

Ethnic Division, Music and Violence: The Case of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide

Research Thesis

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Introduction

During the last 50 years, music has played a critical role in Rwandan ethnic unity, division, and inequality. Rwandan conceptions of ethnicity are unique in some ways, having evolved out of pre-colonial class descriptors into seemingly concrete and immutable ethnic descriptions. Such ethno-class distinctions were the defining lines of conflict and life in Rwanda for decades, culminating in the 1994 genocide. Government sponsored radio stations broadcasted incendiary music that contributed significantly to mass participation in the violence. Notably, and since that time, music has also done the converse—i.e., it has become a major medium for the collective process of grief and reconciliation. *In this project, I analyze the divisive versus solidaristic use of Rwandan music over the past 30 years. In doing so, I address more general sociological questions surrounding racial/ethnic division, as well as how elite use of art and culture play a role. Specifically, I ask “How has music in Rwanda been used to create division versus solidarity in Rwanda over the past 50 years?”.*

In order to analyze this use of music, I utilize a multimethodological analytic approach. This involves a quantitative analysis of Rwandan song lyrics from the past 50 years. These songs are pulled from interviews with Rwandans, carried out by in-country researchers who asked interviewees to recall popular Rwandan songs. This sample of 40 songs, 32 of which had a year of release, were translated into English and imported into NVivo, a qualitative coding software. I then manually coded for frequently occurring themes and analyzed thematic content Pre-Genocide (1973-1994) (n=20) and Post-Genocide (2014-2020) (n=12) in order to capture thematic change over time. In the second part of my analysis, I engage in a qualitative content analysis of this lyrical set. These texts are poetic in nature, and highly complex, so this section supplements the statistical analysis with quotations and context. This two-fold methodology provides insight on my central question.

I begin my analyses with attention to the history of ethno-class divisions in Rwanda, focusing particularly on the top-down utilization of Tutsi and Hutu descriptors by Belgian colonists. This includes an overview of existing research on the use of propaganda by Hutu elites leading up to 1994. I also summarize a smaller but growing body of research on Rwandan cultural expression since the genocide, focusing on reconciliation music. Finally, I draw from broader theoretical work that highlights elite dissemination of culture (including music) to maintain the status quo and apply this theoretical framework to the case of Rwanda. Following this background, I lay out the methods used to carry out my research in three sections: (1) Lyrics and Translation; (2) Coding; and (3) Measuring Change Over Time. I then present my statistical analysis, focusing on differences between musical eras, differences between my initial sample and the propaganda songs, and overlap between themes. Finally, I present my qualitative findings, using quotes and cultural context to highlight differences between the two eras of music. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings, drawing from theoretical frameworks and past research.

Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda: Colonization and Distinction

Scholarship on the history of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, the three major ethnic categories in Rwanda, is full of conflicting narratives. There is relative consensus that prior to colonization, the three groups existed partly as ethnic categories and partly as class descriptors. As political power became more centralized throughout the 1700s, individuals came to form understandings of these labels as based upon both power and cultural distinctions (Newbury 1998). Tutsi, for instance, were seen by Rwandans mostly as pastoralists; Hutu were seen as mostly agriculturalists; Twa were seen as hunter-gatherers. Tutsi, as the owners of cows, were typically at the top of the socioeconomic ladder, and the pre-colonial monarchy was ruled by a Tutsi family. These, however, were far from discrete categories; intermarriage existed, and upward mobility was attainable through the acquisition of cows, the primary source of wealth (Uvin

1997). On top of these categories, clans were also particularly salient categories that were also quite powerful with respect to social distinction.

Conflicting narratives start to emerge when analyzing the geographic history of these groups and the degree of subgroup domination and conflict prior to Belgian colonization in 1919 (Newbury 1998). During Belgian colonization, anthropological scholarship often relied on the deeply flawed and racist “Hamitic hypothesis” that anything “discovered” in Africa that was more “civilized,” or more sophisticated, must be a product of northern peoples that were genetically similar to Europeans (Ehrat 1974). This led colonizers to believe that the Tutsi, the economically dominant group, relatively speaking, were a racially distinct and superior group that had immigrated from the north or northeast, and subsequently colonized the indigenous Hutu and Twa (Eltringham 2009). Citizens were assigned identification cards by the Belgians based upon physical measurements of factors like nose length (Fussell 2001), turning a previously amorphous cultural/ethnic/class descriptor into a concrete racial/ethnic description through bureaucratic means. This false history was systematically taught to Rwandans, shaping perceptions of indigeneity, and further solidifying these subgroups as immutable racial descriptors (Mamdani 2001).

On top of the flawed understandings, there was a malicious utility to the Belgians’ choice of solidifying these categories. It allowed them to extend a hand to the reigning Tutsi, prodding Tutsi elites to essentially act as mediators in the brutal economic domination that soon followed. It was easier for Belgians to have Tutsi handle the operations of colonial Rwanda, which relied heavily upon forced agricultural labor (Karabacak 2018). Resentment and anger eventually grew among the majority Hutu population toward the Tutsi, and not solely towards the colonizers themselves.

In the decades between Belgian colonization and the 1994 genocide, the salience of Hutu and Tutsi divisions continued to increase. Rwandan independence was achieved in 1962, led by a Hutu populist party. Outbreaks of violence, primarily targeted at Tutsi, were relatively common during this period of time, with hundreds of thousands of Tutsi fleeing to neighboring nations. Quota systems were used in employment and education systems, ensuring Hutu access to institutions but simultaneously penalizing Tutsi. The economic power differential between subgroups was inverted during this time, with the key difference being that these subgroups were now immutable racial/ethnic categories backed by a false historical narrative.

The 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi and the Use of Culture and Art

The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi began in April of 1994, believed to be triggered by the shooting down of a plane carrying President Habyarimana, the Hutu president who had ruled since 1973. Over the course of around 100 days, between 491,000 and 662,000 Tutsi were killed (McDoom 2020; Verpoorten 2020). This was not a random outburst of violence. Rather, this campaign had been carefully planned and coordinated by powerful and wealthy individuals in response to the complex history of tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi. However, much of the actual killing was carried out by civilians (Straus 2004), influenced by propaganda that had been created and widely spread by the organizers (Chretien 2010).

The propaganda itself took many forms, most of which was shared through the Hutu newspaper *Kangura* and the radio station RTLM (Richards et. al 2019). This media sought to mobilize the civilian Hutu population through fear, using them as political tools to accomplish the goal of neutralizing any perceived opposition to the government. To effectively mobilize the population, the organizers used a specific historical narrative focusing on exploitation and domination during the Tutsi monarchy and portrayed the Tutsi as accomplices in the Belgian colonization of Rwanda (McCoy 2013). Tutsi were consistently dehumanized, referred to as cockroaches (“inyenzi”) and pests. The seeds of fear were sown within the Hutu population through the use of radio, which following the start of the genocide, was then used as a logistical tool to help coordinate the killings. Names and license plate numbers of Tutsi were read on air on RTLM in order to more efficiently carry out this violence (Benesch 2004).

The scope of the effects of RTLM is, of course, debatable. More generous estimates place the effect at around 51,000 additional perpetrators (Yanagizawa-Drott 2014), but this number has been contested by other scholars based upon faulty methodological assessments of media consumption and inadequate interpretations of criminal justice data (Danning 2018). Regardless, it is clear that RTLM had a significant effect on the events of 1994, both through direct mobilization of the Hutu population and in terms of manufacturing “popular compliance” so the civilian population did not actively resist (Straus 2004). While a sizable amount of literature examines RTLM specifically, the majority of this work engaging in content analysis focuses on tapes of speeches given on RTLM. Some past scholars have argued that this focus on RTLM solely is a limitation, ignoring the role of other media like state-run Radio Rwanda (Richards 2019). Excluding studies examining the music of one particularly infamous artist (McCoy 2009; McCoy 2013), no past studies have analyzed the lyrical content of the music of this time period. This study aims to fill in this gap by not focusing on RTLM, but on the use of music more broadly, in order to answer larger questions about the utilization of art for political purposes.

