

Från folkmord till pressfrihet?

En studie av medieklimatet i Rwanda 19 år efter folkmordet

C-uppsats i journalistikvetenskap

JMK, Stockholms Universitet, VT 2013

Handledare: Andreas Widholm

Peter Alestig Blomqvist

Abstract

1994 genomfördes ett av de mest brutala folkmord som världen har skådat. Platsen var Rwanda, och landets medier spelade en avgörande roll i att hetsa folkgruppen hutuer mot tutsier.

Den här studien utfördes i Sverige och Rwanda 19 år efter att folkmordet startade, under våren 2013, med syftet att undersöka hur medieklimatet i landet ser ut i dag. Totalt sju informanter intervjuades, varav två exiljournalister som i dag befinner sig i Sverige och fem journalister i Rwanda. Frågeställningarna var som följer: 1) *Hur kan det rwandiska medieklimatet klassificeras, utifrån intervjuer med rwandiska journalister?* 2) *Hur kan den rwandiska medieetiken beskrivas, utifrån intervjuer med rwandiska journalister?* 3) *Hur påverkar de rwandiska exiljournalisterna medieklimatet i landet, enligt de rwandiska journalisterna?*

Som teoretisk grund i studien används dels teorier om offentlighet, dels teorier om klassificering av mediasystem och dels normativa teorier om medieetik. Utifrån intervjuerna analyseras och diskuteras hur mediasystemet i Rwanda ser ut i dag, hur det kan klassificeras, hur medieetiken ser ut, vilken påverkan exiljournalisterna kan tänkas ha på utvecklingen av medieklimatet – och avslutningsvis, vart Rwandas medieklimat kan tänkas vara på väg.

Resultaten av studien visar att mediasystemet i Rwanda först och främst är i konstant förändring. De senaste åren har, att döma av de fem inhemska journalisternas syn på saken, flera steg tagits mot ett öppnare medieklimat. I dag har det flera likheter med länder som hör hemma i Hallin & Mancinis (2004) *Polarized Pluralist Model*. Men det är lång väg kvar innan landet kan sägas fylla samtliga kriterier, eller motsvarar de västliga ideal som finns inom journalistisk etik. Medierna är inte någon tredje statsmakt, de är fortfarande starkt begränsade och journalisterna är fortfarande rädda i vissa situationer. Lågt förtroende för journalistkåren är ett problem. Brist på kompetens hos medierna och oseriösa aktörer är ytterligare ett problem som journalisterna pekar på.

Samtidigt finns tecken på att medieklimatet fortsätter att röra sig i riktning mot ett mer västligt ideal, även om det finns motstridiga krafter. Såväl teknikutveckling, till exempel genom ökat genomslag av sociala medier, och indirekt påverkan från exiljournalister genom internationella organisationer, drar i riktningen mot ett öppnare medieklimat. Ytterligare en kraft är journalisternas egna utmaningar av de uttalade eller outtalade gränserna för yttrandefriheten. Att döma av journalisternas svar är en stark kraft som verkar i den motsatta riktningen den politiskt oroliga situationen i regionen, med konflikten i grannlandet Kongo som största problem. Direkta hot och våld mot journalister har minskat de senaste åren, men rädslan finns kvar och leder till självcensur.

Innehållsförteckning

Kapitel 1 Inledning	1
1.1. Syfte och frågeställningar	2
1.2. Material, avgränsningar och disposition	2
Kapitel 2 Bakgrund	4
2.1. Folkmordet	4
2.2. Rwanda i dag	6
2.2.1. Den politiska situationen	6
2.2.2. Medierna	8
Kapitel 3 Teori och tidigare forskning	10
3.1. Offentlighetsteori	11
3.2. Klassificering av mediasystem	13
3.2.1. Four theories of the press	13
3.2.2. Comparing Media Systems	15
3.2.3. Modellerna och Rwanda	17
3.3. Medieetiska ideal	18
Kapitel 4 Metod	21
4.1. Intervjuteknik	21
4.2. Intervjuguide	21
4.3. Genomförande	22
4.4. Metodologiska problem	23
4.4.1. Att få kontakt med journalisterna	23
4.4.2. Självzensur i intervjusituationen	24
4.4.3. Tekniska problem	24
4.5. Informanterna	25
4.6. Oplanerade observationer	27
4.7. Analys av intervjuerna	27
4.7.1. Tematisering	27
4.7.2. Bearbetning av materialet	28
Kapitel 5 Medieklimatet i Rwanda	29

5.1. Rwandiska journalisters syn på sin egen och mediernas uppgift i landet	29
5.1.1. Exilmediernas syn på mediernas uppgift	30
5.1.2. De inhemska journalisternas syn på mediernas uppgift	31
5.1.3. Mediernas kompetens och trovärdighet	32
5.2. Begränsningar av press- och yttrandefriheten	33
5.2.1. Yttrandefrihet och hotbilden mot journalister	34
5.2.2. Själv censur	36
5.3. Exiljournalisternas påverkan på medieklimatet	37
5.3.1. Exiljournalisternas syn på sin påverkan	37
5.3.2. De inhemska journalisternas syn på exiljournalisternas påverkan	39
Kapitel 6 Slutsats och diskussion	40
6.1. Rwandas mediesystem i dag	40
6.2. Medieetiska ideal i Rwanda	42
6.3. Exiljournalisternas påverkan	43
6.4. Sammanfattande slutsats: Vart är Rwandas medieklimat på väg?	44
Källförteckning	46
Bilagor	49

Kapitel 1 Inledning

Det finns – mig veterligen – inget land i världen som har total pressfrihet. Ingenstans kan vem som helst skriva vad som helst. Frågan om pressfrihet är snarare en fråga om var man ska dra gränsen. Vad ska vara tillåtet att säga, skriva, visa i landets medier? Förbud mot hets mot folkgrupp är ett exempel på en vanlig begränsning. Förbud mot uppvigling till brott likaså. Båda dessa begränsningar existerade i Rwanda våren 1994. Ingen av dem respekterades. I stället spelade medierna i landet en avgörande roll i vad som skulle utvecklas till ett av de mest brutala folkmorden i världshistorien¹, genom att hetsa hutuer mot tusier (se bakgrunden nedan). Under 100 dagar dödades upp emot en miljon människor, de flesta av folkslaget tutsi, de flesta genom att huggas ihjäl med machete².

Även om dagens Rwanda på många sätt är en helt ny nation – ett vanligt förekommande uttryck i landet är att ”Rwanda är en bebis” – är folkmordet ständigt närvarande. Invånarna talar sällan om någon rädsla för att de etniska motsättningarna ska blossa upp igen, men den finns där och gror kanske särskilt på andra sidan gränsen till grannlandet Kongo³. Så hur ska vi se på pressfrihet i Rwanda? Bör pressfrihetsidealet anpassas till Rwandas specifika situation, eller bör Rwanda anpassa sig till de ideal som finns? Frågorna får inget slutligt svar i den här uppsatsen, men mitt mål är att uppmärksamma dem och diskutera hur vi ska se på pressfrihet i Rwanda – ett land där frågan om var man drar gränsen, vad som ska vara tillåtet att säga, skriva och visa i medierna, dras till sin spets. Och ett land som sett de fruktansvärda konsekvenserna av medier som missbrukar sin makt och yttrandefrihet.

¹ Sennerteg (2010)

² Sennerteg (2010: 94-95)

³ Se till exempel <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/22/congo-fear-new-conflict-m23-rebels>

1.1. Syfte och frågeställningar

Målsättningen med den här uppsatsen är att undersöka hur de rwandiska journalisterna själva ser på sin situation, och diskutera hur mediernas framträdande roll under folkmordet för 19 år sedan påverkar medieklimatet i landet. Den grundläggande frågan som den här uppsatsen utgår ifrån, men inte har för ambition att slutligt besvara, är: Går det att applicera ett västligt yttrandefrihetsideal på det rwandiska medieklimatet – eller bör det anpassas till landets specifika historia?

Mina frågeställningar är som följer:

- Hur kan det rwandiska medieklimatet klassificeras utifrån intervjuer med rwandiska journalister?
- Hur kan den rwandiska medieetiken beskrivas utifrån intervjuer med rwandiska journalister?
- Hur påverkar de rwandiska exiljournalisterna medieklimatet i landet, enligt de rwandiska journalisterna själva?

1.2. Material, avgränsningar och disposition

För att undersöka frågeställningarna ovan har jag genomfört djupintervjuer med sju rwandiska journalister. Fem av de rwandiska journalisterna är verksamma i Rwanda, två av dem har valt att lämna landet. Den ena av dem fortsätter att verka i exil, den andra gör i dag enbart sporadiska journalistiska jobb. Anledningen till att jag har valt att intervjua även rwandiska journalister som befinner sig i exil är att det kan finnas en risk att rwandiska journalister som är aktiva i det egna landet inte vågar vara helt frispråkiga, med tanke på de repressalier som tidigare har riktats mot frispråkiga journalister. Jag har också valt att låta journalisterna beskriva både sina egna arbetssätt och bedöma hur de upplever att andra medier i landet fungerar, det vill säga fungera både som vittnen och experter.

Uppsatsen kommer att börja med en kort beskrivning av folkmordet

och den roll som medierna spelade samt av situationen i landet i dag. Därefter följer en genomgång av uppsatsens teoretiska grund, som följs av en redogörelse för de metodologiska valen. Därefter tar analysen vid. Uppsatsen avslutas med en diskussion om vad undersökningen har visat och hur framtiden för landets medieklimat kan tänkas att se ut.

Kapitel 2 Bakgrund

2.1. Folkmordet

Kvällen den 6 april 1994 gick ett flygplan in för landning vid Kigali International Airport, några kilometer utanför huvudstaden i Rwanda. Men flygplanets passagerare skulle aldrig få chansen att åter sätta sina fötter på marken i ”de tusen kullarnas land”. En missil avfyrades från en militärbas strax intill, och flygplanet sprängdes i bitar bara några hundra meter över marken⁴. Samtliga ombord omkom. En av dem var Rwandas hutuiska president Juvénal Habyarimana, på väg hem från ett fredssamtal med den tutsidominerade rebellgruppen RPF – Rwanda Patriotic Front – som ockuperade delar av landet. Med presidentens död, dog också hoppet om en fredlig lösning på konflikten.

Missilen som träffade presidentens flygplan blev i stället startskottet för ett av de brutalaste folk mord som världen har skådat. Bara timmar efter attentatet sattes vägspärrar upp över hela Kigali. Nästa dag hade runt 15 000 människor mördats, de allra flesta tutsier. Grannar dödade grannar, släktingar varandra. 100 dagar senare skulle dödssiffran vara upp emot en miljon människor.⁵

För att förstå hur det här kunde ske måste vi titta längre tillbaka i tiden och på de europeiska koloniserarna som hade makten i landet till slutet på 50-talet. Uppdelningen mellan folkslagen hutu, tutsi och twa – som alla talar samma språk och delar samma religion, kristendomen – har nämligen helt och hållet europeiskt ursprung. Kolonialherrar och katolska missionärer hade tagit med sig 1800-talets europeiska rastänkande till det lilla landet i Afrikas mitt, och kategoriserat invånarna som boskapsskötande tutsier (som ansågs ha smalare

⁴Sennerteg (2010: 91-224)

⁵Ibid

näsor, ljusare hy och vara längre och smalare) och jordbrukande hutuer (breda näsor, mörk hy, korta och satta). Men även rikedom spelade roll – den som hade tio kor eller fler, kategoriserades automatiskt som tutsi⁶. Hutuerna beräknades utgöra runt 85 procent av befolkningen och tutsierna 14 procent. 1 procent beräknades tillhöra den marginaliserade pygméstammen twa.⁷

Kolonisatorerna valde att styra landet utifrån den folkgrupp de ansåg påminde mest om sig själva, tutsierna⁸. På så vis skapades en bildad elit i landet bestående av tutsier. Men i samband med att den belgiska kolonialmakten lämnade landet 1959 störtade hutuiska rebeller den tutsiska monarkin. Det blev starten på decennier av spänningar och våldsutbrott mellan de båda folkgrupperna. Tutsiska exilrebeller, som flytt landet i samband med statskuppen 1959, gjorde räder in i landet – som i sin tur följdes av massakrer och förföljelser av tutsier inom landet. Hundratusentals tutsier flydde landet undan förföljelserna, ofta till grannländerna Kongo, Uganda, Burundi eller Tanzania.⁹

De senaste åren innan presidentens flygplan sköts ner hade våldsutbrotten mellan hutuerna och tutsierna eskalerat. Den tutsiska rebellgruppen RPF, Rwanda Patriotic Front, hade sedan oktober 1990 kontroll över vissa delar av landet mot den ugandiska gränsen i norr. Inbördeskriget förde med sig att förföljelserna av tutsier inom landet blev allt mer brutala. Minst 15 stora massakrer på tutsier inträffade de följande tre åren innan folkmordet.

När flygplanet med president Juvénal Habyarimana sköts ner den 6 april 1994 – ett dåd som RPF först anklagades för, men som utredningar snarare pekar på utfördes av hutuiska extremister – skulle massakrerna övergå i regelrätt folkmord. Under lång tid hade radio RTL, kanalen som senare fick öknamnet ”Radio Machete”, tillsammans med en stor del av landets press hetsat hutuerna att hata sina tutsiska landsmän. Tidningen *Bangura* är i dag ökänd för sin publicering av hutuernas tio budord, som bland annat kallade alla hutuiska män som gifter sig med tutsiska kvinnor för förrädare och anklagade tutsier för att vara ohederliga affärsmän som konspirerade för att kontrollera landet.

⁶Audioguidning vid folkmordsmuséet Kigali Memorial Center, 2013-04-24

⁷Sennerteg (2010)

⁸Sennerteg (2010: 98)

⁹Sennerteg (2010)

När presidentens flygplan sköts ner, fick medierna en än viktigare roll – som kommunikationsverktyg och samordnare av folkmordet. Bara timmar efter att presidentens plan skjutits ner gav RTML de hutuerna extremisterna det budskap som de väntat på. Hutuerna måste hämnas sina döda president och utplåna tutsierna. Det var dags att ”gå till arbetet” och döda alla *inyezi*, kackerlackor, det öknamn som tutsierna fått. De tiotusentals, kanske rent av hundratusentals, hutuer som deltog i mördandet instruerades var de skulle leta efter tutsier genom etern. Så här kunde ett utrop i RTLM låta:

”Ni som bor i Ruranga, de som bor där borta i Kanogo, de som bor i Mburabuturo, leta i Mburabuturoskogen, leta noggrant, se efter om det finns några *inyezi* där. Titta noga, kontrollera om det finns några *inyezi* där”¹⁰.

De som ”arbetade” bra, hyllades i radion. Dödslistor på ”förrädare” lästes upp av programledarna – som också ofta poängterade att man inte skulle slösa kulor på kackerlackorna, utan hugga ner dem med Machete. Blodbadet fick inte ett slut förrän rebellgruppen RPF tog kontroll över landet. Rebelledaren, en 36-åring vid namn Paul Kagame, ledde sina trupper in i en huvudstad där byggnaderna var raserade och vägrenen kantades av kroppar. Rwanda var ett land i ruiner.

2.2. Rwanda i dag

2.2.1. Den politiska situationen

Det har bara gått 19 år sedan folkmordet, men i dag är Rwanda ett helt annat land. Motsättningarna mellan folkgrupperna är, i alla fall officiellt sett, överbryggade. Försoningsprocessen har också hyllats av bedömare utifrån. Samtidigt växer ekonomin så att det knakar – under 2013 spås Rwanda bli världens nionde snabbast växande ekonomi¹¹. Landets regering, men den tidigare rebelledaren Paul Kagame i spetsen, satsar stort mot framtiden och siktar på att bli ett ”middle income country” till 2020¹².

¹⁰ Sennerteg (2010: 107)

¹¹ Rwanda, Inc (2010)

¹² Ibid

Samtidigt har Rwanda fått utstå kraftig kritik på vissa områden de senaste åren. Bland annat kritiseras landet för sina starka begränsningar av pressfriheten, begränsningar som från offentligt håll motiveras med att Rwanda inte kan riskera att ”genocide ideology”, folkmordsideologi, propageras via medierna på det sätt som förekom innan och under folkmordet. 2008 infördes också hårda lagar som kriminaliserar folkmordsideologi. Lagarna som har kritiserats för att användas av regimen för att tysta oliktankande politiker och journalister. Med sina vaga formuleringar – enligt lagen är det olagligt att marginalisera, skratta åt någons olycka, förtala, håna, skryta, förakta, nedvärdera, hämnas, förändra vittnesmål eller bevis för folkmordet, med mera¹³ – kan lagen både användas som vapen av regimen mot obekväma röster och ha en censurerande effekt på befolkningen, enligt kritiker¹⁴. Kritiska journalister har också förföljts, trakasserats, hotats och rent av mördats. President Paul Kagame, som suttit vid makten sedan hösten 1994, finns på Reportrar utan gränsers lista över ”Predators of Press Freedom” sedan flera år tillbaka¹⁵. Och bland de journalister som verkar i landet anses självcensur vara ett omfattande problem.¹⁶

Den senaste tiden har det dock kommit tecken på att situationen håller på att förändras. Våren 2013 infördes till exempel nya medielagar som på papperet ger journalisterna större frihet, där den statliga regleringen av medierna ersätts med självreglering. Vid samma tillfälle infördes en lag som ska ge journalister fri tillgång till icke hemlig information från myndigheter och företag som utför uppdrag för staten. Genom en omorganisation har också den tidigare statligt kontrollerade radion i teorin fått ett större självbestämmande. Organisationer som värnar om mänskliga rättigheter har dock uttryckt skepsis för vilken effekt de nya lagarna och förändringarna får i det praktiska arbetet¹⁷.

Sammantaget kan sägas att frågan om pressfrihet ställs på sin spets i Rwanda. Rädslan för att etniska motsättningar ska blossa upp på nytt, den starka

¹³ <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4acc9a4e2.pdf>

¹⁴ Se till exempel <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR47/005/2010/en/ea05dff5-40ea-4ed5-8e55-9f8463878c5c/afr470052010en.pdf>

¹⁵ <http://en.rsf.org/report-rwanda,38.html>

¹⁶ ”Mänskliga rättigheter i Rwanda 2010”, rapport från Utrikesdepartementet

¹⁷ Se till exempel <http://www.hrw.org/africa/rwanda> eller

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/20/rwanda-journalists-attack-media>

framtidstron, den ekonomiska utvecklingen och kritik för begränsningar av yttrande- och pressfrihet gör sammantaget förutsättningarna för medierna i det lilla landet helt unika.

2.2.2. Medierna

Just med tanke på vilket unikt medieklimat som studeras i den här uppsatsen, är det olyckligt att informationen om medieutbudet i Rwanda är så begränsat. Den senaste sammanställningen av medieutbudet i landet, från den rwandiska myndigheten MHC, Media High Council, konstaterar att det våren 2011 fanns 32 tidningar, 24 radiokanaler (varav sex statliga, sex privata kommersiella, fyra privata konfessionella, tre privata lokalkanaler och fyra internationella) och en tv-kanal (statlig) i landet¹⁸. Antalet tidningar halverades i princip när nya medielagar infördes 2009 med krav på utbildning eller relevant erfarenhet hos chefredaktörerna¹⁹.

En sak har dock inte förändrats sedan lagändringen 2009: De allra flesta tidningar kommer bara ut några få gånger om året. När den amerikanska ambassaden listar antalet tidningar i landet stannar därför listan vid 10 titlar²⁰. Någon exakt information om mediernas räckvidd finns inte, men enligt BBC:s profil av Rwandas medielandskap är läsningen av tidningar ”begränsad”²¹, något som framförallt torde vara sant utanför Kigali. I stället är det radion som har den dominerande ställningen som nyhetskälla i landet, följt av den statliga tv-kanalen. De flesta radiokanalerna fokuserar dock på musik, sport, religiösa budskap och ”ring in”-program²². De internationella radiokanalerna spelar en viktig roll – Voice of America och Deutsche Welle sänder nyheter i Kigali, BBC i Kigali, Butare och

¹⁸<http://www.mhc.gov.rw/announcements/news-and-events/events-details/article/new-list-of-licensed-media-organs-in-rwanda.html>

¹⁹http://mhc.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/PdfDocuments/Reports_and_Publications/Research/STATE_OF_MEDIA_2008_2_.pdf

²⁰<http://rwanda.usembassy.gov/newspapers2.html>

²¹<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14093244>

²²http://mhc.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/PdfDocuments/Reports_and_Publications/Research/STATE_OF_MEDIA_2008_2_.pdf

Karongi²³.

Internet blir alltmer tillgängligt i landet, men den absoluta majoriteten saknar fortfarande uppkoppling. 7 procent av landets befolkning hade tillgång till internet vid årsskiftet 2011-2012 och 1,6 procent av befolkningen fanns på Facebook²⁴.

²³<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14093244>

²⁴<http://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#rw>

Kapitel 3 Teori och tidigare forskning

Den här uppsatsen ställer implicit grundläggande frågor om vad journalistik bör vara och hur ett offentligt samtal kan eller bör se ut. Med de frågorna som utgångspunkt har jag valt att fokusera på två teoretiska områden: offentlighetsteori och teorier kring olika typer av mediasystem och medieetik. När det gäller teorier om den offentliga sfären utgår jag från Nancy Fraser (1990), som utifrån ett kritiskt perspektiv går igenom Habermas klassiska (och enligt Fraser utopiska) definition av begreppet. Fraser föreslår också en anpassning av Habermas idealistiska offentlighet, för att bättre svara mot dagens faktiska demokratier och för att skapa ett bättre ideal för nyblivna demokratier²⁵.

När det gäller normativa teorier kring vad journalistik bör vara utgår jag från det numera klassiska men också starkt ifrågasatta verket *Four theories of the press* av Siebert et al (1956), som ofta används som utgångspunkt för att klassificera ett samhälles mediasystem²⁶. Verket diskuteras och kritiserar på ett fruktbart sätt för min studie i såväl Curran & Park (2000) och Gardeström (2009). Jag använder mig också av Hallin & Mancini (2004) som i sin *Comparing Media Systems* tar fram tre modeller för klassificering av västvärldens mediasystem, där *Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model* – det mediasystem som Hallin & Mancini tycker sig se har utvecklats i flera länder runt Medelhavet²⁷ – används som utgångspunkt för att förstå Rwandas mediasystem i dag. Vidare utgår jag, med en viss kritisk utgångspunkt, från teorier kring de medieetiska ideal som existerar i väst och teorier som diskuterar anpassning till mer gränslösa, globala medieetiska ideal.

Tidigare forskning på Rwandas medieklimat är obefintlig. Däremot finns det studier som genomförts på andra utvecklingsländer med problematisk historia. Några studier som jag funnit intressanta redogör jag kortfattat för i

²⁵ Fraser (1990: 77)

²⁶ Gardeström (2009)

²⁷ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 89-142)

avsnittet om teorier kring medieetiska ideal.

3.1. Offentlighetsteori

Begreppet offentlighet har ända sedan Jürgen Habermas klassiska verk *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) utgjort en viktig grund för teorier kring medier och demokrati²⁸. *Public sphere* – på svenska kanske bäst översatt till *den offentliga sfären* – är enligt Habermas utopi en arena där medborgare kan överlägga om frågor som berör dem alla och utgör därmed ”en institutionaliserad arena för diskursiv interaktion”²⁹.

Enligt Fraser är något som Habermas offentlighet “oumbärligt för kritisk social teori och för utövandet av demokratisk politik”³⁰. Men samtidigt finns det enligt Fraser en rad problem med Habermas idealiserade offentliga sfär. Dessutom, menar Fraser, baserades Habermas teorier redan från början på en rad felaktiga antaganden om hur ett idealiskt offentligt samtal fungerar och räcker inte vare sig för att förklara hur dagens verkliga demokratier fungerar eller för att beskriva ett ideal för exempelvis totalitära regimer i södra Afrika³¹.

Jag kommer inte här att gå in i detalj på alla problem som Fraser ser med Habermas offentlighetsteori, utan fokusera på den anpassning av teorin som hon föreslår för att bättre svara mot dagens verkliga demokratier, för att utifrån detta diskutera hur man ska se på det offentliga samtalet i Rwanda. Ett grundläggande dilemma i Habermas teori är marginaliseringen av betydelsen av statuskillnader hos deltagarna i det offentliga samtalet, som enligt idealet skulle låta alla individer vara delaktiga på lika villkor – en omöjlighet, enligt Fraser³². Och än viktigare för mitt perspektiv: Habermas bortser från de alternativa offentligheter som enligt Fraser existerar inom grupper med olika status i samhället både idag och under den tid som Habermas idealiserade. Sammantaget

²⁸Fraser (1990)

²⁹Fraser (1990: 57, min översättning)

³⁰Ibid

³¹Fraser (1990)

³²Fraser (1990: 60, min översättning)

gör detta att Habermas ideal, som idealiserar en enda liberal offentlighet, snarare förstärker hegemonin i samhället. Genom att skapa ett falskt ”vi” exkluderas inte bara de underordnade grupperna – utan själva exkluderingen förnekas också³³.

Den teoretiska lösning som Fraser föreslår är i stället det som Habermas närmast ser som ett steg bort från en väl fungerande demokrati – ett mer fragmenterat offentligt samtal med flera olika offentligheter som i sin tur kommunicerar med varandra:

”Jag hävdar att, i stratifierade samhällen, främjas idealet om jämlikt deltagande bättre av arrangemang som inrymmer tvister mellan en mångfald av konkurrerande offentligheter, än av en enda, allomfattande, övergripande offentlighet”³⁴

Genom en sådan konstruktion får underordnade grupper möjlighet att skapa egna offentliga samtal, något som ofta sker som en reaktion på utestängande från dominerande offentligheter. Dessa alternativa offentligheter, som Fraser väljer att benämna *subaltern counterpublics*, blir arenor där utestängda grupper kan omgruppera och öva på argument som sedan kan lyftas fram i en bredare offentlighet³⁵.

En förutsättning för Frasers teori är dock att det sker kommunikation mellan denna mångfald av offentligheter. Men visst kan en sådan äga rum, hävdar Fraser. Hon lyfter fram exemplet feminister, som först skapade en egen offentlighet och efterhand lyckades få till exempel frågan om våld i hemmet att ta plats i det offentliga samtalet. I fallet Rwanda kan till exempel de rwandiska journalister som i exil har bildat ett nätverk för att fortsätta bedriva kritisk journalistik mot regeringen i hemlandet, ses som just en alternativ offentlighet. Här är inte långsökt att tänka sig att det sker interna offentliga diskussioner, som stundtals smittar av sig till offentliga samtal i Rwanda. Men – som Fraser själv poängterar – även om en anpassning av Habermas teori till att omfatta flera olika offentligheter kanske bättre motsvarar verkligheten än Habermas ursprungliga teori, är det långt ifrån säkert om det går att få ett jämlikt samtal mellan dessa

³³Fraser (1990)

³⁴Fraser (1990: 66, min översättning)

³⁵Fraser (1990)

olika offentligheter³⁶.

Även om det finns, som jag ser det, en uppenbar risk med att okritiskt applicera medieteorier som vuxit fram i väst på ett land som Rwanda, finner jag Frasers tankar om flera olika offentligheter som attraktiva i sammanhanget. Rwanda är en stat som, i alla fall vid en första anblick, har ett auktoritärt mediesystem där den offentliga debatten kontrolleras till stor del av staten – en stat som har kritiserats för att motarbeta medier som är alltför kritiska. Men även om de tystas existerar naturligtvis kritiska röster. I den här studien undersöker jag hur en eventuell kommunikation mellan dessa två tänkta offentligheter – de inhemska medierna och deras publik och exiljournalisterna och deras publik – ser ut. En hypotes är att dessa två offentligheter kommunicerar med varandra genom flera kanaler och att den senare i högsta grad påverkar den tidigare. Styrkan på kommunikationen lär dock med största sannolikhet vara ojämlig och budskap i viss utsträckning förändras på vägen.

3.2. Klassificering av mediesystem

Hur journalisters uppgift definieras och idealiseras i det offentliga rummet är avgörande för hur man ska förstå och tolka de rwandiska journalisternas syn på sig själva. Men ett svårslutligt problem i sammanhanget är den västfixering som finns inom medieforskningen, både när det gäller beskrivningar av olika mediesystem och av medieetiska ideal³⁷. Nedan diskuterar jag några befintliga modeller för mediesystem och hur jag ser på dess relevans för studien av Rwandas medieklimat.

