

# **Appropriate journalistic language in relation to Genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda: Key Guidelines**

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# Contents

Contents.....	3
List of Tables.....	5
List of appendices.....	5
Acronyms.....	6
Acknowledgments.....	7
From the MHC Board Chairperson.....	8
Foreword.....	10
Part I: General Introduction.....	12
1. Introduction.....	12
2. Background to the Study.....	13
3. Role of Government Bodies and the Media in the Fight against Genocide and its Ideology.....	14
Part II: Methodology.....	16
2.1. Methodological framework.....	16
2.1.1. Discourse analysis approach.....	16
2.1.2. Content Analysis Approach.....	17
2.2. Research Site and Participants.....	17
Part III. Data Presentation and Analysis.....	18
3.1. Data Analysis from Interviews with Stakeholders.....	18
3.2. Identification and Analysis of the Corpus.....	20
3.2.1. Use of Harsh Expressions.....	22
3.2.2. Use of Discourse Expressing Cruelty.....	23
3.2.3. Use of Discourse of Tolerance.....	24
3.3. Other Forms of Discourse Reflecting the Genocide Ideology...25	
3.3.1. Extracts from RTL M Broadcasts.....	25

3.3.2. Report on BBC imvo n'imvano (informal translation- Kigali April 2009).....	27
3.4. Rhetorical Techniques.....	29
3.4.1. Proverbs.....	29
3.4.1. Metaphors.....	29
3.4.2. Euphemisms.....	30
3.5. Discourse Expressing the Genocide Denial in Different Languages.....	31
3.6. Prejudices, stereotypes and clichés around the Genocide ideology.....	34
3.6.1. Prejudices.....	34
3.6.2. Clichés.....	35
3.7. The influence of media on the communication process.....	36
Part IV: Keys Guidelines on the Use of Appropriate Journalistic Discourse while Reporting on Genocide against the Tutsi.....	39
4.1. Keys Guidelines.....	39
4.2. Glossary.....	44
Part V: General conclusion and recommendations.....	52
5.1. Conclusion.....	52
5.2. Recommendations.....	54
5.3. Field work limitations and constraints.....	56
APPENDICES.....	61

## List of Tables

Table 1: Table of some expressions used across different languages.....	32
Table 2: Template to follow while reporting on genocide issues.....	40
Table 3 : Glossary of Kinyarwanda concepts and /or expressions reflecting the Genocide ideology.....	44

## List of appendices

Appendix 1: Table of media outlets for the study.....	61
Appendix 2: Table of informants for the study.....	62
Appendix 3: Interview guide.....	63
Appendix 4: Sample of other forms of discourse for further analysis on the appropriate journalistic language while reporting Genocide against the Tutsi.....	64

## Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ARJ	Association of Rwanda Journalists
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDR	Coalition for the Defence of the Republic
CNLG	National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide
e.g	Example
ERE	ère de Liberté
FARG	Fonds National pour l'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide (Victims of Genocide Fund )
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IRDP	Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace
KINYA	Kinyamateka
MHC	Media High Council
MININFOR	Ministry of Information
MINISPOC	Ministry of Sports and Culture
MRND	National Revolutionary Movement for Development
NURC	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
PSGG	Programme for Strengthening Good Governance
RD	Congo Republic Democratic of Congo
RDR	Rassemblement Républicain Pour la Démocratie au Rwanda
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RTL	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
TIG	Community Service for Genocide criminals
TRIB	Le Tribun du People
TV	Television
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VOA	Voice of America

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A special note of thanks is directed to the Ministry of Sports and Culture (MINESCOP), the National Commission for the fight against Genocide (CNLG), the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), the Genocide Survivors Umbrella IBUKA, the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP) and Inteko Izirikana.

## **From the Board Chairperson**

Since 1959s, media has played a great role in Genocide propaganda until 1994 where more than 1,000,000 Tutsis were killed within 100 days only. Public and some private media were used in distilling hate, inciting violence and encouraging Hutu to kill their countrymen Tutsi.

The Genocide ideologists made use of the RTLM radio-television and Kangura newspaper to convey their propagandist language which facilitated much the incendiary discourse to have profound effect on the intended audience who in turn committed the Genocide.

After Genocide, some media houses like BBC and VOA supported Genocide deniers by repeatedly offering them a platform to an annual negationist demonstration which called “genocide commemoration” organized on 6th of April before the Genocide memorial in Brussels. The groups that organize this demonstration defend the theory of double Genocide and intend to mourn Hutu victims of Genocide. They consider the 6th of April, the date of the crash of HABYARIMANA’S plane as the date of their “Genocide commemoration”. Others used psychosis like “abahutu bazibukwa ryari?” to support that ideology of double Genocide.

Today, media ought to rebuild the country that it brought to ashes. In this regard, MHC conducted a study on appropriate journalistic language and proper concepts while reporting on the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi in order to identify various clichés and inappropriate language to be avoided by media and to analyze discourse in daily communication to have the truth about how discourse can influence public opinion. From the findings of this study Media High Council proposed guidelines for the use of appropriate discourse which will be

distributed to all media organizations in order to enhance the existing code of conduct and the law which are clearer and easier to understand and interpret.

Special attention must be developed by media managers to ensure that editors and reporters are more sensitive towards the language, image and any other communication tools.

Similar research should be conducted in this field since it is so large and still virgin.

**Arthur ASIIMWE,**  
***Chairman***

## Foreword

This study that was commissioned by the Media High Council, has sought to put in place guidelines on appropriate journalistic language in general while focusing on the proper discourse to report on the 1994 Genocide in particular. Thus, the present work has attempted to identify various clichés and inappropriate language to be avoided by media and thus proposes guidelines for the use of appropriate discourse. This facilitates the work for a fair and responsible media that contributes to the promotion of good governance and development of the country.

The findings reveal that Genocide ideological architects made use of some linguistic strategies to appeal to their audience on radio as well as in print media to achieve their machiavellic ends, i.e. extermination of the Tutsi. In this case, several media outlets used different rhetorical techniques namely proverbs (e.g. Ukorora acira aba agâbanya / One who coughs and spits diminishes his flu), metaphor (e.g. guhiga umwanzi/to chase the enemy), euphemism (e.g. gukora umuganda/ to do the communal work/pull out bad weeds) and so on.

The interviews respondents also stressed that the discourse reflecting the Genocide ideology and denial still prevails today. Besides, they caution journalists to be aware of the key areas where such discourse is prevalent.

Different research approaches were used to obtain the data for this study. These are mainly discourse analysis, content analysis and Lasswell communication theory. These approaches enabled researchers to examine a number of media contents from several print as well as electronic media materials.

They range from public and private newspapers and radio stations in Rwanda namely: Imvaho, Kinyamateka, Umuseso, Umurabyo, BBC and Voice of Hope to name but a few. This study also had recourse to interview analysis

of views from partners or stakeholders in the fight against Genocide and its ideology namely GNLC, NURC, IBUKA, IRDP and INTEKO IZIRIKANA.

These are life sectors mainly concerned with living conditions of widows and orphans victims of the Genocide, debate over their compensation, the role of international media hate speech among others.

This study addresses some recommendations meant to serve as guidelines for more professional journalism in the use of proper discourse while reporting on Genocide issues. Given the fact this discourse prevailed before 1994 and is still held today, the local media is called upon to constantly be aware of several stereotypes, prejudices or clichés constructed around the genocidal discourse and act accordingly.

This work appeals to all stakeholders in the fight against Genocide mainly the Ministry of Information, School of Journalism and Communication, to journalists and trainees with knowledge and skills in relation to the discourse analysis, reading and criticism of literary texts involving sensitive, grief or hate speech among other things. Courses on conflicts prevention and resolution and building the spirit of humanism should also be introduced.

In the end, this research strongly recommends for the adjustment of any discourse pertaining to undervaluing the Genocide commemoration. Thus, a discourse that rather pays due respect to the victims should be adopted.

This work also calls upon all concerned government institutions to set up mechanisms for the accurate use and value of the Kinyarwanda language.

**Patrice MULAMA,**  
***Executive Secretary.***

# **PART I: General introduction**

This work is made of four main parts. The first one introduces and gives a background to the study; the second that is the core of this study discusses the methodology to use in the research, presents the data analysis and suggests guidelines on appropriate journalistic language while reporting on Genocide against the Tutsi. The third part consists of a glossary of some appropriate discourse to be used and the one to be avoided by the media practitioners. In the final stage, the fourth part winds up with a general conclusion and recommendations.

## **1. Introduction**

The Media High Council (MHC) is a public institution established by the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 as amended to date. It is mandated to license media, regulate them, promote and protect media freedom in Rwanda. As part of its mandate and responsibilities, the MHC monitors media content with the objective of ensuring respect for the law and professional ethics, guaranteeing media freedom and making recommendations to media outlets and journalists in order to improve where weaknesses are identified. The MHC monitoring also aims at protecting the public for whom media content is intended from harmful media material. The media monitoring focuses among other crucial things on the Genocide commemoration period. This exercise is conducted to ensure fairness in terms of providing both the electronic and print media with respect of laws and professional ethics in reporting and ensuring that media supports without derailing the process of guaranteeing unity and reconciliation among Rwandans.

It is in this respect that the MHC initiated a project that seeks to put in place guidelines on appropriate journalistic language in general while focusing on the proper discourse to report on the 1994 Genocide in particular. Thus, the present work has attempted to identify various clichés and inappropriate language to be avoided by media and thus proposes guidelines for the use of appropriate discourse. It has also been a starting point towards strengthening the current journalists' skills and expertise while reporting several issues on the 1994 Tutsi Genocide. In short, this study seeks to greatly contribute to the promotion of good governance in general and to the development of a responsible media in particular.

## 2. Background to the Study

Given the role the media has played in the Tutsi Genocide, the media today is challenged by a political will promoting fair and professional media working environment. Thus, journalists are called upon to play a vital role in fostering a rather unbiased and responsible media in the morally devastated country. What should then be the appropriate language to be used by the Rwandan media and what should be the discourse to be avoided in a bid to refrain from the Genocide ideology?

To begin with, it should be reminded that the Genocide propaganda was made possible by means of a so-called freedom of expression mainly of the pre Genocide era. Pretending to be a part of the independent press, these organs focused on distilling hate, inciting violence and encouraging Hutu to “do their duty,” (gukora) the duty of killing their fellow countrymen, the Tutsi (Gasengayire Monique, 2001, i). It is therefore imperative to examine the role of discourse in our daily communication and to see to which extent this discourse can positively and negatively influence the public opinion.

In a related development, discourse has always borne in itself an ideology that seeks to convince or persuade or change the world. For example, when we come across an utterance like ‘itsembabwoko si ubwicanyi busanzwe’ (Genocide is not a simple or common murder), the implied meaning would rather insinuate that the Genocide is undoubtedly a state crime which emphasizes the meaning whose premises is to denounce the unspeakable and absolute nature of the Genocide.