There exists a long history, in Rwanda and elsewhere, of artists being commissioned by elites to express certain political sentiments, often praising said elites. Artists aiming to put food on the table and pay for the necessary materials have often had to make art favorable to local elites in order to bankroll their personal projects (e.g., the Medici family in Florence). This trend, particularly in the field of music, has been well-observed in Rwanda (Mwambari 2019). Nearly all of the most popular Rwandan musicians (e.g., Simon Bikindi, Orchestre Impala, Kizito Mihigo) have made some form of political praise-song, flattering a wide variety of powerful political actors from “Beloved Militant Habyarimana” to “Beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung” to current “President Paul Kagame” (Ubaldo et al 2020). There was no exception to this trend during the period leading up to the genocide, and while details are unclear in terms of how often heavily politicized songs were directly commissioned, it is apparent that elites exerted some influence on lyrical content.

Most of the literature agrees that while some musical propaganda pre-1994 included direct calls for violence, much of it was more subtle, dealing with historical and political narratives and speaking through metaphor. Often mentioned in past research is Simon Bikindi, whose music was widely popular pre-1994 (McCoy 2013). His music was frequently played on both RTLM and on state-run Radio Rwanda and played a major role in the propaganda campaign. In 2006, Bikindi’s trial began before the International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda. In 2008, he was sentenced for 15 years for intent to incite genocide. Since the court was unable to prove whether or not his songs directly incited violence, they instead chose to focus on a speech he gave to rally the Interhamwe, a youth paramilitary responsible for many of the killings. Regardless of the ICTR’s legal strategy, historical accounts agree that his music likely played a role in manufacturing popular participation. Little research, however, has been undertaken on the lyrics themselves (McCoy 2009).

Few studies have focused on the content or effects of music like Bikindi’s, potentially due to the fact that there are very few English lyrical translations available. The few studies that do exist seem to deal more with historical narratives surrounding the monarchy rather than overt calls to action (McCoy 2013). Moreover, the lyrical content is culturally complex and the messages are heavily cloaked in metaphor, making it nearly impossible for somebody without a thorough knowledge of Rwandan culture to interpret them. My analyses attempt to bridge some of these gaps.

Shortly after the genocide began, the RPF army of mostly Tutsi refugees invaded from their position in neighboring Uganda, capturing control of the capital by mid-July and effectively ending the genocide. The RPF has held control of Rwanda ever since. While there is much scholarship on the transitional justice system of Gacaca that helped return Rwanda to stability (Brehm et. al 2014; Schabas 2005) and my analyses does not examine the legal-judicial reconciliation process, per se, it is just as important to devote attention to informal cultural processes that have shaped and continued to play a part in reconciliation. During the period of reconciliation, continuing into the present time, a concerted effort by the RPF along with Rwandan society more broadly has been made to eliminate Hutu and Tutsi as salient subgroups and replace them with a unified national Rwandan identity. Whether or not this effort has been successful is the topic of much scholarly debate (Hilker 2009), but is not a focus of this study.

Artistic expression post-1994 has certainly played a role in the formation of national Rwandan identity. The degree to which it contributes, however, is something that has yet to be studied. While there is some work (mostly in the field of musicology) that examined the cultural role of music and traditional musical instruments in the reconciliation process (Barz 2012), the social sciences have yet to critically examine the creation of solidarity through music within Rwanda. In fact, very little information exists about reconciliation music online or outside of Rwanda geographically. This makes such analyses and hypotheses generation much more challenging but also potentially more rewarding.

The Sociological Significance: Race/Ethnic Division and Unity, Culture and Elites

While literature on the use of art and media by elites in Rwanda specifically is relatively scarce, scholars in the field of sociology have often examined similar questions regarding division, unity and culture. The phenomenon of political propaganda in the form of music, often praising elites, has been well documented in Nazi Germany, Zambia, and Kenya, among many other nations (Street 2003). Social movement scholarship (Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Roy 2010) and research in the sociology of music (Garafalo 1992) has consistently shown music as a mobilizing force, both through top-down propaganda and through more organic cultural movements (Robertson 2015), but none yet has examined Rwanda through this framework.

There also exists classic theoretical work pointing to the inherently political nature of artistic cultural expression. Classic theorists such as Adorno, for instance, sought to make important distinctions between “real art” and art that served to reify the existing hierarchy (Adorno 1941; Lewis 2005). Adorno’s dichotomy, when applied to the case of Rwanda, brings a key observation into view: that both a substantial portion of pre-genocide popular music, and a significant but likely smaller portion of post-genocide popular music, may have distinct effects. That being said, the literature on post-genocide music is scarce enough that it would be imprudent to make assumptions, leaving the second claim somewhat open to dispute.

The explicit application of Adorno’s theoretical framework is not meant to encourage moralized assumptions about what Rwandan music qualifies as “real art”; this task is perhaps better left to Rwandan theorists in the fields of artistic interpretation and expression. However, preliminary research has indicated that there is a strong case to be made that a significant portion of Rwandan music has served to reify an existing power structure both before and after the genocide, to varying degrees. The pre-genocide power structure was clearly demarcated along Hutu and Tutsi lines. In the post-genocide period, maintenance of the status quo has meant support of current political leadership and a decreasing reliance on Hutu and Tutsi distinctions.

My attention to elites, culture/art, and the salience of ethnic distinctions is not intended as a moral criticism of top-down influence exerted on the modern Rwandan music scene or as a moral criticism of the current Rwandan power structure; this type of critique would be lacking in empirical substance. The current Rwandan leadership seems to have made much progress on the nearly insurmountable task of reconciliation, along with facilitating incredible stability and economic growth measurable by nearly every metric, all with violent societal collapse in relatively recent memory. It is also not worth arguing that this key observation of art being used in a top-down manner is noteworthy on the basis of Rwanda being unique in this capacity; this phenomenon can be well-observed elsewhere. Adorno’s theoretical framework for understanding music seems to be relatively widely applicable and scholars have successfully applied it to an assortment of societies. The significance lies in the fact that during two seemingly incomparable periods of musical expression, one calling for brutality and division and the other calling for unity and forgiveness, a common thread seems to persist. My analyses which follow attempt to highlight prominent patterns in these very regards.

Methods

In order to examine Rwandan musical themes, and thus better understand the role of music in the 1994 genocide and subsequent reconstruction process, I first collected a sizable sample of Rwandan songs

that represent popular Rwandan music. This sample is not intended to represent all Rwandan songs, but instead reflects a sample of popular songs that Rwandans remember and find significant. Due to COVID-19 related travel restrictions, I was unable to personally interview Rwandans and ask them what Rwandan songs come to mind. This being said, I was able to adapt my methods to accommodate the circumstances.

My advisor was able to put me in touch with local Rwandan researchers that were already doing interviews for their own research project, and these researchers were kind enough to add on a couple questions for my project into their pool of questions. Their project was about the reintegration process of prisoners into Rwandan society, and their 72 interview sample included a wide variety of Rwandans that includes individuals that have an assortment of roles in relations to the genocide. They first asked the interviewee for the names of any popular Rwandan songs that they remember, and if the interviewee had an answer, they'd also ask why the song is significant to them. These interviews were carried out between July 14th and August 5th of 2020.

As one might imagine, there was a wide variety of answers provided in these interviews. A number of interviewees responded with a couple lines of lyrics, or an artist name, or a guess at what might be the song title. For answers which only included an artist name (which was a relatively frequent occurrence), I selected the song by the artist with the most plays on YouTube. There is an incredibly active community of Rwandan music fans on YouTube—fans who upload lyric videos. Although the demographics of Rwanda music fans on YouTube may not coincide perfectly with the Rwandan population, this was the best proxy available to get at popularity. For situations in which artist names were mentioned multiple times without song titles, I continued this pattern and selected the next most popular song on YouTube, a single time for each interview in which the artist was mentioned without a song name. For the situations in which interviewees stated song lyrics or guessed a song's title, I undertook internet searches to track down the song the interviewees had referenced based on the available information. There were five songs referenced that I was not able to find with certainty, and these were omitted from the sample. In total, I was able to find 39 songs that had been named or referenced in the interviews, and often by multiple respondents.

A challenge that I had not foreseen in my initial data collection lied in the fact that the interviewees did not bring up any of the infamous songs central to the pre-genocide propaganda campaign, such as the songs of Simon Bikindi. This could be for a variety of reasons, but the most likely explanation is that it stemmed from personal discomfort with referencing blatant genocide propaganda. It is also the case that all of Simon Bikindi's songs have been banned in Rwanda since 1994, further decreasing the likelihood of anybody mentioning them. Thankfully, some literature exists on Bikindi's music in particular, due to his notoriety and infamy (McCoy 2009; McCoy 2013). From the past literature, it became clear that there were four songs that are both widely known and considered central to the pre-genocide propaganda campaign. These four songs were added to my sample. The addition of the four is reasonable given what we know about Bikindi's popularity at the time and relative to other incredibly popular artists from the same time period (e.g., Orchestre Impala and Rugamba Cyprien, who each had six songs within the sample).

