

PEMBELAJARAN JURNAL SASTRA

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RWANDAN GENOCIDE CONFLICT REPRESENTED IN THE NOVEL *LED BY FAITH*

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Abstract: This study discusses the ethnic conflict in the Rwandan genocide in the novel *Led by Faith: Rising from The Ashes of Rwandan Genocide* written by Immaculée Ilibagiza. The novel is set in Rwanda, the country that was known as the place of the fastest killing in the world history, within 100 days killed more than 800.000 people. This novel is based on the author's experience in surviving from the Rwandan genocide. Therefore, it is interesting to discuss how the author represented the genocide in the novel. This study applied conflict theory by Dahrendorf which focus on four aspect: Two aspects of society (conflict and consensus), power and authority, the groups involved in the conflict, and conflict and social change. The data are taken from the novel *Led by Faith* by using descriptive analysis techniques. The study reveals that the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi ethnics was represented as the power dynamics among the authorities. The conflict influenced the social change and social structure of the Rwandan society.

Keywords: conflict theory, Dahrendorf, genocide, Rwanda

INTRODUCTION

Conflict is a process of struggle between two opposing forces who tried to fulfil their own interest. The conflict could be a dispute of opinion or even violence. There are many kinds of conflict such as the conflict between different races, cultures, religions, colours of skin, or even different ethnics. Conflict is part of the community; on the other side, the conflict in community provides a new thing for examples such as changes in the way of life in society, economy, religion, culture, and language. The social life that changes over time provides an opportunity for thinkers to explain how the causes, impacts, and analyses of these problems. The conflict could be solved by a consensus or agreement between two opposing forces but the conflict also led to the violence such as genocide if they didn't make the consensus.

Genocide happened to many countries in the world. Genocide was first introduced by Poland lawyer Raphael Lemkin in 1944 on his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. Genus (Greek) means race or tribe, Cide (Latin) means killing. This word becomes one of the actions to the economic, political, cultural, religion, individual or other interests (Lemkin: 1944). It is a wide-scale overkilling that have been planned to a certain ethnic, community, race or others. According to Saputra (2018) there were seven cases of genocide among the modern history of the world: Armenian genocide with the number of victims estimated 1.000.000 people killed. Holocaust by Nazi Germany 1941-1945, 6 million Jews and 11 million victims. Red Khmer Cambodia 1976 killed 2.5 million people. Bosnia conflict in 1992-1995 there is 100.000 victims estimated. Sudan Civil War 1983-2005 around two million people died in the war. Rohingya Genocide in Myanmar 2016-2017, it kills more than 10.000 Rohingya Muslims. and the last is the Rwandan Genocide, it was the bloodiest event which was the fastest killing in world history.

Rwandan within 100 days between April and June, 1994, estimated 800.000 people were killed. One of the factors of the genocide began when Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana (he was a Hutu) died in Kigali airport on April 6 1994. He was shot on the plane and fell down to the airport. Paul Kagame (the leader of a Tutsi rebel group) was blamed by the French judge. Kagame refuted that statement and he said it was the Hutu extremist who was responsible for that murder. This situation then led to the Rwandan Genocide 1994. However, it was not only because of the death of the president. For a long time, Tutsi and Hutu had a violence history, and conflict although they lived together, speak the same language, at the same place (Sagall, 2013).

Rwandan genocide got the world attention, and the study of the ethnic conflict becomes the topic that is always important to be discussed. The previous study on the novel *Led by Faith* by Immaculée Ilibagiza was done by Singhan (2012) stated a forgiveness to the slaughtherer and the psychological response. In this study I am focused on the ethnic conflict and social condition in the society between Tutsi and Hutu after the genocide, such as how the way Tutsi and Hutu see each other.

The novel *Led by Faith* tells us about the woman who survived from the genocide, because she was hidden by a Rwandan pastor in a small bathroom with 7 women. They stayed in that small place for three months. The genocide killed her family and friends and more than a million citizens from Tutsi and Hutu moderate ethnics. The novel also represented the situation in Rwanda after the genocide. It also narrates how the Hutu and Tutsi ethnics interact with each other after the conflict.