3.2.1. Four theories of the press

Femtioalets storverk när det gäller klassificering av mediesystem, ”Four theories of the press” av Siebert et al (1956), har enligt Curran & Park (2000) haft ett enormt inflytande på synen på mediesystemen i världen och används fortfarande som utgångspunkt i bedömningen av mediesystem – trots att det handlar om ett

³⁶Ibid

³⁷ Curran & Park (2000), Kovacic (2011)

verk som drar generella slutsatser om hela världen utifrån ett tydligt västperspektiv, som dessutom är klart färgat av kalla kriget³⁸. En liknande slutsats drar Gardeström (2009), som konstaterar att “dessa modeller från 1950-talet har levt kvar med en oanad seghet, trots många försök att begrava dem. De presenteras ofta lösgjorda från sin källa, som ett slags självklara utgångspunkter för att förstå pressens roll i olika samhällssystem”³⁹.

Med en sådan kritisk utgångspunkt kommer jag här att kort gå igenom de fyra modellerna som presenteras i ”Four theories of the press”, eftersom den ger i min mening en tydlig bild av hur omfattande och närmast arrogant västfixeringen inom mediastudier kan vara. De modeller som beskrivs i boken är *den auktoritära pressideologin, den liberala pressideologin eller den frihetliga modellen, den sociala ansvarsmodellen eller ansvarsideologin* och *den marxist-leninistiska pressideologin*. Den auktoritära ideologin illustreras både av England på 1600- och 1700-talet, men också av mer nutida samhällen behärskade av kommunism, nazism och fascism och det mesta av tredje världen. *Den frihetliga modellen* var enligt författarna den som växte fram i och med upplysningen och liberalismens framfart, där pressen hade en fri och granskande position⁴⁰. Den tredje modellen, *den sociala ansvarsmodellen*, innebar att pressen “skulle vara fri från tvång men inte från krav, fri att nå de mål som bestämdes av dess känsla för etik och samhällets behov”⁴¹. Den fjärde modellen, *den marxist-leninistiska pressideologin*, vigs helt åt Sovjet, som visserligen ses som ett auktoritärt system men skiljer sig från andra auktoritära modeller genom att allt är centralt styrt. Privat ägda medier existerar inte här, till skillnad från i andra auktoritära modeller⁴².

Det är dessa fyra modeller som, enligt Gardeström (2009), länge har varit dominerande när mediesystem ska utvärderas och klassificeras – trots modellernas uppenbart grova generaliseringar. Särskilt kategorin *den auktoritära pressideologin*, där Rwanda måste anses höra hemma i brist på alternativ, har ifrågasatts. Curran & Park (2000) konstaterar exempelvis att det handlar om “en

³⁸ Curran & Park (2000)

³⁹ Gardeström (2009: 37)

⁴⁰ Sibert et al (1956)

⁴¹ Gardeström (2009: 39)

⁴² Siebert et al (1956)

rörig kategori som inkluderar större delen av utvecklingsländerna, tidigare fascistiska länder och väst i sin fördemokratiska fas”⁴³.

Siebert et al baserar sina utsagor om världens mediasystem på kunskap om amerikansk och rysk media och den tidiga brittiska pressen, och argumenterar att allt som behövs för att klassificera ett mediasystem är att identifiera ”de filosofiska och politiska rationaliteter eller teorier som ligger bakom de olika typer av press vi har i världen i dag”⁴⁴. Konsekvensen av den inställningen blev enligt Curran & Park ödesdiger: ”den etablerade en konvention som har stannat kvar hos oss: brist på kunskap om andra mediasystem behöver inte vara ett hinder för självsäkra globala generaliseringar”⁴⁵.

Såväl Curran & Park som Gardeström menar, liksom en rad kritiker som citeras hos Gardeström, att *Four theories of the press* egentligen har en enkel utgångspunkt: västvärlden med sin liberala pressideologi är idealet som resten av världen bör arbeta för att efterlikna. Gardeström ställer frågan hur det kommer sig att *Four theories of the press* varit så seglivad – och ger själv ett förslag på ett svar:

“Kanske finns en huvudförklaring till fortlevnaden just i att denna indelning är internaliserad i västerländskt tänkande. De fyra ”teorierna” flyter ofta ihop till två när de används med en liberal ansvarsfull pressideologi på den ena sidan. Motpolen blir den auktoritära pressideologin”⁴⁶

Det som var den tydliga motpolen vid tiden då boken skrevs, Sovjet, har i dag ersatts av andra auktoritära stater – bland annat länder i tredje världen⁴⁷.

3.2.2. Comparing Media Systems

Hallin & Mancini (2004) har en betydligt mer ödmjuk inställning i sin ambition att klassificera västvärldens mediasystem. De påpekar redan i inledningen att stora variationer förekommer inom de tre modeller de kommer fram till⁴⁸ och tar starkt

⁴³ Curran & Park (2000: 4)

⁴⁴ Siebert et al (1956: 2, min översättning)

⁴⁵ Curran & Park (2000: 4)

⁴⁶ Gardeström (2009: 42-43)

⁴⁷ Gardeström (2009)

⁴⁸ Hallin & Mancini (2004: xiii)

avstånd ifrån den universalistiska förklaringsmodell som återfinns i *Four Theories of the Press*⁴⁹. Men de hoppas ändå att de modeller de skapat kan ha viss bärighet även på länder utanför de studerade västländerna:

”Vi tror att en stor del av analysen kommer att vara av intresse för dem som studerar andra regioner, och kommer att säga lite om hur vi ser på våra modeller i förhållande till resten av världen; vi understryker också att vi inte har för avsikt att någon del av den här analysen enkelt ska kunna appliceras på andra mediasystem utan modifikation”⁵⁰.

Precis som Hallin & Mancini hoppas, finner jag att en del av deras slutsatser kan användas som utgångspunkt för min analys av Rwandas mediasystem. Hallin & Mancini föreslår, efter komparativa studier av mediasystemen i 18 nordamerikanska och europeiska länder, tre modeller: *Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model*, *North/Central Europe or Democratic Corporatist Model* och *North Atlantic or Liberal model*⁵¹. Jag kommer här att lämna de två sistnämnda modellerna därhän, eftersom de fokuserar på mediasystem som enligt min bedömning är alltför långt från det som finns i Rwanda.

Det förstnämnda kan däremot anses ha viss relevans för förståelsen av Rwandas mediasystem – och är också den som Hallin & Mancini försiktigt föreslår skulle kunna användas som utgångspunkt för analys av mediasystem i Afrika⁵². I analysen av Rwandas mediasystem tar jag därför fasta på följande egenskaper hos länderna i *The Polarized Pluralist Model*:

1. **Politisering.** *The Polarized Pluralist Model* karaktäriseras enligt Hallin & Mancini av en hög grad av politisering av medierna⁵³. Delvis beror detta på att de stater i södra Europa som modellen baseras på har en historia av politiskt auktoritära system där staten ofta har fungerat som censor⁵⁴. Även om de politiska systemen i länderna har förändrats dramatiskt under andra halvan av 1900-talet, är än i dag banden mellan medier och politiska partier är starka och

⁴⁹ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 305)

⁵⁰ Hallin & Mancini (2004: xiv)

⁵¹ Hallin & Mancini (2004)

⁵² Hallin & Mancini (2004: 306)

⁵³ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 298)

⁵⁴ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 119)

staten ingriper aktivt i medieklimatet⁵⁵.

2. **Ojämn mediekonsumtion.** Vidare finns i *The Polarized Pluralist Model* en ojämlig konsumtion av medierna – en del av befolkningen är stora konsumenter av journalistik och dess politiska kommentarer, medan den andra delen är politiskt inaktiv⁵⁶.
3. **Professionalisering.** I *The Polarized Pluralist Model* är den journalistiska professionaliseringen mindre utvecklad än i övriga delar av Europa och i Nordamerika⁵⁷.

3.2.3. Modellerna och Rwanda

Sammantaget kan sägas att framför allt de modeller som föreslås i *Four theories of the press* inte räcker särskilt långt för att klassificera mediasystemet i Rwanda – även om man skulle använda dem utifrån en kritisk utgångspunkt. *Comparing Media Systems* kommer lite närmare, men även här används västvärlden som utgångspunkt för att försöka förstå mediasystemen även i utvecklingsländer – om än med tydligare brasklappar. Som jag ser det kan förståelsen för Rwandas mediasystem snarare förbättras genom att man medvetet undviker den förenklade syn som demonstreras i *Four theories of the press* och även i viss mån i *Comparing Media Systems*, där väst ses som den givna förebilden. På så sätt kan man sträva efter att ta hänsyn till samhällsliga faktorer som inte existerar hos de få länder i väst som länge fått vara substitut för resten av världen.

En sådan inställning demonstreras i Curran & Park, som diskuterar att nationer som kämpar för att ta sig ur fattigdom eller krig inte nödvändigtvis prioriterar att efterlikna västs mediasystem. Här citeras till exempel Schramm (1963), som menar att det ”förmodligen (är) fel av oss att förvänta oss att ett land som försöker samla sina resurser och mobilisera sin befolkning för en omfattande förändringsansträngning att tillåta samma sorts fria, konkurrensbetonade, och ibland förvirrande kommunikation som vi har vant oss vid i det här landet”⁵⁸. Samtidigt kan man, som Gardeström konstaterar, svårligen bortse från att

⁵⁵ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 298)

⁵⁶ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 298)

⁵⁷ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 139)

⁵⁸ Schramm (1963: 55, citerad i Curran & Park 2000, min översättning)

medierna har en viktig roll att spela för utvecklingen av demokrati, även om sambandet dem emellan är allt annat än enkelt. Själv konstaterar hon att för att ”analysera mediernas normsystem behöver detta system förhållas kritiskt till de liberaldemokratiska värderingar som ofta uppfattas som det normala tillståndet”⁵⁹. Och, varnar hon: detta gäller även forskare som studerar pressen, som riskerar att låta denna ”frusna ideologi” bli den lins genom vilken man betraktar mediasystem i andra delar av världen. I arbetet med den här uppsatsen har jag haft ambitionen att om inte helt ta bort – det är nog en omöjlighet – så i alla fall medvetandegöra existensen av den linsen.

3.3. Medieetiska ideal

Liksom när det gäller klassificering av mediasystem finns det brister när det gäller globalt anpassade perspektiv inom medieetiken⁶⁰. Många teorier kring medieetik har ett oblygt västfokus, men vissa undantag finns. Medieforskarna Stephen Ward och Herman Wasserman samlar till exempel i *Media Ethics Beyond Borders: A Global Perspective* (2010) olika forskares teorier kring hur man kan anpassa den västliga medieetiken till mediasystem i andra delar av världen. Men även västfokuserade teorier är viktiga för min studie av det rwandiska medieklimatet, inte minst med tanke på att de västliga idealen i högsta grad påverkar medieklimatet i Rwanda genom de internationella påtryckningar som sker och har skett på landet när det gäller press- och yttrandefrihet.

När det gäller det förstnämnda, de västfokuserade teorierna, utgår jag från de etiska grundprinciper som förs fram i Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007). De båda journalisterna och forskarna inleder med att omfamna hela världen i *The Elements of Journalism* – en bok som enligt min tolkning tydligt har ambitionen att vara en allomfattande guide till journalistisk etik. De argumenterar för att journalistik tillhandahåller något fullkomligt unikt:

”oberoende, pålitlig, sann och omfattande information som invånare behöver för att vara fria. En journalist som ombeds att tillhandahålla något annat än det undergräver demokratisk kultur. Det är vad som händer när staten

⁵⁹Gardeström (2009: 43)

⁶⁰Kovacic (2011)

kontrollerar nyheterna, som i Nazityskland eller Sovjetunionen”⁶¹.

Genom att genomföra mycket ambitiösa undersökningar av det amerikanska mediasystemet, kommer författarna sedan fram till tio grundprinciper som bör råda i ett hälsosamt medieklimat (att det är just tio ”budord” tycker jag är intressant – redan här skickas en signal om att principerna främst riktar sig till västliga samhällen med en kristen historia). Jag kommer inte att gå igenom principerna i detalj här, utan nöjer mig med att konstatera att de framför allt fokuserar på journalistikens skyldighet att hålla sig till sanningen, att först och främst vara lojal mot medborgarna, att övervaka makten och vara oberoende av dem som bevakas⁶².

Kontrasten mellan Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007) och den syn på medieetik som förs fram av författarna i Ward & Wasserman (2010) är tydlig. Hos den tidigare förutsätts, som jag tolkar det, ett stabilt samhälle som under årtionden har utvecklat ett medielandskap som i alla fall i teorin är fritt från otillbörlig påverkan. Hos de senare problematiseras bilden betydligt mer, och här finns flera teorier vars grundsyn kan appliceras på fallet Rwanda. Ett exempel är Ali Mohamed hos Ward & Wasserman (2010), som efter en undersökning av hur islamiska etiska principer stämmer överens med publiceringen av Mohammedkarikatyrerna i danska medier⁶³, konstaterar att vi kanske bör överväga begränsningar av kränkande uttalanden på ett sätt som kan skapa större begränsningar i yttrandefriheten än vad som normalt tillåts inom liberal medieetik. I Ali Mohameds teori handlar det om religiösa symboler – i Rwanda skulle det kunna handla om hur provocerande uttalanden om de olika folkgrupperna tas emot på ett sätt som man inte tar hänsyn till i de västligt fokuserade etiska idealen.

Samma tema utvecklas ytterligare i Gebremedhin Simons analys av medieetiken i Etiopien⁶⁴. Han slår fast att medieetik är kulturellt känsligt och att specifika lokala förutsättningar har stor påverkan på hur medieetiken kommer att se ut i en lokal kontext. Även om det finns en sorts referenspunkt i den mer globala medieetiken, innebär inte det nödvändigtvis att den på ett idealt sätt

⁶¹ Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007: 3, min översättning)

⁶² Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007)

⁶³ Ward & Wasserman (2010: 142-156)

⁶⁴ Ward & Wasserman (2010: 157-171)

hanterar de specifika problem som medier möter lokalt.

Utifrån bland andra dessa teorier, och utifrån min undersökning av de rwandiska journalisternas syn på medieetik, utvecklar jag ett resonemang kring just hur Rwandas unika lokala förutsättningar påverkar synen på medieetik i landet.

Kapitel 4 Metod

4.1. Intervjuteknik

Den metod jag har valt att använda för att besvara min forskningsfråga är semistrukturerade långa intervjuer, i det här specifika fallet med rwandiska journalister. Intervjuerna har haft karaktären av vanliga samtal som jag som forskare varsamt har styrt efter de planerade teman som jag i förväg planerat i en intervjuguide. För att förstärka validiteten i studien har jag valt att intervjua dels rwandiska journalister på plats i landet, dels rwandiska journalister som har flytt landet och verkar i exil i Sverige. Intervjuernas längd har varierat från runt 45 minuter till 2,5 timmar. Vissa av intervjupersonerna har jag också, av skäl som framgår nedan, haft kontakt med ett flertal gånger. Jag har framför allt använt Kaijser & Öhlander (1999) och Flick (2009) som utgångspunkt när jag planerat, genomfört och analyserat mina intervjuer.

4.2. Intervjuguide

Min intervjuguide, som anpassats för att fungera för intervjuer både med rwandiska exiljournalister i Sverige och journalister verksamma i Rwanda, utgick från följande teman (samtliga anpassade för att besvara mina forskningsfrågor som tas upp i uppsatsens inledning. För hela intervjuguiden, se Kapitel 8, bilagor):

- Bakgrund (utbildning, erfarenhet, osv)
- Arbetsplatsen (fakta om den aktuella redaktionen och produkten)
- Journalistiken i Rwanda (bedömningar av kåren som helhet)
- Frihet i det egna arbetet (hur arbetar journalisten själv med källor, metod, ämnesval, vinklar)

- Exiljournalisternas påverkan på medieklimatet i landet

Jag såg till att formulera frågorna så öppet som möjligt (utan att riskera att helt försvinna från ämnet) för att minimera risken att intervjupersonerna anpassar sina svar till vad de tror är lämpligt och riktigt att säga⁶⁵. De flesta frågorna har explorativ karaktär. Ett visst mått av hypotesdrivna frågor finns också med, som utgår från hypotesen att det skulle kunna finnas fördelar för ett land med våldsamt historia att inte anamma samma typ av vidsträckt pressfrihet som finns i väst.

I samtliga intervjuer har jag också växlat mellan en narrativ intervjuteknik, där intervjupersonens egna erfarenheter och berättelser är i fokus, och expertintervju, där intervjupersonens kunskaper om ett särskilt fält i allmänhet är grunden för analysen⁶⁶. Ett problem som kan uppstå i den typen av intervjuer är att särskilja de båda rollerna⁶⁷. För att minska risken att detta skulle inträffa var jag noga med att hela tiden vara medveten om de båda rollerna, och i största möjliga mån dela upp intervjun i en narrativ del och en expertdel. Intervjuerna inleddes med den narrativa delen och avslutades med expertdelen.

4.3. Genomförande

För att låta intervjupersonerna tala så fritt som möjligt lät jag ofta intervjuguiden ligga vid sidan, utom synhåll för intervjupersonen, med ambitionen att ha det mesta av den i huvudet. På så vis fick intervjuerna ofta karaktären av ett förtroligt samtal snarare än en journalistisk intervju – något som jag eftersträvade särskilt med tanke på att de intervjuade själva är journalister, som annars skulle kunna trilla i fällan att leverera det som en journalist vill höra och därmed minska trovärdigheten i svaren. Som Flick (2009) uttrycker kan det också uppstå andra problem vid analysen av intervjuerna, eftersom det inte finns några självklara vägar vidare efter genomförd intervju (till skillnad vid till exempel mer kvantitativt inriktade enkätintervjuer). Att analysera intervjuerna kan innebära en

⁶⁵Kajser & Öhlander (1999)

⁶⁶Flick (2009)

⁶⁷Flick (2009: 167)

risk för att göra våld på den information som intervjupersonerna förmedlar.

Under analysen har jag också varit noga med att ta hänsyn till den dubbla hermeneutik som den här typen av intervjuer innebär – jag tolkar intervjupersonens tolkning av världen⁶⁸. Samtidigt är det trots allt intervjupersonernas historier, och deras tolkningar av dem, som utgör det material utifrån vilket jag ska bedöma medias och pressfrihetens roll i Rwanda. Eller som Kaijser och Öhlander (1999) uttrycker det: de små händelserna som mina intervjupersoner berättar om berättar i sin tur om det större sammanhanget ”i och med att kulturella fenomen, diskurser, genomgripande samhällsförändringar och strukturella företeelser belyses genom enskilda människors berättelser om sina liv”⁶⁹.

För en studie av det här slaget ökar naturligtvis reliabiliteten med antalet intervjuer. På grund av begränsningar i tid och det arbete som krävdes för att få till de faktiska intervjuerna har jag i den här studien begränsat antalet till sju. I arbetet med intervjuerna märkte jag dock att detta var klart tillräckligt – vid intervju nummer sju nådde jag den mättnad som ofta uppstår efter ett tag i intervjustudier. Jag fick inte särskilt mycket ny information utan mest bekräftelser på att det jag redan fått berättat för mig av andra personer inte var enskilda individers åsikter och synpunkter utan verkade representerade någorlunda generella åsikter i branschen.

4.4. Metodologiska problem

4.4.1. Att få kontakt med journalisterna

Ett stort problem under fältarbetet i Rwanda var att få till själv intervjuerna. Rapporter om förföljelser och hot mot regimkritiska journalister⁷⁰ gjorde att jag valde att iaktta stor försiktighet i kontakten med journalisterna. Mitt offentliga

⁶⁸Flick (2009)

⁶⁹ Kaijser och Öhlander (1999:62)

⁷⁰ Se till exempel ”Forced to flee but not silenced”, Reporters without borders, 20 juni 2011 alternativt samma organisations profil av Rwanda på <http://en.rsf.org/report-rwanda.38.html>.

ärendet till Rwanda var att skriva journalistiskt om landets ekonomiska utveckling (vilket jag också gjorde). Detta hade både för- och nackdelar – jag fick tillgång till offentliga personer och kunde verka relativt fritt i landet, men var troligtvis också övervakad i viss utsträckning. Därför valde jag att inte presentera mitt syfte med intervjuerna med journalisterna vare sig via telefon eller mejl, eftersom jag från såväl rwandiska exiljournalister som journalister verksamma i landet hade fått uppgifter om att kommunikationen skulle kunna avlyssnas av Rwandas underrättelseverksamhet. Varje intervju krävde därför ett idogt arbete för att upprätta förtroende och få till personliga möten, ofta under andra förevändningar. Vid det första mötet bokades oftast ett nytt tillfälle in för själva intervjun.

Genom att jag även arbetade journalistiskt i landet och fick delta vid regeringens möten och presskonferenser skapade jag dock relativt snabbt ett kontaktnät med såväl rwandiska journalister och utländska korrespondenter som jag sedermera kunde utnyttja för att få till de önskade intervjuerna. Flera av dem jag intervjuade träffade jag i samband med presskonferenser, andra var bekanta till journalister som jag lärde känna på liknande evenemang.

Huruvida just dessa journalister är representativa för kåren som helhet kan ifrågasättas, både på grund av att urvalet i stort styrdes av vilka jag träffade i fält och på grund av att jag enbart kunde intervju engelsktalande journalister. De som talade det lokala språket Kinyarwanda föll utanför mitt möjliga urval.

4.4.2. Självrensning i intervjusituationen

Mot bakgrund av den uppfattade hotbilden föreslog jag också oftast att intervjuerna skulle ske i icke offentliga miljöer. Vissa intervjupersoner valde ändå att träffas i offentlig miljö (vilket i sig kan ses som ett tecken på att situationen kanske inte är fullt så allvarlig som vissa rapporter indikerar). Samtidigt kan man inte bortse från risken att vissa av intervjupersonerna kände sig helt fria i sina svar. Hotbilden kan, även om den inte uppfattas vara lika allvarlig som förr, ha medfört en viss försiktighet i deras uttalanden.

4.4.3. Tekniska problem

Ytterligare ett metodologiskt problem uppstod när jag var tillbaka på hemmaplan. Innan jag hade hunnit transkribera samtliga intervjuer fick min mobiltelefon, där jag lagrat inspelningar från flertalet intervjuer, en fuktskada. Informationen på telefonen gick inte att rädda. Inspelningarna av fyra intervjuer gick därför förlorade. En av dem hade jag hunnit transkribera till hälften. I resultatet och analysen har jag därför valt att utgå från mina anteckningar från intervjuerna och detaljer som jag har lagt på minnet. Reliabilitetsmässigt innebär detta möjligtvis en viss problematik. Men samtidigt hade jag innan olyckan var framme hunnit sammanfatta mina intryck från intervjuerna skriftligen och lyft fram de viktigaste slutsatserna från varje intervju. Utöver detta bidrog också förlusten av intervjuerna till vissa nya insikter, eftersom jag i och med förnyad kontakt via Facebook med några av intervjupersonerna i ett senare skede fick mer information om hur pressen på medierna påverkas av det alltmer spända läget mellan Rwanda och Kongo (och västvärlden).

Missödet med min mobiltelefon och de nya uppgifter som kom fram i och med den förnyade kontakten med journalisterna i landet sätter också fingret på en problematik i min uppsats. Jag förmedlar en ögonblicksbild, i och med att min informationsinsamling sträcker sig över en period av cirka sex månader. Men situationen i Rwanda är ständigt föränderlig och det politiska instabila läget går tveklöst också ut över journalisternas arbetssituation. Det som är sant nu behöver alltså inte vara sant om fem år, ett år eller rent av en månad.

4.5. Informanterna

I den här studien har jag genomfört intervjuer med sju rwandiska journalister, varav fem aktiva i Rwanda och två exiljournalister i Sverige. Samtliga har erbjudits anonymitet, men ingen har begärt att vara anonym. Jag har ändå valt att anonymisera dem i viss utsträckning, även om det på grund av journalisternas specifika berättelser ibland kan vara svårt att dölja deras identitet för den som känner den rwandiska mediekåren. På grund av de tekniska problemen har inte samtliga intervjuer kunnat transponeras, och en förnyad kontakt tagits med vissa av dem. Nedan följer en kort presentation av informanterna.

- **IP1**, exiljournalist som flydde från Rwanda i slutet av 2003 och kom till Sverige 2004. Född i Tanzania. I Rwanda var han soldat i rebellgruppen RPF under Paul Kagame när de gick in i Rwanda och stoppade folkmordet 1994. Efter att ha slutat i armén blev IP1 journalist och arbetade på flera olika tidningar och drev den sista tiden i landet en tidning tillsammans med en kollega som sedermera också flydde landet. IP1 verkar fortfarande sporadiskt som journalist här i Sverige, då för rwandiska medier, men arbetar framför allt med annat. Intervjun med IP1 genomfördes innan resan till Rwanda och finns transkriberad i sin helhet.
- **IP2**, exiljournalist som flydde från Rwanda till Sverige 2010 efter att ha blivit utsatt för ett mordförsök, enligt egen utsago från Rwandas underrättelsetjänst. IP2 driver än i dag sin regimkritiska tidning Umuvugizi, men nu endast på nätet. IP2 uppger att han är förföljd även här i Sverige och håller sig därför på hemlig ort. Intervjun med IP2 genomfördes innan resan till Rwanda och finns transkriberad i sin helhet.
- **IP3**, väletablerad journalist på den rwandiska upplagan av regionens största tidning The East African som ägs av ett kenyanskt mediehus. IP3 bevakar politik och har tidigare arbetat på The New Times, som enligt kritiker är regeringens språkrör. Intervjun med IP3 är en av dem som har gått förlorade. Någon transkribering av intervjun finns därför inte. Dock finns anteckningarna från intervjun med IP3 kvar, och vissa av hans uttalanden används därför i analysen.
- **IP4**, tidigare journalist för bland annat The New Times, ugandiska The Daily Monitor som korrespondent i Rwanda och som redigerare på The Newline – på den sistnämnda befinner sig alla tidigare chefer i dag i exil. IP4, som är född och uppvuxen i Uganda och kom till Rwanda efter folkmordet, arbetar numera med PR i Rwanda. Intervjun med IP4 var en av dem som gick förlorad, men en ny kortare intervju genomfördes via Facebook och finns transkriberad. Anteckningar från intervjun med IP4 finns också kvar.
- **IP5**, en av dem som driver nättidningen Igihe.com som ses som något av en uppstickare bland de rwandiska medierna. Igihe.com startades 2009 och är i dag Rwandas populäraste nättidning. Intervjun med IP5 var en av dem som gick förlorad. Någon transkribering av intervjun finns därför inte. Dock finns anteckningarna från intervjun med IP5 kvar, och vissa av hans uttalanden används därför i analysen.
- **IP6**, frilansjournalist, arbetar huvudsakligen för The New Times. Bevakar

framför allt politik och sociala frågor. Intervjun med IP6 finns transkriberad, men jag har också haft en viss kontakt med IP6 senare via Facebook då jag har haft möjlighet att ställa uppföljande frågor. Även dessa finns transkriberade.

- **IP7**, chef på BBC World Service i Rwanda. BBC ”Three Lakes”, som kanalen kallas, är Rwandas överlägset största radiokanal och sänder på Kinyarwanda under stora delar av dygnet. IP7 studerade journalistik i Egypten och kom till Rwanda 1995. Han började sin karriär på den statliga televisionen och fick då vidareutbildning i journalistik i Sverige 1999. Han började på BBC 2002. Intervjun med IP7 var en av dem som gick förlorad, men jag hade redan hunnit transkribera hälften av den.

4.6. Oplanerade observationer

Under min tid i Rwanda kom jag i kontakt med en mängd personer och situationer som med tiden gav mig en allt tydligare bild av både den politiska och den mediala situationen i Rwanda. Uttalanden från inhemska journalister, utrikeskorrespondenter och vanliga civila rwandier vid mer i mer informella sammanhang bidrog alla till min förståelse för situationen i landet, liksom mina egna erfarenheter som verksam journalist i landet. Sammantaget påverkade detta givetvis genomförandet av själva intervjuerna, men den utökade förståelse som jag personligen fick vid dessa informella möten tas inte med i analysen eftersom jag anser att reliabiliteten inte är tillräckligt hög för en vetenskaplig uppsats.

