

# CONTENTS

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| <i>Illustrations</i>   | <i>vii</i>  |
| <i>Preface</i>   | <i>viii</i> |
| Introduction   | 1           |
| <b>Part I Background</b>   | <b>11</b>   |
| 1 Rwanda before Independence: A Contested History                    | 13          |
| 2 After Independence: Strategies for Elite Consolidation             | 19          |
| <i>Development as Legitimization</i>                                 | <i>23</i>   |
| <i>The Ideology of the Social Revolution</i>                         | <i>26</i>   |
| <i>The Roots of Prejudice</i>  | <i>27</i>   |
| <i>The Institutionalized Structure of Prejudice</i>                  | <i>34</i>   |
| 3 The Image of Rwanda in the Development Community                   | 40          |
| <i>The Importance of Development Aid in Rwanda</i>                   | <i>40</i>   |
| <i>The Image: Development against the Odds</i>                       | <i>42</i>   |
| <i>The Data</i>  | <i>46</i>   |
| <i>From Development to Relief: Explaining the Transition</i>         | <i>49</i>   |
| <b>Part II Crisis, Elite Manipulation, and Violence in the 1990s</b> | <b>51</b>   |
| 4 Political and Economic Crises and the Radicalization of Society    | 53          |
| <i>Economic Crises</i>   | <i>53</i>   |
| <i>Political Crises</i>  | <i>60</i>   |
| <i>From Elite Fear to the Incitation of Genocide</i>                 | <i>63</i>   |
| <i>Beyond the Standard Explanation</i>                               | <i>67</i>   |
| 5 Under the Volcano: The Development Community in the 1990s          | 82          |
| <i>On Knowledge and Ignorance</i>                                    | <i>83</i>   |
| <i>The 1990s Development Community</i>                               | <i>87</i>   |
| <i>The Broader Picture</i>   | <i>94</i>   |
| <b>Part III The Condition of Structural Violence</b>                 | <b>103</b>  |
| 6 From Structural to Acute Violence                                  | 109         |
| <i>Poverty and Inequality</i>  | <i>110</i>  |
| <i>The Forces of Exclusion</i>                                       | <i>118</i>  |
| <i>Prejudice and Humiliation</i>                                     | <i>127</i>  |
| <i>From Structural Violence to Genocide</i>                          | <i>136</i>  |

|         |  |     |
|---------|--|-----|
| 7       | Aid and Structural Violence  | 141 |
|         | <i>The Impact of Development Aid on Structural Violence</i>                | 141 |
|         | <i>Why the Blindness?</i>  | 154 |
| <br>    |  |     |
| Part IV | Two Issues: The Role of Civil Society and Ecological Resource Scarcity     | 161 |
| 8       | And Where Was Civil Society?   | 163 |
|         | <i>Overview of the Associative Sector in Rwanda</i>                        | 164 |
|         | <i>The Puzzle of Civil Society in Rwanda</i>                               | 167 |
|         | <i>Civil Society: Quantity versus Quality</i>                              | 169 |
|         | <i>On the Democratizing Impact of Civil Society</i>                        | 172 |
| 9       | The Role of Ecological Resource Scarcity                                   | 180 |
|         | <i>Rwanda's Ecology: An Overview</i>                                       | 184 |
|         | <i>Ecological Resource Scarcity: Challenges and Responses</i>              | 186 |
|         | <i>Genocide and Ecological Resource Scarcity</i>                           | 197 |
| <br>    |  |     |
| Part V  | Conclusions  | 203 |
| 10      | Why Did People Participate in Genocide? A Theoretically Informed Synthesis | 205 |
|         | <i>Political Science and Sociological Explanations</i>                     | 208 |
|         | <i>Psychological Explanations</i>  | 212 |
|         | <i>Additional Factors of Importance</i>                                    | 218 |
| 11      | Development Aid: Conclusions and Paths for Reflection                      | 224 |
|         | <i>The Dual Role of Aid</i>  | 224 |
|         | <i>The Politics of Development Interventions</i>                           | 232 |
|         | <i>Democratization and Civil Society</i>                                   | 234 |
|         | <i>Aid and Political Conditionality</i>                                    | 236 |
| <br>    |  |     |
|         | <i>Bibliography</i>  | 239 |
|         | <i>Index</i>   | 263 |
|         | <i>About the Author</i>  | 275 |