

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page x
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvii
1 What We Do and Do Not Know	1
A Synopsis of the Genocide	3
What Is Distinctive and Puzzling about Rwanda	5
What We Know Already	6
Why Consensus on the Genocide Is Limited	8
The Questions That Remain	12
Theories and Hypotheses	13
<i>Wars, Insecurity, Threats and Fear-Based Explanations</i>	14
<i>Demographic and Environmental Explanations</i>	16
<i>Deprivation-Related Explanations</i>	17
<i>Identity/Ethnicity and Racism/Prejudice-Based Explanations</i>	18
<i>Ideologies, Myths, and Narratives</i>	20
<i>Political and Material Opportunism</i>	21
<i>Group Behaviour and Collective Action</i>	22
<i>The State, Elite, and Obedience-Related Explanations</i>	23
<i>Dispositional and Situational Explanations</i>	25
<i>Bystander, Inaction, and Impunity Effects</i>	26
<i>External and International Factors</i>	27
The Argument Sketched	28
Research Design: The Evidence and Methods	35
<i>The Research Design</i>	36
<i>The Evidence</i>	37
<i>A Critical Note on the Methods Used in the Project</i>	40
Organization of the Book	43
2 An Extraordinary Baseline	45
Tracing Rwanda's Historical Evolution	46
<i>Precolonial History (c. Fourteenth–Seventeenth Century to 1897)</i>	46

<i>The Colonial Epoch (1897–1962)</i>	53
<i>Rwanda's Revolution and the Postcolonial Era (1959–1990)</i>	56
Rwanda's Unusual Society, Demography, and Geography	61
<i>A Highly Agrarian Society</i>	63
<i>Exceptional Population Density</i>	64
<i>Ethnic Bipolarity</i>	65
<i>Cultural Homogeneity</i>	66
<i>Ethnic Dominance</i>	67
<i>Small Territory, Road Network, and Centralized Capital</i>	68
<i>Ethnic Settlement</i>	69
<i>Rwanda's Ecological Homogeneity</i>	70
3 Security: War-Time Threat	73
Introduction	73
Synopsis of Rwanda's Civil War	75
The Links between War and Genocide	79
The Media and Civilian Radicalization	84
Establishing the Baseline: Life before the War	92
The Psychological Impact of War	93
<i>Radicalization Mechanism I: Ethnicization</i>	95
<i>Radicalization Mechanism II: Outgroup Homogenization</i>	104
<i>Radicalization Mechanism III: Ingroup Loyalty</i>	106
<i>Radicalization Mechanism IV: Violence Legitimization</i>	111
<i>Rwanda's Extraordinary Amplifiers</i>	114
Limitations of War as an Explanation of Genocide	116
Rethinking Radicalization and the Radio	117
<i>Radicalization as Consequence and Cause of Violence</i>	118
<i>Rwanda's Hate Radio's Limited Impact</i>	120
4 Threat and Opportunity: The Dangers of Freedom	123
Introduction	123
The Context for Liberalization	125
<i>Rwanda's Unusual Baseline Characteristics</i>	126
The Impact of Liberalization on Rwanda	127
<i>Liberalization at the National Level</i>	127
<i>Liberalization at the Local Level</i>	134
<i>Southern Rwanda: War Distant, Party Politics Intense</i>	134
Mwendo Cell, Maraba Commune, Butare Prefecture	134
Tamba Cell, Shyanda Commune, Butare Prefecture	137
<i>Northern Rwanda: War Close, Party Politics Weak</i>	138
Mutovu Cell, Nkuli Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture	138
Ruginga Cell, Kinigi Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture	140

