

# **Ethnicity as a conflict source in Africa – A case study of the genocide in Rwanda**

By William Rahn

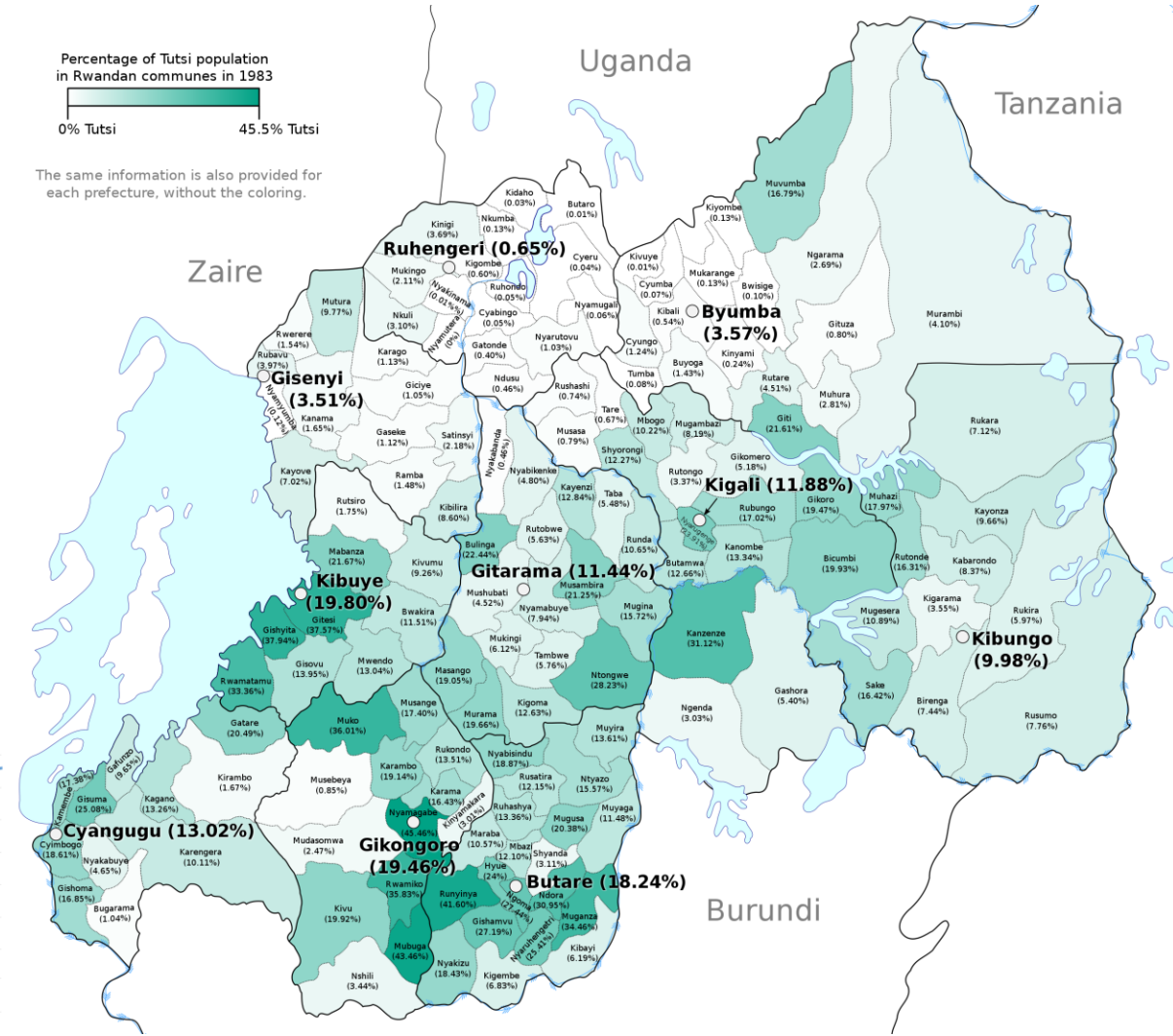
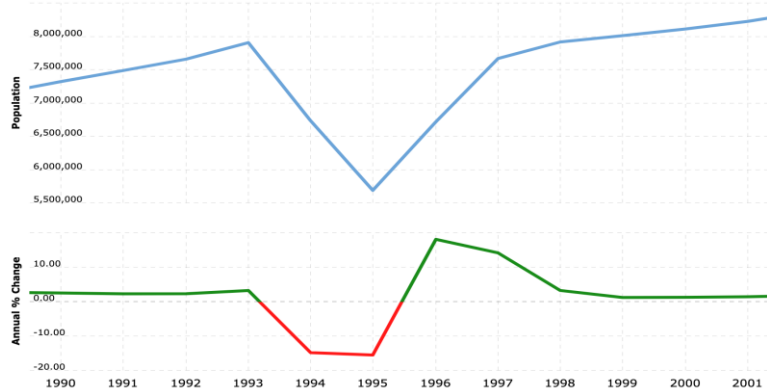
# Precolonial Rwanda and the introduction of ethnicity during colonial rule

