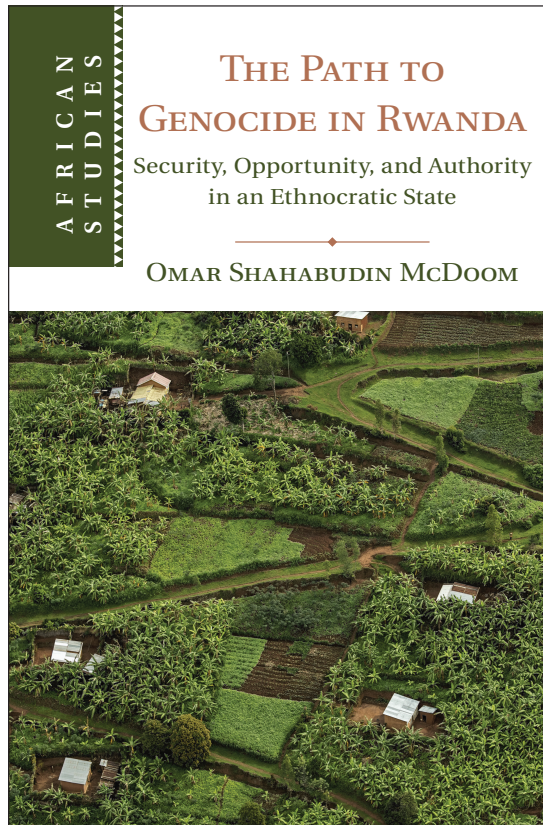


Three thoughts on the relationship between ethnicity and violent conflict

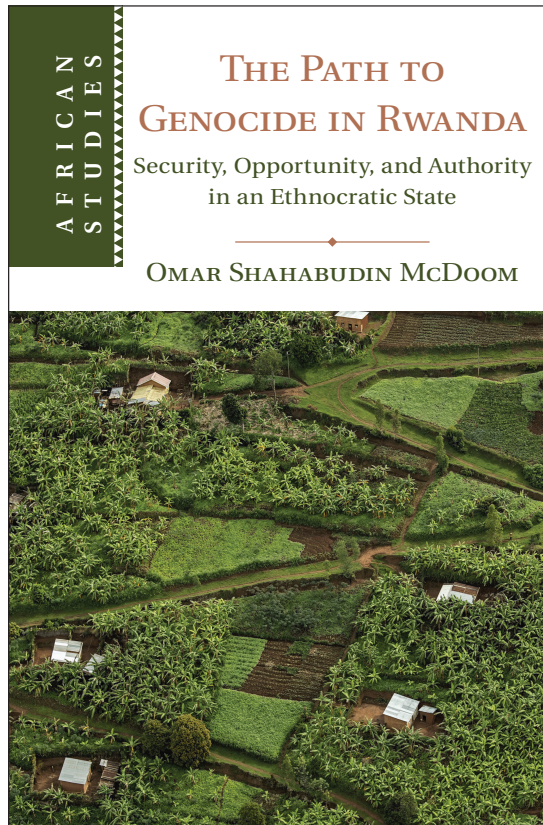
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The claims



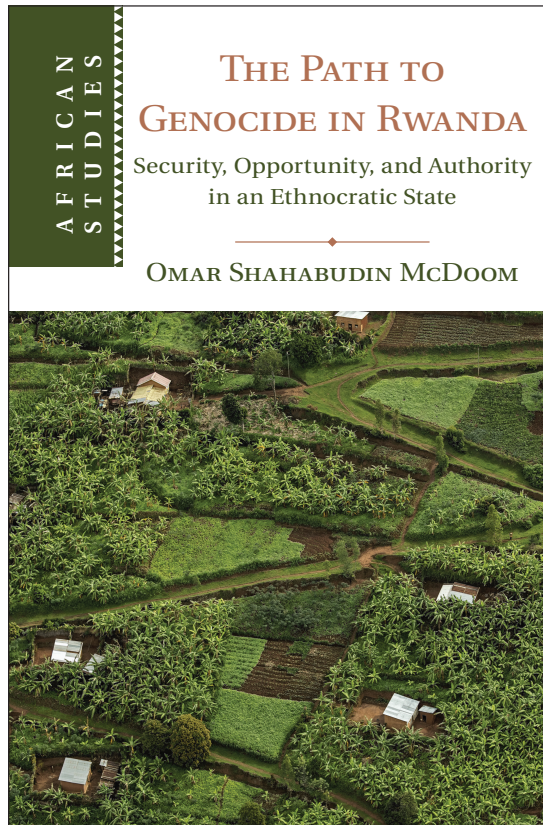
1. The distinction between ethnicity and rationality should be softened in theories of violent conflict