4.7. Analys av intervjuerna

4.7.1. Tematisering

Redan under själva genomförandet av intervjuerna blev flera teman uppenbara. Detta bidrog för det första till att de frågor jag ställde förbättrades på vägen, och gjorde vidare att jag under analysarbetet tidigt kunde lyfta fram flera intressanta teman. De teman som jag fann och utgår från i min analys var: journalisternas syn på mediernas uppgift i landet, uppfattning om befolkningens tillit till medierna, begränsningar av yttrandefriheten och konsekvenser av detta samt

exiljournalisternas påverkan på det offentliga samtalet och mediernas frihet. Under den förnyade kontakten med journalisterna i landet framkom ännu ett tema: instabiliteten i situationen för medierna.

4.7.2. Bearbetning av materialet

Efter en första analys av intervjuerna, där jag markerade intressanta teman och sammanfattade viktiga poänger i anteckningar för varje specifik intervju, sammanställde jag ett nytt dokument med utvalda delar av samtliga intervjuer. För att göra materialet mer hanterbart genomförde jag här ett visst mått av meningskoncentrering av utvalda delar av de transkriberade intervjuerna. Icke meningsbärande ord, som "eh" eller "mm", och upprepningar togs bort. Språket förbättrades också ibland något grammatiskt, något som var nödvändigt eftersom kunskaperna i engelska ibland brast hos intervjupersonerna. Liksom Kvale (1997) poängterar är målet med ett sådant agerande att behålla meningarnas väsentliga innebörd och därmed förenkla analysarbetet⁷¹. Jag valde också att översätta citaten till svenska, men att behålla originaltranskriberingarna på engelska. Vid det här laget var materialet överskådligt och den fördjupade analysen kunde ta vid.

⁷¹ Kvale (1997: 174)

Kapitel 5 Medieklimatet i Rwanda

Analysen är uppdelad i tre sektioner, utefter frågeställningarna. Först behandlas de rwandiska journalisternas syn på mediernas uppgift i landet, där ett par olika teman har gett sig till känna under intervjuerna. Därefter behandlas journalisternas syn på press- och yttrandefriheten i landet. Här tar jag också upp de observationer som jag gjort efter besöket i Rwanda, vid den fortsatta kontakten med journalisterna. I den tredje sektionen behandlas hur de sju intervjuade journalisterna ser på exiljournalisternas påverkan av det offentliga samtalet i landet.

5.1. Rwandiska journalisters syn på sin egen och mediernas uppgift

Enligt västerländska ideal är mediernas huvudsakliga uppgift att verka som en tredje statsmakt, eller motsvarande "fourth estate" på engelska⁷². De sju rwandiska journalister som intervjuats i arbetet med den här uppsatsen har lite olika syn på vilken uppgift medierna i landet har – men de är alla överens om att medierna inte är någon tredje statsmakt.

Nedan går jag igenom de sju rwandiska journalisternas syn på vilken uppgift medierna har i dag, hur det har varit och vart de är på väg. Här diskuteras också deras syn på huruvida västs mediasystem är att föredra för Rwanda – eller om det, som Curran & Park (2000) konstaterar och Gardeström (2009) diskuterar, är orimligt att kräva att nationer som kämpar för att ta sig ur fattigdom eller krig ska efterlikna västs mediasystem.

Eftersom mediernas förmåga att motsvara idealen i sig inte räcker till för att de ska spela den demokratiska roll som efterlyses i de västliga idealen, undersöks också hur de rwandiska journalisterna ser på publikens tillit till medierna. Ett mediasystem som motsvarar idealen men ändå inte har

⁷²Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007)

allmänhetens förtroende, kanske av historiska skäl, kan naturligtvis svårligen spela en demokratisk roll på ett idealt sätt.

5.1.1. Exiljournalisternas syn på mediernas uppgift

Synen på mediernas uppgift och roll i landet skiljer sig markant mellan de två journalister som har flytt landet och de fem journalister som verkar i landet i dag. De två exiljournalisterna förmedlar båda en bild av att medierna har ett enda syfte: att hylla regeringen och framför allt presidenten, Paul Kagame. Enligt IP1 riskerar de journalister som inte följer den linje att anklagas för att vara folkmordsförnekare – ett brott som straffas med fängelse – eller att hotas eller mutas till tystnad. ”Vet du vad (vilken roll) de spelar? Att hylla. Bara att hylla! ... (Om du inte spelar den rollen) säger de att du är en folkmordsförnekare”⁷³. Bilden som IP1 förmedlar hämtas från hans egna personliga upplevelser som journalist i Rwanda. Han berättar hur ”regimen” försökt muta honom, hota honom, hur hans syster blivit skottskadad när underrättelsetjänsten försökt mörda honom och hur han blivit obstruerad i sitt journalistiska arbete, till exempel genom att bannlysas från presskonferenser. IP1 berättar till och med om hur han har förföljts i sin exil i Sverige. Allt detta är enligt IP1 konsekvenser av att han var en obekväm röst för regimen och vägrade låta sig skrämmas eller mutas till tystnad – att han helt enkelt bröt mot både de uttalade och outtalade normerna om vad journalistiken bör vara i landet.

En liknande bild av vad som händer när man bryter mot de normer som fanns för journalister i Rwanda förmedlas av IP2, som berättar om hur han var mycket nära att mista livet efter ett mordförsök när han verkade som journalist i landet. Här i Sverige befinner han sig på hemlig ort – han gömmer sig eftersom han är rädd för att utsättas för mordförsök även här. Han menar också att situationen är likadan för en mängd rwandiska exiljournalister runt om i världen. IP2 ger också en tydlig bild av den roll som han menar att medierna spelade under folkmordet: ”De rwandiska journalisterna och de rwandiska medierna förrådde rwandierna i en sådan utsträckning att de aldrig berättade om vad som hände vid

⁷³ IP1: 16-17, min översättning

den tiden. Och de agerade gemensamt med folkmordsregimen”⁷⁴. Om de rwandiska medierna hade fungerat som de skulle, hade både rwandierna och det internationella samfundet informerats om vad som pågick och kunnat stoppa det. Enligt IP2 är inte situationen särskilt annorlunda i dag. Medierna har fortfarande alltför täta band till regimen. Precis som ”diktatorn” krossade alla oppositionspartier inför valet 2010, kontrollerar han landets medier, enligt IP2. Med några få undantag, som BBC World Service och Voice of America, finns landets medier ”bara där för att hylla diktatorn”⁷⁵.

De båda exiljournalisternas syn är sammanfattningsvis entydig: mediernas uppgift i Rwanda är att hylla regeringen. De journalister som agerar annorlunda straffas hårt av regimen.

5.1.2. De inhemska journalisternas syn på mediernas uppgift

En radikalt annorlunda bild om mediernas roll i Rwanda ges av några av de i dag aktiva journalisterna i Rwanda. Gemensamt kan sägas att alla fem menar att det har hänt mycket de senaste 10-15 åren, medieklimatet har helt klart blivit friare. Samtidigt är situationen instabil och mediernas frihet och de normer som styr verksamheten förändras hela tiden. De flesta menar att utvecklingen går framåt, det vill säga närmar sig det västliga idealet. Samtidigt har de också något olika syn på hur fritt det egentligen är i dag, liksom vilken roll medierna egentligen spelar.

En sak är de fem informanterna dock eniga om: medierna i Rwanda motsvarar inte det västliga idealet om en tredje statsmakt. Men liksom Schramm påpekar i Curran & Park (2000), påpekade vissa informanter också att vi kanske inte kan förvänta oss – eller ens bör önska oss – att medierna i Rwanda ska försöka spela den roll som de gör i det västliga idealet. Samtidigt berättar informanterna om förändringar som i alla fall på papperet gör att Rwanda närmar sig just detta ideal.

Efter kritik från internationella organisationer valde landet att avskaffa

⁷⁴ IP2: 5, min översättning

⁷⁵ IP2: 6, min översättning)

krav på utbildning hos landets journalister för att skapa ett öppnare medieklimat. Samma sak gäller förändring i regleringen av journalistiken. Tidigare sköttes den av en regeringsinstans. Nu har ansvaret flyttats över till ett råd av journalister. Men risken här är att det blir alltför avgörande vilka som sitter i rådet och att besluten som fattas blir partiska, menar IP6, som påpekar att Rwanda inte redo för den typen av självkontroll – och att avskaffandet av krav på journalistisk kompetens återigen öppnar dörrar för oseriösa medier.

Men samtidigt som IP6 och ett par av hans kollegor kritiserar de förändringar som skett i regleringen av medierna, mot ett mer västligt ideal, menar de dock att det västliga idealet med medierna som en tredje statsmakt ändå bör vara idealet för medierna även i Rwanda. Men det målet kan inte nås förrän både journalisterna i landet har fått tillräcklig kompetens och lagarna anpassas för ett öppnare klimat, menar flera informanter.

Samtidigt utmanas de outtalade gränserna och lagarna konstant, enligt de fem informanterna. Det sker på olika sätt – exempelvis genom att medvetet bryta mot lagarna för att uttrycka sitt missnöje med dem, som IP3 berättar om. Särskilt gäller det då att utmana det som regeringen kallar ”att sprida folkmordsideologi” - vilket, enligt flera informanter, i princip kan handla om det mesta som tar upp folkgrupperna hutuer och tutsier på ett sätt som kan (kanske med illvilja) tolkas som att de hetsas mot varandra. Lagen mot att sprida folkmordsideologi (”genocide ideology”) har också kritiserats starkt från väst⁷⁶. Men gränserna utmanas också i det dagliga arbetet: ”Jag utmanar gränserna just nu”, sade IP4 när jag frågade henne hur det går till när man utmanar gränserna för pressfriheten. Vi satt i en offentlig miljö och IP4 uppfattade hur folk runt omkring henne reagerade på vårt samtalsämne. IP4 berättade också om hur sociala medier, framför allt Facebook, används som debattforum – ibland med minst sagt kritiska inlägg i debatten som inte hade kunnat förekomma för några år sedan.

5.1.3. Mediernas kompetens och trovärdighet

⁷⁶ Se till exempel <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR47/005/2010/en/ea05dff5-40ea-4ed5-8e55-9f8463878c5c/afr470052010en.pdf>

Ett återkommande tema i samtliga sju intervjuer var befolkningens bristande tillit till medierna, framför allt mot bakgrund mot den framträdande roll som medierna spelade i folkmordet 1994. Såväl de två exiljournalisterna som de fem journalisterna som är verksamma i landet i dag lyfte fram detta som ett avgörande problem i Rwanda. Samtliga sju informanter delade bilden att mediernas aktiva roll under folkmordet fortfarande inte har förlåtits av folket, och förtroendet kommer inte att återfås till fullo på länge. Längst gick IP2, som menade att dagens medier är lika mycket ”i säng med regimen” som medierna var med 1994 års folkmordsregim.

Flera av informanterna uttryckte också att bristande kompetens hos journalisterna i landet är ett problem. Både IP6, IP5, IP4 och IP7 lyfte fram problemet med utbildade individer som startar tidningar med ”bilder på soldater och Kagame för att attrahera läsare och skrämna dem att landet är på väg att bli förintat” (IP6:8). IP5, som driver ett eget publicistiskt företag, poängterade också att han ständigt var på jakt efter fler reportrar, men beklagade sig över att det helt enkelt inte fanns några med kompetens. Flera intervjupersoner tog också här – liksom under diskussionen om mediernas uppgift i landet – upp riskerna med att låta vem som helst att kalla sig journalist eftersom det kan bli en utväg för individer utan anställning att skaffa sig en sysselsättning, med ett journalistiskt mycket tveksamt resultat.

Samtidigt riktade vissa också kritik mot regeringens tidigare strategi för att kontrollera journalisternas kompetens genom att kräva intyg på journalistutbildning eller arbetsprover för att bevisa sin kompetens. Den kontrollen kan användas av regeringen för att göra sig av med obekväma journalister, menade de.

5.2. Begränsningar av press- och yttrandefriheten

Enligt de (västliga) medieetiska ideal som presenteras hos Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007), och som väl kan ses som utgångspunkt i den normativa klassificering av mediasystem som återfinns hos Siebert et al (1956), är journalistikens skyldighet att hålla sig till sanningen, att först och främst vara lojal mot medborgarna, att

övervaka makten och vara oberoende av dem som bevakas. Nedan undersöks hur de sju rwandiska journalisterna ser på mediernas förmåga att motsvara dessa ideal, samt journalisternas syn på förekomst av självzensur och begränsningar av yttrande- och pressfrihet. Även hur väl den alternativa bild av ett medieetiskt ideal som presenteras av Gebremedhin Simons hos Ward & Wasserman (2010), med större hänsyn till den lokala kontexten i definitionen av de medieetiska idealen, motsvarar situationen i Rwanda diskuteras nedan.

5.2.1. Yttrandefrihet och hotbilden mot journalister

Huruvida Rwanda når upp till Kovach & Rosenstiels (2007) ideal att hålla sig till sanningen och att vara oberoende av dem som bevakas bevaras enkelt av att samtliga sju informanter – både exiljournalisterna och journalisterna som verkar i Rwanda – berättade om hur självzensur förekommer bland journalisterna i landet. ”Om en journalist väljer att vara en sådan som kritiserar, som är i opposition mot regeringen, tror jag att det är en del regleringar som skulle kunna skapa en del barriärer”⁷⁷, som IP6 beskriver det. Men samtidigt ifrågasätter han om detta ideal verkligen till fullo existerar någon annanstans heller:

”Som jag förstår det, till och med i Europa eller i Amerika, måste alla, inklusive journalisterna... Det finns en del offentliga lagar, det finns en del regleringar, det finns en del instruktioner, som de måste följa. Så, från min synpunkt, jag kan vittna om att journalister som följer de lokala instruktionerna och lagarna och reglerna, de är verkligen fria. Och de som vill engagera sig i granskande journalistik, jag är tveksam till att de skulle säga att de inte var fria att göra det ... De får frågor om varför de skriver det de skriver i efterhand. Men de får frågorna efter att de har skrivit och publicerat, förstår du? Alltså, de är fria att skriva om vad de vill, men de döms efter vad de skriver”⁷⁸.

Samtidigt vittnar han och flera andra informanter om att ett visst mått av oönskad självzensur existerar i landet. IP6 säger till exempel att ”om du tror att du kan råka illa ut för en artikel du skriver, kanske du tycker att det är bättre att inte skriva

⁷⁷ IP6: 8, min översättning

⁷⁸ IP6: 2, min översättning

artikeln”⁷⁹. IP7 berättar om att även om hoten mot journalister inte är lika allvarliga längre – förr utsattes han själv för hot, fick anonyma samtal och vågade periodvis inte sova hemma, i dag presenterar sig personerna som ringer och ifrågasätter det de producerar – så finns det en rädsla hos journalisterna:

”Vi har en typ av självcensur, ja. Om du läser två eller tre dagstidningar och lyssnar på en, två, tre radiokanaler, får du känslan av att... Ja, jag tror att det finns en rädsla för något, jag vet inte vad, men det finns en typ av självcensur. De vill inte bli inblandade i något som kan vändas mot dem”⁸⁰.

Men han poängterar att situationen blir bättre:

”Jag tror att just nu håller det på att förändras. Jag kan inte säga att det är problemfritt, men... Det sker en viss förändring, även om det inte är helt anorlunda. Men jag ser en förändring”⁸¹.

IP4 drar samma slutsats: det sker förändringar i medieklimatet, det blir mer öppet än förr då hon själv fick utstå direkta hot från främmande personer på grund av ”sin stora käft”. Men hon poängterar också att det fortfarande finns ett visst mått av självcensur:

”De flesta vill se bra ut inför regeringen, huvudsakligen på grund av att regeringen är den största annonsören och de andra privata annonsörerna är fast beslutna att stötta RPF:s linje så de annonserar inte om du är kritisk mot regeringen”⁸².

IP4 konstaterar också att hon inte känner till någon hotbild mot journalister i Rwanda i dag – men hennes fortsatta svar på frågan illustrerar också hur en uppfattad hotbild kan ha näst intill lika förödande konsekvenser som en verklig:

”...man vet aldrig med de här sakerna. Problemet är också komplext. Det finns journalister som faktiskt rapporterar på ett balanserat sätt och hamnar i problem på grund av det. Sedan har vi kategorin journalister som – ibland tror jag medvetet, eller ibland på grund av okunskap om de etiska reglerna – faktiskt gör saker som verkligen rör om i grytan. Ett exempel är killen som

⁷⁹ IP6: 3, min översättning

⁸⁰ IP7: 2, min översättning

⁸¹ IP7: 1, min översättning

⁸² IP4: 1, min översättning

sade att Kagame är Afrikas Hitler. Jag vet inte någon president som skulle vara glad över det”⁸³.

5.2.2. Självrensning

Slående under intervjuerna var att ingen av de sju informanterna sade sig censurera sig själva. Inte de två exiljournalisterna. Inte de fem rwandiska journalisterna som är aktiva i hemlandet (möjligtvis med undantaget IP4 som utan omsvep erkände att hon under sin tid på The New Times var väl medveten om tidningens redaktionella linje som helt klart var pro-regeringen och att detta hindrade kritiska artiklar). Men när det gäller de senare fick jag viss ny information vid min förnyade kontakt med informanterna efter min förlust av intervjuernas råmaterial. Det alltmer spända läget i Kongo under året fick IP6 att uttrycka sig som följer i augusti:

”Jag hoppas att du ibland följer nyheterna om vad som händer mellan Rwanda och Kongo, det är ganska hemskt, och ibland tänker vi på att fly om situationen förvärras ... I dag fick vi höra att rwandier inte får ta sig över gränsen till Goma. Så du förstår, vi kan inte arbeta fritt på grund av den situationen ... Ärligt talat är vi oroliga för vår morgondag. Jag pratade med en del journalister, de flesta av dem finner situationen hemsk och känslan när vi arbetar är dystert. Vi vågar inte skriva analytiskt”⁸⁴.

Vidare menade IP6, liksom flera informanter och andra individer varnade mig för under vistelsen i Rwanda, att all kommunikation bevakas av regimen. Detta var också ett tema som återfanns i intervjuerna med exiljournalisterna. IP1 berättade att han har kollegor i Rwanda som åker över gränsen till Uganda eller andra grannländer för att kontakta honom:

”De åker, köper telefonkort från de här länderna, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi eller Kongo. De ringer mig, och de berättar allt. De är rädda för att ringa mig

⁸³IP4: 1, min översättning. IP4:s faktiska ord var ”ruffle the feather's” - ett uttryck som jag valde att översätta till ”röra om i grytan”.

⁸⁴IP6: 11, min översättning

De är kontrollerade. Förstår du? De (regimen) avlyssnar deras telefoner och allting. Så, de lever i skräck.”⁸⁵

I sammanhanget tog IP1 också upp lagarna mot spridandet av folkmordsideologi, som han menar att regimen använder mot alla som kritiserar president Paul Kagame och som skapar självcensur hos journalisterna.

IP2 går än längre i sin beskrivning av självcensuren bland journalisterna i landet. Enligt honom är samtliga journalister – med undantagen BBC och Voice of Africa – ”prostituerade som befinner sig i samma säng som president Kagame och det regerande partiet RPF”⁸⁶. Journalisterna låter bli att avslöja korruption, nepotism, orättvisor och brott mot mänskliga rättigheter, eftersom de alla lever i skräck – och presidenten använder begreppet ”folkmordsideologi” för att behålla makten. Medierna ”publicerar bara artiklar på ett fejt sätt för att inte hamna i fängelse, eller tvingas i exil, eller mördas, på det sätt som vi har tagit oss igenom.”⁸⁷

5.3. Exiljournalisternas påverkan på det offentliga samtalet

Enligt den kritik av Habermas klassiska definition av den ideala offentliga sfären som finns hos Fraser (1990), förutsätter hennes modell av multipla offentligheter att det finns en (i idealsituationen jämlik) kommunikation mellan de olika offentligheterna för att vi ska närma oss en demokratisk situation. Nedan undersöks huruvida de rwandiska exiljournalisterna kan ses som en alternativ offentlighet – och om denna i så fall kommunicerar med den offentlighet eller de offentligheter som finns i Rwanda.

5.3.1. Exiljournalisternas syn på sin påverkan av medieklimatet

De två exiljournalisterna ger i viss mån olika bilder av hur de (och deras kollegor i

⁸⁵IP1: 19, min översättning

⁸⁶ IP2: 10, min översättning

⁸⁷ IP2: 6, min översättning

exil på andra platser i världen) i dag påverkar medieklimatet i Rwanda. Enligt IP1 påverkar de troligtvis inte situationen i särskilt stor utsträckning. IP2, som fortfarande är aktiv som journalist genom att driva sin regeringskritiska tidning som nättidning från Sverige, är dock betydligt mer optimistisk när det gäller exiljournalisternas påverkan på Rwandas medieklimat:

”Det spelar absolut roll. Och det är därför som predatorn (Kagame) gör sitt absolut bästa för att krossa oss ... Men han har misslyckats ... Det har stor effekt. Och vi hjälper till i den förändring som sker.”⁸⁸

IP2 påpekar också att de har hjälp från individer inom Rwanda och från internationella organisationer. IP1 berättade under intervjun också, som nämnts tidigare, om rwandiska kollegor som kontaktar honom och berättar om vad som händer, och om hur han har fått stor hjälp från bland andra Reportrar utan gränser. IP1 berättar också att han är aktiv på Facebook, där han kommunicerar med både rwandiska journalister och andra personer i landet, bland annat om medieklimatet.

Trots att IP1 är mindre optimistisk när det gäller effekten av exiljournalisternas arbete, finns det alltså belägg för att de bidrar till en både direkt och indirekt påverkan av medieklimatet i Rwanda. Direkt genom kommunikationen med journalister och andra individer inom landet, indirekt genom kontakten med organisationer och västliga stater som i sin tur utövar påtryckningar på Rwanda att förändra medieklimatet.

Båda exiljournalisterna i den här studien hoppas fortfarande kunna återvända till Rwanda någon dag och verka som journalister i landet. Men vägen dit är lång, menar de. IP2 uttrycker sin sin på möjligheterna att återvända så här:

”Skälen till att jag flydde från Rwanda finns där fortfarande där i högsta grad. Man kan inte, särskilt på grund av Kagame ... Han har stulit makten för all framtid.”⁸⁹

IP2 påpekar också att han har dömts för brott i sin frånvaro i rwandisk domstol, något som hindrar honom både från att återvända och gör det svårt för honom att ens lämna Sverige. IP1 har tänkt tanken att återvända till Tanzania och arbeta därifrån, men vågar inte eftersom han menar att det även där finns agenter för den rwandiska regimen som skulle göra vad de kunde för att stoppa honom, rent av

⁸⁸ IP2: 7, min översättning

⁸⁹ IP2: 7, min översättning

döda honom. “Men jag hoppas fortfarande. Jag hoppas fortfarande. Och det är väldigt betydelsefullt för mitt liv.”⁹⁰

5.3.2. De inhemska journalisternas syn på exiljournalisternas påverkan

Alla de fem inhemska journalisterna i den här studien menar att exiljournalisterna har haft en klar påverkan på medieklimatet i landet, även om vissa menar att tiden då de aktivt påverkade medieklimatet är förbi. IP3 beskriver det till exempelvis som att exiljournalisterna offrade sig för dagens journalister i Rwanda. Genom deras utmaningar av det tidigare stängda medieklimatet – utmaningar som fick förödande konsekvenser för dem själva – skapades ett betydligt öppnare medieklimat i dagens Rwanda. I dag krävs inte samma typ av uppoffringar, eftersom medieklimatet är betydligt öppnare, menar han. Liksom övriga sex informanter är han dock övertygad om att exiljournalisternas agerande har varit en förutsättning för de påtryckningar som skett från internationella organisationer och västländer – påtryckningar som pågår än i dag. Enligt IP3 har dock exempelvis Reportrar utan gränser, på grund av den bild som exiljournalisterna än i dag levererar av situationen i landet, en felaktig bild av medieklimatet i Rwanda. Påtryckningarna leder dock, trots att de enligt IP3 baseras på delvis felaktiga slutsatser, till förändringar av lagar och regler i Rwanda.

IP4 tar upp exemplet sociala medier när hon får frågan om och i så fall hur exiljournalisterna påverkar medieklimatet i Rwanda. Själv är hon en aktiv Facebook-debattör och har kontakt med åtminstone en exiljournalist via Facebook. Även om hon, liksom EK, tycker att exiljournalisterna generellt målar en alltför negativ bild av medieklimatet i landet, menar hon också att de i viss mån påverkar debatten i landet genom Facebook. Men än större menar hon att den indirekta påverkan är, genom de internationella organisationer och västliga länder som baserar sina påtryckningar på Rwanda delvis på exiljournalisternas berättelser – en bild som delades av IP6, IP5 och IP7.

⁹⁰ IP1: 23, min översättning

Kapitel 6 Slutsats och diskussion

Den här studien visar att mediasituationen i Rwanda är minst sagt komplex. Men att döma av intervjuerna med de sju rwandiska journalisterna finns tydliga tecken på förändring – och på att exiljournalisterna här har spelat och eventuellt fortfarande spelar en viktig roll. De medieetiska idealen slits mellan de specifika förutsättningar som landets förflutna utgör och det västliga idealet, samtidigt som medierna kämpar för att hitta sin roll och för att återvinna publikens förtroende.

6.1. Rwandas mediasystem i dag

Det är i den här studien, trots att den baseras på enbart sju djupintervjuer, uppenbart att medierna i Rwanda inte når upp till det västliga idealet av att vara en tredje statsmakt. En för regeringen välvillig tolkning av resultatet skulle kunna vara att de kraftiga etniska motsättningar som orsakade folkmordet 1994 måste motarbetas intensivt, och att regeringen styr medieklimatet efter den ambitionen – lite enligt det sätt som Ali Mohamed tar upp om hur vi bör acceptera begränsningar i yttrandefriheten när det gäller kränkande uttalanden inom religion⁹¹. Medierna måste hindras från att återigen hetsa folkgrupperna mot varandra och ges därför uppgiften att snarare verka för nationell sammanhållning – men får därmed också betala priset att inte ha den frihet som idealiseras hos bland andra Siebert et al (1956) och Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007).

Även om det redan i teorikapitlet i den här uppsatsen konstateras att Rwandas mediasystem svårligen kan pressas in i någon av de fyra modeller som föreslås i Siebert et al (1956) eller de tre som presenteras hos Hallin & Mancini (2004), skulle de med en viss kritisk utgångspunkt kunna användas som utgångspunkt för att förstå situationen för medierna i Rwanda. Jag diskuterar därför här vilken av de olika modellerna som skulle kunna tänkas bäst (eller

⁹¹ Ward & Wasserman (2010: 142-156)

kanske minst dåligt) beskriva Rwanda.

En avgörande fråga i sammanhanget är hur kontrollerade medierna är i Rwanda. Är de så kontrollerade att systemet bör klassas som hemmahörande i Siebert et als auktoritära modell – eller närmar de sig snarare *The Polarized Pluralist Model* hos Hallin & Mancini? Exiljournalisterna målar en minst sagt dystert bild, och hävdar att journalisterna som är verksamma i Rwanda inte vågar säga sanningen – ett tecken på att den tidigare modellen hos Siebert et al är närmast sanningen. Men de journalister i landet som intervjuats menar å sin sida att situationen inte är så dystert som exiljournalisterna hävdar. Utvecklingen har av intervjuerna att döma gått åt ett mer öppet medieklimat, även om alla är överens om att landet har en lång väg att vandra innan man når hela vägen till ett medieklimat där journalisterna över huvud taget inte är rädda. Och kanske än viktigare: det är en lång väg kvar innan journalistkåren har lyckats bygga upp ett förtroende hos allmänheten, både på grund av mediernas aktiva roll under folkmordet och på grund av bristande kompetens hos en stor del av journalistkåren.

Här finner jag flera likheter med *The Polarized Pluralist Model*. I Rwanda har medierna utan tvekan nära band till politiska institutioner och partiet, något som enligt Hallin & Mancini hör hemma i den modellen⁹². Utifrån analysen av intervjuerna som genomförts i den här studien, såväl exiljournalisterna som dem verksamma i landet, skulle man kunna dra slutsatsen att Rwanda befinner sig i en för-fas till *The Polarized Pluralist Model*, där staten ofta historiskt har fungerat som censor och fortfarande har betydligt starkare kontroll över medierna än de länder i norra Europa och Nordamerika som studeras hos Hallin & Mancini⁹³. Den ojämlika konsumtion av medierna som återfinns hos länderna i *The Polarized Pluralist Model* återfinns också i Rwanda – om än möjligtvis snarare på grund av ekonomiska och språkliga begränsningar (som konstaterats i bakgrunden är konsumtionen av framför allt dagspress koncentrerad till huvudstaden). Även beskrivningen av bristande kompetens hos journalistkåren passar väl in i modellen.

