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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AF	Armed Force
AG	Armed Group
CDS	Community Dynamics Survey
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
IDDRS	Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards
IGA	Income Generating Activity
MIS	Management Information System
PDR	Permanent Disability Rate
RDF	Rwanda Defence Forces
RDRC	Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
RDRP	Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Program
RfP	Request for Proposal
SEDRP	Second Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project
VSW	Vulnerability Support Window

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Note on Terminology and Data

Armed Force (AF). The term ‘Armed Force (AF)’ is used to denote the sample of ex-combatants from the RDF. This aligns with the distinction in the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) between Armed Force (AF) and Armed Group (AG). Specifically, the IDDRS defines AF as “the military organization of a State with a legal basis, and supporting institutional infrastructure (salaries, benefits, basic services, etc.)” and an AG as a “group that has the potential to employ arms in the use of force to achieve political, ideological or economic objectives; is not within the formal military structures of a State, State-alliance or intergovernmental organization; and is not under the control of the State(s) in which it operates.”¹

Former child combatant. The term ‘former child combatant’ refers to ex-combatants who have gone through the DDR process and been categorized as a child ex-combatant. The study uses this term while recognizing what Tankink describes as the “power of words and labels to harm” and the “far reaching consequences” for the perception of self by former child combatants of a “label” that identifies the individual as a helpless victim.²The study does not intend to contribute to any harm but rather uses the term in line with project documentation.

‘**R(n)**’ is used to denote the respondent who in focus group discussions gave a particular response now quoted in this report.

¹United Nations (2006). (General 1.20): 1.

²Tankink, 2014 : 320.

Executive Summary

i. Background

1. The 2016 Tracer study (henceforth ‘the study’) examines the reintegration dynamics based on the experiences and perceptions of ex-combatants from the AF and AGs of Rwandan origin who have programmed through Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) during the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission’s (RDRC) Second Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project (SEDRP) since 2009 in comparison with the responses of data presented in the 2015 Tracer study and SPSS dataset.
2. The purpose of the study is to document DDR programming related changes in the life of the ex-combatants who have participated in the SEDRP, and the underlying factors for these changes over time (project-related and, where possible, those exogenous to the project).
3. The objectives of the study are as follows.
4. The first objective is to assess ex-combatants’ current status of social and economic reintegration and identify hindrances or facilitators that potentially affect the reintegration process.
5. The second objective is to assess changes in ex-combatants socio-economic status since the baseline and subsequent tracer studies. As noted in the 2015 Tracer report, variations in the indicators in successive studies up until 2015 make detailed historical comparison challenging. However, the comparability of 2015 and 2016 datasets goes some way towards remedying this situation.
6. The third objective is to assess the long-term impact of RDRC’s reintegration support on ex-combatants, including the impact of major project components such as vocational training. The Tracer presents data to assist in the assessment of programmatic reintegration support. However, this should be interpreted alongside data from the 2016 Independent Project Evaluation.
7. The focus on alignment of the 2016 study with that of 2015 has allowed for comparability between the two years across many indicators, which was not formerly possible.
8. The Tracer was implemented in two phases: (i) a quantitative survey of ex-combatants; (ii) data analysis.
9. The survey was conducted with 484 ex-combatants composed of 477 males and 7 females. Of the total respondents, 223 are ex-AF and 261 are ex-AG. The sample includes 37 disabled former ex-combatants (all male) and 41 former child combatants.

ii. Findings of the Study

10. Overall the Tracer Study documents several positive increases in the wellbeing (health, land access, and economic performance) of ex-combatants but with indicators of continued deprivation and long-term unemployment for some. Overall data pertaining to social indicators presents positive trends in acceptance, trust and increasing engagement of the ex-combatants in their communities.
11. The study makes the following findings regarding the *demographic indicators*.

12. **Finding 1: In total, respondents spent a mean of 13.65 years mobilized**, with female soldiers mobilized on average for 13.0 years, quite similar to the overall sample. Former child combatants spent a mean of 6.5 years mobilized.

13. **Finding 2: Different patterns are found between the ex-AF and the ex-AG in terms of place of residence.** At the time of demobilization, the vast majority of AG were living in rural settlements (82.0 percent) and 73.6 percent of respondents continue to do so. Some have shifted to other towns or small urban villages with 9.0 percent living in such locations at demobilization vs. 16.1 percent at present, and only 9.1 percent currently live in Kigali (up slightly from 7.1 percent at the time of demobilization). Ex-AF on the other hand had a slight majority living in rural settlements at the time of demobilization (55.5 percent), with 21.8 percent living in Kigali City and the remaining 17.7 percent living in other towns. This distribution has remained consistent with a current breakdown of 56.4 percent in rural areas, 22.7 percent in Kigali and 18.2 percent in other towns.

14. **Finding 3: Different trajectories are found between the ex-AF and the ex-AG in health status over time.** Of the sample, 31.5 percent indicate that they are in good health. This is slightly down from 2015 when 35.6 percent indicated that they were in good health. This change can be attributed to a decrease in ex-AGs who feel that they are in good health (28.5 percent in 2016 from 33.3 percent in 2015 and 35.1 percent in 2012). Ex-AFs however report an improvement over time with 35.2 percent in 2016 and 2015 from 18.9 percent in 2012. A further 18.5 percent of all respondents indicate that they are in poor health, which is slightly improved from 2015 where 22.9 percent reported being in poor health. This change can be attributed to the decrease seen in both groups reporting poor health (ex-AF with 16.9 percent in 2016 vs. 23.3 percent in 2015 and 27.0 percent in 2012 and ex-AGs with 19.8 percent in 2016 as compared with 22.5 percent in 2015 and 29.4 percent in 2012). A total of 50 percent of the total sample felt that they were in neither poor nor good health.

15. **Finding 4: Both former child combatants and female ex-combatants reported lower rates of holding *Mutuelle de Santé*** with 55.3 percent and 57.1 percent respectively, compared to 78.2 percent of the sample overall. This overall sample includes 83.2 percent ex-AF and 74.0 percent ex-AG (similar to 2015, which found 84.4 percent ex-AF and 77.4 percent ex-AG). In total, 80.0 percent of disabled ex-combatants reported having cover.

16. **Finding 5: The study found the following rates of disability screening:** 22.4 percent of ex-combatants were screened for disability on demobilization (including 58.8 percent of those respondents who are actually disabled), and 12.2 percent of respondents have been called for mental health screening.

17. **Finding 6: The study finds high literacy and numeracy rates overall with differences among ex-AF and ex-AG.** Overall, 88.7 percent of ex-combatants (92.3 percent ex-AF, 85.5 percent ex-AG) are literate and numerate without experiencing any issues reading or writing. This proportion is consistent with the previous year (91.0 percent ex-AF and 86.6 percent ex-AG in 2015). The study conversely finds that 4.6 percent of ex-combatants (2.3 percent ex-AF and 6.7 percent ex-AG) are illiterate. Across the sample, the strata the female ex-combatants and former child combatants were both below average on literacy. This relates to time in formal education for which the study finds that 11.2 percent have completed no education, with the highest rates of missed education among the disabled at 21.6 percent, former child combatants at 19.5 percent, ex-AG at 14.9 percent (compared to 6.7 percent of ex-AF), and 14.3 percent of female combatants. The study finds that 3.0 percent of ex-combatants are continuing education (3.7 percent ex-AF and 2.4 percent ex-AG), a low percentage that is consistent with 2015 when 3.1 percent reported continuing education.

18. **Finding 7: Of those continuing education (the 3 percent - n14 of n465 respondents in 2016; the 3.1 percent - n18 of n574 respondent in 2015), 72.7 percent (n8 of n11 in 2016) are in vocational training and 9.1 percent (n1 of n11 in 2016) are in apprenticeship** (as compared to 2015 when 33.3 percent (n6 of n18 in 2015) were in vocational training and 5.6 percent (n1 of n18 in 2015) in apprenticeship). In 2016, only 9.1 percent (n1 of n11 persons in 2016) were continuing education in formal academics (as compared to 50.0 percent in 2015, n9 of n18 respondents in 2015). In 2012, similar to 2016, the majority of those continuing their education were in vocational training (91.7 percent ex-AF, 96.0 percent ex-AG) and the remainder in apprenticeship (8.3 percent ex-AF, 4.0 percent ex-AG).

Finding 9: Attitudes towards the future are positive and have improved between demobilization and the present. On average, at demobilization 53.7 percent of the respondents felt optimistic about their future, with 15.2 percent feeling pessimistic. There has since been a positive shift in this feeling with 60.4 percent currently feeling optimistic and only 8.5 percent feeling pessimistic. Former child combatants were particularly pessimistic at demobilization, with 25.6 percent reporting that they had a negative outlook and only 48.7 percent positive. This has since shifted notably with only 9.8 percent feeling pessimistic and 61.0 percent feeling optimistic about the future. The disabled were also more negative than the overall mean, with 19.4 percent reporting that they had a negative outlook and only 47.2 percent positive. This has also positively shifted with 13.5 percent feeling pessimistic and 54.1 percent feeling optimistic about the future. Female combatants were the most positive at demobilization (71.4 percent and the remainder having mixed emotions), and have become even more positive since with 85.7 percent currently reporting feeling optimistic about the future. Ex-AGs show a marked increase in positivity (55.4 percent at demobilization as compared with 69.3 percent currently). However, among the ex-AF less respondents feel either fully positive or fully negative, but rather more now report an acceptance of the future with a mixture of optimism and pessimism (33.9 percent reported mixed feelings at demobilization vs. 40.3 percent at present, while 51.6 percent reported feeling optimistic at demobilization and have reduced to 49.8 percent at present, and 14.5 percent reported feeling pessimistic at demobilization and have reduced to 10.0 at present).

19. The study makes the following findings regarding *economic indicators*.

20. **Finding 10: The majority of ex-combatants describes their economic status as poor, although slightly less than in 2015.**³ In total, 55.6 percent of ex-combatants describe their economic status as poor (48.8 percent ex-AF and 61.1 percent ex-AG) and 43.6 percent as neither poor nor wealthy (50.2 percent ex-AF and 38.1 percent ex-AG). This demonstrates a positive trajectory from the 2015 Tracer when 58.6 percent of ex-combatants described themselves as poor (52.6 percent ex-AF and 63.9 percent ex-AG) and 38.9 percent as neither poor nor wealthy (44.4 percent ex-AF and 34.1 percent ex-AG). Here you can see a shifting from a self-description as ‘poor’ to ‘neither poor nor wealthy’. However, in 2015, 2.5 percent self-identified as wealthy whereas in 2016 only 0.9 percent did so. This also demonstrates a gap of 12.3 percent between ex-AF and ex-AG with ex-AG again feeling worse off. There is also a differentiation seen with former child combatants in that 71.8 percent describe their current economic situation as poor, which is similar to the 2015 results where 70 percent described their situation as poor. Females are slightly more poor than average at 60 percent, while the disabled reported themselves to be in line with the overall average at 55.9 percent poor, with 38.2 percent neither poor nor wealthy and 5.9 percent wealthy.

21. **Finding 11: Almost half of respondents own their own dwelling (49.7 percent) just slightly down from the 2015 Tracer (55.1 percent).** Ex-AFs were much more likely to own their own dwelling (with ex-AF at 62.4 percent self-ownership compared to ex-AG at 38.8 percent). However, the two groups are similarly likely to live with a landlord (Ex-AF 25.8 percent, ex-AG 26.5 percent) while the remaining ex-AG are much more likely to live with parents (17.3 percent), with other relatives (9.6 percent) or with friends (6.9 percent). Former child combatants demonstrated a slightly different pattern with the largest percentage renting from a landlord (39.0 percent), followed by 24.4 percent living with their parents, 17.1 percent living with other relatives, 14.6 percent owning their own dwelling, and 4.9

³ This finding can be cross-referenced with responses to Q13.1 in the 2016 Community Dynamics Study (CDS) community member responses where 40.2 percent of the community respondents describe their current economic situation as poor compared to 55.7 percent who describe it as neither poor not wealthy and 4.0 percent who describe it as wealthy.

percent living with a friend. Those with disabilities had fairly average rates of self-ownership, but lower than average rates of renting (18.9 percent) and, instead, more appear to live with parents (21.6 percent). Of the female ex-combatants, slightly fewer own their dwelling (42.9 percent) than the overall sample average; however, when combined with spousal ownership (14.3 percent), these combined households are much more likely to own their residence (57.2 percent vs. 50.5 percent for the overall sample). The remaining 42.9 percent of female combatants were renting (which is also higher than the overall sample average).

22. **Finding 12: Ex-combatants feel negatively about their housing and feel it is worse than others in their community. Ex-AGs are more negative about their housing than ex-AF.** In both the 2016 and 2015 Tracers, ex-combatants are split between the negative and neutral positions when rating their current dwelling situation. In the 2016 Tracer, 45.1 percent indicated that it is bad (30.6 percent ex-AF and 57.4 percent ex-AG) and 50.7 percent indicated that it is neither good nor bad, leaving only 4.2 percent feeling that their housing is good. In the 2015 Tracer, 49.1 percent indicated that it is bad (41.3 percent ex-AF and 56.1 percent ex-AG) and 48.4 percent indicated neither good nor bad. Overall, ex-AF were more positive about their housing than ex-AG with 6.8 percent ex-AF stating their housing was good compared to only 1.9 percent of ex-AG. Of those with disability, 11.4 percent felt that their housing was good and 42.9 felt that it was bad. Respondents were also asked how they would rate their current dwelling situation to the one they had before being mobilized to which 45.5 percent feel their current dwelling is worse, 37.5 percent feel it is about the same and 17.1 percent feel it is better. Again, ex-AG have a much more negative outlook when comparing their current dwelling to their housing before mobilization with 55.7 percent of ex-AG feeling their current dwelling is worse, 31.1 percent about the same, and 13.1 percent feeling it is better. This compares to ex-AF of whom 33.3 percent feel it is worse, 44.9 percent the same and 21.7 percent feeling it is better. This differentiation is greater than in 2015 but consistent with the pattern seen. In addition, between 2016, 2015 and 2012 there is little overall change in the proportion indicating that their housing conditions are worse than other people in their community (52.6 percent in 2012, 54.5 percent in 2015 and 50.3 percent in 2016).

23. **Finding 13: Land access has improved over time but for some groups still remains low.**⁴ The 2016 and 2015 Tracers both show a positive trend in improved land access over time. Regarding access, the study asked respondents whether or not they had access to land at four points in time: (i) before mobilization; (ii) while mobilized; (iii) when they were demobilized; and (iv) currently. Over time land access increased through all four points in time from 11.4 percent before mobilization, to 16.9 percent while mobilized, to 44.4 percent after demobilization and on to 52.5 percent currently (2016). In the same longitudinal aspect, former child combatants saw increases in access from 0 percent before mobilization to 34.1 percent currently. While this is a positive trend, it indicates that 2/3 of the group have no access to land. Female ex-combatants demonstrate a similar trend with 17.2 percent having access pre-mobilization to an improved, but still below the sample average, rate of 42.9 percent currently.

24. **Finding 14: A slight decrease is seen in land usage for subsistence agriculture between 2015 and 2016 (69.7 percent in 2015 to 66.3 percent in 2016) and a slight increase in use for either income generation (13.4 percent to 19.6 percent) or leasing (5.2 percent).**⁵ Of those who have access, apart

⁴ This finding may be compared with the 2016 CDS responses to Q7.1 where the ex-combatant sample show slightly lower levels of land access to the community sample. Fewer ex-combatants have access or ownership of land (58.3 percent) compared to 69.2 percent of the community respondents.

⁵ This finding may be compared with the 2016 CDS finding that CDS that there is a difference in the proportion of ex-combatants (57.5 percent) who engage in subsistence agriculture compared to the community (72.9 percent). Of

from residential purposes (81.6 percent, including 85.8 percent ex-AF and 77.1 percent ex-AG), the land is used for: (i) subsistence agriculture (66.3 percent, including 63.0 percent ex-AF and 69.7 percent ex-AG);(ii) income generation (19.6 percent, including 19.7 percent ex-AF and 19.5 percent ex-AG); and (iii) leasing (7.2 percent, including 9.0 percent ex-AF and 5.3 percent ex-AG). Only 28.6 percent of former child combatants reported using their land for subsistence agriculture (a rate less than half of the sample average). Former child combatants report the highest levels of land or property disputes at 24.4 percent, although in the 2015 Tracer the rates for this group were found to be similar to the overall sample. Of these disputes, 81.8 percent were due to the land being sold or occupied by other family members and 18.2 percent due to the land being occupied by other community members. Female ex-combatants were all using their land for residential purposes (100 percent), with 50 percent using it for subsistence agriculture and none using it for either income generating purposes or leasing.

