

ANOMIE AND DEVIANCE OF CIVILIANS IN ARMED CONFLICT IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE: THE CASE OF YOUNG VOLUNTEERS DURING THE POST-ELECTION CRISIS IN ABIDJAN

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Abstract

The post-election crisis in Côte d'Ivoire ended with a civil war in which many and active young volunteers took part. The anomic context created by this conflict and the motivations of young people based on the desire of social rang and a quick materiel gain brought about more crime against properties. These deviations have not only caused many victims but they have also degraded social cohesion and have socially relegated these volunteers. To consolidate social peace and make their demobilisation and social integration successful, the authorities and partners concerned, must take into account all the ex-combatants by focusing on their motivations, enrollment and personalities.

Keywords: Armed conflict, young volunteers, anomie, deviance, motivation, demobilisation, social reintegration

Résumé

La crise postélectorale en Côte d'Ivoire s'est achevée par une guerre civile qui a vu l'implication massive et active des jeunes volontaires. Le contexte anémique crée par ce conflit et les motivations des jeunes fondées sur le désir de positionnement social et sur l'acquisition de bien matériel immédiats, ont engendré une surcriminalité contre les biens et les propriétés. Ces déviations ont non seulement favorisé une victimisation collective mais aussi elles ont dégradé la cohésion sociale et relégué socialement ces combattants volontaires. Afin de consolider la paix sociale et de réussir le processus de démobilisation et l'intégration sociale de ces jeunes, les autorités et les partenaires impliqués, doivent prendre en compte tous ex-combattants, tout en mettant l'accent sur les motivations de leur enrôlement et sur leurs personnalités propres.

Mots-clés: Conflit armé, jeunes volontaires, anomie, déviance, motivation, démobilisation et réinsertion sociale

Rezumat

Criza post-electorală din Coasta de fildeș s-a încheiat printr-un război civil care a necesitat implicarea masivă și activă a tinerilor voluntari. Contextul anomic creat de conflict și motivațiile tinerilor bazate pe dorința de poziționare socială și achiziționarea imediată de bunuri de consum a generat o supra -criminalitate îndreptată împotriva proprietății. Aceste abateri nu au cauzat doar multe victime ci au degradat coeziunea socială și au retrogradat social pe tinerii luptători voluntari. Pentru a consolida pacea socială, demobilizarea și integrarea socială a tinerilor, autoritățile și partenerii implicați trebuie să ia în considerare pe toți foștii combatanți, concentrându-se asupra motivațiilor și a personalității celor care s-au implicat voluntar.

Cuvinte cheie: conflict armat, tinerii voluntari, anomie, devianță, motivație, demobilizare, reintegrarea socială

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1. The issues of anomie and deviance in armed conflict

Côte d'Ivoire has experienced a decade of political crisis punctuated by violent conflicts and the commitment of young volunteers¹ especially at the last stage which is the post-election crisis. Their active participation in the use of weapons brought about a difficult return to civilian life. The practice of war has created a habit of transgression, adaptation and subsistence crime among young people. Drug use, looting or theft, rape and murder were commonplace during that conflict. The socio-professional status of those former fighters that seems to worry the authorities is far less important than the psychosocial or moral future.

In that sense the young people involved faced a field of war without standards. The practice of war was in an anomic and deviant. Therefore, we used these two concepts by basing ourselves on the vision of Merton. The Deviance approach of Merton (1957) boils down to the fact that normality is a situation in which socially valued goals are being achieved through the use of legitimate means provided for this purpose. The gap between these two elements of the social structure can create a voltage; can appear an anomic state, for example a lack of standards challenging social cohesion. Merton for individuals who do not have legitimate means to achieve this goal has two options: 1) give up achieving the goal, 2) use illegitimate means to achieve this; they then enter a deviant behaviour. Merton identifies five types of individual behaviour: the first is the conformist behaviour which applies to individuals who are not deviant; others correspond to forms of deviance: innovation, ritualism, escape and rebellion (Cusson, 1999).