- Originally inhabited by Twa settlers
- Plethora of minor kingdoms united into Kingdom of Rwanda
- German colony from 1884
- Colonial rule through the use of local elites
- Belgian control after World War 1
- Direct colonial rule and the implementation of ethnic division



# Ethnic composition of Rwanda

- 1993 population: 6,847,000
- 1995 population: 5,992,000
- Hutu: 84%
- Tutsi: 14%
- Twa: 2%
- 600k IDPs (7%)



# How ethnicity fueled a political divide

- Precolonial rule shaped the political landscape, Tutsi held more power
- 1957 Hutu scholars wrote “Bahutu manifesto”, movement for equal treatment
- 1959, minor violence based on ethnicity, fear based politics
- 1959 – 1961, Rwandan Hutu Revolution, Tutsi lost power and decolonisation period
- 60 – 70s, anti Tutsi sentiment grew stronger, Tutsi exodus
- 90s, Pogroms, Civil War, Hutu Power and growing fear
- Similarities between 50s and 90s

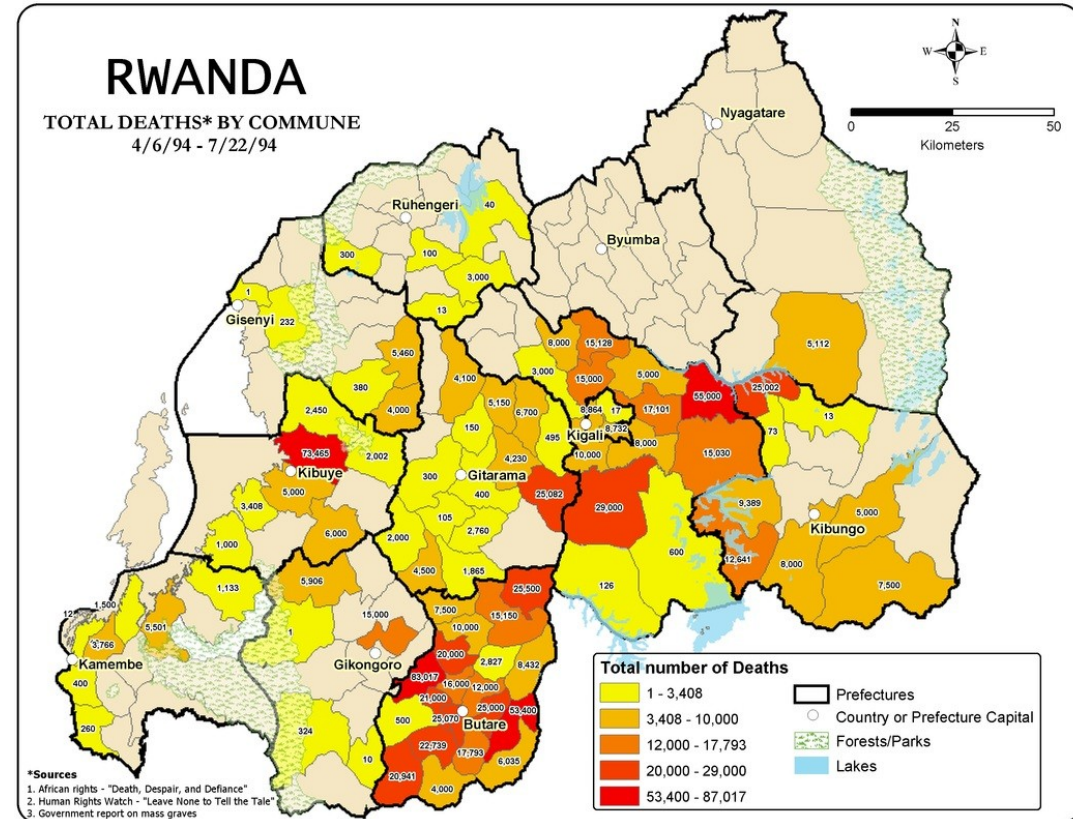


Paul Kagame (RPF) and Juvenal Habyarimana (government)

