). The same findings appear in the study done by Garberg and Ruud (2011) in Kenya and Uganda, where women appear to be less visible as newsmakers as well as news subjects. The lack of women´s voices and opinions is not ethical and it does not offer a fair or balanced media. This results in news that presents a male-centred view of the world, and contributes to uphold beliefs that men are better sources of information and knowledge than women.

5.2.2 Use of photographs

One aspect of this study that differs from previous research like that conducted by the GMMP (2015), is the use of photographs that indicated that 30 % of women in print news appears in the photographs accompanying the stories, compared to 23 % of the men. This is in contrast to the findings of this study, which indicated that the women appeared in less photographs with a percentage of 11% of the total number of photographs compared to 53% of the photographs of the men. The reason for this could be that there were less stories of in which women are main sources of news. The GMMP (2015) report further advances that the women in photographs are portrayed as helpless and hopeless in contrast to the profile shots of stoic, strong, authoritative male figures. This is similar to the results of the sample under study, as the photographs in general when critically analysed tended to depict women as passive compared to the men who were depicted as active and well composed.

5.2.3 Page placement of articles mentioning women

More so the stories that they covered where found in inside pages of the newspaper that rarely catch the eye of the reader. The *New Times* newspaper articles analysed depicted only 18% of the articles mentioning women made it to the front page. This trend is observed in the *Imvaho Nshya* where stories in which women were featured were placed in the inside pages of the publication. This affirms that stories about women are not given much importance and this contributes to their invisibility. The importance of prominence in terms of front-page placement of stories has been emphasised in studies such as that by the Women in Media team (2012). The front page, as the report stipulates, is the face that a newspaper chooses to present to the world, it is its shop window, and what its editors decide to display there gives a powerful insight into the paper´s priorities and preoccupations. (Women in Media team. p.3)

5.2.4 Function in the story

When closely looking at the functions/roles in which men and women appear in the print media, the results of this study indicate yet another difference between them for

both papers. In the *New Times* women appear as spokespersons in 27% of the analysed articles and as experts in 9 % of the articles compared to 48% and 24 % of men respectively. This corresponds to the GMMP, (2015), study where women were mainly reflected in people based on personal experience than in roles as experts and spokespersons. One of the reasons for the exclusion of women´s voices according to Nicole Johnstone from the South African institute for the Advancement of Journalism, is that the most readily accessible sources are likely to be men" (Garberg and Ruud 2011). The study also showed that men dominated both female and male journalistic notepads as key news sources. This corresponds with other contemporary studies indicating under representation of women in the media (GMMP, 2015; Yeboah 2011).

Another observation in the research on women in the media by the GMMP (2015) is that there is a reduction in the tendency to attribute victimhood to news subjects. The topics of the stories analysed specifically categorised the portrayal of women as ´victims´, to encompass topics such as natural disasters like floods, street violence and poverty where one normally find sources portrayed as victims of circumstances. In short given these media stereotypical portrayals of women and men, we should not be surprised when relationships between women and men are similarly depicted in ways that reinforce stereotypes within the media and print media in particular.

5.2.5   Gender of author

While examining the scope of stories and the gender of the authors, the results from this study show that there were more male journalists covering hard news stories than female journalists. These results coincide with previous studies that indicate that female journalists mainly reported on ´soft news and at the same time mainly covered national news (GMMP, 2015, pgs.12-13). Although this seems to differ from studies like the one by Rodny-Gumede (2015) in which female journalists reported equally on soft news and hard news, findings from this study correlates with the global survey findings. In their survey on women in the media, Garberg and Ruud, (2011) considered that journalists are not always authorised to choose the stories they write. Sometimes the editors will assign journalists to cover certain stories. In this analysis, therefore, trends and tendencies in the topics that women journalists cover can be an

indication of how the editors allocate women as much as indication of what women journalists wish to write about.

Another point that can be mentioned here is the correlation between choice of source of news and gender of reporter. In previous research findings such as that of UMWA (2014); Garberg and Ruud, 2011 GMMP, 2015,) there is an influx in male subjects in writing hard news stories. According to UMWA (2014), male reporters in writing hard news have a tendency of interviewing male subjects, while female reporters interview female subjects. In this study this was to some extent realised. However, female journalists tended to interview both male and female subjects. As mentioned in the review of literature, North´s (2014) study revealed a tendency of women´s preference to report on soft news and especially relate to stories that are relevant to their lives. More so the coverage of stories is limited to the regions in which female journalists report. In this study women covered more local stories than international stories, just like similar studies namely (Zoch & VanSlyke Turk 1998; Geertsema, 2009 as well as the GMMP 2015).

