

**Image Repair Strategies of Rwandan
Government in the Post-genocide Era: A
Historical and Critical Analysis**

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ABSTRACT

This study employed Crisis-Communication theoretical framework to examine the responses of the government of Rwanda to the 1994 genocide which arguably posed the most serious challenge to the country's image since independence from Belgium in 1962. It also evaluated the effectiveness of the image-restoration and repair strategies- using a model proposed by image restoration scholars, Benoit & Pang, (2008).

The investigation and analysis were done using a combination of historical and critical methods, covering a 13-year period from 2000 – 2013. While the historical method helped chronicle the historical events of Rwanda from the genocide period till 2013, the critical method was used to analyze and evaluate the image repair measures taken to reverse Rwanda's negative image from years 2000-2013.

Findings showed that the new government of post-genocide Rwanda acknowledged the problems associated with the negative image that the 1994 genocide had brought upon the country and embarked on corrective steps to redeem the lost image both locally and internationally. This mirrors 'Mortification' in the Benoit & Pang image repair model, and implies the Rwandan government accepted responsibility- on behalf of the past administrations- for the genocide "...which led to the loss of close to one million lives, loss of values and culture..."(Kagame, 2010).

Other measure employed by Rwandan government included what Benoit & Pang (2008) labeled as reducing offensiveness of a crisis's fallout or impact. This was achieved by obtaining justice for the genocide survivors through the traditional

courts (the *Gacaca* courts) in Rwanda and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. The twin measures led to the conviction and imprisonment of many of the genocide perpetrators and their accomplices.

Empathy was further employed by the government of Rwanda to redeem and repair the negative image the country attracted as a result of the genocide. Empathy refers to the government's identification with the survivors who lost loved ones. Annual national commemoration of the genocide was inaugurated with public holidays. 7 April, which marked the commencement of the massacre, was labeled 'Genocide Memorial Day' and observed a national holiday while 4 July, which signaled the cessation of the bloodbath was christened 'the Liberation Day' and also observed as a rest day. The entire week following the 7 April rest day is spent as national mourning week for the slain genocide victims.

Post-genocide government in Rwanda also embraced good governance as part of official effort to depart from the past and to demonstrate to the domestic and international community that a new and beautiful country (with a new flag in 2001) had been born out of the ashes and embers of a heinous past. As a result, the new Rwandan government achieved a progressive repatriation for the nation's refugees from other countries and integrated a substantial number of the nation's women into national politics.

Keywords: Crisis Communication, Rwanda, genocide, image repair, image restoration, empathy, mortification.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Ruanda'nın 1962'de Belçika'dan bağımsızlığını kazandıktan bu yana karşılaştığı en önemli imaj sorunu olan, 1994 soykırımına ilişkin hükümetin önlemlerini kriz iletişimi kuramı çerçevesini kullanarak incelemektedir. Ayrıca, imaj restorasyonu ve imaj tamiri stratejilerinin etkililiğini Benoit ve Pang (2008)'in önerdiği modeli kullanarak değerlendirmektedir.

Bu inceleme ve analiz; 2000-2013 arasındaki 13 yıllık dönemine ilişkin tarihsel yöntem ve eleştirel yöntemin birlikte kullanılmasıyla gerçekleşmiştir. Tarihsel metod Ruanda'nın tarihsel olaylarının 2013 yılına kadarki tarihsel olayların kronolojisinde yardımcı olurken, eleştirel metod ise, Ruanda'nın 2000-2013 dönemindeki olumsuz imajını dönüştürmek için imaj tamiri önlemlerinin değerlendirme ve analizi için kullanılmıştır.

Bulgular, soykırım sonrası Ruanda hükümetinin, 1994'teki olumsuz imajla ilgili sorunları kabul ettiğini ve bu kayıp imajı telafi etmek için düzeltici yerel ve uluslararası düzeyde adımlar atmaya giriştiğini göstermektedir. Bu durum Benoit ve Pang (2008)'in imaj tamiri modelini yansıtmakta, Ruanda hükümetinin önceki yönetimler adına, soykırımın, "...yaklaşık bir milyon kişinin ölümüne, değerlerin ve kültürün kaybına yol açtığını..." kabul ettiğini göstermektedir (Kagame, 2010).

Ruanda hükümetinin aldığı diğer önlemler Benoit ve Pang (2008) tarafından "krizin yan ürünlerinin veya etkilerinin utancını azaltmak" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu amaca soykırım kurbanları için adaletin Ruanda'daki geleneksel mahkemeler (Gacaca mahkemeleri) ve Arusha(Tanzanya)'daki Uluslararası Adalet Divanı (ICTR)

tarafından sağlanmasıyla ulaşılmıştır. Bu ikili önlem, çok sayıda soykırım failinin ve suç ortaklarının hüküm giymesine ve mahkum olmasının yolunu açmıştır.

Soykırım sonrasında Ruanda hükümeti tarafından soykırım sonucu ortaya çıkan ülkenin olumsuz imajının tamiri ve telafisi için empati devreye sokulmuştur. Burada empati soykırımdan kurtulan ve sevdiklerini kaybedenlerle hükümetin özdeşleşmesidir. Soykırım için her yıl ulusal tatille birlikte anma günü ilan edilmiştir. 7 Nisan, vahşetin başladığı gün olarak resmi tatil ve “Soykırımı Anma Günü” iken, vahşetin durduğu gün olan 4 Temmuz, “Bağımsızlık Günü”dür ve tatildir. Bu günün ardından bir hafta boyunca ulusal yas ilan edilmekte ve soykırım kurbanları anılmaktadır.

Soykırım sonrası Ruanda hükümeti, geçmişten uzaklaşmak ve ulusal ve uluslararası topluluğa küllerinden doğan, çirkin geçmişi küllenen, yeni ve güzel bir ülkenin (2001’den itibaren yeni bir bayrakla) doğduğunu göstermek için resmi çabalarının bir parçası olan iyi bir yönetimi de benimsemiştir. Sonuç olarak Ruanda hükümeti diğer ülkelerdeki mültecilerinin geri dönmesini ve önemli sayıda kadının politikaya katılmasını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kriz iletişimi, Ruanda, soykırım, imaj zedelenmesi, imaj tamiri, empati, küçük düşme.

This thesis is dedicated to my darling wife - Mabel Oluremi

And my

Precious children

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The East Central African country of Rwanda witnessed in early 1990's what few nations ever witnessed in their history. What started as a simmering feud between the country's two major ethnic communities (the Hutu and the Tutsi) boiled into a large-scale ethnic cleansing that left close to a million people, mostly Tutsis, dead.

Rwanda, which borders Burundi (in the south), Tanzania (in the West), Uganda (in the North) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (in the East) has largely been identified with the genocide that took place between April 7th and July 16th 1994. The killings and their consequences depicted Rwanda in enduring negative light. For instance, Global Security Organization report of 27 April, 2005 reported that close to 2 million Hutu refugees escaped to Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo or DRC), Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees later reported that the camps became so crowded and infested with cholera and dysentery leading to the loss of several lives. In fact, the situation was described as "Africa's World war" (Prunier, 2009), leading to the exodus of both local and international representations and missions. Since then, Rwanda has struggled with image restoration both at home and abroad.

1.1 The Arusha Peace Accord

Prior to the break out of hostilities between the Tutsis and the Hutus in the 1994 genocide, there had been internal conflicts in Rwanda largely due to agitation for political reforms. These bordered on the establishment of an effective rule of law (Mpungwe, 1999), a call for a comprehensive Transitional government in which the President would have his executive powers limited to a ceremonial status (Adelman & Suhrke, 2001). At the forefront of this move for political changes was the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) headed by Paul Kagame.

To facilitate peaceful negotiations between the RPF and the Rwandan government headed by President Juvenal Habyarimana, the Tanzanian city of Arusha was chosen for peace and reconciliation talks. Tanzania is Rwanda's neighboring country and the then Tanzanian President; Ali Hassan Mwinyi moderated the peace process. The peace agreement, known as Arusha peace accord, was later signed by the Rwandan government and the RPF on August 3, 1993.

Consequently, President Habyarimana took steps towards the implementation of the peace agreement. Such steps included the introduction of a multiparty system of democracy in the country. Also, in April 1992, the President conceded to the formation of a coalition government with the opposition (Melvern, 2006: 32 – 36). However, some members of the ruling party, the Movement of the Revolution for National Development (MRND) opposed the President's steps towards political reforms (Hintjens, 1999).

Habyarimana, a Hutu from Gisenyi in north-west Rwanda was seen to be favorably disposed towards the minority Tutsis in his policies (Mandani, 2001: 198 -212). Therefore, the effective implementation of the peace accord was hindered as the President could not garner the needed backing from his majority Hutu constituted cabinet (Mandani, 2001).

Development of a good and positive image is important for almost all nations; restoring an image after a country has been in the spotlight for negative reasons is not only an important undertaking but a necessary and arguably a difficult one. Every government desires a robust positive image with the outside world. All things are put in place to achieve this (Tuch, 1990: p.3-5). Virtually, all governments invest substantial resources to market themselves to the rest of the world, leading to the emergence of a new academic field of public diplomacy which demonstrates how nations strive to portray themselves to other nations in order to gain acceptance and positive image (Leonard & Vidhya, 2000). These activities always attempt to bring about understanding for a nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, its challenges as well as its national goals and policies.

Governments spend billions of dollars annually to build impressive public relations with other nations. Citizens of a country would be appreciated if the nation enjoys a global positive image. On the other hand, a negative national image spells doom for any nation and its citizens internationally. Benoit, (1977) affirmed that how a government is viewed by other governments, based on that government's affairs as well as her citizens' well-being accounts for the image of such a country. The Rwandan government therefore needed restoration and repair of its badly damaged image through an organized, systematic impression management following the 1994

genocide. Such a program would cover not only social, political and economic spheres but would also be national and international in scope.

1.2 The Notion of Public Images

Benoit and Brinson (1999) noted that a person's physical face was synonymous with his/her image or reputation which in itself determined social and psychological "well-being". Individuals and governments strive to have positive reputation or image with others. This is why it is vital to promptly repair a damaged image or reputation. Blaney & Benoit (2011) alluded to this in the sexual scandal involving former US President Bill Clinton and former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. Before the January, 1998 sex news broke out, President Bill Clinton enjoyed a positive image both in America and beyond. This is largely due to his charming appearance and his economic policies. At that time, US public opinion poll rated the 42nd American President high because, among other indices, the nation's budget was in the surplus (Berlant & Duggan, 2001).

The President's positive image however was damaged when it became public knowledge that Miss Monica Samille Lewinsky had had 'nine sexual encounters' with President Clinton between 1995 when she became the White House intern and 1997. This revelation also shored up the alleged sexual misconduct of the President during his tenure as Arkansas state governor. The image was further damaged during judicial proceedings instituted by Miss Lewinsky.

The President denied having sexual affair with her. "I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky", the President stated. He further denied having had "a sexual affair" or "sexual relations" or "sexual relationship" with Miss

Lewinsky (Clinton, 2005). These denials later earned the President an impeachment as he was charged with perjury, abuse of office and obstruction of justice (Berlant & Duggan, 2001). This denial as an image repair strategy is alluded to by (Blaney & Benoit, 2011). Even though, the American senate later acquitted the President and he escaped removal from office, his image was not restored (Berlant & Duggan, 2001).

Also, following the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, the image of the Muslim community in America faced a challenge following the tragedy. The Arab-American–anti discrimination committee later found out that the Muslim Americans suffered threats, beatings, arson, shootings and murder in apparent US public reaction to the fact that 15 of the 19 hijackers and perpetrators of the September 11, 2001 attack were Saudi Arabian Muslims (Benoit, 2004).

Similarly, the image of the Muslims also experienced a challenge after two young British men of Nigerian descent – Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebowale in the afternoon of 22 May 2013, stabbed to death a British Army soldier, Drummer (Private) Lee Rigby of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers. The killing took place near the Royal Artillery Barracks in Woolwich, southeast London. They were shouting Islamic slogans while carrying out the killing. Protests denouncing Islam and the Mosque followed days later (Sylvia, 2013). Nigeria, China, Saudi Arabia, and other nations have had to rebrand and embark on image restoration efforts at one time or the other in the past.