In order to restore stability and order in the country, the Government of Rwanda has in the aftermath of 1994 Tutsi Genocide expressed its commitment to fight the Genocide ideology by using the extraordinary power of the discourse (i.e. that of performing actions through speech or utterance). (Semujanga, 1998, p.26) provide us with a revelatory illustration. “le locuteur qui dit ‘Génocide’ dit également et obligatoirement ‘je condamne le meurtre’ (The user of the word ‘Genocide’ inevitably says:”I condemn this form of murder.” This is a pragmatic dimension of the language which exceptionally conveys an idea that discourse can accomplish an action that never has been performed before. Another instance having the same powerful effect would be the following statement: ‘harabaye ntihakabe’, ‘plus jamais ça’ or ‘never again’.

Similarly, Gasengayire (2001) supplements Semujanga's idea that speech is not only a reflection of an idea but also an action in itself. How then does this speech become an action in our communication process? What relations or effects does this action entertain among interlocutors or speakers?

In the next section, we have a look at the government's initiatives to lay a foundation stone to the fight against Genocide across different legal texts.

### **3. Role of Government Bodies and the Media in the Fight against Genocide and its Ideology**

Several government bodies have made provisions regarding the fight against Genocide and its ideology. In its declaration of principles, the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 04 June 2003 states that: "Rwandans have resolved to fight the Genocide ideology and all its manifestations..." In addition, Article 13 of the Constitution states that Genocide is an imprescriptible crime and that negationism and revisionism of Genocide are punishable by the Law. In the same context, the Rwanda Genocide ideology Law in its article 4, n°33bis/2003 of 06/9/2003 punishes the crimes inherent to the ideology of genocide. In the same context, law No18/2008 of 23/07/2008 defines the genocide ideology as follows: "An aggregate of thoughts characterised by conduct, speeches, documents and other acts aiming at exterminating or inciting others to exterminate people basing on ethnic group, origin, nationality, region, color, physical appearance, sex, language, religion or political opinion, committed in normal periods or during war". As for the mission of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), its sixth point focuses on 'denouncing and fighting against acts, writings and utterances which are intended to promote any kind of discrimination, intolerance or xenophobia.'

The journalists and media code of ethics in Rwanda provides in its first part, article 7 that journalists must be sensitive and compassionate when dealing with the production and publication of stories and photos involving tragedy and grief. In the second part of this code of ethics, there are also provisions of their General professional conduct. Article 13 stipulates that journalists must desist from inciting violence of any kind, including ethnic or religious hatred, tension and animosity. Further, article 17 warns them on the fact that they must avoid prejudiced or discrimination based on, among other things, race,

sex, ethnicity, language, religion, color of the skin, political, social, mental or physical disability including HIV and AIDS status.

The Media Law No 22/2009 as published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda No 33 of 17/8/2009 in its Article 83: provision number 1, states that without prejudice to Article 82 of this law, the following crimes committed through the media are punishable with penalties provided for by the Criminal Law: apology for the crime of Genocide and Genocide ideology, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

The Rwandan Senate Report of 2006 on the Genocide ideology in Rwanda and strategies for its eradication stresses that media can be a weapon for war or for the promotion of peace (Howard in Senate report, 2006, p.89). On this note, the Higher Chamber of the parliament conducted research on the genocidal ideology and came to the conclusion that despite the government key role to change the poisonous role of the pre Genocide media in the Rwandan holocaust, the remnants of the genocidal ideology are persistent in the Rwandan media today (pp. 89-90).

## **PART II: Methodology**

This section presents in more details the research tools and approaches that were used to collect and analyse data for this study. It also provides us with information on the research site, participants /informants we had recourse to while conducting this study. In the ensuing subdivisions, this part outlines some guidelines on appropriate journalistic language while reporting on genocide against the Tutsi and finally the glossary on a number of inaccurate discourses to be avoided is highlighted.

### **2.1. Methodological framework**

Due to the complexity of this assignment (i.e. interdisciplinary nature of the study that analyses the media discourse in terms of use of appropriate reporting and journalistic language and sound vocabulary) we have combined several approaches in order to ensure objectivity and accuracy of the exercise outcomes. A number of approaches were used in this assignment. These are the discourse analysis and content analysis supplemented by Lasswell Communication theory.

#### **2.1.1. Discourse analysis approach**

This study has had recourse to several scholars' views to substantiate the need for a discourse analysis study. On this note, Semujanga Josias ( 1998, p. 8) stresses that for a number of reasons, be it for conformism or facility purposes, several studies on genocide have for a long time underestimated the contribution of the discourse analysis (... ) He adds that research has in general rather focused on sociological and historical aspects of the matter and ignored the social discourse. He adds the latter moves across the individual discourse that has a political, journalistic or popular particularity and whose modalities could be examined at the narrative or discourse levels.

By definition, discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary field, and is basically the study of the language in use, and/or language in social contexts (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. 6). In other words, discourse analysis consists in studying linguistic characteristics of a message in their respective conditions of production and the reasons which have led to the existence of the texts

(Ntawizeruwanone, 2008, p.13). In this regard, the meaning of communication content will not only be determined by the “direct meaning” of the words used (Gulseth, 2004, p.10), but also by the social aspect of the texts, because the significance of a text lies in the relationship between characteristics’ occurrences, meanings and the wider context in which the communication takes place. In other words, it has been important to carry out linguistic and contextual analysis of the discourse from several media contents (eg. RTLM, Kanguka, BBC, Umurabyo, Umuseso, IMVAHO, Kinyamateka, etc) to get as close as possible to the coherent meaning of different utterances they have used.

### **2.1.2. Content Analysis Approach**

The primary research method of media contents is the content analysis. This method proves to be appropriate thanks to its rigour. It proceeds by compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Krippendorf, 1980; and Webber, 1990). In other words, it initially fragments texts down into constituent parts which can be counted, and re-assembles these constituent parts at the analysis and interpretation stage to examine which ones co-occur in which contexts, for what purposes, and what implications (Hansen et al, 1998, p.98).

## **2.2. Research Site and Participants**

The research site for the study has mainly been the Kigali City. The team of consultants conducted their field work across different places as can be found in the Appendices. The choice of these institutions was motivated by the fact that most of these institutions are stakeholders in addressing issues, concerns about the fight against genocide. The sample population was made up of participants chosen from the public as well as private organisations. They were selected on the basis of their professional background and expertise in the area under investigation. In addition, most of our informants have on daily basis to deal with issues directed to the fight against genocide and its ideology.

## **PART III: Data Presentation and Analysis**

### **3.1. Data Analysis from Interviews with Stakeholders**

The preceding section dealt with methodological principles that have informed this study. This section focuses on the analysis of data from our informants. Their views and opinions have provided us with insights around the topic under discussion and below are the major trends.

The research findings reveal that both the umbrella the Genocide survivor Ibuka and the Ministry of Sports and Culture (MINISPOC) have the belief that the genocidal discourse was in the third place mostly noticed during the Gacaca jurisdictions and trials of cases of compensations (cf. Question 8, section c). On this note, Ms Ariane NKESHA on behalf of the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP) stresses that some people ( who have looted survivors' property) complain that they compensate for the survivors' lost or destroyed stuff whereas killers were freed and allegedly don't pay in the same degree for the crimes that they committed. « Jyewe narasahuye none ndi kwishyura imitungo, nyamara kanaka wishe yigaramiye.» Thus, according to her, insecurity rises especially in rural areas due to the process of getting criminals/convicted people to pay back. The compensation issue has also attracted the MINISPOC (Mr. Straton NSANZABAGANWA). The latter finds this very sensitive in such way that there has not been and there will be no proper compensation and reparation for damages committed against the departed ones and this is a serious setback because the provision in reconciliation policy reduces the value of the reparation of the Genocide crimes against the survivors and the deceased.

It has to be noted that IBUKA (Mr. Naphtar AHISHAKIYE) finds that in the first place the genocidal ideology is frequently observed around issues surrounding the survivors' daily living conditions (cf. question 8, section a) while MINISPOC (Mr. Straton NSANZABAGANWA) has a different view. He states that the discourse that vehicles the genocidal ideology can be noticed across some of the individuals from the leadership spheres (cf. question 8, section) The IRDP in Ms Ariane's voice notes that this discourse is in the

first place perceived during the Gacaca trials and around the debate over compensation matter. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) has a different point of view or stand vis a vis this matter. Mr. Charles MUKIZA finds it very alarming the period preceding and during the commemoration of the Tutsi Genocide (cf. question 8, section e) when the discourse portraying genocidal ideology is mostly recurrent. INTEKO IZIRIKANA on their part, believe that the same discourse can be observable in all categories (cf. interview guide, question 8) except in the sector of orphans and widows living conditions.

In the order of importance or severity, the IBUKA puts in the second place the aspect of the living conditions of orphans and widows as a specific area where they find people using more of the genocide ideological discourse (cf. question 8, second b). MINISPOC placing this matter in the second position rather points a finger at the international community role in the genocide against the Tutsi and their hand in the use of hate speech. The IRDP positions this issue in the second level concerning the security and safety of Genocide survivors. The NURC has on its own a different perspective. The Commission claims that the opposition parties to the Government of National Unity are the ones to be held accountable in the second place for the mediatization of the hate speech and the genocide ideology discourse. Besides, the NURC believes that this form of language is observed at the level of survivors (orphans and widows) living conditions.

When it comes to know why some journalists still make use of the genocidal discourse (cf. question 1), our respondents give some possible reasons. According to INTEKO IZIRIKANA (Rwanda Elderly Association), there are three to four types of explanations: the first one is lack of background knowledge to the Rwandan history and language, a vehicle or mirror of our country's culture and identity. The second one is lack of ethical standards regulating people's integrity. The third is the inability to distinguish the incendiary language from the non-provocative and adequate discourse. The last one is the fact that some journalists deliberately opt for the inaccurate language. On this note, Ms NKESHA adds that some journalists tend to trivialize the crime of Genocide and make some discourse sound humorous and thus of the common place. This is illustrated by some genocide criminals that are given the floor on TV or radio shows and recount without remorse their barbaric deeds in 1994 Tutsi Genocide.

With regard to the role of media outlets, journalism training schools and government institutions in eradicating the Genocide denial discourse (cf. question 5), the IRDP advocates for the following: introduction of courses on genocide and organization of seminars/workshops on Genocide discourse analysis. Here, emphasis should be put on what to say and what not to say. Mr. NSANZABAGANWA, the activist for the Rwandan language and culture claims that media outlets should recruit journalists with relevant linguistic competence and emphasise more on developing their language skills.

He also recommends that practicing journalists should avoid an easy-going language in their news reports and when they go beyond the boundaries, they should be accountable for this and face penalties. Mr. NSANZABAGANWA as well as Mr. MUKIZA, the Communication Officer at the NURC argue however that most journalists are not blamed for their linguistic shortcomings because of the language interferences of the country they originated from in the post Genocide period. INTEKO IZIRIKANA suggests that more attention should be put on training journalists around issues of culture of peace, human rights on one hand and aspects of courtesy, educated speech and polite language on the other.