As mentioned earlier, previous research further remarks, issues that are particularly central to women´s lives come low down in the scale of what is regarded as newsworthy. Although this study did not specifically focus on coverage of gender in the news, it was worth noting women become news in coverage around a particular event such as Women´s Day. This is true to the findings in this study that noted the prominence of given to women on this International Women´s Day.

5.3   Concluding remarks

This study results also found out that there were less female journalists reporting on both hard and soft news. In the sample chosen for this study from both the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya*, this can indicate that editors rarely put female reporters on the big stories. This can also be a random consequence of the fact that most reporters are male.

From the analysis in this study one can conclude that the media have played its role of setting the agenda as prescribed by McCombs and Shaw (1972). The print media in Rwanda influences the audience through the importance they give to the male sources

of news in contrast to the female sources. In other words the media give an impression that women are not important subjects worth either informing the public about or engaging the public domain discussions and so should be filtered out.

The print media choice to present certain events and issues that take place in the society to the audience and the way they emphasise or de-emphasise others can be best explained by the framing theory which as D´Angelo, P & Kuypers, J., (2010) has a way of dictating to the audience how to interpret media messages.

6   CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations based on the key findings of the study. The general objective of the study was to analyse gender representation in the news and the narratives promoted by this coverage. Specifically the study aims were two fold. Firstly, to determine the extent to which women are represented in The *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* newspapers in comparison to men. Secondly, to identify the roles in the news in which women are cast compared to men. The study applied the quantitative content analysis on the two newspapers mentioned above. A total of 96 articles were used.

6.1   Concluding reflections

The first research question was to assess the frequency of appearance of women in the news compared to men. The study revealed that there were more men appearing in the news than women. In the hard news (politics /government) women made up 34% compared to over 57% of the men. In terms of the proportion of females versus males who appeared in the photographs, the findings were again discouraging as there were more men visible than women. Therefore male and female appearance in the news is gendered with men being given more prominence than women.

The content analysis of the newspaper stories projects an imbalance of news sources in the coverage of news. Irrespective of what variables are considered, whether access, or the nature of their portrayal, such studies as the GMMP have indicated that men and women are treated differently. For instance, a person has a far better chance of making it into the news if he is male than if she is female (GMMP, 2015; Yeboah, 2010 quoted in 2011).

Furthermore, once a person makes it through the news gates, his or her chances of having photos (of himself or herself) accompanying the appearance or appearing as expert may also be determined by his/her gender. But, as indicated, most of these studies analysed data across gender, thus often the disparities found between men and women arose from unequal visibilities.

The second research question was to assess the roles in which women are depicted in the news stories compared to the men. This study indicated that there were significant differences in the roles that named women and men play in the news stories. For example The *New Times* newspaper featured women as spokespersons in 27% of the articles and 9% as experts. The women were featured as victims in 63 % of the articles. It does appear that even if women were portrayed more than men, their prominence would still differ.

Representations matter as they have a tendency to affect the learning of sex-role stereotypes and, as shown by the study, as women gain better numerical representation in the news, their very appearance may affect the corporate representation (image) of their gender. This implies that audiences´ perceptions of women and their relevance in the daily activities that keep societies moving may be positively changed. As they encounter more women in the news (being treated no less prominently than men) audiences may be invited by the newspapers to conceive of a world in which men and women collaborate on an equal footing in making things happen. It is of great importance to achieve gender balance in the media in regards to experts and sources interviewed in the media. Not only does it make diversity of thoughts more interesting but also leads to the best possible discussion and outcome.

 Since the media often choose to present reality from a subjective view and reflect such view on the audience, there is a tendency for the audience to interpret reality the way they see it projected by the media. While the type of coverage women receive is an important aspect of framing, the amount must be considered as well (Huffmann, T. et. al 2004). The authors further elucidated on the importance of both "presence and absence" in framing, as they stated that powerful meaning can also be conveyed in what does not receive attention from the media. (p.477).

6.2   Recommendations

This study has indicated the imbalances that exist in the way women and men are featured in the selection of news stories published by the *New Times* and *Imvaho Nshya* Newspapers. The print media should be at the forefront in promoting a positive and realistic image of women.

