

**CONFLICT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN IMMACULÉE ILIBAGIZA'S  
*LED BY FAITH: RISING FROM THE ASHES OF THE RWANDAN  
GENOCIDE***

**THESIS**

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM  
MALANG  
2020**

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OF THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE**

**THESIS**

Presented to

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S)

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MALANG  
2020**

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I state that the thesis entitled **“Conflict and Social Change in Immaculée Ilibagiza’s *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan Genocide*”** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those ones that are cited as references and written in the bibliography. Herby, if there is an objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 01 May 2020



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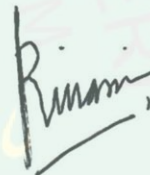
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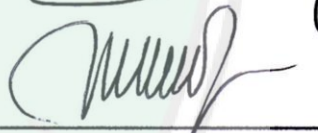
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## MOTTO

*Humble make you higher*

*A storm makes you stronger*

*And humanity doesn't recognize the other people as a stranger*



## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved mother Satini who always support and pray for me, without her I am nothing.

My beloved father Misru'i who always understanding me. The one who always know the way to comfort me in any situation, and always remaining me that Allah is always on my side to support me.

My little brother Jefri Alexandra, he always makes me happy and angry in the same time.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Alhamdulillahirobbil ‘Alamin, my highest gratitude for the presence of Allah SWT who has given me everything in my life and allowed me to be able to complete this thesis. Salawat and salam for my greatest prophet Muhammad SWA who has brought us from the darkness to the brightness in the name of Islam.

I give thanks to my parents who have spent their time and energy to support my education. There are no words in this world that explain my gratitude for them. I also thank all the lecturers at UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, especially the Faculty of Humanities who gave me knowledge during my studies.

I am also thankful to my advisor Mundi Rahayu who always patient to teach me and help me to finish this thesis. My friend who always accompanies me at the coffee shops to find my imagination, enjoy my cappuccino and give me many pieces of advice. My sister Rosida Simatupang who helps me to conduct this thesis. My friend from Rwanda Loic who taught me everything about Rwanda.

This thesis "Conflict and Social Change in Immaculée Ilibagiza's *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan Genocide*". I might arrange this thesis as much as I can. If there is a lack in terms of language, sentences, or even analysis I fully realize that humans are not free from mistakes. I hope that this thesis can benefit readers and researchers.

Malang, 01 May 2020  
Author,

Marisa Santi Dewi



## ABSTRACT

Dewi, Marisa Santi. 2020. **Conflict and Social Change in Immaculée Ilibagiza's *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan Genocide***. Minor Thesis (Skripsi)  
 Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam  
 Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
 Advisor : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum  
 Keywords : Conflict, Social Change, Rwandan Genocide.

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Conflict is a process of struggle between two opposing forces who tried to fulfill their own interest. The conflict happened in society such as squabbles, disputes up to the violence. Conflicts also give a social change to society, it changes the way people think, the social order of society, and many other changes. Conflicts in the novel are described by the author according to the imagination and experiences that the author faced in her life.

The novel *Led by Faith* written by Immaculée Ilibagiza, is a historical novel that tells the story of a woman who escaped from the mass murderer caused by an ethnic conflict. This ethnic conflict led to a tragic situation called the Rwandan Genocide 1994; a mass murdered that killed 800,000 ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus. She also told the cause of the conflict, how ethnic conflict occurred, and what happened after the conflict was over. There are many social changes mentioned after the conflict between ethnic groups ended, such as ethnic discrimination, violence, developments, and several other changes.

This research aims to explain conflicts represented in the novel. This research also describes the social changes caused by a conflict as represented in the novel *Led by Faith*. The theory applied in this study is the conflict theory by Dahrendorf which believed that society consists of two faces (conflict and consensus), the power and authority, the groups involved in the conflict and social change. The conflict influence the social change in the society, it could be seen from the structural change after the conflict and the way of life of the society. The data were taken from the novel *Led by Faith* by reading and taking some evidence related to the conflict. The research method used in this study is literary criticism with descriptive data analysis techniques, and sociological approach to literature.

The results of this study indicate that there is an ethnic conflict that causes individual and group conflict in Rwanda. There are also consensuses in the novel in taking some decision, the consensus also influenced by the power and authority. The power and authority was hold by the one who had a legal order or who is responsible in certain places. This conflict also caused 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 are created to make Rwanda and the society affected by the ethnic conflict in Rwanda better and developed.

## ABSTRAK

Dewi, Marisa Santi. 2020. **Konflik dan Perubahan Sosial dalam Novel *Led by Faith: Bangkit dari Puing-Puing Genosida Rwanda* oleh Immaculée Ilibagiza**. Skripsi. Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum

Keywords : Konflik, Perubahan Sosial, Genosida Rwanda

Konflik terjadi antar dua individu atau dua kelompok yang saling berlomba untuk memenuhi kepentingannya. Konflik yang terjadi berupa perdebatan, percekocokan, hingga berujung kekerasan. Konflik yang terjadi di dalam masyarakat cenderung memberi perubahan social pada masyarakat. Seperti merubah cara berfikir, tatanan masyarakat, dan beberapa perubahan lainnya. Konflik yang terjadi di dalam novel digambarkan oleh pengarang menurut imajinasi dan beberapa pengalaman yang ia hadapi dalam kehidupan sosialnya.

Novel *Led by Faith* yang ditulis oleh Immaculée Ilibagiza merupakan novel yang mengisahkan tentang seorang wanita yang lolos dari konflik antar etnis yang berujung pada genosida atau pembantaian besar-besaran pada etnis Tutsi oleh etnis Hutu di Rwanda. Konflik antar etnis ini berujung pada kejadian tragis yang disebut Genosida Rwanda 1994, merupakan pembunuhan yang membantai 800.000 etnis Tutsi dan Hutu ekstremis. Ia juga menceritakan bagaimana konflik etnis terjadi dan apa yang terjadi setelah konflik berakhir. Banyak perubahan-perubaha yang disebutkan setelah konflik antar etnis berakhir. Ada deskriminasi antar etnis, kekerasan, berbagai pembangunan, dan beberapa perubahan lainnya.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan beberapa konflik yang ada di dalam novel *Led by Faith* dan perubahan-perubahan sosial yang disebabkan oleh konflik. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini merupakan teori konflik dari Dahrendorf yang menyatakan bahwa ada dua wajah masyarakat, yaitu konflik dan konsensus. Konflik juga mempengaruhi perubahan sosial masyarakat dan perubahan tersebut bisa dilihat dari perubahan struktur sosial dan cara hidup masyarakat. Data diambil dari novel *Led by Faith* dengan membaca dan mengambil beberapa data yang berhubungan dengan konflik dalam novel. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan literary criticism dengan teknik data analisa deskriptif, dan menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi sastra.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa konflik di Rwanda menyebabkan perubahan social pada masyarakat Rwanda. Sebagaimana dalam novel ini ada konflik antar etnis yang juga menyebabkan konflik antar individu dan grub. Selain konflik, ada juga konsensus yang terjadi dalam pengambilan beberapa keputusan. Hal ini juga dipengaruhi oleh pemegang kekuasaan dan wewenang. Ia yang memiliki kekuasaan atau wewenang di suatu tempat tertentu mempunyai perintah yang sah atas wilayahnya. Perubahan sosial yang terjadi setelah konflik adalah perubahan cara masyarakat antar etnis saling memperlakukan satu sama lain, contohnya bagaimana mereka saling berinteraksi, bersikap, dan melihat satu sama lain. Beberapa kebijakan pemerintah setelah adanya konflik telah dibuat untuk mewujudkan perubahan yang lebih baik bagi Negara Rwanda yang terkena imbas konflik antar etnis.

## مستخلص البحث

مارسا بينتي دوي، 2020. الأذ قاض من ترتفع: لفظ "اليد" رواية في الإجماعية والتغير الصراع  
رونندا جينوسدا. البحث الجامعي. قسم أدب الإنجليزية. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم  
الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.

المشرف : الماجستير رهيو، مندي الدكتور

الكلمات المفتاحية : الصراع رونندا، جينوسدا المجتمع، التغيير

الصراع هو مشكلة تحدث بين شخصين أو مجموعة الذين تناقشوا لتحقيق مصالحهم. يحدث الصراع في شكل نقاش، مشاجرة والاعتداء. الصراعات التي تحدث في المجتمع تميل إلى إعطاء التغيير الاجتماعي للمجتمع. تغيير التفكير المجتمعي، نظام المجتمع، والتغيرات الأخرى. الصراعات التي تحدث في الرواية وصفها المؤلف وفقاً للخيال والخبرة التي واجهها في حياته الاجتماعية.

رواية "اليد" لفيط كتيه إمامجولي لبغيزا هي رواية تحكي قصة امرأة هربت من صراع عرقي أدى إلى إبادة أو منجحة التوتسي العرقي من قبل الهوتو العرقية في رونندا. أدى هذا الصراع العرقي إلى حدث مأساوي من اتصل جينوسدا رونندا 1994، هو القتل الذي ذبح 800000 من التوتسي الهوتو المتطرفين. وقال أيضا كيف حدث الصراع العرقي وما حدث بعد انتهاء الصراع. التغييرات المذكورة بعد انتهاء الصراع العرقي. هناك تمييز بين الأعراق والعنف وتطورات مختلفة والعديد من التغييرات الأخرى.