Conflict theory by Dahrendorf is stated as the reaction to the structural functionalism theory which says that society is a complex system that works together to promote solidarity and stability. Dahrendorf conflict theory sees the society as two faces there are conflict and consensus, this conflict also influenced by the power and authority in the society. The certain group who fight for power and authority called the interest groups or quasi-groups which then called the group who involved in the conflict. Dahrendorf also said that conflict causes social change. This social change could be the way of life of the society, the structural change in the society, and this structural change means the change of the holder of the position or who had a legal order in the society (Dahrendorf: 1959).

Conflicts in the novel are described by the author based on the imagination and experiences that the author faced in her life. There are many researchers conduct the study about conflict and social change, Dahrendorf conflict theory, and also the Rwandan genocide issue. For example, Rahayu (2003) explains that the perspective of people changes after conflict within society. This statement was proved in her research about American foreign policy towards Indonesia, in East Timor case. After the cold war, American foreign policy was changed, and also people's perspective.

In sum, a conflict can change the social order of society and the way people think about something. Singhan (2012) analyses the ethnic conflict of Rwandan genocide, deploying a conflict theory about social identity which focus on the identity of ethnicity in Rwanda before the genocide. Second, Putri (2016) analyses a play *Marsinah: Nyanyian Dari Bawah Tanah* by Ratna Sarumpaet using Dahrendorf's conflict theory and Marx's class theory. It analyses the upper and lower classes that cause the class conflict in the play. The current research examines how the Rwandan genocide represented in the novel, by discussing in detail the ethnic conflict, the power and authority, the groups involved in the conflict and the social change caused by the conflict.

LITERARY REVIEW

The current study deploys sociological approach in understanding literary work (Wiyatmi, 2013: 1). It sees literary work as the representation of the society. There are three steps taken in this approach. First, how literary work represents the society by seeing at the time the work was written. Second, how literary work is influenced by the personal nature of the author. In this context, literary work is interpreted as the author's intention to create a works, including the social aspects such as the condition of the author's life, environment and the time she/he lived. Literary works are created with specific objectives based on the author's perspectives. And the third, examining the genre of the literary work. Damono (1978: 2-3) describes several sociological approaches of literature. First, the social context of the author examines the social status and social ideology of the author in creating literary works. In this context, the author is one of the influences in literary works. Second, Literature sees as a reflection of society. Third, examining the social function of literature.

Dahrendorf's Conflict Theory

Society is not an organization that is static. They changed over time substantially or structurally. The conflict between society makes them change into the new perception." There is no improvement without conflict". This is the Marx' ideas that has been followed by many people until now. This statement was criticized by Dahrendorf, who has opinion that Marx has been undermining its sociological value by adding a rather plausible Hegelian philosophy, Marx's philosophy is not the same with the theory of modern sociology (Dahrendorf, 1959: 26-27).

Dahrendorf developed the theory of conflict by dividing it into four parts: First, two faces of Society (Conflict and Consensus), in which it says that the society consists of two different faces; Conflict and Consensus. They are not always under conditions that are fulfilling each other and integrated. Yet another face of society is a conflict or united under the pressure from interests and coercion (Wibowo, 2010). The consensus examines the value of integration in society because the structure of society is a system that is functionally integrated and the balance of society is maintained through certain processes. The conflict examines the use of enforcement and violence on society. This action was on purpose to defend the power of social structure (Dahrendorf, 1959: 159). Dahrendorf simplified the picture of the two faces of society into a number of basic thoughts: (a) The society is relatively fixed, its structure and elements are relatively stable, (b) The society is composed of well-integrated elements, (c) Every element in society has a function, which is to contribute to the maintenance of wholeness as a system and (d) Each function of the social structure is based on consensus on values among its members. From those four basic thoughts, Dahrendorf said that there is no society without conflict and consensus. But there is no conflict if there was a consensus before (Dahrendorf, 1959: 161).