It is therefore recommended that gender balance in the publication of stories should be implemented. The editors need to put up some critical reasoning with a view of gender balance while making up the news content.

However, this study was only conducted on two newspapers in Rwanda; therefore further studies including other newspapers that operate in the country should be carried out in order to get a full overview of the gender coverage of news in the print media.

Furthermore this study selected a few of the GMMP (2015) categories to analyse the representation of women but further research would increase the number of categories.

As earlier mentioned, this study is confined to analysing the media content of the news and did not attempt to analyse audience reactions, attitudes or perceptions due to what the audience read in the news media. I therefore recommend that other studies on effects of media content on audience could form a basis of other studies for researchers in the field of media and gender in the future.

Appendix 1: Coding sheet

Newspaper article																								
A. Story Topic																								
- Political/Government.																								
- Economy																								
- Education																								
- Science & Health																								
B. Scope of story																								
- Local/National																								
- Regional/International																								
C. Appearance in News																								
- Hard news																								
- Soft News																								
D. Use of Photographs																								
- Females																								
- Males																								
- Group																								
- Other																								
E. Function in story																								
- Spokesperson																								
- Expert																								
- Victim																								
F. Page placement																								
- Front page/page 3																								
- Page 2																								
- Other inside page																								

Appendix 2: Titles of articles used in the sample- The *New Times* Newspaper

1. Revenue collection up owing to new taxpayers
2. Leadership retreat to assess Vision 2020 targets
3. RITCO buses start operations on upcountry routes
4. Import levy model should be limited to EAC and AU says Rwanda Revenue Authority
5. Rwanda, India sign three bilateral deals
6. Experts: Peace education key to global harmony
7. Cross-boarder trade marred by inefficiency says new report
8. RBC, partner roll out new family planning tool
9. Auditor General Urged to dig deeper, scrutinise grassroots
10. Government, UNHCR to take on refugee safety
11. WOMEN´S DAY Women Urged to preserve their dignity
12. Government mulls raising mutuelle fees
13. Government secures Rwf 75bn to boost development plans
14. Parliament elects EALA representatives
15. Police intercept over 170kg of illegal Wolfram
16. Youth urged to develop projects that address challenges faced by communities
17. Africa needs accountable, brave soldiers- Kabarebe
18. Rwanda, Korea to enhance bilateral ties
19. Kwibuka 23: Rotarians commemorate
20. Embrace equality and actively challenge genocide ideology, Public servants told
21. NEC trains 70,000 poll volunteers
22. RPF hosts Congo, Angola ruling party officials
23. MPs approve affiliation to anti-money laundering body
24. Health Ministry in new drive against drug abuse
25. VISA-free Africa will help empower youth- Kagame