يهدف من هذا البحث لمعرفة الصراعات في رواية "اليد" لفيط والتغييرات الاجتماعية بسبب الصراع. النظرية تستخدم في هذا البحث هي نظرية الصراع عند دهريندروف الذي ينص على وجهان للمجتمع هو الصراع وإجماع. يؤثر الصراع على التغييرات الاجتماعية في المجتمع ويمكن رؤية هذه التغييرات من التغييرات في البنية الاجتماعية وأسلوب حياة المجتمع أيضاً. جمع البيانات من رواية "اليد" لفيط مع القراءة وتأخذ بعض البيانات المتعلقة بالصراع في الرواية. أما طريقة تحليل البيانات في هذا البحث هي النقد الأدبي مع تقنيات تحليل البيانات الوصفية، وتستخدم نهج اجتماعي للأدب.

ونتيجة البحث تدل على وجدت أن الصراع في رونندا تسبب في تغيير اجتماعي في المجتمع الرواندي. كما هو الحال في هذه الرواية، هناك صراعات بين الجماعات العرقية التي تسبب أيضاً صراعات بين الأفراد والجماعات. بالإضافة إلى الصراع، هناك أيضاً إجماع يحدث في اتخاذ العديد من القرارات. هذا يتأثر أيضاً بأصحاب السلطة. لديه سلطة في مكان معين له أمر قانوني على أراضيه. التغييرات الاجتماعية التي تحدث بعد الصراع هي تغييرات في الطريقة التي تعامل بها المجتمعات العرقية بعضها البعض، على سبيل المثال كيف يتفاعلون مع بعضهم البعض ويتصرفون ويرون بعضهم البعض. قامت بعض السياسات الحكومية بعد النزاع بإجراء تغييرات نحو الأفضل للدولة الرواندية المتضررة من النزاع العرقي.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>TITLE SHEET</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>APPROVAL SHEET</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>LEGITIMATION SHEET</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>MOTTO</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>ABSTRAK</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
مستخلص البحث .....	<b>x</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
A. Background of the Study .....	<b>1</b>
B. Problems of the Study .....	<b>6</b>
C. Objectives of the Study .....	<b>6</b>
D. Scope and Limitation .....	<b>6</b>
E. Significance of the Study .....	<b>7</b>
F. Definition of Key Terms .....	<b>7</b>
G. Research Method .....	<b>8</b>
H. Previous Studies .....	<b>10</b>
<b>CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</b> .....	<b>12</b>
A. Sociological Approach of literature .....	<b>12</b>
B. The theory of conflict by Dahrendorf .....	<b>15</b>

C. The Function of Social Conflict .....	20
D. The Social Change .....	21
<b>CHAPTER III: ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>24</b>
A. Conflict Represented in the Novel <i>Led by Faith</i> .....	24
1. Two Aspects of Society (Conflict and Consensus) .....	24
2. Power and Authority .....	43
3. The Groups Involved in the Conflict .....	46
B. Social Change after the Conflict in the novel <i>Led by Faith</i> .....	50
1. Hutu and Tutsi after the Conflict .....	51
2. Social Change in Government .....	53
<b>CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION .....</b>	<b>57</b>
A. Conclusion .....	57
B. Suggestion .....	59
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **A. Background of the Study**

*Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan genocide* is a novel written by Immaculée Ilibagiza and published in 2008 by Hay House in the United States. This novel is the second novel by the New York Times best-selling author of *Left to Tell: Discovering God Amidst the Rwandan Holocaust*. This novel is adapted from the author's true story about her experience during the genocide that occurred in Rwanda, a massacre that killed her friends and her family. In this novel, she told how the genocide happened and how she survived the genocide. Rwandan genocide occurred because there was a conflict between ethnics Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda.

The Rwandan genocide is a massacre of the Tutsis and moderate Hutus ethnic groups by the extremist Hutu ethnic group, it is also known as the fastest killing in the world history. According to Sagall (2013 : 237) within 100 days between April and June 1994 the victim of Genocide estimated 800.000 people. The Rwandan Genocide is one of a plan to exterminate an entire ethnic group. It kills men, women, and children the Hutus attempt to destroy any possibility of Tutsi survival. 1,200 women and 4,500 children age between 14 and 18 in 1998 were imprisoned for participation in genocide in Rwanda. This genocide was done by ordinary people rather than military force. The number of people was between

175,000 and 210,000. It was almost 75 percent of the Hutu population and 15 percent of active male Hutus. However, this massacre of Tutsi was exterminatory genocide around all the Tutsi ethnic. This brutal action indiscriminate the gender or age of people, they just killed all people who have a relationship with the Tutsi ethnic, women, and children killed in their land brutally (Sagall, 2013 : 222).

The genocide begins a day after President of Rwanda Juvenal Habyarimana (he was a Hutu) died in Kigali airport, he was shot on the plane and fallen on April 6, 1994 (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014:6). The death of Habyarimana is not only a reason why the genocide happen, but the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi is the main reason of the genocide. To know about the conflict between ethnic in Rwanda, it is necessary for us to use the novel *Led by Faith* as the object of study. This present research also wants to examine the social conflict in the novel by using Dahrendorf perspective.

There are four reasons why the researcher chooses this novel as an object of this study. First, the application of Dahrendorf perspective of conflict is never used on this novel. Second, the ethnic conflict as one of the topic in this novel as become the focus to analyse. Third, this novel was written by a native Rwandan woman, she is an ethnic Tutsis who spelled out a lot about the situations during the genocide including how she escaped from the genocide. Fourth, this novel is also considered a representation of Rwanda in 1994 exactly how the genocide occurred. There are many political movements, fighting for power, the two ethnic groups build their existence in a country and compete with one another even though they live in peace but the ethnic differences sometimes caused a racism

and conflict. One of the important things the researcher used this novel as the object of the study is the educative value of this novel. This novel taught us how to face a scared and bloody accident and how to forgive everyone who involved in a conflict in our life.

This novel will be analyzed using conflict theory by Dahrendorf and also the social change that affected by the conflict. The conflict theory will help us to identify the conflict and also divided the conflict into some aspects. He divided the conflict into four aspects such as; two faces of society (conflict and consensus), power and authority, Quasi-Groups and Interest Groups, and Conflict and Social Change (Dahrendorf, 1959).

The theory of conflict by Dahrendorf begins with his research on the development of sociology where he found two problems: First, the condition of equilibrium in the social system that takes big attention. Second, the creation of the theory that makes the conclusion can be applied to increase the interest of small social systems such as community, business, and other small groups (Dahrendorf: 1959).

Dahrendorf conflict theory was believed as a reaction to structural functionalism theory, conflict theory is derived from the class theory explained by Marx and the thought of social conflict from Simmel (Wirawan, et.al, 2016). Structural functionalism theory believed that society consists of consensus or equilibrium between societies which states that the best change is the absence of change; this theory also ignores conflicts in society (Rahmaniah, 2016: 6). Marx



believed that society consists of two kinds of class bourgeois and proletarians. The bourgeois is from the capital class, owner of the property, and the wealthy. With the status quo, the bourgeois tried to defend the existing distribution of property. The proletarians are from the working class, they tried to attacks this status quo until someday its success and their interest become reality (Dahrendorf: 1959: 35). At the beginning of the chapter on conflict theory, Dahrendorf refutes a statement about the social life which said that the life of society was based on a consensus *omnium* (general agreement) or *volonte generale* (collective agreement). In this study, we use the theory of conflict due to the theoretical concepts: Two faces of society, power and authority, Quasi-Groups and Interest Groups and Conflict and Social Change by Dahrendorf appropriate with the topic in the novel *Led by Faith*. We also examine the social change as the effect of social conflict in the novel.

Social changes in society are caused by many factors, such as consensus and conflicts that occur in society. This research focused on social changes caused by the conflict in society. 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, especially in East Timor. 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.

The concept of social change is a process of increasing social complexity. The concept functions as a positive or a negative value. It also refers to the social

reality and also an expression characteristic of a certain mentality. Social change occurs both in the formal and informal structures of social groups (Landheer, 1960: 77).

Several previous studies have been conducted about conflict theory and research on the Rwandan Genocide. First, Singhan (2012) analyze the ethnic conflict of Rwandan genocide, the research used a conflict theory about social identity which focus on the identity of ethnicity in Rwanda before the genocide. Second, Putri (2016) analyzing a play *Marsinah: Nyanyian Dari Bawah Tanah* by Ratna Sarumpaet using Dahrendorf's conflict theory and Marx's class theory. It analyzing the upper and lower class cause of class conflict in the play. Third, Basid and Sari (2018) analyzing a novel *Mei Hwa dan Sang Pelintas Zaman* by Afifah Afra using conflict theory by Dahrendorf. The research focused on the social conflict of Ayu and Mei Hwa as the characters of the novel. Fourth, Suargita (2016) analyzing political conflict in *Saigo No Shōgun* using New Historicism by Peter Barry, genetic structuralism by Lucien Goldmann, and Ralf Dahrendorf conflict theory. The research found the political conflict that leads to Japan's political, social situation and economic were crisis due to the opening of Japan by a foreign nation. From those previous studies, this research has a different sense that focuses on the ethnic conflict and also the social change caused by the conflict. The conflict and social change theory also often use to the novel analyses. The novel *Led by Faith* as the true story that has a social background about the Rwandan genocide that caused by ethnic conflict was

seldom analyzed by conflict theory by Dahrendorf. Moreover, the novel was written by one of the survivors of the genocide.

### **B. Problems of the Study**

1. What is the conflict represented in the novel *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan Genocide* by Immaculée Ilibagiza?
2. What is the social change caused by the conflict as represented in the novel *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan Genocide* by Immaculée Ilibagiza?

### **C. Objectives of the Study**

1. To analyze the conflict represented in the novel *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan genocide* by Immaculée Ilibagiza.
2. To describe the social change caused by the conflict as represented in the novel *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan genocide* by Immaculée Ilibagiza.

