

Ethnicity and Second-Class Citizenship in Rwanda

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Abstract

Rwanda has experienced wars and massacres, culminating in the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994. These extreme acts of violence were perpetrated by people who share the same language, religion and cultural values. They have similar professional activities, and finally, they belong to the same nation with the same citizenship. What is the origin of the atrocious events that have characterized this country? In this contribution, we will attempt to show, through an analysis of the literature on the history of Rwanda, how the establishment of political and educational systems based on discrimination, inequality and ethnic injustice has led to suffering, rivalries, ethnic hatred and "second class" citizenship.

Ethnicité et citoyenneté de seconde classe au Rwanda

Résumé

Le Rwanda a connu les guerres, les massacres avec le point culminant du génocide commis contre les Tutsi en 1994. Ces violences extrêmes accomplies par des personnes partageant pourtant la même langue, la même religion, des valeurs culturelles communes, des activités professionnelles proches, et enfin appartenant à une même nation et citoyenneté ! Quelle est l'origine des événements atroces qui ont caractérisé ce pays ? Dans cette contribution, nous tenterons de montrer, à travers une analyse des ouvrages sur l'histoire du Rwanda, en quoi la mise en place des systèmes politiques et éducatifs fondés sur les discriminations, les inégalités et les injustices ethniques ont conduit à la souffrance, aux rivalités, à la haine ethnique et à la citoyenneté de « seconde classe ».

Ethnizität und zweitklassige Staatsbürgerschaft in Ruanda

Zusammenfassung

Ruanda hat Kriege und Massaker erlebt, die mit dem 1994 an den Tutsi begangenen Genozid kulminierten. Diese extreme Gewalt wurde von Menschen verübt, die doch dieselbe Sprache, dieselbe Religion, gemeinsame kulturelle Werte, enge berufliche Aktivitäten und nicht zuletzt die Zugehörigkeit zu derselben Nation und eine gemeinsame Staatsbürgerschaft teilten! Was ist der Ursprung der schrecklichen Ereignisse, die dieses Land geprägt haben? In diesem Beitrag wird anhand einer Literatur-Analyse zur Geschichte Ruandas zu zeigen versucht, wie die Errichtung von politischen und Bildungssystemen, die auf ethnischer Diskriminierung, Ungleichheit und Ungerechtigkeit beruhten, zu Leid, Rivalität, ethnischem Hass und einer "zweitklassigen" Staatsbürgerschaft geführt haben.

Introduction

Rwanda's 1994 war, massacres and genocide committed against the Tutsi troubled the world. The scale of the inhuman acts perpetrated, which killed more than a million people, sent a shock throughout the world. Through our studies, we have perceived that the ideals of citizenship, which constitutes the most complete affirmation of modern man's belief in his own dignity, of politics, which is where organizing forces help individuals live together within the same nation, and of education, which brings individuals and society to their full development and fulfilment, were not upheld in Rwanda. The lesson we can learn from studying the events that mark the trajectory of Rwandan socio-political history is directly related to governance and educational issues. It is true that the ideals of building national unity were not based on a common political and educational project, facilitating a harmonic existence among Rwandan citizens. Moreover, we are increasingly convinced that the successive political leaders in Rwanda monopolized all types of power: political, economic, educational and cultural. This monopolization of power by people often from the same ethnic group did not allow the transmission of traditions, values, principles, institutions and political and educational systems that would have supported the strengthening of a citizenship. In other words, the ethno-political factor based on an ethnicist ideology in the management of the country, in education, in the interpretation of historical phenomena, or otherwise, created a sense of "first-class" citizenship for some and "second-class" citizenship for others.

The purpose of this text is to focus on the existence of "second class" citizenship throughout Rwanda's history and highlight the role that the political and educational systems played in creating this inequality. We will therefore attempt to answer the following question: How did political and educational systems in Rwanda before the genocide committed against the Tutsi reduce some ethnic groups to "second class" citizenship? We will introduce this discussion with a conceptual study followed by methodological explanations to help us understand the research approach. An analysis of the evolution of political and educational systems through the study of literature on the history of Rwanda will also be necessary not only to clarify the reality of the ethnicity problem in Rwanda, but also to understand their role in creating inequalities, injustices, suffering, rivalries, etc. The results of this analysis will allow us to highlight how they fostered ethnic divisionism leading to second-class citizenship for certain ethnic groups.

1. Conceptual Study

1.1. From Individual Identity to Ethnic Identity

Maalouf (1998, p. 18) defines identity as what makes a person different from any other person. An identity defines man in his uniqueness, with his name, his face, his role, his history and his own culture. Each individual is aware of his singularity. Taboada-Léonetti (1990, p. 43) has similar ideas explaining that identity is essentially a "feeling of existence" by which an individual feels that he is an "I," different from the "others." In other words, for these two authors, each person's identity is made up of a number of elements, which not only constitute their person but also allow them to be different from others.

However, some researchers such as Ferréol show that individual identity is not fixed, but dynamic. This identity transformation is linked to the fact that human beings are social beings expected to live with each other. Each individual has to adapt through integration, rupture, abandonment and appropriation. A person's identity is therefore not given once and for all, as Maalouf (1998, p. 33) points out, but it continues to be built through encounters. This idea leads Taboada-Léonetti (1990, p. 43) to confirm that an identity contains a double belonging: an individual and subjective belonging within the psychological field and a social belonging that is situated in the relationship to others in an interactive way.

Among social affiliations, we can mention, for example, ethnic, religious, regional, national, etc. affiliations. In this contribution, it is ethnicity that is of particular interest to us because the "second class" citizenship referred to in this article is often explained through the ethnic aspect. What is ethnic identity and how does it emerge to facilitate the cohesion and community life of its members?