1.1. Anomie and deviance during war

Etymologically, anomie refers to the lack or weakening of social norms. The original definition from Durkheim (1991) is insufficient, as this concept has been discussed and operationalised by researchers, theories and schools. The theory of Durkheim is limited because it does not include individual and psychosocial factors. Anomie is a concept that reflects a disruption of relations between the individual and society. Conflict generates the factors of anomie which are crises, breakages, tensions and social changes. These factors show that anomie is a determinism concept explaining changes in a particular context. It therefore has an objective or sociological direction and a psychological declination so it is subjectivist (Aillet, Le Queau, Olm, 2000).

Anomie unlike deviance reflects the existence of a fixed reality that crystallizes a situation of abnormal appearance. Deviance refers to a set of behavioural

¹ Are called young volunteers or partners, civilian fighters who joined the military groups (FSD against Gbagbo), the new force (FN of Guillaume Soro) and self-defense groups (for-Ouattara) to fight the forces for – Gbagbo, after elections contentious and political violence. They eventually became associated with fighting FRCI forces (Republican Forces of Côte d'Ivoire).

deviation from social norms commonly accepted. These norms may be legal, cultural and social or accepted by a particular group. This definition establishes the principle of the relativity of deviance² (Cusson, 1992). Deviance emphasizes the behavioural dynamics of social actors involved in a particular context. Deviances in conflict can be analyzed as well, according to the logic of the actors involved, as the paradigm actionist also like interactionist theories.

1.2. Deviations of armed conflict and war crime

What is war crime? War is governed by a set of rules and conventions, which are grouped together under the law of The Hague and Geneva Conventions, constituting what is called the International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The violation of these rights and conventions is war crime. These crimes are derived primarily from the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and their Additional Protocols I and II of 1977 and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. Their most recent codification is the Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC)³ in 1998 (23). The principle of these rules is that if war is inevitable, it must be done within a legal framework changing the conduct of hostilities. War crime consists of these major offenses that are war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Each offense is a set of actions which are different. Regarding war crimes, they include acts committed against people and property protected by the Geneva Conventions which is wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments; wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out on a large-scale unlawfully and wantonly; compelling a prisoner of war or another protected person to serve in the forces of a hostile power; intentionally deprive a prisoner of war or other protected person of the right to fair and regular trial; deportations, detentions and illegal transfers; decision hostages takings. As well a crime against humanity is defined as “one of the following acts committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack.” Among these actions, let us retain murder; extermination; enslavement, deportation, torture, rape, sexual slavery, persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity for political, racial, national, ethnical, cultural, and religious or gender reason. Crime against humanity is imprescriptibly and can be committed during war or in time of peace. As for the crime of genocide, it is defined in the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948, as “one of the following acts committed with the intention of

² The principle of the relativity of deviance has been discussed and the most important thing is the contribution of Maurice Cusson (1992), see art. Deviance. in Boudon R. (1992). *Treaty of Sociology*, Chapter 10, pp. 389-422. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991 1st edition.

³ http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/99_corr/cstatute.htm

destroying, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as: killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life to bring about its physical destruction either entirely or partially; measures intended to prevent births within the group; the obligation of transferring the children of the group to another (Feldman, 2003).

However, war crime remains deeply rooted in the rut of legal theories. This does not help understand the qualitative and psychosocial aspects during war (Tanner, 2010). Indeed, codified steadily since the world wars (I^o and II^o) these rules are unsatisfying with each new conflict. An epistemological renewal tends to study the behaviour of protagonists operating in war, in a social framework that exerts forces and constraints on them. This approach would be in an alternative paradigm, different from law, based on the work of Becker's deviance (Tanner, 2010). In this new orientation, deviations during war are located at the intersection of individual spheres (actionist), organisational and structural interactions that characterise the relations between these spheres. Aspects of war deviations are more significant than on the field of war crime. It takes into account the psychosocial aspects of conflict. Research about war deviation emancipate in the legal qualification and analysis in the anomic context of conflict.

