



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS (SALW) ON THE  
STATE OF SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION; A CASE STUDY  
OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY IN KENYA**

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**DECLARATION**

This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Gabriel Samia Lenengwezi.....Date.....

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Dr Martin Ouma.....Date.....

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicated this study to my family who believed in me and has always supported me in their own special way. Thank you and God bless you!

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I highly appreciate the contribution and support received from various individuals for the successful completion of this research Project. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Martin Ouma for his academic guidance and the value he added to my study. I acknowledge my family's encouragement and inspiration as well as the special support offered to me by friends in the academic journey.

## **ABSTRACT**

This research study aims at assessing the impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on the state of security in the Horn of African region, utilizing a case study criterion of Laikipia County. Through increased proliferation of SALW in this region, states have become insecure and seem to have lost their autonomy to non-state actors which by far seem to challenge state capacity to secure its nation. Consequently, millions of people have lost their lives through the utilization of these weapons. Global terrorism is executed through utilization of these weapons. This research endeavors to establish how such proliferation has challenged state of security in relation to the current intra-state ethnic violent conflict among pastoralist, horticulturalist, ranchers and private land owners in Laikipia County. To achieve this objective this research identified a gap in knowledge concerning factors which call for demand, supply and sustenance of SALW in the region. Specifically, the general objective is to establish the impact that their demand, supply and continual use has had on state security in Laikipia County. This research was guided by Conflict Resolution Theory to conceptualize the study. This research gathered data from both secondary and primary sources. Questionnaires and interview guide were administered to obtain primary data while literature review from varied sources was incorporated to procedure knowledge concerning this research. Both qualitative and quantitative data was analyzed through content analysis.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**DECLARATION**----- **ii**  
**DEDICATION**----- **iii**  
**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT** ----- **iv**  
**ABSTRACT**----- **v**  
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**----- **vi**  
**LIST OF TABLES**----- **x**  
**ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**----- **xii**  
**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**----- **1**  
1.1 Introduction----- 1  
1.2 Background To The Study ----- 1  
1.3 Statement of The Problem----- 5  
1.4 Research Objectives ----- 7  
1.4.1 General Objective ----- 7  
1.4.2 Specific Objectives----- 7  
1.5 Research Questions----- 7  
1.5.1 Specific Research Question ----- 7  
1.6 Justification Of The Study----- 8  
1.6.1 Academic Justification----- 8  
1.6.2 Policy Justification ----- 8  
1.7 Literature Review----- 9  
1.7.1 Introduction ----- 9  
1.7.2 Historical Proliferation Of Salw----- 9  
1.7.3 The Problem Of Salw In Kenya----- 11  
1.7.4 The Case Of Laikipia County----- 14  
1.8 Gaps In The Literature Review ----- 19  
1.9 Theoretical Framework ----- 19  
1.10 Research Methodology ----- 21  
1.10.1 Research Design ----- 21  
1.10.2 Case Study ----- 22  
1.10.3 Data Collection Methods ----- 22

1.10.4 Target Population -----	22
1.10.5 Sample Population -----	23
1.10.6 Sample Size Determination-----	23
1.10.7 Data Analysis And Presentation -----	25
1.10.8 Limitations -----	25
1.11 Chapter Outline-----	26
<b>CHAPTER TWO -----</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>THE HISTORY OF PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS (SALW) IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE TRENDS THEREIN -----</b>	<b>27</b>
2.0 Introduction-----	27
2.1 Proliferation Of Salw In The Horn Of Africa -----	27
2.2 Factors Driving The Demand And Supply Of Salw In The Horn Of Africa Region ----	31
2.3 Small Arms Trends In The Horn Of Africa-----	35
2.3.1 Gun Culture -----	37
2.3.2 Arms Trafficking In The Hinterland-----	38
2.3.3 Politicization Of Salw In The Horn Of Africa -----	40
2.4 Chapter Findings-----	41
<b>CHAPTER THREE -----</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>THE IMPACT OF SALW ON STATE SECURITY IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY -----</b>	<b>43</b>
3.0 Introduction-----	43
3.1 Economic Impact Of The Salw Proliferation -----	43
3.2 Social Impact Of Illicit Proliferation Of Salw -----	47
3.3 Increased Lawlessness And Impunity -----	51
3.4 Creation Of Security Dilemma And An Internal Arms Race-----	52
3.5 Internal Displacement Of Civilians (Homelessness) -----	53
3.6 Intensification Of Electoral Related Violence -----	53
3.7 Intensification Of Resource Fueled Conflict-----	54
3.8 Political Impacts Of Illicit Proliferation Of Salw -----	55
3.8.1 Disarmament Operations -----	56
3.8.2 Election-Related Skirmishes -----	59
3.8.3 Political Assassinations-----	61

3.8.4 General Impact Of Proliferation Of Salw In The Horn Of Africa Region -----	62
3.8.4.1 Upsurge In Insecurity Levels -----	62
3.8.4.2 Increased Cross Border Criminality -----	63
3.8.4.3 Erosion Of State Capacity To Govern -----	64
3.9 Chapter Summary-----	64
<b>CHAPTER FOUR -----</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>STRATEGIES AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR CONTROLLING</b>	
<b>ILLICIT PROLIFERATION OF SALW IN KENYA-----</b>	<b>66</b>
4.0 Introduction-----	66
4.1 Strategies For Controlling Proliferation Of Salw In Kenya -----	66
4.2 Disarmament Operations -----	67
4.3 Effective Stockpile Management-----	70
4.4 Border Control Initiatives -----	72
4.5 Awareness Creation -----	73
4.6 Normative Framework For Controlling Illicit Proliferation Of Salw -----	75
4.7 The Regional Center On Small Arms (Recsa)-----	77
4.8 The Kenya National Focal Point On Small Arms-----	77
4.9 Chapter Findings-----	80
<b>CHAPTER FIVE -----</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS -----</b>	<b>82</b>
5.0 Introduction-----	82
5.1 Summary Of The Findings -----	82
5.1.1 Proliferation History Of Salw In The Horn Of Africa And Trends -----	82
5.1.2 The Impact Of Salw On State Of Security In Laikipia County-----	83
5.1.3 The Relevant Strategies And Normative Framework For Controlling The Illicit Proliferation Of Small Arms And Light Weapons In Kenya -----	84
5.2 Conclusion -----	84
5.3 Recommendations -----	86
5.4 Areas Of Further Research -----	88
References-----	89
Appendix I: Research Questionnaire -----	98

Appendix 11: Research Permi .....	104
Appendix 1v: Authorization Letter From Nacosti .....	105

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Sample Size -----	24
Table 2.1 Reasons for acquisition of SALW in the Horn of Africa region -----	35
Table 3.1 Types of Incidences or Cases reported -----	49
Table 3.2 Impact of disarmament on security of the population-----	58
Table 4.1 Impact of disarmament on Proliferation of SALW -----	69
Table 4.2 Rate of effectiveness of border control mechanisms initiated by the GoK to control illicit proliferation of SALW -----	73
Table 4.3 Number of SALW and ammunition/explosives destroyed in Kenya -----	79

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 2.1. Respondents Perceptions of Origin of SALW in Kenya-----	30
Figure 2.2 Respondents Perceptions on facilitating factors -----	32
Figure 3.1 Economic Impact of SALW in Laikipia County -----	47
Figure 3.2 Social impacts of SALW in Laikipia County -----	50
Figure 3.3 Weapons used during Election periods -----	60
Figure 4.1 Respondents Perceptions of Strategies for controlling illicit Proliferation of SALW-----	67
Figure 4.2 Percentage of Respondents believing that GoK Keeps Proper Records of its Arms-----	71
Figure 4.3 Percentage of respondents who referred to various means of awareness creation -----	75
Figure 4.4 Percentage of respondents believing that Kenya has succeeded in controlling small arms in the past five years -----	80

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AP</b>	-	Administration police
<b>FGD</b>	-	Focus Group Discussions
<b>HOA</b>	-	Horn of Africa
<b>IDPs</b>	-	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>KFS</b>	-	Kenya Forest Services
<b>KNFP</b>	-	Kenya National Focal Point
<b>KNHRC</b>	-	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
<b>KPRs</b>	-	Kenya Police Reservists
<b>RECSA</b>	-	Regional Center for Small Arms
<b>SALW</b>	-	Proliferation of small Arms and Light Weapons
<b>SPLA</b>	-	Sudan People s Liberation Army
<b>UN</b>	-	United Nations
<b>UNPoA</b>	-	United Nation Programme of action
<b>USA</b>	-	United States of America
<b>WMDs</b>	-	Weapons of Mass Destruction

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Small Arms are weapons which are specifically designed to be used by one person. Although there are numerous types of small arms, the main ones include rifles (including assault rifles), pistols, light machine guns and submachines guns. Conversely, light weapons are meant to be used by a crew of two or more persons. They include heavy machine guns, mortars, grenade launchers, anti-aircraft guns and anti-tank guns. All light weapons use less than 100 mm caliber ammunition.<sup>1</sup> One of the significant and pressing security threats facing the Horn of Africa is the Proliferation of small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). As a result of the use of these weapons, millions of people have lost their lives in the region through decades long sustained violent conflicts.<sup>2</sup> This study seeks to establish the relationship between the proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa region and state of security.

### **1.2 Background to the study**

The proliferation and misuse of small arms affects people from all over the world. As such, it is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. Owing to the fact that SALW are cheap, easy to manage and easy to come by has made them the most preferred weapons in most violent conflicts globally. The transportability of these weapons has also contributed to the emergence of armed violence even in previously peaceful areas. In this study, SALW will encompass other integral weapons used in armed conflicts such as ammunition and explosives such as shells, missiles, and cartridges for use in small arms as well as missiles and shells used in light

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<sup>1</sup>ICRC.(1999). *Arms Availability and the Situation of Civilians in Armed Conflicts*. Geneva: ICRC.

