

Identität und Staatsbürgerschaft in Ruanda: Analyse von Geschichtsschulbüchern

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Zusammenfassung

Ruanda erlebte ab 1959 interethnische Kriege und Massaker, die ihren Höhepunkt mit dem Völkermord an den Tutsi 1994 erreichten. In unseren verschiedenen Studien haben wir versucht, dieses Phänomen zu verstehen, indem wir die Bücher und Schulbücher zur Geschichte Ruandas analysiert haben (Mutabazi, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2020). Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es nicht, die Ergebnisse unserer bisherigen Studien zu präsentieren, sondern die Methoden zu erklären, mit denen Forschung in einem sensiblen Kontext, wie dem nach einem Völkermord, betrieben wird. Dieser Beitrag zeigt auch, inwieweit die Identität eines Forschers seine methodische Forschungswahl beeinflussen kann.

Identité et citoyenneté au Rwanda: analyse des manuels scolaires d'histoire

Résumé

Depuis 1959, le Rwanda a connu les guerres et les massacres interethniques et a atteint un point culminant lors du génocide commis contre les Tutsi en 1994. Dans nos différentes recherches, nous avons tenté de comprendre ce phénomène en analysant les ouvrages et les manuels scolaires d'histoire du Rwanda (Mutabazi, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2020). L'objectif de cette contribution ne consiste pas à présenter les résultats de nos précédentes études, mais d'expliquer les méthodes utilisées pour produire de la recherche dans un contexte sensible comme celui d'après un génocide. Cette contribution montre à quel point l'identité d'un chercheur peut influencer son choix méthodologique de la recherche.

Identity and Citizenship in Rwanda: Analysis of History Textbooks

Abstract

Since 1959, Rwanda has experienced interethnic wars and massacres, which reached a climax with the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994. In my previous research, I have tried to understand this phenomenon by analyzing the available books and textbooks on the history of Rwanda (Mutabazi, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013 and 2020). The aim of this contribution is not to present the results of our previous studies, but to explain the methods used to produce research in a sensitive context such as after a genocide. This contribution also shows how much the identity of a researcher can influence his methodological choice of research.

1 Introduction

The acts of war, massacres and genocides committed against the Tutsi in Rwanda continue to shock the whole world. The origin of these atrocious and barbaric acts remains unclear. However, reasons linked to the choice of ethnic political systems put in place over the course of the history of the country by the Rwandan authorities as well as by the colonizing or partner countries remain the main causes that led Rwanda to these horrific events. The latest report in the French archives relating to Rwanda and the Tutsi genocide, published in March 2021, for example establishes the "weighty and overwhelming responsibilities" of the French state. The report stops short, however, of acknowledging any responsibility by the French state for the genocide.

In my previous research, I analyzed the content of certain reference books and textbooks used to teach the history of Rwanda in order to understand the impact of the historical political systems in the governance of the country and in education. It should be noted that after the genocide, the Rwandan authorities decided to temporarily suspend the teaching of the country's history. History textbooks were suspected of being a part of the transmission of the ideologies that have divided the Rwandan population. The books "tried to justify a discriminatory policy" by inciting ethnic and regional hatred (MINIPRISEC & MINESUPRES¹, 1995, p.16). The results of my analyses confirm this hypothesis as well as a number of other findings (Mutabazi, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2018). The historical interpretation of ethnic group in Rwandan politics and society led to feelings of frustration, shame, humiliation, anguish, contempt, guilt and revenge.

In this article, I will not present the detailed results of my studies, but the methodology I used to analyze the content of history books and textbooks in a number of my articles that I will refer to. I have chosen hermeneutical, comparative and content analysis methods. The first method is used to restore the meaning of the content of the documents studied (Resweber, 2002). The comparative method facilitates the understanding of a phenomenon by confronting the different situations in which it appears (Grawitz, 1973). Finally, content analysis makes it possible to note the presence and frequency of certain themes as well as the absence of elements that may have seemed otherwise important (Caritey, 1993).

However, the choice of these methods in place of others, such as interviews, questionnaires or participant observation, can raise questions. In other words, what determined the methodological choice? What was the process that identified these methods as the most appropriate for this study? Are there any underlying conditions or biases that influenced this research? What were the difficulties encountered? To answer these questions, it seems important to specify the context in which this research was produced. Then, we will present the choices of the corpus and the methods used as well as the difficulties encountered by the researcher. Finally, we will discuss the results and the limits of the research.

