ETUDE COMPARATIVE DE LA REINTEGRATION DES EX-COMBATTANTS DANS LA REGION DES GRANDS LACS EN AFRIQUE : TRAJECTOIRES, PROCESSUS, ET PARADOXES

Randolph Wallace Rhea
Centre d’Etudes pour la Paix, Université de Tromsø

Juillet 2014
Cette étude a été produite dans le cadre du Programme transitionnel de démobilisation et réintégration (TDRP). Les observations, interprétations et conclusions présentées ici sont celles de l’auteur et ne reflètent pas nécessairement les vues du Conseil des administrateurs de la Banque mondiale ni des pays que ceux-ci représentent, ou bien les vues des bailleurs du TDRP.

La Banque mondiale ne garantit pas l’exactitude des données citées dans cet ouvrage. Les frontières, les couleurs, les dénominations et toute autre information figurant sur les cartes du présent rapport n’impliquent de la part de la Banque mondiale aucun jugement quant au statut juridique d’un territoire quelconque et ne signifient nullement que l’institution reconnaît ou accepte ces frontières.

Couverture : Duina Reyes
Le Programme Transitionnel de Démobilisation et Réintégration (TDRP) de la Banque mondiale souhaiterait exprimer sa gratitude à Randolph Rea et Qinyu Cao (Sabrina) pour ce rapport.

Randolph Rhea, l’auteur de cette étude, est un Doctorant Assistant de Recherche au Centre d’Etudes pour la Paix de l’Université de Tromsø, et il est membre du Groupe de Recherche International sur la Réintégration. Les recherches de M. Rhea sont axées autour des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans la Région des Grands Lacs en Afrique avec une attention particulière pour la réintégration sociale, les approches méthodologiques et analytiques pour l’étude de réintégration, et le suivi et évaluation des programmes de réintégration.

Le Centre d’Etudes pour la Paix (CPS) est situé à l’Université de Tromsø, Norvège. Le CPS a été créé en 2002 et est devenu un pôle d’enseignement supérieur et de recherche axé sur un large éventail de domaines du développement et de la consolidation de la paix. Le Centre d’Etudes pour la Paix accueille le Groupe de Recherche International sur la Réintégration (IRGR), composé à la fois du personnel de la faculté et de chercheurs et praticiens affiliés dans le domaine de la réintégration. Le CPS & l’IRGR effectuent des études interdisciplinaires et comparatives de la réintégration et collaborent avec de nombreuses agences norvégiennes et internationales.

Qinyu Cao (Sabrina) a synchronisé les données collectées à partir des diverses études conduites dans cinq pays par le TDRP et son prédécesseur, le Programme Multipays de Démobilisation et Réintégration (MDRP), créant ainsi la base de données de cette analyse transfrontalière. Au moment de la synchronisation de cette base de données, Mme Cao était en cours de Master en Développement International à l’Ecole Elliott des Affaires Internationales de l’Université George Washington. Mme Cao a ensuite rejoint le TDRP en tant qu’Adjointe aux Opérations en 2013 et travaille actuellement en tant que Spécialiste en Développement Social au sein du Groupe de Travail sur le Développement Social et Post-Conflit (AFTCS) de la Banque mondiale.

# Table of Contents

Remerciements ................................................................................................................. c
Liste des Acronymes ............................................................................................................ 4
1. Note à l’intention du Lecteur ........................................................................................ 5
2. Résumé Exécutif ............................................................................................................. 6
   2.1 Principales Conclusions ............................................................................................ 6
3. Introduction ..................................................................................................................... 9
   3.1 Méthodologie .......................................................................................................... 10
   3.2 Limitations et Défis ................................................................................................. 11
      3.2.1 Compatibilité de l’Enquête Individuelle du Pays de la RGL ................................. 11
      3.2.2 Comparabilité des Contextes de pays Individuels de la RGL ............................ 12
4. Réintégration en tant que Processus ........................................................................... 14
   4.1 An Individual Process ............................................................................................. 17
   4.1.1 An Individual Process ......................................................................................... 17
   4.1.2 Un Processus Unique ? ...................................................................................... 20
   4.2 Réintégration Trajectories ...................................................................................... 21
5. Méta-Analyse des Processus de Réintégration des Ex-Combattants dans la RGL ....... 22
   5.1 De la Mobilisation à la Démobilisation dans la RGL ................................................ 22
   5.1.1 Mobilisation En-dessous de l’Age de 18 ans ........................................................ 22
   5.1.2 Une longue Histoire de Mobilisation et d’Expériences de Guerre ........................ 23
   5.2 La Réintégration Économique dans la RGL .............................................................. 24
   5.3 Réintégration Sociale dans la RGL ......................................................................... 26
   5.3.1 La Logique du Capital Social dans la Réintégration ............................................ 28
   5.4 Les Femmes ex-combattantes dans la RGL .............................................................. 30
   5.4.1 Une Transformation Sociale plus Vaste des Dynamiques du Genre .................... 32
   5.5 RDC : Réintégration dans le Contexte d’un Conflit Continu .................................. 32
   5.5.1 L’Absence de Cohésion Sociale en RDC : Une Société Éclatée ....................... 33
   5.5.2 Le Paradoxe de la RDC : Parité versus Processus .............................................. 34
   5.6 Les Limites des Programmes de Réintégration ........................................................ 35
6. Conclusions .................................................................................................................... 37
   6.1 Réintégration : Une Transition incorporée ............................................................ 39
Travaux de Référence ......................................................................................................... 40
Annex I - Great Lakes Region
Ex-Combatant Reintegration: Comparative Survey Results and Analysis ............... 43
7. Demographics ................................................................................................................. 44
   7.1 From Mobilization to Demobilization .................................................................... 45
   7.2 Marriage and Household ....................................................................................... 48
   7.3 Literacy, Education, and Vocational Training ....................................................... 52
   7.4 Summary ............................................................................................................... 54
   7.4.1 Vulnerable Subgroups ....................................................................................... 55
14. Housing, Land, Livestock and Food Security ...........................................................110
   14.1 Land Access and Food Security .................................................................................................................................112
   14.2 Summary .....................................................................................................................................................................114
       14.2.1 Vulnerable Subgroups ...................................................................................................................................115
       14.2.2 Unique Country Trends ..................................................................................................................................115
15. Economic Issues .....................................................................................................116
   15.1 Economic Status and History .......................................................................................................................................116
   15.2 Non-Economically Active Community Members on Employment Issues .................................................................................................................................................................................................120
   15.3 Female Community Members on Employment Issues ................................................................................................121
   15.4 Income, Savings and Access to Credit ..........................................................................................................................121
   15.5 Economic Associations .................................................................................................................................................124
   15.6 Summary .....................................................................................................................................................................126
       15.6.1 Vulnerable Subgroups ...................................................................................................................................126
       15.6.2 Unique Country Trends ..................................................................................................................................127
16. Social Capital .........................................................................................................128
   16.1 Networks and Sociability .............................................................................................................................................128
   16.2 Trust and Solidarity ......................................................................................................................................................132
   16.3 Social Cohesion and Inclusion .....................................................................................................................................133
   16.4 Empowerment .............................................................................................................................................................134
   16.5 Social Change ..............................................................................................................................................................137
   16.6 Summary .....................................................................................................................................................................139
       16.6.1 Vulnerable Subgroups ...................................................................................................................................140
       16.6.2 Unique Country Trends ..................................................................................................................................140
17. Reintegration Experiences .....................................................................................142
   17.1 Community Sensitization and Preparedness ...............................................................................................................142
   17.2 Community Perspectives on Ex-Combatant Reintegration and Fear ............................................................................143
   17.3 Positive and Negative Perceptions of Ex-Combatants ................................................................................................145
   17.4 Summary .....................................................................................................................................................................146
18. Conclusions ............................................................................................................147
   18.1 The Community and Economic Reintegration ..............................................................................................................147
   18.2 The Community and Social Reintegration ....................................................................................................................147
   18.3 Female Community Member Sub-Group .....................................................................................................................148
   18.4 DRC – A Splintered Society ...........................................................................................................................................149
# Liste des Acronymes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDC</td>
<td>République Démocratique du Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCS</td>
<td>Etats Fragiles et Situations de Conflit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGL</td>
<td>Région des Grands Lacs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDDRS</td>
<td>Normes Intégrées de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Personnes Déplacées</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRGR</td>
<td>Groupe de Recherche International sur la Réintégration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDRP</td>
<td>Programme Multi-Pays de Démobilisation et Réintégration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>République du Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDRP</td>
<td>Program Transitionnel de Démobilisation et Réintégration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Note à l’intention du Lecteur

Ce rapport est structuré en trois parties. La Partie 1 est un document résumé, consistant en : (i) un résumé exécutif (ii) une introduction; (iii) une revue des concepts principaux de la réintégration auxquels il sera fait référence dans cette étude ; (iv) une méta-analyse des processus de la réintégration dans la Région des Grands Lacs (RGL) vis-à-vis la discussion conceptuelle; et (v) conclusions du document résumé. La Partie 2 (Annexe I) comprend une revue et une analyse des données approfondies sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans la RGL. La Partie 3 (Annexe II) consiste en une analyse approfondie des dynamiques communautaires dans la RGL. En bref, la Partie 1 de l’étude est un article méta-analytique et axé sur les connaissances qui reflète plus largement l’analyse détaillée des ensembles de données présentés dans les Annexes I et II, ainsi donc, cette partie peut être lue de façon autonome. Toutefois, il convient de noter que la lecture des conclusions détaillées présentées en Annexes I et II serait profitable.

2. Résumé Exécutif

Cette étude étudie les processus de réintégration par lesquels passent les ex-combattants, ainsi que les communautés qui les accueillent, au cours de la transition de l’état de soldat à celui de civil dans la Région des Grands Lacs (RGL) en Afrique (Ouganda, Rwanda, RDC, RC, et Burundi). Cette étude adopte une approche comparative portant sur plusieurs pays et capitalisant sur les données d’enquêtes collectées entre 2010 et 2012 à partir de presque 10,000 ex-combattants et membres de la communauté dans la RGL. C’est la première fois qu’un si large échantillon de données sur des ex-combattants venant de plusieurs pays est comparé et analysé de façon systématique. L’étude est donc à la pointe de la recherche quantitative empirique sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants.

Le positionnement des ex-combattants par rapport à la communauté en général s’avère un élément important de l’analyse des processus de réintégration. À ce titre, cette étude compare les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants à ceux des membres de la communauté et étudie la manière dont ces deux types de processus interagissent l’un avec l’autre. Notamment, la structure de base de l’analyse présentée dans l’analyse de données détaillée en Annexes I et II ne concerne pas seulement les ex-combattants et les processus grâce auxquels ils se réintègrent, mais aussi une enquête sur les communautés elles-mêmes, plus précisément leur volonté et leur capacité à absorber les ex-combattants de retour dans la société.

Cette étude donne un aperçu des dimensions sociales et économiques du processus global de la réintégration des ex-combattants et des membres de la communauté. Cependant, la discussion conceptuelle et l’analyse des preuves empiriques qui y sont présentées permettent également d’approfondir la compréhension des tendances générales des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants au sein de la RGL. De plus, les constatations de cette étude auront sans aucun doute une importance significative pour la compréhension des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants se déroulant dans des environnements extérieurs à la RGL.

2.1 Principales Conclusions

L’étude a conclu que dans la RGL, les ex-combattants ont en grande partie réussi à évoluer positivement au sein des processus de réintégration et ont adopté une démarche positive dans la recherche de la parité avec la communauté en général. Au sein de la RGL, on peut généralement observer une trajectoire de réintégration positive dans le temps malgré le fait que la plupart des ex-combattants rencontrent des barrières structurelles et de sérieuses difficultés sociales et économiques dans les processus de réintégration. Dans certains cas toutefois, les ex-combattants passent à côté de cette trajectoire généralement positive. Enfin, cette étude a constaté que les communautés de la RGL ont joué un rôle généralement positif dans la réintégration des ex-combattants, à de rares exceptions près.

Les communautés dans lesquelles les ex-combattants retournent et les dynamiques au sein de ces communautés représentent les environnements dans lesquels les ex-combattants doivent se réintégrer et constituent donc un élément crucial pour la compréhension des barrières auxquelles ces derniers sont confrontés et des processus par lesquels ils parviennent à se réintégrer. Il semble que dans les pays de la RGL, si les communautés empruntent une voie positive, comprenant une amélioration de la stabilité et de la cohésion sociale, alors les ex-combattants ont la possibilité de s’ancrer dans cette transition sociale plus vaste. Toutefois, si cette transition apparaît comme moins évidente, comme c’est le cas en RDC, il peut subsister des barrières structurelles aux possibilités de réintégration des ex-combattants. Par ailleurs, si les communautés ne désirent pas accueillir d’ex-combattants en raison de stigmates, de méfiance, de pénurie économique ou de peur, des limites à leur capacité d’engagement volontaire dans les processus de réintégration apparaîtront. De ce point de vue, la réintégration est un processus à
doit être vu comme impliquant la transformation des ex-combattants et des communautés, ensembles.

Au cœur de l’analyse présentée ci-dessous se trouve l’idée que les processus de réintégration peuvent, du moins partiellement, se dérouler indépendamment de la politique de réintégration et de sa programmation — par le biais de processus imbriqués simultanément dans la programmation. Avec ou sans l’assistance des programmes de réintégration, les ex-combattants de la RGL sont rentrés dans les communautés et ont navigué au sein de l’ensemble complexe de transitions auxquels conduisent les processus de réintégration. Ces derniers sont fondamentalement uniques en ce qu’ils dépendent fortement des caractéristiques des ex-combattants d’une part et des contextes dans lesquels ceux-ci se réintègrent d’autre part. Cependant, cette étude constate que malgré la large éventail de variations respectives dans les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants au sein de la RGL, il existe également des frontières à ces variations, ce qui forme les contours du tableau général de la réintégration des ex-combattants dans la RGL.

En effet, une conclusion essentielle de cette étude montre que malgré les tendances distinctes et les processus uniques affichés par le Rwanda, l’Ouganda, le Burundi, la RDC et la RC dans les diverses dimensions de la réintégration, leurs trajectoires globales de réintégration sont remarquablement similaires. Pour cette raison, l’analyse présentée dans cette étude se concentre principalement sur la trajectoire générale des processus de réintégration dans la RGL — n’abordant les processus distincts, spécifiques au pays, que lorsqu’ils divergent significativement de cette trajectoire générale. La rupture la plus notable à un niveau national dans cette trajectoire générale s’observe en RDC, où ressort une trajectoire des processus de réintégration sociale extrêmement timide, voire négative à certains égards.

Tandis que les conclusions de cette étude indiquent que les ex-combattants de la RGL ont en général réussi leurs processus de réintégration, ils sont malgré tout confrontés à de nombreuses difficultés. En guise d’exemple, les ex-combattants sont moins bien lotis que les membres de la communauté en termes d’activité économique générale, de richesse, et de sécurité des revenus — bien que cela ne doive pas indiquer un manque de réintégration. En fait, les ex-combattants affichent une trajectoire très positive au niveau des processus économiques. Les dimensions économiques de la réintégration sont importantes; cependant, les éléments de preuves obtenus au sein de la RGL suggèrent que les gains économiques des ex-combattants ne peuvent se concrétiser entièrement s’ils ne font pas partie d’un processus de réintégration sociale en parallèle, processus qui évolue plus lentement en comparaison.

En termes de processus de réintégration sociale, les ex-combattants sont confrontés à des barrières immédiates liées à la confiance et aux stigmates dans la communauté et mettent un certain temps à établir des réseaux sociaux et à construire un capital social solide au sein de celle-ci. La construction d’un capital social grâce à l’élargissement des réseaux sociaux, et ensuite l’instauration plus générale d’une cohésion sociale dans la communauté, se trouvent au cœur des processus de réintégration sociale dans la RGL. Le mariage et l’unité familiale constituent une des voies principales à l’élargissement des réseaux sociaux, mais restent des domaines dans lesquels les ex-combattants de la RGL font face à de nombreux obstacles. Encore une fois, cela ne suggère aucunement que la réintégration sociale est inexistante étant donné que des améliorations importantes sont visibles chez les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté. De plus, on observe globalement une bonne compréhension et donc acceptation de la longueur nécessaire des processus de réintégration. Ainsi, tandis que la réintégration sociale peut montrer globalement une trajectoire timide, et pourtant positive, il peut s’agir là d’une caractéristique inhérente à la nature lente des processus de remodelage de l’identité des ex-combattants, à leurs yeux et à ceux de la société, de l’état de soldat à celui de civil.

La segmentation cohérente des échantillons d’ex-combattants et de membres de la communauté par âge, sexe, et handicap, tout au long de cette étude a conduit à l’identification de sous-groupes en situation précaire distincts. Les jeunes ex-combattants (âgés de 18 à 30 ans) ont un retard considérable sur les autres ex-combattants en termes de réintégration sociale et économique. Cela semble être le résultat du temps perdu à établir une base sociale et économique solide tout en participant au conflit – la majorité de ceux âgés de 18 à 30 ans ayant été mobilisés lorsqu’ils étaient encore adolescents (en-dessous de 18 ans). Bien qu’ils soient à la traîne en termes absolus,
les jeunes ex-combattants affichent une trajectoire générale de réintégration positive dans la RGL. De la même manière, tandis que les ex-combattants handicapés font face à des difficultés uniques liées à leur santé, dont un potentiel amoindri de génération de moyens de subsistance, ils affichent également une trajectoire similaires positive.

Cependant, tant les femmes ex-combattantes que les femmes membres de la communauté se détachent considérablement de cette trajectoire générale de réintégration positive dans la RGL, les preuves disponibles indiquant une histoire distincte de handicaps structurels, particulièrement sévère chez les femmes ex-combattantes, qui met les deux populations en situation de risque de marginalisation et d’isolation sociale. En ce sens, les inégalités liées au sexe dans la RGL font partie d’une problématique plus vaste qui n’est pas propre aux ex-combattants. Comparé aux populations masculines respectives, les femmes ex-combattantes et les membres de la communauté affichent de façon constante des résultats plus faibles pour les indicateurs sociaux et économiques. Si l’on compare les femmes ex-combattantes et les membres de la communauté, celles-ci présentent presque toujours des résultats moindres. Il apparaît que les stigmates associés au statut d’ex-combattant ont dans une certaine mesure un effet amplificateur sur un éventail déjà distinct de handicaps liés à l’égalité des sexes auxquels les femmes membres de la communauté sont confrontées.

Au cœur des difficultés structurelles que les femmes ex-combattantes doivent affronter se trouvent les obstacles à la construction de nouveaux réseaux familiaux par le biais du mariage, et ensuite la capacité à influencer ces connections familiales en vue de l’obtention de résultats sociaux et économiques. En outre, les femmes ex-combattantes se portent moins bien que les autres femmes de la communauté en termes d’éducation et de compétences, une lacune qui doit être comblée si les ex-combattantes espèrent atteindre la parité avec les femmes membres de la communauté, à fortiori les hommes. Ces dynamiques positionnent les femmes ex-combattantes sur une trajectoire de réintégration globale très différente de celle des autres femmes qui, bien qu’elle soit positive, est si superficielle que la disparité entre les femmes et les hommes pourrait s’accroître – laissant les femmes dans une situation hau-

tement précaire comportant un risque de marginalisation sociale et économique accentuée.

La RDC fait l’objet d’une attention particulière dans cette étude en raison du caractère spécifique de la réintégration de ses ex-combattants dans la RGL. En RDC, tant les ex-combattants que les membres de la communauté sont confrontés à des difficultés sociales et économiques allant généralement au-delà de ce qui peut être vu dans les autres pays de la RGL. A ce titre, ceux-ci ont de plus mauvais résultats sur presque tous les indicateurs des processus de réintégration et de violence locale et d’insécurité continue dans l’Est de la RDC. Par conséquent, bien que les ex-combattants de RDC aient rapidement rattrapé les membres de la communauté au niveau des indicateurs de base de la réintégration, ils ont disposé de peu de fondements sur lesquels s’ancre au cours des processus élargis de réintégration.

Le cas de la réintégration des ex-combattants en RDC présente un paradoxe. La RDC est le pays de la RGL qui présente le niveau le plus élevé de parité entre ex-combattants et membres de la communauté au niveau des indicateurs de base. Bien que les ex-combattants de RDC soient confrontés à une gamme considérable de handicaps, le degré de ces handicaps dans la communauté élargie est relativement insignifiant comparé à d’autres pays de la RGL. Malgré tout, les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté de RDC sont sans doute les plus défavorisés de tous les pays de la RGL. A ce titre, les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants et de transformation sociétale plus générale en RDC apparaissent peut être comme les plus faibles de la RGL. Cette étude se trouve aux prises avec cette contradiction ainsi qu’avec ses implications pour la politique et les programmes en matière de réintégration. Il se peut que ceux-ci souffrent d’une limitation de leurs capacités, les empêchant de façonner directement certains éléments des processus de réintégration.
3. Introduction

Cet étude compare les processus de réintégration par lesquels passent les ex-combattants de la RGL d’Afrique lorsqu’ils retournent dans les communautés et voient leur identité évoluer de celle de soldat à celle de civil. La Banque mondiale a commandé cette étude comparative afin de contribuer aux études baselines et de suivi effectuées en 2010-2012 sur les processus de réintégration dans le cadre de l’appui du Programme Transitionnel de Démobilisation et Réintégration (TDRP) aux programmes de réintégration dans la RGL en Afrique – en particulier au Rwanda, Ouganda, Burundi, RDC et RC. Le but général de cette étude est de consolider les connaissances et la compréhension des processus de réintégration au sein du large éventail d’environnements existants dans la RGL.

L’étude utilise la nouvelle base de données fusionnée du TDRP-RGL de près de 10,000 ex-combattants et membres de la communauté dans la RGL. C’est la première fois qu’une collection aussi importante de données d’enquête sur les processus de réintégration est comparée et analysée systématiquement. À ce titre, l’étude est à la pointe de la recherche quantitative sur base empirique sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants. Les conclusions présentées dans cette étude représentent une première étape dans l’énorme quantité de données comprises dans l’ensemble de données du TDRP-RGL – des ressources qui sans aucun doute continueront de générer de nouvelles perspectives sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans le futur.

Cette étude ne fait pas partie du suivi et évaluation formel (S&E) des activités du TDRP dans la RGL ; il s’agit plutôt d’un document de connaissances axé sur l’acquisition de connaissances plus vastes sur la réintégration en tant que phénomène. Cela consiste à : (i) s’intéresser à et étudier tout un éventail de concepts et idées (de recherche principalement) tournant autour de la signification et de la nature fondamentale de ce qui est à réintégrer exactement (ii) utiliser ces concepts et idées pour réfléchir de manière générale sur l’expérience des processus de réintégration économique et sociale vécue par les ex-combattants dans la RGL, y compris la façon dont les membres de la communauté de la RGL ont perçu et se sont intéressés à ces processus (exposés en détail en Annexes I et II de cette étude) ; ces deux composantes et la discussion étroitement liée représentent (iii) un engagement dans un dialogue entre idées sur les processus de réintégration de manière générale, et preuves sur les processus de réintégration dans la RGL plus particulièrement.

Avec ces objectifs principaux en tête, cette étude doit être remise dans un contexte extérieur au paradigme traditionnel de la plupart de la littérature produite par les intervenants sur la réintégration des ex-combattants. En effet, cette étude s’offre le luxe de s’intéresser par moments à des concepts et idées académiques abstraits entourant la réintégration à un niveau qui correspond rarement aux raisons ou au mandat des intervenants de la réintégration dans le DDR. En ce sens, cette étude est conçue comme une passerelle entre les théoriciens et praticiens concernés par la réintégration des ex-combattants.

La structure principale de l’analyse présentée en Annexes I et II de cette étude n’est pas seulement à propos des ex-combattants et des processus par lesquels ils se réintègrent et leur position par rapport aux communautés, mais aussi une enquête sur les communautés elles-mêmes – leur volonté et leur capacité à absorber les ex-combattants de retour dans la société. La Partie 1 de l’étude se concentre sur une analyse de haut niveau des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans la RGL. Cette analyse de haut niveau est accompagnée d’une analyse de données plus détaillées en Annexes I et II, et étudie les domaines suivants :

i. **Démographie** :

Informations appartenant à une gamme standard de facteurs démographiques telles que l’âge, le sexe et le handicap en plus du statut marital et des niveaux d’éducation et de compétences professionnelles.
Hébergement:
Analyse des conditions de vie actuelle, dont : type d’hébergement et droit de propriété.

Terrres, Bétail et Sécurité Alimentaire :
Analyse de l’accès aux terres arables et mesures de la sécurité alimentaire générale.

Questions économiques :
Analyse du statut économique actuel ainsi que de la vulnérabilité perçue et réelle et des perspectives pour le future. En complément, une autre analyse est initiée sur les revenus, les économies, l’accès aux crédits, et les associations économiques, et les dimensions du genre et du handicap dans la réintégration économique sont étudiées spécifiquement.

Capital Social :
Analyse des composantes dynamiques du capital social, dont : sociabilité; confiance et solidarité; cohésion sociale et inclusion; autonomisation; et changement social.

Expériences DDR :
Analyse des expériences des ex-combattants et des membres de la communauté en matière de programmes de démobilisation et réinsertion ainsi que des phases initiales du retour des ex-combattants dans la communauté, dont g: niveaux initiaux de confiance, acceptation et stigmates dans la communauté.

3.1 Méthodologie
La méthodologie générale de cette étude est constituée de deux composantes principales :

i. Revue documentaire

ii. Analyse Quantitative

Cette étude fait appel à la base de donnée nouvellement créée du TDRP-RGL – qui fusionne les données collectées précédemment à partir des enquêtes de référence (baseline) et de suivi sur la réintégration des ex-combattants au Rwanda, en Ouganda, DRC, RoC, et Burundi menées par le TDRP de 2010-2012.1 Pour faciliter l’analyse ce vaste échantillon de presque 10,000 ex-combattants et membres de la communauté, la méthodologie de cette étude prévoit une phase d’examen intensif des évaluations et études précédentes menées en utilisant les données d’enquête provenant de chacun des cinq pays de la RGL. Ces études ont été de plus complétées par un passage en revue sélectif de la littérature académique contemporaine sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants ainsi que par des consultations informelles avec des experts sur la réintégration des ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL.

Les contributions totales aux échantillons de chacun des cinq pays de la RGL de cette étude ont varié considérablement et sont présentées ci-dessous dans le Tableau 1. Les échantillons de chaque pays ont été recueillis avec certains biais d’échantillons dirigés et ont tous rencontré des difficultés pour atteindre des compositions d’échantillon idéales. Pour de plus amples détails sur ces points, voir les études individuelles sur les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté de chacun des cinq pays de la RGL.2 Les informations traitant de détails plus spécifiques des compositions démographiques de chaque échantillon, et certains cas où les données de certains pays sont exclues ou manquantes sont présentées en Annexes I et II de la présente étude.

---

1 Les données collectées dans chacun des cinq pays de la RGL ont été saisies en partenariat avec les commissions DDR locales et les partenaires d’exécution locaux.
Pour minimiser le biais des résultats des tailles d’échantillons inégales des cinq pays, les données ont été pondérées pour cette étude. Les échantillons d’ex-combattants et de membres de la communauté de chaque pays de la RGL ont été pondérés respectivement de façon équilibrée. Les tendances générales des processus de réintégration dans les pays de la RGL sont telles que cette pondération provoque rarement une différence aux tendances globales de la région. Toutefois, dans plusieurs domaines clés, cela fournit un élément essentiel pour une analyse de données précise et nuancée.

Cette étude des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans la RGL est une méta-étude qui synthétise les conclusions émanant de précédentes études baseline et de suivi du TDRP. A ce titre, l’étude se fixe de combiner et contraster les données et résultats des précédentes études dans la RGL afin d’en tirer une compréhension de fond des processus de réintégration dans les pays de cette région. Cette compréhension est remise dans le contexte d’une pensée académique plus vaste sur les processus de réintégration en général. Tandis que les précédentes études et évaluations sur la réintégration des ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL ont privilégié une combinaison d’analyses à niveau micro (niveau individuel) et méso (sous-national), cette étude axée sur les connaissances évolue vers une micro / macro approche analysant les ex-combattants par segments démographiques principalement au niveau national, aux dépens d’une analyse au niveau sous-national (sous-région géographique ou groupe armé spécifique). A certains égards, cette approche fait perdre des éléments de détails par rapport aux études précédentes, mais en même temps, ce changement dans l’ébauche d’analyse permet de parler plus généralement du processus socio-économique de réintégration dans la RGL. Néanmoins, la difficulté à dépendre de façon générale les processus de réintégration dans les pays RGL versus les spécificités uniques des processus de réintégration est une source de tension fondamentale dans cette étude.

3.2 Limitations et Défis

L’étude s’est vue confrontée à tout un éventail de difficultés liée à la comparaison de données émanant de formats d’enquêtes, de compositions d’échantillons et de contextes d’analyses différents dans les cinq pays de la RGL. De manière générale, ces difficultés génèrent diverses limites qui entrent dans deux catégories: (i) la compatibilité des données d’enquêtes collectées dans les pays de la RGL; et (ii) la comparabilité des différents contextes de réintégration dans les pays de la RGL.

3.2.1 Compatibilité de l’Enquête Individuelle du Pays de la RGL

Le format des enquêtes des ex-combattants et des membres de la communauté de la RGL s’est avéré être un processus d’apprentissage itératif et de perfectionnement. Le Rwanda a été le premier pays de la RGL dans lequel le format de l’enquête a été testé et développé. L’itinéraire d’apprentissage et des données qui est sorti de ce format original a ensuite influencé l’élaboration d’un deuxième format consolidé et personnalisé par rapport aux besoins spécifiques des études au Burundi, en Ouganda, RDC et RC; toutefois, ses composantes de base sont restées cohérentes depuis ce format consolidé. En effet, les données qui existent dans la base de données du TDRP-RGL pour le Rwanda couvrent une gamme de sujets similaires au deuxième format utilisé dans les pays de la RGL, mais sont souvent formatées de telles façon à ce que les données du Rwanda ne soient pas directement comparables à celles des autres pays de la RGL. De ce fait, inclure le Rwanda dans toute la gamme des analyses de cette étude s’est avéré difficile. Les cas où le Rwanda est exclu des conclusions sur les données détaillées en Annexe I et II de cette étude font l’objet de notes de bas de page. Voir la Section 7 en Annexe I pour plus de précisions.

Les données de l’enquête dans la base de données du TDRP-GLR pour les membres de la communauté au Burundi ont également montré quelques problèmes. Au Burundi, une version simplifiée du format d’enquête complet a été utilisé pour interroger les membres de la communauté. Par ailleurs, ce format ne comprenait pas les informations démographiques de base. En raison de ces “données manquantes”, inclure les membres de la communauté au Burundi dans toute la gamme des analyses de cette étude s’est avéré difficile. Pour de plus amples détails, se référer à la Section 13 en Annexe II de cette étude.

Du fait des deux cas discutés ci-dessus, les différences dans le formatage des données des enquêtes au Rwanda et les données manquantes dans les enquêtes des membres de la communauté au Burundi, cette étude peut parfois ressembler à une étude comparative n’incluant que la RDC, la RC et l’Ouganda. Further, at times there is extended analysis nuancing specific
points in the survey data that is drawn specifically from Uganda. It convient de noter que cela n’indique en aucun cas une focalisation excessive sur l’Ouganda, cela suggère en fait que l’éventail de données d’enquêtes collectées en Ouganda est la plus importante – et dans de nombreux cas il s’agit du seul pays de la RGL possédant des données disponibles pour apporter des nuances dans l’analyse, étant donné que le format d’enquête de l’Ouganda est l’itération la plus développée utilisée dans cette étude et comprend l’éventail de données le plus complet.

Deux problèmes quant à la validité de l’échantillon, posant des limites à l’analyse de cette étude, se présentent. Le premier concerne l’absence d’analyse des ex-combattants âgés de moins de 18 ans dans cette étude. Il y avait 326 répondants âgés de moins de 18 ans (300 ex-combattants et 26 membres de la communauté) dans l’échantillon total d’ex-combattants des cinq pays de la RGL. Ces 326 individus ont été omis dans l’analyse de cette étude pour deux raisons majeures : (i) la saisie systématique des informations appartenant aux dynamiques spécifiques de la réintégration auxquelles sont confrontées les mineurs était absente des enquêtes effectuées dans les pays de la RGL – à l’exception de la RDC, où 291 ex-combattants sur le total de 300 en-dessous de l’âge de 18 ans ont été échantillonnés ; et (ii) les problèmes de validité que le petit échantillon d’ex-combattants sous l’âge de 18 ans (venant presque entièrement de RDC encore une fois) rend toute analyse significative et valide infaisable.

Les données démographiques concernant la santé et le handicap constituent également un défi dans l’échantillon total des membres de la communauté de la µRGL. Les données sur la santé et le handicap pour les membres de la communauté ont seulement été collectées au Rwanda et en Ouganda, et pas du tout au Burundi, en RDC et en RC. Malheureusement, les données du Rwanda et de l’Ouganda se limitent à 58 membres de la communauté handicapés échantillonnés (49 du Rwanda et 9 d’Ouganda). Ainsi, établir des comparaisons valides entre ces deux échantillons de 49 et 9 membres de la communauté handicapés est considéré comme étant infaisible ; par ailleurs, comparer ces 58 membres de la communauté aux 454 ex-combattants handicapés dans cette étude générera d’autres problèmes de validité. Pour ces raisons, l’analyse des membres de la communauté sur la base du handicap n’est pas présente dans l’Annexe II de cette étude.

Pour les ex-combattants, le handicap a été défini différemment pour les enquêtes baseline et de suivi menées dans chacun des pays RGL. Une analyse détaillée des données de réintégration des ex-combattants en Annexe I expose la logique par laquelle les diverses définitions du handicap ont été intégrées dans cette étude. Voir la Section 7 pour les détails précis.

3.2.2 Comparabilité des Contextes de pays Individuels de la RGL

Tandis que les conflits des pays de la RGL sont étroitement liés, les environnements dans lesquels ils ont eu lieu et les environnements dans lesquels les ex-combattants se réintègent sont fondamentalement uniques. Les singularités des contextes nationaux de la RGL génèrent des difficultés fondamentales pour la comparaison des processus de réintégration à un niveau très précis. Cela soulève la question du “comment peut-on comparer systématiquement des contextes variés afin d’en tirer des conclusions applicables à un niveau général qui parviennent également à préserver les particularités existantes dans chacun des cas ?” En effet, la tension entre le général et le spécifique est peut être au cœur du défi méthodologique de cette étude. Cette étude a tenté d’équilibrer l’analyse de données détaillée en Annexes I et II avec l’analyse générale présentée dans le résumé du document.

Au-delà de cette tension fondamentale entre le général et le spécifique, un certain nombre de domaines ont été considérés comme étant en grande partie spécifiques et sont ainsi exclus de la portée de cette étude, assurant un travail focalisé sur leur propre cas dans d’autres études. Dans celle-ci, il n’y a pas d’analyse des ex-combattants par groupe armé. Au plan national, seules les difficultés en matière de réintégration auxquelles sont confrontés les différents groupes armés dans cette nation sont essentielles ; au niveau régional toutefois, cela peut finir à comparer des pommes avec des oranges. Différents groupes armés ont des activités de guerre différentes et attirent des membres différents pour la mobilisation pour des raisons différentes. Dans la RGL, il y a pléthore de groupes armés, de tailles différentes, avec des objectifs différents, et avec un modus operandi différent également qui sont passés par les processus de réintégration. Tous ces facteurs ont un impact sur les expériences uniques de la réintégration vécues par les
groupes d’armés spécifiques. Dans le contexte de cette étude, l’analyse par groupe est armé est jugée infaisable. Les futures études par contre pourraient se concentrer éventuellement sur tout l’éventail de processus de réintégration par lesquels passent les membres des groupes armés réguliers versus non-réguliers – par exemple, s’ils sont différents et jusqu’à quel point.

Cette étude ne propose pas d’analyse directe des processus de réintégration rencontrés par les ex-combattants par région géographique sous-nationale. Les caractéristiques sociales (ex. ethno-religieux / culturels) et économiques (ex. urbain vs. rural) des différentes régions créent des contextes différents pour la réintégration. Il s’agit là de dimensions essentielles pour comprendre les divers processus de réintégration au niveau national ; cependant, au niveau régional de la RGL dans son ensemble, adopter ce cadre élargirait de beaucoup la portée de cette analyse et est donc considérée comme n’entrant pas dans le champ de cette étude.

Cette étude ne propose pas de périodisation systématique des processus de réintégration ayant lieu dans les pays de la RGL. Tandis que les données utilisées pour cette étude ont toutes été collectées à une période plus ou moins similaire entre 2010 et 2012, certaines questions des enquêtes présentées en Annexes I et II se réfèrent à des événements (tels que la démobilisation) qui se sont déroulés à diverses périodes proche de la période de l’échantillon. En raison des dynamiques temporelles uniques des processus de réintégration dans chacun des pays de la RGL, une synchronisation des questions propres aux périodes est largement jugée infaisable pour l’analyse dans cette étude.

Enfin, cette étude ne prévoit pas de comparaison systématique des composantes des programmes DDR dans les pays de la RGL étant donné que son axe principal est le processus de réintégration des ex-combattants se déroulant dans les pays de la RGL par opposition à l’éventail de programmes et politiques visant à avoir un effet sur ces processus dans chaque pays. Il est vrai que les composantes de programmes sont pertinentes pour comprendre les processus de réintégration et elles sont présentées lorsque cela s’avère nécessaire pour une mise en contexte. Malgré tout, elles ne sont pas systématiquement saisies étant donné que cela sort du cadre fondamental de l’étude. Les futures études gagneraient à lier la compréhension générale des processus de réintégration ici présentés avec les diverses approches de programmation.

En dépit des limitations énumérées ci-dessus, la synchronisation et la fusion des données d’enquête précédemment collectées sur les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté dans la RGL représentent un véritable pas en avant dans la recherche conduite de façon empirique sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants. En comparant systématiquement les expériences de réintégration des ex-combattants et les communautés qui les accueillent dans de nombreux environnements, nous pouvons commencer à consolider notre compréhension des caractéristiques des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants allant au-delà du contexte spécifique du pays. Adopter cette perspective transfrontalière explicite peut surtout nous aider à consolider une compréhension de base de la forme générale et de la nature du processus de réintégration des ex-combattants tels qu’ils se déroulent dans la RGL ou même dans un contexte élargi.
La section suivante expose plusieurs concepts essentiels de la réintégration :

i. distinction analytique entre réintégration en tant que processus de niveau individuel au sein duquel les ex-combattants évoluent et réintégration en tant qu’organe politique et programmatique que les professionnels du DDR mettent en œuvre ;

ii. expérience de la réintégration en tant que processus des ex-combattants – essentiellement sociale et psychologique en nature ;

iii. similitude conceptuelle sous-jacente du processus de réintégration des ex-combattants avec celle des autres groupes (ex. réfugiés et personnes déplacées internes) dans les Etats Fragiles et les Situations de Conflits (FCS) plus généralement.

Afin de résoudre les ambigüités liées aux processus complexes de réintégration dans un large éventail de contextes, l’outil conceptuel des trajectoires de réintégration est présenté.

Ces concepts alimentent implicitement la discussion de la Section 5 et l’analyse de données plus détaillée en Annexes I et II.

4.1 La Réintégration en tant que Processus

L’idée sous-jacente au cœur des analyses de cette étude est la distinction conceptuelle entre deux parties de la réintégration qui se chevauchent. La première est la réintégration au titre de partie de la politique et de la programmation du Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réintégration (DDR). Ce type de réintégration est l’activité de programmation consistant à assister le retour des combattants dans la société dans le cadre de leur transition de combattant à civil. Deuxièmement, il y a la réintégration en tant que processus. Ce type de réintégration est le processus social et économique par lequel l’individu ex-combattant rentre dans les commu-

nautés, établit des moyens de subsistance économiques, et peut-être le plus important, remet en place des connexions sociales dans la communauté – remodelant leur propre identité et leur identité aux yeux de la société, de celle de soldat à celle de civil avec ou sans aide des programmes de réintégration.3

Bien que le distinguo entre ces deux types de réintégration puisse sembler quelque peu abscons, la profonde distinction ontologique entre la réintégration en tant que activités de programmation et réintégration en tant que processus ne doit pas être négligée.4 Au cœur de cette distinction se trouve l’idée que la réintégration en tant que processus par laquelle les individus et les communautés passent est indépendante conceptuellement des activités de programmation de la réintégration. Les ex-combattants, réfugiés, déplacés internes, et autres groupes affectés par les conflits se réintègrent tous dans la société dans des environnements fragiles (FCS), avec ou sans l’aide des programmes de réintégration.5

3 Cette étude est à peine la première à reconnaître la distinction analytique entre réintégration en tant que programme et réintégration en tant que process – bien que ce point soit souvent implicite dans de nombreux textes – voir par exemple Bowd & Özerdem (2013). Pour une bonne définition particulièrement explicite, voir Torjesen (2013). Cette distinction appelle à une contradiction. D’un côté, faire la distinction entre les promesses et les programmes ouvre un espace de dialogue entre les preuves et les idées dans cette étude. D’un autre côté toutefois, dans la pratique, les programmes et les processus sont intrinsèquement liés, exerçant une force l’un sur l’autre. Dans ce sens, l’étude doit envisager le ceteris paribus (toutes choses étant égales par ailleurs) lorsqu’elle aborde les processus dans la RGL de façon globale.

4 Une manière possible de faire valoir cette distinction ontologique est de penser de façon épistémologique. Étudier l’activité implique principalement de se concentrer sur la politique et les programmes et de leur interaction avec les ex-combattants. À l’inverse, étudier les processus de réintégration concerne principalement les processus individuels que les ex-combattants eux-mêmes expérimentent et dans lesquels ils évoluent, et l’interaction de ces processus avec la politique et les programmes. Cette distinction ontologique est à la base de la discussion conceptuelle abordée dans cette section de l’étude.

5 Torjesen (2013) marque un point important en indiquant que du fait de la nature habituellement involontaire de la participation dans les programmes de réintégration, il y a beaucoup d’ex-combattants qui passent...
Reconnaître cette distinction veut dire reconnaître que les processus de réintégration sont essentiellement des processus humains traversés par individus, et qu’il se peut que leur forme sous-jacente ne soit pas propres aux ex-combattants seulement (voir Section 4.1.1). Effectivement, en allant jusqu’au bout extrême de cette idée, certains académiciens ont utilisé la distinction entre programme et processus pour postuler que les processus de réintégration sont fondamentalement “…” sans rapport avec les programmes DDR, qui ont peu à apporter en matière de *processus* de retour et dans la plupart des cas, la famille, la communauté des ex-combattants portent le fardeau de la responsabilité de la réussite de la réintégration à un niveau individuel.6 Encore une fois, tandis que les deux côtés de la réintégration sont distincts sur un plan analytique et on-tologique, ils sont néanmoins inséparables en pratique et s’alimentent même l’un l’autre en fait.

La littérature sur la réintégration en tant qu’*activité de programmation* est abondante et s’est principalement concentrée sur les difficultés en matière de politique et de programmation lors de la mise en œuvre complexe de projets de réintégration. Effectivement, beaucoup d’écrits sur la réintégration tirent leur origine d’organisations agissant en qualité d’intervenants clés dans la politique et les programmes DDR dans le cadre d’évaluations de programme, ou de praticiens académiciens – et a donc adopté inévitablement une analyse axée sur leurs priorités de programmation et politiques.7 Par conséquent, l’attention s’est portée de façon excessive sur les composantes techniques et logistiques de la planification et gestion de programme dans la littérature sur la réintégration. Ce corps de littérature s’appuie souvent sur un cas unique pour ensuite produire une littérature souvent caractérisée par le label “leçons apprises” ou “meilleurs pratiques”. Collectivement, ce corpus de travaux a été synthétisé ensemble en une vaste base de connaissances sur la programmation, atteignant son point culminant avec peut être l’établissement des Normes Intégrées sur le Démantèlement, Démobilisation et Réintégration (IDDRS).8

Tandis que ce type d’études a une valeur très réelle aux yeux des professionnels en termes d’orientations pour la politique et les programmes de réintégration, ils ne permettent souvent pas de définir fondamentalement les processus que ces politiques et programmes sont censés affecter (à tout le moins de façon explicite). Il est facile de prendre ces processus sous-jacents pour acquis étant donné le lien intrinsèque entre réintégration en tant qu’*activité* et en tant que *processus* dans la pratique. En effet, peut être que la perspective de comprendre les contextes locaux et d’appliquer de manière effective tout un ensemble de directives (telles que celles des IDDRS) se trouve faire partie des défis fondamentaux rencontrés par les programmes de mise en œuvre dans les FCS. Les praticiens et théoriciens parlent souvent de ces deux types de réintégration de façon interchangeable, et dans certains cas comme d’un concept unique, issus de deux concepts dont les lignes se seraient confondues. Il est vrai que lorsque l’on parle du DDR, savoir à laquelle des deux “réintégrations” l’on se réfère, l’activité ou le processus, peut s’avérer difficile à suivre, mais est fondamentalement indispensable.

L’intérêt de distinguer la réintégration en tant qu’*activité de programme* et la réintégration en tant que processus n’est pas de suggérer que ces deux parties devraient être séparées dans la pratique. Au contraire, en pratique, la politique de réintégration et ses *activités* de programmation doivent s’ancrer dans des *processus* de réintégration locaux endogènes. Cependant, maintenir une distinction analytique entre les activités et les processus permet de cadre la question sous-jacente de cette étude : quelle est la forme globale de ces processus de réintégration endogènes dans les pays de la RGL ? C’est en forgant une compréhension des tendances globales des processus de réintégration dans les pays de la RGL que l’on peut contextualiser la variation des processus de réintégration dans des environnements plus spécifiques. par la réintégration, ente rems de processus, même s’ils ne peuvent pas recevoir d’aide par le biais du programme de réintégration, l’activité. Ce point mène à la distinction entre réintégration, l’activité et réintégration, le processus. De plus, ce point identifie les soi-disant “auto-réintégrés” comme un domaine d’enquête important en lui-même. Baas (2012) avance le même argument.

7 Le PNUD et UNDPKO et le TDRP de la Banque mondiale TDRP (anciennement MDRP) sont des exemples de ces organisations clés. Le point ici n’est pas de suggérer qu’une focalisation sur la politique ou les programmes est inférieure à une enquête universitaire (qui comporte en effet son propre ensemble de priorités), mais tout simplement de reconnaître le rôle que ces priorités ont joué dans le modelage du discours du praticien sur la réintégration.

fiques – dont leur interaction avec la politique et les programmes de réintégration.

Toutefois, comprendre la relation entre programmes de réintégration et processus de réintégration n’est pas une tâche facile et les réponses à un grand nombre de questions fondamentales entourant les processus de réintégration restent nébuleuses – si tant est qu’elles soient abordées. Quelles sont les composantes des processus de réintégration ? Par quels mécanismes les processus de réintégration fonctionnent-ils ? A quoi ressemblent les processus de réintégration empiriquement ? Peut-on mesurer les processus de réintégration ? Dans quelles circonstances et dans quelle mesure la politique et les programmes peuvent-ils vraiment avoir une influence sur ces processus ? Les processus de réintégration sont-ils fondamentalement uniques à un contexte donné, ou existe-t-il une structure sous-jacente ? Les processus de réintégration au niveau individuel se ressemblent-ils pour se déplacer aux niveaux communautaire, régional ou national ? Les réponses à ces questions sont d’importance primordiale pour les programmes de réintégration. Sans une compréhension claire des processus de réintégration, les perspectives de création de repères significatifs, ou “d’indicateurs de réussite”, les programmes de réintégration resteront toujours un défi.9 Il s’agit là de l’essence de la division programme / processus.

Les études universitaires les plus récentes sur la réintégration, qui reflètent une conscience implicite de la division programme / processus, ont commencé à s’éloigner des études de cas axées sur les programmes et politiques, ce qui était habituel dans les précédents programmes de bourses, à une approche axée sur le processus, déplaçant leur unité d’analyse vers l’ex-combattant individuel.11 Bien que ces études puissent toujours être focalisées essentiellement sur la compréhension de l’effectivité des programmes et politiques de réintégration, ces changements dans l’échelle et l’unité d’analyse ouvrent la porte à l’étude à grande échelle des processus de réintégration. Toutefois, ces études universitaires ne sont toujours pas appliquées fréquemment, du fait que la capacité d’accès à et de saisie des données empiriques au niveau individuel dans des environnements FCS requiert les capacités de grandes organisations internationales – très probablement, ceux qui sont engagés directement dans la planification et la mise en œuvre des programmes de réintégration.

De ce point de vue, les données collectées par le TDRP dans les pays de la RGL et les études qu’il a produites sont à la pointe de la recherche quantitative sur base empirique sur les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants.12 Tandis que les analyses individuelles au niveau des pays au Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, RDC et RC nous ont beaucoup appris sur la dynamique des processus de réintégration dans chacun de ces contextes spécifiques, elles doivent encore conduire à une vaste comparaison des processus de réintégration individuels des ex-combattants dans la RGL dans son ensemble, afin de tenter de décortiquer le cœur du processus de réintégration tels qu’ils sont visibles dans le contexte de ces pays et peut-être plus largement également.13 Effectivement, la comparaison entre les pays de la RGL est une étape importante sur un plan méthodologique pour emmagasiner des connaissances sur les processus de réintégration. — Etant que la comparaison détient potentiellement un rôle vital dans la confirmation, modification ou falsification d’hypothèses. C’est seulement lorsque nous commençons à comparer en dehors du premier cas que l’impact des éléments qui ont pu demeurer constants jusque-là, et donc invisibles, se montre au grand jour. En effet, les théoriciens de la réintégration, et du DDR dans son ensemble, ont insisté sur le fait que “une comparaison sérieuse dans les pays des aspects pertinents des conflits et des programmes

9 Bowd & Özerdem (2013)
10 Jennings (2008)
A focus on reintegration as a process, distinct from the programming activity of reintegration embodied in the policy and programming which they underlie, is the frame from which this study departs. While in reality processes and programming are inextricably linked in practice, exploring reintegration processes in isolation reaffirms the importance of grounding programming in a deep understanding of the endogenous local processes of reintegration.15

4.1.1 An Individual Process

La réintégration est un processus complexe impliquant de multiples transitions simultanées qui se chevauchent. Les processus de réintégration sont multidimensionnels en ce qu’ils sont composés d’éléments sociaux, politiques, et économiques.16 Les ex-combattants doivent remodeler leur identité sociale et établir des connexions sociales dans la communauté à l’aide et autour de cette nouvelle identité. De plus, les ex-combattants doivent atteindre un niveau de stabilité économique en mettant en place un moyen de subsistance durable et en même temps, en s’engageant dans leur communauté. Ces transitions multiples ont lieu simultanément, bien que pas forcément de façon synchrone. Par exemple, il ressort clairement de cette étude que malgré le fait que les ex-combattants de la RGL obtiennent des gains appréciables et très rapides en termes d’emploi trouvé, de retour dans leur famille et d’instauration d’un sentiment de confiance avec la communauté, les processus plus vastes consistant à établir une solide base économique en vue d’une stabilité et le développement de réseaux sociaux au sein de la communauté se mettent en place sur une plus longue période de temps.