The claims



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2. Ethnic extremism is the product of both inter-ethnic *and* intra-ethnic behaviour

The claims



1. The distinction between ethnicity and rationality should be softened in theories of violent conflict
2. Ethnic extremism is the product of both inter-ethnic *and* intra-ethnic behaviour
3. Ethnic radicalization is both an antecedent *and* a consequence of the act of violence

Claim 1:
Ethnicity versus rationality

Opposing approaches

Ethnicity

- Emotions
- Identities
- Symbolic
- Loyalty
- Pride

Opposing approaches

Ethnicity

- Emotions
- Identities
- Symbolic
- Loyalty
- Pride

Rationality

- Cognitions
- Interests
- Materialist
- Strategy
- Calculation

To war: rational or emotional choice?



**To war:
rational or emotional choice?**

**Government of
Rwanda**

Rebel challenger

To war: rational or emotional choice?

Militarily weaker

Militarily superior

To war: rational or emotional choice?

Loser

Winner

Rational?

**Prefer to fight than
to negotiate**

Rational?

**Prefer to fight than
to negotiate**

**But objectively
militarily weaker**

Emotional?

**Prefer death to
sharing power with
Tutsi**

Emotional?

**Prefer death to
sharing power with
Tutsi**

**But do not fight to the death.
Flee the country**

Theoretical reconciliation: reason and emotion interact

The extremists mistakenly thought they could win militarily because their rational judgement was affected by their emotions of anger and hostility

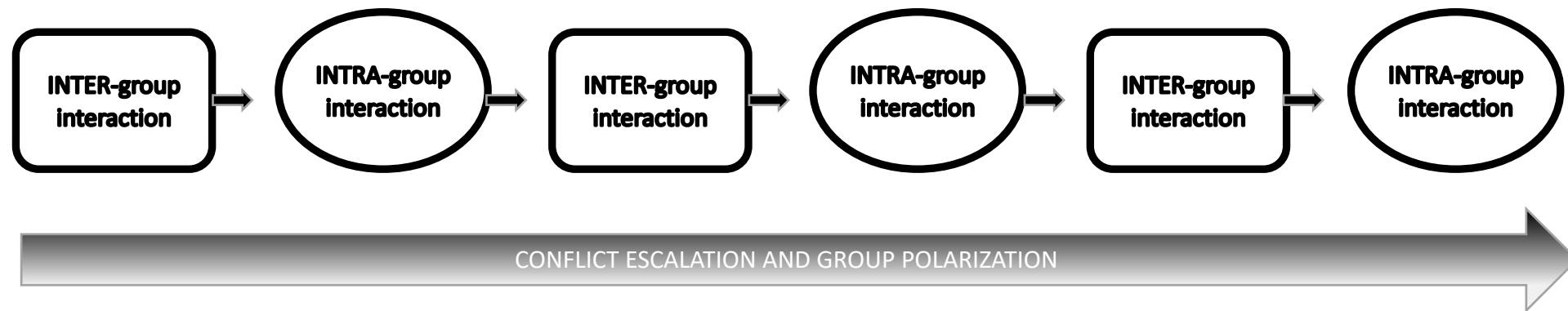
Theoretical reconciliation: reason and emotion interact

Cognitive processes – attention, evaluative judgments, probability estimates, perceptions of risk, outgroup biases, and moral judgment – are shaped by momentary emotions

Claim 2:

Ethnic extremism as the product of inter- and intra-ethnic competition

Escalation



From inter- to intra-ethnic competition

Justin Mugenzi



From moderate...