¹ Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education & Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture

2 From the post-genocide context to the difficulties encountered by the researcher in documentary research

2.1 The Post-Genocide Context as one of the Factors Determining the Choice of Methods

In the 1990s, Rwanda experienced war and massacres, which culminated in the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994. The hundred days of this genocide, "which kills with machetes" Kamanzi (2004, p. 582, my translation), produced a very heavy toll: more than a million deaths in "a country which had seven million inhabitants, that is to say ten thousand deaths per day" (Brésillon, 2004, p.5, my translation). From this disaster the country came out devastated. Along with the human losses, the genocide left Rwanda destroyed socially, economically, and culturally. As I show elsewhere in Mutabazi (2010), after the genocide, Rwandan society survived, but shows marks of the suffering and the consequences of the genocide. The after-effects are still present. The country has a large number of refugees, detainees in different prisons, as well as genocide survivors who have lost their families and who are forced to live with their executioners. Some refugees have returned home and could not find certain members of their family or their belongings. Children travel miles to feed their parents or detained siblings. As for those who lost their entire family, they remain alone or end up in orphanages or in host families.

People who participated in both sides of the conflict are forced to live together. On the one hand, there are the victims, survivors of the genocide and their executioners, and on the other, those who returned to Rwanda after the genocide after many years of exile. Everyone suffered from the consequences of the genocide, which was linked to their ethnicity and their geographical origins before the genocide (depending on whether the residence was in Rwanda or abroad before 1994). Sometimes, a climate of "suspicion", "prejudice" and mourning reigned between members of the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups. As the genocide was perpetrated against the Tutsi by the extremist Hutus, the relationship between the two groups remains difficult. The assassins wanted to erase the traces of their actions and some survivors sought revenge. Persecutions and direct threats linked to the memories of the violence were often present in society. As Kanimba Misago (2007, p.3) points out, "in the aftermath of the genocide, the survivor who had not been saved by the Hutu considered any Hutu who was in Rwanda during the genocide as having participated in the genocide or an accomplice. We had to take a step back and realize that not all Hutu were involved in the genocide, that some Hutu hid Tutsi at the risk to their lives and that some were even massacred because they refused to participate in the crime" (my translation).

In short, Rwandans in general consider themselves and are still recognized as members and heirs of the history of their Hutu, Tutsi and Twa groups. In other words, as Guillaume Erner (2006, p.10) points out elsewhere, the suffering and events suffered during this period not only belong to the past, but also became and remain a category of thought.

However, Mutabazi (2011a) indicates that the political will and the efforts made by the new government put in place after the genocide in July 1994 consist in avoiding all forms of sectarianism and are rather about favoring the Rwandan citizen. If we refer to the new constitution of the Rwandan Republic of 2003, in its preamble, it is emphasized that the government has decided first to fight the ideology of genocide and all its manifestations, as well as promote unity and reconciliation. All political parties must reflect the unity of the Rwandan

nation in their constitution, organization and functioning, as well as promote the parity of rights between men and women. With this in mind, the Rwandan authorities have also taken the initiative to change certain laws of the national constitution from before the genocide, insisting in particular on those laws that promote equality and complementarity among Rwandans. It is not only equality between men and women that is at stake in the constitution, but the desire to eradicate any exclusion due to the racial and regional segregation from which Rwandan society has suffered. This is why ethnic origin has been removed from official and school identity cards so that every Rwandan first appears before the institutions as a citizen and not as a member of "an ethnic community".

The post-genocide context was therefore decisive in the choice of methods used. It seemed difficult to carry out a rigorous and objective study by questioning or observing people who had a share of responsibility in these tragic events or the victims who suffered extermination. At the same time, it was important to keep in mind the consequences of this phenomenon. In other words, it seemed to me "impossible" for the different actors to approach the genocide with "the requisite detachment" Boltanski (2004) and independently of value judgments (Isambert, 1982). It was also important not to contradict the political line adopted because, as Bourdieu (2002, p.24) underlines, in the humanities, "any proposition which contradicts received ideas is exposed to the suspicion of ideological bias, or of having a political motive. It clashes with social interests" (my translation). It was also not necessary to carry out a study legitimizing the political position of the country in order to better subjugate its economic, media and political interests while adorning itself with "the finery of science" (Nasri, 2007, my translation). However, choosing other methods does not mean denying (Honneth, 2000): applying a "denial of recognition" or "contempt" to the people who experienced this tragic phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is important to prevent the individual emotions and memories linked to this event as well as ethnic rivalries from becoming determining factors in a study that is supposed to be objective.