Lyrics and Translation

Lyrics for included songs were gathered and then translated into English. I was able to do so by thoroughly searching online, primarily through YouTube lyric videos, but also through song hosting sites such as Afrikalyrics.com (which specializes in modern African genres) and Karahanyunze.com (which specializes in the Karahanyunze genre of older and more traditional Rwandan music). These sites proved absolutely crucial to the feasibility of this project, as many of these songs (especially the older ones) only have a single copy of their lyrics hosted anywhere on the internet. Some lyrics were already written down in plain text, and easily copied and sent to my translator, who is a Rwandan with over a decade of translation experience. However, many of them were only available in original lyric video form, in which case I typed up the lyrics that were displayed in the video. For 3 of the 39 songs in the sample, only audio versions were available and no transcription of their lyrics existed, narrowing down my pool of interview

songs to 36. These 36 songs were translated from Kinyarwanda into English. For the Bikindi songs, past literature ensured that lyrics were readily available. Three of the four Bikindi songs have been already been translated by past scholars, with a high degree of attention given to accuracy, due to the sensitive nature of the lyrics (McCoy 2013). One of the four Bikindi songs had not been translated before now, so it was translated specifically for this project. My initial sample had 39 songs, lost three due to lack of accessible lyrics, and then had the four Bikindi songs added, bringing the final sample size to 40.

Coding

In order to thoroughly analyze the final pool of 40 songs and better understand their common and distinct threads, qualitative content analysis was utilized. This method has been used to break down and analyze qualitative and thematic content in many social science fields and facilitates a more systematic and comparative way of analyzing thematic content than would presenting each set of lyrics at face value. Specifically in the analysis of lyrical data, content coding has often been used to better understand thematic trends among a sample (Cole 1971; Evans 2014). NVivo was used to accomplish this analysis. Prior to coding, I broke down the full lyric set into small chunks, usually around two lines of text. These chunks were separated while paying mind to what lyrics expressed a single cohesive sentence or thought (I actively avoided separating individual sentences or thoughts into multiple chunks). This functioned as my unit of analysis. While there are also benefits to analyzing at the level of the full song or at the level of a single verse, the sheer variety of lyrical content present in this particular sample lends itself to examination in a more targeted way.

Most lyrical content is heavily metaphor-laden, and many of the songs explore multiple (often conflicting) themes that would get lost if examined content through a larger unit of analysis. Due to the complex nature of lyrics, each cluster that had multiple themes present was coded multiple times. For instance, if a cluster of lyrical content described getting married and having kids, it would be coded for “Love,” “Romantic Love,” “Family,” and “Children.” This approach, similar to the small units of analysis, allows for a high degree of specificity and accuracy and lends itself to this particular dataset.

Thirty-one themes were prominent among the sample. The following codes, presented in alphabetical order, are themes that occurred at a high enough frequency to be useful in understanding this dataset. The 31 themes are Antagonists, Beauty, Children, Courage/Bravery, Death, Development or Technology, Economic Class, Ethnicity, Familial Love, Family, Fear, Friendship, Gender, Greed, Grief, Growth, Happiness, Hunger, Kindness, Leaders and Subordinates, Love, Memories, National Identity, Nature, Peace, Religion, Romantic Love, Sadness, Suffering, Unity, and Work. A full list of the parameters of these themes can be found in the appendix.

Measuring Change Over Time

After all lyrical content was coded for prominent themes, the frequencies of themes were examined over time in order to capture potential thematic changes. Analysis over time not only allows for better understanding of Rwandan cultural history, but also has the possibility of allowing for new insights into the trajectory of lyrical themes and Rwandan culture in general. Measuring time is crucial to understanding the fundamental questions of how Rwandan music has been used differently at unique historical moments or periods, and in response to wildly different cultural and material situations.

The years of release for 26 of the 40 songs were available on the internet. For artists that had at least one song with a year of release, and at least one song without a year of release, I took an average of their year(s) of release and used this average to make an educated guess in order to fill in a year of release for their other songs. This allowed me to fill in the year of release for six additional songs, bringing the total to 32 of the 40. Figure 3 in the appendix shows the distribution of this sample over time. Once I had this sample, I broke it into two parts being “Pre-Genocide (1973-1993)” and “Post-Genocide (2014-2020)” as attributes in Nvivo, in order to better understand thematic differences between these periods. The other groupings by which I compared were “Bikindi” and “non-Bikindi” in order to have an understanding of my original unaltered data set in comparison to the more explicitly propagandistic songs of Bikindi. While in-depth analysis of Bikindi’s work is not an aim of this paper, as this has already been

done, I intend to examine how his music thematically compares to my original sample in order to get a glimpse of how his music is similar or different in terms of thematic content.

Findings: Popular Lyrical Themes and Change between Pre- and Post-Genocide Periods

The themes which occurred at the highest frequency among the full sample were **Love** (107 references), **Family** (84 references), **Children** (84 references), **Sadness** (69 references), **Death** (68 references), **National Identity** (59 references), **Memories** (56 references), **Kindness** (55 references), **Romantic Love** (55 references), and **Beauty** (52 references). A full list of lyrical thematic frequencies can be found in the appendix.

In addition to analysis of individual theme frequency, overlapping themes were also measured. Some of the most frequently overlapping themes are obvious (i.e., Love/Romantic Love, Children/Family, Peace/Unity), but some were less intuitive. Particularly interesting examples include **Love/Sadness** (25 overlaps, 23.4% of Love, 36% of Sadness), **Death/Children** (23 overlaps, 33.8% of Death, 27.4% of Children), **Sadness/Memories** (19 overlaps, 27.5% of Sadness, 33.9% of Memories), **Religion/Death** (18 overlaps, 36.7% of Religion, 26% of Death), **Children/National Identity** (17 overlaps, 20% of Children, 28.8% of National Identity), **Death/Antagonists** (16 overlaps, 23.5% of Death, 36.4% of Antagonists), **Children/Work** (12 overlaps, 14.3% of Children, 26.7% of Work), **Kindness/Work** (10 overlaps, 18.2% of Kindness, 22.2% of Work), **Friendship/Greed** (10 overlaps, 20% of Friendship, 16% of Greed), and **Death/Development or Technology** (6 overlaps, 8.9% of Death, 54.5% of Development or Technology). A full list of overlaps can be found in the appendix.

Figure 1. Popular Lyrical Themes and Their Variation across Pre- and Post-Genocide Periods

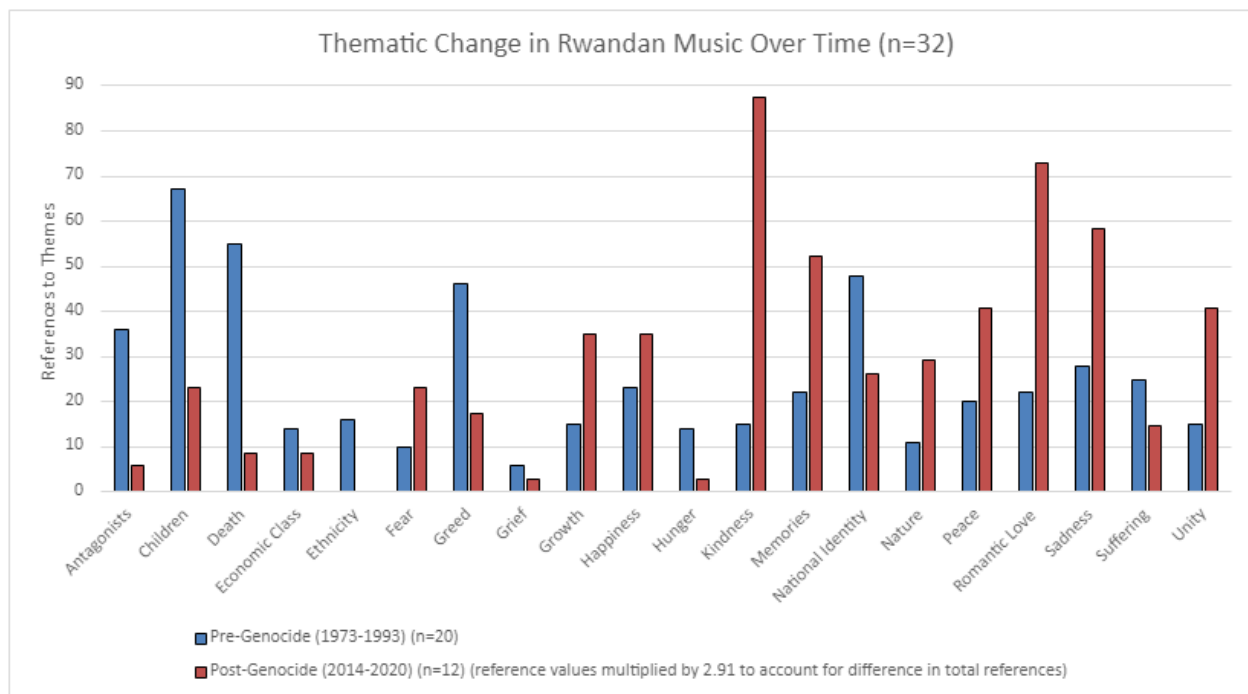


Figure 1, above, displays 20 of the themes that differ in frequency during the two time periods. A graph of change in all themes between periods can be found in the appendix in Figure 4. Individual numbers of theme references for the post-genocide period were multiplied by 2.91 to account for the large difference