<sup>2</sup>Small Arms Survey (2011). *Small Arms Survey 2002: Counting the Human Cost*. A Project of the Institute of International Studies, Geneva

weapons. Other weapons included in this category are anti-personnel and anti-tank hand grenades as well as landmines. Lastly, explosives, and mobile containers loaded with missiles or shells for single-action anti-aircraft and anti-tank systems that civilians use in war are also included.<sup>3</sup> SALW are conducive and attractive for conflicts and violence. This is due to the fact that they are cheap, highly effective and easy to use. They are also easy to carry, durable and easily concealable.

SALW have been adopted for use by both the government and other non-state actors such as the Guerrillas, ethnic militias and Warlords. Their small weights have made them appropriate for use by children who constitute part of battalions in form of child soldiers. Hundreds of thousands of children are currently serving as child soldiers in over twenty conflicts around the world. Even more startling than the amount of children that have access to small arms are the negative emotional and psychosocial impact that it has on both the individual child and their community.<sup>4</sup> This is as a result of mass displacement which conflicts causes making children prone to sexual exploitation, rape, military recruitment and diseases.

The availability of SALW among the Horn of Africa, hereinafter referred to as the region, is aggravated by the polarity of borders. The fact that these weapons can be easily smuggles across borders has made the availability of SALW a hard to solve problem and has fueled conflict in the region. In this region, confronting the problem SALW proliferation has a long history. In pre-colonial times, Maji, a region in South-western Ethiopia, had major gun markets. This has repeatedly being identified as the origin of the SALW problems in the region. At this time, the Karamoja region, which encompasses areas currently located in Kenya and Uganda was the

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<sup>3</sup>Gikonyo, J.K. (2012). *The Illicit Proliferation and Use of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Human Security in East Africa: A Case Study of Kenya*. Nairobi: UoN Press

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

major landing ground for incoming arms. In those days, SALW were mainly used in organized raids by Ethiopian raiders and Arab merchants in search of ivory, game trophy, slaves and other items.<sup>5</sup> It is thus an undeniable fact that gun-running within the East African region predated British colonial rule.

Additionally, the armed Mau Mau anti-colonial struggles of the 1950s is credited with the introduction of arms to urban areas and the adjacent areas like Laikipia County. Conversely, the post-independence political instability in Uganda aggravated the proliferation of small arms in the region. It also enhanced their spread and use. Although myriads of factors account for the demand for SALW in the region, poorly coordinated disarmament efforts have led to human insecurity in the region coupled with decline in state of security.

There is immense evidence that disarmament campaigns have often failed to address insecurity and development concerns in the region. The end result has been buttressing of perceptions of exclusion among armed communities. This has gone on to increase the demand for SALW in the region. Chronic instability in the region, and more specifically in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda have tended to augment the supply of weapons across national borders. It also bred conditions of insecurity.<sup>6</sup>

In the Horn of Africa region, the proliferation of small arms has had devastating results. These weapons have caused human suffering and loss of lives in deadly conflicts countries such as Angola, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Eritrea and Somalia among others. It is worth noting that the adverse effects of proliferation of SALW go beyond conflict zones. Wherever

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<sup>5</sup>Nene, M. (2013). *Firearms and political power: The military decline of the Turkana of Kenya 1900–2000*, *Nordic Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 10. N0.2

<sup>6</sup>Wepundi, M and Ndung'u, J. (2011). *Lessons from the Frontiers; Civilian disarmament in Kenya and Uganda*. London: Saferworld Publication

they exist, these weapons all the neighboring areas. In the Kenya's Rift Valley for examples, and particularly Baringo County, there have been cases of heinous violent conflicts in the recent past where even the government has been a casualty. In the Months of January and February 2017, this region has received focused media attention following sporadic killings of civilians and local government administrators by guerilla Bandits who often have stolen livestock and killed civilians.

Laikipia is one of the 47 counties of Kenya. It is located to the east of the former Rift Valley Province. With an estimated total population of 399, 227 in 2009, the county occupies an area of 9,500 square km.<sup>7</sup> Over the previous ten years, the population of the county has increased by an average of about 20 per cent per annum.<sup>8</sup> The county is bordered by Seven Counties namely: Baringo County, Turkana County, Samburu County, Meru County, Nyeri County, Nyandarua County, and Nakuru County. Laikipia is geographically semi-arid. It experiences protracted resource-based conflicts several land users such as pastoralists, ranchers, horticulturalists, and farmers (Agriculturist). Over the last ten years, the formation of protected wildlife conservancies and personal ranches has increased land conflicts and ethno-centric tensions among the land users.

Given the close proximity of Laikipia County to the Baringo County which lies in the larger Karamoja cluster where proliferation of SALW is believed to be high, this research embarks on a mission to establish the impact of such proliferation on state security by assessing the level of human insecurity in the neighboring Laikipia County. Massive availability of SALWs has had long-term pernicious effects. This is exacerbated by the fact that these arms remain in the

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<sup>7</sup>SAR-WP15 (2015). *County Profile of Laikipia Country*. Nairobi. Arms Survey Report

<sup>8</sup>KeNBS. (2009). *Population and Housing Census*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Nairobi: Government Printers.

conflict zone after the official end of the conflict. They make it for the resurgence of fighting while de-stabilizing neighboring populations.<sup>9</sup>

Laikipia County has a rich history of natural resource and typically Land induced conflict which has escalated in the recent times claiming lives of both local people and foreigners who practice ranching in the region. The County is surrounded by other conflict riddled Counties where the rule of the gun reigns strong. Given the cosmopolitan nature of its inhabitants and the varied economic engagement among its population, the level of conflict is complex and infused with high level utilization of SALW which makes it a worthy case study for this study.

For that matter, all the states in the Horn of Africa should emphasize the importance of implementing policies that reduce and eliminate illicit trafficking of weapons, while actualizing gun safety. Before the policies are initiated and implemented, the relevant agencies should conduct a needs assessment research which will inform the factors which drives the demand for the weapons. This research will assess the factors which have led to increase of SALW in the region, as well as assess the impact of SALW in the region by utilizing the case study of Laikipia County, which recently has attracted media publicity due to increased violence which is driven by proliferation of SALW.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

This study is premised on the assumption that proliferation of SALW across the Horn of Africa region particularly in Laikipia County which is responsible for continued insecurity currently being experienced in the region. According to Wairagu and Ndung'u, the use of SALW has caused a number of deaths in combat during raids and inter-ethnic conflicts which to a greater

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<sup>9</sup>World Bank (2002). *Greater Great Lakes Regional Strategy for Demobilization and Reintegrati*. Geneva: WBG

extend have challenged Kenya's state security.<sup>10</sup> Several efforts and initiatives have been adopted by various actors, both state and non-state with the Government of Kenya initiating disarmament operations, demobilization and currently deployment of security operations in the region. Most African states, including Kenya, have ratified the Nairobi Protocol to reduce the proliferation of SALW.<sup>11</sup>

These efforts have not borne fruit since no tangible success has been realized with an on-going inter-ethnic violent conflict which so far has claimed several casualties. Despite these efforts little has been achieved towards achievement of state security and human security. This is partly attributed to absence of clear land use policy and unregulated inequitable natural resource utilization.

There exists limited literature on the extent to which the availability of SALW in the region is greatly responsible for the continual deterioration of state security. Additionally, there is no literature available explaining the effect of such availability of SALW causes to the neighboring populations, in this case Laikipia County. This research has realized a gap in knowledge concerning the reasons for SALW ownership which previous research works have to a certain extent ignored or rather given lip service to and therefore deems it appropriate to establish impacts of proliferation of SALW to neighboring populations which potentially undermines state security and human security in the same dimension.

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<sup>10</sup>Wairagu, F &Ndung'u, J. (2003). *The Problem of Small Arms and Initiatives for Combating Their Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking*. In Intermediate Technology Development Group East Africa (ITDG EA). *Peace Bulletin*, No. 2. Nairobi: ITDG EA.

<sup>11</sup>SAS-SR16. (2012). *Small Arms and Light Weapons in the East African Community (EAC): Impact Assessment of Control of Small Arms between 2006 and 2012*. Arusha. GIZ Publication

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

This research is guided by the following research objectives;

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

To establish the impact of the use of SALW on the state security in Laikipia County.

The study looks at the following specific objectives

### **1.4.2 Specific objectives**

- i. To establish the proliferation history of SALW in the Horn of Africa and the trends therein
- ii. To establish the impact of SALW on state of security in Laikipia County.
- iii. To analyze the relevant normative and institutional framework by government of Kenya on proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County.

## **1.5 Research questions**

The main question guiding this research study is; what is the impact of proliferation of SALW on the security of states in the Horn of Africa region?

Additionally, this research is guided by the following research questions which are tailored to avail information based on research objectives

### **1.5.1 Specific Research Question**

- i. What has been the proliferation history of SALW in the Horn of Africa region?

- ii. What is the impact of proliferation of SALW on human security in Laikipia County?
- iii. What is the normative and institutional framework by the government of Kenya governing the SALW in Laikipia County?

## **1.6 Justification of the study**

### **1.6.1 Academic Justification**

The ideological conceptualization underpinning this study is that in the Horn of Africa region, the continued proliferation of illegal SALW has sustained violent conflicts in the region and in the neighboring areas. Such proliferation of SALW, fuels armed violence and sustains development of organized crime, terrorism and international piracy. Further, there is nexus between illegal diversion of weapons and corrupt and poor arms management practices. These results to destabilizing effects on political social and economic progress usually presenting a major challenge to both regional stability as well as to national security.

Stockpiles of weapons in the Horn of Africa are often not properly managed giving rise to abuse by civilian populations where they are employed to commit atrocities to communities where they are found as well as to their neighbors. Control initiatives by the government have essentially entailed disarmament which to some extent has restored negligible peace but which has been violated occasionally.

### **1.6.2 Policy Justification**

This research will avail empirical evidence regarding the place of SALW in this region to security analysts, policy formulators and the government on the approach to develop a long-term and sustainable policy framework regarding insecurity in Laikipia and entirely in the Horn of

Africa region. The resultant policy will inform government responses which in consequence will inform future policy formulation.

## **1.7 Literature Review**

### **1.7.1 Introduction**

This section presents the review of literature about the impact of SALW on the state security in the Horn of Africa by utilizing a case study of Laikipia County. It attempts to relate the different literatures to the objectives of this study.