According to Amselle (2002, p. 888-890), at first, the concept of ethnicity was used in a derogatory way to define foreigners and pagans. From the 19th century onwards, ethnic vocabulary was used to designate the particularities of human races. However, today, the concept of ethnicity is more complex and difficult to define. Many researchers do not distinguish it from terms such as clan, lineage, tribe, society, culture, social formation, nation and cultural group. Amselle (2002, p. 887) refers to various authors such as Mercier, Nicolas and Barth in order to define the main characteristics of an ethnic group, for example, a particular language or dialect, which is difficult to assimilate and which separates one group from other populations. It also refers to the morphological profile, historical origin, religion practiced, territorial establishment, tradition and values that reinforce their unity.

1.2. Ethnicity: one of the sources of second-class citizenship?

In his book entitled "La citoyenneté", Le Pors (1999, p. 3) shows that the word citizenship comes from the Latin *civitas*. The author points out that the citizen adheres to the rules of the city. The title of citizen confers not only rights, but also duties.

However, Schnapper (2000) and Xypas (2003) explain that citizenship has several meanings. For Schnapper (2000, p. 10-19), the term citizenship can be understood in two ways: citizenship in the legal sense and citizenship as the source of social cohesion. Citizenship in the legal sense refers to the society to which he belongs - he is first of all French, Italian, German, Rwandan, etc. This legal meaning confers rights and obligations on each citizen. Citizenship as a source of social cohesion emphasizes the aspect of solidarity that goes beyond specific affiliations. Living together in a democratic society does not actually consist of sharing the same religious convictions or the same cultural values. It means having the same political organization, which is why we recognize the same respect and equal dignity for each citizen who participates in the same sovereignty, regardless of his or her origins or particularities (Schnapper, 2000, p. 9-11). Nevertheless, Xypas further explores this notion and shows that the concept of citizenship has not been clearly defined and varies from one country to another: "Being a citizen does not have the same meaning in a totalitarian state and in a democratic regime. In some states there are two 'citizenships' and part of the population for ethnic or religious reasons may be reduced to a 'second-class' citizenship" (Xypas, 2003, p. 281, my translation).

The contact and resulting opposition between different ethnic groups within the same state often leads to an affirmation of ethnicity. According to Martiniello (1995), in most contemporary societies, this affirmation of ethnicity constitutes one of the major forms of social and political differentiation, on the one hand, and of structural inequality on the other hand. Continuing, ethnicity is related to the social classification of individuals and the relationships between groups in a given society. It can only emerge when groups have a minimum of contact with each other and must maintain ideas of their mutual cultural, physical or psychological specificity in order to sustain their existence as a group (Martiniello, 1995, p. 18).

It is, therefore, this dialectic process between ethnicity and the state that can lead some ethnic groups to "second class" citizenship. This has consequences because the group reduced to "second class" citizenship can, in certain cases and/or situations, carry out acts of revenge, which can be violent. According to Maalouf (1998, p. 37), when members of a social group, in general, and an ethnic group, in particular, feel that their collective memory, i.e. their interests, their ideas, their concerns, their tradition, etc., are threatened, they may carry out acts of revenge. The author points out that there is not one particular membership that prevails in an absolute way. It is in the membership where people feel most threatened that the reactions are the fiercest. We tend to self-identify the most with the part of ourselves that feels most attacked. The belonging that is at stake then pervades the entire identity. In this case, those who share it feel a connectedness, and then gather, mobilize and encourage each other in order to defend the group or attack those on the other side. Affirming one's identity thus becomes an act both courageous and liberating (1998, p. 18 - 37). At this point, everything is ripe for what the author calls "murderous madness" to take place. Murderous madness refers to the propensity of men to turn into mass murderers when they feel that their group is threatened.

1.3. Moving from Second-Class Citizenship to the Community of Citizens

Ruiz (2001) wonders what can be done to resolve identity conflicts. He stresses that it is not cultural integration that can facilitate the resolution of this problem. There is no culture to integrate into. What exists is civil, social, economic and political integration. Society, not culture, is the area that requires integration, Ruiz claims. From this perspective, ethnic identity is not the fundamental element which forms a society (nation); it is rather obedience to the laws of the state that allows for the creation of a society. Social belonging must be superseded. This is what Schnapper (1994) calls a "community of citizens." It seems to us that this study clarifies the issue of the different ethnic groups that make up the same nation because it overcomes all the difficulties associated with second-class citizenship. This idea of a community of citizens therefore highlights the idea of overcoming social belonging for the benefit of a neutral community by bringing all peoples together within the same nation and on behalf of its citizens.

The nation is no longer, in this context, a form of historical and cultural community, i.e. ethnic, but a community of citizens (Schnapper, 1994, p. 13). In other words, the nation, through politics, extends and transcends all feelings of ethnicity in giving citizenship. The nation therefore defines the citizen as an abstract individual without identification and without particular qualifications (tribes, cities, ethnic groups), going beyond all concrete

determinations. It transcends dynastic institutions and cultures and creates other institutions that ensure the internal cohesion of all political units and ethnic groups that make up the nation. Schnapper (1994, p. 92) defines the citizen by his ability to break from the determinations that would lock him into a culture and destiny imposed by his birth.

Furthermore, Schnapper (1994, p. 38) makes a difference between ethnicity, state and nation. From this perspective, the nation uses collective institutions (the State) to embody itself in social reality. But when the state becomes too powerful, tyrannical or totalitarian, it absorbs the nation and destroys the community of citizens. As for ethnic groups, Schnapper shows that the nation transcends all ethnic groups and avoids politically recognizing them. The political recognition of ethnic groups and their integration into the nation leads to disintegration. In any case, between ethnicity and the state, it is necessary to make way for the nation. Indeed, as Renan (1992) points out elsewhere, ethnographic politics often tend to exclude and divide.

