

Conflict Risk Assessment Report

African Great Lakes

Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda

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Executive Summary

This report draws two important conclusions with regards to the risk of further instability in the Great Lakes region.

First, the distinct focal point of the current transcontinental crisis that afflicts the region revolves around the struggle for power and above all, access and control of the enormous natural wealth in the region, especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which seems to be the epicentre of the crisis in the region. The key players in the current dilemma, which has been described as “Africa’s first world war”, are involved in the conflict mainly for economic reasons - to have their share of the diamonds and other resources that abound in the DRC.

Second, in addition to the issue of diamonds and resources, there are a wide range of issues that put all the six countries examined in this report at a very high risk of degenerating into conflict. In the cases where conflict has already occurred, several factors pose a significant risk of resurging conflict. These issues include:

- A lack of accountability and representation that limits the avenues through which grievances can be constructively and peacefully aired, thereby aggravating the risk of violence.
- Following from bad governance, sporadic violent conflict, weak investment in infrastructure and over-dependence on the export of natural resources, most of the countries in the region are in dire economic straights.
- A high level of militarization in the region thanks to the ready availability of major conventional weapons. This region has long served as a conduit for small arms into, and out of, neighbouring countries.
- A growing youth bulge that further complicates the issue of militarization. All the countries in the region have populations that are very young, thus making the age distribution a significant area of risk for the region as a whole.
- The demographic issue is further complicated by the number of refugees and internally displaced persons – two important factors that have a significant impact on the regional potential for conflict. The flows of such populations have a destabilizing effect on countries in the afflicted region as well as negatively impacting living standards, human development, and the environment.
- Population movements put two key groups in the region – Hutu and Tutsi, who are spread across the region, at a very high risk. The mass movements of these groups continue to be a key destabilizing factor in the entire region.

There is an urgent need for coherent policy to address these issues if the region is to be spared further instability.

Overview

This report provides an indicators-based assessment of conflict risk in the six East African/Great Lakes countries of Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. The analysis crosses nine interrelated issue areas identified as underlying potential for conflict development: History of Armed Conflict; Governance and Political Instability; Militarization; Population Heterogeneity; Demographic Stress; Economic Performance; Human Development; Environmental Stress; and International Linkages.

CIFP risk assessment reports are regional in focus, under the premise that “risk potential” is a relative term, and that a regional comparative focus allows not only the identification of areas of concern within target countries but provides a means of assigning relative priority to different areas of concern on a regional basis.

CIFP assesses country risk by means of an overall country “risk index.” The higher the risk index, the greater the assessed risk of conflict development, escalation, or continuation that country faces. The risk index consists of the weighted average of nine composite indicators, corresponding to the nine issue areas outlined above, each of which consists of the average of its composite lead indicators. In all, 44 lead indicators are assessed as part of this index.

Risk indices occur on a scale of 0 to 12, where 0 to 3.4 are considered low risk, 3.5 to 6.4 are considered medium risk, 6.5 to 9.4 are considered high risk, and 9.5 to 12 are considered very high risk. The assessment provided in this report reflects the following overall country risk indices.

These results from the indicator-based analysis serve to focus analytical attention on high-risk issue areas, in order to continue with more in-depth qualitative elaboration.

Introduction and Methodology

CIFP within the FEWER Network

The CIFP project was initiated by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs in 1997. The project represents an on-going effort to identify and assemble statistical information

conveying the key features of the political, economic, social and cultural environments of countries around the world.

The CIFP database currently includes statistical data, in the form of over one hundred performance indicators for 196 countries, spanning fifteen years (1985 to 2000) for most indicators. These indicators are drawn from a variety of open sources, including the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, and the Minorities at Risk and POLITY IV data sets from the University of Maryland.

Currently, with the generous support of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), CIFP has begun work on a pilot project in partnership with the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response (FEWER). The pilot project is intended to establish a framework for communications, information gathering and sharing, and operational co-ordination between CIFP, the FEWER Secretariat, and FEWER network members in the field, and to work towards a “good practice” conflict early warning system involving the various members of the FEWER network.

As part of its contribution to these new networks, CIFP is producing conflict risk assessment reports for two target regions, Southeast Asia and West Africa. CIFP risk assessment reports are regional in focus, under the premise that “risk potential” is a relative term, and that a regional comparative focus allows not only the identification of areas of concern within target countries but provides a means of assigning relative priority to different areas of concern on a regional basis. These reports are intended to precede and serve as a ground for subsequent country-specific early-warning reports that will integrate various analytical methods and data sources (local analysis, events data, structural data) available from within the FEWER network.

Within the framework employed by CIFP and FEWER, “risk assessment” and “early warning” are viewed as complementary but distinct modes of analysis that can be distinguished in several important respects. Risk assessments identify background and intervening conditions that establish the risk for potential crisis and conflict. In doing so, they precede and complement early warning efforts through focusing monitoring and analytical attention on high risk situations as they develop, and through providing a framework for

interpreting the results of real-time monitoring of events.

While the primary goal of risk assessment is to diagnose a situation rather than devise solutions, early warning is a process designed to pinpoint appropriate, forward looking, preventive strategies. Accordingly, FEWER defines early warning as the systematic collection and analysis of information for the purposes of anticipating the escalation of violent conflict, developing strategic responses to these crises, and presenting options to critical actors for the purposes of decision making and response.

Methodological Notes on Assessing Structural Indicators of Conflict Potential

In order to establish a framework for analyzing the emergence of violent conflict, it is necessary to understand how crises typically develop and which possible avoidance efforts can be effective. In general terms, the factors that contribute to conflict escalation are categorized as “structural factors,” “accelerators,” and “triggers.”

- “Structural factors” or “root causes” are those factors that form the pre-conditions of crisis situations, such as systematic political exclusion, shifts in demographic balance, entrenched economic inequities, economic decline and ecological deterioration;
- “Accelerators” or “precipitators” are factors that work upon root causes in order to increase their level of significance; and,
- “Triggers” are sudden events that act as catalysts igniting a crisis or conflict, such as the assassination of a leader, election fraud, or a political scandal.

Within FEWER, CIFP is positioned to provide data and analysis focusing on the “structural” level, in order to assess the degree of risk in given country-contexts, and to assess whether shifts in country performance indicators (such as ameliorating or worsening economic performance) are increasing or mitigating the severity of this risk. Local analysis and events-monitoring systems are best positioned to monitor and provide analysis on “triggers” or “catalyzing events” that are likely to precipitate the onset of conflict in high-risk situations.

In order to assess the “structural factors” or “root causes” underlying conflict potential, it is necessary

to identify a set of associated indicators. Often a crisis has no single cause and furthermore the different contributing causes vary in importance – variables may at times reinforce each other, while at other times they may neutralize one another. Thus, analysis of conflict potential requires an assessment of the relative importance of different indicators and their inter-relationships.

The selection of structural indicators for the CIFP risk assessment reports was informed by a number of factors. It is based largely on the results of FEWER’s collaborative work with local early warning analysts and their understanding of the type of information needed to effectively assess conflict potential. In addition, indicators have been included on the basis of evidence in the conflict analysis literature of their being strong crisis predictors.

The structural indicators included in the CIFP risk assessment reports cross nine interrelated issue areas identified as underlying potential for conflict development: History of Armed Conflict; Governance and Political Instability; Militarization; Population Heterogeneity; Demographic Stress; Economic Performance; Human Development; Environmental Stress; and International Linkages.

CIFP rates a country’s degree of “risk” in terms of this set of structural indicators. “Risk” is considered high in cases where a country has an enduring history of armed conflict, is politically unstable or has unrepresentative or repressive political institutions, is heavily militarized, has a heterogeneous and divided population, suffers from significant demographic and environmental stresses, has had poor economic performance and low levels of human development, and is engaged with the international community in ways that detract from, rather than contribute to, peaceful conflict management.

On the other hand, “risk” is considered low in countries that have a history of successfully managing conflict without resorting to violence, that have developed stable democratic political institutions, that respect fundamental human rights, that are less heavily militarized, that lack profound ethnic or religious cleavages or demographic stresses, that have achieved sustainable levels of economic development as well as healthy social and environment conditions, and that are free from serious external conflicts and threats.

Operationalization of Indicators: CIFP Risk Index

CIFP assesses country risk by means of an overall country risk index. The higher the risk index, the greater the assessed risk of conflict that country faces. The risk index consists of the weighted average of nine composite indicators, corresponding to the nine issue areas outlined above, each of which consists of the average of its composite lead indicators.

“Risk potential” is a relative term that has meaning only with respect to a country’s performance and risk vis à vis other countries in the international system. Accordingly, each lead indicator is converted to a 9-point score on the basis of its performance relative to a global sample of countries. This global sample of countries is ranked from highest to lowest level of performance, divided into nine equal categories, then assigned score numbers ranging from 1 to 9 based on their rank position within the sample. This scoring procedure is intended to facilitate the identification of key areas of concern, and as a way of directing attention to potential problem areas.

In general, a higher score (in the 7 to 9 range) indicates that the country is performing poorly relative to other countries (i.e. high levels of armed conflict, autocratic governments, poor economic performance, low levels of human development) or that a country’s standing is a cause for concern (i.e. significant youth bulge, high levels of ethnic diversity). A lower score (in the 1 to 3 range) indicates the country is performing well relative to other countries (i.e. no or little armed conflict, democratic governments, strong economic performance, high levels of human development) or that a country’s standing is less of a cause for concern (i.e. no youth bulge, low levels of ethnic diversity). Values in the middle 4 to 6 range indicate moderate levels of performance approaching the global mean.

Since relative country performance can vary significantly from year to year (as in the case of economic shocks), averages are taken for global rank scores over a five-year time frame. The most recent five years contained in the CIFP data set are used for this index (generally 1996 to 2000).¹ The 1

¹ The data cited in this report are the most recent figures available. Since data reported in the World Bank, World Development Indicators 2001 database is derived, either directly

to 9 Global Rank score forms the “base scale” upon which individual indicator risk scores are calculated. This score is then adjusted with a “trend and volatility modifier,” which can raise or lower a global rank score on the basis of whether an indicator is assessed as improving (-1 to the global rank score), worsening (+1), or demonstrating a high degree of volatility that is deemed to have a particularly destabilizing effect (+1 to +2, depending on the degree).

The trend and volatility modifier allows the analyst a degree of freedom in qualitatively adjusting the global rank score to allow for observations of significant trends or destabilizing changes. The direction of change, whether worsening or improving, indicates whether a country’s performance for a given indicator is even more likely to contribute to conflict potential (i.e. increasing restrictions on civil and political rights, worsening economic conditions, increasing demographic or environmental stresses) or detract from it (i.e. greater respect for civil and political rights, improving economic conditions, decreasing demographic or environmental stresses). So too is the degree of volatility an important component of the risk assessment calculation, considering that instability across a given indicator (i.e. regime transitions, a massive influx of refugees, fluctuations in military expenditure or foreign direct investment) can have a profoundly destabilizing effect and sharply increase the potential for conflict.

Indicator risk scores on a 13–point scale (0 to 12) are derived for each leading indicator within each of the nine issue areas. In order to arrive at composite indicators for each of the nine issue areas, leading indicator risk scores within each area are averaged. These nine composite issue area scores are themselves averaged to determine a country’s overall risk index. However, in order to further elaborate the relative impact of each of these issue areas upon the conflict development process within a country, composite indicators are assigned weights. CIFP has derived these weights deductively, based on inferences about the causal

or indirectly, from official national government statistical sources there is often a time delay – typically 2 years – in the publication of the most current data available. The CIFP methodology examines data over the most recent 5-year period, which, in the case of the World Development Indicators is largely recorded as figures for the 1995-1999 time period. Consequently, while the data collected from the World Bank: World Development Indicators is cited as 1995-1999, it was published in 1997-2001. Therefore, the authors of this report have chosen to cite the data based on the year it was collected, rather than the year it was published (2001).

relationships between issue areas. The weight assigned to each composite indicator is based on the number of direct causal linkages it is postulated to have with the others, thereby reflecting the magnitude of each issue area's impact upon overall risk.

Table 1 represents the overall weighted risk scores for each country as calculated by the CIFP methodology. Table 2 on the other hand outlines the key issues underlying conflict potential for each country as identified by the CIFP methodology. Finally, Table 3 summarizes the scores for each of the individual lead indicators, the composite issue area ratings, and the overall risk indices for Burundi, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

Table 1: Overall Risk Assessment Scores

Burundi	7.79	High Risk
Democratic Republic of Congo	7.79	High Risk
Kenya	6.18	Medium Risk
Rwanda	7.40	High Risk
Tanzania	6.35	Medium Risk
Uganda	6.74	High Risk

Table 2: Key Issues Underlying Conflict Potential

Burundi		
History of Armed Conflict	9.27	High Risk
Governance and Political Instability	8.25	High Risk
Economic Performance	8.20	High Risk
Human Development	9.71	Very High Risk
Environmental Stress	9.00	High Risk
International Linkages	6.80	High Risk
Democratic Republic of Congo		
History of Armed Conflict	8.93	High Risk
Governance and Political Instability	10.5	Very High Risk
Population Heterogeneity	8.67	High Risk
Demographic Stress	6.67	High Risk
Economic Performance	7.29	High Risk
Human Development	8.63	High Risk
International Linkages	6.6	High Risk
Kenya		
Governance and Political Instability	8.36	High Risk
Population Heterogeneity	8.33	High Risk
Economic Performance	7.04	High Risk
Human Development	8.14	High Risk
Environmental Stress	7.67	High Risk
Rwanda		
History of Armed Conflict	6.77	High Risk
Governance and Political Instability	8.85	High Risk
Militarization	6.68	High Risk
Demographic Stress	7.17	High Risk
Economic Performance	6.83	High Risk
Human Development	8.78	High Risk
Environmental Stress	9.67	Very High Risk
International Linkages	7.10	High Risk
Tanzania		
Governance and Political Instability	7.44	High Risk
Population Heterogeneity	9.00	High Risk
Economic Performance	6.93	High Risk
Human Development	8.35	High Risk
Environmental Stress	6.67	High Risk
Uganda		
History of Armed Conflict	7.63	High Risk
Governance and Political Instability	6.80	High Risk
Population Heterogeneity	7.33	High Risk
Demographic Stress	7.37	High Risk
Human Development	7.56	High Risk
Environmental Stress	7.00	High Risk

Table 3: Risk Indices

Issue Areas and Lead Indicators	Years of Measure	Burundi	D.R. Congo	Kenya	Rwanda	Tanzania	Uganda
History of Armed Conflict (weight = 8)							
Armed Conflicts	1995-1999	8.8	9.8	1.0	8.7	1.0	9.3
# of Refugees Produced	1995-1999	9.8	7.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	4.6
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	1996-2000	9.2	11.8	7.0	9.4	11.0	9.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		9.27	9.60	3.40	6.77	4.73	7.63
Governance and Political Instability (weight = 5)							
Level of Democracy	1995-1999	6.8	9.0	7.2	7.8	5.8	7.0
Regime Durability	1995-1999	10.6	12.0	9.4	10.6	11.0	6.8
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	1996-2000	7.6	11.0	7.2	9.0	5.4	7.6
Restrictions on Press Freedom	1996-2000	8.0	10.0	9.0	8.0	6.0	4.6
Level of Corruption	1997-1998	..	..	9.0	..	9.0	8.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		8.25	10.50	8.36	8.85	7.44	6.80
Militarization (weight = 5)							
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	1995-1999	4.2	..	5.4	3.6	3.8	5.0
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	1990-1999	9.0	..	5.4	8.0	5.0	6.0
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons		..	8.4	4.8	6.8	..	5.6
Total Armed Forces		5.0	5.0	2.0	7.3	5.7	6.0
Total Armed Forces (per 10,000)	1995-1999	6.0	2.0	0.0	7.7	3.0	4.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		6.05	5.13	3.52	6.68	4.38	5.32
Population Heterogeneity (weight = 4)							
Ethnic Diversity	1990s	4.0	9.0	9.0	4.0	9.0	9.0
Religious Diversity	1990s	7.0	9.0	9.0	7.0	9.0	9.0
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	c. 1998	6.0	8.0	7.0	6.0	..	4.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		5.67	8.67	8.33	5.67	9.00	7.33
Demographic Stress (weight = 5)							
Total Population	1999	5.0	8.0	8.0	5.0	8.0	7.0
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	1995-1999	5.0	8.8	6.2	9.4	6.6	7.4
Population Density (people per sq km)	1999	8.0	3.0	4.0	9.0	3.0	7.0
Urban Population (% of Total)	1999	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	1.0
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	1994-1998	10.0	9.2	7.8	10.0	8.0	9.8
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	1995-1999	9.0	9.0	8.0	8.6	7.8	12.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		6.33	6.67	6.00	7.17	6.07	7.37
Economic Performance (weight = 8)							
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	1995-1999	8.4	7.2	5.2	4.0	5.4	3.8
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	1995-1999	11.0	9.2	8.0	10.0	8.0	7.0
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	1995-1999	8.2	9.0	5.4	5.5	8.6	5.6
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	1995-1999	8.2	10.5	7.0	9.0	9.0	9.8
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	1995-1999	9.0	8.0	10.0	9.0	4.0	6.0
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	1995-1999	5.8	7.0	7.4	1.6	5.4	3.6
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	1996-1997	12.0	4.2	9.0	11.0	10.2	10.0
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	1996-1999	8.2	10.2	4.4	9.4	6.8	6.0
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	1990s	3.0	..	7.0	2.0	5.0	5.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		8.20	8.16	7.04	6.83	6.93	6.31

Risk Indices Cont.

