

Political representation in the aftermath of ethnic violence

A comparative analysis of Burundi and Rwanda

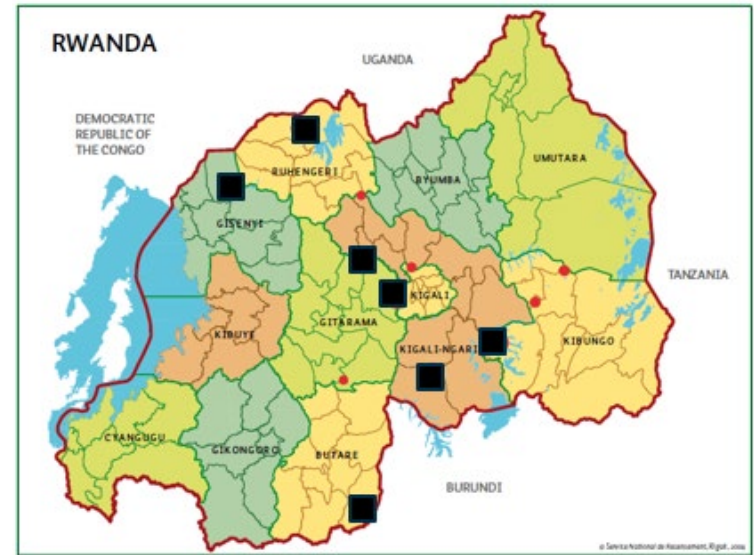
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University of Antwerp

Bert Ingelaere (1979-2022)

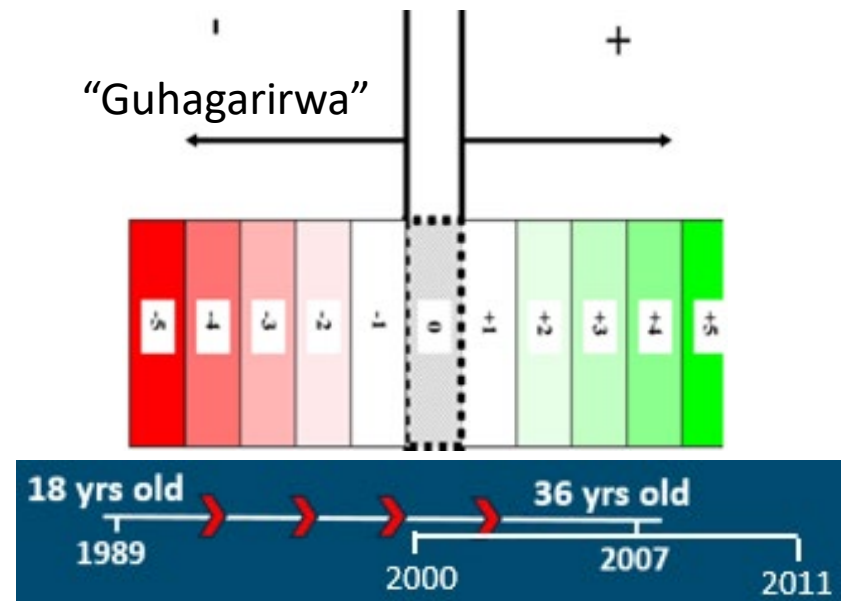


Unique life history data



Burundi	Male	Female	Total
Tutsi	46	30	76
Hutu	189	37	226
All	235	67	302

Rwanda	Male	Female	Total
Tutsi	59	79	138
Hutu	201	73	274
All	260	152	412



Narratives (2000 - ...)

“The authorities had accepted to share power with other politicians who were fighting”

(Burundi, Hutu, never moved, man, age 50, 2002)



THE
CONCEPT OF
REPRESENTATION

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin

“There was no Tutsi representative in our commune”

(Burundi, Tutsi, never moved, man, age 61, 2004)



“ J’avais la confiance envers les autorités ”

(Rwanda, Hutu, liberated prisoner, man, age 42)



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“Improvements in the detention conditions. It was possible and easier to chat with our friend prisoners”

(Rwanda, Hutu, accused, man, age 65, 2002)



- Formalistic
- Descriptive
- Symbolic
- Substantive

Narratives (2000 - ...)



THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin



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- Formalistic
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Input legitimacy
'standing for'

Output legitimacy
'Acting for'



Research question

Who experiences **gains and losses** in political representation after mass categorical violence and **why**?

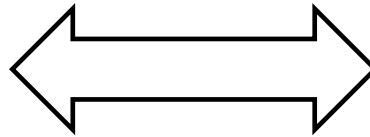
Motivation

Political representation issues often underly **identity-based political violence** and, when not resolved, may **re-ignite violence**

Contributions to literature

Different power-sharing approaches but **perspective of ordinary citizens** absent → we bring it in

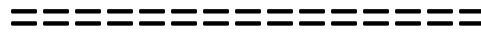
Comparative analysis



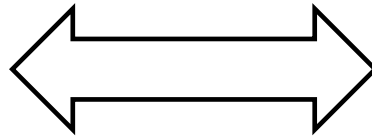
Comparative analysis



important & similar ethnic divide
(85% Hutu; 14% Tutsi)



Post-war reversal of ethnic power
relations



Comparative analysis



important & similar ethnic divide
(85% Hutu; 14% Tutsi)



Post-war reversal of ethnic power
relations

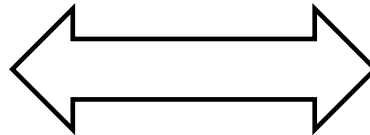


'Ethnic amnesia'

RPF achieves outright
victory

Tutsi minority gained
power

Economic miracle



Ethnic quota system

CNDD-FDD engages in
peace talks

Tutsi minority lost
power

Economic decline

GENERAL Research question

Who experiences **gains and losses** in political representation after mass categorical violence and **why**?