However, the nation is obliged to build and maintain ethnic elements because it must reinvent a set of national myths and values, such as language, culture, etc., which must nourish a sense of collective belonging among citizens. In addition to the creation of a collective tradition, Schnapper also suggests that citizens should be driven by consensus. She recognizes that there may be rivalries, competition and conflicts between the members of a same nation, but by consensus, citizens accept the explicit and implicit rules that make it possible to resolve their conflicts, at least temporarily, in a non-violent way, through public discussion, compromise and common cultural references which are accepted by all. This consensus must be in the general interest, must be presented and accepted as such and must not be confused with the interests of individuals or particular groups.

2. Methodology

To carry out our study, we first selected books dealing with the question of Rwanda's socio-political history. However, there are quite a few of them. To limit the study and the analysis of the literature, we selected books that were not only cited by different researchers and that address issues related to our theme of citizenship, but that also influenced the content of textbooks used to teach Rwandan history. These books have therefore influenced both political and educational systems.

Table 1: Authors and books used in the development of history textbooks in primary school¹

Authors	5 th grade of primary school	6 th grade of primary school	8 th grade of primary school
Coupez A, Kamanzi T.		<i>Récits historiques Rwanda</i> , Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962, 327p.	<i>Récits historiques Rwanda</i> , Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962, 327p.
De Lacger L.	Rwanda, <i>Kabgayi</i> , 1939, 729p.	Rwanda, <i>Kabgayi</i> , 1939, 729p.	Rwanda, <i>Kabgayi</i> , 1939, 729p.
D'hertefeldt M, Trouwborst A., Scherer J.H,		<i>Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustres méridionale: Rwanda, Burundi, Buha</i> , Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962, 247p.	<i>Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustres méridionale: Rwanda, Burundi, Buha</i> , Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962, 247p.
Heremans R.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles A. de Boeck-Kigali, Éditions Rwandaises, 1973, 96p.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles A. de Boeck-Kigali, Éditions Rwandaises, 1973, 96p.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles A. de Boeck-Kigali, Éditions Rwandaises, 1973, 96p.
Kagame A.	<i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i> , Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, 543p.	<p>1. <i>Le code des institutions politique du Rwanda précolonial</i>, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1952, 136p.</p> <p>2. <i>Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda</i>, Édition Universitaire du Rwanda, 1972, 286p.</p> <p>3. <i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i>, Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, 543p.</p>	<p>1. <i>Inganji Karinga</i>, Kabgayi, 1943</p> <p>2. <i>Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda</i>, Édition Universitaire du Rwanda, 1972, 286p.</p> <p>3. <i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i>, Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, 543p.</p>
Murego D.	<i>La Révolution Rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975, 1019p.	<i>La Révolution Rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975, 1019p.	<i>La Révolution Rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975, 1019p.
Nahimana F.,		<i>Introduction de l'histoire du Rwanda</i> . Cours donné à l'UNR. 64p.	<i>Les Bami ou roitelets Hutu du corridor Nyabarongo-Mukungwa avec ses régions limitrophes</i> , in Etudes Rwandaises, mars 1979, p1-25.
Ntezimana E.			<i>Coutumes et traditions des royaumes Hutu du Bukunzi et Busozo</i> , in Etudes Rwandaises, mars 1979, 153p.

¹ The primary school lasted 8 years. It begins at the official age of 7 and ends at the age of 15. We did not present authors and reference works from the 4th and 7th grades of school because Rwandan history was not taught in these two classes.

What emerges in table 1 is that the works of some authors such as De Lacger, Kagame, Heremans and Murego are referred to and used in all primary school history textbooks. The other authors are mentioned in only one or two textbooks. Below in table 2, the selection of books that influenced the content of school textbooks is presented:

Table 2: Selection of authors and books studied at primary school level

Authors	Books	Textbooks	The number of times the author and his book are cited
De Lacger L.	Rwanda, <i>Kabgayi</i> , 1939, 729p.	5 th , 6 th et 8 th P	-
Heremans R.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles A. de Boeck-Kigali, Éditions Rwandaises, 1973, 96p.	5 th , 6 th et 8 th P	1 picture out of 28
Kagame A.	1. <i>Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda</i> , Édition Universitaire du Rwanda, 1972, 286p. 2. <i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i> , Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, 543p.	5 th , 6 th et 8 th P 5 th , 6 th et 8 th P	14 pictures out of 28
Murego D.	<i>La Révolution Rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975, 1019p.	5 th , 6 th et 8 th P	2 pictures out of 28

P= Primary school level.

Table 3: Authors and books used for the development of textbook content in secondary school ²

Auteurs	Handbook on the history of Rwanda Part 1	Handbook on the history of Rwanda Part 2
Balandier G et Alii	<i>Dictionnaire des Civilisation Africaines</i> , Fernand Hazan, Paris, 1968	
Cheradame A.		<i>La colonisation et les colonies allemandes</i> , Plon, Paris, 1905
De Lacger L.	<i>Rwanda, Kabgayi</i> , 1961	<i>Rwanda, Kabgayi</i> , 1961
D'Hertefelt M.	<i>Les Clans du Rwanda ancien. Éléments d'ethnosociologie et d'ethnohistoire</i> , Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1964.	<i>Les Clans du Rwanda ancien. Éléments d'ethnosociologie et d'ethnohistoire</i> , Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1964.
D'Hertefelt M. et Alii	<i>Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale, Rwanda, Burundi, Buha</i> , Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962.	
D'Hertefelt M., et Coupez A.	<i>La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda</i> . Tervuren, Musée Royal de	<i>La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda</i> . Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique

² The secondary school lasted 4 or 6 years. 4 years for vocational education and 6 years for general education. It began between 15 and 16 years of age and ends between 19 and 22 years of age. Authors and reference works at the 2nd year Common Core level are not presented, as they are not part of our study. As for the Heremans textbook, it is among the school textbooks analysed.