25. **Finding 15: The majority of ex-combatants cannot support their families financially, with more ex-AG and females experiencing higher rates than other sub-groups.** Overall, 64.1 percent stated that they are not currently in a position to support their family financially. A difference is seen between ex-AF, of whom 56.0 percent stated that they were not able to support their family financially, and ex-AG, of whom 71.3 percent felt unable to support their family. Interestingly, former child combatants and the disabled had similar impressions to the overall average in the 2016 Tracer (62.9 percent and 60 percent, respectively), although in the 2015 Tracer both groups had substantially worse responses (90.0 percent and 75.8 percent, respectively). In the 2016 Tracer, female ex-combatants had the lowest responses to their ability to support their family financially with 71.4 percent stating they could not.

26. **Finding 16: There was a decrease in households where no one is earning or generating a regular income from 2015 to 2016.** In 40.3 percent of households no one is earning or generating a regular income. However, in 41.4 percent of households 1 person is generating a regular income while in 17.4 percent of households 2 people are generating such a regular income. This is slightly improved from 2015 where regular income was generated by no one in 52.9 percent of cases, by 1 person in 29.4 percent of cases, and by 2 people in 17.3 percent of cases.

27. **Finding 17: The majority of ex-combatants are financially active, but over one quarter is not.** In total, 73.8 percent are economically active, 23.1 percent are economically inactive, and 3.1 percent are studying. Of the former child combatants, 36.6 percent are currently employed in some manner (22 percent in agriculture and 14.6 percent in the private sector), 31.7 percent are self-employed (14.6 in service, 9.8 percent in agriculture, and 7.3 percent in retail), and 7.3 percent are studying. However, 24.4 percent are currently unemployed. For those ex-combatants who are not working, the average time that they have not been working is 3.5 years (43.48 months) while 8.1 percent have been out of work for less than a month, 24.7 percent out of work for less than 1 year, 45.5 percent between 1 and 5 years, and 31.9 percent over 5 years. In the case of former child combatants, 40.7 percent has been out of work for less than 1 year. Contrasting finding 16 with finding 17 we see that in 2016 that only 24.2 percent of the economically inactive respondents are currently able to support their family financially compared to 40.0 percent of the economically active respondents

28. **Finding 18: Lack of access to finance is consistently referenced as the primary barrier to improved economic status.** Of the unemployed in the overall sample, 71.6 percent referenced the lack of access to finance as the primary reason, with less than 5 percent referring to other reasons such as his or

note is the low proportion of ex-combatants in the CDS (17.3 percent) compared to the community (44.8 percent) who use their land for income generation purposes.

her disability (4.5 percent), lack of skills and education (3.4 percent), lack of work experience (2.3 percent), lack of available economic opportunities (2.3 percent), poor health status (2.3 percent), and only 1.1 percent referencing no access to land. This follows the pattern seen in 2015 at which time 77.9 percent referenced lack of access to finance as the primary barrier. Ex-combatants were also asked for other barriers faced beyond lack of capital and the lack of opportunities was the second most commonly given reason.

29. **Finding 19: Low numbers of ex-combatants are working in their field of skill.** Of those working, 30.3 percent of ex-combatants (41.3 percent ex-AF and 20.3 percent ex-AG) are working in their field of skill. This gap between ex-AF and ex-AG was also seen in 2015, although slightly less pronounced, with 36.4 percent of ex-combatants working in their field of skill (41.7 percent ex-AF and 30.7 percent ex-AG). Additionally, ex-combatants were asked if any of the jobs they have had related back to the skills they acquired from the RDRC support, such as in skills or vocational training or apprenticeship. Unfortunately, 75.2 percent responded that the jobs did not relate back to that training, while the remaining 24.8 percent found that they did. This was fairly consistent across the sub-strata and between 2015 and 2016. For those where the skills support has not been relevant, 68.5 percent stated that this was due to lack of capital to work in that vocation, 55 percent had not found a job in that vocation, and 54.8 percent felt that they would require additional training to that received to functionally work in that vocation.

30. **Finding 20: There is a slight increase in participation in economic cooperatives from 2015 to 2016.** The study finds that 30.0 percent of ex-combatants are members (up from 26.0 percent in 2015), with 36.3 percent of ex-AF and 24.5 percent of ex-AG belonging to an economic cooperative. Those with disabilities participate at an average rate (27 percent), with females being much more engaged in economic cooperatives than other groups at 42.9 percent. Former child combatants in the survey were found to have a much lower rate of participation at 9.8 percent. The 2015 survey found lower than the overall average participation by former child combatants at 20.0 percent but this was much higher than the 2016 results.

31. **Finding 21: There is a distinct difference between ex-AF and ex-AG regarding utilization of formal financial structures, including banks and micro-credit.** There is no indication as to from where this differentiation arises. Regarding banking, the study finds that 66.3 percent (75.8 percent ex-AF and 58.2 percent ex-AG) have a savings or current account at a formal credit institution. The difference of 17.6 percent between ex-AF and ex-AG is notable. This has reduced somewhat from the 2015 Tracer, which found that 72.3 percent (84.8 percent ex-AF and 61.3 percent ex-AG) had an account but still noted a similar pattern with the gap between the different types of forces. Compared to the 2012 Tracer, which found that 63.8 percent of ex-combatants (70.2 percent ex-AF and 62.4 percent ex-AG) had bank accounts, it seems that there is a slight increase over time but not much change. The study also finds that 56.1 percent of ex-combatants (64.8 percent ex-AF and 48.6 percent ex-AG) keep money on a mobile money account. Meanwhile, 41.9 percent of ex-combatants (47.5 percent ex-AF and 37.2 percent ex-AG) belong to a savings and credit cooperative. In times of financial stress, ex-AG are slightly more likely than ex-AF to go to friends (60.2 vs. 52.3 percent), colleagues (30.6 vs. 27.2 percent), a cooperative association (26.2 vs. 21.2 percent), ex-combatants from their former armed group (14.6 vs. 7.5 percent), or community leaders (8.9 vs. 6.5 percent), while ex-AF are slightly more likely than ex-AG to go to a bank (20 vs. 6.5 percent) or a micro-credit or micro-lending agency (11.5 vs. 4.9 percent). Finally, regarding micro-credit, 34.8 percent of ex-AFs have applied for micro-credit, while only 11.8 percent of ex-AGs have done so. Of those that applied, 90.9 percent were successful (96.5 percent of ex-AF and 75.0 percent of ex-AG).

32. **Finding 22: In terms of economic outlook, ex-combatants are quite positive about their future. However, those unemployed are quite negative about their prospects of near term employment.** In total, 73.1 percent of respondents stated that it will get better, 18.4 percent that it will stay the same and 8.5 percent that it will get worse. Former child combatants are more negative than the average sample about their economic prospects, with 69.4 percent feeling it will get better, 16.7 percent that it will stay the same and 13.9 percent feeling it will get worse. Female ex-combatants all feel it will either improve (57.1 percent) or stay the same (42.9 percent) and thus see fewer prospects for positive change than the overall average. The disabled, however, project that change will come but are split on the form of that change with 70.3 percent stating their economic situation will get better and 21.6 percent that it will get worse.

33. The study makes the following findings regarding *social indicators*.

34. **Finding 23: Overall feelings of acceptance or neutrality in their communities are high, but have decreased slightly between 2015 and 2016.** In 2015, 41.8 percent felt accepted to a great extent vs. 34 percent in 2016, and 10.1 percent felt accepted to a small extent vs. 7.4 percent in 2016. This appears to be primarily rooted in lower acceptance levels within the ex-AG group. Overall, the majority of ex-combatants in 2016 (56.1 percent) feel neither accepted nor rejected in their communities. This leaves 2.5 percent of ex-combatants that feel rejected by their communities. The disabled feel the most rejected at 11.1 percent, with 50 percent feeling neutral, 13.9 percent feeling accepted to a small extent and 25 percent accepted to a great extent. Ex-AF feels the most accepted with 42.1 percent and 5.4 percent respectively to a great and small extent. Ex-AG, female ex-combatants and former child combatants feel primarily neither accepted nor rejected at 61.7 percent, 71.4 percent and 61.5 percent respectively for each group. In keeping with the low responses on rejection, only few respondents had on average experienced poor treatment or exclusion (less than 7 percent).

35. **Finding 24: Engagement in social groups has increased since 2015.** The majority (59.0 percent) of ex-combatants are active in one social group, with 27.3 percent involved in 2 and the remaining 13.7 percent in 3 or more groups. This compares positively to 2015 when 74.5 percent were in 1 group, 19.1 percent in 2 and 6.4 percent in 3 or more groups. The disabled are in the most groups with 18.7 percent in 3 or more groups (6.2 percent in 4 and 1.5 in 6 groups). In terms of active participation in those groups, within the last 3 months, 36 percent has not participated in any of the group's activities and on average ex-combatants participated in 2.94 of the group's activities. This also compares positively to 2015 when participation averaged 1.35 activities over 3 months. The 2016 Tracer also included a group of questions regarding engagement by the ex-combatants in their communities and found that 85.4 percent has worked with others in the community to do something for the benefit of the community in the past year (up from 81.8 percent in 2015).

36. **Finding 25: There is an overall trend towards more exclusivity within ex-combatant socialization between 2015 and 2016.** The driver of this exclusivity is not evident. In 2016, ex-combatants are tending to socialize exclusively with other ex-combatants to either a great extent (44.1 percent) or to neither a small nor great extent (46.3 percent), leaving only 9.6 percent doing so to a small extent. In 2015, 36.8 percent socialized exclusively with other ex-combatants to a great extent, 45.8 percent to neither a small nor great extent, and 17.5 percent only doing so to a small extent. Ex-AFs are most likely to socialize exclusively with other ex-combatants to a great extent at 50.7 percent vs. 38.5 percent of ex-AG. Females are also more likely than average to be socializing with other ex-combatants as all either agreed to a great extent (42.9 percent) or to neither a small nor great extent (57.1 percent).

37. **Finding 26: Overall, ex-combatants have high to neutral trust on their community which has stayed constant from 2015 to 2016.** The 2016 Tracer found that 50.1 percent of respondents agreed

that most people who live in their neighbourhood can be trusted, 43.7 percent neither agreed nor disagreed, and only 6.2 percent disagreed (matching the 2015 findings of 50.5 percent agreeing, 43.2 percent neutral and 6.3 percent disagreeing). Disabled ex-combatants were the least trusting of others with 16.2 percent disagreeing that most people can be trusted, followed by former child combatants of whom 14.6 percent disagreed that most people can be trusted. Female ex-combatants were most likely to find others trustworthy with 57.1 percent agreeing and 42.9 percent feeling neutral. The study further finds that when reflecting back on the previous year, 47.5 percent feel the level of trust in their neighbourhood has improved (51.6 percent of ex-AF, 44.0 percent of ex-AG), 47.9 percent feel it has stayed about the same (44.3 percent of ex-AF, 51.0 percent of ex-AG) and 4.6 percent feel it has declined (4.1 percent of ex-AF, and 5.0 percent of ex-AG). This is also slightly more positive than the 2015 findings, which found that 41.0 percent felt it had improved and 4.9 percent felt it had gotten worse.

38. **Finding 27: The Tracer finds that, in terms of personal empowerment, the majority of ex-combatants feel that they have the power to make important decisions that can change the course of their life.** In total, 65.8 percent (70.9 percent of ex-AF and 61.5 percent of ex-AG) feel that they are able to change their lives, while 29.2 percent (22.9 percent ex-AF and 34.6 percent-AG) feel neither able nor unable, and 5 percent (6.3 percent ex-AF and 3.8 percent ex-AG) feel unable to change their life. Disabled ex-combatants felt most negatively with 54.1 percent feeling able to change their life, 35.1 percent neutral and 10.8 percent unable to change their life. Female ex-combatants felt most positively with 85.7 percent feeling able to change their life and none unable, followed by former child combatants of whom 78.0 percent felt able to change their life, 19.5 percent neutral and 2.4 percent unable.

39. In conclusion, overall the 2016 Tracer study documents positive progress for the ex-combatants in several areas when compared to 2015, including attitudes toward the future, economic outlook, personal empowerment, attitude toward current economic status, a decrease in households with no consistent income, improved land access, a shift toward land use for Income Generating Activities (IGAs) or rental, participation in economic cooperatives, and engagement in social groups.

40. There are also areas where there has been little change but that consistency is a positive; such as, high rates of literacy and numeracy, high levels of participation in the *Mutuelles de Santé* and levels of trust on their communities.

41. Some negative changes have also been documented such as a decrease in home ownership, a decrease in feelings of acceptance or neutrality within their communities, and increased exclusivity among ex-combatants in socialization.

42. In addition, areas that are consistent but remain a concern include, for example, that a majority of ex-combatants feel that they cannot financially support their family, high levels of unemployment, negative views by ex-combatants of their housing, low numbers of ex-combatants working in their field of skill or other for which they were given livelihood support. In addition, there are some changes that could be considered either neutral, positive or negative, including drops in usage of livelihood support and Vulnerability Support Window (VSW) benefits and a shift in the types of continuing education from formal academics to more vocational training and apprenticeships.

43. The study documented several differences by sub-group. Differences between ex-AF and ex-AG emerged frequently, including different patterns between the ex-AF and the ex-AG in terms of place of residence, different trajectories between the ex-AF and the ex-AG in health status over time, differences among ex-AF and ex-AG regarding literacy and numeracy rates, differences in the ability to financially support the family, and a distinct difference between ex-AF and ex-AG regarding utilization of formal financial structures, including banks and micro-credit. Differences in sub-strata groups, such as female

ex-combatants, former child combatants and those with disabilities, also emerged and highlight significant challenges for these groups.

SECTION A. Introduction to the Study

1. Introduction: Project and Sample Population

1.1 Project Context

44. The study examines the reintegration dynamics based on the feedback provided by a sample of ex-combatants from Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) and AGs of Rwandan origin (ex-AF and ex-AGs) who have been programmed through DDR during RDRC's SEDRP since 2009.

45. The overarching goal of the SEDRP Phase III is to contribute to the consolidation of peace and stability in the Great Lakes Region (especially in Rwanda and the DRC) through the completion of the DDR process for the remaining Rwandan AGs and the further reduction in size of the RDF.

1.2 Purpose

46. The purpose of the study is to document DDR programming related changes in the life of the ex-combatants who have participated in the SEDRP and the underlying factors for these changes over time (project-related and, where possible, those exogenous to the project).

47. As per the Request for Proposal (RfP), the specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- (a) The first objective is to assess ex-combatants' current status of social and economic reintegration and identify hindrances or facilitators that potentially affect the reintegration process.
- (b) The second objective is to assess changes in ex-combatants socio-economic status since the baseline and subsequent tracer studies.
- (c) The third objective is to assess the long-term impact of RDRC's reintegration support on ex-combatants, including the impact of major project components such as vocational training.

1.3 Methodology

48. The methodology used for the study is quantitative. The study is an analysis based on data acquired by a quantitative sample of n484 ex-combatants consisting of n223ex-AF and n261 ex-AG.

49. The quantitative survey was undertaken in all provinces of Rwanda during October 2016. The randomized sample of ex-combatants, stratified by armed group or force, year of demobilization, gender and disability, was drawn by the RDRC from the agency's own Management Information System (MIS) database.

50. The quantitative tool for the 2016 Tracer⁶ builds on but largely mirrors that of 2015 to allow for enhanced comparative analysis over time. The quantitative tool was designed, refined and piloted in the field before being fully implemented. Data was acquired in hard copy, captured in Excel and analysed in SPSS.

⁶Annex 1

51. During the quantitative survey, respondents were assured that wherever possible anonymity would be provided to respondents. The consultants were required to share the SPSS database with the RDRC and thus responses are anonymous only in so far as they are not attributed in reporting.