Men även om det utifrån de sju intervjuerna skulle kunna sägas att

⁹²Hallin & Mancini (2004: 141)

⁹³Hallin & Mancini (2004: 298)

Rwanda har slagit in på vägen mot en *Polarized Pluralist Model*, menar jag att vägen ditåt är allt annat än spikrak. Snarare befinner sig landet vid ett vägskäl – och här kommer de politiska oroligheterna i regionen in i bilden. Här är utvecklingen efter mitt besök i Rwanda intressant, där en journalist två månader efter min hemkomst berättar om rädslor som inte var lika närvarande i våras. Min tolkning av hans uttalanden är att även om det aktiva förtrycket av journalisterna inte är lika närvarande som tidigare, lever rädslorna i viss utsträckning kvar. Det bevisas inte minst av den vanligt förekommande bilden av att all kommunikation är övervakad. Och detta i sin tur gör att journalisterna i Rwanda upplever sig kontrollerade och därmed censurerar sig själva – oavsett hur regeringen agerar. Att helt enkelt beskriva mediasystemet som auktoritärt blir kanske därför felaktigt. Man skulle kunna argumentera att landets historia och det instabila politiska läget gör att medierna själva agerar efter ett i verkligheten potentiellt obefintligt eller i alla fall inte fullt auktoritärt medieklimat. Vilken väg Rwanda slår in på avgörs av hur regeringen hanterar situationen. Valet står mellan att utnyttja mediernas rädsla och kanske rent av förstärka den – eller att motarbeta den, och därmed närma sig *Polarized Pluralist Model*.

6.2. Medieetiska ideal i Rwanda

Det krävs bara ett ögonkast i backspegeln för att förstå att Rwandas medier har en stor utmaning när det gäller de medieetiska idealen. Den aktiva roll som flera journalister spelade under folkmordet vilar fortfarande som en mörk skugga över dagens medier. Att inte ta hänsyn till detta när man bedömer regeringens och journalisternas syn på etiska ideal är långt ifrån fruktbart. Samtidigt måste man ta i beaktande att de amerikanska idealen i högsta grad påverkar idealen i Rwanda, precis som i resten av världen, om man får tro Hallin & Mancini⁹⁴. Under den här studien blev det också utifrån de sju intervjuerna uppenbart att journalisterna slits mellan dels de västliga idealen, i princip i den form som de presenteras av Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007), och sin historia. Spåren av folkmordet syns särskilt tydligt i de ideal som regeringen har satt upp, framför allt med förbudet mot att sprida ”folkmordsideologi”.

⁹⁴Hallin & Mancini (2004: 257)

Min slutsats är – i linje med det som Gebremedhin Simons poängterar i Ward & Wasserman (2010) – att det inom överskådlig tid förmodligen är ofrånkomligt för Rwanda att anpassa sina medieetiska ideal till mediernas mörka historia. Även om landet på ytan har kommit långt i bekämpningen av de etiska motsättningar som låg bakom folkmordet är det inte otänkbart att de gror under ytan. Risken att nya motsättningar blossar upp måste därför tas med i beräkningarna, även om man med rätta kan kritisera regeringens strama tyglar när det gäller rapportering som tar upp etnicitet.

6.3. Exiljournalisternas påverkan

Liksom Fraser (1990), menar jag att man kommer betydligt närmare sanningen om hur en offentlighet är uppbyggd om man ser den som en mångfald av offentligheter. Och i fallet Rwanda kan man verkligen tala om flera olika offentligheter. Två av dem har undersökts i den här studien – exiljournalisterna och deras publik, respektive de inhemska journalisterna och deras publik. På Frasers fråga om de olika offentligheterna kommunicerar med varandra, får svaret i Rwandas definitivt bli ja. Men kommunikationen är inte enbart rak och definitivt inte jämställd. Ett visst mått av rak kommunikation sker via telefonsamtal och sociala medier. Men den raka kommunikationen har förmodligen inte tillnärmelsevis lika stor påverkan på det offentliga samtalet i Rwanda som den kommunikation som sker via internationella organisationer och västliga nationer. Dessa fungerar av studien att döma som en förstärkare av det budskap som exiljournalisterna vill föra fram till sitt hemland och som en katalysator för debatten om medieklimatet. Genom denna exiljournalisternas publik tvingas rent av landets president reagera på exiljournalisternas budskap, något som enligt min bedömning kan ses som en om inte ensam orsak så i alla fall en pådrivande kraft till Rwanda förändrade medielagar och den ökade öppenhet som de inhemska journalisterna talar om.

6.4. Sammanfattade slutsats: Vart är Rwandas medieklimat på väg?

Som påpekats i analysen visar min studie att Rwandas medieklimat är i ständig förändring. De slutsatser som dragits i den här studien – som till exempel att Rwandas medieklimat i dagsläget verkar innehålla ett stort mått av självcensur – kan snabbt bli inaktuella. Det råder dock ingen tvekan om att om utvecklingen går i tangentens riktning, kan vi förmodligen räkna med ett medieklimat som fortsätter att närma sig västliga normer och kan kanske inom några år passa in i modellen *Polarized Pluralist Model*⁹⁵. Likheter med många av de sydeuropeiska länderna som just den modellen baseras på är slående: objektivitetsidealet existerar men journalistiken skiljer sig från de västliga etiska normerna i praktiken; medierna har mycket nära band till staten som reglerar medierna hårt; landet går igenom en imponerande ekonomisk utveckling; landet är utsatt för samma ”korståg för fri politisk press” som Hallin & Mancini beskriver i Sydeuropa under andra halvan av 1900-talet⁹⁶. Det finns också flera krafter som driver på i den här riktningen, så som den homogenisering av medieklimatet som sker över världen och verkar för en enda global modell med kapitaliseringen av medierna och krav på professionalism och objektivitetsideal⁹⁷, teknikutvecklingen med sociala medier som Facebook som ökar kommunikationsmöjligheterna med omvärlden och fungerar som debattforum – och naturligtvis, exiljournalisterna som påverkar den offentliga debatten i Rwanda genom den alternativa offentlighet som de är en del av.

Men utvecklingen av ett medieklimat drivs också av interna faktorer⁹⁸, och det finns av intervjuerna i den här studien att döma krafter i Rwanda som påverkar åt motsatt håll. Rwandas inblandning i konflikten i Kongo verkar driva landet mot ett strängare medieklimat. Fler studier skulle kunna belysa just dessa krafters påverkan på medieklimatet och bidra till en större förståelse för hur Rwandas medieklimat utvecklas över tid. Min bedömning är också att de medieetiska idealen i landet troligtvis aldrig, eller i alla fall inte inom överskådlig

⁹⁵ Hallin & Mancini (2004)

⁹⁶ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 255-256)

⁹⁷ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 251, 252, 294)

⁹⁸ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 255)

tid, kommer att motsvara det som förs fram i västfokuserade teorier. I stället för att anamma de ideal som förs fram i Kovach & Rosenstiel eller Siebert et al, är det troligt att de medieetiska idealen Rwanda – liksom i dag – kommer att fortsätta att anpassas till landets våldsamma historia och andra specifika lokala förutsättningar, så som bristande kompetens hos journalistkåren och publikens brist på förtroende för medierna. I takt med att medierna professionaliseras kommer kanske de sistnämnda aspekterna att minska i betydelse, medan den förstnämnda kommer att hålla sitt grepp om medieetiken i landet under längre tid. Och – som Hallin & Mancini påpekar – utveckling av mediasystemen i Europa rotades också djupt i lokal politisk historia, strukturer och kulturer⁹⁹.

Så var landar vi då? Vilka krafter kommer att vinna i längden? Min bild är, trots att de exiljournalister som deltagit i den här studien inte hyser några större förhoppningar om att kunna återvända och arbeta som journalister, att utvecklingen kommer att fortsätta att gå mot ett öppnare klimat. De fem inhemska journalister som ingår i den här studien konstaterar visserligen att de fortfarande har en lång väg att gå innan Rwandas medieklimat kan ses som fritt och medierna som en tredje statsmakt – men hoppet, viljan och tron finns där. Och de har starka krafter i omvärlden på sin sida.

⁹⁹ Hallin & Mancini (2004: 261)

Källförteckning

Tryckta källor:

- Crisafulli & Redmond (2012) *Rwanda, Inc.: How a Devastated Nation Became an Economic Model for the Developing World*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Curran, James & Park, Myung-Jin (red) (2000) *De-westernizing Media Studies*, London: Routledge.
- Flick, Uwe (2002) *An introduction to qualitative research*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Fraser, Nancy (1990) "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy" i *Social Text*, No. 25/26 (1990), pp. 56-80.
- Gardeström, Elin (2009) "Four Theories of The Press: Boken som vägrar bli presshistoria" i *Nordicom Information*, vol 31 (2009) 1-2, pp. 37-45.
- Hallin & Mancini (2004) *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaijser, Lars & Magnus Öhlander (red, 1999) *Etnologiskt fältarbete*, Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Kovach, Bill & Rosenstiel, Tom (2007) *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect*, New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Kovacic, Melita Poler (2011) i *Media Research – Croatian Journal for Journalism and Media*, No. 17 (2011), pp. 199-212.
- Kvale, Steinar (1997) *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

- Sennerteg, Niclas (2010) *Ord som dödar*, Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.
- Siebert et al (1956) *Four theories of the press*, Chicago: University of Illinois press.
- Ward & Wasserman (red, 2010) *Media Ethics Beyond Borders: A Global Perspective*, London: Routledge.
- *Forced to flee but not silenced – Exile media fight on*, Rapport från Reportrar utan gränser, 2011-06-20.
- *Mänskliga rättigheter i Rwanda 2010*, rapport från Svenska Utrikesdepartementet, 2010.

Otryckta källor

- Audioguidning vid folkmordsmuséet Kigali Memorial Center, 2013-04-24.
- Reportrar utan gränserns profil av Rwanda, <http://en.rsf.org/report-rwanda,38.html>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- The Guardian om konflikten mellan Rwanda och Kongo: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/22/congo-fear-new-conflict-m23-rebels>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- Human Rights Watch om Rwanda: <http://www.hrw.org/africa/rwanda>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- The Guardian om medieklimatet i Rwanda: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/20/rwanda-journalists-attack-media>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- Media High Coucil lista på medier i Rwanda: <http://www.mhc.gov.rw/announcements/news-and-events/events-details/article/new-list-of-licensed-media-organs-in-rwanda.html>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- Media High Council om medieklimatet i Rwanda: http://mhc.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/PdfDocuments/Reports_and_Publications/Research/STATE_OF_MEDIA_2008_2_.pdf, kontrollerad 2013-08-

31.

- Amerikanska ambassaden i Kigali om medier i Rwanda:
<http://rwanda.usembassy.gov/newspapers2.html>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- BBC:s profil av medieklimatet i Rwanda:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14093244>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- Internet World Stats om internetutbredning i Afrika:
<http://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#rw>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- Amnesty International om Rwanda:
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR47/005/2010/en/ea05dff5-40ea-4ed5-8e55-9f8463878c5c/afr470052010en.pdf>, kontrollerad 2013-08-31.
- Rwandas lag mot folkmordsideologier:
<http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4acc9a4e2.pdf>, kontrollerad 2012-10-23.

Bilagor

Intervjuguide:

Att vara journalist i Rwanda

- Hur skulle du beskriva journalistiken i Rwanda?
- Vilken är journalistikens uppgift i Rwanda? (Tredje statsmakt? Propaganda för regeringen? Underhållning? Skapa enighet?)
- Vilka etiska regler finns?
- Vad kan man inte skriva om?
- Hur testar man gränserna när det gäller journalistiken i Rwanda?
- Vad händer när man bryter de uttalade eller outtalade reglerna?
- Hur ser hotbilden mot journalister ut i Rwanda i dag?
- Hur har medieklimatet i Rwanda förändrats de senaste åren, som du ser det?
- Hur tycker du att det borde se ut?

Det egna arbetet som journalist

- Hur skulle du beskriva att din redaktion arbetar/arbetade?
- Finns/fanns det några begränsningar i det journalistiska arbetet, som val av intervjupersoner eller vad du kan/kunde skriva om?
- Upplever/upplevde du någonsin att din yttrandefrihet begränsades?
- Berätta om ditt mest givande ögonblick som journalist
- Berätta om någon situation som du upplevt som särskilt problematisk
- Har du någonsin varit rädd på grund av ditt arbete som journalist?
- Har du upplevt att du har censurerat dig själv? I så fall, hur?

Faktafrågor

- Berätta kort om din bakgrund som journalist – utbildning, karriär, varför

du blev journalist.

- Hur hamnade du där du är i dag?
- Berätta om din arbetsplats – organisation, publik, om du har/hade något specialområde.
- Vem riktar den sig till?

Intervjuer

(IP1) , exiljournalist

Intervjun genomfördes i Schibstedhuset i Stockholm i mars 2013. Intervjun med (IP1) var inte en av dem som gick förlorad och transkriberades därför i sin helhet.

I: First of all, I want to tell you that you do have the option to be anonymous in this interview.

IP: No problem.

I: Good.

IP: For me, I do accept everything about, cause in journalism, you have to be open!

I: Exactly, you know what it's like to be on the other side.

IP: Yes, yes. I'm reading a very interesting book.

I: Ah, Dial M for Murdoch. Nice.

IP: If you buy this book, you will see a lot of things.

I: Yes?

IP: People, they are killing journalism! (skrattar) Yes.

I: Interesting.

IP: Yes, very interesting.

I: So what kind of work is it that you do here in Sweden?

IP: Aha, you know, when I came here...

I: Yes

IP: Ah... It was not so good.

I: Yes

IP: Cause when I came here, it was... Let me remove the jacket.

I: Sure

IP: It was like, I came here, I didn't plan to come here.

I: No

IP: I ended up to be in Sweden.

I: Yes

IP: Abruptly. Cause I was just in the... (hostar) I'm in Tanzania.

I: Yes

IP: I left Rwanda because of some problems. Maybe you have seen on what happened, eh?

I: Yes

IP: On Google or anything, you can see that. And then, at the end I was in Sweden. No way out! You have to do something, the new things.

I: Yes, sure.

IP: Then, I was like, ok, how can I do this, eh?

I: Yes

IP: Then, my background, I was a soldier.

I: Yes, ok

IP: Yes, I fought.

I: Ok, I see.

IP: For Rwanda, for almost seven years.

I: Ok

IP: Since 1992 until 1997. Then I moved back to school, and I studied journalism.

I: Yes

IP Which was my dream, since I was 12 years old.

I: Yes I see.

IP: Then, after that, I was like ok... I'm trying to find a job within, you know, the controlled, the state controlled, eh media.

I: Yes

IP: They refused, they were not... They didn't want to work with me.

I: Ok

IP: Cause they were saying, you have to come with... In french, they say petit moix (?). Eh?

I: Ok

IP: A cheat to somebody, assuring you to come and work with them.

I: I see, only recommendations?

IP: Recommendations, yes. Then, at the end... (hostar) I had some friends, they were holding some newspapers, eh? Independent. (hostar) I'm sorry... (hostar)

I: No problem, do you want some water, or do you want coffee, or something like that?

IP: (hostar) No... Like coffee, like that, eh?

I: Yes, you want coffee?

IP: Yes, good (hostar)

I: I'll go get us some coffee. (reser sig upp och går och hämtar kaffe)

IP: Yes, you know, the weather is killing me. (skrattar och hostar)

I: (kommer tillbaka) Do you want latte, or plain coffee?

IP: No, just coffee... To help me to do something, yes.

I: No problem (går iväg, kommer tillbaka med kaffe några minuter senare)

IP: So it was like that, I ended up with some friends (säger namnen på några kollegor), eh? There are many.

I: Yes, yes

IP: And then, we started the newspaper which is called (tidning 1). It was Rwanda Independent Media Group. And then we did good things.

I: Yes.

IP: But slowly, one by one, cause of intimidation, they are moving, they are going.

I: Ok

IP: Maybe, we're in danger, eh? But for me, I didn't want to move out of the Rwanda.

I: No

IP: Cause, I said, I fought for that country for seven years. I saw many people dying. I saw, I have many colleagues, died there.

I: Yes

IP: Eh? I saw these innocent people, innocent kids, being smashed on the walls, you see? It's touching me all the time.

I: Yes

IP: It's in my head.

I: Yes

IP: I'm giving you the background.

I: Yes.

IP: How I ended up here in Sweden, and then how I did in Sweden.

I: Yes

IP: Then, here I am, I'm in Sweden.

I: But tell me more about the background, you started, you started an independent newspaper...

IP: Mhm. Yes, then, in the independent newspaper, I became so influential man, cause of one thing: because of my background in the army, I have many friends in the government, I have many friends in the army. Then when I'm supposed, what I was doing, very good informations. Very good stories, they were coming to me. So I become like (knäpper med fingrarna) I'm a star, in two months. Everybody knows my name. And some of them in the government, some of them in the army, they are saying: we know him! But how he's writing these stories about us and everything, you know?

I: Yes

IP: Because that's how the problems started. They thought, me to be there, I'm gonna be on the side of them.

I: Yes, yes.

IP: Which is, I didn't want to be on the side of them, cause I wanted to say the truth. The meaning of journalism is to say the truth. And ethics says that! So, they tried to bribe me, to use my family, to use everybody... They tried many times, which I didn't like. I said no, I'm independent journalist right now. I left the army because of some... I didn't say it's bad... (hostar) I didn't say it's bad, but we have to change some things, eh?

I: Yes

IP: So that's why I'm fighting for the people. I'm still fighting for the people, as I did, seven years nine years ago.

I: Yes

IP: So it was like, maybe I'm betraying them. But I was not betraying them, I was telling the truth.

I: Yes

IP: What is supposed to be done. To change this Rwanda, the new Rwanda after genocide. Then the new Rwanda, it doesn't to be like the click of the people to control the country. That was my meaning.

I: Yes

IP: Because I was the click, before, in the army. I was somehow being arrested many times.

I: When you were...

IP: Yes! When I'm in the army.

I: Yes

IP: Even before coming to the government. (hostar) Sorry... I was, I was arrested many times, because of one thing. I was saying, no, sir, this is not right! Then I became a target of being arrested, being put in a bunker somewhere, because of saying the truth.

I: Yes

IP: So they knew now, I'm going in another step. So they started to use bribing.

I: Yes. Can you tell me about that, how does that work? Could you tell me, how did they try to bribe you?

IP: Aha, ok! Here we go. They started, by the way, sending some friends. The friends coming to me, and saying, you know... (IP1), remember, we are still the same, eh? We are working about, eh, about the same issue and everything, eh? And I said to the friends, these friends of mine, you guys, don't you see? Don't you see? These are the people we came together. We didn't have any single coin. We fought together. We did everything together. Then, in just two years, they have millions! Bank accounts. Where did they get this money? Second, did they... Don't you see, they are building mansions, eh? Skyscrapers!

I: Yes

IP: How did they get this? When we came together, for me, when I am asking, you know I was asking, just a scholarship, to go to study. They refused. One of them is (person 1), he's a senator right now. (skrattar) I used to be close to him like this!

I: Yes

IP: And then I'm saying, he's a minister of education, and I'm saying, eh, sir – we say in swahili, affande, it means sir in the army.

I: Yes

IP: Affande, can you give me just education? He refused. Because they know, maybe I'll be stubborn to them. Yes, I didn't mean to be stubborn. Then they tried to bring friends. Then, leave alone the friends, they are coming to my family. My mom, she was working with the government. And she is the vice mayor of one district inside Kigali. But my mom, I told her one thing. You're a vice mayor. The day you take a single coin of taxpayers money, it's me who is going to write the story about you. So my mom was so feeling she's delicate about me. She loves me, I love her, but then: don't be a thief.

I: Yes

IP: Like them, how they are doing. Then, it was like, you know, they are trying the best, the best. Then after some times, they send some friends, some of them we used to be together. They send my driver... My driver, the one for the newspaper. He came and said, I want a job. I gave him a job.

I: Yes

IP: I know him in the army, he's just a young boy, or young to me. He's not a young boy, but young to me. (hostar) He was there to investigate every story what I'm doing. Then, lucky enough I was so smart on him, I'm giving everything. Maybe he's making mistake, but I'm feeling there is something behind. Then he became so open to me. One day he came and he said to me, you know, you know why I'm here? I'm here to spy on you. But the good thing, you have been so good to me, I can't, I can't do this for you. I said, ok, continue to write to them, bring the stories. (skrattar) You know, they are going, they talked to him. He's coming, and he's telling me the stories. You know?

I: Yes

IP: And then he, they said, how did they get this story? You know? He's saying, I don't know, (IP1) has got a lot of communication, you know? Many people, they are talking to him. Of course. Until now, they are talking to me. Nowadays, because of listening the phones, of my phone and everything, they go neighboring countries, then they call. So they tried to bribe me many times. And in the end, I was refusing. And I said, now, when I was fighting, when I was fighting for this country, the first thing we said, we said, we have to fight with corruption.

I: Yes

IP: And why, I have to be corrupted? No! It does not work with me. Never in my life. Brother Peter, I will not accept corruption anywhere. Eh? Cause that's the principle my father, my family, they taught me to do that. And, when we are fighting, that is the principle of RPF. Before changing, like now. By the way, it's not all RPF. I hate to generalize. It's just a click of the people. They are not more than even 20. You see?

I: Yes

IP: so then, they tried, and then I was like ok, no problem. Then, after feeling that things are bad, I'm not accepting anything, they changed the tactics.

I: Ok

IP: They are now, I started to be arrested. I'm in and out, in and out, in and out.

I: For what?

IP: Because of my stories.

I: Yes, but what did they say when they arrested you?

IP: No, no, you know, it's not... The first time, you know, they arrested me, it was in November 13th 2001. Ok, there was some friends of ours, our editors, our bosses, they left. But when they left, they thought that if these guys are gone, there's two people, me and (person 2), who is in Canada, they would not finish anything, they would not do anything. So, we can leave them no advertize, no anything, they stopped the advertizing, no advertize, no anything. So we are doing with our sales, any money we get from our sales, that's how we do our newspaper. So you, you... Ok, except the international NGO, embassies, eh? Because they know, our paper is, everybody is reading that newspaper, you know?

I: Yes

IP: Then, they see the first month, the second month, the third month, the fourth month... How they arrested me on the border post, because we are printing in Uganda.

I: Ah, I see.

IP: You know why? Because – first of all, it's very cheap. But the first important thing, the secrecy of our stories.

I: Yes

IP: Because if you go anywhere in printing, any printing somewhere machinery in Kigali, there is somebody who is gonna say the story before the newspaper is going out.

I: I see.

IP: You see?

I: Yes

IP: Then we decided to go to Uganda. You go there – cause it was weekly – you go there, you spend the whole night working, you spend it editing and everything, and then you go to Uganda with a zip disk, you put there, they bring out everything. The layout, and here we go! The newspaper is out, you come back.

I: Yes

IP: So now they targeted us on the border post. (hostar)

I: I see. When you walked with the...

IP: Yes.

I: Yes, yes. So I have to ask you a bit, a bit about the... Well first of all, just so you know, this is the first interview that I'm...

IP: Yes, yes, yes...

I: And, I'm actually gonna use this interview to, to get to know the background...

IP: (avbryter) Yes, yes, the backgrounds of what and where you are going to do!

I: Yes, exactly. And, I wanted to know, as well, just a few basic things about you. You... First of all, I know you background, I know your experience now.

IP: Mmm

I: And you did get education as a journalist...

IP: (avbryter) yes, yes, yes...

I: In Kigali?

IP: No, no, no.

I: So where did you go for the, to school?

IP: I did get it in... Well you know, when I left the army.

I: Yes

IP: I moved back to Tanzania, where I was born.

I: Oh yes, I see.

IP: And then I get my education in journalism...

I: Yes

IP: And I came back, when I came back, then I started to get these courses with BBC and everything. I have many...

I: So you worked for BBC and...

IP: Yes, BBC, BBC they came, you know they are giving the work, they are, you know.... (hostar) Sorry...

I: No problem

IP: The government, the government things. But then they came, they said even the independent newspapers will have to go, we have to do something with them. So I was there, the courses, and we are doing well, you know. BBC they are open, eh? They are open. So I was there, and I get education in Tanzania.

I: Yes

IP: I get my, my first education in journalism in Tanzania.

I: Mmm

IP: And, nobody knew why. Because I was feeling, if I'm going with this system of Rwanda, you get stuck on them. Then you end up to be corrupt. Cause many of the journalists, some they have done good. But then for me, I didn't want to be corrupt for anybody.

I: No

IP: To get me to be staying on the... "You know we are together, we are brothers". I hate that. You can be my brother, but don't take me on the other way, where I'm gonna die! Or you are killing the people! I hate that.

I: Yes

IP: That's why I moved back to Tanzania.

I: Yes

IP: And I get my education. People didn't know what I'm doing.

I: So you were gone for three years...

IP: (avbryter) For three years, yes.

I: So, so tell me about the... The newspaper that you started, it was...

IP: For me, for me, I came, I found these guys already started the newspaper.

I: Ok, I see. And where...

IP: (avbryter) But...

I: What was it called? So I...

IP: Ok. (hostar) Sorry... You know it's killing me...

I: Yes, you want more coffee, or...

IP: No, no, no problem, I'm gonna use this... (tar fram en inhalator och använder den)

IP: Ok. It's like this. These guys, they started a newspaper called (tidning 3). And it started with (person 2 Mugabe), who is in Holland, (Shacka person 1, Asman person 3). One professor, who is a professor now, in Butare university, very good one, (christoffer person 4). And (Dome person 5). (person 5) is in prison. He's a politician now, he's in prison in Rwanda.

I: In Rwanda, ok.

IP: But, most of them, some of them, left. (person 2 och person 1) stayed. There was some confusion there. Then, here we go. We started... When I came there, I came just working for one other newspaper, called (tidning 2). (hostar) It's killing me, this one is killing me, eh? (hostar) And then, this (tidning 2) didn't work with me very well. Cause they were so, so controlling me, eh? You know... They don't want me to talk about Kagame or anything.

I: Yes

IP: So, we were working in the same house, and I saw, oh, these guys, (tidning 3), with (tidning 1), maybe I can work with these guys. So I started to be writing some stories with them. When they are rejecting the stories from there, here they are receiving my stories. Then, from out of blue, they say "hey man, you are good, you are good, you are great!" It was like that. We did it. Until (person 2) gone. Ok, we get even an award. (person 3) get in 2001. Get african journalist of the year in printing.

I: Ah

IP: Yes. The story was... Now, he's corrupted now, they have get him money, he's holding the newspaper. You're gonna meet him in Kigali, with (tidning 4 RF).

I: Yes.

IP: But he's a stupid one. I hate him because of one thing. He left the standards of being a human being. He just moved for money.

I: Yes. But ok, eh...

IP: But then he, that's how it ended up to be. I'm like, ok. I'm trying to do the right thing. And (person 2) was so happy. Then he left to Holland. When he's reaching Holland, they said he's in the part of the former president. 2001, it was very, you're in that party, you are dead, you are dead meat.

I: Mmm

IP: Then he stayed there. (person 3) left to South Africa. Cause he was just coming from South Africa. (Person 3) left to South Africa.

I: Yes

IP: And then he was there, working with The Guardian, it doesn't work. Cause The Guardian, The Guardian, you can't work with them when you have the stories from Rwanda. They don't buy it, eh? Then he moved to Boston, with the (organisation 1).

I: Yes

IP: Then he was there. When he was there, hmm... Something stupid happened.

I: Ok

IP: This man advised Kagame, go there, and then he bribe him. Then he comes back.

I: To Rwanda?

IP: 2003, one day I'm sleeping, I'm waiting just morning. I've been so busy the whole day, like 24 hours. I heard a voice. The call is coming from... I hear the voice is (person 3). I said mr (person 3), where did you get rwandan number? And he said, I'm here! Oh, where? (Namnet på ett hotell). Ok. So, I just go into the bathroom and then going to meet him.