While the image of Saudi Arabia was damaged largely due to the participation of her 15 nationals in the Osama Bin Laden- led twin terrorist attack on the Pentagon and

the World Trade Center, which led to the country being labeled a terrorist nation by the US (Benoit & Zhang, 2003) Similarly, the image of Nigeria has had the need for repair due to corruption of its leaders, the rate of money laundering and embezzlement by the nation's politicians, especially the imprisonment of a former governor of Delta State, James Onanefe Ibori in London (Walker, 2012) and the recent insurgency by the Boko Haram militant group (Izagbo, 2012).

China, too, had its image dented by the crisis surrounding the “made in China Products” credibility which was associated in the minds of many by poor or low quality. In 2007, Pet food that was produced in China was found to have caused renal failure in the pets on which the products were administered. This led to the withdrawal of the food product from the international market especially from the US market, Europe and South Africa (Ding, 2011). Apart from this, China has also had to contend with dented image following three outbreaks of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) from April through early June 2003. In April 2003, nearly as many US adults were worried they or a family member might contract China's SARS, a deadly atypical, unusual or irregular pneumonia from southern China (Yanzhong, 2004).

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The present study sought to do three things. First, it sought to trace the Rwandan genocide and demonstrate that the experience was a major blow to the image of the country, requiring a systematic image repair to restore her credibility and image as a nation state. Second, the study sought to trace and establish what image repair strategies were undertaken by Rwanda in the years following the genocide, using a 13 year period from 2000 to 2013 as the period of study. Thirdly, the study critically

examined the image restoration/repair techniques used by Rwanda to determine their suitability and effectiveness on one hand, and in the context of image repair models given or developed by Benoit and Benoit and Pang, (2008) on the other.

Also, the efficacy and the effects of the efforts of the government especially in projecting a positive image of the country to the outside world were analyzed.

To guide the study, the following research questions were used:

RQ1: What was the image of Rwanda prior, during and after the genocide?

RQ2: Did the government of Rwanda take specific or systematic steps to restore or repair its image, and if so, what steps were taken?

RQ3: How effective have the efforts undertaken by the Rwandan been in restoring the country's image?

RQ4: What are the tangible results of the image restoration/repair of the government of Rwanda? Or how successful and effective have the image restoration and repair by the government of Rwanda been?

RQ5: Did the news media play any role, during and or after the genocide? If so, what specific roles did they play?

RQ6: Did political leadership in Rwanda play any role during the genocide or in the image-restoration/repair process?

1.4 The Post-Colonial Administration in Africa

Nineteenth Century political administration of most African nations was controlled by the European colonialists. This followed the 1884 Berlin Conference in Germany (Boahen, 1985). The cultural diversities of the constituent ethnic groups in some of the African nations were not taken into consideration by the foreign administrators or if and where it was done, it was for the purpose of dividing the local communities to

make ruling easier (Cohen, 1974). For instance, the British colonialists amalgamated the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 without adequate consideration for the numerous ethnic groups in Nigeria (Nicolson, 2007).

The effect of this cultural and ethnic diversity (in Nigeria) came to the fore in 1967 when Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu led the 1967-1970 Biafra War in a bid to cede the Igbos (one of the three major tribes found in the Eastern part of the country) out of Nigeria. There had been allegations of marginalization and killing of soldiers of Igbo extraction in the Nigerian Army (Ikpe, 2000). In recent times, the Boko Haram (an Islamic militant group) based in Borno State (a state in the northern part of Nigeria) is also believed to be supported by the Northern elites to destabilize the tenure of President Goodluck Jonathan who comes from South-Eastern State of Bayelsa (Alabrah, 2011, Rotimi, 1996).

The Rwandan nation mainly comprised the Hutu (84%), Tutsi (15%) and the Twa (1%) ethnic communities. During the colonial administration, the Belgians who ruled Rwanda through an indirect system of government preferred the minority Tutsis to the majority Hutus and made them occupy administrative positions. This preference and subsequent appointment of one ethnic group into administrative capacities over the other have continued to cause conflicts, rivalries, mistrusts, agitations for political power, accusation of marginalization and civil unrests in Africa (Irobi, 2005). It is therefore significant to see whether the present Rwandan government has been able to harness the social and cultural diversities of the nations' constituent parts to achieve peace and stability. Culbertson & Jeffers (1992) lay much emphasis on the social and economic conditions towards achieving political stability.

The distinct physical appearances which were similar to the European outlook, possession of economic power in cattle rearing and obvious submissive traits endeared the Tutsis to Belgian colonists and were favored to occupy leadership responsibilities as they were considered closer to the European ideal (Orville, 1994). Similar traits and characteristics favored the British colonists in Nigeria and led to their preference for the Hausas to take over the country's leadership at the nation's independence (Irobi, (2005).

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its departure from what many of the previous studies on Rwandan genocide focused on – the causes and consequences of the genocide, to tracing and critically analyzing the efforts the Rwandan Government may have put into restoring the image and esteem it lost as a result of the genocide. The study places special emphasis on the roles of the mass Communication media in both the rebranding of the nation and the communication of the image restoration process and efforts by both the local and international media and communities.

Larson & Rivenburgh, (1991) noted that positive media coverage could enhance a positive international image of a nation. We live in a media world (Denis, 2010). The mainstream media are still significant for engaging in various levels of communication. Therefore, despite the supplementary roles of the social media, television, newspapers and magazines as well as radio still provide the interaction that allows individuals, groups and institutions to exchange ideas (Denis, 2010).

The truth is that the media are essential components of any society. The media shape our lives. This study examines the significance of the Rwandan Media during the genocide and also in the restoration strategies of the post genocide years.

1.6 The Role of the Rwandan Media during the Genocide

While a greater number of media stations actually under reported the killings during the genocide, Rwanda's radio station, *Radio Television Libre des Mille Collins (RTL)*, an outfit owned by some hardline elites in the Rwandan government cabinet, actually incited Rwandans to commit large scale killings through broadcast of names and locations of people to be killed (Allan, 2007). In the heat of the killings, average killers were reported to clutch a machete with one hand and a transistor radio with the other (Jean, 2006).

To this end, the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) at Arusha, later convicted a number of radio and print journalists for inciting people during the genocide (Media Guardian, 2003 December 4). While sentencing some journalists to life jail and several years behind bars, the Arusha court noted that "the Hate Media" were used as a tool to instigate ordinary Rwandans to take part in the killings.

For instance, a newspaper incited the Rwandans to wipe out "cockroach Tutsis". Ferdinand Nahimana, who also bagged a life sentence, was one of the founders of the "hate radio" or the "Murder radio" (Linda, 2005), *Radio Television Libres des Mille Collins (RTL)*. The radio intermittently urged the Hutus through its broadcasts: "you have to work harder; the graves are not yet full" (Crimes of War, 2011).

Another convicted journalist and one of the founders of the “hate radio”, *RTL*, who also doubled as the owner and Executive Editor of the “*Kangura*” newspapers, Hassan Ngeze, 42, once wrote in his Newspaper, “Let whatever is smoldering erupt”,it will be necessary then that the masses and their army protect themselves. At such a time, blood will be poured. At such a time, a lot of blood will be poured” (Media Guardian, 2003 December 4).

1.7 Motivation for the Study

The researcher was motivated to work on this topic after noticing the need for better governance in African nations. Grunig, (1993) suggested that a country’s ‘political ideology, economic system (including the level of development of the country’s economy), degree of activism, culture and the media system (the nature of the media environment in a country) are the factors that determine the political and social stability of a country. It should be pointed out that social stability is a product of political stability while political instability leads to crisis. The media transmits the decisions and policies of the government to the society while it also relays the feedback from the people to the government.

Karatnycky, A. (2002) noted that democratic system of government appear to be a more politically stable and promises more freedom for citizens, events in Rwanda however showed that a nation evolves a more suitable system of government based on its peculiarities. This means that there is no uniformity in the practice of a particular system of government, for instance, democracy, in the countries adopting that system.

The researcher also was motivated to look into the Rwandan peculiarities as a nation that went through a genocide which invariably depleted its population, human and material resources. (Benoit, 1977) affirmed that a country's negative or positive image could be assessed by whether there is freedom of the media and where the fundamental human rights are guaranteed for its citizens. The researcher was curious to find out the extent to which these may (have been applicable) to Rwanda.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviewed relevant contemporary literature on image repair. The chapter examines how image repair strategies have been used by organizations and nation states during crises situations.

Public Relation's practice is an essential component of image management. It is an impression management which "establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization (and a nation) and the publics on whom its success or failure depends", as Scott et al. (2000) aptly puts it. The publics could be internal or external, and refers to the group of people sharing a common set of interests and goals vis-a-viz the organization or institution. The internal publics are made up of people within the organization or nation while the external publics are those outside the organization or country.

Subsequently, the focus of this research was to look at the strategies for the establishment and maintenance of mutually beneficial relationships between the Rwandans (internal publics) and the international community (external publics).

Edward, (1923) noted that an effective public relations adopted by a country or organization is targeted at informing both the internal and the external publics; this involves sending out information which could be in form of press release, press conference, interviews, and documentaries highlighting special programs by

countries as well as active use of the social and conventional media. All these are persuasive actions taken to induce the publics to change their previous or existing perceptions and or attitudes towards the concerned country, personality and organization. Lobbying could also be used, that is, sending out representatives to sell the image while governments are increasingly resorting to the use of public diplomacy. Wang, (2006b) suggested that “managing national reputation” is a key concept in Public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is the use of direct communication by a government with foreign peoples, with the aim of favorably influencing or affecting their thinking and understanding, and consequently that of their government (Malone, 1985, 1999).

The (expected or presumed) result of this is that the informed public could apply pressure on their home government to understand and support positively the foreign government employing public diplomacy. Thus, an understanding of a government’s ideas, ideals, institutions, culture, national goals and policies would be fostered on the foreign public.

In view of the above, (Benoit, 1995) noted that the ultimate goal of organizational communication in these circumstances was the maintenance of a positive image. From the perspective of a country however, the underlying principle is that the international community’s perception of a country is based on how a particular government handles (or is perceived to handle) its affairs including the welfare of her citizens which in turn forms the image of that country (Benoit, 1997). For instance, the image of the Kenyan government was likely buoyed by the results of a public opinion survey carried out on 465 Americans recently. The outcome showed that Kenya’s image in the US has been positive irrespective of the negative US media

coverage of the country which essentially stemmed from an insufficient sole factor – President Uhuru Kenyatta and Vice President William Ruto’s indictment by the International Criminal Court. (Kevin, 2013).

Here, the Kenya government used a Washington based PR firms – ‘Chlopak Leonard Schechter’ and ‘The Moffet Group’ – a lobbying outfit to regularly inform the US media (journalists) of positive image promoting developments taking place back home (Kevin, 2013). This however reflected on the opinion survey conducted on the 465 American citizens which showed a positive response from the American public. Consequently, Benoit & Pang (2008) maintained that a government’s affairs are deliberately geared towards building a growing positive image in order to attain greatness and earn recognition in the comity of nations. In doing so, openness and integrity are needed in carrying out her political and, economic affairs to build robust international relations with other nations. The citizens of the nation building a positive image are at this juncture, expected not to sabotage the government’s efforts. They are expected to be well mobilized by the government’s various institutions and be seen to cooperate with their government’s policies and programs (Wang, 2011).

However, Benoit & Pang (1997b) see image as a subjective impression or reputation of a country, a person or an organization held by other people. This subjectivity results from the information available to the people about the nation, person or an establishment. This subjective perception could be further strengthened by the words and actions of a nation’s government, a person or a corporation. Therefore, it is the contact made with the government of a nation, or with a person or organization that leads to the subjective impression. In this case, two countries may hold different impressions of a particular country based on the differences in the experiences and

contacts with the country. For instance, a country that benefits from bilateral trade relations with a country may be having a positive impression of that country while another country that experiences a diplomatic row with the country may have negative impression. Apart from this direct contact, most contacts or experiences being held of a country, a person or organization could be through the media.