Les processus de réintégration se chevauchent dans le sens où les distinctions entre processus sociaux et économiques sont rarement blanches ou noires. Par exemple, dans les pays de la RGL, les réseaux sociaux des ex-combattants peuvent contribuer à des réseaux économiques et à leur tour à la stabilité économique—brouillant les limites entre sphère sociale et sphère économique. En effet, dans des environnements où il n’y pas de filet de sécurité social plus vaste et où la capacité des ménages à fournir un filet de sécurité sociale familial est sérieusement compromise, il est probable que les sphères sociales et économiques ne puissent être perçues séparément. Enfin, les processus de réintégration sont des transitions étant donné qu’il n’existe pas de rupture franche entre le fait d’être soldat et de devenir civil, entre la marginalisation et l’inclusion dans la société, de l’insécurité économique à la stabilité relative. Plutôt, les processus de réintégration sont un réalignement graduel parmi de multiples dimensions.

Les théoriciens et praticiens du domaine de la réintégration ont toujours reposé leurs analyses des moyens de sortir du conflit, au moins de manière implicite, sur une compréhension des parcours menant au conflit. C’est logique – en comprenant comment défaire des groupes armés, nous devrions réussir à comprendre comment ils se sont créés. En ce sens, l’étude de la réintégration repose sur l’étude des causes de la guerre. Dans les premières périodes des bourses et programmes de réintégration, ce fondement était souvent signifié implicitement par une focalisation excessive sur les dimensions économiques de la réintégration, qui était fortement liée aux explications de “basé sur la cupidité” pour la guerre civile.17 En ce qui concerne les programmes de réintégration, cela signifiait que si les raisons principales des individus pour rejoindre le groupe armé étaient d’ordre économique, le meilleur moyen était alors de les aider dans leur transition vers le statu de civil par le biais de mesures telles que des formations professionnelles ou à des compétences, des packs de subsistance,

15 Une autre manière de tourner ça serait de dire que les programmes de réintégration doivent s’ancrer dans la compréhension de l’économie politique locale.
16 L’argument avançant que les processus de réintégration consistent en dimensions sociales, politiques, et économiques est omniprésent, tant dans la littérature universitaire que institutionnelle sur le DDR. For a particularly thorough handling see Bowd & Özerdem (2013).

17 Le soi-disant discours "cupidité vs. griefs" était un élément central de seconde moitié des années 1990, élaborant un vaste corps de discours. Le travail de Paul Collier est le meilleur exemple de ce discours. Voir par exemple Collier & Hoefler (2004), ou Collier et al (2009). A l’heure actuelle cependant, les arguments purement économiques sur les causes de la guerre civile sont considérés comme étant quelque peu dépassés du fait de leur incapacité à saisir les dimensions psycho-sociales de la mobilisation et du conflit. Effectivement, nombreux sont ceux à avoir avancé que les raisons économiques derrière la mobilisation qui sont traditionnellement entendues comme une sorte de "cupidité" peuvent aussi bien être comprises comme les griefs eux-mêmes
et un mécanismes de micro-crédit conçu pour aider les ex-combattants à atteindre une sécurité économique relative par le biais de moyens de subsistance durables. Certes, la réintégration économique représente une dimension importante des processus de réintégration, mais comme les preuves au sein de la RGL le suggèrent, elle ne représentent qu’une partie des processus de réintégration. En fait, il est probable que les dimensions sociales des processus de réintégration soient les plus importantes pour parvenir aux résultats de la réintégration économique.

A l’heure actuelle, la plupart des théoriciens et praticiens reconnaissent à l’unisson que comprendre la mobilisation des individus dans les conflits armés dans des environnements comme la RGL implique d’évoluer d’une focalisation singulière sur des cadres “acteur rationnel” de perspectives purement économiques à une approche plus large incorporant des découvertes venant de la psychologie, de la sociologie, et de l’histoire. Dans les pays de la RGL, une histoire sociale vaste et riche a façonné de nombreux environnements dans lesquels les individus se sont mobilisés au sein de groupes armés—du fossé Hutu / Tutsi le plus central au Rwanda aux conflits locaux incessants de l’Est de la RDC résultant de la concurrence relative aux terres et des opportunités économiques. Globalement, la pauvreté extrême et le peu d’opportunités de mobilité sociale, politique ou économique et d’autonomisation sont en grande partie dans la norme de la RGL. Ce ne sont pas ces facteurs contextuels en eux-mêmes mais plutôt l’expérience individuelle qui induit la mobilisation en groupes armés. De fait, les théoriciens contemporains sont explicites sur la position suivante “... afin de comprendre ce que cela signifie d’être désarmé, démobilisé et réintégré, nous devons comprendre ce que cela signifie d’être armé, mobilisé et de devenir membre d’un mouvement de guérilla” du point de vue des ex-combattants eux-mêmes.

Adopter une perspective basée sur l’expérience individuelle du conflit n’exige pas de laisser derrière les preuves empiriques sur les dimensions économiques du conflit, tout comme les facteurs affectant les motivations des soldats à se mobiliser. Ce qu’implique cette perspective est de reconnaître que l’expérience individuelle des choses telles que la pauvreté extrême et la privation de droits politiques est presque toujours sociale et psychologique par nature. Bien que cela ressemble à un truisme, les facteurs économiques, abordés du point de vue d’acteurs rationnels, ont souvent reçu le plus d’attention dans le contexte des bourses universitaires sur la mobilisation et la démobilisation. Etablir ce point permet de cadrer la discussion de sorte à aller plus loin. L’impuissance, la honte, et l’humiliation sont des émotions humaines puissantes qui pour certains théoriciens pourraient se trouver au cœur de la compréhension de l’expérience individuelle motivant la mobilisation sous forme de groupes armés. Soulignant les facteurs au niveau individuel qui motivent la mobilisation au Liberia, Mats Utas décrit les difficultés sociales et psychologiques auxquelles les jeunes sont confrontés lorsqu’ils se sont tournés vers la mobilisation :

Les possibilités de participation à l’économie fondée sur les salaires ont diminué et l’éducation a cessé d’avoir de l’importance. Avec la menace de la crise, un grand nombre de jeunes hommes ont perdu la simple possibilité de s’installer en tant qu’adultes, en construisant une maison, ou en se mariant – même s’ils ont continué à devenir pères, d’enfants qu’ils n’avaient pas la capacité d’entretenir.

Le point essentiel de Utas est que tandis que les conditions de pauvreté extrême et d’aliénation politiques ont servi de toile de fond à la mobilisation au Liberia, l’expérience ou la motivation individuelle derrière

---

18 Keen (2008)
l’envie de rejoindre des groupes armés était de partir de la périphérie de la société pour venir en son centre. L’analyse de la mobilisation et de la démobilisation des soldats au Sud Soudan de Saskia Baas rejoint tout à fait ceci, en ce que : “… ces mouvements ont également quelque chose à offrir : un chemin de vie ayant un sens dans le cadre d’une structure sociale qui offre des opportunités réelles d’ascension sociale… En ce sens, devenir un soldat peut être compris comme une forme d’autonomisation personnelle.” En effet, Peter Uvin a trouvé également que la mobilisation des jeunes hommes au Burundi était liée à la volonté de répondre à des sentiments de colère et d’impuissance ainsi qu’à celle de trouver des opportunités de revenus, de mobilité et d’autonomisation. Par conséquent, le point ici est que malgré des contextes de conflits grandement différents, desquels les dimensions économiques peuvent se trouver être une composante importante, l’expérience individuelle socio-psychologique peut se trouver au cœur de la raison qui fait que les individus se mobilisent pour le conflit.

Cette discussion nous ramène au fossé programme / processus, l’espace entre réintégration en tant qu’activité et réintégration en tant que processus. Si la politique et les programmes de réintégration sont censés répondre à l’existence des passerelles par lesquelles les civils sont mobilisés en groupes armés et deviennent des soldats par le biais de l’activité de réintégration dans des communautés, alors cette politique et ces programmes devront répondre à l’expérience individuelle de la colère, de la honte, de l’insécurité, de la pauvreté, de la faim, de l’immobilité et de l’impuissance ressenties. Ceci en présumant bien sûr que la résolution de ces passerelles fait partie des objectifs stratégiques des programmes de réintégration individuelle. Néanmoins, des questions essentielles restent quant à savoir si la politique et les programmes de réintégration peuvent en fait affecter ces dimensions sociales et psychologiques de façon significative. D’après des éléments probants émanant des pays de la RGL, lorsque les programmes de réintégration sont menés dans le cadre plus vaste d’une transition sociale de la guerre à la paix, ils peuvent jouer un rôle positif en aidant à transformer les environnements dans lesquels les ex-combattants ont été mobilisés à l’origine. Toutefois dans ces contextes d’instabilité et de conflits continues, avec l’Est de la RDC comme exemple phare au sein de la RGL, il semble que la transition sociale soit limitée, et ainsi pour les programmes de réintégration difficile de s’ancre, limitant ainsi la gamme d’impacts que les activités de réintégration peuvent avoir sur les processus de réintégration (voir Section 5.6). Dans des contextes comme celui-ci, la réintégration peut en fait finir par aboutir à une remarginalisation non souhaitée.

Les processus dans lesquels les ex-combattants évoluent lorsqu’ils retournent dans les communautés et la transition de l’état de soldat à celui de civil sont également ancrés dans le contexte plus large de l’environnement post-conflit. Les communautés dans lesquelles les ex-combattants rentrent et les dynamiques au sein des communautés sont les environnements dans lesquels les ex-combattants doivent se réintégrer et, en ce sens, s’avèrent vitaux à la compréhension des barrières auxquelles ils sont confrontés et des processus grâce auxquels ils réussissent. Par ailleurs, si les communautés ne désirent pas accueillir d’ex-combattants en raison de stigmates, méfiance, pénurie économique ou peur, des limites à la capacité d’engagement des ex-combattants dans le processus de réintégration peuvent apparaître. Par opposition, il semble que dans le pays de la RGL, si les communautés se trouvent sur une trajectoire positive d’amélioration de la stabilité et de cohésion sociale, les ex-combattants peuvent s’ancre dans ce changement social plus vaste. En ce sens, la réintégration est un processus à double sens qui implique la réintégration des ex-combattants et des communautés ensemble.

23 Uvin (2007)
24 Effectivement, ce point n’est pas nouveau et n’est pas propre aux conflits contemporains en Afrique. Les expériences humaines peuvent se trouver au centre de la compréhension de la mobilisation volontaire individuelle tout au long de l’histoire.
25 Toutefois, la question de savoir si s’occupe des passerelles par lesquelles les ex-combattants sont mobilisés en groupes armés est un objectif stratégique explicite, cela fait Presque toujours partie de la logique sous-jacente par laquelle ces programmes sont légitimés (à l’exception notable de la réintégration des forces armées nationales).

27 Finn (2012)
pour cette raison que la structure de base de l’analyse présentée en Annexes I et II ne concerne pas seulement les ex-combattants et les processus grâce auxquels ils se réintègrent, mais aussi une enquête sur les communautés elles-mêmes, à savoir leur volonté et leur capacité à absorber les ex-combattants de retour dans la société.

4.1.2 Un Processus Unique ?

Alors que les processus de réintégration sont fondamentalement individuels par nature, il se peut que l’éventail des possibilités de processus individuels soit lié à la portée limitée des processus sociaux et psychologiques humains. Si la réintégration est un processus individuel humain, nous devons alors nous demander si c’est un processus que les ex-combattants seuls entreprennent. Ou est-ce une forme sous-jacente des processus de réintégration qui existe dans différents contextes de la réintégration des ex-combattants ? De plus, ces processus sont-ils similaires aux transitions que les autres groupes, ou la communauté en général, traversent ? Ceci n’entend pas suggérer que les ex-combattants n’affrontent pas de barrières particulières dans leur réintégration qui soient liées à l’histoire de leur mobilisation dans des groupes armés et leur participation à des conflits violents. D’ailleurs, comme souligné ci-dessus, ces facteurs forment l’élément central dans lequel les ex-combattants évoluent et traversent le processus de réintégration. Toutefois, si le processus de réintégration implique de remodeler l’identité et d’instaurer un sentiment de responsabilisation et de cohésion sociale dans la communauté et la société en général, alors certains autres groupes, tels que les IDP qui rentrent et les réfugiés, dont la communauté dans son ensemble, peuvent se trouver confrontés à des processus similaires.

En effet, l’étiquette d’ex-combattant est une construction sociale que nous utilisons pour distinguer les ex-combattants en raison de la menace sécuritaire qu’ils sont supposés représenter dans un environnement post-conflit. Sous cet angle, il convient de noter que la distinction analytique entre “ex-combattants” dans les pays du sud et “vétérans” dans les pays du nord est souvent ténue, les deux étant des soldats revenant des combats qui se trouvent confrontés à la difficulté, au défi, de se refaçonner une identité et de réintégrer la société ; malgré tout, les discours autour de la menace sécuritaire qu’ils représentent, de leur rôle dans le développement, et des processus grâce auxquels ils se réintègrent dans la société sont séparés par un gouffre énorme dans l’hémisphère sud et l’hémisphère nord.28

Cependant, le point important est que tandis qu’il existe des différences contextuelles très réelles entre réintégration d’ex-combattant dans des environnements extrêmement pauvres et marqués par la marginalisation sociale, et réintégration de vétéran dans des environnements au développement social et économique de niveau élevé, le processus humain sous-jacent par lequel ils passent peut être très similaire. Si nous entendons la réintégration comme un processus humain, bien qu’il semble que les contextes physiques de la réintégration varient grandement, il se peut que ce processus ne soit pas exclusif et propres aux ex-combattants. Tirer des enseignements d’une longue tradition de concepts établis dans le domaine de la sociologie tournant autour de l’identité, des communautés, et de l’appartenance peut offrir un éclairage précieux sur le

---

processus de réintégration vécu par les ex-combattants dans la RGL. A vrai dire, les éléments de preuve fournis dans cette étude suggèrent qu'en dépit de contextes environnementaux de réintégration uniques rencontrés par les ex-combattants au Rwanda, Ouganda, Burundi, RDC, et RC, la forme générale des processus qu’ils traversent est remarquablement similaires.

4.2 Réintégration Trajectoires

Un concept heuristique utilisé aussi bien dans les recherches académiques que dans la littérature des parties prenantes sur la réintégration bien que rarement avec une définition explicite, est celui des “trajectoires” de la réintégration.29 Le concept des trajectoires de réintégration fournit une analogie qui nous permet de parler d’arc global ou du récit de l’expérience des ex-combattants et de leur engagement dans les processus de réintégration. Des trajectoires positives indiquent un progrès vers une réintégration globale dans la communauté dans le sens sociale et économique, tandis que des trajectoires négatives indiquent une discorde dans le processus de réintégration, et la présence d’obstacles à la réintégration des ex-combattants. Des trajectoires abruptes indiquent un processus solide et décisif, tandis que des trajectoires superficielles indiquent des processus plus subtils ou lents.

Adopter comme processus une concentration explicite sur la réintégration et la reconnaissance qui en découle des expériences psychosociales individuelles de ce processus dans un large éventail de contextes crée une complexité considérable dans la comparaison de la réintégration des ex-combattants dans la RGL. En effet, on pourrait se demander si le contexte particulier de conflits, de mobilisation et du retour aux niveaux du groupe et de l’individu dans chacun des pays de la RGL est fondamentalement comparable tout. Il se peut, toutefois, que la voie à suivre réside dans un ajustement du grain de notre analyse afin de développer une compréhension globale de l’arc des processus de réintégration dans la RGL.30

Un avantage de la valeur heuristique d’utiliser des trajectoires de réintégration est la possibilité de les appliquer à différentes échelles. Nous pouvons discuter des zones spécifiques de réintégration, et puis les agréger aux plus grands processus par le biais du même outil conceptuel. Par exemple, nous pouvons parler de la situation économique des ex-combattants dans la trajectoire de la RGL qui progressent positivement du chômage vers l’emploi autonome dans l’agriculture ou dans de petites entreprises non agricoles.31 Ceci n’est qu’un morceau du puzzle lorsque l’on examine la trajectoire de réintégration économique modéré positif en général des ex-combattants dans la RGL – malgré les nombreux désavantages et les obstacles à la réintégration sociale et économique auxquels se heurtent les ex-combattants dans la RGL. Nous pouvons en plus continuer à utiliser le concept de trajectoires de réintégration en abordant la réintégration même de manière plus vaste, par exemple dans l’interaction dynamique des sphères économiques et sociales de la réintégration.

Tandis que l’analyse présentée dans cette étude examine un large éventail de contextes de pays intégrant des groupes distincts, le concept de trajectoires de réintégration jouera un rôle organisateur qui dépeint l’ensemble des récits sur les processus de réintégration dans la RGL – notamment dans les Annexes I et II. En effet, une constatation principale de cette étude affirme que tandis que le Rwanda, l’Ouganda, le Burundi, la RDC et la République du Congo affichent toutes des tendances distinctes et des processus uniques dans les différentes dimensions de la réintégration, leurs trajectoires globales de réintégration et la narration processuelle à grande échelle qu’elles représentent sont remarquablement semblables. La rupture la plus notable dans la trajectoire globale de réintégration dans la RGL au niveau des pays se produis en RDC, où une trajectoire de réintégration sociale des ex-combattants et des membres de la communauté extrêmement superficielle, et à certains égards négative, se distingue.

29 Dans la littérature institutionnelle voir par exemple Finn (2012), pour le traitement explicite des recherches universitaires, voir Torjesen (2013) qui se fonde sur des discussions basées sur des ateliers avec le Groupe de Recherche International sur la Réintégration Sociale (IRGR).
30 Torjesen (2013) affirme que la nature très complexe des processus de réintégration peut exclure la possibilité de constituer des modèles formalisés de processus de réintégration, et que la méthode la plus utile serait sans doute en ce moment de développer une compréhension globale des processus de réintégration.
31 Voir la Section 9.7 de l’Annexe I pour de plus amples détails.
Cette section de l’étude présente une analyse comparative au niveau méta des processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans la RGL. Elle comprend six parties : (i) les processus de mobilisation et de démobilisation ; (ii) un examen des processus de réintégration économique ; (iii) et une discussion détaillée des processus de réintégration sociale dans la RGL ; (vi) les femmes ex-combattantes comme sous-groupe vulnérable, suivi d’une discussion spéciale sur (v) la RDC en tant que cas spécifique, et comment elle contribue à la compréhension globale des (vi) limites des programmes de réintégration.

5. Méta-Analyse des Processus de Réintégration des Ex-Combattants dans la RGL

5.1 De la Mobilisation à la Démobilisation dans la RGL

Diverses voies mènent à la mobilisation des individus dans des groupes armés. Certains s’enrôlent pour des raisons idéologiques, certains s’enrôlent pour la protection dans le contexte d’une insécurité intense, d’autres s’enrôlent sous l’effet de la colère ou par désir de vengeance, il y a même ceux qui rejoignent des groupes armés pour échapper à la misère de l’extrême pauvreté, et il y a, en plus, des gens mobilisés de force par des groupes armés. Les voies selon lesquelles les individus sont mobilisés ainsi que leurs expériences individuelles de ces voies engendrent un héritage persistant que les individus doivent affronter au sein des communautés à leur retour comme ex-combattants. Malheureusement, bien que nous ayons certaines données sur la date d’enrôlement des ex-combattants aux groupes armés et la durée qu’ils ont passé au sein de ces groupes dans les pays RGL, il n’y a eu aucune saisie systématique de leurs voies de mobilisation et leurs expériences vécues durant les guerres dans la base de données TDRP-RGL utilisée dans le cadre de cette étude.

Dans les pays de la RGL, la grande majorité des ex-combattants furent mobilisés à l’âge adulte entre 18 et 30 (46,1 %). Ces ex-combattants passent, en moyenne, trois à sept ans au sein des groupes armés ; cela signifie que la majorité d’entre eux (78,4 %) retournent aux communautés entre l’âge de 31-40 ans. Ces tendances sont remarquablement persistantes dans les pays RGL. La trajectoire générale de la réintégration de ces ex-combattants est positive, bien qu’à leur retour dans leurs communautés ils sont confrontés à un éventail de désavantages sociaux, politiques et économiques en comparaison à leurs pairs, et ont tendance à avoir du retard par rapport aux membres de la communauté en ce qui concerne les principaux indicateurs démographiques tel que le mariage, l’alphabétisation et l’éducation. A cet égard, il convient de noter que les ex-combattants faisant face aux défis les plus importants au début du processus de réintégration sont ceux qui sont mobilisés avant l’âge de 18 ans.

5.1.1 Mobilisation En-dessous de l’Age de 18 ans

En effet, un tiers (33,4 % en moyenne et juste au-delà de 40 % pour les femmes) de tous les ex-combattants dans la RGL ont été mobilisés étant encore enfants, avant d’avoir atteint 18 ans. Il y a indéniablement de nombreuses opinions sur le moment exact où commence l’âge adulte à travers les différents contextes culturels dans le RGL, mais les chiffres montrent que l’âge moyen de mobilisation de ces ex-combattants mobilisés dans des groupes armés sous l’âge de 18 n’était que de 13 ans –à l’adolescence clairement. Ces résultats sont constatés dans tous les pays de la RGL et prouvent le fait que les

32 Comme indiqué dans la Section 7.1 de l’Annexe 1, certains défis considérables doivent être considérés lorsqu’on essaye de saisir l’âge de mobilisation. Les chiffres exacts présentés ici doivent être traités comme une indication générale de l’âge à la mobilisation dans les pays de la RGL plutôt que des faits.

33 Ce nombre serait en fait plus élevé si les enfants soldats, ceux de moins de 18 ans au moment de la démobilisation, ont été inclus dans cette étude.
guerres dans la RGL ont été combattues largement par des enfants - même si un nombre d’entre eux ont été démobilisés adultes.34

Ces ex-combattants de la RGL mobilisés avant l’âge de 18 ans passent en moyenne un peu moins de sept ans au sein des groupes armés, ce qui signifie que la majorité d’entre eux quittent les groupes armés âgés de 18 à 30 ans (64,1 %). Les données portent à croire, cependant, que même si ces individus retournent chronologiquement à l’âge adulte, leur point de départ pour le processus de réintégration sociale, économique et politique reste un peu inférieur à celui des ex-combattants mobilisés à l’âge adulte. Les données collectées dans le cadre de cette recherche indiquent que la mobilisation à un si jeune âge entraîne un lourd héritage - comme si durant leur absence au sein des groupes armés, ces enfants ex-combattants ont manqué les processus liés à l’éducation, la construction et l’entretien de liens familiaux par le biais du mariage, la création de réseaux sociaux, l’engagement dans les structures communautaires et l’établissement d’une expérience économique de base. Pour la plupart des indicateurs de ces processus, les ex-combattants mobilisés avant l’âge de 18 ans sont en effet moins performant que leurs pairs appartenant aux mêmes tranches d’âge dans la communauté - également par rapport aux ex-combattants plus âgés en général.35

De ce fait, les ex-combattants les plus jeunes de la RGL dont la plupart a été mobilisée avant l’âge de 18 ans, commencent le processus de réintégration avec un handicap, ayant raté des occasions de développement personnel durant les années de combat qui ont eu lieu pendant leurs années formatives. Ces ex-combattants font face à une double transition de réapprentissage et souvent d’apprentissage des normes nouvelles et sociétales de l’âge adulte, tout en remodelant en parallèle leur identité de soldat en civil.36 Il est toutefois remarquable que bien que les ex-combattants les plus jeunes commencent en souffrant plusieurs désavantages par rapport aux autres ex-combattants, ils sont prompts à s’élancer dynamiquement dans une trajectoire globale positive de réintégration en vue d’une parité avec les membres de la communauté - affichant une trajectoire globale de réintégration semblable à celle de leurs pairs ex-combattants plus âgés. En fait, de retour dans les communautés, la grande majorité des ex-combattants dans la RGL affirment être bien accueillis par les membres de la famille et une majorité de ces anciens combattants, ces craintes se sont dissipées rapidement à leur retour.37

5.1.2 Une longue Histoire de Mobilisation et d’Expériences de Guerre

Les données décrites ci-dessus soutiennent l’idée que la mobilisation et les expériences de guerre individuelles constituent un héritage considérable pour les ex-combattants dans le cadre du processus de réintégration après conflit. Nous avons, toutefois, révélé bien peu concernant les effets concrets de la mobilisation et des expériences de guerre sur la réintégration. Si nous devions prendre au sérieux l’idée que « ... la réintégration ne se produit pas au hasard et n’est pas isolée des expériences antérieures de recrutement et de participation dans des groupes armés », il faut alors avouer que ces résultats ne font qu’effleurer à peine le sujet.38 Il reste encore double et complexe. Alors que les stades de vie précédant l’âge adulte se distinguent par des transitions complexes et difficiles, les conflits exacerbent la transition à l’âge adulte en brisant les normes sociales et les pratiques culturelles, perturbant les systèmes d’éducation et les perspectives d’emploi, et pour de nombreux jeunes, promeut un sentiment d’identité fondé sur l’exercice du pouvoir par la violence ».

37 Voir la Section 17.2 de l’Annexe II pour de plus amples détails. Bien qu’il n’y ait pas d’analyse dans cette étude par un groupe armé, on peut spéculer qu’il pourrait y avoir des différences considérables dans le niveau d’acceptation que les ex-combattants reçoivent des membres de la communauté selon s’ils étaient désagrégés par des forces armées irrégulières ou régulières. D’autant plus que le niveau de violence abusive que les groupes armés ont mené envers les communautés peut être décisif dans l’accueil des ex-combattants dans les communautés - voir Humphreys et Weinstein (2004).

38 Özerdem & Poddre (2011) p. 313 Bien que l’idée que les processus de réintégration ne peuvent être dissociés du contexte de la mobilisation et des expériences de guerre peut être un truisme inhérent que les programmeurs de DDR et les décideurs comprennent, la mise en œuvre de ce point dans le cadre de programmes présente un bilan médiocre - en fait ceci peut s’inscrire parmi les défis majeurs des programmes de
beaucoup à apprendre sur le processus que traversent les jeunes aussi bien que les adultes en étant socialisés dans l’utilisation de la violence, et les héritages individuels que détiennent ces processus de socialisation du point de vue du remodelage des identités – surtout pour les jeunes qui peuvent avoir raté l’occasion d’apprendre des normes sociales « ordinaires ». De plus, nous savons peu de choses sur l’effet de ces héritages individuels sur les familles des ex-combattants et par conséquent, sur les communautés au sens large. 

La compréhension du rôle que jouent la mobilisation et les expériences de guerre dans les processus de réintégration transcende le fait de reconnaître que des occasions ont été manquées. Par exemple, dans une recherche qui date de 2005 sur des ex-combattants de Sierra Leone, Humphreys et Weinstein ont constaté que les expériences de guerre d’un individu, notamment le degré de violence utilisé par cet individu envers les communautés, était le déterminant majeur du succès de la réintégration. Les individus qui retournent dans les communautés après avoir intégré des groupes armés ouvertement violents peuvent affronter des obstacles considérables en essayant d’acquérir la confiance de la communauté. Cependant, peut-être que le plus grand angle mort en ce qui concerne l’héritage individuel de la mobilisation et des expériences de guerre est celui des maladies psychologiques – la recherche épidémiologique ayant démontré de manière fiable que les troubles mentaux sont courants chez les populations touchées par la guerre. Cette question qui touche les familles et les membres de la communauté aussi bien que les ex-combattants, et que les programmes de réintégration n’abordent pas. Harold Hinkel décrit cette situation de manière sévère :

Les maladies psychiatriques ont en commun qu’elles entravent le fonctionnement quotidien du patient : Réduisant sa capacité à maintenir des relations intimes et des amitiés, empêchant la participation à la vie communale et portant atteinte à sa capacité de planifier et suivre des objectifs réalistes pour l’avenir. Ainsi, les conséquences mentales de la guerre, de la terreur et de la violence organisée sur l’individu sont des maladies psychiatriques à long terme, souvent chroniques. Si, dans le cadre de la réhabilitation de l’ex-combattant, la santé mentale n’est pas abordée, l’effort pour améliorer ses capacités sociales et réduire la pauvreté est nettement moins efficace. 

Le défi que pose l’intégration plus grande de connaissances sur les héritages et les processus psychosociaux dans les programmes de réintégration repose sur la mise en œuvre de stratégies de renforcement des connaissances sur les héritages individuels de la mobilisation et des expériences de guerre qui alimenteraient des programmes bien étayés. Bien que ces questions soient bien reconnues, le défi consiste à aligner ces connaissances avec la pratique des processus de réintégration (praxis).

5.2 La Réintégration Économique dans la RGL

De manière générale, les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL demeurent économiquement défavorisés par rapport aux membres de la communauté du point de vue des indicateurs de base comme l’éducation et les niveaux d’emploi qui montrent une trajectoire modérément exponentielle vers la parité économique dans l’avenir. En effet, les ex-combattants ont générale-

---

Reineck, S. (2011) « Fils de l’Ouganda et les défis que cela crée pour la réintégration, car ces ex-combattants ne peuvent retourner à un ensemble des normes et coutumes déjà appris, mais doivent entrer dans un contexte où leurs normes et coutumes sont courantes. Il convient toutefois de souligner que ces normes sont les héritages en grande partie individuels.

40 La recherche imminente de LOGiCA contribuera à combler les lacunes dans les connaissances sur la dynamique de la famille dans la réintégration des ex-combattants. Il peut s’agir d’un domaine particulièrement important pour la poursuite des recherches. Comme note supplémentaire, la criminologie, par exemple, a longtemps souligné l’importance de la famille pour la réussite de la réintégration des ex-prisonniers.

41 Humphreys et Weinstein (2004)

42 Schulhofer-Wohl & Sambanis (2010)
ment des perspectives optimistes quant à leur avenir. Tout comme les membres de la communauté, la voie économique principale des ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL est axée vers une agriculture à petite échelle, bien qu’il y ait une partie minoritaire qui se dirige vers des services non agricoles ou vers les petits commerces. Bien que différentes parties de la population ex-combattante (par exemple les personnes handicapées et les femmes) dans les pays de la RGL se heurtent à des obstacles spécifiques qui entravent la réalisation d’une parité économique avec les membres de la communauté, les ex-combattants aussi bien que les membres de la communauté réalisent que l’absence de possibilités est l’obstacle majeur qui empêche la stabilité économique – une caractéristique spécifique aux défis graves en matière de développement existant dans les pays de la RGL.

Il semble que le capital social (voir la Section 5.4.1) joue un rôle important dans les obstacles qui empêchent les ex-combattants dans la RGL de progresser vers une réintégration sociale et économique. Alors que les anciens combattants affirment être largement acceptés et soutenus par leur famille immédiate, ils restent défavorisés car ils sont lents à construire des réseaux de parentèle élargie en raison du taux relativement bas de mariage, des réseaux sociaux et économiques plus vastes étant indispensables pour l’accès et l’actualisation des possibilités économiques. Étant une assise généralement plus faible de la communauté, les ex-combattants dans la RGL sont nettement plus enclins à s’expatrier pour le travail que leurs pairs membres de la communauté qui invoquent les responsabilités familiales pour une réticence générale à immigrer.

En vue d’une parité économique avec les membres de la communauté, il est nécessaire pour les anciens combattants dans les pays de la RGL de combler les lacunes aux niveaux de l’éducation et des compétences. Il existe cependant des limites au-delà desquelles il est difficile de combler ces lacunes. Bien que le niveau global de l’éducation de tout ex-combattant soit inférieur à celui des membres de la communauté, les jeunes ex-combattants sont nettement les seuls qui s’activent de manière déterminante à combler ces lacunes en poursuivant des études continues. Les avantages que peuvent tirer les jeunes ex-combattants de l’éducation existent, cependant, en dehors des limites chronologiques de cette recherche, et le rôle que joue l’éducation dans la réintégration des ex-combattants dans les pays de RGL est proche en quelque sorte d’un dilemme. D’une part, même de faibles niveaux d’alphabétisation et de résultats scolaires peuvent être particulièrement utiles aux ex-combattants pour la poursuite d’initiatives d’entrepreneuriat en dehors d’un emploi officiel. D’autre part, dans le contexte des pays de la RGL, l’importance de la réussite scolaire pour des perspectives d’emploi plus larges peut seulement avoir des effets tangibles dès la fin du secondaire – lorsque s’ouvrent les portes de l’emploi dans le secteur civil. En ce qui concerne les compétences, les anciens combattants reçoivent des formations professionnelles plus fréquemment que les membres de la communauté, mais ils ont moins tendance à utiliser leurs compétences professionnelles. Les ex-combattants font essentiellement valoir que cela est dû au manque d’outils ou de lieu de travail, mais il est également probable que ceci soit lié à leur manque de réseaux économiques au sein de la communauté par le biais desquels ils pourraient tirer parti de leurs compétences, ou à une demande insuffisante pour ces compétences dans la communauté en premier lieu.

Les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL ont un faible capital social par rapport aux membres de la communauté (voir la Section 5.3). Ce faible capital social se traduit par de nombreuses conséquences économiques, y compris une forte dépendance à un soutien économique de la part de la famille immédiate (lorsque la famille s’y prête) – c’est aussi le cas à un degré légèrement moindre pour les membres de la commu-

45 Voir la Section 10 de l’Annexe I et 16 de l’Annexe II pour de plus amples détails.
47 Voir la Section 9.1 de l’Annexe I et 15.1 de l’Annexe II pour de plus amples détails.
48 Voir la Section 7.3 de l’Annexe I et 13.2 de l’Annexe II pour de plus amples détails.
49 Unvin (2007). En supposant bien entendu l’existence d’un secteur civil. Bon nombre des régions de la RGL sont dépourvues de lien significatif à l’emploi dans le secteur civil. Donc ce point peut être plus pertinent dans les régions plus urbaines de la RGL.
50 Les données anecdotiques suggèrent que lorsque les ex-combattants reçoivent une formation professionnelle qui comprend des paquets d’outils, ils vendent souvent ces paquets d’outils pour obtenir un soutien économique immédiat.
nauté. Avec cette forte dépendance sur leurs familles, les ex-combattants sont dans une certaine mesure moins susceptible que les membres de la communauté d’être les seuls soutiens de leurs ménages, une situation économique largement synonyme avec une exposition à la marginalisation et au risque économiques dans le contexte de la RGL. De plus, lorsque les ex-combattants sont les seuls soutiens de leurs ménages, ils sont moins susceptibles de couvrir leurs dépenses mensuelles, ils sont de loin incapables de s’acquitter de leurs dépenses mensuelles, et sont plus enclins à recourir à l’emprunt pour répondre aux dépenses mensuelles. Les ex-combattants affichent la moitié du taux d’application au microcrédit, alors que les membres de la communauté présentent un taux semblable d’applications réussies. Tous ces facteurs contribuent à un niveau général d’insécurité du revenu plus élevé pour les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL que celui des membres de la communauté.\(^{51}\)

Quelle que soit la trajectoire économique globalement positive des ex-combattants vers la parité avec les membres de la communauté et leurs attitudes positives correspondantes par rapport à leurs perspectives économiques futures, les ex-combattants dans tous les pays de la RGL se perçoivent toujours comme un groupe défavorisé dans la société.\(^{52}\) Il est probable que cette perception pèse considérablement sur l’ensemble du processus de réintégration que doivent traverser les ex-combattants dans la RGL. Essentiellement, la réalité de la réintégration sociale et économique dans la RGL peut refléter l’expression citée souvent « réintégration dans la pauvreté de base. »\(^{53}\) En effet, le contexte économique globale auquel doivent faire face, autant les ex-combattants que les membres de la communauté dans les pays de la RGL, est un défi pénible. Aucun programme de réintégration ne sera seul en mesure de résoudre les problèmes économiques à grande échelle ; il doit plutôt s’inscrire dans un programme de stabilisation plus vaste.\(^{54}\) D’une certaine manière, on pourrait considérer que les programmes de réintégration peuvent avoir une influence sur l’offre de travail par le biais de la formation, des micro activités économiques, et des microcrédits, mais ces mesures ne peuvent avoir une influence concrète sur la demande globale du travail dans les économies de la RGL.\(^{55}\) Le danger inhérent de cette perspective est que la réintégration dans le même contexte économique qui pourrait avoir contribué à leur mobilisation dans des groupes armés en premier lieu (même si maintenant ces individus ont de nouvelles compétences et de nouvelles connaissances) peut potentiellement engendrer des sentiments d’impuissance et de marginalisation chez les ex-combattants, qui éventuellement pourrait déclencher la remobilisation, voire la radicalisation.\(^{56}\)

En moyenne, les ex-combattants dans la RGL n’hésitent pas à s’élancer sur une trajectoire positive vers la parité économique avec les membres de la communauté, bien qu’ils affrontent des défis et des limites assez particuliers liés au capital social. En ce qui concerne la capacité limitée des programmes de réintégration à façonner l’ensemble de la situation économique dans le cadre du FCS et du développement, un objectif fondamental du soutien économique reçu par les ex-combattants (ainsi que les membres de la communauté) doit se focaliser sur l’établissement d’attentes claires quant aux résultats économiques des programmes de réintégration.\(^{57}\) Établir les attentes peut jouer un rôle déterminant dans la manière dont les ex-combattants perçoivent leurs situations économiques. Dans ce contexte, il se peut que les perceptions des ex-combattants et des membres de la communauté constituent des éléments importants à examiner afin de comprendre les processus de réintégration économique dans la RGL, plutôt que d’examiner uniquement les résultats économiques dans l’absolu.

---

51 Voir la Section 9.5 de l'Annexe I et 15.4 de l'Annexe II pour de plus amples détails.

52 Voir la Section 9.1 de l'Annexe I pour de plus amples détails.

53 McMullin (2004)/(2013)

54 Shibuya (2012)

55 Des efforts considérables sont déployés dans les départements de la RGL comme ailleurs, pour peaufiner l’offre et la demande de main-d’œuvre dans les programmes de réintégration grâce à des possibilités de mappage économiques adaptées aux profils des ex-combattants dans les interfaces comme les ICRS du TDRP (système interne d’orientation et d’assistance) et la base de données DREAM du PNUD.

56 À propos de la radicalisation voir Özerdem & Podder’s (2011b).

57 C’est un point régulièrement articulé à la fois dans la littérature scientifique et dans la documentation des parties prenantes sur les programmes de réintégration.
5.3 Réintégration Sociale dans la RGL

La réintégration sociale est le processus par lequel les ex-combattants redéfinissent leur identité de soldat en civil et se fondent dans le tissu social de la société, tant à leurs propres yeux qu’aux yeux de la communauté. Cette tâche est loin d’être simple et implique un nombre de processus par lesquels les ex-combattants se reconnectent ou développent des réseaux familiaux et sociaux. Ces étapes contribuent à leur tour à instaurer la confiance dans la communauté et à cultiver un sens plus large de l’inclusion qui façonne une autonomisation personnelle et une capacité globale à contribuer dans la société. Cet ensemble de processus dont témoignent clairement les expériences des ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL est complexe et lent.

Tel qu’il a été souligné, les indicateurs économiques ainsi que d’autres indicateurs de base indiquent que les ex-combattants à travers la RGL perçoivent une trajectoire abrupte d’amélioration au fil du temps, et se déplacent en général rapidement vers la parité avec les membres de la communauté. Les ex-combattants progressent toutefois plus lentement quant aux processus de réintégration sociale. Les ex-combattants ont dans l’ensemble des réseaux sociaux plus restreints que ceux des membres de la communauté, et ont tendance à être plus dépendants de leur famille pour le soutien qui s’ils en ont une, que les membres de la communauté. Les ex-combattants développent toutefois plus lentement quant aux processus de réintégration sociale. Les ex-combattants ont dans l’ensemble des réseaux sociaux plus restreints que ceux des membres de la communauté, et ont tendance à être plus dépendants de leur famille pour le soutien qui s’ils en ont une, que les membres de la communauté. En raison de leurs petits réseaux de soutien social, lorsque les ex-combattants ne sont pas acceptés dans les familles, ils se portent nettement pire que les membres de la communauté qui vivent en dehors des structures familiales – surtout quand il s’agit de la sécurité du revenu. Bien qu’un taux relativement élevé d’ex-combattants affirme être accepté par leurs réseaux familiaux à leur retour dans les communautés, ils ont toujours moins de contact familial en général et se marient moins souvent que les membres de la communauté.

Le mariage est une composante essentielle du processus de réintégration sociale dans la RGL. En effet, le mariage est une voie centrale à travers laquelle les ex-combattants étendent leurs réseaux familiaux, signalant un changement dans leurs identités à la communauté, et avec un peu de chance réussissent à élargir leurs réseaux sociaux et économiques, qui à leur tour leur permettront de profiter de la valeur de ces réseaux en vue de résultats économiques et sociaux. Pour ces raisons là, il est inquiétant que dans les pays de la RGL, les ex-combattants se marient beaucoup moins fréquemment que les membres de la communauté. Effectivement, aussi bien les ex-combattants que les membres de la communauté révèlent la réticence à épouser un ex-combattant stigmatisé comme étant le problème central.59 Les femmes ex-combattantes sont les seules parmi les ex-combattants ou les membres de la communauté dans tous les pays de la RGL à épouser des ex-combattants, bien qu’elles soient nettement moins susceptibles de se marier en premier lieu (voir la Section 5.4).60

La dynamique du mariage des ex-combattants dans le cadre de la réintégration sociale présente une sorte de dilemme. Bien que le mariage soit considéré comme la voie centrale permettant aux ex-combattants de rédefinir leurs identités, d’enrayer la stigmatisation, et de se connecter à la société, les voies menant au mariage des ex-combattants semblent bloquées jusqu’à ce qu’ils puissent faire les choses même que le mariage leur permet de réaliser (rédefinir les identités, enraiser la stigmatisation, et se connecter à la société). Surmonter les obstacles que rencontrent les ex-combattants dans le cadre de l’accès au mariage est un processus lent de confrontation et d’expiation qui peut se produire en grande partie en dehors de l’influence directe des programmes de réintégration - mais qui peut être soutenu par ceux-là.61

Établir la confiance ne semble pas présenter un problème

58 La famille peut prendre des formes considérablement différentes à travers la RGL. Les structures familiales complexes et dynamiques du mariage (par exemple la polygamie) signifient que les dynamiques sociales spécifiques auxquelles font face les ex-combattants dans la réintégration varient considérablement. La famille reste néanmoins un tremplin essentiel dans le processus de réintégration sociale par le développement des réseaux sociaux.

59 Voir la Section 7.2 de l’Annexe I et 13.1 de l’Annexe II pour de plus amples détails. Les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté en Ouganda sont l’exception à cette tendance par le fait qu’ils sont les seuls groupes dans les pays de la RGL dont la majorité ont épousé ou envisagerait le mariage à un ex-combattant.

60 Voir la Section 7.2 de l’Annexe I et 13.2 de l’Annexe II pour de plus amples détails.

à long terme pour la réintégration sociale des ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL. Même si les membres de la communauté signalent régulièrement des niveaux élevés de crainte au sujet du retour des ex-combattants avant leur arrivée, peu manifestent ces craintes après le retour des ex-combattants ; les membres de la communauté décrivent souvent la contribution positive des ex-combattants à la communauté. En effet, les membres de la communauté et les ex-combattants signalent des niveaux élevés de confiance globale dans la communauté (et le renforcement de la confiance au fil du temps) qui contribue à un sentiment général d’unité. Ces constatations sont en effet très positives. De plus, les ex-combattants dans la RGL ne semblent pas former des groupes sociaux exclusifs. Seule une minorité des ex-combattants identifie la plupart de leurs amis comme étant d’autres ex-combattants, tout en étant deux fois plus susceptibles d’identifier leurs amis comme faisant partie de la même tranche d’âge (approximatif) ou du même sexe. Il est intéressant de noter que les membres de la communauté à travers la RGL affirment en grande partie ne pas avoir d’amis ex-combattants. Ces deux facettes de la réintégration sociale paraissent quelque peu en contradiction l’une avec l’autre gagneraient à être examinées plus profondément dans de futures recherches.

Les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL signalent des sentiments d’autonomisation semblables ou plus élevés que les membres de la communauté, leur permettant de susciter des changements dans leurs vies. Ceci est probablement dû aux expériences de guerre des ex-combattants pouvant avoir une influence considérable dans le cadre de la réintégration – la participation à des groupes armés pouvant offrir un sentiment de maitrise de soi et d’autonomisation inéxistant dans la vie de nombreuses personnes qui vivent de graves défis en matière de développement dans les pays de la RGL. Chez les ex-combattants, ce sens légèrement plus élevé de l’autonomisation ne parvient cependant pas à se traduire dans des niveaux plus élevés de bien-être ou une meilleure perception de leur statut dans les communautés. En effet, les ex-combattants sont plus susceptibles de déclarer qu’ils sont malheureux et insatisfaits de leur vie en général, et qu’ils ont un impact négatif sur la communauté. De plus, les ex-combattants sentent que leur situation est bien pire que les membres de la communauté dans un large éventail de catégories ; les membres de la communauté également perçoivent les anciens combattants comme défavorisés. Malgré ces inconvénients, les ex-combattants, ainsi que les membres de la communauté, ont une attitude positive sur leur avenir qui perçoit clairement que le changement social se produit sur une longue période – de longues années. Ceci est important parce que les perceptions sont aussi vitales que la réintégration sociale et économique.

De manière générale, les communautés dans les pays de la RGL ont fourni un contexte social positif où les ex-combattants peuvent commencer à se réintégrer (à l’exception de la RDC, voir la Section 5.6) – bien qu’il existe des obstacles importants à leur réintégration sociale à long terme, principalement ceux liés au mariage et à l’établissement des réseaux sociaux et économiques plus vastes dans la communauté qui peuvent à leur tour engendrer des résultats socio-économiques positifs. En effet, les données provenant des pays de la RGL tendent à accréditer l’idée que bien que les ex-combattants peuvent faire des progrès rapides en matière d’éducation, de compétences, d’accès aux terres, et ainsi de suite, ces progrès ne peuvent être utilisés pour obtenir des améliorations en matière de sécurité du revenu et de nourriture sans développer l’un des principaux composants de la réintégration sociale, le capital social.

5.3.1 La Logique du Capital Social dans la Réintégration

La réintégration sociale est probablement l’étape déterminante liant les processus de réintégration au niveau individuel à la plus grande perspective de consolidation de la paix et la réconciliation, et les mobilisant en vue du développement et la reconstruction de la société. Nombre de chercheurs et de praticiens reconnaissent le rôle central que joue le processus de réintégration dans les pays de la RGL.
sociale, mais la logique de la réintégration sociale est rarement traitée explicitement.67 Comprendre la réintégration sociale est une tâche laborieuse en effet, parce que cela consiste à fouiller un amalgame d'idées sociales complexes profondément enracinés dans les sciences sociales, et auquel les concepts de capital social et de cohésion sociale servent de noyaux. L'étude de la logique du capital social dans la réintégration éclaire infiniment les processus de réintégration sociale et l'interdépendance entre les processus de réintégration sociale et économique que traversent les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL. El est effectivement important de noter que tandis que la réintégration sociale peut s'avérer essentielle à l'accès aux possibilités économiques et au progrès vers la réintégration sociale et économique, la prospérité économique elle-même peut accorder un niveau de capital social. Les domaines sociaux et économiques se chevauchent et s'alimentent mutuellement de manière dynamique.

Au cœur de la réintégration gravitent deux concepts : Le capital social et la cohésion sociale. Le capital social tient du concept que les réseaux sociaux ont des valeurs tangibles aussi bien qu'intangibles. La cohésion sociale tient de l'idée que les réseaux sociaux individuels s'unissent pour tisser la toile sociale cohésive de la société. Derrière le concept que les réseaux sociaux contribuent au capital social, la cohésion sociale est la distinction entre trois sortes de capital social : Capital de « fusion », capital de « rapprochement », et capital « instrumental ».68

Le capital social de « fusion » est celui qui existe entre les réseaux familiaux ainsi que les groupes religieux ou ethniques. Même confrontés à des obstacles dans l'expansion de ce capital par le mariage, il semble que les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL sont prompts à construire le capital social de fusion, comme l'indique l'acceptation rapide des ex-combattants dans les réseaux familiaux actuels et leur forte dépendance envers leurs familles.

Le capital social de « rapprochement » consiste à développer des liens transversaux dans des réseaux qui ne sont pas définis par les caractéristiques inhérentes aux ex-combattants et aux membres de la communauté comme l'ethnicité ou la religion. Le capital social de « rapprochement » peut être construit, par exemple, à travers l'adhésion à des associations économiques, la participation à des projets communautaires, ou l'engagement civique dans les enjeux communautaires. Ces arènes transcendent les réseaux spécifiques familiaux et ethnico-religieux, et relient les individus à l'ensemble de la communauté. Dans les pays de la RGL, la capacité à construire le capital social de « rapprochement » varie selon les ex-combattants. Au Rwanda et au Burundi, où le travail communal régulièrement est institutionnalisé et sert de plate-forme pour traiter les questions communautaires, les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté semblent avoir des niveaux plus élevés de capital social de « rapprochement ». Par contre, les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté de la RDC, en Ouganda et dans la République Du Congo semblent avoir considérablement moins de capital de « rapprochement ».69 Le capital social de « rapprochement » peut avoir un impact concret sur l'accès des ex-combattants à la vie économique – car les opportunités économiques à travers la RGL dépendent en grande partie de l'accès à des réseaux informels, y compris ceux qui existent au-delà des réseaux familiaux immédiats.70 Cela signifie que la réintégration sociale peut avoir un sens très réel en ce qui concerne l'accès des ex-combattants aux marchés de travail. En outre, le capital social de rapprochement est vital pour le développement d'un sentiment d'unité et de cohésion globale au sein de la communauté.

Si le capital social de fusion traite des liens qui existent entre les individus, et le capital social de rapprochement traite des liens qui existent entre les communautés, le capital social instrumental concerne les liens entre les communautés et les unités sociales supérieures –l'État en particulier (bien qu'il y ait plusieurs strates entre les deux). Il s'agit de la logique ascendante de la

67 Jennings (2008), Bowd & Özerdem (2013)
68 Bowd & Özerdem (2013). L'idée de macro, méso et micro-indicateurs des processus de réintégration sociale est en grande partie analogue à la distinction entre capital social de fusion, de rapprochement, et instrumental.
69 Au Rwanda, cette pratique nationale institutionnalisée de travail commun est appelée Umuganda. Au Burundi, la pratique nationale similaire est appelée Travaux Communautaires.
cohésion sociale qui relie les réseaux du niveau individuel à ceux qui existent entre les communautés et ceux qui relient l’ensemble du pays.\textsuperscript{71} Très peu de données ont été recueillies dans le cadre de cette étude dans les pays de la RGL qui contribuent à la compréhension du capital social instrumental. On peut supposer que l’institutionnalisation à grande échelle du travail communal et des forums au Rwanda et au Burundi contribue au fonctionnement global de l’État – bien que soutenir cette spéculation empirique est en dehors des limites de cette étude.\textsuperscript{72} En effet, le développement du capital social instrumental est probablement l’élément le plus à long terme du processus de réintégration sociale, et n’est absolument pas un projet exclusif aux ex-combattants – car il existe bien au-delà des mandats de la politique et des programmes de réintégration.