The second concept of Dahrendorf theory was the power and authority. There are differences in the distribution of power and authority, where power is related to individual personality. While authority is related to social role or position of the individual in social structure. In the concept of authority he used Weber's definition which states that power is the role of an actor in social relations that makes it possible to do something of his own free will despite the opposition. The concept of authority he uses the Herrscharf definition which states that authority is the role of someone who allows governing which will be obeyed by a certain group of people. Therefore, power is a mere factual relationship, while authority is a relationship of domination and legitimate submission so that authority is called legitimate power (Dahrendorf, 1959: 165-166).

The concept of authority and power is distinguished from the element of legitimacy, the authority must be interpreted according to the notion of limited authority as the distribution and implementation in unions which are coercively coordinated. Hence the division of authority in the union is the main cause of the formation of opposing groups and dichotomy in each unit is the cause of the formation of two opposing groups. (Dahrendorf, 1959: 172)

The third concept is Quasi-Groups and Interest Groups. A group is a mass of people who communicate and connect regularly and have a recognizable structure. Groups of people who communicate with each other or groups that do not have a structure but they have a way of behaving together called quasi-groups. Conflicting groups are a group of people who are under an organization that has programs, goals, and structures. Usually, these interest groups recruit members from quasi-groups (Dahrendorf, 1989, 182).

The formation of conflicting groups is based on group interests where two quasi groups have hidden interests. the orientation of their interests is determined by ownership or lack of ownership. Then from this quasi group, the interest groups are formed and programs are articulated to defend or attack the legitimacy of the authority structure that is waged. then these two pseudo groups are finally in conflict (Dahrendorf, 1959, p 184). In sum, quasi-groups have hidden interests, whereas interest groups have organized and real interests.

The fourth concept is Conflict and Social Change. The existence of conflicting groups and interest groups that make a social change or problem in the middle of society. According to Dahrendorf (1959: 208) that all creativity, discoveries, and progress in the lives of individuals, groups and their communities are caused by conflicts between one group and other groups, individuals and individuals, emotions and emotions in an individual. Therefore he says that contradiction can be called good and is very necessary. The social change (Dahrendorf, 1959: 127-128) is explained by two factors; Exogenous and Endogenous. Exogenous is a factor of social change that originate from the outside structure of society. This factor resulted from such military conquest and deliberate intervention into the existing social structure; it can also result in the diffusion of cultural patterns that are not accompanied by political or military power. Endogenous is internal factors that influenced by their own units. These changes resulted by social changes between organized groups or between unorganized mass representatives.

METHOD

This research is a literary criticism study, it is a critical response to a literary text that refers to the analysis of literary work, literary movement, genres, or studied of individual authors. The object of the study is a novel *Led by the Faith: Rising from The Ashes of Rwandan Genocide* written by Immaculée Ilibagiza. The novel is set in Rwandan genocide in 1994. The novel was published in 2008, by Hay House Inc. The study applies the sociological approach and deploys the conflict theories by Dahrendorf.

The data are taken from the novel *Led by Faith* in the form of words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs, all of which are related to the topic of the research. The process of data analysis involves the interpretation, comparison among the data, and dialogue with the theories. Then, the conclusion was drawn from all of the analysis process.

DISCUSSION

How the conflict represented in Immaculée Ilibagiza's *Led by Faith*

In dealing with the Rwandan genocide, this study examine how the conflict represented by using the conflict theory by Dahrendorf. This study examines the findings, in line with Dahendorf's conflict theories, into two aspects of society, power and authority, quasi-group and group interest, and conflict and social change.

Two Aspect of Society (Conflict and Consensus)

Conflict

Hutu and Tutsi ethnics lived together in Rwanda. Although they were different ethnic groups, they share and spoke the same language. The data below show that Hutu and Tutsi ethnics have no conflict before, but why then these two ethnic groups lived within the conflict?