Faced with this context, I opted for a study of history books and textbooks using hermeneutical, comparative and content analysis methods. This corpus and methodology seem not only achievable and objective, but also adapted to the situation.

2.2 Presentation of Selected Books and Textbooks.

As I have previously pointed out, my research methodology consists of studying the works and textbooks used for the construction and transmission of history teaching in general and Rwandan history teaching in particular. Therefore, my study is made up of two kinds of books. The first category is made up of history textbooks. It is important for me to identify all the books that have been used to teach history in Rwanda. This step helped me to easily identify the parts and chapters that relate to my research. It therefore seems necessary to first describe all the chapters taught at each level of school and then to determine the chapters to include in the analysis and interpretations of the content of the history taught in Rwanda.

The second category of books is the set of books used to manufacture, constitute and develop school textbooks. This step consisted in identifying the main authors and their reference works which are used to construct and write this teaching of the history of Rwanda. It was important for me to see on the one hand their origins, their worldviews and their social projects, and on the other hand, to analyze the books themselves that were chosen by the authors of the textbooks to develop the content of history teaching.

Therefore, the first step was to identify the most frequently cited authors in all of the textbooks and in the second step to select the works that deal with the themes that inform this research. This description and study of the authors and their works allowed me to compare what they wrote in these works with what the textbook authors wrote. This selection led me to analyze the following books and textbooks:

List of authors and books most used in the development and production of textbook content

Authors	Books
De Lacger, L.	Rwanda, <i>Kabgayi</i> , 1939, 729p.
Heremans R.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles, 1973
Kagame, A	1. <i>Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda</i> , A.R.S.C., Bruxelles, 1954. 2. <i>Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda</i> , Édition Universitaire du Rwanda, 1972. 3. <i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i> , Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975.
Maquet J.J	<i>Le système des Relations Sociales dans le Rwanda ancien</i> , Tervuren 1954
Murego D.	<i>La révolution rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975.
Reyntjens F.	<i>Pouvoir et Droit au Rwanda. Droit Public et Évolution Politique, 1916-1973</i> , Tervuren, Annales du Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1985.

These different authors and works have all influenced in their own particular ways the development of the content of school textbooks. Indeed, they are cited several times in school textbooks and are found in the bibliography of all school textbooks. In addition, they deal with themes that are related to our research theme: citizenship, or living together.

List of textbooks analyzed

Author and Editor	Title of textbook	School level	Place and date of issue	Period of use
HEREMANS Roger, édition Rwandaise	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i>	All levels of school where the history of Rwanda is on the curriculum	Kigali, 1971	1971-1987
MINEPRISEC	<i>Géographie, Éducation Civique, Histoire</i>	5 th grade in primary ² schools	Kigali, March, 1983	1983-1994
MINEPRISEC	<i>Géographie, Éducation Civique, Histoire</i>	6 th grade in primary schools	Kigali, April, 1985	1986-1994
MINEPRISEC	<i>Géographie, Éducation Civique, Histoire</i>	8 th grade in primary schools	Kigali, September, 1982	1982-1994

² As I specify elsewhere (Mutabazi, 2020), primary school lasts 8 years. It begins at the official age of 7 and ends at the age of 15. I did not present authors and reference works from the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 7th grades of school because Rwandan history was not taught in these five grades.

MINEPRISEC	<i>Histoire du Rwanda (I^{ère} Partie)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1st year of secondary school³, Agricultural and Veterinary sections, Normal Technique, Nursing education, Nutrition, Dietetics ▪ 2nd year of secondary school, technical education section, art education ▪ 3rd year of secondary school, Letter and secretary section ▪ 5th year of secondary school, Normal Primary section, ▪ 6th year of secondary school, Literary and Latin section and Modern Languages, Teaching of Economics and Commerce, Teaching of Law and Administration 	Kigali, Februar, 1987	Feb-1987-1994
MINEPRISEC	<i>Histoire du Rwanda (II^{ème} Partie)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1st year of secondary school, Agriculture, Veterinary and Forestry sections, Health Science, Nutrition and Dietetics and Normal Technical Option ▪ 2nd year of secondary school, technical education section, art education ▪ 3rd year of secondary school, secretarial section ▪ 5th year of secondary school, Normal Primary section, ▪ 6th year of secondary school, Literary, Latin and Modern and Greco-Latin languages section, Teaching of Economics and Commerce, Teaching of Law and Administration 	Kigali, October, 1989	1989-1994