### **1.7.2 Historical proliferation of SALW**

For many years human interaction has been characterized by adverse destruction of human life and long life intra-state conflicts as well as interrelated civil wars which have incorporated utilization of SALW for the commission. The number of SALW which find their access in this region create conducive environment for increased absence of rule of law and continued human suffering. Previous studies show that the numbers of SALW that permeate the Horn of Africa region have continued to worsen the suffering of civilians.

Historically, the major origin of proliferation of SALW was the anti-colonial struggles. The other major source was the Cold War period. Recent civil wars experienced in South-Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and in Ethiopia have created a massive entry of illegal weapons in this region creating for them lucrative markets, increased use and rise of arms politics in the region. The entry of these weapons to this region have now re-energized resource-led conflicts, cattle raiding, banditry and inter-ethnic armed violence which have affected both state and human security in this particular region. Several factors have been suggested to explain this phenomenon.

Among them include the polarity of state borders, evident state weakness and in-effective SALW control initiatives which have been directed towards this region among other factors. The control and management of SALW has been futile given the re-currency of conflicts and the weakness of institutions and systems. Due to vast borderlines which demarcate international boundaries, control and proper manning of entry points has been futile and these weapons have managed to penetrate beyond military and police possession. Criminal organizations, individuals and bandits have managed to acquire these weapons at relatively cheap prices.

For instance, Arms have been acquired by nomadic cross-border pastoralist to offer themselves security but that change occasionally to commit traditional cultural practices which include cattle rustling. The use of advanced weapons has transformed traditional practices such as cattle rustling into deadly warfare. Additionally, the saturation of pastoral areas with arms has ripple effects. It makes the pastoralists major suppliers of arms. This leads to the spread of arms to non-pastoral rural areas as well as urban centers.<sup>12</sup>Weak state institutions in the region have made their supply unable to detect by government operatives increasing civilian vulnerability and insecurity. Additionally, poor state policing has made their use tolerable and this has increased the level of criminality and insecurity.

Due to the polarity of borders and disputes surrounding them, it is untenable for any single state to control SALW proliferation in the region on its own. The socio-economic conditions which exist in this region have to a greater extend generated un-ending demand for these weapons to thrive. Only a regional and international community concern will address the problem in a holistic way since no single state can handle the problem on its own. During the Cold-War

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<sup>12</sup>Gikonyo, J. K. (2012). *The Illicit Proliferation and Use of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Human Security in East Africa: A Case Study of Kenya*. Nairobi. University of Nairobi press

period, negotiations concerning weapons were directed towards the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destructions (WMDs) as they are commonly referred to like Nuclear Bombs and Intercontinental Missiles without great emphasis on light weapons.

The devastation which could be caused by Nuclear Bombs and Ballistic Missiles during the Cold War period was the real concern for the international community and individual states without much emphasis on SALW.<sup>13</sup> The less concern with the SALW made their spread more wide and uncontrollable which in-turn increased global insecurity as well as human suffering and complexity in insecurity. The lethal character of SALW coupled with their easy availability has made their use more easy and accessible to anyone with money to purchase them. The Horn of Africa region, as is the case with many other regions the world over has been flooded with arms due to unbridled stockpiling and proliferation of SALW. In most cases, this occurs prior to or during violent conflicts. This has always had negative impact on human, national and international security. It is also worth noting that SALW are the key instruments of violence. They tend to prolong or aggravate conflicts, triggering massive flows of refugees. In addition, they nurture a culture of violence and, more often than not, disregard for the rule of law.

### **1.7.3 The problem of SALW in Kenya**

Proliferation of SALW has made Kenya struggle greatly with insecurity for a long time. This has been caused by both internal and external factors which are inherent in socio-economic and political nature of Kenyan state. Socio-economic and political reasons fuel the demand for SALW in the country. Unstable neighbors have played a key role in the spread of SALW in the country. This is exacerbated by the presence of long and un-manned national boundaries which

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<sup>13</sup>Mogire, E. (2014). The Humanitarian Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons and the Threat to Security. Available on line at [www.desarme.org](http://www.desarme.org). Accessed on 24<sup>th</sup> March 2017

have made penetration of these arms in the country easier. The polarity of the borders is given often as the root cause of increased proliferation.<sup>14</sup>

The use of SALW and the associated impact in Kenya has been greatly felt particularly among pastoralist communities. Pastoral conflicts over natural resources like water and grazing land have over time remained bloody due to their employment of SALW. Pastoral communities found in Kenya's North Rift, those in Upper Eastern and those in North Eastern have often clashed in inter-ethnic cattle rustling which is culturally embedded in societal fabric and which is commissioned by use of SALW. According to some studies these areas suffer from high levels of insecurity and violence due to availability of SALW.<sup>15</sup> Adjacent communities have also borne the brunt of the proliferation by spilling over and being employed to commit atrocities. Urban Centers like Nairobi, Nakuru, Nyeri and Eldoret have experienced great human insecurity due to the spread of these weapons into these places.

After the 2007 General Elections were concluded and post-electoral violence ensued, the armed violence greatly increased the supply and spread of SALW which greatly increased the already existing problem of Small Arms. The Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence report, also dubbed the *Waki Report* points out that due to the unrest, a total of 1,133 lives were lost.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time, over 3,500 Kenyans suffered injuries. Conversely, approximately 100,000

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<sup>14</sup>Wepundi,M. et al.(2012). Availability of Small Arms and perception of security in Kenya. Nairobi. Arms Survey Kenya. SAS-SR16

<sup>15</sup>Muchai, A. (2005). Insecurity: A Case Study of Northern Kenya.' In MichaHollestelle and Simon Simonse, eds. *Security When the State Fails: Community Responses to Armed Violence*, Vol. 5. The Hague: Pax Christi

<sup>16</sup>CIPEV (Commission of Inquiry into Post-election Violence). (2008). *Report of the Findings of the CIPEV*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

private properties were destroyed.<sup>17</sup>In addition, the reported 962 casualties, out of whom 405 died, were as a result of gunshots.<sup>18</sup>

The intensity of the Post-Election was more severe than the previous 1992 Post-Election Violence by more than 779 Deaths and 645 injuries. The Election violence increased greatly the demand for guns as people sought measures to protect themselves after the state failed to protect them. Great demand for SALW was more felt in central Rift Valley and the adjacent environs. The Violence created one of most serious humanitarian crisis of mass displacement and increased human insecurity. Among the weapons used in the commission of the violence included crude weapons and in some instances some communities used modern-sophisticated automatic weapons to unleash terror to their perceived enemy.

It is established that illegal weapons found ownership with some of the out-lawed criminal gangs which operated previously in the country as well as emboldening others to join in the frenzy of weapons holding. There are media claims that the re-armament was politically driven and it worsened an already delicate situation with capacity to tear the country apart along politicized ethnic-animosity. Recently reports published in the Kenya's *daily nation* show in a private residence in Narok, which lest to the south west of Nairobi, thousands of ammunition were recovered by the police.<sup>19</sup>

Although the proliferation of SALW in Kenya pre-dates pre-colonial periods during the anti-colonial struggles, the incident and complexity of the proliferation history has increased in the recent times with some reports that government weapons have been compromised and illegally

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid P.345

<sup>18</sup> Ibid P.346

<sup>19</sup>*Daily Nation* (2010). *Police Seize Second Arms Cache in Narok.* Available at [http. www.daily Nation Web](http://www.daily Nation Web) edition. Accessed on 24/3/2017

used to commit criminal activities. Some writers stipulate that Kenya has struggled with the challenge of illicit proliferation for ages.<sup>20</sup> Manesa Wepundi acknowledges that in addition to being a challenge to the authority of the state, the proliferation of SALW is also a problem with law enforcement.<sup>21</sup> Illegal possessions of SALWs have been used to perpetuate criminal practices in the country.

Although, the trends of proliferation differs from one place to the other, rural areas particularly those inhabited by livestock keeping communities have borne the greatest of accounts of stockpiles. This is the explanation for reduced if not total stagnation of the economic activity in the affected parts resulting to great human suffering and under-development. Arms in these areas have increasingly posed significant socio-economic, political and security risks not only to these regions but generally countrywide.

#### **1.7.4 The Case of Laikipia County**

Although Laikipia is very vast, it is largely under-developed. As a result of poorly resourced and scanty security coverage, the area relies on Kenya Police Reservists who bridge the security gap. The county is multi-ethnic. It is comprised of Europeans, the Agikuyu ethnic community, the Ameru, the Samburu's, the Maasai, the Kalenjin's, the Borana and the Turkana's.<sup>22</sup> The majority of the inhabitants of the land (over 90 per cent), who also occupy most of the land, are pastoralists.<sup>23</sup> The Europeans practice ranching while both the Kikuyu and the Ameru people practice arable farming. The rest of the ethnic groups are pastoralist. Ranching has been

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<sup>20</sup>Wepundi, M. (2011) *An Analysis of Disarmament Experiences in Kenya*. Regional Centre on Small Arms. Nairobi, RECSA

<sup>21</sup>Ibid

<sup>22</sup>Mkutu, K. (2008). *Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya–Uganda Border Area*. *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422

<sup>23</sup>Mkutu, K. (2001). *Pastoralism and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. London: APFO & Saferworld University of Bradford.

practiced for a long period in Laikipia. Currently, most of the beef consumed in Kenya (about 60%) comes from the area.<sup>24</sup> The area has also attracted long time ranching and wildlife conservation particularly by the European settlers residing in the vast county. Recently, there has been extensive shift from ranching to wildlife conservation. As a result, there has been demarcation of many areas for wildlife conservancies and tourism related activities.

Such conservancies include the famous Lewa Conservancy and the Solio Game Reserve. The endangered Rhino species are found in such conservancies where they are protected from poachers. The Conservancies are instrumental greatly as anti-poaching strategies and have initiated Tourism related economic activities in the county. It is documented that by the end of 2012 there were more than 30 such conservancies in Laikipia County.<sup>25</sup> These conservancies are either privately owned or communally owned or government owned. There exists no official policy about wildlife conservation in the county as well the government of Kenya does not offer financial support to conservancies unlike in Samburu County.