1.3. Problem and study questions

After the famous speech of La Baule⁴, the advent of multiparty and democracy generated a lot of hope in Africa. This hope for freedom was accompanied by a passion of the African youth for politics, public management and business administration. This enthusiasm is crystallized with the worsening economic crisis in many African countries, under the weight of debt and structural adjustment plans. Different regimes in crisis quickly became rather wary of this change, establishing a "participative" democracy but in reality exclusive "banana". This was the case in Cote d'Ivoire with Houphouet Boigny, with Mobutu Sese in Congo, Omar Bongo in Gabon and with many other regimes. The challenge is to stay in power without the prospect of alternation and establishing a clientelist and political alignment of the youth, while brandishing the threat or foreign conspiracy to destabilize. In this context, all internal opposition and inclination to change the system are strongly suppressed, giving rise to a legitimate political violence. Youth are contributions made by political leaders of all stripes (ruling and opposition parties) in this struggle for the control of the system. Then they become potential actors of this political violence, but also victims, because they belonged to the opposition. When political violence continues, it turns into a crisis and conflict

⁴ The "La Baule speech" was delivered by the President of the French Republic, François Mitterrand, June 20, 1990, within the framework of the 16th Conference of Heads of State of Africa and France, which took place in the French town La Baule

especially when the army is no more republican. However, political violence and armed conflict settling permanently, the institutions of social control weaken or even disappear. The youth suffer strongly for their commitment; they are potential victims of the conflict. Therefore, young people who were, considered as the hope of the future, become the weapons of war: all the characteristics of the social anomie are beginning.

In the criminological tradition, anomie and deviance are two interdependent situations. Armed conflict leads to anomie and deviance. They may be caused by the practical requirements of the conflict or the protagonists involved in the conflict. In addition, when war is over, they are supported in rehabilitation programs and community reintegration, which are not all successful. The situation of these young people who live precariously and in marginality without political experience, raise the following questions:

- What can explain the massive involvement of young civilian volunteers in armed conflicts?
- What are the drawbacks of the keen interest of the young people for political and armed conflicts ensuing?
- What are the impacts of this commitment on the evolution of deviance and on the behavior of these people?
- Why social rehabilitation policy, focused on the fact taking into account their ability or criminal or dangerousness, is effective and saving?

2. The method of collecting and processing data

Our study was conducted in Abidjan from January to March 2012, after the end of the conflict, logically because this is where the post-election crisis reached its climax with the armed confrontation in Yopougon and Abobo. After the war, in the context of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, collection centres have been opened in several areas of Abidjan. We got in touch with most of the young fighters in demobilization camps and some wanted to be interviewed in their families in order to be at ease. We produce a questionnaire for the young fighters and an interview guide for the army officers involved in the DDR program (disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration). In the questionnaire, the survey aimed to understand:

- The Past and motivations of ex-fighters;
- The military life and the difficulties during the conflict;
- The perspectives after the war, the social integration of the ex-combatants.

As for the interview guide, it aimed at analyzing the deviances and the problems of the ex-combatants reintegration.

The sample of this study being the young ex-combatants, we were able to investigate about 128 young people (out of a total of profiles) in four (4) camps, two in Yopougon (66 fighters, 51.56%) and two in Abobo at PK 18 km (62

fighters; 48.44%) . We opted for the technique of rational choice based on a number of criteria that are: living in Abidjan before the conflict, being a civilian committed, having actually taken part in the hostilities and belonging to a fighting unit. The respect of these criteria allowed us to produce a representative, qualitative and quantitative sample. As for the sample of interview guide, it permitted to check some information and contradictions raised by young people and the public about the deviance and the strategies supported. We interviewed approximately 20 people, it remains essentially qualitative. Totally, we have investigated 148 people in Abidjan. The data were processed with the software Sphinx plus and we made a quantitative, qualitative and comparative analysis.

3. Results

3.1. Psychosocial characteristics of ex-combatants

Table 1: Data psychosocial of ex-combattants N = 128

- fighters Ages	[19 à 22 years]	[23 à 26 years]	[27 à 30 years]	[31 years and over]	
n / %	15 ; 11.71%	28 ; 21.87%	20 ; 15.62%	70 ; 54.68%	
Place of fighting	Abobo		Yopougon		Other areas
n / %	50 ; 39%		45 ; 35.15%		33 ; 25.78
Types of sociability	With parents	family cohabitation	alone / independent	with a friend	on the street
n /%	63 49.21%	21 16.40%	23 17.96%	15 ; 11.71%	6 ; 4.68%
Socio professional status and job	Emploi/trade	Student	Graduate student unemployed	without qualification, Unemployed	Koranic education, unemployed
N %	36 ; 28.12%	18 ; 14.08%	16 ; 12.5%	42 ; 32.81%	15 ; 11.71%

3.1.1. Young volunteers, associates, auxiliaries, rebels, mercenaries, militias or patriots: a multiple identity and the blurred involved?