5.4 Les Femmes ex-combattantes dans la RGL

Cette recherche conclut que dans les pays de la RGL, les femmes ex-combattantes presque sans exception se démarquent comme étant la tranche la plus largement et systématiquement défavorisée (toutes tranches d’âge et tout handicap compris, de sexe masculin et féminin) des ex-combattants selon des indicateurs de base qui reflètent la situation économique et le statut social dans la communauté ; elles courent un risque évident d’isolement et de marginalisation économiques et sociales.

Dans tous les pays de la RGL, les femmes ex-combattantes sont plus susceptibles d’être mobilisées avant l’âge de 18 ans, bien qu’elles passent moins de temps avec les groupes armés en général que leurs homologues masculins (4,95 années en moyenne par rapport à 7,37 ans en moyenne pour les hommes). Tandis que l’héritage de la mobilisation et des expériences de guerre est important pour comprendre les voies de réintégration chez les ex-combattants mâles, les défis que cet héritage représente pour les femmes ex-combattantes dans la RGL sont plus imminents. L’expérience courante de la socialisation dans la violence et l’hyper-exposition à la violence sexuelle que les femmes ex-combattantes ont tendance à subir comme faisant partie du conflit peut, à leur retour, contribuer aux obstacles causés par leur stigmatisation et entraver leur réintégration. Effectivement, dans certains milieux de la RGL, cette stigmatisation est si forte que certaines femmes ex-combattantes évitent de s’identifier comme ex-combattantes ; elles renoncent ainsi à l’accès à une aide ciblée aux ex-combattants.\textsuperscript{73} L’inconvénient le plus facilement quantifiable que les femmes ex-combattantes rencontrent dans la RGL est peut-être leur faible accès au mariage. Tandis que les femmes ex-combattantes dans les pays de la RGL affirment en général être acceptées dans les réseaux familiaux existants à leur retour dans les communautés, elles font face à des obstacles distincts quant à l’expansion de ces réseaux par le biais du mariage.\textsuperscript{74} Des anciens combattants et des membres de la communauté, les femmes ex-combattantes sont le groupe démographique qui a le moins de chance de se marier, et le plus suscepible au divorce, à la séparation ou au veuvage. Alors que les ex-combattants mâles dans la RGL constatent une trajectoire positive du taux de nuptialité qui s’améliore au fil du temps, les taux de nuptialité des femmes ex-combattantes sont presque stagnants. Les ex-combattants mâles et les membres de la communauté expriment une réticence générale à envisager le mariage avec les femmes ex-combattantes. Cette réticence est due principalement à des questions de stigmate – ceci explique les améliorations marginales dans l’accès des femmes ex-combattantes au mariage au fil du temps.\textsuperscript{75} Cela, bien entendu, laisse non-problématisée la présomption que les femmes ex-combattantes s’intéressent au mariage et le retour probable aux rôles traditionnellement assignés

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[72] Barnhart (2011) soutient que l’Umuganda (Les réunions communales institutionnalisées traitant du travail et de la communauté) au Rwanda a été inefficace dans le projet de construction de la nation, le projet consolidant l’identité nationale globale, bien qu’elle aborde implicitement ses contributions aux fonctions de l’État.
\item[73] Éviter l’auto-identification est une approche que de nombreux ex-combattants, sans distinction de sexe, prennent - le point ici est de souligner que cela peut être une approche particulièrement fréquente pour les femmes ex-combattantes dans certains milieux de la RGL.
\item[74] Voir la Section 7.4.1 de l’Annexe I pour de plus amples détails.
\item[75] Il est cependant probable que les considérations économiques à l’égard du mariage avec des femmes ex-combattantes jouent un rôle ici également – les données de la présente étude indiquent que les femmes ex-combattantes sont séparées des structures d’héritage et donc ont peu de valeur économique par le mariage.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
aux deux sexes – un point qui gagnerait à être analysé plus profondément à l’avenir.

Ce désavantage social en termes de mariage pour les femmes ex-combattantes interagit de façon dynamique avec les facteurs économiques, notamment l’accès aux terres arables. La trajectoire économique dominante pour tous les ex-combattants à travers la RGL est un mouvement vers l’agriculture à petite échelle (voir la section 5.3). Ainsi, l’accès aux terres arables constitue un important indicateur de la stabilité économique ; la croissance de l’accès aux terres arables à son tour est un des indicateurs d’une trajectoire économique favorable. Les ex-combattants mâles utilisent le mariage et l’héritage comme voies principales pour élargir l’accès à la terre. Cependant, les femmes ex-combattantes, étant le groupe démographique avec le taux de nuptialité le plus bas dans les pays de la RGL, ne peuvent aborder cette voie pour augmenter l’accès à la terre, et n’héritent pas non plus de terrains en général, à cause des structures traditionnelles des sexes et à la stigmatisation dans certains cas. Ces facteurs contribuent à une trajectoire de réintégration généralement superficielle pour les femmes ex-combattantes dans la RGL. Cette interaction dynamique des sexes, de la stigmatisation, du mariage et de l’accès à la terre dans les pays de la RGL est un obstacle structurel de base que les femmes ex-combattantes doivent affronter dans le cadre des processus de réintégration, qui risque également de devenir un désavantage intergénérationnel pour les enfants de femmes ex-combattantes.76

En outre, les femmes ex-combattantes dans la RGL ont des niveaux d’alphabétisation et d’éducation inférieurs aussi bien à ceux des ex-combattants mâles qu’à ceux des membres masculins et féminins de la communauté – un facteur qu’elles identifient comme un obstacle dans la recherche d’emploi. Non seulement les femmes ex-combattantes sont plus susceptibles d’être au chômage, elles sont aussi beaucoup moins susceptibles à être le seul soutien financier du ménage. Par conséquent, elles sont moins exposées au risque économique que ce statut représente dans les pays de la RGL (voir la Section 5.3). Il semble que les femmes ex-combattantes sont moins fréquemment le seul soutien de leurs familles en raison de leur forte dépendance sur les réseaux familiaux im-médias. En effet, les femmes ex-combattantes signalent être généralement acceptées dans leurs réseaux de famille immédiate, mais disposent de peu d’autres réseaux sociaux ou économiques, et leur capital social global dans la communauté est faible.77

Les femmes ex-combattantes signalent des niveaux de confiance inférieurs dans la communauté et des perceptions d’amélioration en confiance au fil du temps inférieures à celles que perçoivent les ex-combattants mâles. Souffrant d’une absence de capital social et ressentant un manque de confiance en la communauté, les femmes ex-combattantes signalent des sentiments d’autonomisation et de maitrise de leurs vies plus faibles en général que les ex-combattants de sexe masculin. De plus, ces niveaux inférieurs de confiance peuvent avoir des conséquences économiques, par exemple une confiance faible peut rendre ardue pour les femmes ex-combattantes la tâche d’attirer des clients lors de l’ouverture d’une petite entreprise. Les femmes ex-combattantes dans les pays de la RGL comprennent l’étendue des inconvénients auxquels elles sont confrontées, comme l’indique le fait qu’elles affirment systématiquement que leur situation est en général inférieure à celle des autres dans la société.

Malgré le large éventail d’inconvénients qui désavantage les femmes ex-combattantes dans presque tous les indicateurs de processus de réintégration sociale et économique, il est intéressant de constater qu’elles affirment systématiquement des sentiments de bien-être général, un sentiment plus accentué de satisfaction globale dans la vie et une meilleure perspective sur l’avenir par rapport aux ex-combattants de sexe masculin. À l’avenir, développer une compréhension des stratégies d’adaptation des femmes ex-combattantes qui leur permettent d’aboutir à ces perceptions plus positives qu’elles ont d’elles-mêmes pourrait s’avérer très utile afin de comprendre la perception qu’ont les ex-combattants d’eux-mêmes et leurs perspectives de l’avenir dans l’ensemble.

Dans pratiquement tous les aspects, les femmes ex-combattantes sont désavantagées par rapport aux ex-combattants du sexe masculin. Ceci n’est cependant qu’une moitié de l’histoire. Pour pouvoir apprécier la

76 Voir la Section 12.3 de l’Annexe I pour de plus amples détails.
77 Voir la Section 10.6.1 de l’Annexe I pour de plus amples détails.
dimension sexo-spécifique de la réintégration dans la RGL, nous devons inclure une comparaison des femmes ex-combattantes aux femmes membres de la communauté dans notre analyse – l’ancrer dans le cadre de la dynamique entre les sexes dans les pays de la RGL.

5.4.1 Une Transformation Sociale plus Vaste des Dynamiques du Genre

Dans tous les pays de la RGL, les femmes membres de la communauté ont une gamme très similaire de désavantages par rapport aux membres masculins de la communauté, tout comme les femmes ex-combattantes par rapport aux ex-combattants de sexe masculin. De plus, l’espace qui sépare les femmes ex-combattantes des femmes membres de la communauté sur un large éventail d’indicateurs de processus sociaux et économiques est souvent minime – bien que les femmes ex-combattantes soient presque toujours plus défavorisées par rapport aux femmes membres de la communauté. L’avantage principal qu’ont les membres féminins de la communauté semble être leurs taux de mariage plus élevés, de meilleures possibilités de mariage dans l’avenir, et une intégration meilleure en général dans les réseaux sociaux étendus ce qui contribue à un capital social plus élevé dans la communauté.78 Dans d’autres dimensions, telles que la discrimination entre les sexes sur le lieu de travail, les femmes membres de la communauté et les ex-combattantes sont confrontées à des expériences similaires fondées sur des inconvénients sexo-spécifiques – bien qu’il semble que ce statut d’ex-combattante et la stigmatisation qu’il comporte amplifie les inégalités profondes entre les sexes, ancrées dans tous les pays de la RGL.

5.5 RDC : Réintégration dans le Contexte d’un Conflit Continu


L’analyse de cette étude révèle que malgré les bons résultats des ex-combattants en RDC, peut-être même les meilleurs des pays de la RGL, dans la recherche d’une parité avec les membres de la communauté en termes d’indicateurs essentiels, le processus de réintégration tel qu’il est visible dans le reste des pays de la RGL n’a pas lieu. Dans presque toutes les dimensions de la réintégration, les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté de RDC se portent plus mal, malgré l’espace plus restreint entre eux, que les autres dans le reste des pays de la RGL.80 En grande partie, il semble qu’en raison de la situation des communautés de l’Est de la RDC bien pire que celle des autres dans la RGL, la barre soit placée bas lorsque les ex-combattants décident d’évoluer vers la parité. Dans ce contexte, il se peut que la parité entre les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté ne soit pas représentative des processus de réintégration sociale et économique qui lui sont associés ailleurs dans la Région des Grands Lacs.

Les ex-combattants en RDC ont en moyenne passé le

78 Encore une fois, en se basant sur l’hypothèse que le mariage est en fait quelque chose qui intéresse les femmes ex-combattantes dans la RGL. Aussi il est possible que les femmes ex-combattantes présentent d’autres désavantages par rapport aux membres féminines de la communauté parce que bon nombre d’entre elles ont été mobilisées en bas âge (voir section 5.1.1), elles ont peut-être manqué l’occasion d’apprendre les coutumes de leur communauté - par exemple, les divers attentes des hommes et des femmes en termes de respect de la communauté, etc.

79 En effet, la myriade complexe d’acteurs violents dans l’Est de la RDC est un défi à suivre, sans parler de le comprendre. Autesserre (2010) offre un récit particulièrement convaincant sur les dimensions locales et internationales du conflit violent en RDC.

80 Voir Section 16.6.2 en Annexe II pour de plus amples détails.
temps plus long avec les groupes armés avant la démo-
bulisation et ont très probablement été mobilisés avant 
l’âge de 18 ans, comparé à ceux des autres pays de la RGL.
Malgré tout, les ex-combattants de RDC ne semblent 
 pas particulièrement désavantagés par rapport à la com-
munauté en termes d’éducation, d’alphabétisation et 
d’accès à la terre. En ce qui concerne la réintégration 
economique, les ex-combattants de RDC sont parmi 
les plus mal lotis de la RGL en termes d’emploi, bien 
que leur trajectoire générale en matière d’agriculture à 
petite échelle corresponde à celle des autres pays de la 
RGL. Cependant, les ex-combattants et les membres de la 
communauté de RDC sont ceux qui sont le plus sus-
ceptibles d’être les seuls pourvoyeurs du ménage et sont 
les plus exposés à l’insécurité des revenus associée à ce 
statut dans la RGL (voir Section 5.3).

En effet, dans un contexte d’insécurité continue dans 
l’Est de la RDC, les ex-combattants et les membres de 
la communauté sont exposés à un niveau de difficulté 
économique qui est nettement pire que celui du reste 
des pays de la RGL.81 Ce sont là des difficultés que les 
ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté af-
frontent en RDC. Cependant, le point fondamental 
permettant de comprendre le poids des désavantages 
des ex-combattants et membres de la communauté 
dans le contexte d’un conflit continu est la réintégration 
sociale. Les Ex-combattants en DRC ont les réseaux fa-
miliaux les plus faibles de la RGL en termes de niveau 
de de fréquence de contact familial. Il s’agit probable-
ment à la fois d’un effet de la géographie sociale difficile 
de l’Est de la RDC – des infrastructures de transport 
sérieusement délabrées et un terrain montagneux 
rendent les voyages quasiment impossibles lorsque les 
lourdes pluies saisonnières s’en mêlent également – et 
de la nature à grande échelle des déplacements dans le 
contexte de la violence et de l’insécurité continue. En ce 
sens, les ex-combattants de RDC manquent de l’ancrage 
social de base qui est celui de beaucoup d’ex-combat-
tants des autres pays de la RGL – un réseau familial à 
retrouver (au moins au niveau où il est visible dans les 
autres pays de la RGL).

Bien que les ex-combattants de RDC mettent en place 
de nouveaux réseaux familiaux par le biais du mariage 
à un niveau identique à celui des membres de la com-
munauté, l’absence de réseaux familiaux préexistants 
semble avoir des conséquences sérieuses pour eux. Les 
ex-combattants de RDC sont, au sein des pays de la RGL, 
le groupe le plus susceptible de 1) n’avoir personne vers 
qui se tourner pour demander une aide économique, 
2) d’avoir le sentiment le plus faible de solidarité et 
d’échanges avec la communauté, 3) ressentir qu’ils ont 
le moins de pouvoir d’entre tous pour prendre des déci-
sions importantes dans leur vie, 4) percevoir qu’ils ont 
les capacités de contrôle sur leurs activités quotidiennes 
les plus faibles; de plus, ils sont 5) les moins susceptibles 
de percevoir qu’ils ont un impact positif sur la commu-
nauté, 6) les moins susceptibles de se rassembler pour 
exprimer leurs inquiétudes politiques, 7) les moins sus-
ceptibles de penser que leur voix sera entendue par les 
décideurs et les chefs, 8) les plus susceptibles de penser 
que leur situation générale se détériorera dans le futur et 
ainsi donc, ils 9) montrent les niveaux de satisfaction les 
plus faibles quant à la vie dans les pays de la RGL. 
Pire encore, en termes de changement social, la RDC est le 
seul pays de la RGL où les ex-combattants constatent 
des chutes dans la perception de leur situation générale 
par rapport au reste de la société dans l’année précédant 
l’échantillonnage, dans les catégories de la nourriture, 
des vêtements et de la finance.

5.5.1 L’Absence de Cohésion Sociale en RDC : Une 
Société Éclatée

Dans le contexte du conflit et de l’insécurité continus 
dans l’Est de la RDC, les ex-combattants, tout comme 
de nombreux membres de la communauté, font face à une 
ligne de base dans les processus sociaux et économiques 
inférieure à celle de leurs voisins dans le reste des 
pays RGL. Tandis qu’il semble que les ex-combattants 
du reste des pays de la RGL enregistrent des progrès 
rapides dans les indicateurs principaux, et évoluent 
vers une parité avec la communauté, ils sont en général 
toujours défavorisés dans la plupart des dimensions. 
Les ex-combattants dans les pays de la RGL manquent 
souvent de capital social relatif aux communautés et des 
reseaux et des liens dans la société qui permettront de 
traduire leurs gains en résultats sociaux et économiques. 
En RDC, toutefois, il semble que non seulement les ex-
combattants mais aussi les membres de la communauté 
n’ont pas le capital social nécessaire pour tirer parti des 
résultats. En effet, cette étude conclut qu’en RDC il y a

81 Il est intéressant de noter que l’insécurité et le conflit persistants 
dans l’Est de la RDC ont des retombées dans les pays voisins des régions 
frontalières. En Ouganda par exemple, le conflit continu en RDC a 
contribué à la mobilisation des Forces de l’ADF.
peu de capital social et de cohésion sociale pour que les ex-combattants ou membres de la communauté puissent en tirer parti par rapport aux autres pays de la RGL. La RDC est, en quelque sorte, une société fragmentée, où la toile sociale que les ex-combattants doivent réintégrer est faible.

Il semble que la logique ascendante du capital social de fusion, de rapprochement, et instrumental (voir la Section 5.4.1) soit invisible dans le contexte des in sécurités continues qui prévaut dans l’Est de la RDC. Aussi bien les ex-combattants que les membres de la communauté restent extrêmement marginalisés, vivant en marge de la société. En effet, de nombreux chercheurs ont décrit les dimensions sociales, politiques et économiques de l’Est de la RDC comme étant formées par des dynamiques locales essentiellement déconnectées de la RDC en tant qu’État.82 Le déplacement massif et la géographie sociale de l’Est de la RDC gardent dispersés les réseaux familiaux qui, de ce fait, ne semblent pas servir le rôle du capital social de fusion. Par conséquent, la plate-forme sur laquelle les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté ensemble peuvent s’étendre hors de leurs réseaux familiaux est limitée. En l’absence d’une large plate-forme sociétale en RDC, les perspectives de développer le capital social de rapprochement entre les unités sociales cohésives et relier le capital social aux grandes unités sociales semblent désastreuses.

Dans le cadre du conflit en cours dans l’Est de la RDC, il semble que la toile sociale soit extrêmement faible, le caractère fragmenté de la société est un sérieux obstacle au processus de réintégration des ex-combattants. Ces résultats suggèrent que pour que se produise le processus de réintégration des ex-combattants, le niveau minimal de capital social et de cohésion au sein de la communauté pour les ex-combattants est une condition probablement nécessaire. L’insécurité et la violence qui se poursuivent dans l’Est de la RDC rendent extrêmement problématique l’établissement de cette condition fondamentale nécessaire. Dans l’Est de la RDC, où les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté sont confrontés à un défi similaire de le cadre de la reconstruction, plutôt que de simplement se reconnecter à la toile de base de la société, les démarches communau-

5.5.2 Le Paradoxe de la RDC : Parité versus Processus

La RDC révèle un paradoxe pour la compréhension des réussites et des échecs dans la politique et des programmes de réintégration. Ce paradoxe réside dans l’incongruité potentielle de la parité entre les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté comme manifestation des processus de réintégration. Les programmes de réintégration visent à aider les ex-combattants à retourner aux communautés et progresser vers la parité avec les membres de la communauté en termes de caractéristiques sociales et économiques, afin de supprimer essentiellement les ex-combattants comme groupe vulnérable dans la société pour que les grandes initiatives de consolidation de la paix et de développement puissent reprendre. La Parité entre les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté est le mandat global et une dimension clé le long de laquelle l’évaluation de l’impact dans la RGL a été exécutée. À cet égard, la RDC est le pays de la RGL qui affiche le plus haut niveau de parité entre les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté. Bien que les ex-combattants soient confrontés à une série de désavantages, l’étendue de ces désavantages à l’ensemble de la communauté est relativement faible par rapport aux autres pays de la RGL.84


84 Une manière d’envisager cette différence pourrait être de distinguer entre la parité quantitative et la parité qualitative.
Cependant, comme décrit ci-dessus, les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté dans l’ensemble en RDC vivent une situation pire que celles de tous les autres pays de la RGL. En comparant dans une certaine mesure la RDC au contexte plus large de la RGL et en soulignant les processus, nous pouvons constater que, bien que le plus haut niveau de parité ait été atteint en RDC, cette parité est limitée comme indicateur dans le contexte des processus de réintégration qui se produisent à plus vaste échelle. Les communautés dans l’Est de la RDC sont considérablement inférieures aux communautés des autres pays de la RGL sur le plan de la sécurité économique et du soutien social. Ainsi, les améliorations de portée que les ex-combattants doivent réaliser afin d’obtenir la parité avec les membres de la communauté sont relativement peu comparés à ceux que doivent réaliser les ex-combattants dans les autres pays de la RGL. Les ex-combattants en RDC effectuent des progrès rapides, bien que les données de la présente étude suggèrent que cette parité relative aux membres de la communauté n’est pas indicative de l’ensemble plus vaste et plus lent des processus de réintégration sociale et économique observable dans les autres pays de la RGL. Il convient de noter que sur le plan de l’impact des programmes (fondé sur la parité), la RDC a le programme à l’échelle de pays le plus réussi de la RGL ; tandis que sur le plan de la réalisation des processus de réintégration tel que cela parait dans les autres pays de la RGL, la RDC semble être le cas le moins réussi de la RGL.

5.6 **Les Limites des Programmes de Réintégration**

Le processus de réintégration peut en partie avoir lieu indépendamment de la politique et des programmes de réintégration - bien qu’il y soit simultanément en-capsulé. Avec ou sans l’aide de programmes de réintégration sociale, les ex-combattants de la RGL sont retournés dans leurs communautés et ont frayé leurs chemins à travers l’ensemble complexe de transitions qu’impliquent les processus de réintégration. Les dimensions économiques de la réintégration sont importantes ; Toutefois, il est probable que les gains économiques que réalisent les ex-combattants ne peuvent se matérialiser entièrement sans s’engager dans l’ensemble des processus plus lents de réintégration sociale. En ce sens, la réintégration comme processus est principalement le processus social individualisé de redéfinir son identité et se reconnecter à la toile sociale de la société.

En se concentrant indépendamment sur les processus de réintégration distincts des programmes de réintégration spécifiques, il se peut que la politique et les programmes de réintégration aient une capacité limitée à façonner directement certains éléments du processus de réintégration - notamment les legs individuels et les dynamiques sociales du retour. Les ex-combattants, leurs familles et les communautés sont les principaux agents à travers lesquels se produisent les processus de réintégration, et ils ont une influence particulière directe sur les trajectoires de la réintégration des ex-combattants dans ce contexte. Compte tenu de ces facteurs, il se peut être que de meilleurs programmes de réintégration exigent d’apprendre à mieux faciliter le processus endogène de réintégration, en d’autres termes, de capitaliser sur le raz-de-marée des processus déjà en cours. Les processus de réintégration se produisent dans des contextes de flux constants – des flux que les ex-combattants, leurs familles et leurs communautés naviguent ensemble. L’assistance par le biais des programmes de réintégration peuvent orienter cette navigation grâce à un soutien ancré dans les processus de réintégration locaux.

Apprendre les formes et des trajectoires des processus de réintégration peut contribuer généreusement à l’effort du développement des métriques pour le succès des programmes de réintégration – bien que les réussites et les échecs trop clairs peuvent rester difficiles à atteindre. L’établissement de métriques dans ce contexte signifie, en effet, promouvoir une compréhension des limites de la politique et des programmes de réintégration spécifiques.

---

85 Autrement dit, les programmes de réintégration spécifique doivent être profondément contextualisés pour être compatibles avec les économies politiques locales.
86 Özerdem & Poddar (2011)
tion, définir leur champ d’impact potentiel. Aucun pro-
gramme de réintégration n’obtiendra de résultat positif
des processus de réintégration sociale pour 100 % des
ex-combattants, mais quelle marge de manœuvre les
praticiens de réintégration ont-ils en appliquant des
processus de réintégration dans un contexte donné ?

En bref, la RDC nous montre que sans le niveau
minimum nécessaire de cohésion sociale dans les com-
munautés et dans la société à plus grande échelle, la
probabilité des ex-combattants à s’orienter efficace-
ment à travers les processus de réintégration sociale
parait minime, et que les programmes de réintégration
peuvent avoir une portée limitée d’impact potentiel sur
les processus sociaux. Même le meilleur programme de
réintégration conçu en RDC ne réussira pas à alléger
l’insécurité qui prévaut ou l’absence de perspectives
pour gagner sa vie – bien qu’il peut contribuer à ces
fins. Des programmes de réintégration axés sur le
rapprochement des ex-combattants aussi bien que des
communautés peuvent s’avérer particulièrement fructu-
eux - en un sens, contribuer à favoriser une plus grande
transformation sociale semble faciliter le processus de
réintégration des ex-combattants

88 L'idée d'une marge de manœuvre est également présentée dans
certains documents comme « des niveaux acceptables d'échec. » Voir par
exemple Shibuya (2012).

89 Ces résultats appuient les arguments plus généraux de Vries &
Wiegink (2011).
Cette étude a été établie à partir d’un sondage de presque 10 000 ex-combattants et membres de la communauté à travers le Rwanda, l’Ouganda, le Burundi, le RDC et la République du Congo afin de formuler une compréhension globale de l’éventail des processus de réintégration qui s’effectuent dans la RGL. Le point central de cette étude a été les processus individuel dans le cadre de la réintégration sociale et économique dans cette région, plutôt que l’éventail les politiques et les programmes de réintégration sociale menées comme support à ces processus dans chaque pays de la RGL. Une conclusion fondamentale de cette étude, en effet, est que malgré les contextes disparates d’après-conflit dans tous les pays de la RGL, les ex-combattants affichent une gamme largement analogue de processus de réintégration qui forment le point de vue collectif une trajectoire ou récit global similaire de la réintégration.

Dans les pays de la RGL, il est évident que la mobilité et les expériences de guerre forment la ligne de départ à partir de laquelle les ex-combattants s’engagent dans les processus de réintégration. Un exemple direct est celui de jeunes ex-combattants dont la majorité s’est mobilisée au début de l’adolescence. Les occasions manquées au début de l’adolescence et de l’âge adulte, et encore plus essentiel, les expériences de socialisation au sein d’un contexte de violence extrême, génèrent des séquelles durables pour ces ex-combattants démobilisés qui commencent leurs processus de réintégration. Les jeunes ex-combattants désavantagés par rapport aux ex-combattants plus âgés et aux membres de la communauté dans un large éventail d’indicateurs de base, sont confrontés à des problèmes psychosociaux potentiellement intenses. En principe, cette étude ne prend pas en compte la portée du traumatisme psychologique enduré par les ex-combattants dans la RGL et l’héritage des expériences de guerre alors qu’ils interagissent avec leurs familles et leurs communautés. Ce traumatisme est probablement un point crucial de la réintégration de nombreux ex-combattants dans les communautés. Dans l’absolu, bien que les ex-combattants à travers la RGL soient économiquement défavorisés par rapport aux membres de la communauté, ils affichent une trajectoire positive vers l’obtention d’une parité économique. Les ex-combattants, alors qu’ils se déplacent principalement vers les activités agricoles à petite échelle, affichent également des taux de chômage qui baissent avec le temps. Il convient toutefois de noter que les ex-combattants dans tous les pays de la RGL ont des réseaux économiques plus faibles que ceux des membres de la communauté, et ont tendance à être plus singulièrement dépendants de leurs réseaux de parenté immédiate pour le soutien économique. Le soutien limité d’où peuvent puissent les ex-combattants les expose de manière plus importante à l’insécurité du revenu que les membres de la communauté. Les ex-combattants aussi bien que les membres de la communauté comprennent cependant que c’est le contexte des défis globaux au développement dans lequel ils évoluent qui crée le principal obstacle à leur capacité à atteindre la stabilité économique, au lieu que ce soit le statut d’ex-combattant en lui-même. Malgré cette prise de conscience, les ex-combattants se perçoivent toujours comme un groupe défavorisé dans la société. Cette perception est fondamentale, comme la perception des ex-combattants de leur situation économique dans la société est aussi importante en fin de compte, sinon davantage, que leur trajectoire réelle.

Bien que les aspects économiques du processus de réintégration soient importants, cette étude conclut qu’un ensemble plus lent de processus de réintégration sociale peut-être vital à la réintégration dans la RGL. Dans les pays de la RGL, l’accès au mariage, l’expansion des réseaux de parenté, et par conséquence, le renforcement des liens avec l’ensemble de la communauté sont des processus de base pour le développement du capital social et de la cohésion sociale aussi bien pour les individus que pour la société dans son ensemble. La stigmatisation pèse lourd sur les ex-combattants qui retournent dans les communautés et se heurtent à des obstacles qui

6. Conclusions
entravent leur accès au mariage. Sans un accès suffisant au mariage, de nombreux ex-combattants à travers la RGL n’arrivent pas à aborder les processus plus vastes de l’expansion des liens de parenté et des réseaux communautaires dans le cadre du développement du capital social pour une contribution globale à la cohésion sociale dans la société. De ceci émerge un paradoxe : Les ex-combattants doivent développer le capital social et enrayer la stigmatisation par le mariage, mais ils doivent disposer d’un capital social et enrayer la stigmatisation pour avoir accès au mariage. La réintégration sociale est un processus lent d’expiation pour le passé, de circonscription aux normes communautaires et de réconciliation future dans tous les pays de la RGL.

Dans les pays de la RGL, les femmes ex-combattantes sont sans équivoque le groupe le plus défavorisé ; à leur retour aux communautés, elles affrontent une série d’obstacles结构的 à la réintégration, profondément enracinés. Les femmes ex-combattantes font face à la stigmatisation associée au statut d’ex-combattant aussi bien qu’à celle d’avoir bravé les normes de genre de la société comme combattantes. Dans les pays de la RGL, cette double stigmatisation semble être un mélange puissant, car elle amplifie les désavantages sexo-spécifiques déjà inhérents au statut de femme dans ce milieu qui est la RGL. Alors que les femmes membres de la communauté à travers la RGL affichent une série de désavantages par rapport aux membres de la communauté de sexe masculin, ces désavantages sont presque toujours plus exagérés dans le cas des femmes ex-combattantes par rapport aux ex-combattants de sexe masculin. Les femmes ex-combattantes constituent le groupe qui se marie le moins parmi les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté et, contrairement aux ex-combattants de sexe masculin qui constatent certaines améliorations en matière d’accès au mariage au fil du temps, elles ont un taux de nuptialité stagnant au fil du temps. De plus, les femmes ex-combattantes disposent d’un capital social extrêmement faible qui contribue à leur marginalisation persistante dans les pays de la RGL.

Les effets de ce faible capital social des femmes ex-combattantes peuvent se répandre du domaine social au domaine économique étant donné que le mariage est la voie royale permettant d’accéder à l’accès à la terre, aux opportunités d’emploi et bases de clientèle dans les pays de la RGL. Les limitations en matière d’accès à la terre, de mobilité, d’éducation et compétences rendent les femmes ex-combattantes économiquement vulnérables. Ces dimensions sociales et économiques interagissent pour finalement contribuer à la perception générale des femmes ex-combattantes de désavantages dans la communauté. Les Femmes ex-combattantes sont bien conscientes de ces désavantages et il se peut qu’elles évitent totalement de s’identifier comme ex-combattantes, abandonnant ainsi leur accès à un appui à la réintégration différencié. De manière intéressante, malgré l’ensemble considérable de désavantages auxquels sont confrontées les femmes ex-combattantes dans les pays de la RGL, elles montrent constamment des niveaux plus élevés de bonheur général et de meilleures perspectives pour l’avenir, un point qui mérite d’être approfondi dans de futures études.

Si l’on se concentre au niveau du pays, la RDC se singularise clairement par rapport à la trajectoire plus grande des processus de réintégration dans les pays de la RGL. Si l’on prend en compte presque tous les indicateurs sociaux et économiques de cette étude, il est clair que les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté en RDC sont les plus défavorisés des pays de la RGL. Dans un contexte de violence et d’insécurité continue dans l’Est de la RDC, il semble qu’un niveau basique de cohésion sociale qui semble faciliter le lent processus de réintégration des ex-combattants dans la communauté est tout sauf absent. À ce titre, les processus de réintégration, tels qu’ils se déroulent dans les autres pays de la RGL, ne semblent pas se dérouler à une échelle très significative en RDC – du moins pas au point qu’ils soient visibles dans cette étude à un niveau empirique. Sur un plan conceptuel, ce qui se passe en RDC est mieux caractérisé par la remarginalisation, et en termes de programmes de réintégration, ce qui se passe en RDC est mieux défini par le terme réinsertion. Le paradoxe révélé ici est qu’en termes de parité, les ex-combattants et les membres de la communauté en RDC sont les plus proches pour presque tous les indicateurs comparé aux ex-combattants et communautés dans les autres pays de la RGL.

Toutefois, les trajectoires générales des processus de réintégration en RDC sont extrêmement faibles par rapport aux autres pays de la RGL. Il se peut que cette trajectoire faible soit inhérente au contexte de violence et d’insécurité continues de l’Est de la RC, et
peut être représentative des limites plus étendues des programmes de réintégration.

6.1 Réintégration : Une Transition incorporée

Le processus de réintégration parcouru par les ex-combattants dans la RGL entraîne des transformations continues dans les domaines sociaux et économiques. Ces transformations des ex-combattants s'intègrent à des transformations plus vastes de la société dans les environnements post-conflits et en développement. Comprendre les processus de la réintégration implique de comprendre le contexte dans lequel ils prennent place. Mettre en place des moyens de subsistance durables doit être entendu comme comprendre le contexte dans lequel ils prennent place. Etablir des moyens de subsistance durables et garantir la sécurité des revenus doit être entendu comme un fragment du processus de développement économique plus général et plus vaste. Construire un capital social et une cohésion sociale doit être entendu comme une partie de la reconstitution du tissu social de la société. Réduire les disparités entre les hommes et les femmes doit être compris comme la partie d’une plus grande transformation des normes sociétales sexo-spécifiques. Toutes ces dimensions sont des choses que les ex-combattants, communautés, et la société élargie des pays de la RGL doivent affronter ensemble. Alors que les ex-combattants sont confrontés à toutes sortes de désavantages sociaux et économiques par rapport aux membres de la communauté, le comportement dû dans les environnements FCS, ce qui est peut-être le plus important pour les ex-combattants est la perception d’être inclus dans une transformation de la société plus vaste.

Reconnaître que les processus de réintégration des ex-combattants sont ancrés par nature, c’est les mettre en contexte dans une trajectoire sociale globale. De fait, comprendre l’état des transformations sociales plus vastes dans les pays de la RGL est un point de départ permettant de comprendre l’éventail des processus de réintégration qui peuvent s’y dérouler, l’espace qui existe pour les programmes de réintégration afin de participer à ces processus endogènes, et en retour de comprendre la variété des approches possibles des programmes de réintégration qui pourraient réussir dans cet éventail et cet espace. C’est à quoi se réfère la portée de l’impact potentiel dans un contexte donné. Comme le cas de la RDC le démontre, penser à la réintégration en termes de parité seulement peut s’avérer insuffisant pour comprendre la portée de l’impact potentiel pour les programmes de réintégration dans un contexte donné. Plutôt, la parité est complétée par une assimilation des processus globaux au sein desquels les ex-combattants évoluent, et le degré auquel ils sont connectés aux transformations sociales plus vastes. Sur ce point, il est envisageable que les perceptions des ex-combattants de leur inclusion et trajectoire positive dans la société soient plus importantes que leur parité absolue avec les membres de la communauté.
Travaux de Référence


Finn, A. (2012). The Drivers of Reporter Reintegration in Northern Uganda. World Bank,


UN (2006) Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards


Annex I - Great Lakes Region

EX-COMBATANT REINTEGRATION: COMPARATIVE SURVEY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS
7. Demographics

The following is a capture of the demographics of the ex-combatant sample for this comparative study. The demographics reflected in the sample here are not those of the overall ex-combatant populations in each of the five GLR countries at the time of study, but rather reflect certain purposive sampling biases. For more information about the specific sampling methods and decisions in each of the GLR countries please see the individual survey studies for ex-combatants in each of the five GLR countries. For a brief introduction to the reintegration programming context in each of the GLR countries see section 5.1.

The unweighted ex-combatant sample contributions from the five GLR countries for the total sample of 6,475 ex-combatants in this study is as follows: Burundi comprises 19.4% (n=1,256) of the total raw sample, DRC 56% (n=3,625), Republic of Congo 10.3% (N=667), Rwanda 8% (N=517) and Uganda 6.3% (N=410). However, in an effort to create valid cross-country analysis of ex-combatants across the GLR, and especially for comparison to the community member sample, which contains proportionally different sample contributions from the five GLR countries, the raw sample contributions from each country have been weighted evenly.

Integrating the full range of data from Rwanda has proved challenging in this study. The evolving format for the individual GLR country surveys has been a continual process of learning and iterative refinement. The Rwanda survey format is the starting point from which surveys evolved in RoC, Burundi, Uganda, and DRC. So, while data content in the Rwanda surveys is very much in line with the rest of the GLR countries, much of the specific question formatting is often different enough that a direct comparison of data is not feasible. Such instances are explained in footnotes.

Collectively the data restrictions present in this study of ex-combatants across the GLR countries mean that the task of this study is to present a mosaic of findings. Up close, the pieces of the picture are not always complete and data is not always congruent. Nonetheless, there are clear data trends that represent a distinct narrative of ex-combatant reintegration across the GLR countries.

Of the total sample of ex-combatants 88.1% were male and 11.9% were female. While across all individual countries the disparity of representation of males and females was high, this is most true in Rwanda where only 2.5% of the country sample was female. The sample contribution from Uganda was comprised of the largest proportion of women (25.4%). The remaining countries fell closer to the overall sample composition. Table 1 above gives a cross-tabulated breakdown of the age, sex and disability of the ex-combatant sample from each of the five GLR countries.

---


91 It is important to note that a portion of ex-combatants never participate in formal reintegration programming. This is especially true of female ex-combatants who are hyperaware of the heavy stigmatization that can accompany self-identification as an ex-combatant. As such, the actual proportion of female ex-combatants in the GLR is likely higher than the figures above suggest.

92 For the purposes of this report as a comparative study the demographic breakdown of the Ex-combatant sample by armed group will not be included for systematic analysis. The contexts of the different armed groups within the five GLR countries are seen as unique to each country context thus, while important units of analysis within each GLR country, not systematically comparable across the GLR countries. Further details on the Ex-combatant sample by armed group within each country are available in some of the five GLR country survey reports.
Table 1: Ex-Combatants - GLR Country Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Burundi</th>
<th>DRC</th>
<th>RoC</th>
<th>Rwanda</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
<th>GLR Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
<td>86.1%</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
<td>97.5%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
<td>88.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>92.2%</td>
<td>95.4%</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>89.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the total sample of ex-combatants 10.9% were categorized as disabled, the remaining 89.1% were categorized as not disabled. Most GLR countries were composed of a similar proportion of disabled ex-combatants, though Rwanda and Uganda had higher representations of disabled ex-combatants – 24.1% and 17.1% respectively. However, these higher compositions of disabled ex-combatants may be an artifact of the process by which disability categorizations were combined across the total sample.93

Of the total sample of ex-combatants 39.5% are between the ages of 18 and 30, 35% are between 31 and 40 years of age, and 25.6% are over the age of 40.94 Most of the GLR countries’ age compositions follow the trend of the total sample split, with two notable exceptions. Burundi’s age composition is heavily skewed towards those aged 18-30 (65.4%), and Rwanda is particularly heavy in the 31-40 years of age category (53.4%). In the case of Rwanda this age composition is likely a result of ex-combatants prolonged time spent participating in conflict – 50.9% of ex-combatants in Rwanda having spent between 10 and 20 years participating in conflict.

The aspects of the lives of ex-combatants discussed in the following sections are key indicators of the process that ex-combatants experience in accessing pathways to reintegration across the GLR countries. Within the following sections of this report age, gender and disability dimensions to these processes to reintegration are explored to extract key trends across the GLR countries. The family and community, education and training, and addressing health needs are all seen as key pathways to reintegration of ex-combatants that will temper this discussion.

7.1 From Mobilization to Demobilization

The following is a brief snapshot of the ex-combatants’ time with armed groups and the ways in which pertinent demographic details play in their experiences. Indeed, understanding the dynamics of the pathways into mobilization can add considerable nuance to our understanding of the specific challenges that ex-combatants can face at the time of demobilization.

93 Criteria for disability varied slightly from country to country across the GLR. To create a consistent categorization of disabled ex-combatants across the GLR countries, disability status was computed using the disability criteria from the Ugandan Amnesty Commission which included: (i) amputees; (ii) blind and partially blind; (iii) paralysis and partial paralysis; and (iv) body and head injury.

94 Across the total sample of ex-combatants from across the five GLR countries there were 300 under the age of 18. These 300 have been omitted from the analysis in this study for two main reasons: (i) the systematic capture of information pertaining to the specific dynamics of reintegration facing minors was absent from the surveys used across the GLR countries – with the exception of DRC, where 291 of the total 300 ex-combatants under the age were sampled; and (ii) the validity issues that the small sample of ex-combatants under the age of 18 (again, almost entirely from DRC) make meaningful comparative analysis infeasible.
While obtaining reliable information about ex-combatants’ age at mobilization, especially younger ex-combatants who may have been only adolescents, is a challenging endeavor we can pull out general trends for comparison across the GLR countries. The following data should be treated with caution and be regarded as a rough picture rather than concrete truth of age of mobilization in the GLR countries.  

The average age at mobilization was 23.8 across the GLR countries, however this figure masks considerable nuance in the age at mobilization. There are two steps to understanding age at mobilization more deeply. First is to understand the proportion of ex-combatants mobilized in different age brackets and then to understand the average age at mobilization within each bracket – this data is displayed in Table 2.

The largest proportion of ex-combatants across the GLR countries (46.1%) was between the ages of 18 and 30 at the time of mobilization (on average aged 22.6). Indeed, with all GLR countries the 18-30 group is the largest. However, it is important to note the sizable number of ex-combatants who were mobilized under the age of 18 (38.9%) and who were very young at the time (on average at age 13.79) – a factor that can have a profound impact on their psychosocial wellbeing and in turn prospects for reintegration. The under 18 category was second largest within all GLR countries and in some almost even with the 18-30 category – for example in DRC where 43% of ex-combatants were aged under 18 at the time of mobilization (on average 13.79) and 48.1% were aged 18-30 (on average 22.21).  

Mobilization into violent conflict at an adolescent age can have a profound impact on the social and psychological development of individuals as they mature and, in turn, carry considerable weight for their ability to interact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Mobilization</th>
<th>Mobilized Under Age 18</th>
<th>Mobilized Age 18-30</th>
<th>Mobilized Age 31-40</th>
<th>Mobilized Over Age 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proportion of Sample</td>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>Proportion of Sample</td>
<td>Average Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32.30%</td>
<td>13.83</td>
<td>48.40%</td>
<td>22.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.10%</td>
<td>13.58</td>
<td>30.90%</td>
<td>22.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>64.10%</td>
<td>13.75</td>
<td>35.90%</td>
<td>20.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>8.80%</td>
<td>15.09</td>
<td>78.40%</td>
<td>23.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>3.90%</td>
<td>15.52</td>
<td>30.30%</td>
<td>24.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>30.10%</td>
<td>13.39</td>
<td>41.50%</td>
<td>22.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>33.60%</td>
<td>13.82</td>
<td>46.60%</td>
<td>22.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>35.20%</td>
<td>14.53</td>
<td>59.30%</td>
<td>21.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>43.00%</td>
<td>13.96</td>
<td>48.10%</td>
<td>22.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>32.40%</td>
<td>13.47</td>
<td>46.00%</td>
<td>23.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>22.00%</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>29.80%</td>
<td>24.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>33.40%</td>
<td>13.79</td>
<td>46.10%</td>
<td>22.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table the use of XXX indicates a logically impossible field.

While obtaining reliable information about ex-combatants’ age at mobilization, especially younger ex-combatants who may have been only adolescents, is a challenging endeavor we can pull out general trends for comparison across the GLR countries. The following data should be treated with caution and be regarded as a rough picture rather than concrete truth of age of mobilization in the GLR countries. The average age at mobilization was 23.8 across the GLR countries, however this figure masks considerable nuance in the age at mobilization. There are two steps to understanding age at mobilization more deeply. First is to understand the proportion of ex-combatants mobilized in different age brackets and then to understand the average age at mobilization within each bracket – this data is displayed in Table 2.

The largest proportion of ex-combatants across the GLR countries (46.1%) was between the ages of 18 and 30 at the time of mobilization (on average aged 22.6). Indeed, with all GLR countries the 18-30 group is the largest. However, it is important to note the sizable number of ex-combatants who were mobilized under the age of 18 (38.9%) and who were very young at the time (on average at age 13.79) – a factor that can have a profound impact on their psychosocial wellbeing and in turn prospects for reintegration. The under 18 category was second largest within all GLR countries and in some almost even with the 18-30 category – for example in DRC where 43% of ex-combatants were aged under 18 at the time of mobilization (on average 13.79) and 48.1% were aged 18-30 (on average 22.21).

Mobilization into violent conflict at an adolescent age can have a profound impact on the social and psychological development of individuals as they mature and, in turn, carry considerable weight for their ability to interact

95 For example, in Uganda 41.95% of ex-combatants were unsure of their age at the time of mobilization. However, working backwards from the current age of ex-combatants we can subtract away the time since demobilization and the time spent with armed groups to calculate an approximate age at mobilization for all ex-combatants.

96 Rwanda is excluded from all findings on age at mobilization due to lack of directly comparable data.

97 Disaggregation of the average age at mobilization in Uganda by armed group provides some necessary nuance here. The average age at mobilization for members of the LRA in Uganda, known for their strategy of youth abduction for mobilization, was 18.38 years. This stands in contrast to the ADF who had an average age of mobilization at 31.02 years, West Nile Bank Front with 41.34 years, and UNRF with 42.18 years. Further examination reveals that 51.3% of LRA ex-combatants were mobilized under the age of 18, with an average age of 12.78.
with communities upon their return. While data on abduction versus voluntary mobilization was not available for comparison across the GLR countries, this data may have added considerable nuance in exploring further gendered dynamics of mobilization. For example in Uganda, the only GLR country in which such data is available, where abduction is a well-known tactic for recruitment and mobilization 92.9% of females sampled between the age of 18 and 30 reported being abducted. Though as a counterpoint, there is reason to be cautious to such data. There are enormous social pressures at work and ex-combatants may fear stigma, retribution, or denial of amnesty as a result identifying themselves as willing participants in conflict – possibly inflating the proportion of ex-combatants that report abduction.

As illustrated in Table 2, it appears that there are certain gendered dynamics to the age of mobilization. Across the GLR sample, female ex-combatants were more frequently mobilized under the age of 18 (40.1%, average age 13.58) when compared to male ex-combatants (32.3%, average age 13.83), and with decreasing frequency as the age at mobilization increases – 64.1% between the ages of 18 and 30, 8.8% between the ages of 31 and 40, and 3.9% over the age of 40. This trend holds true in all of the GLR countries except for the Republic of Congo in which the pattern of age at mobilization follows more closely to the male ex-combatants’ trend in which the majority of ex-combatants are mobilized between the ages of 18 and 30. Thought he exact reason for this gendered dimension to the age of mobilization is unclear, it is likely related to the benefits of mobilizing child soldier from an armed group’s perspective – though child soldiers may be less effective soldiers in the traditional sense they are also easier to intimidate, indoctrinate, and misinform than adults.98

Not surprisingly current age showed a positive correlation to age at mobilization – meaning that on average the older an ex-combatant was at the age of mobilization the older they were at the time of sampling. Disability did not show any relationship to age at mobilization.

Across the GLR countries the average number of years ex-combatants had spent with armed groups varied. At a cross-country level ex-combatants in the GLR countries spent an average of 7.08 years with armed groups. DRC and Rwanda stand out on the high end of this cross-country average with 11.16 years and 9.09 years spent with armed groups on average (respectively). Ex-combatants in Uganda spent the least amount of time on average with armed groups (4.38 years). A full table of the average time spent with armed groups is presented in Table 3. Drawing from DRC and Rwanda we can observe that those ex-combatants that were members of national armed forces (FAC in DRC and RPA in Rwanda) spent longer on average participating in conflict than those in other irregular armed groups (mean 18.99 years vs. 5.27 years in DRC and mean 12.57 vs. 8.15 years in Rwanda).99

The number of years spent with armed groups displayed a gendered trend across the GLR countries. Female ex-combatants spent a lower average number of years (mean = 4.95 years) with armed groups compared to their male ex-combatant counterparts (mean = 7.37 years). This trend holds across the GLR countries with the exception of Uganda – in which female ex-combatants spent on average slightly more years (mean = 4.84 years) than their male ex-combatant counterparts (mean = 4.22 years). A more detailed breakdown of years spent with armed groups across cross-cutting demographic lines can be found below in Table 3.

Again, as with age at time of mobilization, current age showed a positive correlation to years spent with armed groups at a cross-country level. Though RoC and Uganda stood apart from this trend – in Uganda there was even a negative relationship between current age and average years spent with armed groups. Those ex-combatants who were categorized as disabled spent slightly longer on average (mean = 9.40 years) compared to their non-disabled counterparts (mean = 7.27 years).

99 The caseload of ex-combatants in Uganda and RoC consisted almost wholly of ex-combatants from irregular armed groups (such as the LRA and ADF in Uganda and the Ninjas in RoC), thus a valid comparison of their average time spent with armed groups compared to national armed forces is not feasible here.
On average across the GLR countries it had been 4.05 years since ex-combatants were formally demobilized at the time of sampling. In Uganda the time since demobilization was about half the cross-country average (1.87 years) while in RoC it was roughly twice the cross-country average (8.07 years). It is important to remember that some ex-combatants may spontaneously self-demobilize during conflict, leaving behind their armed groups. In addition, after the cessation of violence, ex-combatants may leave armed groups and return to their home community, or another place, on their own initiative. A considerable amount of time may pass between these ‘informal’ demobilizations and the point at which ex-combatants take part in a formal demobilization process. Being able to measure this gap may prove an important indicator in assessing dynamics of return within the GLR countries. Unfortunately, while there is data on formal demobilization across the GLR countries, there is only data in Uganda on both informal and formal demobilization collected – 42.1% having informally demobilized as much as a decade or more before participating in formal demobilization processes. These findings however are most likely relevant to the specific dynamics of return and reintegration in Uganda where ex-combatants escape from armed groups (primarily the LRA) and return directly to their communities and then retroactively applying for amnesty, reinsertion assistance and possibly attain further referral to reintegration programming – often with a lengthy time-lapse. In contrast, other reintegration programs in the GLR leave few opportunities for accessing reintegration benefits without participating in a formal demobilization process and a fairly linear supply of reinsertion and reintegration assistance upon their return.