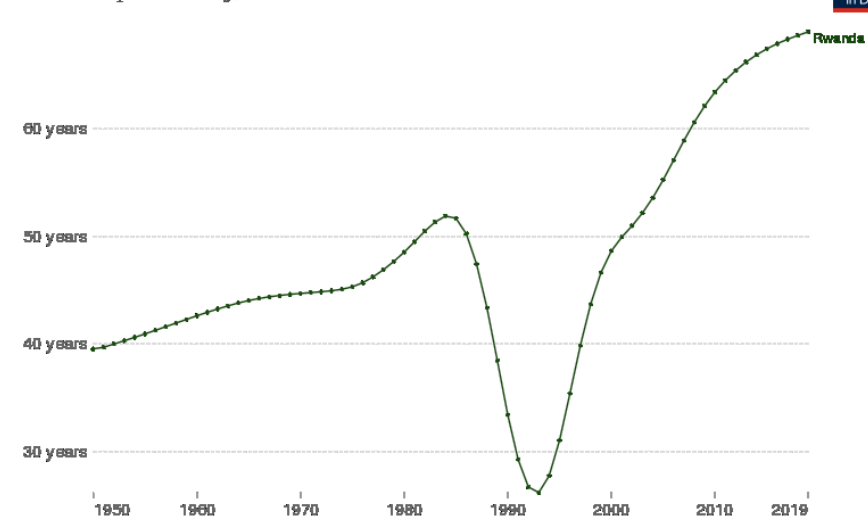


# Civil war and genocide

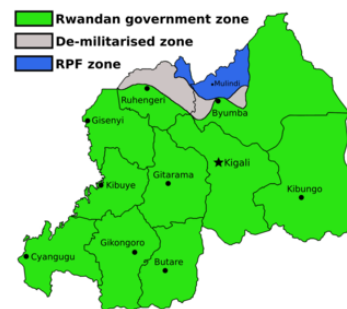
- Mobilization of Hutu groups prior to genocide
- The central role of media in conflict regions
- 1994, Rwandan and Burundi presidents plane is shot down
- Human Rights Watch group estimates 500,000 deaths + IDPs
- The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) counteroffensive



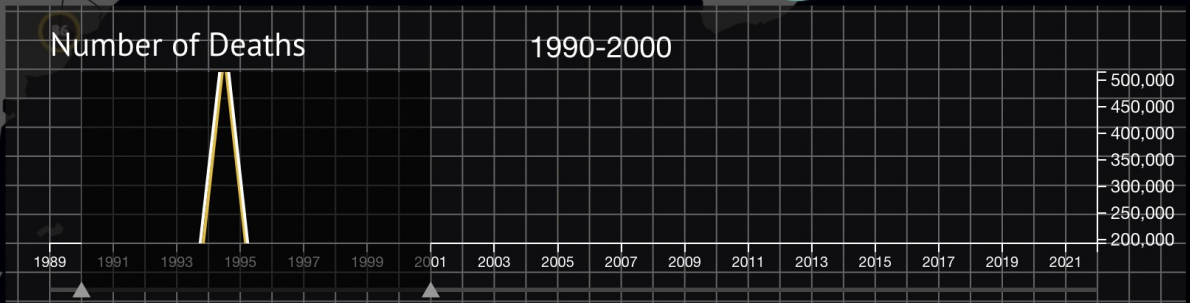
Life expectancy, 1950 to 2019



Sources: Riley (2009), CIA Intra (2019), and UN Population Division (2018)  
Note: Shown is period life expectancy at birth, the average number of years a newborn would live if the pattern of mortality in the given year...