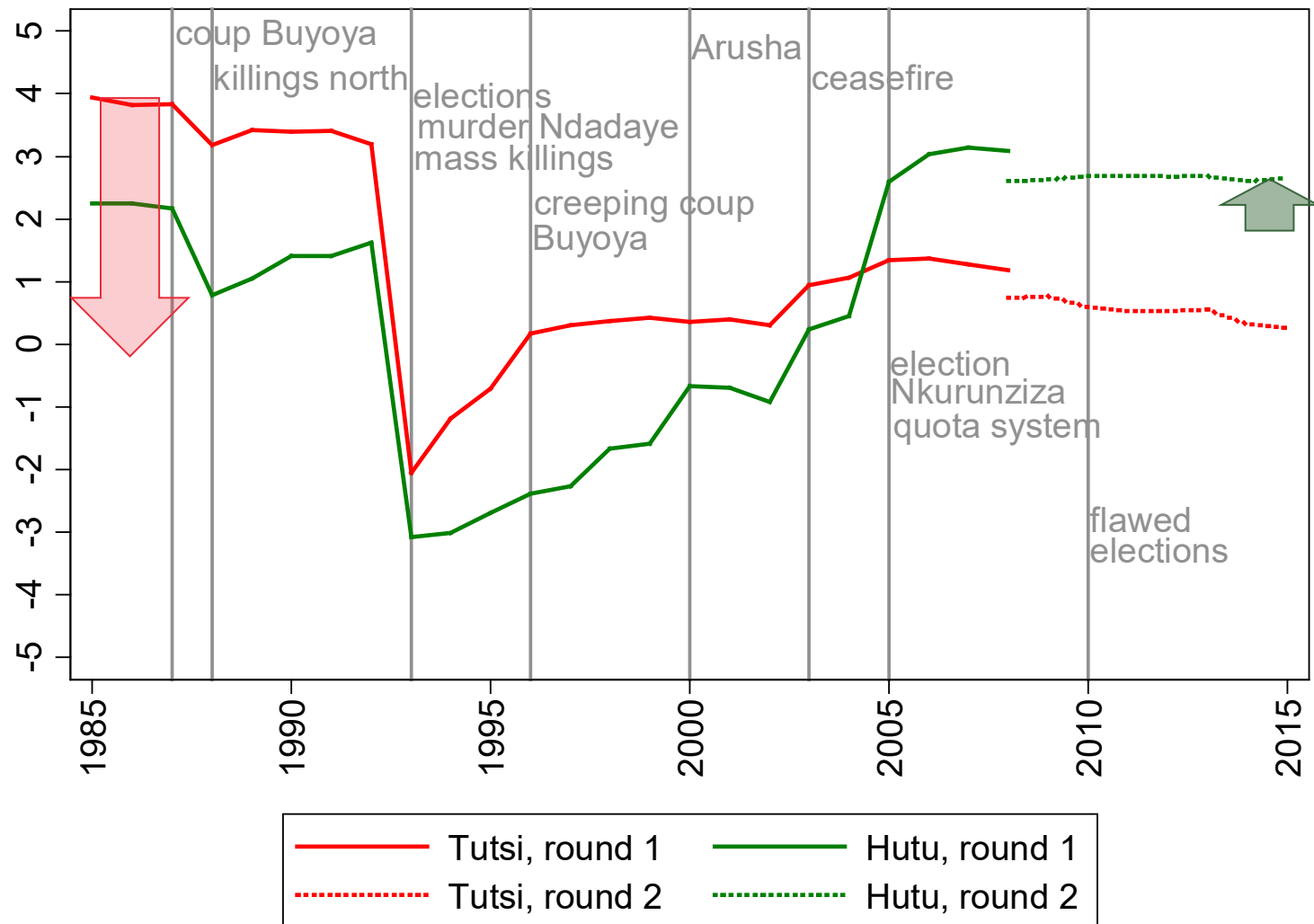
Specific questions

Do **Hutu in Rwanda** and **Tutsi in Burundi** perceive a loss in political representation – as their **descriptive representation** declines relative to the pre-war period?