1.4 Demographics of the Sample

52. The following is a presentation of the demographic profile of the sample group for the study (Table 1). In summary, the study surveyed n484 ex-combatants composed of which n477 are males and n7 are females. This low level of female respondents makes a gender analysis unreliable. Of the sample, n223 are ex-AF and n261 are ex-AG. The sample includes n37 disabled former ex-combatants (n17 ex-AF and n20 ex-AG), all male.⁷Of the sample, n64 are youth (the definition of ‘youth’ is expanded to include those ex-combatants aged between 16 and 29 years in order to incorporate the former child combatant sample), n60 are aged between 30 and 34 years (inclusive), n107 are aged between 35 and 39 years (inclusive) and n110 are aged 40 years or older. In total, the sample includes n41 former child combatants (n3 ex-AF, n38 ex-AG).

53. In total, respondents spent a mean of 13.65 years mobilized, with ex-AF having spent a mean of 14.34 years and ex-AG having spent on average slightly less time at 13.29 years. The mean age of mobilization or recruitment for the whole sample was 19.91 years of age, with ex-AG mobilized on average slightly younger at 18.91 years compared to ex-AF at 20.81 years. Former child combatants spent a mean of 6.5 years mobilized, which is much less than the overall sample, as well as less than the 2015 sample of child combatants that had been mobilized an average of 10.9 years. Former child combatants were on average recruited at 12.72 years of age and demobilized on average at 18.92 years of age. Female soldiers were mobilized on average for 13.0 years, quite similar to the overall average of 13.65 years. These women were on average recruited at 17.43 years of age and demobilized at 30.86 years of age.

⁷ The 2015 Tracer surveyed n577 ex-combatants composed of n547 male ex-combatants and n30 female. Of the sample, n270 were ex-AF and n307 were ex-AG. The sample included n64 disabled former ex-combatants (n32 ex-AF and n32 ex-AG) of which n3 were female and n61 male. Of the sample, n49 were youth, n108 were aged between 30 and 34 years (inclusive), n144 were aged between 35 and 39 years (inclusive) and n275 were aged 40 years or older. In total, the sample included n10 former child combatants. RDRC, 2015 (a): 5.

Table 1. Sample

		Category of demobilised soldiers					
		Tracer 2016 (July 2014-December 2015 SEDRP)			Tracer 2015 (January 2013-June 2014 SEDRP)		
		ex-AF	ex-AG	Total	ex-AF	ex-AG	Total
Sex of the respondent	Male	221	256	477	257	290	547
	Female	2	5	7	13	17	30
	Total	223	261	484	270	307	577
Age of respondent at their last birthday (grouped)	16-29 years (under 30s)	2	62	64	2	47	49
	30-34 years	17	43	60	37	71	108
	35-39 years	61	46	107	81	63	144
	40 years or more (40 and over)	143	110	253	149	126	275
	Total	223	261	484	269	307	576
Are you a former child combatant or an adult ex-combatant?	Former child combatant	3	38	41	0	10	10
	Adult ex-combatant	220	223	443	270	297	567
	Total	223	261	484	270	307	577
Do you have a disability?	Disabled	17	20	37	32	32	64
	Able-bodied	206	241	447	238	275	513
	Total	223	261	484	270	307	577
Survey Area	Kigali City	45	53	98	55	62	117
	Eastern Province	46	54	100	56	63	119
	Western Province	79	93	173	97	109	206
	Southern Province	32	38	70	39	44	83
	Northern Province	19	23	42	23	27	50
	Total	222	261	483	270	305	575

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

54. The study tracked the self-reported place of residence of ex-combatants at the time of demobilization and currently. Different patterns are to be found here between the ex-AF and the ex-AG. At the time of demobilization, the vast majority of AG were living in rural settlements (82.0 percent) and 73.6 percent of respondents continue to do so. Some have shifted to other towns or small urban villages, with 9.0 percent living in such locations at demobilization vs. 16.1 percent at present, and only 9.1 percent currently live in Kigali (up slightly from 7.1 percent at the time of demobilization). Ex-AF on the other hand had a slight majority living in rural settlements at the time of demobilization (55.5 percent), with 21.8 percent living in Kigali City and the remaining 17.7 percent living in other towns. This distribution has remained fairly consistent with a current breakdown of 56.4 percent in rural areas, 22.7 percent in Kigali and 18.2 percent in other towns. The majority of former child combatants lived and continue to live in rural settlements; however, a shift is noted from rural settlements to Kigali City (62.2 percent in rural areas at demobilization vs. 56.8 percent at present and 29.7 percent in Kigali City at demobilization vs. 37.8 percent at present).

55. On average, ex-combatants have lived in their current location for 7.44 years (up from 6.73 years in the 2015 Tracer). The majority of ex-combatants have been resident in the present location for 6 or more years (54 percent), with the remaining 10.6 percent having lived there for 5 years, 12.9 percent for 4 years, 5.5 percent for 3 years, 4.4 percent for 2 years and 12.3 percent for 1 year or less. There are distinctions between ex-AF and ex-AG in that members of ex-AF are more likely to have lived in their current location for longer (8.85 years for ex-AF as compared to 6.25 years for ex-AG).

56. During the time of mobilization, 39.7 percent were located away from their home, while the remaining 60.3 percent were located at their home. Of those that were away, 70.6 percent returned to their place of origin. When making their decision as to why they would reintegrate in a certain location, 68.7 percent reported that it was due to family reasons (such as marriage or to be with family), 43.2 percent stated that it was due to economic reasons (such as to get work or start an income generating activity), 35.4 percent stated safety and security, 11.6 percent education opportunities and 7.3 percent made the choice because they did not feel accepted or part of their last community. The disabled chose their location with a slightly different balance of priorities, with 69.2 percent due to family, 30.8 percent due to safety and security, 15.4 percent because they did not feel accepted in their former community, only 14.3 percent due to economic reasons and 7.7 percent due to education opportunities. Predictably, former child combatants also demonstrated a different balance of priorities, with 60.9 percent due to family, 41.7 percent due to economic reasons, 26.1 percent due to education opportunities, 21.7 percent due to safety and security and 18.2 percent due to not feeling accepted in their former community (the highest level of all groups feeling a lack of acceptance).

57. Of those that have moved or shifted since demobilization, on average respondents have done so 3.14 times since demobilization (up from 2.25 times in the 2015 Tracer). When asked for the main reasons for the most recent move, 55.5 percent did so to get housing, shelter or a cheaper house, or less rent; 32.8 percent to take up a work opportunity or possibility of work; 18.6 percent to get land or farming access or grazing access; 17.8 percent to follow or care for family and or friends; 12.7 percent because of a land dispute; 8.4 to obtain education or training opportunities; 5.9 percent to escape increased insecurity in the area from which they moved or shifted; 5.1 percent to obtain assistance for medical or disability or psychological needs; 5.1 percent in order to marry; 2.6 percent to avoid discrimination; 1.7 percent due to divorce or separation; and 0.8 percent to escape the memories associated with the environment or psychological triggers.

1.4.1 Health, Disability, Medical Screening and Treatment

58. Of the sample, 31.5 percent indicate that they are in good health. This is slightly down from 2015 when 35.6 percent indicated that they were in good health. This change can be attributed to a decrease in ex-AGs who feel that they are in good health (28.5 percent in 2016 from 33.3 percent in 2015 and 35.1 percent in 2012). Ex-AFs however report an improvement over time with 35.2 percent in 2016 and 2015 from 18.9 percent in 2012. A much higher percent of females (42.9) indicate that they are in good health (compared to 50 percent in 2015 and 36.4 percent in 2012) with none reporting poor health. A further 18.5 percent of all respondents indicate that they are in poor health, which has slightly improved from 2015 where 22.9 percent reported being in poor health. This change can be attributed to the decrease seen in both groups reporting poor health (ex-AF with 16.9 percent in 2016 vs. 23.3 percent in 2015 and 27.0 percent in 2012; and ex-AGs with 19.8 percent in 2016 as compared with 22.5 percent in 2015 and 29.4 percent in 2012). Both the disabled and former child combatants report worse than average rates of poor health at 42.9 percent and 20.5 percent respectively, with 11.4 percent of disabled and 33.3 percent of former child combatants reporting being in good health. Of the total sample, 50 percent feels that they are neither in poor nor in good health.

59. For those who indicate that they are not healthy, 42.0 percent are being taken care of by their spouse (54.5 percent ex-AF, 33.3 percent ex-AG) with the main proportion of the remainder taking care of themselves (24.2 percent ex-AF, 50.0 percent ex-AG). Of the former child combatants, 50 percent take care of themselves, 25 percent are cared for by their spouse, 12.5 percent by friends and 12.5 percent reference government insurance. Government insurance is also the caregiver for 6.7 percent of the disabled that report being in poor health. In the 2015 survey, 6.9 percent overall and 24.8 percent of the disabled reported being taken care of by the RDRC. However, in 2016, only 1.2 percent overall and 6.7 percent of the disabled did so.

60. Of all respondents, 25.8 percent reported that they are currently undergoing medical treatment, with 15.7 percent currently waiting for medical rehabilitation or treatment. The remaining 58.5 percent do not require treatment.

61. The study identifies that 78.2 percent of the sample hold *Mutuelle de Santé*. This includes 83.2 percent ex-AF and 74.0 percent ex-AG (similar to 2015 with 84.4 percent ex-AF and 77.4 percent ex-AG). However, both former child combatants and female ex-combatants reported lower rates with only 55.3 percent and 57.1 percent respectively. Of disabled ex-combatants, 80.0 percent reported holding *Mutuelle de Santé*.

62. For those that do not have coverage, 74.7 percent reported that this was due to the inability to pay (70.0 percent ex-AF, 77.4 percent ex-AG), followed by 13.3 percent that had faced obstacles to registration (only 6.7 percent ex-AF but 17.0 percent ex-AG). In addition, 3.6 percent are in the process or still planning to apply for coverage (only ex-AG with 5.7 percent, but none of the ex-AF), while 8.4 percent has another type of insurance (only ex-AF with 23.3 percent, but none of the ex-AG). Former child combatants reported overwhelming that the inability to pay was their barrier, with 7.1 percent seeing obstacles to registration and another 7.1 percent planning to apply.

63. In both the 2015 and 2016 Tracers, medical screening was also surveyed in relation to disability, asking ex-combatants whether they were screened for disability at the time of demobilization, and whether, in the opinion of the ex-combatant, the categorization of their disability was correct (categorization has bearing on DDR and social protection entitlements). The study finds that only 22.4 percent of ex-combatants were screened for disability on demobilization (22.5 percent ex-AF and 22.4 percent ex-AG), including 58.8 percent of those respondents who are actually

disabled. Of all respondents, 7 percent (35 individuals) of the sample has a disability. All disabled participants in the program were categorized into five basic groups, which correspond to the severity of their disability (Table 2).

Table 2. Disability by Category

Q4.2 What is the category of your disability?	2016			2015		
	Total	ex-AF	ex-AG	Total	ex-AF	ex-AG
Category 1 - 90 percent-100 percent Permanent Disability Rate	8.6	11.8	5.6	10.3	0.0	17.4
Category 2 - 70 percent-89 percent PDR	34.3	29.4	38.9	35.9	37.5	34.8
Category 3 - 50 percent-69 percent PDR	14.3	17.6	11.1	20.5	37.5	8.7
Category 4 - 30 percent-49 percent PDR	25.7	23.5	27.8	33.3	25.0	39.1
Category 5 - 29 percent and below PDR	17.1	17.6	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	35	17	18	39	16	23

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

64. When asked if they felt that the screening classification was correct, of the disabled, 61.5 percent felt that it was correct with the remaining 38.5 percent feeling that it was incorrect.

65. Of the disabled, 40.6 percent are currently undergoing treatment, 34.4 percent are waiting for medical rehabilitation or treatment and 25.0 percent do not require medical treatment. Of those that require care or assistance, 41.3 percent reported being cared for by a spouse and 28.3 percent provide their own care. Of ex-AF members with disabilities, 15.0 percent reported being cared for by the RDRC, while only 3.8 percent of ex-AG members reported as such. Of the disabled respondents, 42.9 percent reported receiving their monthly allowance with the remaining 57.1 percent reporting not receiving it. Of those receiving a monthly allowance, 42.9 percent received their first payment more than 9 months after demobilization, while 21.4 percent received it at 9 months after, and 35.7 percent received theirs less than 9 months after demobilization.

66. The 2016 Tracer expanded on the discussion of health screening by including questions on mental health screening. It was found that 12.2 percent of respondents have been called for screening for mental health (after demobilisation) with similar percentages for both ex-AF and ex-AG (11.2 percent and 13.1 percent, respectively). Of the former child combatants, only 6.5 percent had been called for screening, whereas disabled ex-combatants reported the highest percent of screening at 28.1 percent. Of those screened (41 of the total sample), 73.2 percent overall were satisfied with the screening (64.7 percent ex-AF, 79.2 percent ex-AG), with 55.6 percent of the disabled satisfied. Only 2 of the former combatants surveyed had received a screening and were split in their opinion. Of those that received a mental health screening, 27.6 percent had received mental health treatment or referral as a result. Of those 8 individuals, 75 percent were satisfied with the treatment or referral.

Table 3. Extent and Perceptions of Mental Health Screening

		Total 2016	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	Former Child Combatant 2016	Disabled 2016
Since demobilisation and return to your community have you been called for screening for mental health?	Yes	12.2	11.2	13.1	6.5	28.1
	No	87.8	88.8	86.9	93.5	71.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=	343	152	191	31	32
Are you satisfied with the screening you received?	Yes	73.2	64.7	79.2	50.0	55.6
	No	26.8	35.3	20.8	50.0	44.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=	41	17	24	2	9
Have you received mental health treatment and or referral since being called for screening?	Yes	27.6	36.4	22.2	0.0	37.5
	No	72.4	63.6	77.8	100.0	62.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=	29	11	18	1	8
Are you satisfied with the treatment and or	Yes	75.0	75.0	75.0	0.0	66.7

referral?	No	25.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	33.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
	n=	8	4	4	0	3

Source: 2016 Tracer Dataset

1.4.2 Education

67. The study finds that 88.7 percent of ex-combatants (92.3 percent ex-AF, 85.5 percent ex-AG) are literate and numerate without experiencing any issues reading or writing. This proportion is consistent with the previous year (91.0 percent ex-AF and 86.6 percent ex-AG in 2015). The study conversely finds that 4.6 percent of ex-combatants (2.3 percent ex-AF and 6.7 percent ex-AG) are illiterate.

68. Across the sample strata the female ex-combatants and former child combatants were both below average on literacy. Of the 7 female ex-combatant respondents, 85.7 percent are able to both read and write with the remaining 14.3 percent able to read but not write.

69. Former child combatants fared slightly worse with 87.5 percent able to both read and write and 10 percent able to read but not write. However, 2.5 percent are entirely illiterate.

70. The 2012 Tracer found similar results, with 2.8 percent of youth being neither numerate nor literate, although the 2015 Tracer found that 8.2 percent of youth were neither numerate nor literate. In 2016 of those with disabilities, 91.7 percent is able to both read and write while the remaining 8.3 percent is illiterate. The 2015 Tracer also found higher than average percentages of the disabled unable to read or write (7.8 percent compared to 4.4 percent for the overall sample), but found 85.9 percent able to both read and write, and 6.2 percent able to read but not write.

71. Regarding formal education, the study finds that 11.2 percent has not completed their education, with the highest rates of missed education among the disabled at 21.6 percent, former child combatants at 19.5 percent, ex-AG at 14.9 percent (compared to 6.7 percent of ex-AF), and 14.3 percent of female combatants. Within the 2015 sample a similar trend is seen with far more youth having no education than those ex-combatants aged 30 years and over: 29.2 percent compared to 11.8 percent (difference -17.4 percent).

72. The remaining 88.8 percent has completed some schooling. Of all respondents, 49.8 percent (43.5 percent ex-AF, 55.2 percent ex-AG) has completed primary education, 22.9 percent (32.3 percent ex-AF, 14.9 percent ex-AG) has completed junior secondary, 10.1 percent (12.1 percent ex-AF, 8.4 percent ex-AG) has completed secondary and 1.4 percent (1.8 percent ex-AF, 1.1 percent ex-AG) completed university. Finally, 4.5 percent (3.6 percent ex-AF, 5.4 percent ex-AG) has completed vocational education.