In short, most respondents emphasise the pressing need to regularly train journalists on their professional code of ethics in general and give them exposure to the specific language they need for their career in particular. The informants have also appealed for upgrading the status of the Kinyarwanda in education and media.

## **3.2. Identification and Analysis of the Corpus**

In the first place, we dealt with selection of the archives or documents to be analysed. Thus, the different newspapers were identified following some criteria: the audience they have, the regularity of their publication or issues, their status (whether state owned or private owned media) and their editorial line was taken into account to avoid partiality or bias in the analysis.

The corpus for this work is partly constituted of the review of some newspapers that were issued in the aftermath of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi. We also did not ignore the audio-video materials. We mainly considered those from British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as the latter has mainly been

of the international media houses questioned for its biased and controversial discourse. We also took into consideration those that we had easy access to within this work time limits (e.g. Voice of Hope /Ijwi ry'Ibyiringiro).

Another portion of this corpus was designed on the basis of the monitoring reports from the Media High Council (MHC) and various pieces of research on the Genocide against Tutsi. The concerned print media was made of Imvaho Nshya, Kinyamateka, Imboni, le Tribun du Peuple, Ukuri, le Partisan, l'Ere de Liberté, Umurabyo, Inganzo, Imbarutso and Gasabo. For the sake of clarity some of these newspapers names will be shortened in this paper.

While identifying the corpus, we have not extracted words or concepts by only considering their direct meaning as Gulseth (2004) says but by also associating their words significance in context with other expressions in the same statement or sentence (e.g. Abicanyi bahekuye u Rwanda (Ere, 48, p.3, The murderers who befell Rwanda) or Abakoze itsembabwoko (KINYA, 1447, p.8, Those who committed the Genocide). Then the analysis of the fragmented texts has allowed us to make the linguistic analysis of the discourse and come up with some themes that portray the role of the utterance in its social context.

This analysis also took into account the diachronic aspect of the study. In other words, values, ideas regarding Genocide and its ideology and policies undertaken around these issues have changed greatly over the period studied. In this respect, the post Genocide discourse has also changed over time. As a result, some differences in terms of concepts, expressions or discourse formation can be observed.

To illustrate this, we have the following:

Former use	Current use
Itsembabwoko n'itsembatsemba	Itsembabwoko ryakorewe Abatutsi
Gushyingura amagufa cg ibisigazwa	Gushyingura imibiri y'abazize Jenocide
Mbere y'intambara	Mbere ya Jenocide
Turi abahutu/abatutsi/abatwa	Turi abanyarwanda/ bene kanyarwanda

It is in this regard that this study has come up with a categorization and use

of a given discourse under several thematic sections such as use of harsh expressions, neutral language, discourse conveying cruelty and one that advocates tolerance. Below are some of the illustrations drawn from some newspapers under investigation:

### 3.2.1. Use of Harsh Expressions

This is an ideological manoeuvre or strategy to dissimulate or to dodge their responsibility in the genocidal acts. In brief, to outwit or to elude someone's attention or conceal their true colour or identity.

This is why they used more or less neutral expressions:

Kinyarwanda	Translation (English)
Kwikiza umwanzi	To get rid of one's enemy
Guhumba ibyitso	Wipe out accomplices
Gutema ibihuru	To clear the bush
U Rwanda rwo muri 1994 rwabaye urw'itsembabwoko ry'abatutsi n'itsembatsemba ry'abahutu biswe ibyitso (IMVAHO, 1184, p.2)	
Genocide et massacres (President Pasteur Bizimungu's speech in Gisenyi in 1998).	
Intambara n'itsembatsemba itaraba (Imvaho, 1098, p.2)	Before the war and Genocide took place
Irimburabatutsi (ERE, 40, p.13)	Extermination of Tutsi
Irimburabantu (IMVAHO, 1196, p.1)	Extermination of humanity
Itsembambaga	Extermination of the masses
Isubiranamo ry'amoko (KINYAMATEKA, 1447, p.7)	Ethnic conflict

In short, Semujanga (1998, p. 41) argues that the use of these words whose connotation is merely positive raises some doubts: Why did the narrators of the Genocide have recourse to the common or simple language? What use did they really benefit from this language?

### 3.2.2. Use of Discourse Expressing Cruelty

While identifying the corpus, we have come across some terms expressing the cruelty of the Genocide and the actor's identity as presented below:

- Akaga (KINYAMATEKA 1414, p.7)
- Amahano, amarorerwa, amaherere, ishyano and inkoramaraso (KINYAMATEKA, 1501, p.1)
- rukarabankaba (Imvaho, 1212, p.2).

Some of these terms have lost their initial denotative meaning and these terms are mainly associated with political parties affiliations e.g. Interahamwe, impuzamugambi, abatabazi, abapawa, inyenzi, ibisigazwa, amagufa, etc.

The 1994 Tutsi Genocide survivors have also been given several minimizing denominations or clichés such as abarusimbutse (KINYA, 1414, p.7), abasagutse (IMBONI 30,p.16), abasigaye iheruheru (TRIB 100,p.16) and many other names such as abarokotse Jenocide, abacitse ku icumu were later used in an attempt to find a more acceptable vocabulary and less dehumanizing concept.

Sometimes, speakers or writers have recourse to some euphemistic ways of alleviating the traumatizing effect of these expressions. e.g:

- Ubwicanyi bw'indengakamere, ibyabaye muri 1994 (IMVAHO , 1332, p.4)
- Kumena amaraso byo muri 1994 (IMVAHO,1093, p.13),
- Intambara yo muri 1994 (ERE, p.3, no 40)
- Ibyakozwe muri 1994 byari ugukomeza ubwicanyi bwari bumaze igihe kirekire (Imvaho 1227, p.2)

It has to be stressed that revisionists and actors of Genocide denial prefer to use less strong or cruel words to avoid naming Genocide.

When it comes to name the so-called ethnic groups of Rwanda, some of these expressions are open to criticism.

For example: *Imbaga y'inyabutatu bayitaga rubanda rw'umwami* (IMVAHO, 1062, p.7). The political discourse that primarily reconciles the population prefers the use of Benekanyarwanda, abana b'u Rwanda, bene Gihanga, etc. On the contrary negationists have opted for the creation of neologisms

having an ethnic connotation of questioning the Rwandan citizenship by using such expressions as *Sebahinzi* that metaphorically refer to Hutu and *Sebatunzi* referring to Tutsi (Gasengayire 2001, Ntawizeruwanone 2008).

Some of the public or political statements should be taken with caution regarding their interpretation. For instance, *uhereye muri guverinoma, usanga harimo abahutu n'ubwo ababyeyi babo cyangwa abavandimwe babo bishe* (IMVAHO, 1334, p.5). Ndahiro (2010) in his article *Genocide denial in mined minds and hearts* links this statement to 'The Hutu who serve in government are only surrogates of the RPF who lack legitimacy in their community.'

<http://friendsofevil.wordpress.com/2010/09/13/genocide-denial-in-mined-minds-and-hearts>

### **3.2.3. Use of Discourse of Tolerance**

Tolerance is also observed in some statements as part of the government and people's resolution to foster unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. In this regard as Burridges (1996) states, people have recourse to the language of 'political correctness' that strives to avoid offence, and circumlocutions, which may be employed to uphold civility and avoid impertinence. For example, *Akababaro dufite ntikatubere intandaro yo guhembera umujinya n'ingeso mbi yo guhora* (KINYA 1447, p.7). On the contrary, some controversial and forms of Genocide denial could be noticed in the post Genocide media. For example, *Habayeho amatsembatsemba abiri* (TRIB 89, 25) *Itsembatsemba ryibasiye abatutsi n'iryo kwihorera* (TRIB 89, p.25). Then in the same context of the Tutsi Genocide denial, this revisionist opinion is revelatory. e.g. *KAJUGA Robert, umukuru w'interahamwe yari umututsi* (TRIB, 89, p.25). In Gacaca legal proceedings some of these statements or expressions were used: *Kanaka araregwa ibyaha by'itsembabwoko n'itsembambatsemba n'ibindi byaha byibasiye inyoko muntu*. Some of this language could raise some ambiguity to the audience as to whether the culprit is charged with Genocide or massacres.

### 3.3. Other Forms of Discourse Reflecting the Genocide Ideology

In this section we have a glance at the discourse expressing or inciting the Genocide ideology and most of this language was drawn from the monitoring reports of the Media High Council (MHC) and from a compilation of words and expressions by Ntawizeruwanone Jean Pierre (2008). It actually provides us with expressions and statements from various sources mainly RTLM broadcasts.

#### 3.3.1. Extracts from RTLM Broadcasts

- A. Presenter: HABIMANA Kantano broadcast of 22 April 1994 (Ntawizeruwanone 2008, p. 21)

#### Heralds of Genocide Discourse



HABIMANA Cantano  
(Photo internet)

“Rubanda nyamwinshi” (the masses or Hutu majority) “Nyamuke” (the minority), “Bene Sebahinzi” (Sons/Descendants of the farmers) versus “Bene Sebatunzi” (Sons/Descendants of the cattle keepers), “Nowhere else in the world a minority rules over a majority. It happened a long time ago, but the era is gone. It will no longer be like that!”

- B. Presenter: BEMERIKI Valerie broadcast of 22 April 1994 (Ntawizeruwanone 2008, p. 21)



BEMERIKI Valerie  
(In prison)

“Now, we seem to have managed to look beyond political parties, and it is understandable since we have a common enemy... In the meantime we have put aside political party differences [...] we apply that word [Interahamwe] to all of us, to all Rwandans who stood up together, at the same time, who got united [she gives the meaning of Interahamwe] in order to defeat the Inkotanyi cockroach warriors.”

C. Presenter: GAHIGI Gaspard broadcast of 25 June 1994 (Ntawizeruwanone, 2008, p.22)

A fully distorted image of the Tutsi stereotype was given by RTLM Chief Editor: “We have described the Tutsis to you. These are unscrupulous people. These are people who have sex with their mothers and their sisters. These are people who do not respect their words. These are people we cannot trust. [...] If you tell a Tutsi extremist that he has to kill his elder brother in order to take over power, he will do so provided that his needs are fulfilled.”

D. Presenter: Mbilizi on the 23rd of May 1994 (the same source)

As Ntawizeruwanone states (2008, p.28), while the Genocide was raging, the RTLM broadcaster Mbilizi did not hesitate to declare that massacres were orchestrated by RPF: “Massacres are orchestrated by RPF which sparked off the hostilities after killing the President of the Republic. RPF orchestrated the massacres because it provoked the population whose anger was latent. The writer adds that the last straw that broke the camel’s back is the assassination of the president of the Republic.”

The monitoring report of the Media High Council has also identified words that are not properly used which can serve the basis for controversy and those that do not match with the context in which they are used.