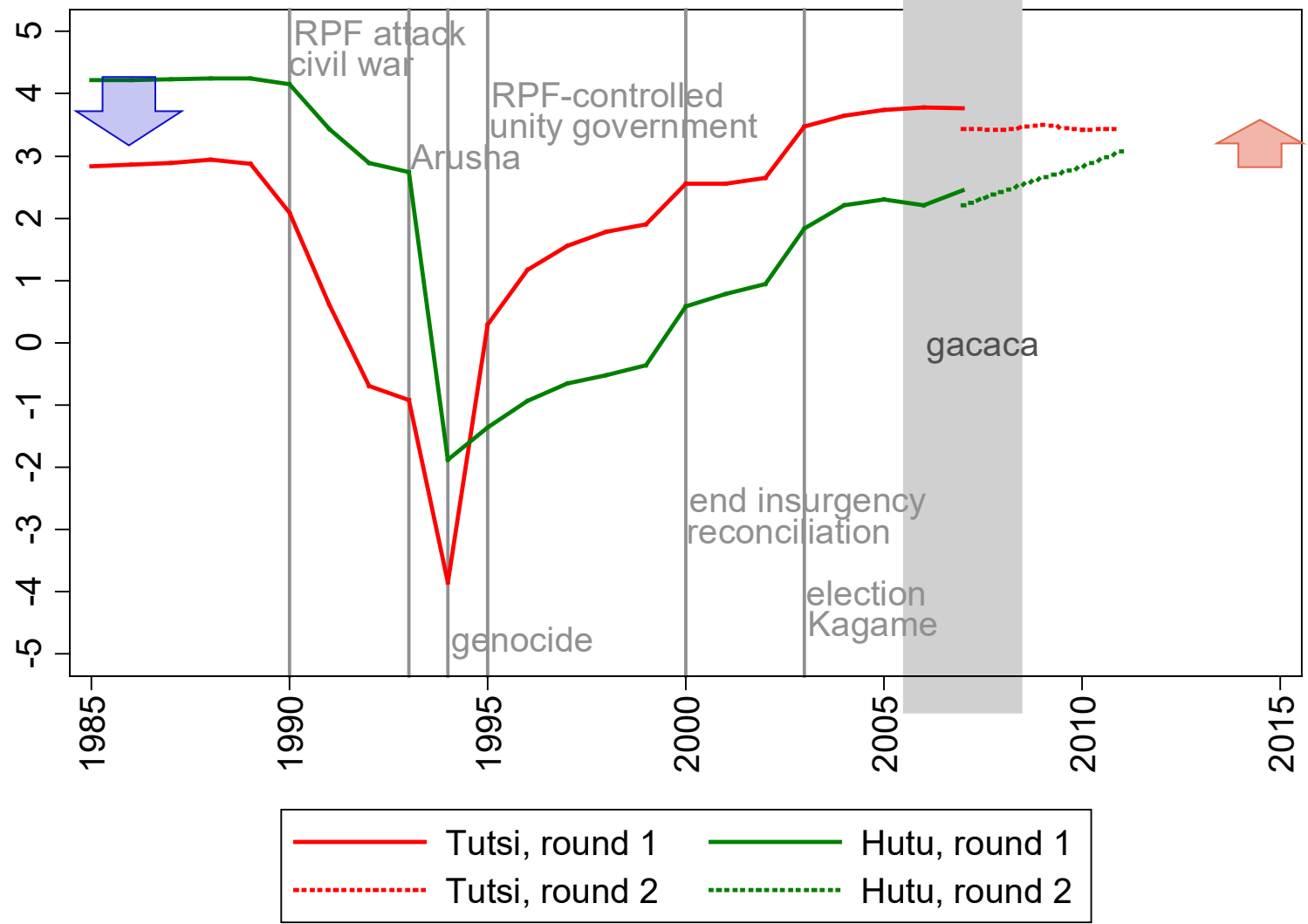
Is this perceived loss tempered by the **ethnic amnesia** policy (for Hutu in Rwanda), or by the **ethnic quota** approach (for Tutsi in Burundi).

Is the loss in the **'standing for' dimension** (descriptive & symbolic representation) compensated by **the 'acting for' dimension** (**substantive representation**)?