I: Yes

IP: I'm so happy, my former boss is coming back! But he didn't tell me. He didn't tell anybody. And when I complained there was some problem in the newspaper with somebody, when I complained to him, he said, I can't judge anything when I'm like more than 5 000 kilometers from here. Ok... Then he comes. I said, are we going to work together? He said no. After some time, he changed. They are telling him, these guys they are respecting you. Eh? Me and (person 1). Then you can

control them. But I'm saying, he comes with an agenda which I don't understand. It's corruption already there.

I: Yes

IP: And I said, no, no mr (person 3), you can't come with that. We have been surviving when you are not here, for two years. So then, be careful. We said no, I said no. We said, by the way, we just did our way. We know how we work.

I: Yes

IP: Already, it is my money! I'm using my money. To hold the newspaper.

I: Ok

IP: It's not about advertizing money, it's not about anything, it's my money and (person 1).

I: Yes

IP: Then we were fighting for the truth, that's all. Then this bullshit, they would talk, they would say anything. I said, ok, I showed mr Kagame that we are independent. We are not, you can't come and plant somebody between us. Never. So, you can continue.

I: Sure, sure. I have to ask you, ehm... The newspaper, just a few basic questions. How often did you print the newspaper?

IP: Aha. We often, we were printing every week.

I: Every week, yes.

IP: And the time I'm leaving, we were printing about 20 000.

I: 20 000?

IP: Yes. 20 000.

I: And when did you leave Rwanda? Was it...

IP: 2004.

I: Ok, and who read the newspaper, do you know? Was it...

IP: Mmmm.... The newspaper in Rwanda was (tidning 1). You will find, they say everything! But when you are going, even in town, you will see it. Can you, have

you ever seen the european does know kinyarwanda? My language? No, no, now they are working with the embassy. You'll find there, you know these kids, they are selling the newspapers in the street. You will find them over there, you know? The europeans, they are buying that newspaper.

I: Yes ok

IP: It was a hot cake. Just in two hours, when the newspaper is from Kampala, it's done. 20 000 copies is done.

I: Yes.

IP: It's done. And nobody will say... And everybody say... I still have the copies, some copies, for a long time. Yes.

I: Nice

IP: Yes. Cause I say, I can move, I can leave my clothes, everything. But when I left, I said, my sister was, she was coming to Europe. I said, please, bring my newspapers. Then she bring everything. Cause this is where the memory goes, eh?

I: Yes

IP: Yes. And for us, we did a big, a big impact. The people, to open the people. Right now, nobody, nobody can write anything there.

I: So, so, you left in 2004. And why, and why did you leave?

IP: Aha. Here we go.

I: Here we go.

IP: (skrattar) Then, after corruption and everything, now it was target to finish me. I was getting the phone. I have, I told you, I have many, many good friends in the army, in this very big organ of intelligence and everything. Then, one day you hear the, don't use your car. You know. (hostar) Don't use you car. Don't use your car, cause somebody is planning to be like an accident, and you are dead. You see? They are informing me every day. They are informing me every day. Eh, don't go to this bar. Aha? Then, where we are eating you know, the lunch. We have one restaurant, because you know, we have to buy all of our stuff. We buy one lunch, every lunch, we have to pay. That was my policy, and my friends, (person 1). Then (hostar) Sorry... And then, at lunch, the owner of the restaurant, she came to

me. She told me one thing. Can I tell you? Why don't you leave this place? Somebody came and wanted to give you poison. You guys. You will eat something here, from me, which I love you guys, leave it. I know, I love money, but I don't want... They came with money. Ok, we left. We wrote the story. But we didn't mention which restaurant. Ok, here we go, slowly it's becoming now. Eh? (hostar) And then, here comes the final. The final. You know I was arrested, I'm beaten. Eh? Yes some times they beat me, some times they attack me somewhere. Somebody I don't know, he comes and he says, are you (IP1)? You know I used to wear a bandana, I'm known with bandana. So they come, they attack me somewhere. I'm sitting somewhere in the bar, they attack me, some people there, they attack you, you know. But I was not taking it serious. Then, one day, one stupid day, I did a story. I was supposed... I was working in Arusha, tribunal court for Rwanda.

I: Mmm

IP: Eh? So I was working with some stories over there, with some, eh? I'm going there. Then, ah, hell no... I wrote a story, and then, somebody from the government – the policeman, special, special intelligence, they called them special intelligence – called me that if you write, you are writing that story, you are publishing that story, you got a problem. He called (person 6). He's a brigade general right now. Eh? (person 6) told me, that if you write that story, you got a problem.

I: What was the story?

IP: It was about somebody who was kid in a bank. He was just checking his account. But then he said something to the... One minister, that if you are not bringing this money, you know, it's like blackmailing. You see?

I: Yes

IP: But I get the story. He's called (person 7), eh? And he didn't die, at that day he fought, and then they killed him in the hospital. He didn't die on the spot. Cause they shot him, he didn't die. You see?

I: Yes

IP: And then I was like, now, I was like, ok... Oh God. When I remember that, I was like, you know? Sometimes, you know, you don't feel bad, but then you feel it

later.

I: Yes

IP: After interviewing the branch manger of the bank, I'm just leaving, like five minutes I get the phone. Eh, you have been writing a lot of stories, but this one, you're gonna get a problem. Ok, I said, ok no problem. I stopped the story for some time. Then, the big story comes. The former army chief who is now in opposition, Kayomba Nyamas (KOLLA), they are planning general Kayomba Nyamas, they are planning to rid him out of the army. I had that information.

I: Ok

IP: Cause I am an editor, I gave, now I was an editor, I'm a big boss, I gave to this young boy who is here, he's living here. Eh? Then he talk about the story. But then, when we are talking about the story, there is somebody we don't know, we know he's a friend. He's telling us, then we finish the story, the newspaper goes to Uganda (hostar). Sorry... I'm sorry, you are getting a very bad interview...

I: No, no worries!

IP: Which I was supposed to tell you a lot of things, eh? You know? Then here we go, (person 1) goes to Uganda, he came when... We used to do like this, when we are reaching the border post, cause we know anything can happen, when you are reaching there. Cause we did, when I did, when I was the first victim. And it happened many times. Then (person 1) said, eh? I'm on my way to the border. He called me. And I'm waiting. One hour. It can't be one hour from the border post. It can't be two hours. Then, the concerned normal citizen, call my number. I don't know him, but he has my number. Eh, (IP1), you know? Your friend, he was arrested between the border post Gatuna, to Kigali.

I: Yes

IP: What? Ok. I started to call the police. Do you have him? They refused, they don't have him. The problem is, what do we say about the former army commander, they are ridding him out of the army.

I: Yes

IP: Now, ha. The problem starts there. We don't know. Eh? So later, like this time, they said we have him. Ok, I'm going there with my, ok now I'm the boss. (namn

på några kollegor) and our driver, we are going together. We want to get our friend and our newspaper, eh? The copies and everything. Reaching there, they say ok.... We find (person 1) is out. Cause they, they refused to take us in the prison. Cause once we were in prison, we came out and we did a big story about what is happening over there. So they said, these guys, never take them back to the prison. Just be, they can be here, on the reception, here. You see? So, we were there. And then, they forget one thing. Cause every time we are, BBC was reading what we wrote. The newspaper in Rwanda. In kinyarwanda. And then... What we did. I get this disk before. Cause when I had him calling that he is on the border post, then the BBC guys came. I know, they have to read what we wrote. So, the BBC did everything. Instead, they thought they are arresting us, but then already I have given to BBC. So BBC said, this is the story what, what, what. When we are there, we are waiting to get out, they heard BBC say that. Ay, ay, ay... Problem.

I: Yes

IP: They said, who was there? They came to me now. Did you know that..? I said no, I didn't know that you are gonna arrest us. By the way, the law says you are not supposed to arrest us. Then the war, it was there. And I was so furious now. I said, you know, mr what, mr what, mr brigade general, mr what, I don't care about what you are saying. By the way, when we were fighting, you weren't there. I was there, on the front! I have the bullets. You don't have anything. You're just getting everything. And I was so furious with them. So, they put us on the reception for two days. Let me tell you... You remember when they arrested Michael Jackson, the 19th?

I: Yes

IP: That's the day. You see?

I: Yes

IP: When we are spending two days, then I said no. I decided. Ok, (person 1) was my boss. But I was somehow good to know these people. And he's young to me.

I: Yes

IP: So I decided to do one thing. I said one day, the following day, after 48 hours, 48 hours, you decide to do something. If you are not taking me to the court, then

you have release me. They refused. We are there, so I told my friends, you know, let's go home. So we marched. When we are marching now, they bring back a battalion. They start beating us. Beating us, putting down and everything, eh?

I: Yes

IP: Then, they closed, you know, they took me, you know...

I: Yes, blindfolded...

IP: Yes, blindfolded, and everything, it was like, you know? Chaos. Then, the following morning, they come. They released us. But they said, they would not give us our newspaper. We did make a loss. Cause already, we are surviving. Then everything is shut down. They make us, the following week, we did me and (person 1), we did the newspaper. Then, following that day, the problems started very serious. After two weeks, my sister was shot. In my car. You know?

Somebody come, they are going to my fathers place, then, they thought it's me, cause I did talk to her. They are listening my phone and everything. Then, I called my friend, african american, who was visiting Rwanda. I said, ok, I'm busy, come and pick my sister from the... Cause my brothers, they were supposed to pick her, to take her home from school. And then, what happened, I was so busy, and then I called this (person 7). And I said (person 7), can you come and pick my car, drive my sister home, and then come back. You'll find me finishing job, and then we go out.

I: Yes

IP: Then my sister, they are going, reaching my fathers place, to people... When you know, we have these african gates, you know, you have to wait somebody to open. That's how it is in Africa, eh? You have the big gate, the house is inside, nobody see what is happens there. Then he, when they are waiting, some two people came, and they said it's him, it's him, it's him. They... The gun is on my sister. Her head, you know. Then, cause of, you know we have this african style with, like dread, but then they do women. And, we have the tilted car behind the, behind the windows. Then (person 7) saw this, and he was just still, the car is like on the move...

I: Yes

IP: Then, he pulled my sister, and then they shot.

I: Oh

IP: It passed through here (pekar på nässpetsen), little bit, it was going to kill her.

I: Yes

IP: And it goes to (person 7).

I: Oh.

IP: And then, that's when I said, aha... Things are changing now. So my mom, she was now crying. My mom now was crying, and then I decided, ok. Then, I did the big stories from that day. It was first, first of december 2003. Then for one month, I was with them. Very serious. Then I left to go to Arusha to work. When I'm preparing to come back, ay, ay, ay... (person 1) is telling me, this is not the place you come back. (IP1), you are dead meat, and I am dead meat.

I: Mmm

IP: So I ended up to be in Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania.

I: Yes

IP: I started to find a job there. Ok, I declared myself as a refugee, but I was born there. And by the way, I still have birth certificate there, I can be in Tanzania. But these friends, they are coming, and then we have to be refugees. When we are there, they followed me there. Now, they are calling every embassy, don't give (IP1) any visa.

I: Yes

IP: Cause we want him. He's wanted. For what? Now, the american embassy called UNHCR, said you have this man? Yes. Be careful. The man is dead one. He's a dead meat here if you are not ready to protect him.

I: Yes

IP: But I didn't want to be in the hotel where they used to... I left to be staying with my cousin. So the UNHCR was so, so, so, that things are becoming so bad. Now, they called me, they came with two policemen, with my friends, and then we left.

I: Yes

IP: We stayed in the hotel for two months, then, they took my passport. Sweden is accepting me.

I: Yes

IP: To stay here. That's how I ended up in Sweden.

I: Yes

IP: For me, I didn't plan even. Ok, my father used to be here for a long time. He studied here.

I: In Sweden?

IP: Yes! In Uppsala University.

I: Ok, I see.

IP: But, but I didn't plan even to come to Sweden. I used to be in New York, Canada, but that's how I ended up to be here. Eh?

I: Yes. So, so I want to talk about the journalistic situation in Rwanda right now...

IP: Aha...

I: So, I mean, do you still work, do you write for any rwandan newspaper?

IP: No, no, I can't. No, nobody can accept me. Cause they are living in fear.

I: I see.

IP: That's very important. I was writing with (tidning 1), with (tidning 3). (tidning 3) Owner, he's living in Faroun. You see? So there is no any newspaper which is independent there.

I: There's not, not anymore?

IP: No, no, no, no... The one who tried is called (tidning 4). Yes? (tidning 4), eh? He tried, but then they have been censoring him like hell. So... For sure, right now, they can call you, tell you, but they can't write anything.

I: I see.

IP: Yes (skrattar)

I: So, why do think that is? Why do you think that the government wants that kind

of situation?

IP: No, you know, the problem of Rwanda right now, it's not about hutu or tutsi. I'm a tutsi. Have many friends of hutus. They are good. The situation in Rwanda right now, it's just a click of people... It's not about RPF. There is many RPF members who is right now crying. Why? Why? Why? By the way, the people who started RPF, they are marginalized right now. Eh? The RPF which is the power party, eh?

I: Yes

IP: This RPF hold every business, everything, every single business. They have to know, why you have this? It's becoming like nazis! You know, nazis they were asking, eh, why do you have this? But it's in the name of RPF, it's not all RPF, it's just a click of people.

I: Yes

IP: From Kagame, to (person 8), to these all bastards. When we are fighting, they are behind there. We are fighting for the country! They were behind there. I'm saying like a journalist, like how I can say like (namnet på två personer). (namnet på en person) who is in opposition right now, I can talk to him and say, mr (person 9), you did this and this and this to me. Or to the other people. I'm not a politician, I'm a journalist, that's all. But right now, it's a click. And that's why, you won't find, you want to work as a journalist there, you have to compromise with them. By the way, they're gonna control you. You have to compromise that, eh, I write this. And, they are using the bastard, the bastard international newspapers. You know the money they are paying for the lobbyist, they are paying a lot of money.

I: Ok

IP: Susan Rise, after Clinton moving out of the power, they payed her a lot of money. For nothing! That's why you see the US... Obama was so, so, so hard trying to be hard. But Susan Rise, she's becoming, you know? Just saying, oh Obama, you have to listen, you know? And, you know how much money Kagame is paying to Tony Blair? Like an advisor? Bill Clinton? A lot of money. You don't know how they are using this, these sources from Congo.

I: Ah.

IP: Chivu. That's the problem. Eh? And, right now, right now, people are gonna say maybe I hate him, or what. He was my boss, eh? In the army, eh?

I: Yes

IP: We fought together. We did everything together, to make this country to be free.

I: You're talking about Kagame...

IP: Kagame, yes! Did the country become free? No! It's just authoritarian. The dictator.

I: Yes.

IP: Yes.

I: So what would you say, what role does the journalism play in Rwanda today?

IP: You know what they play? You know what they play? To praise. Just praising! You know, I read the newspapers. They hate you, they're gonna bring, they say you are... You are a genocide denier. Now there is something that came you know, the stupid allegation, genocide denier. I have my uncle, he was here. (person 10). He's my uncle, real uncle. He came here in Sweden. And I asked him, you guys, are you crazy? You know? He said that to everybody, UN association, here, down there. Eh? Down there. And then he said, I'm so happy I find my – he knows before – I find my, I have some relatives here... Eh, this is (IP1), he's my nephew. You see? This is (person 11), he's my friend. He's a journalist living here, married in Sweden. You see? Nut the problem is like this, are they becoming crazy? He's changing names on facebook or anywhere on twitter, to abuse me.

I: Ok

IP: Ok. Now they are changing. When you write something, or you show something like this, they come with a lot of abuse to me.

I: Yes.

IP: But... The journalism in Rwanda is dead. There is no journalism, it's just to praise.

I: Yes

IP1: To praise Kagame, Kagame... and they forget, you know. When they are

saying like... They are saying everything is ok in Rwanda. That is the problem.

I: Yes

IP1: But today, if you see what they wrote, somebody whom I know, is in side with those fucking bastard dictators, eh? He said, Rwanda is still fragile. By the way, is Rwanda still fragile when you say "we are the best in the region"? You see?

I: Yes

IP1: Fragile, cause you fear... They fear the people who are out there, very good here. (cough) That's the problem! You see?

I: Yes, yes

IP1: (hostar)

I: I read that... Officially, I assume that they are worried that – that's what they say – that they are worried that the media will become hate media, like before the genocide, or something like that.

IP1: (viskar) Noo...

I: What do you think about that?

IP1: Can I tell you?

I: Yes

IP1: Can I tell you? Hate media, that's the bull shit. By the way, for them... Let me start, by the way, let me start, very well, from the beginning. I was there in Rwanda during that time. And I was 20 years.

I: Yes.

IP1: I know the hate media, what happened. But can I tell you one thing? Who did hate, who did that hate statements and everything? They were sponsored by the government. Who is doing the same thing right now? (hostar) It's not about hate media. It's about corrupting people.

I: Yes.

IP1: You see? The problem is to understand the truth of the media. If I am saying somebody is corrupt, if I get the minister sleeping with another woman and I get a

photo, and I get everything, when he is married or she is married, eh?

I: Yes.

IP1: Is that hate media? Or the truth is there? If I find that somebody is corrupt, is being taking money, doing this and this and this, is that hate media? No! The problem is to find that, when you are saying the truth to them, they want to make it... To make it a scape goat.

I: Yes.

IP1: Of what happened, you make it a scape goat. Always! You know for me, I've been saying this all the time. One day, I asked mr Kagame...

I: Yes

IP1: 31st August 2001. I heard, he started to get a problem with general Kayumba Nyamwasa. And I asked him, in a state house in Eroguro village, the office of Kagame, I said: "Mr President, we have heard that you have a problem with your army commander". Cause you are still the army commander.

I: Yes

IP1: But then somebody, you know what he said?

I: No

IP1: He looked at me, you know, with his glasses, he did like this (visar hur han rättar till glasögonen).

I: Yes

IP1: Became the face (ser allvarlig ut). "Who told you that? Who told you that?" And I was just smiling. And everybody was so shocked, you know they are shaking! The journalists! It didn't appear on the tv, but then, the camera was there. "Who told you this? I will not answer this. Somebody who told you this will answer you". They banned me, not to step again, eh?

I: Mmm

IP1: To the Kagame's office or where he is doing any conference. By the way, we were banned for a long time. We were banned for like for three years, eh? They do everything over there, when we go there on the door, they say "you are not invited". And I say, "by the way, I am not supposed to be invited". (hostar)

Journalists is not supposed to be invited, eh? (hostar) Journalists, when there is news, you are not invited – you go to cover the story, eh? (hostar) So he said, he said, he said, like that, and everybody was like, everybody was like, eh, “(IP1), today you are dead one”.

I: Mmm

IP1: And, I did fill the story on my newspaper. So they were saying, “(IP1) can do that?” You know?

I: Yes

IP1: Then it was starting to be like that. So, for me, I feel like they have been using a scape goat. Their mistakes, they hide on what happened 1994, 1993. Let's be open! Where is the hate here? Eh? It's like genocide ideology – who got this genocide ideology? We have never seen the nazi ideology! No, you can be a nazi cause you hate people, eh? But there is ideology. This ideology, genocide ideology, how? You use it cause some people, they're gonna use it all the time when you are saying no to mr Kagame.

I: So they are using the...

IP1: (avbryter) They are using it against the people who are saying “no, this is not”... When you are opening up, you say no, maybe we can do like this? Even if you are giving a good idea, when they don't want to use it, or you are against them (hostar), they use it to make sure you are down. Genocide ideology.

I: Mmm. So you think that journalists today in Rwanda, do you think they... Are they scared of what might happen...

IP1: (avbryter) Yes...

I: ...if they brake the rules or...

IP1: (avbryter) Let me tell you.

I: Yes

IP1: I have many of them, instead of calling me from Rwanda, they move out to Uganda, eh? You know, on the border posts.

I: Yes

IP1: The go, they buy the new cards from those countries – Uganda, Tanzania,

Burundi, eh? Or Kongo.

I: Yes

IP1: They call me, they tell me everything. Cause they are fearing to call me. They are controlled. See? Listening their phones and everything.

I: Mmm

IP1: So, they are living in fear.

I: Do you think, is there... Is there any good thing about the media not, eh, not being, I mean... To just show the unification, and just to say praise to the government? Is there any good consequence of that?

IP1: Can I tell you one thing? There is good things. Eh? I am not criticizing everything about Kagame. No. No! Development, good. You are doing good. He is doing good in development of some things. But then, he is just only in Kigali. When you go to the village, people there are still living in one need. (skrattar) You see?

I: Yes

IP1: That's the problem, people in... Kigali is clean, clean, but who is gonna eat cleanness?

I: Sorry, who is...?

IP1: No, who is gonna eat cleanness? Yes, Kigali is clean. But people, they are suffering. You know? Taxes are high. Very high. And, the taxes, what they are doing, is just to benefit him with his two Bombardier. The Bombardier, even now, they are in Greece. (hostar) Two private jets (hostar) which was bought how? Eh? (hostar) In 2002, I got the information from somebody, a journalist who was working with them in Uganda. They just did my way, xxxx (journalistens namn). He told me, they have bought two Bombardier from Canada. And I didn't know how I start that story! At the end of the day, it came out in 2010. But then it came because of what? The one who used to be the private secretary, dr Himbara, is the one who came to bring out. But for me, I feared that story because it was going to kill me, eh?

I: So you did... Did you actually censor yourself, did you choose not to write

stories that you thought would...

IP1: (avbryter) No I, I... There is some stories, when you don't have the perfect thing. You know, the good sources.

I: Mmm

IP1: Yes, you enter in the... You will be going to the jail for five years! And there, they kill you over there. Inside the jail. You see? But I sensed something. But I didn't have the really, the really good sources. (hostar) And who is telling me, who was telling me that? It was like, ehmm... I fear he may be setting me, eh? He is setting me, cause he was on the bed with them.

I: Yes

IP1: So I was fearing, he is setting me. But later, it came out. And then he... I'm saying about, about, about, about the situation right now, with the... What you asked about, about... Eh?

I: About the journalism...

IP: About the journalism in Rwanda right now.

I: Yes

IP: Total, it's bogus. I can give you an example. You know why?

I: Tell me

IP: You go and you find, try to find this man called Christopher Kayomba. I can give you an email, he's a great guy, a great brother who got a phd in Göteborg University. He started a newspaper called the chronicle.

I: Yes

IP: Of Rwanda. He started to heat. And everybody was eh? Looking on him. That now, there is another newspaper which is coming, very independent. At the end, they did... I don't know what they did. Now it stopped for almost five or six months, no, eight months. You know?

I: Yes

IP: He's a lecturer at the university. He started to say the truth, and then, they forced even now... You know, even in your family. Now he is divorced. Eh? The

wife works somewhere in the government. And then they force you, everything, they will make sure, they do everything. You see? That's the problem with that. You become a true man, you become like, eh, you know you are? To be free, to say this is not right, this is right... Kagame always, he is praising the... Tony Blair comes from with that Bombardier, and he comes, they pay for him, the, the Bombardier goes to UK. You know? That is tax payers money!

I: Yes

IP: Take, Tony Blair to Kigali, and then he comes there in these limousines, eh? And then he say, he say, he say, ok, Kagame has done good. Is Tony Blair ever going to Gikongoro? Somewhere where people, where people they are just living in one meal? No! This bastard, eh, you know, this bastard like Tony Blair, they are making the dictator to be big headed. Clinton – same bullshit. Rupert Murdoch – the same shit. They are working with the same shit, cause they want the resources from Congo, and then who is getting that? It's him! Conflicts every now and then in Congo Then you end up say, eh, here the politicians in Europe, Kagame has done good. Kigali can be clean...

I: Yes

IP: But are the people satisfied? You know?

I: Yes

IP: If my family is a middle class family, what about the people who is down there? I don't care about my family right now. I care about the people who I fought for! I didn't fight for my family only, I fought for the whole people in Rwanda.

I: So, if we, if we talk about the situation for media, how would you say that it has... How has it changed since... I mean, you started as a journalist in 97, no?

IP: 1999.

I: 99, yes. So, since 99, has it changed or has it been the same all the time?

IP: Can I tell you?

I: Yes

IP: It was good some times back, cause there was some newspapers where there is

independent newspaper. Right now, is going, we are headed for the doom. Headed for the doom, that's how I can explain it. Journalism in Rwanda, except BBC, cause they have you know FM radio, everybody is listening BBC. Eh?

I: Yes

IP: This private radios is music only. I listen to them. It's music, ah, music, oh... Eh? Nothing much. And praising. You know? Praising Kagame, praising, eh?

I: Yes

IP: You know, they call him names, you know? Same like Putin. By the way, Putin somehow, they got him some resistance. (skrattar) A little bit, eh? We can hear the pussy riot, they are doing something there. But Putin, the same, now, he is running the same thing of Putin. Very soon he is gonna change the, the, the constitution. Without doubt! Very moment! Cause I have seen how they write him. Eh? Now they want to bring the vice president, again. You see? (skrattar) (hostar)

I: Yes

IP: It's terrible, it's terrible, it's terrible... You see? Really, it's itching me. Cause me, I thought, maybe one day, very soon I'll be going back to my country. Eh?

I: Yes. You want to go back and work as a journalist?

IP: I want to go back and work as a journalist! I don't want to go back there because of the conditions like this, keep... No. I want to go there to work as a journalist. By the way, they don't know how we suffer here. You come here, in this weather, you don't know. I suffer. You know? Sometimes I cry, myself. I cry! A lot. I miss my mom. I miss my family, I miss everything.

I: Yes

IP: It's itching me. You know my mom? The last time I called her, I was there (pekar mot Cityterminalen). You see that place?

I: Yes

IP: I called her. She was crying. It's itching me. It's killing me... It's killing me... It's killing me. (börjar gråta) Mom... She can't come here. I can't go to Uganda or anywhere. They're gonna find me! They kill me! I know!

I: Yes...

IP: I'm sorry. I'm sorry. Sometimes I got emotion. Sometimes, you know? Back, when I was in the army, I didn't have emotions. I was like, you know? I saw many people die.

I: Yes

IP: I saw many people dying in front of me. But I didn't get emotion. But nowadays, since I came in Sweden, since I came in Sweden, I got emotions. A lot. So, I miss my family, eh? (snyftar) I'm sorry, I'm sorry, sometimes shit happens, eh? (skrattar)

I: Yes I understand...

IP: Shit happens, eh? (skrattar) Yes... Ok. I came here, I didn't know I would be here for this long. I thought, I'd be here for some time and then I go out, maybe things will change and I go back. But then the most... I thought maybe I could go to Uganda. Or maybe in Tanzania.

I: And work from Tanzania?

IP: Yes, yes. I was planning to do that. But now, they have everywhere spies. To finish everybody who is going there. You see? So, I'll be here until maybe God will help me, and change everything. But, I still have hope. I hope, eh? And, this makes me to change my life a lot.

I: Yes.

IP: Cause, you know, when, when you feel like, you know, you are down. You know, there is once, long time ago, 1991. I was sitting with someone, one of my friends. He's dead, eh? And we were talking about the situation. You know, you remember the music, eh? Everything. You're in the bush, you know, something, eh? Maybe the bomb will come and kill you. Then you remember the music. And then, this friend of mine, he says, you know today I feel I'm gonna die. He said that! I said, you crazy, you're not going to die. Ok, he died that day. He was feeling, he's gonna die, he died. What I'm feeling right now, I am feeling that one day... I feeling that one day, this dictator will be out. Then I'll be back home.

I: Yes

IP: That I still believe it. I still believe it! You know, I'm not... I'm not done with everything. I try to make sure... You know, I'm working this odd job, eh? I have

my education. Sometimes you find some people, they don't understand who are you, eh? They make you down, eh? Like recently I met this woman... Eh, I was working with Myrorna. Yes?

I: Yes

IP: Myrorna, this young boy called Tobias, was 23 years old, very nice, eh? And we were working very good. And then at the end, he left, because he was going back to school, then they bring this another woman, I don't know... She became so harsh to me, she was treating like I am an animal. You see? Until I thought, what is this? Then I saw, not me only, even other workers. You know, for me, I stand up for the people! One day, I said no, this is enough. Can I tell you? Now, we are tired of you. (skrattar) I said everything, I'm a journalist.

I: Yes (skrattar)

IP: (skrattar) You know, to be a journalist, it's a decease.

I: You're supposed to say everything... (skrattar)

IP: (skrattar) Mr Peter...