“Hutu and Tutsi belonged to different tribes, we shared a single culture: we all spoke the same language (Kinyarwanda), ate the same foods, worshipped in the same churches, studied in the same classroom, and lived in the same neighbourhoods and even the same homes.” (P.3).

“Hutu and Tutsi had lived in peace under a long line of Tutsi Kings. But that peace was shattered when European colonizers-first the Germans, and later the Belgians arrived in Rwanda in the 19th century. To more easily conquer and control the country, the Belgian support Tutsi monarchy and exploited the existing social structure. The Belgian overlords even introduced an ‘ethnic identity card’ to guarantee that the two groups remained as socially segregated as possible.” (P.4)

Hutu-Tutsi lived peacefully before Belgian comes to Rwanda. However, all the peace changed when the colonial came to the country. The colonial power aimed at claiming authority in Rwanda. Supported by the existing monarchy as a partner, the Belgian started to identify the weakness of the Rwandan government. They applied ‘Ethnic Identity Card’ as one of the ways of Belgian to separate those ethnicities. The ethnic Identity card in Rwanda becomes a sign to both ethnicities as a different group that has to be seen in which one is the upper and the lower. Here we can conclude that the ethnic conflict happened in Rwanda, started by the colonial interest and with the support of the monarchy existed there.

*“When the Tutsi king pressed for independence and asked the Belgians to leave Rwanda in 1959, the Belgians retaliated by helping Hutu extremists seize power and topple the centuries-old Tutsi monarchy. The bloody Hutu Revolution that followed left more than 100.000 Tutsis dead. The system of tribal identity **cards** was now used to isolate, intimidate, and persecute Tutsi” (P.4).*

This is clear enough that Belgian become a scapegoat of ethnic conflict, they tried to take over the authority and support the dominant power in Rwanda. After the Hutu and Tutsi were shown as different and has to be separated. As we know from the paragraph above that Rwanda lived under the Tutsi king, Hutu tried to take over the political seat in Rwanda because it was Tutsi dominant in the government. ‘Hutu Revolution’ as one of the actions in the conflict and raised into the massacre on the Tutsi ethnic in Rwanda. The ethnic identity card that was made by Belgian colonialism become the sign to do ethnic cleansing. The identity card of Tutsi would be the sign of “isolated, intimidated, and persecuted.”

“The invasion triggered an on-again, off-again civil war that started when I was away at high school in the fall of 1990. Anti-Tutsi policies intensified during this time, reaching level of hatred and intolerance not seen in the world since the Nazis’ persecution of Jews decades before. One of the most blatant tools of hate came in the form of “the Hutu Ten Commandments,” which first appeared in an anti-Tutsi newspaper. This piece of propaganda declared it an act of treason for a Hutu to marry, or even lend money or conduct business with, a Tutsi. Meaningful government or military jobs were barred to Tutsis at this point; and all Hutus were encouraged to shun their Tutsi neighbours, relatives, and friends” (P.5).

The conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi become more and more complicated, and the hatred, rages, intolerance and persecutions were spread anywhere triggered a civil war between the Tutsis and Hutus in 1990. The author connects the ethnic intolerance in Rwanda with the Nazi case against Jews. This does not indicate that ethnic conflict in Rwanda is the same as Nazi and Jewish conflict, but this is about the intolerance towards human beings. As mentioned above that Hutu and Tutsi must not be associated with each other even they must avoid anyone who is from Tutsi no matter they are family or friends.

“As soon as these extremists put policies in place to make sure that the best jobs and school placements now went to Hutus, Tutsi politicians were ousted from office, Tutsi professors were fired from their teaching jobs, and top Tutsi students were passed over for scholarship.” (P.4).

After the Hutu extremists took over the Tutsi monarchy from Rwanda, they usurp everything from Tutsi; the right to learn in school was devoted to Hutu children, including jobs and political chairs in Rwanda. Hutu extremists practiced their power after usurping from the Tutsi monarchy; the Hutu action was called 'Hutu Power'.