73. In general, the majority of ex-combatants in the 2016 Tracer received their education prior to mobilization: 86.2 percent (as compared to 89.2 percent in 2015). Of ex-AF, 91.7 percent received their education before mobilization, with 4.4 receiving the schooling during the conflict and 3.9 percent after demobilization. Of the ex-AG however, 80.9 percent received their education before mobilization leaving almost 20 percent that have completed their schooling either during the conflict (9.5 percent) or since demobilization (also 9.5 percent).

74. The study finds that 3.0 percent of ex-combatants are continuing their education (3.7 percent ex-AF and 2.4 percent ex-AG), a low percentage that is consistent with 2015 when 3.1 percent reported continuing education. However, in 2012, 11.3 percent of ex-AF and 11.6 percent of ex-AG were continuing education. In 2016, slightly higher percentage of former child combatants (5.3

percent) and the disabled (5.4 percent) are continuing their education than the overall sample. However, with both groups, this is noticeably less than in 2015 when 10 percent of former child combatants and 7.9 percent of the disabled were continuing their studies.

75. Of those continuing education, 72.7 percent (n11) is in vocational training and 9.1 percent (n11) is in apprenticeship (as compared to 2015 when 33.3 percent (n18) was in vocational training and 5.6 percent (n18) in apprenticeship. In 2016, only 9.1 percent (n11) was continuing education in formal academics (as compared to 50.0 percent (n18) in 2015). In 2012, similarly to 2016, the majority of those continuing their education were in vocational training (91.7 percent ex-AF, 96.0 percent ex-AG) and the remainder in apprenticeship (8.3 percent ex-AF, 4.0 percent ex-AG).

76. The study further asked whether the respondents had received skills, vocational training or apprenticeship from the RDRC. Of those surveyed, 51.9 percent (47.1 percent ex-AF, 55.9 percent ex-AG) had received these from the RDRC. Much higher percentages of female respondents (85.7 percent) and former child combatants (66.7 percent) reported receiving either skills or vocational training or apprenticeship from the RDRC. This is slightly less than the 2015 Tracer, which found that 65.2 percent of respondents (61.5 percent ex-AF, 68.4 percent ex-AG) received such benefits.

1.4.3 Attitude Towards the Future

77. The survey explored the respondents' attitude at the time of demobilization as compared to present day and found that, on average, at demobilization 53.7 percent of the respondents felt optimistic about their future, with 15.2 percent feeling pessimistic. On average there has since been a positive shift in this feeling with 60.4 percent currently feeling optimistic and only 8.5 percent feeling pessimistic. Ex-AGs show a marked increase in positivity (55.4 percent at demobilization as compared with 69.3 percent currently). However, among the ex-AF less respondents feel either fully positive or fully negative, but rather more now report an acceptance of the future with a mixture of optimism and pessimism (33.9 percent reported mixed feelings at demobilization vs. 40.3 percent at present, while 51.6 percent reported feeling optimistic at demobilization reducing to 49.8 percent at present, and 14.5 percent reported feeling pessimistic at demobilization reducing to 10.0 at present). Former child combatants were particularly pessimistic at demobilization with 25.6 percent reporting that they had a negative outlook and only 48.7 percent positive. This has since shifted notably with only 9.8 percent feeling pessimistic and 61.0 percent feeling optimistic about the future. The disabled were also more negative than the overall mean, with 19.4 percent reporting that they had a negative outlook and only 47.2 percent positive. This has also shifted positively with 13.5 percent feeling pessimistic and 54.1 percent feeling optimistic about the future. Female combatants were the most positive at demobilization (71.4 percent and the remainder having mixed emotions), and have become even more positive since with 85.7 percent currently reporting feeling optimistic about the future.

Table 4. Optimistic and Pessimistic Outlook

		Total 2016	Total 2015	ex- AF 2016	ex- AG 2016	ex- AF 2015	ex- AG 2015	Former child combatant 2016	Former child combatant 2015	Disabled 2016	Disabled 2015	Female 2016	Female 2015
On demobilisation, were you optimistic (positive outlook) or pessimistic (negative outlook) about your future life?	Optimistic about the future	53.7	53.6	51.6	55.4	47.7	58.8	48.7	50.0	47.2	47.6	71.4	34.5
	Accepting the future with a mixture of optimism & pessimism	31.1	37.2	33.9	28.7	43.2	31.9	25.6	40.0	33.3	38.1	28.6	55.2
	Pessimistic about the future	15.2	9.2	14.5	15.9	9.1	9.3	25.6	10.0	19.4	14.3	0.0	10.3
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=	479	565	221	258	264	301	39	10	36	63	7	29

Currently, are you optimistic (positive outlook) or pessimistic (negative outlook) about your life?	Optimistic about the future	60.4	51.1	49.8	69.3	44.2	57.3	61.0	50.0	54.1	46.0	85.7	37.9
	Accepting the future with a mixture of optimism & pessimism	31.1	42.3	40.3	23.4	48.3	37.1	29.3	50.0	32.4	47.6	14.3	62.1
	Pessimistic about the future	8.5	6.5	10.0	7.3	7.5	5.6	9.8	0.0	13.5	6.3	0.0	0.0
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=	482	567	221	261	265	302	41	10	37	63	7	29

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

SECTION B. Economic Indicators

2. Economic Indicators

78. The following is an analysis of the economic indicators documented by the study. This section of the study looks specifically at indicators in: (i) access to material assets and food security; (ii) access to financial assets and to financial security; and (iii) employment, income generation and formal credit.

2.1 Access to material assets

2.1.1 Housing

79. Ex-combatants surveyed live primarily in rural houses (77.5 percent composed of 77.0 percent ex-AF and 77.9 percent ex-AG). The remainder of the ex-AF live primarily in urban houses (10.4 percent), hostels (4.1 percent), tents or huts (3.6 percent) or other types of accommodation. The remainder of the ex-AG live in tents or huts (7.8 percent), hostels (4.7 percent), urban houses (4.3 percent) or other types of accommodation. Former child combatants live primarily in rural houses (73.2 percent) with 9.8 percent living in hostels and 7.3 percent in tent or huts. The disabled also live primarily in rural houses (69.4 percent) but with a higher than average number living in urban houses (13.9 percent).

80. Almost half of the respondents own their own dwelling (49.7 percent), just slightly down from the 2015 Tracer (55.1 percent). Ex-AFs are much more likely to own their own dwelling (with ex-AF at 62.4 percent self-ownership compared to ex-AG at 38.8 percent). However, the two groups are similarly likely to live with a landlord (Ex-AF 25.8 percent, ex-AG 26.5 percent) with the remaining ex-AG much more likely to live with parents (17.3 percent), with other relatives (9.6 percent) or with friends (6.9 percent). Former child combatants demonstrated a slightly different pattern with the largest percent renting from a landlord (39.0 percent), followed by 24.4 percent living with their parents, 17.1 percent living with other relatives, 14.6 percent owning their own dwelling and 4.9 percent living with a friend. Those with disabilities had fairly average rates of self-ownership, but lower than average rates of renting (18.9 percent) and instead more appear to live with parents (21.6 percent). Of the female ex-combatants, slightly fewer own their dwelling (42.9 percent) than the overall sample average; however, when combined with spousal ownership (14.3 percent) these combined households are much more likely to own their residence (57.2 percent vs. 50.5 percent for the overall sample). The remaining 42.9 percent of female combatants were renting (which is also higher than the overall sample average).

81. In both the 2016 and 2015 Tracers, ex-combatants are split between the negative and neutral positions when rating their current dwelling situation. In the 2016 Tracer, 45.1 percent indicated that it is bad (30.6 percent ex-AF and 57.4 percent ex-AG) and 50.7 percent indicated that it is neither good nor bad, leaving only 4.2 percent that felt their housing is good. In the 2015 Tracer, 49.1 percent indicated that it was bad (41.3 percent ex-AF and 56.1 percent ex-AG) and 48.4 percent indicated that it was neither good nor bad. Overall, ex-AF were more positive about their housing than ex-AG, with 6.8 percent ex-AF stating their housing was good compared to only 1.9 percent of ex-AG. Of those with disability, 11.4 percent feel that their housing is good and 42.9 feel that it is bad. Meanwhile, former child combatants are more opinionated than the overall sample with 7.3 percent feeling that their housing is good, 65.9 percent feeling that it is bad and the remaining 26.8 percent feeling that it is neither good nor bad. None of the female respondents felt that their housing is good with 57.1 percent feeling that it is bad.

82. There is little overall change in the high proportion indicating that their housing conditions are worse than other people in their community between 2016, 2015 and 2012 (52.6 percent in 2012,

54.5 percent in 2015 and 50.3 percent in 2016). However, the smaller proportion indicating that it is better has increased from 3.2 percent in 2012 to 5.8 percent in 2015 to 8.8 percent in 2016. Former child combatants are most negative about their housing in comparison to others with 63.2 percent feeling it is worse than others, 28.9 percent feeling it is the same, and 7.9 percent feeling it is good.

83. Respondents were also asked how they would rate their current dwelling situation to the one they had before being mobilized to which 45.5 percent feels that their current dwelling is worse, 37.5 percent feels that it is about the same and 17.1 percent feels that it is better. Ex-AG see a much more negative outlook when comparing their current dwelling to their housing before mobilization with 55.7 percent of ex-AG feeling that their current dwelling is worse, 31.1 percent about the same, and 13.1 percent feeling that it is better. This compares to ex-AF of whom 33.3 percent feels that it is worse, 44.9 percent the same and 21.7 percent feeling that it is better. This differentiation is greater than in 2015 but consistent with the pattern seen. The disabled also saw a worse than average comparison with 51.4 percent feeling that their dwelling is worse, 28.6 percent feeling that it is about the same and 20 percent feeling that it is better. Former child combatants were again more opinionated than the overall sample with 55.3 percent feeling that their dwelling is worse and 34.2 percent feeling that it is better (10.5 percent felt that it was about the same). Female ex-combatants saw a similar comparison to the overall sample.

2.1.2 Land

84. Land access is a critical dynamic for a whole array of issues including housing, food security and income generation. The 2016 and 2015 Tracers both show a positive trend in improved land access over time. Regarding access, the study asked respondents whether or not they had access to land at four points in time: (i) before mobilization; (ii) while mobilized; (iii) when they were demobilized, and (iv) currently. Over time, land access increased through all four points in time from 11.4 percent before mobilization, to 16.9 percent while mobilized, to 44.4 percent after demobilization and on to 52.5 percent currently (2016). While the positive trend is reflected in both ex-AF and ex-AG, in the 2016 Tracer ex-AF currently have greater access to land at 59.2 percent than ex-AG at 46.7 percent (in 2015 the groups reported having virtually equal access with 47.5 percent of ex-AF and 48.9 percent of ex-AG having access to land). Of the disabled, 51.4 percent currently has access to land.

85. In the same longitudinal aspect, former child combatants saw increases in access from 0 percent before mobilization to 34.1 percent currently. While this is a positive trend, it indicates that 2/3 of the group have no access to land. Female ex-combatants demonstrate a similar trend with 17.2 percent having access pre-mobilization to an improved but below the sample average of 42.9 percent currently.

86. Of those with access to land it was found that 50.0 percent owns their land, 28.0 percent both owns and/or has access to land, 15.9 percent uses the land with permission such as hire or renting, and 4.5 percent uses land without permission of the owner. There is a notable increase from 2015 in the percentage renting or hiring land (4.8 percent in 2015 to 15.9 percent in 2016). Slightly more ex-AGs were found to be renting (18.6 percent) compared to ex-AF (13.3 percent). The highest rate of renting to achieve access was for former child combatants at 41.7 percent. Of the overall sample, 32.0 percent also had access or ownership of land in another area than where they are currently living (25.1 percent to other rural land and 6.9 percent to other urban land). The highest occurrence of this was with disabled ex-combatants at 63.6 percent (38.9 percent to other rural land and 16.7 percent to other urban land).

87. Regarding land usage, the study finds that of those who have access, apart from residential purposes (81.6 percent, including 85.8 percent ex-AF and 77.1 percent ex-AG), the land is used for: (i) subsistence agriculture (66.3 percent, including 63.0 percent ex-AF and 69.7 percent ex-AG); (ii) income generation (19.6 percent, including 19.7 percent ex-AF and 19.5 percent ex-AG); and (iii) leasing (7.2 percent, including 9.0 percent ex-AF and 5.3 percent ex-AG). Only 28.6 percent of former child combatants reported using their land for subsistence agriculture (a rate less than half of the sample average). Female ex-combatants were all using their land for residential purposes (100 percent), with 50 percent using it for subsistence agriculture and none using it for either income generating purposes or leasing. A slight decrease is seen in land usage between 2015 and 2016 for subsistence agriculture (69.7 percent in 2015 to 66.3 percent in 2016) and a slight increase in use for either income generation (13.4 percent to 19.6 percent) or leasing (5.2 percent).

Table 5. Access to, Ownership of Land Cross-tabulation with Use

Do you use the land that you have access to, or own, for any of the following purposes?		Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Former child comb. 2016	Former child comb. 2015	Disable 2016	Disable 2015	Female 2016	Female 2015
Q8.4.1 Residential purposes	Yes	81.6	73.2	85.8	77.1	69.5	76.6	78.6	50.0	77.8	78.6	100	66.7
	No	18.4	26.8	14.2	22.9	30.5	23.4	21.4	50.0	22.2	21.4	0.0	33.3
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	245	272	127	118	131	141	14	4	18	28	2	12
Q8.4.2 Subsistence agriculture	Yes	66.3	69.7	63.0	69.7	61.8	77.1	28.6	100	50.0	82.1	50.0	50.0
	No	33.7	30.3	37.0	30.3	38.2	22.9	71.4	0.0	50.0	17.9	50.0	50.0
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	246	271	127	119	131	140	14	4	18	28	2	12
Q8.4.3 Income generating purposes	Yes	19.6	13.4	19.7	19.5	8.5	17.9	21.4	50.0	27.8	7.1	0.0	8.3
	No	80.4	86.6	80.3	80.5	91.5	82.1	78.6	50.0	72.2	92.9	100	91.7
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	245	269	127	118	129	140	14	4	18	28	2	12
Q8.4.4 Using the land for hire, lease or loan the land to someone else	Yes	7.2	5.2	9.0	5.3	4.6	5.8	7.1	0.0	6.2	0.0	0.0	8.3
	No	92.8	94.8	91.0	94.7	95.4	94.2	92.9	100	93.8	100	100	91.7
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	236	269	122	114	130	139	14	4	16	28	2	12

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

88. Regarding land or property disputes, 7.9 percent report that they are currently experiencing this. This is found at a higher rate by ex-AG (11.1 percent) than ex-AF (4.0 percent), a pattern that was also found in the 2015 Tracer. The pattern also demonstrates a clear increase in land disputes from before mobilization to during mobilization and after demobilization. When demobilized, 9.7 percent experienced land disputes (5.8 percent ex-AF, 13.0 percent ex-AG) as compared to 0.8 percent (1.8 percent ex-AF, 0 percent ex-AG) that experienced disputes before they were mobilized. Of those experiencing disputes, 72.0 percent is due to the land being sold or occupied by other family members, 22.0 due to the land being occupied by other community members, 4.0 percent due to the land being occupied by people outside the community and 2.0 percent due to the land being taken by an official body such as a government agency. Of those experiencing disputes within the family, 23.1 percent is with parents, 20.5 percent with parent-in-laws, 17.9 percent with a brother and 15.4 percent with extended family.

2.2 Household Income, Access to Financial Assets and Credit

89. At a fundamental level, household composition and household income are important dynamics of the basic financial situation of ex-combatants including regarding the capacity to pay expenses or save money.