### 7.2 Marriage and Household

Marriage dynamics are an important indicator of ex-combatants’ basic social standing. Indeed, marriage dynamics can tell us much about ex-combatants’ ability to leverage familial, economic, and social networks towards the attainment of marriage and in turn their ability redouble their engagement in these social structures through marriage – all indicators of a strong footing in the community.

Across the GLR countries there is a clear trend of increasing marriage and cohabitation rates among ex-combatants at three time points: before demobilization, at demobilization, and at sampling. As is visible in Table 4, the proportion of ex-combatants that were married across the GLR countries increased from 33.9% prior to demobilization,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Ex-Combatant Average Years Spent with Armed Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Years with Armed Group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 18-30</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country Average</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100 Though examination of trends by armed group is not included in the analysis here, it is worth noting that in Uganda membership to different armed groups appeared to play an important role in the time since demobilization and could serve as a valuable line of inquiry for more focused analysis within each of the individual GLR countries.

to 36% at demobilization, and 46.8% at the time of sampling. These increases in marriage (and cohabitation) rates among ex-combatants are matched by an even clearer decline in the proportions that were single and or never married.

There are two noteworthy trends in regards to the trajectory of ex-combatant marital status with the specific GLR countries. First, in RoC the proportion of married ex-combatants at all three time points was much lower than the GLR cross-country average (6.7% prior to demobilization, 5.6% at demobilization, and 5.6% at the time of sampling), instead the decrease in the proportion of ex-combatants that were single / never married were absorbed into the category ‘living together’ (47.1% prior demobilization, 60.1% at demobilization, and 75.3% at the time of sampling). Second, Rwanda is the only GLR country in which ex-combatants are more frequently married than community members at the time of sampling (77.4% vs. 46.9%) – a point that will receive attention in the summary of the ex-combatant portion of this study.

There are certain demographic trends that can be extracted regarding marriage. Concerning gender, female ex-combatants are less likely to be married at all time points than male ex-combatants. As is visible in Table 4, this disparity between female and male ex-combatants grows from 7.7% prior to demobilization, to 13.2% at the time of demobilization, and 24.2% at the time of sampling. This growing disparity between male and female ex-combatants can be explained in part by looking at the proportion of female-combatants who were divorced, separated, or widowed compared to male ex-combatants – female ex-combatants are the most likely to be divorced, separated, or widowed at any time period.

Essentially it appears that while male ex-combatants’ marital trajectory across the three time points is primarily one of moving from single / never married to married or living together, female ex-combatants by contrast see only very marginal increases in marriage and cohabitation – instead their decreases in the single / never married category are absorbed into the divorced or separated, or widowed categories. These differing trajectories flag female ex-combatants across the GLR countries as facing clear barriers to accessing marriage and in turn the primary social unit for reintegration, the family, leaving them at increased risk for social isolation and marginalization. It is likely that stigma plays a core role in female ex-combatants very shallow trajectory towards marriage compared male ex-combatants. While male and female ex-combatants alike carry the burden of stigma and distrust as perpetrators of violence, female ex-combatants can face the additional cultural stigma of having stepped out of traditional gender roles.

Turning now to age demographics, at all time points age shows a positive relationship to the likelihood of being married and accordingly a negative relationship to the likelihood of being single / never married (as is visible in Table 4). While those aged 18-30 are the least likely age demographic to be married at all time points they have the most positive trajectory towards marriage across age demographics – there is a 25.6% increase in the rate of marriage between prior to demobilization and the time of sampling among those aged 18-30 versus a 22.1% increase in those 31-40, and only 1.9% increase in those over the age of 40. So while it appears that younger ex-combatants face considerable challenges in accessing reintegration pathways through marriage compared to other age demographics, their rate of change towards the near stagnant levels of marriage among those over 40 is the greatest – giving credence to the idea that one dimension to younger ex-combatants’ lag behind their elder peers, struggling to make up for time lost in conflict.

As seen above divorce was low across the GLR countries, however of those who were divorced 26% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries said that their divorce was related to their ex-combatant status. When asked to explain

---

102 Rwanda is excluded from findings on marital status before demobilization and at demobilization due to lack of comparable data. In addition, Burundi is excluded from findings on marital status at demobilization due to lack of directly comparable data.

103 For a good introduction to the range of gender specific challenges that female ex-combatants can face see Coulter, Persson and Utas (2008) Young Female Fighters in African Wars: Conflict and Its Consequences, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.

104 Burundi is excluded from findings on ex-combatant divorce due to lack of directly comparable data.
### Table 4: Ex-Combatant Marital Status at Three Time Points

#### Marital Status Before Demobilization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Living together</th>
<th>Divorced or Separated</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Single/Never married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>35.00%</td>
<td>15.10%</td>
<td>1.00%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>48.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>27.30%</td>
<td>14.30%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
<td>44.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 18-30</strong></td>
<td>14.40%</td>
<td>8.10%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>76.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 31-40</strong></td>
<td>38.80%</td>
<td>23.20%</td>
<td>2.10%</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>35.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Over 40</strong></td>
<td>65.00%</td>
<td>18.60%</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
<td>4.80%</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disabled</strong></td>
<td>36.10%</td>
<td>10.10%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>49.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Disabled</strong></td>
<td>33.80%</td>
<td>15.30%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>1.40%</td>
<td>47.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burundi</strong></td>
<td>29.90%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
<td>65.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRC</strong></td>
<td>45.50%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>43.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Republic of Congo</strong></td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>47.10%</td>
<td>3.40%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>41.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uganda</strong></td>
<td>51.20%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>3.40%</td>
<td>40.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GLR Average</strong></td>
<td>33.90%</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>1.60%</td>
<td>1.60%</td>
<td>48.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Marital Status at Demobilization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Living together</th>
<th>Divorced or Separated</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Single/Never married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>38.20%</td>
<td>24.10%</td>
<td>3.80%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>32.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>11.30%</td>
<td>19.10%</td>
<td>29.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 18-30</strong></td>
<td>15.70%</td>
<td>17.70%</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>60.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 31-40</strong></td>
<td>38.50%</td>
<td>32.90%</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>21.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Over 40</strong></td>
<td>60.70%</td>
<td>19.70%</td>
<td>5.10%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>4.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disabled</strong></td>
<td>30.60%</td>
<td>13.10%</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
<td>12.20%</td>
<td>36.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Disabled</strong></td>
<td>36.70%</td>
<td>23.40%</td>
<td>4.80%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>31.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRC</strong></td>
<td>51.20%</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>3.90%</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>34.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Republic of Congo</strong></td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>60.10%</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>26.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uganda</strong></td>
<td>48.40%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>6.40%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>35.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GLR Average</strong></td>
<td>36.00%</td>
<td>22.70%</td>
<td>5.10%</td>
<td>4.20%</td>
<td>32.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Marital Status at Sampling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Living together</th>
<th>Divorced or Separated</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Single/Never married</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>55.90%</td>
<td>23.30%</td>
<td>2.90%</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>16.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>31.70%</td>
<td>17.60%</td>
<td>13.00%</td>
<td>16.30%</td>
<td>21.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 18-30</strong></td>
<td>40.00%</td>
<td>21.50%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
<td>33.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 31-40</strong></td>
<td>60.90%</td>
<td>27.30%</td>
<td>4.10%</td>
<td>1.60%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Over 40</strong></td>
<td>66.90%</td>
<td>18.40%</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
<td>8.10%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disabled</strong></td>
<td>57.70%</td>
<td>16.50%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
<td>12.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Disabled</strong></td>
<td>51.00%</td>
<td>23.90%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td>18.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burundi</strong></td>
<td>60.00%</td>
<td>11.50%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>27.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRC</strong></td>
<td>59.90%</td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>4.10%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>24.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Republic of Congo</strong></td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>75.30%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>9.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rwanda</strong></td>
<td>77.40%</td>
<td>13.00%</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uganda</strong></td>
<td>60.70%</td>
<td>5.90%</td>
<td>6.80%</td>
<td>8.30%</td>
<td>18.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GLR Average</strong></td>
<td>46.80%</td>
<td>25.10%</td>
<td>4.80%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>19.60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Rwanda is not calculated into the cross-country statistics for marital status at the time of sampling. Essentially, even with the sample weighting, including Rwanda in cross-country figures on marital status at the time of sampling can make it appear as though across the entire GLR ex-combatants marry more often than community members – even though Rwanda is the only country in which this is actually true.*
more specifically the most common responses were: (i) Stigma or the influence of the spouses family (19%); (ii) the emotional abuse and fear that spouses married with ex-combatants faces; (iii) lack of tools or money. Female ex-combatants most notably cited that they were in the bush with their spouse, but escaped leaving them behind (29.9%).

On average across the GLR countries, 13.5% of ex-combatants who were married had a spouse who either was then, or had at one point been a combatant.105 The GLR countries deviating notably from this trend were RoC, in which a slightly higher proportion of ex-combatants had a spouse who was or had at one point been a combatant (24%), and Rwanda where rates of marriage with other ex-combatants were considerably lower (3%). The proportion of ex-combatants with a current or past spouse who is or was a combatant was fairly even across all demographics except for sex. Female ex-combatants were vastly more likely to currently have, or at one point have had, a spouse who was a combatant (53%) compared to male ex-combatants (9.1%). There are two dynamics which likely play some role in these findings: (i) in conflict where the proportion of females to males is relatively low it may be that female combatants marry at a higher rate than male combatants and (ii) upon return to the community female ex-combatants may face higher barriers (e.g. stigma) to marriage with non ex-combatants (see below).

Across the GLR countries, ex-combatants’ attitudes towards marrying another ex-combatant varied considerably – in DRC as low as 25% would consider marrying another ex-combatant, and as high as 54.2% in Uganda. However, on average 32.2% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries would consider marrying another ex-combatant, and as high as 54.2% in Uganda. Concurrent to the rate at which ex-combatants marry other ex-combatants outlined above, attitudes towards marrying ex-combatants in the future display a distinctly gendered dynamic – 50.2% of female ex-combatants across the GLR countries would consider marrying an ex-combatant versus 29.8% of males.

When asked to explain negative attitudes towards marrying another ex-combatant respondents most commonly cited the misbehavior of ex-combatants (22.7%) or stigma related the perceived criminality of ex-combatants (16.7%).107 Uganda was the only GLR country that departed from this trend – as stigma was only cited by 3.1% of ex-combatants and instead risk associated with living with ex-combatants (12.5%) was cited most commonly. Of female ex-combatants that would not consider marrying an ex-combatant, 28.4% cited stigma due to their perceived criminality as an explanation, compared to 15.6% of male ex-combatants.

Across the GLR countries ex-combatants most commonly saw themselves as the household head (52.8%) – responsible for household food and finances – followed by those who saw themselves and their spouse as responsible (19%) and those who saw only their spouse as responsible (6.7%).108 Across demographic lines there are clear trends: (I) female ex-combatants are less than half as likely as male ex-combatants to cite themselves as the household head (25.4% vs. 57%); (ii) female ex-combatants are vastly more likely to cite solely their spouse as the household head than male ex-combatants (21.9% vs. 4.4%); and (iii) both disabled ex-combatants and those aged 18-30 are far more likely to cite their parents and grandparents than non-disabled and other age demographic ex-combatants (14% of disabled vs. 5.7% of non-disabled, and 15.3% of those aged 18-30 vs. 1.3% of those 31-40 and 0.5% of those over 40).

105 Burundi is excluded from findings on combatant status of spouse due to lack of directly comparable data.
106 Burundi is excluded from findings on attitudes towards marrying an ex-combatant due to lack of directly comparable data.
107 Burundi is excluded from findings on explanations of attitudes towards marrying an ex-combatant due to lack of directly comparable data.
108 In Burundi, DRC, and RoC inquiry about household head as constituted by who was primarily responsible for household finance and food was asked in one question, whereas in Uganda these were two separate questions (finance and food respectively). However, due to the high correlation between the two answers in Uganda (over 80%) they were recoded as one question for direct comparability with the other GLR countries. Rwanda is excluded from findings on household food and finance responsibility due to lack of directly comparable data.
7.3 Literacy, Education, and Vocational Training

Levels of literacy, educational achievement, and vocational training are important indicators of ex-combatants’ basic life chances and their ability to engage with educational and vocational structures, to the extent they exist, in the different GLR country contexts and to leverage the dividends of this engagement towards further economic and social opportunities – in the end solidifying their footing in the community.

While literacy was generally high across the ex-combatant samples in the GLR countries (71.6% could read and write), female ex-combatants had the lowest literacy rate (56.8%) and were most likely to be completely illiterate (36.9%) compared to any other crosscutting demographic (17.3% of males for example).109 Disabled ex-combatants and ex-combatants age 18-30 also scored notably lower on literacy. Across the GLR countries these three categories (female, disabled and age 18-30) of ex-combatants were consistently poor performers on literacy, though they closely switch places for worst performer within the individual GLR countries. These trends are displayed in Table 5.

Regarding educational achievement there was very little change across all demographic groups between level of educational achievement at demobilization and at the time of sampling. The largest portion of all ex-combatants had some primary level of education (33.6%) at the time of demobilization and at the time of sampling (34.2%), followed by some secondary education (26.3% at demobilization and 23.4% at sampling).110 However, as is visible in Table 6, there is considerable variation in the individual GLR countries as far as the levels of ex-combatant educational achievement. Generally speaking, ex-combatants in Burundi and Uganda had educational achievement levels skewed more towards partial or complete primary education, while those in DRC and RoC were more skewed towards partial or complete secondary education.

Again, while there was generally very little change in ex-combatants’ educational achievement levels in the time between demobilization and sampling (which as discussed above was on average 4.05 years) DRC and RoC stand out in that ex-combatants across all levels of educational achievement at the time of demobilization were absorbed substantially into professional level achievement at the time of sampling (visible in Table 6), though this was especially true for male ex-combatants in DRC.111 Across the GLR countries female ex-combatants educational achievement levels were skewed lower than their male counterparts at demobilization and the time of sampling. Ex-combatants

109 Rwanda is excluded from findings on literacy due to lack of directly comparable data.
110 Rwanda is excluded from findings on educational achievement at demobilization and the time of sampling due to lack of directly comparable data.
111 Movement into professional level educational achievement is likely related to vocational training provided as a part of reintegration programming. Vocational training is a component of most reintegration programs in the GLR countries, however they were an especially large component in DRC specifically – where vocational training was given to ex-combatants and community members together in combination with the formation of related economic associations.
Table 6: Ex-Combatant Educational Achievement Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Islamic or religious</th>
<th>Some primary</th>
<th>Completed primary</th>
<th>Some secondary</th>
<th>Completed secondary</th>
<th>Some higher education</th>
<th>Completed higher education</th>
<th>Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>32.2%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 18-30</strong></td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 31-40</strong></td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Over 40</strong></td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disabled</strong></td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>.3%</td>
<td>.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Disabled</strong></td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burundi</strong></td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.1%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRC</strong></td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RoC</strong></td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uganda</strong></td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GLR Average</strong></td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education Level at Sampling**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Islamic or religious</th>
<th>Some primary</th>
<th>Completed primary</th>
<th>Some secondary</th>
<th>Completed secondary</th>
<th>Some higher education</th>
<th>Completed higher education</th>
<th>Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 18-30</strong></td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age 31-40</strong></td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Over 40</strong></td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disabled</strong></td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>40.2%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not Disabled</strong></td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Burundi</strong></td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRC</strong></td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>.4%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RoC</strong></td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uganda</strong></td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GLR Average</strong></td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>.8%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aged 18-30 were also more clearly represented in slightly lower levels of educational achievement than their older counterparts as were disabled in relation to non-disabled.

In line with the very low levels of mobility in ex-combatants’ levels of educational achievement between demobilization and sampling, only 15.2% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries reported that they were continuing education since demobilization.112 DRC, where 30.2% of ex-combatants were continuing education, was the only GLR country that stood out significantly from this trend. Ex-combatants aged 18-30 were the most likely (18.8%) demographic group across the GLR countries to be continuing education since demobilization. Of those who were continuing education since demobilization across the GLR countries, the most notable pathways were: (i) pursuing professional qualifications (34.8%), or (ii) pursuing normal academic qualifications (34.1%).

---

112 Uganda is excluded from findings on rates and varieties of continuing education due to lack of directly comparable data.
Across the GLR countries the majority of ex-combatants (58.1%) did not partake any form of vocational training as part of the reintegration process. This is not to suggest that vocational training was not available as all reintegration programs in the GLR offer, or in some cases serve as a referral to, some form of vocational training. However, as visible in Table 7, there is considerable variation between the respective GLR countries. Notably in DRC, where vocational training was a large component of reintegration programming, ex-combatants had indeed received vocational training at a higher rate. Rwanda also displayed higher rates of vocational training – though it is unclear whether this is due to reintegration programming. By contrast in Uganda, where reintegration services merely served as a referral to existing vocational programs for the general population, there was considerably lower reported participation.

While at a cross-country level it appears as though there is a slight positive relationship between age and the likelihood of receiving vocational training, this is only truly evident in DRC. Female ex-combatants, however, are slightly more likely to receive vocational training compared to male ex-combatants (47.3% vs. 41.2%), with the exception of RoC where they pair only slightly lower (18% vs. 20.6%).

Of those ex-combatants who had received skills or vocational training, the majority (62.7%) were utilizing these skills and training. Female ex-combatants were using skills and training slightly less than male ex-combatants (61.3% vs. 63%). In addition ex-combatants were using their skills and training progressively more across age demographics (53.9% for ages 18-30, 56.8% for ages 31-40, and 76.3% for those over 40). Disabled ex-combatants utilized their skills and training at a lesser frequency (54.5%) than their non-disabled counterparts (63.8%). Of those ex-combatants who were not using their skills and vocational training the most common explanations were: (i) 29.4% lost necessary tools and have no money for new ones, (ii) 21.6% lack of capital, and (iii) 10.9% lack of facilities for carrying out the vocation and skills they were trained in.

### 7.4 Summary

Conflict represents an immense social disruption that often results in the disintegration of families, communities, and the broader fabric of society. The process of DDR is aimed at reconnecting the fractured pieces of these social entities so that collective norms and processes can be re-solidified. For ex-combatants facing this transition from conflict to peace by returning to families, gaining economic independence and participating in their communities represent the core challenges of reintegration. While there are few that do not feel the effects of conflict across the

Table 7: Ex-Combatants’ Participation in Skills & Vocational Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participated in Skills or Vocational Training</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41.20%</td>
<td>58.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47.30%</td>
<td>52.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>39.90%</td>
<td>60.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>42.40%</td>
<td>57.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>44.30%</td>
<td>55.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>47.10%</td>
<td>52.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>41.40%</td>
<td>58.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>66.10%</td>
<td>33.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
<td>20.20%</td>
<td>79.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>76.40%</td>
<td>23.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>32.60%</td>
<td>67.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>41.90%</td>
<td>58.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

113 Burundi is excluded from findings on vocational training received due to lack of directly comparable data.
114 In Rwanda entrepreneurship training, with the end result of a business plan and small grant were a core part of reintegration programming. It is unclear however if this programmatic component is higher for Rwanda’s higher vocational training rates
115 Burundi is excluded from findings on use of vocational training due to lack of directly comparable data.
116 Though unclear, it is possible that this trend is an indication of inadequate targeting of disabled ex-combatants for skiling and training specific to their unique needs and abilities.
GLR countries, it is noteworthy that ex-combatants face a range of distinct challenges in the process of reintegration.

A large proportion of ex-combatants across the GLR countries were mobilized into conflict under the age of 18 (who were on average only early adolescents around 13 years old) and spent a number of their formative years as adults socialized in a context of violence. One way to view this is that a significant proportion of ex-combatants have missed the opportunity of the socialization of adult norms and behavior during normal peacetime, setting them with a steep learning curve upon return for socializing to these norms and values that they may have never learned in the first place – due to their absence from traditional family and community structures during their formative adult years in conflict. Further study into the specific modes of mobilization, for example abduction, may add considerable explanatory power to the specific challenges the ex-combatants who were mobilized at a young age face. While the evidence presented on the age at mobilization is not conclusive, this line of inquiry deserves further attention in future studies.

Ex-combatants across the GLR countries, with the exception of Rwanda, are married less frequently than community members. However, ex-combatants generally show a positive trajectory towards marriage and cohabitation over time. It appears that across the GLR, ex-combatants’ largest obstacle in reintegrating into, or in most cases building the familial unit is making up for the time lost by participation in conflict, especially for younger ex-combatants.

Ex-combatants’ levels of educational achievement and literacy are skewed slightly lower than community members’ – with lower levels of partial secondary, secondary, partial tertiary, or complete tertiary level achievement. While educational mobility was very low in general, it appears as though time lost while in conflict is a significant barrier to educational achievement – especially for younger ex-combatants who are a step behind their older peers, but are more aggressive about closing this gap through continuing education since demobilization.

7.4.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

As discussed above, while younger ex-combatants (aged 18-30) tend to be a step behind their older peers as far as access to marriage and educational achievement, this appears to be a product of the time lost while in conflict. In addition, though younger ex-combatants tend to be a step behind, they share the same general positive trajectory as their older peers. Female ex-combatants, however, show a widening gap in relation to male ex-combatants – who themselves generally have a positive trajectory in terms of education and marriage.

In assessing trends in marriage across the GLR countries we can summarize several key points regarding female ex-combatants: (i) female ex-combatants are less likely than male ex-combatants to be married or cohabitate; (ii) the gap in marriage and cohabitation rates between male and female ex-combatants has grown over time from prior to demobilization to the time of sampling; and (iii) female ex-combatants are the most likely group to be divorced, widowed, or separated. The weight of female ex-combatants’ disadvantage in these regards is exaggerated further when compared to female community members marriage rates – who themselves rank lower in marriage rates than male community members, though still notably higher than female ex-combatants (31.7% of female ex-combatants are married versus 38.1% of female community members). Essentially while male ex-combatants are making steady progress towards parity with community members in terms of marriage, female ex-combatants’ progress is extremely shallow.

Female ex-combatants also have the lowest prospects for marriage in the future, as attitudinal indicators reveal that male ex-combatants are much less likely to be willing to marry another ex-combatant than female ex-combatant (29.8% vs. 50.2%). When analyzed against the back drop of community members’ ranking on the same attitudinal indicator (25.7% of male community members and 25% of female community members would consider marrying an ex-combatant) we can see that female ex-combatants have a considerably smaller pool of individuals who are attitudinally open to marrying them compared to male ex-combatants.
Collectively these findings cement the fact that in the GLR countries female ex-combatants are not only the least likely group across all demographics (ex-combatants and community members alike) to be married and have a family, but also the group that faces the largest barriers to accessing marriage in the future – placing them outside of the primary unit of reintegration and at substantial risk for marginalization and social isolation.

As an additional note, female ex-combatants lag behind male ex-combatants with lower levels of literacy, and educational achievement – also lagging behind the female community members on both measures as well. As with those aged 18-30, female ex-combatants are slightly more aggressive than their male counterparts (16.5% vs. 15.1%) in pursuing further education to close this gap.

7.4.2 Unique Country Trends

Rwanda stands out from the rest of the GLR countries as the only country where ex-combatants appear to be more frequently married than community members – and to a considerable extent (77.4% versus 46.9%). However, there are reasons to be skeptical to these figures. In the Rwandan sample female ex-combatants (a group that consistently displayed the lowest marriage rates across the other GLR countries) were severely under represented (only 2.5% or n= 13 of the total 517 Rwandan ex-combatants) compared to female community members (31.2% or n=159 or the total community member sample). In addition, those ex-combatants aged 18-30 (who across all other GLR countries were the least likely age demographic to be married) were more than twice as represented in the community member sample (57% or n=290) as in the ex-combatant sample (22.6% or n=132). In effect, these facets of the demographic representations in the ex-combatant and community member samples may have inflated the rate at which it appears that ex-combatants marry, and deflated the rate at which community members appear to marry.

However, there are further contextual details to consider in terms of marriage in the case of Rwanda. In Rwanda males are required to have access to adequate housing in order to get married. However, the formal regulations for what qualifies as adequate housing in Rwanda are somewhat narrowly defined under the policy of imidugudu – a large scale body of housing policy aimed at consolidating dispersed land and housing in an overall effort toward villagization. The result has been inflation in adequate housing prices and in turn a severe crisis in the availability of adequate housing overall that in effect is locking many Rwandans out of official marriage – though they may co-habitate without formalized marital status. This dynamic may further deflate the rate of marriage in Rwanda for community members.

In contrast to community members, most ex-combatants are returning to Rwanda from Eastern DRC, where they have been away for an average of nine years. In this time some ex-combatants have married and when returning to Rwanda bring their spouse with them. The legal status of these marriages in Rwanda is unclear, however it is possible that some ex-combatants unwittingly navigate past the formal barriers to marriage that community members face – in turn accounting for their slightly higher marriage rates. While it is likely that the interaction of housing policy, marriage, and dynamics of return are key in understanding why ex-combatants marry more than community members in Rwanda, this exact narrative must be treated as conjecture. In the future a more focused inquiry into the dynamics of ex-combatant and community member marriage in Rwanda could prove prudent. For if indeed ex-combatants have been more successful than community members in accessing pathways to marriage in Rwanda the details of this finding could hold considerable explanatory value in analyzing other cases and, not least, in developing reintegration programming in the future.

RoC, where marriage rates for both ex-combatants and community members alike were drastically lower than in other GLR countries (5.6% of ex-combatants and 18.5% of community members at the time of sampling were

---

117 This narrative of the interrelated nature of housing policy and marriage in Rwanda is well documented in Sommers (2012) Stuck: Rwandan Young and the Struggle for Adulthood, Ga: University of Georgia Press.
married versus 60.2% and 64.3% on average of the remaining respective ex-combatants and community members),
stood out as well. What is notable in RoC is that while marriage rates are much lower than average across the GLR
countries, a much higher proportion of both ex-combatants and community members are cohabitating, but are not
married, than on average across the GLR countries (75.3% of ex-combatants and 53.5% of community members in
RoC were cohabitation versus 8.9% and 4.9% on average of the remaining respective ex-combatants and community
members across the GLR).

It appears that while community members do access marriage at a higher rate than ex-combatants in RoC, commu-
nity members also face considerable barriers to accessing marriage themselves. Instead the most significant marital
status for both community members and ex-combatants alike is cohabitation. As ex-combatants’ levels of cohabi-
tation in RoC increase from 47.1% prior to demobilization, to 60.1% at demobilization, and 75.3% at sampling,
it would appear as though this is the primary pathway to accessing the familial unit. Further study to explore the
dynamics of formal and informal marriage in RoC would prove illuminating – especially if formal marriage, largely
understood as the primary pathway to accessing the familial unit, is not necessary for reintegration in the RoC
context. It should also be noted that without a clear explanation or triangulation for RoC’s departure in terms of
marriage rates the data should also be treated carefully. It is possible that there are unbeknownst errors in data
capture or coding that have produced these findings.

Lastly, in Uganda ex-combatants are considerably more likely than average across the GLR countries to report will-
ingness to marrying an ex-combatant in the future. Though there is no direct explanation it is possible that the
specific dynamics of combatant mobilization in Uganda may play a role in this trend. In Uganda abduction was
a well-known tactic of mobilization, especially by the LRA. Though abductees may have committed violent acts
against their communities, often forcibly, there is evidence that ex-combatants are simultaneously understood as
victims and perpetrators by community members – a factor that has reportedly contributed to a general willingness
to accept returning ex-combatants back into communities.118 This dynamic, combined with the extensive use of
traditional reconciliation ceremonies (not necessarily part of reintegration programming), may contribute to com-
munity members in Uganda’s openness to marriage with ex-combatants. Futures studies could flag this conjecture
for further analysis.

118 See for example: Finnegan, A. C. (2010), Forging Forgiveness: Collective Efforts Amidst War in Northern Uganda. Sociological Inquiry, 80:
424–447.
8. Housing, Land, Livestock and Food Security

The following is an examination of the core dimensions of: (i) the types of dwellings that ex-combatants live in and related issues such as ownership and tenure; (ii) access to land for agricultural production and (iii) its connection to food security.

8.1 Dwelling, Living Conditions and Land Security

In examining who ex-combatants live with across the GLR countries the three most common categories are: (i) with the same family as before conflict (29.2%), (ii) with a family but different to that from before conflict (24.3%), and (iii) with a partner (19.9%). Two countries across the GLR stood out from this general trend. First in RoC the majority ex-combatants reported living with a partner (43.6%) at a proportion more than double the cross-country average. Second, in Rwanda the majority of ex-combatants reported living with a family that was different from the one before conflict (57.7%) at a proportion more than double the cross-country average.

As is visible in Table 8 above, female ex-combatants were more likely to be living with a family either the same or different to the one before conflict than male ex-combatants – though less likely to be living with a partner or a family that consisted of a partner and children. It is also noteworthy that disabled ex-combatants were the least likely demographic group to be living with a partner – at a proportion less than half the cross-country average.

Regarding housing types, there were diverse compositions across the GLR countries; however at a cross-country level ex-combatants were most commonly living in: (i) a house (48.2%); or (ii) in a hut or tent (30.8%). Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Ex-combatant Household Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who Do You Live With?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of XXX indicates that respondents in Rwanda were not given the option to respond that they live with a partner or spouse - the responses that would have been in the field are likely absorbed into the categories of those who live with a family either the same or different from the one before conflict.
Uganda stood out significantly from this trend, with the majority of ex-combatants (77.6%) living in a hut or tent. Across demographic categories there was fairly even membership to types of housing categories. Though, female ex-combatants were notably less likely to live in a house compared to male ex-combatants (41.8% vs. 49.1%) and more likely to live in a hut or tent (43.7% vs. 29%).

There were varying rates of housing ownership across the GLR countries. Generally speaking self-ownership was the most common across the GLR countries (41%), followed by family ownership (17.8%). However, in RoC family member ownership was most common (29.7%) followed by self-ownership (24.7%).

As is visible in Table 9, housing ownership rates were consistently lower for female ex-combatants than male ex-combatants across the GLR countries; 22.8% of female ex-combatants owned their land versus 43.7% of male ex-combatants – though Rwanda is an exception from this trend where 63.9% of female ex-combatants owned their land versus 39.1% of male ex-combatants. In contrast female ex-combatants were more likely to cite that their housing was owned by their spouse (17.6% vs. 1.7%) or by family that they live with (13.7% vs. 6.8%) when compared to male ex-combatants. Concerning age dynamics of housing ownership, there was a positive correlation visible between age and rate of housing ownership. Inversely, as age increased ex-combatants were less likely to rely on their relatives or family.

When housing ownership was cross-tabulated against marital status a clear trend emerged. Of those ex-combatants who reported self-ownership of their housing, 68.4% were married and 16.9% were cohabitating – only 5.8% of those who reported self-ownership were single / never married. Inversely, when we look at the marital status of those who reported family ownership of their housing, 52.2% of those who reported their housing as owned by family they live with and 39.8% of those who reported family ownership were single / never married. Marriage rates show a clear correlation to housing ownership. This evidence supports the idea that marriage is a key pathway to housing, land access and security.

Ex-combatants had a standard distribution of perceptions of their current living situation relative to perceptions at the time of demobilization across all the GLR countries – 21.8% of ex-combatants saw their current living situation...
as better than at the time of demobilization, 49% saw it as the same, 26.2% saw it as worse, and only 2.9% pointed out that they did not have housing at the time of demobilization.\textsuperscript{119} Across demographic categories these perceptions were remarkably even as well.

When examining ex-combatants’ perceptions of their own living situation compared to their neighbors, the majority saw themselves as well off, or worse off.\textsuperscript{120} Only 10.9% of ex-combatants saw their neighbors as having a better living situation, 47.8% saw it as the same, and 40.8% saw it as worse. There was some notable variation in ex-combatants’ perceptions of their living situation relative to their neighbors within specific GLR countries. In Uganda and Rwanda ex-combatants were more likely to have seen their living situation as worse than their neighbors (53.7% and 52.6% respectively) than in DRC and RoC (31.4% and 29.1% respectively). Looking at specific demographic differences it is apparent that disabled ex-combatants more commonly saw their situation as worse than their neighbors (59.6%), than non-disabled ex-combatants (38.3%).

8.2 Land Access and Food Security

Gaining access to land for agricultural production is seen as a key pathway to both economic mobility and food security for ex-combatants. However, comparing land ownership across, and even within, the GLR countries can prove challenging. In many areas land ownership structures vary considerably and thus across the context of findings. For example, in many areas land ownership is organized around clans and infrequently owned on a private basis. However, land tenure can be very secure because of the clan structure despite the absence of deeds or titles. Though there is no systematic capture of the types of ownership structures across the GLR countries, these must be kept in mind when viewing the findings in this section.

Land access for cultivation purposes was universally high across GLR countries and within crosscutting demographic categories, with 92.6% of ex-combatants having access to land for cultivation purposes. In Uganda a more in-depth questioning of the tenure status of the land ex-combatants used for cultivation showed ex-combatants aged 18-31 were more likely to have a title for the land they cultivated (58.6%) compared to those 31-40 (29%) and those over 40 (30%). However these older age demographic groups were more likely than their younger counterparts to use communally owned land: 40% of those aged over 40, 28% of those aged 31-40, and 16.6% of those 18-31. Disabled ex-combatants also more frequently accessed communally owned land than non-disabled counterparts (35.7% vs. 26.5%). Though there is no comparable data for the other GLR countries these findings from Uganda may lend some nuance to the land ownership dynamics across demographic lines.

Of the ex-combatants who did not have any access to land for cultivation at all in the DRC and RoC, lack of interest (29.9%) and lack of capital (27.2%) were the most common explanations.\textsuperscript{121} Other notable trends were that female ex-combatants more commonly cited fear of conflict (35.7%) than male ex-combatants (13.5%). Also, disabled ex-combatants more commonly cited distance / living in the city (28.6%) as an explanation for their lack of access to land for cultivation than their non-disabled counterparts (8.1%).

In examining changes in ex-combatants’ access to arable land over a two-year period it was found that a significant proportion of ex-combatants (38%) had experienced an increase in their access to arable land over the last two years.\textsuperscript{122} Despite this general trend, the GLR countries vary considerably on this point – see Table 10. On the one hand, in DRC and RoC the majority ex-combatants had seen an increase in their access to land and, on the other

\textsuperscript{119} Rwanda is excluded from findings on perceptions of current living situation compared to at the time of demobilization due to lack of data directly comparable data.

\textsuperscript{120} Burundi is excluded from findings on perceptions of current living situation compared to neighbors due to lack of data.

\textsuperscript{121} DRC and RoC are the only GLR countries with data available on reasons for lack of access to arable land.

\textsuperscript{122} Rwanda is excluded from findings on changes in access to arable land due to lack of directly comparable data.
hand, in Burundi and Uganda the majority had not seen an increase in their access to land. On average female ex-combatants had less often experienced an increase in their access to land (26.5%) than male ex-combatants (39.8%) – though Uganda was the only country where this trend was not displayed (12.4% of female ex-combatants having an increase vs. 9.7% of males). Similarly, disabled ex-combatants also tended to less often have experienced increases in their access to arable land (22.3%) when compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (39.4%).

There is a diverse range of findings across the GLR countries when looking at ex-combatants’ explanations for gains in access to land for cultivation. In general it appears as though capital gained through strong agricultural yields has served as ex-combatants’ primary pathway to increased access to land for cultivation across the GLR countries. Looking to DRC, RoC, and Uganda we can observe that 42.2% of ex-combatants explained their increased access to land as a result of a combination of factors: (i) capital accrued from bountiful agricultural yields and (ii) the desire to produce more agriculturally for both subsistence and commercial purposes. Likewise, when explaining unchanged or decreased access to land for agricultural production in DRC and RoC 48.3% of ex-combatants cited lack of capital or resources as their primary barrier to land access mobility.

While capital, especially that acquired through strong agricultural production, appears to be an important explanation for ex-combatants’ upward land access mobility across the GLR countries, two other explanations also deserve attention: (i) inheritance dynamics and (ii) marriage. These two pathways to land mobility appear especially relevant to female ex-combatants and young ex-combatants (age 18-30).

In DRC and RoC 28.7% of ex-combatants (40.3% in DRC alone) cited inheritance as their pathway to increased land access. This was especially true for younger ex-combatants (aged 18-30), of which 32.8% cited inheritance. Further, while inheritance was only cited by 19.3% of ex-combatants in Uganda as their explanation for upward land access mobility, 53.5% cited regulated division of their land, such as inheritance, sharing and dividing, as the reason for their decreased access to land for cultivation. Female ex-combatants were significantly less likely than male ex-combatants (19.7% vs. 29.6%) to cite inheritance as a pathway to increased land access – which could suggest a lack of access to inheritance structures. Ex-combatants aged 18-30 were the most likely age demographic to cite inheritance (32.3%) as their pathway to increased land access.

In terms of marriage, while in Uganda only 12.9% of ex-combatants cited marriage as a pathway to increased land access an examination of demographic subgroups reveals that only 3.4% of male ex-combatants cited marriage as their pathway to increased land access compared to 36.4% of female ex-combatants. In addition, 38.5% of those aged 18-30 cited marriage as their pathway to increased land access compared to 0.0% of those aged 31-40 or over 40.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10: Ex-Combatant Change in Access to Arable Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change in Access to Arable Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

123 With specific reference to Uganda, a more finely grained scale reveals that 10.4% had more land access, 63.4% had the same level of access, and 26.3% had less access.

124 Burundi and Rwanda are excluded from findings regarding explanations for access to more or less arable land due to lack of directly comparable data.
Though findings are scattered across the GLR countries, collectively they form a mosaic that suggests that capital is a primary enabler of ex-combatant land access mobility. For young ex-combatants and female-combatants, the two demographic subgroups least likely to see increases in land access, inheritance and marriage also appear to play a distinct role.

Livestock ownership excluding poultry was at 35.7% across the GLR countries, though generally higher in Burundi (40.2%) and Uganda (52.7%). Age showed a positive relationship to the likelihood of owning livestock across the GLR countries – 33.5% of those aged 18-30, 35.1% of those aged 31-40 and 42.2% of those over 40. Increases in livestock in the last two years were cited by 54.2% of ex-combatants across the GLR with a similar distribution across demographic lines. Of those ex-combatants who had no livestock, poverty and lack of resources was the most common explanation (56.7%) followed by insecurity due to conflict (11.8%).

Beyond access to land for cultivation and the ownership of livestock, another important indicator of food security is the level of household hunger and nutrition – presented in Table 11. Across the GLR countries 13% of ex-combatants explained that people in their household always go hungry, 37.3% they often went hungry, 28.7% that they seldom went hungry and 16.1% that they never went hungry. The exception to this distribution is Uganda, where the majority seldom went hungry (45.3%). In general rates of household hunger were very even across demographic lines.

In regards to household nutrition 24.6% of ex-combatants said that in the last two years nutrition had improved, 43.8% that nutrition was unchanged and the remaining 31.6% that nutrition had worsened. Again, the only exception is Uganda, in which the proportion of ex-combatants with improvements in household nutrition was greater (36.9%). Of those ex-combatants for which household nutrition had gotten worse in the last two years disabled ex-combatants (39.2%) were more commonly represented compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (31%).

8.3 Summary

Ex-combatants display a very high level of access to housing and land for cultivation across the GLR countries. The majorities of ex-combatants across the GLR countries are living in permanent housing, with a family or spouse and see their living situation as equal to their neighbors – and in this sense have reached considerable parity with community members. Assessing the security of their housing tenure, however, is more challenging. The variety of housing ownership structures that exist across, and within, the GLR countries create unique contexts to land tenure

---

125 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding livestock ownership due to lack of directly comparable data.
126 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding household hunger due to lack of directly comparable data.
127 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding household nutrition due to lack of directly comparable data.
security. Owing to a lack of systematic capture of land ownership structures a direct comparison is not possible here. However, what we can note is that lack of housing and land title does not necessarily indicate a lack of tenure security – there are other structures such as clans that can insure land tenure.

While at a cross-country level ex-combatants have exhibited a significant level of upward mobility in terms of their access to land for cultivation there remains a divergence between DRC and RoC, on the one hand, which showed very high rates of increased access to arable land and Burundi and Uganda, on the other, which displayed much lower rates of increased access to arable land. Accounting for this divergence is puzzling. While the absolute availability of land is important dimension of increased land access (for example in Rwanda land scarcity is a well identified issue, while in DRC there are large tracts of uninhabited land) it is likely that the local dynamics of negotiating access to land through various pathways is equally if not more important component (for example in DRC ex-combatants and community members alike must navigate between both customary and statutory land access regimes that can stand in direct contradiction to each other). As gaining access to land is a key pathway to ex-combatants’ economic stability, food security, and contribution to the community then further investigation of this divergence could prove important for future programming.

While access to arable land and livestock ownership are generally considered important indicators of the food security of ex-combatants, it appears as though there is little correlation between these indicators and ex-combatants’ levels of household hunger and nutritional improvement. While ex-combatants’ access to arable land was very high across the GLR countries, nearly on par with community members, they were significantly more likely to face hunger and nutrition problems. Future inquiry into the sources and nature of household hunger and nutrition problems to nuance these findings could prove insightful.

8.3.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

Female ex-combatants face a unique set of challenges in regards to access to arable land. Female ex-combatants across the GLR are less likely than male ex-combatants to see increases in their access to land for cultivation (26.5% vs. 39.8%) – the low level of female ex-combatants’ land access mobility is even more stark when they are compared to female community members (45.4%), who are themselves on par with male community members. Scattered evidence suggests that, as with male ex-combatants, female ex-combatants view capital as their primary pathway to increased land access. However, as female ex-combatants are the least likely group to see increases in their access to land this could suggest that they also face considerable barriers in access to capital. There is evidence to suggest that female ex-combatants experience additional barriers to land access mobility, especially in terms of (I) inheritance dynamics and (ii) marriage.

Female ex-combatants less frequently cite inheritance as a pathway to land access mobility than male ex-combatants and female community members – who are on par with male community members. This could suggest that female ex-combatants face challenges in accessing land inheritance structures that are open to not only community members, but male ex-combatants as well. Lack of access to capital and inheritance structures for female ex-combatants is accentuated further when contextualized against marriage dynamics. Female ex-combatants in Uganda are more than ten times as likely to cite marriage as their pathway to increased land access compared to males – however (as discussed in section 7.2) female ex-combatants remain the least marrying demographic group with the weakest prospects for marriage in the future. Collectively this evidence suggests that female ex-combatants face a diverse range of barriers to land access. Future study to confirm and nuance these findings could prove beneficial for developing gender focused reintegration programming.

---

128 Some scholars have posited that local – national contradictions in land access and ownership structures have played a role in shaping new power structures in effect shaping and sustaining insecurity in some parts of the GLR. See for example: Huggins and Clover (2005) From the Ground Up: Land Rights, Conflict and Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa, ISS Africa
Young ex-combatants (aged 18-30) tend to be a step behind their elder peers in terms of many housing, land access, and food security indicators. Young ex-combatants are less likely to own their housing, less likely to have livestock, and less likely to see increases in their access to land. However, it appears that these disadvantages, as with marriage and education, may be a product of their years lost in conflict – as they now struggle to make parity with elder ex-combatants and show a clear trajectory of improvement – most notably in terms of accessing marriage, and in turn the familial unit, and access to land for agricultural production, which is tied to the primary economic pathway for ex-combatants across the GLR: small scale agriculture.

Supporting the findings that disabled ex-combatants are slightly more likely to be married, so too are they slightly more likely to be living in household with a family. It appears that the majority of disabled ex-combatants fall in line with their non-disabled peers in terms of housing, access to land, and livestock. However, few those who do fall behind do so at varying levels – likely commensurate to their particular level of disability. Overall, disabled ex-combatants saw similar levels of access to land for cultivation, but fewer increases in their land access in the years prior to sampling.

8.3.2 Unique Country Trends

While across the GLR countries ex-combatants were most likely to be living with the same family as prior to conflict, Rwanda and RoC stand out from this trend. In Rwanda ex-combatants were more likely to be living with a family, but one different from prior to conflict. Have ex-combatants in Rwanda faced challenges in re-integrating into the same familial unit as prior to conflict? While there is no clear evidence in this study, it is possible that this may in part be a product of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and the prolonged period of time that ex-combatants have been away from communities since the first and second Congo Wars. By contrast, in RoC ex-combatants were more likely to be living with a spouse (though unmarried, as detailed in section 7.2). Have ex-combatants in RoC been more successful in accessing the familial unit, even if it is not officiated in marriage? As accessing the familial unit is understood as a key pathway to re-integration, further investigation into these diverging trends could prove instrumental.
9. Economic Issues

Attaining a level of economic stability through employment, access to credit and participation in economic associations are seen as key elements to the economic prospects of ex-combatants and essential for peace and development. As such, the analysis here is presented in five main parts: (i) an examination of ex-combatants’ employment statuses and general outlooks on employment; (ii) an examination of the barriers that non-economically active ex-combatants face to gaining a stable economic status; (iii) an examination of female ex-combatants’ specific economic issues; (iv) an examination of ex-combatants’ levels of income, savings, and access to credit as indicators of their general economic stability and ability to leverage economic opportunities; and (v) an examination of ex-combatants’ level of engagement with economic associations as an extended support / opportunity network.

In the context of the severe development challenges that characterize the GLR countries, attaining economic reintegration (parity with community members) and economic stability may not necessarily be the same thing. Thus, to truly identify the economic challenges that are specific to ex-combatants, we must understand ex-combatants economic prospects in relation to the wider community. As such, this section should be read in conjunction with section 15 on economic issues in the Community Dynamics Comparative Survey and Analysis in Annex II of this report.

9.1 Economic Status and History

Concerning employment status, at a cross-country level prior to conflict ex-combatants were most commonly studying or training (37.6%), self-employed in agriculture (26.3%), or unemployed (12.9%). At the time of demobilization the number of ex-combatants studying or training had dropped to 2.2%. Those who had previously been studying or training prior to conflict were effectively absorbed into the categories of self-employed in agriculture (which grew to 33.3%), unemployment (which grew to 31.1%), and employed working in the public sector (which grew from 3.1% prior to the conflict to 11% at demobilization). At the time of sampling unemployment had shrunk to 21.3% and the number of ex-combatants working in the public sector had shrunk to 1.7%. These changes in ex-combatant employment status continued to be absorbed into the categories of self-employed in agriculture which grew to 36.7% and other self-employed in non-agricultural services categories which had grown to 10.4% from the time of demobilization (see Table 12 below) – RoC is an exception to this trend towards self-employment in agriculture with retail instead being the primary pathway.

Though levels of employment varied from country to country, with each GLR country ex-combatants followed the same arc in their employment trajectory – a spike of unemployment at the time of demobilization, to a drop in unemployment at the time of sampling that was slightly worse than pre-conflict levels. This unemployment trend coupled with a continual growth in self-employment in agriculture, services, and retail.

In examining the demographic trends in employment status across the GLR countries at these three time points we can observe some trends. Female ex-combatants are slightly more frequently unemployed than male ex-combatants prior to conflict and at demobilization, though slightly less so at the time of sampling. Though Rwanda, where 54.5% of female versus 38.2% of male ex-combatants were unemployed at the time of sampling, stood apart in this regard. Younger ex-combatants (age 18-31) are most frequently studying compared to other age groups at all time points.

129 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding employment status prior to demobilization and at demobilization and Burundi is excluded from findings regarding employment at demobilization due to lack of directly comparable data.
Table 12: Ex-Combatant Economic Status at Three Time Points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLR Ex-Combatant Employment at Three Time Points</th>
<th>Employment Status Prior Conflict</th>
<th>Employment Status at Demobilization</th>
<th>Employment Status at Current</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12.80%</td>
<td>30.30%</td>
<td>21.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13.00%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
<td>18.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>14.10%</td>
<td>43.00%</td>
<td>19.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>26.50%</td>
<td>23.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
<td>6.60%</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
<td>29.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>25.40%</td>
<td>16.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>26.50%</td>
<td>41.60%</td>
<td>32.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>28.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>2.50%</td>
<td>30.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>12.90%</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>31.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status Prior Conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16.90%</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>33.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19.60%</td>
<td>36.60%</td>
<td>18.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>21.20%</td>
<td>49.20%</td>
<td>22.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>8.50%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>21.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of the phrase “at three time points” indicates that respondents were surveyed at one time point with questions regarding three different time points.
Older ex-combatants (over the age of 40) are most frequently in the self-employed agriculture group at all time points. Disabled ex-combatants were more frequently unemployed at the time of demobilization and the time of sampling compared to non-disabled ex-combatants. These trends are visible in Table 12.

Of those ex-combatants who were unemployed at the time of sampling the explanations most commonly given were lack of work opportunities (61.2%) followed by financial problems (12.2%).

Uganda departed from this cross-country trend and instead health and disability (46.9%) was most commonly cited as the reason for not working, followed by financial problems (21.9%).

Within demographic categories female ex-combatants were slightly less likely to perceive their unemployment as a result of a lack of opportunity (44.1%) and slightly more likely to view it as a result of financial problems (21.3%) or lack of skills (14.5%) than male ex-combatants (63.8%, 10.9% and 7.6% respectively). Disabled ex-combatants were much more likely to perceive health and disability constraints (58.4%) as their primary reason for unemployment compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (3.2%).

On average across the GLR countries 31.7% of ex-combatants relied on more than one income earning activity. RoC, where 93.6% of ex-combatants relied on more than one income generating activity, departed dramatically from this cross-country trend. Female ex-combatants were slightly less likely to rely on multiple income generating activities (27.1%) compared to male ex-combatants (32.5%). Again, RoC is the exception to the gendered trend for multiple income sources as 100% of female ex-combatants relied on multiple income sources as compared to 92.8% of males. Disabled ex-combatants were slightly less likely to rely on multiple income generating activities (25.6%) compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (32.1%).

On average across the GLR countries, 40.6% of ex-combatants returned to their pre-conflict employment / type of work. On average younger ex-combatants were less likely to return to their previous field of work or employment: 28.9% of those aged 18-31 versus 40.1% of those 31-40 and 56.4% of those over 40. Viewed in the context of age at mobilization into conflict, though approximate, it is perhaps understandable that younger ex-combatants do not return to the same employment type – indeed, as 64% of ex-combatants aged 18-30 were under the age of 18 at the time of mobilization they may not yet have had an established employment type. Further, those ex-combatants aged 18-30 were also slightly more likely to be studying or training at the time of sampling, likely returning to study interrupted by mobilization (10.4% vs. 3.1% of those aged 31-40 and 0.9% of those aged over 40).

When asked to explain why they had chosen to return to their previous line of work after conflict in DRC and RoC ex-combatants most commonly cited three key explanations: (i) lack of other opportunities (51.8%); followed by (ii) that it was a reliable job (18.6%); and (iii) out of economic necessity to take care of the family (16.4%).