2.1 Role of the Media in Image Building

Larson and Rivenburgh (1991) emphasized that the Mass Media are indispensable channel of projecting a nation's positive image to the outside world. Also, Wanta et al. (2004) maintain that states being given most attention in the US media are presumed to be relevant to the US national interest, while nations perceived to be opposed to the US interest are given less attention or negatively portrayed. Negative opinions by the public emanate from negative coverage by the media. Thus, the public image of a nation could be seen as her strength of public relations (PR) built over a span of years through the effective use of the mass media.

On the other hand, the policies and decisions of a government may result in undesirable coverage in the media. For instance, removal by the Nigerian leadership of petroleum subsidy on January 1, 2012 attracted negative media coverage (*Punch* 2012, January 1). The citizens of a country that violates immigration laws of another country or engage in terrorism or other crimes may give such a country negative media coverage. On Christmas day of 2009, a young Nigerian, Umar Farouk Abdul Mutalab, narrowly failed to detonate a suicide bomb aboard a Detroit bound flight

This incident affected the image of Nigeria and its citizens. Nigeria was placed on the watch list of the UK and US. Even eminent Nigerians such as the Nobel

Laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka were made to go through stringent immigration protocols worldwide (Olugu, 2011). Soyinka is a man whose sterling qualities and achievement in the field of Literature should have earned him international respect and honor, but being a Nigerian, it was perceived by the international community that he could also be a suicide bomber. So, the negative activity of Umar Farouk Abdul Mutalab affected the image of the entire citizens of Nigeria negatively.

Albritton & Manheim (1983) alluded to incidents such as the above and opined that such negative media coverage of a nation or an organization could lead to a down turn in the international relations of a country with other nations. The international community tends to follow such negative story thereby worsening the problem. Therefore, Benoit & Pang, (1997b) stressed that if nothing bad or negative has taken place, then a positive image is not at risk. However, the image remains potentially threatened when an offence or an event with damaging results take place in the polity.

(Benoit, 2004) also opined that it would not be justified to hold a company, organization or country accountable if it is not directly responsible for the offensive event. For instance, Nigeria's image suffered a dent because one of its citizens - Farouk who was not even living in the country at that time boarded the flight from Cairo (Egypt) en-route the US on December 25, 2009, and attempted to blow it up. However, the nation could be said to have reified the international negative perception going by the number of Nigerians who have either been deported from other nations or jailed for related offences (Izagbo, 2012)..

2.2 Image and System of Government

The system of government adopted by a nation could also be a source of image challenge. Wilson, (1995) identified Western industrialized democracies as the first world, communist states as the second world and developing countries as the third world. This third category is prone to crisis, military coups and political instability (Wilson, 1995). This is largely due to the fact that quite a number of the third world countries operate military system of government, totalitarian system of government or restricted democracies.

Even though military rule is consistently frowned at especially by the US and UK, some nations are still under military administration. Countries practicing such system of government are sanctioned economically and minimally related with by the Western world especially America and Britain. Similar sanctions were imposed on the military government of Nigeria's Sanni Abacha in 1996-1998.

One feature of the military rule that makes other nations practicing democracy frown at it is dictatorship. Military rule is intolerant of the media and the fundamental human rights especially freedom of free speech and public opinion is stifled (Grunig, 1993). Rwanda was under a military dictatorship from 1973 to 1975 (Mark, 2010). Presently, Fiji, North Korea, Madagascar and Central African Republic are all under military dictatorship (Cohen, 1974).

A military dictatorship is a system of government where political power is fully exerted by the military. There may be political leaders but they are selected, appointed and controlled by the military.

The particular system of government being operated by a nation goes a long way to define the image of that nation. This measures the acceptance to other governments and whether the fundamental human rights of the citizens are guaranteed and provisions made for their welfare (Benoit, 1997). Western democracies, for instance, creates a media friendly environment. It therefore establishes a positive relationship between the media and public relations practice in that state (Newsom et al. 2000). This was made poignant recently when a foreign firm, the ‘International Crisis Group’ acknowledged the Kenyan government’s peaceful conduct of the March, 2013 elections. Democratic system of government is perceived to contribute to the positive image of a country.

2.3 Rwanda and the West during the Genocide

Rwanda’s image had largely been associated with internal political crisis and civil war before the genocide. The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) was formed in 1987 by Tutsi Refugees in Uganda to serve as opposition and pressure group to the then government of President Habyarimana and also sought political power sharing in the administration as well as negotiating repatriation for Rwandans in exile (Gerard, 1997). The leader of the front, Paul Kagame and some other members had served in President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda’s National Resistance Army. Museveni, a coup plotter, had successfully overthrown the government of Milton Obote in 1986 to become the President of Uganda.

The Front thereafter launched its attack on the Rwandan government from its Uganda base on 1 October, 1990 marking the beginning of the three year civil war which ended in August, 1993 after the signing of the Arusha peace accord. This was consequent upon the intervention of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU)

in April, 1993. In October, 1993, the United Nations Security Council established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to monitor peace and also offer humanitarian assistance. Canadian General Romeo Dallaire was appointed the force commander and leader of the peace mission (Dallaire, 2004). The peace was however upturned by the death of President Habyarimana when his plane was shot down near Kigali airport on 6 April, 1994 and this promptly triggered a violent reaction from the *Interahamwe* militia which birthed the genocide.

The subsequent genocidal killings that unfolded were the climax of the 1990-1993 Rwandan civil wars (Romeo, 2004). The United Nations Peace keeping Mission in Rwanda did not extend its operation to include either the prevention of the genocide or wading in the killings when it got underway. Reasons advanced for this included the humiliation of the United States and the United Nations similar peace mission to Somalia in 1993. In fact, US soldiers were captured, taunted, tortured and dragged on the streets of Mogadishu, the nation's capital (Samantha, 2010).

This humiliation eventually led to the pulling out of the US and the United Nations out of Somalia. The United States-led Security Council of the United Nations dragged its feet in sending a fully equipped military peace mission to Rwanda in the wake of the 1994 genocide. In fact, the then American leader, President William Jefferson Bill Clinton, on May 25, 1994, said that “whether we get involved...in the end must depend on the cumulative weight of the American interest at stake”. He went further to state that the US did not understand the conflict and had vowed not to be involved in crises it did not understand. So the killings raged on in Rwanda (Romeo, 2004).

Canadian Romeo Dallaire, the head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) was later left with just 270 ill-equipped soldiers via resolution 912 passed by the UN Security Council rather than reinforcing the Mission's troops with 5000 soldiers according to his request. The remaining soldiers were from Nigeria, New Zealand and Czech Republic (Linda, 2005). In addition to this, Romeo's recommendation that the Rwandan 'hate radio', the *RTLM*, be jammed from the air waves in order to halt its inciting broadcasts was equally objected. The Pentagon later explained that doing so would be too expensive and be tantamount to a violation of Rwanda's right to transmit through its own radio station.

Apart from this, the US also ensured the term 'genocide' was not used to describe the events in Rwanda to avoid the United Nations expected intervention as stipulated by the 1948 Genocide Convention. Resolution 260 of 9 December, 1948 of the UN General Assembly recognized genocide as an international crime against humanity. This is 'the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide'. The convention's article 1 declared genocide as 'a crime under international law' while article vi stipulated that persons who commit genocide crimes 'shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction.

The then Pentagon's State Department's spokesperson, Christine Shelly, while responding to Reuters reporter, Alan Eisner, preferred to describe the Hutu and Tutsi conflict as an extension of the 1990-1993 civil war and the killings as "acts of genocide" in order to water down the intensity of the events in Rwanda (Samantha, 2010). This negative image of Rwanda lingered until President Kagame was elected the President on 22 April, 2000.

2.4 Image Repair and Restoration Models

The image of a nation, an individual or an establishment is very useful in order to be accepted by the target audience. A positive image will ensure a steady growth of the company or nation while a negative image calls for concern and need for repair. In the case of a company, a positive image will sustain the credibility and patronage of what are produced and help maintain loyal clientele and possibly win new ones; and for a nation, her citizens will be treated with dignity internationally while in case of individual's, a positive image ensures steady rise in career.

On the contrary, a negative image causes loss or lack of goodwill, possible loss of sponsors and endorsements and in some cases invites condemnation. For instance, David (2009) noted that the infidelity of Tiger Woods, the award winning international golfer, brought a negative image on him, his fans, his family, his country, his sponsors as well as the game of golf itself.

Several corporate sponsors cancelled their advertising endorsement contracts with him. Woods later said "I am profoundly sorry and ... I ask for forgiveness, after much soul searching... it may not be possible to repair the damage I have done, but I want to do my best to try". He later announced an indefinite break from professional golf "... because I need to focus my attention on being a better husband, father and person".

Coombs, W. (2004) in his "Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)" maintained that previous crises experienced by an organization have direct effects on the current crisis especially when that crisis resulted from intentional acts by the

organization. Thus, the public's perception of an event stems from their awareness of similar previous event. In the case of Rwanda, the 1990-1993 Civil Wars posed a negative image which was later worsened by the 1994 genocide. However, according to Coombs, SCCT was a result of a number of studies that examined how a particular crisis might determine the selection of crisis response strategies to be employed by the organization.

For a nation, a negative image could lead to its citizens being unfairly treated and stigmatized. Several Nigerians, for instance, are seen as corrupt and dealing in drugs (Fekete, 2003). Subsequently, Benoit, (1997) categorized image repair under: (a) corporate and (b) other contexts. In each case, emphasis was laid on the cause of image damage in order to find a suitable repair model for it. Thus, the nature of the accusation, attack, or complaints is relevant to the repair measure taken Benoit & Pang, (1999). It is important, however, to establish the fact that: (1) an event or action considered as offensive has actually taken place, and (2) A culprit has been accused or held responsible for the offence.

Benoit, (1997) argument here was that the dent on the image of a country or corporation should be justified. This means that if the corporation has indeed directly performed the act, or found to have indirectly been responsible, either by sponsoring it, or by acts of negligence, then the image of the corporation is in jeopardy. The corporation (and other contexts) will then be expected to suitably respond because inappropriate or delayed response could worsen the situation. This will also bring about different analysis of such crisis in order to suggest appropriate measure of repair (Coombs, 1998).

As a response model, while Coombs W. (1995) postulated that strategies that suggest a high level of responsibility and acceptance for the negative action should be employed as well as a demonstration of concern for the victims, Benoit, (1997b) formulated 5 broad categories of image repair strategies as shown below:

(1) Denial: This could be in form of: (a) simply denying the act or refusing to take responsibility for an offensive act. (b) Passing the buck to someone else as the offender. An instance of this is the case of Exxon Valdez Oil Spill on March 24, 1989. Exxon failed to accept responsibility; rather, it spread the blame, claiming that the Coast Guard, Alaska environmental officials and the weather were responsible for the spill.

(2) Evading Responsibility: The strategy here is simply to find an excuse for a wrongful act. This could be hinged on (a) provocation or reaction to another person's earlier action, for instance, a firm that changed site due to new state laws or an Airline company saying after an air mishap, that problem started from and was limited to the Engine, and their engines are made by another company (b) late information: This is an excuse based on insufficient information, such as when a management team member failed to attend an ad hoc meeting.

(c) Another strategy is to claim that such an event is just an accident, a simple mishap.

(d) Sometimes, the motive may be right but the outcome may unpalatable and result in image damage.

(3) Lessening the offensiveness of an act: The strategy here is either to (a) bolster the event, that is, to highlight the positive aspects of it. For instance, there was a swift and laudable response to the Tylenol Scare in September 1982 when the consumer product giant Johnson & Johnson faced a crisis. Seven people died in

Chicago area after taking the cyanide-laced Extra-Strength Tylenol capsules. The company's PR agency, Burson-Marsteller, quickly admitted the error and stopped the product's advertisement. Also, the event was played down or minimized claiming that the product will no longer kill.

Other form of this strategy is Differentiation which is to say the act is less offensive, for instance, Sear's preventative maintenance. Transcendence is to emphasize more important consideration of the event such as helping humans justify tests. This strategy could also be in form of attacking the accuser or reducing the accuser's credibility, for instance, in the case of Pepsi, Coke charges McDonalds less. The act of compensating victims and affected persons in an offensive act is also a form of reducing the offensive act, for instance, football spectators could be compensated by giving them free entry to watch a football match after the previous match had been postponed.