The profiling of the ex-combatants by the authorities has helped draw up a list of 40 000 young people. All these young people did not have the same types of identity attributions during and after the conflict, depending on their camps. The only and true identity is their common past of civilian and youth in relation with the national army in a situation that reflected ruin, breakage, decay or rottenness,

they belonged to the young volunteers of both belligerent clans. Determining the social representation was made through the channel of the legitimacy and legality of the camps. Legitimacy and legality taking their source as the conflict itself from the results of presidential elections and the end of the war (winner /loser status). Thus, when a fighter is a partisan of the winning camp, he is officially and socially valued. He is called Young volunteer, young associate or young auxiliary. When he is a partisan of the vanquished camp and illegitimacy, the adjectives used are rebel, mercenary, militiaman or patriot. He is strongly labelled, stigmatized and officially devalued. However, some clarifications and nuances need to be made to these classifications on the status of mercenaries and militiamen.

It is important to know that a militiaman belongs to a militia trained for war; his commitment is not spontaneous and far from disinterested. It is the same for the mercenary, who is a professional of war, making a profit with an international status and a foreign fighter invited to the conflict.

The post-election conflict in Cote d'Ivoire was so rich and composed of various protagonists that made complex its management. These young ex-combatants have mostly involved depending on their place of residence.

3.1.2. Resident area and hostility: Logic of recruitment and local involvement

As stated in the methodology, sampling part, the ex-combatants are from two large suburbs of Abidjan Yopougon and Abobo. In Table 1, we notice that the young ex-combatants mostly fought in their place of residence, only about 26% fought outside residential areas. The lessons of this relationship between residence and place of belligerence shows that the recruitment or commitment took place in the immediate vicinity or not, but according with their political opinions. And the commitment and participation were based on ideas of space defence of life and therefore the principles of territory protection and self security. A local involvement shows on the one hand, a commitment to the enemies' values of territorial defence, and on the other hand can be the result of a collective manipulation and ideas about the intentions hostility areas and the fighters' residences can learn about the factors of commitment, the individual himself and his position in society.

3.1.3. Ages, types of sociability and socioprofessional status of the ex-combatants: A position closer to the social margin

With over 70% of the ex-combatants aged over 27 years, more than 80% of them being in a situation social of dependence and family living 56% unemployed, 28% of casual workers and 14% of pupils and students, we can notify that they were in a pre excluded state before the conflict in a society of socioeconomic crisis for over 20 years. In fact, in terms of age, there is a large delay in being in working life and long-term exposure in the status of unemployed, meaning social exclusion. With more than 56% over 31 years, reflects a commitment of precarious social status and

a vision of a more worrying future. And this shows that the choice of the commitment is not a simple effect of circumstance but a chosen action establishing a constructive and integrative social relationship. It is the same form of sociability and socioprofessional status, with the representation of social dependent and extent of the unemployed. The more an individual is close to marginality, the more vulnerable he becomes and susceptible to marginality. However, examples of commitment to previous conflicts (2003-2004) have resulted in social integration, which can encourage and become factors of commitment and additional motivation.

3.2. The factors of commitment and motivation of enrolment

In social psychology, the difference between motivation and factor in the explanation of behaviour is that between interiority and externality. In other words, there are objective reasons which are the external factor; it represents the alibi which is socially advanced. While the motivation is psychological, it is the profound explanation of behaviour, the mobile and the focus of behaviour; it is subjective and often irrational. In table no. 2, we present the factors and young ex-combatants' motivations:

Table 2: Factors of motivation and commitment N = 128

Factor	politicians calls	Recruitment by third with proposal	insecurity and stress of the situation	forced enlistment
n	36	18	67	7
%	28.12%	14.06%	52.34%	5.46%
Motivations	Having a job	Finding money	Becoming military	Prestige of liberation
n	54	21	16	37
%	42.18%	16.40%	12.5%	28.90%