Across the GLR countries ex-combatants communicated that they on average would be very willing to move to another part of their own country for a better job (75.4%) – though significantly lower in Uganda (40.7%). Though there is no cross-country data for comparison on explanations for ex-combatants’ attitudes towards migration, looking at Uganda alone may provide some initial insights. The most common explanation for willingness to migrate in Uganda was that ex-combatants were willing to move for financial reasons and the prospect of improving their standard of living (58.4%). A smaller proportion of ex-combatants (15.5%) was bored of their environment and

130 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding reasons for unemployment due to lack of directly comparable data.
131 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding multiple incomes sources due to lack of directly comparable data.
132 Questions regarding ex-combatants reasons for returning to the same job as prior to conflict were only asked in DRC and RoC.
133 This lower willingness to migrate among ex-combatants in Uganda may be related to their overall higher levels of social capital compared to other GLR countries – discussed more in depth in section 10. Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding willingness to migrate for work due to lack of directly comparable data.
wanted a life change. In Uganda of those ex-combatants who were not willing to move for a better job the most common explanation (29.6%) was that they had a lack of education or qualifications followed by having family responsibilities that prevent them from moving (26.6%). Across the GLR countries female ex-combatants were considerably less likely to be willing to migrate for a job than male ex-combatants (57.6% vs. 78.4%) – though there is no clear explanation for why.\textsuperscript{134}

Across the GLR countries, 64.6% of ex-combatants perceived that they have a harder time finding a job than community members.\textsuperscript{135} It appears as though there is a division between Burundi and Uganda on the one hand, where ex-combatants frequently perceived that they have a harder time than community members, and DRC and RoC on the other, where this frequency was still significant but considerably lower than in their neighbors to the east. These findings here are presented in Table 13 above. Age showed a negative relationship to the likelihood of thinking that ex-combatants have a harder time finding employment.

Of those ex-combatants who thought that ex-combatants find it more difficult to find a job than community members there were diverse explanations across the GLR countries however, the common thread through all countries was stigma or distrust towards ex-combatants at varying levels – though in Uganda the most common explanation was ex-combatants’ low education levels (59.7%).\textsuperscript{136} A table of the proportion of ex-combatants from each GLR country that cited stigma or distrust of ex-combatants as the reason why they find it more difficult than non-ex-combatants is presented in Table 14 above.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\small
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Burundi & DRC & RoC & Uganda & GLR Total \\
\hline
Male & 59.1% & 43.9% & 88.5% & 18.5% & 52.5% \\
Female & 53.9% & 40.0% & 100.0% & 14.3% & 52.5% \\
Age 18-30 & 60.8% & 39.3% & 91.9% & 9.5% & 50.4% \\
Age 31-40 & 54.3% & 46.5% & 88.0% & 26.3% & 53.8% \\
Age Over 40 & 53.5% & 45.2% & 86.0% & 20.4% & 51.3% \\
Disabled & 41.8% & 42.3% & 90.0% & 14.8% & 48.1% \\
Not Disabled & 60.0% & 43.4% & 88.7% & 18.1% & 52.6% \\
Country Average & 58.7% & 43.4% & 88.9% & 17.6% & 52.2% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Ex-combatant Stigma / Distrust as a Barrier to Gaining Employment}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{134} In Uganda both male and female ex-combatants both identify lack of education / qualifications and family responsibilities as the primary reasons for unwillingness to migrate at almost identical levels. Uganda is the only GLR country in which this question was asked.

\textsuperscript{135} Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding perceptions of relative challenges of finding a job due to lack of directly comparable data.

\textsuperscript{136} Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding explanations for why ex-combatants find it more difficult to find a job due to lack of directly comparable data.
to find a job is presented in Table 14. On average across the GLR countries, 52.2% of ex-combatants saw stigma / distrust as a barrier to employment – though this was higher in RoC (88.9%) and lower in Uganda (17.6%).

Concerning outlook for economic prospects in the future, across the GLR countries 73.7% of ex-combatants perceived that their economic situation would improve in the near future. Across demographic lines the perceptions of ex-combatants about their economic prospects in the future were remarkably even. However, across and within the GLR countries, disabled ex-combatants perceived slightly weaker economic outlooks (66.5% versus 74.3% at a total sample level).

When asked to explain the main reasons for if they perceived their economic situation improving in the future ex-combatants across the GLR countries gave a wide range of responses. Very generally speaking, we can say that in Uganda ex-combatants with both positive and negative outlooks for the future saw this as tied to their ability to participate and produce in agriculture. In contrast, in Burundi, DRC and RoC ex-combatants more commonly expressed a range of explanations for positive and negative outlooks more closely tied to their attainment of employment and capital. Across all countries disabled ex-combatants saw health as a key barrier to their economic future.

Looking specifically across Burundi, DRC and RoC we can observe that on average ex-combatants work 9.34 months of the year in paid employment – a proportion roughly reflected across all three countries. However in contrast, when looking at the number of months that ex-combatants spend participating in unpaid labor, for example subsistence farming or labor in trade for food or housing, there is a division that emerges. In DRC and RoC the majority of ex-combatants spend on average 3.97 months in unpaid labor through the year. However in Burundi the ex-combatants work 10.93 months a year in unpaid labor; in fact the vast majority (78.4%) spend 12 months of the year working in unpaid labor. By cross tabulating months of the year spent in paid versus unpaid labor we find that 83.8% of those who spend 12 months of the year in unpaid labor (heavily represented in Burundi) do this in addition to working 12 months of the year for paid labor. Of those who work for paid labor for 9 months of the year (heavily represented in DRC and RoC), 96.2% do so in addition to working 9 months of the year for unpaid labor. These trends are likely indicative of regional and seasonal farming and employment practices.

9.2 Non-Economically Active Ex-Combatants on Employment Issues

When non-economically active ex-combatants across the GLR countries are asked how they get by when they are not working the most common responses are: (i) 29.3% reply that they rely on their family cash contributions; (ii) 18.6% have to borrow money; and (iii) 12.8% say they just find a way to cope. Looking within gender demographics we can see that female ex-combatants more commonly rely on family cash contributions (49.9%) compared to male ex-combatants (26.4%). Younger ex-combatants (age 18-30) are also more likely to rely on family cash contributions (37.1% vs. 22.1% of those 31-40 and 26.8% of those over 40).

At a cross-country level of those ex-combatants that are not economically active, 33.2% of them feel that being an ex-combatant contributes to them not working. However, a closer examination of these perceptions within individ-

---

137 The analysis throughout annex I & II suggest that stigma and distrust are considerably less prominent in Uganda – it is possible that this is related to the dynamics of ex-combatant return in Uganda – where ex-combatants who were abducted return to communities and are seen as both victims and perpetrators. In some communities this dynamic can play a role in greater overall acceptance of ex-combatants in Uganda. In addition, the extensive use of traditional reconciliation ceremonies in Uganda, though not a part of reintegration programming, may play a role in explaining this stark contrast against RoC.

138 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding reasons for outlook on future economic situation due to lack of directly comparable data.

139 Rwanda and Uganda are excluded from findings regarding annual time spent working for pay and without pay due to lack of directly comparable data.

140 These are only the three most common explanations across the GLR countries. Rwanda is excluded from findings on how non-economically active ex-combatants get by due to lack of directly comparable data.
ual GLR countries show a sharp split between Burundi and Uganda in which 70.9% and 66.7%, respectively, felt that their ex-combatant status contributed to their unemployment, versus DRC and RoC where only 22% and 21.1% respectively. Future investigation into the reason for this divergence in ex-combatants’ perception of ex-combatant status playing a role in unemployment would add considerable explanatory value in future studies.141

Across and within the GLR countries male ex-combatants and younger ex-combatants more commonly see their ex-combatant status as contributing to their unemployment. The extent of these trends can be seen in Table 15.

Attempting to account for the sharp split between Burundi and Uganda, on the one hand, and DRC and RoC, on the other, in the perception of ex-combatant status playing a contributing role in the unemployment of non-economically active x-combatants is challenging. In Burundi the most common explanation for why ex-combatant status contributes to unemployment is unspecified political problems (44.6%) followed by stigma and distrust in ex-combatants (34.7%). In Uganda, lack of skills and education are the most common explanations (43.5%), followed by poor health (26.1%) and stigma/ distrust in ex-combatants (21.7%). By contrast, in DRC and RoC stigma accounts for the vast majority of explanations for why ex-combatant status contributes to unemployment (80.2% in DRC and 79.6% in RoC). In summary, in DRC and RoC where the likelihood of perceiving ex-combatant status as contributing to unemployment was dramatically lower than in other GLR countries – the perception that stigma and distrust in ex-combatants was the reason why ex-combatant status contributed unemployment was dramatically higher. While the relationship between perceptions of stigma and the perception of ex-combatant status playing a contributing role to being non-economically active is unclear here, stigma should at the very least be flagged as an important dimension.

At a cross-country level there is a very even split in the perceptions of non-economically active ex-combatants on their future prospects of gaining employment – 50.4% saying that they had a good chance of finding a job in the future, 2.4% saying they had a neither good or bad chance, and 48.6% saying that they had a poor chance. Disabled ex-combatants consistently expressed a less positive outlook towards future employment – 25.4% of disabled ex-combatants across the GLR countries having a positive outlook versus 54.3% of non-disabled ex-combatants. While there is no data to directly compare across GLR countries, it is notable that in Uganda 100% of disabled ex-combatants explained their positive outlook on gaining employment in the future on improved health and/or healing.

9.3 Female Ex-Combatants on Employment Issues

Of female ex-combatants who were not economically active 36.5% feel that they are discriminated against as a female – though in Burundi this number was significantly higher (66%) and in Uganda significantly lower (16.7%).142 Simi-

---

141 To further complicate these findings on the role that ex-combatant status plays in gaining employment for those who are non-economically active, they stand in contrast to the similar findings on the role that stigma / distrust plays in gaining employment presented in Table 14.

142 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding perceptions of discrimination among both economically active and non-active disabled ex-combatants.
larly, of female ex-combatants who are economically active 24.5% feel they are discriminated against as a female in the workplace. In both instances female ex-combatants between the ages of 18 and 30 are the most likely age demographic to perceive discrimination (44.7% of those unemployed and 23.2% of those employed). In addition, in both of these instances 34.8% perceive their status as not just a female, but a female ex-combatant is related to the discrimination they encounter.

While there is no data for direct comparison across GLR countries as to who female ex-combatants see as the main people discriminating against them, Uganda can offer some leads for further investigation. In Uganda 50% of unemployed female ex-combatants see female employers or bosses as the main group discriminating against them, the other 50% see everyone as discriminating against them. Of those female ex-combatants who were employed 30% saw female co-workers as the main group discriminating against them, followed by 15.4% who saw all employers at the main group discriminating against them, 15.4% who saw male co-workers discriminating against them, and 15.4% who saw everybody discriminating against them. What is notable is that, at least in the case of Uganda, in both instances of female ex-combatants who are employed and those who are unemployed, the group most commonly perceived as discriminating against them is other females – be they employers or co-workers. This point could be related to female community members’ overall higher levels of fear, and perhaps in turn discrimination, surrounding the return of ex-combatants discussed in section 17.2.

9.4 Disabled Ex-Combatants on Employment Issues

Of disabled ex-combatants who are not economically active 62.4% feel they are discriminated against as a disabled person and 37.6% feel they are not. Of those disabled ex-combatants who are economically active the proportions of those who feel they are discriminated against is almost perfectly inverse, with 34.2% saying that they perceived being discriminated against and 62.5% saying they did not. When asked if discrimination was related to their ex-combatant status 51.1% of disabled ex-combatants perceive that this discrimination has to do specifically with them being a disabled ex-combatant rather than merely disabled. Female disabled ex-combatants were less likely to perceive discrimination linked to their ex-combatant status, 37.5% versus 58.7%.

Again, as with the case of female ex-combatants on employment issues, there is no data to directly compare across the GLR countries as to who disabled ex-combatants see as the main groups discriminating against them. However, again looking at data from Uganda can offer some initial insights. In Uganda 80% of non-economically active disabled ex-combatants who perceived discrimination see all employers or bosses as discriminating against them, with the remaining 20% seeing everyone as discriminating against them. Of those economically active ex-combatants who perceived discrimination 40% saw the discrimination as coming primarily from all employers or bosses, 20% from male co-workers, 20% from all co-workers, and 20% from everybody. Confirming these trends across the GLR countries would require further triangulation.

9.5 Income, Savings and Access to Credit

In the context of the severe development challenges that characterize most of the Great Lakes Region, ex-combatants’ economic statuses are a good starting point for understanding basic individual and household economic stability. However, a deeper examination of ex-combatants’ income, savings and access to credit can begin to reveal some about their ability, or inability, to move beyond mere subsistence by leveraging economic opportunities.

Across the GLR countries 49.6% of ex-combatants identified as the sole breadwinner of their household with the remaining 50.4% saying that their household relied on multiple incomes. As is visible in Table 16, in Rwanda and

---

143 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding perceptions of discrimination among both economically active and non-active female ex-combatants due to lack of directly comparable data.
DRC ex-combatants are notably more likely to identify themselves as the sole breadwinner (79.6% and 71.6% respectively) – generally an indicator of household income instability. Across the GLR countries female ex-combatants were dramatically less likely to identify as the sole breadwinner (29.1%) when compared to male ex-combatants (53%). In some GLR countries this disparity between male and female ex-combatants was even more accentuated – for example in Rwanda 100% of female ex-combatants said their household relied on multiple incomes compared to 19.6% of male ex-combatants.

Of those ex-combatants who identify themselves as the sole breadwinner in their household across the GLR countries 39.3% say that they usually have to borrow money to meet their monthly household expenses, 22.4% say that they usually break even, 20.4% rely on family money transfers, 13.5% usually have to use past savings, and only 4.4% have money left over. As displayed in Table 17, these trends were remarkably durable within each of the GLR countries with the exception of RoC in which a similar proportion of ex-combatants (41.2%) had to borrow to meet monthly expenses, but in contrast to the cross-country trend 41.2% of ex-combatants usually had money left over.

Across the GLR countries, female ex-combatants were more likely to rely on family money transfers (27.2%) when compared to male ex-combatants (19.1%), and less likely to use past savings to meet monthly expenses (7.8%) when compared to male ex-combatants (14.6%). Younger ex-combatants were also more likely to rely on family money transfers than their elder peers (27.8% vs. 12.4% of those 31-40 and 15.4% of those over 40).

Of those ex-combatants who were sole breadwinners and did not earn enough to meet monthly household expenses across the GLR countries, they were on average short by 41% of their income. DRC and, to a larger extent, RoC sat below this cross-country average, with average sole breadwinner income shortages of 23% and 7% respectively. Across demographic lines these disabled ex-combatants had notably higher income shortages on average (52%) compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (40%). Of those ex-combatants who were sole breadwinners and did meet monthly household expenses there was a clear trend in which ex-combatants had a surplus on average of 22%. However, as is visible in Table 18, in RoC income surpluses were on average only 5%.

Of those 49.6% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries who say that their household relies on multiple incomes, there was an average contribution of 46% of their total household income. As is visible in Table 19, Rwanda and DRC stand out with smaller average non-sole breadwinner household income contributions (35% and 37% respectively). Generally speaking female ex-combatants and younger ex-combatants contributed less on average of total household income (39% and 42% respectively).

---

**Table 16: Ex-Combatant Sole Breadwinner Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sole</th>
<th>Others Assist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>53.00%</td>
<td>47.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>29.10%</td>
<td>70.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>41.10%</td>
<td>58.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>56.10%</td>
<td>43.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>56.70%</td>
<td>43.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>42.40%</td>
<td>57.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>50.80%</td>
<td>49.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>42.90%</td>
<td>57.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>71.60%</td>
<td>28.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
<td>63.80%</td>
<td>36.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>79.60%</td>
<td>20.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>40.40%</td>
<td>59.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>49.60%</td>
<td>50.40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

144 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding sole household breadwinners due to lack of directly comparable data.
145 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding sole household breadwinners due to lack of directly comparable data.
146 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding monthly income deficits due to lack of directly comparable data.
147 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding monthly income surpluses due to lack of directly comparable data.
Since reintegration programming 31.7% of ex-combatants have had to borrow money to help meet their daily needs. Across age, gender and disability demographics all groups lay very closely to the total sample trend. In Burundi, DRC and RoC, of those who did borrow 34.6% borrowed from a friend, 28% borrowed from family, 11.7% borrowed from community leaders – only 4% borrowed from some form of formal credit institution. Ex-combatants aged 18-30 were most likely to borrow from family (34.8%) compared to those 31-40 (22.7%) and those over 40 (19.7%).

In terms of the use of funds borrowed since reintegration programming packages there were three key uses: (i) subsistence; (ii) business investment; and (iii) familial support. 34.6% of ex-combatants identified their first use of borrowed funds as mere subsistence, 22.5% as business investments, and 18.9% as assistance for their family. Similarly, 27.8% of ex-combatants identified their second use of borrowed funds as to assist their family, 24.7% as subsistence, and 11.3% as a business investment. As a third use of borrowed funds 17.1% used funds as subsistence, 15.1% as assistance to their family, and 10.9% as business investments. The drops in these categories were absorbed into, among others, education for children (10.1%) and medical expenses (7.6%) – especially among disabled ex-combatants. These spending patterns for borrowed money overlap strongly with the spending patterns

Table 17: Ex-Combatant Sole Breadwinner Meeting Monthly Expenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At the end of each month, do you meet your household expenses?</th>
<th>Usually have money left over</th>
<th>Usually break even</th>
<th>Usually have to use past savings</th>
<th>Rely on family money transfers</th>
<th>Usually have to borrow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4.80%</td>
<td>21.50%</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>19.10%</td>
<td>40.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>27.20%</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
<td>27.20%</td>
<td>35.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>17.60%</td>
<td>14.10%</td>
<td>27.80%</td>
<td>36.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>5.20%</td>
<td>22.30%</td>
<td>17.30%</td>
<td>12.40%</td>
<td>42.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>5.10%</td>
<td>30.80%</td>
<td>8.70%</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>5.10%</td>
<td>28.90%</td>
<td>9.30%</td>
<td>22.60%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>4.30%</td>
<td>21.50%</td>
<td>14.10%</td>
<td>20.10%</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>1.40%</td>
<td>13.90%</td>
<td>20.50%</td>
<td>18.90%</td>
<td>45.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>6.80%</td>
<td>22.60%</td>
<td>20.40%</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>35.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
<td>41.20%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>11.80%</td>
<td>5.90%</td>
<td>41.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>2.50%</td>
<td>32.70%</td>
<td>6.50%</td>
<td>24.20%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>4.40%</td>
<td>22.40%</td>
<td>13.50%</td>
<td>20.40%</td>
<td>39.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Ex-Combatant Sole Breadwinner Average Monthly Income Surpluses and Deficits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Monthly Income Shortage</th>
<th>Average Monthly Income Surplus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

148 Due to the varying contexts of reintegration programming across the GLR countries this question should be treated as a broad indicator of the rate at which ex-combatants need to borrow money after the bulk of immediate reintegration assistance (including reinsertion) has passed. Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding money borrowing due to lack of directly comparable data.

149 Rwanda and Uganda are excluded from findings on the most common uses of reinsertion payments due to lack of directly comparable data.
of reinsertion payments in section 11.1 – indicating a key set of immediate costs those ex-combatants across the GLR countries face.

Only 6.7% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries have ever applied for micro-credit from a financial institution. This figure is reflected in all GLR countries except for Uganda and Rwanda where higher proportions of ex-combatants (18.4% and 13% respectively) had at some point applied for micro-credit. Ex-combatants over the age of 40 were the most likely age demographic to have applied for micro-credit (11%) when compared to those aged 31-40 (6.5%) and those aged 18-40 (4.6%). This trend is further accentuated in the cases of Uganda (27.9% vs. 13.6% and 9.8%) and Rwanda (18.6% vs. 11.5% and 10.3%) where the overall proportion of ex-combatants who had at some point applied for micro-credit was significantly higher.

Of those ex-combatants who had applied for micro-credit at some point, 76.6% had had a successful application. The only GLR country that did not reflect this average was RoC in which only 28.6% of micro-credit applications were successful – the explanation for this is unclear. Female ex-combatants more commonly had successful micro-credit applications (86.9%) than male ex-combatants (78.5%). There were no other consistent demographic trends across the GLR countries.

### 9.6 Economic Associations

Across the GLR countries 37.3% of ex-combatants were currently involved in some form of micro-economic activity. Burundi departed most significantly from this trend with 78.6% of ex-combatants being involved in a micro-economic activity. In Uganda and Burundi female ex-combatants (39.4% and 100% respectively) were more likely to be currently participating in some form of micro-economic activity than male ex-combatants (32.5% and 76.9% respectively). In contrast, in DRC and RoC female ex-combatants (22.2% and 0.0% respectively) were less likely to be involved in some form of micro-economic activity (46.2% and 80% respectively).

Since receiving reinsertion packages, 72.2% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries have never been a member of an economic association, 21.9% are currently members, and 5.9% have previously been members but are not currently. Across all GLR countries ex-combatants aged 18-30 were least frequently currently a member of an economic association (15.6%) compared to those aged 31-40 (23%) and those over 40 (29.1%). This could be an indication of older ex-combatants’ generally longer economic track record with economic associations and access to credit. Looking to Rwanda and Uganda we can see that local savings and credit associations and farmers associations are the varieties of economic associations that ex-combatants are members of.

Across the GLR countries the most common benefits that ex-combatants identified receiving as a member of their economic associations were economic networking (34.2%) followed by social networking (21.1%) and financial

---

150 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding current participation in micro-economic activities due to lack of directly comparable data.

151 Burundi is excluded from findings regarding membership in economic associations due to lack of directly comparable data.
support (17.9%). Ex-combatants in Uganda were the least likely to cite social and economic networking as the primary benefit of economic associations (3.1% and 4.6% respectively) and more likely to cite financial support as the primary benefit (42.4%). Female ex-combatants across the GLR countries were more likely to identify economic networking (42.5%) and less likely to identify social networking (12.1%) than male ex-combatants (33% and 22.4% respectively).

Of those ex-combatants across the GLR countries who were members of an economic association, there were varying compositions of ex-combatant versus non-ex-combatant membership in the given economic association. As is visible in Table 21 below, at a cross-country level there was a typical bell curve distribution between categories of economic association membership composition. However, closer inspection within countries shows that there are diverging trends. What is noteworthy is that the level at which ex-combatants move into economic associations with only other ex-combatants is low – suggesting that the majority of those ex-combatants who do join an economic association have the benefit of social interaction with community members, building social and economic networks, in addition to the economic benefits of associations.

9.7 Summary

Across the GLR countries the general economic trajectory of ex-combatants is positive. The number of ex-combatants who are unemployed is shrinking – these ex-combatants are most commonly being absorbed into self-employment in agriculture, followed by self-employment in non-agricultural business. In line with this positive trajectory, ex-combatants generally have a positive outlook on their economic situation in the future; 76.3% saying that they expected their situation to improve in the future. When ex-combatants explain this positive outlook they generally cite improved agricultural production and improved access to capital and credit – two explanations that can be tied to ex-combatants’ main paths of economic reintegration: self-employment in agriculture and small business. This signals that ex-combatants’ perceptions of their future economic situation and the pathways to attaining it are rooted in their collective trajectory towards self-employment in agriculture or small business.

This generally positive economic trajectory has seen ex-combatants reach near parity, but slightly weaker across all indicators, in levels of economic stability compared to community members. Ex-combatants are more likely to be unemployed, less likely to meet their household expenses, and more likely to borrow from family than formal economic institutions to close this income gap than community members. Ex-combatants are considerably less

---

Table 20: Ex-Combatant Economic Association Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Since reinsertion, have you ever been a member of an Economic Association?</th>
<th>Yes, have been a member previously, but not now</th>
<th>Yes, am currently a member now</th>
<th>No, have never been a member of an economic association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>21.60%</td>
<td>72.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4.60%</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>71.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>4.20%</td>
<td>15.60%</td>
<td>80.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>6.50%</td>
<td>23.00%</td>
<td>70.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>7.20%</td>
<td>29.10%</td>
<td>63.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>24.60%</td>
<td>68.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
<td>5.80%</td>
<td>21.60%</td>
<td>72.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
<td>19.70%</td>
<td>78.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
<td>7.90%</td>
<td>12.10%</td>
<td>80.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>13.00%</td>
<td>36.60%</td>
<td>50.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>21.80%</td>
<td>75.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>5.90%</td>
<td>21.90%</td>
<td>72.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

152 Burundi is excluded from findings regarding the benefits of economic associations due to lack of directly comparable data.
153 Burundi is excluded from findings regarding the membership composition of economic associations due to lack of directly comparable data.
likely to participate in micro-economic activities or belong to economic associations than community members – an indication of their considerably shortened economic track record and the time lost while in conflict for establishing themselves in formal economic institutions.

Regarding ex-combatants perceptions of the barriers they face to gaining productive economic status, the majority of ex-combatants cite lack of opportunity, signaling that they generally identify the barriers to economic improvement as contextualized in larger development challenges that affect the entire community. Simultaneously, ex-combatants perceive themselves as a disadvantaged group that have a harder time finding a job and are subject to stigma and distrust in the community. By contrast community members are much more likely to cite lack of access to credit and lack of skills as key barriers to their economic stability.

It appears that ex-combatants understand the dual dimensions of the barriers they face to gaining a productive economic status – the larger context of severe development challenges that characterize the GLR countries, and the context of being an ex-combatant in this development setting – facing challenges with stigma and distrust in the community. Indeed, ex-combatants are far more likely to identify the social networking value of economic interactions, bringing about the slow set of social interactions that erode stigma and facilitate social reintegration, than community members. However, in this it appears that with weaker economic track records ex-combatants also fail to recognize capital and credit barriers to economic prosperity to the same extent as community members.

In summary, ex-combatants’ economic trajectories are generally positive though in absolute terms they are disadvantaged to community members. The barriers to reaching true parity with community members revolve around: (i) closing literacy, education and skill gaps with community members; (ii) establishing an economic track record; (iii) accessing credit and other financial institutions; and (iv) eroding stigma and distrust through the slow process of confrontation that social reintegration entails.

9.7.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

In this analysis of the economic dimensions of reintegration, female ex-combatants continue to stand out as a key vulnerable group. Female ex-combatants are more likely to be unemployed than male ex-combatants and more likely to see lack of skills as among their core barriers to reaching economic stability – this aligns with earlier analysis revealing that female ex-combatants have significantly lower literacy and educational achievement levels compared to male ex-combatants. Female ex-combatants and community members alike report significant levels discrimination on the basis of gender as a barrier to gaining employment, though female ex-combatants report this at twice the rate of community members. This may suggest that stigma associated with ex-combatant status may have an amplifying effect on already entrenched gender inequalities present in the community. Interestingly while female community members that experienced gender-based discrimination identified it as coming primarily from males, female ex-combatants identified female community members as the main sources of discrimination. This point may be related to female community members’ overall higher levels of fear surrounding the return of ex-combatants to their community discussed in section 17.2 of the community dynamics annex of this study. Collectively, these issues represent a clear set of challenges for female ex-combatants in achieving economic reintegration.

Health is a key barrier to economic reintegration for disabled ex-combatants who are the most likely demographic group, of ex-combatants and community members alike, to be unemployed at the time of sampling across the GLR countries. Accordingly disabled ex-combatants are the least likely demographic group to have a positive outlook on their economic future. In addition disabled ex-combatants who are unemployed report high levels of discrimination in seeking employment on the basis of their disability (twice the proportion of females that perceive discrimination). However – those who are employed perceive discrimination on the basis of their disability at half the rate (on par with females). This may suggest that while there is clearly discrimination in terms of gender and disability, there is an amplifying effect that overall levels of stigma and distrust in the community have on these dynamics.
9.7.2 Unique Country Trends

In terms of economic reintegration ex-combatants in the Republic of Congo display a number of unique trends – though they do not necessarily depart from the dominant narrative of economic reintegration for ex-combatants across the GLR. Most notably perhaps is that while self-employment in agriculture is still an important economic pathway for ex-combatants in RoC, self-employment in non-agricultural services is the dominant economic path. It is possible that migration to the urban capital of Brazzaville among ex-combatants has removed agriculture as a viable economic activity – lending some explanation to this trend of economic status tending away from the self-employment in agriculture.
10. Social Capital

Examining the social dynamics of ex-combatant reintegration requires the exploration of a range of concepts including: (i) social networks, (ii) trust, (iii) social cohesion, (iv) social inclusion, and (v) empowerment. Collectively these various concepts come together to represent social capital, essentially the idea that social networks have value, both tangible and intangible, for individuals and communities and are a key indicator of the overall social health of ex-combatants – and in turn their ability to leverage this social capital towards social and economic outcomes. Examining social capital can allow us some insights into the process of social reintegration that ex-combatants go through upon return to their communities. However, when looking at the complex social dynamics that ex-combatants experience we cannot draw meaningful insights without contextualizing these social dimensions with that of the community at large. Thus for optimal analytical value this section of the report should be read in conjunction with section 16 on social capital in the community dynamics annex of this report.

10.1 Networks and Sociability

Across the GLR countries ex-combatants and community members are unlikely to be in many social groups – though community members are in slightly more. On average ex-combatants were in 0.46 social groups, while community members were in 0.63.154 Uganda stood apart from this overall GLR trend – community members averaging 0.93 social groups. Age showed a positive relationship to the average number of social groups among ex-combatants and community members alike, however this trend was much more pronounced among ex-combatants – in which young (18-30) ex-combatants have the lowest average number of social groups across all demographic groups (0.37).

Across the GLR countries, 38.5% of ex-combatants said that the current number of social groups to which they are a member is greater than that of one year ago, 50.8% said the number is the same as one year prior and 10.7% said that their current number of social groups is less than it was one year ago. These proportions were reflected well within the GLR countries with the exception of Uganda, in which 85.3% said that their number of social groups had stayed the same in the last year. Across the GLR countries, female ex-combatants less frequently saw an increase in their number of social groups (23.1%) when compared to male ex-combatants (41.4%). Similarly, disabled ex-combatants less frequently saw an increase in their number of social groups (24.4%) when compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (40.1%).

Of ex-combatants, 32.6% were on a management or organizing committee for a local group or organization. Female ex-combatants were significantly less likely to be on a management committee (25.9%) compared to male ex-combatants (34%). Ex-combatants over the age of 40 are most frequently on management or organizing committees (37.4%) compared to those 31-40 (36.8%) and those 18-30 (24.3%). The fact that older ex-combatants (over 40) have the most social groups on average and are most frequently on management committees is a broad indication of their social footing in the community. Inversely it flags younger ex-combatants as lagging behind in building a social foundation in the community.

Generally speaking a large proportion of ex-combatants across the GLR countries had contact with their families (91.3%). However, DRC is a clear standout in this trend of high familial contact – only 62.1% reported having

---

154 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding social networks due to lack of data.
contact with their families. What is even more notable though is that DRC is the only GLR country in which ex-combatants have dramatically more contact with their families than community members have with their own families (62.1% vs. 31%).

Of those ex-combatants who did have contact with their families, 67% across the GLR countries had daily contact with their family, 12.4% had weekly contact, 10.2% had monthly contact, and the remainder had less frequent contact. As visible in Table 22, Uganda stands out most clearly from the cross-country trend in this instance, as 92.7% of ex-combatants in Uganda who had contact with their family had daily contact with their family. In general female ex-combatants had slightly higher levels of daily contact than male ex-combatants (76.5% vs. 64.9%). The only standout along gender demographic lines is in RoC, in which only 11.1% of female ex-combatants had daily contact with their family and 45.5% had contact with their family less frequently than monthly – as compared to male ex-combatants of whom 30.4% had daily contact and 22.2% had contact less frequently than monthly. Disabled ex-combatants were more likely to have daily contact with their families (88.2%) than non-disabled ex-combatants (64.7%). In all, ex-combatants across the GLR countries had daily contact with their families slightly more frequently than community members (67% vs. 63.9%).

Across the GLR countries 27.2% of ex-combatants thought that contact with their family could be more frequent and 72.8% felt that their current level of contact with their family was the most they would prefer (see Table 23).

---

155 Rwanda and Burundi are absent from findings on levels and frequency of familial contact, as well as preferred levels of familial contact, due to lack of directly comparable data.
In DRC, where ex-combatants had the lowest actual levels of familial contact, ex-combatants were dramatically more likely than average to think that their frequency of familial contact could be more – even though those who did have contact had it at a similar level to other GLR countries.

Interestingly, ex-combatants across the GLR were more likely to think the level of contact that they had with their families was the maximum they would want than community members (72.8% vs. 29.3%). Additionally, although in RoC female ex-combatants had notably lower contact with their families than male ex-combatants (as outlined above), they actually less frequently expressed that they thought they could have more frequent contact with their family (41.9%) than their male ex-combatant counterparts (48.4%).

In DRC and RoC, the GLR countries where ex-combatants most frequently thought they could have more contact with their families, 30.9% of those who thought they could see their family more often cited the distance of travel as the main reason they do not see their family more often, 20.4% cited lack of time, and 17.1% cited the cost of travel – flagging the geographic spread of families as a dimension to reintegration in these countries.

Across the GLR countries, 49.1% of all ex-combatants had lots of friends, 30% had a few, good friends and 20.9% did not have many friends. This trend is well reflected within the GLR countries with the exception of Rwanda – where 23% had lots of friends, 44.2% had a few good friends and 32.8% did not have many friends. On average female ex-combatants slightly less frequently had lots of friends (44.3%) and more frequently had a few good friends (33.4%) or not many friends (22.3%) than male ex-combatants (49.9%, 29.5% and 20.6% respectively). Rwanda is the exception to this gender demographic trend in which female ex-combatants slightly more frequently than male ex-combatants had lots of friends (27.3%) or a few good friends (54.5%) than male ex-combatants (22.9% and 43.9% respectively).

Across the GLR countries there were clear and consistent trends in terms of the age, gender, ex-combatant status and educational background of the friends of ex-combatants. The majority of ex-combatants across the GLR countries were likely to have friends within the same age and gender categories, but less likely to have friends who were ex-combatants or shared the same education level. These trends are displayed in Table 24.

What is perhaps most noteworthy in these findings is that ex-combatants’ friend groups appear to be fairly diversi-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 24: Ex-Combatant Friend Group Demographics Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of contact between community member and immediate family these days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most friends are the same age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

156 Burundi is excluded from findings regarding number of friends due to lack of directly comparable data.
157 Burundi is excluded from findings regarding the proportion of other ex-combatants in ex-combatants’ social groups due to lack of data. Rwanda is excluded from findings on age, gender, and ex-combatant makeup of ex-combatant’s social groups due to lack of data. However, the case of ex-combatant status of ex-combatants’ social groups Rwanda is excluded from direct comparison due to a scaling issue in the data. In Rwanda 68.9% said that some of their friends were ex-combatants, 22.9% said that most of them were ex-combatants, 7.6% said none were ex-combatants and only 0.5% said that all their friends were ex-combatants.
fied, especially in terms of having friends who are ex-combatants. Indeed, only 26.7% of ex-combatants say that most of their friends are fellow ex-combatants, 23.6% say some, 36.4% say few and 13.3% say none. This suggests that ex-combatants are not becoming an isolated social group – only socializing with each other.

Across the GLR countries, when asked who they would turn to for help if they were to encounter an economic problem 39.7% of ex-combatants responded that they would turn to their family; 30.9% responded that they would turn to a friend; 13.5% would turn to no one; and 10% would rely on a range of business, communal, or formal financial resources. Generally across the GLR countries older ex-combatants were more likely to rely on friends for economic help than younger ex-combatants – who were, themselves, more likely to rely on family than older ex-combatants. This lends evidence to the idea that, in general, ex-combatants’ primary pathway to economic assistance is through their families and extended social circles as opposed to formal institutional pathways. Indeed, while as a whole ex-combatants would turn to similar sources as their community member counterparts for economic help, community members were slightly more likely (7.5% vs. 3.3%) to rely on formal institutions.

**10.2 Trust and Solidarity**

Drawing from Rwanda and Uganda we can see that ex-combatants have generally high levels of trust in their communities. Of the respondents, 58% said that they trust people in their community to a great extent, 31.2% said to neither a great nor small extent, and the remaining 10.8% said they trusted those in their community to a small extent. In Rwanda and Uganda female ex-combatants generally trusted less than male ex-combatants (18.5% vs. 9.5% trusted those in their community to a small extent). Age displayed a positive correlation to high trust in others in the community (47% of those 18-30, 62% of those 31-40, and 64.3% of those over 40). Overall ex-combatants displayed a similar level of trust, though slightly weaker than community members.

Across the GLR countries, 18.3% of ex-combatants felt that if they were to disagree with what everyone else in their area agreed on, they would not at all feel free to speak out, 60.2% felt that they would definitely feel free to speak out and 19.5% felt that they would only feel free to speak out on certain matters. This trend was visible within each of the GLR countries; only in Uganda was willingness to speak out slightly higher – 9.6% feeling they would not speak out, 71.3% feeling they would definitely speak out slightly higher – 9.6% feeling they would not speak out, 71.3% feeling they would definitely speak out and 19.1% feeling that they would only speak out on specific matters. Community members were slightly more likely to feel they could definitely speak out.

Across the GLR countries, 52% of ex-combatants felt that in the last year / two years the level of trust between

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 25: Ex-Combatant Perceptions of Change in Trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the past year / past two years has the level of trust in your area got better, worse, or stayed about the same?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

158 This specific question regarding the overall extent of community trust was asked to ex-combatants only in Rwanda and Uganda.

159 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding willingness to speak out due to lack of directly comparable data.
people in the area that they lived in had improved, 38.3% felt that trust had stayed the same and the remaining 9.7%
felt that trust had deteriorated (displayed in Table 25). Female ex-combatants less frequently thought that trust
had improved (42.3%) than male ex-combatants (53.4%). Disabled ex-combatants also slightly less frequently felt
that trust had improved (45.8%) compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (52.7%). Community members were
less likely to see trust as improved than ex-combatants (43.4% vs. 52%) but more likely to think it had stayed the
same (47.9% vs. 38.3%).

When those ex-combatants who felt that trust had improved were asked to explain why they thought it had improved
the most common responses were: (i) 25.4% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries felt that peace in general
was the reason for improved trust; and (ii) 22.5% thought communal living and growing understanding were the
reasons for improved trust.

It is important to note that while these trends give a general picture of the perceived drivers of trust across the GLR
countries, within each country there were unique trends as well that deserve further investigation – for example in
Burundi the charging of ex-combatants for their behavior was seen as the main driver of improvements in trust by
56% of the ex-combatants sample. One demographic trend that does endure across the GLR countries is that
those ex-combatants aged 18-30 most frequently see the charging of ex-combatants for their behavior as the central
driver of improved trust – 32.2% of those 18-30 compared to 15.8% of those 31-40 and 5% of those over the age of
40.

When those ex-combatants who felt that trust had gotten worse were asked to explain why they thought trust had
deteriorated, 27.8% cited dishonest people and 21.9% cited political problems or distrust in authorities. While the
internal proportions of these two driving factors behind worsening perceptions of trust among ex-combatants varied
within the individual GLR countries they were consistently the two most common explanations.

10.3 Social Cohesion and Inclusion

When asked about the level of diversity in the area in which they live ex-combatants displayed a spread of respons-
es across the GLR countries almost identical to community members. 35.2% of ex-combatants described the
people in the area in which they live in as characterized by many differences (diverse), 24% characterized them as
having neither a great or small extent of differences, and 40.8% said there were few differences between people (not
diverse). As visible in Table 26, Rwanda stood out from this trend – 61.4% saw high diversity, 17.8% average, and
20.8% low diversity.

When asked whether or not the differences between people (level of diversity) were a source of problems such as
disagreement, arguments, and disputes there were split results. In DRC and RoC, a low portion of ex-combatants

160 In Uganda and Rwanda this question was asked with reference to the last year, where as in DRC and RoC it was asked in reference to the last two
years. This creates some issues with periodization and comparability. These figures should be treated with caution. Interestingly, though the question refers to
a longer period of time in DRC, this does not appear to translate to greater perceptions of improved trust among community members. In the case of DRC
this may be the product of continuing insecurity.

161 It is unclear whether ex-combatants being charged for their behavior is in formal or informal charging / accountability. Rwanda is excluded from
findings regarding drivers of improved or depreciating levels of trust due to lack of directly comparable data.

162 Further information regarding trends within each of the countries can be found in each of the individual survey reports from the GLR countries.

163 Here the perception of diversity in constituted but the perception of unspecified differences among people in the community. Another way to phrase
this would be the level of “differentness” that ex-combatants perceive in their community.

164 It is possible that the perception of differences (or diversity) can have a varying range of meanings across the contexts of different GLR countries.
For example DRC is a country with rich diversity along cultural, ethnic, and linguistic groups. However, the difficulty of movement in eastern DRC means
that many such socio-linguistic groups live in isolation from each other. The community members may accurately perceive low diversity in their community,
though at a national level diversity may be high. In contrast, the perception of differences (or diversity) may be high in Rwanda due to the centrality of the
Hutu / Tutsi divide in the social history of the country and conflict there. Deciphering the role of perceived differences across the different GLR countries is a
challenging task with few clear answers.
saw differences between people (diversity) as a problem (13.7% and 13.6%, respectively), whereas in Burundi and Uganda these differences were much more likely to be perceived as the source of problems (72.7% and 55.4%, respectively). A similar split was seen in the community member sample. In DRC and RoC, when questioned further as to the type of problems that these differences can cause, 27.8% of ex-combatants said that envy, slander, and taunts were the most common problems, 17.8% said misunderstandings were the main problem, and 10.8% said that mistrust was the result of differences (diversity) between people in the area they live. Unfortunately there is no data available from Burundi and Uganda on the types of problems associated with diversity.

When questioned as to the level of togetherness that ex-combatants feel with other people (unspecified who) in the area they live the response across the GLR countries was generally a high level of togetherness / closeness that was on par with community members. 76.6% felt close with others, 16.6% felt neither close nor distant and 6.8% felt distant from others in the area they lived – this trend was well reflected within the individual GLR countries – though in DRC, ex-combatants were slightly less likely to report high levels of togetherness (63.1%). Across demographic dimensions only age stood out – which showed a slight positive relationship to the likelihood of feeling close to the community (75.3% of those 18-30, 77.6% of those 31-40, and 79.3% of those over 40).

Across the GLR countries, 69.3% of ex-combatants had at some point in the past year worked with others in the place where they live to do something for the benefit of the community. Burundi and Rwanda stand out with even higher levels of working with the community – 79.3% in Burundi and 90.8% in Rwanda. Female ex-combatants less frequently took part in community projects (57.5%) when compared to male ex-combatants (71%) across the GLR countries – again, with the exception of Rwanda where female participation in community projects in the last year was absolute (100%), exceeding male ex-combatants (90.5%).

When ex-combatants were asked whether there were any penalties for those who did not participate in community activities, 33.3% responded that penalties were very likely, 23.9% that they were somewhat likely, 16.9% that they were neither unlikely nor likely, 7% that they were somewhat unlikely, 14.3% that they were very unlikely and 4.7% that total social exclusion would be the result.166

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 26: Ex-Combatant Perceptions of Community Diversity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To what extent do differences between people characterize your community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To a great extent, i.e. lots of differences between people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

165 In the case of Rwanda, higher levels of working for the benefit of the community is very likely a result of the institutionalized practice of Umuganda – a practice dating back to Rwanda’s colonial era in which on the last Saturday of every month all able bodied adults participate in unpaid communal labor – with enforced penalties for non-participation. In Burundi this trend is likely related to the similar policy of Travaux Communaux.

166 Rwanda and Uganda are excluded from these findings due to lack of directly comparable data.
10.4 Empowerment

Empowerment is an important indicator of overall levels of social capital and is understood as a result of individuals’ levels of social connection and their ability to leverage the benefits of these connections in the community and the larger context of society. Collectively, the extent of these benefits, and in turn the functions that they fulfill for individuals, play a role in the psychosocial concept of empowerment – the individual or collective ability to affect change in one’s life. In exploring issues around empowerment this report builds on survey data regarding: (i) the extent to which ex-combatants feel generally happy; (ii) the extent to which they perceive that they can make important decisions; (iii) the extent to which they have control over decisions in their daily life; (iv) the extent to which they feel valued by the community; and (v) the extent to which they engage in collective political action.

Across the GLR countries when asked about their level of happiness 57.2% of all ex-combatants said that they were generally happy, 23.7% were neither happy nor unhappy, and 19.1% were generally unhappy. In this regard ex-combatants were considerably less likely to report themselves as happy than community members (57.2% vs. 71.8%). This trend was well displayed with the individual GLR countries with the exception of Burundi in which the spread of responses from ex-combatants was much more even (31.6% happy, 39.7% neither happy nor unhappy, and 28.7% unhappy). Generally speaking, female ex-combatants were slightly less happy across the GLR countries than male ex-combatants in terms of happiness within the GLR countries with the exception of Rwanda where female ex-combatants were considerably more happy (90.9%) compared to male ex-combatants (61.6%). Across the GLR countries there was a slight positive relationship between age and happiness – 54% of those aged 18-30, 58.1% of those 31-40, and 60.7% of those over 40 identified as happy.

When questioned about the extent to which they felt that they had the power to make important decisions that change the course of their lives 59.9% of all ex-combatants across the GLR countries responded that they felt that they had this power to a large extent, 25.7% to neither a large nor small extent, and 14.4% to a small extent. This trend was consistently displayed within all of the GLR countries. In examining demographic subgroups both female ex-combatants and disabled ex-combatants showed considerably lower perceptions of power in shaping their lives (see Table 27). Overall, 44.1% of female ex-combatants compared to 62.5% of male ex-combatants felt they had the power to make important decisions in their lives to a large extent. Similarly, 49% of disabled ex-combatants compared to 61% of non-disabled ex-combatants felt they had the power to make important decisions in their lives to a large extent.

While in the case of female ex-combatants the disparity with males was absorbed into both the categories “neither to a large nor small extent” and “to a small extent,” however in the case of disabled ex-combatants this difference with non-disabled ex-combatants was almost absolutely absorbed into the category “to a small extent” (28.1% of disabled vs. 16.1% of non-disabled). This may perhaps suggest that there is a more polarizing dynamic to the nature of empowerment for disabled ex-combatants than female ex-combatants, or any other demographic subgroup for that matter.

Ex-combatants were asked the extent to which they felt they had the ability to make important decisions that change their lives. Across the GLR countries, 82.9% felt they were able to change their lives, 11.2% felt that they were neither able nor unable, and 5.9% felt that they were unable to make important decisions to change their lives. As with sense of power to change their lives, female and disabled ex-combatants less frequently reported having the ability to change their lives (73% and 68.8% respectively).

When questioned as to the extent to which ex-combatants felt they had control over decisions that affect their

---

167 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding ability to make large decisions due to lack of directly comparable data.
168 Rwanda and Burundi are absent from findings on ability to make important decisions in life due to lack of directly comparable data.
everyday activities, 71.1% of all ex-combatants across the GLR countries expressed that they felt that they had a high level of control, 19.7% felt that they had neither a little nor a lot of control, and 9.2% felt that they had little control over decisions.\footnote{This question regarding community members’ levels of control over everyday decisions has been recoded from a five point scale to a three point scale for increased comparability to the other two measures of empowerment (power and ability) presented here.} This decreasing trend is present in all the GLR countries, however the peak is slightly shifted in Uganda where the curve is slightly different (52.1%, 31.4%, 16.5%). Female ex-combatants were consistently less likely to feel they had lots of control over decisions in their lives (55%) when compared to male ex-combatants (73.4%). Disabled ex-combatants also were consistently less likely to feel they had a high level of control over decisions in
their lives (63.5%) when compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (70.3%). Overall ex-combatants felt slightly higher levels of empowerment than community members in all three (power, ability, and control) measures.\textsuperscript{170}

When asked to gauge the impact that they have on the place they live, 59.5% of ex-combatants across the GLR countries feel that they have a positive impact, 27.57% feel that they have neither a positive nor negative impact, and 13% feel that they have a negative impact.\textsuperscript{171} This trend is well reflected in Burundi, DRC and RoC – however, in Uganda and Rwanda perceptions of positive impact were much more frequent (82.1% of ex-combatants in Uganda perceived that they had a positive impact and 99.2% of those in Rwanda) – see Table 28.

Across age demographics lines there was a positive relationship visible between age and ex-combatants perception of having a positive impact on the area in which they lived – 52.4% of those aged 18-30, 64.4% of those 31-40, and 67.8% of those over 40.

Across the GLR countries, 72.1% of all ex-combatants felt that people in the area in which they live valued them, the remaining 27.9% did not feel valued. Uganda was the only country that departed slightly from the cross-country trend, displaying higher levels of perceived value among ex-combatants (94.6%). Female ex-combatants were slightly less likely to feel valued (62.3%) compared to male ex-combatants (73.6%).

Regarding collective political action, ex-combatants were asked how often they had joined with other people to express concerns to government officials or local leaders on issues concerning the community. Across the GLR countries 43% of all ex-combatants said that they had never done so in the last year, 12.7% that they had once, 18.1% that they had a few times (five or less), and 26.3% that they had many times (more than five times) – levels very similar to community members. Burundi to some extent, and Rwanda to a greater extent, broke from this trend and displayed higher levels of collective political action (visible in Table 29). In Burundi, 34.5% of ex-combatants had joined to address local leaders many times (more than 5) and 30.7% had a few times (less than five). In Rwanda, 91% of ex-combatants had joined to address local leaders many times in the last year.\textsuperscript{172} Across the GLR countries female ex-combatants were less likely to have gathered for collective political action then male ex-combatants, though at a

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& Positive impact & Neither positive nor negative impact & Negative impact \\
\hline
Male & 59.90% & 27.20% & 12.90% \\
Female & 56.60% & 29.90% & 13.50% \\
Age 18-30 & 52.40% & 33.30% & 14.30% \\
Age 31-40 & 64.40% & 24.30% & 11.20% \\
Age Over 40 & 67.80% & 21.00% & 11.20% \\
Disabled & 74.10% & 18.80% & 7.20% \\
Not Disabled & 57.80% & 28.60% & 13.70% \\
Burundi & 41.50% & 42.80% & 15.70% \\
DRC & 38.80% & 37.90% & 23.40% \\
Republic of Congo & 47.10% & 32.60% & 20.30% \\
Rwanda & 99.20% & 0.00% & 0.80% \\
Uganda & 82.10% & 16.50% & 1.50% \\
GLR Average & 59.50% & 27.50% & 13.00% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Ex-Combatant Perception of Individual Impact on Community}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{170} The analytical distinction between senses of empowerment in terms of power vs. ability is not clear. Interpreting any meaning to the disparity in levels of power and ability is therefore problematic and these data should be treated as a broad indicator of a positive sense of empowerment rather than as exact measures of different components of empowerment.

\textsuperscript{171} Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding ex-combatants’ perceived impact on their community due to lack of directly comparable data.

\textsuperscript{172} This high rate of public gathering to express concerns in Rwanda is likely another effect of Umuganda. While the main purpose of Umuganda is community work it also serves as a platform for leaders to communicate important news on a national and local level as well as for individuals and communities to express concerns and plan for future Umuganda. Further, every community has an ex-combatant representative who is responsible for relaying specific communication.
very similar level to female community members—58.8% of female ex-combatants having never gathered and 11.6% having gathered many times versus 40.8% and 28.3% respectively of male ex-combatants.