(4) Corrective Action: Simply put, this strategy offers to repair the existing damage and also take visible steps to forestall a recurrence of such action. In the case of Tiger Woods, the golfer severed relationships with his mistresses.

(5) Mortification: This strategy aims at relieving the offended party of any pent-up emotion. The offender or accused simply admits to the offence or accusation, apologizes and asks for forgiveness.

2.5 Cases of National Image Crises and Repair Strategies

Studies by Benoit & Zhang, (2003) and Ding, (2011) have demonstrated how sensitive organizations and countries become when their image is jeopardized by unfortunate incidents. Governments of such nations often take deliberate steps to repair their dented images. In reference to the cases of Rwanda, Saudi Arabia and

Nigeria, it showed that the image repair models of Benoit, (1997b) were applicable in the restoration process of the nations' images.

Rwanda is headed by President Paul Kagame since April 22, 2000 (Central Intelligence Agency, CIA, World Factbook, 2013) and on October 7, 2011, Pierre Damien Habumuremyi became the Prime Minister and head of government. President Kagame is currently on a 7 year second term tenure after winning the 9 August 2010 multi-party elections.

Prior to the inauguration of the regime, the image of the country was significantly associated with the 1994 genocide. Closely linked to this was the fact that many of the nation's citizens became refugees in neighboring countries (Philip, 2003). This is due to the fact that there was insecurity of lives and property. In fact, this image damage as well as whether the Rwandan government eventually took appropriate measures to repair it formed the basis of this research.

In the case of Nigeria, it is instructive to note that when a young Nigerian youth, Farouk Abdulmutallab was caught in an attempt to blow up a US-bound plane in 2009, international reactions to the incident were indicative of virtually an instant dent to Nigeria's image. The then UK Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, said that the UK government would take every action that was necessary against Nigeria. Subsequently, the US and the UK promptly blacklisted Nigeria as a terrorist State and placed her on the Terrorism watch list of 14 nations whose nationals would be singled out for special checks if they want to fly to the UK and the US (Akande, 2010).

However, after taking some specific measures which included the strengthening of its judicial laws against terrorism, Nigeria's name was removed from the watch list and de-blacklisted on 3 April, 2010 (Tokunbo, 2010). This followed the satisfaction of the US with the measures taken by Nigerian leadership to ensure an anti- terrorism society.

Similarly, on September 11, 2001, the Osama Bin Laden – led al-Qaeda carried out an attack on both the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the US simultaneously (Benoit & Zhang, 2003). Reports later revealed that 15 out of the 19 suicide bombers who carried out the double attack were Saudi Arabia nationals (Benoit, 2004). This incident became an image related problem for Saudi Arabia. The US also blacklisted Saudi Arabia as a terrorist nation. The country was also indicted for its refusal to take part in the 1990 Allied Forces 'Operation Desert Storm' war that eventually deposed late Saddam Hussein of Iraq (Benoit & Zhang, 2003, p.164-170).

In demonstrating how important image is to countries, and the extent they can go as well as methods they can use to redeem such lost image, the Saudi Arabia authorities promptly engaged the services of a public relations firm to handle this image damage by her 15 nationals (Benoit & Zhang, 2003 p 158- 169). Air time on the Radio and Television was bought in America to refute the allegations. This is the strategy of denial. Saudi Arabia did not also spare the offender as she cancelled Osama Bin Laden's citizenship to indicate that the allegation of backing the terrorist was unfounded. Thus the image of Saudi Arabia was restored. The Chinese government fired the minister of health, Zhang Wenkang and travel bans was placed on China coupled with collaborative action by the World Health Organization (WHO) limited spread of SARS.

2.6 Examples of Corporate Image Crises and Repair

Strategies

The Egyptian nation is familiar with the soft drink giant, Coca-Cola, like any other place around the globe. Coca-Cola is an American multinational beverage corporation and manufacturer, presently with its headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Studies show that Coca Cola is the second largest selling drink in Egypt after Pepsi (Hanafi, 2002). However, the Egyptian volatile Islamic environment sometimes led to consumer boycotts of the product, especially on occasions of protest against America.

The Arabs see the product as a symbolic representation of the United States. In fact, a catchphrase was adopted for this world-renowned soft drink: ‘Coke is for the Jews, Pepsi is for the Arabs’ (Mikkleson, 1999). The Company suffered a major image crisis in 2000 in the wake of a rumor that Coca-Cola was anti- Islam (Mikkleson, 2000) noted that there was 40% percent reduction in Coca-Cola sales as a result of the image dent. While the image dent to Coca-Cola in Egypt is traceable to religious reasons, Johnson and Johnson Pharmaceuticals in Chicago, US, suffered image damage when seven people allegedly died after consuming one of their best- selling products, the *Tylenol* capsules in September, 1982. It was reported that the *Tylenol*, an extra- strength analgesic product had been laced with cyanide by an unknown person.

Honesty, sincere acceptance as well as subsequent offer of apology (mortification) usually pacify the public when image threatening incidents have taken place, rather than looking for excuses (Benoit, 1997b). The case of the Domino Pizza president’s

offer of apology illustrated this. Similarly, Johnson and Johnson quickly accepted responsibility for the sad incident and immediately stopped its advertisement. It also withdrew the product from the market in Chicago area because it was noticed that the packaging had been tampered with. The company also apologized to the consumers through telephone calls (Kalupa, 1982). Here, mortification and apology restored the image of Johnson and Johnson Pharmaceuticals. This indicates remorse on the part of the affected corporation, or nation and acceptance by the audience leads to the restoration of image.

Similarly, the Dominos Company suffered image damage following the events of 18 April, 2009. *The New York Times* reported two of the company's employees in a video they posted on YouTube showing them contaminating *Domino Pizza's sandwich*. The video showed one of the two employees doing unhygienic things such as putting cheese up his nose, nasal mucus on the sandwiches before delivery in Conover, North Carolina, US. The company's president however appeared on *YouTube* with apology to the public. A thorough cleaning of the store where the employees shot the video was carried out and they were also relieved of their jobs. The company also opened a twitter account to respond to customers. These steps helped restored the company's image.

In each of the cases mentioned above, the organizations concerned responded adequately and appropriately to show that positive public image is crucial to the well-being of such outfits. Coca-Cola sought for audience with the highest Islamic Cleric in the land- Sheik Nasser Farid Wassel, the Grand Mufti, and asked that a panel of Islamic scholars is constituted to investigate the rumor (Hanafi, 2002). The strategy here is that the company highly regarded the Islamic body and entrusted

them with the task of looking into the matter in a religious way without any interference.

2.7 Public Impressions: A Recap

Benoit, (1997a) affirmed that positive reputation of an organization or a company is a prerequisite for sustaining the credibility and patronage of what are produced and help maintain loyal clientele and possibly win new ones. This translates into financial growth for the organization. It is therefore essential for the organization to maintain a positive image or reputation and credibility with the public. The cases reviewed above indicated that different situations result in image dent to corporations and nations. This will also bring about different analysis of such crisis in order to suggest appropriate measure of repair (Coombs, 1998). The target audience is also a key element in the image repair model as the particular measure adopted should be well suited to them since the aim of the repair measure is to make the audience change its negative perception of the corporation or country (Benoit, 1997a).

Benoit, (1997a) also pointed out the need to urgently respond to a crisis to prevent further damage and any other complication. This is reiterated by Becker, (2004), noting that timely and effective flow of information between agencies and the public are essential for building positive reputation, trust and reducing rumors. Len-Rios & Benoit, (2004) noted that denials, stressing good traits of an individual or a product are strategies that could be used for the restoration of an individual's reputation. Expanding on this, they observed that accepting responsibility for a negative incident and following it up with an apology is an essential ingredient for crisis management.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlined the research methods used for the study and explains the rationale used for their selection and application. While doing so, it is useful to bear in mind that the primary goal of the study was a critical appraisal of image repair strategies used by the Rwandan government in rebranding and reestablishing the nation after the genocide of 1990s in which close to a million Rwandese lost their lives.

It is essential to discuss the rationale for the chosen research methods used for gathering relevant information required in the study. This chapter thus aims at relating the research problem with the relevant method used in collecting, evaluating and interpreting source material, as well as describing and analyzing the information gathering procedure.

In the light of the above, historical research method was used to trace and document the events before and during the genocide as well as the post-genocide era. On the other hand, the critical appraisal of the image repair measures of the government was done using the critical research method. This was aimed at locating such measures within the Communication image repair theoretical framework proposed by Benoit which is discussed in the preceding chapter two of this document.

3.1 Rationale for selecting and relevance of both Historical and Critical Research Methods for the study

In view of the fact that this study uses a crucial historical event in Rwanda, the researcher chose the historical qualitative research method above other methods. This was reinforced by Ritchie and Lewis (2003). While explaining qualitative historical research method, Ritchie and Lewis (2003), believes that historical method is particularly useful in the provision of a groundwork for understanding past events, as well as providing a viewpoint for arriving at decisions and formulating policies. It is also useful for making sufficient information available to prevent re-occurrence of past pitfalls.

Historical research method also aids the identification of past inclinations or leanings and applying them to existing and future tendency. This in turn gives an objective interpretation to present issues and occurrences that are in vogue as well as aiding in the prediction of the future to a certain degree of accuracy.

3.2 Historical Research

This is a research method aimed at making sense of the past through the disciplined and systematic analysis of historical events and socio-cultural artifacts. It is a well ordered way of using information from chosen sources to describe, analyze and interpret the past as they relate to the issue being discussed. (Yamaguchi, 1991). Berg & Lune (2012) noted that historical research “attempts to systematically recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past that have influenced the present”.

It is a research method that is based on the chronological compilation and preservation of previous events. It seeks to establish the truth or the accurate account of past events. It limits past phenomena to a specific or a particular time frame for easy evaluation (Berger, 2011) and interpretation. Griggs, (1991) equally noted that historical approach involves adopting a suitable source of information, effective interpretation and documentation. Historical research method relies on details, sequential documentation and explanation of past events. History revolves round the lives of human beings and their activities, hence, this method also relies on both historical records and eye witness accounts to draw conclusions and make recommendations for the future (Busha & Harter, 1980).

The need for a historical research arises when there is a historical challenge or when a particular historical knowledge is required. In this case, it is necessary to collate sufficient useful data about the topic or issue (Charles & Stephen, 1991) while conclusions are recorded in a logical narration.

Gathering of information in Historical research could be from eye witnesses of events, personal diaries, oral histories, information from agency, newspapers, drawings, magazines, books, periodicals, journals, photographs, autobiographies. These are all referred to as primary accounts. Information could also come from secondary accounts which are the records developed by researchers or individuals who did not take part in the historical event. Examples are articles, information found in Encyclopedias, documentaries, commentaries or biographies, for instance, “Hotel Rwanda” (Denzim & Yvonna, 1998).

The events of the past are relevant to a nation and its leaders in order to learn from past errors or pitfalls, the causative factors of those pitfalls and make necessary available amendments. It also helps leaders to build on past successes, glories, triumphs, achievements and strengths (Shafer, 1974).

Historical research method is relevant to this study since its primary area of interest is both to elicit and chronicle factors constituting image challenges for Rwanda in the wake of the 1994 genocide and document the efforts of the government towards the repair of the image damage.

The historical method is equally chosen for this work due to the researcher's reliance on a variety of secondary sources of information, especially written documents, in the articulation of the study.

3.3 Critical Research Method

This research method is a creative analysis and appraisal of what the Rwanda government has done to rebrand and repair the nation's image. This method evaluates an individual's work and enables the researcher to ask questions and make comparisons between similar studies, academic works or any other written account.

Kellner, (1989) noted that this approach is a "reflective process to question traditional understandings and scrutinize existing values, practices, ideological frameworks and processes"

While this method uses logical induction (analytical), it relies on qualitative procedures and interpretation. Hence, contextual interpretation of events was carried out after a careful, systematic and critical evaluation of the status of the chosen

authors or writers. Here, a number of the authors of the academic works consulted were first-hand observers of the events, either as journalists or peace-keeping personnel, as well as the account (speech) of a key participant in the events-President Paul Kagame. The authors' credibility thus reinforced the consistency of time, place and content of the historical accounts.