### **D. Scope and Limitation**

The focus of this study concern on the analysis of conflict and the social change as the effect of conflict in the novel *Led by Faith*, using the theory of conflict by Ralf Dahrendorf where he had a certain point of conflict in the society such as Two faces of society, power and authority, Quasi-Groups and Interest Groups and Conflict and Social Change.

## **E. Significance of the Study**

This research will be seen from the theoretical and practical aspects. Theoretically, this study is expected to be an academic contribution in analyzing phenomena in a literary work especially in using the conflict theory by Dahrendorf. Practically, this study also expected to give more understanding of the literature student about the application of conflict theory in a novel. They also could use this result of the study as a comprehensive source to analyze a similar study about conflict theory and social change. It also focuses on the condition of society before and after the conflict occurred between them.

## **F. Definition of Key Terms**

To make the reader easy in understanding this study, we will explain some key terms of this study below:

### **1. Conflict**

Conflict epistemologically comes from the Latin word '*con*' which means together and '*fligere*' which means collision. Conflict means a dispute between two people or groups that causes violence or strife (Setiadi & Kolip, 2011). The social system of society has their interest, power, and how they achieve them with the domination of a group to the certain group (Dahrendorf, 1959).

## **2. Social Change**

Social change is a change that occurs in a society that includes culture, norms, values, phenomena, structures, systems due to the modification of internal and external patterns of society (Rosana, 2015: 75).

## **3. Rwanda Genocide 1994**

The most deathly situation in Rwanda that kills 800.000 people within 100 days, the conflict between two ethnics there are Hutu and Tutsi.

## **G. Research Method**

### **1. Research Design**

This research uses the literary criticism and sociological approach of literature. The literary criticism related to the questions of language, literature, writing, interpretation. It's also a critical response to a literary text that refers to the analysis of literary work, genres, literary movement, and studies of individual authors (Stevens, 2015: 16). The analysis using particular theories for a better understanding, literary criticism helps us to investigate many aspects from literary work such as historical aspect, explore the type of writing and many others (Stevens: 2015: 7 & 19).

Sociology of literature describes the relationship between literary works and society by understanding literary works by looking at and considering social aspects, understanding the dialectical relationship between literature and public

relations, as a background, discussing the totality of works related to it, and seeking to find between literature and society (Mursalim, 2019: 271).

## **2. Data Source**

This present research will only taken the data from the novel *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan genocide*. The data could be in the form of sentences or paragraphs related to the research topic in the novel.

## **3. Data Collection**

The data will take from the selected novel *Led by Faith*. In this study using the literature study method: reading the selected novel critically, taking some evidence related to the research topic, and looking for several sources such as books and journals relating to cases that occur in the novel.

## **4. Data Analysis**

This study will use descriptive analysis techniques. Describing some of the evidence from the object of research, then analyze it using perspective in research to provide an explanation (Putri, 2018: 3).

Those problems of the study will answer by doing two analysis of Dahrendorf perspective on social conflict and social change. There are: Two faces of society, power and authority, Quasi-Groups and Interest Groups and the Conflict and Social Change.

## H. Previous Studies

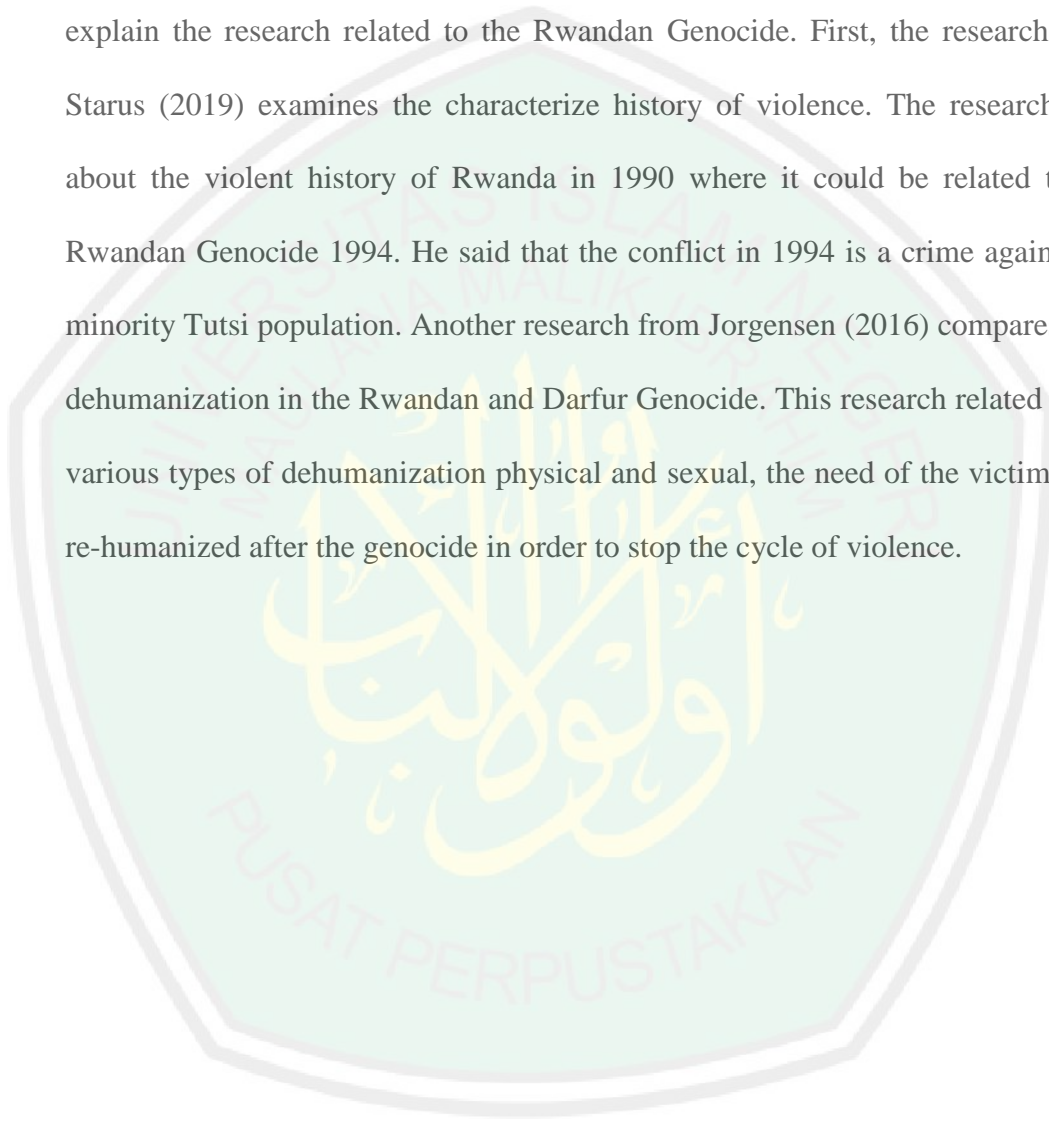
In this previous studies will show the application of the theory of conflict from the perspective of Rahl Dahrendorf in literary work, the study of social change in a novel, and previous research from the novel *Led by Faith* or related issue about the novel.

The application the theory of conflict by Ralf Dahrendorf was studied by some researchers: Putri (2018) use the theory of conflict to a novel, she analyzed four elements of conflict by Dahrendorf, two faces of society, the power and authority, Quasi-Groups and Interest Groups, and Conflict and Social Change. Another research from Iryawati (2017) uses the theory of conflict in the novel 3 Srikandi by Silvarani, the writer also mentions four aspects of theory conflict by Dahrendorf but she just uses three aspects from the theory, there is conflict and consensus, power and authority practice, and the group who involved in the conflict.

The social change study has been done by Fawziyah (2017), the research on the social change of Javanese people in the novel Suti by Sapardi Djoko Damono. This study uses the genetic structuralism approach which analyse the intrinsic and extrinsic aspect of the novel. The result of this study shows that there is a social change of Javanese people but without any conflict occurred. Another research from Dewi (2018) examining the conflict and social change on Kesumadadi Village in central Lampung, the conflict that occurred in

Kesumadadi village leaving social conditions that affect the culture, education, facilities, and structure.

Previous research from the novel is very difficult to find, but here will explain the research related to the Rwandan Genocide. First, the research from Starus (2019) examines the characterize history of violence. The research tells about the violent history of Rwanda in 1990 where it could be related to the Rwandan Genocide 1994. He said that the conflict in 1994 is a crime against the minority Tutsi population. Another research from Jorgensen (2016) compares how dehumanization in the Rwandan and Darfur Genocide. This research related to the various types of dehumanization physical and sexual, the need of the victim to be re-humanized after the genocide in order to stop the cycle of violence.





## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE

#### A. Sociological Approach of literature

Sociology of literature is a way of reading or an approach for understanding literary works through social phenomena (Wiyatmi, 2013: 1). Besides, sociology is a science that discusses the life of society about norms, relationships, social interaction, and the way of life. While the literary work itself is a work that was born from the society also presented by society. Damono (1978: 7) explains that sociology acts as an objective scientific analyzer, a novel that illustrates how humans experience society with their feelings. In this case, the literary work is also the author's worldview about social life. This understanding is related to the theory of genetic structuralism which analyzes literary works through genetic aspects (authors) or their origin (social views) (Wiyatmi, 2013: 124-125). Sociology of literature also has some participation to discuss literary works by linking literary works with social aspects.

The sociological approach of literature views that a literary work cannot be separated from the social aspects of society. It also interprets the author's intent to create literary works. Literary works are made with several specific objectives seen from what is based on the author's perspectives in the works they have created. Of course, we will observe the social aspects such as the condition of the author, life, and the environment and the time he spends to make literary works. The approach of the sociology of literature has several ways

that will be applied in a literary work. Damono (1978: 2-3) describes several sociological approaches of literature. According to Ian Watt, there are three types of approaches in literary sociology.