3.2.1. The factors of enrollment

The data analysis has helped identify four (4) factors. By order of magnitude and importance we live in insecurity and compelled to fight to withstand 52.34%, answer the politicians' call 28.12%, recruitment by a third party proposal with financial assistance 14.06% and forced recruitment by either a relative or a close soldier 5.46%. The first factor mentioned, forced to go to war because of insecurity a social questionable alibi. They argue that to say that given the insecurity and lack of vital resources, subsistence, going to war was the only possible way to survive. To them taking up arms would help them defend themselves against violence, protect their families and increase their resilience during that period. As for political appeals, they were initiated by the official channels of communication directly and indirectly. They were done as an invitation to resistance, the country's

liberation through slogans. They had a manipulative aim to defend the country against foreign enemies for some and for others to defend the ballot verdict and end the electoral holdup. These methods are not always effective, some people by direct or indirect contact made financial and material proposals for the youth, money or a job after the war, which seems to motivate about 14% of young volunteers. Finally, for 5% of them, mobilization began under the pressure of an individual often a soldier or a relative who is a political leader. They were invited to a military barracks, in a home with a provision of material resources. These factors presented are not isolated from each other and have interactions. We consider as main factor, the political appeal which legitimates civilians' commitment in the conflict. And in the vertical, there is insecurity, proposals and various constraints. However, the commitment was forged by the motivation of each young person.

3.2.2. The commitment motivations

The active participation of civilian in a violent military-political conflict, violent with the use of heavy weapons is a decision that cannot be limited to exogenous factors. Personal motivation plays a big role. Motivation is primarily the starting point of any behaviour or activity; it corresponds to a change of the living organism that is in motion. It is a psychological determinant factor because it will predispose the individual to perform certain actions. This mobilization towards restoring balance or satisfaction of need will require in all cases a search for information (Reuchlin, 1993). Research has raised four types of motivations. In order of importance, we have (1) 42.18% to have a job, (2) the prestige of liberation 28.90%, (3) for money 16.40% and (4) 12.50% to become soldier.

A first analysis shows that these motivations are based on material needs even with the prestige of liberator. Their expectation is based on the rewards after the conflict, because as liberators privileges and dividends will be granted or earned.

Another is that their motivations are related to psychosocial status of young volunteers. In fact, closer to person in social difficulties, these young people have a moment thought that winning the war could lead to a change social with promises of their recruiters. This doubly favoured enrolment decisions; warrior commitment and moral rearmament face the difficulties of the war. With incentives based on the acquisition of equipment or status change, how could these young people resist the temptation of illegal properties? Their reasons of commitment they are not favourable to deviant behaviour, in a context of ambient and anomic disorder?

3.3. The factors of anomie and deviance during war

3.3.1. The factors of anomie during the war in Abidjan

Anomie as mentioned above is the absence or weakening of norms, which lose their meaning and value of regulating behaviour. The general context of our study

remains war; it thus appears as the first factor of anomie. However, in this absolute generality of institutional causes, human and political causes have played a key role in this deregulation of control and social balance.

3.3.1.1. Political and institutional reasons: bicephalous governance

The post-election crisis has created a crisis of political institution legitimacy. There is a duality of governance and institutions. In fact, the situation presented a country with two presidents, two governments, two official channels of communication and the two armies, and so all the ingredients of an institutional anomie were present. This duality resulted in a lack of state even if the election results indicated the camp of legitimacy and automatically recognized as the legal regime by the international community. The headquarters of decisions and commands were paralyzed and weakened by that bicephalism. That brought more and more disorders and instils fear and doubt in people's minds.

Another reason that favoured political anomie was the youth appeal for their resistance or defence of the homeland. These invitations were marked by bellicose alignment speeches and participation in the conflict. They were a major cause of legitimizing the involvement of young people to the conflict with the distribution of weapons. This descent into a civilian conflict worsened social erosion implicit causes leading to war. To this end, more than half the population of the city of Abidjan and suburbs left and changed their living places, usually by taking refuge in the north, the centres and the east of the country. These areas were deemed more secure than the south and the west with the concentrations of the power and militiamen.

3.3.1.2. The inherent causes of conflict: Civil War deep rootedness of anomie

The massive involvement of young people in the war changed the intra armed conflict into a civilian military-political war. Divisions in the army, regular soldiers and the Liberian mercenaries association, militiamen, self-defence groups and young volunteers was a combination that reflects the complexity of the battle and the disruption of the practice of war. It was conducive to organizational anomie that it resulted in a disruption of commandments, to the multiplicity of fighting groups and commanders. It resulted in:

- Inadequate communication on the ground and the military command;
- The indiscipline and tolerance of violations of laws of war and human rights;
- The non-mastery of the numbers of the fighters;
- Battlefield fragmentation with the creation of anarchic barrages;
- Logistical disorganisation on the ground;
- The difficulties of food and material distribution
- The vulnerability of young fighters.