In view of the above research methods, the researcher chose a combination of the critical and historical approaches to chronicle and evaluate the strategies employed by the Rwanda government to repair the nation's image from 2000 to 2013.

Using a combination of the two approaches was considered appropriate for two reasons. One, the historical approach enabled the study chronicle and highlight events of the previous years in relation to the Rwanda government efforts and responses to the genocide. Two, the critical approach became a handy tool for analyzing those responses vis-a-viz the theoretical framework used as well as tracing any trend over the period of study.

Meaning, combining the historical and critical methods enriched and enabled documentation, interpretation, analysis and evaluation of the effectiveness of the image repair strategies employed by the Rwandan government.

3.4 Procedure

The procedure used in gathering and analyzing data for the study was as follows:

3.4.1 Research Articles

In order to gather necessary information needed for the choice of the research methods used for the study and rationale used for their selection and application, the

researcher relied on articles and information accessed through the Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU) online data bases at Library.emu.edu.tr. Historical research in qualitative Method and Critical research in qualitative method were typed respectively as key words for search and limited to articles from scholarly Publications including Peer reviews. This step led to the article titled “The Historical Approach to Research”. Similar step was taken while searching the *Google*. Historical and Critical research methods were also typed and the results led to articles that the researcher also read.

As explained earlier, both Historical and Critical research methods were considered suitable for the study since the genocide was a very important historical event in Rwanda and its consequent challenges and the government’s efforts at finding solution presented sufficient information available to prevent re-occurrence of past pitfalls, not only to Rwanda but in crisis management.

3.4.2 Genocide Overview

While the scope of this study covers the image repair efforts of the Rwanda government from 2000-2013, knowledge of the events of 1994 serves as a basis for this thesis so as to appreciate the impact on the Rwanda nation and would serve as a link to the scope of the work. Thus, using the historical method, secondary sources of information was used to gather data. In doing this, the status of the chosen authors was considered.

Thus, three main books were used in this study for gathering information on the genocide. This is due to the fact that the authors were direct eye witnesses of the genocide. These three books are: ‘*A People Betrayed*’ by Linda Melvin, ‘*Shake Hands with the Devil*’ by Romeo Dallaire and ‘*An Ordinary Man*’ by Paul

Rusesabagina. These books were accessed by typing books written on the 1994 Rwanda genocide on *Google* search. The available options were later limited to eye witnesses who were physically present in Rwanda during the events and played significant roles. Thus, the three chosen authors were:

- Linda Melvin- A journalist covering the events for a foreign Newspaper, who authored '*A People Betrayed*'
- Romeo Dallaire- Force Commander of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda, (UNAMIR), who had been in Rwanda since the outbreak of the 1990-1993 Rwanda civil war till the end of the genocide in 1994 who wrote '*Shake Hands with the Devil*'
- Paul Rusesabagina- A citizen of Rwanda, who not only survived the killings, but a hotel manager who housed over a thousand Tutsi refugees during their struggle against the Hutu and later documented his experience in an autobiography: '*An Ordinary Man*'.

3.4.3 The Western Media Perspective

It should be borne in mind that the 1994 genocide attracted the attention of Western media (Alan, 2003). This attention was sustained in the post-genocide era, essentially to assess the nation's recovery from the negative effects of the genocide and report the government's activities (Alan, 2003). In line with this, foreign reports were considered more credible as the researcher felt the local newspapers could have been biased and sensational in reporting the activities of the government.

In order to access stories and reports about the genocide, to supplement the chosen books written by the observer participants of the event, Linda Melvin, Romeo Dallaire and Paul Rusesabagina, the following methods were used:

- Articles on the 1994 genocide featured by the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* were typed on the *Google* search one after the other.
- Three stories were selected from each of the two Publications. Such stories essentially focused on:
 1. The causes of the genocide
 2. How the genocide was reported in the international and local media
 3. Casualty figure of the genocide
 4. The refugee challenge, refugee figures and countries they fled to
 5. Why did the United Nations fail to prevent the genocide despite its presence in Rwanda
 6. Contributions of the Rwanda Media during the killings
 7. The pre-genocide civil war in Rwanda
 8. The Arusha, Tanzania, peace and reconciliation efforts

Two factors were considered while selecting fifteen stories and reports of the genocide out of the twenty five that came up:

- The stories that corresponded with the sampled observant participants' accounts- Linda Melvin, Romeo Dallaire and Paul Rusesabagina.
- The writers of such articles were also reliable, for instance, Alan J Kuperman, who wrote "How the Media Missed Rwandan Genocide" and also featured in *The New York Times* is a MacArthur transnational security fellow at MIT's Center for International Studies and a fellow of the Institute for the Study of World Politics.

For instance, in what they had hoped would be a refuge from the deadly irrationality of tribal and political violence, more than 500 members of the Tutsi tribe found their way to a church compound only to be shot or hacked to death by Hutu soldiers who had been hiding in classrooms, bathrooms and courtyards. The murdered Tutsis were then left to rot (Donatella, 1994). Also, Michael, G. (2007) recounted how soldiers surrounded thousands of Tutsis seeking refuge in hotel buildings, blocked the door and threw grenades inside. It should be noted that these were Hutu soldiers as Tutsi soldiers had fled the country or gone into hiding to escape being killed.

3.4.4 Websites of the Rwanda Government and its Agencies

In order to document the image repair measures of the Rwanda government, the official website of the President of Rwanda, Official website of Rwanda's Chamber of Deputies and the Senate (the nation's Parliament), Official website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Rwanda Development Board/ Tourism and Conservation office were also accessed online to document the record of the various agencies' activities towards image repair and rebuilding as recorded by the government itself. To achieve this, the researcher also typed leading words on Google search. Such words are:

- Official website of the President of Rwanda
- The political and administrative set up of Rwanda in the post-genocide dispensation
- Official websites of government agencies and parastatal
- One specific example of the official speeches of the Rwanda President which addressed the plight of the genocide survivors.
- The establishment of the *Gacaca* courts and the ICTR in the pursuit of justice
- Records of convicted genocide perpetrators and their accomplices.

- Genocide survivors and perpetrators
- Repatriation and Resettlement of the refugees
- The Parliamentary and Presidential Elections held in Rwanda so far
- The Hutu-Tutsi ratio in the Rwanda cabinet
- Reason for the large female representation in the Rwanda Parliament
- Rwanda Economy and this led to information on foreign aids to Rwanda and its sources of internally generated revenue.
- Rwanda system of Education.

The researcher also watched BBC's documentary: "*My City*" on Kigali, Rwanda (episode 16 of July 24, 2013) which reflects Rwanda's recent social environmental outlook. This was accessed on BBC website via typing 'documentaries on 2013 Rwanda'. The results showed BBC'S '*My City*' on *YouTube*.

The findings collated from the outlined searches above are historically documented accounts which had shed light on the how the genocide was carried out. These accounts revealed that while the genocide presented a formidable challenge to the image of the Rwanda, the government responses could be examined using crisis Communication and image repair model proposed by Benoit & Pang (2008).

3.5 Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the data using the critical research method. In doing this, focus was on the socio-cultural and political changes in the Rwandan polity. The particular system of government being operated by a nation goes a long way to define the image of that nation. This measures the acceptance to other governments and whether the fundamental human rights of the citizens are guaranteed and

provisions made for their welfare (Benoit, 1997). The image of Rwanda was evaluated in the light of the above using the relationship between the country and other nations to determine her acceptability in the comity of nations.

3.6 Critical Analysis

The researcher in analyzing the findings noted that the issues of power, hegemony, popular culture and the negotiation of meaning played significant roles in both the cause of the 1994 genocide and Rwandan government solution to the negative image challenge the genocide brought upon the nation. Power pervades every fabric of social relationship which enables a set of people to become subordinates to the other through coercive force or consent.

Stuart, (1992) sees popular culture as the arena of consent and resistance and where hegemony arises and secured. While hegemony explains the ascendant meanings and practices, the process of making, maintaining and reproducing ascendancy suggest that subordination could either be by coercion or by consent.

By and large, this is a non-participatory observational research, with no hypothesis but relying on secondary sources of data in order to establishes valuable new information. Findings are presented in chapter 5

Chapter 4

RWANDA: COUNTRY PROFILE

This chapter presented the Political, Socio-Cultural and Economic profile of Rwanda. In doing so, the researcher explored the social fabric of the country as well as its natural resources. The chapter also looked at the infra-structural and educational facilities that the government had put in place during the years after the genocide in its effort towards re-engineering and rebranding of the nation.

4.1 The Pre-genocide Rwanda

Rwanda government fought a civil war with the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) from 1 October 1990- August 1993. The war ended via the agreements of the Arusha accord discussed in chapter 2. Unlike the heterogeneous population of Nigeria with 480 ethnic groups with diverse religious beliefs, languages and culture (Dada & Oluwadare, 2012), Rwanda is largely homogeneous and its three ethnic groups' distinctive features are mostly physical appearance and occupation.

The Hutu (84%) of the population were peasant farmers, dark skinned and possessed a unique physique akin to the Bantu-speaking tribe of the present day Cameroon. The Tutsis (15%) in contrast, were light skinned and appeared tall with thin angular facial features. They were cattle herders while the Twa (1%) appeared like the pigmies and were hunter-gatherers and servants. However, the Rwandan ethnic groups shared a

common language, the 'Kinyarwanda', common religion. The dominant religion in Rwanda is Christianity which is made up of 93.5% mainly Roman Catholics, while Islam and Traditional African Religion constitutes 4.6% and 0.1% respectively, 1.7% lays no claim to any religious beliefs and practices (Christianity) and philosophical views and a culture deeply rooted in songs and dance (Llezie, 2002).

4.2 The Tutsis as Administrative Leaders

The Belgian colonists functionally differentiated the Rwandan population for administrative ease using the occupation and appearance index. Historically, the physical characteristics attributed to the Tutsi were of them being tall and thin, with slender noses, angular faces and a lighter complexion than their Hutu counterparts. They resemble North Africans or Ethiopians. The Hutu had flatter noses, shorter stature, a heavier build and darker skin. They were physically closer to the Bantu people of sub-Saharan Africa or the population of nearby Uganda. These physical differences endeared the Tutsis to Belgian colonists and were favored to occupy leadership responsibilities as they were considered closer to the European ideal (Orville, 1994).

The traditional ruling structure in Rwanda had a Tutsi king as the head. During the 19th century European colonization, Tutsis were selected by the German and Belgian colonial administrators to lead local governments. In 1959, as colonial administration in Rwanda was coming to an end, the Tutsi king went into exile in Uganda, along with many other Tutsis who feared ethnic violence. The two groups struggled for the remainder of the 20th century, culminating in the 1994 genocide when close to a million (1,000,000) Tutsis were killed by the Hutu nationalists (Cohen, 1974).

The Tutsis were appointed to occupy political and administrative positions in the civil service (Gerard, 1997). This no doubt, led to agitation for political power and conflicts from the majority Hutu population until 1973 when Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu, became the nation's President. During this period, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) was formed in Kampala, Uganda. Members mostly comprised Tutsi refugees in Uganda, Tanzania, and Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo or DRC).

4.3 Rwanda during the Genocide

The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) was formed in 1987 by Tutsi Refugees in Uganda to serve as opposition and pressure group to the then government of President Habyarimana and also sought for political power sharing in the administration as well as negotiating repatriation for Rwandans in exile (Gerard, 1997). The leader of the front, Paul Kagame and some other members had served in President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda's National Resistance Army. Museveni, a coup plotter, had successfully overthrown the government of Milton Obote in 1986 to become the President of Uganda.