Finding 1a: Burundian Tutsi perceive loss in PR

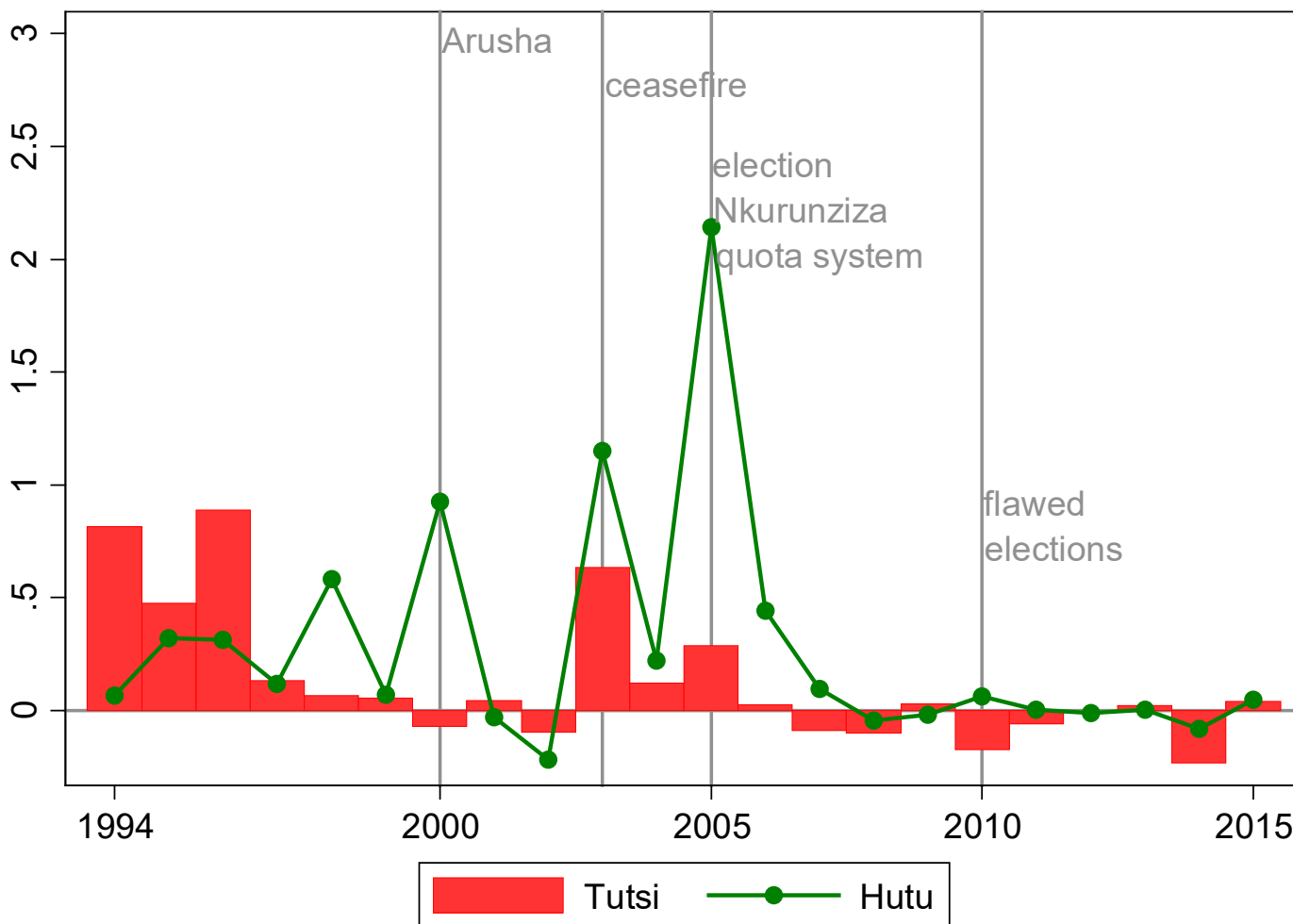


Finding 1b: Rwandan Hutu perceive loss in PR



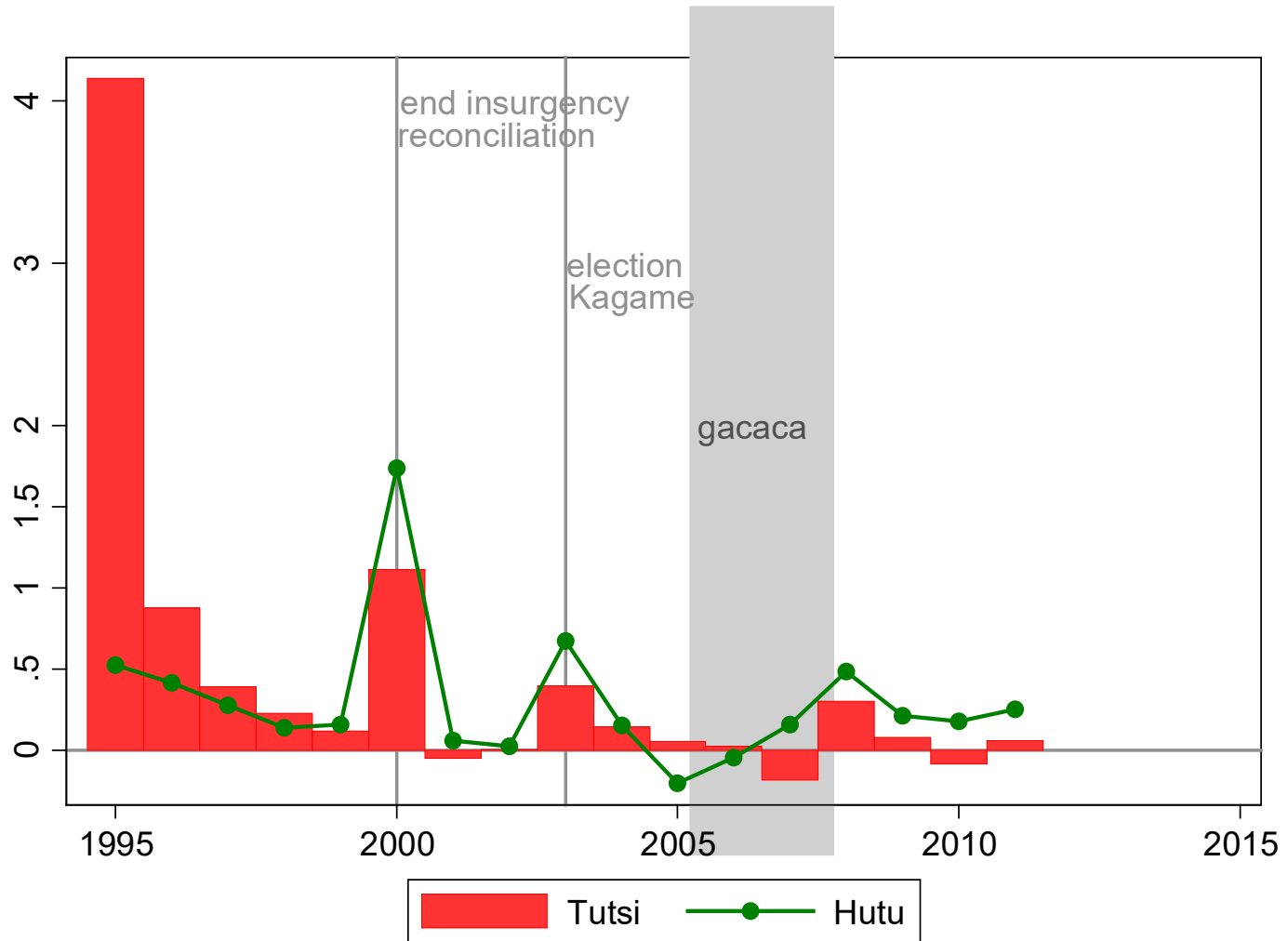
Finding 2a: ceasefire and 'free & fair' elections increase PR in Burundi, especially for Hutu