1. 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. The steps taken in the social context of author are:
  - a. First, see how the author gets his livelihood.
  - b. Second, the extent of the author considers his work as a profession.
  - c. Third, the relationship between the author and the society so that this approach also looks at what kind of society the author is aiming for.
2. Literature sees as a reflection of society. The steps taken for this approach are:
  - a. First, examine how literary works provide an overview of the society at the time the work was written.
  - b. Second, how the literary works are influenced by the personal nature of the author in describing society.
  - c. Third, see the genre of literature is considered to represent the community.
3. Examining the social function of literature, the steps used in examining the social function of literature are:
  - a. First, examine the function of literature in the development of society.
  - b. Second, examine literature as an entertainer.
  - c. Third, literature teaches something with entertaining.

Eagleton (2013: 469) also mentions 2 ways to use the sociology of literature. First, the epistemological sense of the term or realist. In this case, literature is a social product by connecting with facts that occur in society. However, according to Watt this is less than perfect, besides this is too general; the realist approach here is not very clear what is actually claimed. Second, the pragmatic analysis which considers that literature can be read in all kinds of contexts because it is formed by all kinds of factors. This approach is more rational because indeed literary works can be read with certain aspects.

Damono (1978: 18) also argues that there are two main approaches in the sociology of literature, but slightly different from Watt. The first is called positivism, where this approach examines literature as a reflection of society. In this approach, literature is related to geographical, racial, climate, political, philosophical, and some aspects related to society. In other words, literature consists of facts about society. The second approach is different from the first approach; this approach has a clear analysis. In this approach, the study of literature focuses on the values contained in literary works.

From the approaches mentioned above, one of the main approaches will be used in this research. An approach that examines literature as a reflection of society. This does not mean that literature as the reality of society, but only as a reflection of relativity. In other words, the reflection here is only a picture of the reality of a certain period.

## **B. The theory of conflict by Dahrendorf**

Conflict is the process of struggle between opposing forces to fulfil their own interest. The conflict could be a dispute of opinion between individuals or groups. Conflict is also part of the community; the conflict in community life 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.

Social conflict is all the relationships between groups of people who have different interests and different goals. Both parties that compete with each other to achieve their respective goals may have gone through several processes of violence rivalry such as civil war, controversy, aggression and so on. (Dahrendorf, 1959: 135-136).

The theory of conflict by Dahrendorf begins from Marx's perspective about the social class by Marx. It was proven by how Dahrendorf explains some acceptance and rejection of Marx on Dahrendorf's book *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. Dahrendorf wrote down his opinion on "Das Capital" by Marx especially in chapter 52 Volume III before he introduces his theory about the conflict in the next chapter.

Social conflicts or conflicts that occur between groups or classes connect the structure of authority and association (Dahrendorf, 1959: 238). It means that Dahrendorf explained that the structure of authority has an important role in the

existence of the conflict. The authority structure here acts as the seat contested by individuals or groups involved in the conflict. The groups involved in this conflict were eventually referred to as interest groups.

There are five factors of the intensity of class conflict:

1. The intensity of class disagreement decreases to some degree when class organizations emerge.
2. The intensity of class conflict decreases to a certain extent when the class conflict in different (and non-overlapping) unions is separate.
3. The intensity of class conflict decreases to a certain extent when disagreements of different groups in the same society have been separated (and not overlapping).
4. The intensity of class conflict decreases to a certain extent when the distribution of authority, rewards, and facilities in the association is separated (and not overlapping).
5. The intensity of class conflict decreases to a certain extent when classes are open (and not overlapping).

In addition, conflicts that occurred between groups affect structural changes in an association where conflicts occur; this structural change has an important role in the intensity of class conflict (Dahrendorf, 1996: 240).

The society is not an organization that flawless and functionally, it is not a social system or the social static factory. They changed over time substantially or structurally. The conflict between society makes them change into the new

perception so that why it calls 'There is no improvement without conflict: this is the law that has been followed by humans until now'. This statement from Marx criticize by Dahrendorf, from the words 'until now' means that this law may be later not applicable. and he said that Marx has been undermining its sociological value by adding a rather plausible Helegian philosophy, Marx's philosophy is not the same with the theory of modern sociology (Dahrendorf, 1959: 26-27).

The theory of conflict by Dahrendorf then divided into four parts:

1. Two faces of Society (Conflict and Consensus)

According to Dahrendorf, 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 pressure from interests and coercion (Wibowo, 2010).

The two faces of society where Dahrendorf focused on two aspects (Conflict and Consensus) at the consensus, it 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 caused by between the interest and use of power, 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.
- d. Each function of the social structure is based on consensus on values among its members.

From those four basic thoughts we can conclude that this theory said that there is no society without conflict and consensus. But there is no conflict if there was a consensus before (Dahrendorf, 1959: 161).

## 2. Power and authority

According to Dahrendorf, 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 Herrschaft 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)

### 3. 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

### 4. 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) explained two factors that influence social change in society; there are Exogenous and Endogenous factors. Exogenous and structures are 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. While endogenous is internal factors that influenced by their own units. These changes resulted by social changes between organized groups or between unorganized mass representatives.

### **C. The Function of Social Conflict**

The conflict between classes that consist of conflicting groups has a social assumption about the effect that has been expected before. In this part, Dahrendorf used two-aspect from R Dublin about the function of social conflict.

1. It might be viewed as destructive on stability because the stability considered a good thing it's terrible to damage it.
2. It might be viewed as the fact that indicates destruction to social control.

The existence of social conflict has an important impact on the social process. This statement based on what have discussed by Dahrendorf about Two-Face of Society (consensus and conflict). The consensus gave a contribution to the

integrity of the social system and the conflict caused a social change in society (Dahrendorf, 1959: 206).

The social conflict is not the only function as the stability on the social relation, but it also has a negative impact such as the damage on the consensus between societies, clash value, interest, the strained situation between the conflicting groups. The conflicting group that consists of the interest groups demanded to take part in power, status, and welfare. Dahrendorf believes that the conflicting social between groups or individuals create creativity, new finding, and individual life advancement. Based on what Dahrendorf explains about the social conflict, we conclude that social conflict gives a positive and negative contribution to social change. Dahrendorf still believed that the social conflict between groups or individuals produced a social change in society. (Dahrendorf, 1959: 206-207)

#### **D. The Social Change**

Dahrendorf (1959: 231) assumed that the social change within society caused by conflict social. The social change that has explained by Dahrendorf focused on structural change. The structural change might be from inside or outside the structure and the structural change means the change the holder of domination 'position' into a new one. The holder of position here also as the authority (who had a legal order) holder, the one who has authority here then creates a change including the structural change in society, and it's a chance to fulfil their interest (Dahrendorf, 1959: 232).

The holder of domination position is not only coming from the elite or arbiter class but the structural change is also having an important role (Dahrendorf, 1959: 232). There are three ways of changing the social structure:

1. Total change, the holder of domination position changed totally in one association. For example, the cabinet minister, high state official, and other political officials suddenly change such as the Bolshevik revolution in Russia or known as the October revolution (Dahrendorf, 1959: 232).
2. Partial change, this way is a partial change of personal holder of domination position and it tends to the evolution rather than revolution. This change showed when the ruling party decided to make a coalition with the oppositional party that smaller than the ruling party. For example, the election of government results in the partial exchange of government personnel, such as the change of cabinet minister but the diplomats and a high official from the majority party previously remained in their positions. (Dahrendorf, 1959: 232-233).
3. Structural change through the class conflict, this way of change does not cause personal exchange because the structural change that exists didn't let anyone from the submission groups in the domination position. The majority and opposition remain stable but the majority party incorporates the interest of oppositional group on their proposal of policies and legislation. This change happened in the country, church, industry, and other unions. This

change that ultimately dominates the opposing interest of the rebellion.  
(Dahrendorf, 1959: 233).



## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS

This analysis aims to explain the conflict and social change represented in the novel Immaculée Ilibagiza's *Led by Faith: Rising from the Ashes of the Rwandan genocide*. The analysis will be divided into two parts: the first part will be the identification of conflict represented in the novel. The second part will be explaining the social change caused by the conflict.

#### A. Conflict Represented in Immaculée Ilibagiza's *Led by Faith*

Conflict in the society is caused by two opposing forces who tried to fulfil their interest. Every conflict between two opposing forces is only distinguished in two sets of positions, the domination and defeated (Dahrendorf, 1959). The heuristics purpose in conflict studies is to explain social changes such as structural changes and integration and relation in society. In this research, several findings that are compatible with Dahendorf's conflict theory have been found, including two aspects of society, power and authority, quasi-group and group interest, and conflict and social change (in part B). Some of these findings are taken from the research object, the novel *Led by Faith* by Immaculée Ilibagiza.

##### 1. Two aspects of Society (Conflict and Consensus)

In the first stage, there are two faces of society which include conflict and consensus. In the conflict section, we found several types of conflicts, conflicts between ethnic groups, conflicts between individuals, and conflicts between

groups and organizations. In the consensus section, we find some evidence of consensus, a peace agreement, UNDP's Meeting (United Nations Development Programme), and Ilibagiza's planning to escape from the genocide.

#### a. Ethnic Conflict

Before we discuss the conflict let me introduce the ethnicity in Rwanda. Rwanda is a small country in Africa and it has more than eight million population so that why Rwanda become the most densely populated and poorest country in the world.

Actually, there are three kinds of ethnic in Rwanda, Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. They lived peacefully before Belgian colonialism finally makes an ethnic identity card. The conflicting groups are Hutu and Tutsi because Twa is only 1 percent of the population in Rwanda (Sagall, 2013: 223).