When asked to what extent local government and leaders take into account the concerns voiced by their community when they make decisions, 17.6% of all ex-combatants across the GLR countries felt that local leaders took them into account a lot, 41.2% felt their voices were taken into account a little, and 41.2% felt that their concerns were not taken into account at all—nearly identical levels to those expressed by community members. Across gender and disability dimensions, ex-combatants’ responses were approximately even. However concerning age, older ex-combatants (aged over 40) were the most likely age demographic group (54.7%) to feel that their concerns were not taken into account, while younger ex-combatants (aged 18-30) were most likely of age demographic groups to feel that they were taken into account a lot (19.2%). This is likely related to older ex-combatants overall higher levels of social capital.

### 10.5 Social Change

When asked about their outlook on the likelihood of their overall situation improving in the future, responses were quite polarized between those who thought that things would improve in a few years and those that thought that their situation would deteriorate in the future. Overall, only 1.2% of all ex-combatants across the GLR countries thought that their situation would improve within some weeks, 5.2% thought it would improve in some months, 43.7% thought that it would hopefully improve in some years, 8.7% thought that their situation would not improve in the future but stay the same, and 41.2% expressed that they thought that their situation would deteriorate in the future. The only GLR country that stepped away from this trend was Uganda in which 71.7% of ex-combatants were

---

173 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding ex-combatants’ perceptions of whether leaders take their voices into account due to lack of directly comparable data.

174 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding ex-combatants’ outlook on their future situation due to lack of directly comparable data.
hopeful that their situation would improve within a few years.\textsuperscript{175} In general, these findings suggest that ex-combatants across the GLR countries have a good understanding of the time horizons of social change, but that a sig-

---

\textsuperscript{175} While there is no direct evidence for explaining why in this case ex-combatants in Uganda have more optimistic outlooks for their future, it is possible that this is linked to the relative stability of Northern Uganda and the overall pace of improvement away from a context of widespread displacement due to conflict and humanitarian intervention.

---

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Consider a 9-step ladder where on the bottom, the first step, stand the poorest people, and on the ninth step, stand the richest - On which step were you one year ago in relation to:} & \textbf{FOOD?} & \textbf{HOUSING?} & \textbf{CLOTHING?} & \textbf{FINANCES?} & \textbf{SCHOOL FEES?} & \textbf{HEALTH?} & \textbf{LEISURE?} \\
\hline
\textbf{Male} & 3.17 & 2.97 & 3.20 & 2.70 & 3.39 & 3.23 & 3.33 \\
\textbf{Female} & 2.95 & 2.76 & 3.00 & 2.55 & 3.39 & 3.25 & 3.08 \\
\textbf{Age 18-30} & 3.02 & 2.89 & 3.09 & 2.57 & 3.25 & 3.09 & 3.17 \\
\textbf{Age 31-40} & 3.23 & 2.99 & 3.28 & 2.82 & 3.46 & 3.34 & 3.36 \\
\textbf{Age Over 40} & 3.18 & 2.93 & 3.17 & 2.62 & 3.54 & 3.37 & 3.43 \\
\textbf{Disabled} & 2.73 & 2.62 & 2.71 & 2.33 & 3.28 & 2.90 & 2.99 \\
\textbf{Not Disabled} & 3.18 & 2.97 & 3.22 & 2.71 & 3.40 & 3.26 & 3.32 \\
\textbf{Burundi} & 3.22 & 3.03 & 3.42 & 2.79 & 2.94 & 3.08 & 2.92 \\
\textbf{DRC} & 3.45 & 3.39 & 3.65 & 2.91 & 3.81 & 3.30 & 3.79 \\
\textbf{Republic of Congo} & 3.28 & 3.05 & 3.14 & 2.95 & 3.42 & 3.33 & 3.18 \\
\textbf{Uganda} & 2.60 & 2.28 & 2.47 & 2.06 & XXX & XXX & XXX \\
\textbf{GLR Average} & 3.14 & 2.94 & 3.17 & 2.68 & 3.39 & 3.24 & 3.30 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Ex-Combatant Social Change Ladder – One Year Ago and Today}
\end{table}
nificant proportion remains pessimistic for the future. Overall, ex-combatants had slightly less optimistic outlooks compared to community members.

Interestingly, ex-combatants’ outlook on their economic situation (see section 9.1) was considerably better (73.7% reported seeing their economic situation improving in the future) than their overall outlook (a total of 58.8% reporting expected improvement at various time scales). This evidence tacitly supports the idea that while ex-combatants can make improvements relatively quickly in economic terms, the diverse set of challenges that exist in the social sphere are slower to resolve.

When asked about whether or not they were satisfied with their life in general up until then, 30.6% of all ex-combatants across the GLR countries said they were satisfied, 7.5% that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 61.9% were dissatisfied.176 This trend of the overwhelming majority of ex-combatants expressing dissatisfaction with their life was consistent in all the GLR countries except for Uganda where the spread of responses was much more even – 33.2% were satisfied, 30.7% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 36.1% were dissatisfied. These findings are perhaps not surprising, considering the heavy toll conflict can take on the lives of individuals. However, these effects are not isolated to ex-combatants – community member displayed a similar range of responses about life satisfaction. However, these findings stand in contrast to those on overall happiness (see section 10.4) in which nearly 60% of ex-combatants indicated that they were generally happy. Understanding the interplay between ex-combatants levels of happiness and their overall life satisfaction is a challenging task with no clear explanation in study.

Ex-combatants were questioned using a 10-step ladder response prompt. Their responses are tabulated below in Table 12 by mean score.177 The lower the mean score is the closer the ex-combatant is to the bottom rung of the ladder – where the poorest people tend to be. Generally speaking, across and within the GLR countries ex-combatants consistently identified themselves in the poorest half of society (between steps 2 and 4).

When looking across the GLR countries as a whole, there is a slight improvement in mean scores in all question categories from one year ago to the time of sampling. This trend is almost completely consistent within the individual GLR countries with the only exception being DRC – in which there was a slight decrease in mean scores from one year ago and time of sampling in the categories of finance, clothing and food. When focusing on demographic subgroups, however, there are less consistent results. Three demographic subgroups standout in particular: female ex-combatants, ex-combatants aged 31-40, and disabled ex-combatants. Though female ex-combatants saw near unanimous improvements across all categories, leisure being the only exception, they consistently ranked a rung lower than male ex-combatants. Those aged 31-40 rank higher or equal than other age demographics across all categories. Similar to the trend of female ex-combatants, disabled ex-combatants saw improvements across all categories, leisure being the only exception. However disabled ex-combatants ranked consistently lower than non-disabled ex-combatants.

10.6 Summary

The social-fabric of communities endures great detriment in the course of violent conflict. Indeed, it is no wonder that ex-combatants and community members alike struggle to mend their damaged social footing. However, consistent with analysis presented throughout much of this study, ex-combatants experience a range of additional challenges in the process of social reintegration that collectively entail their disadvantage to community members. While collectively ex-combatants display a positive trajectory in terms of social reintegration, rebuilding social capital, and connecting into the social fabric of the community, the angle of this trajectory is considerably more shallow than

176 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding life satisfaction due to lack of directly comparable data.

177 Rwanda is excluded from findings regarding ex-combatants’ perceptions of change within specific categories due to lack of directly comparable data.
in other dimensions of reintegration, such as economic – i.e. though ex-combatants are catching up to community members in terms of social indicators, the rate at which they are doing so is considerably slower than in other dimensions of reintegration. This evidence supports the idea that social reintegration is a slow process of social confrontation and atonement with no shortcuts. Though trust with community members may improve quickly, as outlined in section 17, ex-combatants still struggle to recover from the damage done to their social networks, solidarity with the community, their cohesion and inclusion in the community, as well as their overall sense of empowerment and positive social change.

Ex-combatants have fewer social groups than community members and slightly less familial contact than community members overall. Though, ex-combatants who do have contact with their families have it much more frequently than community members indicating their heavy reliance on their immediate family for social support. Accordingly ex-combatants are more likely to turn to their family for economic help than friends or community / formal institutions. In terms of ex-combatants’ friend base there is a clear split in the GLR countries. In Uganda and Rwanda, on the one hand, ex-combatants have fewer friends than community members and thus an extremely focused social support network relying heavily on the family. However, by contrast, in DRC and RoC ex-combatants had larger friend bases than community members, indicating a good extended social support network – despite the clear presence of a range of social limitations in relation to community members. Collectively these findings indicate the extent to which ex-combatants’ social networks are more limited than those of community members and in turn the extent to which the functions of those social networks are limited as well – i.e. the psychosocial and economic value of social and familial networks.

Despite the challenges that ex-combatants face in the process of rebuilding interpersonal social ties within the community, they are generally well integrated and have a very similar understanding of the dynamics of their community. Ex-combatants and community members alike have generally high levels of trust – though ex-combatants perceive larger improvements in trust. The frequency at which ex-combatants work for the improvement of the community and feel an overall sense of togetherness is similar to community members.

Ex-combatants generally feel similar if not stronger senses of empowerment to affect changes in the direction of their lives and control their everyday circumstance than community members. This is further evidenced in ex-combatants’ similar level of political engagement in community issues to community members. However, it is interesting to see that higher senses of empowerment among ex-combatants does not necessarily translate to higher levels of overall happiness or better perceptions of impact on the community. Indeed ex-combatants across the GLR countries report being much less happy than community members and are less likely to view themselves as having a positive impact on the community. It is possible that ex-combatants’ overall happiness and senses of self-worth may be more tied to the personal psychological trauma ex-combatants carry with them in the wake of conflict than their absolute conditions (which while worse than community members in absolute terms, do display a clear positive trajectory) at the time of sampling. If this is so, it would lend considerable support to the idea of social reintegration as a slow, long-term process of interpersonal exchange and in turn intrapersonal betterment.

Despite ex-combatants’ lower levels of happiness and sense of positive impact on the community, their outlook on the future and understanding of the temporal dynamics of social change are similar to community members. Ex-combatants and community members alike understand that positive change in their overall situation will happen on the scale of years – not weeks or months. This makes sense, as both community members and ex-combatants have seen slight improvement in their overall conditions in the past years / since demobilization, ex-combatants less so in absolute terms, but still consistently identify themselves in the worst off half of society.

### 10.6.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

When examining social reintegration female ex-combatants continue to represent the most clearly and consistently vulnerable demographic group among ex-combatants. Female ex-combatants have fewer and less diverse social networks, tending to rely even more exclusively on their immediate family than the rest of ex-combatants – who do
so to a greater extent than community members. In this sense, female ex-combatants face the highest risk of social isolation and marginalization across the GLR countries. This weak social capital in terms of the number and diversity of social groups corresponds to lower levels of trust, lower perceptions of improvement in trust, dramatically weaker senses of empowerment, and lower perceptions of their overall situation than the rest of ex-combatants.

Despite the clear and consistent range of vulnerabilities that female ex-combatants exhibit, their overall levels of happiness, life satisfaction and general outlook for the future are on par if not better than the rest of ex-combatants. Developing a clear understanding of the social and psychological coping strategies that female ex-combatants have developed to maintain even, if not more positive, senses of self worth, worth in the community, and outlook for the future – effectively mitigating against their heightened vulnerability across almost all social indicators – could prove relevant the development of future programming for female ex-combatants and male ex-combatants alike.

Disabled ex-combatants exhibit a complex range of disadvantages in terms of social capital. In general disabled ex-combatants report far lower levels of personal empowerment and control of their lives. However, this is counterbalanced against their unexpectedly higher levels of political engagement in the community and stronger sense of positive impact on the community in comparison to non-disabled ex-combatants. In terms of social change disabled ex-combatants perceive a positive trajectory of social change over time across a broad range of categories. However despite this perceived positive trajectory, disabled ex-combatants consistently rank themselves a step below non-disabled ex-combatants.

10.6.2 Unique Country Trends

Despite the many ways in which the individual GLR countries come together to represent a consistent collective narrative of the process of reintegration, there are also many ways in which they diverge – especially in terms of social reintegration. Here we can highlight a selection of unique country trends focused in DRC that represents an alternate narrative of reintegration than the one consistent across the other GLR countries.

When examining the many dimensions of social reintegration across the GLR countries, DRC stands out most consistently and sharply. As presented above, the dominant narrative of social reintegration reflected across the GLR countries was one where ex-combatants had high levels contact with the family, though slightly less than community members, but stunted development in terms of social networks, friends, and connections to the broader community – in turn correlating to lower levels of happiness and perceptions of worth in the community. In DRC however, we see a distinctly different narrative emerge.

Ex-combatants and community members alike in DRC have dramatically lower levels of familial contact than other GLR countries. DRC stands out even further in this regard because it is the only GLR country where ex-combatants are more likely to have contact with their family than community members – twice as much so. Further, those ex-combatants who do have contact with their families have it at a much lower frequency (split between daily, weekly and monthly contact) than in other GLR countries where daily contact was the norm (this divergence is also visible in RoC). As such, it makes sense when ex-combatants in DRC are the most likely to say that their contact with their family could be more frequent.

When pared with findings on marriage rates in section 7.2, what emerges is an image of ex-combatants in DRC who are isolated from their immediate family though are on par with other GLR countries in terms of building new familial connections (marriage / cohabitation). However, as mentioned, when ex-combatants in DRC are compared to community members in DRC in terms of contact with the immediate family, community members are half as likely to be in contact with their immediate family. This is a perplexing trend to explain. While ex-combatants in DRC have weaker family networks than ex-combatants in other GLR countries, they are the only GLR country that has stronger familial connections than community members – which could simultaneously suggest that ex-combatants in DRC have been exceptionally successful in terms of rebuilding social capital relative to community
members; and that community members in DRC are a key vulnerable group across the GLR countries in terms of social capital.

A hint to understanding the overall lower levels of familial contact in DRC is that of those few ex-combatants who did have familial contact and felt that this contact was the maximum that they would desire – the distance, time and cost of travel were all cited as reasons for not seeing their family more often. Indeed, the social geography of eastern DRC is particularly troubling. While countries across the GLR have experienced varying scales of war, and in turn levels of impact on society both economically and socially, the incessant insecurity in eastern DRC can perpetuate a series of dynamic forces that disperse pre-conflict social networks through displacement and migration. Persistent conflict and can trap individuals, due difficulty of travel due to zones continued insecurity. When these dynamic forces are coupled with static forces such as the mountainous topography of eastern DRC and heavy rains that can render roads impassible it is understandable that social networks are separated. Future study into this line of inquiry could prove valuable for explaining why ex-combatants and community members alike in DRC have considerably weaker familial and social networks than other GLR countries.

It appears that though ex-combatants in DRC have strong connections to their immediate family relative to community members this does not compensate for the overall lower levels of familial contact in absolute terms relative to other GLR countries in terms of overall social capital. Indeed ex-combatants in DRC are the most likely group among the GLR countries to turn to no one for economic help; have the weakest feeling of togetherness with the community; feel they have the least amount of power to make important decisions in their life; perceive the weakest ability to control their everyday activities; are the least likely to perceive that they make a positive impact on the community; are the least likely to gather to express political concerns; the least likely to feel their voice is taken into account by leaders; the most likely to think their overall situation will deteriorate in the future; and have the lowest level of life satisfaction across the GLR countries. In terms of social change, DRC is the only country where ex-combatants see drops in their perception of their situation relative to the rest of society in the last year in the categories of food, clothing, and finance – though beyond weak social capital ongoing insecurity in eastern DRC likely plays a role in this.
DR processes across the GLR countries have taken place in a diverse range of contexts, as such the amount of validly comparable data on all phases of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration is limited. As such, offering a comprehensive comparison of across the GLR countries of ex-combatants’ experiences of the process and dynamics of return, reception, demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration is unfortunately not feasible in this study – primarily as a result of data validity challenges.\textsuperscript{178} However, drawing from the select data we can offer comparative insights on: (i) ex-combatants’ experiences of reinsertion process across the GLR countries, and (ii) a limited range of comparative insights regarding initial experiences with the community.

11.1 Reinsertion

In examining ex-combatants’ attendance to a range of information sessions on various topics from general information to sessions on how to apply for credit or loans, and information on peace and reconciliation processes as part of the reinsertion phase of programming there were quite unique trends in each GLR country, though approximately even across all types of information sessions within each country.\textsuperscript{179} As a general indication, 96.3\% of ex-combatants attended a general presentation of information related to the reinsertion process in Burundi, 85.7\% in DRC, 68.5\% in RoC, and 39.2\% in Uganda. Looking at demographic subgroups, female ex-combatants and disabled ex-combatants were noticeably less likely to have attended information sessions – 63.5\% of all female ex-combatants versus 74.8\% of all male ex-combatants, and 59.5\% of all disabled ex-combatants versus 74.5\% of all non-disabled ex-combatants. Within each GLR country the disparities between demographic subgroups were very similar to those at a cross-country level, though fitting to the overall attendance level with each country.

When asked whether or not they thought they had received enough information about the reinsertion package and its contents there was a clear correlation between the level of participation in information sessions within GLR countries and the perception of receiving sufficient information. In Burundi 81.4\% of ex-combatants felt they received sufficient information regarding reinsertion, in DRC 65.2\%, in RoC 45.8\%, and in Uganda 19\%. Further, it is perhaps not surprising then that female ex-combatants and disabled ex-combatants, the two demographic subgroups least likely to attend information sessions on reinsertion package and process, were the most likely to feel that they received insufficient information surrounding the reinsertion process and package – 44.4\% of female ex-combatants versus 55.9\% of male ex-combatants, and 41.7\% of disabled ex-combatants versus 55.6\% of non-disabled ex-combatants.

Not only did the level of attendance to information sessions about the reinsertion package and process correlate to the perceived level of information sufficiency among ex-combatants, but also to the actual frequency at which they received reinsertion payments. The same descending trend can be observed again in Burundi, as 99.7\% of

\textsuperscript{178} Essentially, the contextual differences between the different programming components of the entire DDR process in the various GLR countries are at times great – thus the range of captured data on ex-combatants’ experiences of these processes is equally diverse. A valid systematic comparison of the different data from each context is judged as infeasible here. The few areas discussed here are those few in which data overlapped in each of the GLR countries.

\textsuperscript{179} Rwanda is excluded from all findings regarding the reinsertion process due to incompatible data. For a review of the key trends in Rwanda see the Rwanda comparative study report.
ex-combatants received payments as a part of reinsertion, in DRC 88.3%, in RoC 56.2%, and in Uganda 35.6%. Collectively these findings suggest that across the GLR countries attaining a sufficient level of information and sensitization regarding the reinsertion process is a key to reaping the benefits of reinsertion payments and support.

Female ex-combatants also showed a visible correlation between information and sensitization exposure and actual reception of reinsertion payments at a cross-country level, though they were less likely to receive assistance than male ex-combatants overall - 62.9% of female ex-combatants versus 73.2% of male ex-combatants received reinsertion payments. Interestingly, disabled ex-combatants – though they attended information sessions on reinsertion less frequently and were less satisfied with the information they received – were nearly evenly as likely (68.4%) compared to non-disabled ex-combatants (72%) to receive reinsertion payments at a cross-country level.

When those ex-combatants who did not receive reinsertion payments were asked why they thought that they had not received payments, a large number connected this to lack of information. In Uganda 44.4% of all ex-combatants identified lack of information at some level as the primary reason they did not receive a reinsertion payment. Female ex-combatants identified information more frequently than male ex-combatants in Uganda (55.1% vs. 43.7%). A similar trend along gender lines existed across Burundi, DRC and RoC, in which 35.5% of females identified information as the reason they did not receive reinsertion payments as compared to 13.7% of male ex-combatants.

Both ex-combatants who had received reinsertion payments and those who had not were question about their levels of satisfaction with those payments. Surprisingly, there was no clear correlation between the rate at which ex-combatants received reinsertion payments and their satisfaction with those payments. Across the GLR countries, 32.3% of ex-combatants were satisfied with their reinsertion payments, 33.9% were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 33.9% were dissatisfied. This trend was well reflected across the GLR countries with the exception of Uganda where levels of satisfaction were more clearly polarized (41.3%, 14.3%, and 44.3%, respectively). With the exception of RoC, female ex-combatants were generally more satisfied with reinsertion payments than male ex-combatants (41.8% vs. 30.8% at a cross-country level), even though the rate at which they actually received reinsertion payments was lower.

Similarly, when questioned further to their overall level of satisfaction with the totality of the reinsertion package contents ex-combatants were generally satisfied. Across the GLR countries, 47.1% of ex-combatants said that they were satisfied, 29.2% said that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 23.7% were dissatisfied. This trend towards general satisfaction is reflected within all of the GLR countries. Again, this is somewhat puzzling, as one would expect some correlation between overall satisfaction of reinsertion packages and the rate at which they are actually received. Female ex-combatants are more likely to be satisfied at a cross-country level (54.1%) when compared to male ex-combatants (46%) – this is reflected in all GLR countries with the exception of DRC. Examining age demographics reveals some interesting contrasts. In Uganda and Burundi, there is a clear trend that as age increases likelihood of satisfaction with the overall contents of the reinsertion package decreases. However this trend was reversed in DRC, as age increased likelihood of being satisfied increased as well.

A comprehensive analysis of the uses of reinsertion payments across the GLR countries is challenging, however we can extract several general observations here. Generally speaking the most consistently cited use of reinsertion payments was meeting immediate food and subsistence needs, suggesting that perhaps food security is among

---

180 The especially low reception of reinsertion payment in Uganda warrents some contextualization. Most ex-combatants in Uganda receive amnesty and reinsertion / reintegration assistance retroactively after returning to their communities. This “trickle in” model in the context of Uganda means that many ex-combatants demobilize informally and thus the bottleneck for information and sensitization that formal demobilization processes represent is largely absent – making information and sensitization a key programming challenge. In addition, this data does not necessarily mean that those ex-combatants that have not received reinsertion payments have not received amnesty – as of 2011 (the time of sampling) the UgDRP still had a considerable backlog of unpaid reinsertion assistance.

181 The main barrier to a comprehensive analysis lay in the different scales used to capture data on the use of reinsertion payments across the GLR countries. Rwanda is excluded from general trends due to lack of data.
the most pressing needs for ex-combatants at the time of demobilization. Assistance to family, parents, spouse or partner was also among the most common uses of the reinsertion payments. Additionally, investment of some sort, for example for business or in livestock, ranked high among the uses of reinsertion payments.

11.2 Experiences of Return

Drawing from DRC, RoC, and Uganda we can see that the vast majority of ex-combatants (90.1%) report being welcomed home by their families immediately after demobilization. This proportion was high in both DRC in Uganda, but notably lower (81.4%) in RoC. This finding supports analysis across this report that ex-combatants generally experience high levels of acceptance and support from their immediate families.

In accordance, after receiving reinsertion packages the majority (76.5%) of ex-combatants reported that they had no problems with their families, however again in RoC this percentage was slightly lower – 63% of ex-combatants had no problems with their family after reinsertion packages. In RoC female ex-combatants and disabled ex-combatants were especially more likely to encounter problems with their families – 48.1% of female ex-combatants having problems with their families after reinsertion payments versus 35.2% of male ex-combatants, and 53.6% of disabled ex-combatants versus 35.7% of non-disabled ex-combatants.

When those ex-combatants who did encounter problems with their families after receiving reinsertion packages were asked to explain the specific nature of these problems a distinct range of answers was given. Although there is little data that is comparable across the GLR countries on this we can look at Uganda for a precursory survey of the kinds of problems that ex-combatants may face. The range of explanations of the problems that ex-combatants face with their families after receiving reinsertion packages in Uganda often reflected a perceived sense of animosity from families and communities towards ex-combatants. Common explanations included: (i) family wanted to take reinsertion money (19%), (ii) accusation of unfairness of payments to ex-combatants (14.3%); (iii) undermined and ridiculed by community (9.5%); (iv) accused of seeking government handouts (9.5%); and (v) attacked by neighbor for being an ex-combatant (9.5%).

Drawing from data on DRC and RoC we can observe that in general ex-combatants feel that most people in their community treat them the same as they do everyone else – though this was slightly more so in DRC. This trend was reflected in reference to a range of different social categories, e.g. elders, male peers, female peers, work colleagues, people in authority, youth, and strangers. Younger ex-combatants (aged 18-30) were slightly less likely across almost all categories to feel that people in their community treated them the same as other non-ex-combatants in the community.

11.3 Summary

This limited examination of the DDR experiences of ex-combatants across the GLR countries reveals two key findings of substantial analytical value related to: (i) the importance of information and sensitization campaigns; and (ii) the considerably different levels of acceptance and welcome that ex-combatants perceive from family members versus the wider community upon initial return.

In terms of information sensitization, ex-combatants’ levels of participation in various information sessions about the reinsertion and reintegration process has a clear correlation to ex-combatants’ levels of satisfaction with the level of information they receive. This in itself is perhaps not surprising, but what is more so is that ex-combatants’ levels of participation in information and sensitization sessions have an equally clear correlation to the actual rate at which ex-combatants receive reinsertion payments. Indeed, those ex-combatants who did not receive payment most
commonly cited lack of information as the reason why. The majority of ex-combatants are using reinsertion funds for their intended purpose of meeting immediate subsistence needs. As such, It appears as though effective information and sensitization campaigns, reaching a large proportion of ex-combatants, can play a key role in assuring that ex-combatants do indeed receive reinsertion funds to meet their immediate subsistence needs upon return to their communities – mitigating the economic burden on the families and wider communities that must absorb them.

Throughout this report there has been considerable evidence to show that ex-combatants experience very high levels of acceptance and support from their immediate families upon return, in both social and economic dimensions. However, by contrast, there is also considerable evidence to suggest that they face only a relatively moderate level of acceptance from the broader community upon their immediate return. As outlined in section 17.2 of the community dynamics portion of this survey, community members hold high levels of fear surrounding the return of ex-combatants and the range of negative behaviors associated with them before ex-combatants’ return. However, community members’ fear surrounding ex-combatants all but disappears in the time before their arrival in communities to the time of sampling (4.05 years on average across the GLR countries). These findings are part of a dispersed range of evidence that suggest that while the vast majority of ex-combatants are quick to reach acceptance and reintegrate into the family, they experience a slower, though positive, trajectory towards acceptance in the broader community.

11.3.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

In terms of the limited range of DDR experiences explored here, female ex-combatants and disabled ex-combatants experience a clear and continuous range of disadvantages. Female and disabled ex-combatants are the demographic groups that are least likely to attend all varieties of information sessions about the reinsertion and reintegration processes. In turn female and disabled ex-combatants are not only the groups least satisfied with the level information that they received, but also the least likely groups to actually receive reinsertion payments – destabilizing their ability to meet their immediate subsistence needs.

11.3.2 Unique Country Trends

As outlined repeatedly in the analysis in this section, the varying levels of ex-combatants participation in information and sensitization sessions related to reinsertion and reintegration processes displayed a clear correlation to the rate at which ex-combatants actually received reinsertion funds and presumably affected their ability to meet immediate subsistence needs. With this we can ask: how were more ex-combatants exposed to information and sensitization in Burundi and fewer in Uganda (the rest of the GLR countries falling in between)? What strategies were successful in some instances and unsuccessful in others? A more explicit understanding of the considerable variation in information and sensitization exposure across the GLR countries and its relationship to actual reinsertion payment reception and meeting of subsistence needs then would hold considerable programming value for the future.
12. Conclusions

This study has found that across numerous dimensions ex-combatants in the GLR countries have been largely successful in reintegrating with community members. While across the range of core social and economic indicators explored in this study ex-combatants collectively represent a disadvantaged group, they show a clear trajectory towards reaching economic and social parity with community members – in many cases having already reached equal footing or occasionally exceeding community members’ performance across core indicators of reintegration processes. This study has found that among ex-combatants across the GLR countries, female ex-combatants and young ex-combatants (18-30) both male and female encounter a distinct range of additional challenges in reintegration processes and in this represent key vulnerable groups. While young ex-combatants lag behind their older peers, their overall trajectory is indeed positive. There is evidence to suggest that, however, for female ex-combatants across the GLR countries there is a consistent range of structural barriers that at the very least could slow down the processes of reintegration further, and at the very worst could leave them locked out of certain economic and social processes – at a high risk for economic marginalization and social isolation.

There is no one driver or determinant of reintegration. Instead reintegration is understood here as embodied by a diverse range of simultaneous and overlapping processes (e.g. social, psychological, political, economic) that dynamically interact with one another. In viewing the sum of these multiple reintegration processes and their interaction we can grasp the overall trajectory of reintegration that ex-combatants hold in their return to and interaction with the community.

Violent conflict throughout the Great Lakes Region has damaged the social and economic fabric of society; disrupting economies, disintegrating families, and fragmenting social networks for ex-combatants and community members alike. Thus understanding the challenges of reintegration must in part be understood in the context of larger post-conflict peacebuilding and development processes. However the challenges that ex-combatants face in rebuilding and reintegrating into the damaged social and economic fabric of society are immediate and acute. It is ex-combatants’ ability to re-enter and make functional the familial unit and larger social networks in the community, in turn the social and economic functions these social units play, that constitute evidence of successful reintegration processes.

With this in mind it appears that ex-combatants have been successful in reintegrating into the family unit. Ex-combatants’ families have been open and accepting, serving the core function of the social and economic support while ex-combatants gain footing. While families appear to have played an especially important role in the immediate return of ex-combatants, the process of confrontation and exchange with the broader community appears to have progressed much more slowly. Rebuilding social networks is not only essential for acceptance and participation in the community, but for economic opportunity. In this, ex-combatants lag behind community members in their broader social footing and economic security – remaining especially reliant on the familial unit.

It is with the support of the familial unit, and through their positive trajectory in terms of access to marriage, that ex-combatants have reached parity with community members in terms of housing, access to land, and upward mobility in land access. Though, ex-combatants continue to face challenges in terms of household hunger and nutrition.

Despite ex-combatants’ positive trajectory, they perceive themselves as worse off than others in the community and see overcoming stigma and distrust in the community as the primary barrier to reintegrating with the community, followed by education and qualification barriers that may exist as a result of time lost in conflict. Community
members corroborate ex-combatants’ perceptions, explaining a range of fears and stigma associated with ex-combatants upon their immediate return that, however, dissipate quickly over time leaving key barriers to ex-combatants’ reintegration as revolving around making up time for missed education / skills qualification attainment and a broader social and economic track record in the community. Even with the diverse range of social and economic challenges that ex-combatants face, they have strong senses of empowerment to shape their situation going forward (with the exception of females).

12.1 Ex-Combatants and Economic Reintegration

This study has found that ex-combatants across the GLR countries show a positive trajectory towards gaining self-employment in agriculture or small business – though there is still considerable improvement that ex-combatants must make to reach parity with community members. The context of economic reintegration across the GLR countries is one of severe overall development challenges. As such, ex-combatants and community members alike identify their primary barrier to gaining employment as lack of opportunity in general. Ex-combatants, however, face a range of additional barriers related to: (i) closing literacy, education and skill gaps with community members; (ii) establishing an economic track record; in order to (iii) access credit and other financial institutions; and (iv) to erode stigma and distrust through the slow process of confrontation that social reintegration entails.

Collectively the unique barriers that ex-combatants face are a product of their overall stunted economic networks – leading to an overall higher exposure to economic insecurity and reliance on the familial unit compared to community members – who have more diversified economic networks and tend to be more integrated into formal and community based economic institutions.

12.2 Ex-Combatants and Social Reintegration

This study has found that ex-combatants across the GLR countries exhibit a positive, but shallow, trajectory of social reintegration. While ex-combatants are quick to reintegrate with their immediate family and to breakdown trust barriers with the wider community, their progress from there forward is slow – owing to their stunted social networks and track record in the community. In this sense the social and economic reintegration of ex-combatants are strongly interrelated – their long-term success revolving around rebuilding the networks that are instrumental to social and economic security. Mending the damaged social networks and in many cases building new ones from scratch, with the additional barriers of residual stigma and lack of social track record, is a slow process of confrontation and atonement.

Though ex-combatants have remarkably high levels of agency in terms of social empowerment, often surpassing community members, they understand that the process of social reintegration has no shortcuts and will take place in the scale of years. With this ex-combatants remain significantly less happy and with lower levels of self worth than community members – leaving them exposed to risk of marginalization and social isolation from the wider community.

12.3 Female Ex-Combatant Subgroup

Throughout the analysis of the reintegration processes of ex-combatants across the Great Lakes Region presented in this study female ex-combatants have stood out as the most clear and consistent vulnerable subgroup. While young ex-combatants (aged 18-30) and disabled ex-combatants display a range of disadvantages related to a lack of social and economic track record and to health, respectively, they do not depart significantly from the overall positive trajectory of ex-combatant reintegration in the Great Lakes Region. Female ex-combatants, however, encounter an extensive range of disadvantages that collectively paint a picture of the structural barriers they face in reintegration processes in terms of: (i) familial networks; (ii) economic networks; and (iii) broader social networks in the community. These structural barriers force a distinctly different trajectory of reintegration.
As discussed above, rebuilding damaged social and economic networks in the community is a key dimension to the overall process of reintegration. Like male ex-combatants, female ex-combatants have done well to reintegrate into their immediate families. However, unlike male ex-combatants, female ex-combatants have been largely unsuccessful in building new familial connections through marriage – remaining the least marrying demographic group across ex-combatants and community members alike. While male ex-combatants have seen a sharp rise in marriage rates since demobilization, female ex-combatants have shown a very shallow, and ultimately marginal, trajectory of increased marriage. Attitudinal indicators reveal that female ex-combatants have the smallest proportion of the population, both ex-combatant and community member, that is open to marrying them due primarily to stigma related issues – lending some explanation for growing disparity in marriage rates between male and female ex-combatants. Both male and female ex-combatants experience stigma, however in the case of marriage it appears to likely be a key structural barrier to building new familial networks and in turn to accessing the social and economic resources that they represent.

As discussed above, the context of economic reintegration in the Great Lakes Region is one of severe development challenges. The primary pathway to economic stability for ex-combatants and community members alike is through self-employment in agriculture – this is even more so for female ex-combatants. As such, access to arable land is an important indicator of economic stability – in turn growth in access to arable land as an indicator of a positive economic trajectory. In this female ex-combatants lag behind male ex-combatants with slightly lower levels of both land access and improvement in access to land – which when combined indicate female ex-combatants’ shallower trajectory of economic improvement – despite their slightly lower unemployment rate. There appear to be three structural barriers to land access mobility for female ex-combatants: (i) capital; (ii) inheritance; and (iii) marriage.

First, both male and female ex-combatants alike identify access to capital as the largest barrier to increased land access. However, for female ex-combatants, who have considerably lower literacy and educational achievement levels, the challenges to accumulating capital through bountiful agricultural production are acute. Indeed, females clearly identify lack of education and skills as among their key barriers to economic stability. Second, the challenges to capital accumulation that female ex-combatants face are amplified when inheritance dynamics are taken into account. Females who do experience increases in land access are much less likely than male ex-combatants to cite inheritance – indicating that this is a pathway to land access, and in turn a positive economic trajectory, that females are not accessing at the same level. Thirdly, marriage is an important pathway to increased land access for male ex-combatants. However, as outlined above, female ex-combatants experience a set of distinct structural barriers to accessing marriage. When these three dimensions interact, the result is a dynamic structural barrier that female ex-combatants face in terms of building a positive economic trajectory and the economic networks associated with them.

By effect of their structurally hindered familial and economic networks, female ex-combatants face challenges in building social capital and broader networks in the community. This weak social capital in the community has consequences for female ex-combatants in terms of lower levels of trust, lower perceptions of improvement in trust, dramatically weaker senses of empowerment, and lower perceptions of their overall situation than the rest of ex-combatants. These factors collectively interact to put females at risk of marginalization and isolation with the community – in turn potentially reinforcing the structural restraints that shape their weak familial and economic networks.

It is the dynamic interaction of the familial, economic and broader social structural dimensions that shape the overall shallower trajectory of reintegration for female ex-combatants across the GLR countries and constitute them as a distinctly disadvantaged group. Looking at the structural challenges that female ex-combatants face reveals much about the overlapping, interrelated, and simultaneous nature of reintegration processes – an insight that is not only relevant to female ex-combatants, but to all ex-combatants across the Great Lakes Region.
Annex II - Great Lakes Region

COMMUNITY DYNAMICS:
COMPARATIVE SURVEY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS
The following is a capture of the community member sample for this comparative study. The demographics presented here are not representative of the overall community member populations of each of the five GLR countries of study, but instead reflect a range of purposive sampling biases. For more information about the specific sampling methods and decisions in each of the GLR countries please see the individual survey studies in each of the five GLR countries. For a brief introduction to the reintegration programming context in each of the GLR countries see section 5.1.

The total unweighted sample of community members from across the five GLR countries amounts to 3,380 respondents which, when combined with the ex-combatant sample of 6,475 respondents, represents 34.3% of the total GLR sample. The total unweighted community member sample contributions from each of the five GLR countries are as follows: Burundi comprises 15.1% (n=510) of the total Community Member Sample, DRC 21.4% (n=722), RoC 43.1% (n=1456), Rwanda 15.1% (n=510), and Uganda 5.4% (n=182). However, in an effort to create valid cross-country analysis of community members across the GLR, and especially for comparison to the ex-combatant sample, which contains proportionally different sample contributions from the five GLR countries, the raw sample contributions from each country have been weighted evenly. Further, for reasons explained below the valid sample used for analysis in this study are often notably lower than the total sample of 3,380 community members.

Though Burundi does contribute 510 respondents to the total GLR Community Member sample no age, gender or disability details were collected for respondents as a part of the Third Beneficiary Assessment in 2011 – thus a systematic analysis of the Burundi portion of the total GLR community member sample along demographic lines is not possible. In addition, little data was collected in Burundi that is directly comparable to the rest of the GLR data anyways. In effect, with the exception of some short sections, data from Burundi will be absent from the analysis here thus leaving the unweighted valid sample of community members at n=2870. Unless explicitly stated otherwise, all cross country statistics from here forward refer to the valid sample excluding Burundi.

In addition, as discussed in more detail in Annex I, integration of the full range of data from the Rwanda Survey has proved challenging in this study. The evolving format for the individual GLR country surveys has been a continual process of learning and iterative refinement. The Rwanda survey format is the starting point from which surveys evolved in RoC, Burundi, Uganda, and DRC. So, while data content in the Rwanda surveys is very much in line with the rest of the GLR countries, much of the specific question formatting is often different enough that a direct comparison of data is not feasible. Such instances are explained in footnotes.

Data along health and disability demographics also presents challenges in the total GLR community member sample. Health and disability data for community members were only collected in Rwanda and Uganda – absent from Burundi, DRC and RoC. However, even the data from Rwanda and Uganda is limited as only n=58 disabled community members were sampled (n=49 from Rwanda and n=9 from Uganda). Thus, drawing valid comparisons between these two samples of 49 and 9 disabled community members is judged as infeasible – furthermore, com-

---

paring these 58 disabled community members to the 454 disabled ex-combatants in Annex I of this study presents further issues for validity. For these reasons analysis of community members along the lines of disability will be absent from this section of the study.

Collectively the data restrictions present in this study of community members across the GLR countries mean that the task of this study is to present a mosaic of findings. Up close, the pieces of the picture are not always complete and data is not always congruent. However, there are clear data trends, nonetheless, that represent a distinct narrative of community dynamics across the GLR countries.

Across the GLR countries, 61.2% of community members were male while 38.8% were female. In DRC and RoC there was a fairly close split between male and female community members within the sample, while Rwanda and Uganda were closer to the cross-country average split in gender. Table 31 above presents a cross-tabulated breakdown of age and gender demographics for the community member sample of each of the GLR countries.

Of the total sample of community members, 40% were between the ages of 18 and 30, 24.3% were between that ages of 31 and 40, and 35.7% were over the age of 40.\textsuperscript{184} The within-country age splits of each of the GLR countries do not necessarily follow cross-country trend. As is visible in Table 31 above, Rwanda and Uganda community members between the ages of 18 and 30 are most dominantly represented while in RoC those over 40 are most represented and DRC falls closer to the cross-country split.

The dimensions of the lives of community members explored in the following sections are key indicators of community dynamics and furthermore relate to the basic units and processes in society: the family unit, and the process of marriage, in the community. The value of this section of the study is not just as a control group for which ex-combatant progress can be studied, but also as a key measure of the overall levels of social and economic stability of the core units of reintegration across society in the Great Lakes Region.

### 13.1 Marriage and Household

Marriage dynamics are an important indicator of community members’ basic social standing. Indeed, marriage dynamics can tell us much about community members’ ability to leverage familial, economic, and social networks towards the attainment of marriage and in turn their ability redouble their engagement in these social structures through marriage – all indicators of a strong footing in the community.

\textsuperscript{184} Across the total sample of community members from the GLR countries there were 26 respondents under the age of 18. For purposes of consistency in sample delimitation and comparative validity these 26 (3 from DRC and 23 from RoC) have been omitted from the sample for analysis here.
Across the GLR countries the most common groupings for marital status of community members are as follows: 48.6% are married, 16.9% are living with a partner but are not married, 22.3% are single and have never been married, 5.9% are separated or divorced, and the remaining 6.2% are widowed. These figures are very much an average as within each of the GLR countries community members displayed a more unique distribution of marital statuses (summarized in Table 32 below). In DRC and Uganda “married” is the most common marital status for community members – at over 60% in both countries. While in Rwanda “married” is still the most common marital status, it is almost evenly split with “single / never married”. The country that differs most from the general trend is RoC, in which “living together” but not married is the most common marital status.

Across the GLR countries female community members were less likely to be married than male community members (38.1% vs. 55.4%). In DRC and Uganda this trend was exaggerated and the gap between male and female community members with the marital status “married” was as much as 38 percentage points (in Uganda). At a cross-country level the lower representation of married female community members was effectively absorbed into the categories of separated or divorced and widowed (11.1% and 12.8% respectively) which were much less common among male community members (2.7% and 2.0% respectively). These findings should flag divorce, separation, and widowing as key dimensions to female community members’ absolute disadvantage in marriage rates across the GLR countries compared to male community members.

There was a visible positive relationship between age and likelihood of being separated, divorced, or widowed. Of community members 18-30 years of age, 2.6% were separated or divorced and 0.3% were widowed, compared to 6% and 3.3% (respectively) of those aged 31-40, and 9.6% and 14.4% (respectively) of those aged over 40.

Drawing exclusively from Rwanda and Uganda we can observe that only 5.8% of community members had a spouse (married or unmarried) that was an ex-combatant, the remaining 94.2% having civilian spouses – though this does not necessarily imply that their spouse was a combatant / ex-combatant at the time of marriage. On average female community members were more likely to have an ex-combatant or combatant spouse (11.1%) compared to male community members (3.9%). This could serve as at least a partial explanation for female community members’ higher levels of widowed marital status – while anecdotally this makes sense further study would be needed to confirm this relationship

---

185 Rwanda and Uganda were the only GLR countries where surveys included questions on community members’ spousal ex-combatant status.
Across the GLR countries 74.7% of community members report that they would not consider marrying an ex-combatant, with the remaining 25.2% saying that they would consider marrying an ex-combatant. This trend was generally reflected within the individual GLR countries with the exception of Uganda, where 56.8% of community members said that they would consider marrying an ex-combatant and 43.2% would not. Across demographic lines age showed a positive relationship with unwillingness to consider marrying an ex-combatant. Of those over 40 years of age, 85% were not willing to marry an ex-combatant, compared to 74% of those aged 31-40, and 66.7% of those aged 18-30. The most common explanations for why community members were unwilling to marry an ex-combatant revolved around various forms of stigma or fear.

Drawing exclusively from DRC and RoC, we can see that when community members observed other marriages in the community in which one member is an ex-combatant, 44.9% of community members perceived these marriages as having a harder time than those without an ex-combatant. When asked to explain further as to why they thought these marriages were more difficult the most common explanations were as follows: (i) 35% of community members cited misunderstandings; (ii) 22% cited brutality and fighting; and (iii) 8.5% cited bad habits of ex-combatants acquired during combat (including drug use).

Across the GLR countries 43.6% of community members see themselves alone as responsible for the financial and food need of the family, 16.8% see their spouse or partner as responsible, and 25.5% see food and financial needs as the shared responsibility of both themselves and their spouse or partner. The remaining 14.1% indicated that household food and finance responsibility were dispersed among various other family members. Male community members were significantly more likely to see household finance and food provision as solely their responsibility (56.6%) compared to female community members (21.8%). Inversely, female community members were dramatically more likely to see household finance and food provision as the sole responsibility of their spouse or partner (36.8%) compared to male community members (4.7%). This gendered trend was especially exaggerated in DRC (61.3 vs. 16.7% and 48.7 vs. 6.7 respectively).

As age increases community members are more likely to see themselves as solely responsible for household finance and food provision (32.7% of those age 18-30, 44.4% of those 31-40, and 51.5% of those over 40) and less likely to see their spouse or partner as solely responsible (22.7% of those age 18-30, 18.8% of those 31-40, and 10.3% of those over 40). It appears that this age-based trend may be primarily descriptive of female community members. When looking at age trends in community members’ perceptions of household finance and food provision further subdivided by gender there are distinct trends. Male community members see themselves as primarily responsible for their household finance and food provision at even levels across all age categories (55.3% of those 18-30, 59.4% of those 31-40, and 55.8% of those over 40). In contrast, as age increases for females so too does the likelihood of seeing oneself as solely responsible for household finance and food (9.2% of those 18-30, 20.1% of those 31-40, and 40.2% of those over 40). As discussed above, as age increase so too does the likelihood of being separated, divorced, or widowed. As such, those female community members who are separated, divorced, or widowed are highly likely to see household finance and food provision as solely their responsibility (62.1% of those who are widowed and 70.1% of those who are separated or divorced). These findings should flag female-headed households as exposed to particular economic instability.

---

186 It is possible that the greater openness in Uganda is related to the nature of mobilization and return in which many ex-combatants were abducted or forcibly recruited into conflict – upon return being simultaneously understood as victims and perpetrators. This dynamic plus the widespread employment of traditional reconciliation ceremonies in Northern Uganda (though not necessarily as a part of reintegration programming) may hold some explanatory weight.
187 DRC and RoC were the only countries where community members were asked about their perception of marriages in which one person was an ex-combatant.
188 Rwanda is excluded from findings on household finance and food responsibility due to lack of directly comparable data.
189 A slightly exaggerated version of this age trend in female community members existed for female ex-combatants as well.
13.2 Literacy, Education, and Vocational Training

Levels of literacy, educational achievement, and vocational training are important indicators of community members’ basic ability to engage with educational and vocational structures, to the extent they exist in the different GLR country contexts, and further to leverage the dividends of this engagement towards further economic and social opportunities – in the end solidifying their footing in the community.

Literacy was generally high among community members across the GLR countries, and it was slightly higher than for ex-combatants; 74.3% of community members could both read and write, 4.6% could only read, and the remaining 21.1% were illiterate (compared to 71.6%, 8.3% and 20.1% respectively in ex-combatants).\textsuperscript{190} Notably, RoC had the lowest literacy levels across the GLR countries. Female community members are notably less likely to be able to read and write (62.4%) compared to male community members (83%), and more likely to be illiterate (32.4% vs. 12.9%). After female community members, those aged over 40 are the second most likely group to be illiterate (28.8%). These trends are displayed in Table 33.

In regards to educational achievement, community members most commonly had either some secondary education (31%) or had completed secondary education (18.2); followed by some primary education (11.2%), and no education (11.1%).\textsuperscript{191} As is visible in Table 34, in Uganda education levels were skewed lower overall. Across demographic lines there are a few interesting trends to extract. Female community members are the most likely group to have no education (18.3% vs. 6.1% of male community members) followed by those aged over 40 (17.3% vs. 8.4% of those aged 31-40 and 5.6% of those aged 18-30). Further, both female community members and those over 40 had educational achievement levels skewed lower overall.

Across the GLR, overall levels of educational achievement for community members were skewed higher than for ex-combatants – with higher levels of partial secondary education (31% vs. 23.4%), full secondary completion (18.2% vs. 5.2%), and partial or full higher education (8.5% vs. 2%). It is worth noting however that in DRC and RoC ex-combatants displayed much higher levels of professional educational achievement than community members (34.3% and 20.3% vs. 2.4% and 1.8% respectively).

Most community members reflected an understanding of the educational achievement gap between community members and ex-combatants – (58.4%) of community members reported that they believe that ex-combatants have

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Marital Status at Sampling} & \textbf{Neither Read nor Write} & \textbf{Read only} & \textbf{Read and write} \\
\hline
\textbf{Male} & 12.90\% & 4.10\% & 83.00\% \\
\textbf{Female} & 32.40\% & 5.20\% & 62.40\% \\
\textbf{Age 18-30} & 13.50\% & 3.50\% & 83.10\% \\
\textbf{Age 31-40} & 17.60\% & 5.50\% & 76.90\% \\
\textbf{Age Over 40} & 28.80\% & 4.30\% & 66.80\% \\
\textbf{DRC} & 16.30\% & 4.30\% & 79.40\% \\
\textbf{RoC} & 27.00\% & 7.30\% & 52.70\% \\
\textbf{Uganda} & 19.30\% & 2.20\% & 78.50\% \\
\textbf{GLR Average} & 21.10\% & 4.60\% & 74.30\% \\
\textbf{GLR Average} & 48.60\% & 16.90\% & 5.90\% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Community Member Literacy}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{190} Rwanda is excluded from findings on literacy due to lack of directly comparable data.
\textsuperscript{191} Rwanda is excluded from findings on education achievement levels due to lack of directly comparable data.
lower levels of education than other people in the area in which they live.\textsuperscript{192} Of the remaining community members, 40.3% believe that ex-combatants and civilians have the same level of education and only 1.3% perceives that ex-combatants have higher levels of education. In addition, 76.9% of community members said that the perceived difference in levels of education between community members and ex-combatants was a problem. When asked to explain further in Uganda community members most commonly pointed out that (i) ex-combatants wouldn’t be able to gain employment and thus look after their families (33.9%) and that (ii) low literacy was a problem. In DRC and RoC the most common responses from community members as to why ex-combatants’ lower education levels were a problem were: (i) Irresponsible behavior (36.9%) and (ii) misunderstandings that lead to arguments (31.4%).

Across the GLR countries, 20.8% of community members received vocational training in the last years.\textsuperscript{193} Male community members more frequently (22.9%) received vocational training compared to female community members (17.6%). Age also showed a clear relationship to vocational training – the higher the age of community members the less likely they were to have received vocational training (26.2% of those aged 18-30, 24.7% of those aged 31-40, and 14.6% of those over the age of 40).

Of those 20.8% of community members who had received vocational training, 78.3% said that they were currently using the vocational skills that they had been trained in.\textsuperscript{194} When the 21.7% of community members who were not using their vocational training were asked to explain further the most common reasons cited were: (i) lack of tools or work facilities (27%); (ii) still completing training; and (iii) no opportunity. Interestingly, while ex-combatants have

\textsuperscript{192} Rwanda is excluded from findings on community members’ relative perceptions of ex-combatants’ education levels.