in total numbers of references (834 vs. 237). This large difference in the number of references is in part explained by the different song sample sizes (20 vs. 12), but this only explains a small portion. The rest of the difference can be attributed to the difference in the average length of song lyrics and the thematic content itself, which will be explored more thoroughly in the discussion.

The pre-genocide period more frequently referenced themes of Antagonists, Beauty, Children, Courage or Bravery, Death, Development or Technology, Familial Love, Family, Gender, Economic Class, Ethnicity, Greed, Grief, Hunger, National Identity, Religion, and Suffering. The post-genocide period, in contrast, more frequently referenced Fear, Growth, Happiness, Kindness, Leaders and Subordinates, Love, Memories, Nature, Peace, Romantic Love, Sadness, Unity, and Work. The most pronounced differences occurred in Antagonists, Children, Death, Ethnicity, Familial Love, Hunger, Kindness, Memories, National Identity, Nature, Romantic Love, and Unity.

Figure 2. Thematic Comparison of Bikindi's Lyrical Content Versus the Larger Sample

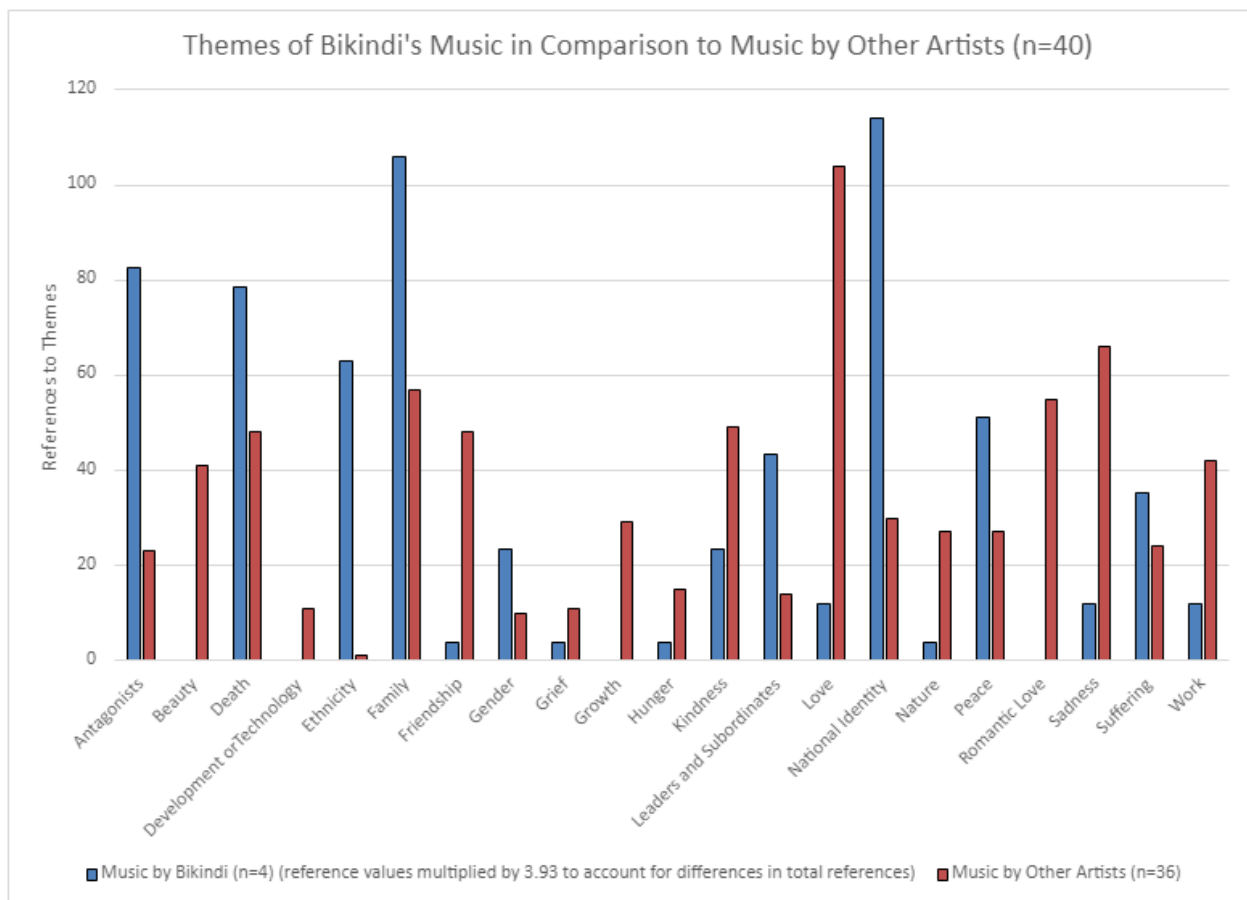


Figure 2 displays the thematic differences between Bikindi's four songs and the rest of the sample. A graph of differences in all themes between these two sets can be found in the appendix under Figure 5. Individual numbers of theme references for Bikindi's music were multiplied by 3.93 to account for the large difference in total numbers of references (1064 vs. 271). There are nine times as many songs in the non-Bikindi sample, but the Bikindi sample contains very long songs that are highly thematically dense, explaining the very high number of references in the sample. The Bikindi sample also contains songs translated by past scholars, with a higher level of attention paid to detail, so this may potentially explain the high frequency of references.

Bikindi's music more frequently referenced Antagonists, Children, Death, Economic Class, Ethnicity, Familial Love, Family, Gender, Happiness, Leaders and Subordinates, Memories, National Identity, Peace, Suffering, and Unity. It less frequently referenced Beauty, Development or Technology, Friendship, Grief, Growth, Hunger, Kindness, Love, Nature, Romantic Love, Sadness, and Work. The most pronounced differences occurred in Antagonists, Beauty, Ethnicity, Family, Love, Kindness, National Identity, Peace, Romantic Love, Sadness, and Work.

Findings: Qualitative Immersion and Comparison

“look, the rain stops, the strong sun rises
the hunger blocks the door, please come and help each other
figure out how to overcome this misery
as the war continues, let us shoot without touching”
-Rugamba Cyprien, *The Belly Spears*, 1984

In this portion of the analyses I supplement the statistical analysis of the lyrical content above with qualitative immersion, quotations and observations taken from my experience thoroughly reading and coding these songs. While the prior analysis helps pinpoint measurable differences in thematic content, it does not necessarily capture the complex messages and poetic nature of these texts. I hope in the future to supplement this with open-ended interview data from individuals within the Rwandan music industry, but such data has yet to be collected. Nevertheless, some qualitative insight can still be afforded in a manner that compliments the earlier statistical findings. In this regard, I split my qualitative immersion into two sections: (1) qualities that make the pre-1994 music unique; and (2) qualities that make the post-1994 music unique.

Pre-1994

The pre-1994 sample, being released during the period of 1973 to 1993, is full of songs addressing the widespread violence and grief of the time period. Artists frequently reference the death of loved ones, sometimes in an ambiguous context but often explicitly in the context of the ethnic violence of the time. Some of it is quite graphic in nature, describing brutal massacres of loved ones and of children in particular. The writing is deeply emotional, and intends to put the listener in the shoes of somebody witnessing these events and dealing with the subsequent moral questions prompted by being in proximity to such horror.