Changes

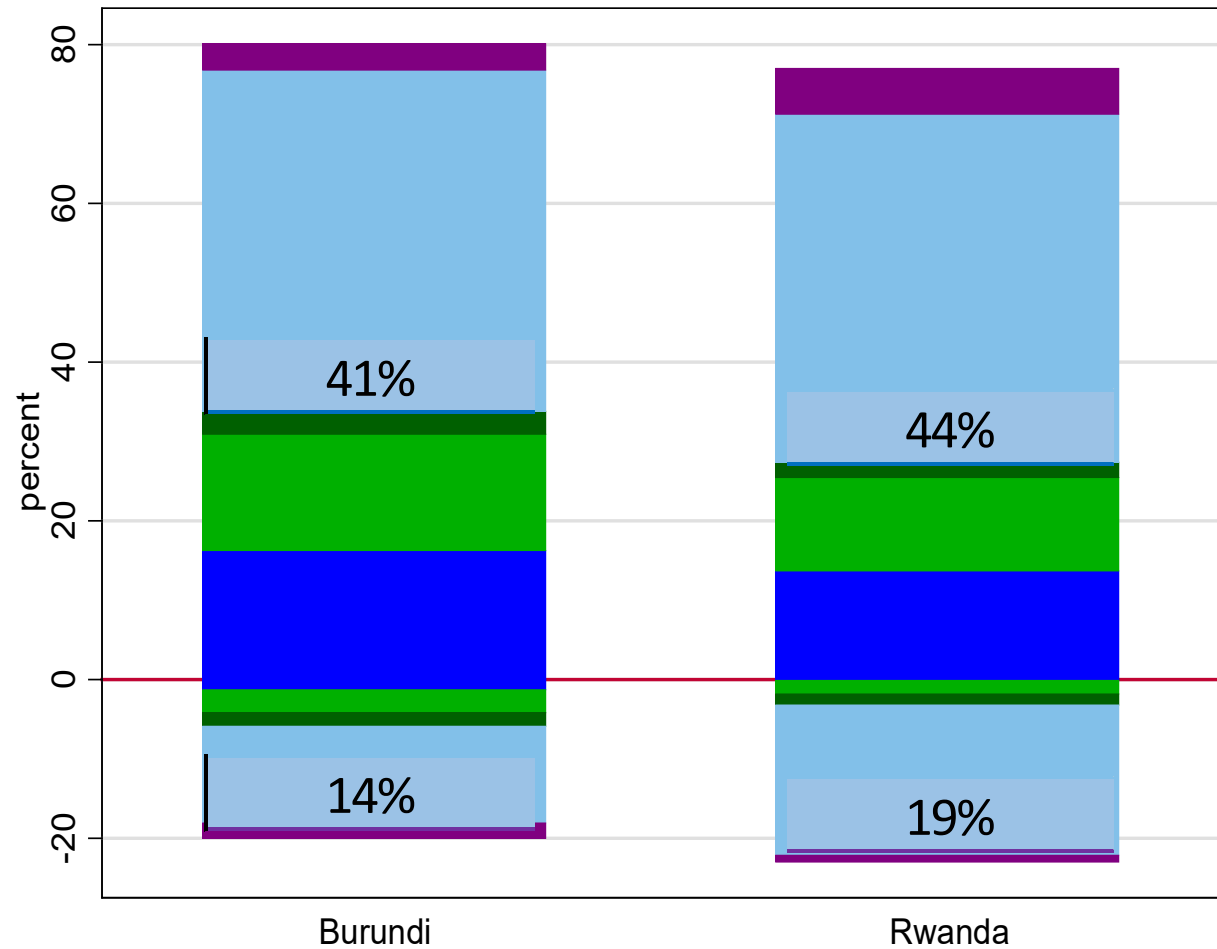
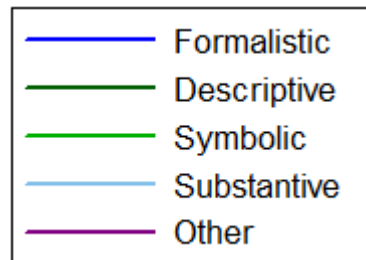