The Mechanisms of Liberalization	141
<i>Political Pluralization</i>	145
Against Ideological Singularity	146
Ideological Pluralism in Rwanda	147
<i>Kayibanda's Ideology</i>	147
<i>Habyarimana's Ideology</i>	150
<i>The Catholic Church's Ideology</i>	152
The Primacy of Moderation	155
Ideological Beliefs 'From Below'	157
<i>Political Competition</i>	162
Theorizing Contestation	162
Moderate-Extremist Contestation in Rwanda	165
Escalation and De-escalation in Rwanda	167
<i>Inter-group contestation</i>	169
<i>Inter- to Intra-group contestation</i>	171
<i>Intra to Inter-group contestation</i>	171
Explaining Escalation: Weak Constraints and High Impunity	172
<i>Political Participation</i>	173
5 Opportunity II: Death of the Nation's Father	178
Introduction	178
The Window of Opportunity	184
<i>Macro-level Analysis</i>	184
Within-Group Contestation	184
Between-Group Contestation	191
Dynamics at the International Level	193
Anti-Tutsi Violence	194
What Was Known Outside Rwanda?	196
Could the International Community Have Done Anything?	198
Who Killed Habyarimana?	201
<i>Meso-level Analysis</i>	205
Early Violence Onset: Mukingo Commune	205
Late Violence Onset: Taba Commune	207
Explaining Variation in Violence Onset	209
<i>Micro-level Analysis</i>	215
Mwendo Cell: Low Violence	215
Tamba Cell: High Violence	223
Mutovu Cell: High Violence	227
Ruginga Cell: Low Violence	230
The Micro-mechanics of Mobilization	234
<i>The Emergence of Ethnic and Political Entrepreneurs</i>	235

<i>Critical Masses: The Importance of Small Groups</i>	240
<i>Harnessing Group Forces: Ingroup Policing and Peer Pressure</i>	241
<i>Mobilization Amplifiers</i>	244
6 Authority: Rwanda's Privatized and Powerful State	248
Introduction	248
Dimension I: Weak State Autonomy	253
<i>Continuity in Clientelist Governance</i>	253
<i>The Party-State</i>	254
<i>The Weakness of Civil Society</i>	255
Dimension II: High State Legitimacy and Symbolic Authority	258
<i>A Post-Revolutionary State</i>	258
<i>Institutional Continuity</i>	262
<i>Boundary Continuity</i>	263
<i>Demographic Particularities</i>	265
Dimension III: High Material Capacities	266
<i>Evidence of the State's Compliance and Coordination Capabilities</i>	267
<i>Amplifier I: Favourable Geography and Demography</i>	272
<i>Amplifier II: Institutional Configuration</i>	275
State Power and Perpetrator Heterogeneity	278
7 Why Some Killed and Others Did Not	281
Introduction	281
Counting the Killers and Victims	284
<i>The Perpetrators</i>	284
Methods and Evidence	285
Findings	286
What the Data Tell Us	288
<i>The Victims</i>	289
Methods and Evidence	291
Findings	293
Establishing the Number of Hutu Victims	295
Comparing Perpetrators and Non-perpetrators Systematically	297
<i>Demographic Profiles</i>	300
<i>Cluster I: Masculinity and Youth-related Theories</i>	302
<i>Cluster II: Deprivation-Related Theories</i>	305
<i>Cluster III: Ethnicity-Related Theories</i>	311
<i>Cluster IV: Threat-Related Theories</i>	316
<i>Cluster V: Influence-related Theories</i>	320
<i>Perpetrator Heterogeneity</i>	322
Motives and Rationales	331
<i>Quantifying the Many Rationales</i>	333

<i>Delving Deeper into the Rationales</i>	336
The 'Opportunity' Rationale	336
The 'Security' Rationale	338
The 'Authority' Rationale	339
<i>Motivations and the Passage of Time</i>	340
Why Some Killed and Others Not	342
<i>It's Where You Live</i>	343
<i>It's Who You Know</i>	349
<i>Sociological or Ecological? Explaining Extraordinary Mobilization</i>	356
Modelling Participation	357
8 Conclusion: Rwanda in Retrospect	362
Tracing the Causal Pathway to Genocide	363
Toward a New Consensus on Rwanda's Genocide	371
Contributions to Rwanda and Genocides Generally	377
Broader Implications for Theories of Genocide	384
<i>References</i>	389
<i>Index</i>	407