The history textbooks selected for this study address the issue of living together for the different groups that make up Rwandan society. After reading in depth the history textbooks of Rwanda, we chose to analyze the themes related to the Rwandan population and the formation of previous Rwandan states, the administration of ancient Rwanda, political systems, traditional religion, German and Belgian colonization, the 1959 revolution, the independence of Rwanda, and Rwanda during the First and the Second Republic⁴.

2.3 Difficulties Encountered by the Researcher

Addressing the issue of the scholarly history vs. taught history of Rwanda raises several difficulties. As we mentioned earlier, there still reigns in Rwanda an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion vis-à-vis the country's history. Because the latter is closely related to the ethnic issue and the issue living together between Rwandans of different groups, the relationship of these

³ As we specify elsewhere (Mutabazi, 2020), secondary school lasts between 4 and 6 years, 4 years for vocational education and 6 years for general education. It begins at 15 and 16 years of age and ends when students are between 19 and 22 years old. Authors and reference works in the 2nd year Common Core level and 4th are not presented, as they are not part of our study. As for the Heremans textbook, it is included among the analyzed school textbooks because it was used in all levels of school where the history of Rwanda was part of the curriculum between 1971-1987.

⁴ You can find the results of the analyses of these different themes in my previous publications (Mutabazi, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013 and 2018)

groups has been characterized by disagreements between those groups that has led the Rwandan population to conflicts, wars and genocide. Other difficulties arise from a lack of research tools, and finally others are linked to the personal history of the researcher.

The first difficulty I encountered was that it was difficult for us to broach the subject that people do not dare to talk about, especially in the period after the genocide. Indeed, to talk about the history of Rwanda and about living together is to try to explain in the past and in the present the relationships between the different groups that make up Rwandan society and to consider the future of these groups. However, these relationships have been characterized by war, massacres and genocide. Thus, the question of living together between the different ethnic groups of Rwanda contains a history of struggles, exclusion and violence that many Rwandans are not yet ready to face, preferring to avoid it in silence and repression.

The second difficulty has to do with the problem of access to the required documentation and archives, as well as my personal limitations in using historical methods. Indeed, the genocide that devastated Rwanda destroyed many institutions, which were to house desired archives for this research. I tried to send several people to the Ministry of National Education of Rwanda, to the Ministry of Youth, to the Congregation of White Fathers in Kigali, to the various primary and secondary schools, as well as to the library of the National University of Rwanda, in order to find documents on the history of Rwanda and school textbooks. However, I was unable to locate all of the documents I wanted to complete this research. Several education officials even admitted that some documents were burned because they only contained "divisionist and genocidal ideology".

The list of documents analyzed in this work is therefore the result of the consultation of the works that I was able to find in Brussels in Belgium (the Catholic University of Louvain and at the Royal Museum for Central Africa), at the National University of Rwanda in Butare, at the National Secretariat for Catholic Education of Rwanda in Kigali, as well as the rest of the textbooks found, a rare thing, from primary and secondary school teachers in southern Rwanda, and at the Rwanda Pedagogical Office located in Kigali. Other documents have reached me indirectly, despite the reluctance and historical implications for those who have them.

Thus, I also recognize my limits in terms of historical methods, in the context of the analysis of the works of authoritative authors and textbooks of the history of Rwanda. Indeed, my study is that of a Franco-Rwandan researcher who is interested in and who wants to understand the issue of Rwandans living together (citizenship) through history and its teaching. The methodology used in this study is more of a reflection of my training in the philosophy of education and the sciences of education.

Finally, the last difficulty, but not the least, relates to my personal history. From the start of the research, it was difficult to put aside my personal opinions and prejudices (activism) linked to my Rwandan identity. My thesis director helped me to step back, by helping me separate what is objective, written by researchers, from personal opinion. I therefore needed a period of rigorous methodological training and extensive reading in order to avoid falling into subjectivity and bias.