I: (skrattar)

IP: You know what I did? I did that on that day, end everybody was like, ok? You know... I didn't finish that... By the way, on my background, when I came here, I get somehow be stressed a lot. I was so stressed, you know? I was spending my time with books and the tv only. My cigaret, that's all. Don't tell me anything, eh?

I: Yes

IP: And I became like everything is coming. I used to get nightmares... Sometimes they are, you know, they are coming, they are saying, we are not dead. You know, when you hear that, we are not dead? Hell no. This is a friend, he died some time back. Then he comes back, after some time, he's coming, and then you see him. Then you wake up. No sleeping again... So, then it was like that. But then, I said I'm gonna treat myself. I was meeting with psychologist. You know, they are, they are, but then always, they want you to talk... Nothing, there is no any medication. (skrattar) And then I said, maybe I can do myself. So I started to do myself. Slowly, slowly, slowly. Now I'm coping everything, eh?

I: Yes

IP: But, I'm writing my book. When I'm writing my book, it's better.

I: You're writing a book?

IP: Yes, I'm writing a book. I'm trying to find somebody like whom we can share this and then we write the book, cause I can tell him the story. Sometimes it's very too much to me. Then we do something, we start from the beginning. How I ended up to be in the army, and after the army, and everything I did... Cause I know a lot of things about Rwanda. That's why they fear me. By the way, they have been following me here.

I: In Sweden?

IP: Did you know, did you hear the case?

I: About the...

IP: The banana thing...

I: No, tell me

IP: One day I was called by Säpo. Eh? This is still no, it's not going to be in the news, but then the Säpo called me. They have been calling me... They called me, I was there like four, three times, four hours, interviewing me. Somebody came here, declared he's from Burundi, but I know him, he's from Rwanda. The embassy here, they have been trying to fix me. They are still following me here!

I: They are?

IP: Yes! Even if I'm going somewhere, and I find some people from Rwanda, the beer I'm drinking, I have to hold it. If I left it somewhere, I will not take it again. Cause nowadays, they are using the poison. They know I know a lot of things.

I: Yes. So you're scared even here in Sweden?

IP: Yes, even here in Sweden! Even here in Sweden, I'm so scared. If they are following me in Sweden, what about, what about in Africa, eh? So they have been targeting the very good people who they know. You know, I was with them since I was 20, 19. Eh? I was with with Kagame. I know what happened, how the people died, how he ordered something. I know it. Each and everything. So they fear that. That's why, my family is targeted right now, they call my mom, they call my

young brother. Ok, I'm lucky, one of them, one of my young brother is in Germany. Another one in Boston, another one in South Africa. My sister lives in Belgium. So we are separated like that. But I still have my mom. I still have extended family there. I still have my dad. My dad, they fear him, cause he's a bishop. He's a bishop from church, like Svenska Kyrkan.

I: Yes

IP: That's why he studied here. By the way, I grew up with swedish kids.

I: Really?

IP: Yes, yes, many of them! When I was a kid, you know.

I: Yes

IP: So it's like that, but then, in the end, you decide to do the right thing. I will not, I will not accept, they have been trying to bring me money.

I: Yes

IP: Even here, they say they are gonna buy me the house in Kigali. The ambassador telling me that. The woman, she left, just like two years ago.

I: Yes, yes, I know.

IP: That one, a devil one. She called me, saying, I was going to write a story about them. Whilst I was still working, and I wrote the story. Then she said, no, you know, eh? She's taking me in the car and say, you know we can buy you a house. I said, you crazy. Instead of buying me a house, go and buy, try to feed the kids with malnutrition in the villages. See? I don't need that house!

I: Yes

IP: They are corrupt, they are... You know the corruption in Rwanda? You hear oh, they are corrupt free. The corruption is there! Up there. (pekar uppåt) That's how it is. Mr Peter.

I: So you know, I'm going there next sunday actually.

IP: Mmm

I: Ehm... So, and I have this plan to talk to journalists in Rwanda. So... What do you think I'm gonna hear?

IP: No. Just go there, and... Try, ask them freely, but then try to be careful some times. You know, I know they have been chasing men of journalism out of Rwanda, and you know... If you chase us on the force, you say, it's no person who you want to come, eh? Anything can happen. But if you go in there, just be... You know I told you (person 9), this young boy, he was in the army. I think is trying to do something, Ishema newspaper, and he, he, he fears, but then he can do something. He can tell you, behind the scene, behind the scene, he can say something.

I: Yes, I'm...

IP: He will not want you to quote him, eh?

I: But I'm going to keep everyone, everyone anonymous. So...

IP: Yes, yes, anonymous, yes. But for me, say (IP1) said that! For me no problem. (skrattar) For me, it's (IP1), say (IP1) said that, for me I said to them – if I say something, I mean it, I can sign it.

I: Yes.

IP: If I'm writing anything on Facebook, I say, eh, I said it, the dictator! Nobody will change me! Cause I'm free to say that, ok, nobody can come and kill me, no problem! You see? Then you're gonna meet with these psychofans, we call them psychofans, they are there, psychofans... Shaka Kanuma, The New Times, eh? That bastard, you see?

I: And they are the ones...

IP: Yes, yes, yes, for sure, like now, there is no, there is no concrete newspaper you can meet. What I can say, ok, there are some people working with BBC. They are good.

I: Yes. Rwandan journalists working with BBC?

IP: Yes, rwandan journalists working with BBC.

IP2, exiljournalist

Intervjun med IP2 ägde rum över telefon, eftersom han själv inte ville avslöja var han befann sig. Intervjun var en av dem som inte gick förlorad och transkriberades därför i sin helhet.

I: I talked to (IP1) the other day, we had a long talk on the situation in Rwanda. I thought, to get a good picture of the situation, it's good for me to talk to both rwandan exile journalists and journalists in the country. So that's why I wanted to talk to you. But first of all, if it's ok, could you tell me a bit about your background as a jouranlist, your experience and... Just short....

IP: Yes, my background starts in 2005, when I was... Our newspaper started in early 2006. And in november 2006 we had a sphere of (ohörbart). We had a... Rwandas notorious military intelligence. They started hunting us. I remember in november 2006, I talked to president Kagame warning him that my life could be taken away.

I: Mmm

IP: He dramatized that warning and he acted as if nothing is going to take place. And I said it's gonna... He's gonna help me so that I couldn't die. But surprisingly enough, two months later I was beaten, brutally beaten into coma by his security agents. And I spent about four days in coma, they did brain surgery, my body was almost beaten up... So I was in a critical situation and people never thought that I could, that I could be a human being again. But by Gods mercy I managed to overcome this critcal situation which was the challange of my life. I... And then I went to Belgium for treatment and to South Africa. But I had to go back to my home country, because I knew that whatever they were doing, it was like, it was interogating journalists and they are muting them so that they are, they could, the country could remain without any free, any free... Any free voice.

I: Mmm

IP: Yes

I: Could you please tell me about the situation where you were beaten, what was the background, why did that happen?

IP: When this happened I had published a lot of articles showing that... The

nepotism, the way president Kagame regime, they way the former genocide regime Emerende (?) was setted by president (den förra presidentens namn). Nepotism was vast in RPF, whereby I... Family trees were the ones heading the state. I gave different examples in my article showing how... how the head of migration at that time... (ohörbart) His wife was... was the minister in ministry of agriculture. I gave examples in my article how the head of (ohörbart) at that time, lieutenant Simon Kacira (?), aa... His wife was the... In the Kigali city mayor, the mayor of Kigali city by that time.

I: Mmm

IP: I showed how president Kagame head of... Head of presidential protection brigade, Tom Kalagam (?), his wife was, the wife was, the... The, the, the commission of general Rwanda politics (?). By that time I was so excited having an article showing that aa... A... Minister Shakatel Osemni (?)... His, he was the mayor of eastern region at that time. And the wife was heading the (ohörbart). So I showed that there is a lot of nepotism in the ruling party RPF. Yet RPF was saying that before, when there was fighting, and said that it was attacking to.. To fight for certain things so that in the country there is not nepotism and and and... And so that the country could also have values like having political special freedom of media. So such, in fact there was another showed that eh... Which showed that plundering of minerals and plundering of natural resources of highest order by president Kagame and his ruling click. Eh... I made them furious and acted in an evil way of wanting to take away my life, but I let alone got believe and went back to Rwanda. I got treatment in Brussels...

I: Mmm

IP: ...and went back to Rwanda and started working as journalist again. Not until...

I: (avbryter) Weren't you afraid to go back?

IP: Definatly, I was afraid before because my reason of... The worries were that I was arrested... My worries were that I was fearing to die. But even as I laid for death in bed, and I was... Being killed in, in an evil manner to set to an extent a human being, to kill a fellow human being... Like a person who is killing a snake, whereby they beat up and brutally destroyed my head. So the only thing that could really be shooting me and the couldn't be.. I couldn't be worried that they would

be shooting me, because by that time they could use bullets than using any bar. So i thought it was better for me to continue to have freedom, to continue to have freedom of media. And continue on helping our news reporters that were still at a young age at that time. I had to get, to build up some other journalists who could take over in the future. So I... Then, that meant me going back to Rwanda. In 2009, things became worse. I remember the minister of information at that time, who is now the minister of foreign affairs. In may forced us from world media, they forced us from a... Hotel Serinam, I and some other editors, they decided to blackmail us and blacklist us on the only press conference. And at that time, we lose sources. If a journalist doesn't have the sources, if a journalist doesn't have access to information, that means a journalist cannot work in any way or another. So that was another wa another way of sabotaging us. As if that was not enough, they made a pressconference – i remember that pressconference that was chaired by (ohörbart). Minister...

I: (avbryter) Was this in 2010, 2009, when was this?

IP: This was, I think, I remember that was far away in 2008, when minister Musami James (?) was the minister of finance at that time. But currently, the local government, minister Mustafa (ohörbart) who was the minister of internal security, minister (ohörbart) was the minister of justice and is still the minister of justice, ehm... Lieutenant (ohörbart) who was the RDB spokesman. So they all made a live, live show on radio Rwanda. And, and one thing we have in Rwanda, are accusing editors of independent media of being enemies of the state. And they are showing Rwanda that it is finely prepared. They crush us because we are enemies of the state. This was followed by in a, in a, 2009. I remember I think it was about july 27th. This is when minister (ohörbart) was in front of president Kagame in a press conference that was live, saying that eh.... "President, we have already managed to... We are going to give you this journalist". And he gave a referens, but Gasasira, we have already managed to hand him over to justice. And they said, the others, we are dealing with them. So this is when we are driven to court on fake accusations of information and, and, and other, and other things. So they prosecuted us throughout 2009. After 2010, when rwandan predator called Kagame.

I: Mmmm

IP: Will have things... (ohörbart). He dramatically went to rwandan parlament in front of... I remember, it was a ceremony for the new (ohörbart) staff of that time and other officials, whereby he said that he's tired of freedom of independent media. And he said that "I am going to suspend this newspaper. Let those who use this journalist take them to their country. But we no longer have interest in having such journalists who are enemies of our state".

I: Mmmm

IP: This was the remark led by president Kagame himself.

I: He said that?

IP: In front of the rwandan parlament.

I: Mmm. So, and then what happened?

IP: It happened, definately the same day (ohörbart) The Media High Council call us and told us that they are suspended for using newspaper, which is our newspaper, and a second newspaper which was our sister newspaper. And a few days later, we were inserted on survaillance and phone call... It was until i fled the country on... On the first of eh... Of, eh april 2010. And I think my fellow editors of our sister newspaper also fled in the same time.

I: Why did you chose to flee Rwanda at that time? What was, what was so special about this time?

IP: I had good, I had reliable information that my life could go away. They had planned to assasinate me and... And... Even to take away my body and said that I fled away. So this is used Rwanda by eh... Rwandas military intelligence, they have always been doing such a thing. I can give you examples of people who were kidnappend and... And, and, killed and after they said that they fled the country. So I had information in that (ohörbart) that Rwandas notorious military intelligence in conjunction with national intelligence services took a decision about taking away my life. Then I had to flee to Uganda, so that I could save, save my life. And... A few days later we started working online. Then, when we were working online, we started... We refused to come down on their harrasment, and intimidation. And we started our online version that when we showed that president Kagame has one of, one of the unpatriotic president who uses eh...

Donation and tax payers money to buy one of the luxurious and, and, and expensive jets. He bought two personal jets, presidential jets. Two personal jets which were costing 150 million dollars – in a country like Rwanda. And 150 dollars plus 15 million dollar for missiles, because his two jets have missiles. So you can calculate, 150 dollar, you divide by two, then you add on fifteen per jet for the armed missile. So we managed to get this evidence, and we also managed to get evidence that to make matters worse, our president was lending his personal jets to the government. His personal jets could be transporting rwandas to any other point, to any other point in the world on a far exaggerated expence. And let alone, the same expence could be paid by rwandas tresury. So the jets were personal jets of the president, and the president lend himself such jets. So it was corruption of highest order. After publishing things with such evidence, that we have a president who was eh... plundering the state tresure, that's when you know they started attacking me and try to compromise me saying that his, his... One of his personal private business partner to compromise me, but I refused and... Eh... A few days later, this is when Rwandas national secret services, they dramatically shoot one of, one of the military generals called general Kayumba Nyamwasa, who had fled Rwanda to South Africa. So this happened in, in, in june, around 21st. Eh... So (namnet på en person) make an investigation in this case, and we showed how president Kagame himself authorized this murder attempt. We showed how the head of national security services, (namnet på en person), who was informed with communication with general Kayumbas driver, and was telling him that, well... Well done job. And that my president is going to reward you more if you finish up this general in the hospital. So we, we managed to access this phone call aparatus which was... In Rwandas national secret services, and the murderers in South Africa. And we published this. The same day, which was on the 24th of, of, of June, this is when they assassinated, when they shoot dead in cold blood my deputy editor, (namnet på honom), who was shot dead in 22 hours when he was entering his own area in, in Kigali. In Kigali.

I: Mmmm

IP: He was shot dead by people who travelled in president Kagames convoy. Eh... And the convoy was, was escorted by military police who were on a motorbike of military police. And there were patrol of Rwanda national police around the scene

of crime. And after that, they lied that my deputy editor was involved in genocide and that's the truth. This had never happened, they once arrested him and cleared him on... (ohörbart) So they did this in order to retaliate on the articles which we had wrote. And secondly, my deputy editor (namnet på en person) was the one following legal procedures. And pursued the government of Rwanda to take away eh... The value of (ohörbart). We had took a descision of pursuing the government in the high court. So given that said, (namnet på en person) was the one who was taking care of it and legal procedure.

I: Mmm

IP: So the government had to do this in order to (ohörbart) and clear all, all, all... All our activities. So the only, the only journalist who had remained in the country had to (ohörbart) on them and... Some people and other media organs have fled to other countries, hearing to be killed also. So that's the cronology of what we passed through. But (ohörbart), two days before shooting dead my deputy editor (namnet på honom) I was found in a, in a public place in Kampala, called java... Java café pub, it is attached to Nakoumat in Kampala, and... People came, putting on pretend clothes, but armed, to who I knew are rwandan police. They tried to abduct me in Kampala. This was on 22nd of June 2010. I was let alone rescued by ugandan police. This is on record, and... And... So after failing to abduct me and murder me, this is when they murdered, two days later, my deputy editor. So I can say that this has been the cronology of what I passed through in Kampala, but fortunately now, when I was in such a dead, a dead, ehm... When I was in such field, death field, fearing to lose my life, I got fortunate enough that I got asylum from a strong country which is best on values of protecting media freedom, and... And protecting having liberties of freedom of expression, and democracy. Then I came to Sweden, and after coming to Sweden, definitely some other things in one way or another, the rwandan media... The rwandan dictator, his embassy and his (ohörbart) in one way or another, which I won't go in to details, due to security and due to issues which is still in court, but they wanted also to assassinate me in Sweden.

I: Mmmm

IP: That is what I can tell you, but we... We... I and other colleagues, I have

colleagues who are very patriotic and who are very courageous, who refuse to succumb on, on the dictator, and the rwandan dictator. We decided to continue doing our journalism work in exile, where we had fled to, so that we could advocate for people who are still at home starving, people who are dying, people who are in detention, people who are facing a lot of injustice, and so that we could also fill the vacuum of lack of independent media. So that we had to fill this vacuum by setting up, continuing up in an online version so that we, despite what we are passing through, so that we could continue in one way or another in highlighting and assisting our people to access information. Though we are not doing it, eh... As we expected, due to not being present at our home land, but we are trying, and we are trying (ohörbart).

I: Yes. So could you tell me how you work today? How do you get your news, what sources do you have?

IP: Definitely Peter, I won't go into details, because of the security problems. Up to now, the dictator is also very interested to know how we are working, who are my journalists, and, and what's going on. Those are things, due to the enemy we have, who is very active and who is using embassies and, and money, the taxpayers money, and donation money, to eliminate his critics. So, I... We, we decided to work slowly by slowly, and in a humble way, and secret way, in order to assist our people back home. So, due to the situation we are in, I couldn't go into the perimeters of how we work.

I: I understand

IP: But what I can tell you, we have continued to work, we have a lot of people ready to assist us, both one (ohörbart) and our friends... So people who love Rwanda, people who love freedom of media, and, and, and I think I could stop there on that point. Because, first, due to security reasons. The media predator has used a lot of weapons to crush us.

I: Mmm

IP: Secondly, eh, given the safety of journalists who are still in Rwanda, and others in the region. So we couldn't go into details.

I: Sure. Could you tell me, your website is in Kinyarwanda, and unfortunately...

IP: We have an english version. When you go on the right click, on the right click you see a... Where there is english, and then you press on english, you will see some articles published in english.

I: Ok

IP: Automatically, you will see it in kinyarwanda. There is a button, and there is, you can see, it's on the right side, in the front, upside in the corner. You see where there is languages?

I: Yes, yes I see.

IP: Then you click on the, you click on the... You will see a lot of things. In fact, it will help you to understand Rwanda. Because day per day, minute per minute, we try to have, to, to, to update on things taking place in Rwanda.

I: Mmm

IP: In the little capacity we have.

I: Yes. So could you, could you just describe for me what kind of newspaper do you think xxxx is?

IP: Pardon?

I: Could you just, your website and you paper, what kind of eh... Paper would you say it is? What kind of news do you write about?

IP: Definitely, it is more investigative and... And investigating newspaper, and, and we are more of activists than, than reporting on news. Most especially, we report on things that are ongoing in the world, the injustice which is taking place in the, in the accounts... We are independent journalists, reporting on such events which take place in our country. The corruption, injustice and other things. Yes, yes. But we are independent journalists. And we make investigative stories on what is taking place in the country, and we make eh... We report on injustices and other things, so we are independent journalists operating, eh, yes...

I: So could you tell me how... I think it's interesting to know how the website is financed. To you have adds, or, where do you get your funding?

IP: In fact, in the situation we are working in, ever since... In Rwanda we have...

Avbryts av signaler för samtal på andra linjen

IP: Some interruption?

I: No, no problem, just continue.

IP: Yes, in Rwanda, like any other journalists, we had hard copy newspaper, who were printing, and we had no financial constraints. But, definitely, that's, according to the mission of the predator, he crushed us, in order to be financially handicapped. And we decided to go online, but it was premature to cost our journalism work. Even that it was among the only outlet whereby all rwandans in exile, in diaspora, in Europe, North America, China, India, Africa, and back home, were accessing us. So we found that costing our journalism work could be eh... Could be depriving this people their right of accessing free information and access to free information. So what we did was to sacrifice our selves, and do whatever we have, and do whatever we were based, to plan this newspaper, to plan this media outlet. Though not easy, but we did so, and we are still doing so by (ohörbart).

I: Yes. So could you... I want to talk a little bit about the journalism inside Rwanda today.

IP: Yes.

I: Could you tell me, what is the situation like today, as you see it?

IP: Eh... Going back to the question before, I want to make it clear that we are not being financed by anybody, or any other person, I think you got it.

I: Yes sure. It's your own efforts and your own money, and I understand it.

IP: Yes, it's our own. Even me, all my colleagues, I am not alone, and all our journalists are sacrificing themselves. They contribute to this work.

I: Yes

IP: And going back to freedom of media in Rwanda and the situation in Rwanda... (suckar) My brother, can I take you back to the genocide?

I: Mmmm

IP: The rwandan journalists and the rwandan media betrayed rwandans to an

extent that they never exposed what was taking place at that time. And they, they acted in same bed with the genocide regime, with the killing regime which had started killing people from far away, far away in late 90s. So rwandan journalists were in the same bed, they didn't become independent, and the reasons begin why even the international community wasn't informed about what was taking place in Rwanda, given that our media wasn't working for sure, and wasn't informing about what was taking place in the country. If the media is vibrant and working, that means that the foreigners could know, and understand. And understand that things, that some things are gonna happen in Rwanda. But it was conferred that the media was in the same bed. And that's why you find that, we find that, some of these journalists in international courts, international tribunal of Arusha, and other in rwandan prison. So the same goes to the current government. The government, which is the RPF dominated government, are... After 1994 genocide, it was saying that it was fighting for three pillars, which were justice, which was democracy, and which was unity and reconciliation. I think even (ohörbart). But, the way... The reason as to why I am giving you this history, this background, is to understand well the situation in which rwandan media is operating in. So, because our media has always been interconnected and interconnected to rwandan politics. And the current politics. So, dramatically now is that the rwandan, the rwandan, eh... Dictator, eh... Crushed all opposition. They crushed MDL, opposition party which was a hutu dominated party, the crushed all other parties, even (ohörbart). The same goes to 2010, all independent parties, like FDU, Green Party, and PS Imberakuri. All parties were crushed, in order to win the 2010 election. The same goes to the media. All truthful media outlet which were independent (ohörbart) were crushed. So the only other media organization, apart from BBC world service which have a kinyarwanda program, and the VOA (Voice of America) which has a kinyarwanda program – other journalists and other media outlets, they are in the same bed as the government. They are there just to praise the dictator, and to publish articles in a cowardly way, so that they don't find themselves in jail, or forced to exile, or being assassinated, like the way we... Like what we've passed through. So that is, that is the current situation, and the field that eh... The so called media association, first of all the Media High Council, according to rwandan law and according to the institution, it is supposed to be independent. In fact, we even asked the british government, which was supporting

them in 2010, we asked them to stop supporting them. Because the Media High Council, in rwandan constitution, it is supposed to advocate, it is supposed to regulate and protect media. But, funny enough, the rwandan Media High Council, instead of protecting the media, it's regulating and... And starred itself as prosecutors and military police of journalists, with intention of being... Being a voice to the dictator Kagame. And the Media High Council itself, instead of being independent, it is working to get information and reporting it direct to Rwanda's presidents office. And the way, eh, they are selected. They are appointed by the RPF appointment committee, so that they could... Which means that these people, the one who appoints them, they are supposed to dance on his tunes. So that has been the biggest problem, that Rwanda doesn't have independent media regulation. Media High Council is gone. The association of rwandan journalists was intruded and infiltrated by, by, by eh... By intelligence operatives, that works for Rwanda's intelligence, instead of assisting journalists.

I: Mmmm

IP: So that is the general picture. A lot of journalists, I think more than 15 journalists, have been forced to exile. In Sweden, Netherlands, we have journalists. America, we have more than two journalists. In Africa, we have I think three journalists there. So you find that all over the world, we have rwandan journalists have been fled, and... As we have another journalist who was beaten, who was brutally beaten into coma, who is more of (ohörbart) in Belgium, called (namnet på personen). So we have about five, six journalists who were killed by the current regime. So to tell you the truth, is that, that the game is unfriendly to journalism and to media. That's why Reporter Without Borders ranked it 138 out of 149. It is in, in, in... One of the worst in Africa and it is ranked among Al Shabab and other terrorist groups. So that is the current situation of media in Rwanda.

I: Do you... (harklar sig) Sorry. Do you have any contact with other exile journalists in the world, that still work as journalists?

IP: Eh... Yes. I have, I have, but... I could prefer that you go in Rwanda... Hello?

I: Yes.

IP: Due to your situation, I could prefer you go to Rwanda, don't tell them I've

done an interview with you.

I: Sure, sure.

IP: Try to recall what you are recording. When you come back out of Rwanda, I will ring to you some journalists. Then you will be, you will be giving the interview freely. So that's why I was saying, because you can trust... So due to the situation, the current situation, don't tell them you ever made an interview with me, and go and cover what you cover, and let alone, come back, and I will connect you with other journalists so that you can complete your whole interview.

I: Yes sure, no problem. Eh... I just wanted to, right now to know, you know if there is kind of a society with rwandan exile journalists, if you still, if you work together, if you try to talk to each other about the situation. So I am not at the moment looking to get in touch with any more exile journalists, I just wanted to know if you... Well if you work together, if you manage to keep in touch and if you try to change the situation together?

IP: Yes, we research, but... Most especially, when you reach, when you reach... When you are in exile, people are busy doing other things, and... Eh... But we are building it, in one way ore another, and certainly we are on a platform of reporters without borders. Eh... The committee to protect journalism has been also helping us in one way or another, interacting with us. And we hope to do this in the future, but we found it was premature, because eh... We are dealing with a ruthless dictator, we would prefer to act, to act in this other way so that we don't pile up all the same eggs in the same basket. And let the dictator destroy those eggs. But, we are communicating in one way or another, but not in any established forum.

I: Yes

IP: But if we have any problem, for sure we are helped by Amnesty International, we've been helped by Reporters Without Borders, by Human Rights Watch. So we've been in... In... We've been assisted in one way or another. And we are also comforted and assisted by the... By the countries which received us.

I: Yes

IP: Eh... We are not fearing that anything could happen to us. Because we... We're in a safe places.

I: Do you think... Do you think your work, does it effect the situation in Rwanda? Does it matter what you do right now?

IP: Definitely, it matters. And that's why eh... The predator has done his very best to crush us. And, and, and has done his very best to do other things. But he has failed. But you know, we have a lot of examples, eh... There is big impact. And we are helping that things are changing, one way or another. And at times we find enough (ohörbart) eh... Worried because of things that had deteriorated. Eh... Traitors of human rights in the country and things... But we, we are following it tightly and, do our best to cover things. And the government has tried to crush us inside the country, but it hasn't managed outside the country. And even inside the country there are some people who are assisting us. So there are a lot of things which we... And a lot of examples, which proves that we are doing our best. And we are contributing to the change of the situation in our country. So, we are doing our very best and we hope to eh... Do what ever we can, with assistance from our brothers and sisters, and of our... Of all media sympathizers and... Yes, we hope to do our very best in the future.

I: Do you... Do you think you will go back to Rwanda? Some day?

IP: I don't think now, the reasons why I fled Rwanda are still at large present. You can't, because of, practically Kagame, who is still at large trying to revise the constitution and... So that he can have a... Another term, or have eh... Nonetheless, he stole the power until forever. And we fled the country because of his killers, because of his fellow killers, who are still in the country. They... (ohörbart, troligtvis namnet på en person) Intelligence person who has killed thousands, he have other people like (namnet på en person) who has managed to be an enemy of the rwandan media... President Kagame is not working alone. He is working with a team of goons and mafias which have eh... Eh... (ohörbart) and harassed rwandans, and... And, plundered their wealth and advocated media and, and eh... The human rights situation in Rwanda is deteriorating, because of their autocratic way of leading the nation. The nation is led more in... More in military barracks. It's one man stage, and in like military barracks, whereby the four pillars, the three pillars... (ohörbart). They are in charged by one man, Kagame, and his mafia click. So, I don't think it could be easy in the coming years to come back to Rwanda.

I: I see.

IP: In a country which is led by a mafia click. A country which doesn't have institutions, and which doesn't have justice, a country which doesn't have oppositions, where all parliamentarians come from one party, which is RPF. So, in one way or another, not only me but all rwandan journalists and... And... All people who could... Help or participate in one way or another, in the future of Rwanda, things couldn't be comfortably working in such situation. But that, but that doesn't stop the fact that we love our country, the fact that we need some people on the ground to help us, and do so, we continue having some people who help us, we continue putting events that are taking place in the country. But it is prematurely for me and other fellow colleagues to go back in the country, because it's like eh... We know.... I think you are not informed, but when I reached Sweden, I think it was in 2011, eh... The rwandan court, I think it was supreme court, sentenced me to two years. And I have jail sentence in absence, on charges of, of... Charges of... Of... On fake charges of being subversive and a threat to state security, and threat to president. These are charges which always are introduced by media predators and autocrats, in order to eliminate critics. So the reason to why they sentenced me in absence, they now knew that definitely I won't go back in Rwanda. It was more of discouraging me to come back in Rwanda. Another way of sabotaging me to travel all over the world, or do any other thing. What they needed... The reason of sentencing me to two years and six months in absence, was to sabotage our journalistic work and sabotage any other plans to, to come back in Rwanda, and things like that. So they wanted to jeopardize all our journalistic work. So that is the situation, and I'm praying a lot for my country and hoping the situation changes in the future, then definitely I could go back.