Thus, the majority of young fighters are left to their own devices, without help or support. This resulted in anomic forms on the ground. Table No. 3 below shows the forms of adaptation and refunding mode on the battlefield:

Table 3: Forms of accommodation types and refunding on the field of war N = 128

Forms of adaptation on the ground			
forms	Solidarity and sharing between fighters	war booty / racketeering	Flight / Theft / looting/ Holdup
n	54	35	39
%	42.18%	27.34%	30.46%
types of refunding during the war			
Nature	regular endowment	Chancy Snack	fend for yourself
n	24	65	41
%	18.75%	50.78%	32.03%

Reading this table shows us how refunding was done during the war. Over 80% of young volunteers did not benefit from food assistance, so that was the fending for oneself policy 32% or solidarity among fighters 42%. These occurrences of anomie during the conflict have created a social anomic adaptation in the fighters and a mechanical behaviour of deviant adaptation.

Battlefield appears therefore like a field of anomie where war regulations and social norms are disrupted in favour of war principles and the survival of the fighters. It leads to social disorganization by anomic adaptation behaviours and extant of transgression and deviance.

3.3.2. The occurrences of deviances

Table No. 3 above shows us some of war deviations about crimes against property and people. To solve the problems of food shortages and snacks on the ground, the fighters proceeded by theft of food with destruction of food stores and depots. It caused systematic lootings, all out thefts and cambriolages. Thefts, robberies, car thefts and offenses against property were the most recorded of the populations' complaints. They were certainly committed by combatants and non-combatants, but they were classical crime actions, because some forms were far from being the preoccupations of the war that are adaptation and survival. In table no. 4, the same trends in the predominance of crimes against property but also appear serious offences to physical integrity were committed:

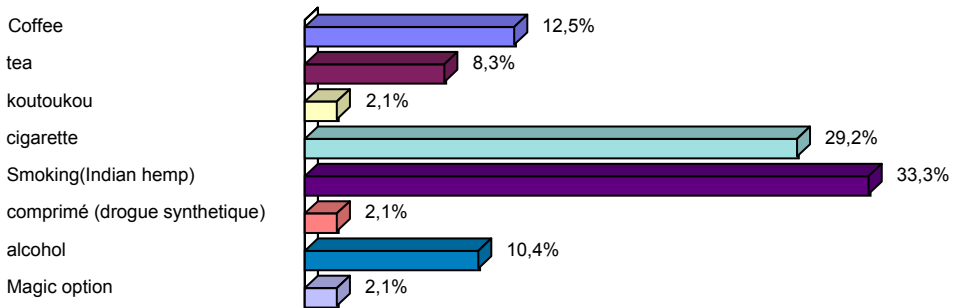
Table 4: Young's voluntary control of deviance

Types of deviance	n	%
Theft	30	23.43%
Burglary / looting	35	27.34%
Cambriolage	26	20.3%
Murder / assassination	25	19.53%
Rape	12	09.37%

Concerning offenses or human rights violations, there were several types of events, there are forms of gender-based violence and we have essentially rape. It is difficult in an opinion survey of this kind where the protagonists themselves are a part of most respondents to judge the form, the methods and extent of the phenomenon, but all gender violence based assessment reports shows an increase during the post-election crisis in Cote d'Ivoire (IRC 2011 and save the Children 2012). Moreover, with physical integrity offences, are prevailed by kidnappings and assassinations with the arrests and put to death by fire burns. In the Ivorian jargon, this practice is known under the term of Article 125, which means buying oil at 100 f and matchbox 25 f for burning the victim alive. These common practices during the conflict were practiced by combatants under the influence of psychotropic and slanderous denunciations with racial and xenophobic relents.

Finally, another aspect of this deviation was the use and abuse of psychotropic and stimulant and mystical substances as weapon stimulants. They had a negative impact on deviant behaviours. Among the drugs, as shown in Chart 1, Indian hemp or cannabis were the most used followed by black coffee mixed with synthetic drug. We also find adulterated drinks and alcohol. Concerning magic potions, their use meets the needs of protection against weapons; they have a psychological effect of encouragement and stubbornness face to danger. More criminogen than drugs, they give a feeling and a sense of invulnerability during war.