This is the case of Kinyarwanda words “indishyi, icyiru, impozamarira” all used to mean “compensation” to Genocide victims:

- “Nta jambo nyaryo ari icyiru, ari indishyi n’impozamarira” (Imvaho Nshya 1544, 19-25/4/2004, p. 3);
- “Nta ndishyi ihwanye n’ibyabaye” (Imvaho Nshya 1544, 19-25/4/2004, p. 36).

In some other cases as the report puts it, the journalist does not propose the suitable or acceptable word. The report also highlights other controversial words and these are “isabukuru” and “ibirori” which mean respectively “anniversary” and “festivity.”

- “Itsembabwoko cyangwa itsembatsemba si ibirori!” (Umurage 22, p. 1-2);
- “Kwibuka Jenocide ngo ni isabukuru!!!” Inganzo 38, 5-12/4/2004, p. 2).

### **3.3.2. Report on BBC imvo n'imvano (informal translation- Kigali April 2009)**

Here, the monitoring report on the BBC programme analyses some incendiary statements such as 'Keeping one eye open' = kuba maso. This is according to the report an expression which was daily used as a political slogan by the CDR party. Another instance is what has been referred to as "GIHUTU" area; "whereas he is aware it is "Genocide" which he equates to "killings", allegedly committed by RPF soldiers; some are granted the right to bereave and to remember and others are told to keep quiet or else be made to pay for it".

#### **A. Analysis of the BBC show dated 25 April 2009 (the Kinyarwanda version)**

The analysis draws from utterances by Boniface Rutayisire who on BBC show made the following statement:

"Iyo ufashe umuhutu cyangwa umututsi, ukamushyira hamwe n'undi muhutu cyangwa umututsi, ntabwo bose banganya uburemere muri ubwo buhutu n'ubututsi. Iyo ibintu bikomeye hari urenga bariyeri hari n'undi utayirenga kandi bose bitwaga ubwoko bumwe."

Here is a translation by the MHC "When you put two Hutu individuals together, and two Tutsi individuals together, you realize they don't have the same degree of 'hutuness' and 'tutsiness' in them; when things get tough, one may be allowed to pass a road block and the other may not be allowed, whereas they were said to be of the same tribe."

#### **- BBC Imvo n'imvano (4 April 2009) on Jean Paul SAMPUTU's testimony by Ali Yusufu MUGENZI**



Ali Yusufu MUGENZI



Jean Paul SAMPUTU

This shows talks in part about the Congolese General NKUNDA. “NKUNDA ni umushyitsi w’u Rwanda ...” This discourse might seem or sound confusing to the uninformed listeners/audience. Literally speaking, the message is clear (i.e. NKUNDA is our guest) but the implied message is the opposite of what one might deduce from the denotative meaning (i.e. Does it really mean what is explicitly stated here?) This is what journalists must be aware of and refrain from drawing conclusions or make deliberate statement without substantiating them with evidence.

In this show, it is also a question of Jean Paul SAMPUTU testimony. His opinion in this programme might raise controversy in view of the philosophy of unity and reconciliation and Gacaca judicial process in Rwanda: “Abantu bahahamuka nyine ni ba bantu batarabohoka... basabe Imana ibabohore...”. At the time of grief and mourning on the survivors’ side, it would not be appropriate to hold such an opinion. Such a discourse can be insolent and dishonourable towards the survivor’s dignity and integrity.

- ***Voice of Hope Radio show on the Genocide Commemoration (April 2010)***

In this show, the preacher Eric Ruhangara elaborates on the essence of Genocide commemoration as believers take part in the burial of their departed ones. He states the following: ... Icyumweru kirangwa no gushyingura imibiri n’amagufa y’abishwe muri Jenocide. This can be a statement with more than one interpretation. For example, ‘abishwe’ muri Jenocide...; imibiri n’amagufa... (the remains of the Genocide victims) ... uri mu gushyingura mu cyubahiro imibiri n’abawe bazize Jenocide...jya wibuka ko hari ibyiringiro by’umugisha nyuma ya Jenocide....uwo muni amagufa y’abantu bawe azambikwa umubiri utabora... ariko abawe ntimuzajyana ari amagufa... bazaba bahawe imibiri mishya...imibiri itabora... This might be part of encouraging and soothing discourse for believers but for non believers this might sound a form of disrespect for one’s relatives that were murdered during the Genocide.

It has to be stressed that the incendiary journalists have made use of some rhetorical devices to achieve their Machiavellian ends. The next section illustrates well some of these techniques.

## 3.4. Rhetorical Techniques

The speaker or the writer makes use of the literary devices which contribute to please the listener or the reader and to arouse his/her emotions. Thanks to these, the writer or speaker is able to make a stronger argument. It has to be noted that the hate media has successfully benefited from these literary tools to achieve their deadly ends. We will not examine all the rhetorical techniques used by RTLM within this work.

### Rhetorique of hatred

#### 3.4.1. Proverbs

For instance, “Ukorora acira aba agâbanya”: One who coughs and spits diminishes his flu (Kantano, 15 June 1994). It means that if you kill Tutsis one by one, you will finally finish them off. - “Akîmuhana kaaza imvûra ihîse”: Help from neighbours comes after the rain. These are words by RTLM journalist Nkurunziza, (21 June 1994). These statements implied that Hutus ought to kill the Tutsis in their neighbourhood instead of waiting for help from others (Ntawizeruwanone, 2008: p.41). Another Rwandan proverb that RTLM used as part of its propaganda was “Abwirwa benshi akumva beneyo” (literally a message is conveyed to many people but only a handful people to whom the message is intended get the information). In this case, everyone interprets the message in his own way and this can raise the problem of communication breakdown.

#### 3.4.1. Metaphors

For example, the word “Bene Sebahinzi” (“sons/descendants of the farmers”) in the title of one of BIKINDI’s songs is an exceptional metaphor. It holds an image of ethnicism in the history of Rwanda. RTLM broadcasters constantly used the metaphoric language because metaphors linguistically softened the killings, and therefore encouraged them. Therefore, typical examples as illustrated by NTAWIZERUWANONE (2008, p. 42) of such use of metaphoric imagery like “gukora” (to kill the Tutsis), “udukoresho” (fire arms and ammunitions), “guhaguruka” (to chase the Tutsis), “guhiga umwanzi” (chase the Tutsis), “Inyenzi” (cockroaches), “umuganda” (communal work) (p.42)

### 3.4.2. Euphemisms



**NGEZE Hassani**  
(Photo internet)



**Kangura**

Euphemisms were largely used during the 1994 Genocide. Prunier (1995, p.138) identifies many euphemisms as well “umuganda” (communal work) for killings, “clearing bushes” for chopping up Tutsis, “pulling out bad weeds” for slaughtering the Tutsis, etc. Further, Prunier (1995, p. 142) makes reference to RTLM broadcasts calling upon the people to do ‘Umuganda’ which is a metaphorical way of inciting them to kill “And don’t forget that those who are destroying the weeds must also get rid of the roots”.

In the same perspective, Gasengayire Monique (2001, p.21) has also analysed some rhetorical devices as reflected in some of the hate media contents and here she suggests four of them : Allegory (i.e. amaraso aseseka ntayorwa), metaphor (i.e. umuganda), irony (i.e. Batutsi, God’s race/ Kangura No 26), hyperbole (inyenzi = amahembe). The same writer identifies other illustrative rhetorical instances. Here, she talks about allegory in some of RTLM broadcasts by Noel Hitimana at the Genocide eve (3rd April 1994). Amaraso araseseka ntayorwa. By allegory, we understand a certain description or a narrative from which we can draw a lesson by analogy and this is generally a religious or moral lesson (p. 20).

Besides, she also raises an example of irony which is a figurative way consisting in saying the opposite of the truth not for cheating one’s attention but to let others sound ridiculous. For instance, the hate newspaper ‘Kangura’ (Wake them up) it is an irony par excellence just to make some politicians ridiculous and traumatize Tutsi. Gasengayire states that when Kangura talks about ‘Abatutsi ubwoko bw’Imana’ (No 26), the journalist wanted to imply the banned race, in other words, the race that God has thrown out to the death (p.21)

In nutshell, the aim of the discourse analysis is to better understand the discourse. This means to grasp the contents of texts from a given period and the context in which these texts/ discourses were produced, to examine their underlying themes and to investigate their ideology these themes try to portray. The philosophical basis of producing a given discourse is that the speaker/ writer's texts or discourse reflect his/her ideology. It is assumed that the messages encoded in these discourses reach the audience exactly as it is intended and that the efforts to control the minds of the audience are guaranteed (Strelitz 2005, p. 8-9).

## **Discourse of Genocide Denial**

### **3.5. Discourse Expressing the Genocide Denial in Different Languages**

The table below presents a sample of expressions that reflect forms of denial of Genocide against the Tutsi. The data was obtained in part from the interaction we had with some ten practicing journalists and from a survey of some Western publications on the same Genocide (cf. Rwanda Senate Report 2006, p.126). This table gives examples of these expressions in Kinyarwanda, English and French to highlight the extent to which the Genocide ideology can be noticed in several narratives across national, regional and global spheres:

**Table 1: Table of some expressions used across different languages**

The discourse in Kinyarwanda	The literal explanation	The meaning in context
Hutu (Hutazwa, Hungabana, Hunga); Tutsi (Tura, Tunga, Tunganirwa); Twa (Tuza nkuyobore/ Twarwa)	Hutazwa = be subjected to any form of physical violence.	This is part of the data collected by the CNLG in a survey the commission conducted in St Emmanuel Kicukiro High School. These ethnic based statements were meant to traumatise the Genocide survivors and to raise again the consciousness of ethnic belonging.
	Hungabana = get traumatized	
	Hunga = flee the country	
	Tura= settle down	
	Tunga= be prosperous	
	Tuza = live peacefully	
	Tunganirwa = be more prosperous or wealthy	
	Tuza nkuyobore = just be submissive and let others rule over you	
Twarwa : the same meaning		

Source: [www.cnl.gov.rw](http://www.cnl.gov.rw) (12 December 2010)

The discourse in French	The literal meaning	The meaning in context
Rwanda : le Génocide des Tutsi, le plus grand mensonge du siècle. Autopsie d'un mensonge universalisé	This is a paper whereby the author pretends to carry out a deep description of widespread lie that the genocide did not take place and that it was seemingly a civil war.	This article aims at orchestrating some propagandist motives benefiting only the ignorant part of the world audience.

Source : *Kongo Times* [www.KongoTimes.info](http://www.KongoTimes.info)

The discourse in English	The literal meaning	The meaning in context
Simon Bikindi, a popular Rwandan singer and songwriter whose songs—like “Twasezereye ingoma ya cyami” “Nanga Abahutu” and “Bene Sebahinzi.”	(“We Said Goodbye to the Feudal Regime”) (“I Hate the Hutu”) (“The Sons and Fathers of the Cultivators”)	Messages that are filled with inflammatory anti-Tutsi hate speech and pro-Hutu solidarity propagandist messages.
“Civilian -on-Civilian killings in Rwanda” by Carl Peter Erlinder source: Gasabo Court proceedings RDP0312/10/TGI/ GSBO	This implies that Rwanda experienced civil war or confrontation in 1994 and thus, there was no genocide.	From the same writer: Rwanda: no conspiracy, no genocide planning... no Genocide?
Civilians killings & Crimes committed by the two side	This implicitly signifies that there was no Tutsi genocide	The double Genocide connotation.