2.2.1 Household Composition

90. The 2016 Tracer found that the large majority of respondents is currently married or cohabitating (81.4 percent). This includes 88.3 percent of ex-AF, 75.5 percent of ex-AG, 75.7 percent of disabled, 57.1 percent of female ex-combatants and 26.8 percent of former child combatants. This leaves 16.3 percent single, 1.4 percent widowed, 0.4 percent separated and 0.4 percent abandoned. Regarding the spouses, 90.4 percent are non ex-combatants, although this is lower for the group of female ex-combatants where 50 percent are married to non ex-combatants. In exploring the impact of their military experience on their current relationship (n335), 12.8 percent felt that their relationship was negatively influenced to a great extent, 20.0 percent responded to neither a small nor great extent and 67.2 percent felt that it was impacted to a small extent. This is similar to the findings from 2015 (n406) although in 2015 more felt that it was impacted to neither a small nor a great extent (28.3 percent).

91. The average household size is 5 people with the maximum being 15. Ex-AF households are slightly larger than ex-AG households at average sizes of 5.34 and 4.71, respectively. This is in keeping with the 2015 Tracer study which found ex-AF households to be comprised of an average of 5.4 persons and ex-AG households of 4.91 persons. On average, ex-combatants have 4.41 dependants (with ex-AF having slightly more at 4.77 than ex-AG at 4.11). This includes an average of 2.59 dependant children under the age of 18 (with ex-AF having slightly more at 2.80 than ex-AG at 2.41) and 0.67 dependant children over the age of 18 (with ex-AF having slightly more at 0.79 than ex-AG at 0.56). The study also found that, at the time of demobilization, the ex-combatants had on average 1.98 children. When asked if these children had difficulty in accepting the ex-combatant upon their return, 6.7 percent did experience difficulties with the highest rate of 19.0 percent referring to the disabled. However, this has reduced to 2.6 percent that currently have children having difficulties in accepting them, none of whom are disabled. The study also explored whether the experience of being a combatant has made it difficult to be a parent to which 87.0 percent felt it has not and 13.0 percent felt that it has (this was consistent within 3 points across the strata).

92. Of those who were located outside Rwanda during their time in the armed groups, 33.2 percent of ex-AG and 8.5 percent of ex-AF returned with a non-Rwandan new spouse. Of these spouses, many faced various challenges including that 26.4 percent could not register marriage, 29.9 percent faced identity document problems, 19.4 percent found that the spouse was not accepted by their family, 12.3 percent found that the spouse was not accepted by their community and 5.9 percent faced language problems.

93. In total, 44.9 percent returned to Rwanda with some type of dependant. This was most prevalent with ex-AG with 57.1 percent returning with dependants compared to ex-AF with 21.8 percent. On average, ex-combatants returned with 3.53 dependants. Many dependants faced challenges in their transition to Rwanda, including the following: problems of poverty (80.9 percent), housing problems (61.2 percent), problems due to a lack of access to land (53.2 percent), problems in obtaining official identification documentation such as not getting national ID (27.9 percent), problems of not getting mutual health insurance (25.2 percent), not being considered as part of the community (12.2 percent), problems related to them appearing suspicious to the community (10.8

percent), problems related to not understanding or speaking the local language (10.1 percent), and problems of being called derogatory or bad names (7.2 percent).

2.2.2 Household Income and Financial Stability

94. The study also explored the percentage of household income contributed by the ex-combatant and found it to be 49.1 percent on average (self-reported). This is lower than the 2015 Tracer, which found 57.1 percent of the contributions coming from the ex-combatants. Former child combatants are contributing 58.3 percent, female ex-combatants 42.9 percent and disabled ex-combatants 38.8 percent.

95. Regardless of whether they are in fact generating income or not, 68.1 percent of ex-combatants are the sole-breadwinners for their households.

Table 6. Contributors to Household Income

Are you the sole breadwinner or do others in your household also earn an income?	Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Former child combatant 2016	Former child combatant 2015	Disabled 2016	Disabled 2015	Female 2016	Female 2015
Sole i.e. I am the only person in the household who earns or generates an income	68.1	64.9	65.2	70.6	63.1	66.6	70.3	60.0	68.6	55.0	42.9	69.0
Other people, including myself, earn or generate an income for the household	27.9	31.4	32.6	23.8	32.9	30.0	13.5	30.0	25.7	25.0	42.9	24.1
Only other people, excluding myself, earn or generate an income for the household	4.0	3.7	2.3	5.6	4.0	3.5	16.2	10.0	5.7	20.0	14.3	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	473	539	221	252	252	287	37	10	35	60	7	29

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

96. Regarding financial stability, when asked if they are currently in a position to support their family financially, 64.1 percent stated that they are not. There was a difference noted between ex-AF (56.0 percent stated that they were not able to support their family financially) and ex-AG (71.3 percent felt unable to support their family). Interestingly, former child combatants and the disabled had impressions similar to the overall average in the 2016 Tracer (62.9 percent and 60 percent, respectively), although in the 2015 Tracer both groups had substantially worse responses (90 percent and 75.8 percent, respectively). In the 2016 Tracer, female ex-combatants had the lowest responses regarding their ability to support their family financially with 71.4 percent stating that they could not do so.

97. At the end of the month after payment of all household expenses, 23.1 percent of ex-combatants (27.4 percent ex-AF and 19.4 percent ex-AG) are able to save money. Responses are very similar to those found in the 2015 Tracer where 24.3 percent of ex-combatants (24.3 percent ex-AF and 21.2 percent ex-AG) were able to save money. Across the strata the main variations are with the disabled, where 33.3 percent indicates that they are able to save money, and the female ex-combatants where 28.6 percent indicates that they are able to save money.

2.2.3 Economic Status and Outlook

98. When asked to describe their economic status, 55.6 percent of ex-combatants describe it as poor (48.8 percent ex-AF and 61.1 percent ex-AG) and 43.6 percent as neither poor nor wealthy (50.2 percent ex-AF and 38.1 percent ex-AG). This demonstrates a positive trajectory from the 2015 Tracer when 58.6 percent of ex-combatants described themselves as poor (52.6 percent ex-AF and 63.9 percent ex-AG) and 38.9 percent as neither poor nor wealthy (44.4 percent ex-AF and 34.1 percent

ex-AG). Here one can see a shifting from a self-description as poor to neither poor nor wealthy. However, in 2015, 2.5 percent self-identified as wealthy, whereas in 2016 only 0.9 percent did so. This also demonstrates a gap of 12.3 points between ex-AF and ex-AG with ex-AG again feeling worse off. There is also a differentiation seen with former child combatants in that 71.8 percent describes their current economic situation as poor, which is similar to the 2015 results where 70 percent described their situation as poor. Females are slightly more poor than average at 60 percent, while the disabled reported themselves to be in line with the overall average at 55.9 percent poor, 38.2 percent neither poor nor wealthy and 5.9 percent wealthy.

99. Comparing economic status to one year ago, it is seen that more describe their current situation as poor than one year ago (51.8 percent poor 1 year ago compared to 55.6 percent at present). It is particularly notable that 7.7 percent of former child combatants described themselves as wealthy and 66.7 percent as poor one year ago compared to the present where that drops to 2.6 percent who consider themselves wealthy and 71.8 percent poor. The exception is females who reported that 71.4 percent were poor a year ago as compared to 60.0 percent today.

Table 7. Current Economic Status and Trend in Economic Status

		Tracer 2016 (July 2014-December 2015 SEDRP)						Tracer 2015 (January 2013-June 2014 SEDRP)					
		Total	ex- AF	ex- AG	Former child combatant	Disabled XC	Female XC	Total	ex- AF	ex- AG	Former child combatant	Disabled XC	Female XC
How would you describe your economic situation one year ago?	Poorer	51.8	45.5	57.0	66.7	47.2	71.4	60.6	54.5	65.9	80.0	60.9	62.1
	Neither poor nor wealthy	45.2	52.1	39.5	25.6	44.4	28.6	36.3	41.7	31.5	10.0	39.1	37.9
	Wealthy	3.0	2.3	3.5	7.7	8.3	0.0	3.2	3.8	2.6	10.0	0.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=	469	213	256	39	36	7	568	266	302	10	64	29
How would you describe your current economic situation?	Poor	55.6	48.8	61.1	71.8	55.9	60.0	58.6	52.6	63.9	70.0	60.9	51.7
	Neither poor nor wealthy	43.6	50.2	38.1	25.6	38.2	40.0	38.9	44.4	34.1	30.0	37.5	44.8
	Wealthy	0.9	1.0	0.8	2.6	5.9	0.0	2.5	3.0	2.0	0.0	1.6	3.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	n=	459	207	252	39	34	5	568	266	302	10	64	29

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

100. In terms of economic outlook, ex-combatants were asked if they think that their economic situation will improve in the future. Ex-combatants are quite positive about their future with 73.1 percent of respondents stating that it will get better, 18.4 percent that it will stay the same and 8.5 percent that it will get worse. Former child combatants are more negative than the average sample about their economic prospects with 69.4 percent feeling that it will get better, 16.7 percent that it will stay the same and 13.9 percent feeling that it will get worse. Female ex-combatants all feel that it will either improve (57.1 percent) or stay the same (42.9 percent), thus overall seeing fewer prospects for positive change than the overall average. The disabled, however, project that change will come but are split on the form of that change with 70.3 percent stating that their economic situation will get better and 21.6 percent that it will get worse.

2.3 Employment, Income Generation and Access to Formal Credit

101. Ex-combatants (like civilians) may generate income from a variety of sources. The 2016 Tracer examined a wide, and very detailed, range of self-reported data pertaining to income generated via waged work, self-employment and economic transfers.

102. In summary, the mean total income⁸ for ex-combatants is FRW87,652.95 with the ex-AF mean being significantly higher than that of ex-AG (ex-AF average income at FRW 116,390.04 compared to FRW63,099.81 for ex-AG, a difference of approximately FRW53,000).

Table 8. Mean Income Comparison

	Mean (FRW)	N	Minimum (FRW)	Maximum (FRW)
Tracer 2016 (July 2014-December 2015 SEDRP)	87652.95	484	0	4000000
Tracer 2015 (January 2013-June 2014 SEDRP)	134936.77	577	0	4500000
ex-AF 2016	116390.04	223	0	4000000
ex-AG 2016	63099.81	261	0	1156800
ex-AF 2015	114574.09	270	0	2000000
ex-AG 2015	152845.32	307	0	4500000
Former child combatant 2016	87695.12	41	0	700000
Former child combatant 2015	130100.00	10	0	500000
Disabled 2016	95932.43	37	0	920000
Disabled 2015	81717.34	64	0	564000
Male 2016	88729.62	477	0	4000000
Female 2016	14285.71	7	0	100000
Male 2015	138217.53	547	0	4500000
Female 2015	75117.67	30	0	500000
Total	113367.15	1061	0	4500000

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

103. This shows a notable change from 2015 at which time the mean income for ex-combatants was FRW 134,936.77, with the mean for ex-AF being lower than that of ex-AGs at FRW114,574.09 compared to FRW152,845.32 (a difference of approximately FRW 38,000). Former child combatants sat close to the mean income for all ex-combatants earning FRW130,100.00, but youth in general earned \approx FRW48,000 less than older ex-combatants (FRW91,122.45 compared to FRW139,266.64). Female and disabled ex-combatants had the lowest mean earnings. The mean female ex-combatant income in 2015 was FRW 75,117.67 (approximately FRW 82,000 less than males) and the mean disabled ex-combatant income was FRW 81,717.34 (approximately FRW 60,000 less than able-bodied ex-combatants).

104. It should be noted that disabled ex-combatants are on average financially better off now with FRW 14,215.09 more than during the previous Tracer. Furthermore, ex-AFs are maintaining their income wealth as they have an insignificant increase of FRW 1,815.95. The biggest issue is for ex-AGs who have a decline in income of FRW 89,745.51 on average. This drop is dependent on the actual drop in average wage income for the ex-AG cohort. Regarding wage-only income in 2016, there is an ex-AG decline by FRW 63,387.15. There are insufficient respondents to give details on the former child combatant or female cohort.

Table 9. Income Comparison (Disaggregation)

Source Version of the Tracer Survey		TOTAL_indv_income Total wage, self-employed and transfer income	Wage_income Total wages, salary, from an employer (Q16.1.1), in kind payments from employer (Q16.1.2), pay for casual labour (Q16.1.3)	Self_empl_income Total self-employed income you obtained, or earned, from the listed sources in 2014 (Q16.1.4)	Transfer_income Total transfer income (cash or in-kind support in Q16.1.5 to Q16.1.9)
Tracer 2016 (July 2014-December 2015 SEDRP)	Mean	87652.95	69735.80	13769.63	4147.52
	N	484	484	484	484
	Minimum	0	0	0	0

⁸Formula: Wage_income + Self_empl_income + Transfer_income

	Maximum	4000000.00	4000000.00	700000.00	420000.00
Tracer 2015 (January 2013-June 2014 SEDRP)	Mean	134936.77	99403.67	29928.94	5604.16
	N	577	577	577	577
	Minimum	0	0	0	0
	Maximum	4500000.00	4000000.00	2000000.00	403000.00
ex-AF 2016	Diff	-47283.82	-29667.87	-16159.31	-1456.64
	Mean	116390.04	92796.31	18385.65	5208.07
	N	223	223	223	223
	Minimum	0	0	0	0
ex-AF 2015	Maximum	4000000.00	4000000.00	600000.00	420000.00
	Mean	114574.09	83466.69	28292.59	2814.81
	N	270	270	270	270
	Minimum	0	0	0	0
ex-AG 2016	Maximum	2000000.00	1500000.00	2000000.00	300000.00
	Diff	1815.95	9329.62	-9906.94	2393.26
	Mean	63099.81	50032.76	9825.67	3241.38
	N	261	261	261	261
ex-AG 2015	Minimum	0	0	0	0
	Maximum	1156800.00	1156800.00	700000.00	300000.00
	Mean	152845.32	113419.91	31368.08	8057.33
	N	307	307	307	307
Disabled 2016	Minimum	0	0	0	0
	Maximum	4500000.00	4000000.00	1000000.00	403000.00
	Diff	-89745.51	-63387.15	-21542.41	-4815.95
	Mean	95932.43	54743.24	14405.41	26783.78
Disabled 2015	N	37	37	37	37
	Minimum	0	0	0	0
	Maximum	920000.00	465000.00	500000.00	420000.00
	Mean	81717.34	29420.47	20156.25	32140.63
	N	64	64	64	64
	Minimum	0	0	0	0
	Maximum	564000.00	400000.00	250000.00	360000.00
	Diff	14215.09	25322.77	-5750.84	-5356.85

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

2.3.1 Economic activity

105. The study surveyed ex-combatants regarding their economic activity using a longitudinal aspect: prior to mobilization, while a combatant, at time of demobilization and currently (main and secondary occupation). Before mobilization, 37.8 percent were unemployed, 30.5 percent were studying, and 21.5 percent were self-employed (of which 19.4 percent were self employed in agriculture). The remaining 10 percent were divided between 6.3 percent that were employed, and 1.7 percent working in the house. This has since changed and, at present, almost two times as many are self-employed at 41.8 percent (32.9 percent of which in agriculture) and five times as many are employed at 31.1 percent (19.6 percent of which in agriculture, 7.6 percent by the private sector and 3.9 percent by the public sector). Finally, 22.3 percent are currently unemployed and 3.1 percent are studying.

106. Therefore, in summary, currently 73.8 percent are economically active, 23.1 percent are economically inactive, and 3.1 percent are studying. Of the unemployed, 71.6 percent referenced the lack of access to finance as the primary reason, with less than 5 percent referring to other reasons such as disability (4.5 percent), lack of skills and education (3.4 percent), lack of work experience (2.3 percent), lack of available economic opportunities (2.3 percent), poor health status (2.3 percent), and only 1.1 percent referencing no access to land. This follows the pattern seen in 2015 at which time 77.9 percent referenced lack of access to finance as the primary barrier.