Issue Areas and Lead Indicators	Years of Measure	Burundi	D.R. Congo	Kenya	Rwanda	Tanzania	Uganda
Human Development (weight = 3)							
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	1990, 2000	..	9.0	8.0	9.0	8.0	8.0
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	1990, 2000	..	9.0	4.0	9.0	3.0	5.0
Life Expectancy (Years)	1997-1998	10.7	10.7	10.0	11.0	12.0	9.0
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	1997-1998	11.0	8.0	9.7	8.0	10.7	7.0
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	1995 avg	9.0	8.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	1997-1998	11.0	10.0	11.0	9.0	9.0	9.0
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	1993-1997	9.0	9.0	8.0	..	9.8	..
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	1995-1999	7.0	6.0	4.0	7.0	5.0	6.0
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	1995-1999	10.0	..	8.0	9.0	10.0	7.0
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	1995-1999	10.0	8.0	9.7	8.0	7.0	8.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		9.71	8.63	8.14	8.78	8.35	7.56
Environmental Stress (weight = 5)							
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	1990-1995	9.0	6.0	6.0	9.0	5.0	9.0
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	1993-1997	9.0	8.0	8.0	11.0	8.0	6.0
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	1998	9.0	2.0	9.0	9.0	7.0	6.0
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		9.00	5.33	7.67	9.67	6.67	7.00
International Linkages (weight = 5)							
Economic Organizations Index	2000	8.0	6.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	7.0
Military/Security Alliances Index	2000	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0
UN Organizations Index	2000	7.0	5.5	3.0	7.0	3.0	4.0
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	2000	8.0	7.0	3.0	7.0	3.0	3.0
International Disputes (# of)	2000	2.0	5.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
Composite Issue Area Risk Rating		6.80	6.60	5.50	7.10	5.50	5.50

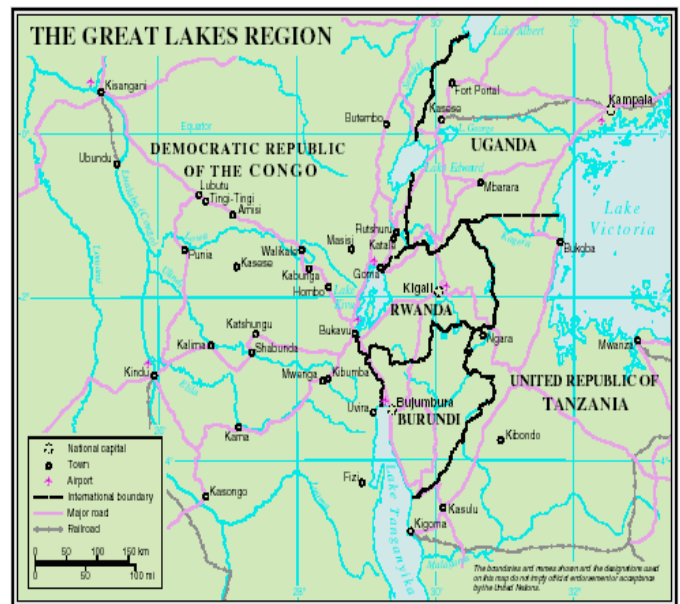
I. History of Armed Conflict

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
History of Armed Conflict				
Armed Conflicts				
Source: SIPRI	Burundi	5.8	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	8.8
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.8	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	9.8
	Kenya	1.0	Stable	1.0
	Rwanda	5.7	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	8.7
	Tanzania	1.0	Improving (-1), Stable	0.0
	Uganda	6.3	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	9.3
Refugees (by Country of Origin)				
	Burundi	8.8	Worsening (+1), Stable	9.8
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	4.2	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	7.2
	Kenya	1.2	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	2.2
	Rwanda	2.2	Stable, Stable	2.2
	Tanzania	1.2	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	2.2
	Uganda	3.6	Improving (-1), High Volatility (+2)	4.6
Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern				
	Burundi	8.2	Improving (-1), High Volatility (+2)	9.2
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.8	Improving (-1), High Volatility (+2)	9.8
	Kenya	8.0	Improving (-1), Stable	7.0
	Rwanda	8.4	Improving (-1), High Volatility (+2)	9.4
	Tanzania	9.0	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Uganda	8.0	Improving (-1), High Volatility (+2)	9.0
Composite Score (weight = 8)				
Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average	
Burundi	9.27	High	74.1	
Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.60	High	71.5	
Kenya	3.40	Medium	36.8	
Rwanda	6.77	High	54.0	
Tanzania	4.73	High	52.8	
Uganda	7.63	High	60.9	

Although there are a number of factors that can and do contribute to the outbreak of violence, a country’s recent experiences with conflict often tell us more about current potential than other indicators might. For this reason, the History of Armed Conflict issue area carries the highest weighting of the nine areas examined in the CIPF risk assessments. Not only does a history of armed conflict indicate an ability and willingness to resort to violence, but it can also tell us about divisions within society created or exacerbated by violence. The results of violent clashes also add their own pressures to states attempting to deal with what are often numerous serious issues. The creation of refugees and the internally displaced have their own large impact not only on the country in conflict but often on neighbouring countries as well.

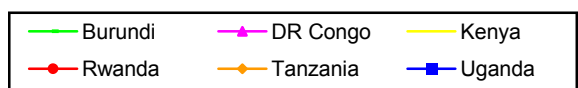
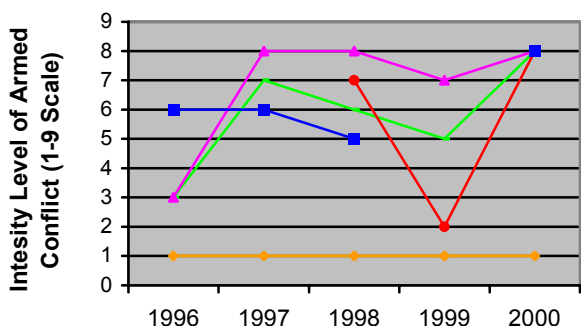
The East Africa region comprised of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda is an area with several, overlapping conflicts. Since 1997 the war in the DRC has at times drawn in governments and groups from up to six other states, including Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda who remain engaged within the DRC. While Kenya and Tanzania are not

directly engaged in the war, they have been dealing with thousands of refugees fleeing violence around the region.



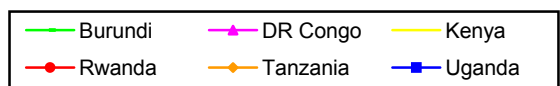
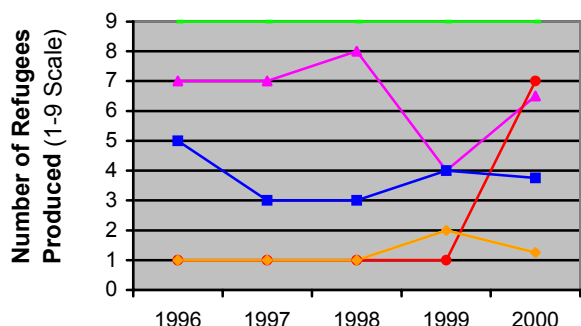
Regional Trends in Armed Conflicts (Total Intensity Level)

Source: CIPF Risk Indices



Refugees Produced Across the Region

Source: CIPF Risk Indices

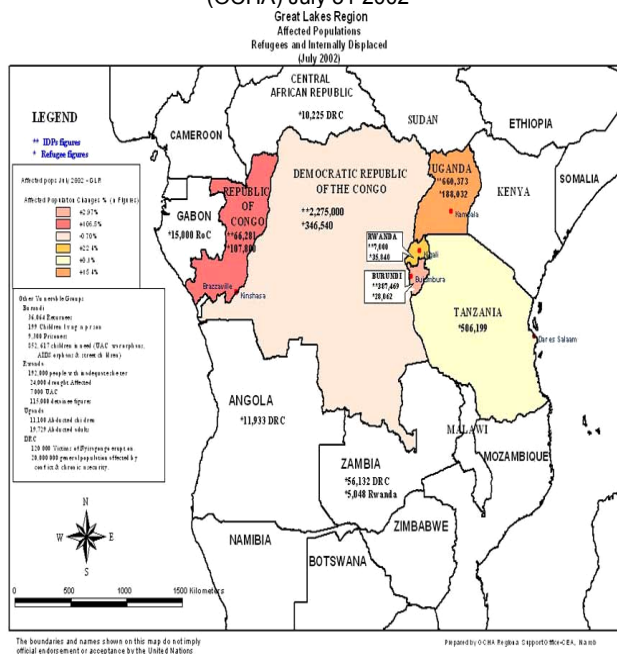


The above graphs illustrate the fluctuations in conflict occurrence throughout the region, and the consistently high rate of refugees and displaced persons produced by these conflicts, which has plagued the area. Not all countries in the East Africa/Great Lakes face continued conflict. However these graphs demonstrate that each of these countries is heavily invested in the violence of the region through the presence of large numbers of refugees and the displaced.

² Both Tanzania and Kenya recorded a risk score of 1 which was consistent over the five year period. Due to the fact that neither country has witnessed any fluctuations in this variable, Kenya's representation on this graph is concealed by the presence of Tanzania.

Great Lakes Region: Affected Populations Refugees and Internally Displaced

Source: UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) July 31 2002



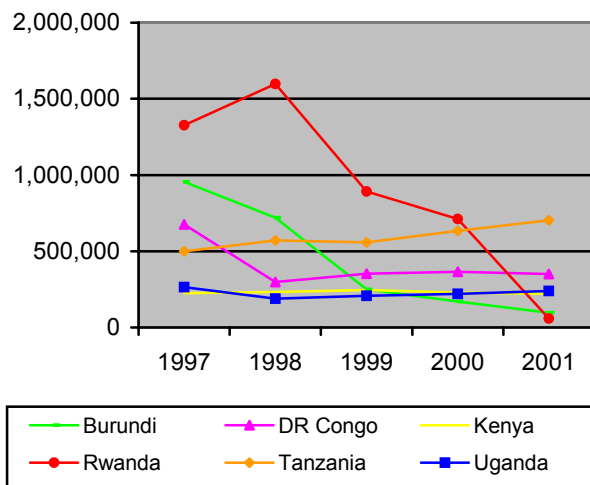
Refugees and the Internally Displaced

The number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the region are two of the factors that have a significant impact on regional potential for conflict. The flows of such populations have a destabilizing effect on countries in the afflicted region as well as negatively impacting areas such as living standards, human development, and the environment. Over the past decade, Eastern Africa and the Great Lakes has consistently faced large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons across the region. While Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda generally do not produce significant numbers of refugees, between them these countries host almost a million people who have fled neighbouring states. At the same time, while the number of refugees hosted by Burundi, Rwanda, the DRC and Kenya have been declining in recent years, both Uganda and Tanzania are hosting increasing numbers of refugees. What this suggests is that the populations who continue to flee are no longer attempting to seek refuge in Burundi, Rwanda, the DRC or Kenya for reasons of declining stability. Instead, the region's refugees and displaced persons are favoring the two stronger and relatively more stable of the nations in the region.

In a bleak scenario, the host countries may respond to continuing pressures posed by these displaced populations through the use of violence or threats. This scenario is particularly worrisome in the case of Uganda, where pressures brought about by inflows of refugees threaten to undermine Uganda's process of disengaging from the conflict in the DRC, or even provoke reactionary responses. However; given Uganda's expressed willingness to end its involvement in the DRC, it is possible that the threats these refugees pose to Uganda's stability can be minimized (with some assistance), and the disengagement process can continue.

Refugees Hosted, IDPs and Others of Concern

Source: UNHCR



Geography and the number of actors engaged in violence are also factors that have contributed to the ongoing conflict in the region. The geography of the DRC, for example is particularly conducive to violent guerilla-type warfare, with tracts of hard to reach, mountainous terrain in the Eastern part of the country. Meanwhile, the number of parties involved in the conflict means that it is even more difficult to resolve the many issues that led to violence in the first place.

Update: Recent Attacks on Refugee Populations

Twice during the month of July, 2002 refugee camps in Uganda were attacked by the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) whose campaign of terror has included hostage taking and violence against civilians, including women and children. In response, the Ugandan army has become involved in securing the refugee camp and the government recently decided to temporarily transfer the 24 000 Sudanese refugees to a makeshift camp located

closer to the centre of the country, away from the area under attack from the rebels.³ Such a temporary solution epitomizes the difficulties faced by the countries in this region when dealing with massive influxes of people fleeing violence in one place, only to find it in another. The involvement of Uganda's army also has the potential to be problematic, as it symbolizes a continuing need for a militarist establishment that may serve to perpetuate the climate of conflict.

Conflict in the DRC: Africa's First World War

The story of the conflict in the DRC is a complex one. It has lasted for more than five years, involved a half-dozen African nations, killed more than 3 million people and earned the dubious title "Africa's First World War."

In 1996, violence erupted out of ethnic tensions in the Eastern Kivu provinces, where the Banyamulenge people revolted over government efforts to deny them recognition as citizens of what was then Zaire. The Banyamulenge uprising rapidly snowballed into a movement to overthrow the Mobutu regime.

Under the leadership of longtime Mobutu opponent Laurent Kabila, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (known by the French acronym AFDL) moved steadily toward the capital. The violence in Eastern Zaire was seen as an opportunity for the neighbouring governments of Rwanda and Uganda to install a government that was sympathetic to their concerns over the activities of Rwandan and Ugandan rebels operating out of bases in Eastern DRC, prompting them to support Kabila's AFDL forces.⁴

In May of 1997, the AFDL succeeded in overthrowing long-time President and one-time American ally, Mobutu Sese Seko. By the summer of 1998 however AFDL's relationship with its allies had collapsed. Despite their assistance in overthrowing the Mobutu regime, the President of the newly renamed Democratic Republic of Congo, Laurent Kabila, failed to address the concerns of the Rwandan and Ugandan governments over the activities of Rwandan and Ugandan rebels operating from bases in Eastern DRC. These tensions were then further exacerbated by Kabila's decision to expel the remaining Rwandan troops

³ Additional information about recent acts of terror can be found at BBC Worldnews Africa, online at www.bbc.co.uk

⁴ <http://www.unrec.org/eng/conflicts/DRC.htm>

despite their instrumental role in securing his victory.

In August 1998 a new war in the Great Lakes broke out. Rwandan and Ugandan troops; in coordination with the local Congolese rebel group Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD) invaded Eastern DRC in an effort to secure their own borders from attacks by insurgents within the DRC. The resumption of conflict and this shift in alliances provoked a chain reaction leading to the engagement of several other African government armies and the emergence of a myriad of new rebel factions.

The governments of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola all contributed military resources to assist Kabila's DRC forces respond to the Ugandan and Rwandan backed offensive. Despite some initial success, particularly in terms of defeating the rebellion on the southwestern front, a new rebel group emerged led by Jean-Pierre Bemba and known as the Mouvement de Libération du Congo (MLC), also supported by Uganda. The emergence of the MLC in turn prompted Chad and Lybia to become engaged in the conflict (albeit briefly) in support of the Kabila regime.⁵

To complicate matters further, in May 1999 the RCD split into two competing factions, the RCD-Goma and the RCD-ML, backed by Rwanda and Uganda respectively. This complex web of allies and enemies was further convoluted by increasingly frequent clashes between Mai-Mai – local defence forces – in communities throughout the Eastern part of the country and the Rwandan army who refused to withdraw from the region and their RCD-Goma allies. And in July 1999 fighting also broke out between fair-weather allies Uganda and Rwanda over control of Kisangani.

By the time a ceasefire agreement was signed in Lusaka, Zambia in July 1999 (the Lusaka Accord), Burundi had also become involved in the conflict in response to the use of villages in the DRC's Eastern provinces as bases of operations for rebel incursions against the Burundian army.

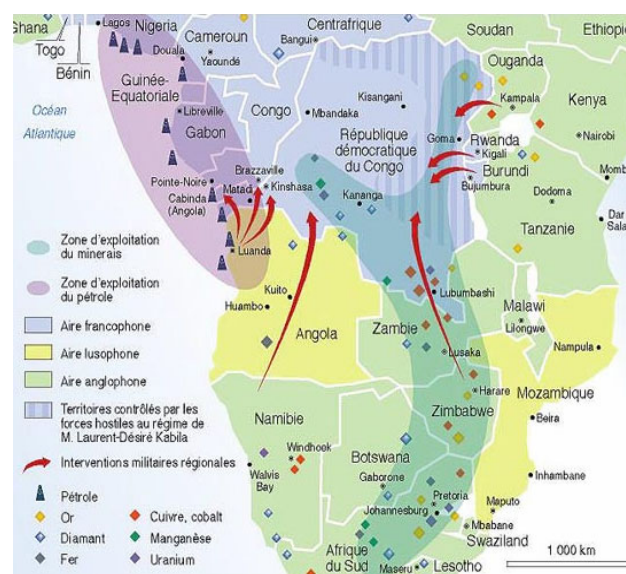
Despite the signing of the Lusaka Accord in July 1999, which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the deployment of a United Nations observation mission (MONUC), and the organization of an Inter-Congolese Dialogue, low intensity violence has continued in the DRC. Kabila had insisted that Rwandan and Ugandan forces

withdraw immediately, while the latter refused to withdraw until Rwandan and Ugandan rebel groups in eastern Congo were disarmed.

On January 16, 2001 Laurent Kabila was assassinated and was succeeded by his son Joseph Kabila. The new Kabila regime has been ardent about its intent to revive the Lusaka Accord. By April 2001 a new ceasefire agreement was signed between the many national government factions, which included a commitment to withdraw their troops from the frontline. This revived peace agreement (amongst the respective government factions) was more or less held – in spite of some continued low intensity skirmishes.⁶

Rivalries in the Great Lakes

Source: Monde Diplomatique



Recent Events: Progress Toward Peace Under a New Kabila Regime

Since the assassination of his father and his accession to the Presidency, Joseph Kabila has diligently worked towards a resolution to the conflict in the DRC.

In February 2001, the first in a series of renewed DRC Peace Summits was held in Lusaka, Zambia. However the absence of many, key players in the conflict including Rwanda, Uganda and rebel groups undermined the possibility of making any real progress towards peace. Kabila's diplomatic efforts began to bear fruit however, when the first contingent of UN Peacekeepers arrived in the DRC

⁵ <http://www.unrec.org/eng/conflicts/DRC.htm>

⁶ <http://www.unrec.org/eng/conflicts/DRC.htm>

in March 2001. Shortly thereafter, foreign troops, along with small contingents of rebel factions began withdrawing from frontline positions.

In July 2001, Joseph Kabila met with the Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni in Tanzania. By September, Kabila had also met with Rwandan President, Kagame in Blantyre, Malawi to discuss concerns about the ongoing presence of Rwandan troops in the DRC. Kabila's efforts towards revitalizing the peace process were followed by the withdrawal of some Rwandan and Ugandan troops, and by late September the Namibian contingent in the DRC had completely withdrawn.

In August 2001 another important step on the road to peace in the DRC was made. A key element of the Lusaka Accord, namely an inclusive, Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD) was established. The first ICD was hosted by Sir Ketumile Masire in Gaborone, Botswana and was attended by representatives of political parties, rebel groups, civil society, and the Kabila government. This initial meeting was followed rapidly by a second, more intimate meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in October 2001. Beyond the establishment of a forum recognized by all parties as neutral, the primary outcome of these initial IDC's was the agreement that the South African government host all future ICD negotiations.

In February and March 2002 the third and most critical round of ICD began in Sun City, South Africa. Though the South African led talks have been turbulent at times, they have been largely viewed as successful. In December 2002, a peace accord was signed by all parties in Pretoria.

Despite the notable progress on the diplomatic front, numerous obstacles continue to obstruct the road to peace. No where was the fragility of the peace more apparent than at a May 2003 follow up meeting to the Pretoria agreement where; during talks to allocate responsibility in the DRC's armed forces, the RCD suspended its participation in the negotiations amid accusations that the government was acting in bad faith. Similarly, the escalating conflict in the eastern part of the country; particularly in the Ituri District where "interethnic" violence erupted in the region between the Hema and the Lendu ethnic groups, threatens the already-fragile peace.⁷

⁷ PBS Online News Hour. "Violence in Congo," June 09, 2003 http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/jan-june03/congo_6-9.html

In spite of these challenges, progress continues to be made in the ICD. In late June 2003 President Joseph Kabila named a transitional government to take the country into democratic elections in 2 years. The transitional government, comprised of 36 ministers and 25 deputy ministers is made up of representatives of the main rebel factions, the former government and the political opposition. The final obstacle to naming the transitional government was removed in August 2003, when all the parties agreed on the division of command over the armed forces.⁸ Under the agreement, control of the armed forces will be shared amongst the rival factions; with the RDC in command of the ground forces while the MLC was awarded command of the navy.⁹

While these recent events give some cause for cautious optimism, at this point, the stability of the transitional government remains to be seen. The conflict in the Ituri District appears to be the greatest threat to the new regime, and the transitional government's response to threat will likely determine the future of war and peace in the DRC.

Beyond the Congo: Ongoing Conflicts in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi

Conflict in Uganda

Despite its ongoing role in the conflict in the DRC Uganda has been unable to bring an end to its own internal turmoil.