Source: United states Holocaust Memorial Museum. Hate speech and Group–targeted violence : The Role of Speech in Violent Conflicts

In view of the discourse mentioned above, it is worth recalling Ndahiro (2010) statements with regard to the background of the media and its propagandist role in the Genocide ideology and denial. He argues that the internet has empowered bigots and increased the anonymous sources of deleterious discourse. He further adds that before and slightly after the Genocide Rwandans only received information through print media and radios. In the end, he emphasizes that Genocide deniers and ideologues have a language to suit their heinous schemes. There has to be someone to decipher and demand for sanity.

In this regard, there are a number of linguistic strategies the genocide deniers make use of and these are according to research by IRDP (2008) the heinous insults they pronounce under the so-called adoption of scientific attitude. Others prefer to attract people using criticism and exaggerating speeches (p.41). Further the IRDP findings demonstrate that Genocide deniers have recourse to “imaginary and diverting documents”(p.43) to back up their unfounded statements. Based on the above researchers’ appeal it is of paramount importance to highlight some of the prejudices, stereotypes and/or clichés constructed around the genocide ideology and denial.

## 3.6. Prejudices, stereotypes and clichés around the Genocide ideology

To begin with, although examples of the Genocide ideological discourse did exist and prevailed before 1994 and during the Genocide period, some of this language is still held and continued to be used in the media today, i.e. people are still talking about the same things that were being discussed almost two decades ago. This state of affairs is rooted and has ramifications in some of the prejudices, stereotypes and clichés constructed around the Genocide ideology and denial. Therefore, the discourse analysis of texts on Genocide can show the extent to which prejudices, stereotypes and so on have become an apparatus to incite conflicts that have so far fragilised our subregion. As a matter of illustration, in the opinion of Semujanga (2003, p.62) cited in Rwafa (2010, p.12) the perception of the Tutsi created a threshold of acceptability of stereotypes, prejudices, clichés, myths and ideologies around which it became easy to identify in preparation for their physical slaughter.

### 3.6.1. Prejudices

According to the Rwanda senate report (2006, p.66), prejudices in their common use, are referred to as beliefs, preconceived opinions that have been imposed in the society by the milieu/environment, era, education, and thus manifest themselves through biased ideas. These prejudices are also found in a given society the result of which social antagonisms most of time due to identity or religious conflicts or interests are apparent. The same source argues that prejudices become stereotypes when the prejudices emotionally affect the individual's feelings and on his turn considers these as a moral value to take for granted. Therefore, Tutsi will be labelled as intelligent, sly and so forth and later the Hutu from the Southern Rwanda or Nduga region will also be tagged as such (p. 68).

Ndahiro (2010) in his paper "Genocide- Laundering Historical Revisionism, Genocide denial and the Role of the Rassemblement Républicain Pour la Démocratie au Rwanda (RDR) outlines a number of racist stereotypes that were attributed to Tutsi to dehumanize them (e.g. serpents, cockroaches, etc) or to tax them as expansionists or imperialists filled with ambition of 'absolutism, exclusion and bloody wars'. He maintains that there are still

beliefs that Tutsi and Hutu have always been distinct and opposed ethnic groups.

### 3.6.2. Clichés

Clichés on their part can in some cases be used interchangeably with stereotypes and prejudices. In Kinyarwanda when someone utters, 'imbeba yakurikiye akaryoshye ihakura inda y'akabati'(curiosity killed the cat) which means that people should not be too inquisitive, intrusive, probing etc. Another one can be "wikanga rutenderi" (let sleeping dogs lie). All of these clichés if misinterpreted or used in the wrong context might produce unexpected sad effects. Thus, analysis of the word 'inyenzi' as one of the most widely used clichés in the recent Rwandan history can be revelatory.

According to Shimamungu (1998, p. 93) "Inyenzi" was a term coined by Rwandan guerrillas of the 1960s who called themselves "Inyenzi". He adds that this is a nickname in Kinyarwanda acronym whose initials stand for "INgangurarugo ziYEmeje kuba ingeNZI" that can literally be translated as brave men determined to be the elites). Then, people later reportedly ignored this positive connotation behind this acronym and understood the meaning 'inyenzi' labeled as 'cockroaches'.

Another explanatory cliché can be the expression 'gushyushya (abantu) umutwe'. Darryl (2004,p.13) recalling one of his informants words according to which this expression ("make people's heads hot ) was used by RTLM broadcasts to refer to how the RPF intended to restore the monarchy and reinstate dreaded colonial-era clientship institutions. Later this writer also reproduces one of RTLM eminent incendiary journalists instructing Hutu to welcome the French troops at the time hatred against whites was at its peak with UNAMIR Belgian soldiers' killings. The journalist said "Niba bakubwiye ngo ukore iki, ntibakubwiye ngo ukore ikinyuranyo" (If you are told to do something, you are not told to do the opposite). BEMERIKI then announced to the listeners "If we are saying that we should welcome the French, which does not mean that we should throw stones at them" (p. 26).

In the following lines, this study has recourse to the theory of communication that introduces us to the question of media effects. We actually do not communicate in a vacuum. We communicate because we want to achieve something. In this context, this study has helped us to analyse the effect

that the journalist's article or new item have on the audience or listeners or readers and suggest appropriate ways of reporting and using the acceptable or sound concepts (cf. section 2.10).

## **Media and social discourse**

### **3.7. The influence of media on the communication process**

Mass media play a paramount role in a given society, the role whose primary mission is to inform, train (educate) and entertain. The first aspect of this mission emphasizes on the information which is to be transmitted to the public. In this respect, the media gather, edit, broadcast or publish topical facts which are meant for the public awareness of what is happening in the proximity as well as in the remote areas. It is very crucial that the media take into consideration some criteria while selecting the information they wish to convey and that responds to the public's needs. In other words, every kind of news item or information that is made public is taken for granted as gospel truth in such away that journalists are considered holders of verified and trustworthy pieces of information.

The media's role of informing is somehow confused with that of educating. This role is specifically developed in the theory of the media powerful effects, i.e. the people's socialization 'The mass communication reinforces the established order and legitimizes the existing social relations: they definitely have a powerful effect on the receivers' behaviour.' This assertion by Marcuse cited in Charron (1999, p. 33) shows the influence of media on the population as agent of socialisation alongside with family, school, religion and state. The media are therefore located at the centre that is the middle of these different institutions whose first mission is to educate the people. Thus, the media play a role of liaison between different agents who are responsible for educating the people.

The media determine the agenda of the national concerns and impose public priorities. The latter establish henceforth their programmes following the media agenda. We therefore refer to the agenda setting theory according

to which media have influencing powers. Baran (1993, p. 66) states that the media shape one's opinion at the same time attracting the audience towards certain events and neglecting others as well. In brief, the media have a direct and/or indirect influence on the public. Bertrand (1997, p. 29) asserts that « when a message is published, it has certainly the same impact as a bullet in the target.»

This leads us to discuss another theory of the Hypodemic needle, through which Harold Lasswell bluntly affirms that the media have a direct influence on the masses (the population). This writer is supplemented by Baranqui who argues that « the media act as a magic bullet that enters the spirit of the listener and these media arouse high and specific emotions and reactions. Besides, Strelitz (2005, p. 8-9) cited in Rwafa (2010, p.53) holds that the Hypodemic needle also known as production/text theory, magic bullet or stimulus response theory emphasizes the power of media to influence the decisions of a certain audience. This is to say that consumers of the information from the media cannot resist from the influence of the received message. This message affects the listener's mind, the TV viewer or the reader at the same time transforming the way they think, see, act, feel and live especially.

The media particularly the radio played a noxious role in the preparation of the Genocide against the Jews and in the recent history of humanity the Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. Hitler for example was able to convince thanks to the radio broadcasts the Germans to abide by the nazist ideology in order to kill the Jews. This hate speech led to the xenophobia and to trigger the Second World War. The same applies to RTLM and Kangura that served as harmful hate media in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The expressions or the vocabulary used by these media produced bad effects upon the public. The occurrence and rebroadcast of this discourse pushed or drove the population to act in a way or another. As for Balle (1992, p. 67) « the efficiency of the message depends on its ability to orchestrate the repetition of its essential thesis statement. We have first of all to avoid the people distraction by any other idea whatsoever. In a continuous way, the masses should be subjected to the doctrine bombardment.»

While concluding this section, it is of paramount importance to discuss the model of a communication process (see figure below) that can assist

journalists in their daily tasks as they reflect on their potential audience or public:

*Message => Sender (Journalist) => Channel (Radio/TV/ Newspaper/internet)  
=> Receiver (audience) => Message.*

In every form of communication, there must be someone (or something) that communicates. We cannot in principle talk about communication if the audience for the message doesn't respond appropriately. In the same context, the journalist transmits a certain message through a given channel such as the radio or TV. In this case, he/she is considered as the sender or transmitter of the message. To find out what kind of effect our communication has, we need some kind of feedback. If for instance a journalist produces a newspaper article he should expect the audience (the receiver/ readers) to respond or react in a certain way to his message. If the readers give a positive feedback by showing interest, the journalist would continue to write in the same way; if the audience gives him negative feedback by showing lack of interest then the journalist will have to adjust accordingly. It is in this framework that the next section suggests some guidelines to assist journalists in writing with success their reports on sensitive issues such as genocide.

## PART 4:

# Key guidelines while reporting on Genocide against Tutsi

## 4.1. Keys Guidelines

Some of the words or concepts are commonly misused in everyday language and news report. When for example someone states ‘He/she is deranged or crazy to convey a message that he/she is suffering from trauma, this is inappropriate discourse. This expresses a rather stereotypical image about mental illness that is totally incorrect and opposite to the actual truth or reality. Not only is such usage hurtful to people with trauma or Genocide survivors in the context of this study, but it is also inaccurate. More examples of this nature can be found in the glossary (cf. Ntakirutimana E, 2010) as well as in the appendices. It is therefore recommended to use phrases like ‘He is an individual with trauma’ rather than describing someone as deranged or traumatised. Journalists should therefore avoid misinterpreting the victims or Genocide survivors’ emotions or verbal communications.

In the table below, this study proposes a template to follow while reporting issues on Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The first column presents expressions like ‘ Instead of using/saying...’ or its derivatives to describe something other than... then ‘Use phrases like... “ or find other concepts/terms...