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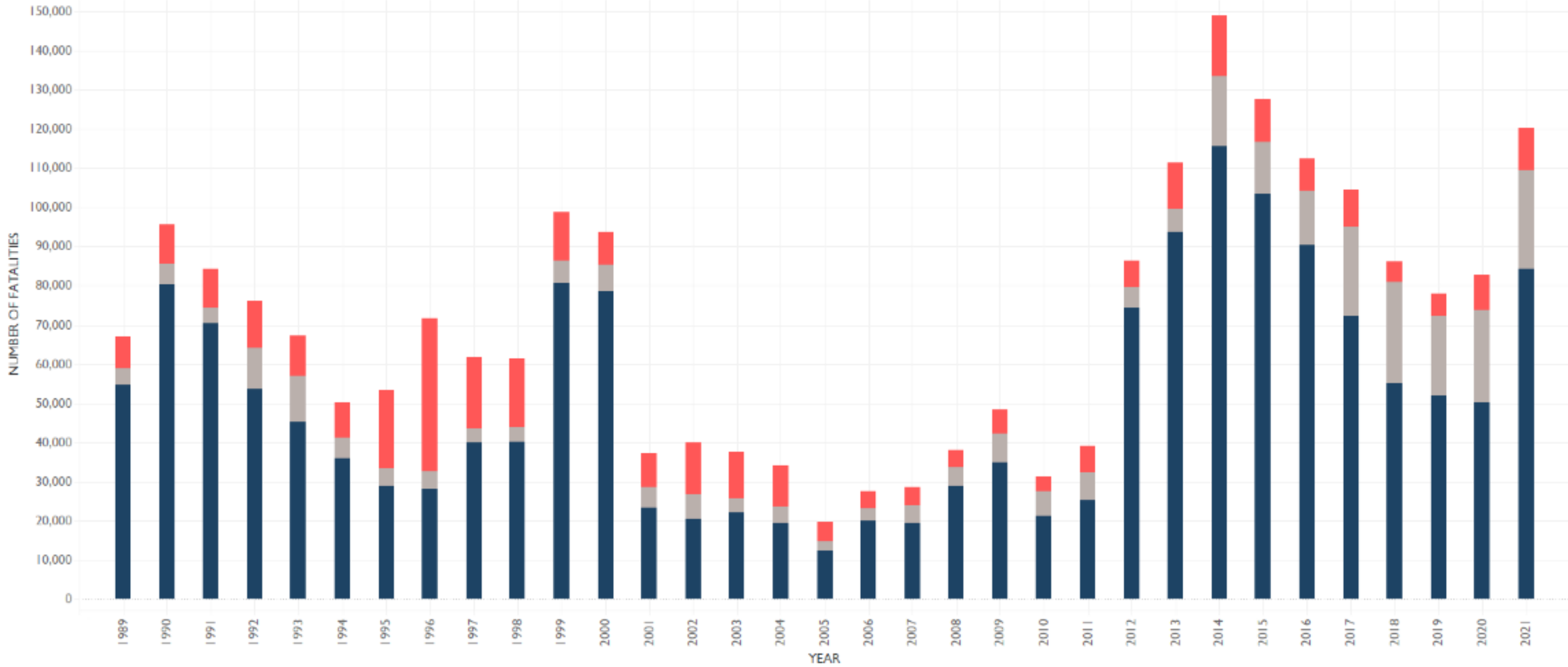


- Filter
- Total Number of Deaths  
1 354 134
  - State-Based Violence  
581 795
  - Non-State Violence  
65 499
  - One-Sided Violence  
706 840