In October, 1993, the United Nations Security Council established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to monitor peace and also offer humanitarian assistance. Canadian Romeo Dallaire was appointed the force commander and leader of the peace mission (Romeo, 2004). The peace was however upturned by the death of President Habyarimana when his plane was shot down near Kigali airport on 6 April, 1994 and this promptly triggered a violent reaction from the *Interahamwe* militia which birthed the genocide. The subsequent genocidal killings that unfolded were the climax of the 1990-1993 Rwandan civil wars (Romeo, 2004). The United Nations Peace keeping Mission in Rwanda did not extend its

operation to include either the prevention of the genocide or wading in the killings when it got underway.

During the killings, average killers were reported to clutch a machete with one hand and a transistor radio with the other (Jean, 2006). This is because the Rwanda radio was used as a tool to instigate ordinary Rwandans to take part in the killings. In fact, the radio, *Radio Television Libres des Mille Collines (RTL)*, later became known as the “hate radio” or the “Murder radio” (Linda, 2005). The radio intermittently urged the Hutus through its broadcasts to intensify their efforts in eliminating the Tutsis. Also, the Print Media escalated the killings. For instance, “Kangura” newspapers, owned by Hassan Ngeze, 42, once wrote in his Newspaper, “Let whatever is smoldering erupt”it will be necessary then that the masses and their army protect themselves. At such a time, blood will be poured. At such a time, a lot of blood will be poured” (Media Guardian, 2003 December 4).

4.4 Rwanda: Post-Genocide Brand

(Ham, 2002) argued that branding is a necessary and integral part of a nation’s profile and is important for attracting investors, tourists, companies and the promotion of exports. A brand is best described as consumer’s idea about a product and the ‘brand state’ refers to what people around the world think and feel about a state (Ham, 2001).

Branding gives insight to the perception of a country, organization or services by the public. Thus, nations tend to include a reflection of their assets and resources covering such areas as ‘tourism, exports, culture, heritage, investments, immigration, aviation, people and even the focus of the nation’s governance’ (Anholt, 2007). The

use of slogan or catch phrase is essential to branding for its use of persuasive language. This is a deliberate use of communication by an advertiser to convince the target audience to purchase a product or to induce a positive patronage of a service. The advertisement grabs the attention of its intended audience either on the pages of newspapers and magazines, billboards, leaflets, flyers, television screens, or on radio jingles. Thus, organizations and nations also attract attention through the use of slogans or catchphrases. For instance, NIKE uses ‘Just do it’ Coca-Cola uses ‘It’s the real thing’ while the Turkish Airline brands itself ‘Globally Yours’.

Just like Japan which is known as the “Land of the rising Sun,” and Norway known as “Land of the Midnight Sun,” Rwanda is frequently referred to as ‘The Land of A Thousand Hills’ (Ted, 2011), a factual reference to its pristine beauty and natural landscapes. Although a landlocked environment, east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the country is covered mostly by hills and volcanic mountains in the North-Western part.

‘The land of a thousand Hills’ is therefore an index of Rwanda’s fast growing tourism resort which forms an integral part of the country’s foreign exchange earner apart from coffee and tea (Rwanda Development Board/ Tourism and Conservation office. In fact, Rica Rwigamba, the head of the tourism and conservation unit at the Rwanda Development Board affirmed that \$317 million revenue is projected from tourism earnings in 2013. According to him, larger part of this income is expected via the mountain gorillas, being the major visitors’ attractions to Rwanda (attracting some 20,000 visitors in 2011), noting that gorilla receipts account for 90% of total

national park receipts. The mountain gorillas and the Hippos are some of the wildlife in the forests of Rwanda.

Other emblems that could be associated with branding is a nation's or an organization's flag. The colors of a flag are symbolic as they represent the aspirations, expectations of the nation. For instance, Nigeria's flag of two colors, Green-White-Green represented the abundant forest and natural resources as well as peace and honesty respectively (Edun, 2011).

The Rwandan flag used to be colors Red, Yellow and Green arranged vertically with black letter 'R' embossed on the center Yellow color. The nation's rebranding efforts led to the redesigning a new flag to indicate a clear departure from the pre-genocide years and inspire the Rwandans towards one, indivisible, united country. The color arrangement of the old flag was changed and officially unveiled on October 25, 2001 (Vesperin, 2001). In the new design, the flag appears in three horizontal bands of sky blue (on top, double width), with a tiny yellow patch of Sun rays at the right middle corner, yellow and deep dark green.

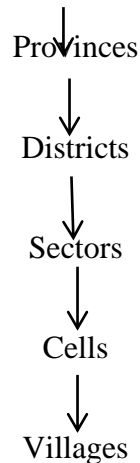
The red color in the old flag was removed and replaced with color blue. While the red color is thought to symbolize and has association as well as identification with the brutality and horror of the 1994 genocide, the yellow in the new flag represents economic development and mineral wealth, green stands for hope of prosperity and natural resources, the Sun is a symbol of unity, transparency and enlightenment from ignorance. While the new flag represents the socio-cultural leaning and post-genocide orientation of the Rwandan people, it also elicits the focus of the new government (Vesperin, 2001).

This reinforces Ham, (2001) assertion that a ‘brand state’ refers to what people around the world think and feel about a state. A country’s flag is a symbol of recognition and identification which is honored at global sports tournaments and official gatherings. This is also reflected in a nation’s national anthem which encapsulates the country’s motto, focus in governance and a call for patriotism. As for Rwanda, its national anthem is titled “Rwanda Nziza” meaning “Rwanda our beautiful country” while the nation’s motto is ‘Unity, Work and Patriotism’.

Other tourist attractions of Rwanda include local cultural music especially the “*intore* dance” and the wildlife of the nation’s rainforest as shown in the figures above.

4.5 Rwanda’s Administrative Structure

The Central Government



Rwanda has a landed area covering a total of 26,338sq km, and has a population of 11.3 million (2012 Census), (CIA World Factbook, 2013). The population is made up of her two major ethnic groups-Hutu (84%), Tutsi (15%) and the Twa (1%) (Ted, 2011). The official languages in the country are Kinyarwanda, French and English while Bantu is the vernacular and Kiswahili is spoken for commercial interactions.

Rwanda became an independent nation on 1 July, 1962 and has its administrative headquarters in Kigali. The country operates a democratic presidential system of government and practices a multiparty system of democracy. The country is presently made up of five provinces including Kigali, the capital. The provinces are Nord, Est, Sud and Ouest. They are called “intara” and are further subdivided into districts or the “akarere” and municipalities or the “Umujiyi” (Junne & Willemijn, 2005).

The present structure, an effort of the present Rwandan government to decentralize the nation for effective governance, is a modification of the previous arrangement when the country comprised twelve provinces called Prefectures or “Perefegitura”. (“Provinces of Rwanda”: statoids. Gwillim Law. 27 April 2010). Presently, power is decentralized and the provinces are a fusion of multi-ethnic regions in order to buoy national unity above ethnic affiliations (Junne & Willemijn, 2005).

The function of the provinces is to coordinate the central government planning as well as the supervision of the decentralized services. Each province is headed by a governor who carries out delegated duties from the central government especially adhering to laws and regulations geared towards the development of the province and unity in the entire nation.

The governor is assisted by the Provincial Coordination Committee (PCC) to carry out the provincial assignments. The committee is made up of the governor, the permanent secretary, the Chairpersons of District Councils, coordinators of provincial departments and heads of decentralized services.

The Provinces of Rwanda are subdivided into 30 districts which are the basic political administrative unit of the country. It is made up of the sectors and cells. While the sectors or the Sector Councils (SC) consists of the cells, it coordinates the activities of the cells. The cells are a combination of members of villages that are close to one another. The villages are also an important organ of the Rwandan administration. The village is closest to the people and thus a means of tackling the peoples' problems and meets their needs.

While the President of Rwanda is designated as Chief of State, the country has a Prime Minister who is also called the Head of Government. The Council of Ministers constitutes the executive cabinet and each minister is appointed by the President. The constitution of the country made provision for a 7 year tenure for the president and a maximum of two terms through the multiparty elections. President Paul Kagame has benefited from this provision twice, 2003 and 2010. He is currently serving his second term in office.

The dominant religion in Rwanda is Christianity which is made up of 93.5% mainly Roman Catholics, while Islam and Traditional African Religion constitutes 4.6% and 0.1% respectively, 1.7% lays no claim to any religious beliefs and practices. The local currency of Rwanda is the Rwandan Franc (RWF) BBC News Country Profile: Rwanda, 2013.

4.6 Women's High Percentage in Rwanda Legislature

Rwanda operates a bicameral parliament which consists of the senate and the chamber of deputies. The nation had her first multiparty legislative elections in 2008, where majority of the seats in the National Assembly were won by women and Ms.

Mukantabam Rose became the first female speaker of the assembly. More women were therefore encouraged to take part in politics which led to the election of about 56.3% of Rwandan women into the national parliament. (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) report, November, 2011). Women were also appointed as Federal Ministers and Speaker of the National parliament under the current regime. The significantly high percentage of women in Rwandan legislature was in part a reflection of popular will (through democratic election) in a country of 10 million with 55 percent female. In fact, Stephanie, (2008) noted that female population of Rwanda was about 70% after the genocide.

Rwanda had outlawed archaic patriarchal laws that are still being practiced in many African societies, such as those that prevent women from inheriting land. The legislature also passed bills aimed at ending domestic violence and child abuse as well as removing discriminatory laws from the nation's legal code (Stephanie, 2008). In addition to this, government adopted efficient policies designed to assist women economically and politically. This included 2003 new constitution which required that at least 30 percent of all parliamentary and cabinet seats go to women while the remaining 26 percent of the women in parliament were indirectly elected.

In the same vein, Rwanda had its second presidential elections in August 2010. President Paul Kagame was re-elected for constitutional 7 year tenure second term (Lacey, 2011). Both the East African Community and the Commonwealth observers later commended the elections describing it as "peaceful and well organized (Ted, 2011).

4.7 Rwanda's Economy and Resources

Rwanda is a landlocked nation with a high population density; the country has few natural resources with much of its population relying on subsistence agriculture (FAO/WFP, 1997) especially the production of coffee and tea which both earn the country foreign exchange (Matt, 2013). The country also produces bananas, beans, sorghum, potatoes and livestock. Some of the mineral resources produced in small quantities include gold, tin ore, methane, and hydropower, in addition to the country's rich arable land. Rwanda also receives donors from Western nations and America which runs into billions of dollars annually. For instance the US government supports the nation with around \$200 million a year in direct bilateral aid.

While the 1994 genocide negatively affected the nation's economy thereby contributing to the poverty rate of the country (IMF on Rwanda: Poverty Reduction Strategy, Annual Progress Report, 2003), the genocide also depleted the nation's population especially the labor force and left behind a lot of orphans and widows as dependents (UNICEF report, 2004).

Simon, (1999) noted that there is no single right definition of poverty but largely poverty is measured through the monetary approach. Thus, poverty is identified by a shortfall in consumption (or income) from some poverty line (Grosh & Glewwe, 2000). The World Bank currently describes absolute poverty as living on less than \$1.50 a day while the European Union has decided that 'the poor shall be taken to mean persons, families and groups of persons whose resources (material, cultural,

social) are so limited as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life in the member state in which they live' (Simon, 1999).

Rwanda appears to be one of the world's poorest countries as nearly 60 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, with almost 40 percent living in extreme poverty on less than \$0.90 per day. As a result, Rwanda has benefited from IMF-World Bank aid approved for Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) initiative debt relief in 2005-2006 (International Monetary Fund (IMF) (ii) (2013), "Rwanda" (World Economic Outlook Database, April, 2013).

However, the Rwanda economy is being resuscitated in recent times leading to its GDP's yearly growth of 7% -8% since 2003 while the rate of inflation is on the decline. The IMF raised the country's economic status from Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) to a Policy Support Investment (PSI) to acknowledge the nation's success at managing her macro economy (CIA 2013 World Factbook on Rwanda). This is sequel to the fact that the government is focusing on the improvement of education, infrastructure as well as foreign and domestic investment to reduce poverty. (Integrated Regional Information Network, (IRIN), Rwanda: Prioritizing Poverty Reduction Program, Kigali, 2008).