Fig. 1: Consumption of psychoactive and mystical



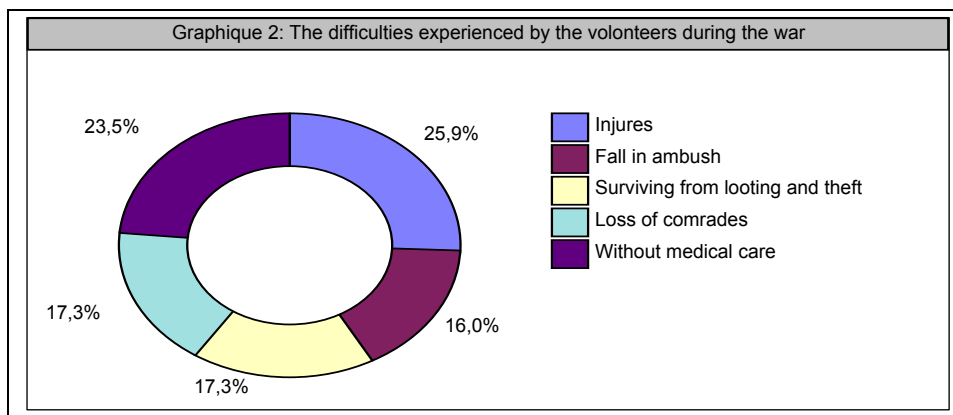
Drug use and mystical substance appears as an indicative factor of the high vulnerability of combatants. Most of them have resorted to these substances to relieve the stress and difficulties of the war because often left to their own devices. This is a deviation which consequences are experienced by the individual personally and felt by society, but as consumers, they are the biggest victims. This leads us to explore the impact of this anomic deviance on them and society.

3.4. The consequences of civic commitment and deviations of war

3.4.1. The consequences for the former fighters

The experience of the war has had a physical and psychological impact, led to changes in social relations of the combatants. The difficulties of war experienced in graphic 2, tell us more about the physical and psychological impact of their involvement.

Fig. 2: The difficulties experienced by the volunteers during the war



Graphic 2 show that more than 25% of them were injured and almost 23% fought without medical care. They were compelled to loot to survive 17%, loss of comrades and ambushes for more than 30%. These difficulties experienced have had an impact on these volunteers. These effects are of psychological, psychosomatic and relational nature. Table 5 shows us the state of social relations between young volunteers and their immediate living environment.

Table 5: Nature of collaboration with friends and future perspective of the ex-combatants N=128

Nature of the relationship	Good collaboration / Acceptance	Indifference / distrust	Bad cohabitation / rejection	Stigmatized / label of deviant
n	33	17	43	33
%	25.78%	13.28%	33.59%	25.78%
Future perspective	Positive/ confidence in the future		Négative/ no perspective	
n	56		72	
%	43.75%		56.25%	

We can say that about 70% of these young people have social integration problems with a social negative image around them. Only 25.78% think they have a good

cooperation and valued integration after their commitment. Apart from the aspects of rejection and distrust, it is the stigma with social identity and potential deviant which is a concern. Volunteers actually do not have a good image among the population. They are considered by some as liberators and other as oppressors, even deviant offenders. Indeed, they are given a social deviant image knowing that a demeaning social status of an individual is the beginning of a process of ostracism that can lead to an active adaptation of this behaviour (self-fulfilling prophecy; in Becker, 1985). It is important to highlight that whenever an individual is close to a derogatory status in a social stigma context; this hinders his social integration and adaptation and makes him vulnerable and susceptible social behaviour deviance (Bakayoko, 2009). Seeking social integration through participation and involvement in the war, young volunteers have difficulties and social ostracism given the psychosocial social evil effects of war and social consideration. This makes them secondary victimization of people in distress and social difficulties.