Table 10. Economic Activity

What was or is your economic status at the listed stages of your life?	ex-AF 2016				ex-AG 2016			
	Before mobilised	While a combatant	When demobilised	Currently	Before mobilised	While a combatant	When demobilised	Currently
Unemployed	32.4	32.8	22.1	17.9	42.4	55.3	29.5	26.1
Studying	35.7	9.1	4.7	4.5	26.3	6.9	5.9	1.9
Self-employed - all types	21.5	8.1	37.6	41.2	21.6	5.5	33.9	42.1
Self-employed - agriculture	18.1	6.6	30.0	31.8	20.4	4.6	31.1	33.7
Self-employed – service	0	0.5	3.8	4.5	0	0	0.8	3.4
Self-employed – retail	2.4	0.5	2.8	2.7	0	0.9	1.2	1.9
Self-employed – manufacture	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0	0	0
Hustle or involved in or reliant on the informal economic sector - such as economically active in informal sector	0.5	0	0.5	1.8	0.8	0	0.8	3.1
Employed - all types	6.8	48.0	28.2	33.7	5.9	25.9	22.5	29.1
Employed working for employer - agriculture	4.8	2.0	16.0	17.5	4.3	1.4	18.5	21.5
Employed working for employer - private sector	1.0	0.5	6.6	9.9	0.8	2.8	2.4	5.7
Employed working for employer - public sector	1.0	45.5	5.6	6.3	0.8	21.7	1.6	1.9
Housewife or working in the home	1.4	n/a	0.9	0.4	2.0	n/a	0	0.4
Retired - but not economically active	0	0.5	0.9	1.8	0	0	0	0
Supplementing income through subsistence activities	0	0.5	0	0.4	0	0.9	0	0.4
Other	2.4	1.0	5.6	0	2.0	5.5	8.3	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
n=	210	198	213	223	255	217	254	261

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

107. Different patterns are evident between the ex-AF and ex-AG. Of ex-AF, before mobilization, the largest group (35.7 percent) was studying, followed by 32.4 percent who were unemployed, 21.5 percent self-employed (of which 18.1 percent were self employed in agriculture), and 6.8 percent employed in some manner. Now, 41.2 percent are self-employed (31.8 percent in agriculture), 33.7 percent are employed (17.5 percent in agriculture, 9.9 percent by the private sector and 6.3 percent by the public sector) and 4.5 percent are studying. Unemployment at 17.9 percent is half what it was at mobilization.

108. Of ex-AG, before mobilization, the largest group (42.4 percent) was unemployed, followed by 26.3 percent who were studying, 21.6 percent self-employed (of which 20.4 percent in agriculture), and 5.9 percent employed in some manner. Now, 42.1 percent are self-employed (33.7 percent in agriculture), 29.1 percent are employed (21.5 percent in agriculture, 5.7 percent by the private sector and 1.9 percent by the public sector) and only 1.9 percent are studying. Unemployment at 26.1 percent is half what it was at mobilization.

109. Of those that would go on to become child combatants, 56.1 percent were unemployed before being mobilized, 39 percent were studying and 4.9 percent were self-employed in agriculture. Currently, 36.6 percent are employed in some manner (22 percent in agriculture and 14.6 percent in the private sector), 31.7 percent are self-employed (14.6 in service, 9.8 percent in agriculture, and 7.3 percent in retail), and 7.3 percent are studying. However, 24.4 percent are currently unemployed leaving 68.3 percent economically active. Of the unemployed, 75 percent referenced the lack of access to finance as the primary reason, followed by 12.5 percent mentioning a lack of skills and education.

110. Of the female ex-combatants, 57.1 percent were unemployed before being mobilized, 28.6 percent were studying and 14.3 percent were working in the home. Currently, females have the highest unemployment rate at 42.9 percent, with 28.6 percent employed in agriculture (none

employed in other sectors), 14.3 percent self-employed in the service sector, and 14.3 percent studying. Therefore, 42.9 percent of female ex-combatants are economically active, 42.8 percent are economically inactive and 14.3 percent are studying.

111. The disabled follow the overall average trends with 37.8 percent self-employed (27 percent in agriculture, 5.4 percent in service, 2.7 percent in retail and 2.7 percent in the informal economy) and 32.4 percent employed (21.6 percent in agriculture and 10.8 percent in the public sector). Finally, 24.3 percent are unemployed, 2.7 percent retired, and none studying. Thus, in summary, 73 percent of the disabled are economically active and 27 percent are economically inactive. Of the unemployed, 66.7 percent referenced the lack of access to finance as the primary reason, followed by 11.1 percent mentioning each: their disability, poor health and other constraints that make them unavailable for work.

112. In a broad sense ex-combatants have a variety of incomes, including four primary categories: salaried jobs, small business, micro-agribusiness (crops for sale), and keeping livestock. Currently, 30.2 percent of ex-combatants grow crops, 21.9 percent raise livestock, 18.7 percent have regular salaried jobs, and 16.5 percent have small businesses. There is a small increase in those growing crops and livestock, as well as those with regular salaried jobs, between 2015 and 2016.

Table 11. Current IGA

<i>Proportion of respondents that currently have the listed form of income generating activity</i>	Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Child comb 2016	Child comb 2015	Disable 2016	Disable 2015	Female 2016	Female 2015
Regular salaried job (excluding that of being a soldier or ex-combatant)	18.7	16.8	22.7	15.2	18.8	14.9	25	20	21.6	12.9	20	10.7
Small business	16.1	18.5	18.4	14.2	20.8	16.4	12.5	10	27	22.2	0	10.7
Grow crops for sale or exchange	30.2	25.3	27	32.9	25.2	25.4	7.5	33.3	25	21	16.7	25
Livestock	21.9	17.6	18.2	25.1	16.8	18.3	7.9	22.2	22.2	23.8	14.3	21.4

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

113. More specifically, the top 15 professions in which ex-combatants are generating income include:

Table 12. Professions

Currently, what is the main income generating activity you are engaged in?	Tracer 2016 (July 2014-December 2015 SEDRP)						Tracer 2015 (January 2013-June 2014 SEDRP)					
	Total	ex-AF	ex-AG	Child combatant	Disabled XC	Female XC	Total	ex-AF	ex-AG	Child combatant	Disabled XC	Female XC
Farming - crops	51.4	43.8	59.6	20	34.8	0	48.4	44.4	52.3	75	70.4	31.6
Casual labour	9.6	8.6	10.6	15	13.0	50.0	8.5	5.9	11.1	0	0	10.5
Security guard, private security	9.6	14.2	4.6	5.0	17.4	0	14.4	16.3	12.4	0	14.8	21.1
Farming - poultry	3.2	2.5	4	5.0	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Masonry	3.2	3.7	2.6	0	0	0	0.3	0	0.7	0	0	0
Administration	2.6	3.7	1.3	0	4.3	0	2	2	2	0	0	0
Boda boda or Taxi driver	2.2	3.7	0.7	5.0	0	0	1.0	1.3	0.7	0	0	0
Farming - livestock	2.2	1.9	2.6	0	0	0	2.3	2.0	2.6	0	3.7	5.3
Selling goods	2.2	2.5	2	5.0	4.3	0	4.9	6.5	3.3	0	3.7	5.3
Construction	1.9	3.1	0.7	0	4.3	0	2.9	3.9	2.0	0	3.7	0

Driving vehicle	1.9	3.1	0.7	5.0	0	0	1.0	2.0	0	0	0	0
Welding	1.6	1.9	1.3	0	8.7	0	2.6	3.3	2.0	0	3.7	0
Tailoring	1.3	0.6	2.0	5.0	0	50.0	2.9	2.0	3.9	0	0	21.1
Hairdressing	1.0	0	2.0	15.0	0	0	0.3	0	0.7	0	0	0
Mechanic	1.0	0.6	1.3	10.0	0	0	0.7	1.3	0	0	0	0
Other	4.8	6.0	4.0	10.0	8.6	0.0	7.8	9.5	6.9	25.0	0.0	5.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	313	162	151	20	23	2	306	153	153	4	27	19

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

114. Of those working, 30.3 percent of ex-combatants (41.3 percent ex-AF and 20.3 percent ex-AG) are working in their field of skill. The gap between ex-AF and ex-AG was also seen in 2015 although slightly less pronounced, with 36.4 percent of ex-combatants working in their field of skill (41.7 percent ex-AF and 30.7 percent ex-AG). In comparison with the 2012 Tracer, 28.8 percent were working in their area of skill (29.4 percent ex-AF and 28.6 percent ex-AG).

115. There is also a difference in the proportion of ex-combatants with year-round work, with an average of 36.8 percent overall and 46.1 percent of ex-AF and 28.4 percent of ex-AG. This has decreased from 2015 with 48.7 percent overall (43.6 percent ex-AF and 53.8 percent ex-AG) and 2012 with 70.9 percent overall (including 75.0 percent ex-AF and 69.6 percent ex-AG) having year-round work.

116. To engage in IGAs can require start-up or operating capital. To finance, generate or create their IGA, 37.5 percent of ex-combatants utilized support from the RDRC or Demobilization Benefits, 14.2 percent drew on personal savings, 11.9 percent utilized a community saving scheme, 9.7 percent took out a loan from family, 9.2 percent took out a loan from a bank, 8.1 percent received support from a financial cooperative, 8 percent took a loan from a friend, 5 percent utilized micro-credit or a micro-lending agency, and 5 percent received support from a community member.

117. The study identifies that, after demobilization, 33.5 percent of ex-combatants returned to their pre-mobilization form of work (25.7 percent ex-AF and 40.7 percent ex-AG). This is just over 10 percent higher than the 2015 rate (22.8 percent). The difference between ex-AF and ex-AG correlates with the type of work they are currently engaged in, with 59.6 percent of ex-AG currently working in farming. Within the strata, the former child combatants were more likely than average to return to the same type of work (42.9 percent, n7), while disabled ex-combatants were less likely to do so (23.5 percent, n17). After demobilization, 76.9 percent of ex-combatants (79.4 percent ex-AF and 78.8 percent ex-AG) had no difficulties adjusting to their work environment.

118. A majority of ex-combatants (52.9 percent composed of 56.4 percent ex-AF and 49.7 percent ex-AG) indicate that their time in conflict has neither positively nor negatively impacted on their work, while 33.7 percent feels that it has had a negative impact and 13.4 percent a positive impact. Of the disabled, 50 percent feels that it has had a negative impact while 37.5 percent see it neutrally. In 2015, a majority of ex-combatants (55.3 percent composed of 55.6 percent ex-AF and 54.9 percent ex-AG) indicated that their time in conflict had negatively impacted on their work, thus this year's findings suggest a positive shift.

119. In regard to negative impacts of conflict on income generation after demobilization the following captures the main issues faced:

Table 13. Negative Impacts of Mobilisation on IGA after Demobilisation

	Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Child Combat. 2016	Child Combat. 2015	Disabled 2016	Disabled 2015	Female 2016	Female 2015
Did not have the available capital or access to finance or No capital to raise a loan against	62.3	61.8	50.4	71.9	61.3	62.1	75.0	83.3	66.7	62.2	0.0	54.5
Unable to secure the same resources or raw materials	51.6	29.6	41.4	60.0	26.7	32.3	58.8	33.3	42.1	31.4	100	18.2
Unable to purchase and maintain the equipment required	48.7	41.1	37.5	58.0	46.7	36.1	62.5	50.0	47.6	51.4	100	27.3
Unable to access the market and access the various buyer networks, or organize for acquisition and sale of goods and services	28.1	17.2	22.0	33.1	17.3	17.1	29.4	16.7	19.0	20.0	0.0	9.1
The land I used for the income generating activity was taken over by other people	27.5	24.8	24.4	30.4	22.0	27.5	33.3	20.0	23.5	36.1	0.0	27.3
Unable to access the network of persons for the collection, storage, processing and marketing of the produce or products	24.1	17.9	16.7	30.5	22.5	13.7	18.8	16.7	19.0	29.7	0.0	9.1

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

120. After demobilization some were able to find a regular income generating opportunity faster than others. For 19.1 percent it was possible to find such an opportunity immediately, 39.9 percent within 1 year, 23.2 percent took a couple of years and 17.8 percent have never found a regular IGA. Of ex-AF, 62 percent found an IGA either immediately or within 1 year, as did 56.7 percent of ex-AG. Former child combatants and the disabled took longer than average to find a regular IGA with 42.4 percent of former child combatants requiring several years (15.2 percent have yet to do so) as well as 27.0 percent of the disabled (14.8 percent have yet to find a regular IGA).

121. On average, ex-combatants have stayed in one job or kept at one income generating activity for just under 2 years, although some have worked in one place for up to 16 years. Ex-AF average slightly longer time at each position with 26 months as compared to ex-AG at 18 months. With this frequent level of change, ex-combatants have on average worked for 5.7 employers since demobilization.

122. Ex-combatants were asked if any of the jobs they have had related back to the skills they acquired from the RDRC support, such as in skills or vocational training or apprenticeship. In total, 75.2 percent responded that the jobs did not relate back to the training, while the remaining 24.8 percent found that they did. This was consistent across the sub-strata and between 2015 and 2016. The groups finding above average relevance to the RDRC skills support included the disabled (35.3 percent found it to relate back) as well as 33.3 percent of females and 31.2 percent of Ex-AF. For those where the skills support has not been relevant, 68.5 percent stated that this was due to no capital

to work in that vocation, 55 percent have not found a job in that vocation, 54.8 percent feels that they would require additional training to that received to functionally work in that vocation, and 23.9 percent listed that they were not given a tool kit.

123. Ex-combatants were also asked if the skills or vocational training or apprenticeship assisted them to establish an income generating activity and here the results were slightly more positive with 35.2 percent agreeing that it did assist them and the remaining 64.8 percent not seeing a correlation to their IGA. Here female ex-combatants had the highest positive response with 66.7 percent, followed by former child combatants with 41.7 percent and 38.9 percent of the disabled.

124. When looking at work satisfaction, ex-combatants have low satisfaction with income or remuneration gained from the work, and average to low satisfaction with the type of work they do, the opportunity for skills development, the working conditions, the location of their workplace, the people they work with and their employer. Significant differentiations exist mainly with female ex-combatants who have the lowest satisfaction, compared to other groups, with the type of work they do, their employer and the working conditions, and with disabled ex-combatants who have the highest satisfaction, compared to other groups, with their employer, the people they work with, their working conditions, and the income or remuneration gained.

125. Of those engaged in an income generating activity, 8.9 percent considers their activity successful, 20.9 percent considers it unsuccessful and 70.2 percent considers their activity neither successful nor unsuccessful. This is similar to the results of the 2015 Tracer, which found that 10.7 percent considered their activity successful, 19.4 percent considered it unsuccessful and 69.9 percent considered their activity neither successful nor unsuccessful. Former child combatants are the most negative about their endeavours with 33.3 percent considering it unsuccessful, but still 8.3 percent feeling it is successful. Of those with disabilities, 27.3 percent considers their activity unsuccessful and only 4.5 percent sees it as successful.

126. Of those who consider it unsuccessful, the barrier of acute deprivation of being unable to resolve basic needs, including one's next meal, is identified by 72.1 percent (n61) (62.5 percent ex-AF, 78.4 percent ex-AG) as the main obstacle, followed by 46.7 percent (n60) that reference the small or limited scale of the project (34.8 percent ex-AF, 54.1 percent ex-AG), 37.7 percent (n61) that cite ignorance on entrepreneurship (29.2 percent ex-AF, 43.2 percent ex-AG), 31.7 (n60) percent that feel that they did not initiate a viable project (26.1 percent ex-AF, 35.1 percent ex-AG) and 16.9 percent that state that they are concentrating on other interests at the moment, such as building a house or studying (17.4 percent ex-AF, 16.7 percent ex-AG). This is the same order of challenges found in 2015. Overall, this represents a concerning pattern with such high percentages apparently trapped in acute deprivation and thus unable to work their way out into a successful income generating project.

127. Regarding economic cooperatives, the study finds that 30.0 percent of ex-combatants are members (up from 26.0 percent in 2015). Of ex-AF, 36.3 percent belong to an economic cooperative as well as 24.5 percent of ex-AG. Those with disabilities participate at an average rate (27 percent) with females being much more engaged in economic cooperatives than other groups at 42.9 percent. Former child combatants in the survey were found to have a much lower rate of participation at 9.8 percent. The 2015 survey found lower participation by former child combatants at 20.0 percent than the overall average but which was much higher than the 2016 results. In 2012, 36.6 percent of ex-combatants indicated that they were members (35.9 percent ex-AF, 36.9 percent ex-AG). Therefore, participation appears to have fluctuated over the years.