Hutu radio program dehumanized Tutsis, labelling them as “cockroaches” that has to be “exterminated” before they could harm Hutu children or steal Hutu jobs. Such programs reached the entire country, and it became clear that the government was openly supporting a policy of mass murder to deal with ‘the Tutsi problem’ ” (P.5).

The conflict is not only done by Tutsi population but also persuade others to kill them all and swept from the country, it proved by the hate radio that announces to all people in Rwanda to kill Cockroaches (Tutsi) before they will steal everything from Hutu. The radio was supported by the government in Rwanda. While the government had a major effect in a country, so the government has a very important role in the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. So who is the leader in Rwanda before the Genocide? We will answer it by the next evidence below.

Consensus

Beside the conflict there was also a consensus, although it happened in a small circle, the family circle. The consensus happened between the brother who have to kill the other family members because they were considered enemies.

“Our names are on that list,” my brother said, pleading with my dad to get us out of the country that night. He promised us that he’d find a boat down the hill and row us across Lake Kivu to safety in Zaire.

“I remembered the radio broadcast calling for Hutus to exterminate the Tutsi cockroaches, and troubling anti-Tutsi demonstrations I’d seen in the street near my university town. “

“Maybe Damascene is right, Dad. Maybe we should leave now...”

“No one in this family is going anywhere,” he said. “I am older and know better”

On the third day, the attack began. At first the men in the crowd held the Interahamwe back by throwing stick and stones, but they kept coming in larger and larger groups, carrying machetes, spears, and clubs studded with nails.

Before the attacks became a massacre, my father instructed me to run to the home of a local Hutu pastor with my young brother’s friend Augustine.

“Get out of here, Immaculée,” my father ordered. “Pastor Murinzi is a good man and good friend. Ask him to hide you until all this trouble is setteled.” (Ilibagiza, 2008, p.6-8).

It was the anxiety of the Tutsi family before the Genocide happens, the consensus to escape before the killers finally come to their house to kill them. Damascene as a brother of Immaculée saw the Interahamwe (Hutu paramilitary organizations) who were ready to commit killings and the names of his family were on the list of murder plans. But the plan was rejected by his father because his father believed that the government would resolve the issue. But three days later, when the killers began heading to his house his father decided to tell them to run away from his house. This consensus shows how the father handled the conflict of murder that might occur to his family because they were ethnic Tutsis, the target of the genocide.

Power and Authority

The power and authority played important roles for the fate of the each of the ethnic in conflict.

“As soon as these extremists put policies in place to make sure that the best jobs and school placements now went to Hutus, Tutsi politicians were ousted from office, Tutsi professors were fired

from their teaching jobs, and top Tutsi students were passed over for scholarship.” (Ilibagiza, 2008, p.4).

After the Hutu extremists took over the Tutsi monarchy in Rwanda, they usurp everything from Tutsi; the right to learn in school was devoted to Hutu children, including jobs and political chairs in Rwanda. Hutu extremists practiced their power after usurping from the Tutsi monarchy; the Hutu action was called 'Hutu Power'. The power tends only serve their own group and harmful for other group.

“We could hear reports coming from the radio in the pastor’s bedroom that government official were ordering all Hutus in Rwanda to pick up a machete and exterminate every Tutsi they saw – even if it was their own husband, wife, or child. Failing to kill Tutsis, or offering them sanctuary, was punishable by death” (Ilibagiza, 2008, p.9).

“Hutu government officials even went on the radio to order all citizens to stop work and increase the murder rate: “Your business is killing Tutsi; there will be no other work until the job is done and all the Tutsi cockroaches are dead.”” (Ilibagiza, 2008, p.4).

Government officials are controlled by the Hutus and they have authority as a government in Rwanda. As the state apparatus, they have the authority to give orders and the order is legal to be obeyed by the people in Rwanda. The authority means the power to determine everything related to the whole people in the country. The Hutus who had usurped Tutsi power and occupied many political seats in Rwanda showed their power and authority by refuting Tutsi from the power.