## FATALITIES BY TYPE OF VIOLENCE (EXCLUDING RWANDA 1994), 1989-2021

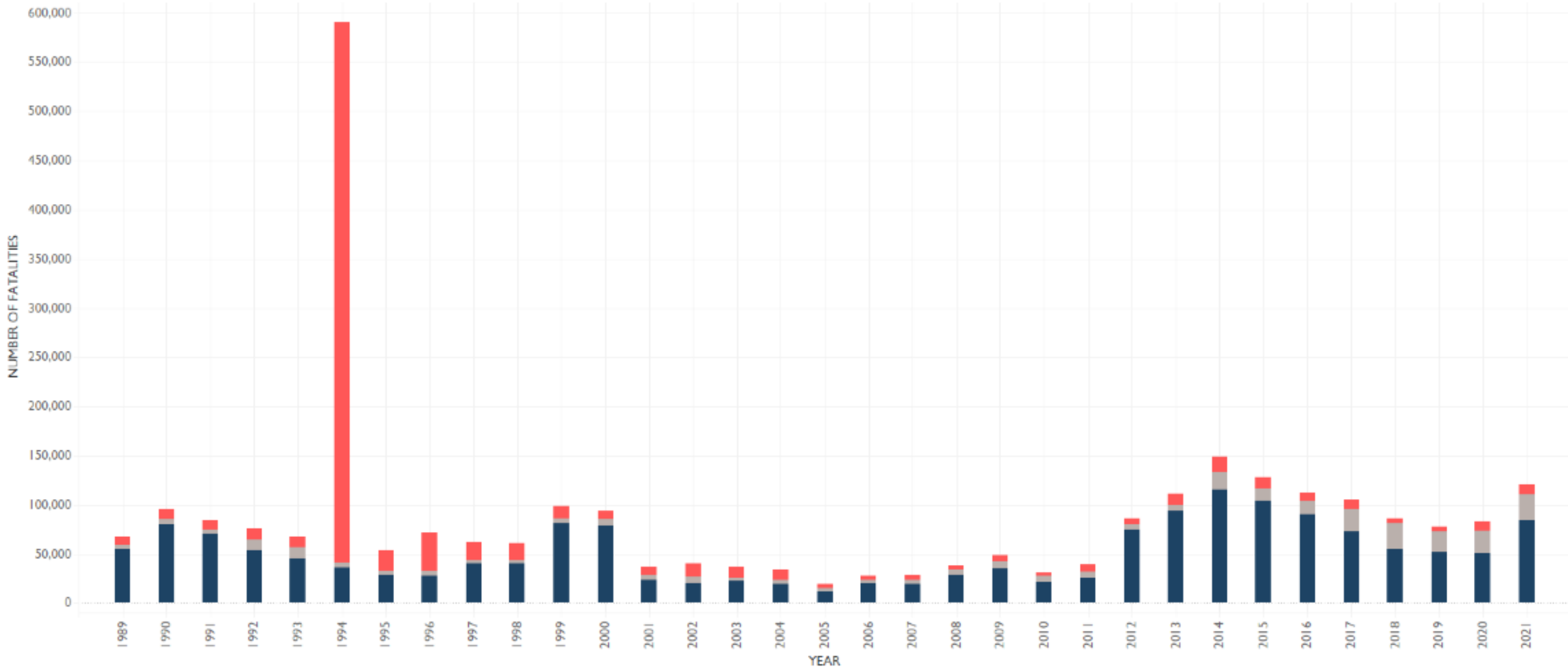
■ STATE-BASED VIOLENCE
 ■ NON-STATE VIOLENCE
 ■ ONE-SIDED VIOLENCE



Based on UCDP 22.1 data

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STATE-BASED VIOLENCE    NON-STATE VIOLENCE    ONE-SIDED VIOLENCE

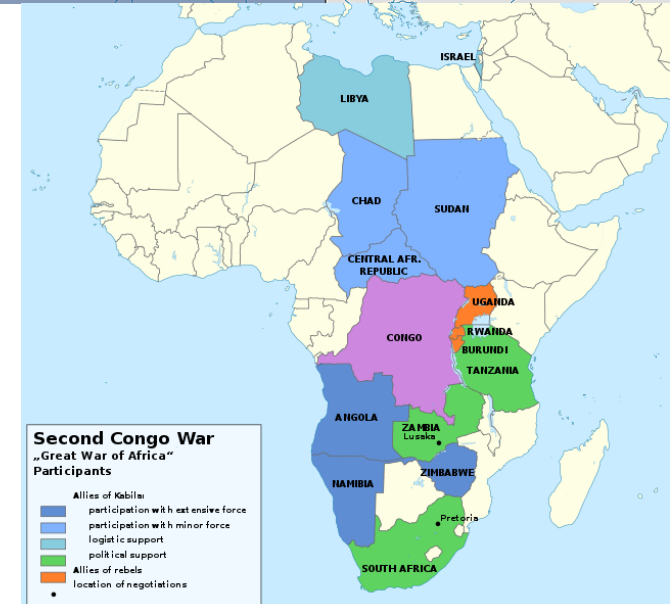
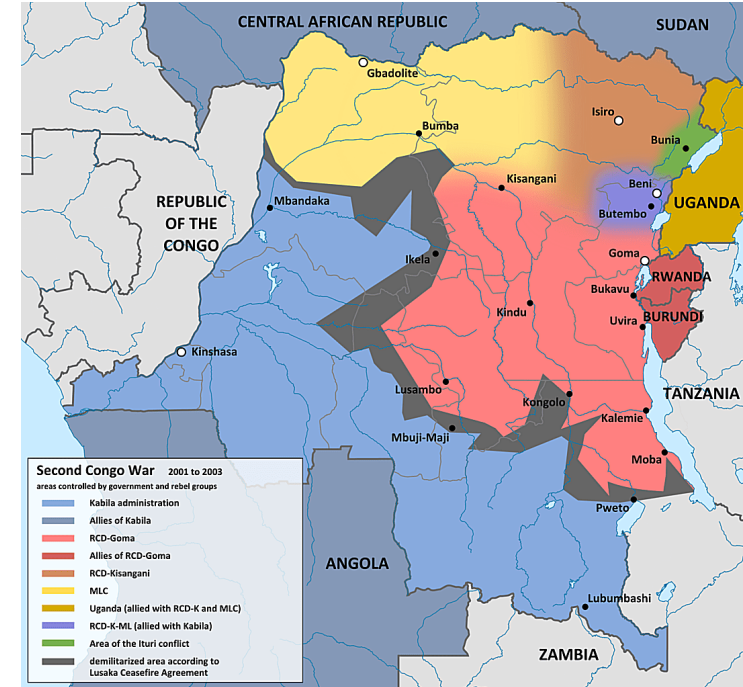