	l'Afrique Centrale, 1964.	Centrale, 1964.
Harroy J.P.		<i>Rwanda. De la féodalité à la démocratie 1955-1962</i> , Bruxelles, 1984.
Heremans R.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles, 1973	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles, 1973
Kagame A.	1. Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda, A.R.S.C., Bruxelles, 1954. 2. <i>Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda</i> , Édition Universitaire du Rwanda, 1972, 286p. 3. <i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i> , Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, 543p.	<i>Un abrégé de l'ethnohistoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i> , Butare, Édition Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975
Logiest G.		<i>Mission au Rwanda</i> , Didier, Hatier, Bruxelles, 1988
Louwers D.		<i>La campagne africaine de la Belgique et ses résultats politiques</i> , Bruxelles, 1921
Maquet J.J	<i>Le système des Relations Sociales dans le Rwanda ancien</i> , Tervuren 1954	<i>Le système des Relations Sociales dans le Rwanda ancien</i> , Tervuren 1954
Maquet J.J et D'Hertefeldt M.		<i>Élections en société féodale. Une étude sur l'introduction du vote populaire au Ruanda-Urundi</i> , Bruxelles, A.R.S.C., 1958
Murego D.	<i>La révolution rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975	<i>La révolution rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975
Nahimana F.		<i>Le blanc est arrivé, le roi est parti. Une facette de l'Histoire du Rwanda contemporain 1894-1931</i> , Kigali, 1987
Nkundabagenzi		<i>Rwanda Politique, 1956-1963</i> , Bruxelles, 1981
Nothomb D.		<i>Petite histoire de l'Église catholique au Rwanda</i>
PRESIDENCE DU M.R.N.D.		<i>Manifeste et Statuts du mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement</i> , Kigali, 1984
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	<i>Pouvoir et Droit au Rwanda. Droit Public et Évolution Politique, 1916-1973</i> , Tervuren, Annales du Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1985
Ryckmans F.		<i>La politique coloniale</i> . Louvain, 1933
Sarraut A.		<i>La mise en valeur des colonies françaises</i> , Paris, Payot, 1923
Suret-Canale J.		<i>Afrique Noire Occidentale et Centrale</i> .

		<i>L'ère coloniale (1900-1995)</i> , Paris, 1964.
Rugamba C	<i>La bataille de frontière</i> , INRS, Butare, 1985	
Van NOTEN	1. <i>Les Tombes du roi Cyirima Rujugira et la reine-mère Nyirayuhi Kanjogera</i> , INRS, Butare, 1972 2. <i>Histoire archéologique du Rwanda</i> , INRS, Butare, 1983	

Table 3 shows that authors such as De Lacger, D'Hertefelt M., Heremans, Kagame, Maquet, Murego and Reyntjens are used in the two textbooks of Rwanda's history. The other authors are used in one of the two manuals. Below, in table 4, are the number of times these authors are cited:

Table 4: Selection of authors and books that have influenced the content of secondary school History textbooks

Authors	Books	Textbooks	The number of times the author and his book are cited
De Lacger L.	<i>Rwanda</i> , Kabgayi, 1961	<i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	10 times
D'Hertefelt M.	<i>Les Clans du Rwanda ancien. Éléments d'ethnosociologie et d'ethnohistoire</i> , Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1964.	<i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	9 times
Heremans R.	<i>Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda</i> , Bruxelles, 1973	<i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	2 times
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, 286p. 3. <i>Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972</i> , Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, 543p.	1. <i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie.</i> 2. <i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie.</i> 3. <i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	40 times
Maquet J.J	<i>Le système des Relations Sociales dans le Rwanda ancien</i> , Tervuren 1954	<i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	4 times
Murego D.	<i>La révolution rwandaise 1959-1962</i> , Louvain, 1975	<i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	3 times

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	<i>Histoire du Rwanda 1^{ère} partie et Histoire du Rwanda 2^{ème} partie</i>	22 times
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Based on the results of this study of the literature used in primary and secondary schools, we believe that the authors De Lacger, Heremans, Kagame and Murego Donat have had an influence on the development of the textbook content. Even if some of these authors are not mentioned several times in the textbook texts, they can be found in the bibliography of all of the textbooks on the history of Rwanda. However, we cannot ignore the influence of other authors such as Coupez A., D'Hertefelt M., Trouwborst A., Scherer J.H., who are cited more than once in history textbooks at the primary school level and J.J. Maquet, M. D'Hertefelt, Alii, A. Coupez and Reyntjens F. who are cited by all of the History textbooks of Rwanda. However, to limit the study and analysis of authors and their works, we chose to focus on the authors who are cited in all of the textbooks regardless of the age of the school children, i.e. De Lacger, Heremans, Kagame and Murego. On the one hand, we consider that they have influenced the development of the content of Rwandan History textbooks, i.e. the political and educational system, because the textbooks are developed by the Ministry of Education, and on the other hand, their books deal with themes that are related to the theme of the present study: citizenship. Maquet's book, *Le système des Relations Sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, will also be analysed, because it deals with the question of living together (citizenship) in ancient Rwanda, and because several authors studied in this research, such as Reyntjens and Murego, refer to this book several times in their writings.

In other words, we will analyse the works by De Lacger, *Rwanda*, Kabgayi, 1939; the three works by Alexis Kagame, *Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, A.R.S.C., Brussels, 1954; *Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda*, Édition Universitaire du Rwanda, 1972; as well as *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972*, Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975. Murego Donat's book on *La révolution rwandaise 1959-1962*, Thèse de Doctorat en Sciences Politiques et Sociales, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1975; as well as Maquet's book on *Le système des Relations Sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren 1954 are also part of this study.

However, since these books do not cover the post-independence period up to the 1994 genocide, we will also rely on some authors who have studied this period. These books try to show the origin of the inter-ethnic conflicts that led to the Rwandan genocide. To complete our analysis, we will also draw on two books by Pierre Erny dealing with the issues of educational systems and social inequalities between ethnic groups in Rwanda. These books are entitled: *L'école coloniale au Rwanda (1900-1962)*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2001 and *L'enseignement au Rwanda après l'indépendance (1962-1980)*, Paris, L'Harmattan. 2003.