In 1986 the current President, Yoweri Museveni's *National Resistance Movement* succeeded in toppling first, the regime of Milton Obote and then that of Tito Okello. However, despite some progress on the part of the Museveni in stabilizing the majority of the country, longstanding opposition in the northern and western regions from the Lords Resistance Army (LRA), supported by the Sudanese Government, has led to widespread population displacement and contributing to vulnerability and instability in those regions.¹⁰

Also, in 1994 the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), composed largely of soldiers of the former

⁸ IRIN. "DRC: President names top officers for unified national military," August 20, 2003 www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=36085&SelectRegion=Great_Lakes&SelectCountry=DRC

⁹ Reliefweb. "Transitional Government Named in the DR Congo," Source: Agence France-Presse (AFP) June 30, 2003 www.reliefweb.int/w/rwb.nsf/6686f45896f15dbc85267ae00530132/ca4c066ffc35b9

¹⁰ <http://www.unrec.org/eng/conflicts/uganda.htm>

Rwandan and Zairian armies emerged in opposition to Museveni's regime. In 1996, the ADF began launching its attacks on Uganda's south-western provinces from bases in neighbouring Congo. The Ugandan government's efforts to eliminate the cross-border rebel threat resulted in its support of Laurent Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (ADLF) in its movement to overthrow the Mobutu regime in 1997. However, despite the Museveni government's assistance in deposing Mobutu's regime, the Kabila government failed to stabilize its eastern provinces and address the Ugandan government's concerns about the ADF's use of bases within the DRC to launch its attacks. This led Uganda to shift alliances and support the rebel movements, the MLC (Mouvement de Libération du Congo) and one of the RCD factions (Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie).

In spite of the multiple factions operating both within and outside Ugandan borders, by 1999 some progress towards a peaceful settlement had been made. In December 1999 an agreement aimed at normalizing relations signed with the Sudanese government began to show results as both sides fulfilled their commitments to ceasing their support of the opposition forces operating within their neighbors' borders, thus weakening the LRA. Similarly, in February 2002 an amnesty program was introduced for all rebels choosing to surrender.

In recent months fighting has resurfaced in the northeast where Ugandan backed Lendu rebels have been increasingly engaged in attacks with their rival ethnic group the Hema. The escalation of "ethnic violence" in the DRC's north-eastern district has been largely attributed to a sharp increase in the inflow of weapons into the region. This increased militarization of the region is argued to be a tactic used by Ugandan military leaders who, during their occupation of the Ituri region, were actively engaged in resource plunder, and who have a vested interest in perpetuating the conflict.

On September 06, 2002 the governments of the DRC and Uganda entered into a wide ranging agreement brokered by the Angolan government. The terms of the Luanda Agreement included, among other things, the complete withdrawal of Ugandan troops from the DRC within 100 days. The terms of the Ugandan withdrawal however were contingent on Kinshasa gaining control of the Ituri District within 50 days of signing the agreement. All deadlines have passed without being fulfilled.

Ongoing Conflict in Rwanda

Despite the tragic events that led to the deaths of more than 800, 000 Tutsis in 1994, Rwanda has been unable to shake the legacy of violence and instability. In attempts to escape from the 1994 genocide an estimated two million refugees fled to the neighbouring areas of Zaire. However among the refugees, many of those who had perpetrated the violence managed to escape as well.

Soon, the former Forces Armées du Rwanda (FAR) and interahamwe (Hutu militias) who had managed to get away began launching raids on Rwandan territory from their refuges just across the border in Zaire. The presence of former Forces Armées du Rwanda (FAR) and interahamwe (Hutu militias) across the border was a security threat to the newly established government of national unity. In order to gain access to eastern Congo and eliminate this threat the Rwandan government began supporting the AFDL rebellion led by Laurent Kabila in late 1996.

However, much like its neighbour Uganda, the AFDL-Rwanda alliance was short lived. The Kabila regime was unable to consolidate its control over its eastern provinces and Rwanda shifted its support to a second rebellion, which rapidly gained control over the eastern part of Congo. However despite the government's successes in eastern Congo the Rwandan (Hutu) rebels managed to regroup forming the Armée de Libération du Rwanda (ALIR), which registered some notable victories against the government, including a coordinated attempt at invading the country in the northwest in 1997.

The conflict amongst the Rwandan factions continues both within Rwanda and in the DRC. In fact, both sides have become so entangled that a resolution to their own conflict is viewed by many as essential to achieving a peaceful settlement in the DRC. Indeed, a central element of the 1999 Lusaka Accord, is a commitment from the government of the DRC to disarm the Hutu rebels in exchange for the withdrawal of Rwandan troops from eastern DRC.¹¹ However, alleged Rwandan support for the Thomas Lubanga led Hema faction, the Union des patriotes congolais (UPC) in addition to the ongoing activities of interahamwe in the DRC continues to threaten the volatile peace.

¹¹ <http://www.unrec.org/eng/conflicts/rwanda.htm>

Civil War in Burundi

Much like Rwanda, Burundi has a history of tension between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups. This tension has led to an unstable political climate and periodic outbreaks of violence between the two groups since independence. However the current conflict has been ongoing since 1993 when Burundi's first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye was assassinated during an attempted coup led by Tutsi members of the armed forces. While unsuccessful, the coup attempt sparked a wave of violence between the two communities that continues to this day.

In January of the following year a coalition government made up of representatives from Hutu and Tutsi parties was formed and Cyprien Ntaryamira was appointed President. Ntaryamira's presidency was cut short when the plane he and Rwandan president, Juvénal Habyarimana, were traveling in was shot down over Kigali in April 1994. While the coalition government struggled to retain its position, Ntaryamira's assassination marked the beginning of a steady descent into violence. Hutu militias such as Forces de Défense de la Démocratie (FDD); the Parti pour la libération du peuple Hutu (*Palipehutu*) and the Front de Libération Nationale (FROLINA) and Tutsi militias organised by the Parti pour le Redressement National (PARENA) party, began openly attacking one another as well as civilians.

Citing the coalition government's inability to bring an end to the civil war as justification, Major Pierre Buyoya successfully staged a coup in July 1996. Buyoya's actions were condemned by the international community, and Burundi's neighbours responded by imposing sanctions on already economically indigent country. Meanwhile, Buyoya's peacemaking efforts were as equally unsuccessful as his predecessors, and peace talks under the leadership of former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere which had begun before the coup continued with little success.

With Julius Nyerere's passing in 1999, former South African president Nelson Mandela took on the role of mediator for the conflict. Under Mandela's guidance, talks culminated in the signing of the Arusha Accord in August 2000, laying a foundation for ending the violence and normalizing the political situation. However, six months after the installation of the transition government, peace in Burundi has remained illusive in Burundi. At least two of the Hutu rebel factions have refused to sign on to the accord, and violence has continued. Coup attempts

were put down in April and July 2001, but Hutu rebels continue to refuse to take part in revised agreements.¹²

Overall Risk in the Great Lakes

Given the recent outbreaks of violence within the DRC, the conflict history both within and amongst Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda, as well as the conflicting interests amongst the governments in the region, the Great Lakes clearly remain at "very high" risk for continued conflict. The recent selection of a transitional government gives some cause for cautious optimism. However, the escalating violence in the Ituri District, serves as a critical reminder that the region is likely to remain at high level of risk for some time.

¹² <http://www.unrec.org/eng/conflicts/burundi.htm>

II. Governance and Political Instability

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Governance and Political Instability				
Level of Democracy				
(-10 = Autocracy to 10 = Democracy)	Burundi	6.8	Improving (-1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	6.8
Source: Polity IV Data Set	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Stable, Stable	9.0
	Kenya	7.2	Stable, Stable	7.2
	Rwanda	7.8	Stable, Stable	7.8
	Tanzania	5.8	Stable, Stable	5.8
	Uganda	7.0	Stable, Stable	7.0
Regime Durability				
(Years since Regime Change	Burundi	8.6	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	10.6
[3-Point Change in Regime Type	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	12.0
Scale])	Kenya	7.4	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	9.4
Source: Polity IV Data Set	Rwanda	7.6	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	10.6
	Tanzania	8.0	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	11.0
	Uganda	6.8	Stable, Stable	6.8
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights				
(2 = Good to 14 = Poor)	Burundi	8.6	Improving (-1), Stable	7.6
Source: Freedom House	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	11.0
	Kenya	8.2	Improving (-1), Stable	7.2
	Rwanda	9.0	Stable, Stable	9.0
	Tanzania	6.4	Improving (-1), Stable	5.4
	Uganda	6.6	Worsening (+1), Stable	7.6
Restrictions on Press Freedom				
(1 = Good to 100 = Poor)	Burundi	9.0	Improving (-1), Stable	8.0
Source: Freedom House	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Worsening (+1), Stable	10.0
	Kenya	7.0	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Rwanda	8.0	Stable, Stable	8.0
	Tanzania	5.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	6.0
	Uganda	4.6	Stable, Stable	4.6
Level of Corruption				
10 (highly clean) - 0 (highly corrupt)	Burundi	..	Single Measure	..
Source: Transparency International	Congo, Dem. Rep.	..	Single Measure	..
	Kenya	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Rwanda	..	Single Measure	..
	Tanzania	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Uganda	8.0	Single Measure	8.0
Composite Score (weight = 5)				
	Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	8.3	High	41.3
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	10.5	Very High	52.5
	Kenya	8.4	High	42.6
	Rwanda	8.9	High	44.3
	Tanzania	7.4	High	35.9
	Uganda	6.8	High	36.0

The indicators in this issue area are designed to reflect the influence of the political system and stability on the outbreak of conflict. A lack of accountability and representation limits the avenues through which grievances can be constructively and peacefully aired, aggravating the risk of violence. At the same time, the denial of many basic rights can have a similar effect by limiting the options available for expressing dissent. Endemic corruption often leads to a loss of confidence in the state and its institutions, perhaps leading those who desire change to ignore more peaceful approaches in favour of activities outside of government institutions, including violence.

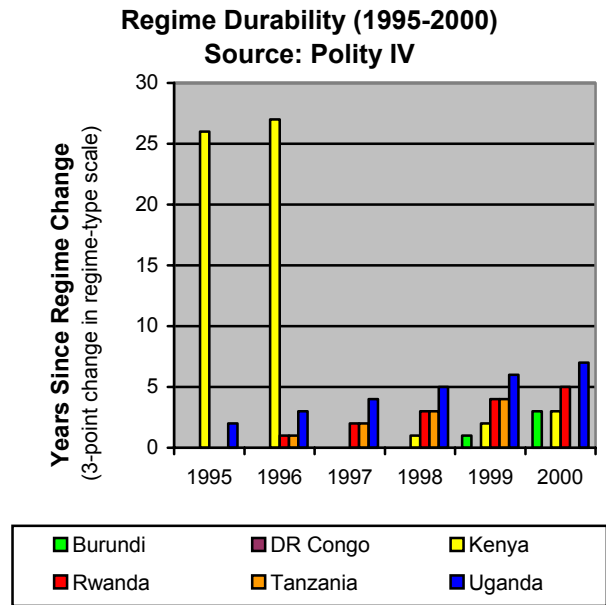
Governance and instability are clearly areas for concern across the region as a whole. As was the case in the *History of Armed Conflict* issue area, the DRC has, by far the highest overall level of risk in the region.

Corruption is also a serious problem among these countries. While much of the data is either missing or suspect, in the case of Kenya Tanzania and Uganda corruption scores are in the high risk range, which is indicative of the severity of the problem in the region as a whole. While this alone is not likely to lead directly to conflict, the continuing high levels

of corruption coupled with restrictions on rights and freedoms will continue to add a degree of instability to the region while also limiting progress in areas such as human development and economic growth, which could in turn create further stress and division and possibly lead to more violence.

In addition to the concerns that high levels of corruption raise for the region, the frequent regime changes in several of these countries also act as destabilizing influences. Changes in regime often result in increased political volatility, and in the case of East Africa/Great Lakes regime instability appears to be a significant risk. In the DRC for instance, the removal of President Mobutu Sese Seko failed to remove the perceived security threat to neighbouring states and, in fact, spawned additional factions opposed to the new leadership of Laurent Kabila. Clearly the answer is not as simple as installing a new regime, as the repercussions of repeated changes in leadership can often be more damaging than the previous government. Added to this is the fact that transitions in these countries have tended not to be particularly democratic or smooth, which increases the likelihood of violent opposition. The prominence of armed forces in the political process adds to the destabilizing influences of regime change. In the East Africa/Great Lakes region there is a moderately high level of militarization, which can impact the transition process heavily.

Recent leadership changes in the area may have installed individuals as leaders who appear to be more amenable to negotiation than past presidents. This is particularly true in the DRC with the ascension of Joseph Kabila to the presidency. Words, however, must be followed by action and with the current economic and social pressures on the Kabila government, meeting recent pledges to Rwanda and individual rebel groups will be difficult. Once again, there are some signs that cautious optimism is warranted, although continued international support and progress are needed before the peace process can be called a success.



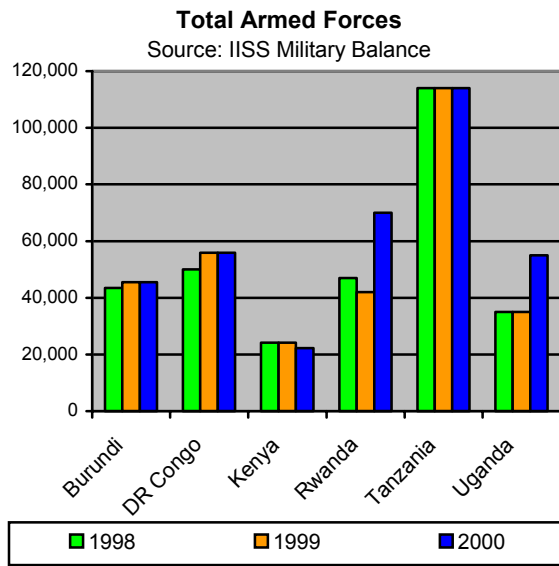
III. Militarization

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Militarization				
Military Expenditure				
(% of GDP, Constant 1995 US\$)	Burundi	9.0	Improving (-1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
Source: SIPRI	Congo, Dem. Rep.	..	..	..
	Kenya	4.4	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	5.4
	Rwanda	8.0	Improving (-1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.0
	Tanzania	3.0	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	5.0
	Uganda	5.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	6.0
Military Expenditure Constant 1998 \$US				
Source: SIPRI	Burundi	2.2	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	4.2
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	..	..	..
	Kenya	3.4	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	5.4
	Rwanda	2.6	Improving (-1), High Volatility (+2)	3.6
	Tanzania	2.8	Worsening (+1), Stable	3.8
	Uganda	3.0	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	5.0
Total Armed Forces				
Source: IISS Military Balance	Burundi	4.0	Worsening (+1), Stable	5.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	4.0	Worsening (+1), Stable	5.0
	Kenya	3.0	Improving (-1), Stable	2.0
	Rwanda	4.3	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	7.3
	Tanzania	5.7	Stable, Stable	5.7
	Uganda	4.0	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	6.0
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)				
Source: IISS Military Balance	Burundi	5.0	Worsening (+1), Stable	6.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.0	Worsening (+1), Stable	2.0
	Kenya	1.0	Improving (-1), Stable	0.0
	Rwanda	4.7	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	7.7
	Tanzania	3.0	Stable, Stable	3.0
	Uganda	2.0	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	4.0
Imports of Major Conventional Weapons				
Source: SIPRI	Burundi	..	..	..
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	5.4	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	8.4
	Kenya	2.8	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	4.8
	Rwanda	3.8	Worsening (+1), High Volatility (+2)	6.8
	Tanzania	..	..	..
	Uganda	3.6	Worsening (+1), Moderate Volatility (+1)	5.6
Composite Score (weight = 5)				
	Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	6.1	Medium	30.3
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	5.1	Medium	25.7
	Kenya	3.5	Medium	17.6
	Rwanda	6.7	High	33.4
	Tanzania	4.4	Medium	21.8
	Uganda	5.3	Medium	26.6

Excessive military spending may suggest a general militarization of the state and an accompanying potential for increasing military involvement. High military spending can also exacerbate problems in other social sectors by reducing spending in areas such as human development, which can in turn have negative effects on governmental legitimacy. Regionally, increases in military spending and weapons trafficking can impact the balance of power and cause reactions among neighbouring states leading to destabilization.

The region is relatively highly militarized overall. Of particular concern is the Rwandan military which is

the largest in the region, especially in light of the Rwandan governments continued involvement in the conflict in the DRC. Given the level of cross border military involvement, the recent peace deal signed by Congolese and Rwandan officials has the potential to be an important step towards peace, should it succeed. To this end, both countries have expressed a desire for other nations to become involved in support of the agreement.



Rebel Groups and Child Soldiers

Despite strong efforts to correctly measure levels of militarization, it is difficult (particularly in this region) to accurately estimate the numbers of rebel and guerrilla soldiers operating in the area. With so many armed forces, rebel groups and militias operating in the DRC for instance, the official numbers can reasonably be regarded as underestimations. Not only may the numbers be an inaccurate reflection of the armed population, but there are so many militias, rebel groups, community protection forces and national militaries involved with the turmoil within the DRC, many of whom frequently change alliances, that a large portion of those involved in violence are not factored into official numbers, nor is there any easy way to include these individuals.¹³

Added to these problems of collecting accurate data on levels of militarization is the issue of child soldiers. Several of the countries included in this risk assessment have been known to have children actively involved in violent conflict. Burundi, for instance has begun dealing with the thousands of children who had sought refuge with the army during more turbulent times and who were put to work as contributing soldiers. In 2001 both the Burundian government and UNICEF reached an agreement to demobilize these children, but the issue remains an important one in the area. However Burundi is not alone in this challenge. The

¹³ Much of the data regarding the plethora of rebel groups was obtained from UN websites, including those for the Mission in Congo (MONUC) and the UN Regional Centre's websites on the conflict in the DRC.

DRC, Rwanda and Uganda also have active child soldiers within their borders. Many organizations are working towards ending the abduction and forcible use of children as soldiers, including UNICEF, yet the problem persists. Without real progress in this area it is possible that the cycle of violence currently gripping the region will continue, as children who have known nothing but violence from a very young age remain uneducated and untrained for anything but military activities.¹⁴



Weapons and Small Arms

While this issue area explicitly takes into account imports of major conventional weapons, the region has long served as a conduit for small arms into, and out of, neighbouring countries. For instance, during President Mobutu's regime, the DRC served as a pipeline for arms sent by the United States to the UNITA rebels in Angola. Today, with the large numbers of people migrating throughout the region either to flee violence, as part of rebel activities or fleeing persecution, it is also difficult to accurately estimate the level of militarization of the population as a whole. The fact that many districts began forming their own protection forces after the surge in violence around 1998 suggests that weapons are

¹⁴ Further information regarding child soldiers can be found at the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, at www.child-soldiers.org.

not scarce and are indeed easily obtainable. This adds to the general problems of militarization, indicating that the general public is often prepared to answer violence with violence, as well as further complicating any demobilization efforts that may be undertaken as part of recent peace agreements. Ultimately for instance, if the Congolese

government is unable to effect progress in disarming and demobilizing Rwandan rebel forces, the success of the recent deal between these two countries may be in jeopardy and the Rwandan military may be reluctant to withdraw as planned.

IV. Population Heterogeneity

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Population Heterogeneity				
Ethnic Diversity				
Single Measure				
(Calculated index)	Burundi	4.0	Single Year Measure	4.0
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Kenya	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Rwanda	4.0	Single Year Measure	4.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Uganda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
Religious Diversity				
Single Measure				
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Burundi	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Kenya	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Rwanda	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Uganda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion				
Single Measure				
Source: Minorities at Risk Data Set	Burundi	6.0	Single Year Measure	6.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Kenya	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
	Rwanda	6.0	Single Year Measure	6.0
	Tanzania	..	Single Year Measure	..
	Uganda	4.0	Single Year Measure	4.0
Composite Score (weight = 4)				
	Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	5.7	Medium	22.7
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.7	High	34.7
	Kenya	8.3	High	33.3
	Rwanda	5.7	Medium	22.7
	Tanzania	9.0	High	36.0
	Uganda	7.3	High	29.3

The degree of ethnic and religious diversity in a country can significantly influence its potential for conflict. In some heterogeneous societies, the competing demands of different ethnic and religious groups result in failures to achieve political consensus, contributing to tensions and in some cases the outbreak of violent conflict. This is especially the case in situations where there are high incentives for group action, such as a historical loss of group autonomy, long-standing or widening political and economic disparities between communal groups, or restrictions on cultural practices. In addition, the capacity for collective action also depends in large part upon the strength of a group's identity and its level of political mobilization.