My personal history and my Rwandan identity also caused difficulties in finding the documents for this project. In my search for works on Rwanda in various French and Belgian cities, I was obliged to contact some Rwandans who had them. Some of them wanted to know my exact identity before welcoming me or lending me their books. Questions that were asked included, "Who referred you to me?"; "Do you still have parents, brothers and sisters?"; "Are you a genocide survivor?"; "Are you in Rwanda before, during and after the genocide?"; "Do

you have a scholarship from the Rwandan government? ”; “Are you a political refugee? ”; etc.. All of these questions were direct or indirect ways to find out about my history and my ethnic identity. For some Rwandans, the answers to these questions prompted them to welcome me, but others avoided me and refused access to their books. This caused a considerable research delay, because I had to make several additional trips to Belgium and gain access to certain works in a roundabout way.

I have also been confronted, on a permanent basis, with discouragement from various meetings with Rwandans in general and with friends and acquaintances in particular. During my documentary research in Lyon, Paris and various cities in Belgium, I took the opportunity to discuss the subject with Rwandans. They asked me why I was working on such a sensitive subject, why I had not chosen other subjects, which had nothing to do with Rwanda, its history and its ethnicities. They advised me to deal with other subjects: development in Africa, literacy, educational technology, andragogy, illiteracy, etc. Most people however considered it important and necessary to work on the subject of scholarly history vs. taught history, but above all on the subject of citizenship (living together). Several people, however, confessed their despair about Rwandan history and tried to turn me away from the project. They went so far as to admit that, given what happened in Rwanda, it would be difficult to achieve reconciliation and rehabilitation. In other words, certain people believed that there is no point in objectively studying these problems. All of this added to the difficult situations I experienced before, during and after the genocide. Thus, it was necessary, while exercising caution, to be careful to fight discouragement and to face reality with a "head held high". In the end, faced with this phenomenon of smoldering conflicts, it was necessary to adopt “a position relatively distant from the directly political components of the object” (my translation), which forbids the disclosure of one's own opinions on the object studied (Boltanski, 2004).

3 Analysis of books and textbooks: from the research design to the choice of methods used

3.1 Are the Research Objectives Consistent with the Research Design and the Choice of the Corpus?

After the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994, the primary focus of inquiry was to understand the origin of the atrocious and inhumane acts, which caused a shockwave throughout the world. The question that always arises is to understand how and why this genocide took place when the Hutu and the Tutsi live in the same territory, possessing the same culture of solidarity between them, speaking the same language, sharing the same religion and practicing interethnic marriage. As we point out elsewhere (Mutabazi, 2011a), a number of researchers have tried to explain the genocide; but there are a large number of causes to be examined.

Nonetheless, Mutabazi (2011a) argues that the historical factors, the interpretation of past events and their use in the governance of the country, in the education of the Rwandan people and in the education provided to young Rwandans, remain, for many people, a convincing cause of the central problem and the real key that led Rwanda to these horrific events. This is why, in the aftermath of the genocide, the Rwandan authorities decided to temporarily

suspend the teaching of the country's history in primary and secondary schools. The 1995 report from the National Education Ministry explains that "education has failed to prevent war, massacres and genocide in our country. There is therefore no doubt that the content of education, school curricula and teaching materials, must be revised" MINIPRISEC § MINESUPRES (1995, p. 44, my translation).

Above all, this report shows that the content of history textbooks had taken positions leading to hatred, ethnic conflict and rivalry, war, massacres and genocide. Such an assertion remains to be proven because no study had confirmed this hypothesis (Gasabo, 2004). It was therefore necessary to carry out an objective study to understand the implication of the Rwandan history textbooks in this genocide. In other words, the objective of my research was to test the hypothesis that "it is the textbooks that justified a discriminatory policy and a system of propaganda and incitement to ethnic and regional hatred by cleverly exploiting the ignorance of the population" MINIPRISEC § MINESUPRES (1995, p.16, my translation). If this hypothesis is confirmed, it would also be necessary to verify the origin of the content of the textbooks. In other words, what did the writers and the publishers of these textbooks use as their sources? Did history books favor particular ethnic groups or specific government policies?

Indeed, in his research on didactic transposition, Chevallard (1985, p.18) shows the transition from learned knowledge to taught knowledge. His conception is that the knowledge taught depends on scholarly or academic knowledge. These two types of knowledge are not identical and do not work in the same way, but are interrelated. Indeed, the stories from texts, written and iconographic documents, tables, charts, maps, summaries, glossaries, lexicons, additional questions, exercises (Laville, cited by Caritey, 1993, p.142) and all the other elements that make up history textbooks have their roots in history books. As Caritey (1993, p.137) explains, in the construction of school textbooks we simplify both the content (they only present the essential concepts) and the form of scholarly knowledge. According to Caritey, this simplification in history leads to a sole and unique interpretation of the past, while being itself conditioned by this interpretation.