Landowners have been motivated to form conservancies, while, the Kenyan Constitution 2010 has changed land ownership in the country making it constrained for a foreigners to own Land in Kenya. Foreign land owners are scared of being evicted from the Ranches by Pastoralist who prioritizes transhumance over tourism being practiced by European Ranchers. The Ranches are commonly used as wildlife conservancies which attract tourists and bring revenue. As a result they are increasingly being valued as national treasures. In addition to being conservation projects, they can be marketed easily to tourists. As such, they make economic sense. The concept of conservancies has spread exponentially to other counties surrounding Laikipia County

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<sup>24</sup>Gitonga, M. (2011). *Kenya: Cattle Ranchers Now Turn to Wildlife as Fortunes Change*. Daily Nation (Nairobi). 15/08/2011. Available at [http. www. allafrica.com/stories](http://www.allafrica.com/stories). Accessed on 24/3/2017

<sup>25</sup>Ibid

like Marsabit, Isiolo as well the concept is being exported to neighboring South Sudan. Some communities particularly those engaged in pastoralism have rejected the concept of conservancies claiming that they are interfering with large tracks of grazing land. The underlying claims entail commercializing of the practice without regard to community's interest. They (conservancies) have now blocked vast grazing lands and pastoral corridors which is a volatile spark awaiting ignition for a large-scale conflict eruption.

Ranching, Conservancies and Horticulture practices have taken much of the communal land in Laikipia County increasing demand for land ownership by the political elites and private individuals. The increase in demand has resulted from the need to invest in Tourism related businesses among the population. Additionally, commercial Ranchers and Agri-businessmen have taken Centre stage in land acquisition. Amazingly, almost 70% of the Land in Laikipia is owned by absentee landlords.<sup>26</sup> This leads to the restriction of ample pasture and water to pastoralists and other land users. Exploitation of water reserves by Horticulturists denies Pastoralist adequate access to water for their livestock where they sometimes enter into private properties to access both grazing land and water.

The resource competition results into resource conflicts which often escalate to brutal killings of individuals as people clash over the resources. Perennial droughts have many times presented conducive environment for pastoralists to drive their animals into private ranches in search of pasture and water especially the Maasai and the Samburu. They feed their livestock at Horticulturists premises which puts them on a collision path and one leading to inter-ethnic conflict which involves most times SALW.

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<sup>26</sup>Mkutu, K. (2008). *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms*. Oxford: James Currey

Exploitative extraction of Water by large-scale Horticulturalist makes it scarce downstream which leads to invasion of private residences in-search of water by pastoralist in-turn raising inter-ethnic rivalry. According to Mkutu, drought conditions have persisted since 2015 occasionally forcing the Maasai and other pastoralist particularly the Samburus to migrate to private ranches in search of fresh pasture and water.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, Campbell demonstrates how creation of conservancy in Samburu-the Sera Conservancy in Samburu. He asserts that Rendile, Borana and Samburu have traditionally shared pasture resources among themselves but upon creation of the Sera Conservancy these communities have been in conflict ever since because only Rendile Scouts are allowed to access.<sup>28</sup> Further, He asserts that due to creation of yet another conservancy between the Lekurruki and their neighbors the Il-ngwesi ethnic group, conflicts between them have intensified.

Historically, Laikipia was ancestral land for the Maasai before being taken over by the colonial government through the colonial appropriation of “*white Highlands*” by the British in 1904.<sup>29</sup> Since independence, the Maasai have been calling for return of their ancestral lands by the large scale Ranchers who seem to have alienated the land and denied them their traditional livelihood. The historical land grievance has been persistence for long time and previous land inquiry commissions regarding them have not been implemented to solve them. In essence, there is a widespread armed conflict in Laikipia, a major concern for stakeholders in the region. Poor capabilities by national security agencies, coupled by state condoned rearming of militias in the Horn of Africa has sustained a culture of gunrunning aimed at self-defense as well as retribution.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid

<sup>28</sup> Campbell, I et al. (2009). *Climate Change and Conflict: Lessons from Community Conservancies in Northern Kenya*. London: Conservation Development Centre, International Institute for Sustainable Development, and Saferworld.

<sup>29</sup> KNA (Kenya National Archives).1910-11.A Short History of the Maasai Reserve. *Laikipia Annual Report*. Nairobi: KNA.

In addition, competition for resources is a major catalyst of conflicts in the region. In this context, the proliferation level of SALW in the County itself and the entire country in general has been enhanced by frequent cattle rustling among pastoral groups have increased.

Gun ownerships in Laikipia has become part of survival for the people who reside there particularly after the 2008 incidence when an estimated 8000 people were displaced and over 25 people killed in Laikipia West in armed conflicts amongst Tugen and Turkana pastoralists and farmers.<sup>30</sup> This is therefore a classical case study which can inform any security related study. The attention and publicity that the Laikipia Violence and Land invasion have been generating should therefore be put into the broader context of the political, social and economic consideration.

Given this year is an election year, some people especially gullible politicians are using the lethal cocktail of politicized ethnicity to fan discord for opportunistic reasons and particularly, cheap political expediency. One fact on the ground is that there exists poor and inadequate policing services were bandits wield AK-47s while the National Police Service officers possess G-3s.<sup>31</sup> The government of Kenya has an overriding obligation ensuring law and order is restored in this region before the situation gets out of hand and the proliferation incidence gets out of control. The previous government efforts to check the same have not been successful, hence, the need to formulate alternative approaches to deal with the problem.

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<sup>30</sup>Gichigi, A.(2009). *In-depth: Kenya's Post Election Crisis: Tracing Roots of Conflict in Laikipia*. Nairobi: IRIN.

<sup>31</sup>Robert, S. (2017). *Laikipia Crisis results of Political, Social and Economic Challenges*. Daily Nation, Thursday, March 23, 2017

## **1.8 Gaps in the Literature review**

This study has established several gaps in the literature which demands further investigation. Established in this study is the absence of a clear land use policy by inhabitants of Laikipia County. Whereas previous studies point out on the aspect of land alienation, none has critically reviewed the policy of land use in the County and this study sees that as a gap worthy further empirical investigation.

Another gap in literature established by this study, entail the absence of evidence linking the insecurity in Laikipia with the local politics. From the above literature review, there exist no academic explanation describing the close nexus between insecurity and arms politicization in the County under study which this study will try to avail. As well, this study has established that government's efforts of disarmament have created insecurity to some groups while excluding other due to disproportionate execution of both disarmament and demobilization exercises. Additionally, this study has discovered that very limited knowledge exists concerning various ethnic groups' interests and resource allocation in the area under study and how such interests shape the current conflict situation.

## **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

This research study employed Conflict Resolution Theory to conceptualize state of security and Conflict dimensions and resolutions in Laikipia County and generally in the Horn of Africa region. The choice for this theory is due to its broad explanation of how contradiction and incompatibility produces conflict and sustains it to escalate to a violent conflict like the one being witnessed in Laikipia County. This Theory draws much credit to Galtung Johan who explained various models of conflict and conflict resolutions. Galtung defines a conflict as a

contradiction where the acceptability region is located inside the incompatibility region.<sup>32</sup> In this case a Conflict simply involves pursuit of incompatible goals.

Galtung model of conflict encompasses both symmetric and asymmetric conflicts. In this regard, conflict could be looked at as a triangle. In this, the vertices are contradiction(C), attitude (A) and behavior (B).<sup>33</sup> The underlying conflict situation is the contradiction (C). This entails the actual or perceived irreconcilable differences in goals among the conflicting parties. On their part, attitude (A) can be viewed as the perceptions and misperceptions (positive or negative) that each party has about the other party as well of themselves. In violent conflicts, demeaning stereotypes are usually developed by both parties. The attitudes of both parties tend to be influenced by emotions such as anger, fear, hatred and bitterness. During conflicts, violent behaviour is characterized by threats, coercion and destructive attacks. These are manifest in the current Violence being experienced in Laikipia County.

This theory is applicable in this study, since it informs and conceptualizes how SALW contribute to insecurity in Laikipia leading to an inter-ethnic conflict where warring actors utilize small Arms to pursue their interest. In conflicts, the identity of the both parties, the levels of contest in the conflict, and the underlying issues for the fight (such as scarce resources, competing values and unequal relations) are likely to vary over time. These tend to be the factors responsible for the demand and acquisition of SALW in the Horn of Africa region. Being dynamic in nature, conflicts tend to escalate and de-escalate. They are fueled by a complexity of attitudes and

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<sup>32</sup>Galtung, J.(2009). *Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations*. Hawaii. Sage Publication

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

behaviors. In some instances, third parties get involved as the conflict develops. In the long run, they are wont to becoming parties if the conflict lasts for a long period of time.<sup>34</sup>

Conflict resolutions as well as avoidance of violence in the society are key catalysts for development. In this regard, governments are obligated to ensure internal peace and security. In post-conflict countries, governments must prevent the recurrence of conflict so as to survive in the anarchic environment presented by SALW. Combating illegal proliferation of SALWs in Laikipia is therefore necessary to enhance development within the Horn of Africa region.

### **1.10 Research Methodology**

This section provides research methodology for the study which is sequenced as follows: research design, case study, data collection methods, target population/sampling frame, data analysis and presentation, scope of the study, limitations of the research, ethical considerations and chapter outline

#### **1.10.1 Research Design**

Harwell notes that, a research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation to acquire answers to research questions and control inconsistency.<sup>35</sup> Explorative and descriptive research design gathered information through utilizing both primary and secondary sources applied for this study.

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid

<sup>35</sup>Harwell, M.R. (2005). *Research Design in Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods*. Washington. University of Minnesota Publication

### **1.10.2 Case Study**

This research adopted the case of Laikipia County which is located in Kenya, a country found in the larger Horn of Africa region and an area that has recently, attracted heightened publicity and attention due to armed violence and land invasion. A case study provides a means for extracting practical examples and developing methods of solving real global problems. Laikipia County presents quite a classic case study, due to its ethnic led resource conflict which has attracted both national and international concern, as a result of lethality occasioned by employment of SALW in the conflict dynamics.