128. The following is the typology and proportional membership of the proportion of ex-combatants who indicated in 2016 that they are members of an economic cooperative (Table 14).

Table 14. Membership of Cooperatives

Do you belong to any of the listed economic cooperatives?		Tracer 2016 (July 2014-December 2015 SEDRP)						Tracer 2015 (January 2013-June 2014 SEDRP)					
		Total	ex-AF	ex-AG	Child comb.	Disable XC	Female XC	Total	ex-AF	ex-AG	Child comb.	Disable XC	Female XC
Workers' Cooperatives	Yes %	24.8	27.6	21.3	50.0	40.0	29.7	35.2	24.7	0.0	22.7	0.0	0.0
	n=	137	76	61	4	10	148	71	77	2	22	3	8
Arts Crafts (Handicraft) Cooperatives	Yes %	2.9	4.0	1.6	0.0	10.0	0.7	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	n=	136	75	61	4	10	147	70	77	2	22	3	8
Housing Cooperatives	Yes %	6.5	10.4	1.6	0.0	0.0	4.1	2.9	5.1	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
	n=	138	77	61	4	10	148	70	78	2	22	3	8
Fisheries Cooperatives	Yes %	7.3	9.2	4.9	0.0	10.0	0.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	n=	137	76	61	4	10	147	70	77	2	22	3	8
Multi-purpose Cooperatives	Yes %	11.6	11.7	11.5	0.0	0.0	27.9	27.1	28.6	0.0	36.4	0.0	37.5
	n=	138	77	61	4	10	147	70	77	2	22	3	8
Production or Marketing Cooperatives	Yes %	1.4	1.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.4	1.4	5.2	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0
	n=	138	77	61	4	10	147	70	77	2	22	3	8
Consumer Cooperatives	Yes %	13.0	10.4	16.4	25.0	20.0	8.8	8.6	9.1	50.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
	n=	138	77	61	4	10	147	70	77	2	22	3	8
Saving & Credit Cooperative (SACCO)	Yes %	36.0	35.1	37.1	25.0	0.0	22.4	24.3	20.8	50.0	22.7	0.0	37.5
	n=	139	77	62	4	10	147	70	77	2	22	3	8

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

129. Of those participating in such cooperatives, 14.5 percent saw no benefit to their participation. Of those that saw a benefit, these included economic networking (24.6 percent), social networking (20.3 percent), financial support (16.1 percent), shared or pooled resources (12.7 percent) and moral support (10.2 percent).

2.3.2 Banking, Finance and Credit

130. Regarding banking, the study finds that 66.3 percent (75.8 percent ex-AF and 58.2 percent ex-AG) has a savings or current account at a formal credit institution. The difference of 17.6 percent between ex-AF and ex-AG is notable. This has reduced slightly from the 2015 Tracer, which found that 72.3 percent (84.8 percent ex-AF and 61.3 percent ex-AG) had an account but did still see a similar pattern with the gap between the different types of forces. Compared to the 2012 Tracer, which found 63.8 percent of ex-combatants (70.2 percent ex-AF and 62.4 percent ex-AG) had bank accounts, it seems there is a slight increase over time but not much change.

131. Across the strata, females were found to be significantly more likely to have a bank account at 85.7 percent, which is consistent with 2015, which found that 82.8 percent of women had bank accounts. As with 2015, in 2012 more female ex-combatants also had an account (90.9 percent compared to 63.9 percent of male ex-combatants). Disabled ex-combatants were also more likely to have an account at 73.4 percent. In 2015, disabled ex-combatants were not more likely to have an account although they had more or less the same access as the general level for ex-combatants (73.4 percent). In 2012, only 55.7 percent had an account. Former child combatants are significantly less likely to have an account at 41.5 percent. However, in 2015, 80 percent of former child combatants reported having an account.

132. For those without an account, the primary reason given by 93.5 percent was poor or insufficient funds, followed by 3.3 percent that felt that the account was not required, wanted or necessary. Very few referenced administrative obstacles (1.6 percent). For those with an account, 16.6 percent never uses the account, 33.1 percent has used it once, 41.9 percent uses it sometimes and

8.4 percent uses it regularly. Disabled and females use their accounts more than other groups (with 76.6 and 83.3 percent respectively using it either sometimes or regularly).

133. The study finds that 56.1 percent of ex-combatants (64.8 percent ex-AF and 48.6 percent ex-AG) keep money on mobile money accounts. The gap between the ex-AF and ex-AG usage of 16.2 points demonstrates a notable difference in usage levels. The overall usage of mobile money has increased from the 2015 Tracer at which time 43.8 percent of ex-combatants (45.1 percent ex-AF and 42.5 percent ex-AG) were utilizing a mobile money account. This proportion is reasonably consistent across strata except in the case of female ex-combatants where, in 2016, 14.3 percent are using mobile money, although, in 2015, 44.8 percent of females were using it.

134. The study finds that 41.9 percent of ex-combatants (47.5 percent ex-AF and 37.2 percent ex-AG) belong to a savings and credit cooperative. This is slightly up from the 2015 Tracer showing 38.8 percent of ex-combatants (39.2 percent ex-AF and 38.5 percent ex-AG) and significantly up from the 2012 Tracer showing 20.8 percent (55.6 percent ex-AF and 0.0 percent ex-AG) participating in such a group. Former child combatants have the lowest participation rate (at 15.0 percent in 2016 and 30.0 percent in 2015). Females and disabled are participating at a slightly higher than average rate of 42.9 percent and 48.6 percent, respectively. This also represents a major increase for females from 0.0 percent in 2012 and 36.5 percent in 2015, and a slight increase for disabled ex-combatants of whom 36.5 percent were participating in 2015, and largely the same in 2012.

135. In times of financial stress, 17.9 percent of ex-combatants responded that they could call on their personal savings (22.5 percent of ex-AF and 13.9 percent of ex-AG). However, should they not have savings or sufficient savings, ex-combatants are likely to need to turn to others for help. This also points to a level of trust in these individuals or institutions. In these cases, 56.5 percent of ex-combatants would turn to a friend for help and 44.6 percent to family. Beyond these two primary responses, 29 percent go to colleagues or people they work with, 23.9 percent go to their cooperative association, 12.8 percent to the bank, 11.3 percent to ex-combatants from their former armed group, 8 percent to a micro-credit or micro-lending agency, 8 percent to the RDRC, 7.8 percent to community leaders, 7.1 percent to a religious organisation, 5.6 percent to a local authority, and 3 percent to a 'loan shark'. Ex-AGs are slightly more likely than ex-AFs to go to friends (60.2 vs. 52.3 percent), colleagues (30.6 vs. 27.2 percent), a cooperative association (26.2 vs. 21.2 percent), ex-combatants from their former armed group (14.6 vs. 7.5 percent), or community leaders (8.9 vs. 6.5 percent). Ex-AFs are slightly more likely than ex-AGs to go to a bank (20 vs. 6.5 percent) or a micro-credit or micro-lending agency (11.5 vs. 4.9 percent). They are similarly likely to go to family (44.7 ex-AF vs. 44.5 ex-AG), to the RDRC (8.3 vs. 7.7 percent) or to a religious organization (7.8 vs. 6.5 percent).

Table 15. Sources of Assistance in Financial Crisis

If you encounter a financial problem, which of the listed people could you turn to for help?		Total 2016	ex-AF	ex-AG	Child XC	Disabled XC	Female XC
Friends	Yes %	56.5	52.3	60.2	56.4	34.3	100
	n=	474	218	256	39	35	7
Family	Yes %	44.6	44.7	44.5	46.2	40	57.1
	n=	471	217	254	39	35	7
Colleagues or people you work with	Yes %	29	27.2	30.6	29.7	17.1	14.3
	n=	465	217	248	37	35	7
Cooperative association	Yes %	23.9	21.2	26.2	5.4	25.7	14.3
	n=	456	212	244	37	35	7
Bank	Yes %	12.8	20	6.5	0	14.3	0
	n=	461	215	246	37	35	7
Ex-combatants from your former armed group	Yes %	11.3	7.5	14.6	10.8	8.6	14.3

	n=	461	214	247	37	35	7
RDRC	Yes %	8	8.3	7.7	2.7	25.7	14.3
	n=	464	217	247	37	35	7
Micro-credit or micro-lending agency	Yes %	8	11.5	4.9	0	0	0
	n=	464	218	246	37	35	7
Community leaders	Yes %	7.8	6.5	8.9	8.1	5.9	0
	n=	464	217	247	37	34	7
Religious organization	Yes %	7.1	7.8	6.5	8.1	2.9	0
	n=	465	218	247	37	35	7
Local authority	Yes %	5.6	5	6.1	5.4	0	0
	n=	464	218	246	37	35	7
'Loan shark'	Yes %	3	4.2	2	0	8.6	0
	n=	462	216	246	37	35	7

Source: 2015/ 2016 Tracer Survey

136. The study further explored more formal mechanisms for loans such as micro-credit and loans. Regarding micro-credit, there are very different patterns seen by sub-group. Of ex-AF, 34.8 percent have applied for micro-credit, while only 11.8 percent of ex-AG has done so. This was also seen in the previous tracers, where, in 2015, 24.5 percent ex-AF and 7.2 percent ex-AG had applied and in 2012, 23.6 percent ex-AF and 8.4 percent ex-AG applied. The 2016 Tracer further indicates that 32.0 percent of ex-AF plan to apply for a micro-credit loan in the future, as does 23.7 percent of ex-AG. While this still demonstrates a gap between the groups, it suggests that the reason is not simply a lack of interest in such a mechanism.

137. When asked as to why they have never applied for micro-credit the following reasons arose:

Table 16. Primary Reason for Not Applying for Micro-credit

	Total 2016	ex-AF	ex-AG	Child XC	Disabled XC	Female XC
Lack of security or collateral	58.3	49.4	64.5	67.9	35.3	50.0
Knew my application would not be successful	16.2	19.3	14.0	10.7	47.1	0.0
Did not have a viable IGA	12.3	15.7	9.9	3.6	11.8	25.0
Did not need micro-credit	9.3	12.0	7.4	14.3	5.9	25.0
Lack of education	2.0	1.2	2.5	3.6	0.0	0.0
Lack of employment	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Existing debit or loans	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lack of skills	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n=	204	83	121	28	17	4

Source: 2016 Tracer Survey

138. Micro-credit is used for a wide variety of purposes, including household consumables (24.6 percent), housing (23.1 percent), agricultural production (21.5 percent), income generating activities (15.4 percent), improved living conditions (6.2 percent), family social responsibilities, medical expenses and loan repayment or service fees (1.5 percent). There was an increase from 2015 to 2016 in usage for household consumables (7.5 percent in 2015) but the other areas remained fairly consistent.

139. Of those that applied, 90.9 percent were successful (96.5 percent of ex-AF and 75.0 percent of ex-AG). This is up from 2015 when 87.4 percent were successful (87.9 percent of ex-AF and 85.7 percent of ex-AG).

2.3.3 Disabled and Former Child Combatants

140. Men also did not feel discriminated for their sex in trying to get employment or in the workplace. As compared to women, a lower percentage of men have considered joining with other

men for economic purposes (87.1 percent of the men vs. 100 percent of the women). As compared to male non-ex-combatants in their community, the majority (61.6 percent) felt that they were doing about the same as their peers, with 19.3 percent feeling that they are doing worse and 19.1 percent feeling that they are doing better (26.3 percent ex-AF compared to 13.2 percent ex-AG).

141. When it comes to former child combatants, again very few feel discriminated against either in trying to get employment (7.7 percent) or in the workplace (10.5 percent). A total of 87.2 percent has considered collaborating with other former child combatants for economic purposes. As compared to other former child combatants in their community, the majority felt that they were doing about the same as their peers (72.5 percent), with 20 percent feeling that they are doing worse and 7.5 percent feeling that they are doing better. They were not asked how they compared to others in their age cohorts who were not former combatants.

142. Regarding disabled ex-combatants, the study finds a slightly different pattern in that 26.3 percent feel discriminated against while seeking work and 27.8 percent feel discriminated against in the workplace, with much higher rates of discrimination in the workplace experienced by ex-AG (40 percent) than ex-AF (12.5 percent). In total, 88.9 percent has considered collaborating with other disabled persons for economic purposes. As compared to disabled non-ex-combatants in their community, the majority felt that they were doing about the same as their peers (63.2 percent), with 26.3 percent feeling that they are doing worse and 10.5 percent feeling that they are doing better. All of these results are in line with the patterns seen in the 2015 findings.

2.3.4 Economically Inactive Ex-combatants

143. For those ex-combatants who are not working, the average time of inactivity is 3½ years (43.48 months). In general, 8.1 percent has been out of work for less than a month, 24.7 percent for less than 1 year, 45.5 percent between 1 and 5 years, and 31.9 percent over 5 years. Of former child combatants, 40.7 percent has been out of work for less than 1 year.

144. Economically inactive ex-AFs tend to have been out of work for longer than economically inactive ex-AGs, at an average of just over 4 years (49.81 months) as compared to ex-AGs that have on average been out of work for 3.3 years (39.55 months). Looking at it in another way, of ex-AF 26 percent has been out of work for less than 1 year, 29 percent between 1 and 5 years, and 45 percent over 5 years. This compares to ex-AGs with 23.5 percent out of work for less than 1 year, 54 percent between 1 and 5 years, and 22.5 percent over 5 years.

145. Compared with the 2015 Tracer, similar numbers are seen: 21 percent out of work for less than 1 year, 50 percent between 1 and 5 years and 29 percent over 5 years. However, from the 2012 Tracer data it is clear that, at present, there are more longer term unemployed. In 2012 the main significant proportion in longer term unemployment was 21.4 percent (32.6 percent ex-AF and 16.2 percent ex-AG) who had been out of work for 36 months. A further 22.1 percent (21.7 percent ex-AF and 22.2 percent ex-AG) had been out of work for 24 months.

146. As can be seen below (Table 17), there is a variety of reasons identified by ex-combatants as to why they are out of work. However, lack of capital and lack of opportunities are the two most commonly given reasons. Also prominent is the lack of support from the Government, lack of work skills or education, currently studying, lack of extended network, and lack of connections or patrons. Former child combatants are most likely to cite lack of capital, lack of work opportunities, lack of work skills or education or that they are currently studying. Those with disabilities lean strongly towards lack of capital and lack of work opportunities and only list their disability as the 6th most

common response. Female ex-combatants agree with the overall group that lack of capital is the most prominent barrier, followed by lack of work opportunities and lack of work skills.

Table 17. Reasons for Current Economic Inactivity

Reasons why you are not working currently	Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Child comb 2016	Child comb 2015	Disable 2016	Disable 2015	Fem 2016	Fem 2015
Lack of capital	82	79.4	78.8	84.1	81.4	78	76.9	66.7	86.4	46.7	75	83.3
Lack of work opportunities	73.9	60.3	72.2	75	59.3	61	68	66.7	89.5	26.7	50	33.3
Lack of support from the Government	46.6	27.9	42.2	49.4	29.3	26.8	29.6	33.3	47.8	6.7	25	50
Lack of work skills or education or No skill or lack education	45.3	42.6	37.1	50.7	52.5	35.4	68	33.3	36.8	20	50	50
Currently studying	38.9	36.4	39.8	38.3	41.4	32.9	50	66.7	33.3	16.7	0	33.3
Lack of extended network, lack of connections or patrons	36.5	13.5	30.7	40.3	10.2	15.9	26.9	66.7	36.4	3.3	25	0
Unsuitable types of employment on offer	17.4	12.1	15.6	18.5	13.6	11	20	33.3	15.8	10	0	0
Childcare or family constrains such as needing to care for family, children	10.9	9.9	14.1	8.9	11.9	8.5	3.8	33.3	17.4	10	25	33.3
Positive characteristics of being an ex-combatants such as hard working, good leadership, team work, ethical, empowered	10	7.7	6	12.4	8.3	7.3	7.4	0	9.1	6.9	0	0
Disability	9.2	18.5	10.7	8.3	16.4	20	4.2	0	31.8	73.3	0	0
Due to serious or chronic illness or injury	8.9	5.4	10	8.3	7.3	4	8	0	13.6	16.7	0	0
Negative characteristics of the ex-combatants such as insubordination, theft, fighting, harassment, lack of work ethic	3.1	0.7	4	2.5	0	1.2	3.7	33.3	8.7	0	25	0
Due to drug or alcohol related problems	3.1	0	4	2.5	0	0	3.7	0	4.8	0	0	0
Unwilling to work for the amount of remuneration (money) on offer	2.3	0.7	1	3.1	1.7	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	0

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

147. In order to bridge the financial gap when not working, ex-combatants normally have recourse as casual labour such as manual labour or herding (56.9 percent, including 54.2 percent ex-AF and 58.8 percent ex-AG, 50 percent female ex-combatants, 61.5 percent former child combatants and 41.7 percent of the disabled). Other measures include secondary income generating activities such as farming, tailoring (22.3 percent), hustle or working in the informal sector (11.9 percent), calling on

spouse, family or close friends for support (3.8 percent), calling on the RDRC in general or the specific subsistence allowance (1.5 percent) and selling possessions (1.2 percent).