Finding 2b: reconciliation narrative and, to a lesser extent elections, increase PR in Rwanda

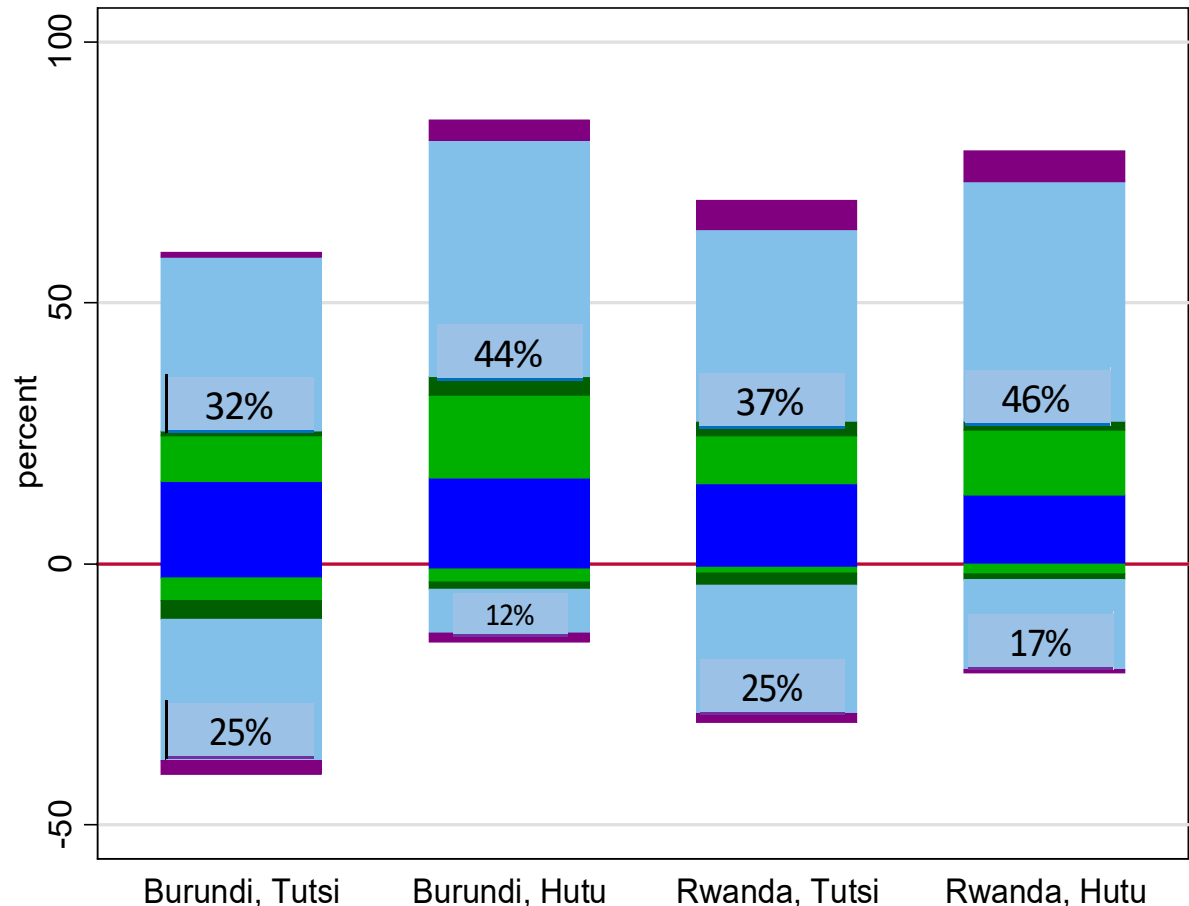
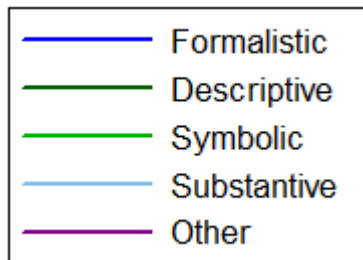
Changes