### **1.10.3 Data Collection Methods**

This research used Questionnaires and interview guide which were administered to different respondents to obtain primary data. This study utilized both Primary and secondary data to generate information. For the secondary sources of information, this research used policy papers, official documents, reports, journals, magazines, newspapers, periodicals and other published works. The aim was to collect relevant written information to address the state of security issues brought about through the proliferation of SALW in a given area.

### **1.10.4 Target Population**

The target population is the specific pool of cases that the researcher wants to study.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the population should fit a certain specification, which the researcher is studying.<sup>37</sup> This study targeted respondents from Kenya's, Laikipia County, who are well versed with County's security

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<sup>36</sup>Neuman, L. (2006). *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Whitewater: University of Winsconsin, p.224

<sup>37</sup> Cooper, D. R &Schindler,P.S. ( 2003). *Business research methods*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, p. 560.

issues and those who understand the nexus between proliferation of SALW in the County and security of the state as well as that of individuals. Laikipia has a population of 399,227.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.10.5 Sample Population

This research obtained primary data from questionnaires issued to 100 Respondents in Kenya who included the following categories of people, well versed with politics and security of Kenya. The sample population for this study comprised of Ranchers, Horticulturists, Herders, Pastoralists, police officers, business Entrepreneurs, Civil servants and Academicians. Therefore, a sample was chosen to represent the relevant attributes of the whole set of units termed as “population.”<sup>39</sup>

### 1.10.6 Sample Size determination

The simplified formula by Yamane was used for sample size calculation. The formula is:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n= sample size

N= population size

e= precision level usually 0.05<sup>2</sup>

When fitted into the formula:

$$n = \frac{399,227}{1 + 399,227(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{399,227}{1 + 399,227(0.05)^2}$$

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<sup>38</sup>KeNBS. (2009). *Population and Housing Census*. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Nairobi: Government Printers.

<sup>39</sup>Graziano, A & Raulin, M. (1997). *Research methods: a process of inquiry*. New York: Longman Pub Group.

$n=399,227$   
 $1+399,227(0.0025)$

$n=399,227$   
 $1+998.0675$

$n=399.5$  Approximately 400 Respondents

This research collected primary data from the above respondents by issuing Questionnaires to 100 respondents and issue structured questions to Focus group Discussion groups of 30 people categorized into ten groups.

**Table 1.1 Sample Size**

<b>Target Population (Respondents)</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>
National Government Officials	10
Security Personnel	10
Ranchers	10
Horticulturalist	10
Pastoralist	10
Community Elders	10
Civil Society Organizations	10
Academicians	10
Businesspersons	10
County Government Officials	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Researcher study 2017**

### **1.10.7 Data Analysis and Presentation**

In this study, both qualitative and Quantitative methods were used in data analysis were used. The quantitative analysis mainly focused on using descriptive statistics. Microsoft office excel was used in the data analysis and study findings represented in tables and charts for clear visualization. Qualitative data was analyzed through content analysis.

### **1.10.8 Limitations**

This study was limited by the distance from Nairobi where the Researcher was based and where the study site is located. Means of Transport to Laikipia County are not one of the best in Kenya and thus, time and financial constraint may limit the actualization of this study. To overcome these, the researcher intended to use internet services for instance the emails, to send questionnaires to the relevant respondents. Insecurity, vast geographical coverage of the county and language barrier limited this research, to overcome this researcher involved local interpreter to ease communication.

### **1.10.9 Legal and Ethical Consideration**

It is obligatory for research to be guided by acceptable behavioral standards. The researcher found it suitable to explain to the respondents that information taken from them will be purposely used for academic purpose only. The right to participate in this research was based on the respondents consent and their privacy was protected by strict standard of anonymity. The researcher followed the laid down procedures for data collection by the University and other statutory organs. The researcher applied for a research permit from the NACOSTI to carry out the research.

## **1.11 Chapter Outline**

This research study was guided by the following Chapter breakdown. Chapter one is the introductory chapter to the study and comprises of a general introduction to the research, background, statement of the research problem, objective of the study, research questions, theoretical framework within which the research was carried out, methodology applied, limitations and chapter outline. Chapter two looked at the second objective which is the History of the proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa region. Chapter Three focused on the impact of SALW on state of security. Chapter Four analyzed the relevant normative and institutional framework by the government of Kenya on proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County. Chapter Five is Summary, Findings and Recommendations proposed by this study for policy reforms intended for long-time security analysis. The Last chapter covers in particular some of the approaches that can be used to challenge the proliferation of SALWs within Kenya and generally in the region.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE HISTORY OF PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS (SALW) IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE TRENDS THEREIN

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the history of proliferation of small arms in the region and the emerging trends associated with such proliferation. The proliferation history is narrowed to the Kenyan experience specifically the dynamism that has characterized demand and supply of illicit arms. The chapter will utilize primary data to analyze the perceptions of proliferation and supplement the findings with secondary data reviewed from relevant sources. First, the chapter will review the proliferation in the broader context of Horn of Africa region.

#### 2.1 Proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa

Proliferation of arms can be defined as the spread of weapons from one country to another.<sup>40</sup> These weapons are proliferated by complex organized cartels.<sup>41</sup> The easy access and spread of illegal SALWs is a major challenge in the Horn of Africa region. The sub-region has been a dumping ground for large catches of SALWs from anticolonial struggles as well as the Cold War era and its aftermath. Armed conflicts as well as cattle-rustling in parts of region are challenge to peace and stability. As a result, it hinder socioeconomic development prospects in the entire region. In addition, the accessibility and use of the weapons is a significant contributor to the escalation of violent pastoral conflicts. The destructive nature of these conflicts triggers vengeance and counter vengeance. This goes on to create vicious cycle of violence among

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<sup>40</sup>Royal Military College of Science (1993). *Handbook on Weapons and Vehicles*. Shrivenham

<sup>41</sup> The Small Arms Survey (2001). The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project based in Geneva Switzerland which was established in 1999 as the principal international source of public information on small arms aspects.

pastoral communities. Eventually, this complicates both state and human security. The research sought to establish the history of proliferation in this particular region.

According to Mkutu, the SALW started spreading in the region long before the European colonial period.<sup>42</sup> The long established slave trade, hunt for ivory and other game trophies and, livestock banditry among others led to immense gunrunning, usually by Ethiopian raiders and Arab merchants in the region. The collapse of the Idi Amin regime in Uganda in 1979, according to Adan and Pkalya, left many weapons in civilians' hands. This was after the vandalism of armouries in military barracks mostly in the northern side of Uganda. These weapons started proliferating into Kenya's North Rift and Uganda North-West.<sup>43</sup> Some years later, the fall of the Mengistu Haile Mariam's government in Ethiopia led to the increased flow of SALW to Kenya's Rift Valley and Northern regions.<sup>44</sup> A study by Mugweru elicits that in pastoral areas of eastern Africa and the Horn, there are more than five million small arms circulating amongst the inhabitants of these areas<sup>45</sup> He contends that these arms are responsible for the rampant cross-border raids involving pastoral communities in the region.

The proliferation history of small arms in the Horn of African region is complex. As a result, several theories have been postulated to explain the phenomenon. The border areas, especially in North-eastern Uganda and Kenya's western border are the hotbeds for these conflicts. With Somalia having remained without government authority for about three decades, it is currently seen as a major route for weapons to the region. In the USA's war on terror, Somalia has revived

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<sup>42</sup>Mkutu K, Agade K. (2007). *Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya-Uganda Border Area*. African Affairs, Vol. 106, No. 422.

<sup>43</sup>Adan, M, Ruto Pkalya. (2005). *Closed to Progress: An Assessment of the Socio-economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral and Semi-pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda*. Nairobi: ITDG.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid

<sup>45</sup> Mugweru G. (2014). *Regional Initiative on the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons: An analysis of the Nairobi Protocol*. Nairobi. University of Nairobi Press

special attention.<sup>46</sup> Allegations have been raised that terrorists groups in the country such as the *Al shabaab* were using not-for-profit organizations to transfer money and smuggle arms.<sup>47</sup> In this context, Somali militia have been said to take part in the trafficking of arms to outpost cells in Ethiopia and Nairobi.

Due to the numerous armed conflicts in region in the post-colonial times, there has been a sustained demand for weapons. This has led to the influx of foreign weapons. Local production of weapons has also increased. The fall of Siad Barre's government in Somalia in 1991, and the long lasting instability that followed have also contributed to the challenge of rampant proliferation and trafficking of SALWs in Eastern Africa.<sup>48</sup> With the fall of the Somali government, many soldiers traded their only assets (weapons) for food, shelter and safe passage home. This led to the surge of illicit weapons in the border regions of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya.<sup>49</sup> The fledgling and weak central authority and porous borders, have made Somalia are key gateway for illicit arms proliferation into the region.