For our analysis, two different approaches will be used. The first is a qualitative approach of an "event or theme" consisting in seeking "the presence or absence of a given characteristic" Caritey (1993, p. 146, my translation). The second approach is quantitative and consists of looking for "the frequency of the selected themes, words or symbols". As part of our work, this method of content analysis will present qualitative and quantitative aspects as perceived by Grawitz (1976) and Caritey (1993). The

quantitative analysis of the content will allow us to describe, clarify, and identify important themes that address the issue of ethnic relationships in Rwanda (citizenship). The qualitative approach will help us to determine, through these themes and events, the types of citizens who comprise or have comprised Rwandan society.

Finally, the last method we will use in this research is comparative, defined by Grawitz as "a cognitive approach by which we force ourselves to understand a phenomenon by confronting different situations in which it appears. This method consists of comparing concrete situations, analysing differences, searching for constant elements and finally identifying types" Grawitz (1973, p. 344, my translation). This method will be used to compare the content of the books selected for this study. It is important to compare the different points of view on the themes related to citizenship in Rwanda as described in these different books and to clarify the differences and similarities in order to better understand the issue of citizenship in Rwanda.

3. Presentation of Data

3.1. Rwandan Population: Three Groups with Different Origins

Table 5: Summary and Comparative Tables of the Contents of the Books on the Rwandan Population

AUTHOR	Rwandan Population
De Lacger	<p>The Rwandans were initially divided into three races and arrived in Rwanda in a successive manner.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Twa, then the Hutu and finally the Tutsi. The Batwa were hunters and potters, small (1.59m), and worked for everyone (Hutu and Tutsi). - The Hutu were farmers, part of the same community of culture and language, but with political particularities. They were medium-sized (1.67m), henotheistic, sociable and jovial. - The Tutsi were large (1.79m on average, often 2m). They were brothers of the Nubians, the Galls and the Danakils. The Tutsi have integrated the other races, until they form an interracial fusion. They believed in the same God (Imana) and Ryangombe, the country's protective genius. They also shared the same cults, the same system of "Kubandwa" (a sort of prayer used to summon the help of their ancestors), the same language, etc. in such a way that the terms Tutsi, Hutu and the Twa have become terms to describe social classes.
Maquet,	<p>The Rwandan population was composed of three groups. Membership in these groups was hereditary (by birth). These three groups are called castes by the author because of the lack of crossbreeding. The culture of intergroup marriage was not developed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Twa made up 5% of the population. They were hunters, potters, singers, dancers and buffoons. They are related to monkeys. They had short legs, a flat nose, a wide mouth and thin lips. They eat meat from hunting, fruits, seeds and roots. They dressed in sheepskin. - The Hutu represented the common and peasant mass. They alone accounted for 85%. They were similar to Bantu. They were of average size and were the first to cut down Rwanda's forest. They ate sweet potatoes, beans, peas and corn. They drank banana beer and sorghum. The young Hutu dressed in skirts made of bark cloth with goatskin. The women wore a piece of cowhide. In terms of personal cleanliness, the Hutu did not wash often. - The Tutsi constituted 10% of the population. They were large in size (often 2m). They

	<p>had wide, long legs, narrow mouths, thick lips and thin noses. Their skin was red with thin, long extremities. They originally come from the lands of Galla and Somali. They ate dairy products, banana beer and mead at an 11°5 alcohol volume. Their meals were mainly comprised of bananas, cooked beans, meat, hot salted butter, and sorghum flour bread. They dressed in cowhide with cotton pieces. The girls wore short loincloths made of cowhide. Tutsi often washed in a hot bath and massaged themselves with perfumed butter.</p>
Kagame	<p>The Rwandan population was initially divided into three races. But there was a crossbreeding between these three races, so at some point there was no longer a pure race. It is in this context that the author describes Rwandan population groups as ethnic groups, i.e. social classes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Twa were divided into two groups: Ceramists and Pygmies. They were all organized into families. They were basketwork artists, harpists and singers. They had a rather special way of talking. They ate meat from animals banned by the other groups (Hutu and Tutsi). That is why it was forbidden to communicate with them. - The Hutu were organized into families and linked to the Bantu. They were different from the other Bantu because of the cultural and blood mixture generated with the Hamites of Rwanda. Their average height was about 1.67m. They represented 85% to 90% of the entire population. They farmed and raised small and large livestock. They came from North Africa - West Africa. They were the second race to arrive in Rwanda after the Twa. - The Tutsi were on average 1.80m tall. They came from North-Eastern Africa. They were related to the Abyssinians, Galls, Somalis and other races of the Chamitic civilization. All these groups participated in cultural mixing through marriage. They were in the same clans, shared the same religion, culture and language, married women from other groups, practiced the blood pact together, etc.
Murego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Rwandan population was comprised of three races that the author describes as castes, because of their different historical, economic, political, ethnic and cultural names. - The Twa made up 1% of the population. They were hunters, gatherers and potters. - The Hutu represented 85% of the population and were farmers. - The Tutsi constituted 14% of the population and were of Ethiopian origin. There was no mixing of any kind between these three races. Even marriage was endogamous and not exogamous. It was, therefore, difficult to achieve mixing between these three castes. He presents the Tutsi as a caste that practiced inequality and discrimination against other races: that is to say proud, racist and politically hegemonic caste.

What emerges from table 5 is that the Rwandan population is not described in the same way by these different authors, but they share the same ideas about the origin of the population, their arrival in Rwanda, their religious beliefs and their physical and demographic size. De Lacger, Maquet, Kagame and Murego claim that the three Rwandan groups arrived in Rwanda successively. First the Twa, then the Hutu and finally the Tutsi. All the authors show the different geographical origins of these peoples. De Lacger explains through the Hamitic myth that the origin of the Tutsi is in Asia, while Kagame and Murego, still confirming the Hamitic origin of the Tutsi, claim that their origin is in Ethiopia.

