

Exclusionary Ideologies: *Geno/politicide*s are especially likely to be initiated by governing elites—including the leaders of contending authorities—who are committed to an ideology that excludes categories of people from what Helen Fein calls the universe of obligation.⁴ Exclusionary ideologies are belief systems that identify an overriding purpose (such as building a national state) or principle (such as defending the true faith) that is used to restrict, persecute, or eliminate categories of people who are defined as antithetical to that purpose or principle. Examples are strict variants of Marxist-Leninism, doctrinaire anti-communism, and Islamic law (*shari'a*)—when used as the principle basis for governance, as in Iran and Saudi Arabia. Minorities are especially likely to be targeted by regimes that advocate doctrines which assert the superiority of the dominant communal or national group over others.

Fragmentation/Competition within the Governing Elite provides opportunities for challenging groups to intensify their efforts to improve their status. Elites weakened by defections and challenges are more likely to rely on repression than accommodation to maintain control. Note that elite fragmentation is a likely consequence of political upheavals.

State Security Agencies that Operate with Few Legal or Institutional Restraints give challenged elites the means to ratchet up repression. Such entities are specially common in post-revolutionary states and in autocracies generally, and usually are the principal agents of flagrant rights violations and of *geno/politicide*

Charismatic Leadership that Generates Mass Followership, especially by appeals to intangibles such as national pride, prestige, or racial or ethnic consciousness. This style of leadership, coupled with exclusionary ideologies, is especially likely to lead to attacks on communal and political enemies in periods of general insecurity, for example during and after international and civil wars.