4.8 Educational System in Rwanda

Even though Rwanda is described as 'the land of a thousand hills', the 1994 genocide also left in its wake 'a million orphans' (Jenne, 2005). This refers to the children whose parents were killed during the genocide as well as those orphaned by the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the country. The provision of qualitative education to these children and all the other children and youths in Rwanda has been the focus of

the Rwandan government with 2010 being the targeted year for universal primary education and 9 years of basic education for all children by 2015 (Thomas, 2010).

Towards this end, in 2003, Rwanda introduced free education in public primary schools geared towards improving the enrolment and attendance of deprived children in schools. This consequently shot up primary school enrolment to 90% in the 2004 – 2005 academic sessions (Okech & Torres, 2005).

The educational system being run in Rwanda is the 6 – 3 – 3 – 4. This means that pupils spend six years in the primary school before going to the Junior Secondary School to spend 3 years. The Senior Secondary School takes another 3 years while the duration of the University education is 4 years. The languages of instruction throughout the Rwandan educational system are: Kinyarwanda in the Primary School while French and English languages remain the medium of instruction at the High School (Junior and Senior Secondary Schools) and Universities. Some private schools however use English and French languages to teach their pupils from the Kindergarten to the end of High school.

On the completion of the Junior Secondary School, which is called the 9th grade, the students write the national Secondary Education Ordinary Level Test in 9 subjects in order to proceed to the Senior Secondary School, or the twelfth grade. On the other hand, the 734 secondary schools in Rwanda admit about 13,000 students annually and before graduating, students are required to write a national Secondary Education Advanced Level exam. Subjects included in the Secondary School Education curriculum are: English language, French Language, Integrated Science, Mathematics and Social studies.

The subjects above are added to seven or six other subjects that the students are required to select from the following: Sciences, Arts (Social Sciences and Humanities), Vocational (Visual Arts or Home Economics), Technical, Business and Agriculture. Before seeking admission into the tertiary educational level, students are required to take the final national exam in the six or seven subjects in the Senior Secondary School. Success at this exam ensures admission into any of the Rwandan Universities as well as the 9 public Polytechnics and 7 private institutions accredited by the High Council of Education Board (HCEB) of Rwanda (Obura, 2003).

In a nutshell, the information presented above is an insight into the history, description of the Rwanda entity, resources, and demographics of Rwanda in the years 2000 to 2013 being the scope of the period covered in this study. It is pertinent to explore this for the cohesion of the work and a better understanding of subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS

This chapter presented findings of the study and discussed the results from critical perspective. The chapter traced the activities and initiatives of the Rwandan government that were considered necessary steps for rebranding and reintegration of Rwanda to the community of nations between year 2000 and 2013 following the genocide that cost close to a million deaths in 1994. It is important to note, that even though the genocide took place nearly two decades ago, it was, however, on 22 April, 2000 that the nation transited into a democratic government following the Rwandan Transitional National Assembly's election of the military leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, Paul Kagame as the 6th executive President of Rwandan.

Ever since, the nation had witnessed a transformation in the political, social and economic facets making the findings of the present research potentially useful source of knowledge for those interested in understanding the events from an image repair perspective. This was done in the theoretical context of the image repair strategies-image repair models discussed in the chapter two of this study.

5.1 Critical Analysis of Findings

During the colonial era in Rwanda, cow ownership was the major indicator of wealth. The European colonialists designated the Rwandese who owned many cows

(cattle herders) as Tutsis and those who did not as Hutus. This favorable socio-economic status that the Tutsi enjoyed offered them the control of a much larger amount of the country's wealth well and above the Hutus. Without doubt, economic power is a major factor in the possession of political power (Marx and Engels, 1973).

The political and economic dominance by the Tutsis continued into the modern era, owning a majority of the desirable farming land (Hintjens, 1999). In addition to the economic power, the physical uniqueness as well as the Tutsis' closeness to the European ideal (colonization and subjugation of the African continent) led the Belgian colonists to favor the Tutsi (Orville, 1994). This hegemony that was established by the Europeans later led to political struggles between the two groups for the remaining part of the 20th century and eventually led to the 1994 genocide when close to a million (1,000,000) Tutsis were killed by the Hutu nationalists ((Hintjens, 1999) after a Hutu, President Habyarimana's plane was shot down near Kigali airport on 6 April, 1994.

Rwanda's post- genocide overall attitude toward gender was a major finding of this study. Even though, Rwanda's population included higher number of females, the nation's leader took specific steps to empower them through democratic election without patriarchal interference. This demonstrated his understanding of the nation and adequately interpreted the 1994 genocide in order to bring about peace and unity.

Findings of this study were generally grouped into three broad categories: a) Macro activities of the International Community, b) Macro decisions and actions by the

Government of Rwanda, and c) Micro decisions and activities of the government of Rwanda.

5.2 Responses of the International Community

This study revealed that the international community especially the US, UK and Rwanda's former colonial administrators, Belgium, had the ample chance of nipping the 1994 genocide in the bud, but chose to do contrary. Reasons advanced for this were discussed in chapter two. However, On 8 November 1994, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 955 (1994), of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), located in Arusha, Tanzania, via resolution 977 of 1995, to establish the first international court of law for the prosecution of high-profile persons for serious human rights abuses in Africa. The mission statement of the court is for: "...prosecuting persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for genocide and other such violations committed in the territory of neighboring States, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994" (Report on the Completion Strategy of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 13 May 2008).

This step showed that the international body was ready to repair both the image of the UN for its lack of intervention to forestall the killings as well as obtain justice for aggrieved genocide survivors. This led to the trial and conviction of Jean Kambanda, the nation's interim Prime Minister during the genocide, in the Tribunal's first sitting.

Furthermore, the United States, France and the UK assisted the nation through the donation of aids towards its rebuilding and rebranding process. For instance, the US government supports the nation with around \$200 million a year in direct bilateral aid. It is also worthy of note that the International print and electronic Media, such as *The New York Times*, *BBC*, *The Guardian*, *The Chronicle*, had contributed to the Rwanda's image repair efforts through documentaries, news features and interviews to project the image of the nation in a positive light to the outside world. Not only this, the democratic system of government being put in place since 22 April, 2000 is being applauded as well as acknowledging the Rwanda government's commitment to its rebuilding and re-engineering efforts. An example of this is the award of Clinton Global Citizen Award for Leadership in Public Service by the Bill Clinton Global Initiative given to the nation's President in 2009 (*New York Times* 2013, September 8).

Apart from the above, the international community has also contributed to the image repair initiatives of the Rwandan government in the area of the refugee challenge. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) aided the government's efforts by the 31 December, 2011's recommendation that nations hosting the refugees should increasingly carry out policies bordering on ending the Rwandans' refugee status. This applies to all Rwandans who became refugees till the year 1998 (Johan, 1996).

Consequently, in 2011, about 7, 600 refugees, mostly from Congo DR returned to Rwanda while another 8, 000 refugees relocated to Rwanda in 2012. According to Séraphine Mukantabana, Rwanda's Minister of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs, since 1994, up to January 2013, a total of 3, 437,472 Rwandan refugees have

voluntarily returned including 11,031 who returned in 2012. She however noted that about 70,000 Rwandans are still living as refugees in different countries.

5.3 Responses of the Rwanda Government

Responses of the Rwandan government could broadly be grouped into four main categories, listed here not necessarily in descending order of importance:

- Inauguration of a transparent democratic system of governance
- Massive political integration of the nation's female population and their subsequent election into national parliament
- Establishment of the *Gacaca* courts and the role of the media
- Historical annual commemoration of the genocide

5.3.1 Inauguration of a Transparent Democratic System of Governance

When the Paul Kagame-led Rwanda Patriotic Front seized power in Kigali, the genocide ended and the Hutu militia members, the *Interahamwe* and other key perpetrators of the genocide ran away from the country. The government started the process of rebuilding the nation by putting in place a government of national unity comprising both the Hutus and the Tutsis (Junne & Willeminjn, 2005). However, the post-genocide government of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) was aware of the need to operate an effective democratic system of government which is acceptable to the comity of nations for positive international relations. In the light of this, on 22 April, 2000 the Rwandan Transitional National Assembly elected the military leader of the Rwanda Patriotic Front, Paul Kagame, the country's 6th executive President. Rwanda presently runs a multi-party democracy and held its second presidential election in 2010.

Closely related to this was the government's integration of the nation's women folk into its national politics thereby making them relevant in the society. The genocide decimated the population of men leaving behind widows and orphans. More women were therefore encouraged to take part in politics which led to the election of about 56.3% of Rwandan women into the national parliament. (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) report, November, 2011). Women were also appointed as Federal Ministers and Speaker of the National parliament under the current regime. In recognition of this, the President was decorated with the Femmes Africa Solidarité's African Gender Award in 2007. These measures created an atmosphere of good governance as a prerequisite for a positive image of a nation which the citizens would be patriotic about.

The system of government in Rwanda led the United States and the Pentagon to focus on partnering with the nation's leadership to bring about an enduring development especially in Rwanda's rural economy. There was the establishment of PEPFAR, 'the President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief' and the President's Malaria Initiative as well as donation of aids to support Rwanda's good governance and an effective decentralization policies of the Rwanda government (Doyle, 2006). This is the strategy of a good political system of Rwanda.

5.3.2 Massive political integration of the nation's female population and their subsequent election into national parliament

Rwanda operates a bicameral parliament which consists of the senate and the chamber of deputies. The nation had her first multiparty legislative elections in 2008, where majority of the seats in the National Assembly were won by women and Ms. Mukantabam Rose became the first female speaker of the assembly. More women were therefore encouraged to take part in politics which led to the election of about

56.3% of Rwandan women into the national parliament. (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) report, November, 2011). Women were also appointed as Federal Ministers and Speaker of the National parliament under the current regime. The significantly high percentage of women in Rwandan legislature was in part a reflection of popular will (through democratic election) in a country of 10 million with 55 percent female. In fact, Stephanie, (2008) noted that female population of Rwanda was about 70% after the genocide.

Rwanda had outlawed archaic patriarchal laws that are still being practiced in many African societies, such as those that prevent women from inheriting land. The legislature also passed bills aimed at ending domestic violence and child abuse as well as removing discriminatory laws from the nation's legal code (Stephanie, 2008). In addition to this, government adopted efficient policies designed to assist women economically and politically. This included 2003 new constitution which required that at least 30 percent of all parliamentary and cabinet seats go to women while the remaining 26 percent of the women in parliament were indirectly elected.

5.3.3 The *Gacaca* Courts and the Media

Rwandan government's effort to repair its image that was negatively affected by the genocide led to the establishment of the *Gacaca* (*Ga-cha-cha*) courts. While the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) tried and convicted major actors in the genocide especially cabinet members of the Habyarimana regime, members of the Armed forces, notable journalists and media practitioners, lesser perpetrators were tried by the *Gacaca* local courts. One of the major actors tried and convicted by the ICTR was the Prime Minister of Rwanda during the genocide, Jean Kambanda who was jailed for life. He was charged for misusing his office during the genocide

by committing rape and aiding the Hutus to kill several Tutsis. The court ruled that rape was a crime against humanity and a crime of genocide (Jean, 2006).

On the other hand, the government of Rwanda established the community based courts for the trial of suspects accused of aiding or carrying out killings during the genocide. Judges were elected by each community for the trial of all accused persons in that community. Conventional lawyers in the traditional wig and gown were absent as accused perpetrators were allowed to defend themselves.

The verdicts of the Gacaca courts were regularly broadcast on the Rwanda radio or and in the print media. For instance, on 10 May, 2010, Radio Rwanda reported the life sentence handed over to a former Rwandan journalist, Bernard Hategekimana, nicknamed 'Mukingo' for incitement to take part in the genocide. The journalist was the Executive Editor of 'Kamarampaka' newspaper before the genocide. The Gacaca court in Kigali ruled that several articles published by the journalist in his newspaper obviously called on the Hutus to be resolute in their mission to completely exterminate the "cockroach Tutsis" from Rwanda. Not only this, witnesses gave evidence that Bernard erected a barricade in the middle of the road in Kimisagara, a suburb of Kigali to trap fleeing Tutsis who were later killed in large numbers (*Hirondelle News Agency*, 10 May 2010).