3.5. The issues of young volunteers' reintegration

3.5.1. Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration process

Developed, coded and implemented with the support of the United Nations system in countries in armed conflict, the DDR program plays a key in the stability of these countries. DDR is a delicate and synchronized process which steps are important. Disarmament is the collection, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives, small arms and heavy weapons of combatants and often the civilian populations (Report , ONUCI in newspaper *le Mandat*, may 2012). The development of programs helps ensure responsible management of these weapons is seen as an integral part of disarmament. As for the demobilization, the processes by which the armed forces present downsize or completely disperse in the broader context of the transition from war to peace. It involves the, grouping, the cantonment, the disarmament, the administration and the preparation for return to civilian life, veterans who receive various forms of compensation and assistance to facilitate their reintegration into society. Finally rehabilitation or reintegration is the stage at which assistance is provided to veterans in order to facilitate their social and economic reintegration and their families in civil society. This assistance may include compensation in cash or in kind as well as vocational training and income-generating activities (IGR).

However, since the end of armed confrontations in Abidjan and implementation of DDR, the program have difficulties that raise concerns of volunteers and the population as well and influence the future of these young people and social stability.

3.5.2. Measures to revitalize the social integration and consolidation of security

- Carry out a general and simultaneous grouping of all demobilized;
- Therapeutic Treatment to remove the trauma of war: general debriefing;
- Detoxification care of psychotropic substances;
- Accelerate and generalize the disarmament process;
- Psychosocial profiling exploratory analysis of personality and vetting
- Study of each project selected for inclusion or reintegration;
- Responding to a material part of the motivation to facilitate social reintegration;
- Strengthen the fight against the proliferation and use of weapons in Côte d'Ivoire and in the sub region;
- Strengthen and consolidate democracy and security throughout the territory.

4. Discussion and conclusion

The approach of the anomie and deviance of young people involved in armed conflict seems to be theoretically rich. It focuses on both theories that emphasise the social, institutional objective and the collective aspect of anomie on the one hand and on the other; it takes into account the psychosocial and interactional aspects of deviance. It is epistemologically at the centres of the criminological paradigms of social control. The conflict being the reason for the occurrence of anomie and deviance; it appears as an independent factor of them. The conflict itself should not be understood here in its ideological dimension as stipulated in the Marxist approach, but rather in its international assertion term as the realistic conflict as presented by Coser (1956). According to him, the conflict is a way to reach a high social rank, and to get power and resources, it is a conflict in which the parties aim at neutralizing, destroying or at eliminating each other (Barata, 1981). So the deviance of volunteers must be directed according to the vagaries of their commitment to a realistic conflict that involves a transgressive adaptation and achievement of the motivation based on material gain. Our approach to anomie and deviant behaviours of war joined the functionalist approach of Merton (1957); the active involvement of young people represents attempts to achieve goals set by the consumer society through means made by taboos by culture. For these volunteers whose social status is closer to marginality, war appears as a legitimate means sated for these vital and material motivations. In this context, deviance is a means of expression, a deviance of cultural adaptation in a realistic conflict.

We can also mention that the deviation is due to their inadequacy in the culture of war because volunteers recruited for the post-election conflict belonged to groups more or less disorganized with approximately and chaotic command and management. Therefore, they cannot be readily assimilated to a militia or a band

like⁵ other young armed paramilitary groups in Ivory Coast or elsewhere as in former Yugoslavia.

In addition, this study allowed us to understand the factors and motivations based on insecurity and the search for social positioning. The analysis of the nature of the deviations shows that they are dominated by an extent of crime against property (theft, looting and cambriolages). It highlighted the effects of social victimization (insecurity, social divisions, and institutional dysfunction) and disadvantages damage (psychological pathology weapons dependence, psychotropic drugs, crime, recidivism and ostracism) for the fighters themselves.

However, the policy of reintegration of the DDR process, the implementation is undermined by a proliferation of projects and instances of support for ex-combatants, without real coordination on the ground. That is why, through the proposed measures, we focus not only on the reorganization and consolidation of state structures, backed by the UN DDR but we also suggest the taking into account the motivations of ex-combatants, their psychosocial profiles before any action of reintegration.

Finally, to solve the problem of the civilians' participation in the armed conflict, we need the social integration more young people in difficulty. As the war is over with its anomies, the conflict is permanent, so the factors of socio-political activism appear and the risk of recruitment of the youth is almost on standby. It is this context that inspired our approach: that political violence crystallized social and moral energies of the most vulnerable people, predisposing them to mobilization, to recruitment and to the warrior and deviant deployment.

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