*"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 ethnic lived together although they were different ethnic groups. They also share each other and spoke the same language. The data above showed that Hutu and Tutsi ethnic have no conflict before, but why then these two ethnic groups lived within the conflict?

*"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)*

Before colonialism, Rwanda was once as 'Kingdom of Rwanda' and the leader of Rwanda called Mwami (King) until in 1961 the monarchy was abolished and it turned into the 'Republic of Rwanda'. Grêgoire Kayibanda as a pioneer of the Rwandan Revolution, he fights for defeating Belgium colonialism and raise the Rwandan independence. He replaced the Tutsi monarchy in government into Hutu's majority power and he became the first president in Rwanda. Grêgoire Kayibanda is ousted in 1973 because of the military coup d'état leads by Juvénal Habyarimana (Carney, 2014, p.8). In the reign of Habyarimana or also called the dictatorial regime, a lot of killings were carried out between ethnic groups. In 1990 when the RPF carried out attacks from exile, the regime began killing around 2,000 Tutsi civilians until 1993. Three years before the genocide, between 25 January 1991 and February 1991, the massacre was carried out against a group of Tutsi known as Bagogwe. Around 300-1000 people were killed in the brutal action. Habyarimana himself was also involved in this massacre and he chaired a meeting that organized the massacre at Bagogwe (Verwimp. 2006, p.32-34). Verwimp in his thesis believed that the Genocide had been planned well in advance and through some brutal actions that were a sign of Genocide.

Hutu-Tutsi lived peacefully before Belgian comes to Rwanda, but colonialism exactly has the interest to come to a certain country. One of the hidden interests might want to take over authority in Rwanda. By supporting the existing monarchy as a partner, the Belgian might be wanted to identify what is

the weakness of the Rwandan government. I suggest the '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. I conclude that the ethnic conflict that had been happened in Rwanda before the genocide as the cover of colonial interest.

*“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 action in the conflict, this action it 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 if the identity card showed was Tutsi they will be 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).*

Although they lived in peace for several years, the invasion triggered a civil war between the Tutsis and Hutus in 1990 made them separated. 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. She also notices that there is no selfish intolerance after the Nazi and Jewish cases other than the Hutus and Tutsi cases in Rwanda. 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 the executed 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.

*President Habyarimana had been killed when his plane was shot down during the night while returning from peace talks. Within the hour, Hutu extremists set their carefully laid plans for genocide in motion. The killing started immediately in Rwanda's capital, Kigali; any Tutsis or Hutu moderates who might have hindered the launch of the holocaust were dragged from their homes and executed in the streets with their families (P.7).*

Juvenal Habyarimana was the president in Rwanda in 1973-1994 and he was a Hutu, of course, we know that the Genocide was in 1994. The information said that the history of the Rwandan Genocide begins with the death of Habyarimana. From some dictatorial actions carried out under the leadership of the Habyarimana, we know that this regime is trying to maintain the ethnic Hutu Rwandan government. The death of Habyarimana divisive the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi, within an hour after the death of Habyarimana extremist Hutu began to move, this proves that genocide was secretly planned long beforehand, it cannot be denied if the death of Habyarimana was the cause of genocide and also very possible if the Habyarimana had an important role before the genocide, in other words, he was involved in genocide.

*Death squads immediately sprang up in our village as well, and the slaughter of our Tutsi friends and neighbours began. The Interahamwe set homes on fire and hacked entire families to death with machetes as they tried to escape the flames (P.7).*

The paragraph above explained how the killers who exploited Tutsis. This inter-ethnic conflict involves two Hutu Tutsi tribes whose killers are dominant Hutu and victims are Tutsi and Hutu moderate. This conflict showed us how terrible the ethnic conflict in Rwanda. This situation also told us what will happen if we don't tolerate the differences such as ethnicity, race, religion, and others.

*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” (P.9).*

This evidence showed that the brutal action was done undisguised in Rwanda. This murder was also indiscriminate, as long as they met was Tutsi they had to kill him. They were even ordered to kill their wife or husband who is from Tutsi. Neighbours, friends, family, that have been living with them must be killed for only one reason, they are Tutsi.

*“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.” (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 Hutus who had usurped Tutsi power and occupied many political seats in Rwanda. This action proves that the Hutu was utilizing their authority to win in the conflict with the Tutsi.

*“Although he was a Hutu, Pastor Murinzi had been a family friend for many years, and he did agree to hide me.”*

*“Pastor Murinzi agreed to hide six Tutsis - myself, a woman and two of her daughters, and two other girls – in a tiny, seldom-used bathroom at the far end of his bathroom. Here, he was able to keep us concealed from the killers, his servants, and even his own family. Two other women joined us later in a room that measured about four feet by three feet, and we were squeezed together so tightly that we could hardly breathe” (P.8-9).*

Pastor Murinzi was a moderate Hutus who condemned the killing of Tutsis. Moderate Hutus are from ethnic Hutus who disagree on the massacre of the Tutsi ethnic group, they are also as targets of the killers. Besides that, the moderate Hutu also hid his family who was ethnic Tutsis. It is very risky for moderate Hutu who hides the Tutsis in their homes because they will be watched day and night. Other Hutus who joined against the killing will become predators of friends and family who are ethnic Tutsi or moderate Hutus.

*“Since the pastor had given us strict orders not to talk to one another, fearing that we might be overheard, we barely spoke a word for three months. Yet we had no trouble hearing the crazed monsters outside as they circled the village, chanting while they hunted Tutsi: “Kill them! Kill them! Kill them all! Kill the old and kill the small! Kill every last cockroach!” (P.9).*

*“For the next 91 days, those seven ladies and I huddled atop each other in that cramped little space while the killers rampage outside” (P.9).*

The killings of Tutsis and Hutu moderates in 100 days, within 3 months the killers were able to kill many Tutsis and moderate Hutus. As mentioned above, the author of this novel survived the genocide because she was hidden by a Hutu priest in a cramped bathroom containing 7 women. After 91 days, they stayed in that place without talking to each other because the killers walked around the priest's house. It is very tragic, 7 people have to snuggle in a cramped place and do nothing even they could not talk to one another. It will be worse if they are found by the killers, they will be killed cruelly.

*“Then there were the victims, for which the count kept going up: at first it was set at 200,000, then 500,000... finally, it would end up at more than a million*

*dead. More than a million innocent Tutsi men, women, and children had been murdered! They had been killed by machete, spear, fire, and gun. They had been brought down by clubs, tortured with knives, and sexually assaulted with broken bottles. The methods were as low-tech as they were efficient and cruel. But no matter how death came to them, my immediate family was all dead and gone, as were countless Tutsi neighbors, relatives, and friends” (P.15).*

The massacre caused by ethnic conflict is an attack mostly carried out by ordinary people. Unlike some other issues such as in Syria where the majority of the perpetrators are from the military member. The killing methods they use are just patch up tools that allow killing bias such as broken bottles, knives, machetes, spears, and others. The killers will not discriminate, as long as they are from the Tutsis, no matter they were women, children, or even men will be cruelly killed.

*“Father Bugingo told me how Interahamwe had forced its way into his church and murdered every Tutsi parishioner. He was able to survive through the kindness of an elderly Belgian nun who risked her life to hide him in her ceiling. There was a price on the priest’s head because he was such a respected Tutsi, and the Interahamwe hunted him night and day. But with God’s help, he managed to walk several miles to safety without being seen by the killers. He, too, would learn that his family – his parents, sisters, and nieces – had all died in the slaughter” (P.36).*

The killers even killed people in the church, they slaughtered everyone who is from Tutsi ethnic, no matter they were respectful people. Even the murder of the Tutsi religious figure has its own price, for those who kill him will get a big reward. This also shows that conflicts between ethnic groups didn't see what are they religion, but as long as they are from the ethnic Tutsis they will be slaughtered. Religion is not a prominent issue in this conflict. Ethnic conflict is the only reason they have to kill someone they meet if they were from Tutsis ethnic.

*“There was no way to ignore the horrible things that had been done to my people – pretending to be somewhere else wouldn’t take me away from the bombed-out or half-burned houses that comprised the new architecture of Kigali. If I dared to look inside the crumbling buildings, I’d likely find the bodies*

*of an entire rotting on the floor. As it was, I occasionally had to step over dismembered limbs lying in the road, and I'd see soldiers shooting at dogs that were feeding on human remains."*

After the massacre, corpses scattered on the ground, the city of Kigali was like a horror city, crowded with corpses from the victims of genocide. Buildings collapsed and burned like they had been hit by an earthquake or tsunami. The conflict in Rwanda like the doomsday, everything is destroyed including human and their homes. It is very difficult to rise from such a scary place; there will be various effects for human psychology such as trauma and other effects.

*"The dead had become such a health risk to the living that the government declared an official body-removal day – businesses shut down, and everyone was supposed to meet in groups to help carry the corpses to disposal trucks. I'd seen too many bodies by then, so I chose instead to spend the day on my knees, praying for the souls of the deceased" (P.16-17).*

The corpses scattered on the ground become a threat to living humans. Health risks for them because there are too many corpses scattered. They are such garbage that is cleaned and transported to a dump truck. Whatever conflicts occur between societies, violence must be anticipated to prevent the worst things for the community itself. This ethnic conflict is very difficult to find the solution if the two parties do not want to share the power, authority, and various other aspects.