Ethnic and Religious Diversity

As is evident from the table above, this region exhibits a high level of ethnic and religious diversity. While religion has generally not been a source of conflict, ethnicity has often times emerged as a fault-line. There is a continuing struggle for survival between the Hutus and Tutsis who are spread across most of this region, mainly around lakes

Tanganyika and Kivu. Many analysts believe that the Hutus and Tutsis are driven apart not by differences in language, culture and ethnicity, but by the "politicization of ethnicity" which began during the second half of the 19th century and reinforced by colonialism. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the continuing tension in Burundi are clear manifestations of "politicized ethnicity." In addition, these two conflicts have generated large refugee populations throughout the region, further perpetuating regional instability.

Apart from Rwanda and Burundi, the other country in the region where ethnicity has been a source of conflict is Kenya. The low intensity conflict in Kenya is mainly as a result of the policy of repressing ethnic groups that are perceived to support the opposition. For example, over the last couple of years the Kikuyu of central Kenya have been prime targets of harassment and discrimination by the Moi administration.¹⁵ Despite their significant numbers, they have been systematically excluded from Moi's

¹⁵ See *Human Rights Watch*, "Playing With Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence, and Human Rights in Kenya," at www.hrw.org/reports/2002/kenya

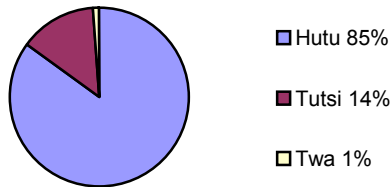
cabinet; while smaller groups have cabinet representation.¹⁶

Overall, the most serious problem in this region with regards to diversity relates to the fact that most ethnic groups are spread all over the region leading to very high risks of irredentism. This is especially the case in Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC, all of which have pockets of Hutus and Tutsis.

In Burundi, the largest ethnic group is the Hutu (85%), followed by the Tutsi (14%) and the Twa (1%). There are also small populations of Europeans (3,000) and South Asians (2,000). In terms of religious diversity, Christians form the majority - Roman Catholic (62%) and Protestant (5%), followed by Indigenous beliefs (23%) and Muslim (10%).

Burundi: Ethnic Diversity

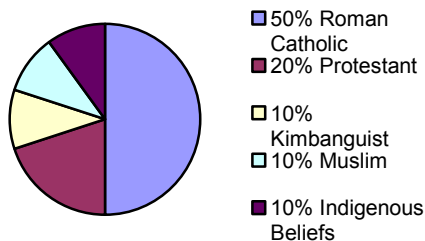
Source: CIA World Factbook



In the DRC, there are over 200 African ethnic groups of which the majority are Bantu. The four largest Bantu tribes are the Mongos, Luba, Kongo and the Mangbetu-Azande (Hamitic), which make approximately 45% of the DRC's population. Similar to Burundi, the DRC has a large Roman Catholic population (50%), followed by Protestants (20%), Kimbanguist (10%), Muslim (10%) and other syncretic sects and indigenous beliefs (10%).

DRC: Religious Diversity

Source: CIA World Factbook

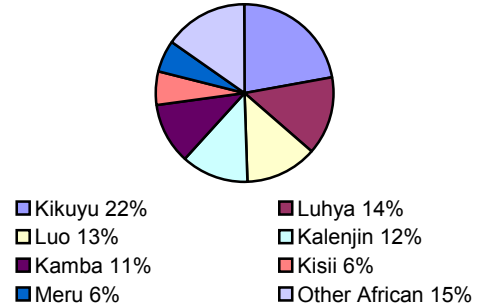


Kenya is also ethnically diverse, but the breakdown is fairly even. The Kikuyu have the largest population (22%), followed Luhya (14%), Luo (13%), Kalenjin (12%), Kamba (11%), Kisii (6%),

Meru (6%), other African (15%) and non-African (1%). In terms of religion, Protestants are in the majority (38%), Roman Catholic (28%), Indigenous (26%), Muslim (7%), and Other (1%).

Kenya: Ethnic Diversity

Source: CIA World Factbook

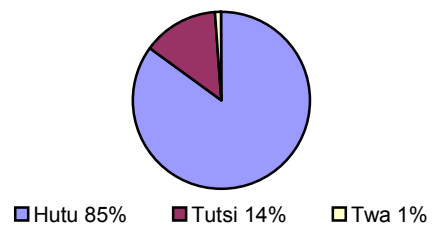


Mainland Tanzania is populated mainly by Native African tribes (99%) of which 95% are Bantu consisting of more than 130 tribes. Asians, Europeans and Arabs make up the rest (1%). Zanzibar is made up of Arab, mixed Arab and native African populations. In terms of religion, Zanzibar is completely Muslim (99%) while the mainland is made up of Christian (45%), Muslim (35%), and Indigenous beliefs (20%).

Rwanda is similar to Burundi in terms of ethnicity, consisting of Hutu (84%), Tutsi (15%) and Twa (1%). It is also similar to Burundi and the DRC in terms of religion, with Roman Catholic (52.7%), Protestant (24%), Adventist (10.4%), Muslim (1.9%), Indigenous and Other (6.5%), and none (4.5%).

Rwanda: Ethnic Diversity

Source: CIA World Factbook



In Uganda, there are two major ethnic groups - Baganda (17%) and Karamajong (12%). The rest are very small groups comprising less than 10% each. These include Basogo (8%), Iteso (8%), Langi (6%), Rwanda (6%), Bagisu (5%), Acholi (4%), Lugbara (4%), Bunyoro (3%), Batoro (3%), non-African (1%), and other (23%). In terms of religion, the pattern is similar to all the countries in the region except Tanzania. Roman Catholic (33%),

¹⁶ Jos van Beurden, "Kenya: Small Scale Conflicts Could Have Major Repercussions," in Monique Mekenkamp et al., eds., *Searching for Peace in Africa: An Overview of Conflict Prevention and Management Activities*, Utrecht: European Center for Conflict Prevention, 1998, p. 147.

Protestant (33%), Muslim (16%), and Indigenous beliefs (18%).

Assessing Risk of Ethnic Rebellion

In his analysis of the characteristics of minority groups at risk as coded in the MAR data set, Gurr (2000) identified six risk factors that according to tests correctly identified 88% of existing ethnic rebellions. These factors are: the persistence of protest in recent past; government repression; territorial concentration; group organization; regime instability; and transnational support from foreign states. Based on data from 1998 for each of these key variables, and using logistic regression analysis, Gurr calculated scores for the risk of future rebellion for each Minority at Risk group. The key variables and resulting risk scores for Minority at Risk groups are indicated in the accompanying table. The table indicates that risk scores are medium and high for the region. Burundi and Rwanda, with two main ethnic groups, have medium scores of 5.67 while the other countries in the region are considered high risk, with scores ranging from 7.33 in Uganda to 9.00 in Tanzania.

Minorities at Risk

The Minorities at Risk (MAR) Project at the University of Maryland has assembled a wide range of data on ethnic groups worldwide that have been subjected to various kinds of cultural, political, and/or economic discrimination. Minority groups are identified by the MAR Project as being “at risk” if the country in which they reside has a population greater than 500,000, the group itself has a population larger than 100,000 (or 1 percent of the

country’s population), and it meets at least one of four criteria. These four criteria are: the group is subject to political, economic or cultural discrimination; the group is disadvantaged from past political, economic or cultural discrimination; that the group is politically, economically or culturally advantaged, and that advantage is being challenged, the group supports political organizations advocating greater group rights. Based on these criteria, the MAR project has identified the following groups as minorities at risk:

Minorities at Risk

Source: Minorities at Risk Dataset

Burundi
Hutu, Tutsi
Democratic Republic of Congo
Hutu, Luba, Lunda (Yeke), Ngbandi, Tutsi
Kenya
Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Kisii, Luhya, Lou, Maasai, Somali
Rwanda
Hutu, Tutsi
Tanzania
Zanzibarian
Uganda
Acholi, Baganda

As is evident from the table above, the Hutu and Tutsi are at risk in most countries in the region. This is not surprising given that numerous wars have generated mass refugee movements that continuously threaten to destabilize this region.

V. Demographic Stress

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Modifiers	Risk Score
Demographic Stress				
Total Population				
		Single Measure		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Kenya	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Rwanda	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
	Tanzania	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Uganda	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)				
		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	6.0	Improving (-1)	5.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.8	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.8
	Kenya	7.2	Improving (-1)	6.2
	Rwanda	8.4	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	9.4
	Tanzania	7.6	Improving (-1)	6.6
	Uganda	8.4	Improving (-1)	7.4
Population Density (people per sq km)				
		Single Measure		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	3.0	Single Year Measure	3.0
	Kenya	4.0	Single Year Measure	4.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	3.0	Single Year Measure	3.0
	Uganda	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
Urban Population (% of Total)				
		Single Measure		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	1.0	Single Year Measure	1.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	2.0	Single Year Measure	2.0
	Kenya	2.0	Single Year Measure	2.0
	Rwanda	1.0	Single Year Measure	1.0
	Tanzania	3.0	Single Year Measure	3.0
	Uganda	1.0	Single Year Measure	1.0
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)				
		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	10.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.2	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.2
	Kenya	8.8	Improving (-1)	8.8
	Rwanda	8.0	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	10.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Improving (-1)	8.0
	Uganda	8.8	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.8
Youth Bulge (Pop. Age 0-14 as % of Total)				
		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Stable	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Stable	9.0
	Kenya	8.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.0
	Rwanda	8.6	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.6
	Tanzania	8.8	Improving (-1)	7.8
	Uganda	9.0	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	12.0
Composite Score (weight = 5)				
		Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	6.3	Medium	31.7
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.7	High	33.3
	Kenya	6.0	Medium	30.0
	Rwanda	7.2	High	35.8
	Tanzania	6.1	Medium	30.3
	Uganda	7.4	High	36.8

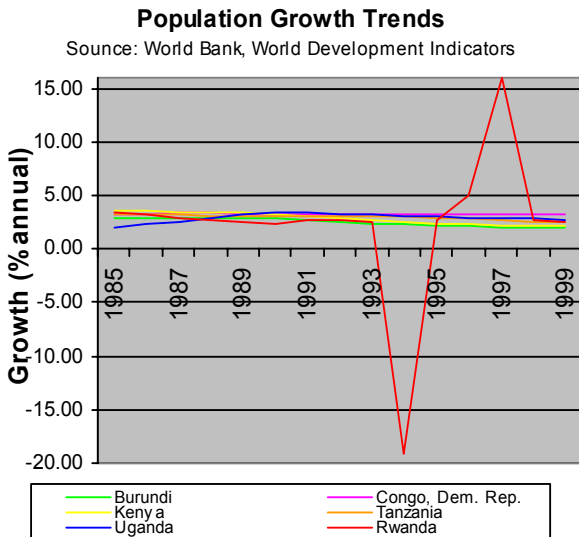
The size, density, distribution and composition of a country's population can contribute greatly to the potential for violent conflict. Changes in these factors, such as rapid rates of growth and urbanization, can also accelerate the conflict development process through heightening competition for access to physical and social

resources due to increasing scarcity, growing inequality, and environmental degradation.

Population Growth

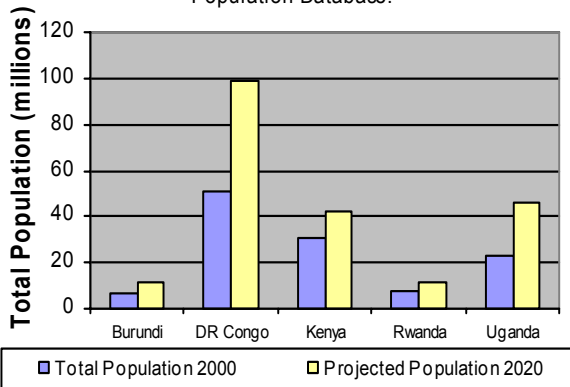
Relatively speaking, population growth in the Great Lakes - with the major exception of Rwanda -

appears to be consistent with other regions in Sub Saharan Africa.¹⁷ Nonetheless, over the last 5 years, population growth rates in the Great Lakes have continued to exceed the regenerative levels. With four of the six countries in the region indicating recent growth trends deemed to be “high risk” - only Kenya and Burundi have experienced medium levels of risk for population growth over the five year period - such rapid rates of population growth can have significant long-term effects on stability and conflict potential in the region.



Population Projections (2000-2020)

Source: UNPOP World Population Prospects, Population Database.



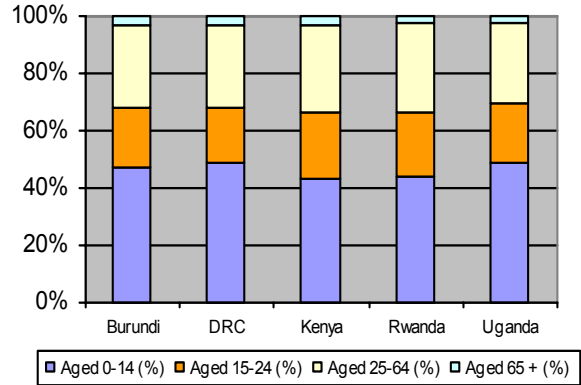
Youth Bulge

The age composition of a population is a powerful element in its tendencies to violence. Evidence suggests that the younger the population and the higher the level of unemployment for example, the

greater the potential for violence. Young, unemployed populations can also be politically volatile constituents, placing far less trust in political institutions and patterns of authority.

Population Age Distribution (2000)

Source: UN Population Division Country Profiles



All of these countries have populations that are very young, making age distribution a significant area of risk for the whole region. With an average of 46.6%¹⁸ of the population under the age of 14 in 2001, the demographic makeup in the region is considered high, and in the case of Uganda, very high - risk.

Population Density

Population density provides critical insight into the level of competition over resources and a society’s ability to manage risk. For these six countries, population density has; and is expected to play an increasing role in the patterns of social and economic development, and subsequently in regional stability. Population density in both Rwanda and Burundi, and to a lesser extent Uganda, is extremely high, which has been attributed to increasing food and resource scarcity and has further exacerbated tension in those countries. This has in turn led to heightened risk of continued (or renewed) conflict. Keeping in mind the high risk scores for population growth rates in four of the six countries along with the age distribution of these societies, it appears that current demographic trends, and population density especially, are likely to play an important role in the future stability in the region.

¹⁷ See CIPF’s *Conflict Risk Assessment Report: Sub Saharan Africa* for a comparison of the Great Lakes countries with the 37 other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

¹⁸ Average extrapolated from data collected for the six countries from the World Bank: World Development Indicators.

Internal Migration

Trends in internal migration continue to be a critical demographic issue for the stability of any country. Large-scale population movements can have a destabilizing effect internally, by disrupting the geographic distribution of the population, and regionally, through the flood of refugees into neighboring countries, which can upset the stability of host countries and enhance interstate tensions. The ongoing conflict in the Great Lakes has led to massive population displacements with large numbers of refugees fleeing to neighboring states. Likewise, internal migration has contributed to a number of humanitarian and development challenges, which have heightened migrants' vulnerability to shocks and contributed to the potential for heightened conflict in the region.

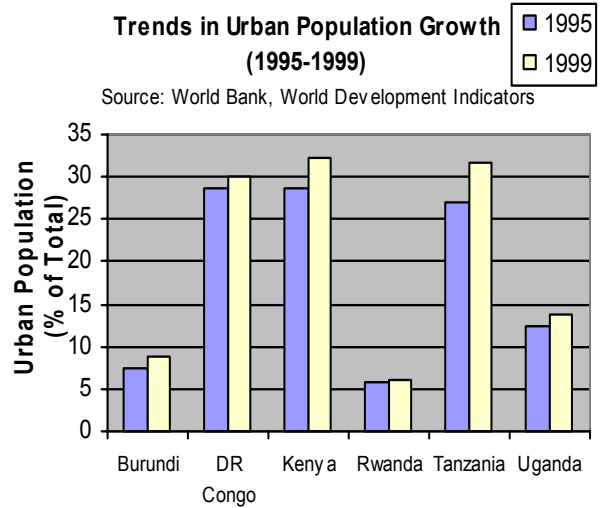
Urbanization

Closely related to internal migration is a country's rate of urbanization. Across all six countries urban settlements continue to attract people from rural areas, contributing to the pace of social transformation. In doing so, rapid urbanization enhances pressures on already heavily burdened urban infrastructure, particularly sanitation, waste-management and access to affordable, clean water sources.

Currently, the Great Lakes is the least urbanized region in Africa, however this pattern is changing rapidly, as the region has recorded the highest rates of urbanization on the continent.¹⁹ While the rate of urbanization rose rapidly during the late 1990s, recent figures suggest that rates of urban population growth have begun to decelerate. Nonetheless, urban population growth rates range from "high" to "very high" risk for all six countries, and are expected to remain at an average of 4.5% over the next 15 years.²⁰ Consequently, urban population growth rates are a critical issue for development agencies and policymakers alike as demand for housing and urban services has risen swiftly.

Moreover, economic growth has lagged behind population growth and urbanization putting increasing pressure on dwindling financial resources, effectively limiting the funds available for development and maintenance of infrastructure. Consequently, unplanned settlements have

mushroomed throughout the Great Lakes, which bring with them a considerable number of negative impacts on the social and biophysical environment.²¹



¹⁹ UNEP. *African Environmental Outlook (AEO): Past, Present and Future Perspectives*. p. 209.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 209.

²¹ Ibid. p. 209.

VI. Economic Performance

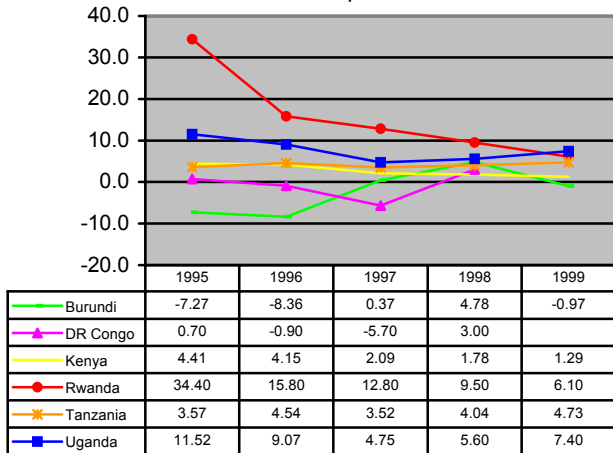
Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Economic Performance				
GDP Growth Rate (% Annual)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	7.4	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	8.4
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.2	Worsening (-1) High Volatility (+2)	7.2
	Kenya	6.2	Improving (-1)	5.2
	Rwanda	1.0	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	4.0
	Tanzania	5.4	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	5.4
	Uganda	1.8	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	3.8
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.2	Worsening (+1)	9.2
	Kenya	8.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	10.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Improving (-1)	8.0
	Uganda	8.0	Improving (-1)	7.0
Inflation (Consumer Prices % Annual)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	7.2	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	8.2
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	9.0
	Kenya	4.4	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	5.4
	Rwanda	4.5	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	5.5
	Tanzania	7.6	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	8.6
	Uganda	4.6	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	5.6
Official Exchange Rate (LCU per US\$, period average)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	7.2	Worsening (+1)	8.2
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.5	High Volatility (+2)	10.5
	Kenya	6.0	Worsening (+1)	7.0
	Rwanda	7.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Tanzania	8.0	Worsening (+1)	9.0
	Uganda	8.8	Worsening (+1)	9.8
Foreign Direct Investment (Net Inflows % of GDP)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	8.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Stable	8.0
	Kenya	8.0	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	10.0
	Rwanda	8.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Tanzania	4.0	Stable	4.0
	Uganda	4.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	6.0
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	4.8	Worsening (+1)	5.8
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.0	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	7.0
	Kenya	7.4	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	7.4
	Rwanda	1.6	Stable	1.6
	Tanzania	4.4	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	5.4
	Uganda	3.6	Stable	3.6
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	12.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.2	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	4.2
	Kenya	6.0	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	9.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Tanzania	7.2	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	10.2
	Uganda	9.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	10.0
Aid (% of GNI)		GR Score (5 Yr Avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	7.2	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	8.2
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.2	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	10.2
	Kenya	5.4	Improving (-1)	4.4
	Rwanda	8.4	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	9.4
	Tanzania	7.8	Improving (-1)	6.8
	Uganda	7.0	Improving (-1)	6.0

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Economic Performance				
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)				
Source: World Income Inequality Database V1.0				
Single Measure				
	Burundi	3.0	Single Year Measure	3.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	..	Single Year Measure	..
	Kenya	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
	Rwanda	2.0	Single Year Measure	2.0
	Tanzania	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
	Uganda	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
Composite Issue Area Score				
Composite Score (weight = 8)	Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	8.20	High	65.6
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.16	High	62.0
	Kenya	7.04	High	63.0
	Rwanda	6.83	High	52.1
	Tanzania	6.93	High	55.6
	Uganda	6.31	Medium	48.8

The linkages between economic performance and potential for violent conflict are strong. Low or declining incomes, high inflation, exchange rate fluctuation or collapse, and volatile levels of foreign investment significantly impact material living standards, and can create or aggravate dissatisfaction with government performance, thus undermining government credibility. High levels of economic inequality contribute to social fragmentation, declining state legitimacy, and can cause scapegoating of economically privileged minorities. Low involvement in international trade is also associated with higher risk of state failure, given that the conditions that inhibit high levels of international trade and foreign investment (such as rampant corruption and poor infrastructure) also contribute to the risk of political crises.