We can see that historiography influences in one way or another the way in which history is taught. In the context of my study, I note that the research objective guided not only the methodology, but also the choice of the corpus. Indeed, the problematic consisted in seeking the origin of this genocide rather than its consequences. As for the choice of the corpus, the study of school textbooks and works on Rwandan history is essential. It was not only necessary to analyze the content of textbooks, but also the content of books on learned history to check whether it had influenced that of the textbooks. It was therefore necessary to analyze and compare both the content and ideologies conveyed by the works of leading authors (learned history) and history textbooks (taught history). However, other methods could be considered, including field surveys to interview and compare the level of knowledge of those who have studied the history of Rwanda and those who have not. As it was pointed out previously, the context, unfortunately, did not seem favorable to me to use this type of method.

3.2 Analysis of books and textbooks: Methodological choice

According to Madeleine Grawitz, in general, methodology "consists of a logical and systematic process of the mind that implements specific processes to achieve one or more objectives that the researcher has set for himself" (Grawitz, 1976, p. 352, my translation). However, as Caritey (1993, p.142) and Laville, cited by Gasabo, 2002, p.87) explain, the analysis of a history

school textbook presupposes knowledge of its characteristics. These include the “narrative”, which constitutes the “backbone” of the history textbook, other written documents, iconographies, tables, charts, maps, summaries, glossaries, lexicons, additional questions and exercises, instructions for the teacher, etc. It is therefore these different elements that I first identified in school textbooks and then analyzed by comparing them with the content of reference books. To perform this analysis, I used hermeneutical analysis, content analysis and comparative methods.

According to Resweber (2002, p.55), the hermeneutical method provides the model and defines the rules for the interpretation of texts. This method is used in several fields (disciplines), and in the humanities in particular (theology, philosophy, sociology, literature, etc.). It requires questioning the phenomenon (historical monuments, texts, etc.), through interpretation and understanding. By questioning the phenomenon (written monument, text, etc.), this method makes it possible to get rid of the theses and hypotheses which embellishes reality. In other words, the questioning of the phenomenon (or of the written text) invites us to leave aside the prejudices of the common opinion, which can block the correct interpretation of the essence of the thing. As for interpretation, Resweber (2002, p.69) explains that in the hermeneutical study, interpretation consists in sorting out the basic data of the reception of the message, in distinguishing ambiguous prejudices from fruitful and relevant presuppositions.

In my study, the hermeneutical method was focused on questioning the meaning, on the interpretation and on the understanding of the content of works and textbooks in the history of Rwanda. Indeed, these elements (questioning, interpretation and understanding) have enabled us to distinguish the different meanings of the content of works and textbooks used in teaching the history of Rwanda and to be able to interpret the different ideologies that convey them. Thus, this process has allowed me initially to describe and identify the main authors used to construct the content of the teaching of history and to determine the meaning and the ideologies conveyed by their works.

As for the content analysis method, my study presents qualitative and quantitative aspects as described by Grawitz (1976) and Caritey (1993). Indeed, the qualitative analysis of the content allowed me to identify, describe, clarify, and analyze the content found in the books and textbooks of the history of Rwanda, important themes that constituted the content of teaching the history of Rwanda and dealing with the issue of the relationship between Rwandans (citizenship). This analysis also enabled me to note the presence or absence of certain themes in school textbooks and in reference works. As for quantitative analysis, I made use of it to study the frequency of themes found in reference books and textbooks. Thus, the frequency of certain themes and the absence of others allowed me to determine the ideology or ideologies conveyed by the works of the authoritative authors and the textbooks of the history of Rwanda. Finally, the last method used in this research is the comparative method, which is defined by Grawitz as “a cognitive process by which one forces oneself to understand a phenomenon by confronting different situations in which it appears. This method consists in comparing concrete situations, analyzing differences, looking for constant elements to finally identify types” Grawitz (1973, p.344, my translation). This method was used to compare the content found in books with the ones found in textbooks. It was important to compare the different themes as they are described in the textbooks and in the different works studied, to show the differences and similarities in order to identify the ideology desired by the agents of the Ministry of Education in Rwanda and conveyed in textbooks.