*"Jeanette was the first of many Rwandans I would meet who'd been pushed to the edge of madness by their emotional wounds. My friend was pretty, she looked healthy, and she could feed herself, which was so much more than tens of thousands of other men and women in our country could hope for. The hospitals were overflowing with the maimed and dismembered and were lucky to find bandages to dress the wounds of severed limbs, let alone get drugs to treat psychiatric problems. There were virtually no nurses or doctors of any kind in the country-certainly no mental-health therapists" (P.54).*

This massacre damages human psychology, it also happens to people who experienced violence, or witnesses of violence will also experience mental disorders. They are emotionally and physically injured, even it becomes worse if

there were not many nurses or doctors who took care of them. So they used makeshift tools to clean or bandage their wounds. Even psychiatric therapy will not be obtained; they must face it their way.

*“People were starving, living in squalor in vast tent cities that had been set up all over the country. In truth, the camps for these individuals, who were known as “internal refugees,” were placed by Jeanette and the thousands like her whose minds couldn’t deal with the horror didn’t even register on the scales of our nation’s troubles” (P.54).*

Psychological disorders and physical injuries experienced by the survivor, they even experience hunger. Their destroyed and burned houses forced them to live in camps filled with violence and rape. They suffer and face mental disorders like what has happened to the author's best friend, Jeanette. The conflicts that led to the massacre give a bad impression for anyone who experiences it. They will also remember it for the rest of their life and not able to forget it.

*“The number of refugees was almost too large to comprehend: two million Hutus, all afraid for their lives. Their fear was stoked by the retreating killers, who convinced Hutu peasant and farmers that remaining in Rwanda was suicide – Hutu men would be tortured, Hutu boys castrated, and Hutu women and girls raped and mutilated. They create a panic and mass hysteria among ordinary Hutus across the country. When villagers responded to the killers’ fear mongering by abandoning their huts and heading for Zaire’s border, the Interahamwe followed them at a distance, firing their weapons into the air to dupe the terrorized mob into thinking that merciless Tutsi rebels were right behind them. The killer herder the Hutu crowd together and propelled it forward as though they were managing a cattle drive” (P. 60).*

The Hutu are now fears of Tutsis revenge. They thought that Tutsi would launch attacks on their homes. But apparently, it was the only provocation of the killers or Interahamwe who use the name Tutsi to execute them. This ethnic conflict is now given the effect of revenge on each other. The situation that was provoked by the Interahamwe makes the conflict takes quite a long time to re-establish the normal situation.

*“By the time the refugees entered Zaire, the Hutus had to run out food and water and began dying by the thousand – they perished from starvation, and illness. One Cholera outbreak alone killed 50,000 Hutus (mostly the children and elderly) in just few weeks” (P. 62).*

Not only the Interahamwe chase the Hutu exoduses, but Cholera also killed them because they ran out of food and starved. The effect of this ethnic slaughter is even more severe, even a virus outbreak that occurred after the genocide was able to kill 50,000 Hutus. According to the World Health Organization, Cholera is a serious disease caused by consuming food or drink that contains the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*. In countries that experience conflict until the slaughter, hunger due to food often occurs. So that this causes several other deaths such as those caused by hunger or consuming unhealthy foods.

*“Being a genocide survivor was dangerous in Rwanda. Thousands of killers continued to live freely in villages across the country, and each one knew that all it would take to send them to prison – or condemn them to death – was for a survivor to accuse them of participating in the slaughter” (P. 161).*

Rwandan government makes the judgment for the killers after the genocide. Some survivors of the genocide testified who was involved in the genocide. Survivors will be threatened by assassins who go to prison after they testified. The survivors were not even free to walk around the house because the killers are walking around and might kill if they see survivors who have testified in court.

During the conflict, many people left Rwanda. They escaped before the conflict or before the genocide happen. Other people also escaped during the genocide and after the genocide, they were afraid of the massacre. Hutu ethnic who involved in genocide even the innocent people were targeted by Interahamwe after the genocide of the Tutsis ended.



*“The entire Hutu exodus that had left our nation three years before seemed to be returning in an enormous surge. A line of refugees 180 miles long twisted across Zaire toward the Rwandan border, and so many of them were emaciated, sick, and ragged. The sides of the road were strewn with the bodies of the old and very young who’d simply dropped dead from the exertion. The view from my office window was disturbing as well, as the streets of Kigali were filling with Hutu refugees” (P.166).*

After Rwanda was reported secure, Hutu refugees from every direction returned to Rwanda. The refugees are from Zaire, they did not look fine and many of them affected by genocide experienced a bad situation. As the paragraph explains above, the refugees looked sick and many of them died from exhaustion. Those who lost their property also experienced hunger, thinness, and pain.

*“A few weeks after the horde of refugees spilled out of Zaire, the Tanzanian government closed down the Hutu refugee camps in its country. Another half-million homeless Hutus returned to Rwanda from different direction, and this time the influx was even faster. The number of Hutu refugees coming into Rwanda in those few short weeks nearly equalled the size of the entire Tutsi population! Then question was: would they settle peacefully, or would there be a new revolution and another bloody conflict?” (P. 166).*

Not only Zaire, but Tanzania also closed Rwandan refugee camps. Then Rwanda has flooded with refugees again. There is no explanation of why the Tanzanian government closed Hutu refugee camps in the country. One conclusion that can be drawn from this incident is that it may be the Tanzanian government thought that it is time for them to return to their country. Other aspects such as the return of refugees from Zaire which may also affect Hutu refugees in Tanzania to be returned to Rwanda. But things are just a few possibilities. The authors of this novel even say whether they left peacefully or there were some other bloody actions so they returned to Rwanda. It still doesn't tell the truth.

*“The prison was a dark fortress that I went out of my way to avoid. Whenever I passed within earshot of the enormous redbrick monstrosity – which looked like a blood-drenched tombstone jutting out of Avenue de la Justice – I always heard screaming. Nearly 8,000 Hutu prisoners for a quarter of that number. There*

*were old men and boys as young as 11 or 12 living in the same filthy quarters, forced to fight for food and defend themselves from jailhouse thieves, thugs, and sexual predators” (P. 168).*

Ethnic conflict in Rwanda that led to the massacre is known as the fastest murder in the world. In 100 days estimated more than 800,000 ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus are killed. The ethnic Hutu who was involved in the genocide now terminate in jail. There are children as young as 11 years old until old men. The place did not seem okay because there was very crowded, its more than 8,000 Hutu prisoners.

*“The clash of cultures between the native Tutsis and the Tutsi returnees often sparked arguments and even physical fights. There were endless misunderstandings, because even when we surmounted the language barrier, there was the body-language barrier – the hand gestures we used, the type of eye contact we made, the way we laughed, and even the way we walked were different for every group, sometimes disturbingly so. We were all related, but we were strangers to each other” (P.66).*

Not only the conflict between ethnics that caused the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, but also the conflict between the same ethnic groups happens after the Genocide. The conflict is between native Tutsi and Tutsi returnees. If the ethnic differences between Tutsis and Hutus are distinguished by identity cards, the difference between native Tutsis and Tutsi returnees tend to the culture, body language, and others. Ethnics who are under the name of one name of ethnic usually have the same activity that they were done together, as we have already discussed that Dahrendorf explained that a group is a gathering of people who have the same habits and do it together. There is a misunderstanding between Tutsi in Rwanda and Tutsi refugees in the way they speak and their body languages. When this similarity has seen some differences, it cannot be denied

that there will be a conflict between the two even though they are under the same group name.

### **b. Individual Conflict**

*“The rift between John and me was something I often saw in Rwanda after the genocide. Some Hutus would just as soon have put the past behind them and act as if the holocaust had never happened, which only inflamed Tutsi resentment and anger.*

*“You love this thing more than you love me!” John yelled one evening when he’d come to see me at the UN. He grabbed my hand roughly, pried the breads from my fingers, and continued, “Maybe if I get rid of it, you’ll run out of reasons not to marry me.” And he walked away with my most prized possession” (P.127-128).*

The conflict between John and Immaculée, they are Hutu-Tutsi lovers who are involved in ethnic conflict. Before the genocide they dated, but after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, they often argued about the past upon them. John asks Immaculée to forget what happened to her and her family and marry John, John as a Hutu and Immaculée as a Tutsi, and it will not be easy for them to marry in the situation after the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi. According to Dahrendorf, the conflict happened between different interests that tried to achieve their respective goals. John as a Hutu tried to forget everything about the holocaust that the dominant killers are from Hutus. While Immaculée as a Tutsi tried to avoid any possibilities that make other Tutsis thought that she was a traitor by meeting John.

### **c. Group conflict**

*“Get out of Rwanda! UN, go home! Run away and desert us like you did during the genocide! UN, go home. Leave our women alone! UN, get out; run away home!” “Sorry, too many demonstrators to drive today,” (P.112-113).*

Conflict between United Nations and demonstrators in Rwanda. The demonstrators condemned the UN to get out from Rwanda because they didn't do anything when the Genocide happened. The UN even withdrew almost the entire force when the genocide was begun. If the UN did anything or separate them, the strife, violence, and murder between the two ethnicities will not happen, the victims might not be as many as imagined. Rwandans hate the UN because they don't do their job and they even do demonstrations and demand them to get out of Rwanda.