**Table 2: Template to follow while reporting on Genocide issues**

<b>Instead of using/ saying.... Ntibavuga....</b>	<b>Use words/ phrases like.... Bavuga....</b>
Intambara yo muri 1994	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi muri 1994
Mbere y'intambara	Mbere ya Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Mbere y'indege	
Abanyarwanda basubiranyemo	Habayeho jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Urupfu rwa Habyarimana nk'inkomoko ya Jenoside	Urupfu rwa Habyarimana nk'imbarutso ya Jenoside
Abahutu bararakaye maze bica Abatutsi ngo Habyarimana yapfuye	Urupfu rwa Habyarimana nk'imbarutso ya Jenoside
Kwibuka nk'isabukuru (celebration)	Kwibuka (Commemoration)
Kwibuka ni imbogamizi ikomeye ku bumwe n'ubwiyunge	Kwibuka bikwiye kumvikana nk'inkingi ikomeye y'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge
Mu Rwanda amoko yari ashya miranye	Mu Rwanda hategurwaga Jenoside y'Abatutsi
Jenoside ni Abahutu birwanyeho ntabwo ari Jenoside	Abateguye Jenoside babeshyaga abahutu ko bagomba kwirwanaho
Leta y'abatutsi	Leta y'Ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda
Ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali	Leta y'u Rwanda
Abacikacumu	Abacitse ku icumu cyangwa Abarokotse Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Aba FARG	Abana bafashwa n'Ikigega gifasha imfubyi za Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Jenoside iba yikubise cg yitura aho	Jenoside yarateguwe, irageragezwa
Hari ibyagwiriye igihugu	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Itsembabatutsi	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Itsembatsemba	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Irimburabwoko	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Ubwicanyi, amabi, amahano, serwakira...	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi
Jenoside y'Abatutsi	Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi (si Abatutsi bayikoze)
Hapfuye abantu bagera ku bihumbi 800	Hapfuye aberenga miliyoni

Instead of using/ saying.... Ntibavuga....	Use words/ phrases like.... Bavuga....
Amagufa	Imibiri y'abazize jenocide yakorewe abatutsi
Gutaburura	Gushakisha imibiri y'abazize Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi
Amarimbi	Inzibutso za Jenocide
Kuzura akaboze	Kwibuka abacu bazize Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi
<i>Additional list of traumatizing discourse /language</i>	<i>Source: These expressions were drawn from a paper by Evariste Ntakirutimana (2010).</i>

This table presents only a sample of words and/or expressions that constitute the premises for the discourse reflecting the Genocide ideology and Genocide denial. In view of the dehumanizing discourse portrayed by Genocide deniers, it is worth recalling some of the explanations by NTAKIRUTIMANA Evariste (2010) as he depicts how much the revisionists and negationists make use of this discourse to minimize the magnitude of the Genocide effect on the survivors and victims.

NTAKIRUTIMANA in his paper has identified at least four aspects underlying the traumatizing discourse that is the main tenets of the Genocide ideology and its denial and despise. He conveyed his message by using imagery through a psychological concept 'psychosis' to express the extent to which the Genocide ideology can turn the actor's mind into extreme behaviours. In other words, it is as if he/she is out of mind or reality like what Genocide criminals did in 1994.

The first one refers to what he terms as psychosis of extermination. The second one is psychosis of self-abandonment; the third concerns the psychosis of contempt for survivors or victims and the fourth and last is the psychosis of minimization of Genocide.

In the following lines, the writer gives instances of the discourse describing each of the above mentioned aspects:

- (1) psychosis of extermination (e.g. ntikarakorwa or turabikiye). The speaker's strategy is to put the victim at the center of the danger and to keep him/her in a perpetual fear, threat of death.
- (2) psychosis of self-abandonment (e.g. icyabo kirageze ntiwabavuga or abahutu bazibukwa ryari?) Here, the speaker makes sure the victim is left to himself /herself, thus subjected to loneliness.
- (3) psychosis of contempt for victims (e.g. guhora mu magufa nk'imbwa) In this case, the bearer of this statement attempts to trivialize the memory and commemoration of the Genocide and decent burial of the victims.
- (4) psychosis of minimization of Genocide (e.g. Jenocide yatanze imirimo) This is a blatant example of Genocide denial where the holocaust in which people take advantage of the wealth or grow rich.

Journalists should therefore take this into consideration and abstain from using such discourse as the latter destroys, kills, hurts, humiliates since this kind of discourse touches the innermost and wakes troubles up especially at times of high sensitivity (Ntakirutimana, E, 2010). In the same perspective, the following tips can serve as guidelines to minimize/avoid the use of inappropriate language:

- Journalists should write with awareness that people suffering from trauma/survivors face prejudice and stereotype/discrimination and act accordingly in the choice of discourse they use in several media outlets they represent.
- They should avoid using stereotypical words or phrases in describing by strictly eliminating stigmatizing and traumatizing language and portrayals.
- They should never use in reporting, commentary or headlines disparaging words related to race, ethnicity and so on. In this respect, they should remember that sensationalize news stories contribute to stigma and pass negative judgment on the quality of life for victims of the people involved in their news reports.
- They should provide readers with positive images of the story even though this might be describe people experiencing emotional problems, grief, trauma and so on by making use of more euphemistic expressions or discourse.

- They should also be careful with captions and be aware that readers may take these as the whole story and be misled. The captions or any other illustration or pictures should rather represent the most relevant aspect of the story rather than what the journalist wants them to be.

This section provides in addition to the above suggested guidelines a number of websites that constitute a more comprehensive database for documenting Genocide worldwide, its history, research, testimonies, and government policies to address, fight and stop Genocide.

### Key Websites & Links

<http://www.instituteforthestudyofgenocide.org/othersites.html>  
<http://www.humanrightsfirst.org>  
<http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/genocide.htm>  
<http://migs.concordia.ca>  
<http://www.people.memphis.edu/~genocide>  
<http://www2.hawaii.edu/~rummel/>  
<http://www.genocide.mq.edu.au>  
<http://www.preventgenocide.org>  
<http://www.minoritiesatrisk.com>  
<http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/stfail>  
<http://www.genocidewatch.org>  
<http://www.chgs.umn.edu>  
<http://www.genocideinterventionfund.org/news/links.php>  
<http://www.armenian-genocide.org>  
<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/>  
<http://www.ushmm.org/>  
<http://www.yad-vashem.org.il>

Besides, some experts in the field of journalism suggest some useful links that can serve as resourceful materials for media practioners. The first link can be accessed from the BBC media house website and this material is part of the project of the London College of Journalism to create language sites. This aims at training and equipping journalists with skills to knowing different rules about impartiality as integral part of their profession and how that applies to various languages.

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2009/03/090309\\_cojo\\_africa\\_languages.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2009/03/090309_cojo_africa_languages.shtml)

The second link gives access to a talk by a professional journalist and expert in radio journalism, Mr. Allan Little who discusses the topic on writing the appropriate word for radio journalism. The Kinyarwanda translated version of his English can also be found in these links:

- [http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/news/story/2009/03/090305\\_cojo\\_allan.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/news/story/2009/03/090305_cojo_allan.shtml)
- [http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/pdf/greatlakes\\_allanlittle.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/pdf/greatlakes_allanlittle.pdf)

## 4.2. Glossary

This section presents a glossary of some Kinyarwanda concepts and/or expressions reflecting the Genocide ideology and their explanations in French and English. In fact, this glossary provides first of all the entry in Kinyarwanda, then the first meaning (i.e. denotative explanation) and the meaning in context (i.e. the connotative meaning) in French and English respectively.

**Table 3 : Glossary of Kinyarwanda concepts and /or expressions reflecting the Genocide ideology**

Kinyarwanda	French	English
1. Kwikiza umwanzi	Se préserver de l'ennemi On parle ici des Tutsi victimes du Génocide.	to get rid of one's enemy (i.e. the Tutsi, victims of the Genocide)
2. Guhumba ibyitso	Eliminer complètement les complices. On parle aussi ici des Tutsi.	To wipe out accomplices Reference is also made to the Tutsi.
3. Gutema ibihuru	Débroussailler = tuer les Tutsi qui sont par ici considérés comme des brousses, des mauvaises herbes	to clear the bush = destroy the weeds, here referred to as Tutsi, i.e. to get rid of them
4. Amatsembabwoko abiri	Double Génocide = Le Génocide des Tutsi et les massacres des Hutu réfugiés au Congo	Double Genocide = The Tutsi Genocide along side with massacres of Hutu who had taken refuge in Congo

Kinyarwanda	French	English
5. Interahamwe	Ceux qui attaquent dans un même endroit ou ceux qui visent le même but = Jeunesse/ les milices du MRND connues pour être des extrémistes Hutus et qui furent à l'avant plan dans le Génocide des Tutsi de 1994 au Rwanda	<b>Interahamwe:</b> People who have the same aim or stand up together to perform a given task.  Militia of MRND made of Hutu extremists and perpetrators of the 1994 Tutsi Genocide.
6. Impuzamugambi	Littéralement, ceux qui ont le même but. Les membres du parti politique CDR (Coalition pour la défense de la République) extrémistes Hutus	People with one purpose = Members of the C.D.R. Political party, Hutu extremists as well
7. Inyenzi	Cancrelats (sens premier/dénotatif) Cafards = ce nom a été utilisé pour désigner les réfugiés qui menaient des attaques pour tenter de rentrer dans leur pays, le Rwanda, après 1959.	The Kinyarwanda name for 'cockroach'. Used as a derogatory /insulting epithet for ethnic Tutsi. Throughout the Genocide the name was used as a slur by Hutu predicting the cockroaches' imminent 'extermination'.