3.3 Some research results

The analysis of two types of histories (scholarly and taught) led me to confirm my hypothesis: the didactic transposition of scholarly history took liberties with historiographical research⁵. The latter also conveys ethnicist ideologies that have contributed to propaganda and ethnic rivalry. I can therefore say that both scholarly history and taught history have been one of the ideological vectors that have incited Rwandans to ethnic hatred to the detriment of creating a collective national identity and the formation “of a community of citizens”.

The national ethnic structure favored unity, however. Historiography and textbooks indeed show that traditional Rwanda had a socio-political regime recognized by all Rwandans, dominated by the king and Tutsi chiefs. However, certain books analyzed show that before colonization, Rwandans belonged to three social classes: Tutsi, Hutu and Twa (Kagame, 1954; De Lager, 1939). The Tutsi belonged to the wealthy class of people possessing power thanks to the breeding of several cattle, while the Hutus were in the “middle class” and lived off agriculture. Finally, the Twa lived by hunting and making pottery; they belonged, then, to the “lower class”. It was possible, however, to change social class due to the acquisition of several cows or the loss of these. Thus, integration into another class forced the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa to marry women from that same background. There was then an “intergroup mixing” allowing a certain harmony. These various social categories shared several common values, such as language, religion or social organizations.

Second, historiography and textbooks emphasize the divisions between dominant and dominated, between Tutsi and Hutu. The historiography (Maquet, 1954 and Murego, 1975) speak of caste by definition as almost impossible to change, and even of races, going so far as to discuss racial hatred. The rest of the historiography and the textbooks expose the victimization, the suffering, the guilt, the violence, the inequality, the exclusion, the wars and the massacres of certain groups, carried out by others (Mutabazi, 2011b).

Through these scholarly history and taught history, I observed that Rwandans in general and students in particular, have not learned the tools for cooperation and collective integration that allow to achieve a common national identity, citizen training, and a "community of citizens" through shared values. That being said, the historiography and textbooks in Rwanda do not present this aspect of the unity between Rwandans and this desire to continue living together. In addition, it has not been possible for them to achieve what Benedict Anderson famously calls an “imagined community” by teaching a set of myths, values, traditions and love of a sacred territory that should have supported their sense of collective national belonging.

In short, the content of the history of Rwanda as presented in scholarly historiographies and in school textbooks does not integrate all Rwandans and all students into the national consciousness. This content does not present national history as a way toward nation building, but as the triumph of some ethnic groups over the others. In other words, the Rwandan nation is described by historiography and textbooks not as a house built by all Rwandan citizens, but by the clash of two ethnicities and the domination of one ethnic group over the others.

However, Renan (1992) explains that the nation is a legacy of glory and regret for past events to be shared, the same program to be carried out in the future. Sometimes, however, the active memory of the different origins of members of the same nation, the horrors caused or

⁵ You can find the results of my comparative analyzes on the content of Rwandan history and history textbooks in my doctoral thesis (Mutabazi, 2010).

lived, the bloodshed, make it impossible to build a community of citizens. In other words, a nation is characterized by having suffered, enjoyed, hoped together, despite the diversity of races and languages (Renan, 1992, p.45). In this case, how can the division between Rwandan citizens be overcome and construct a new Rwandan nation through the teaching of history?

4 Conclusion

In my research dealing with the role of scholarly history and taught history in interethnic conflicts in Rwanda, I have opted for hermeneutical, comparative and content analysis methods of books and textbooks. However, it was also possible to explore other methods that could have brought additional answers. Among these methods, there is in particular the participant observation or interviews with people who lived through the genocide. But the context and my own identity of a researcher who experienced these events hindered the deployment of other methods. In fact, in the steps taken during the research on the corpus of this study, this seemed a more feasible method than the others. I noticed that the identity of the researcher was decisive. This can facilitate or block access to the information and materials necessary for a rigorous and more in-depth study of the problem. This hindered a deeper investigation into the subject as well and the discernment of the issues.

However, it is that same identity that gave me motivation to do this research. As Nasri (2007) points out, the interest and commitment of the researcher are decisive in the search for truth. This author, drawing on the work of Bourdieu, explains above all that there can be no truths without "interest". He stresses, however, that each researcher must take into account the socio-cultural and historical context in which he produces knowledge.

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