148. Regarding prospects of employment in the near future, 26.9 percent feels that their prospects are bad, 13.9 percent feels that they are good and the remaining 59.2 percent feels neither. This is a more positive outlook than was captured at the time of the 2015 Tracer when 38.7 percent felt that their prospects were bad, 11.3 percent good and 50 percent neither. The results are fairly similar between ex-AF and ex-AG. Former child combatants are the most negative about their job prospects with 32.3 percent feeling that they are bad. Also of note is that 40 percent of the disabled feel that their prospects for employment in the near future are bad, 16.7 percent good and 43.3 percent neither. Women were the most positive about their prospects for near term employment with 25 percent feeling that their chances are good and the remaining 75 percent neutral.

SECTION C. Social Indicators

3. Social Indicators

149. The social indicators of reintegration are documented in the following section, looking specifically at: (i) acceptance, social networks, friendship and sociability, and (ii) trust, safety and community engagement.

3.1 Acceptance, Social Networks, Friendship and Sociability

150. Key indicators of social reintegration include overall acceptance and the development of social networks and friendships. Overall, the majority of ex-combatants (56.1 percent) feel neither accepted nor rejected in their communities, with 34.0 percent feeling accepted to a great extent and 7.4 percent accepted to a small extent. This leaves 2.5 percent of ex-combatants that feel rejected by their communities. The disabled feel most rejected at 11.1 percent, with 50 percent feeling neutral, 13.9 percent feeling accepted to a small extent and 25 percent accepted to a great extent. Ex-AFs feel the most accepted with 42.1 percent and 5.4 percent to a great and small extent respectively. Ex-AG, female ex-combatants and former child combatants feel primarily neither accepted nor rejected at 61.7 percent, 71.4 percent and 61.5 percent, respectively. Overall acceptance has gone down slightly since 2015 at which time 41.8 percent felt accepted to a great extent vs. 34 percent in 2016, and 10.1 percent felt accept to a small extent vs. 7.4 percent in 2016. This appears to be primarily rooted in lower acceptance levels within the ex-AG group.

Table 18. Social Acceptance

To what extent do you feel that you are accepted as part of the community where you live?	Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Child comb 2016	Child comb 2015	Disable 2016	Disable 2015	Fem 2016	Fem 2015
Rejected	2.5	1.0	2.7	2.4	1.1	1.0	2.6	10.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Neither accepted nor rejected	56.1	47.0	49.8	61.7	45.3	48.5	61.5	70.0	50.0	54.0	71.4	48.3
Accepted to a small extent	7.4	10.1	5.4	9.1	11.6	8.9	10.3	0.0	13.9	1.6	14.3	6.9
Accepted to a great extent	34.0	41.8	42.1	26.9	41.9	41.6	25.6	20.0	25.0	44.4	14.3	44.8

Source: 2015/2016 Tracer Datasets

151. To further explore the type of treatment they receive in the community, the ex-combatants were asked if they are treated badly or excluded by anyone in their community. In keeping with the low responses on rejection, only few respondents on average had experienced poor treatment or exclusion (less than 7 percent). However, 16.2 percent of disabled ex-combatants reported that they had been mistreated by female and male non-ex-combatants in the community, 11.1 percent by female ex-combatants and 8.1 percent by male ex-combatants. In addition, 14.3 percent of female ex-combatants reported that they had been treated poorly by female non-ex-combatants. Ex-AF had slightly higher levels than ex-AG of poor treatment by community members but all were under 8 percent.

152. Ex-combatants were also asked to reflect on their friendship networks and the dynamics of their sociability. On average, ex-combatants have 3.15 close friends. 5.8 percent report having no close friends, 27.3 percent have one close friend, 31.8 percent have 2, 17.4 percent have 3 and the remainder 4 or more. Of the disabled and former child combatants, 10.8 percent and 7.5 percent respectively have no close friends. The 2016 survey found that female ex-combatants have more close friends than other sub-groups, with 50 percent having 2 close friends, and 16.7 percent having 1, 3 and 5 friends. In 2015, female ex-combatants had the least friends with 17.2 percent having none, followed by those with disabilities of whom 15.9 percent had no close friends.

153. Regarding socialization, in the last month, ex-combatants have on average got together 4.14 times with people to play games, sports, or other recreational activities, 3.74 met with people in a public place either to talk or to have food or drinks, had people visit them in their home 3.49 times and visited people in their home 3.39 times. These have all shifted up slightly from 2015. In the past year, ex-combatants participated in a family or neighbourhood festival or ceremony on average 4.32 times (up from 3.06 in 2015). Female ex-combatants were least likely to have participated in these events, with 33.3 percent having gone to none.

154. Ex-combatants are tending to socialize exclusively with other ex-combatants to either a great extent (44.1 percent) or to neither a small nor great extent (46.3 percent), leaving 9.6 percent only doing so to a small extent. However, when asked about the makeup of the people they either met or visited, 70.9 percent said it was a mixture of ex-combatants and non-combatants and 20.4 percent said it was mostly non-combatants. Ex-AFs are most likely to socialize exclusively with other ex-combatants to a great extent at 50.7 percent vs. 38.5 percent of ex-AG. Females are also more likely than average to be socializing with other ex-combatants as all either agreed to a great extent (42.9 percent) or to neither a small nor great extent (57.1 percent). These findings show an overall trend towards more exclusivity within ex-combatant socialization since 2015 at which point 36.8 percent socialized exclusively with other ex-combatants to a great extent, 45.8 percent to neither a small nor great extent, and 17.5 percent only doing so to a small extent.

3.2 Trust, Safety and Community Engagement

155. The picture of trust in the community has stayed constant from 2015 to 2016. The 2016 Tracer found that 50.1 percent of respondents agreed that most people who live in their neighbourhood can be trusted, 43.7 percent neither agreed nor disagreed, and only 6.2 percent disagreed (matching 2015 findings of 50.5 percent agreeing, 43.2 percent neutral and 6.3 percent disagreeing). Disabled ex-combatants were least trusting of others with 16.2 disagreeing that most people can be trusted, followed by former child combatants of whom 14.6 percent disagreed that most people can be trusted. Female ex-combatants were most likely to find others trustworthy with 57.1 percent agreeing and 42.9 percent feeling neutral. Respondents felt similarly positive when asked if most people in their neighbourhood are willing to help if an ex-combatant needed it, with 47.1 percent agreeing, 41.3 percent neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 11.6 percent disagreeing (again largely aligned with 2015 when 50.6 percent agreed, 38.9 percent neither agreed nor disagreed and 10.5 percent disagreed). The disabled and former child combatants were similarly most negative on this with 27 percent and 26.8 percent respectively of the disabled and former child soldiers disagreeing. Of females, 14.3 percent also disagreed that most people would be willing to help.

156. The study finds that when ex-combatants are asked if people in their neighbourhood generally trust ex-combatants, they are split on the level of trust. On average, 32.1 percent (36.7 percent ex-AF and 28.2 percent ex-AG) agrees with this statement, 25.8 percent disagrees (25.2 percent ex-AF and 26.3 percent ex-AG), and 42.1 percent neither agrees nor disagrees (38.1 percent ex-AF and 45.5 percent ex-AG). This is very similar to 2015, where 32.7 percent agreed, 26.9 percent disagreed and 40.3 percent neither agreed nor disagreed.

Table 19. Trust

To what extent do you trust the following people?		Total 2016	Total 2015	ex-AF 2016	ex-AG 2016	ex-AF 2015	ex-AG 2015	Child soldier 2016	Child soldier 2015	Disabled 2016	Disabled 2015	Female 2016	Female 2015
Shopkeepers	To a small extent	15.5	14.9	14.3	16.5	14.3	15.5	17.1	0.0	32.4	17.7	28.6	17.2
	Neither small nor great extent	57.2	57.8	53.4	60.5	59.6	56.2	63.4	60.0	43.2	61.3	71.4	58.6
	To a great extent	27.3	27.2	32.3	23.0	26.0	28.3	19.5	40.0	24.3	21.0	0.0	24.1

	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	484	569	223	261	265	304	41	10	37	62	7	29
Government officials	To a small extent	4.1	4.5	4.0	4.2	4.5	4.6	2.4	10.0	10.8	4.8	14.3	0.0
	Neither small nor great extent	44.0	46.5	41.3	46.4	45.1	47.7	48.8	60.0	40.5	49.2	28.6	51.7
	To a great extent	51.9	49.0	54.7	49.4	50.4	47.7	48.8	30.0	48.6	46.0	57.1	48.3
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	484	572	223	261	266	306	41	10	37	63	7	29
Ex-combatants	To a small extent	1.7	2.8	1.3	1.9	1.5	3.9	2.4	0.0	8.1	3.2	14.3	0.0
	Neither small nor great extent	43.8	48.4	40.4	46.7	51.1	46.1	46.3	60.0	45.9	54.0	42.9	55.2
	To a great extent	54.5	48.8	58.3	51.3	47.4	50.0	51.2	40.0	45.9	42.9	42.9	44.8
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	484	572	223	261	266	306	41	10	37	63	7	29
Police	To a small extent	4.8	4.7	4.1	5.4	4.5	4.9	10.3	11.1	13.5	4.8	0.0	0.0
	Neither small nor great extent	38.4	44.7	38.8	38.0	44.9	44.6	48.7	55.6	37.8	42.9	57.1	42.9
	To a great extent	56.8	50.5	57.1	56.6	50.6	50.5	41.0	33.3	48.6	52.4	42.9	57.1
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	477	570	219	258	265	305	39	9	37	63	7	28
Work colleagues or people with whom you work	To a small extent	3.4	4.5	3.1	3.6	5.7	3.5	2.6	0.0	12.5	6.0	14.3	4.5
	Neither small nor great extent	52.2	53.7	49.2	54.7	54.4	53.1	57.9	50.0	40.6	62.0	71.4	59.1
	To a great extent	44.5	41.8	47.6	41.8	39.9	43.5	39.5	50.0	46.9	32.0	14.3	36.4
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	416	488	191	225	228	260	38	8	32	50	7	22
Employers	To a small extent	5.1	7.2	5.3	5.0	7.3	7.1	8.1	0.0	15.2	6.0	0.0	4.5
	Neither small nor great extent	53.8	55.1	49.5	57.5	56.8	53.5	64.9	50.0	39.4	66.0	66.7	68.2
	To a great extent	41.1	37.8	45.3	37.4	35.9	39.4	27.0	50.0	45.5	28.0	33.3	27.3
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	n=	409	474	190	219	220	254	37	8	33	50	6	22

Source: 2015/ 2016 Tracer Datasets

157. The study further finds that, when reflecting back on the previous year, 47.5 percent feels that the level of trust in their neighbourhood has improved (51.6 percent of ex-AF, 44.0 percent of ex-AG), 47.9 percent feels that it has stayed about the same (44.3 percent of ex-AF, 51.0 percent of ex-AG) and 4.6 percent feels that it has declined (4.1 percent of ex-AF, 5.0 percent of ex-AG). This is also slightly more positive than the 2015 findings, when 41.0 percent felt that it had improved and 4.9 percent felt that it had become worse. Of the sub-strata, those with disabilities were the most negative with 16.2 percent feeling trust had become worse in the past year while former child combatants were the most positive with 51.2 percent feeling it had become better.

158. Looking to safety, the overwhelming majority of 86.2 percent feels safe in the area where they live and 5.4 percent unsafe, which is consistent between ex-AF and ex-AG and in line with 2015 findings, where 84.0 percent felt safe and 3.4 percent unsafe. Of females, 14.3 percent felt unsafe while 85.7 percent felt safe. This differed from 2015 when 93.1 percent of females felt safe. The disabled also felt lower levels of safety than average with 10.8 percent feeling unsafe and 67.6 percent safe, which is also worse than in 2015 when 6.2 percent felt unsafe and 79.7 percent felt safe.

159. The 2016 Tracer also included a group of questions regarding engagement by the ex-combatants in their communities and found that 85.4 percent have worked with others in the community to do something for the benefit of the community in the past year (up from 81.8 percent in 2015). This was consistent across the sub-strata, except with the disabled of whom a lower percent of 70.3 percent had done so. The survey explored some of the more formal mechanisms for community

engagement and found that 93.2 percent of ex-combatants had attended a public meeting, hearing or discussion group, 42.2 percent had spoken or met with a local or administrative official, 9.7 alerted newspaper, radio or television to a local issue and 9.4 percent had notified police or court about a local issue. Each of these had increased from the 2015 participation in such activities at 91.8 percent, 32.1 percent, 4.0 percent and 4.9 percent respectively.

160. The large majority (86.1 percent) stated that if there was a problem in their community they would be likely to cooperate to try to solve the problem, with 3.5 percent unlikely and 10.4 percent neutral. This was largely stable between 2015 and 2016 and consistent between ex-AF and ex-AG and across the sub-groups.

161. In terms of impact on their community, the majority (55.2 percent) felt that they have an average impact in making their neighbourhood a better place to live, with 28.7 percent feeling they have a big impact and 16.1 percent a small impact. That is an increase from 2015 in those reporting an average impact (51.3 percent in 2015) and a decrease in those feeling that they have a small impact (22.7 percent in 2015) as well as a big impact (26.0 percent in 2015). Women were most likely to feel that they had an average impact with 71.4 percent reporting so.

162. Looking at local leadership, the ex-combatants felt that 50.3 percent of local government and local leaders take into account concerns voiced by ex-combatants when they make decisions to a great extent, followed by 41.8 percent to neither a great nor small extent and 7.9 percent to a small extent. This is an improvement over 2015 when 42.4 percent saw this to a great extent, 43.5 percent neutral and 7.9 percent to a small extent. Female and disabled ex-combatants were the most negative on this, stating that 14.3 percent and 11.1 percent respectively only took voiced concerns into account to a small extent.

163. Regarding utilization of services, when asked if they were able to access social services through local government or central government social service officers, but not through the RDRC, 74.3 percent indicated that they were able to access such services when needed, up slightly from 71.1 percent in 2015. Female ex-combatants had the highest positive rate of access at 85.7 percent and the disabled had the lowest at 66.7 percent. However, both of these are up from 2015 when 75.0 percent of females and 51.7 of disabled were able to access such services. Former child combatants is the only group that showed a decrease in access year over year from 87.5 percent in 2015 to 72.5 percent in 2016.

164. Finally, in terms of personal empowerment, when asked if they had the power to make important decisions that can change the course of their life, 65.8 percent overall (70.9 percent of ex-AF and 61.5 percent of ex-AG) felt that they are able to change their lives, while 29.2 percent (22.9 percent ex-AF and 34.6 percent) felt neither able nor unable, and 5 percent (6.3 percent ex-AF and 3.8 percent ex-AG) felt unable to change their life. Disabled ex-combatants felt most negatively with 54.1 percent feeling able to change their life, 35.1 percent neutral and 10.8 percent unable to change their life. Female ex-combatants felt most positively with 85.7 percent feeling able to change their life and none unable, followed by former child combatants of whom 78.0 percent felt able to change their life, 19.5 percent neutral and 2.4 percent unable.

Annex 1. Tracer Survey Form

Included under separate cover.

Annex 2. Documents Reviewed (all studies)

2011. African Development Bank. *Rwanda: Bank Group Strategy Paper 2012-2016*.
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