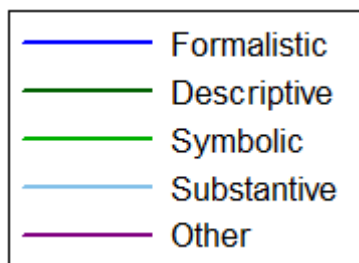
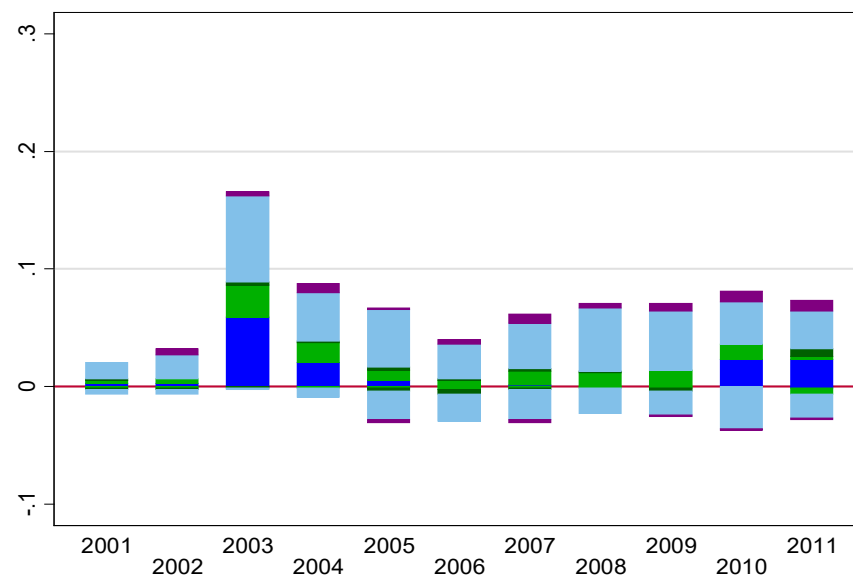
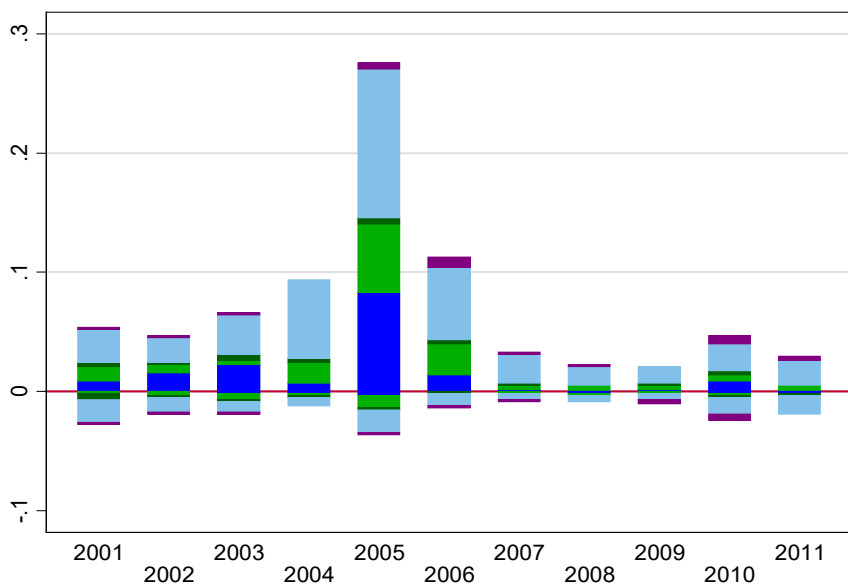
Finding 3a: substantive representation relatively more important in Rwanda than in Burundi



Finding 3b: substantive representation relatively more important in Rwanda than in Burundi, and even more so for Rwandan Hutu than for Rwandan Tutsi



Finding 4: changes in Burundi concentrated around elections versus spread out in time in Rwanda



Conclusion

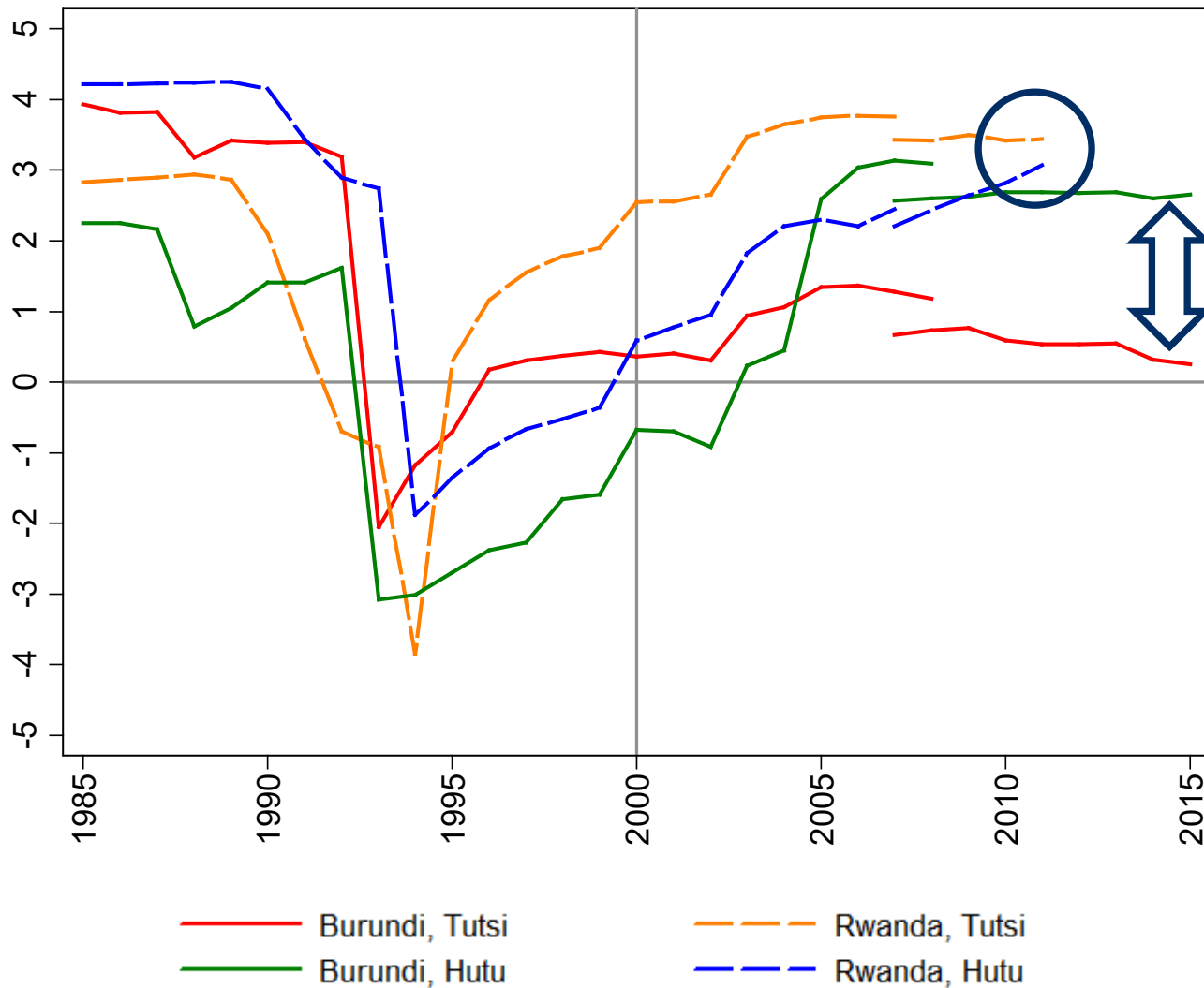
Who experiences **gains and losses** in political representation after mass categorical violence and **why**?