**GDP Growth Rate
(% annual)**

Source: World Development Indicators



The Paradox of Plenty: Resources and Instability

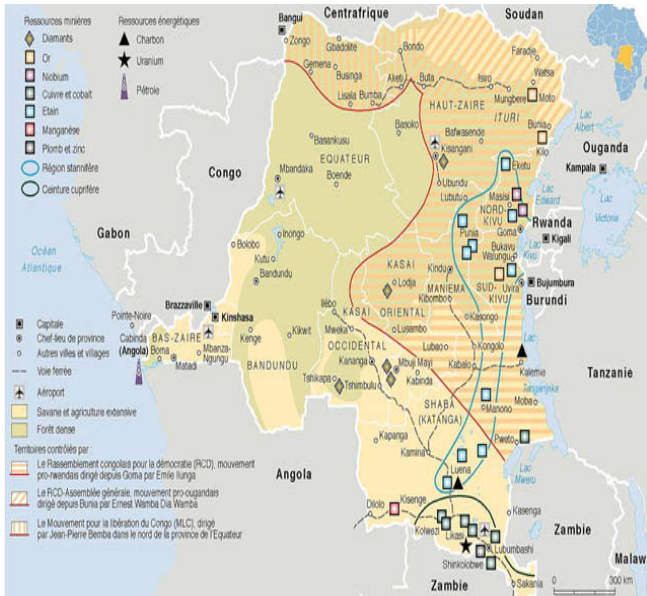
According to Malone and Berdal, most post-Cold War violence is “driven not by a Clausewitzian logic of forwarding a set of political claims, but rather by powerful economic motives and agendas”. There is nowhere that this assertion is more valid than the Great Lakes region of Africa.

The distinct focal point of the intra-continental crisis that afflicts the region revolves around the struggle for power and above all, access and control of the enormous natural wealth in the region. This is especially the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which has become the epicenter of the crisis in the region. The key players in the current conflict have all been accused of economic motives for their part in the violence – particularly with respect to securing a share of the diamond wealth and other resources in the DRC. Until the

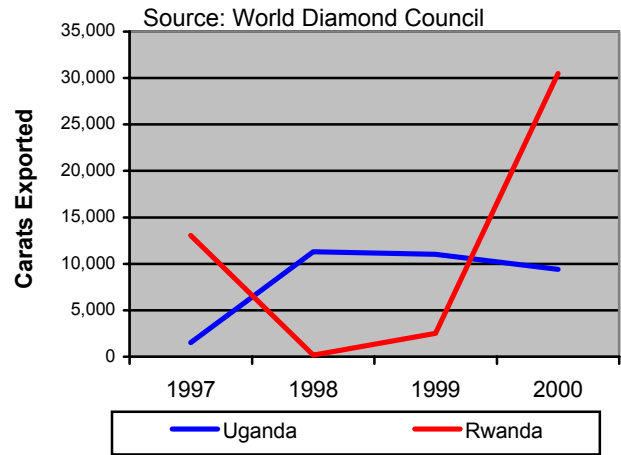
The natural resource wealth in the Great Lakes offers a myriad of socioeconomic possibilities. For the vast majority of the region’s population however, diamonds and other natural resources do not represent potential socioeconomic opportunities and stability. Rather, they contribute to prolonged violence, persistent underdevelopment, and suffering of the people living in the region. In effect, the abundant natural resources in the DRC represent the quintessential paradox of plenty: not only are they the incentive for many of the factions to be engaged in the conflict, the persistent violence over the control of them perpetuate the poverty and vulnerability of its citizens further entrenching the underlying conditions which heighten conflict potential.

The Coveted Riches of the Democratic Republic of Congo²²

Source: Le Monde Diplomatique



Rough Diamond Exports (Carats) 1997-2000



Economic Performance and Conflict Potential

Most of the countries in the Great Lakes, experience fluctuations in their economic development, which can be understood as a function of dependence on the export of natural resources, weak investment in infrastructure, poor histories of governance and sporadic violent conflict.

The myriad problems in the region are diverse and interrelated. As the graphs below indicate, high inflation,²⁴ negative rates of economic growth, and low GDP per capita - particularly in Burundi, Rwanda and DRC, are indicative of the unstable situation with respect to security and violent conflict. This has also had a significant impact on development activities by donors. In addition, high levels of government debt crowds out investment and limits government's capacity to undertake social investments to facilitate growth, such as implementing universal access to health and education programs.

Many challenges, particularly the growing need for physical, social, and economic reconstruction must be addressed. The consequence of poor economic management, weak governance, and high levels of corruption, together with a decade of protracted civil wars resulting in millions of displaced people, the destruction of infrastructure, and reduced levels of foreign investment, have contributed to the fragility of the region's economic instability. Relatively

Diamonds and the Benefits of War

A recent report by the UN Security Council entitled *Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth in the Democratic Republic of the Congo* confirms the fact that most of the countries fighting in the DRC have been involved for economic reasons.

According to the report, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, with no known diamond deposits, have become major diamond exporters since their involvement in the war in the DRC. The report particularly singles out Rwanda and Uganda. As the graph below shows, from 1997 onwards, both Rwanda and Uganda have become diamond-exporting countries. The implications of which, further complicates the search for a solution to the existing violence.

The report concludes by noting that the war in the DRC is about access and control of resources and that exploitation of resources by foreign armies has become systematic and systemic.²³

²² The Democratic Republic of Congo's mineral resources are found mainly in the east and south of the country, the areas where the conflict is concentrated

²³ For details see, "Report Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth in the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

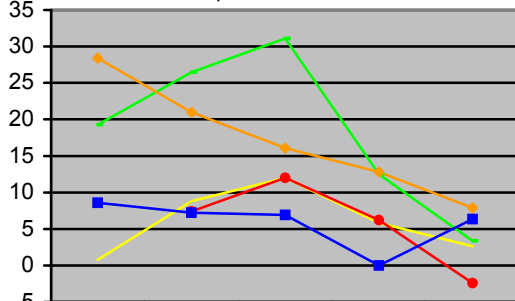
²⁴ Inflation figures for the DRC from 1995-97 were terribly high as to make comparison with the other countries possible so DRC has been dropped out of the graph on inflation.

speaking Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda are better positioned for continued economic growth and development. However disparate distribution of wealth also exacerbates tensions in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Scoring seven, five and five respectively on the CIFP GINI index, they have relatively unequal distributions of income.

Apart from the issue of diamonds, there are other economic problems that afflict this region. Key among them are issues of land and resource distribution, unclear property rights, strong shadow economy and disputed agricultural activity to mention just a few.

**Inflation, Consumer Prices (% Annual)
1995-1999**

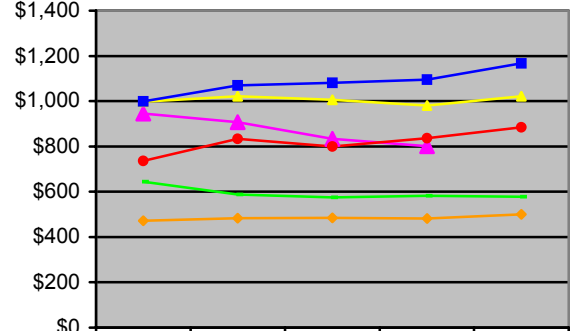
Source: World Development Indicators



	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Burundi	19.26	26.44	31.11	12.50	3.39
Kenya	0.79	8.82	12.02	5.81	2.6381021
Rwanda		7.41	12.02	6.21	-2.41
Tanzania	28.38	20.98	16.09	12.80	7.89
Uganda	8.59	7.22	6.93	-0.02	6.35

**GDP per capita, PPP
(Current International \$)**

Source: World Development Indicators



	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Burundi	644.41	587.51	575.61	581.41	577.98
DR Congo	945.40	907.23	833.55	800.99	
Kenya	997	1021	1006	980	1021.94
Rwanda	736.35	833.47	799.23	836.99	884.70
Tanzania	472.31	483.58	484.32	481.62	500.65
Uganda	998.93	1,068.90	1,081.17	1,094.25	1,167.10

VII. Human Development

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Human Development				
Access to Improved Water Source (% of Total Population)				
		Single Measure		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	..	Single Year Measure	..
	Central African Republic	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
	Kenya	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Uganda	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
Access to Sanitation (% of Total Population)				
		Single Measure		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	..	Single Year Measure	..
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Kenya	4.0	Single Year Measure	4.0
	Malawi	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	3.0	Single Year Measure	3.0
	Uganda	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
Life Expectancy (Years)				
		GR Score (3 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	8.7	Stable, High Volatility (+2)	10.7
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.7	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	10.7
	Kenya	8.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	10.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	12.0
	Uganda	9.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)				
		GR Score (5 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.0
	Kenya	7.7	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.7
	Rwanda	9.0	Improving (-1)	8.0
	Tanzania	7.7	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	10.7
	Uganda	8.0	Improving (-1)	7.0
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)				
		Single Measure		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Single Year Measure	8.0
	Kenya	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Uganda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)				
		GR Score (2 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	10.0
	Kenya	9.0	Worsening (+1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	11.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Uganda	9.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
Primary School Enrollment (% of Relevant Age Group)				
		GR Score (5 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	8.0	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.0	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	9.0
	Kenya	8.0	Stable	8.0
	Rwanda	..	..	..
	Tanzania	8.8	Improving (-1) High Volatility (+2)	9.8
	Uganda	..	..	..
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)				
		GR Score (5 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	8.0	Improving (-1)	7.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.0	Improving (-1)	6.0
	Kenya	5.0	Improving (-1)	4.0
	Rwanda	7.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	7.0
	Tanzania	6.0	Improving (-1)	5.0
	Uganda	7.0	Improving (-1)	6.0

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Human Development Continued				
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)		GR Score (5 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Improving (-1)	8.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	..		..
	Kenya	7.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	8.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Improving (-1) Moderate Volatility (+1)	9.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Stable, Moderate Volatility (+1)	10.0
	Uganda	8.0	Improving (-1)	7.0
Children in Labour Force (% of Children aged 10-14)		GR Score (3 yr avg)		
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Worsening (+1)	10.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.0	Worsening (+1)	8.0
	Kenya	8.7	Worsening (+1)	9.7
	Rwanda	9.0	Improving (-1)	8.0
	Tanzania	8.0	Improving (-1)	7.0
	Uganda	9.0	Improving (-1)	8.0
Composite Score (weight = 3)	Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	9.7	Very High	30.4
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	8.6	High	26.9
	Kenya	8.1	High	26.0
	Rwanda	8.8	High	27.0
	Tanzania	8.4	High	25.7
	Uganda	7.6	High	23.6

As with overall levels of economic development, poor levels of human development correlate strongly with higher risk of violent conflict and state failure. The lack of, or decline in, public services such as health care, education, safe water and sanitation indicate weak state capacity to provide and allocate vital services. This can decrease confidence in the state, leading to political instability and social unrest. So too can unmet expectations regarding educational opportunities or other opportunities for social advancement increase discontent and the likelihood and severity of civil strife. Low levels of investment in human capital can also hinder the development of a skilled labour force necessary for creating livelihoods and increasing incomes and so on in a downward spiral.

The state of human development in Sub Saharan Africa in general is deplorable, and the situation in the Great Lakes is no exception.²⁵ The "high" - and in the case of Burundi "very high" - composite risk scores for human development can be attributed to a whole host of interrelated factors, including declines in GDP growth and a reduction in contributions of official development assistance. Not surprisingly, all of the countries examined here are considered Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) under the World Bank's new initiative criteria.²⁶ Similarly, all the

countries but Kenya fall into the category of least developed countries according to the UNDP's Human Development Index; in the case of Burundi and Rwanda, human development has returned to levels equivalent to those reached in 1980.

2001 Human Development Ranking (of 162 Countries)²⁷	HDI Score 1980	HDI Score 1990	HDI Score 2001	2001 HD Ranking
Burundi	0.308	0.344	0.309	160
DR Congo	..	..	0.429	142
Kenya	0.488	0.531	0.514	123
Rwanda	0.378	0.344	0.395	152
Tanzania	..	0.422	0.436	140
Uganda	..	0.386	0.435	141

In addition to poor economic performance, the legacy of conflict in the Great Lakes has seriously impeded progress in poverty reduction due to the destruction of social and economic infrastructure and continued insecurity. In Burundi, poverty and underdevelopment have been exacerbated by 5 years of conflict and economic sanctions imposed by its neighbours. In Uganda, persistent attacks by the Lords Resistance

Framework; Rwanda reached the decision point in Dec. 2000 under the Enhanced Framework and the Democratic Republic of Congo has issued its preliminary documents for assistance under the Enhanced Framework (Burundi and Kenya have yet to submit any documentation under the HIPC Initiative).

²⁷ UNDP Human Development indicators 2001 country profiles. Available online at:

<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2001/en/indicator/indicator.cfm?file=index.html>

²⁵ Data Available for 43 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is available in the CIFP Conflict Risk Assessment Report: Sub-Saharan Africa.

²⁶ World Bank: Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. As of July 2002 the status of these 6 countries are as follows: Uganda and Tanzania have reached the completion point under the Enhanced

Army (LRA) have threatened food security in the North and hindered economic activity in protected camps for Internally Displaced People (IDPs) and outlying areas. Meanwhile in the DRC, the outbreak of the conflict in the Eastern provinces has resulted in a reversal of the marginal economic gains achieved by the new regime, and an increase in poverty and insecurity for the people living in conflict affected areas.

Life Expectancy and Mortality

Life expectancy, in all six countries has been declining over the past decade. It is far below those recorded in other parts of the developing world, and falls even further below the international average.²⁸

The increased incidence of endemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, Malaria and Cholera - among others - have substantially increased demand for health services requiring well trained staff, resources, drugs and well equipped care centres. However, due to the scarcity of resources, increasing incidences of endemic diseases have effectively diminished the capacity of these governments to offer improved health services. Consequently, high infant and maternal mortality, which has been attributed to shortages in prenatal care, a lack of qualified service providers and high levels of adolescent pregnancy; continue to contribute to declining life expectancy and human development.

Life Expectancy	1997	1998	1999
Burundi	42.4	42.0	42.1
DR Congo	46.7	47.0	45.8
Kenya	49.7	47.7	47.5
Rwanda	40.5	41.0	39.9
Tanzania	47.9	45.0	44.0
Uganda	42.5	42.1	42.0
Regional Average	44.9	44.1	43.5
International Average 1995-2000			65.0

HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS is predominantly a development issue that demands preemptive strategies to address the underlying symptoms perpetuating the spread of the disease. Despite differing patterns of transmission, poverty, underdevelopment and vulnerability are all catalysts for the epidemic all over the world. Therefore, a society's underlying socio-economic conditions must be considered in concert with the health related aspects of the disease.

²⁸ International Average for 1995-2000 was drawn from the UNPOP's World Statistical Profile.

Despite high adult prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS in the Great Lakes, some improvements have recently been recorded. Uganda has been identified as Sub-Saharan Africa's success story in its efforts to reduce HIV prevalence levels, and the most recent epidemiological fact sheets for Tanzania and Rwanda also recorded declines in adult prevalence rates of HIV in 2001.²⁹ Despite these strides in the fight against HIV and AIDS, the epidemic continues to affect people in their most productive years. Thus imposing significant stress on already overburdened health infrastructure, and is likely to have serious implications for the future of economic and social development in the region.

A recent report published by UNAIDS concluded that the rise of HIV prevalence in conflict zones has become a growing concern due to massive displacements of populations and the disruption of social and governance systems, which increases vulnerability.³⁰ In the Great Lakes, war, large-scale population displacement and the destruction of infrastructure have enhanced the vulnerability of increasingly large numbers of people. The combination of these factors makes the conditions for rapid increases in HIV/AIDS infections ripe. Furthermore, the persistence of violent conflict fuels the rapid spread of the disease as a result of the exploitation of women who are forced to resort to sexual bartering due to food scarcity, people being forced from their homes, low levels of HIV awareness, and absence of sexual and reproductive health services.³¹

Education, Literacy and Health

Education and Health have a particularly important role to play in a society's economic and social development. Without the accumulation of human capital through improvements in health and education across all spectrums of society, economic performance can remain stagnant and even deteriorate. In the Great Lakes, declines in available financial resources for development has led to

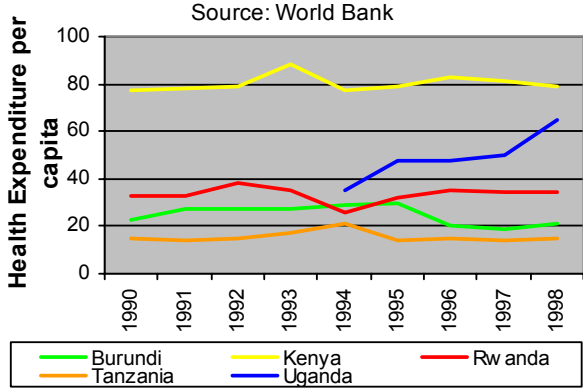
²⁹ It is important to note that the data must be interpreted cautiously. For example the data suggests that Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda have all witnessed declines in their infection rate. However, according to UNAIDS, Uganda stands alone as the sole African country to have experienced a decline in adult prevalence of HIV. Therefore, declines in adult prevalence in Rwanda and Tanzania as indicated by the data may be linked to other factors such as weak infrastructure for collecting seroprevalence data, thus affecting the capacity to collect accurate data and subsequently skewing the estimates. See www.unaids.org for Epidemiological Fact Sheets by country

³⁰ UNAIDS. Sub Saharan Africa Factsheets 2002.

³¹ IRIN. "Congo-DRC-Rwanda: Conflict Fuelling Spread of HIV/AIDS."

reduced domestic spending on infrastructure and services, particularly in health and education. This is reflected in the “high” to “very high” risk scores for primary school enrollment, health expenditure per capita and to a lesser extent in the number of children in the workforce. Meanwhile the persistence of violent conflict and the impact of HIV/AIDS continue to increase insecurity and decrease the ability of households to manage shocks, thus heightening vulnerability and risk.