There are myriads of reasons for the trade and trafficking of SALW in the region. Since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, many weapons made it into the Horn of Africa region as game hunters and poachers sought to replenish the armories. In addition, western colonial government shipped many weapons into Africa to prop up their colonial militaries.<sup>50</sup> During the Cold War Era of the 1970s and 1980s, millions of weapons found their way into Africa from the competing Soviet Union and United States superpowers with each power supplying military equipment to their regional

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<sup>46</sup> Hazdra, P. (2007). *Small Arms – Big Problem: A Global Threat to Peace, Security and Development*. Vienna. Grotius Publications

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

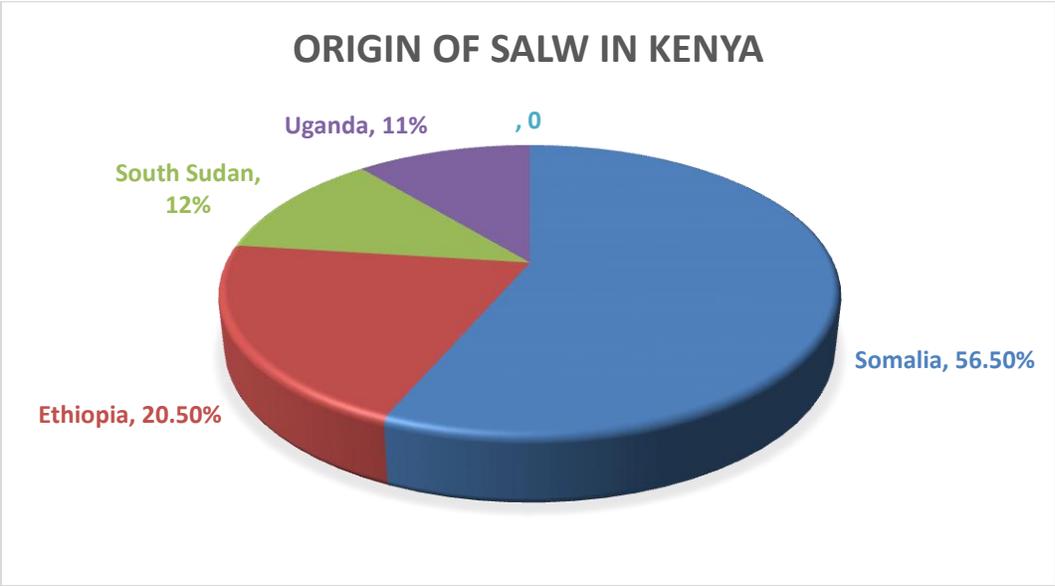
<sup>48</sup> Darryl W. (2015). *SALW Proliferation Pressures, the Horn of Africa, and EU Responses*. United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Available at [www.unidir.org/pdf](http://www.unidir.org/pdf). Accessed on 10/4/2017

<sup>49</sup> Ibid

<sup>50</sup> Finlay, B, Bergenas, J & Tessler, V. (2012). *Beyond Boundaries in Eastern Africa: Bridging the security/Development divide with International Security Assistance*. Madrid. The Stimson Centre

allies. The researcher sought to establish the source of SALW in the region under study by asking respondents to indicate the origin of arms in their country. Their perception were analyzed and presented in the figure below.

**Figure 2.1 Respondents Perceptions of Origin of SALW in Kenya**



**Source: Field Data, 2017**

The findings established show that majority of respondents (56.5%) believe that SALW available in Kenya originate from Somalia. While the neighboring countries for instance, Ethiopia which is Kenya’s strategic partners in securing the Horn of Africa region, a substantial number of respondents (20.5%) termed it as a source of Kenya illicit arms. South Sudan and Uganda were named by 12% and 11% of the respondents respectively as contributing countries to the problem of SALWs. The republic of Somalia is seen as the main origin of SALW in Kenya. In addition Ethiopia, Uganda, and Southern Sudan are seen as the source of small arms. These are all regional countries engulfed in varying levels of conflict. Respondents in Rumuruti and Nairobi are of the view that Tanzania had minimal contribution to the spread of firearms.

The above information was corroborated by interviewees and Focus Group Discussion participants, who stated that there were arms smugglers who operated from Kenya's refugee camps originating from Somalia while others used the porous Ethiopian-Kenyan border. Dealers and suppliers have networks that operate discreetly, but are known by the some community members.<sup>51</sup> The respondents believed that these dealers had their own agents who would identify those interested in buying small arms and provide such information to affect the business. Sabala posits that arms destined for neighboring regional countries are often diverted into the country.<sup>52</sup>

## **2.2 Factors driving the demand and supply of SALW in the Horn of Africa region**

The researcher sought to establish the factors which facilitate trafficking and acquisition of illicit arms in the region and revealed a number of factors to be responsible. One of the factors feeding to the easy acquisition of SALW in the region is inadequate community policing. In most of parts of Kenya and especially in arid and semi-arid areas, this has cultivated the permeation of a gun culture, mostly among the nomadic pastoral communities. As a result, the Kalashnikov assault (AK 47) rifle is no longer just a gun. It is now a powerful symbol of conflict, violence and power. In southern Ethiopia, southern Somalia, South Sudan and in northern Kenya, the gun is an indispensable possession among groups. In the view of many people, possessing firearms is seen as an essential right and has resulted in arms races amongst different ethnic communities.

The researcher asked respondents to name some of the factors feeding to the desire by civilian to possess SALW in the region. The findings showed that majority of respondents (45.5%) perceived corrupt security agencies for instance Kenya police and Administration Police as key contributors to the spread of illicit arms into the hinterland. Poor border control measures was

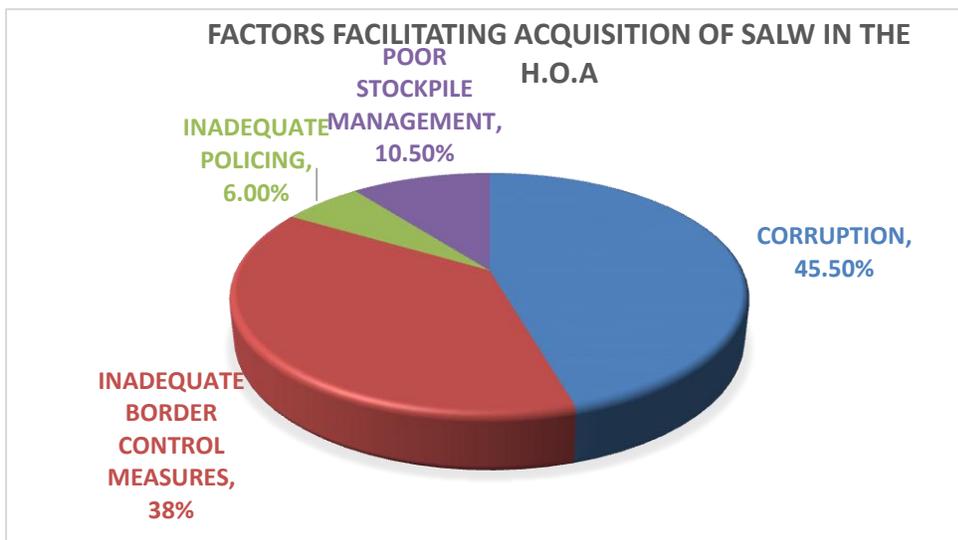
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<sup>51</sup>Small Arms Focus Group Discussion, Rumuruti,24/6/2017

<sup>52</sup> Sabala, K. (2002). *The Proliferation, Circulation and Use of Illegal Firearms in Urban Centers: The Case of Nairobi, Kenya*. In Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC). *Small Arms in the Horn of Africa: Challenges, Issues and Perspectives*. Brief No. 23. Bonn: BICC

also a reason quoted by 38% of the respondents while poor stockpile management was named by 10.5% of the respondents as the main reason for continued proliferation of SALW. Minimal police presence in most parts of the country was quoted by 6.0% of the respondents.

Majority of Key Informant Interviewees perceived neighboring regional countries as the main sources of illicit firearms into Kenya. The Respondents' pointed out that accessibility of firearms among pastoral communities was attributable to the acquisition of such arms by Somalis as early as the 19th century. Whereas, the neighboring countries are termed as the source countries for illicit arms in circulation particularly in Kenya and generally in the region, not all of them originate from there since these countries lack national capacities to manufacture arms and supply highly sophisticated and automatic weapons often found in the region, indicating probabilities of other suppliers and traffickers of illicit arms in the region. The figure below shows some of the factors facilitating easy acquisition of illicit arms in the Horn of Africa region.



**Figure 2.2 Respondents Perceptions on facilitating factors**  
**Source: Field Data, 2017**

The finding above corroborate with the observations made by Kimaiyo and Nthiga in their 2009 unpublished report where they reveal that trafficking, possession and use of illegal firearms in Kenya is enhanced by limited police patrol in vast parts of northern Kenya as well as inadequate border control mechanisms.<sup>53</sup> Whereas in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was the colonial authorities, game hunters and poachers who were responsible for continued spread of SALWS in the hinterland, presently, trafficking of small arms in the region is sustained by government security agencies, smugglers and drug traffickers.

According to Kathi, private arms brokers are the main suppliers of weapons to areas of actual or potential conflict.<sup>54</sup> These arms brokers include negotiators, financiers, importers, exporters, and transport agents. The transport agents are responsible for linking the supplier and the final client.<sup>55</sup> In most cases, the arms brokers do not directly own or possess the arms. They also tend to live away from the countries where the arms are supplied or received.

The inability by many countries to control or monitor their airspace has also been identified as a key factor allowing arms brokers to continue supplying arms in the region.<sup>56</sup> In some instances, and in a big continent characterized with poor road and rail infrastructures creates room for air cargo firms to deliver arms shipments into the region. Research by UN Panels of Experts on Sierra Leone and Liberia found Air Cargo firms used false aircraft registration certificates, false flight plans and end user certificates to deliver weapons to Liberia. Although these planes had

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<sup>53</sup> Kimaiyo, D. & Eliud N. (2009). *Mapping of the Disarmament Effort in Karamajong Triangle*. Unpublished report prepared for the Institute for Security Studies, Nairobi. Available at: <http://www.nscpeace.go.ke/nsc/documents/pdf/> Accessed on 10/5/2017

<sup>54</sup> Austin K. (2002). *Illicit arms brokers: aiding and abetting atrocities*, the Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol. 9, issue.1, p 204.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

false indication that they were destined to Nigeria, the country was not aware of them.<sup>57</sup> According to Weiss, the immense circulation of weapons is catalyzed by the huge demand for them.<sup>58</sup> People and armies provide a thriving market for both legal and illegal suppliers the world over. The perceived or real lack of human security creates room for the inevitable movement of weapons into the hands of civilians who need to protect themselves. Suppliers are therefore motivated to make profits with such limited regulations and weak monitoring.

According to Mugweru, governments also contribute to the proliferation of SALWs. This is usually in the bid to arm groups loyal so as to get aid in fighting another armed group.<sup>59</sup> A good example of this is in South Sudan, where both the Sudan Armed Forces via the South Sudan Defense Forces and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) armed the Lou Nuer ethnic group at intermittent times during the civil war. Some sectors in government also stand accused of facilitating the supply of SALW to civilians and thus the possibility of their misuse becomes inevitable.