The Groups Involved in the Conflict

Dahrendorf (1959) divided two kinds of groups who involved in the conflict or called as the conflicting groups, there are Quasi-group and Interest group. Quasi Group is not a clear group having formal legal authority to do something. The quasi groups is a group used by other interest group.

“Just then, the windshield of the minibus shattered, and a metallic pinging echoed through the little vehicle. While the driver was rapidly backing the bus away from the UN’s main entrance, I could see a group of about 50 men – most of them were quite young, but others were middle-aged or even elderly – tossing pieces of broken brick at the security gate from across the street. They were yelling at the guards who had been posted along the fence” (P.112-113).

The demonstrators around 50 men who demanded the UN to get out of Rwanda as quasi-groups, it called quasi-group because they were some people in one group but they did not have the name of the organization, a clear purpose, and a list of members registered in the group. These quasi-groups usually have hidden goals because once again they are not like interest groups that have clear group structures, programs, and goals.

Interest Groups

“By the time I was teenager in the 1980, many of those exiled had joined a political movement in Uganda called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF demanded that the Hutu government stop persecuting Tutsi in Rwanda and allow the exiles to return home” (P.4-5).

The Rwandese Patriotic Front is an organization of Tutsi ethnic in exile; they are often called Tutsi rebels because they oppose the ruling Hutu monarchy in Rwanda. This organization as one of interest group because it officially recruits members, has an official structure, and certain goals and programs, for example, they oppose the Hutu monarchy and forbid them to persecute the Tutsis and demand them to divide power in Rwanda.

“It was frightening time that only became more unstable when the political party of President Juvénal Habyarimana began recruiting and training tens of thousands of unemployed young Hutu men into a paramilitary militia known as Interahamwe, which means, literally ‘those who kill together’. Their sole mission was the extermination of the ‘Tutsi cockroaches’.” (P.5).

The Interahamwe organization was very well known at the time of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. As explained in the evidence, this organization was under the governance of Habyarimana who were ethnic Hutu. He recruited Hutu ethnic to participate in paramilitary based training. They have a mission to kill the 'Tutsi cockroaches'. This group has a goal that has been ratified, as well as recruiting members, doing some training, so this group is called an interest group.

Conflict and Social Change

Hutu and Tutsi after the Conflict

“With the exception of ‘Hello,’ the most common greeting in Rwanda was now either ‘Why are you alive?’ or ‘How did you survive the genocide?’”

“Although raised in Rwanda’s culture of inherent courteousness and habitual good manners, most survivors dispensed with the politeness and went straight for the information they needed in order to sum you up quickly. It wasn’t that people had been too brutalized to be friendly, although that was often true, but caution pre-empted courteousness. It wasn’t rudeness; it was a matter of survival” (P.59).

Rwandan people who usually tend to be careful if they talk to the stranger now changed. The author of the novel mentioned that Rwandan people have been taught manners since childhood, how their manner if they meet strangers. They tend to weigh words and be slow when they talk to strangers. After the genocide, they tend to be alert for the stranger. The greeting ‘Hello’ to fellow Tutsi is now changes to ‘How did you survive the genocide?’ Because Tutsi as the target of genocide. Most of them who become survivors find trauma and fear.

“She was using a tree branch as a walking stick, her skin was chalky white from the dust, and she had sores all over her face, but I still thought I knew who she was.

“Mushaha, is that you?”

“Bless you for recognizing me, Immaculée! You’re the first one who has”

“Your pity disgusts me,” Angie added, almost jumping at me because she was so upset. “How can you stand to touch that pig? There’s Tutsi blood on those hands – she told the killers where to find my cousins and caused all this agony. I only wish someone were chasing her down with a machete and trying to kill her. Then maybe she’d start to feel what it’s like. It’s their turn to suffer, Immaculée. Let her suffer.” (P. 68-69).