Kinyarwanda	French	English
8. Inkotanyi	Les inlassables combattants = le nom attribué aux sympathisants du FPR et qui a été utilisé pour faire référence aux Tutsi pendant le Génocide de 1994.	<b>Inkotanyi:</b> During the genocide, a derogatory name for <b>Tutsis</b> . For Tutsis the term Inkotanyi conjures images of brave warriors sent to save Rwandans from Genocide.  Inkotanyi 'Those who fight courageously'. A historic military term for a warrior, used by Hutu extremists as an insulting term for <b>RPF</b> soldiers.
9. Abacitse ku icumu	Les réscapés du génocide (Tutsi)	Those who survived the killer's spear = Genocide survivors (Tutsi)
10. Imbaga y'inyabutatu	La trinité rwandaise = les trois composantes de la société rwandaise (Hutu, Tutsi et Twa)	The Rwandan tripartite /trinity made of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa.
11. Benekany-arwanda	Fils ou Filles de Kanyarwanda	Sons or daughters of Kanyarwanda
12. Sebahinzi	Nom qui était employé pour désigner les Hutus connus pour être cultivateurs /laboureurs (métaphore)	Sons and daughters of Sebahinzi which means ancestors of cultivators) (Name which was used to refer to the Hutu tribe members who were known to be cultivators (metaphor)

Kinyarwanda	French	English
13. Sebatunzi	Nom qui était employé pour désigner les Tutsis connus pour être Éleveurs (metaphore)	Sons and daughters of Sebatunzi which means ancestors of cattle keepers. Name which was used to refer to the Tutsi tribe members who were known to be cattle keepers (metaphor)
14. Itsembatsemba n'itsembabwoko	Le Génocide et les massacres = les Tutsi d'une part et les Hutu modérés d'autre part.	Genocide and massacres = Genocide of Tutsi and massacres of moderate Hutu.
15. Kwihorera	Se venger	Avenge
16. Kwihimura	Rendre le mal pour le mal	Revenge
17. Ibirumirahabiri	Qui a un double langage	Double standards
18. Ingengabitekerezo	Idéologie génocidaire (sous entendu)	Used to refer to the genocide ideology
19. Icyunamo (igihe cy')	Commémoration du génocide/ deuil national = Période de deuil. Période allant du 7 Avril au 3 Juillet de chaque année pour commémorer la mémoire du Génocide des Tutsi	Mourning Period = Period between 7th April to 3rd July every year in which the Tutsi Genocide is commemorated.
20. Kwibuka	Commémorer	Commemorate
21. Inzirakarengane / abicwaga	Les victimes innocentes /les victimes des tueries/ Génocide/ massacres	Innocent victims of genocide and massacres
22. Impozamarira/ indishyi/ icyiru	Fonds de compensation/ des dommages et intérêts.	Genocide compensation funds, Genocide damages

<b>Kinyarwanda</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>English</b>
23. Amakimirane / isubiranamo ry'amoko	Conflit inter ethnique	Ethnic based conflicts
24. Amagufa/ ibisigazwa/ imibiri	Les restes des victimes du Génocide des Tutsi (pour le cas du Rwanda)	Remains of the Tutsi Genocide victims ( case of Rwanda)
25. Rubanda nyamwinshi	Masses populaires pour faire allusion au peuple majoritaire (Hutu)	The mass of ordinary people. These were implicitly referred to as Hutu majority.
26. Gukora	Travailler ou faire le travail, terme utilisé par les tueurs et planificateurs du génocide pour signifier 'tuer' ou 'accomplir la mission de tuer les Tutsi'	To work = a verb that was used to appeal to the perpetrators of the Genocide to kill Tutsi. This rhetoric took the form of agriculture metaphor.
27. Umuganda	Travaux communautaires = travail collectif qui engageait tous les Rwandais dans les actions de développement. Ce terme a été utilisé en métaphore pour signifier 'tuer'.	Communal work = this is a collective work meant for the country's development purposes. During the genocide, this metaphorically meant to 'kill'.
28. Guhiga umwanzi	Chasser l'ennemi = on faisait allusion aux Tutsi pendant le G énocide.	Chase the enemy = this makes reference to Tutsi during the Genocide period.
29. Amahano	Atrocités	Atrocities
30. Amaraso aseseka nta yorwa	Littéralement : le sang qui se verse, ne se ramasse pas.	The blood that is shed can not be collected back.

Kinyarwanda	French	English
31. Abwirwa benshi akumva beneyo	A bon entendeur salut (proverbe). Ce proverbe a été utilisé régulièrement par les médias de la haine pour donner consigne aux génocidaires de tuer.	A word to the wise is enough. Literally a message is conveyed to many people but only a handful people to whom the message is intended get the information. This proverb was a signal to the killers.
32. Ukorora acira aba agabanya	Littéralement = quand on tousse et quand on élimine les crachats, la toux disparaît progressivement. Ce terme a été utilisé pendant le Génocide par RTLM pour signifier que quand on tue les Tutsi un à un on peut les éliminer complètement	One who coughs and spits diminishes his flu = this meant during the Genocide that when you kill Tutsi one by one you end up finishing them off (RLTM broadcast)
33. Uwasuze agirwa no kunutsa	Quand il faut on doit le faire proprement. = quand on commence une action, il faut absolument la terminer. Dans le cas du génocide, puisque les tueurs avaient commencé leur sale bésogne, il fallait aller jusqu'au bout.	If someone is to fart, it should stink = This expression refers to the fact that when a dirty action has been launched, it has to be completed or accomplished. During the genocide, the killers were sensitized to finish off their satanic duty of killing.
34. Igihugu kidakubita imbwa cyorora imisega	Littéralement = un pays où les chiens ne sont jamais punis laisse proliférer les chiens errants.	Literally, a country that does not beat up dogs, there is proliferation of wild dogs the ones that wander on streets.

Kinyarwanda	French	English
35. Abacengezi	Infiltrés= Nom généralement donné aux rebelles rwandais groupés dans le FDLR et opérant à partir l'Est de la RD Congo	Infiltrators = Name generally given to Rwandan rebels grouped in FDLR and operating from the Eastern regions of the DR Congo
36. Igipinga / gipingamizi	Nom communément employé pour désigner la personne avec qui vous ne partagez pas les memes points de vue politiques	Name which was commonly used to refer to the person or people whom you don't share the same political opinion.
37. Intagondwa	Extremistes / Intransigeants en politique	One (s) who can't be bent (literally): Intransigents / hard liners in politics
38. Inzibutso za Jenocide	Site(s) mémorial/ mémoriaux du Genocide	Genocide memorials / sites
39. Gushyingura mu cyubahiro	Cérémonie de collecte et inhumation en dignité les restes des victimes du Genocide des Tutsi	To bury someone in dignity = ceremony of collecting the remains of the Tutsi Genocide victims for a decent burial.
40. Amacakubiri	Actions ou idées pouvant attiser des divisions sur base ethnique ou autre au Rwanda	Divisionism = Act or ideas susceptible to creating ethnic or other divisions in Rwanda

Kinyarwanda	French	English
41. icyitso/ ibyitso	Complice: toute personne suspectée de connivance avec l'ennemi. Pendant la guerre, les Tutsis et les opposants politiques d'alors furent considérés comme tel et bon nombre d'eux furent massacrés pendant le Génocide	Accomplice = during the period before Tutsi Genocide in Rwanda, Tutsis and the political opponents to the regime which was in place were considered to be <i>ibytso</i> (plural form of icyitso) and many of them were massacred during the Genocide
42. Hutu Power	Membres de la branche "power" du MDR et leurs allies. Slogan utilise par les extrémistes Hutus signifiant le pouvoir des Hutus et visant à sensibiliser tous les Hutus pour s'unir contre un ennemi commun avant et pendant la période du Génocide de 1994	Slogan used by extremist Hutus during the 1994 Genocide period. It means the Power of Hutus and aiming at sensitizing all Hutus to unite against their common enemy who was regarded as the Tutsi
43. Inkiko zirahana, ntizunga	Les tribunaux punissent, ils ne réconcilient pas.	Courts provide punishments; they don't reconcile people in conflict.

## Part V:

# General conclusion and recommendations

This work was primarily made of three main parts. The first introduced the study and provided the background to the context. The second part that is the core of the study discussed the methodological principles applied to this work, presented the data analysis and guidelines on the use of appropriate journalistic language while reporting on Genocide. The third and last part outlined a glossary of some of the concepts reflecting the Genocide ideology.

## 5.1. Conclusion

This work has primarily analysed the content of several media outlets and then identified some inappropriate language and clichés to be avoided by journalists. To reach this end, this study has had recourse to a number of approaches namely the discourse analysis and content analysis approaches and the communication approach. The analysis of the data thanks to some discourse analysis principles has led to the conclusion that any human discourse bears a certain ideology in itself and when negatively utilised produces disastrous results. This work does not pretend to be exhaustive but it sheds light on guidelines journalists can follow while reporting on Genocide issues and provides some safeguards they can consider while discussing different sensitive and controversial pieces of writing in their profession.

When for instance Kinchke (1996: p.112) puts forwards one of the RTLM broadcast extract 'the grave is only half full, who will help us to fill it?'. He openly argues that this statement does not appear to have explicitly called to exterminate Tutsi civilians. This is a blatant illustration of negationism that journalists should be aware of. They should therefore be cautious and act accordingly while reporting on Genocide issues. Looking at this statement, RTLM journalists knew well before that however implicitly stated, the message once rendered in their mother tongue would be clear to the Rwandan audience in spite of some public or international opinions who might have erroneous understanding of it.

Another instance that practicing journalists should be careful about is that of critically reading texts involving scholarly or academic comprehension. When for example some scholars attempt at finding criteria for defining the Rwandan Genocide, things become ambiguous and controversial. Some writers even try to find a concept that combines both violence against Hutu moderates and Genocide against Tutsi. In this regard, BANGWANUBUSA (2009, p.3) quotes a writer who for convenience and simplicity in language defines this phenomenon as genocidal violence and uses this concept “to include both Genocide... and mass killing, in which there is no intention to eliminate a whole group’ (Staub 1996, p.117).

It is also advisable that journalists be conscious of the government power to most of which work for and attempt their best not to fall into some authorities’ influential discourse. As Zvomuya puts it (2009, p.2), when communities are killed it is not only individual lives that are lost, language too is distorted as government resort to obfuscation and saying things it did not believe. The selective use of vocabulary to insulate acts of aggression and violence in ‘officialese or diplomatic speak’ can indeed encourage and escalate the violence.

The findings also demonstrate that several concepts should be taken into consideration while analysing the biased and tendentious language. In addition, they could constitute the premises for any Genocide ideological and hate discourse. These are cliches, stereotypes, prejudices myths to name but a few. To illustrate this Semujanga (1998, p.41) argues that “ la notion courante fait du stereotype et du cliché une sorte de lieu commun discursif dont il faut se mefier quand on étudie le réel” (the common understanding makes of the stereotype and of the cliché a kind of discursive meeting point at which we should be reluctant when we examine the real matter or reality).

The results of this study reveal that several clichés and inappropriate language were produced especially by the hate media from the pre genocide period. The Genocide ideologists made use of the RTLM and Kangura radio and print media respectively to convey their propagandist language. The findings also show that the use of some literary and rhetorical techniques (e.g. metaphor, irony, etc) facilitated much the incendiary discourse to have profound effect on the intended audience who in turn committed the Genocide. This is linked to Semujanga (1998,p. 41) opinion that while analyzing the discourse, words along side with clichés and stereotypes have a certain common ground

in that they are used to emphasise the repetitive nature of the statements people produce in their daily or social life.

## 5.2. Recommendations

These recommendations are not only meant to serve as guidelines for practising journalists while reporting on Genocide issues but they are also addressed to media partner institutions mainly the Rwandan Journalist Association (ARJ) and the Ministry of Information:

### A. To the Media High Council, ARJ and MININFOR:

- It should organise short courses on news gathering, editing and reporting that focus on events involving sensitive, grief or hate speech.
- It should organise regular workshops or seminars on media and Genocide laws, code of ethics and these should also be an opportunity to remind practising journalists to have these policy documents or reference materials at the back of their mind.
- It should organise short courses on the introduction to writing literary texts that require background to the use of imagery or rhetorical devices or figures of styles such as irony, satire, metaphors and so on. An introduction to the discourse analysis could also be organised.
- Further studies should focus more on exploring in depth the issue of compiling a dictionary terms/concepts reflecting the Genocide language and/or ideology. This should specifically demonstrate the way a given discourse has changed its original meaning in certain context over time and acquired a new one which is rather destructive.