The researcher found out that the radio (Electronic media) that was used to fuel the killings when the "the hate radio" or the "radio Murder" was used to actually broadcast the names of Tutsis or Hutus that sheltered them as well as their hideouts so they could be killed, the same radio is being used to broadcast punitive verdicts given to the perpetrators of the genocide. Similarly, regular Press Releases in the

Rwandan Newspapers announce and publish names of convicted offenders of the genocide.

5.3.4 Historical Annual Commemoration of the Genocide

This study discovered that the government of Rwanda instituted an annual commemoration of the nation's historical event. On 7 April, 2010, at the 16th commemoration of the genocide in Kigali, the nation's capital, President Paul Kagame, while addressing representatives of nations who attended the ceremony said:

'Let me go back to the problems of genocide survivors and problems they face. I would like to say thatwe always look to find solutions to these problems. I should however say that bad politics....which led to the loss of one million people, loss of values and culture is not just Rwandan. The consequence of bad national politics with bad international politics resulted in what we commemorate today- the tragic situation of 1994". (Kagame, 2010).

The commemoration of the events of 1994 was not limited to delivery of speeches alone. The government and the people of Rwanda observes two public holidays annually. 7 April, which marked the commencement of the massacre, was labeled 'Genocide Memorial Day' and observed a national holiday while 4 July, which signaled the cessation of the bloodbath was christened 'the Liberation Day' and also observed as a rest day. In addition to this, the entire week following the 7 April rest day is spent as national mourning week for sober reflections (Doyle, 2006). This strategy is compensation model in which affected persons are assuaged. In this case, the genocide survivors are aware that the blood of their loved ones that was shed is not in vain as their memories are kept alive by the entire nation yearly.

5.3.5 The Government's Solution to the Refugee Image Challenge

Genocide survivors are either those living in Rwanda or the refugees. The refugees' problem presented one of the negative image challenges to the nation which needed repair. The efforts of the Rwandan government to repatriate the refugees yielded

some measure of results. Apart from the establishment of a separate ministry for refugees with a Minister in charge, the nation encourages the refugees to return to their fatherland on their own volition while it canvasses for agreements with nations hosting the Rwandans to let them come back home.

Consequently, in 2011, about 7, 600 refugees, mostly from Congo Democratic Republic (Official name is “Democratic Republic of Congo” or DRC) returned to Rwanda while another 8, 000 refugees relocated to Rwanda in 2012. According to Séraphine Mukantabana, Rwanda’s Minister of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs, since 1994, up to January 2013, a total of 3, 437,472 Rwandan refugees have voluntarily returned including 11,031 who returned in 2012. She however noted that about 70,000 Rwandans are still living as refugees in different countries.

5.4 Rwanda’s Million Orphans

The nation’s brand name may be ‘the land of a million hills’ (Ted, 2011), at the same time, Rwanda contends with the negative image of having “a million orphans” whose parents were either consumed by the genocide or one of its consequences, HIV/AIDS scourge ((UNICEF report, 2004). Women were widely subjected to numerous violence-related traumatic effects of rape by the Hutu militia. In fact, the bruises and scars and their effects included deep resentment, self-pity, being infected with sexually transmissible diseases, notable among which is HIV, as well as instant death. The "militiamen carrying the virus used it as a 'weapon,' . . . intending to cause delayed death" to the hapless women and teenagers, even children (Llezzlie, 2002). So, some of these rape victims actually got pregnant and gave birth to children, ‘fatherless’ children whose fathers were unknown soldiers and Hutu militia (Interahamwe) men, products of a wanton violence on women. These women later

died of complications of the dreaded AIDS disease leaving those children, now orphans, behind (Llezie, 2002).

The provision of qualitative education to the orphaned children and all the other children and youths in Rwanda became the focus of the Rwandan government with 2010 being the targeted year for universal primary education and 9 years of basic education for all children by 2015 (Thomas, 2010).

Towards this end, in 2003, Rwanda government introduced free education in public primary schools geared towards improving the enrolment and attendance of deprived children in schools. This consequently shot up primary school enrolment to 90% in the 2004 – 2005 academic sessions (Okech & Torres, 2005).

5.5 Brief Synopsis

In the image restoration model postulated by Benoit, acknowledgement of an offensive action or accepting that a crisis situation has occurred is a prerequisite for finding a lasting solution to it and by extension, repairing the negative impression created by such crisis (Benoit, 1997). This acceptance leads to pondering on how to find the most effective remedy to the problem. The incumbent President of the Federal Republic of Rwanda was a major player in the image repair process of the country since the outbreak of civil war in 1990. He was a vanguard for good governance. In chapter two of this study, the researcher found out that the particular system of government being run in a nation could affect the image of the nation either positively or negatively (Wilson, 1995).

After accepting that there has been an image challenge to Rwanda (Kagame, 2010), in part, due to “bad politics”, the President went on to re-engineer the nation towards progress through “good politics” or good governance which is people oriented. Hence, the government embarked on internal peace building to break the wall of resentment and division existing between the two major ethnic components of the country. Coupled with this is the fact that the President also endeared himself to the international community by running an almost corruption free government (Transparency International July 10, 2013 report).

Chapter 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarized the study. In doing so, the research questions were re-visited and conclusions were drawn in the context of the original goals of the study. The portion also delved into suggesting the implications for our knowledge of the field of study, and possible implications for further studies on similar topics or issues.

6.1 Summary of the Study

The ultimate goal of communication for a corporate entity, an individual or a nation is the establishment and subsequent maintenance of understanding and a positive image both inside the country and with the outside world (Benoit, 1995). This impression management, however, usually suffers setback when an offensive action or any situation perceived by the internal and or the external publics as damaging to the hitherto impressive reputation of an organization, an individual or a nation occurs. This is the aspect many crisis communication scholars and public relations practitioners often deal with. It also looks at the audience (publics) as well as the channels of communication with a view to taking any necessary corrective action or

activities deemed necessary to restore lost image.

One essential factor relevant for effective communication in crisis period is empathy or compassionate reaction especially concerning people perceived to be ‘victims’ of the offensive action or situation (Coombs, 1999). Seeger (2006) lends credence to this by noting that crisis communication with sympathy and empathy as well as deep concern usually achieves result and enhances prompt crisis resolution and subsequent mutual agreement between the aggrieved and the aggressor; which in the case of Rwanda would be between the government and the genocide survivors.

This study was essentially undertaken to assess the extent of the damage to the international image of Rwanda by the 1994 genocide. The research also sought to find out the particular principle(s) of crisis communication that were employed by the Rwandan government. In this vein, the study investigated whether the government appreciated the formidable challenge of the genocide and whether the initiatives that were subsequently undertaken were appropriate and adequate to provide lasting solutions and restore / redeem the country’s image that had been dented by the genocide. By extension, the study evaluated the Rwandan nation during the genocide, after the genocide and the contemporary times, more specifically, from April 2000 to 2013.

6. 2 The Media

The causes of an offensive action or a crisis situation go a long way to finding the suitable image repair measures to a problem at hand (William & Pang, 1997). In addition, in communicating with the publics and all concerned, the role of the mass media is rarely contested. The value of news items as well as the mode, importance

and frequency of its reporting often results in shaping the public's perception about an issue. Thus, the media influence and shape public opinion of a particular audience. This is the Agenda setting theory postulated by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972.

Public opinion, which may be defined as the collective expression of many individuals bound into a group by common aims, aspirations, needs and ideals, is often directly influenced by what people get exposed to through the news media. The Media therefore, as the 'Fourth Estate of the Government' is used to sway the public opinion in support of the policies, programs and decisions of the government, including propaganda. (Bernays, 2004, p.52).

Against this background, this study explored the various known and lesser known causes of the genocide in Rwanda. In doing so, the study investigated the roles of both the print and electronic media, especially the Radio Rwanda, variously described as 'hate radio', 'radio murder' or 'murder radio' during the genocide due to its role and 'thousand hills radio' before and after the genocide, in the cause and subsequent fuelling of the 1994 killings. Paradoxically, the same media's role in restoring the nation's image after the genocide was also looked into by the researcher.

6.3 Conclusions from the Research

At the onset of this work, some research questions were designed to guide the study. It is noteworthy to say that the findings have provided important answers and shed important light and insights to the questions.

Critical assessment of the image repair initiatives of the Rwandan government largely comprised of reducing offensiveness of an action model. The visible step here is the establishment of the Gacaca (Ga-cha-cha) courts and ICTR both by the Rwanda government and the United Nations respectively to seek redress for the genocide survivors who lost their loved ones. In addition annual commemoration of the event is held to remember the victims. Not only this, the orphans that were left behind also benefitted from the government's free education policy while some of their widows were elected into political positions especially in the nation's parliament. Closely related to this is the positive image oriented democratic system of government being practiced by the nation's government.

Mortification is another important image repair model used. Here, the government established Reconciliation Villages where both the genocide survivors and the now forgiven and rehabilitated genocide perpetrators live together after confessing to the killings. This is the government's initiative in building the much needed internal peace in the country.

By and large, findings of this study appear to show adequate image repair efforts and strategies to have been taken by the Rwandan government and seem to have been effective in improving the public impression of the country and keeping the nation together in the past 13 years - being the scope of this study. The country is among just a handful in Africa whose listing by global anti-corruption watch dog, Transparency International, have been on the rise in recent years. The country's economic performance as well as its national integration efforts between the former warring ethnic groups has borne visible fruits in the past decade with many countries in the region now looking to Rwandan model to address their own ethnic tensions.

6.4 Recommendations

In view of the findings of this research, it is recommended that running transparent governments in Africa and other parts of the world is a panacea for political stability and economic growth. Corruption is the bane of any society as it hinders economic growth of a country and impoverishes the citizenry. The Paul Kagame regime, measured with other corrupt leaderships in Africa, scores comparatively higher in personal & fiscal discipline and transparency. It is therefore recommended that African nations should carefully elect transparent leaders who are not self-centered as leaders. More than a decade is long enough for Paul Kagame to join the league of African leaders who have corruptly enriched themselves at the expense of their nations, but he has chosen to rule his country with what Crisis Communication experts would label empathy for the citizens. Rwanda appears to be one of the world's poorest countries as nearly 60 percent of the population lives below the poverty line; with almost 40 percent living in extreme poverty on less than \$0.90 per day, but the country was poorer than this statistics during the genocide.

Another recommendation for this African nation is that there should be no provision for an elongation of the President's tenure beyond the two terms recommended in the nation's constitution. It is true that President Kagame has been able to salvage the country from political and economic collapse following the genocide, but no human ought to be considered indispensable. Staying too long in power eventually corrupts a leader. This in turn leads to oppressive rule and flagrant abuse of the citizens' human rights or of power – both of which would cause and reinforce negative image to a nation.

However, a leader that has the same anti-corruption drive and credentials, political acumen to keep the nation united, ability to sustain and even improve the image repair strategies enumerated in this study, same economic vision and passion for growth should be elected to succeed Rwanda's incumbent leader.

6.5 Suggestions for Future Study

Crisis Communication is a relevant field in the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies. Therefore, further research could be carried out on whether the image repair strategies used by the Rwanda government would have the same effect on other nations having similar ethnic, national and international conflicts especially from other continents apart from Africa.

Such a study may not necessarily focus on genocide like the Rwanda experience, but some nations today are facing image challenges due to internal political crisis which has also escalated into civil war just like the Rwanda of 1990-1993. No doubt, fighting a civil war is a negative image which needs repair. However, each nation has its own socio-cultural and political peculiarities. For instance, at the end of the presently raging war in Syria, would the same image repair measures be effective in repairing the nation's image?

Another strong suggestion is that further studies could be conducted on the role of the media in such internal conflicts. For instance, this study found out how the local media were used to fuel the killings in Rwanda. What is the role of the local media in the Syrian war or any country going through an internal crisis? Refer to section 6.2 of this chapter for the role of the media. How is the media being used in the present Syrian war or in the Nigerian situation viz-a-viz fueling the Boko Haram insurgency?

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APPENDICES

Appendix B: Flag of Rwanda from 1962-2001



<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/rwanda.htm>

Appendix C: The official flag of Rwanda from October 25, 2001



<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/rwanda.htm>