In some instances, crooked governments are accused of abetting the brokerage of illegal arms. In this regard, these governments allow the proliferation of these arms in immigration points. Some governments have been reported to pay brokers to hide illegal exports as well as imports. Furthermore, there is immense inability by National Authorities to police and patrol border points. This aggravates the SALW trafficking challenge. When the challenge grows, governments are often forced to divert important national resources to this end. This deprives funding to other important projects such as schools and health care facilities.

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<sup>57</sup>Taya W. (2003). *A Demand Side Approach To Fighting Small Arms Proliferation* , African Security Review Vol 12 No 2.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid

<sup>59</sup>Op cit. p.58

### 2.3 Small Arms Trends in the Horn of Africa

The researcher sought to establish reasons for acquisition of SALW in the Horn of Africa region, by asking the respondents to explain the motivations for possessing arms. The responses were illustrated in the table below.

**Table 2.1 Reasons for acquisition of SALW in the Horn of Africa region**

<b>Reason</b>	<b>%(Respondents)</b>
Personal protection from other clans	<b>18.8</b>
Protection of property (wealth)	<b>11.4</b>
Fear of future conflicts	<b>5.0</b>
Part of tradition	<b>20.0</b>
Protection of the village/community	<b>15.5</b>
Valued family possession	<b>10.8</b>
Protection from Wild Animals	<b>12.6</b>
Part of work equipment	<b>5.9</b>

**Source: Field data 2017**

Considering that communities, particularly those practicing pastoralism, have a history of inter-group rivalry targeting theft of livestock, SALW are essentially used in repelling inter-group attacks. Regarding the motivation for owning a weapon, the respondents rated protection of the community (15.5%) as higher than the fear of future conflict (5.0%).

Intrinsic concerns underlying the demand for SALW were cited as seeking protection from wild animals (12.6%) and as a valued family possession (10.8%). Cultural motivations also accounted for arms ownership in the Horn of Africa region: 20 % of Laikipia's respondents indicated that SALW ownership as part of their customs and traditions, while among security personnel

particularly the Kenya Police Reservists and the administration Police (AP) who indicated that SALW is part of their work equipment with marginally 5.9%. There was also another interesting dimension; the generational aspect of gun ownership. In this case children inherit and possess their parents' SALW.

Surprisingly, a significant 10.8% of respondents pointed out that SALW ownership is part of valued family possession. Guns, and most importantly the AK47 rifles, are accorded deeper meaning. This is due to the fact that they are seen as important assets that can protect the family and its property when there was minimal government presence. As a result, one's community identity, safety and survival are defined by SALW ownership. It is thus a valuable family asset. The persistence of inter-ethnic conflicts and livestock rustling in the neighboring Baringo County fuels the demands for weapons, which are seen as ways of building the self-defense capabilities of communities.

In the Laikipia County and the surrounding region, there are persistent resource-based conflicts among pastoralist communities, ranchers and commercial horticulturists. The main reason for this is competition for access and control of water and pasture. Failed disarmament efforts have also, perpetuated perceptions of justified possession of firearms. This has led to lawlessness and impunity. In this light some people choose to own SALW because they see it as a normal practice.

One of the respondents who trades livestock said that they kept guns since others kept them without anything being done to them. The net impact is ruthless impunity which qualifies Laikipia County to be categorized as one of the hotbed of insecurity in the country.

Characteristically, it belongs to the larger Karamoja cluster where gun-running is the order of the day and impunity reigns supreme.

In majority of nomadic pastoralist communities (particularly; the Maasai, Samburu and Rendile groups), it is commonly considered a must for a *Moran* (warrior) to kill in order to be recognized as a brave. Among the Samburus, the bodies of Morans are often tattooed for every killing they commit. To a greater extent the gun has aroused communal perceptions on masculinity among pastoralists where traits of heroism, bravery, and even manhood are judged on the basis of gainful cattle raids and one's ability to defend the community. The net impact of these practices has been a constant societal paranoia where communities always live in suspicion and fear of each other and keep themselves always prepared to defend themselves in case of an attack. The fear factor has spread to the rest of the community with both Ranchers and farmers acquiring SALW in preparation for the striking of the man with the gun.

### **2.3.1 Gun culture**

Attitudes and traditions associated with ownership, use and display of weapons is termed as gun culture.<sup>60</sup> Culture, attitudes and tradition associated with some communities especially in the developing world are also viewed as drivers for the demand of SALW. In some cultures, it is considered an important trait to display of weapons. Men are viewed as symbols of security and source of status in the society and are encouraged to possess guns and other forms of weapons to defend the society. In some communities a man without a gun is viewed as feminine and unable to own a family and provide it with security and wealth.

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<sup>60</sup>Buchanan C and Atwood D. (2002). *Curbing the demand for small arms: focus on Southeast Asia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and Quaker United Nations Office

Women play an important role in motivating their men to carry out functions with weapons for instance the unpopular cattle raids among the pastoralist communities particularly; Samburus and the Turkanas. In some pastoralist or semi-pastoralist areas, women and more so in South Sudan, have been known to compose songs aimed at shaming those who do not take part in raiding as well as those who do not succeed in such raids.<sup>61</sup> This behavior serves as a catalyst for young men to carry out raids in the bid to obtain the necessary number of animals for a dowry utilizing SALW particularly AK 47s as weapons of choice consequently increasing demand and proliferation.

The researcher sought to establish the motivations that drive people to acquire SALW in the Horn of Africa region. The findings revealed a myriad of reasons which motivate including personal protection; fear of future conflicts; protection of property; part of tradition and part of work equipment among other reasons. These reasons continue to feed to an ever increasing demand for weapons as conflicts become more violent and deadly. The interaction between customs as well as traditions with security considerations among the populace in the greater Horn of Africa region produces an intertwined web of unmanageable and unsustainable control of proliferation of illicit arms often resulting to a discreet arms race.

### **2.3.2 Arms trafficking in the hinterland**

Arms trafficking and proliferation in the Horn of Africa region undermines state security. It also slows the prospects for economic development in the region and beyond. Although the number of small arms in the region is not known, there are more than 640 million illicit weapons in circulation worldwide. Out of these, it is believed that an estimated 100 million can be found on

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid

the African continent.<sup>62</sup> For insurgents, terrorists, organized criminal syndicates, and thugs alike operating from this under-developed region, the AK-47 has emerged as the weapon of choice. As a result, the aggregate effects of the use of the AK47 have made it the true weapon of mass destruction.<sup>63</sup>

The researcher asked respondents why their communities acquire SALW. According to some of the responses obtained from Focus Group Discussion (FGD) included revelation that trafficking of SALW was a profitable business and a lucrative commercial venture attracting several business persons who traded in guns and ammunition.<sup>64</sup> Although the networks of traffickers and suppliers often operate discreetly, the communities know the main players. These networks, according to popular perception, have brokers whose work is to identify the interested buyers of firearms. During the FGD with some pastoralists who identified themselves as Samburus, they informed this research that British Army training in Nanyuki training camps often left behind huge amounts of ammunition which they collected and in some instances bought some caches of ammunitions from them (British) at very low prices. This revelation underscored the need for accountability among the security agencies and military personnel in efforts geared towards curbing proliferation and trafficking of illicit arms in the county.

According to the respondents, the government played a key role in the spread of SALWs seeing that its weapons could easily pass to civilians, usually during the training exercises of security personnel. They reported that in some instances, police officers could not account for ammunition provided and that spent during combat. This took place when in reality such ammunition, and usually without the knowledge of superiors, had been sold or given it to

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<sup>62</sup> Brian J. (2004). *The insecurity dilemma: National, regime and state securities in the Third World*. Montreal. Lynne Rienner-Boulder,

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

<sup>64</sup> Focus Group Discussion Interview, Rumuruti, 24/6/2017

communities living in the semi-arid region<sup>65</sup> Tellingly, trafficking of SALW in Laikipia County is a complex security phenomenon which feeds to the dynamism of proliferation with its associated negative implications in the entire region.

### **2.3.3 Politicization of SALW in the Horn of Africa**

The politicization of SALW in the region has taken a political dimension given the centrality of SALW in determining political discourse in most of the countries in the region. The need to achieve political support and appease dissident political supporters has seen concerted efforts towards provision of Arms and ammunition to the civilian population by politicians. Respondents were asked to explain how politics have influenced the proliferation of SALW in the region. The responses obtained indicated that some politicians were supplying arms to their respective supporters in a bid to win their loyalty and settle political scores with their opponents.<sup>66</sup> The politicization of SALW is most evident during government sponsored disarmament operations where politicians try to shield their electorates against de-possession of their arms.

This has been witnessed in Kapendo in Turkana where politicians defending Pokots against disarmament waged a ferocious war against the operation terming the drive as counter-productive since it rendered one group vulnerable to attacks from their traditional rivals. The weapons in their possession were perceived to have been supplied by politicians as bribery during campaigns after needs assessment conducted and executed a seasoned politician. Presently, the prevailing security stalemate in South Sudan, the political crisis in Burundi, and

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<sup>65</sup> Key Informant Interview (KII) with Maasai Pastoralist, Laikipia, 24/6/2017

<sup>66</sup> Ibid

the wide-ranging political conflicts in eastern DRC are potential sources of small arms proliferation.<sup>67</sup> In most instances, lawlessness is exploited by terrorists and illegal arms cartels to proliferate arms to their targeted countries.

## **2.4 Chapter Findings**

This chapter establishes the proliferation history of SALW in the Horn of Africa and the trends which have characterized the supply and demand for them in the region. It was established that the colonial legacy played a key role in proliferating small arms in the region during the anti-colonial struggles among the countries in the region. The Proliferation of SALW is pegged to historical factors and porous borders. It is also based on the wide-ranging intermittent regional armed conflicts which are sources of illicit arms. The situation is also aggravated by poor management of arms and control measures by governments within the region. Neighboring countries are responsible for sustained proliferation of SALW in Kenya. Somalia is the main country of origin for majority of illicit arms available in the country. Several factors are responsible for the illicit proliferation among them; corruption takes the lion's share of the catalyzing factors aiding entry of illicit arms in the country.