IP: Yes. I have to ask you... I mean, Rwanda has been... The economic development of the country has been quite good the recent years. Do you think that, I mean is there any good consequence of the way that president Kagame is handling the situation?

I: Come again?

IP: Is there any good consequence of the way that Kagame is, is running the

country, as you see it?

I: Definitely, I want to first... Before going back, before answering you i want to make the point clear.

IP: Yes.

I: The development which Rwanda has today, first of all it's development based on foreign donations. In Rwanda, 60 percent of Rwanda's budget, comes from foreign donations, from countries like Britain, countries like Sweden, Germany, European Union, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark... So the foreign... We have a lot of friends, rwandan friends, who help Rwanda immediately after genocide. Even France. So they helped Rwanda in different ways, in assisting our economy to preform. I can give you an example, like in Sweden Sida has helped a lot, in land distribution, whereby it is having an impact on the life of rwandan citizens back home. Sida's helped in the unity and the reconciliation. And they have helped in different sectors. They have helped in the capacity building, to reinforce rwandan police. Sida has been one of the people who have helped. The same goes to Netherlands. Netherlands have helped rwandan justice, they have helped rwandan prosecution and rwandan courts to enforce and give them capacity building. When you go to US, US have helped to enforce rwandan army military to be a military on an international level and they have helped Rwanda in different ways. When you go to UK, UK have helped us through university, and helped rwandan primary and secondary education, they have been among the key people who are paying for their salary. They have helped our agriculture, they have helped the media, they have helped even the police and other things. So, coming back to your point, the development of Rwanda not only lies in hands of Kagame, it lies in hands of international community. It lies in hands of rwandans who are paying and who have, who are among the number one taxpayers in the region. The taxes at which they are taxed is on a high level. And secondly, the roads and other things that say that Rwanda has clean and other things, this is their taxes and... It is the work of European Union. EU has helped us to repair roads in Rwanda. And even in town, the country developed, after genocide, in one way or another the country was developed, and it is also developing to an extent. But my brother Peter, when we go back, I can show you the GDP... I think, the GDP of Libya was, was more than three times the GDP of Rwanda. But this did stop, then Lybia

began to stand still, and resist the autocrat who had decided to crush the media, to crush the opposition and kill people, calling people lies and other things. So this goes the same to president Kagame. He has crushed media in the country, arrested... Currently we have four opposition leaders in jail, we have (ett namn), we have (ett namn till), we have eh... The person, Dr... There is a person who, who, who stood as a president I think it was in 2003. He is also a doctor, he was brought in in (namnet på en plats) and arrested. And we have two women journalists. Rwanda says that it has one of the number one countries in the world which has enforced and which has developed woman and... The women are dominating in the parliament, and in other fields. But shameful, president Kagame has not feared to arrest the only two editors, women editors, simply because having criticized his ruthless way of leading the nation.

I: Yes

IP: So we have said that (namnet på två personer), those were editors of (namnet på en tidning). One was given four years jail sentence. And the next woman was given seven years jail sentence.

I: Yes

IP: They are right now, languishing in detention with a terrible human rights state, terrible human rights status. So this shows that even though he said, he said... Even though he wanted to tell him about democracy and freedom of media... they say that Rwanda is developed, but Rwanda is not developed on him, and the development couldn't be counted on him, it's accounted by taxpayers money and on donors. So that couldn't be an excuse of suffocating media and luting media and not giving political space, and other things. And secondly, let's go back... i would like to give you an example of this so called development president Kagame is saying. Eh... Eh... A french intellectual called Francois, I have forgotten his second name, but he said that development shouldn't be judged by... Eh by, by the GDP and the growth, the economic growth. But the development is even judged by the economic growth, the social being of the people and their income per capita per year. So there may be a development, but in actual sense it is not development for the entire people in the country. The same goes to Rwanda. Rwanda is up to now, i think ranked around number one country which have

income inequality. A lot of people are becoming poor, and more of even without, with one dollar less than a year, or a day. And a click of people are, eh... Around president Kagame are becoming richer and richer. That's why you find that they have business (ohörbart). They have business when you go in the whole sector, you find that it is president Kagames ventures, or (ohörbart), which is running the whole economy. When you go in furniture, they are there. We have motor enterprise. When you go to (ohörbart) and water factory, and (ohörbart), you find president Kagames factory, (namnet på företaget). When you go to security, you find president Kagames company (namnet på företaget). When you go to hotels, president Kagame is there in (namnen på två lyxhotell). When you go to road, road factory and... No, I'm sorry, if you go to the company which innovates roads and other things, you will find that president Kagames (namnen på två företag). These are two companies that are dishing money in his (ohörbart). When we go to (ohörbart), you'll find (namnet på ett företag) which is, is (ohörbart), which is also sending a lot of money in the country.

I: Yes

IP: So you find that almost, if you, when you go to the exportation of the... Of coffee, you'll find (namnet på ett kaffeföretag) in both Rwanda, now it is in Boston. So when you... Because Rwanda is among the number one leading exporter of coffee, but with among the (ohörbart) of coffee. So this goes to other things like, we have another company like, which is in building, called (namnet på ett företag) which is now among the companies which is building estates. So, eh... You find that if they have managed to control the economy, the general economy of the country, and eh... That's why if people are in fact, people who are not rwandans, do not understand the development president Kagame says, because a lot of business people have been forced out of the country and have been... Have been... have been faced without being payed. I'm going to give you an example of a company called (namnet på ett företag). This comes from Norway. Then associates with the company which was dealing with gas, methane gas, and other things in, in, in Gisenyi. But it was pushed, forced out the country without being payed. There are a lot of companies which really well can explain to you, which have really got problems. So this shows how the economy is being controlled by few people and this shows that even the investment, they let... The development of

investment in Rwanda is not conducive, because you can't invest in a country that doesn't have justice. You can't invest in a country which doesn't have independent media and which doesn't have political space. That's why you find that a lot of investors are going away. When you go to see, you'll find that president Kagame has almost... Almost, almost eh... Took the whole investment of, of tea in his hand. When you go to fuel supply, his brother in law is the one who is supplying the fuel in the ministry of defense. When you go to banking, president Kagame is the (ohörbart) of Bank of Kigali. They chased away the belgian investors who were... (Namnet på belgiska banken), who were the owner of the bank, were chased away without being fully compensated. And let alone, they prepared for president Kagame to take the shares.

I: Yes

IP: And they have taken that. When you go to Rwanda and see eh... Eh... There is this bank from Kenya. You find that he has shares even in that bank. So this is the way he has been operating, and you find that... Although they are saying that we have a strong economy, but the economy is in a way that it is controlled by a, by a click of mafias.

I: Yes. I have to ask you as well, I mean as I understand it, the regime say that the risk if you just let the media free is that they will... As I understand it, they think that hate media will re-erupt, as it was during the genocide. What do you think of that?

IP: That's what I was explaining to you, I don't know if you got me when we are starting, that's why I give you example of the media which was run by the former ruling party, RLM, and the genocide regime. The rwandan media did genocide, note that there were... Note that they were... They were not independent. If they would have been independent, genocide couldn't taking place. But the problem is that rwandan media was in the same bed, they were prostitutes of the genocide regime. That's why they never exposed the genocide regime.

I: Yes

IP: The same goes to this current regime, rwandan journalists have happened to be prostitutes of... Happen to be in the same bed as the president Kagame and his ruling party RPF. Whereby they can't expose such corruption, such nepotism, such

injustices, such human rights abuses, so they are all in a state of fear. And president Kagame has used genocide and genocide ideology to marginalize his elite. So, we journalists we refuse to succumb on that blackmail. And we know, point clear, that if journalists in Rwanda today can still and fight that nepotism, fight that injustice, fight that corruption, whereby we don't have... We don't have a (ohörbart). We don't have other things, things are controlled in one man and the country is led in... Is jacked in the hands of one person, and in military barracks, Rwanda couldn't have been where it is. We could have developed further and further, because we have good friends, we have the world on our side. People are ready to assist Rwanda. But president Kagame and his ruling click have betrayed Rwanda by, by cracking opposition, by holding all pillars – the executives, the juridicial, the decision makers and plus media, which is the fourth power, in their hands, to an extent that things are not going well in Rwanda. And what happens, Rwanda can be exposed because we are more of... Yes, we... The country is small, so the country's media is suffocated.

I: Yes

IP: So, eh... The worry is, if they let media work.... (suckar) In fact, if Rwanda media was working, this could have been good, things could have helped. Even taxpayers money from Europe, and no family got to know, who are our biggest donors, where their money is utilized.

I: Mmm

IP: Because we don't have independent media, you find that people don't know what's taking place in the country. And secondly, the media, Rwanda's media, not working has a big impact in fact to find that the country could go back to the days where it came from. Because no one is to expose such thing.

I: Yes. So what do you think is the solution for Rwanda?

IP: The solution for Rwanda, in order for Rwanda to have a better future, eh... I see it in different ways. This is to have open up political space. Let the political parties work. Let people chose what they want. Revise the constitution and respect constitution, because now almost 90 percent of what was for them in the constitution was revised by the RPF-dominated parliament. So they high-jacked the constitution. Rwandans no longer have a constitution, and the constitution no

longer belongs to them. What we need is to have, to let, to convince Kagame to let the institutions work together, which are the executive and the judicial and the (ohörbart) to work independently. Though fulfilling each other, but independently. This could help rwandans and other people who come to invest in the country to have justice, accountable justice, at least. Even though politicians mess up, but justice can help. To have independent institutions like the (ohörbart)... Eh... The (ohörbart) and the national tenor boards (?) so that business may not go in hands of one person, so that people could get tenders in, in an open way. Definitely to have freedom of media, freedom of expression and freedom of place so that people could know what is taking place in Rwanda. Convince president Kagame to demount US army in his own instead of fishing first, like the way he has used army to invade Congo and plunder its resources. So to convince president Kagame to not, do do not militarize police. He has used rwandan police in, in, in eh... Torturing and utilizing people to an extent that now, the so called special police, which is the intelligence, and rwandan police is acting more of machineries and killing and terrorizing people. So we need the police to be an independent institution, to be with professionals. And we need such people with notorious intelligence background, like general of police and the head of special intelligence. So I think such things. And secondly, we need also to let the development take its course and way. People participate in the development, people to have ownership of their properties. But now, in Rwanda, in Kigali city or in other government institutions, they come and say that we are going to diminish these houses, all this area, that we are... It's not according to, to our, to our master plan. But they do not compensate our citizens, yet our constitution grant them, grant them powers to have ownership of their properties. So there are lots of injustices that are taking place. And other things I can see, the Netherlands, the government of the Netherlands, are helping Rwanda to have independent journalists, no independent justice, like the prosecution, and, and, and the courts. But the way they are helping them, I think they could also help them to have better prisons. Because in Rwanda, we don't have... The police detentions are in a such state, they are in latrine, whereby person is arrested in two or three days, and you find being infected. The jails themselves are small, they still have some cells which are more of solitary confinements where they take those prisoners and torture them. So if the Netherlands is to continue assisting, it needs also to advise

those jails and know the conditions of rwandans living in those jails. The same goes to the Geneva. Geneva has been very, have been in Red Cross, international Red Cross. I think also international Red Cross could also make more efforts in convincing Rwanda's national police and funding them more infrastructure of they can develop their detentions from the conditions of being latrines to conditions of being jails. And the same goes to the prisons. So, I think with all such things, and with respecting eh... Respecting integrity of their neighbors, like not invading Congo and not doing other terrorizing things...

I: Mmmm

IP: I think, the world could be happier, and give them back the donation, and even we rwandans, we could really be happy. But also, we need dictator like Kagame, who is, who is a criminal, he has killed more than two presidents. He has never, he has killed french nationals, he has killed the spanish nationals, he has protected his generals to go to, he has protected his generals to go to court in order to be prosecuted of the crimes they have committed. Rwanda up to now, even though the rwandan tribunal, the ICT, the international tribunal for Rwanda, punished genociders. But it has failed to punish war criminals, which were committed by Rwanda's military by that time. Rwanda's RPF dominated army by that time. So we need some of these people, who did crimes against humanity, in Congo, in Ruhengeri, in other country sides. We need them to be taken to Arusha, or to be taken to competent courts, in order to answer such charges. We need president Kagame and his colleagues, who shot dead the... The plane of the elected president by that time, president Habyarimana, which had... In the same plane, which had president xxx of Burundi, in the same plane which had spanish, which had french nationals. Up to now, president Kagame hasn't been taking to justice, because that is terrorizing. The president should be having not... Should not be having privilege of not be taken to justice. But when he acted in a way of terrorizing action, I think he should go to justice. So I find that he should be answerable to charges of the rwandans he murdered, not only congolese, who are I think, who are according to the UN report, the number total was I think almost six million. Eh...

I: Yes

IP: We have eh... spanish nationals, they murdered in Kibungo, in Congo. We have the french nationals they murdered... So the ruling regime has not only murdered rwandans, but it has murdered its neighbors and it has murdered family members of the European Union.

I: Mmm

IP: So we think that such people should face justice. And they should, and the international community, which could be... Should know that it is time for this criminals to go to justice. Justice delayed is justice denied. It's time that they bring to justice those criminals, to answer those charges, committed against humanity.

I: Mmm... Ok. Yes, I have to leave to the office now actually, but I want to thank you very much for taking time to talk to me. I think that this, it actually, just as when I talked to Mr (IP1), it gives me actually a very good insight into the situation that I am going to.

IP: (skrattar)

I: But could we keep in touch over email during the time there, if I have any questions or...

IP: Yes my brother, don't worry, let's keep in touch. But when you go to Rwanda, don't tell them that we made an interview.

I: No...

IP: And if it's possible, don't take the recorder. Leave the recorder at home.

I: Yes.

IP: But we can, even though you will be in Rwanda, you can be sending me an email to verify maybe anything. I could be immediately answering you.

I: Yes, sure.

IP: But don't tell anyone you talked to me.

I: No, I won't.

IP: Until you come back to publish your article.

I: I was meaning to say also that if you want to, you do have the option to be anonymous in my essay.

IP: No, never mind for me. There's no reason for making me anonymous to others. There's no worry.

I: Ok

IP: I am in a safe place, what ever will come I will be ready to report it. There's no problem.

I: Yes ok. So we will keep in touch over email, and thank you so much for taking time to talk to me.

IP: Yes sure, and I think you also will see our english version. Anything you could be asking, I am sure that it will also help us too, in this long journey of, of advocating for rwandans and for exposing things that are not going well in Rwanda, that could be a strong support.

I: Yes. Ok, so we'll keep in touch.

IP: Ok, my brother, take care and let's keep in touch.

I: Yes, ok, bye.

IP: Bye.

IP4, före detta journalist vid The New Times

Intervjun med IP4 genomfördes på en restaurang i Kigali i april 2013. Den var en av dem som gick förlorad och transkriberas därför inte. Däremot togs ny kontakt med IP4 och en intervju genomfördes via Facebook i augusti. Denna transkriberas nedan i sin helhet.

Journalism in Rwanda in general:

How would you describe journalism in Rwanda?

It is a work in progress. But it is going to take so many years before we even get good quality journalism. The journalists are not trained and what bothers me most is that people do it as a business, not a profession that they are passionate about. The government has also not been helpful in training journalists and even the journalists that are trained opt to take on other professions because no one is actually able to do proper, professional journalism for fear of the government's high handedness

What part does it play in the country? (Forth estate? Propaganda for the government? Entertainment? Unification of the nation?)

A bit of everything but right now people are concentrating on sports and music/entertainment than the politics. I am happy to tell you that when it comes to radio, they are doing much better. I have listened to morning shows that are actually debating where a government is not working well. For me, that's something!

What can you not write about, as a journalist?

This is a complex question. Depending on who you work for, you probably can write about anything as long as is done professionally. However, since most people want to look good for the government (mainly because it is the biggest advertiser and the other private advertisers are hell-bent on towing the RPF line so they won't advertise if you are critical of the government). Remember that here, the newspapers don't make money from sales, they do from adverts. The radios too.

How do you test the limits when it comes to journalism in Rwanda?

Simple. Say anything about Kagame or the party and let it be picked by the

international press. You are in trouble. This country spends a lot of money on PR; anyone who rains in their parade is in trouble.

Are there any threats against journalists today?

None that I know of but you can never know with these things. This problem is also complex. There are journalists who actually report in a balanced way and get in trouble for it and then we have a category of journalists who will (sometimes I think deliberately) or sometimes (because of being ignorant about the ethics of journalism) actually do stuff to really ruffle the feathers. An example is the guy who said Kagame is Africa's Hitler. I don't know any president who would be happy about that.

What happens if you break the unspoken or spoken laws and rules of journalism in Rwanda?

The courts of law are working. If someone sues you, you actually pay up or you go to jail.

How has the situation regarding journalism in Rwanda changed since the war and over the last few years, as you see it?

It is interesting to watch. I for one really don't like listening to journalists who fled Rwanda. Most of them cant even speak proper English and they were here writing and editing news stories. I think the journey is loooooooooooooooooooooong and it is gonna be unpleasant. I left journalism and it breaks my heart just because I felt if I cant practice proper journalism then there is no point. I cannot be the government mouthpiece anymore. It makes one feel like an accomplice. I don't see a lot changing soon as long the government continues to discourage private journalism houses to practice independently. The law is also shady. So as long as Rwandans cant openly discuss issues for fear of the walls that have ears, then the journalism in this country is equally doomed.

Your own experiences:

Could you shortly describe your background as a journalist? (Did you go to journalism school and if so, where did you go? Where have you worked? Did you have a special field? Who was the paper's audience?)

I worked for the government newspaper The New Times for close to seven years.

I was lucky to get newsroom training from the UK but the highlight of all my training was when I won the Foster Davis Fellowship and went to train at the Poynter Institute in the US. No, I did not go to journalism school. I have also worked with the Daily Monitor (of Uganda) as their Rwandan Correspondent and written here and there. I have also worked with The Newline as their Editor. All senior Newline staff are in exile now.

When you were working as a journalist, did you experience any limitations in who you could interview or how, or what you could write about?

Of course. I was working for The New Times so there was no way that I would ask questions that had potential to make the government look bad. Don't get me wrong. This wasn't self censorship passé. It was a fact that I knew and it was not a secret because the editorial line was made clear to all of us.

Did you ever experience that your freedom of speech was limited? How?

Of course. I am an expressive person so since I really enjoyed writing features, I always felt sad that the best topics can never be published by the paper I was working for.

Tell me about your most rewarding moment when working as a journalist.

I think it is the time I went to cover the testimony of Romain Dallaire (he was in charge of the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda during the genocide). I was moved by his testimony and shocked by the permanent scars that the genocide left on him. It also helped me put into perspective how the UN peacekeeping forces here were so helpless after being caught up in the whole debacle.

Tell me about a specific situation that you view as problematic when you were working as a journalist.

Sources! Most people in Rwanda do not really like talking to the press and they feel the need to praise the system even when they are feeling angry at how things are being done.

Were you ever scared when working as a journalist?

Yes. Someone walked to me one day and told me that "my big mouth would get me killed". I didn't know who he was. I was always complaining about how bad things are working at TNT.

IP3, politikreporter på The East African

Intervjun med IP3 genomfördes i min bostad i Kigali i april 2013. Den var en av dem som gick förlorad och transkriberas därför inte. Någon förnyad kontakt med IP3 har inte gått att åstadkomma. Nedan följer de viktigaste anteckningar från intervjun, som ingår i analysen.

Viktigast i intervjun:

”Without the exile journalists, we would never have been where we are today. In a sense, they sacrificed themselves for us” - på frågan hur han ser på exiljournalisternas påverkan på medieklimatet i Rwanda.

”I have never been afraid” - på frågan om han någonsin har varit rädd som journalist.

”The freedom is much greater here than it was at the New Times. We are part of a Kenyan news concern, and the government wanted the concern to come to Kigali. They can't work hard for that and then try to limit what we write about” - på frågan hur hans nuvarande arbetsplats, The East African, skiljer sig mot hans tidigare arbetsplats, The New Times.

IP7, BBC

Intervjun med IP7 genomfördes på BBC:s redaktion i Kigali i maj 2013. Den var en av dem som gick förlorad, men innan dess hann jag transkribera första halvan av intervjun. Nedan följer den transkriberingen.

IP: I worked for tv before, and I'm... Im with BBC for the last ten years.

I: Ah, ok.

IP: Yes

I: Ok... Let's see. Ehm... So, could you start by just giving me a short background on why you decided to be a journalist and how you ended up being a journalist.

IP: (skrattar) Ehm... I don't know, I don't know, but it was something that was interesting me, if I was, when I was, I was at school. I was interested in some, some names on radio. And, I don't know if I'm lucky or not but... I think I'm lucky because I, I got the chance to do what was interesting to me.

I: Mmm

IP: Yes

I: So... When you went to school... When did you first start working as a journalist?

IP: It was after the rwandan genocide, and... At the beginning of 1995. I was, ehm, on rwanda television. I've been there for eight years. And from 2002, I joined the BBC up to now.

I: Mmm. Ehm... Did you study journalism in Rwanda?

IP: In... In my school, no. But I got trainings for my working days, I got the chance to be trained in journalism in Egypt and in Sweden.

I: In Sweden?

IP: Yes

I: Oh, I didn't know that. When were you in Sweden?

IP: In 1999 I think, if I... Yes, 1999.

I: Mmm, right. Yes, I told you I'm from Sweden, right?

IP: Yes

I: Yes. Ehm... Ok, so could you give me a short sum-up of BBC and what BBC is in Rwanda, how many listeners and etcetera. If you have any editorial line...

IP: I don't have, I don't have an exact number of our listeners, but... The BBC is the... I can say it's one of the most popular radios in this country. And even in... In countries neighbouring Rwanda, like DRC, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. We have too many people listening to BBC.

I: Mmm. And do you have, do you have any kind of editorial line, or... How would you say, the journalism on BBC, what is it like?

IP: Mmm... We... At the BBC we want to, we want to be independent. We respect our, our audience and we aim to be, to be the first to, to news.

I: Yes

IP: Yes

I: Yes. Ehm... So, about being independent, I was... You know, Rwanda is, when you look at these external rankings, right, Rwanda is ranked very low. Ehm...

IP: Yes

I: But how would you, how would you describe working as a journalist in Rwanda?

IP: Mmm... I go, I go back to, to years like 2000, it was very difficult to work here really. I can tell you, it was very, very difficult, because it was some... Many politics and we were accused of being biased, when treated like political opponents. It was very difficult. But I think, for the moment, it's changing. I can't say there's no more problem, but... It's a kind of change even if it's not totally different, but I can see some change.

I: Mmm

IP: Yes

I: Could you tell me about the difficult times, could you tell me, did you experience any problems yourself? Around 2000?

IP: Yes, too many threats! Yes, yes. I, I was used to receive anonymous calls during the nights, and some unidentified vehicles running after me...

I: Mmm

IP: But, to tell you the truth, there is, there was no physical harm on me, no, no. But I was sometimes traumatized, because these evening calls, you don't know who's calling you, and... A vehicle running after you every day, every evening. I sometimes changed eh... If I stay... Sometimes, sometimes I was obliged not to spend the night at my home.

I: Mmm

IP: I remember one day, I spent the night in office.

I: Oh

IP: Yes, yes, because I was very afraid. But, it's now, it's now changing. I don't see things like those and so on. (I får ett sms) Some ten years ago.

I: Yes. Sorry, I'm gonna turn this off. Ehm... So, ehm, ok... Could you tell me, how is the situation today then, you... There are no more phonecalls? No more people outside your house?

IP: Ehm... I still receive some calls. I can't say some are not good. But now, if one calls me, he says I'm... I'm Mr x, I'm working for the rwandan police or another organisation.

I: Mmm

IP: And he asks what me to, to explain. But there's no more anonymous calls.

I: Mmm. That's a big difference.

IP: Yes

I: Mmm. So I wan't to talk about the... Like, journalism in Rwanda. How would you describe the, the ethics of journalists in Rwanda. What ethics rules are there, how do they work in you opinion?

IP: Eh... To tell you the truth, there's very big problem here. Yes. We have too, we have too many radios and newspapers. But, they all say the same thing. It's as if they have something they don't want to talk about. Ehm... Even me, I can't explain, but it... We have a kind of self...

I: Cencorship?

IP: We have kind of a self censorship, yes. That you can... If you, you read two or three newspapers or you listen to one, two, three radios, you can sense that thing, yes. I think it's fear of what, I don't know, but there's kind of self-censorship. Yes. They don't want to, to be... To be implicated in something that can, that can turn against them.

I: Mmm

IP: Yes, that's what I can say.

I: Yes.. Ehm... So, so, when it comes to BBC, what I've heard is that, talking to other people, is that BBC, they are the... Eh... Like BBC are the ones who actually dare to be critical of the government and so on.

IP: Yes.

I: Could you explain to me, what... How do you, how... In your view, how do you differ from different, from other media in Rwanda?

IP: Well, we give the chance to, to different parties to give the opinion. If I'm talking about Peter, I give you the chance to explain your side of the story. I, I don't take only one. I, my job wants me to have balanced story. If you are accused, you, you must have that right to give what you think.

I: Mmm

IP: Sometimes you are, you can.... You are accused of nothing. That's what, that's why, if I tell you what the one... If I take one part of the story, I... It's as if I'm condemning you to, to death.

I: Mmm

IP: Because I talk one side.

Transkriberingen avslutas efter 13,5 minuter.

IP5, en av dem som driver nättidningen Igihe.com

Intervjun med IP5 genomfördes på Igihe:s redaktion i Kigali i april 2013. Den var en av dem som gick förlorad och transkriberas därför inte. Nedan följer de viktigaste anteckningarna från intervjun, som ingår i analysen.

”There is a lack of professionalism among rwandan journalists. I want to employ more, but I have much trouble finding the competence. Some people just call themselves journalists and print a small paper, always with Kagame or soldiers on the cover. It's a way for people without jobs to find employment” - på frågan om vilket som är det största problemet för journalistiken i Rwanda i dag.

IP6, frilansjournalist

Intervjun med IP6 genomfördes i min bostad i Kigali i april 2013. Den var inte en av dem som gick förlorad och transkriberades därför i sin helhet. Utöver detta ledde förnyad kontakt med IP6 via Facebook till fler insikter som tas med i analysen. Även denna kontakt transkriberas därför här nedan.

I: Let's just start with what you do. You work with covering politics at (namnet på en tidning), right?

IP: Oui

I: Yes

IP: But not only politics, because as a freelancer... Because I freelance, you know.

I: Oh, I see.

IP: As a freelancer, I use to cover any stage, social life, and so on...

I: Yes?

IP: Yes, like that. But in politics, I do. I do cover some events, eh... I do cover some province relating politics.

I: Yes

IP: Oui, that's what I'm doing.

I: You know what, we can go inside here though... So Stephanie can work privately. (går in i ett annat rum) We have the luxury of having an extra room.

IP: Ok

I: Eh... Oh, your water.

IP: Oh yes.

(hämtar vattnet)

I: So you work as a freelance, basically?

IP: Yes

I: And how does that work, do you have a... Do you come up with the ideas, and then call them and say I have this story, or do they call you, or how does it work?

IP: No, it's me who give the task. So for me, I try to see some information. And when I for example in one party, just ask them the questions and I type my story, and then call them. So that's how we are working.

I: Mmm

IP: And sometimes, they call me for covering an event. Because they know I am quite familiar with the area. They just, instead of sending their journalist who is not familiar with politics, so they choose me to go there.

I: Mmm

IP: That's how...

I: Sure. And, do you sit at home when you work or...

IP: No, I...

I: Do you sit at the (namnet på tidningen)?

IP: I go there to the office, I go there to the office when I work. Except when you are in a hurry, for example when you are from, when you are in the country side, in the provinces.