The treatment of the Tutsi towards the murderous allies was change, such as what Mushaha has experienced. As explained in some of the citation above, all Hutu ethnics in Rwanda were ordered to kill each Tutsi. This happened to Mushaha, she became an ally of the killers. Mushaha reported the Tutsis who were hiding, to the killers. After the genocide was over she was still alive and now what happened to her was getting discriminated against by the Tutsis.

“Honestly, Immaculée, I can sit with DeeDee for hours and get her to tell me all the things she does to please Robert and make him happy, and then I use all her tricks when I get him alone. Sometimes the three of us go out together, and she’s so clueless that I can practically sit on his lap! I’ll be able to steal her boyfriend from her, and she won’t know it happened until I invite her to our wedding,” Annick gloated. “DeeDee and her entire family are Hutus, so she deserve any misery a Tutsi can send her way- it serves her right.” (P. 101).

Not only Mushaha, but other Hutus also accept different revenge such as what Annick did at DeeDee in the workplace. One example of this shows how enthusiastically Tutsi wanted to repay the cruelty received by them and their families. Although some ethnic Hutus condemned genocide, it did not make them safe from revenge by the Tutsis. They still hated Hutu just because they were Hutu.

“The only upsetting incident for me was when I saw Aurea, a Tutsi woman I worked with at the UN, shove a toddler she’d been cuddling from her lap to the ground. The child sat silently in the dirt for a moment, registering what had happened, then began wailing.”

“What happened, Aurea? Why did you drop her?” I asked, lifting the little one into my arms.

“Look at its nose, Immaculée.”

“What are you talking about?”

“Its nose is flat. That baby is a Hutu.”

I was so angry that I want to slap her. "How could you Aurea? This is an innocent child; she can't even walk yet, and you hate her? For what? She hasn't harmed anyone!"

"I know, I'm sorry, Immaculée, but you know how hard it is... they killed my father and my brothers... I just can't hold her." (P. 144)

Discrimination does not only happen among people who are allies of murderers during the genocide. Even a baby becomes a victim just because he shows Hutu offspring on his body. The effects of ethnic conflict in Rwanda are very tragic, even innocent baby was pushed from her laps just because he is Hutu. It is also difficult for some Tutsis whose families were slaughtered during the genocide. They tend to be traumatized and angry with ethnic Hutu.

Social Change in the Government

"In the coming years, I believe that God answered this prayer through President Paul Kagame, who abolished the tribal identity cards that separated and divided Rwandans for so many generations." (P. -71)

When Paul Kagame was chosen as the new president in Rwanda, he abolished the tribal identity cards. The crucial conflict between Hutu and Tutsi due to the ethnic identity. This identity card showed that both Hutu and Tutsi are different. When the Tutsi kingdom controlled under colonial Belgium, those who had Tutsi identity card would receive education and some facilities in Rwanda. But when the genocide happened, the identity card is used to discriminate against and even killed Tutsis. This identity card has an important role in the ethnic conflict so Kagame choose to abolish it to prevent any more conflict.

"Do you know that women won almost 50 percent of the seats in the lower house of parliament?" (P. 197)

After the inter-ethnic conflict broke out in genocide, how difficult for the Rwandan people to survive because everything was destroyed. Especially for women, it was very difficult to find work. But now women win 50% of parliamentary seats in Rwanda, it means that the women don't have to worry about their jobs in parliament.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study indicate that the ethnic conflict was the background of the Rwandan genocide. The conflict is between Hutu and Tutsi which tried to hold the dominant power and authority in Rwanda. There are also consensuses in the novel in taking some decision, the consensus also influenced by the power and authority or individuals or groups. The power and authority was hold by the one who had a legal order or who is responsible in certain places. This conflict also led into many social changes for the Rwandan society. The analysis also reveals the groups or individuals who involved in the conflict. Finally, social changes occur after conflict such as how the way ethnic communities treat one another, for example how they interact, behave and see one another. The government policies after the conflict bring a new hope, and change into better situation..

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