Regarding the size of the people in these three ethnic groups, the authors present the Twa as short individuals, the Hutu as of medium height and the Tutsi as tall individuals. This description of the ethnic groups is accompanied by photos of the Twa, Hutu and Tutsi types as supporting evidence. As for the level of beliefs, housing and language

spoken by these three groups, all of these authors mention that Rwandans practiced the same religious cults, shared the same territories and spoke the same language. Regarding their demographics, all the authors state that the Hutu originally constituted the majority of the population (between 80% and 90%), then the Tutsi between 10% and 15% and finally the Twa who represented a minority (between 1% and 5%).

However, there are also differences between these authors in terms of inter-ethnic mixing. De Lacger and Kagame claim that there has been genetic mixing, especially between the Hutu and Tutsi (through inter-ethnic marriages), so that it was rare to find a "pure" Hutu or Tutsi. It is in this context that these two authors specify that the terms Twa, Hutu and Tutsi meant three social classes that made up traditional Rwandan society. But Maquet and Murego argue against the existence of blood mixing through marriages. They show that living conditions (clothing, food and the political system put in place by the Tutsi) fostered inequality and prevented this inter-ethnic mixing. Maquet uses photos of different kinds of clothing worn by the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Batwa, as well as photos of the residences of these three groups, and photos of herds of Tutsi cows, of Twa potters, etc., to identify and confirm the existence and differences among these three castes. Murego even adds that discrimination, pride, racism and the political hegemony of the Tutsi did not allow them to mix with the others - hence the idea of qualifying Rwandan society as a caste society.

3.2. Political System in Traditional Rwanda

Table 6: Summary and Comparative Tables of the Contents of the Books on the Political System

AUTHOR	The Political Administration of Old Rwanda and the <i>Ubugake</i> System
De Lacger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monarchy. Rwanda was a unitary state that was half centralized and half feudal. The king had all the power and directly reigned over his subjects. However,, he was also represented by his lieutenants in the different regions. The latter used a system called Ubugake (clientelism) to lead. - In the ubugake, the client was aiming for cow usufruct, defense against leaders' abuses and revenge against enemies. The Boss expected from his client faith and homage without forgetting the feudal services. -Everyone (the Twa, the Hutu and the Tutsi) practiced this system without any difference and in proportion to their wealth regardless of their race. Even the chiefs were customers of the king.
Maquet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monarchy. The king ruled the whole country, but was assisted by the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa chiefs. Everyone was also involved in paying taxes, but the Hutu contributed much more, because they were more numerous. The beneficiaries of these taxes were the Tutsi caste, because the Tutsi were numerous in the positions of chiefs and sub-chiefs. The Hutu and the Twa benefited less or not at all. - Then, the Tutsi formed the military on which the king relied to dominate and lead. The Hutu and the Twa were auxiliary members of the armies responsible for bringing in property and looting. - In the Ubugake system, the Tutsi and the lower Hutu placed themselves under the protection of a man richer in livestock and social rank. However, there was no freedom nor justice in this system. The chief commanded and decided everything. This system favoured the hierarchy of castes, which was advantageous to the Tutsi caste within the Ubugake system. On the other hand, the system allowed a homogeneous unit of individuals.

Kagame	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monarchy. The king had all the power, but he also appointed land chiefs, the Hutu, the cattle chiefs, the Tutsi and the hill chiefs, the Twa. - The ubuhake system was the voluntary commitment to place oneself under the protection of a person of higher social rank in order to obtain cattle and protection. The client was doing physical work in exchange for the boss's economic services. This contract existed between the Hutu and the Tutsi without any distinction. Even the great chiefs were the king's clients, because everyone had their own interests to protect in this system. As for the Twa, they were automatically the king's clients. Thus, ubuhake contributed to the strengthening of inter-ethnic relations in Rwanda and was a tool to educate young Rwandans.
Murego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monarchical and Aristocratic. The king had all the power, but the Tutsi chiefs assisted him because the queen mother, the great dignitaries of the court (Abiru), the king's advisors, the cattle chiefs, etc., were all Tutsi. - Ubuhake was a political practice and ideology put in place by the Tutsi to dominate other castes, stabilize and strengthen their power, maintain the hierarchy of castes, etc.

All these authors claim that the administration of ancient Rwanda was monarchical. The original Tutsi -Banyiginya king administered the country and ruled over all his subjects. This power is linked to the fact that it was the Tutsi kings who eventually conquered all of Rwanda. Among these authors, by using different maps Kagame, illustrates the evolution of the conquest of Rwanda by the Tutsi-Banyiginya kings. Rwanda was therefore a Tutsi conquest. That is why it was their king who imposed his authority on all the others. Kagame also shows various photos of Rwandan kings, various people living at the King's court and Tutsi military leaders. All these authors explain that to exercise his power, the king chose several chiefs to represent him. For De Lacger and Kagame, these leaders were chosen from among the three social classes of Rwandans according to the tasks to be performed. However, Murego explained that the Tutsi leaders always assisted the king.

These authors do not have the same understanding of ubuhake in Rwanda. De Lacger and Kagame showed that this political system concerned all men in Rwanda. Whether it was the Hutu or the Tutsi, all of them had to be "clients." As for the Twa, they were customers of the king. No Tutsi or Hutu could enter into a ubuhake contract with a Twa. It is worth observing that for both authors, the ubuhake system contributed to the strengthening of ethnic relations.

Maquet and Murego argue that it was the weak Tutsi and Hutu who practiced services among the rich Tutsi. For them, the ubuhake favoured the Tutsi caste. Murego even mentions that the ubuhake system was a political instrument or even an ideology used by the Tutsi to enslave and colonize the Hutu, as well as to strengthen and stabilize their Tutsi caste.