Based on UCDP 22.1 data



# How ethnicity is a root cause to tension in the Great Lake region

- Over 2.1 million Rwandans displaced in the region after the genocide (UNHCR)
- Establishment of rebel groups in neighbouring countries (Tutsi and Hutu)
- RPF supports Tutsi rebellion against Mobutu (Zaire)
- Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi support Kabilas coup in Zaire (First Congo war)
- SADC members Angola, Chad, Namibia and Zimbabwe enter the conflict
- Second Congo War, RPF attacks DRC, 5.8 million deaths (1998 – 2008)
- 2002, Sun City Agreement and Luanda Agreement, unstable peace
- Refugee camps /diasporas



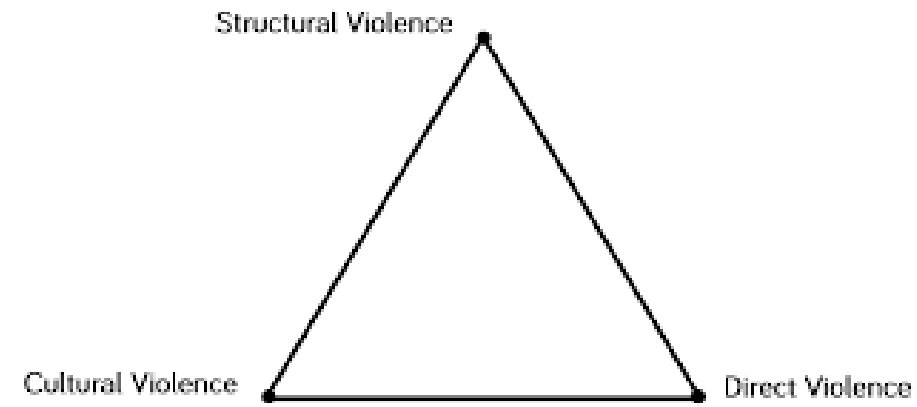
# Fragile state detour: The unfortunate state of Congo

- A troubled history
- Lack of centralization and institutionalization
- Why fragile states create conflict regions
- The struggle between autocracy and democracy
- De facto situation for civilians in Congo
- The Panzi hospital



# Summary

- Ethnicity is a major factor in the Global South
- Is prevalent in politics, economy, military and society
- The UN (& West) lacks tools and ambition
- How peace can be achieved
- Johan Galtung, triangles and different types of peace
- John Paul Lederach, cultivation and peace building



## Types of Actors

## Approaches to Building Peace

### Level 1: Top Leadership

Military/political/religious leaders with high visibility

Focus on high-level negotiations  
Emphasizes cease-fire  
Led by highly visible, single mediator

### Level 2: Middle-Range Leadership

Leaders respected in sectors  
Ethnic/religious leaders  
Academics/intellectuals  
Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Problem-solving workshops  
Training in conflict resolution  
Peace commissions  
Insider-partial teams

### Level 3: Grassroots Leadership

Local leaders  
Leaders of indigenous NGOs  
Community developers  
Local health officials  
Refugee camp leaders

Local peace commissions  
Grassroots training  
Prejudice reduction  
Psychosocial work in postwar trauma

Affected Population

# FATAL EVENTS IN 2021 BY TYPE OF VIOLENCE, CENTRAL AFRICA

Each point represents the location of an event and the size of the circles vary depending on the number of fatalities.

• STATE-BASED VIOLENCE • NON-STATE VIOLENCE • ONE-SIDED VIOLENCE

## Reference list

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