Health Expenditure per capita (PPP, Current International Dollars)

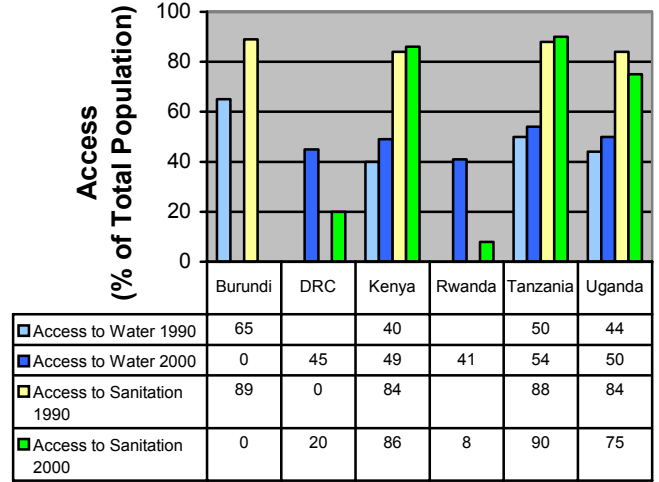


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Access to fresh water sources and sanitation varies both within countries and among countries in the Great Lakes. On average, only 47.5%³³ of people living in the region - excluding Burundi, where no recent data is available - had access to fresh water in 2000. Of the percentage of people with access to fresh water, that number varies considerably between rural and urban settlements as well as varying among regions within countries. Such discrepancies in access to services are even more stark in the area of sanitation, where, according to the World Bank’s *World Development Indicators*, access to sanitation in 2000 ranged from as low as 8% in Rwanda and 20% of the total population in the DRC, to 86%, 90% and 75% of the total populations in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda respectively.³⁴ Access to services such as fresh water and sanitation play a significant part in the overall health of a country’s population, making them extremely important indicators of human development as well as the strength and capacity of the state.

Access to Water & Sanitation

Source: World Development Indicators



³² Data for expenditures in health in the Democratic Republic of Congo over the past 10 years has been absent. As a result, the DRC is not represented in this graph.

³³ Regional average was extrapolated from data collected from the World Bank: World Development Indicators, and is represented in the “Access to Improved Water and Sanitation” graph.

³⁴ All Percentages for Access to Sanitation were collected from the World Bank: World Development Indicators.

VIII. Environmental Stress

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
Environmental Stress				
Rate of Deforestation (%)				
Single Measure				
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.0	Single Year Measure	6.0
	Kenya	6.0	Single Year Measure	6.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	5.0	Single Year Measure	5.0
	Uganda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land				
GR Score (2 yr avg)				
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	8.0	Worsening (+1)	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.0	Worsening (+1)	8.0
	Kenya	7.0	Worsening (+1)	8.0
	Rwanda	8.0	Worsening (+1) High Volatility (+2)	11.0
	Tanzania	7.0	Worsening (+1)	8.0
	Uganda	5.0	Worsening (+1)	6.0
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)				
Single Measure				
Source: World Bank, World Dev't Indicators	Burundi	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	2.0	Single Year Measure	2.0
	Kenya	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Year Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	7.0	Single Year Measure	7.0
	Uganda	6.0	Single Year Measure	6.0
Composite Score (weight = 5)				
	Country	Composite Issue Area Score	Composite Issue Area Risk Rating	Weighted Average
	Burundi	9.00	High	45.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	5.33	Medium	26.7
	Kenya	7.67	High	38.3
	Rwanda	9.67	Very High	48.3
	Tanzania	6.67	High	33.3
	Uganda	7.00	High	35.0

Environmental factors interact powerfully with various other factors, including population pressures in the form of population growth and shifts in population density, making the environment an important long-term indicator for identifying potential conflict areas. Of particular concern here are those environmental factors that have contributed either directly or indirectly, or risk doing so, to the potential for violent conflict. The degradation and depletion of natural resources, particularly renewable resources such as freshwater, arable land and forests can generate a variety of effects that underlie social or political instability and increase the potential for conflict. Reduced stocks of natural resources increase scarcity, heighten competition, and can result in increasingly inequitable distribution of resources between communal groups or regions. The unequal allocation of resources in a climate of scarcity, or the capture of resources by dominant groups, can create or exacerbate cleavages within a society, creating incentives for violent conflict. Environmental degradation or depletion can also result in constrained economic productivity and growth, causing increased poverty and loss of livelihoods, leading to forced displacement or migration into ecologically-marginalized areas.

Throughout the Great Lakes, the range of current environmental issues is broad. Poverty, development challenges, and ongoing conflicts have all been linked to environmental degradation in a vicious circle in which people cannot afford to take proper care of the environment. Governments of poorer countries such as those in Great Lakes often implement policies and practices which place a low priority on environmental sustainability, which has led to a number of common problems including deforestation, soil erosion and land degradation, loss of biodiversity and water pollution.³⁵

³⁵ It is important to note that in the area of Biodiversity the governments of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya have set aside significant proportions of their land areas as national parks and other types of protected areas. Nonetheless, population pressures continue to threaten biodiversity as a result of the exploitation of natural resources, making environmental stresses and increasingly significant issue in assessing conflict risk.

Shared Water Sources and the Potential for Conflict

Access to water from shared rivers can often provoke conflict.³⁶ With three of the four largest river basins in Africa, namely the Congo, Nile and Zambezi basins, servicing the water needs of these six countries, the Great Lakes is a region that is particularly sensitive to the potential risk of conflict over control of water resources.³⁷

Despite the fact that the Great Lakes, and the DR Congo in particular possess a disproportionately large amount of the continent's key natural resources, the benefits of this resource wealth is not distributed evenly across the region. Due to the varied endowments of these resources within and among these countries; discrepancies in the availability of infrastructure; and inappropriate resource management programs, the regional water resources does not accurately represent the water situation. In fact, according to UNEP, the risk of conflict over control of shared rivers is particularly acute in the Nile, and Zambezi basins, making the availability and quality of water an increasingly important indicator of conflict potential in the region.

This unequal distribution of resources is partly reflected by the high risk scores for freshwater resources in Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania. Discharges of raw sewage into rivers and lakes have also increased, creating a toxic environment for plant and animal communities as well as humans. Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean coast are particularly affected owing to concentration of towns and cities in these areas.³⁸

Desertification and Deforestation

Another area of concern in the Great Lakes is the rapid rate of deforestation and subsequent desertification due to the conversion of natural forests to alternative land uses: primarily for cultivation and grazing, and to a lesser extent through urban encroachment. With Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda all demonstrating high levels of risk due to desertification; this pattern, in concert with the high population density, is potentially an area for future conflict as increasing numbers of people compete for fewer and fewer resources. Moreover, the heavy reliance on agricultural production in most of these

economies, the impact of desertification on the availability and productivity of arable land is likely to have a significant effect on national and regional economic growth.

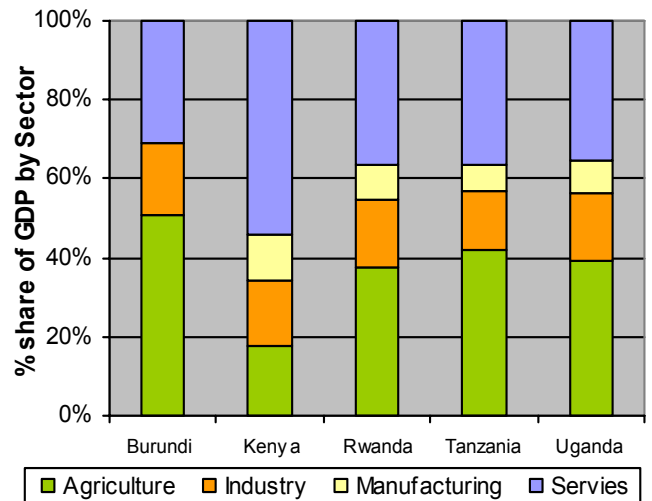
The Congo River Basin

Source: World Book Online map³⁹



Structure of Great Lakes Economies 2000

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators



³⁶ UNEP. *GEO 2000*. p. 56.

³⁷ Ibid. P. 56.

³⁸ More information is available from the UNEP, "African Environmental Outlook: Past, Present and Future Perspectives."

³⁹ From World Book™ Multimedia Encyclopedia © 2000 World Book, Inc., 233 N. Michigan Avenue, Suite 2000, Chicago, IL 60601. Available Online at: <http://worldbook.bigchalk.com/129360.htm>

IX. International Linkages

Lead Indicator	Country	Global Performance Ranking	Trend and Volatility Scores	Risk Score
International Linkages and Prominence				
Economic Organizations Index				
		Single Measure		
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Burundi	8.0	Single Measure	8.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.0	Single Measure	6.0
	Kenya	8.0	Single Measure	8.0
	Malawi	8.0	Single Measure	8.0
	Tanzania	8.0	Single Measure	8.0
	Uganda	7.0	Single Measure	7.0
Military/Security Alliances Index				
		Single Measure		
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Burundi	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Kenya	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Rwanda	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Tanzania	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
	Uganda	9.0	Single Measure	9.0
UN Organizations Index				
		Single Measure		
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Burundi	7.0	Single Measure	7.0
note: for global performance rankings which are a range (i.e. 5-6) the average is used to calculate the risk score	Congo, Dem. Rep.	5.5	Single Measure	5.5
	Kenya	3.0	Single Measure	3.0
	Rwanda	7.0	Single Measure	7.0
	Tanzania	3.0	Single Measure	3.0
	Uganda	4.0	Single Measure	4.0
Multipurpose and Misc. Orgs. Index				
		Single Measure		
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Burundi	8.0	Single Measure	8.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	7.0	Single Measure	7.0
	Kenya	3.0	Single Measure	3.0
	Rwanda	7.0	Single Measure	7.0
	Tanzania	3.0	Single Measure	3.0
	Uganda	3.0	Single Measure	3.0
International Disputes				
		GR Score (5 yr avg)		
Source: CIA World Fact book 2000	Burundi	2.0	Stable, Stable	2.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.5	Improving (-1), Stable	5.5
	Kenya	4.5	Stable, Stable	4.5
	Rwanda	4.5	Stable, Stable	4.5
	Tanzania	4.5	Stable, Stable	4.5
	Uganda	4.5	Stable, Stable	4.5
Composite Score (weight = 5)				
		Composite Issue Area Score		Weighted Average
	Burundi	6.80	High	34.0
	Congo, Dem. Rep.	6.60	High	33.0
	Kenya	5.50	Medium	27.5
	Rwanda	7.10	High	35.5
	Tanzania	5.50	Medium	27.5
	Uganda	5.50	Medium	27.5

The form of a country's engagement with outside actors - bilaterally with other countries or multilaterally through international or regional forums - can serve to reduce or, in some cases, contribute to the potential for violent conflict. On the one hand, international linkages can contribute positively to the mitigation of both intrastate and interstate conflicts if external actors perform in a facilitating or supportive fashion, and have the operational capacity to contribute meaningfully in terms of mediation and support for reconciliation efforts. Constructive engagement, whether through diplomatic, political, commercial, trade or cultural relations, can contribute to interdependency and

shared vested interests, and creates opportunity for a wide range of support mechanisms. Participation in international regimes and organizations can also help decrease security risks by codifying broad rules and processes by which to resolve disputes peacefully.

On the other hand, weak linkages or harmful engagement with partisan actors can contribute profoundly to the potential for the outbreak or escalation of conflict. Countries with fewer diplomatic, political, commercial, trade and cultural linkages with neighboring states as well as international and regional organizations, are less

likely to profit from constructive engagement with outside actors in areas such as developmental assistance, mediation, or support in peace processes. In addition, neighboring countries might also contribute directly or indirectly to armed conflict by harboring or supporting armed protagonists of a civil conflict. Furthermore, the interventions of neighboring or regional actors can contribute to the potential of a civil conflict becoming inter-state or regional in scale.

Bilateral Relations and Disputes

This region is replete with trans-border instability. The epicenter is the DRC where most countries in the region have troops battling for control of available resources. As the table below indicates, with the exception of Burundi, all the countries in the region are involved in border disputes with their neighbors. This cross-border phenomenon makes the region currently one of the most unstable regions in the world.

International Disputes
(Source: CIA World Fact book, 2001)

Burundi
None
DRC
Civil war that has drawn in military forces from neighboring states, with Uganda and Rwanda supporting the rebel movements that occupy much of the eastern portion of the state.
Kenya
Administrative boundary with Sudan does not coincide with international boundary.
Rwanda
Rwandan military forces are supporting the rebel forces in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
Tanzania
Dispute with Malawi over the boundary in Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi); a resurvey of the latitudinal boundary with Uganda in 2000 revealed a 300-meter discrepancy that both sides are currently adjudicating.
Uganda
Military is deployed to the DRC in support of rebel forces in that country's civil war; a resurvey of the latitudinal boundary with Tanzania in 2000 revealed a 300-meter discrepancy that both sides are currently adjudicating.

Multilateral Relations and Linkages

The tables above and on the following page indicates that Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are more engaged in the international community, with

active involvement in a range of different and important international linkages. In contrast, Burundi, DRC and Rwanda are clearly not nearly as directly involved in the activities of both regional and global organizations. This is worrisome to the extent that countries with fewer diplomatic, political, commercial, trade or cultural linkages with neighboring states, as well as international and regional organizations, are less likely to profit from constructive engagement with outside actors in areas such as developmental assistance, mediation, or support in peace processes.

Illicit Drug Production and Trafficking
(Source: CIA World Fact book, 2001)

Burundi
None
DRC
Illicit producer of cannabis, mostly for domestic consumption.
Kenya
Widespread harvesting of small plots of marijuana; transit country for South Asian heroin destined for Europe and North America; Indian methaqualone also transits on way to South Africa.
Rwanda
None
Tanzania
Growing role in transshipment of Southwest and Southeast Asian heroin and South American cocaine destined for South African, European, and US markets and of South Asian methaqualone bound for Southern Africa.
Uganda
None

Transnational Crime and International Terrorism

International Terrorism has come quickly to the forefront of international concern, and has become a primary topic for discussion at various forums for bilateral and multilateral co-operation and policy co-ordination. A number of transnational threats have become increasingly prominent, and the sub-region is embroiled in a complex set of illicit linkages between drug smuggling, arms, and diamonds. As the table above shows, the DRC, Kenya and Tanzania are all embroiled in illicit drug production/shipment. These criminal activities not only contribute to the continuation of instability in the region, they also have the potential of contributing to international terrorist activities.

Membership of International Organizations (2001) <i>(Source: CIA World Fact book)</i>	Burundi	DRC	Kenya	Rwanda	Tanzania	Uganda
Economic Organizations						
African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
African Development Bank	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Econ. Comm. of Central African States	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Econ. Comm. of the Great Lakes Countries	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
East African Dev. Bank	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Custom Cooperation Council	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
G-19	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
G-24	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
G-6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Group of 77	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Trade Organization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
United Nations Organizations						
Economic Commission for Africa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Food and Agriculture Organization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Atomic Energy Agency	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nat'l Civil Aviation Organization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
International Finance Corporation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
International Finance Corporation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Fund for Agricultural Dev	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ILO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Maritime Organization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
International Monetary Fund	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Telecommunication Union	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
UN General Assembly	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
UNCTAD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
UNESCO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
UNIDO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
UNHCR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
United Nations University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Health Organization (WHO)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Security / Military Organizations						
None						
Miscellaneous & Multipurpose Organizations						
Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
International Federation of Red Cross Society	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Interpol	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Hydrographic Organization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
International Olympic Committee	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Organization for Migration	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Organization for Standardization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Inter-Governmental Agency on Development	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Confederation of Trade Unions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Fed. of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Non-Aligned Movement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Org. of Islamic Conference	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Organization of African Unity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Org. for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Permanent Court of Arbitration	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Southern African Development Community	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Universal Postal Union	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Confederation of Labor	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Federation of Trade Unions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
World Tourism Organization	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Int'l Bank for Reconstruction and Development	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Definitions of Indicators:

Issue Area 1. History of Armed Conflict

Armed Conflicts (Conflict Intensity Level) (Time Series: 1990-1999) (Source: Conflict Data Project and SIPRI Yearbook) The “Conflict Intensity Level” describes the intensity of armed conflicts occurring within a country in a given year, based on data from the Conflict Data Project (CDP) at Uppsala University. The CDP defines an armed conflict as a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state. In order to be counted as an armed conflict, the CDP requires that there be a minimum of 25 battle-related deaths per year and per incompatibility. The scale for the Conflict Intensity Level is as follows: **1. Minor armed conflict:** At least 25 battle-related deaths per year and fewer than 1,000 battle-related deaths during the course of the conflict; **2. Intermediate armed conflict:** At least 25 battle-related deaths per year and an accumulated total of at least 1,000 deaths, but fewer than 1,000 per year. **3. War:** At least 1 000 battle-related deaths per year. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the “Armed Conflicts” variable, 1 is “no armed conflict” and 9 is “high degree of armed conflict.”

Refugees Produced and Residing Outside Country (Refugees by Country of Origin) (Time Series: 1990-1999) (Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), State of the World’s Refugees) The number of refugees originating in the country in question, but currently taking asylum outside the country. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the “Refugees Produced” variable, 1 is “Low number of refugees” and 9 is “High number of refugees.”

Refugees Hosted, IDP and Others of Concern (Time Series: 1995-2000) (Source: UNHCR, Annual Statistical Overview Reports) The total number of displaced populations within a country, including Refugees (by Country of Asylum), Asylum Seekers, Returned Refugees, IDPs, Returned IDPs, and Other Populations of Concern. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the “Refugees Hosted, IDP and Others of Concern” variable, 1 is “Low number of displaced persons” and 9 is “High number of displaced persons.” Note that whereas the “Refugees Produced Index” ranks the number of displaced persons produced by a country (and have sought or received asylum/residence elsewhere), the “Refugees Hosted, IDP and Others of Concern Index” ranks the number of displaced persons of various types within a country.

Issue Area 2. Governance and Political Instability

Level of Democracy (Overall Polity Score) (Time Series: 1990-1999) (Source: Polity IV) The Overall Polity Score is on a 21 point scale ranging from +10 (strongly democratic) to -10 (strongly autocratic). In the definition of Polity IV, democracy is conceived as three essential, interdependent elements. One is the presence of institutions and procedures through which citizens can express effective preferences about alternative policies and leaders. Second is the existence of institutionalized constraints on the exercise of power by the executive. Third is the guarantee of civil liberties to all citizens in their daily lives and in acts of political participation. Autocracy is defined operationally in terms of the presence of a distinctive set of political characteristics. In mature form, autocracies sharply restrict or suppress competitive political participation. Their chief executives are chosen in a regularized process of selection within the political elite, and once in office they exercise power with few institutional constraints. For the global rank based index (nine-point scale) of the Overall Polity Score, 1 is “strongly democratic” and 9 is “strongly autocratic.”

Regime Durability (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: Polity IV) The number of years since the most recent regime change (defined by a three-point change in the Overall Polity score over a period of three years or less). In calculating the Regime Durability Score, the first year during which a new (post-change) polity is established is coded as the baseline year “zero” (value = 0) and each subsequent year adds one to the value of the Durability variable. For the Global rank based index (nine-point scale) of the Regime Durability Score, 1 is “high durability” and 9 is “low durability.”

Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: Freedom House, Annual Survey of Freedom) Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights are scored on a 2 to 14 scale, where 2 is the highest degree of freedom and 14 is the lowest. The score is the sum of Freedom House scores for Political Rights (on a 1-7 scale) and Civil Liberties (on a 1-7 scale). In Freedom House’s definition, Political rights enable

people to participate freely in the political process, which is the system by which the polity chooses authoritative policy makers and attempts to make binding decisions affecting the national, regional, or local community. In Freedom House's definition, Civil Liberties include the freedoms to develop views, institutions, and personal autonomy apart from the state. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the combined score for Political Rights and Civil Liberties, 1 is "free" and 9 is "not free."