3.3. Political systems during colonization and after independence in Rwanda

Table 7: Summary and comparative tables of the contents of the books on political systems during colonization and after independence in Rwanda

AUTHOR	From colonial administration to Rwanda's independence
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De Lacger	-
Maquet	-
Kagame	The colonizers first supported the Tutsi. For Murego, in the early years of colonization, Europeans (Germans and then Belgians) did not change anything in the political and administrative organization. Racial inequalities and injustices against Hutu continued to prevail in Rwanda. They even perfected and legitimized the King's authority and strengthened the Tutsi's authority and arrogance. As for the Hutu people, in addition to the yoke they had suffered under before, the yoke of the Europeans was added. Europeans therefore reinforced a feeling of helplessness and frustration among the Hutu. However, in the 1930s, the Belgians began to remove some of the king's powers. This led to a breakaway between the king and the colonizers. In other words, the colonizers and missionaries changed their minds, and they decided to support the Hutu in order to overthrow the Tutsi power. They forced the king to accept the existence of several political parties. These ethnically-based political parties led to conflicts between the Hutu and Tutsi. These conflicts led to the unrest of the 1959 revolution, which allowed the Hutu to acquire total power over the Tutsi. It was in this situation that Rwanda recovered its independence in 1962. However, the author shows that after independence, the country also suffered the various so-called <i>Inyenzi</i> (cockroaches) attacks. Indeed, Tutsi refugees would mobilize in different fighter groups in order to prepare for a triumphant return to Rwanda. The attacks came from countries bordering Rwanda - Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and Congo (formerly Zaire). They caused the killings and massacres of the Tutsi upper class and some Hutu.
Murego	The colonizers first supported the king and the Tutsi. However, in the 1950s, the Hutu became aware of their majority. This led to the foundation of a Hutu political party and the writing of the Hutu manifesto to free themselves from Tutsi domination. They then pushed and forced the colonizers to support their cause. All this led the Hutu to overthrow monarchical power and establish a democracy.

Kagame and Murego argue that the colonizers first supported the Tutsi. However, for Kagame, from the 1930s until the eve of independence, the colonizers had disadvantaged the Tutsi in favour of the Hutu. It is through this support provided by the colonizers that the Hutu finally conquered all the political, economic, judicial and military powers of Rwanda. Kagame shows various photos of the Hutu political and military authorities that marked the history of Rwanda and contributed to the political struggle in favour of the Hutu. However, unlike Kagame, Murego points out that it was not the colonizers who gave power to the Hutu, but that the Hutu eventually became aware of their own strength and decided to overthrow the power of the Tutsi minority. For Murego, Europeans and the Catholic Church were forced by the Hutu to support their cause and not the other way around.

4. Ethnic belonging: a way to determine the degree of citizenship in Rwanda before the genocide

According to the results of the analysis of the literature, ethnicity has been a source of inequality for Rwandans. However, the degree of citizenship was not permanently set for all ethnic groups. There were changes in the degree of citizenship. Those who were considered second-class citizens before independence regained their first-class citizenship status after that period while depriving other ethnic groups of it.

4.1. Hutu and Twa ethnicities: degree of second-class citizenship in Rwanda before and during colonization.

Based on the work of authors such as Weber (1971), Breton (1981), Martiniello (1995), Maalouf (1998) and Amselle (2002), we cannot confirm that there were ethnic affiliations in pre-colonial Rwanda. There has certainly been inter-ethnic mixing that has allowed for a certain degree of harmony. In addition, the various social categories shared several common values, such as language and religion. The Hutu, Tutsi and Twa groups were part of the hierarchization and stratification of Rwandan society as we observe them in our societies today. However, the Rwandan society had a system of imbalance and devaluation of certain activities, particularly agriculture and hunting. This devaluation harmed some members of the Rwandan people, particularly the Hutu and Twa. This led to social inequalities as well as political and economic injustices in pre-colonial Rwanda. Moreover, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were almost all Tutsi. Above the melee, the king based his reign on the Tutsi aristocracy, which served as an intermediary between him and the people. The political leaders were owners of large herds. It can therefore be seen that during this period, the Tutsi belonged to the wealthy class, while the Hutu were in the "middle class" and the Twa were in the "lower class."

In addition to this, the Tutsi also dominated military training and administration. The companies of "Intore" (sort of schools for pages of the court or of the great chiefs), we intended to open up intelligence and "furnish" it with a lot of knowledge, including the art of fighting, speech and discussion skills. According to De Lagger (1939), Kagame (1954), Maquet (1954), Murego (1975) and Reyntjens (1984), this "elite" of the "Intore" was only recruited from a tiny minority of young Tutsi. During the war, the latter defended the country. As for the Hutu and Twa, they were only in charge of stealing and taking away the looted goods of the conquered country. In other words, the Hutu and Twa were isolated from political, military and public management, which are the foundations of citizenship.

As for the colonial period until the eve of independence, the German and Belgian missionaries and colonizers decided to continue to rely on this existing aristocracy. They even contributed to strengthening the "hegemony of the Tutsi group" (Mineprisec, 1989, p. 101) by strengthening the influence of Tutsi rulers over the peasant mass to the point of making it intolerable. The Tutsi were called upon to govern and lead, while the Hutu and Twa were called upon to respect, obey and work in projects involving arduous work. Only Tutsi could now belong to the upper class. They were "real men" capable of governing, and other members of the Hutu and Twa ethnic groups were considered as "sub-humans" meant to be led. The entire burden of colonization rested essentially on their shoulders. Not only was their work unpaid, but the recalcitrant were severely punished with a number of lashes by Tutsi leaders.