### B. To the practising journalists:

- They should bear in mind that they are part of institution that plays the role of socialisation, education of the people. They should also carry out this professionally and link this to the post genocide realities.
- Journalists should be conscious of the fact that the state or the government is not a protagonist but rather a partner that works hand in hand with the media for the development of Rwanda. They should also strive to avoid sensationalism in their writing and broadcasting.

**C. To the managers of media houses or outlets:**

- The Rwanda Television should adjust the broadcasting time slots of horrific movies and/or documentaries during the Genocide commemoration and broadcast these at a later hours of the night. In the same context, listeners and viewers should be informed beforehand of the potentially traumatizing programmes.
- They should organise in- service training of their staff on regulating and questioning their daily activities. Managers should monitor the journalists work in such so that they refrain from sensational writings in their newspapers or hate speech radio or TV which for the most cases are meant to secure financial benefits.

**D. To the School of Journalism and the Great Lakes Media Center:**

They should introduce courses whose contents would discuss fighting Genocide ideology on the one hand and use of appropriate language/discourse on the other. They should also run courses on conflict prevention and resolution and philosophy or building the spirit of humanism.

**E. To the stakeholders or partner institutions advocating for the Genocide cause(e.g. Minespoc):**

The government as the bearer of power to protect/preserve the language and culture should put more emphasis and value on the appropriate language usage. It should also provide the Rwandan Academy of Language and Culture the necessary logistic and financial support in order to successfully fulfill its mandate.

The government institutions should also advocate for the use of accurate language especially when commemorating the Genocide against the Tutsi or discussing, debating any Genocide related issues. In this regard, the discourse such as *dufate umunota umwe wo kwibuka abacu bazize Jenocide* /Let us observe a minute of silence in honour of the beloved victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi' should no longer be used. Rather, people should say *"dufate umwanya wo kwibuka no kunamira abacu bazize Jenocide"* /let us devote time to pay tribute to/in memory of our beloved relatives and friends victims of the Genocide. It is also imperative to put the already identified hate speech or discourse reflecting the Genocide ideology at the public

disposal especially in Genocide memorial sites in order to raise more of their awareness on the spirit of Never Again. In the next section, we highlight different limitations and constraints of this study.

### **5.3. Field work limitations and constraints**

This study sought to explore the use of appropriate journalistic language and concepts while reporting on Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. However, a number of limitations in the study need to be addressed.

Due to the financial and time constraints, we could not undertake a more extensive assignment as initially expected. We have therefore decided to limit ourselves to the capital of Rwanda that inhabits different stakeholder or partner institutions that are more or less representing many people's views on the Genocide issues and concerns.

Another major limitation has to do with the nature of the study: analyzing the discourse of the lexis of the language implies studying the latter over a longer period of time in order to track changes in terms of the word/expression meaning and use which we could not do due to very limited time allocated to this exercise.

It is in this perspective that since this study has followed a more qualitative research tradition (identifying and analyzing people's feelings and perceptions on a given topic). Further studies could apply quantitative methodological principles by providing for instance statistics of the frequency or recurrence of the use of words or expressions reflecting the Genocide ideology or denial. In the spirit of this study, we suggest that more funds and time be allocated to a detailed and far fetched research on the issue under investigation.

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## Online resources

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/news/story/2009/03/090305\\_cojo\\_allan.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/news/story/2009/03/090305_cojo_allan.shtml)

[http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/pdf/greatlakes\\_allanlittle.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/pdf/greatlakes_allanlittle.pdf)

<http://www.cnlq.gov.rw>

<http://www.genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw>

<http://www.KongoTimes.info>

<http://www.nurc.gov.rw>

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[http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/news/story/2009/03/090305\\_cojo\\_allan.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/news/story/2009/03/090305_cojo_allan.shtml)

# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Table of media outlets for the study

Media outlet	Status
Imvaho	Public
La Nouvelle Releve	Public
BBC	International media house
Umuseso	Private
Tribun du Peuple	Private
Ere de Liberte	Private
Ukuri	Private
Umurabyo	Private
Voice of Hope	Private
Le Partisan	Private
Kinyamateka	Private
Imboni	Private
Inganzo	Private
Imbarutso	Private
Umurage	Private

## Appendix 2: Table of informants for the study

Institutions	The resourceful person
Media High Council	Media monitoring unit (Mr. Eric Bazirema)
IBUKA (Genocide Survivors Umbrella Organisation)	In charge of memory and prevention department (Mr. Naphtar Ahishakiye)
Kigali Memorial Documentation Center	In charge of the Documentation Center (Mr. Rutagonya Eric)
Great Lakes Media Center	First and second year Students (2010 & 2011)
National Commission for the Fight against Genocide	The Executive Secretary Mr. Jean de Dieu Mucyo & Mr. Aloys Uwimana, Mr. Ruzindaza / Memory and Prevention Department.
National Unity and Reconciliation Commission	Communication officer (Mr. Charles Mukiza)
Ministry of Sports and Culture	Coordinator of Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture (Mr. Straton Nsazabaganwa)
Institute for Research, Dialogue and Peace (IRDP)	Communication officer (Ms Ariane Nkesha)
Inteko Izirikana	Members of the association: Mr. Kaberuka Anathole, Kanamugire Philipe, Musoni Niyibizi Leon and Muvunanyambo Appolinaire

## Appendix 3: Interview guide

1. What do you think could be the reason why some of the journalists use Genocide denial discourse or inappropriate language while reporting on Genocide against the Tutsi?
2. Some people think that this might be due to their lack of professional knowledge and skills or to their Kinyarwanda linguistic background. Do you have the same opinion?
3. What could be the role of media outlets, journalism training centers/schools and the government institutions in eradicating the discourse of Genocide ideology in the media?
4. How would you define Genocide ideology and its related discourse?
5. What should be the media's role in helping Rwandans to refrain from divisionism that incites killings and crimes against humanity?
6. What could then be the role of politicians or leaders in this regard?
7. Some journalists confuse their freedom of speech with writing or saying anything they want. What would you advise them to do?
8. Among the following spheres, where do you find most the discourse reflecting Genocide ideology?
  - a. Widows and orphans living conditions (associations advocating their rights or cause)
  - b. The judicial system and Gacaca jurisdictions and/or trials of Genocide crimes
  - c. Security and safety of genocide survivors
  - d. Genocide memory and commemoration
  - e. Community service for Genocide criminals / TIG
  - f. The role of international community in the Genocide against the Tutsi
  - g. The role of the bad leadership in the Genocide against the Tutsi
  - h. The role of political parties opposing the government of national unity.
  - i. The role of armed and terrorist groups

## Appendix 4: Sample of other forms of discourse for further analysis on the appropriate journalistic language while reporting Genocide against the Tutsi

### (1) Amakimbirane mu muryango nyarwanda: impamvu z'ingenzi n'uburyo bwo kuyakemura' by'Aggee SHYAKA Mugabe (2007).

In his study, the researcher has come up with a sample of some expressions or statements, Rwandans have been using in several contexts (e.g. decent burial of the Genocide victims) and that typically reflect some people's feelings in the process of Gacaca court proceedings and Genocide commemoration periods. Examples that reflect the prevailing discourse under these circumstances is in given below: uwatabajwe aramusubiza ngo nta mwanya mfite, ahubwo ntiwibagirwe kunzanira amagufa yo guteka mu isombe...; Abatutsi bakunda amagufa nk imbwa...; Abatanga ubuhamy muri Gacaca ntabwo babikora kubera kwicuza nyakuri, ahubwo ahanini baba bashishikajwe no kugabanyirizwa ibihano; kugura umusozi

### (2) Voice of Hope Show Ibyaremwe (8th and 10th April 2010)

Amazi yibasiwe n'ingaruka za jenocide...

... No mu mvugo yakoreshwaga wasangaga abahigwaga babagereranya n'ibyaremwe... Kwita abantu bahigwa inzoka. Ni imvugo igaragaza ko n'inzoka ari ingome, kwica injangwe kubera ko inywa amata y'aborozi b'inka bigaragaza ko urwo rwango rwageze no kucyaremwe nk'injangwe. Gutema inka ibitsi n'icebe ngo kuberako amata yayo anyobwa n'abatutsi nabyo bigaragaza ubugome bukabije. Andi magambo arimo urwango, nko kwita abantu inyenzi, kuvuga ko abantu ari inkima zifite imirizo ni imvugo yo gutesha agaciro abahigwaga. Ibi bikanibutsa imvugo yakoreshejwe mu gihe cya Jenocide y'abayahudi. Abayahudi babitaga udusimba, vermin (English) cg se vermin (French) nkinda, imbaragasa, inyenzi, tubuza abantu amahoro.

### **(3) From MHC report on Umurabyo (issues 21, 22 & 23)**

Imihirimбири, “Abanyarwanda bakuriye muri izi nzangano kugeza ubwo batemaguranye nyuma y’urupfu rwa Kinani, ...”, Inkiko Gacaca zishyirwaho nk’icyanzu cyo kwihimura, Kuba igitambo cya demokarasi; Kagame nasubize inkota mu rwubati, Bilan y’ubugome; ntabwo urusasu arirwo rwangiza ibibazo...; Ingengabitekerezo nk’icyaha cy’inkomoko; kuryoza amaraso; gukurikirana abanyabyaha b’abahutu gusa...; guhonyora.

### **(4) From MHC report on Umurabyo Issue No 29**

Guhozwa hagati nk’ururimi, u Rwanda ayobora uyu munsi rwuzuyemo ubugome; Paul Kagame yakoranye n’ibirumirahabiri byakoze Jenoside bimuhisha ukuri, na babandi inda yuzuye urwango uyihira amata ikaruka amaraso, amarira ayitahamo aruta ingazi ziyinjiramo; bitabujije ko abacitse ku icumu bakinyagirwa abandi bagitaha muri nyakatsi.

### **(5) Extracts from the MHC report on 10th Genocide commemoration**

Imvaho Nshya 1545, 19-25/04/2004, p. 3; “Jenoside si iya none kandi si ugutema gusa,”

“Ingwe ikwicira umwana ikakurusha kurakara,” Inganzo 37, 29/03-05/04/2004 ...; bashatse guteza imvururu mu cyunamo...; “Pasika yahuye n’icyunamo,” KM 1643, 4 I/2004, p. 1.

“Nyuma y’imyaka 10 ya Jenoside hari abakigira abacikacumu atari bo,” Gasabo 13, 20/4-20/5/2004, p. 4...; « Butare: La peur et le désespoir des rescapés du Génocide méritent une attention particulière, » La Nouvelle Relève 486, 15 - 30/4/2004, p. 14... ; « Inama ku ruhare rwa kiriziya mu itsembabwoko: Abicaga n’abicwaga ngo bese bari abana ba kiriziya. » Imbarutso 007, 08 - 15/4/2004.