“They gathered the young men and said, here are bows and take the spears,

Take the swords, exterminate all the babies

...

When you observe someone, you may not understand that person,

They may change as you are still observing them,

They would kill those who never do wrong.”

-Rugamba Cyprien, *May Babies Don't Die*, 1984

One of the other major factors that differentiates this music from later music is the focus on the family structure. Nearly every song mentions children, parents, or spouses, and they often mention all three in the same breath. Tales of betrayal by a spouse, disapproval from parents, or striving to create the best for your child are more than plentiful. This focus on the family structure and on children specifically is often tied to the theme of national identity. In essence, these artists often express the hope for a less violent and unstable nation so their children can find comfort and live happy lives. This overlap between children and national identity is no less pronounced in the work of Bikindi, whose ideas will be examined later in this section. The following quotations are taken from a song by a different artist in which a father on his deathbed is talking to his child, encouraging him to carry on the father's work (both in terms of employment and moral work to change society). The father refers to a wide variety of employment, ranging from factory work to farming to dancing, and each time begs his child to continue the work that he had started. The father's work is referred to as his "row" in this translation.

*"I fail the row that I have started,
I'm trying to push and finish it but I'm shaking, I feel weak,
I feel weak since when I woke up, I give up,*

...

*I know how to do poems,
Please take care of our artistic talents,
please collect them strongly and be inventive,
refuse to be brutal,
please finish mine,
finish mine and start yours, my child,
please keep on, please finish that row!*

...

*Please listen, branch that I sprout, that row is yours,
And now I leave it for you to finish,
please my child, be important,
please look alike me, surpass me and go beyond,
I beg you!"*

-Rugamba Cyprien, *My Row*, 1984

One of the best examples of an artist who embodies this era is the one I have been quoting, Rugamba Cyprien. Cyprien's music accounts for six of the forty songs in my sample, arguably six of the most morally and spiritually profound. Each of his songs intends not just to engage the listener as a passive observer, but as an active participant, and through this tactic Cyprien always relays a clear moral lesson. Through the course of this project I have grown to love his narrative style, his philosophical ponderings, and his impassioned calls for societal and moral change. The following paragraphs are an excerpt from his song *Icyifuzo*, which translates to *My Desire* or *My Wish*.

*"I wish I would be given more wealth than Mirenge at Ntenyo, I would create a
gathering of the very poor, I would chase the days of starvation and sorrow
without resting, where poverty lies and tramples, I burn it with good wealth, they
will have cows, they will store more production, And I calm down and control the
poverty, it rises up its head, I will kill it!*

*I wish I would be given the most power like Russia and the United States. I would
punish violent people like South Africa, I go to all the people and tell them to
calm down, and I take away the destroying weapons and destroy them, I destroy
the industries that make them and take away the finances to support those who*

stayed behind, people would calm down and live together, and they themselves would want to rest and stop punishing.”

-Rugamba Cyprien, *Icyifuzo*, 1984

Cyprien was a deeply religious man, with a passion for traditional Rwandan artforms and culture (CRS 2005). He, a Hutu, and his wife, a Tutsi, were devout Catholics and saw their faith as a core reason to advocate for peace and unity. In the early 1990s, the Cypriens opened Rwanda's first feeding center for street children, with the support of their church. As ethnic tensions and violence got worse, the Cypriens continued to advocate for peace and fight to help impoverished youth. Rugamba Cyprien himself advised President Habyarimana to stop the practice of mandating state-given cards that indicated ethnicity and was subsequently warned that he would be placed on a hit-list for doing so. The couple, along with six of their children, were killed on April 7th, 1994, a day after the beginning of the genocide. Their feeding center has carried on their legacy and in 2015 the Catholic Church declared the couple “heroic in virtue,” starting the process towards their formal canonization as saints.

Bikindi's work, as previously noted, has already been studied and analyzed. It is nevertheless necessary to touch on his role in the Rwandan music scene and within this era. His songs are the only songs in the sample that can easily be labeled propaganda, and are thematically somewhat distinct compared to the rest of the sample. If there is one defining aspect of Bikindi's work, it is that the lyrical content and messages of his music are buried as deep as can be in metaphor. This is not simply a byproduct of his writing style or a convenient coincidence; Bikindi openly (and quite frequently) reminds the listener that his music is only meant to be understood by a subset of people.

*“Oh, I speak to those who understand,
my mother's child,
my father's child.
Did you hear the call for help?
Did you hear the wake-up call?”*

-Simon Bikindi, *I Speak To Those Who Understand*, 1981

Bikindi frequently uses historical (and localized) references in order to convey his messages. This often helps serve the purpose of intentionally obscuring the messages of his songs. However, a few of his historical references hardly require local knowledge. His message usually relates, in some way or another, to Rwanda's pre-colonial days as a monarchy. He frequently asks the listener to remember the misery of serving the kings, bringing them gifts, and toiling away on their land. On a surface level, this does not appear to be about ethnicity in any capacity, but it is likely intended to conjure memories of a time in which Hutu had to be subservient to their Tutsi rulers. He also often references the winning of Rwandan independence from Belgium, which occurred under Hutu leadership during the 1960s and was a time in which Tutsis were frequently targeted for violence.

*“Turn your eyes back, you Rwandan!
Remember the whip, remember the harsh labor,
Remember the days you spent working for the chief without any compensation!
So then, let's rejoice for Independence!
Remember how long and hard you used to have to walk,
The many nights you spent outdoors!
Bearing things to the residences of the chiefs or kings,*

*Giving up things that your family needed,
And upon arriving there,
So worn down, the receivers were not even thankful!”*
-Simon Bikindi, *Twasazareye*, 1987

Similar to much of the other music of the same era, Bikindi’s music is frequently about family structure and national identity. In his song *Intabaza*, he describes journeying through Rwanda, and everywhere he goes “The Children of the Father of Farmers” are fighting against each other. Bikindi describes visiting a diviner, who informs him that the only way to end the fighting is to hold free and fair elections and honor the winner regardless of their ethnicity. This story exemplifies Bikindi’s conflicting political messages about ethnicity and unity. The phrase “The Children of the Father of Farmers” is repeated dozens of times throughout the song and past research has been unable to decipher if this is referring to only Hutus (because of the historical association with agriculture), farmers in general, or all Rwandan peasants (McCoy 2013). What is abundantly clear, though, is that this phrase is intended to trigger feelings of national identity and repeatedly does so through the metaphor of family.

*“Then, Biryabayoboke, child of my mother, can you tell me the origin of this
discord among the children of the Father of Farmers, among the children of
my father who risk annihilating one another? Find for me the solution that
will put an end to this division between the children of the Father of Farmers
and restore peace in Rwanda.”*
-Simon Bikindi, *Intabaza*, 1993

Bikindi’s work is seemingly paradoxical by nature. He frequently called for peace and unity, more frequently than the rest of the sample, but at the same time his music contributed significantly to the violence of 1994. Prior to 1994, Bikindi was a widely respected musician with a massive following but he is now considered an example of the sometimes worrying power of creative expression. Troublingly, his music continues to produce some kind of cult following. If you enter his name into YouTube today, the first video that pops up is a song entitled “NIMWE MWARIRAYE.” The video has over 250000 views at the time of this writing, and while I do not have lyrical translations, it is easy to guess the sentiment of the people viewing it. The opening image is the flag of the pre-1994 government, followed by dozens of images of a smiling President Habyarimana.

Post-1994

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the modern Rwandan music scene is a focus on individual morality, which tends to revolve around kindness and personal growth. A large portion of the songs in this era offer lessons on how to be a good friend or a good lover. Modern Rwandan musicians often reference growth, usually personal growth but also occasionally societal growth. This frequently occurs through the artist expressing vulnerability and asking to be taught to be a better person, although it also occasionally occurs through narratives about growing old and changing with time.

*“Teach me to respect everyone,
But teach me to not make myself like a dust bin,
Teach me compassion,
But teach me how to not be too compassionate”*
-Butera Knowless, *Teach Me*, 2020

Another primary theme in this era is impassioned love and heartbreak. This coincides with other recurring themes, such as beauty and sadness. While romantic themes are present in the earlier period of music, they occur much less frequently and are usually attached to narratives about family. Modern

Rwandan love songs are more about personal romantic feelings and less about the adjacent, but not perfectly overlapping, societal idea of family.

*“You get to the point where it's easy, you forget we're together,
Let me ask you if you will increase your strength as you wait for the promise*

...