Restrictions on Press Freedom (Time Series: 1994-2000) (Source: Freedom House, Annual Press Freedom Survey) Freedom House's Annual Press Freedom Survey assesses the degree to which each country permits the free flow of information on 1-100 point scale, where countries scoring 0 to 30 are regarded as having a free press, 31 to 60 as having a partly-free press, and 61 to 100 as having a not-free press. The Survey assesses a number areas of concern, including: the structure of the news-delivery system (the laws and administrative decisions and their influence on the content of the news media); the degree of political influence or control over the content of the news systems; the economic influences on news content exerted either by the government or private entrepreneurs; and actual violations against the media, including murder, physical attack, harassment, and censorship. For the global rank based index (nine-point scale) of the Press Freedom Score, 1 is "free" and 9 is "not free."

Level of Corruption (Time Series: 1995-2000) (Source: Transparency International) Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) provides a score of the perceptions of corruption within countries, ranging from 10 (highly clean) to 0 (highly corrupt). The CPI has adopted the approach of a composite index, that averages the scores of multiple surveys concerning the perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people, risk analysts and the general public. Transparency International focuses on corruption in the public sector and defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain. The surveys used in compiling the CPI tend to ask questions in line with the misuse of public power for private benefits, with a focus, for example, on the bribing of public officials or giving and taking of kickbacks in public procurement. As the same component surveys are not necessarily employed every year of the CPI, the comparison of CPI scores between different years is problematic. Global rank based index (nine-point scale) of the Corruption Score, where 1 is "highly clean" and 9 is "highly corrupt."

Issue Area 3. Militarization

Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1995 US\$) (Time Series: 1990-1999) (Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database) SIPRI military expenditure figures as a percentage of GDP, expressed in US\$ Millions, at constant 1995 prices and exchange rates. Where possible, SIPRI military expenditure include all current and capital expenditure on: the armed forces, including peace keeping forces; defence ministries and other government agencies engaged in defence projects; paramilitary forces when judged to be trained, equipped and available for military operations; military space activities. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1995 US\$) variable, 1 is "low expenditure" and 9 is "high expenditure."

Fraction of Regional Military Expenditure (% of known total spending for 1990s) (Single Measure: 1990s) (Source: Calculated from SIPRI Military Expenditure Database) The Fraction of Regional Military Expenditure was calculated through totaling known military expenditures for the West African Region, using SIPRI Military Expenditure data, then dividing the sum into the total expenditure for each country. The African Great Lakes Region is taken to include the following countries, which were figured into the regional total: Burundi, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Fraction of Regional Military Expenditure variable, 1 is "Low fraction of Regional Military Expenditure" and 9 is "High fraction of Regional Military Expenditure."

Total Armed Forces (Per 1000 People) (Time Series: 1999-2000) (Source: CIFP score based on IISS Military Balance and World Development Indicators) In order to assess and compare the portion of a country's population involved in the operation of the military, the size of a country's Total Armed Forces was calculated per 1000 people, based on Armed Forces data from the IISS Military Balance and Population data from the World Bank's World Development Indicators. Total armed forces includes both Active Forces and Reserves. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Total Armed Forces (Per 1000 People) variable, 1 is "Low number of armed forces" and 9 is "High number of armed forces."

Issue Area 4. Population Heterogeneity

Ethnic Diversity Score (Single Measure: 1990s) (Source: CIFP score based on CIA World Fact book, Levinson's Ethnic Groups Worldwide: a Ready Reference Handbook) the Ethnic Diversity Score is calculated on the basis of Shih's D_1 index of ethnic diversity. This measure is based on the number of ethnic groups in a country weighted by the fraction of the population each group represents. A primary strength of Shih's measure is that both the number and the sizes of ethnic groups jointly determine the degree of ethnic diversity. The primary source of data is the CIA World Fact book, but where this source did not provide adequate percentage breakdowns of ethnic groups, CIA data was supplemented with information from Levinson's Ethnic Groups Worldwide: a Ready Reference Handbook. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Ethnic Diversity Score variable, 1 is "low diversity" and 9 is "high diversity."

Religious Diversity Score (Single Measure: 1990s) (Source: CIFP score based on CIA World Fact book, Levinson's Ethnic Groups Worldwide: a Ready Reference Handbook) The Religious Diversity Score is calculated on the basis of Shih's D_2 index of religious diversity. This measure is based on the number of religious groups in a country weighted by the fraction of the population each group represents.⁴⁰ A primary strength of Shih's measure is that both the number and the sizes of religious groups jointly determine the degree of religious diversity. The primary source of data is the CIA World Fact book, but where this source did not provide adequate percentage breakdowns of religious groups, CIA data was supplemented with information from Levinson's Ethnic Groups Worldwide: a Ready Reference Handbook. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Religious Diversity Score variable, 1 is "low diversity" and 9 is "high diversity."

Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure: 1990s) (Source: CIFP Score based on Minorities at Risk Data Set) Minority Groups are identified by the Minorities at Risk Project as being "at risk" if the country in which they reside has a population greater than 500,000, the group itself has a population larger than 100,000 (or 1 percent of the country population), and it meets at least one of the four criteria for inclusion as a "minority at risk." These four criteria are: that the group is subject to political, economic or cultural discrimination; that the group is disadvantaged from past political, economic or cultural discrimination; that the group is a politically, economically or culturally advantaged, and that advantage is being challenged; that the group supports political organizations advocating greater group rights. In his analysis of the characteristics of Minority groups at Risk as coded in the MAR data set, Gurr (2000) identified six risk factors that according to tests correctly identified 88% of existing ethnic rebellions. These factors are: the persistence of protest in recent past; the persistence of protest in the recent past; government repression; territorial concentration; group organization; regime instability; and transnational support from foreign states. Based on data from the 1999 for each of these key variables, and using logistic regression analysis, Gurr calculated scores for the risk of future rebellion for each minority at risk group. The CIFP rankings for "Risk of Ethnic Rebellion" are based on a global ranking of scores for all countries with identified Minorities at Risk (a rank score of "1" being reserved for countries with no identified Minorities at Risk), totaling for each country the individual risk scores for Minorities at Risk groups within each country. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Risk of Ethnic Rebellion Score variable, 1 is "low risk of ethnic rebellion" and 9 is "high risk of ethnic rebellion."

Issue Area 5. Demographic Stress

Total Population (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Total population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship. Refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum are generally considered to be part of the population of their country of origin. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Total Population variable, 1 is "low population" and 9 is "high population."

Population Growth Rate (Annual %) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Annual growth rate of population from previous year. Population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of the country of origin. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Population Growth Rate variable, 1 is "low growth rate" and 9 is "high growth rate."

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Population Density (People Per Sq. km) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Population density is midyear population divided by land area in square kilometres. Total population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship. Refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum are generally considered to be part of the population of their country of origin. Land area is a country's total area, excluding area under inland water bodies, national claims to continental shelf, and exclusive economic zones. In most cases the definition of inland water bodies includes major rivers and lakes. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Population Density variable, 1 is "low density" and 9 is "high density."

Urban Population (% of Total) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Urban population is the midyear population of areas defined as urban in each country and reported to the United Nations. It is measured here as a percentage of the total population. Data is sourced from the United Nations, World Urbanization Prospects: The 1999 Revision. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Urban Population variable, 1 is "low population" and 9 is "high population."

Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Annual growth rate of urban population from previous year. Urban population is the midyear population of areas defined as urban in each country and reported to the United Nations. Data is sourced from the United Nations, World Urbanization Prospects: The 1999 Revision. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Urban Population Growth Rate variable, 1 is "low growth rate" and 9 is "high growth rate."

Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Total population between the ages 0 to 14. Population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of the country of origin. Data based on World Bank staff estimates. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Youth Bulge variable, 1 is "low growth rate" and 9 is "high growth rate."

Issue Area 6. Economic Performance⁴¹

GDP Growth Rate (Annual %) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Annual percentage growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency. Aggregates are based on constant 1995 U.S. dollars. GDP measures the total output of goods and services for final use occurring within the domestic territory of a given country, regardless of the allocation to domestic and foreign claims. Gross domestic product at purchaser prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. The residency of an institution is determined on the basis of economic interest in the territory for more than a year. Data derived from World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the GDP Growth Rate (Annual %) variable, where 1 is "high Growth Rate" and 9 is "low Growth Rate."

GDP per Capita (PPP, Current International \$) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity (PPP). GDP PPP is gross domestic product converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity rates. An international dollar has the same purchasing power over GDP as the U.S. dollar in the United States. GDP measures the total output of goods and services for final use occurring within the domestic territory of a given country, regardless of the allocation to domestic and foreign claims. Gross domestic product at purchaser prices is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources. The residency of an institution is determined on the basis of economic interest

⁴¹ For the purposes of gaining an accurate picture of the overall conditions affecting economic performance in the Great Lakes, an additional indicator was added to this section. **Aid (as a % of GNI) (Time Series: 1995-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)** was included as an indicator of economic performance in this report to reflect the level of dependence in the region on international assistance. This dependence is, in turn intended to demonstrate the region's vulnerability (or lack thereof) to the international community and subsequently to shifts in the Official Development Assistance regimes.

in the territory for more than a year. Data are in current international dollars. Data derived from World Bank, International Comparison Programme database. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$) variable, where 1 is “low GDP Per Capita” and 9 is “high GDP Per Capita.”

Inflation (Consumer Prices, annual %) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)

Inflation as measured by the consumer price index reflects the annual percentage change in the cost to the average consumer of acquiring a fixed basket of goods and services that may be fixed or changed at specified intervals, such as yearly. Data derived from International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics and data files. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Inflation (Consumer Prices, annual %) variable, 1 is “low inflation” and 9 is “high inflation.”

Foreign Direct Investment, Net Inflows (% of GNP) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)

Foreign direct investment is net inflows of investment to acquire a lasting management interest (10 percent or more of voting stock) in an enterprise operating in an economy other than that of the investor. It is the sum of equity capital, reinvestment of earnings, other long-term capital, and short-term capital as shown in the balance of payments. Data are figured as a percentage of GNP. Data are derived from International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics and Balance of Payments databases, and World Bank, Global Development Finance 2000. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Foreign Direct Investment, Net Inflows (% of GNP) variable, 1 is “high investment” and 9 is “low investment.”

Total Debt Service (% of GNI) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)

Total debt service, figured as a percentage of Gross National Income, is the sum of principal repayments and interest actually paid in foreign currency, goods, or services on long-term debt, interest paid on short-term debt, and repayments (repurchases and charges) to the IMF. Data derived from World Bank, Global Development Finance 2000. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Total Debt Service (% of GNI) variable, 1 is “low debt service” and 9 is “high debt service.”

Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP) (Time Series: 1985-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)

Trade is the sum of exports and imports of goods and services measured as a share of gross domestic product. Exports and Imports of goods and services represent the value of all goods and other market services provided to or received from the rest of the world. Included is the value of merchandise, freight, insurance, transport, travel, royalties, license fees, and other services, such as communication, construction, financial, information, business, personal, and government services. Labour and property income (formerly called factor services) is excluded. Data are in constant 1995 U.S. dollars. Data derived from World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP) variable, 1 is “high openness” and 9 is “low openness.”

Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient) (Single Measure) (Source: World Income Inequality Database)

The Gini index provides a convenient summary measure of the degree of inequality, ranging, in ideal terms, from 0 (absolute equality) to 100 (absolute inequality). Inequality in the distribution of income is reflected in the percentage shares of either income or consumption accruing to segments of the population ranked by either income or consumption (expenditure) levels. Data on personal or household income or consumption come from nationally representative house-hold surveys. The data included in the CIPF refer to different years between 1985 and 1999, and the rankings are based on either per capita income or consumption (expenditure). Because the underlying household surveys differ in method and in the type of data collected, the distribution indicators are not reliably comparable across countries. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient) variable, 1 is “low inequality” and 9 is “high inequality.”

Issue Area 7. Human Development⁴²

Access to Improved Water Source (% of Total Population) (Time Series: 1990, 2000) (Source: UNICEF/WHO - Global Water and Sanitation Assessment Report) Data were collected from two main sources: assessment questionnaires and household surveys conducted by UNICEF and WHO. The assessment questionnaires defined access to water supply in terms of the types of technology and levels of service afforded. This included house connections, public standpipes, boreholes with handpumps, protected dug wells, protected springs and rainwater collection; allowance was also made for other locally-defined technologies. "Reasonable access" was broadly defined as the availability of at least 20 liters per person per day from a source within one kilometer of the user's dwelling. Types of source that did not give reasonable and ready access to water for domestic hygiene purposes, such as tanker trucks and bottled water, were not included. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Access to Improved Water Source (% of Total Population) variable, 1 is "high % with access" and 9 is "low % with access."

Access to Sanitation (% of Total Population) (Time Series: 1990, 2000) (Source: UNICEF/WHO - Global Water and Sanitation Assessment Report) Data were collected from two main sources: assessment questionnaires and household surveys conducted by UNICEF and WHO. The assessment questionnaires defined access to sanitation in terms of the types of technology and levels of service afforded. This included connection to a sewer or septic tank system, pour-flush latrine, simple pit or ventilated improved pit latrine, again with allowance for acceptable local technologies. The excreta disposal system was considered adequate if it was private or shared (but not public) and if it hygienically separated human excreta from human contact. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Access to Sanitation (% of Total Population) variable, 1 is "high % with access" and 9 is "low % with access."

Life Expectancy (Years) (Time Series: 1987-1999 (87, 90, 92, 97, 98)) (Source: World Development Indicators) Life expectancy at birth indicates the number of years a new-born infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of its birth were to stay the same throughout its life. Based on World Bank staff estimates. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Life Expectancy (Years) variable, 1 is "high life expectancy" and 9 is "low life expectancy."

Infant Mortality Rate (Per 1,000 Live Births) (Time Series: 1987-1999 (87, 90, 92, 97, 98)) (Source: World Development Indicators) Infant mortality rate is the number of infants who die before reaching one year of age, per 1,000 live births in a given year. Based on World Bank staff estimates. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Infant Mortality Rate (Per 1,000 Live Births) variable, 1 is "low mortality rate" and 9 is "high mortality rate."

Maternal Mortality Rate (Per 100,000 Live Births) (Single Measure: 1995) (Source: World Development Indicators) Maternal Mortality Rate is the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Maternal Mortality Rate (Per 100,000 Live Births) variable, 1 is "low mortality" and 9 is "high mortality."

HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population) (Time Series: 1997, 1999) (Source: UNAIDS Epidemic Reports) To calculate the adult HIV prevalence rate, the estimated number of adults living with HIV/AIDS at the end of each year was divided by that year's adult population. UNAIDS estimates include all people with HIV infection, whether or not they have developed symptoms of AIDS, alive at the end of the year. Adult population is defined as men and women aged 15–49. This age range captures those in their most sexually active years. While the risk of HIV infection obviously continues beyond 50, the vast majority of those with substantial risk behaviour are likely to have become infected by this age. Since population structures differ greatly from one country to

⁴² For the purposes of gaining an accurate picture of the overall conditions affecting the human development in the Great Lakes two additional indicators were added to this section. **Illiteracy Rate, Adult Total (% of people aged 15 and above) Time Series: 1995-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)** was added to the methodology for this report as a proxy measure for **Secondary School Enrolment (% of relevant age group) where no data was available for any of the countries**. Illiteracy Rate is expected to reflect national investment in education over time and represent the level of adult education and human capital formation in each country. Meanwhile, **Health Expenditure per capita, PPP (Current International \$) (Time Series: 1995-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators)** was also added as an indicator of human development in this report to assist in examining changes in investment in national populations over time. Rapid declines in investment in health and education are, like access to improved water source and sanitation a strong measure of the strength or weakness of a state.

another, especially for children and the upper adult ages, the restriction of "adults" to 15–49-year-olds has the advantage of making different populations more comparable. This age range was used as the denominator in calculating the adult HIV prevalence rate. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population) variable, 1 is "low prevalence of HIV/AIDS" and 9 is "high prevalence of HIV/AIDS."

Primary School Enrollment (% of Relevant Age Group) (Time Series: 1985-1997) (Source: World Development Indicators) Net enrollment ratio is the ratio of the number of children of official school age (as defined by the national education system) who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age. Primary education provides children with basic reading, writing, and mathematics skills along with an elementary understanding of such subjects as history, geography, natural science, social science, art, and music. Based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Data derived from United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Statistics. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Primary School Enrollment (% of Relevant Age Group) variable, 1 is "high enrollment" and 9 is "low enrollment."

Secondary School Enrollment (% of Relevant Age Group) (Time Series: 1985-1997) (Source: World Development Indicators) Net enrollment ratio is the ratio of the number of children of official school age (as defined by the national education system) who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age. Secondary education completes the provision of basic education that began at the primary level, and aims at laying the foundations for lifelong learning and human development, by offering more subject- or skill-oriented instruction using more specialized teachers. Based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Data derived from United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization Statistics. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Secondary School Enrollment (% of Relevant Age Group) variable, 1 is "high enrollment" and 9 is "low enrollment."

Children in Labour Force (% of 10-14 Age Group) (Time Series: 1990-1999 (90, 95, 98)) (Source: World Development Indicators) Children 10-14 in the labour force is the share of that age group that is active in the labour force. labour force comprises all people who meet the International Labour Organization's definition of the economically active population. Data is derived from International Labour Organization statistics. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Children in Labour Force (% of 10-14 Age Group) variable, 1 is "low % of children in labour force" and 9 is "high % of children in labour force."

Issue Area 8. Environmental Stress

Rate of Deforestation (% Change) (Single Measure: 1990-1995) (Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank Atlas) Definitions of forest area vary among countries. Land area is the country's total area, excluding the area under inland bodies of water. Annual Average Deforestation is calculated on the basis of the average annual percentage reduction in Total Forest Coverage. Data on land area and forests are from the Food and Agriculture Organization. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Rate of Deforestation variable, 1 is "low deforestation" and 9 is "high deforestation."

People per Square km of Arable Land (1994-1999) (Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank Atlas) People per Square km of Arable Land . For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Rate of Deforestation variable, 1 is "high amount of arable land" and 9 is "low amount of arable land."

Freshwater Resources (Cubic Meters per Capita) (Single Measure: 1999) (Source: World Development Indicators) Cubic meters of freshwater resources per capita. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Freshwater Resources variable, 1 is "high amount of freshwater resources" and 9 is "low amount of freshwater resources."

Issue Area 9. International Linkages

Economic Organizations (Single Measure: 2000) (Source: CIA World Fact book) The number of organizations, based on CIA World Fact book data on memberships, coded by the CIFP as having a mandate focusing primarily on economic matters. To construct an index of membership in economic organizations, the total GDP represented by each organization (based on the total GDPs of all member states [using 1999 GDP figures at Market Prices in 1995 US\$ millions]) was calculated. These organizational totals were summed for

each country to provide an indication of the strength of the Economic Organizations to which the country belonged. Countries were sorted from highest to lowest, divided into nine equal categories, and then assigned numbers ranging from 1 to 9 based on the category to which they belonged (where 1 = High Membership and 9 = Low Membership).

Military/Security Alliances (Single Measure: 2000) (Source: CIA World Fact book) The number of organizations, based on CIA World Fact book data on memberships, coded by the CIFP as having a mandate focusing primarily on military and security matters. To construct an index of membership in Military/Security Organizations, the total armed forces represented by each organization (based on the total armed forces of all member states [using 2000 Armed Forces numbers from IISS's Military Balance]) was calculated. Then, these organizational totals were summed for each country to provide an indication of the strength of the Military/Security Organizations to which the country belonged. Countries were sorted from highest to lowest, divided into nine equal categories, and then assigned numbers ranging from 1 to 9 based on the category to which they belonged (where 1 = High Membership and 9 = Low Membership).