The consensus was revealed in the novel, the data is quiet long because the process shows many consideration or opinion between people who involved in the consensus. The consensuses are explained below:

#### **d. Peace Agreement**

*“Besides, the Hutu president was signed a peace accord with the Tutsi rebel agreeing to share power and let the exiles back into Rwanda” (P.6)*

According to this data, there was a peace agreement in Rwanda before the genocide in April 1994. The peace agreement here didn't mentioned by the author. This analysis will explain how the Arusha accords were created, because this studies only taken the data from the novel. The peace agreement between the Hutu government and the Tutsi rebels in Rwanda known as RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front). After 2 years of the Habyarimana regime, the Arusha Accords are formed. This was a negotiation launched in June 1992 regarding the resolution of the conflict that had taken place in Rwanda. On August 4, 1993, this agreement was signed in Arusha Tanzania by the Government of Rwanda (GoR) and the

Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). The UN (United Nations) produced a peace agreement on the power division between them (Tarr, 2015, p.1). According to Cannon (2015, p.50), The agreement in Arusha Accords claimed that the President of Rwanda would provide an opportunity for Tutsi to have a position in government but the extremist Hutu who is anti-Tutsi reject that policy and didn't want Tutsi in government. After the Arusha Accords, Habyarimana and Ntiriyamira (President of Burundi) were both Hutu ethnicities shot-down and dead at Kigali Airport on April 6, 1994. The Hutu accused the Tutsis who did, the Hutu extremists inciting retaliation to Tutsi until the Rwandan Genocide occurred (Sagall, 2013, p.238).

The existence of this consensus is to prevent the conflict between Tutsis and Hutus continuously, such as the genocide. As explained in the conflict section, Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana was shot dead at the airport and the Hutus claimed that it was Tutsi, so genocide broke out even though initially there was consensus between the two groups.

**e. UNDP's Meeting (United Nation Development)**

*There was a dozen coordinators from half a dozen African nations in the room when Coulibaly walked in and requested proposals, saying, "So, let's hear what you've all got. Who wants to go first?"*

*"I have an idea, sir,"*

*"Okay, Immaculée, what have you got?"*

*"Um, well, I thought it would be nice if the volunteers spent the day at Mother Teresa's orphanage right here in Kigali. There are 200 boys and girls living there whose parents were killed in the genocide, or whose mothers were raped during the war. I thought we could start by taking food and drinks to the kids and- "*

*“Forget it, we don’t do orphans,” Kokou Interrupted. “People are coming here from all over the continent to work on a development project. That is what we do here- international development. This is the UNDP, not a babysitting service.”*

*“You have a nice idea Immaculée, but Kokou is right about the development aspect.” Coulibaly said sympathetically.*

*“Well, look at my proposal”*

*“That’s not our job,” he said flatly.*

*“Yes, it is; that’s exactly our job,” argued Joelle “We are a humanitarian relief agency before anything else. Immaculée’s right- who needs more relief than the orphans of genocide?”*

*“She’s also right about our mandate,” Martine added. “Everything in this proposal is part of a program we support. And she has the whole day planned out with a complete itinerary ready to go. I think it’s a perfect idea.”*

*“You might be onto a really good idea here,” Coulibaly told me, beaming with pride. “I think everyone here is going to go for it, even Kokou. Send the proposal off to headquarters in Germany. If they approve it, then we’re going to the orphanage.” (P.140-143)*

The next consensus happened during a meeting at UNDP (United Nations Development Program). The meeting discussed the program that will be held in commemorating International Volunteer Day (IVD). As an organization, any decision in running a program should be discussed together with all members. One of the programs was proposed by Immaculée and opposed by Kokou.

Immaculée and Kokou dispute their arguments with each other, but then the other members tried to take into consideration about the proposed program. Then, Coulibaly who had power in that organization end that discussion. He tried to take the major vote because there is no other idea that was prepared before except Immaculée’s proposal, besides the major vote was agreed to her. This consensus also tried to avoid conflict between Kokou and Immaculée that was deliberation among members. The decision making in the evidence above is included in the consensus explained by Dahrendorf..

## f. Planning to Escape from the Genocide

*“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 sticks 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.” (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 genocide 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 as the target in the Genocide.

## 2. Power and Authority

This part will discuss the power and authority exists in the novel. There are two types of power practices that have been found in this novel, parents and Hutu extremists. In the authority practices, it was found in the novel, it was carried out by government officials who were then dominant Hutu and chief of UNDP (United Nations Development) and Rwandan government.

### a. Power practice from parents

*“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” (P.6).*

Power practice has done by Immaculée's father, Leonard. As a father, he has the right to give orders to Immaculée and all of his children. Damascene wanted to run away to avoid genocide, but his father forbids them to run because his father knew better about Hutus and Tutsis lived peacefully and there was also a peace agreement between the dominant Hutu government and the Tutsi rebels. His father assumed that Damascene knew nothing about ethnic issues, so he used his parental authority to prevent him from running away from Rwanda.

*“Look, at me. I can hardly breathe. Are you trying kill me?” my mother asked dramatically, clutching her chest. “Are my own sons trying to kill me? Promise me you will never become soldiers and go off to get shot. Promise me!” (P.68).*

The authority practice also done by the mother, Rose she has power over her children to determine what they have to do and what they shouldn't do. At that time Damascene wanted to join the RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front) but his



mother forbids him because he thought that the RPF was a rebel group and he also forbade his son to risk his life.

#### **b. Hutu extremists**

*“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'.

#### **c. Government Officials (Hutu Dominat)**

*“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” (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.”” (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 Hutus who had usurped Tutsi power and occupied many political seats in Rwanda. So how the Hutu then become the dominant power that has an authority in Rwanda?

It answered by the colonialism in Rwanda that influence the dominant power in that country.

The colonialism in Rwanda influenced the political chair, from Germany until Belgium Tutsi becomes the dominant power in the government. It proved at the end of Belgian rule in 1959 with the number of Tutsi in government 43 chiefs out of 45 as well as 549 out of 559 sub-chiefs (Sagall, 2013, P.224). Hutu opposed the Tutsi monarchy because they didn't give any access to the education and gained political chair in Rwanda. In the 1950s the Hutu had 85 percent of the population in Rwanda and Belgium began to support the Hutus and it was very surprising. In 1957 the Hutu movement demanded education for Hutus and the opportunity to support political chair but it was refused until 1959. Finally, Hutu formed a civil war that eventually overthrew the Tutsi Kingdom and they appointed Grêgoire Kayibanda as the new leader in Rwanda. The domination of Hutu ethnic finally called 'Hutu Power' (Sagall, 2013, p.228).

#### **d. Chief of UNDP (United Nation Development)**

*"You might be onto a really good idea here," Coulibaly told me, beaming with pride. "I think everyone here is going to go for it, even Kokou. Send the proposal off to headquarters in Germany. If they approve it, then we're going to the orphanage." (P.140-143)*

The practice of authority was also done by Coulibaly as chairman of UNDP; he has the right to any decisions that would be taken in the organization. With his position as chairman, he has authority over everything for all members will do at UNDP. It was very clear when Coulibaly had made the decision and the

member inevitably had to approve it because Coulibaly holds the legal orders for any program at UNDP.

#### **e. Rwandan Government**

*“We just had our monthly civic-cleanup day,” Aimable explained,*

*“A few weeks ago the government passed a law to keep Kigali clean. They banned the use of plastic bags because they were cluttering up the city, and everybody had to take a day off work to pick up garbage. You should have seen it, Immaculée! Doctors, teachers, farmers, taxi drivers... everybody was out in the streets working together, trying to make the country beautiful! Everything is changing,” he said excitedly. (P.196-197)*

The government's legitimate authority was also done by the Rwandan government after the genocide in Rwanda regarding the law in Kigali. After the genocide in Rwanda, there must have been many new regulations by the government to prevent the problems that might be happening. It is also important to increase the economic backwardness of the people in Rwanda, and also cleanliness in Rwanda which was once called the most populated country in the world because of its population increased after the genocide. Regulation by a government is a legal regulation issued by a government agency that has authority over the rules of the Rwandan community.

### **3. The Groups Involved in the Conflict**

The next part highlights the groups or individual involved in the conflict. For the groups that involved in the conflict, Dahrendorf (1959) divided two kinds of groups there are Quasi-group and Interest group. The quasi-group consist of demonstrators and Hutu extremist. While the interest group consists of Belgian

Colonial, Rwandese Patriotic Front, Interahamwe, Hutu Executive in Rwandan Government, and the United Nations.

**a. Quasi-Groups**

*“Just then, the windshield of the minibus shattered, and a metallic ping 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.

*“President Habyarimana had been killed when his plane was shot down during the night while returning from peace talks. Within the hour, Hutu extremists set their carefully laid plans for genocide in motion. The killing started immediately in Rwanda’s capital, Kigali; any Tutsis or Hutu moderates who might have hindered the launch of the holocaust were dragged from their homes and executed in the streets with their families” (P.7).*

Hutu Extremists belong to the quasi-group, where the word extremist refers to the group that demands something and people who exceed the limits of habit. They are a group of ethnic Hutus who are pro against the slaughter of the Tutsis. While there are also Hutu moderates who do not support the brutal actions that have been done by Hutu extremists. In that paragraph, it is explained how moderate Hutu arranged a strategy to move the genocide after Habyarimana was

shot and died at Kigali airport. They belong to quasi-groups, which have hidden interests, and without the aegis of the organization, do not have a legal structure, and programs that have been organized.

#### **b. Interest Group**

*“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)*

*“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.” (P.4).*

As colonizers, Belgium is certainly an interest group as they come to Rwanda. Although it is not directly referred to as a conflicting group, the paragraph above shows that they have masterminded behind the conflict between two groups. He used the dominant power to control Rwanda, the first time they came to Rwanda that was originally controlled by Tutsi, they supported the Tutsi monarchy. But after Tutsi demanded independence he supported ethnic Hutus to attack Tutsi. Belgium Colonizers called interest groups because it is very possible that before they arrived in Rwanda, they already have certain members, clear objectives, and certain interests.

*“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).*

During the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in 1979, the Government of the Republic of Rwanda (2008) stated that Rwanda refugees in exile formed a movement called the Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU) to fight

political divisions and ideology of genocide. This alliance finally becomes RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front) in 1987. The objectives of RPF such as to build a true democracy, peaceful for all Rwandans, build social prosperity for Rwandans and etc. 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.