If in the past only the Tutsi ethnic group has been receptive particularly among the intellectuals, it was because most of the Hutu ethnic group feared for their employment positions and for their social security. Thus the party has been colored Tutsi. That image must change. We don't have a Tutsi ideology, our ambition is to assemble a majority around an ideology made of all the Rwandan sociological components. We want a majority built on an ideology. Our ideology does not make any mistake, we are a Liberal party and liberalism is defined in the specific case of Rwanda by a broadening to all these ethnic groups.

Justin Mugenzi, Liberal Party President, July 1993

Tutsi assassination of Hutu president



...to radical

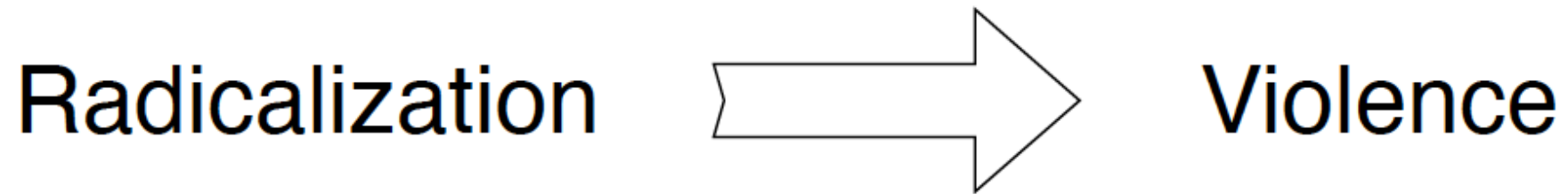
The Liberal Party wants to protect the sovereignty the people acquired during the 1959 revolution. That should be clear, because it is written in the Bible: "Woe, woe, woe. Woe betide whom (applause and comments)? Woe betide those who flout the rights of the people [Hutu] who have suffered.

Justin Mugenzi, Liberal Party President, Jan. 1994

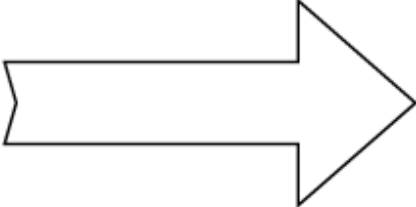
Claim 3:

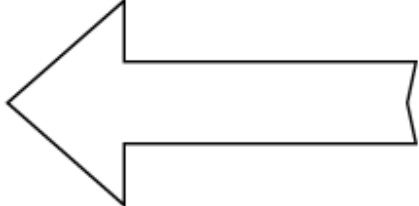
Ethnic radicalization as an antecedent and consequence of the act of violence

Rethinking the causal direction



Rethinking the causal direction

Radicalization  Violence

Radicalization  Violence

Limited prior radicalization

	<i>Region</i>	
	<i>South</i>	<i>North</i>
<i>Question: When did the night patrols to look for the enemy first start in your community?</i>		
	(N=131)	(N=146)
<i>Before the President's death</i>	42.30%	89.80%
<i>Question: When the night patrols first started, did the Tutsi also participate in them to look for the enemy?</i>		
	(N=126)	(N=134)
<i>Yes, the Tutsi participated</i>	91.90%	36.70%

Extensive ex-post radicalization

	<i>Region</i>	
	<i>South</i>	<i>North</i>
<i>Question: During the genocide who did people think was the enemy? (open-ended)</i>		
	(N=129)	(N=139)
<i>All and only Tutsi</i>	76.50%	64.50%
<i>All Tutsi and others</i>	18.10%	23.00%
<i>RPF rebels only</i>	2.50%	1.30%

The puzzle of extra-lethal violence

“We were coerced”

“Yet you were cruel?”

Non-elite radicalization: from conformity to cruelty

How did he show his commitment to kill? He killed so many people. He also killed them in a hard way. *What do you mean?* At first, he used to hit the person on the head to kill them quickly. But then later he would chop them in other places so they didn't die immediately.

Oriel, Hutu accused of genocide-related crimes, aged 45, primary school teacher, Butare central prison, April 2003