UN Organizations (Single Measure: 2000) (Source: CIA World Fact book) The number of organizations of which a country is a member, based on CIA World Fact book data on memberships, which are formally part of the United Nations System. To assess each country's stature within the United Nations (UN), the number of UN organizations to which a country belonged was used as the indicator of a country's relative dominance. Countries were sorted from highest to lowest, divided into nine equal categories, and then assigned numbers ranging from 1 to 9 based on the category to which they belonged (where 1 = High Membership and 9 = Low Membership).

Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Organizations (Single Measure: 2000) (Source: CIA World Fact book) Multipurpose organizations include those organizations, based on CIA World Fact book data on memberships, coded by the CIFP as having a mandate that crossed various sectors of activity. Miscellaneous organizations include those organizations coded by the CIFP as having a mandate focusing primarily on areas not included above, or otherwise not fitting into any of the above categories. A procedure similar to that of UN organizations was used to assess the strength of each country's memberships in multipurpose organizations or miscellaneous organizations (i.e. organizations that could not be classified as economic, military/security, UN, or multi-purpose.) The number of such organizations to which a country belonged was used as the indicator of a country's relative dominance. Countries were sorted from highest to lowest, divided into nine equal categories, and then assigned numbers ranging from 1 to 9 based on the category to which they belonged (where 1 = High Membership and 9 = Low Membership).

Total International Disputes (Time Series: 1999-2000) (Source: CIA World Fact book) To assess a country's relationship with its neighbours, CIFP examined the number of international disputes in which the country was involved. International disputes are defined by the CIA World Fact book to include a wide range of situations that range from traditional bilateral boundary disputes to unilateral claims of one sort of another. The Total International Disputes variable counts the total annual number of international disputes that appear annually in the CIA World Fact book. In cases where a country claims a territory that is also claimed by a number of other countries, disputes are counted for each of the other countries individually. If a country has multiple disputes with another country, again these are counted separately. For the global rank based index (nine point scale) of the Total International Disputes variable, where 1 is "no disputes" and 9 is "many disputes."

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Conflict Risk Assessment Report

African Great Lakes - Appendix A:

Country Risk Assessment Tables

Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda

September 2002

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Conflict Risk Assessment Report: African Great Lakes – i

Burundi	Global Rank Score	Trend Score	Volatility Score	Sum	Avg.	Weighted Avg.
History of Armed Conflict					9.27	74.13
Armed Conflicts	5.8	1.0	2.0	8.8		
# of Refugees Produced	8.8	1.0	0.0	9.8		
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	8.2	-1.0	2.0	9.2		
Governance and Political Instability					8.25	41.25
Level of Democracy	6.8	-1.0	1.0	6.8		
Regime Durability	8.6	0.0	2.0	10.6		
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	8.6	-1.0	0.0	7.6		
Restrictions on Press Freedom	9.0	-1.0	0.0	8.0		
Level of Corruption	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Militarization					6.05	30.25
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	2.2	1.0	1.0	4.2		
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	9.0	-1.0	1.0	9.0		
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons	..	..	..	..
Total Armed Forces	4.0	1.0	0.0	5.0		
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	5.0	1.0	0.0	6.0		
Population Heterogeneity					5.67	22.67
Ethnic Diversity	4.0	single measure	single measure	4.0		
Religious Diversity	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	6.0	single measure	single measure	6.0		
Demographic Stress					6.33	31.67
Total Population	5.0	exception	exception	5.0		
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	6.0	-1.0	0.0	5.0		
Population Density (people per sq km)	8.0	exception	exception	8.0		
Urban Population (% of Total)	1.0	exception	exception	1.0		
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	9.0	0.0	1.0	10.0		
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	9.0	0.0	0.0	9.0		
Economic Performance					8.20	65.60
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	7.4	-1.0	2.0	8.4		
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	7.2	-1.0	2.0	8.2		
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	7.2	1.0	0.0	8.2		
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	8	0.0	1.0	9.0		
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	4.8	1.0	0.0	5.8		
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	9.0	1.0	2.0	12.0		
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	7.2	-1.0	2.0	8.2		
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
Human Development					9.71	29.14
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Life Expectancy (Years)	8.7	0.0	2.0	10.7		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	8.0	-1.0	2.0	9.0		
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	8.0	-1.0	0.0	7.0		
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	9.0	1.0	0.0	10.0		
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	9.0	1.0	0.0	10.0		
Environmental Stress					9.00	45.00
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	8.0	1.0	0.0	9.0		
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
International Linkages					6.80	34.00
Economic Organizations Index	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Military/Security Alliances Index	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
UN Organizations Index	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
International Disputes (# of)	2.0	0.0	0.0	2.0		
Unweighted Sum					69.28	
Unweighted Average					7.70	
Total Weighted Sum						373.70
Risk Index (Weighted Average)						7.79

Conflict Risk Assessment Report: African Great Lakes – ii

Democratic Republic of Congo	Global Rank Score	Trend Score	Volatility Score	Sum	Avg.	Weighted Avg.
History of Armed Conflict					9.60	76.80
Armed Conflicts	6.8	1.0	2.0	9.8		
# of Refugees Produced	4.2	1.0	2.0	7.2		
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	8.8	1.0	2.0	11.8		
Governance and Political Instability					10.50	52.50
Level of Democracy	9.0	0.0	0.0	9.0		
Regime Durability	9.0	1.0	2.0	12.0		
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	9.0	0.0	2.0	11.0		
Restrictions on Press Freedom	9.0	1.0	0.0	10.0		
Level of Corruption	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Militarization					5.13	25.67
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	..	..	..	..
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	..	..	..	..
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons	5.4	1.0	2.0	8.4		
Total Armed Forces	4.0	1.0	0.0	5.0		
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	1.0	1.0	0.0	2.0		
Population Heterogeneity					8.67	34.67
Ethnic Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Religious Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Demographic Stress					6.67	33.33
Total Population	8.0	exception	exception	8.0		
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	8.8	-1.0	1.0	8.8		
Population Density (people per sq km)	3.0	exception	exception	3.0		
Urban Population (% of Total)	2.0	exception	exception	2.0		
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	7.2	1.0	1.0	9.2		
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	9.0	0.0	0.0	9.0		
Economic Performance					8.16	65.30
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	6.2	-1.0	2.0	7.2		
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	8.2	1.0	0.0	9.2		
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	8.0	-1.0	2.0	9.0		
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	8.5	0.0	2.0	10.5		
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	8	0.0	0.0	8.0		
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	6.0	-1.0	2.0	7.0		
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	1.2	1.0	2.0	4.2		
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	7.2	1.0	2.0	10.2		
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Human Development					8.63	25.90
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Life Expectancy (Years)	8.7	1.0	1.0	10.7		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	8.0	-1.0	1.0	8.0		
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	8.0	1.0	1.0	10.0		
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	8.0	-1.0	2.0	9.0		
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	7.0	-1.0	0.0	6.0		
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	..	..	..	..
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	7.0	1.0	0.0	8.0		
Environmental Stress					5.33	26.67
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	6.0	single measure	single measure	6.0		
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	7.0	1.0	0.0	8.0		
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	2.0	single measure	single measure	2.0		
International Linkages					6.60	33.00
Economic Organizations Index	6.0	single measure	single measure	6.0		
Military/Security Alliances Index	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
UN Organizations Index	5.5	single measure	single measure	5.5		
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
International Disputes (# of)	6.5	-1.0	0.0	5.5		
Unweighted Sum					69.30	
Unweighted Average					7.70	
Total Weighted Sum						373.83
Risk Index (Weighted Average)						7.79

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Kenya	Global Rank Score	Trend Score	Volatility Score	Sum	Avg.	Weighted Avg.
History of Armed Conflict					3.40	27.20
Armed Conflicts	1.0	..	..	1.0		
# of Refugees Produced	1.2	0.0	1.0	2.2		
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	8.0	-1.0	0.0	7.0		
Governance and Political Instability					8.36	41.80
Level of Democracy	7.2	0.0	0.0	7.2		
Regime Durability	7.4	0.0	2.0	9.4		
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	8.2	-1.0	0.0	7.2		
Restrictions on Press Freedom	7.0	1.0	1.0	9.0		
Level of Corruption	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Militarization					3.52	17.60
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	3.4	1.0	1.0	5.4		
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	4.4	0.0	1.0	5.4		
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons	2.8	0.0	2.0	4.8		
Total Armed Forces	3.0	-1.0	0.0	2.0		
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	1.0	-1.0	0.0	0.0		
Population Heterogeneity					8.33	33.33
Ethnic Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Religious Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Demographic Stress					6.00	30.00
Total Population	8.0	exception	exception	8.0		
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	7.2	-1.0	0.0	6.2		
Population Density (people per sq km)	4.0	exception	exception	4.0		
Urban Population (% of Total)	2.0	exception	exception	2.0		
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	8.8	-1.0	0.0	7.8		
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	8.0	-1.0	1.0	8.0		
Economic Performance					7.04	56.36
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	6.2	-1.0	0.0	5.2		
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	8.0	-1.0	1.0	8.0		
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	4.4	-1.0	2.0	5.4		
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	6.0	1.0	0.0	7.0		
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	8	0.0	2.0	10.0		
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	7.4	-1.0	1.0	7.4		
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	6.0	1.0	2.0	9.0		
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	5.4	-1.0	0.0	4.4		
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Human Development					8.14	24.42
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	4.0	single measure	single measure	4.0		
Life Expectancy (Years)	8.0	1.0	1.0	10.0		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	7.7	1.0	1.0	9.7		
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	8.0	0.0	0.0	8.0		
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	5.0	-1.0	0.0	4.0		
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	7.0	0.0	1.0	8.0		
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	8.7	1.0	0.0	9.7		
Environmental Stress					7.67	38.33
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	6.0	single measure	single measure	6.0		
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	7.0	1.0	0.0	8.0		
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
International Linkages					5.50	27.50
Economic Organizations Index	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Military/Security Alliances Index	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
UN Organizations Index	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
International Disputes (# of)	4.5	0.0	0.0	4.5		
Unweighted Sum					57.96	
Unweighted Average					6.44	
Total Weighted Sum						296.54
Risk Index (Weighted Average)						6.18

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Rwanda	Global Rank Score	Trend Score	Volatility Score	Sum	Avg.	Weighted Avg.
History of Armed Conflict					6.77	54.13
Armed Conflicts	5.7	1.0	2.0	8.7		
# of Refugees Produced	2.2	0.0	0.0	2.2		
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	8.4	-1.0	2.0	9.4		
Governance and Political Instability					8.85	44.25
Level of Democracy	7.8	0.0	0.0	7.8		
Regime Durability	7.6	1.0	2.0	10.6		
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	9.0	0.0	0.0	9.0		
Restrictions on Press Freedom	8.0	0.0	0.0	8.0		
Level of Corruption	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Militarization					6.68	33.40
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	2.6	-1.0	2.0	3.6		
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	8.0	-1.0	1.0	8.0		
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons	3.8	1.0	2.0	6.8		
Total Armed Forces	4.3	1.0	2.0	7.3		
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	4.7	1.0	2.0	7.7		
Population Heterogeneity					5.67	22.67
Ethnic Diversity	4.0	single measure	single measure	4.0		
Religious Diversity	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	6.0	single measure	single measure	6.0		
Demographic Stress					7.17	35.83
Total Population	5.0	exception	exception	5.0		
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	8.4	-1.0	2.0	9.4		
Population Density (people per sq km)	9.0	exception	exception	9.0		
Urban Population (% of Total)	1.0	exception	exception	1.0		
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	8.0	0.0	2.0	10.0		
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	8.6	-1.0	1.0	8.6		
Economic Performance					6.83	54.67
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	1.0	1.0	2.0	4.0		
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	9.0	-1.0	2.0	10.0		
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	4.5	-1.0	2.0	5.5		
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	7.0	1.0	1.0	9.0		
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	8	0.0	1.0	9.0		
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6		
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	8.4	-1.0	2.0	9.4		
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	2.0	single measure	single measure	2.0		
Human Development					8.78	26.33
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Life Expectancy (Years)	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	9.0	-1.0	0.0	8.0		
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	9.0	-1.0	1.0	9.0		
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	..	..	..	..
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	7.0	-1.0	1.0	7.0		
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	9.0	-1.0	1.0	9.0		
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	9.0	-1.0	0.0	8.0		
Environmental Stress					9.67	48.33
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	8.0	1.0	2.0	11.0		
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
International Linkages					7.10	35.50
Economic Organizations Index	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Military/Security Alliances Index	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
UN Organizations Index	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
International Disputes (# of)	4.5	0.0	0.0	4.5		
Unweighted Sum					67.51	
Unweighted Average					7.50	
Total Weighted Sum						355.12
Risk Index (Weighted Average)						7.40

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Tanzania	Global Rank Score	Trend Score	Volatility Score	Sum	Avg.	Weighted Avg.
History of Armed Conflict					4.73	37.87
Armed Conflicts	1.0	..	..	1.0		
# of Refugees Produced	1.2	0.0	1.0	2.2		
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	9.0	1.0	1.0	11.0		
Governance and Political Instability					7.44	37.20
Level of Democracy	5.8	0.0	0.0	5.8		
Regime Durability	8.0	1.0	2.0	11.0		
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	6.4	-1.0	0.0	5.4		
Restrictions on Press Freedom	5.0	0.0	1.0	6.0		
Level of Corruption	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Militarization					4.38	21.88
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	2.8	1.0	0.0	3.8		
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	3.0	1.0	1.0	5.0		
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons	..	..	..	..
Total Armed Forces	5.7	0.0	0.0	5.7		
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.0		
Population Heterogeneity					9.00	36.00
Ethnic Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Religious Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	..	single measure	single measure	..		
Demographic Stress					6.07	30.33
Total Population	8.0	exception	exception	8.0		
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	7.6	-1.0	0.0	6.6		
Population Density (people per sq km)	3.0	exception	exception	3.0		
Urban Population (% of Total)	3.0	exception	exception	3.0		
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	9.0	-1.0	0.0	8.0		
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	8.8	-1.0	0.0	7.8		
Economic Performance					6.93	55.47
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	5.4	-1.0	1.0	5.4		
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	9.0	-1.0	0.0	8.0		
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	7.6	-1.0	2.0	8.6		
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	8.0	1.0	0.0	9.0		
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	4	0.0	0.0	4.0		
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	4.4	-1.0	2.0	5.4		
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	7.2	1.0	2.0	10.2		
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	7.8	-1.0	0.0	6.8		
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	5.0	single measure	single measure	5.0		
Human Development					8.35	25.05
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
Life Expectancy (Years)	9.0	1.0	2.0	12.0		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	7.7	1.0	2.0	10.7		
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	9.0	-1.0	1.0	9.0		
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	8.8	-1.0	2.0	9.8		
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	6.0	-1.0	0.0	5.0		
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	9.0	0.0	1.0	10.0		
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	8.0	-1.0	0.0	7.0		
Environmental Stress					6.67	33.33
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	5.0	single measure	single measure	5.0		
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	7.0	1.0	0.0	8.0		
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
International Linkages					5.50	27.50
Economic Organizations Index	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Military/Security Alliances Index	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
UN Organizations Index	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
International Disputes (# of)	4.5	0.0	0.0	4.5		
Unweighted Sum					59.07	
Unweighted Average					6.56	
Total Weighted Sum						304.63
Risk Index (Weighted Average)						6.35

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Uganda	Global Rank Score	Trend Score	Volatility Score	Sum	Avg.	Weighted Avg.
History of Armed Conflict					7.63	61.07
Armed Conflicts	6.3	1.0	2.0	9.3		
# of Refugees Produced	3.6	-1.0	2.0	4.6		
# of Refugees Hosted, IDPs, Others of Concern	8.0	-1.0	2.0	9.0		
Governance and Political Instability					6.80	34.00
Level of Democracy	7.0	0.0	0.0	7.0		
Regime Durability	6.8	0.0	0.0	6.8		
Restrictions on Civil and Political Rights	6.6	1.0	0.0	7.6		
Restrictions on Press Freedom	4.6	0.0	0.0	4.6		
Level of Corruption	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Militarization					5.32	26.60
Military Expenditure (Constant 1998 US\$ millions)	3.0	1.0	1.0	5.0		
Total Military Expenditure (% of GDP, Constant 1998 US\$)	5.0	0.0	1.0	6.0		
Imports of Maj. Conv. Weapons	3.6	1.0	1.0	5.6		
Total Armed Forces	4.0	1.0	1.0	6.0		
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	2.0	1.0	1.0	4.0		
Population Heterogeneity					7.33	29.33
Ethnic Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Religious Diversity	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion (Single Measure)	4.0	single measure	single measure	4.0		
Demographic Stress					7.37	36.83
Total Population	7.0	exception	exception	7.0		
Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	8.4	-1.0	0.0	7.4		
Population Density (people per sq km)	7.0	exception	exception	7.0		
Urban Population (% of Total)	1.0	exception	exception	1.0		
Urban Population Growth Rate (Annual %)	8.8	0.0	1.0	9.8		
Youth Bulge (Pop. Aged 0-14 as a % of Total)	9.0	1.0	2.0	12.0		
Economic Performance					6.31	50.49
GDP Growth Rate (Annual %)	1.8	1.0	1.0	3.8		
GDP Per Capita (PPP, Current International \$)	8.0	-1.0	0.0	7.0		
Inflation [Consumer prices (annual %)]	4.6	-1.0	2.0	5.6		
Official exchange rate (LCU/US\$, period avg.)	8.8	1.0	0.0	9.8		
FDI [Net inflows (% of GDP)]	4	1.0	1.0	6.0		
Total Debt Service (% of GNP)	3.6	0.0	0.0	3.6		
Trade Openness (Trade as a % of GDP)	9.0	0.0	1.0	10.0		
Dependence on Foreign Aid (Aid as % of GNI)	7.0	-1.0	0.0	6.0		
Inequality Score (GINI Coefficient)	5.0	single measure	single measure	5.0		
Human Development					7.56	22.67
Access to Improved Water Source (% Tot. Pop.)	8.0	single measure	single measure	8.0		
Access to Sanitation (% Tot. Pop.)	5.0	single measure	single measure	5.0		
Life Expectancy (Years)	9.0	-1.0	1.0	9.0		
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	8.0	-1.0	0.0	7.0		
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
HIV/AIDS (% of Adult Population)	9.0	-1.0	1.0	9.0		
Primary School Enroll (% Relevant Age Group)	..	..	..	..
Illiteracy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	7.0	-1.0	0.0	6.0		
Health expenditure per capita, PPP (current international \$)	8.0	-1.0	0.0	7.0		
Child Labour (% Children aged 10-14)	9.0	-1.0	0.0	8.0		
Environmental Stress					7.00	35.00
Rate of Deforestation (Percent)	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
People per Sq. Km. of Arable Land	5.0	1.0	0.0	6.0		
Freshwater Resources (cubic meters per capita)	6.0	single measure	single measure	6.0		
International Linkages					5.50	27.50
Economic Organizations Index	7.0	single measure	single measure	7.0		
Military/Security Alliances Index	9.0	single measure	single measure	9.0		
UN Organizations Index	4.0	single measure	single measure	4.0		
Multipurpose and Miscellaneous Orgs. Index	3.0	single measure	single measure	3.0		
International Disputes (# of)	4.5	0.0	0.0	4.5		
Unweighted Sum					60.82	
Unweighted Average					6.76	
Total Weighted Sum						323.49
Risk Index (Weighted Average)						6.74