For education and training, it is thanks to the men of the Church that schools were started in Rwanda. However, Erny (2001) shows that during the colonial period, the educational system was perceived as being reserved for young people belonging to the Tutsi ethnic community. The Catholic priests from Europe were the first to deal with education in Rwanda, and they were guided in Rwanda "by this principle as old as Christian expansion and strongly reformulated by Cardinal Lavigerie, that in a work of evangelization it is always more advantageous to win first the leaders" (Erny, 2001, p. 219, my translation). This is why young Tutsi were favoured more in school than others. Moreover, according to the same author, the Belgian administration had set up a primary school of a higher level at the royal court for the sons of chiefs, clerics and teachers. A triple goal was attributed to this school: first, to instruct and educate the young Tutsi in order to prepare them for the duties of their offices and thus make them enlightened but docile auxiliaries; then to train, among these young people, instructors for government schools; and finally, to educate them to make them clergy and secretaries.

According to the 1926 report cited by Erny (2001, p. 71), educational policy in Rwanda was constructed in such a way that it maintained the traditional hierarchy. Tutsi youth were admitted to schools in greater numbers than other ethnic groups. According to Mr. Hertefeldt's figures, cited by Erny (2003, p. 26), in 1956, the Tutsi represented 16.6% of the population, but their children constituted 32% of the enrolment in primary schools and 61% of the enrolment in secondary schools. For Erny (2001, p. 219), these young people had also filled up the prestigious courses where they received more advanced training in French, while the others studied the Catechism more. This was, perhaps, normal, the author continues, in a rigidly stratified society where the peasant mass was docile and submissive and where social ascension could only be conceived in terms of a transition from one rank to another by ennoblement. However, the rigidity, fragility and injustice of this educational policy pushed the masses toward the hypersensitivity and struggle that have made this educational system and the whole country explosive.

It is in this context that a sense of second-class citizenship among the Hutu and Twa appeared, because, as Xypas (2003) shows us, ethnicity or religion can be causes for some people to be reduced to "second-class" Xypas (2003: 281) citizenship. Maalouf explains elsewhere (1998) that it is the sufferings that determine at each stage of life, the attitude of men towards their belongings, and the hierarchy between them.

4.2. Tutsi and Twa ethnicities degree of second-class citizenship after independence until genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994.

On the eve of Rwanda's independence, the country experienced massacres committed against the Tutsi. The Hutu, oppressed and frustrated under the colonial and monarchical power spoke out against the supremacy of the Tutsi ethnic group. As the years went by, they organized themselves and eventually overthrew the Tutsi aristocracy. In the 1960s, power passed completely into the hands of the Hutu, and the Tutsi were excluded (Mutabazi, 2010, 2013, 2015, 2018). Some of them then went into exile. The Twa, in turn, were also excluded from participating in politics.

As is shown elsewhere, (Mutabazi, 2010) since independence, the Hutu based their political, public, economic, educational, cultural and other powers on their suffering before and during colonization. This can be considered to be "an ethnic revenge." That

is why most exclusively, the Hutu who had the power instituted the policy of ethnic quotas in education and in the civil service. According to this policy, belonging to the Hutu ethnic group guaranteed a quality education followed by an attractive career. The Tutsi, on the other hand, were second-class citizens without access to politics or to the army. In other words, during the first two republics (1962-1994), being a member of the Hutu ethnic community guaranteed a better life.

In this way, we went from one categorization to another one. Indeed, while the Hutu were excluded from power before and during colonization, the Tutsi, in turn, had no access to politics or public office during the first two republics. In the words of Xypas (2003, p. 281), the Tutsi for "ethnic reasons" were in turn reduced to "second-class citizenship." This categorization and degree of citizenship was the foundation for the horrific phenomena that began in 1990 and ended with the culmination of the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994, not to mention the consequences of that genocide. After unsuccessful attempts to return to their native country, the former Tutsi refugees decided to use weapons from October 1990 onwards. This war had major consequences on the social relations between the Hutu and Tutsi. At a national level, the idea and of self-defense and the feeling of it being necessary emerged. This is what led the country to genocide in 1994.

In the context of the educational system, Erny (2003, p. 26) shows that after independence, the so-called "ethnic" problem continued to rise dramatically. Proportional representation based on ethnicity was introduced at all levels of education and in the civil service. 85% of the positions were reserved for members of the Hutu ethnic community and 15% (then 10%) for members of the Tutsi ethnic community. According to Erny (ibid), the quota policy, which normally aims to protect minorities against a potentially overwhelming majority, was used in Rwanda to protect the majority. This explains why in this educational system, a young Tutsi or Twa, even if they were brilliant, would stay with their families instead of going to school if the official quota was reached. On the other hand, their Hutu comrades, even weaker ones, could go to secondary school.

5. Conclusion

Analysis of the evolution of Rwanda's socio-political history shows that from the post-colonial period to the beginning of the genocide, the Rwandan state was unable to achieve national unity among its citizens. It exploited ethnic cleavages in all fields: social, economic, political and educational. The principles and values of citizenship (Le Pors, 1999) were more about political rethoric than actual actions. (In other words, the values of citizenship have remained in the discourse of politicians without ever being applied within the Rwandan nation). We can, therefore, qualify citizenship in Rwanda as ethnic, in the sense that birth and belonging were determined by filiation (Schnapper, 2000, p.14). It was ethnicity that determined the status of each Rwandan citizen. Thus, the principles of citizenship (Le Pors, 1999) such as the general interest, legal equality, justice, participation in government, etc., did not involve all citizens, but only certain ethnic groups.

Even the school system, which is normally where a common citizenship for all is guaranteed (Schnapper, 2000, p. 155), was not able to fulfil its role in assuring "the universality of national citizenship" by providing education to all citizens without segregation. On the contrary, school promoted some of the best students and forgot

others. It established different categories and reinforced division among Rwanda's future citizens, instead of ensuring their unity and creating equal opportunities without discrimination. It supported the particular interests of ethnic communities to the disadvantage of the general interest of the entire community of Rwandan citizens. Finally, we can conclude that the objective of establishing a community of citizens through the political and educational systems was not achieved and that ethnicity determined the degree of citizenship in Rwanda.

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