*Tell me if you will remember
In times of tears and great sorrow, in moments of separation and difficult times,
you will remember that kindness is what protects you”*

-Israel Mbonye, *Tell Me*, 2019

A final distinguishing factor of this era is that national identity is much less salient. Today's songs are more marketed to a global audience and draw inspiration from a wider variety of genres and cultures, as opposed to drawing from Karahanyuze (traditional Rwandan folk music). A number of songs within my sample are directly inspired by American subgenres (such as Atlanta hip-hop) or are collaborations with other African pop stars who are not from Rwanda. This rising internationalism of Rwandan music is present in both sounds and lyrics. One song from my sample for instance, by the quickly ascending Rwandan pop star Bruce Melody, even incorporates the English phrase “Hands up!” into its title and chorus, which happens to be a frequently interjected phrase at American concerts.

*“Hands up!
If you too feel sorrow
Hands up!
If you too feel frustrated
Hands up!
If you too bring projects
Even yourself failed
It fails for us.
Every day when I wake up, it is a hustle
The hunter of the day, I may do scandal”*
-Bruce Melody, *Henzupu*, 2020

Discussion

There is no question that dramatic change occurred in the last 50 years of Rwandan music. The nation itself experienced rapid and unprecedented change and it would only make sense that Rwandan culture would grow and change in tandem. Although perhaps obvious, it is worth asking why thematic change occurred in quite the way it did. Some of the observed changes can be explained in simple ways; for instance, a dramatic decline in references to death likely reflects a society that has finally found stability and relative peace. However, some changes are harder to explain. For instance, why did references to national identity nearly drop so significantly during this time? This discussion will attempt to explain some of these more perplexing changes with the assistance of past research and theory, while also answering my overarching question of “How has music been used to create division versus solidarity in Rwanda over the past 50 years?”

Changes Between Eras

One of the fundamental questions raised by the statistical analysis relates to the dramatic decline in references to children and family. It is certainly possible that this was a byproduct of extraneous factors; for instance, birth rates in Rwanda are currently lower than they have been previously (World Bank 2018). In line with this explanation is also the fact that Rwanda's birth rate peaked in 1980, which is squarely in the center of my pre-genocide sample. It certainly could be that Rwandan lyrical themes are

just a reflection of demographic changes that are already occurring. However, this explanation is not fully satisfactory given that themes relating to family and children are closely tied to another major theme at the same time period, namely national identity. Some scholars have noted the metaphorical relationship between nation and family, with one stating that “nations are symbolically figured as *domestic genealogies*” (McClintock 1993). On the question of family, it is also worth noting that only five of the forty songs in my sample have a woman as the lead performer, skewing my sample towards male perspectives on all themes including family.

The drop in references to national identity initially came as a surprise to me. Based on my own experiences in Rwanda, I was under the impression that national identity was very significant to modern Rwandan culture. Rwandans I have spoken to seem to take a lot of pride in their nation and it is difficult to blame them, considering the speed with which their nation has recovered from such instability. However, the decrease in references to national identity within music does not necessarily reflect a decrease in nationalism among the society as a whole. Assuming that would be a mistake. Especially in an era of YouTube music videos, streaming services, and international entertainment markets, there is an unbelievably large amount of money to be made off making music that is more universal and accessible to audiences abroad. Not to say that international music consumption did not exist in the past (you can easily find “world music” CDs of Rwandan recordings from the 80s online), but international music consumption used to look very different. The old-school marketing pitch for “world music” was precisely how foreign and exotic it was. In contrast, it is not uncommon to hear songs by J. Balvin (Columbia) or BTS (South Korea) on American radio stations these days. Fetishization of the “foreignness” of international music still exists in new forms, but it seems clear that non-Western musicians that succeed in the international market tend to make music that is accessible and not full of hyper-localized references. Both of the aforementioned artists borrow heavily from American hip-hop and occasionally drop English lyrics (just like Bruce Melody), so it is clear that the globalization of music is imminent if we are not already past that point. Perhaps future research could examine the thematic changes in national music as it enters the global market.

Another factor likely tied to the globalizing nature of the modern Rwandan music scene is the uptick in references to romantic love and perhaps some portion of the uptick in references to sadness (which, as observed prior, is often referenced in conjunction with romantic love). Romantic love and heartbreak are seemingly relatively universal narratives, accessible to nearly anyone. They are much easier to market to a relatively affluent international audience than songs about grief for a family member lost to genocide or Rwandan farming practices.

Something that quickly becomes clear when looking at the thematic changes in Rwandan music is that Rwandan music is decidedly more about things like kindness, peace, unity, and growth than it used to be. The fundamental question that this observation leaves us with is “Did music about peace, kindness, and unity make Rwanda more peaceful and unified, or is a more peaceful and unified Rwanda just the ideal environment for music about peace and unity to be made?” Another way of framing this would be “Does peaceful music make a society more peaceful or does a peaceful society just bring about more peaceful music?” While it is difficult to answer this question of causal direction it is likely some combination of both. It would be naive to assume music is the sole factor in the creation of peace and unity, just as it would be shortsighted to assume that music does not have any impact on peace and unity (especially considering the history of Bikindi’s music).

A significant and clear factor that emerged relative to my interest in cultural and lyrical shifts is ethnicity. There was not a single explicit reference to ethnicity post-1994. This makes sense, considering that it is now illegal to use ethnic terminology in Rwanda, other than in reference to the past (Hintjens 2008). For the big theoretical question of “How do elites exert influence on musical themes?”, it would be tempting to use this trend as decisive evidence of the current Rwandan government exerting influence on the music scene. Obviously, the fact these legal limitations show, in and of themselves, top-down influence in some capacity. However, such effects are not so simple. First, as in nearly all situations, it is extremely difficult to discern whether the measurable effects on a cultural product are effects of top-down pressure, bottom-up pressure, or some mixture of the two. It is more feasible (and likely, even) that artists

do not have any interest in making songs about ethnicity, considering the history of ethnically inflammatory music. Secondly, when the Bikindi songs are removed from my sample, there is only one single reference to ethnicity pre-genocide (and it does not even explicitly mention ethnicity, it just strongly implies it through talking about segregation from “other” people). This means that even pre-genocide, people (other than Bikindi) seemingly did not make music explicitly about ethnicity to begin with.

Since Bikindi’s music is the only music I can firmly label “propaganda” within the sample, it is important to analyze how it differs from the rest of the sample. For reference, by propaganda I mean “art created, directed, or heavily influenced by elites in order to have an effect on the opinions or actions of the wider population”. This definition may in fact apply to other songs in the sample (the dramatic change in themes implies that this is possible) but textual analysis, devoid of industry knowledge, is not comprehensive enough for me to feel comfortable applying this definition more widely. In some manners, Bikindi’s music fits right into the musical era in terms of heavy references to national identity and family. That may, in fact, be a key reason that his music was so widely popular, and thus so effective at its goal of catalyzing the population. However, there remains some ambiguity that prompts difficult questions, like why or how is it that Bikindi’s music also more frequently references peace and unity? Bikindi’s songs that advocate for peace, democracy, and ethnic unity continue to elude understanding and present a paradox of sorts. Did he just change his mind on ethnic issues over time? That does not seem to be the case, considering how many of his songs were released during a short window of time. Were his hateful lyrics really just misunderstood, as he argued in front of the ICTR (McCoy 2013)? This seems somewhat unlikely, considering the fact that he was documented giving a speech to rally the Interhamwe youth paramilitary before they went out killing. He, and therefore his art, were most certainly used as a tool of the genocide organizers, so were these songs advocating ethnic harmony part of some complex mind-game the organizers were playing with the population? Such questions may in fact never be answered with absolute certainty, as Bikindi passed away in late 2018. Nevertheless, I would still like to get closer to an answer and will hopefully be able to do so in the future with more in-depth interview data.

This project has some limitations that I would like to improve upon in the future. First, the fact that my sample did not include any songs between 1994 and 2014 was quite detrimental to my understanding of how and when music was used to help reconcile. My 2014-2020 sample provides a glimpse, but not nearly enough to draw firm conclusions. This gap stemmed from a broader limitation, however; getting a historically representative sample of music, especially at a single moment in politicized time, is quite difficult. I was in part limited by my inability to personally interview and perhaps ask for specific songs from that time period once I realized the persistence of that gap. Stemming from the same limitation is the fact that no respondents mentioned any of the “hate music” which was a central focus of my research. Again, this stems from the fact that these interviews occurred during a period of time in which mentioning Bikindi’s name might be considered insensitive, or at the very least unsavory. I was able to remedy this limitation at least somewhat, although my selection of songs was not necessarily fully representative of songs would come to the mind of somebody more familiar with Rwandan culture. Similar to adjacent studies, this study is also limited by its reliance on translations. Lastly, with only lyrics to draw on for my conclusions, it is incredibly difficult, impossible even, to gauge whether or not thematic pressure was exerted upon an artist. The pressure that I am concerned with could stem from either a grassroots social movement or from an economic/political elite. Capturing which might be the case is difficult without actively speaking to artists or industry insiders themselves.