I: Yes

IP: And you want to send the article immediately without getting to the office. So it's when you can work in your house. But most of the times, it would working in the office.

I: Mhm

IP: Yes, so...

I: So how long have you been a journalist?

IP: I've been a journalist, I don't know if I can just mention the years before starting working like this. Because when I was studying, again, I was just working as journalist.

I: Ah I see.

IP: But freelancing for (namnet på en annan tidning). So in (namnet på den första tidningen), I started this year.

I: Ah, I see. Ok.

IP: I started this year, but I am quite familiar with politics in Rwanda. On some issues. Yes.

I: So, could you describe, what's it like working, covering politics?

IP: Like?

I: Yes what is it like, how is it?

IP: Oh, at my own, I can confirm that it depends on the understanding of the journalist. If the journalist finds himself as one who is going to criticize, to be opposed to the government, I hope, there are some local regulations that could give him a barrier not to criticize the government. But I, myself, as the one who can write what I'm seeing, not going in deep or to deepen something big, I can say, it's easier for me covering the stories. Yes it's easier for me. And I can assume that any journalist I hope, any journalist, except those who want to focus on what is useful for them but which is useless for me...

I: Mmm

IP: ...I hope, for those who are working with the same understanding with me, to write what they are seeing on the sides, who wants to deepen on what's behind, the facts, I hope they are working freely.

I: Mhm

IP: But going to the other side, of the one who work or somehow saying that they are oppressed or they are saying that they are not free to cover the events or write what they need, I can say, I can say that with their understanding, maybe they are limited to cover what they wanted to cover.

I: Mmm

IP: But, with my understanding, I hope, even in Europe or in America, each citizen, including the journalists, there are some official laws, there are some regulations, there are some instructions, that they have to follow. So, with my points of view, I can testify that the journalist who want to work as the local, the

local instructions, and the laws and regulations, they are free indeed. And the one who should, who should engage themselves, to write how they want to understand more of the facts, I doubt it to say that they are limited to do so. Because, some of them they write, and they get... They get asked why they write this after. But they ask them after writing and after publishing, you know? Meaning that they are free to cover, but they are judged with what they notice or what they write.

I: Yes. Has there ever been a time for you, when you experienced any problems with what you were reporting?

IP: I can't say, I can't say clearly that it happened. But eh... If it happened, it didn't reach so far.

I: Mmm

IP: So, it was somehow... It was somehow controversial, to how, I was understanding what I write. So, with the interpretations of the readers of the story, is when I guessed that maybe, they understood what I wrote badly. Understanding what they wanted to understand. But, with pitiful and careful heart and vision, I turned myself to make such question easy, because I noticed before that once I complicated the situation, it can be bad for me, because of the interpretation of the story. But, it was not, it wasn't a big issue for me. Oui.

I: What was the story about, could you tell me?

IP: Yes, this story was somehow politics, but not politics indeed. It was social life. Covering the story in the country side, people who are living in malnutrition, and you write it, and the interpretation of the story get worse because saying, this story is criticizing the real life in the country. Saying that you could not be describing these events, while there are other events to describe. So for that reason, that's why I say, it's not, it wasn't so worse for me, it wasn't so bad for me, because I told them, my intention was to let the readers know that some people are still suffering. If there is help for them, that they should satisfy for them. It's what they wanted. And we forgetting my understanding on why they tried such a story. They understood that I was not in bad position.

I: Mmm

IP: But with that article, I imagined, if I was not, or if I were not who I am, or if it

was one who, who did cover it, what would it become next? So you understand that, my, with the intention of the journalist, he can be judged because of what he wanted to write. For example, if it is a real article on politics, I think it can be, it can be defined badly. But if it touches social life, you know, you have some explanations to deliver. But in politics, as I say, politics is a limited line. Never is never, and yes is yes. But for social life, never it can be maybe. And yes, it can be almost no. That's why, in politics, it's limited.

I: Yes

IP: So, for the story, only about politics, I hope, and I believe, some stories written at my own, no story made me in danger. Why? Because, I explained you why, because I follow the regulations. Can't depend the facts that I have never given (ohörbart 12.24). So I can't go beyond what I have been given. But when somebody wants to go beyond what he was given, is when you understand that he is taken, it's when you understand that he is called to explain, it's when you understand that he's, he's chased in the meeting, or he's called to explain why that article was conducted.

I: Mmm

IP: Why you want to conduct such search about the article? So, I... I think what is good for me, is to follow local regulations.

I: Yes

IP: To secure that I'm not going to be blamed by the law, that I'm beyond.

I: So how... Are you careful about what you write? I mean, do you think about that when you write a story, to not, to not go too far?

IP: Mmm...

I: You think about that when you do your work?

IP: Oui, most of times, it's... That's an issue that some of journalists rely on, assuming that we have no freedom of expressions. Because, they say they are afraid, they are worried to write what they want to write at least. But they write what they think people want them to write. Do you understand?

I: Mmm

IP: So, this issue, or this idea of the journalist who want to go far in the politics, I think... It's a think, but I'm not testifying... I think, they find themselves as people who have no freedom of expression.

I: So it's kind of a self censorship, that you are worried what might happen if you do something that...

IP: Absolutely

I: ... someone would disapprove of?

IP: Absolutely. That's true. That's true indeed. And that is our truth. It's our truth. So, if you think that sometimes you can be taken for the story you write, maybe better it would be to write this story. Yes, that's, at my own, that's my understanding.

I: Mmm

IP: That's my understanding. Because, I don't want to go to jail.

I: Yes

IP: I don't wish to go, to be asked why you write that story? No, I don't wish! I want to still work and to get money, you know.

I: Yes

IP: For issues, why going to write something that put me in danger? Some journalists, I know, they write bad articles but they have their friends abroad who give them money. So imagine maybe, their understandings, let me write – and get money – and when I'm judged, no problem! The, the, journalist without borders, they will claim that our freedom is disgusted. And even the neighboring countries, they will say that Rwanda, they are jailing the journalists. It's some understanding of the journalists.

I: Mmm

IP: But I, as a journalist, besides who is a christian, I look on both sides. And I chose what is not, what is going to be bad for me, and what is going to be good for me.

I: Mmm

IP: And with taking, those together, I chose what is best. So among bad and good,

I chose best. So the best is to work, getting little money but that is sufficient for you, and living peacefully.

I: Mmm

IP: Instead of saying, let me just get much money and live in harm. So, that's my truth, that's what I can say.

I: Yes. So, ehm... You know, as far as I understand it, the government has expressed some concern that if... Before they had the media regulations, the media, you know since it played such big part in the genocide and everything, that they are worried that some kind of hate media would erupt again. So my question is, do you think that there are any good consequences on the way that the media works, you know with these regulations?

IP: Yes, somehow. Relying at our history, even me – when, when understand that a journalist is jailed, when I read the article that he published, most of times I can't blame or I can't say the government jailed him for nothing, you know? Relying on our history. But if our Rwanda hadn't been the Rwanda that we saw, and that we suffered in, I hope each one should write that article freely. But though I was a child in 1994, I used to listen to the radio in our family. The journalist are those who were the motivators, they were those, they were those who provided courage for the killers and so on. So, for in that time, if I was a child – I was not a journalist, you know – I understood, and I listened, and I saw the result of the emissions on the radio station in that time, how the people were coming from killing, saying on the radio that they have killed, killed, killed, and things like that. So, for such worry, and for such fear, for such, such understanding of what happened in Rwanda, at my time I can say, somehow, is it true to limit the journalist, not going beyond. Oui. And I hope, most of those journalists who seem to work at that, in fear, in war, they should... It should be provoked by our past history, and our past media. So and I think, the pressure which the government should raise to limit media, so that never engage itself in, in provocative talks, in provocative emissions and programs, is that the government knows really how the governments are easily taken with the media. You know, when minister want to launch something, he uses media in Rwanda. People in Rwanda like media more than anything else, I can say that. You'd be listening to some radio stations in

Rwanda, while the journalists are working at the radio and saying, please call me, call me saying “goodbye” - a hundred people call in one hour, or in ten minutes, saying goodbye! That's a stupid story. And imagine when he raise an issue, for example saying, did Kagames politics reach to you? And those who are quite emotional, they will raise saying, who is Kagame? No, we don't need him, they should say. Because the hands of rwandans are quite easy to be drugged. You know? And media in Rwanda, it seems as a drug. I think you have been talking to those guys in foreign countries, in there, in Europe. For those, they are quite familiar with politics, and they know why they are there. For me, I am not concerned with them. But what I see is, to see the reality in Rwanda.

I: Mmm

IP: And you, you are journalist from abroad.

I: Mmm

IP: You've been traveling the country to see some memorial sites. And it's worrying, I think, for everyone it's worrying, it's a disgusting history, it's a bad history. See, you get an understanding saying, it's human being who killed another one? So, for that reason, for me, maybe the answer I'm giving, it's because maybe I'm concerned with being afraid of being taken for bad story or bad articles I produce. So I hope, and I believe that, instead of confirming that in Rwanda, press has no, has no freedom, or has limitation, you should rely on the past. And see, why it is necessary to limit media somehow. To limit them. So that's how I understand it. Yes.

I: Yes. So I understand that there have been some new laws, just recently, changing the media system.

IP: Yes.

(Avbryts av knackningar på dörren. En utrikeskorrespondent som suttit i rummet intill och arbetat vill gärna lyssna på intervjun. IP säger att det inte är några problem. Hämtar kaffe. Vi pratar lite om att lära sig Kinyarwanda, det lokala språket. Stämningen blir än mer avslappnad)

I: So, could you tell me about the new laws, do you think that there is a change going on in the media system? Do you think it will be different?

IP: Yes, I think. I think, but a little bit, not at all. Because I have been reading such laws, and I see some points which can be confusing, and make some people get in some confusion, or have some allegations about writing. Yes, there is some points to alleviate, to, to make it so clear, to make them so clear. For example, they say, with these new laws, the journalists is independent to write what he means, and he will be corrected, or will be judged by his friends, or her friends. But that question, all that should, with my understanding, I understand that it's a real point to make a journalist get confused for everything he can write. For example, what I write there, I think radio Rwanda couldn't assume that my story is good with their own editorial line. So if we write article, and any journalist say (namnet på han själv), you have bad article – it means, you are going to be judged. You're going to say, why have you judged doing that article. Whereas, before, there was institution in charge of telling you, guy, this article is not perfect. But today, any journalist, any journalist is there to ask you, why you write? So, and I wonder, I wonder why such understanding, why they decided to bring a law, to establish a law like that. It seemed, for the people and for some of my friends who we were talking about when we were together, we find it, if there is... For example, today there is a committee elected to represent association of journalists. Today, is in charge of, is in charge of having such control, you know? So, meaning that the people who are not, who are not in that committee, and newspaper who are not represented in such committee, is easier getting, is easier getting blamed, and getting judged for everything they write.

I: So...

IP: So it's a new system at my own, but I can't say... So most of times I'm afraid, cause I'm a christian you know, but with my truth I can say, it's another limitation for freedom, considering to the law before.

I: It's a new kind of limitation?

IP: I hope... I doubt it to say that it's true, but... (skrattar) But with my short views, it's a, it's a new kind of limitation.

I: So why do you think they changed it?

IP: First of all, I can say it's because of international pressure. International pressure. It's how I think and how I see. For example, most of times we do, we do go in some conferences with the partners of media in Rwanda. The European Union, the what and what... And with some reports they bring, they used to say in Rwanda there is no freedom because there is an institution, a board of, a government board which is in control of media. That's stupid, that's... And I think, as they progressed to push them saying, why this board, why this government board, why this government board? They said, ok, let us put in your hands journalists, so... A new law is elected, you are going to be judged by yourselves. So, it's why I say it's a kind of new limitation. But, with, with much knowledge, that some journalists can't understand. The journalists who don't do analysis, they can't find that this is a limitation. And for the one who does analysis of new laws and what, he finds that it's a limitation. That's my, that's my understanding, that's my truth.

I: Mmm.

IP: Another issue about the, about the law, I forget but I was... It's an issue that I don't remember very well.

I: You are talking about the, eh, access to... Freedom of access to information?

IP: Yes, that's what I was saying.

I: What do you think about that then?

IP: Access...

I: Will it make it easier? Access to information?

IP: Access to information, that's very, very closed. It's very quite closed. And it's hard opening. It's hard opening such, such door. It's a door that they put there. They say... The way it's quite controversial, they say, a journalist is allowed to get information everywhere.

Utrikeskorrespondenten: And I heard that even the government and every minister has to answer journalists? And somebody told me, they have to answer you, to give you the information. Is it true? Somebody told me that...

IP: Maybe, maybe. Relying on the law, they say, everyone is allowed to give the information. And is obliged to give information. There is to, to be admitted to give

information, and to be obliged to give information. And, and, on the other hand, they say, a journalist also is allowed to get information everywhere, any time, and what and what.

I: Mmm

IP: But they say, again, he has to rely on the, the, the local regulations of the institution which he is going to cover. The... Such information, he has to rely upon that. For example, if it is not accepted to go in the ministry, ask their information with their own regulations. You see? You understand? The journalist meaning that, if they say he's obliged to rely on what, on the local institution, on the local regulations of the institution, he's going to search news – that's a limitation again. And we think, most of the institutions, having that close, they will say, ok, getting information from here, it require on week for example. It's an example. And because it's included in the law, it's limited again.

I: Yes.

IP: So, we don't know if there will be some newspapers or news agencies in Rwanda, who will be allowed in easily. As you do, I hope that... Sometimes you do travel with Orinfor (den statliga radion)? Yes?

Utrikeskorrespondenten: No, with (en nyhetsbyrå).

IP: But haven't you ever been in the conference where Orinfor is?

Utrikeskorrespondenten: Yes

IP: You know, most of times we get somehow lost. You can reach in the meeting, and the, and the time of starting the meeting reach, and they say “we are still waiting the journalists to come”, whereas the journalists, we are there. They are waiting Orinfor to come. So, and we think, those rules which are coming are a blessing for the institution that is re-facilitated to get the news, and for the others, it's hard for us to, at least to go work as well.

I: Ok

IP: So...

I: Yes

IP: That's how I understand it.

I: So... You know in western countries – I'm changing the subject now – in western countries, we often talk about the media as a fourth estate, you know as an institution of power in the society?

IP: Yes I know.

I: How would you describe the medias role in Rwanda? What is the purpose of the media in Rwanda?

IP: Eh... It's hard to explain...

I: Yes

IP: Because you see, again, I rely on our history. So I hope, with our history, media, by saying in the words, they say it's the fourth power in the country. But relying on our history, it's not the reality. Because of those limitations that we are saying.

I: As I see it, the media could also play other parts, for... Maybe for unification, maybe for...

IP: For unification of journalists, or?

I: No, for the country, for the people...

IP: I don't think so, I don't think so... Because, if you see in Rwanda, the point to guarantee unification, it's only religion. That's my understanding. If I see in Rwanda. Because, when a journalist is there, he's broadcasting one program on the radio, they want to know, who is the journalist? Is he from where? Is who? They say, who? I don't know, what is behind that question, with my understanding. Because, as I saw, some things which purify the hearts of rwandans, most of times they are the journalist who work in religious media, in those radios that broadcast the media for what for what... And those, they are not included in politics, you know. And for them, they are sometimes committed to cover some politics events. And when you publish it on your radio, sometimes you are asked why, when you want to deepen it, you are asked why. You editorial line is religion, and why are you engaging to enter deep into politics? So, in Rwanda, saying that the media plays the fourth power in the country, with my understanding, that's not, that's not perfect. It will play that role when our laws are facilitating media to do what, what they need. But once there are some

misunderstanding, some complications or some difficulties, in that, in that career, I hope it's are assuming that a journalist is playing the fourth power. Besides, most of journalists in Rwanda, they are not getting salary! Except for some institutions. Some other radio stations and some newspapers, they do publish one or one issue per three months, per six months, one issue – and in the morning they use crossing in the hotels, if there is conferences, they are going to get even a ticket for 5000. But you understand, which is stupidity of medias, or of journalists, who are just dealing for such career, meaning... I mean that, some journalists in Rwanda, they are called journalists, but they don't deserve to be journalists, no. There are some who seem end up in their studies. And because they lose their job, they start in that career. And there are the others, who say to their bosses – guy, my newspaper is well known in the country, so come at me. And in the morning, I will give you some invitations, and you will be payed by the institution which you are going to cover the news! So, with that point, that poverty, I hope, I think, that the poverty and the shitty life of medias and journalists in Rwanda, it limits us again to, to... To declare, or to claim for our free freedom. And, again, I think, as they don't say it in the open air, I think it is the question which makes the government every time stands up for limiting the journalists who get, who are still having stupidity and... Who are still having stupidity to write what they need. How could the poor journalist produce a good article without emotions? It couldn't happen. He will mix with what... It's what I started, if he is poor, and if he finds somebody abroad saying, guy, guy, criticize the country and I will give you some money. He would do it! It's... That's my understanding and my real truth about media in Rwanda.

I: Mmm

IP: Because of their poverty, and because of lack of confidence again, why you talked with journalist? He talk with the other person. And, they become as spies. They are doing spying job. And, again, you know... I don't think if I come to (utrikeskorrespondenten) and I ask, can you tell me a bit about... About how (nationaliteten) embassy have stolen some money? I think, though she can know it, she keep, she keep it as confidential. You know. But in Rwanda, it's not the case. Everything a journalist get, he, he tells with the others. He goes in those so called free newspapers, who have no quite editorial lines, and he write everything he finds. He've been reading online newspaper for the people across the country.

He comes, and he change a bit the title, he change a bit the content, and he publish it. But that's not professionalism, I hope...

I: So...

IP: With what I do call professionalism, if we do what professionalism asks us to do, I think it will be hard for the government to limit us. Because we will be writing what the professional journalists will do. But the government, the government limit us because we are no more professional. When we are, when some of them are terrified, they are getting terrified because they are not professional. What they write, they have no proof for defending. So, if they write what are ready to be defended, I hope it will be easier to proclaim and to claim our freedom. And what and what. It's why I started with that article. If I believe that my article fetched, I have taken the pictures, I have conducted interviews with the people suffering with such malnutrition, I saw with my eyes, there is nobody who is just joking with me. I get to the office, I talk to the head of health sector and what and what, I talk to him face to face, and I write what they told me. That's the truth! And I shall not be afraid of that article, because all I write was conducted freely. So I hope, I hope, the government has a reason to limit us, because journalists are incompetent, are non-professionals, are, again, are poor – and are stupid! Let me add such bad terms. Some are stupid. That's what I say. So, you understand, with those free ideas, stupidity, poverty, and unprofessionalism, and what... And there... There is stupidity, unprofessionalism, and the poverty – that's the idea for the government, to rid those guys who are not deserving to be competent in what they write. And journalism is what they are going to give the people, to write for those. I hope. It's what I used to find, when I get from, when I what... So I... Maybe, because you don't read kinyarwanda, you can't find out this proof. But you should be reading online, or... You will find, 90 percent of the articles are hotel events. The events in the hotels. And again, besides, you will see in the newspaper, in the newspaper, except (namnet på en tidning) and (namnet på en annan tidning) because they have, they have capacity, they have money to fulfill the requirements for journalists.... For the other newspapers, 60 percent of the articles are the, are the little bit articles copied from online magazines from outside the country. And they use to put some pictures of soldiers and Kagame, to attract the readers that the the country is going to be destroyed, ahhh, read it, read

it, read it! That's not professionalism, I hope.

I: So one final question, what do you think about the future for the media in Rwanda?

IP: For media?

I: Yes

IP: I think, it will still be disgusting. For me, at my own. Because, no straight line to secure that changes are going to do something big. The change which are there, they are still confusing. Today, they change the media house to control the medias. Tomorrow, the shift, they put it in the RHB (Rwanda xxx Bureau). Today, they shift it, they push it to the journalists. Tomorrow, we will understand that they did a bad job. Maybe, who is going to control the media in Rwanda? So, I hope, something which is lacking in Rwanda, is the straight line to have good indications and instructions and pure laws that should secure that media is like this, like this... At least I can confirm that before this new law, at least media has value. Yes, it had value. Because, let me just make it clear – before, being a journalist, or a journalist who can work for international newspaper, or for what, for what, you were required to show Media High Council that at least you're competent.

I: Yes

IP: You show your diploma, you show your articles produced, for example, in Rwanda, you show how competent you are, you show your cv, you go, you talk with them, they ask you some questions regarding some careers which you are going to work in. And they give you national press card. That's very significant to any person who ask you, are you a journalist? Yes, you say, yes I'm in the country. Recognize my work, I'm journalist. But today, if you create a danger newspaper, for example, there are those shitty houses, and those are the shitty houses we are ready to destroy, and you create it there, and you give a card to a journalist who has never attended classes of journalism. Those journalists shouldn't be called journalists. You understand how it is getting worse and worse? And again, everyone again today, is allowed to be a journalist. I can say, with this law. Because, nobody to control if you are journalist. And... (hans telefon ringer)

Utrikeskorrespondenten: I have a question. The commemoration is coming up,

how is it to cover that? And, more in general, how is it to cover genocide in Rwanda?

IP: I don't know how to... How it will be. But each institution is required to go and cover the events for mourning, during the week. For example, at our newspaper, they told us, during this week we want articles that are about commemoration. So, any article about other issues – we don't need them. So...

I: Really?

IP: You understand.

I: It's all about the commemoration.

IP: It's all about the commemoration. If we work, if we work in... In games, in sport, you have to provide the article saying, the prayers who were killed in genocide. Or, you just talk about the role of, the role of sport to reunite the rwandans. Like that, like that... And when you write the politics, immediately, you have to focus on a straight line of genocide commemoration. If we write in the religion issues, maybe you will mix the participation of the churches in genocide. So they want us to be aware of genocide. Because last time, in some mournings that were in some areas, the journalists used to produce, to still produce the articles about sports saying Man U played like that, so that's stupidity... (skrattar)

I: Yes. But is it sensitive to write about the genocide as a journalist?

IP: For all journalists?

I: Yes, you know, is it something that's tabu to write about, that's not... When it comes to genocide?

IP: Well, there are some tabu. But at the words, changing the words. There are some words which are shifted, for example in some days before, in 1996... From 1995 up to 2004, they were using, in kinyarwanda, it's (säger en fras på kinyarwanda). If I explain it very well, in kinyarwanda... In french, it can be extreme killing, nobody escaped. Meaning that everyone was, meaning that there are no survivors. And in 2005, finding that they, they, they mistaken such terms, they only left with one (säger en fras på kinyarwanda), meaning killing one... (pratar lite på franska). Also, before they were saying the (ohörbart), or the... How do you call it? What do you call? When you see the body of some people who is,

who is rushed... Who is...

Utrikeskorrespondenten: With who?

IP: You see, for example, you reach for the country side. And you see a dead, a dead with... His body is rushed away. Before, before, up to two thousand and... From 1994, up to 2005, we used, we were allowed to say (säger en fras på kinyarwanda), saying a saw a head there of a dead person, a saw a leg there of the person, that was allowed. But today, it is prohibited, today you say a body. Any part of, any part of human being – even when you find a nail – you will say, I was a body of the victim there.

Utrikeskorrespondenten: Why?

IP: I don't know, but it's... I think, it's to give them the respect.

I: Mmm

IP: To secure the respect for the victims. Because, in kinyarwanda, in kinyarwanda there is a term to say “umurambo”. Umurambo is a dead body, but... No, for example “umupfu”. Umupfu or urupfu is death. And urupfu or umupfu is a dead. So, for this time, you couldn't say “umupfu” of tutsi. You say, you say the body of tutsi. To secure that you give respect to the victim. Ah... Other terms, other terms you can say, you can say... If I translate it very good... If you, in kinyarwanda, if we say “survivors” only, it's a question. It's prohibited. If we say “survivors”. But in kinyarwanda, we say (en fras på kinyarwanda). That should be interpreted as, as survivor. But if you use that term, you are doing wrong. You say (en fras på kinyarwanda), meaning the survivor of genocide, 1994 genocide. That you add of 1994 genocide.

Utrikeskorrespondenten: Why?

IP: I don't know. (skrattar) Those are the terms which they say, so if you say... You understand, kinyarwanda, or a français... (pratar lite på franska) You don't explain whether that survivor is of genocide, or is he of the dead of the hutus and so on and so on... So, they want to add such complement... (pratar lite till på franska)

I: It's to remind that it's from the genocide...

IP: Oui, it's to show them... It's to show them, or to distinguish, that with those who say (ord på kinyarwanda), died of genocide. Yes. It's more clarification to

expand the ideas, and it makes so clear that, when you say parts of the words, you are meaning something.

Utrikeskorrespondenten: Even me, when I write, I always write, I add genocide against tutsi. You know... Everywhere it's genocide against tutsi. Not genocide alone, not genocide in Rwanda, it's always...

IP: That's right

I: Maybe I should think about that when I write... Ok, I have just some formal questions. Could you just tell me about the... Cause you are, you studied journalism, right? Could you just tell me a little bit about your education. You studied here in Rwanda?

IP: Yes, I studied here in Rwanda. So I started my primary school, and the secondary school, and I did my university at international university of Rwanda.

I: For... Studying journalism?

IP: No, not at all. It seems, but my focus was translation and interpreting.

I: Mmm

IP: But after, I went to South Africa, to cover training of journalism. Yes. And I get back, I started my work in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, working there some six months. And I come here to work for (namnet på en tidning), and promoting the magazine, and what and what. And producing some articles in that magazine. And then, after, I get recruited to (namnet på den nuvarande arbetsplatsen). So I'm working, but before I worked again for different online news, online publications of... (hans telefon ringer igen)

Transkribering av kontakt via Facebook:

IP: Hoping u sometimes follow news between Rda and DRC, it is a bit horrible, and we sometimes think of exiling if the situation continues to get worse

I: Oh really? Yes I follow the news... Didn't know it was that bad

IP: Yes, as journalist who is no so far from the scene, we somehow catch some deep info, that why we tremble a bit

I: That makes me worried... Really hope it calms down.

I: Could you tell me what makes you worry about the situation? Read some stuff about Rwanda being accused of recruiting soldiers to the M23, but not much more...

IP: Yes, we hope, it will calm down , but still disgusting, we do dump and jump , maybe we shall fly, it is doozling

I: I really hope it will be ok... Anything happening on the rwandan side of the border?

IP: The worry comes when congolese defense forces seem to start fight against rwanda army, you know , the rwandese who go to Goma they are extremely tortured and some rumors circulate all around saying that Rwanda is targeted to be attacked by Congo.

IP: No strange event happening on Rdan SIDE but people at Gisenyi who dare to go to GOMA, They are in hot water you know.

I: That would be really really bad... Yes I've read about the horrible things going on in Congo...

IP: Today, it was said that any rdan can not cross to GOMA. So, u understand that even media could not work freely bcse of that situation

I: Yes... I hope you don't go there though, sounds really dangerous. How are the peace talks coming, any progress at all? And the UN?

IP: Peter, Rwanda is now becoming a point of the world, and we media we never know if the accusations are credible or not. but speculations still blaming rda to back M23

I: Yes I know, I've read a lot about that. The rest of the world is painting the picture that that is the case too well trained, to new equipment and all of that.

IP: N o progress at all, UN is now standing up to work with Congo to finger Rwanda. if they go on painting and confirming that we are the color of the Great lakes region, do not u see that there is something big behind the bush.

I: That does not sound good at all. Have to go now Sam, but keep me updated on the events please! And take care!

IP: Peter, frankly speaking , we are afraid of our tomorrow. I used to talk with some journalists, most of them find it terrible and the mood of working is somehow dark. we can not dare writing analysing

I: That sounds really bad!

IP: Takes care sir

I: You too sam! Do you want me to try to write something about this in Sweden? I would gladly do it, but wouldn't want to risk your safety

IP: Not, peter, I think I told you a lot about my working environment ,I have no visa to leave my lovely motherland, and I want to stay earning money. Besides, I do not think Rwanda is the main problem, thre problem is international pushers who always blame Rwanda when they never fight FDLR . So my concern is to see the scene as it is , the problem is not Rwanda, the problem is the pushers who are looking their interests.

IP: Peter, I beg u, don't publish it it can harse my personality

I: No problem sam, and i do agree with you. Again, take care my friend.

IP: This was to update you as my friends. I THINK YOU KNOW that my intention is not to figure out or to destroy . it can put my life in danger, and you know that all comminication are checked.