*“The government, which became a virtual dictatorship after a 1973 coup by Juvénal Habyarimana, refused such demands, so rebels Tutsi soldiers invaded northern Rwanda from Uganda. The rebels said that they would fight until the Hutu government agreed to share power with them and treat Tutsis as equal” (P.4-5).*

It is not only Interahamwe that came from Hutu ethnic, but also the government is almost dominated by Hutu. The Hutu executives in Rwandan government under the leadership of Habyarimana, the political chairs in Rwanda

were occupied by Hutu ethnic. In this case, the Rwandan government which dominated by Hutus is also included as an interest group because it is the official system of a government, it is also included in one of the conflicting ethnic groups and some of the actions taken by the Hutu executives in the government are directed towards the Tutsis. Such as the spread of hatred on the radio to encourage Hutu people to do a brutal action against the Tutsis, and orders from the Hutus to execute the Tutsis.

*“With each passing month, more and more protesters had gathered outside UN headquarters, and the demonstrations had become increasingly violent. Many Rwandans hated the United Nations for pulling almost all of its troops out of Rwanda after the genocide started. Only a handful of peacekeepers had remained under the command of the Canadian general Roméo Dallaire, a brave man who refused orders to abandon Kigali. Everybody believed that if the UN had kept its force in Rwanda, the genocide would have been much smaller, or would never have happened at all. A lot of my compatriots considered Rwandans who worked at the UN to be traitors, and it was worse if you were a woman.” (P. 113).*

We know that the United Nations is the largest organization in the world. Rwanda also has UN representatives as in other countries. It was explained in the novel that the genocide should be interrupted by the UN, but they pulled out their troops from Rwanda when the genocide happen. The Rwandan people hate the UN for not doing anything when the genocide is happening. In this case, we know that this organization is worldwide and of course has a legal, clear structure, program, and goals. Therefore the UN is included in the group of interests.

### **B. Social Change after the Conflict in the Novel *Led by Faith***

There are some social changes that occurred in Rwanda after the genocide. The social change will be divided into two parts: First, the analysis of the social

treatment between Hutu and Tutsi after the conflict. Second, the analysis of social change after the genocide within the government in Rwanda, this part also analyses the actions that had taken by the government to rebuild Rwanda.

### 1. 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 have experienced by Mushaha. As explained in some of the evidence analyzes above, all Hutu ethnicities in Rwanda were ordered to kill each Tutsi. This happened to Mushaha, she became an ally of the killers. Mushaha told the ethnic 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.

## **2. Social Change in 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)*

Paul Kagame was chosen as the new president in Rwanda, he abolished the tribal identity cards. After the crucial conflict between Hutu and Tutsi due to the ethnic identity. Why then this identity card abolished or why then this identity card is dangerous? Belgium took over Rwanda from Germany in 1916 (Sagall, 2013, p.224). Belgium force still supports Tutsi the system of Ubugabuka such as German colonialism. They perform the *corvée* (temporary unpaid forced labour, for example, a few hours per week), Belgian also let Tutsi chiefs to control over Hutu landholdings in the northwest, and they also introduced a ten-year political decentralization plan in 1952 (Carney, 2014, p. 6). Belgium gave special treatment for Tutsi, they gave them an opportunity to education and this action arises the Hutu oppression. The most fatal action of Belgium in the colonialism in

Rwanda make identity cards in 1933 that showed their ethnicity, so this will determine how they will be treated (Mosley, 2007, p.129). This identity card showed that both Hutu and Tutsi are different. When the Tutsi kingdom controlled and was 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 uses 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 conflict.

*“It’s the first-ever playground in Kigali! And they’ve about to start construction on the first public library in Rwanda as well” (P. -196).*

*“Well, the government is building new universities all over the country. And there are many more grade schools, the literacy rate is jumping ... so is the economy. People are working again” (P. 197).*

After the destruction of a State, there are many policies that will change and also many new constructions are made to make a country return to normal or build it better. After the conflict that destroyed the people of the country, some development was carried out by the government to recover the remaining debris. As the Rwandan government described in the paragraph above, they built various constructions such as libraries, universities, and playgrounds. He even mentioned the 'first' playground and library in Kigali. Besides, it was easier for Rwandan people who were difficult to get an education now because their government built universities all over Rwanda. Maybe this is an attempt by the government to build Rwanda better after the conflict.

*“A few weeks ago the government passed a law to keep Kigali clean. They banned the use of plastic bags because they were cluttering up the city, and*

*everybody had to take a day off work to pick up garbage. You should have seen it, Immaculée! Doctors, teachers, farmers, taxi drivers... everybody was out in the streets working together, trying to make the country beautiful! Everything is changing," he said excitedly. (P.196-197)*

Rwanda, which was once dubbed a small country with a population of more than eight million, makes it the most populous and most poor country. During the genocide, Rwanda became even more chaotic. Now the Rwandan government has cleanliness laws in Kigali. Once a month they will take time off to do cleaning on the streets. Not only that, but cleaning is also done by Hutu and Tutsi together regardless of ethnic identity, discrimination, and racism.

*"Do you know that women won almost 50 percent of the seats in the lower house of parliament? Think of it, Immaculée- 50percent! That means that tiny little Rwanda is leading all the other countries in the world for the number of woman elected to parliament! We're making history" (P. 197).*

*"I was proud of the progress of women were making in Rwanda, and of my country itself" (P. 197).*

After the inter-ethnic conflict broke out in genocide, how difficult it was to find work for the Rwandan people because everything was destroyed. Especially for women, it will be 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. The intensity of country seen from how the way the country appreciates women or let the women allowed shouting their voices. Before the genocide women in Rwanda didn't have many seats in the parliament especially after the genocide, even for all people in Rwanda who are looking for a job is very difficult especially for woman such as what the next data said below.

*"Tsk-tsk," she clucked at me, "Why are you wasting your time? There are no jobs for Rwandan women out there, especially for orphans with no friends or family connection"*

The issue of how women are treated is not very prominent in Rwanda because the issue of ethnic conflict has the most attention, and it dominated other issues in Rwanda. But this issue then becomes very important because many years before women have a certain history of equality with the men. The way Rwanda let the women placed 50 percent in the parliament becomes the important thing that the women achieved their struggle of equality with the man. This social change gives an important role in Rwanda because when the women voices begin to hear, the more voice of society will be heard.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter concludes the analysis of conflict and social change by answering the research questions above. This chapter also provides suggestion for the reader or to the next researcher about conflict and social change theory by Dahrendorf, Rwandan genocide issue, and Novel *Led by Faith* by Immaculée Ilibagiza.

#### A. Conclusion

Dahrendorf explains that society that experienced a conflict will go into a social change. Every conflict in society always derived from outside or inside the society. Group conflict has hidden intentions and interests between two opposing forces, this conflict then becomes the weapon of social change. Social change could be seen from the structural change in the society, the social order of the society, the way they think, talk, or interact with one another, attitude, manner, or others. This analysis is divided into two parts, conflict analysis and the social change caused by conflict.

The first analysis reveals that there is a conflict between ethnic groups which also causes conflicts between individuals and groups. There are also consensuses within an organization, community, or even family in the novel. The ethnic conflicts are between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda. This conflict led to massacres because of several opposing interests between ethnic Hutus and Tutsis. Other conflicts are individual and group conflict:

The individuals' conflict is between John and Immaculée, and the group's conflict between Rwandan demonstrators and the UN in Rwanda. There are many kinds of consensuses in this novel. It was proven by the peace agreement before the genocide, the United Nation Development (UNDP)'s meeting in taking decision for new program, and planning to avoid and escape from the genocide. The consensus influenced by the one who had power or authority in the community or organization in certain places. Community or organization here also divided into two kinds or groups, the quasi-groups or the interest groups which involved in the conflicting groups.

The next analysis is the analysis of social changes caused by conflict. First, Rwandans usually tend to be careful and polite to strangers, but after the conflict, they tend to be vigilant to strangers. Second, the way of life of Hutus and Tutsis, they were live peacefully before the conflict but after the genocide they hate each other.

This research proves that the conflict has an important role to the social change in the society. The society will experience the transition start from they face a conflict and after the conflict was end. This social change always related to the social order of society, their perspectives, and the way of life. In sum, the conflict gives a positive and negative impact of the society. The negative impact could be seen from the way to solve the conflict by violence, it tends to give a psychological disorder to the society. The positive impact of conflict gave a better change to the society, such as increasing an education, tolerance, and shares each other.

## **B. Suggestion**

Research on conflict is a study that concerns the sociological discipline, where sociology is always associated with the community. It means that conflict is part of society. The conflict in social life gives something new for civilization in society. It changes the way of life, economy, religion, culture, and language. The social life changes over time allow any researchers to examine how the causes, impacts, and analyzes of these conflicts.

Seeing literary works as a representation or a reflection of society helps us to see how the development of the community. Literary work is something that is born from society, is read by society, and tells about society. This shows how important the sociology of literature approach in analyzing literature. This approach indirectly confronted with the imagination of the development of society.

Based on the results of this study, there are several things that the researcher wants to suggest students majoring in literature and the next researchers:

For the English Literature Students, research on literary works using the sociological approach of literature is very important. Students majoring in literature must provide a broader analysis of the literary works they have read. Literary works are not enough just to be enjoyed as entertainment. Literary works must be seen as the representation of something and seeing literary work from long journeys that are hidden in literary works.



Next Researcher, research about conflict as an intermediary for social change is very important. Because conflict can not only be seen as something negative in society. The conflicts and social changes mentioned in literary works are a reflection of how conflicts provide a positive side to society.



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## CURRICULUM VITAE



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