\textsuperscript{193} In Uganda this question referred to in the last five years, while in DRC and RoC it referred to only the last year. It makes some sense then that Uganda displays the highest rate of community member vocational training across the GLR countries (29.6%). Rwanda is excluded from findings on vocational training due to lack of data.

\textsuperscript{194} Regardless of having received vocational training or not, 38.8% of community members across the GLR countries reported that they were currently working in their “field of skills”. Male community members were slightly more likely to be working in their field (40.1%) when compared to female community members (35.7%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 34: Community Member Educational Achievement Levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education Level at Sampling</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
received vocational training on average at twice the rate that community members do, in DRC as much four times
the rate and in Uganda at a quite similar rate, they are still less likely to be utilizing that vocational training than
community members (62.7% vs. 78.3%). This could be an indication that while ex-combatants display a positive traject-
ory in terms of closing education and skills gaps with community members, there may be additional barriers they
face to reaching parity that, at least in part, may revolve around access to social and economic networks or possibly
problems in reintegration programming design.195

13.3 Summary

The analysis of community member demographics and core indicators presented in this section are useful not only
as a backdrop against which to contextualize ex-combatant reintegration in the Great Lakes Region, but more gen-
erally as a baseline by which to understand the overall levels of societal stability and functionality of communities
across the Great Lakes Region in the wake of violent conflict.

Across the indicators explored in this section, community members consistently perform better than ex-combatants.
Community members are more likely to be married than ex-combatants – a fact that may help explain why com-
munity members are less likely than ex-combatants to see themselves alone as responsible for the food and finances
of their household.

Community members are married to ex-combatants at half the rate that ex-combatants are and attitudinally remain
largely closed to the idea – citing stigma as core reason.196 Indeed, when community members observe marriages in
which one member is an ex-combatant they commonly describe these marriages as problematic. These findings have
two core implications: (i) stigma is a core barrier to community member / ex-combatant intermarriage across the
GLR countries and (ii) beyond actual marriage rates the pool of partners who are attitudinally open to marriage with
ex-combatants is largest among other ex-combatants. If stigma shapes a portion of ex-combatants marriage pathway
as to one with only other ex-combatants this could have consequences for these familial units’ ability to interact
with the community – in a sense possibly facing compounded stigma barriers. The evolving nature of community
member and ex-combatant intermarriage should be flagged as a key issue for future studies in the GLR.

Community members across the GLR have education levels skewed significantly higher than ex-combatants – likely
a result of ex-combatants’ time lost while mobilized in conflict. Yet, community members are far less likely than
ex-combatants to receive vocational training as a part of reintegration related programming. Despite this, however,
community members are actually more likely to be currently utilizing their vocational training – suggesting that
there may be additional barriers to utilizing vocational training for ex-combatants including programming flaws.
Developing a stronger understanding of this dynamic should be flagged for future studies in the region.

13.3.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

In the demographics analyses of the community member sample for this study the most vulnerable sub-group that
emerges, as with the ex-combatant sample, is that of females. Generally speaking, female community members have
a similar range of disadvantages to male community members as female ex-combatants do to male ex-combatants.
However, the general gap between community member and ex-combatant samples is such that female community
members (and male community members for that matter) are almost always significantly better off than their ex-

195 Example of problems with vocational training components of reintegration programming design can include, for example, that vocational training
paths offered are not based on market analysis, in turn creating an oversupply of a particular set of skills in one area. This phenomenon is well documented
in a number of DDR programming contexts. See for example: Jennings, K. M. (2007). The struggle to satisfy: DDR through the eyes of ex-combatants in
Liberia. International Peacekeeping, 14(2), 204-218.

196 It is important to note that these findings do not differentiate between those community members who married combatants or ex-combatants and
those who married a civilians who later became combatants / ex-combatants.
combatant counterparts.

Female community members are less likely to be married than male community members (who are themselves similarly likely to be married as male ex-combatants), though they are slightly more likely to be married than their female ex-combatant counterparts. Female community members are three times more likely than male community members to be separated or divorced and six times more likely to be widowed – though it is unknown whether the male or female initiated the divorce or separation. Regarding marriage to ex-combatants, female community members are three times more likely than their male counterparts to be married to an ex-combatant – though it is unknown whether these marriages pre-exist the combatant / ex-combatant status of their spouse. However, female ex-combatants are four times more likely than female community members to be married to an ex-combatant.

Similar to the ex-combatant sample, female community members had significantly lower literacy levels than male community members. Both male and female community members displayed slightly higher levels of literacy than ex-combatants – in accord, community members education levels were skewed higher overall than ex-combatants. However, female community members’ educational achievement was skewed below that of male community members.

### 13.3.2 Unique Country Trends

There are several important marriage-related trends that stand out in individual GLR countries that merit further examination. Rwanda stands out as the only country where community members marry less frequently than ex-combatants. However, we can add considerable contextual detail here. In Rwanda males are required to have access to adequate housing in order to get married. However, the formal regulations for what qualifies as adequate housing in Rwanda are somewhat narrowly defined under the policy of imidugudu - a large scale body of housing policy aimed at consolidating dispersed housing in an overall effort toward villagization. The result has been inflation in adequate housing prices and in turn a severe crisis in the availability of adequate housing overall that in effect is locking many Rwandans out of official marriage – though they may cohabitate without formalized marital status.  

In contrast to community members, most ex-combatants are returning to Rwanda from Eastern DRC where they have been away for an average of nine years. In this time some ex-combatants have married and when returning to Rwanda bring their spouse with them. The legal status of these marriages in Rwanda is unclear, however it is possible that some ex-combatants unwittingly navigate past the formal barriers to marriage that community members face – in turn accounting for their slightly higher marriage rates. While it is likely that the interaction of housing policy, marriage, and dynamics of return are key in understanding why ex-combatants marry more than community members in Rwanda this exact narrative must be treated as conjecture. These topics should be flagged for future analysis on reintegration processes in Rwanda.

Republic of Congo also stands out with unique marriage trends. In RoC marriage rates among community members, and ex-combatants, are a fraction of those in other GLR countries. Instead, cohabitation with a spouse without formal marriage is the primary marital status – even when disaggregated across age and gender groups. These findings are confounding and go without clear explanation in this study. It is possible that: (i) there has been an unbeknownst error in data capture and coding that produces these findings or (ii) that there is an unknown regional dynamic affecting marriage for community members and ex-combatants alike in RoC. Future study on reintegration processes in RoC should flag marriage as an area of special interest to further triangulate or refute these findings.

Lastly, in Uganda community members are more than twice as likely as the GLR average to report willingness to

---

197 This narrative of the interrelated nature of housing policy and marriage in Rwanda is well documented in Sommers (2012) Stuck: Rwandan Young and the Struggle for Adulthood.
marrying an ex-combatant in the future. Though there is no direct explanation it is possible that the specific dynamics of combatant mobilization in Uganda may play a role in this trend. In Uganda abduction was a well-known tactic of mobilization, especially by the LRA. Though abductees may have committed violent acts against their communities, often forcibly, there is evidence that ex-combatants are simultaneously understood as victims (due to abduction and forced recruiting) and perpetrators (due to the violence committed as soldiers) by community members – a factor that has reportedly contributed to a general willingness to accept returning ex-combatants back into communities.\footnote{See for example: Finnegan, A. C. (2010), Forging Forgiveness: Collective Efforts Amidst War in Northern Uganda. Sociological Inquiry, 80: 424–447} This dynamic may contribute to community members in Uganda’s openness to marriage with ex-combatants. Futures studies could flag this conjecture for further analysis.
The context of communities in the Great Lakes Region is overwhelmingly one of severe development challenges where small-scale agriculture is instrumental to individual and familial well-being in terms of both economic security and food security. As such, understanding the pathways to land access among community members is a key contextual element for understanding the overall economic situation for community members in the Great Lakes Region and their capacity to absorb returning ex-combatants. The following is an examination of (i) the household characteristics of community members including issues of dwelling ownership and tenure; and (ii) the food security of community members including their levels of access to land for cultivation.

Across the GLR countries community members are most likely to live with: (i) the same family as before conflict (38.3%); (ii) with a family but different to that from before conflict (27.3%), or (iii) with a spouse or partner (21.5%). These three categories were the most common across all GLR countries, but varied some in their distribution from country to country. Uganda, where 51.7% of community members live with the same family; 25% live with a different family; and 22.2% live with a spouse or partner, displays the most exaggerated version of this cross-country trend. As is visible in Table 35 below, Rwanda stands out as the only GLR country with a notable portion (15%) of community members who live with friends.199

Female community members were slightly more likely to be living with a different family than the one before conflict (29.8%) and slightly more likely to live alone (7.3%) than their male counterparts (24.3% and 5.6% respectively). In addition, female community members were less likely to be living with a spouse or partner than male community members (18.1% vs. 23.6%).

In regards to housing, across the GLR countries community members were most commonly living in a house (42.3%), followed by a hut or tent (25.9%). This trend is generally reflected across

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who Do You Live With?</th>
<th>Alone</th>
<th>With spouse / partner</th>
<th>With same family as before the conflict</th>
<th>With family but different to that from before conflict</th>
<th>With friends</th>
<th>Family (unidentifed)</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>23.60%</td>
<td>38.50%</td>
<td>25.70%</td>
<td>5.20%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
<td>18.10%</td>
<td>38.20%</td>
<td>29.80%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>18.40%</td>
<td>37.30%</td>
<td>27.90%</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>0.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>23.60%</td>
<td>34.80%</td>
<td>32.90%</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>1.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>7.20%</td>
<td>23.00%</td>
<td>43.10%</td>
<td>22.90%</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>2.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>29.40%</td>
<td>43.80%</td>
<td>17.50%</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>33.80%</td>
<td>20.80%</td>
<td>26.60%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>1.80%</td>
<td>6.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>37.00%</td>
<td>40.70%</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>22.20%</td>
<td>51.70%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
<td>21.50%</td>
<td>38.30%</td>
<td>27.30%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of XXX indicates that respondents in Rwanda were not given the option to respond that they live with a partner or spouse - the responses that would have been in the field are likely absorbed into the categories of those who live with a family either the same or different from the one before conflict.

199 This trend in Rwanda is possibly related to housing shortages as a product of Imidigudu and overall urban migration.
the GLR countries with the clear exception of Uganda, where 67% live in a hut or tent, 18.1% live in a daub or wattle, and 14.3% live in a house. Rwanda also stands out in that 68% of community members live in a house and only 1.8% live in a hut or tent. Across the GLR (including Uganda) female community members are more likely to live in a house (50.2%) than male community members (37.2%). Marital status does not show a directly discernable relationship to housing type. Age also shows a clear positive relationship to living in a house – 27.7% of those community members aged 18-30 live in a house, 45.1% of those aged 31-40, and 55.1% of those over the age of 40.

Turning to patterns of ownership for housing among community members we can observe that most community members either: (i) own the property they live on (43.2%); (ii) their relatives or parents own the property they live on (20.3%); or (iii) their spouse / partner owns the property they live on (9.5%). This trend was remarkably durable across the GLR countries, though in Uganda there were much higher levels of self-ownership (61.7%) and in Rwanda renting was on par with self-ownership (36.9%). Despite the differences in housing ownership among community members in Uganda and Rwanda there are very clear trends across gender and age demographics. As visible in Table 36 Female community members are less than half as likely to own the property they live on compared to male community members (25.1% vs. 54.5%), and dramatically more likely to have their spouse / partner own the property they live on (20.9% vs. 2%).

In regards to age demographics, as the age of community members increases the likelihood that relatives or family own their housing decreases (34.4% of those community members aged 18-30, 14.8% of those aged 31-40, and 8.3% of those over the age of 40) and the likelihood of self-ownership increases (23.2% of those aged 18-30, 44.7% of those aged 31-40, and 64.4% of those over the age of 40).

---

200 It is possible that the dominance of semi-permanent housing in Uganda is an indication of the overall development level in Northern Uganda. It is also possible that there is merely a reflection of traditional housing style preferences.

201 This age demographic trend is not reflected in Uganda – where hut / tent was the most common housing type across all demographics. For a more in depth discussion of community member housing types see the Uganda Reporter Re-integration and Community Dynamics Survey Report (2011).

202 The higher rate of ownership in Uganda is likely a result of the lower barriers to owning the dominant housing type in Uganda: a hut or tent. Inversely, in Rwanda housing shortages as a product of Imidugudu have increased the barriers to housing ownership.
Community members across the GLR countries generally see themselves as equally as well off as their neighbors (57.3%), though 21.2% see themselves as worse off and 21.3% see themselves as better off. All of the GLR countries reflect this trend of the bulk of community members seeing themselves as on equal footing to their neighbors. In most countries the distribution is skewed towards seeing themselves as slightly better off, though RoC is the only country where this skewing goes the other direction. Female community members were more likely to see themselves as worse off than their neighbors compared to male community members (25.2% vs. 18.6%).

In DRC and RoC, community members were asked how they perceived their living situation relative to two years prior. The majority of community members (65.9%) see their situation as the same, while 18.5% see it as better and 13.8% see it as worse. In Uganda the same question was asked, but instead of being asked about their current situation relative to two years ago, community members were asked to rate their current living situation relative to five years ago. In the case of Uganda, 62.6% of community members saw their current living situation as better than five years prior, 16.8% saw it as the same, and 20.7% saw it as worse.

14.1 Land Access and Food Security

Access to land for cultivation among community members across the GLR countries is generally high – 89.8% report that they have access to land. This figure is characteristic of all the GLR countries except for RoC in which access to land among community members was considerably lower (55.9%) in addition to being the only GLR country where land access among community members was lower than for ex-combatants (94.2%) – though the reason behind these findings are unclear. Female community members were slightly less likely to have access to land for cultivation than male community members (87.3% vs. 91.3%).

When those community members who did not have access to land for cultivation were asked to explain why in DRC and RoC the most common replies were: (i) all land was occupied (29.5%); (ii) fear for the return of conflict (19.7%); and (iii) bad memories associated with their land and they did not want to return (14.2%). Female community members were less likely to cite land occupation as the reason for their lack of access to land for cultivation than male community members (21.5% vs. 37.6%), and more likely to cite fear of conflict (25% vs. 14.3%) and lack of capital (12.5% vs. 5.3%).

When community members who did have access to land for cultivation across the GLR countries were asked whether they had more than two years prior, 44.5% said that they did have more access. This level of increased access to land for cultivation is very much an averaged figure. There is a sharp split between DRC and RoC where increased land access was high (69.1% and 71.6% respectively), and Uganda in which only 15% reported increased access. However, a closer inspection of community members in Uganda with a more finely grained scaled shows that while only 15% had increased access to land for cultivation, 49.4% had the same level of access as two years prior and 36.5% had less access.

Of those community members who had less access to land than two years prior across the GLR countries there were a range of explanations given. In Uganda the most common explanations were that there had been regulated

---

203 This question about community members’ perception of their current living situation relative to a previous point in time was not asked in Rwanda.

204 These findings are particularly subject to periodization issues and should be treated cautiously.

205 Rwanda is absent from findings related to land access, change in land access, and reasons for positive and negative changes in land access due to lack of directly comparable data.

206 This question about why community members did not have access to land for cultivation was only asked in DRC and ROC.

207 One possible explanation that has been put forth, anecdotally, for the relatively high increases in access to land in DRC and RoC is that access to land for cultivation in these countries has been so low to start with, due to displacement as a part of prolonged conflict and insecurity, that the consolidation of a relative peace in DRC and RoC has exposed a larger proportion of the population to the possibility of increases (effectively having started with no land access) than in other GLR countries where some land ownership may have persisted through conflict.
division of land by their family (47.6%), followed by unregulated division of land such as grabbing, etc. (23.8%). In DRC and RoC lack of resources (25.8%), land infertility (20.8%), and land sale (20.8%) were the most common explanations. Across the GLR countries when community members were asked to explain why they had more access to arable land for cultivation than two years prior there was a range of explanations. In Uganda the most common explanation was that a household member had purchased more land for investment (40%) – this answer was especially prominent for female community members (50%) compared to male community members (38.1%). In DRC and RoC, inheritance was also an important pathway to increased access to land for cultivation (29.1%), especially for female community members (33.4%) compared to males (26.7%).

Across the GLR countries livestock ownership, excluding poultry, is generally low among community members (35.5%), with the exception of Uganda where livestock ownership is significantly higher (66.3%). Despite these differences female community members were the least likely demographic group to own livestock (25.4%), especially when compared to male community members (42.7%).

When those who had no livestock were asked to explain further the four most common answers from community members across the GLR countries were as follows: (i) 25.4% cited lack of access to suitable land; (ii) 19.7% cited crime; (iii) 19.4% cited insecurity due to conflict (39.1% crime and insecurity collectively); and (iv) 18.8% cited poverty. While instructive of general trends, these cross-country figures do not fully depict the intricacies of the range of explanations given in each GLR country. For example, in DRC poverty was the most common explanation (28.8%) and livestock theft was less frequently cited (9.7%), while in RoC poverty was infrequently cited (1.9%) and livestock theft was much more frequent (31.8%). A summary of the range of explanations for lack of livestock among community members can be found above in Table 37.

208 Rwanda is absent from findings on livestock ownership, change in livestock ownership over time, and reasons for positive and negative changes in livestock ownership over time due to lack of directly comparable data.
Looking to overall change in the quantity of livestock in the last two years, 54.2% of community members across the GLR countries had seen an increase in their overall quantity of livestock – 8.5% stayed the same and 37.3% saw a decrease in livestock. Female community members were less likely in general to see an increase in their livestock (46.3%) and more likely to see a decrease (42.9%) than their male community member counterparts (57.5% and 35% respectively).

The pervasive development challenges that characterize the GLR countries mean that food security is a key issue. As such, understanding the relationship between access to land for cultivation, in addition to livestock ownership and household hunger and nutrition, as core indicators of food security for community members, is important for understanding the overall development context of GLR countries.

Across the GLR countries, 27.5% of community members reported that people in their household never went hungry, 35.4% seldom, 28.8% often, and 8.3% always.209 Uganda stood out from these dominant trends – the entire distribution of community members being shifted towards less household hunger (35.9% never, 51.4% seldom, 11.6% often, and 11.1% always). Female community members across the GLR countries were slightly less likely to never go hungry than males (24.9% vs. 29.3%). Age showed a distinct relationship to household hunger - as age increases the likelihood of belonging to households where people always or often go hungry increases. In accordance, as age increases the likelihood of coming from a household that seldom or never goes hungry decreases (as visible in Table 38).

Household nutrition and nourishment has largely been unchanged (41.9%) for community members over the last two years. Of those who have seen a change in household nutrition, 32.5% have seen improvements and 25.6% have seen deterioration. Again, Uganda stood out from this trend with higher levels of nutritional improvement (55.2%), and less unchanged nutrition (19.9%) as well as deterioration of nutrition (24.9%). Across GLR countries female community members were slightly less likely to see improved nutrition and more likely to see worsening nutrition (28.8% and 28.3% respectively) when compared to male community members (35.2% and 23.6% respectively). Age showed a negative relationship to improved nutrition (38.6% of those 18-30 years of age, 37.9% of those 31-40 years of age, and 24.8% of those over 40 years of age) and, in accord, a positive relationship to worsening nutrition (20% of those 18-30 years of age, 20.5% of those 31-40 years of age, and 32.8% of those over 40 years of age).

### 14.2 Summary

Community members across the GLR countries display a range of unique trends in regards to their patterns of housing, property ownership, land access and livestock. Indeed, focused analysis reveals that there is much further variation along regional and factional lines within each individual GLR country. However, despite this variation there is a core set of trends that emerge. Community members are most likely to be living in some form of family structure – whether it is the same family that they lived with before conflict or a different one. Community members

---

209 Rwanda is absent from findings on household hunger and nutritional change due to lack of directly comparable data.
are most likely to be living in a house that they or someone in their family owns. This is a very similar picture to that of ex-combatants across the GLR countries.

Access to land for cultivation is generally very high for community members as is the stability of this access – i.e. while there is variation from country to country as to increases in land access, there are relatively few community members who have seen decreases in land access since the years before sampling. Those who do see increased access to land do so most commonly through household land purchase with capital from high agricultural yields or through inheritance. In contrast to ex-combatants, few community members cited marriage as a key pathway to increased land access.

Livestock ownership across the GLR countries is generally low – though slightly higher than among ex-combatants. Community members cite lack of access to resources such as capital or suitable grazing land as a key reason for low livestock ownership in addition to overarching concerns about crime and general insecurity.

Food security remains an important concern for community members across the GLR countries. While community members generally face a significantly lower level of food insecurity compared to ex-combatants across the GLR countries, there is still a sizable portion that often or always experience household hunger. Collectively, country to country variation in levels of access to land for cultivation and livestock among community members appears to show little relationship to core indicators of food security – which may be as much related to the overall economic situation in each of the GLR countries (e.g. through inflated prices of food stocks) than to land access and livestock ownership outright.

14.2.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

Female community members across the GLR countries display a range of differences in terms of the housing, land access, and food security that collectively may not necessarily entail a disadvantage, but do at least indicate a slightly altered narrative. Females are more likely to live with a different family than before conflict – possibly in part because of their high rate of being widowed compared to male community members. Female community members are more likely to live in a house, but dramatically less likely to own their house – instead commonly citing spousal or familial ownership. Female community members have slightly less access to land for cultivation than male community members in addition to being less likely to owning livestock. However, female community members fare better overall in indicators of food security across the GLR countries.

Female community members overall perform slightly better than female ex-combatants across the GLR countries in terms of housing, land, livestock, and food security. The core difference in the narrative that female community members and female ex-combatants experience across the GLR countries is that female community members are generally more likely to be integrated into a familial unit and reap the benefits this extended support network.

14.2.2 Unique Country Trends

As outlined above, land access among community members in RoC is considerably lower than on average across the rest of the GLR countries. It is possible that this trend is a product of the sample from RoC being captured exclusively in the Pool region of the country. Pool was the region of RoC in which the low level insurgency prevailed in the early 2000s and persisted longer than in other parts of the country. Due to displacement, insecurity and laggard recovery, land access has become a prevalent issue. Indeed, while community members in RoC have seen the greatest increases in their levels of land access of the GLR countries this is likely because community members in RoC started with very low land access at the end of conflict in the first place – and despite large improvements continue to have the least access to land across the GLR countries. Land access in RoC is also likely tied to the lowest levels of livestock ownership across the GLR countries.
15. Economic Issues

The following is an analysis of the economic status of community members and their relationship to that of ex-combatants across the GLR countries. The analysis proceeds in five main parts: (i) an examination of community members’ employment statuses and general outlooks on employment; (ii) an examination of the barriers that non-economically active community members face to gaining a stable economic status; (iii) an examination of female community members’ specific economic issues; (iv) an examination of community members’ levels of income, savings, and access to credit as indicators of their general economic stability and ability to leverage economic opportunities; and (v) an examination of community members’ level of engagement with economic associations as an extended support / opportunity network.

The structured analysis here follows in close parity with that of the ex-combatant sample, serving as a comparison for charting the degree to which ex-combatants achieve economic reintegration and economic stability – the two not necessarily being the same thing. Indeed, conventional wisdom is that economic reintegration is essential for the process of building peace and security – however the economic context across the Great Lakes Region is often one of severe development challenges posed to both community members and ex-combatants alike. One way to view this is that ex-combatants reaching parity with community members along economic lines may end up meaning reaching a state of economic instability equal to community members.

15.1 Economic Status and History

Employment status was very consistent across the GLR countries for community members through time (prior to conflict, at the end of conflict, and at the time of sampling). As can be seen in Table 39 the most common employment status for community members across the GLR countries was self-employed in agriculture (36.9% prior to conflict, 42.5% at demobilization, and 38.3% at sampling). It appears that the slight spike in those community members self-employed in agriculture at the end in conflict coincides with drops in the number of unemployed and, more notably, drops in the number of community members studying or training compared to before conflict (19% prior to conflict, 11.8% at the end of conflict, and 7.9% at sampling). Uganda displays an exaggerated version of this trend, as prior to conflict most community members in Uganda were studying or training (43.3%) followed by self-employed in agriculture (33.9%), however by the time of sampling the employment statuses of community members in Uganda fell very much in line with the cross-country average.

Female community members were slightly more likely to be unemployed, self-employed in retail, or a housewife working in the home at all time periods when compared to male community members (see Table 39). Over time female community members have seen a slight drop in the rate of being self-employed in agriculture (33.9%), however by the time of sampling the employment statuses of community members in Uganda fell very much in line with the cross-country average.

When those community members across the GLR countries who were not employed at the time of sampling were asked to explain why they were not working, there were several dominant responses: (i) 43% said they were not working due to lack of opportunity; (ii) 16.8% cited financial problems (including lack of access to credit); (iii)
The use of the phrase “at three time points” indicates that respondents were surveyed at one time point with questions regarding three different time points. Because of the inclusion of Rwanda, cross-country community member employment status at the time of sampling is biased compared to data for before conflict and at the time of demobilization programming. For example, the cross-country GLR figure for unemployment at the time of sampling without Rwanda in the sample is only 13% – compared to 17%. These cross-country figures should be approached cautiously and with an eye for detail.
11.1% cited lack of sponsor; and (iv) 11.8% pointed to lack of marketable skills. Uganda stood out from this general trend in reasons for not working – instead the majority (44.4%) said they were not working because they were a student (matching the findings on Uganda’s higher rate of studying and training above).

Female community members across the GLR countries were less likely to cite lack of opportunity and lack of sponsor as the reason for their unemployment (37.6% and 8.6%, respectively) than male community members (48.2% and 13.1%, respectively). Inversely, female community members were more likely to cite a lack of marketable skills and financial problems including lack of credit (18.6% and 19.4%, respectively) compared to their male community member counterparts (5.8% and 14.1%, respectively). Along age demographic categories, those community members aged over 40 were less likely to cite lack of opportunity as a reason for their unemployment (36.5% vs. 51.9% of those 31-40 and 45.4% of those 18-30) and more likely to cite financial problems including lack of credit (23.3% vs. 13.9% of those 31-40 and 8.5% of those 18-30).

Across the GLR countries 31.9% of community members reported having more than one job / income earning activity. When asked to explain further in Uganda there were several key responses: (i) 31.1% cited income supplementation for general survival as the reason for having more than one income earning activity; (ii) 19.7% explained that they subsistence farmed in addition to having a small business; and (iii) 19.7% said they worked more than one income generating activity for the betterment of their economic situation. Females in Uganda were less likely to subsistence farm on the side of another job (14.3%) and more likely to work more than one job to meet basic needs (35.7%) than male community members (21.3% and 29.8%, respectively). In DRC and RoC the range of explanations was similar though differently distributed, 40.7% farmed on the side of another income generating activity and 19.1% worked more than one job to meet basic needs.

Of community members across the GLR countries, 57.3% would be willing to consider moving to another part of their country for better job opportunities. This figure reflects the trends in DRC and RoC well, however in Uganda the proportion of community members willing to consider moving for improved job opportunities was tipped the opposite direction (66.9% reporting that they would not consider moving). Across the GLR countries female community members were slightly less willing to consider moving for better job prospects compared to male community members (53% vs. 60.3%). Also, community members over the age of 40 were less likely to be willing to consider moving (49.2% vs. 64.5% of those 31-40 and 61.7% of those 18-30) – sacrificing their overall stronger social footing in the community.

When community members who were willing to consider moving for improved job prospects in Uganda were asked to explain further the most common responses were: (i) to improve their standard of living (33.9% total – 46.7% of females vs. 29.3% of males) and (ii) to seek out new opportunities and experiences (21.4% total – 6.7% of females vs. 26.8% of males). Again in Uganda, when those community members who were not willing to consider moving to another part of the country for improved job prospects were asked to explain further the most common responses were: (i) lack of education / still being a student prevents work (31.9% total – 42.5% of females vs. 26% of males) and (ii) family responsibilities (30.1% total – 35% of females vs. 27.4% of males).

Drawing from Uganda only, 59.4% of community members reported that they believe that it is harder for ex-combatants than others to find a job (compared to 78.7% of ex-combatants in Uganda and 64.6% of ex-combatants

---

211 Rwanda is absent from findings on explanations for unemployment among community members due to lack of directly comparable data. The term "sponsor" here refers to the apprentice / master relationship. Community members are saying that they do not have anyone to apprentice under.

212 Rwanda is absent from findings on number of community members who participate in more than one economic activity and the reason why due to lack of directly comparable data.

213 Rwanda is absent from findings on community member willingness to migrate for better economic opportunities due to lack of directly comparable data.

214 Questions regarding community members’ explanations for willingness to migrate for economic opportunities were only asked in Uganda.
Female community members in Uganda were slightly more likely to perceive that ex-combatants had a harder time finding jobs than others when compared to male community members (64.2% vs. 57.4%). In addition, age showed a negative relationship to the perception that ex-combatants have a harder time finding a job (67.5% of those 18-30, 57.9% of those 31-40, and 48.1% of those over 40). Collectively community members’ economic trajectory and understanding of the dynamics surrounding this trajectory come together in community members’ overall outlook on their future. The vast majority of community members (77.9%) see their economic situation improving in the future. Both male and female community members across the GLR displayed a very similar positive outlook (79.3% vs. 76.8% respectively). Age displayed a negative relationship to the frequency of reporting a positive outlook on one’s economic future with a steep threshold for those aged over 40 (83.2% of those 18-30, 81.7% of those 31-40, and 65.3% of those over 40) which, as outlined below, is especially tied to health related issues.

The range of explanations given from community members for a positive outlook on economic prospects in the future were diverse across the GLR countries, making a meaningful cross-country comparison difficult, however a certain range of responses were more common: (i) improved agricultural performance was seen as key in Uganda (23.3%) however less important in DRC and RoC (11.6% and 8.6% respectively); (ii) gaining employment was important in all countries (15.8% in Uganda, 16.8% in DRC, and 12.9% in RoC); (iii) personal effort or hard work was especially important in RoC but much less so in Uganda and DRC (35.8% in RoC, 13% in Uganda, and 17% in DRC); (iv) religious faith / grace of god was central in DRC and RoC (25% and 20.5% respectively) and completely absent (0%) in Uganda.

Of those community members who had a negative outlook on their economic prospects in the future there were also a range of common answers: (i) ill health was a common response in Uganda and DRC (34% and 22.2%, respectively) – this was an especially prevalent response among community members over the age of 40; (ii) poor agricultural yield was a common explanation in Uganda and RoC (21.3% and 23.2%, respectively); and (iii) general economic decline / lack of opportunities was a frequent explanation as well (14.9% in Uganda, 24.2% in DRC, and 34.3% in RoC).

As a final point, looking only to DRC and RoC we can observe that 56.1% of community members work for pay 12 months of the year, the remainder working for paid labor closer to the average 9.47 months a year. This makes sense, as 72.3% of all community members work 1-3 months for unpaid labor in addition to their paid labor. Female community members worked slightly longer on average for both paid and unpaid labor compared to make community members (9.59 months paid labor vs. 9.36 months, and 3.23 months unpaid labor vs. 3.05 months). Community members over the age of 40 had the largest average period of the year spent in paid labor (9.78 months) and the lowest average period spent in unpaid labor (3.07 months).

It appears as though in DRC and RoC, community members most commonly fall into one of three categories: (i) working 12 months a year for paid labor; (ii) working 12 months a year for paid labor and for 1-3 months of the year (farming season) working for unpaid labor; and (iii) working for around nine months of the year for paid labor and spending the remaining three months (farming season) in unpaid labor.

---

215 Again, Uganda is discussed exclusively here because questions on the perception of relative difficulty that ex-combatants have finding jobs were only asked to community members in Uganda, whereas in ex-combatant surveys the same question was asked across all GLR countries excluding Rwanda.

216 These findings should not play down the role of religion in Northern Ugandan culture. For example, the Acholi people have a rich tradition of belief blending indigenous and Christian religious customs. Rwanda is excluded from findings on reasons for community members’ positive and negative outlooks on their overall economic situation due to lack of directly comparable data.
15.2 Non-Economically Active Community Members on Employment Issues

Those community members across the GLR countries who were not economically active explained a range of coping mechanisms to get by financially without an income. Most commonly, community members reported that they relied on cash contributions from family (28%), borrowed money from unspecified sources (19.3%), used past savings (15.8%), or got help from public sources such as the community or a church (14.1%). Female community members were less likely to use savings (11.7%) compared to male community members (19.5%) and more likely to rely on cash contributions from family than male community members (33.9% vs. 23%), supporting the idea that females (ex-combatants and community members alike) are especially reliant on the family and have fewer economic support networks overall. Age showed a positive relationship to the likelihood of using savings to get by (8% of those 18-30, 17.8% of those 31-40, and 19.8% of those over 40).

Looking specifically to Uganda, a large proportion of non-economically active community members (77.8%) believe that they have a harder time finding a job than other people. Further, 100% of non-economically active female community members thought they had a harder time finding a job compared to 66.7% of their male counterparts. When asked to explain why they thought they had a harder time, non-economically active community members in Uganda most commonly cited incomplete studies / still a student (28.6%), low or no education (28.6%), and disability (28.6%). Female community members cited lack of education or qualifications at a higher rate (50%). This reinforces the evidence that community members, at least in Uganda, see education as a key pathway to gaining employment.

Across the GLR countries, non-economically active community members generally held quite polarized outlooks on their prospects of gaining employment in the near future. Of those community members, 48.9% reported that they think they have a good chance of getting a job in the near future, 1.4% that they have neither a good or bad chance, and 49.7% that they have a poor chance. This clear polarization was characteristic most clearly in DRC, however in RoC a larger proportion has positive outlooks (66.6%) and in Rwanda a lower proportion had positive outlooks (33.1%). These trends are visible in Table 40. Age showed a clear positive relationship to the likelihood of having a poor outlook on gaining employment in the future (44.1% of those 18-30, 47.4% of those 31-40, and 61.4% of those over 40).

In Uganda non-economically active community members were questioned further as to the reasons behind their

---

217 Rwanda is absent from findings on non-economically active community members’ coping strategies due to lack of directly comparable data.

218 This question on whether non-economically active community members perceive having a harder time finding a job than others was only asked to community members in Uganda, while for ex-combatants it was asked in DRC, RoC, Uganda, and Burundi.
answers. Those who had a positive outlook explained their optimism with one of three answers: (i) that they hold qualifications and have papers (50%); (ii) that they are currently pursuing studies, and (iii) that they are bright, capable, hard working and motivated. Of non-economically active female community members in Uganda with a positive outlook on gaining employment in the near future, 100% explained their optimism as tied to their current studying.

Of those non-economically active community members in Uganda who had a negative outlook on gaining employment in the near future there were also three common explanations: (i) that they were disabled (50%); (ii) that they had low or no qualifications (25%); or (iii) that corrupt officials made gaining employment unlikely (25%). We can take away that, at least in Uganda, non-economically active community members perceive the attainment of education as among the key pathways to gaining employment in the near future – and inversely the lack there of as a key barrier.

15.3 Female Community Members on Employment Issues

Non-economically active female community members across the GLR countries generally did not feel discriminated against as a female (83.2% did not feel discrimination and 16.8% did). Uganda was the only GLR country that stood out from this trend – where 50% of non-economically active female community members felt discriminated against on the basis of being female. In Uganda, 100% of those non-economically active female community members identified male bosses or employers as the ones discriminating against them on the basis of gender.

When economically active female community members across the GLR countries were asked whether they perceived being discriminated against on the basis of being a female the proportion which felt discriminated against as a female was similar, but slightly lower (14.6%) than with non-economically active females. In Rwanda discrimination was perceived on the lowest level (4.8%) across the GLR countries, while it was highest in Uganda (23.3%). Still looking at Uganda, of those economically active female community members who did feel discriminated against on the basis of gender 57.2% identified that discrimination as coming from co-workers (50% of those specified male co-workers, 25% female co-workers, and 25% all co-workers).

When economically active female community members across DRC and RoC were asked whether they perceived female ex-combatants as having a harder time, 36% responded yes (the other 64% replying no). When those 36% that did think that female ex-combatants had a harder time than others were asked to explain, the most common explanations were the brutality and misconduct of ex-combatants (34.6%), the poor reputation of ex-combatants (32.1%), and distrust of ex-combatants (12.6%).

15.4 Income, Savings and Access to Credit

In the context of the severe development challenges that characterize most of the Great Lakes Region, levels of community member economic activity are a good starting point for understanding basic individual and household economic stability. However, it is through more closely examining community members’ income, savings and access to credit that we can begin to reveal some about their ability, or in some cases lack thereof, to move beyond mere subsistence by leveraging economic opportunities and in turn exhibiting economic mobility.

Across the GLR countries, 49.7% of community members reported that they were the sole breadwinner in their household, the remaining 50.3% reporting that others assist them. Despite this cross-country average, community members within the individual GLR countries responded in different proportions as to whether they were the

219 Questions on the reasons behind non-economically active community members’ economic outlooks were only asked in Uganda.

220 Questions on both non-economically active and economically active female community members’ perceived sources of discrimination were only asked in Uganda.
sole breadwinners of their household – these findings are presented in Table 41. Concerning demographic categories, age shows a positive relationship to the likelihood of being a sole breadwinner (42.9% of those 18-30, 54.2% of those 31-40, and 55.7% of those over 40). In addition, across the GLR countries female community members were less likely to be the sole breadwinner of their household compared to male community members (32.8% vs. 57.5%) – contributing to the idea that female community members generally have fewer economic networks than males.

Of those community members across the GLR countries who are the sole breadwinners of their household only 29.3% report that they break-even in meeting their household expenses each month while the remaining 42% usually have to borrow money, 21% rely on money transfers from family, and 4.5% use past savings. Only 3.2% of community members usually have money left over after meeting their monthly expenses. Within each of the GLR countries the variation across these responses is displayed in Table 42. Female community members were less likely to break even in their monthly expenses than males (22.9% vs. 32.5%) and more likely to rely on family money transfers (24.4% vs. 19.3%) and borrowing in general (49.8% vs. 38.2%).

Regarding age demographics, those 31-40 are the most likely age group to break even on their monthly expenses (38.70%) and the least likely to rely on family money transfers (10.7%) – whereas those 18-30 and over 40 were less likely to break even (25.1% and 29.5%, respectively) and more likely to rely on family money transfers (24.9% and 23.7%, respectively). However, in terms of borrowing more generally those aged 31-40 were on par with other

---

**Table 41: Community Member Sole Household Breadwinner Proportions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are you the sole, or only, breadwinner or do others in your household also earn an income?</th>
<th>Sole</th>
<th>Others assist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>57.50%</td>
<td>42.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>32.80%</td>
<td>67.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>42.90%</td>
<td>57.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>54.20%</td>
<td>45.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>55.70%</td>
<td>44.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>80.00%</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
<td>36.00%</td>
<td>64.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>61.30%</td>
<td>38.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>44.80%</td>
<td>55.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>49.70%</td>
<td>50.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Table 42: Community Member Sole Breadwinner Meeting Monthly Expenses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At the end of each month, do you meet your household expenses?</th>
<th>Usually have money left over</th>
<th>Usually break-even</th>
<th>Usually have to use past savings</th>
<th>Rely on family money transfers</th>
<th>Usually have to borrow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
<td>32.50%</td>
<td>5.50%</td>
<td>19.30%</td>
<td>38.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>22.90%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>49.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>4.40%</td>
<td>25.10%</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>24.90%</td>
<td>42.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>38.70%</td>
<td>7.90%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>42.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>29.50%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>23.70%</td>
<td>39.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>60.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
<td>18.20%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>29.10%</td>
<td>4.20%</td>
<td>21.20%</td>
<td>42.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>29.30%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
<td>21.00%</td>
<td>42.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

221 Rwanda is absent from findings on community member sole breadwinners’ meeting monthly expenses, surplus percentages, and deficit percentages due to lack of directly comparable data.
These trends could suggest that those aged 31-40 are in a period where they are financially independent from the familial unit in which they were raised, though not yet having established their own familial unit to such a level that it can serve as an extended support network – though to confirm this speculation would require triangulation in future studies.

Of those 65.4% community members across the GLR countries who are sole breadwinners and have a shortage of income for meeting their monthly expenses, they are on average short by 46% of their required income. Of those 4.2% of community members across the GLR who have a surplus of income after meeting monthly expenses, they have on average a surplus of 32% of their income. Within-country averages for monthly income deficit and surplus are displayed in Table 43. Female community members on average have larger income shortages (mean 53%) and slightly smaller surpluses (mean 30%) than male community members (mean 41% and 34% respectively). Age showed a negative relationship to the average income shortage among community members (mean 51% of those 18-30, 42% of those 31-40, and 40% of those over 40). However in terms of average income surplus those 31-40 have the smallest average surplus (22%) while those 18-30 and over 40 have somewhat larger surpluses (28% and 38% respectively).

Those community members across the GLR countries who are not sole breadwinners contribute 40% on average of their total household income. The variation in average income contribution within each of the GLR countries is displayed in Table 44. On average non-sole breadwinner female community members contribute less than males (mean 37% vs. 43%). Those aged 31-40 contribute the largest proportion of household income on average compared to other age demographic groups (mean 52% vs. 33% of those 18-30 and 44% of those over 40).

In the two years prior to sampling 31.7% of community members across the GLR countries have had to borrow money to help meet their day to day needs, the remaining 68.3% not having needed to borrow, though there is a split between DRC and RoC where 23.1% and 20.3% (respectively) had to borrow, and Uganda where 52.3% had to borrow. In DRC and RoC the most common expenses that borrowed money was used for were: (i) to assist family (26.7%); (ii) as a means of subsistence (21.6%); and (iii) for a business investment (18.5%). In addition in DRC and RoC the most common borrowing source was friends (53%) followed by family (20%).

Across the GLR countries, only 13.3% of community members had ever applied for micro-credit from a

---

Rwanda is absent from all findings on borrowing to meet monthly expenses due to lack of directly comparable data. Further, questions regarding the sources and uses of borrowed money were only asked to community members in DRC and RoC.

### Table 43: Community Member Sole Breadwinner Average Monthly Income Shortages and Surpluses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Monthly Income Shortage</th>
<th>Average Monthly Income Surplus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 44: Community Member Average Non-Sole Breadwinner Household Income Contribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Non-Sole Breadwinner Household Income Contribution Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
financial institution, the remaining 86.7% never having applied (possibly due to lack of access). This cross-country figure is very much an average in that there was a clear split between DRC and RoC, on the one hand, where micro-credit application rates were very low (5.3% in DRC and 3.4% in RoC), against Rwanda and Uganda, on the other hand, where higher proportions of community members had applied for micro-credit (24.6% and 26.4% respectively). This division may be a product of the overall levels of development in the sampled areas of DRC and RoC (especially eastern DRC) – financial institutions as such being nearly non-existent. Generally speaking female community members were just as likely to have applied for micro-credit across the GLR countries when compared to male community members (13.1% vs. 13.4%). In Uganda there was a gendered trend visible in which 37.1% of female community members versus 19.6% of male community members had applied for micro-credit.

Of those community members who had applied for micro-credit most had successful applications (90.4%). At a cross-country level female community members reported slightly lower success rates in micro-credit applications (84.4% vs. 94.5%) – at a within-country level there is further nuance to examine. In Uganda, male community members were 100% successful in their micro-credit applications compared to 69.2% of female community members. Inversely, in RoC 85% of female community members had successful applications compared to 60% of male community members. The explanatory factor behind these opposing gender trends in micro-credit application rates is challenging to identify, but could prove a useful direction of inquiry in future studies.

### 15.5 Economic Associations

Across the GLR countries, just over half of community members (53.7%) are currently involved in micro-economic activities – though in DRC this was a notably lower proportion (34.2%).

Across the GLR countries 21.8% of community members were currently a member of an economic association, 7.6% were previously a member but were no longer, and 70.6% had never been a member of an economic association. However, in Rwanda and Uganda there were notably higher proportions of community members who were currently members of economic associations (25.2% and 42.9% respectively) – these trends are displayed in Table 45. Across the GLR countries, female community members were slightly less likely to currently be a member of an economic association when compared to male community members (19.7% vs. 23.3%). However, Uganda stands out from this otherwise durable trend – female community members were actually more likely to currently be in an economic association than their male counterparts (54.5% vs. 37.5%).

Looking only at Rwanda and Uganda, we can see that the most common form of economic association for community members is local savings and credit cooperatives, in which 40.3% of those who were currently a member of an economic association in the past two years were a member of a savings and credit cooperative.
economic association in Uganda belonged to and 61.1% of those in Rwanda belonged to. The next most common form of economic association among community members was farmers associations (8.3%) – of which female community members were less likely to be a member of when compared to males (3.3% vs. 11.9%).

When asked about the primary benefits they gain from membership to their economic association there were diverse trends across the GLR countries. In Rwanda and Uganda, community members most commonly identify financial support as a key benefit of their membership to an economic association (38.9% and 69.2% respectively). However, for community members in DRC and RoC, social networking (30.2% in DRC and 23.9% in RoC) and economic networking (39.7% in DRC and 46.9% in RoC), and moral support (27% in DRC and 19.5% in RoC) were the key benefits to membership in an economic association. Though not the most common reply, social and economic networking were also perceived as benefits to economic associations in Rwanda (14.2% and 20.4%) but not in as much so in Uganda (3.1% and 4.6%).

Age appears to play a role in the value of economic associations in at least two ways. First, as age increases, community members are less likely to see financial support as the main benefit of being in an economic association (52.3% of those 18-30, 46.9% of those 31-40, and 37.5% of those over 40) – most relevant in Rwanda and Uganda. Second, as age increases, community members are more likely to see economic networking as the chief benefit (14% of those 18-30, 19.1% of those 31-40, and 20% of those over 40) – especially relevant in DRC and RoC.

Across the GLR countries when community members were asked about the membership of their economic associations there was considerable variation across countries. The variation within each GLR country for community members’ perception of the membership of their economic association is presented in Table 46. Community members in DRC and Rwanda, and to a lesser extent RoC, were most heavily involved in economic associations without ex-combatant members, while community members in Uganda were more commonly members of economic association that also had ex-combatant members. It unclear this is a reflection of programmatic design or the result of social forces such as stigma.

Table 46: Community Member Economic Association Members Breakdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who are the members that comprise this Economic Association?</th>
<th>Only Ex-Combatants</th>
<th>Mix but mostly Ex-Combatants</th>
<th>Mixed with both reporters and non-Ex-Combatants</th>
<th>Civilians with no Ex-Combatants</th>
<th>Mainly disabled people</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Specified professionals such as teachers</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>58.7%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RoC</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>84.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
<td>.3%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>.2%</td>
<td>.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

223 Questions regarding the type of economic associations to which community members belonged were only asked in Rwanda and Uganda. In Rwanda these local savings and credit cooperatives commonly existed under the name VSLA – Village Savings and Loan Association.

224 However, this age related trend in DRC and RoC may be a product of the sampling biases in these countries towards community members over the age of 40.
15.6 Summary

Community members across the GLR countries show a relatively stable trajectory of economic status over time – the average unemployment rate varying as little as 2%. The majority of community members are self-employed in small-scale agriculture. Indeed, through time this remains the most important economic activity for community members across the GLR. Though the proportion of community members self-employed in small-scale agriculture peaks at the end of conflict and then drops some at the time of sampling, these drops, along with a continuous drop in the number of community members studying, are absorbed most notably into employment in public and private sector as well as self-employment in non-agricultural service and retail – indicative of the initial onset of improved stability and security in the wake of peace. Though, in DRC these is a nearly static state of employment among community members through time – likely a result of the continuing state of conflict in Eastern DRC.

Like ex-combatants, community members see their primary barrier to gaining a stable economic status as the lack of opportunities available to them but are also more likely to cite economic problems (such as access to credit) and lack of marketable skills as barriers than ex-combatants. In further contrast to ex-combatants, few community members were willing to migrate for better economic opportunities, likely an indicator of their stronger social and economic footing in the community. Non-economically active community members relied heavily on borrowing from family and friends to get by. However, overall community members had a positive outlook on their economic prospects in the future.

Community members across the GLR displayed a near even split between household sole breadwinner and non-sole breadwinner status. While on average non-sole breadwinners contributed less than half of their total monthly household income this was supplemented against the support of the rest of their household members’ income contributions, placing them at a clear advantage to sole breadwinners. Over half of sole breadwinners had to borrow money from family or friends to meet their household expenses on a monthly basis. Sole breadwinners between the ages of 31 and 40 were the most likely to meet their monthly expenses without borrowing, and when they did borrow they were much more likely to do so from friends instead of family. Further, those non-sole breadwinners aged 31-40 also contributed the most to their total household income on average. These elements combined suggest that community members aged 31-40 are at their economic prime and among the most capable at meeting their household economic responsibilities.

The number of community members who have access to micro-credit is low across the GLR countries, and few were members of economic associations – though some community members came into economic associations with ex-combatants as a part of reintegration programming in some countries (e.g. DRC and RoC). The primary value that community members identified to economic associations (most commonly local credit and savings), was largely reflective of programmatic dimensions in each country – e.g. in DRC and RoC social and economic networking were the primary value of economic associations that community members identified.

15.6.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

As consistent with the analysis presented throughout this survey of community dynamics in the Great Lakes Region, female community members exhibit a distinct range of characteristics that collectively paint a picture of a weaker platform of economic stability. Female community members are more likely than males to be unemployed through time, and vastly more likely to work taking care of the household – to an extent this can be expected as a result of traditional gender roles in the GLR countries. Female community members are less likely to cite lack of opportunity as the primary barrier to gaining productive economic status, though still the primary, and more likely to cite lack of education or skills than male community members.

Across the GLR, household sole breadwinner status was generally an indicator of economic instability. In this sense females are at an advantage to males, being less likely to be a sole breadwinner. However, those female community
members who were non-sole breadwinners contributed less to the household on average than males. Further, those female community members who were sole breadwinners were less likely to meet their expenses and more likely to borrow from family or friends to meet household expenses on a monthly basis than male community members – their income shortages were larger and their surpluses were smaller. So while female community members are less likely to be exposed to the economic vulnerability of sole breadwinner status, when they are, this vulnerability is more accentuated than for male community members. These findings flag female headed households as particularly vulnerable.

At first glance young community members (18-30) also appear to have some disadvantages to other age demographic groups. Young community members are the most likely to be unemployed at any time point, are less likely to meet monthly expenses, and have larger income shortages than their older peers. However, young community members are also the least likely age group to identify themselves as a household head and receive the support of their familial/household unit – in a sense insulating them from the weight of their employment and income disadvantages. It may be that the disadvantages that young community members face are simply an indication of their life stage in establishing an income source and building economic networks.

**15.6.2 Unique Country Trends**

In the analysis of economic issues presented in this section of the study, community members in DRC stand out subtly. First, across the GLR countries, self-employment in agriculture is the dominant economic status at all time points. While this is still the case in DRC, the overall proportion of community members self-employed in agriculture at all time points (before conflict, at start of demobilization programming, at the time of sampling) is considerably lower than the cross-country average. The difference is explained in part by the community members in DRC’s higher levels of unemployment (highest at all time points across the GLR), employment in the public sector, and self-employment in services or retail. Overall this could suggest that community members in DRC have a harder time gaining employment, specifically self-employment in agriculture, than in other GLR countries and as a result participate more deeply in a range of alternative income activities.