These limitations will be addressed in my continued research. Having interviews with people who are passionate about music will provide me with a wealth of data on the music industry and on the ways in which power is exerted within it. It will also offer access to richer information about the history of Rwandan popular music, potentially allowing me to supplement my sample so I can fill the current chronological gap. Being physically present in Rwanda will greatly lower the barriers to access for information such as this. Up until this point the Internet has been my primary resource for this type of information. Equipped with information about the exertion of power within the industry and songs to fill

in the current chronological gap, I will have everything I need to fully develop this project and answer my research questions with a higher degree of certainty.

Conclusion

Music played a role in sowing seeds of division leading up to 1994, but this division via lyrical content was mostly within the work of one particularly popular, poetic, and prolific musician. The exact relationship between Bikindi and the genocide organizers is something that still needs to be further investigated. It remains unclear through what exact process he and his widely-respected art became instruments for the wealthy, malevolent, and dangerously paranoid. Much of the music at the time dealt with family, which seemingly operated as a conduit for feelings of national identity, but it also dealt heavily with hard moral questions produced by the conditions of the time. Music served as an outlet for societal, familial, and moral grievances that were weighing on many of the artists of the time.

It is also clear from my analyses and lyrical shifts observed that modern Rwandan music has shifted dramatically in tandem with the remarkable changes in conditions in Rwanda over the last two decades. While my understanding of the music of the reconciliation period is still unclear due to the chronological gap in my sample, it is observable that music has served as somewhat of a unifying and pacifying force for the past six years. Part of this occurred because music offered a platform for grief and remembrance, but it seems that this period of remembrance music may be coming to an end as new generations are born with less proximity to the genocide. Potentially homogenizing forces of the global music market are likewise a factor. Whether lyrical themes of unity, peace, and kindness increased in frequency in a purely organic and bottom-up way or whether they increased in response to top-down pressure remains unclear. What is certain, however, is that this increase occurred, and that fact on its own is something perhaps warranting both celebration and further interrogation.

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Appendix

Code Parameters

Antagonists

- Explicitly discusses some kind of antagonist, implies a hatred or distrust for some group of people, or mentions a group that should be feared

Beauty

- References visual beauty, of another person or of the natural environment

Children

- References children, youth, or babies

Courage/Bravery

- Includes themes of heroism, courage, or bravery, implies a lack of fear in self or others, or explicitly references personal strength

Death

- References death or killing explicitly, or implies death through the use of metaphor

Development or Technology

- Mentions technological change, urbanization, or infrastructure

Economic Class

- References wealth, poverty, or economic inequality

Ethnicity

- References ethnicity in any capacity

Familial Love

- Mentions caring for a family member or loving a family member

Family

- Explicitly mentions family members

Fear

- References fear explicitly or describes a situation in which someone is fleeing violence

Friendship

- Explicitly references a friend, references feelings of friendship or camaraderie, or implies feelings of love for a person that is neither a family member nor romantic partner

Gender

- Explicitly mentions boys or girls, or speaks about men and women in a way that is intended to differentiate between them. This does not include all mentions of “man” or “woman”

Greed

- Explicitly references greed or describes it through metaphor

Grief

- Mentions grief explicitly or describes feelings of grief in the context of losing a loved one

Growth

- Explicitly discusses personal growth in response to some event, explicitly discusses societal growth/development, or uses metaphors to implicitly discuss personal or societal growth

Happiness

- Mentions feelings of personal happiness, comfort, or celebration, or mentions witnessing someone else experiencing these emotions

Hunger

- Describes hunger or starvation directly or through metaphor

Kindness

- Describes acts or feelings of generosity, mercy, or compassion

Leaders or Subordinates

- Explicitly mentions a hierarchy of leadership or describes somebody taking or receiving orders

Love

- Mentions feelings of love in any capacity. Familial Love and Romantic Love are always included in this category.

Memories

- Describes remembering, reflecting, or reminiscing on events of the past.

National Identity

- Mentions the geography, natural environment, or culture of Rwanda, or mentions specific locations within Rwanda in a way that localizes the song

Nature

- References plants, animals, or geographic factors such as rivers and mountains

Peace

- Explicitly references peace or describes a reduction in violence

Religion

- Explicitly talks about God or the church, contains clear metaphors for God, talks about life after death, or talks about religious moral codes

Romantic Love

- References a romantic partner such as a spouse, boyfriend, or girlfriend, mentions romantic interest in someone, or implies feelings of romantic love

Sadness

- Explicitly discusses feeling of sadness or loneliness, or implies negative feelings that are not physical pain

Suffering

- Explicitly mentions harm being caused to another human being, or references the physical suffering of self or others

Unity

- Implies feelings of togetherness, trust, and community

Work

- Describes labor or employment, either for profit or for sustenance

Figure 3. Distribution of Songs Over Time (n=40)

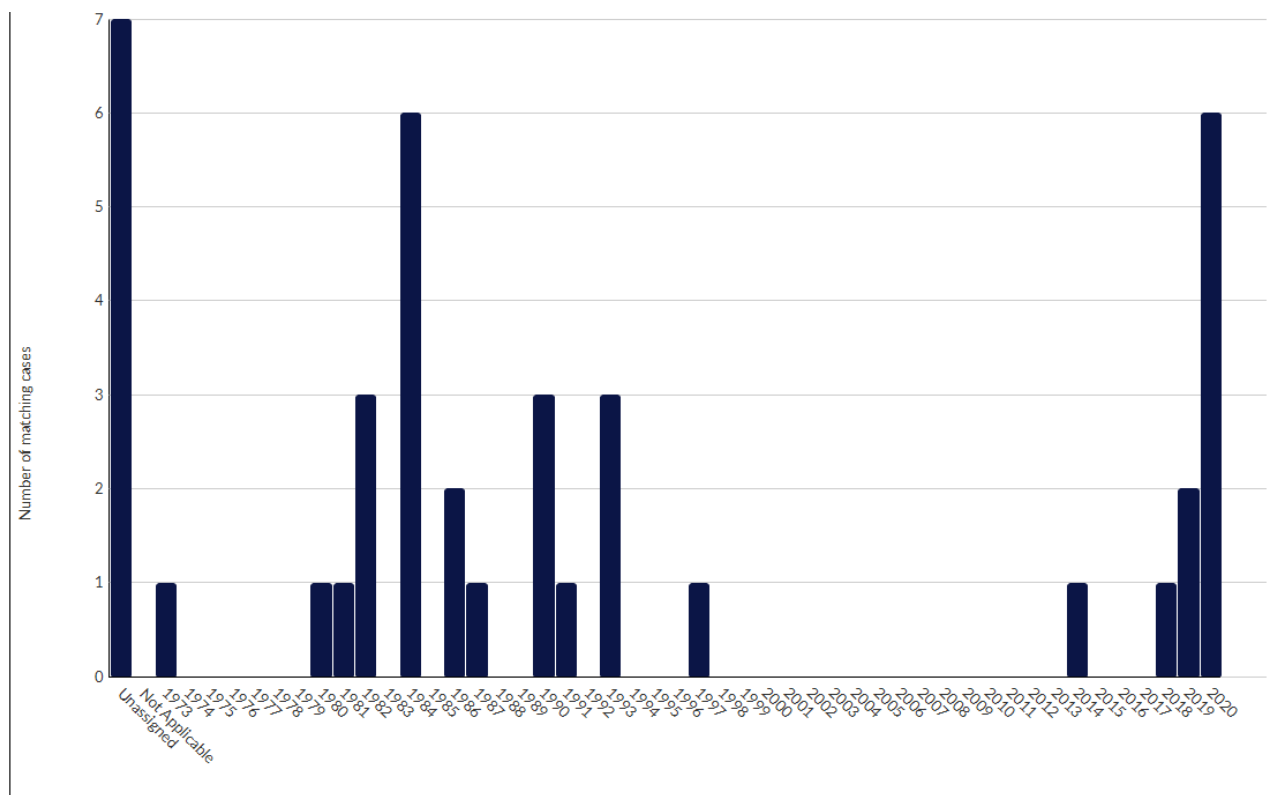


Figure 4. Popular Lyrical Themes and Their Variation across Pre- and Post-Genocide Periods (All Codes)