Do **Hutu in Rwanda** and **Tutsi in Burundi** report a loss in PPR – as their **descriptive representation** declines relative to the pre-war period? **YES, but hardly significant for Hutu in Rwanda**

Is this PPR loss tempered by the **ethnic amnesia** policy (for Hutu in Rwanda), or by the **ethnic quota** approach (for Tutsi in Burundi). **YES, Hutu in Rwanda also experience upsurge in PPR at times of formalistic representation.**

Is the loss in the **'standing for' dimension** (descriptive & symbolic representation) compensated by **the 'acting for' dimension (substantive representation)**? **YES, substantive representation especially high for Hutu in Rwanda**

Result: H/T convergence in PPR in Rwanda, but not in Burundi



Thank You!



Appendices

A comparative analysis of Burundi and Rwanda

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Recall bias

Social desirability bias

Confounding factors: outright victory of RPF and thus de facto power monopoly in 1994 vs... long period of rebellions and peace talks in Burundi and negotiated peace settlement, and actual shift in power mainly concentrated in 2005.

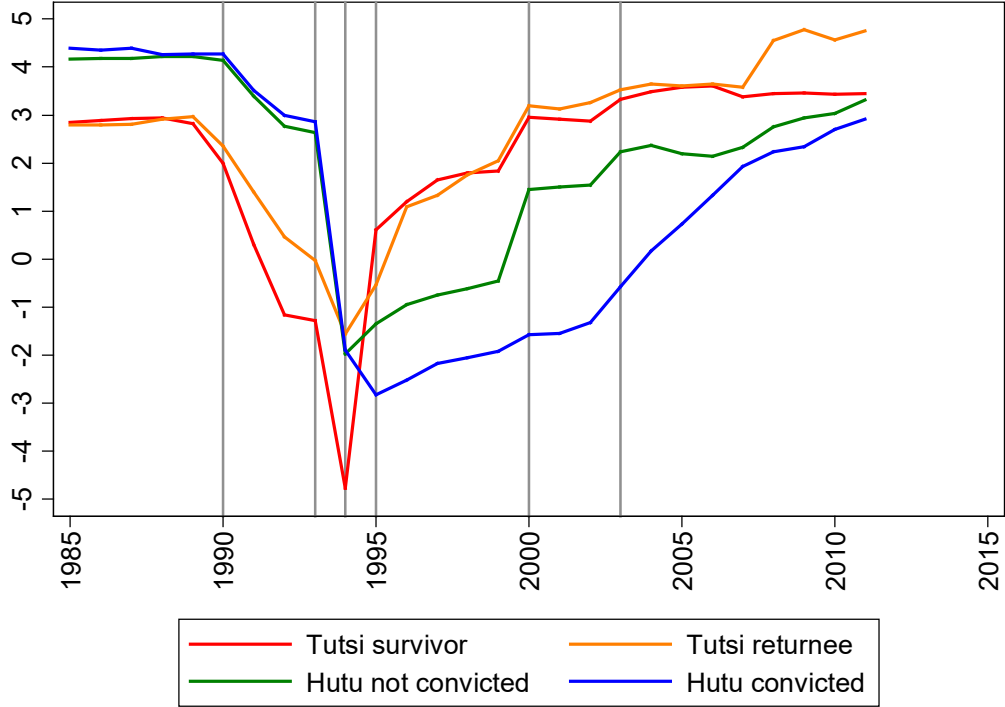
Conclusion

Descriptive representation is important, both in case of ethnic amnesia (integrationist approach) and ethnic quotas (consociationalist approach)

Macro-political events in aftermath of war, such as ceasefires, peace agreements and elections increase PPR indicating the importance of **formalistic representation**

A lack of input legitimacy ('standing for') can be compensated by output legitimacy ('acting for'), pointing to the importance of **substantive representation**

PPR by Rwandan subgroups



PPR by Burundian subgroups