In addition, community members in DRC are the most likely across the GLR to be sole breadwinners – and thus subject to greater household economic instability. Indeed, while sole breadwinners in DRC are the most likely across the GLR countries to meet their monthly expenses, less than half do so – instead relying on borrowing from friends and family on a regular basis. Though sole breadwinners in DRC have smaller monthly income shortages than those in other GLR countries, they also have smaller surpluses. Essentially, while sole breadwinner community members in DRC are slightly better off than those in other GLR countries, community members in DRC are also more likely to be a sole breadwinner – still an indicator of greater exposure to economic instability.

Collectively these two points, community members in DRC as the most likely to be unemployed and the most likely to be a sole breadwinner, cement the economic conditions for community members in DRC as the weakest in the GLR countries.
The following section provides a discussion and analysis of the many facets of social capital in the community member sample. The concept of social capital essentially revolves around the idea that social networks have value, both tangible and intangible, for individuals and communities and are a key indicator of the overall social health of communities – in turn, their ability to leverage this social capital towards social and economic outcomes. As such the analysis of social capital for community members across the Great Lakes Region presented here is comprised of five core components: (i) an examination of the size of community members’ social networks and their levels of sociability; (ii) an examination of individual community members’ levels of trust and solidarity with others in their community; (iii) an examination of community members levels of social cohesion and inclusion in the community; (iv) in turn, an examination of how these factors come together in community members’ overall sense of empowerment; and (v) their perception of social change over time. Beyond serving as a key backdrop for understanding ex-combatants’ position relative to community members, the analysis here represents a look into the core social dynamics present in communities across the GLR countries.

16.1 Networks and Sociability

Across the GLR countries, community members are unlikely to be in many social groups – though they are still in more social groups than ex-combatants on average. Community members across the GLR countries are in an average of 0.63 social groups. This average is reflected across the GLR countries with the exception of Uganda, where community members had more (0.93) social groups on average. Female community members had slightly fewer social groups than male community members on average (0.56 vs. 0.67).

In terms of change in number of social groups, 40.7% of community members across the GLR countries reported that the number of social groups that they belonged to at the time of sampling was more than that of one year prior, 45.8% the same number as one year prior, and 13.5% reported their current number of social groups was less than one year prior. However, there is a sharp division between DRC and RoC on the one hand and Uganda on the other. In DRC and RoC, 77.9% of community members had seen an improvement in their number of social groups. Uganda stood in contrast from DRC and RoC as only 9.8% of community members were currently in more social groups than one year ago, 73.6% were in the same number, and 16.6% were in fewer groups. So while in Uganda community members had more social groups than in DRC and RoC in absolute terms, those community members in DRC and RoC had seen considerably more improvement.

Across the GLR countries, female community members were more likely to be in more social groups than one year ago compared to male community members (46.4% vs. 36.9%). In addition age displayed a positive relationship to the likelihood of being in more social groups than one year ago (31.3% of those 18-30, 45.5% of those 31-40, and 46.1% of those over 40).

Only 39.6% of community members across the GLR countries were on a management or organizational committee.

---

225 Rwanda is absent from findings on change in number of social groups due to lack of directly comparable data.

226 It is possible that this gap between DRC/RoC and Uganda could be an indicator of the health of the overall social fabric in these countries, however it is also possible that it could be a product of periodization issues – e.g. a longer amount of time passed between the start of DDR programing and the time of sampling in Uganda than DRC in which time the overall security situation has improved considerably.
for a local group or organization – another indicator of social interaction and overall engagement in the community.\textsuperscript{227} Female community members were less likely to be on a committee than male community members (30.4% vs. 45.7%). Those between the ages of 31-40 were the age segment that most commonly was on a committee (45.7%), compared to those 18-30 (33.1%), and those over 40 (41.5%).

The majority of community members (73%) across the GLR countries have contact with their immediate family.\textsuperscript{228} However this cross-country figure masks some nuance in the trends within each GLR country. For example in RoC the proportion of community members who had contact with their families was absolute (100%) and in Uganda nearly so (97.3%). However, in DRC only 31% of community members had contact with their immediate family – likely a product of the extreme difficulty of travel and overall dynamics of displacement in eastern DRC. Female community members across the GLR were slightly less likely than male community members to have contact with their immediate family (68.2% vs. 76.2%).

Of those community members across the GLR countries who did have contact with their immediate family, they most frequently had daily contact (63.9%), though in Uganda this proportion was much larger (93.2%). A cross-country summary of community members’ frequency of familial contact is displayed in Table 47. Age showed a negative relationship to the frequency which community members reported having daily contact with their immediate family (53.1% of those 18-30, 40.1% of those 31-40, and 25.9% of those over 40).

When community members across the GLR countries who did have contact with immediate family were asked whether the current level of their contact was the maximum they would desire, 49.3% responded yes – the remaining 50.7% responding no. Again, there is some nuance to be added here. In Uganda where daily contact was much higher, 87% responded that their current level of familial contact was the maximum they would desire. In contrast, in DRC, where the number of those who had contact with their family at all was much lower, only 11.9% felt they currently had the maximum level of contact with their families that they would desire – these trends are displayed in Table 48.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Community Member Frequency of Familial Contact}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\multicolumn{2}{|c|}{Frequency of contact between community member and immediate family these days} & \multicolumn{6}{|c|}{\%} \\
\hline
 \ & Daily & Weekly & Monthly & Half yearly & Once a year & Occasionally & Never \\
\hline
Male & 69.40 & 11.90 & 8.20 & 1.60 & 0.60 & 7.90 & 0.20 \\
\hline
Female & 55.10 & 11.30 & 14.60 & 1.30 & 1.50 & 15.90 & 0.40 \\
\hline
Age 18-30 & 78.00 & 9.30 & 5.20 & 1.10 & 0.60 & 5.70 & 0.10 \\
\hline
Age 31-40 & 63.50 & 13.40 & 11.50 & 1.60 & 1.40 & 8.50 & 0.20 \\
\hline
Age Over 40 & 52.90 & 12.70 & 14.40 & 1.50 & 0.90 & 16.80 & 0.80 \\
\hline
DRC & 33.70 & 17.40 & 17.90 & 0.50 & 2.20 & 28.30 & 0.00 \\
\hline
RoC & 23.30 & 22.40 & 25.00 & 3.80 & 2.20 & 22.00 & 0.90 \\
\hline
Uganda & 93.20 & 4.50 & 1.10 & 0.60 & 0.00 & 0.60 & 0.00 \\
\hline
GLR Average & 63.90 & 11.70 & 10.60 & 1.50 & 1.00 & 10.90 & 0.30 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{227} Rwanda is absent from findings on membership to management or organizational committees due to lack of directly comparable data.

\textsuperscript{228} Rwanda is absent from findings on familial contact, frequency of familial contact, reasons for levels of familial contact, and desired levels of familial contact due to lack of directly comparable data.
When in DRC and RoC community members were asked to explain why they do not see their families more often, the most common responses were: (i) distance of travel (37.1%), (ii) not enough time (15.5%), and (iii) the cost of travel (19.2%) – largely corroborating the assertion above that familial contact, especially in eastern DRC, is a product of the difficulty of travel due to weak road infrastructure, mountainous terrain, strong seasonal rains, and continuing regional insecurity.229 It is also likely that regional dynamics of forced displacement and migration may further damage social capital in DRC, RoC, and the GLR more broadly.

Across the GLR countries, when community members were asked to describe the number of friends they had the majority reported that they have lots of friends (48.5%), followed by a few good friends (30.9%), and not many friends (20.6%). Uganda stands out from this trend with 74.3% of community members reporting having lots of friends. Female community members across the GLR countries were less likely to describe having lots of friends and more likely to describe having not many friends compared to male community members (39% vs. 54.3% and 17.8% vs. 16.1%, respectively).

Across the GLR countries, when community members were asked to think about the age, gender, and educational background of their friends,230 the majority of community members reported that their friends mostly shared the same age (57.7%) and gender (62.1%), while few (25.7%) shared the same educational background. These trends are durable across the GLR countries and are displayed in Table 49. In terms of demographic groups it is worth noting that female community members were slightly less likely than male community members to have most of their friends of the same age (54.4% vs. 60.1%) or educational background (24.9% vs. 26.3%), but slightly more likely to have them of the same gender (64.5% vs. 60.4%). Across age demographics, those over 40 were consistently the least likely to have most of their friends in the same age, gender, or educational background group (only marginally less than those 31-40, see Table 49) – an indicator of older community members slightly more diverse social groups and overall stronger social footing.

When community members across the GLR countries were asked to whom they would turn to for help if they were to encounter an economic problem the most common responses were (i) family (39.9%) and (ii) friends (33.4%) – the remaining 26.7% said they would turn to no one (10.3%), to formal institutions such as local saving and credit associations (7.5%) or a range of other sources including the church (8.9%). Female community members were less likely to turn to friends and more likely to turn to family compared to male community members (27.2% vs. 37.2% and 44.9 vs. 36.8%, respectively). Age showed a negative relationship to the frequency at which community members reported that they would turn to family for economic support (50.4% of those 18-30, 35.8% of those 31-40, and 31.8% of those over 40). In addition, age showed a positive relationship to the frequency which community members reported turning to no one (6.3% of those 18-30, 9.2% of those 31-40, and 15.4% of those over 40).

---

229 Questions regarding the reasons for less familial contact than desired were only asked in DRC and RoC.

230 Rwanda is absent from findings of the demographic background of community members’ friends due to lack of directly comparable data.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 49: Community Member Friend Group Demographics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thinking about your friends, are most of them of the same age?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thinking about your friends, are most of them of the same gender?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thinking about your friends, are most of them of the same educational background or level?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally speaking, across the GLR countries community members did not socialize often in public – meeting with people in a public place either to talk or have food or drinks. On average community members across the GLR countries met in public to socialize 1.33 times a week – though females met less often than males (0.95 vs. 1.57 times a week). An interesting note is that in DRC and RoC when community members were asked how often they met to discuss community issues with others over food or drinks, as opposed to just for socialization, the response rates were notably higher (mean = 2.12 times a week). With this, the majority of community members (57.4%) in DRC and RoC think that community issues have created the space by which they can more generally meet people and socialize.
Community members across the GLR countries indicate that their level of public socialization is most commonly the same as two years ago (50.4%), followed by more often (28.1%), and less often (21.5%). Female community members were notably less likely to see improvements in their level of public socialization in the two years prior to sampling than male community members (23.3% vs. 31.5%).

### 16.2 Trust and Solidarity

Drawing from Rwanda and Uganda, we can observe that trust among community members towards others in their community is generally high. The majority of community members (63.3%) believe that people in their community can be trusted to a great extent, followed by to neither a great nor small extent (22.8%), and lastly to a small extent (13.9%). Female community members on average were less trusting of others in the community than their male counterparts – 58% of female community members had high trust compared to 65.7% of male community members and 18.8% of female community members had low trust compared to 11.7% of male community members.

As a further indication of this general level of trust, across the GLR countries 18.8% of community members felt that if they were to disagree with something that everyone else in their community agreed on they would not at all feel free to speak out, 63.5% reported they would definitely feel free to speak out, and 17.7% that they would feel free to speak out but only on certain matters. Female community members were slightly more likely to feel they could not speak out at all and less likely to feel they could definitely speak out when compared to male community members (22.8% vs. 15.9% and 57.6% vs. 67.8%, respectively). It is possible that local gender based social norms play a role in these findings.

When asked whether or not they felt that the level of trust had improved in the last year / two years in the community, 43.4% of community members across the GLR countries felt that it had improved, 47.9% that it was the same, and only 8.7% that trust had deteriorated. This cross-country figure however is very much an average as within the individual GLR countries there were distinct trends – for example, in Uganda a clear majority (63.3%) felt that trust had improved while in DRC an even larger majority (73.6%) felt that trust had stayed the same. These within-country trends are displayed in Table 50. A consistent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 50: Community Member Perceptions of Change in Trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the past year / two years, has the level of trust in your area got better, worse, or stayed about the same?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

231 This specific question about general trust levels in the community was only asked in Uganda and Rwanda.

232 Rwanda is absent from findings on comfort of speaking out in disagreement with their community due to lack of directly comparable data.

233 In Uganda and Rwanda this question was asked with reference to the last year, whereas in DRC and RoC it was asked in reference to the last two years. This creates some issues with periodization and comparability. These figures should be treated with caution. Interestingly, though the question refers to a longer period of time in DRC and RoC, this does not appear to translate to greater perceptions of improved trust among community members. In the case of DRC this may be the product of continuing insecurity.
trend along gender demographic lines does, however, exist. Across and within the GLR countries, female community members are consistently less likely than male community members to see trust as improved (39.4% vs. 45.9% at a cross-country level) and more likely to see it as the same (51.7% vs. 45.5% at a cross-country level).

When those community members across the GLR countries who thought that trust had improved in the last two years were asked to explain further, the majority (42.2%) cited improved safety and security as the main reason for improved trust – this answer was particularly prevalent among female community members (56.6% vs. 34.7% of male community members). A notable portion of community members (44.5%) also expressed a range of explanations that related to improved collaboration, cooperation and understanding due to communal living – a key component of the confrontational process of social reintegration.

Looking the other direction, when those community members across the GLR countries who thought that trust had deteriorated in the last two years were asked to explain further, responses were diverse – however, the most common were as follows: (I) dishonesty in general (23.4%), (ii) dishonest authorities (19.6%), and (iii) insecurity (11.9%)

### 16.3 Social Cohesion and Inclusion

When reflecting on the level of diversity among the people they live around, 36.7% of community members described their community as diverse (characterized by lots of differences between people), 25.9% as neither particularly diverse or homogenous (neither a great nor small extent of differences between people), and the remaining 37.4% described their community as fairly homogenous (characterized by few differences between people). This relatively even distribution across the GLR countries can be nuanced with a closer look within each of the countries – for example, in Uganda and DRC, community homogeneity (low diversity) was perceived as considerably higher (57.5% and 56.7%, respectively) while in Rwanda, community members’ perceived high levels of diversity (62.1%). These specific within-country trends are displayed in Table 51.

At a cross-country level, age showed a distinct relationship to the perception of community diversity among community members. As age increased the likelihood of perceiving high diversity decreased (42.4% of those 18-30, 36.9% of those 31-40, and 30.7% of those over 40) and accordingly the likelihood of perceiving low diversity increased (33.5% of those 18-30, 34.5% of those 31-40, and 42.9% of those over 40).

When community members across the GLR countries were asked whether differences between people in their community caused problems such as disagreement, arguments or disputes the majority (68.5%) replied no (31.5% responding yes). Only Uganda breaks significantly from this trend – 69.1% of community members did think that differences caused problems in their community. Congruent to the age demographic trend above in regards to the perception of diversity, as age increases among community members across the GLR countries they are less likely to see differences between people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 51: Community Member Perception of Community Diversity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>To what extent do differences between people characterize your community?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To a great extent, i.e. lots of differences between people</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 31-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Over 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLR Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
as a source of problems (43.9% of those 18-30, 29.5% of those 31-40, and 24.3% of those over 40) and more likely to
not see them as a source of problems (56.1% of those 18-30, 70.5% of those 31-40, and 75.7% of those over 40). To
recap, older community members are both less likely to see differences between people, and less likely to see these
differences as a source of problems. Though female community members identified levels of diversity in their com-
munities on a level similar to male community members, they were less likely to think that diversity was a source of
problems (28.7% vs. 33.5%).

Looking specifically at DRC and RoC, community members were asked to further explain the nature of the kinds
of problems they encounter. Community members most commonly described the problems as revolving around
(i) envy, slander or taunts (29.8%); (ii) misunderstanding (20.5%); or (iii) unspecified accusations made towards
ex-combatants (12.7%).

Despite varying levels of perceived diversity and their association with problems in the community, across the GLR
countries the majority of community members (75.3%) report that they feel a high level of togetherness and close-
ness with their community (19.6% feel neither distant nor close and 5.1% feel distant). Across demographic lines,
this level is very even as well. However, DRC stands out from the trend as the country with the lowest proportion
of community members who feel a high level of closeness and togetherness (61.4%). In addition, while in other GLR
countries there is little variation along demographic lines, in DRC female community members are less likely to feel
close to their community (57.4% vs. 65.1%) and more likely to feel neither distant nor close (32.2% vs. 27.5%) or
distant (10.4% vs. 7.5%) compared to male community members.

In alignment with overall feelings of togetherness with the community, across the GLR countries 69.5% of com-
munity members had in the last year worked with others in the area they live to do something for the benefit of their
community (the remaining 30.5% not having done so). Despite this cross-country figure there is a clear polarization
between DRC and RoC, on the one hand, where the rate of participation was lower (53.2% and 54.9%, respectively)
and Rwanda and Uganda, on the other, where participation was higher (92.9% and 76.9%, respectively).

There is a dispersed range of information regarding the perceived importance of community participation from
community members. For example, in Uganda 25.3% of community members cite lack of participation in commu-
nity activities as the cause of marginalization in the area that they live. In DRC and RoC an average of 53.3% of com-
munity members reported that there were penalties, both formal (such as a ticket or fee) or informal (such as social
resentment or exclusion), for those who didn’t participate in community activities – though within each country the
figures were almost perfectly inverse (In DRC, 39.7% said that there were penalties and 60.3% said there were not,
while in RoC the distributions were 57.6% and 42.4%, respectively).

16.4 Empowerment

Empowerment is an important indicator of overall levels of social capital and is understood as a result of individuals’
levels of social connection and their ability to leverage the benefits of these connections and the community and
the larger context of society. Collectively, the extent of these benefits and in turn the functions that they fulfill for
individuals play a role in the psychosocial concept of empowerment – the individual or collective ability to affect
change in one’s life.

When asked to reflect on their general level of happiness, 71.8% described themselves as happy, 17.4% described
themselves as neither happy nor unhappy, and 10.8% reported that they were unhappy. Community members in
DRC were the least likely to report being happy (65.2%), while community members in Uganda were the most
likely to report so (80.8%). Across the GLR countries, female community members were slightly less likely to be
happy and more likely to be unhappy than male community members (67% vs. 70.6% and 15% vs. 11.4%, respec-
tively).

When asked to what extent they felt they had the power to make important decisions that affect the course of their
lives, community members across the GLR countries most commonly reported that they felt that they had such power to a large extent (51.3%), followed with decreasing frequency by to a medium extent (33.3%) and to a small extent (15.4%). These overall perceptions of power were remarkably durable within each of the GLR countries—however there are distinct demographic trends in regard to gender. Female community members across the GLR countries were nearly half as likely as their male counterparts to report having a large extent of power to make decisions in their lives (35.6% vs. 62.3%) while more likely to perceive power to a medium extent (41.8% vs. 27.3%) and more than twice as likely to have it to a small extent (22.6% vs. 10.4%).

Interestingly, when community members were asked a very similar question as to what extent they felt they had the ability (as opposed to power) to make important decisions that affect the course of their lives, perceptions of empowerment were considerably higher—78.8% reporting that they were able to make changes, 14.9% that they neither were able nor unable to make changes, and 6.7% that they were unable to make changes in their life. Ver y

---

234 Rwanda is absent from findings on sense of empowerment in terms of power to make important decisions and ability to make important decisions due to lack of directly comparable data.

235 The analytical distinction between senses of empowerment in terms of power versus ability is not clear. Interpreting any meaning to the disparity in levels of power and ability is therefore problematic and these data should be treated as a broad indicator of a positive sense of empowerment rather than as exact measures of different components of empowerment.
similar to the question above on power to make change, females also considerably less frequently reported having the ability to make changes and more frequently neither being able nor unable as well as just unable (as is displayed in Table 52).

When asked yet another question about perceived levels of empowerment, but this time scaled in reference to the extent that community members feel control over decisions that have an effect of their everyday activities, the trends are remarkably similar to the previous two questions above.236 Of community members questioned across the GLR, 64.4% perceive that they control most decisions that affect their everyday lives, 25.6% perceive that they control some decisions, and 10.1% few decisions. A very similar gender-based demographic trend was exhibited here as well – as is visible in Table 52.

When community members across the GLR countries were asked about whether or not they had a positive impact on the community they live in, there was a clear polarization between DRC and RoC on the one hand, and Rwanda and Uganda on the other. As is visible in Table 53 in DRC and RoC there were relatively even distributions of community members’ responses to having a positive impact, neither a positive nor negative impact, and a negative impact. In Rwanda and Uganda, by contrast, the frequency of community members having the perception of having a positive impact on their community was high – in the case of Rwanda, almost absolute.

In regards to gender, in DRC and RoC female community members much less frequently than male community members reported having a positive impact on their community (27.9% vs. 46.1%), while in Rwanda the extent of the gap between female and male community members is approximately half of that in DRC and RoC (87.9% vs. 96.3%). In Uganda, female community members even have a slightly higher likelihood of perceiving a positive impact than males (82.5% vs. 80.8%).

Turning to age demographics, in DRC and RoC age showed a positive relationship to the likelihood of the perception of having a positive impact on the community (26.3% of those 18-30, 39.1% of those 31-40, and 43.6% of those over 40). While there was no linear trend in regards to age visible in Rwanda; in Uganda, age showed a slight negative relationship to the likelihood of the perception of having a positive impact on the community (85.7% of those 18-30, 82.5% of those 31-40, and 73.2% of those over 40).

Certain parts of this trend of polarity between DRC/RoC and Uganda/Rwanda continue when community members are asked to what extent they feel valued by others in the area they live. On average across the GLR countries, 70.3% of community members felt valued by others in their community. However DRC showed smaller proportions of

236 This question regarding community members’ levels of control over everyday decisions has been re-coded from a five point scale to a three point scale for increased comparability to the other two measures of empowerment (power and ability) presented here.
community members who felt valued (64.4%), while in Uganda almost all (98.3%) community members felt valued. Female community members were notably less likely to feel valued by their community compared to male community members (66.5% vs. 72.9%).

When asked how often in the past year they had joined with other people to express concerns to the government or local leaders for the benefit of the community, 44.7% of community members across the GLR countries had never done so, 11.6% had once done so, 21.1% had done so a few times (five or less), and 22.6% had done so many times (five or more). This cross-country trend in which the large majority of community members have never gathered to express community concerns is characteristic of DRC, RoC and Uganda. However, in Rwanda the frequency of gathering was most commonly many times (62.4%) – as is displayed in Table 54.237

Female community members were more likely to have never participated in voicing community issues when compared to male community members (60.7% vs. 34.6%) and less likely than males to have participated once (8.7% vs. 13.4%), a few times (16.3% vs. 24.1%), or many times (14.3% vs. 27.9%). Age shows a slight negative relationship to the likelihood of gathering many times for political participation in the last year (26.5% of those 18-30, 25.9% of those 31-40, and 17% of those over 40).238

When questioned further as to the extent that they thought that local government and leaders take into account those concerns voiced by the community when they make important decisions that affect the community, 17.4% of community members across the GLR countries felt that leaders took their concerns into account a lot, 41.7% a little, and 40.9% not at all.239 Female community members were less likely than male community members to feel that leaders took their concerns into account either a lot or a little (15.8% and 37.5% vs. 17.6% and 44.7%, respectively) and more likely to feel that leaders did not take their concerns into account at all (46.7% vs. 36.8%).

**16.5 Social Change**

Similar to trends in the ex-combatant sample, across the GLR countries community members generally were polarized in their outlook on the likelihood of their overall situation improving in the future between those that thought

---

237 This high rate of public gathering to express concerns in Rwanda is likely another effect of Umuganda. While the main purpose of Umuganda is community work it also serves as a platform for leaders to communicate important news on a national and local level as well as for individuals and communities to express concerns and plan for future Umuganda.

238 This age related trend in the likelihood of public gathering may in part be related to the heavy sampling bias in RoC, the country where community public gathering was lowest, towards community members over 40.

239 Rwanda is absent from findings on the extent to which community members feel leaders take their concerns into account due to lack of directly comparable data.
that it would improve in a few years and those that thought that their situation would deteriorate in the future. Overall, only 1.5% of community members thought that their situation would improve in a few weeks, 4.9% thought it would improve in the coming months, 50% that it would improve in a few years, 6.4% that it would remain the same, and 37.3% reporting that they foresee their overall situation deteriorating in the future.\(^{240}\) As in the ex-combatant sample, only Uganda stood apart from this trend – 79.3% of community members reporting that they thought their overall situation would improve in a few years. These findings may suggest that while in general communi-

\(^{240}\) Rwanda is absent from findings on community members’ overall outlook on their situation for the future and their overall level of satisfaction with their life up until sampling due to lack of directly comparable data.
ty members have a polarized outlook for their future, those who do have a positive outlook understand the time horizons of social change – occurring in the scale of years rather than days, weeks, or even months.

Female community members across the GLR were less likely to report that their situation would improve in the next few years compared to male community member (43% vs. 54.9%) and more likely to think that their overall situation would deteriorate in the future (44.7% vs. 32%). Age as well held a clear relationship to polarized response between these two outcomes. As age increased community members were less likely to see their overall situation improving in a few years (61.4% of those 18-30, 54.4% of those 31-40, and 40.3% of those over 40) and more likely to see it deteriorating (24.8% of those 18-30, 37% of those 31-40, and 46.9% of those over 40).

When questioned whether they are satisfied with the way that their life has been to date, across the GLR countries 32.5% of community members reported that they were satisfied, 8.2% that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and the remaining 59.3% that they were dissatisfied. However, this cross-country figure fails to depict the nuance between GLR countries as there was a clear split between Uganda on the one hand, and DRC / RoC on the other. In Uganda 43.3% of community members being satisfied, 24.4% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and 32.2% being dissatisfied. In contrast, in DRC and RoC 73% of community members were dissatisfied with their life to date and only 27.1% were satisfied. Female community members were slightly more likely to be dissatisfied with their life to date than male community members (62.9% vs. 55.9%).

Community members were questioned about their perceptions of their own position in society across a range of fields at the time of sampling and a year prior using a nine-step ladder response prompt. Their responses are tabulated below in Table 55 by mean score. The lower the mean score is the closer the community member is to the bottom rung of the ladder – where the poorest people tend to be. Generally speaking, across and within the GLR countries community members, as with ex-combatants, consistently identify themselves in the poorest half of society – between steps two and four. However community members rank themselves slightly better than ex-combatants on average across all categories.

Looking at the GLR countries as a whole there is a slight increase in the mean scores for community members across all categories. This trend is reflected within each country with the exception of DRC – where on average, scores were higher across all categories, but had declined across all categories from a year prior (with the exception of leisure). A closer look at DRC reveals that the only demographic group that saw average improvements across any categories was those aged 18-30 (who improved across all categories with the exceptions of finance and school fees). At a cross-country level, all gender and age demographic categories see improvements across all categories (with the exception of the health category for those over 40 which stays the same over time). Interestingly, despite the range of economic and social disadvantages that females hold, they perceive themselves as slightly better off than males across all categories except for clothing and leisure at the time of sampling and one year prior.

### 16.6 Summary

Overall, community members across the GLR countries show positive levels of social capital and a general trajectory of improvement. Community members have a growing number of social groups and high levels of contact with their families, forming a broad social platform that can serve as a fallback position in times of hardship or a springboard in moments of opportunity. While community members have diverse friend groups who they can often turn to for support, the family unit is still the core of their social support network.

---

241 It should be noted that in DRC and RoC, community members were not given the option of replying that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their life up to the time of sampling - this scaling issue may have inadvertently inflated the number of community members who expressed being dissatisfied with their life.

242 Rwanda is absent from these social change findings due to lack of directly comparable data, however this is the only section in the community dynamics annex of this study where Burundi is included.
With these generally strong social networks, community members in turn display a high level of trust in the community and show a continued positive trajectory in this field – also aided by increased stability and security in the end of conflict. These factors have set the context in which community members feel a strong sense of togetherness and meet to work together for the betterment of their communities. Further, community members report being generally happy and describe a broadly positive sense of empowerment in their lives (though they are simultaneously dissatisfied with their lives to date in general). While community members rank themselves consistently in the poorest half of society across a range of categories, they also display a shallow trajectory of improvement over time. Indeed, while community members are polarized in their general outlooks for the future, those with a positive outlook express that they understand that social change does not occur over night, but rather in the scale of years.

Very generally speaking, it appears that the social dynamics of communities across the GLR countries (with the exception of DRC) provide a context for which ex-combatants can return to communities and strive towards reintegration into an already stable community setting in terms of social capital. However, this general ability of the communities in the GLR to absorb ex-combatants and serve as a setting which they can reintegrate into should not mask the realities of the post-conflict social landscape. Families, communities and broader networks in the GLR countries have been affected severe violence and displacement - to the great detriment of trust, solidarity, and social cohesion across the broader social fabric of society. In this sense to long-term project of rebuilding society is one that ex-combatants and community members face together.

16.6.1 Vulnerable Subgroups

As consistent with the analysis presented throughout this report, female community members fare worse off than male community members in terms of most indicators of social capital and are thus further solidified as a vulnerable group. Female community members have weaker social networks and less family contact that subtracts overall from their ability to leverage the value of these social connections – leaving female community members in a position of relative social isolation.

Though there is some variation from country to country, female community members feel less trust with the community, less togetherness with the community, are less happy personally, are less likely to feel they have a positive impact on the community, and feel less empowered to affect change in their lives. However, despite this broad range of disadvantages in terms of social capital female community members consistently perceive themselves as slightly better off relative to the rest of society than male community members across a broad range of categories including food, housing, finances, and health.

Many of the social disadvantages that female community members display may be the result of traditional gender structures and their resulting gender-based inequalities. Understanding these disadvantages is important in the examination of community dynamics themselves, but also carries weight for the return of female ex-combatants. What this means for female ex-combatants is that social reintegration (in terms of reaching parity with community members) may inadvertently mean reintegrating back into basic gender inequalities – possibly with the added dimension of stigma as an amplifying force to these disadvantages. With this in mind it is important to recognize the importance of reintegration programming that not only addresses the specific disadvantages that female ex-combatants face, but to fit in as part of and effort towards affecting a larger collective shift towards gender equality in post-conflict and development settings.

16.6.2 Unique Country Trends

Overall, community members in DRC rank lower than community members in the rest of the GLR countries across a broad range of social capital indicators. Collectively, the core weaknesses of community members in DRC in terms of social capital can be characterized along three dimensions: (i) weak family connections; (ii) weak community connections; and (iii) weak personal self-worth and empowerment.
Access to family networks is an important inroad for building further social and economic networks and in turn leveraging the tangible and intangible value of these networks. In terms of family, community members in DRC have the lowest levels of contact with their families, those who do have contact with their families have it the least frequently, and in line with this community members in DRC are the least likely to be satisfied with their level of familial contact. The weak state of familial networks that are characteristic of community members in the DRC are likely a product of the social geography of eastern DRC. Many community members have been displaced or migrated and continuing instability coupled with the mountainous landscape, near non-existent road infrastructure, and heavy seasonal rains keep family networks effectively fractured – isolated by social and physical barriers.

The weakness in family connections in DRC corresponds to a distinct weakness in community connections among community members as well. Community members in DRC have a low number of social groups on average, reported weakest levels of improvement in trust in the community, the lowest sense of togetherness, and were the least likely to work with others for the betterment of their community compared to community members in other GLR countries. These indicators of weak social capital for community members in terms of family connections and community networks correspond to the overall weaker economic situation of community members highlighted in section 15.6.2 of this annex.

Further, these broad weaknesses in community members in DRC's familial and community networks correspond to their low senses of self-worth and empowerment. Community members in DRC are the least likely to feel they have a positive impact on the community, the least likely to feel valued by others in the community, and the most likely to be dissatisfied with their life compared to community members in other GLR countries. In addition while community members in DRC perceive themselves as slightly better off compared to the rest of society across a range of categories than community members in other GLR countries, they are the only group who see a decrease in their perceived standing over time – possibly a result of continuing instability in the region.

Violent conflict has damaged the social fabric of individuals and communities across the GLR. However, it appears that the continued insecurity in eastern DRC coupled with the intense geographic landscape in the region has contributed to a fragmented social geography in which familial and communal networks are fractured and cannot be leveraged for their value by community members – leaving them particularly exposed to social and economic isolation. Future studies on social capital in the region could flag the interaction of social capital and social geography as a field for further analysis.
The following is an analysis of community member experiences of the reinsertion and reintegration of ex-combatants. Most importantly, the analysis here highlights the changes in community perspectives towards ex-combatants since the reintegration process began. For the greatest analytical value this chapter should be read in conjunction with section 11 on ex-combatants’ DDR experiences. Owing to data constraints, this section of the study draws exclusively from DRC, RoC, and Uganda.

17.1 Community Sensitization and Preparedness

Across the GLR countries, community members most commonly received information, though not necessarily official information, about ex-combatants coming to the area they live in to reintegrate through: (i) word of mouth (41.2%); (ii) radio (27.3%); or (iii) a community meeting (11.1%). In Uganda, though the three most common mediums by which community members received information about returning ex-combatants were the same, radio was the most common medium (30.2%), followed by word of mouth (22.5%), and community meetings (14.8%). Across the GLR countries, female community members were more likely to get information about ex-combatants from word of mouth than male community members (49% vs. 35.9%) and less likely to get it from radio (23.8% vs. 29.8%). Those aged 18-30 were particularly likely to have received information through radio compared to other age demographic groups (35.2% of those 18-30, 27.1% of those 31-40, and 22.1% of those over 40).

The vast majority of community members across the GLR countries (70.5%) reported that they were given no help in understanding how reintegration was going to take place, the remainder reporting receiving some help (20%) or reporting receiving lots of help (9.5%). Uganda stands out from the cross-country trend with a less unipolar distribution (47.2% no help, 34.8% some help, 18% lots of help). In regards to gender, female community members were more likely to report receiving no help compared to male community members (77.3% vs. 65.8%). While this gendered trend continued in Uganda there was an additional dimension – female community members were also more likely to have received lots of help on understanding how reintegration would take place compared to male community members (23.2% vs. 15.6%).

When asked further whether they thought they should have been informed or given more help before ex-combatants were reintegrated into their community, there was a near even split across the GLR countries in community members responses – 52.1% reporting that yes they should have been given info and help and 47.9% replying no. A closer look at each of the individual countries shows that in RoC and Uganda there was an approximate 60/40 split between those who responded yes and no. Interestingly, in DRC this split in responses was reversed 40/60. This is interesting because DRC was the country where community members most frequently (87.6%) reported receiving no help on understanding how reintegration would take place.

When asked by what medium they would have liked to have received information about the reintegration process the three most common replies are the same as the three most common mediums by which community members actually did receive information – though with distinctly different distributions between these responses – 44.1% of community members wanted to receive information about reintegration in community meetings, 29.3% preferred

243 At least in eastern DRC, the geographic challenges of face-to-face sensitization can play a role in these figures.
As displayed in Table 56 though the most common medium by which community members across the GLR countries received information about reintegration was word of mouth. The most preferred was clearly community meeting. Female community members were slightly less likely to prefer radio as an information medium compared to male community members (26.5% vs. 30.7%) and more likely to prefer word of mouth (16.5% vs. 5.6%).

### 17.2 Community Perspectives on Ex-Combatant Reintegration and Fear

Across the GLR countries, community members had only a moderate level of personal interaction with returning ex-combatants – 35% had lots of direct contact, 21.2% had a little direct contact, and 43.9% had no contact. However, this cross-country figure masks the diversity in levels of community member contact within the GLR countries – In DRC, the levels of contact were drastically lower than average (10.1% lots of contact, 11.1% some contact, and 78.8% no contact) while in Uganda, contact levels were generally higher than average (63.7% lots of contact, 23.1% some contact, and 13.2% no contact). RoC fell closest to the cross-country average with 30.1% lots of contact, 31.2% some contact, and 38.8% no contact.

In DRC and RoC, where community member contact with returning ex-combatants was lower, female community members were less likely to respond that they had lots of direct contact than male community members (7.8% vs. 12.2% in DRC and 23.4% vs. 35.9% in RoC) and more likely to respond that they had no contact (82.6% vs. 75.3% in DRC and 43.4% vs. 34.8%) while in Uganda, where contact levels were generally higher, the trends were reversed – female community members were more likely than male community members to respond that they had lots of direct contact than male community members (73.7% vs. 59.2%) and less likely to respond that they had no contact (8.8% vs. 15.2%). Across the GLR countries, age showed a negative relationship to the likelihood of reporting having lots of contact with returning ex-combatants (44.2% of those 18-30, 31.9% of those 31-40, and 287% of those over 40) and, inversely, a positive relationship to the likelihood of having a little contact (13.7% of those 18-30, 23.5% of those 31-40, and 28.7% of those over 40).

### Table 56: Community Member Information Sources on Reintegration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How were you informed about Ex-Combatants coming to reintegrate into the area you live?</th>
<th>How should you have been informed?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community meeting</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word of mouth</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church or mosque</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs or charities</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government ministries</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone call/ Megaphone/ Public Announcement</td>
<td>.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Commission</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door-to-door announcement</td>
<td>.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was not informed</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Means</td>
<td>XXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The use of XXX signifies a field with no available data.*

244 Unfortunately there is no data available regarding community members’ perspectives on the content of the information and sensitization they did receive.

245 In DRC, especially eastern DRC, these lower levels of community member contact with returning ex-combatants may be a product of the difficulty of travel and continued insecurity as a part of the dynamics of return.

246 This gendered trend is likely a product of the fact that female community members who had a spouse were more than twice as likely as male community members to have a spouse who was an ex-combatant.
of those 31-40, and 25.9% of those over 40).

Drawing specifically from DRC and RoC, the majority of community members (64.3%) described their contact with ex-combatants as positive, while 25% described their contact as neither positive nor negative, and the remaining 10.7% as negative. Female community members were slightly less likely than male community members to describe their contact with ex-combatants as positive (60.5% vs. 66.7%) and more likely to describe it as neither positive nor negative (26.7% vs. 23.9%) or just negative (12.9% vs. 9.4%). Community members over the age of 40 were the least likely demographic subgroup to describe their interactions as positive (60.1%) and the most likely to see interactions as neither negative nor positive (27.1). Interestingly, the two demographic subgroups with the highest frequencies of describing their contact with ex-combatants as either negative or neither positive nor negative, females and those over 40, were also those that reported the lowest levels of direct contact with ex-combatants as described above.

When asked to reflect on when ex-combatants first came to live in their community, just over half of community members (51.5%) reported that they had fears about their presence – the remaining 48.5% reporting that they had no fears. This near even split is fairly durable across the GLR countries. Female community members are slightly more likely than male community members to report having fears about ex-combatant presence in the community (53.5% vs. 50%).

When asked about which specific groups of ex-combatants they feared, community members across the GLR countries gave a consistent message: community members reported fearing male ex-combatants to a very high level (91.1%) and female, child and disabled ex-combatants to a considerably lower level (47.4%, 46.8% and 42.2%, respectively). As is visible in Table 57, across all categories Uganda showed lower levels of overall fear – especially in regards to female, child, and disabled ex-combatants. In regards to community member demographic trends, female community members were slightly more likely to report fearing ex-combatants across all categories and age showed a positive relationship to the likelihood of fearing ex-combatants across all categories.

In Uganda, community members were asked to outline what kinds of specific fears they held about different kinds 247 Questions regarding the positive or negative nature of contact with returning ex-combatants were only asked in DRC and RoC.
248 It is difficult to decipher the relationship between levels of community member contact with returning ex-combatants and perceptions about the positive or negative character of those interactions – if there is one at all. One could postulate that lower levels of contact with returning ex-combatants provides a limited base on which for community members to break down stereotypes and stigma. Or, one could just as well propose that precisely because of negative experiences with returning ex-combatants community members have minimized contact.
249 One explanation for the lower levels of fear of child ex-combatants in Uganda could be related to the dynamics of mobilization and return. Abduction is a known recruitment tactic of the LRA in northern Uganda. In terms of dynamics of return this has created a sentiment among community members in which they view child ex-combatants simultaneously as victims and perpetrators and have displayed accepting attitudes of their return. It is also possible that the long period of time between informal and formal demobilizations and the overall trickle-in model of demobilization in Uganda may play some role in the slightly lower overall levels of fear surrounding the return of ex-combatants.
of ex-combatants. As is visible in Table 58, the most common fear that community members held in regards to the return of all types of ex-combatants was the possibility of ex-combatants being a perpetrator of violent crime such as murder or rape.

Interestingly when community members are asked about the fears they have about the presence of ex-combatants in their community today now that ex-combatants have been there for some period of time, 93.1% report that they have no fears – the remaining 6.9% still holding some fears. This denotes a dramatic improvement in the community’s ability to absorb ex-combatants since their initial return and a key hint for understanding the process of social reintegration in the GLR countries.

Across the GLR countries, 31.3% of community members believe that ex-combatants should have behaved differently since coming to the community (the remaining 68.7% responding that ex-combatants should not have behaved differently), a figure that is very consistent within the individual GLR countries and across demographic subgroups. Similarly, when community members were asked whether they thought the community should have behaved differently since the arrival of ex-combatants, 27.5% thought that the community should have behaved differently. When asked about whether or not there was any resentment in the community about the support that ex-combatants received, 27.9% thought that there was resentment, though it is unclear how this resentment is related to the ways in which community members think returning ex-combatants and community members should have behaved differently.

### 17.3 Positive and Negative Perceptions of Ex-Combatants

Across the GLR countries, 29.8% of community members believe that there are negative dimensions to having ex-combatants in the community – the remaining 70.2% responding that there are no negative dimensions. However
Uganda stood apart from this trend, instead community members less frequently identified ex-combatant presence as having negative dimensions (18.1% yes negative factors, 81.9% no negative factors). When asked to outline the types of negative dimensions related to having ex-combatants in the community the most notable responses were: (i) that having ex-combatants in the community increased the risk for violent crime (54.4%); (ii) that ex-combatants have generally bad or brutal behavior (18.3%); or (iii) that ex-combatants can bully, intimidate, or threaten others (10.7%).

When asked whether there were positive aspects to having ex-combatants in the community, across the GLR countries, 67.7% of community members responded that there are distinct positive dimensions to having ex-combatants in the community— a higher proportion than identified negative aspects. Again, Uganda stands apart with 95% of community members identifying that there are distinct positive dimensions to having ex-combatants in the community. When asked to outline the main positive dimensions to having ex-combatants in the community, notable responses from community members were: (i) that ex-combatants give sound advice to other people and serve as good role models (23.9%); (ii) that ex-combatants make positive contributions to the economic fabric of the community (23.7%); and (iii) that ex-combatants handle all village security issues (7.8%).

17.4 Summary

There are several key findings to take away from this section. In terms of information and sensitization: (i) across the GLR countries community members most commonly received information and sensitization about the return and reintegration of ex-combatants through word of mouth; (ii) community members across the GLR countries would most dominantly have preferred to receive information and sensitization about the return and reintegration of ex-combatants in a community meeting forum.

Turning to community members’ levels of fear surrounding returning ex-combatants there are also several key points: (i) community members across the GLR countries had generally high levels of fear, particularly in regards to violent crime, associated with the return of ex-combatants— especially male ex-combatants before their return; (ii) after ex-combatants have returned to communities the level of fear that community members hold towards ex-combatants dropped drastically— though some resentment remained; and (iii) after ex-combatants have returned to communities, community members more commonly identify a range of positive aspects to having ex-combatants than negative.

Collectively this narrative of high community member fear, exposure to ex-combatants, followed by low fear with a mostly positive perception of ex-combatants is a positive indication of communities’ ability to absorb returning ex-combatants. Further, this narrative gives support to the idea that much of the social dimension of reintegration is constituted by a process of confrontation and atonement— eroding distrust and stigma. While it appears as though initial trust barriers may fall quickly the longer road to reaching social and economic parity for ex-combatants remains.
18. Conclusions

Conflict across the Great Lakes Region has carried enormous weight in affecting the lives of ex-combatants and community members alike. Though conflict-affected countries in the GLR are generally characterized by severe economic development challenges and a deteriorated social fabric, this study has revealed that in the wake of peace, communities across the GLR have reached a level of relative social and economic stability. It is this stability that constitutes communities’ capacity to play a positive role in accepting and absorbing returning ex-combatants into their social and economic fabric. Indeed, without a relatively stable social and economic base in the community the idea of the “reintegration” of ex-combatants would lose much meaning – as ex-combatants would reintegrate into economic instability and social marginalization. Thus, understanding the state of communities and their social and economic dynamics is an essential backdrop for understanding ex-combatants’ position and trajectory on the path to reintegration – gaining social and economic parity with community members.

18.1 The Community and Economic Reintegration

The analyses of the community member sample presented in this study have shown that community members across the GLR display a stable economic trajectory over time. The majority of community members are engaged in self-employment in small-scale agriculture and as such land access for cultivation and grazing is a key issue. In addition, community members show some diversification into self-employment in service or retail related activities. Overall community members’ employment statuses are stable over time and unemployment varies little on average.

Like ex-combatants, community members see the primary barrier to improving their economic situation as revolving around lack of opportunities. Beyond this, community members cite lack of access to capital and credit as among the additional barriers to leveraging what opportunities do come towards their economic betterment – and indeed their access to capital and credit in terms of the reception of micro-loans or membership in economic associations such as local savings and credit organizations is low.

In the context of the severe development challenges that characterize the GLR countries, community members’ core strength lies in their relative economic stability. The vast majority of community members meet their monthly household expenses alone, or with the help of others in their household. Only a minority is locked into patterns of borrowing from family and friend networks to meet their basic needs. It is this economic context of relative stability that provides the context in which ex-combatants can return to communities and strive towards parity in a meaningful sense – the longer term process of upward economic mobility occurring outside the bounds of reintegration.

18.2 The Community and Social Reintegration

The analysis presented in the community member sample presented in this study shows that across the GLR countries community members have a generally positive level of social capital, and further a positive trajectory over time – as the social fabric of communities is mended in the wake of improved peace and security. The core of social capital revolve around social networks, be they familial, communal, interpersonal friendships, or strictly economic. Networks have value both in the sense that they serve as a platform for social and economic support within communities, but also can be leveraged to create new social and economic opportunities. Community members across the GLR countries show that they have connection to those around them in terms of social groups, diverse friends, and economic networks. In this sense older community members (over 40) have perhaps the highest social capital and a
solid footing in the community – often rank highest on core indicators. However the core of community members’ social capital, and gateway to accessing broader social networks, is their solid grounding in the family unit accessed through marriage.

Indeed, marriage rates are a powerful indicator of overall community social capital – correlating to larger social and economic networks on average. As community members marry they expand their social networks and the overlap of these individual networks grows – in a very literal sense weaving together to constitute the social fabric of communities and societies. Community members’ rates of marriage are entangled with their number of social groups in general and contribute to their overall engagement in the community in terms of trust, solidarity, social cohesion, and inclusion – in turn feeding back into network building. It is this dynamic interaction of community members’ networks and their collective benefits that feed back to the individual as well – cementing their personal sense of empowerment and understanding of their place in society. Understanding the dynamism of social networks, the family core among them, as fabric connecting individuals into communities is core to understanding the contexts which ex-combatants approach in the process of social reintegration. Essentially social reintegration means that ex-combatants must find a way to connect into this social fabric – perhaps most meaningfully through marriage.

The analysis presented in this annex suggests that though issues of stigma and distrust towards returning ex-combatants may exist in many contexts across the GLR, these barriers break down fairly quickly. It is the presence of an underlying social fabric, in terms of individual social capital, that exists throughout communities across the GLR countries, with the notable exception of DRC – discussed below, that can serve as the necessary condition for ex-combatants’ embankment on a path towards social reintegration.

### 18.3 Female Community Member Sub-Group

Throughout the analysis of community dynamics presented in this annex female community members have consistently displayed a range of disadvantages across nearly all core demographic, economic, and social indicators that collectively paint a narrative of gender inequality across the GLR countries.

Female community members have lower literacy and educational achievement levels than male community members – this, in part, affects their higher likelihood of unemployment through time. Female community members understand this connection between education and unemployment – being more likely to cite lack of education and skills as a barrier to gaining a productive economic status. Furthermore, perhaps not surprisingly, female community members are more likely than males to work in the household fulfilling traditional gender roles. Female community members are less likely to be a sole household breadwinner, an advantage, though when they are they fare considerably worse off than male community members in terms of meeting monthly expenses.

Beyond their weaker overall economic position, female community members also face considerable disadvantages in terms of social capital. Female community members have smaller social networks in terms of levels of familial contact and number of social groups; in turn, they are less integrated into the social fabric of communities – leveraging the value of their networks in terms of support and opportunities. Female community members feel less trust in the community, less togetherness with the community, feel they have less of a positive impact on the community, and are less happy and empowered overall.

Collectively the range of disadvantages that female community members face across the GLR countries is likely a product of traditional gender inequalities. In this sense these disadvantages are both structurally ingrained and culturally reproduced. Acknowledging the social-structural disadvantages that female community members face across the GLR countries is not only an important dimension of understanding community dynamics, but also the prospects that female ex-combatants face as they approach the process of reintegration. If female ex-combatants are to gain parity with female community members, issues of stigma will no doubt serve as a barrier to entering the community, but if female ex-combatants are rather to reach parity with male community members, a much deeper set of
social-structural barriers stand in their way – barriers that they and their female community member counterparts face together. In this sense reintegration programming is poised to serve not only the needs of female ex-combatants, but also represents an opportunity to encourage a larger community-wide transformation.

**18.4 DRC – A Splintered Society**

While throughout the analysis of community members presented in this annex each of the GLR countries has varied considerably in terms of specific contextual trends, only DRC displays a truly divergent narrative of community dynamics. As outlined in section 16.6.2, community members in DRC stand out from the rest of the GLR countries with the weakest levels of social capital across a broad range of indicators. When female community members across the GLR countries display disadvantages, these disadvantages are often exaggerated in DRC. Though the exact reasons for these trends are unclear, it is likely that this weak social capital at the individual level, and weak social fabric at the community level, are related to ongoing instability in Eastern DRC coupled with the harsh social geography in the region – keeping families, social groups, and networks separated by physical barriers. The analysis presented paints DRC as a splintered society where community members have weak familial and communal networks – missing the opportunity to leverage their value.

This narrative has considerable weight for understanding the community dynamics in DRC itself, but is also essential for understanding the prospects for meaningful ex-combatant reintegration in DRC. If reintegration means reaching parity with community members then ex-combatants appear to have done well in reentering this splintered society with weak social fabric – though this is not to suggest that ex-combatants in DRC do not face significant barriers to reentering communities. However, if social reintegration is understood as going beyond mere parity, to a process of building social networks and in turn leveraging their value then this is a challenge that community members and ex-combatants alike will face in DRC. With this in mind, it may be that in the context of DRC, or perhaps settings of long-lasting or continuing conflict in general, community based approaches to reintegration focused on benefiting the community could prove particularly impactful. However, as always, reintegration programming must be grounded in the context that is meant to affect. In DRC, or elsewhere, meaningful reintegration programming must be anchored in complexities of the local context – a challenging endeavor indeed.