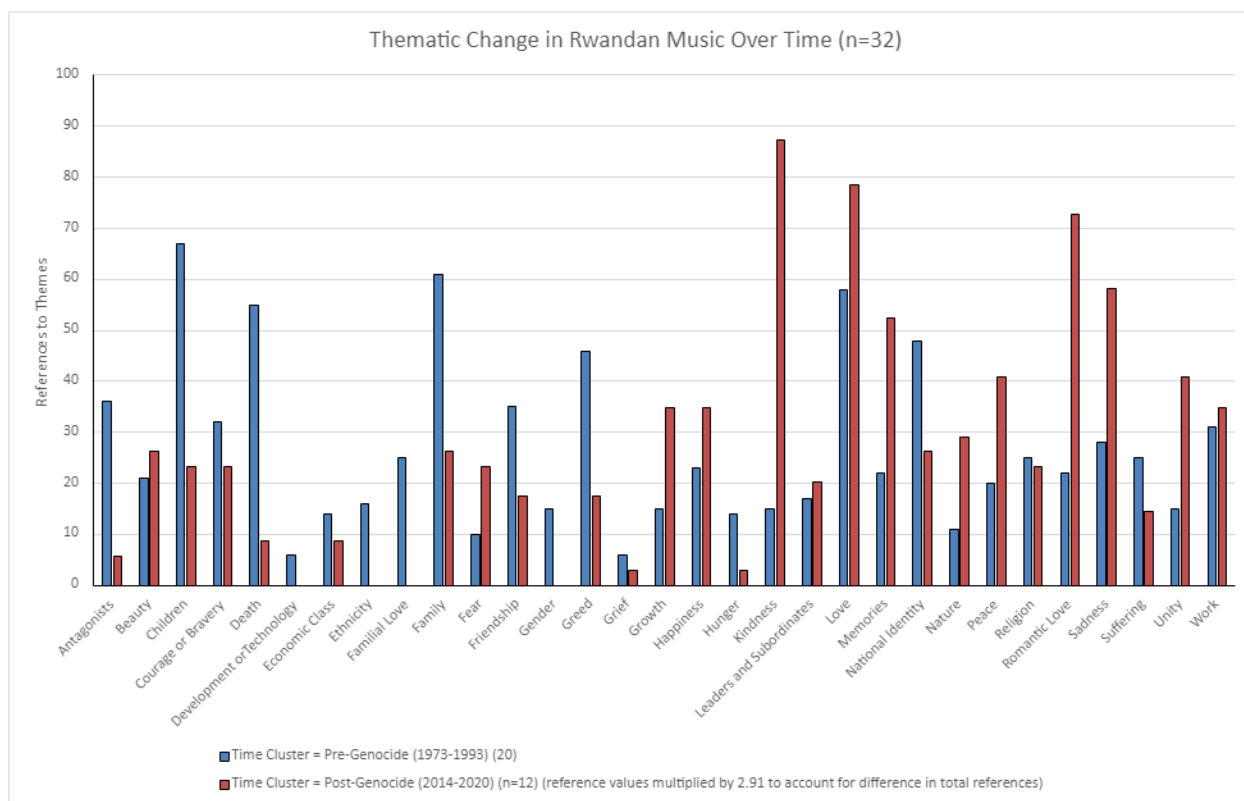


Figure 5. Thematic Comparison of Bikindi's Lyrical Content Versus the Larger Sample (All Codes)

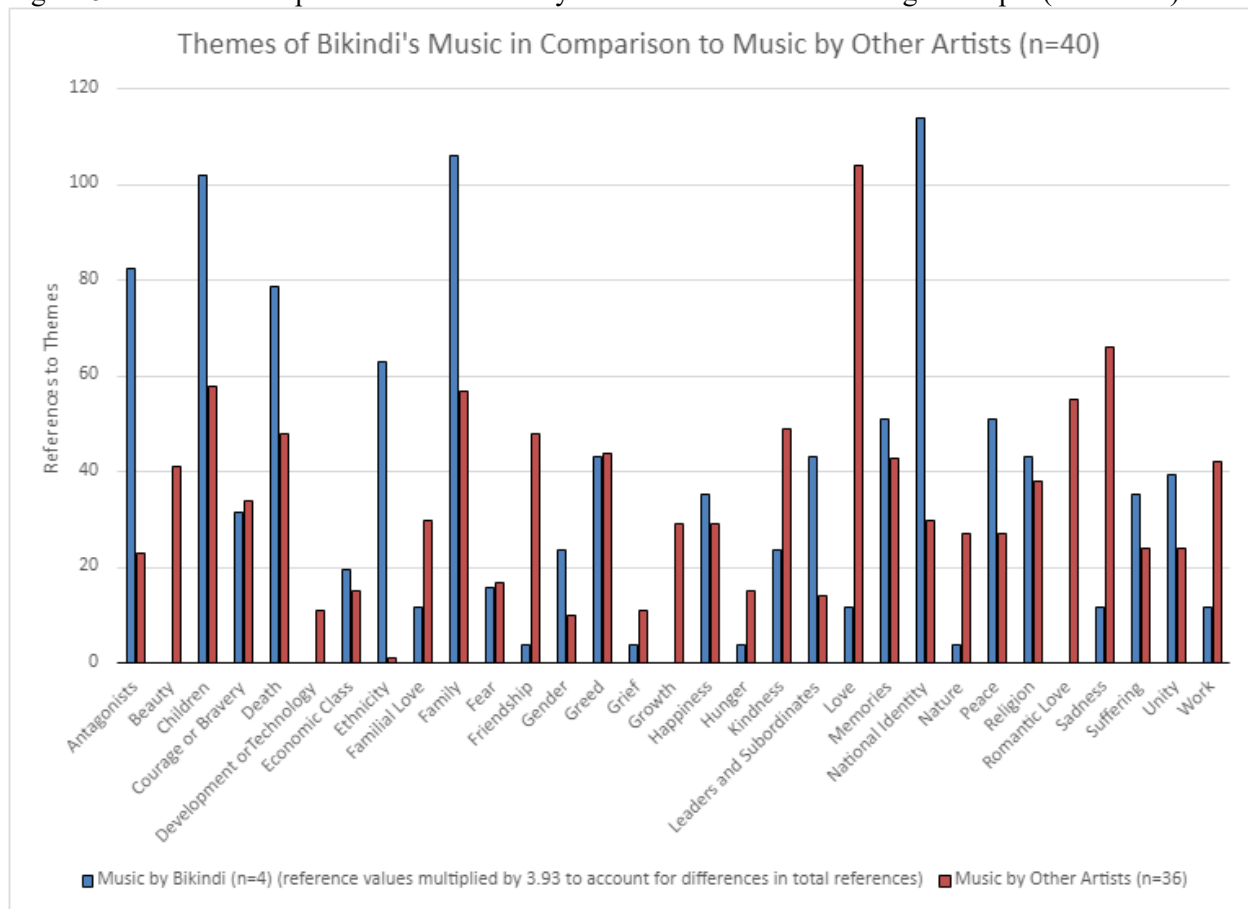


Figure 6. Number of References by Code and Time Cluster

Song	Time Cluster = Pre-Genocide (1973-1993) (20)	Time Cluster = Post-Genocide (2014-2020) (12)	Total (32)
Antagonists	36	2	38
Beauty	21	9	30
Children	67	8	75
Courage or Bravery	32	8	40
Death	55	3	58
Development or Technology	6	0	6
Economic Class	14	3	17

Ethnicity	16	0	16
Familial Love	25	0	25
Family	61	9	70
Fear	10	8	18
Friendship	35	6	41
Gender	15	0	15
Greed	46	6	52
Grief	6	1	7
Growth	15	12	27
Happiness	23	12	35
Hunger	14	1	15
Kindness	15	30	45
Leaders and Subordinates	17	7	24
Love	58	27	85
Memories	22	18	40
National Identity	48	9	57
Nature	11	10	21
Peace	20	14	34
Religion	25	8	33
Romantic Love	22	25	47
Sadness	28	20	48
Suffering	25	5	30
Unity	15	14	29
Work	31	12	43

Total	834	287	1121
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