26. The future of Africa lies in potential of youth-AKON

27. China´s Jack Ma to invest in EA human capital

28. Habineza pledges to boost infrastructure development

29. What next after British Court blocks Genocide extraditions?

30. Polls met International standards

31. Rwandan who sought asylum after Genocide faces U.S fraud charge

32. Rwf80 WHO support to help fight malaria among Burundian refugees

33. VW Rwanda plant to start production with 1000 cars

34. Historic artefacts relocated from Kandt museum to Karongi

35. Has hide-and –seek game finally ended for city street vendors

36. Retired RDF Major Minting Millions from making detergents

37. Visa-free Africa by 2018: Where does Rwanda lie?

38. Religious leaders urged to foster peace in families

39. Public agencies join hands to fight illegal forex market

40. Marine Police intercept 330 kg of smuggled coltan minerals

41. Govt put to task over unpaid bills, pensions

42. Is it end of Zim´s Robert Mugabe?

43. 15 sit PLE from hospital as girl delivers during the exams

44. Estonian president visits

45. World AIDS Day: How far has Rwanda come?

46. Govt urges manufacturers to tap into Made-in-Rwanda

47. Legislators call for more awareness on basic principles of governance

48. How local e-Commerce platform is impacting women´s access to healthcare

Appendix 3: Titles of articles used in *Imvaho Nshya* Newspaper

1. Ingabo z´u Rwanda zikomeje igikorwa cyo gutanga amaraso
2. Ngoma: Abarezi bitabiriye itorero biyemeje kunoza no guhindura imikorere
3. Kayonza: Murundi: Abaturage bubakiwe idamu ntibarabona amazi
4. Gakenke: Insoresore zitwa ` Abasongarere zibuza amahwemo abaturage zibiba
5. Perezida wa Sena arasba ko umurimo ushyigikirwa
6. Rusizi:Barashimira Leta yabegereje amashyarazi yabafashije kwihangira imirimo
7. Kwishyira hamwe ni byo byazamuye Kigali-Busabizwa
8. Abaturiye za Pariki bahabwa ubumenyi ku kubungabunga ibidukikije
9. Dukeneye umuvuduko mu iterambere- Kagame
10. Abayisilamu basabwe kugira uruhare mu migendekere myiza y´amatora
11. Hatagize igikorwa ngo umusaruro w´ubuhinzi wiyongere, isi izahura n´ amapfa- FAO
12. MINISPOC izubakira inaremere abatishoboye barokotse jenoside
13. Servisi duha abaturage si impuhwe- Murekezi
14. Umujyi wa Kigali woroheje ibyangombwa byo kubaka
15. Abazatora bazaba batarabona indangamuntu bazafashwa- NEC
16. **Kwita izina 13:** Abana 14 b´ingagi bazitwa amazina
17. Mu bihe by ´amatora tuzegera abaturage – Kagame
18. Abanyarwanda baramurikirwa ibyagezweho mu myaka 7
19. Pro-Femmes yarose neza kandi ibasha gukabya inzozi- Jeannette Kagame
20. UBURENGERAZUBA: Barahamya ko ubuhinzi bw´icyayi bwababereye igisubizo
21. Umuhanda Base-Rukomo urabura ibikorwa bike ukarangira
22. Nyarugenge: Ubucuruzi bw´imyenda mishya bwahinduye imibereho y´ ´ababukora
23. RSB igiye gutangiza gahunda ya "Zamukanubuziranenge"
24. **Rusizi:** Barasabwa kongera imbaraga mu guteza imbere umujyi wabo
25. **Kurahira: Kagame arashikirizwa ibirango by´ igihugu**
26. **Abakozi iyo babaye indakemwa batanga umusaruro- Muganza**
27. **Inzego zahagurukiye guhashya ikibazo cy´ abana bahohoterwa ***
28. **Polisi yasubije Chandra Charles amafaranga asaga miliyoni 13 yari yibwe n´ umukozi**

29. RGB yashyikirije miliyoni 300 imiryango 12 itari iya Leta
30. Abenjenyeri bafite uruhare mu mibereho n´ iterambere- Musoni
31. Abitabira ubukemurampaka baracyari mbarwa-Rugege
32. 4. HUYE: Umuturage yakoze imashini ishobora kwenga toni 12 zíbitoki ku munsi
33. Inyandiko za Gacaca zirimo kubakirwa inyubako yihariye
34. Abana 2794 babonye imiryango, 1207 baracyarererwa mu bigo
35. Musanze: Abadiventisiti bubakiye uturima tw´igikoni umuturage utishoboye
36. Hifuzwa ko abahinzi bagira uruhare mu gutegura imishinga iteza imbere ubuhinzi
37. Kigali: Ibihugu 23 biraganira ku ngamba zo kurwanya Sida
38. Hegitari 210 zúbuso bw ínzuzi n´ibubyazwa umusaruro uko bikwiye
39. Kamonyi: CNF yasabye kwita ko nshingano, banoza isuku mu ngo
40. **Ngoma:** Abagenerwa inkunga y´ingoboka barashimira Kagame
41. Ndi Perezida kubera ikemezo cy´ Abanyarwanda- Kagame
42. Ubukungu bw´uRwanda buhagaze neza bugereranyijwe no mu karere- IMF
43. Nubwo dufite amahoro n´umutekano, haracyari ibituvangira- IGP Gasana
44. U Rwanda rwazamutseho imyanya 15 mu koroshya ishoramari
45. 2016/2017 abatsindiye akazi ka Leta ni 3537, abagatangiye ni 1616
46. Banki y´Isi irashima uko VUP yakuye banshi mu bukene
47. NCHR yasobanuye imikorere ya za komisiyo z´ uburenganzira bwa muntu muri Afurika
48. Muhanga: Imyiteguro y´ abazakora ibizamini bya Leta irarimbanyije

Appendix 4: Front pages of *The New Times* Newspapers

Appendix 5: Front pages of *Imvaho Nshya* Newspapers

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