Other factors include inadequacies inherent in government border control initiatives, limited security sector capacity to detect and control smuggling and trafficking as well as poor stockpile management practices for the government owned arms. Lack of accountability among security agencies and military personnel training in the country has been pointed as a contributing factor to the continued proliferation of SALW in the country. Some of the trends sustaining proliferation of illicit arms in the region are embedded in the traditional customs and beliefs

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<sup>67</sup> Kijongoma, K.P. (2016). *Small Arms Proliferation and homegrown terrorism in the great Lakes Region: Uganda's Experience*. Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School

which advocate for a gun culture particularly among the pastoralist communities inhabiting the poorly policed semi-arid areas in the region. Emergence of a lucrative arms trade has led to emergence of SALW entrepreneurs who pride as brokers, financiers and dealers in a commercially viable arms trade in the region. The complexity of the proliferation is brought about by the politicization of the SALW problem which has hijacked supply and demand patterns, making the trends more sophisticated and challenging.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE IMPACT OF SALW ON STATE SECURITY IN LAIKIPIA COUNTY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the impact that the proliferation of SALW has had on human security in Laikipia County. These are the physical, social and economic impact experienced by the population residing in Laikipia County who have responded to this research. Essentially, this chapter will particularly rely on primary data collected from the study site and supplement it with secondary data to better comprehend the real impact of SALW in the county. Attention is drawn to the possible impact that illicit proliferation of SALW have on security of the county and that of her neighbors. In this regard, the study set to establish the impact of SALW on the state of security in Kenya by asking respondents who participated in this study to state some of the consequences and implication they have borne out of their widespread use in their County (Laikipia).

#### 3.1 Economic Impact of the SALW Proliferation

According to a 2016 research report by the Regional Center for Small Arms (RECSA), there were more than 650,000 illegal arms circulating in Kenya as of April 2016.<sup>68</sup> Substantial numbers of these arms are found in the Karamoja cluster which straddles from Uganda to Kenya. In Laikipia County the availability of SALW has immensely contributed towards insecurity in the area. The incidence of cattle rusting has become more intense and violent while criminality has sky-rocketed harming both human development and economic development.<sup>69</sup> The *Nairobi Declaration* has described Small arms as a major factor that can violate the security of

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<sup>68</sup>RECSA. (2016). *The nexus between illicit small arms proliferation and cattle rustling*. Nairobi: RECSA

<sup>69</sup>Wepundi, M. (2016). *An Analysis of Disarmament Experiences in Kenya*. Regional Centre on Small Arms. Nairobi: SAR-1

individuals.<sup>70</sup> Another expert report on small arms elicits that the unchecked and illegal manufacture, circulation and stockpiling of SALW in many parts of world, have adverse humanitarian and socioeconomic effects. They are serious threats to peace, stability, security and sustainable development the world over.<sup>71</sup> Findings established by this study confirm that SALW have inflamed and intensified otherwise low-intensity conflicts transforming them into large scale conflicts.

This ensuing insecurity has implications for poverty as displaced persons exert pressure on limited natural resources. The conflict situation is manifest among the pastoralist and Agriculturist groups found in the County. The RECSA research report terms the commercialization of the SALW to have enhanced the acquisition of weapons among pastoralist communities.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand Laikipia is located in an ASAL (Arid and Semi-Arid Lands) region where water scarcity presents an opportunity for resource conflict between the pastoralist and the farmers critically reducing their productivity.

Ogolla posits that economic security is key in safeguarding access to resources, finance and markets which are essential to sustaining welfare and state power to acceptable levels.<sup>73</sup> In this study economic insecurity is viewed as threats to the economic instrument of power of the state. According to Sheehan, economy supports security and when weakened the state is insecure.<sup>74</sup> As such, economic security requires that individuals should have an assured basic income. This should come from paid productive work or, in the some unavoidable circumstances, from

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<sup>70</sup>GoK. (2016). *The Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa*. Nairobi: Government Press

<sup>71</sup>Safer World. (2000). *Report of the Meeting of African Experts on Illicit Proliferation, Circulation, and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons*, 17-19 May, 2000 Addis Ababa: Ethiopia; pp.21-22

<sup>72</sup>Ibid

<sup>73</sup>Ogolla, F.O. (2014). *The Determinants of Kenya's National Security Policy since Independence*. Nairobi: UoN Press

<sup>74</sup>Sheehan, M.(2005). *International Security an Analytical Survey*. London: Lynne Boulder Publishers

welfare accruing from a publicly financed safety net. Unemployment, diseases, low food productions, low incomes, high interest rates are problems that constitute economic insecurity. In pastoral communities, easy access to weapons has the capacity to transform minor conflicts into fully pledged war. This has gone on to have severe consequences on state security.

Entrepreneurial growth in Laikipia County was also challenged by the extensive insecurity due to unchecked ownership of weapons and a sprawling gun culture. At the same time, this has added to cases of increased human mortality. SALW have fueled low-intensity conflicts, leading to high incidences of banditry, cattle rustling and property destruction which has impoverished the county dwellers. This insecurity has implications on economic productivity and income generation. The noted economic implication in Laikipia County resulting from SALW induced insecurity has been reduced internal sectoral investments particularly in the Horticulture and ranching industry.

Since 2016, it is estimated that violence emanating from the use of small arms violence has displaced over 50,000 people who actively engages in commercial agriculture and the net effect has been reduced supplies to the neighboring Baringo and Isiolo Counties.<sup>75</sup> There is a close link between the economic growth determinants and security. Weak economy will not support security policy and its by-products such as poverty, hunger, and lack of adequate social welfare breeds insecurity. Economic marginalization and inequalities leads to discontentment and tensions that combine to threaten peace and slows overall development agenda and growth. The table below shows some of the impacts of SALW proliferation on socio-economic wellbeing in Laikipia County.

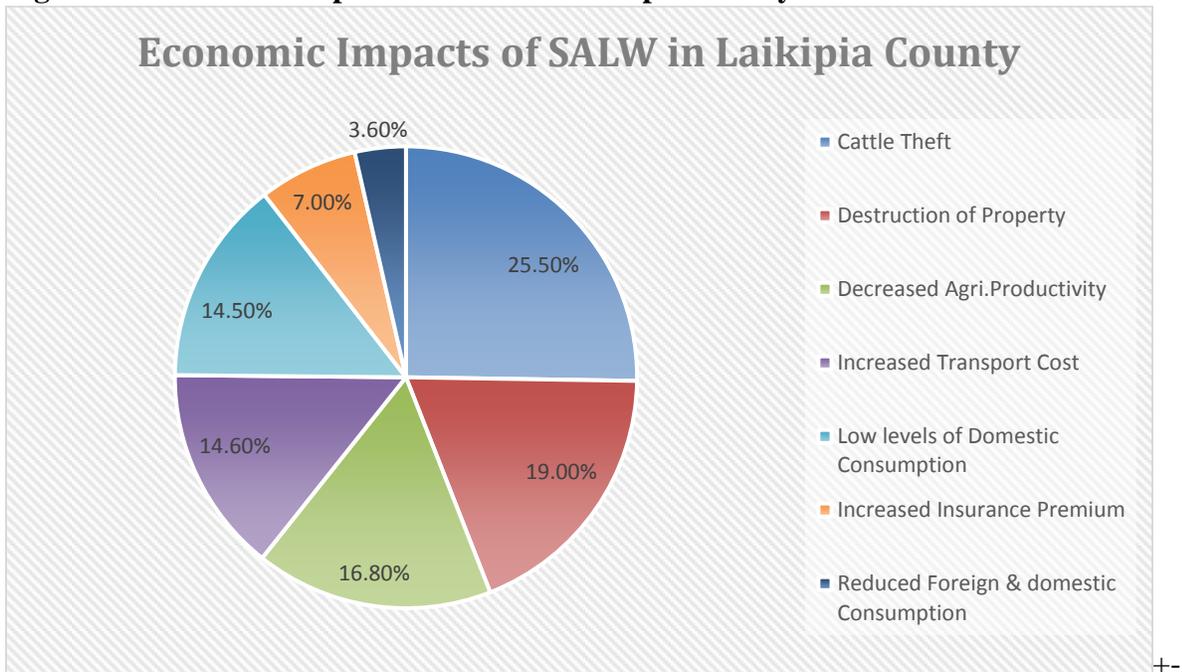
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<sup>75</sup> Daily Nation. (2016). *Cattle rustling blamed for illegal firearms among pastoralists*. Nairobi. Available at [www.dailynation.co.ke](http://www.dailynation.co.ke). Accessed on 9/13/2017

This study sought to determine the economic impact of the proliferation of SALWs in the region and from the table above the impacts was both direct and in-direct. This study did a breakdown of the indicators as shown above. An average of 58.5% of responses indicated that illicit SALW are directly responsible for increased economic insecurity in the county. This shows that these weapons challenged the livelihoods of the inhabitants of the county. In some parts of Laikipia, high insecurity, has led to an arms race. For instance, drought in most parts of the Horn of Africa, has made communities lose their livestock. This had fed into their appetite to restock their herds through raids using SALW. The arms race has increased proliferation of small arms for purposes of self-protection as well as for deterrence.

This study asked the respondents to state some of the economic impacts experienced in Laikipia County due to availability of illicit arms. The most frequent economic impact resulting from illicit proliferation of SALW cited by the respondents was increased theft of cattle accounting for 24.5% of the responses. Destruction of property (19.0%), Decreased Agricultural Productivity (16.8%), increased Transportation cost (14.6%), Low levels of domestic consumption (14.5%), increased insurance premiums (7%) and reduced foreign and domestic investments (3.6%). The results are illustrated in Figure 3.1 below

**Figure 3.1 Economic Impact of SALW in Laikipia County**



**Source: Field Data, 2017**

Cattle theft constituted the highest economic cost experienced in Laikipia County due to utilization of SALW as shown in the figure above. The explanation for increased cattle theft is found in the cultural and traditional beliefs which characterize some of the ethnic communities found in Laikipia. Customarily, majority of pastoralist communities particularly, the Samburu and Maasai have raided each other for decades with the intention of cattle raiding and theft. The practice has been vicious cycle of insecurity producing both *winner and losers* in short term and *losers* in all in the long run.

### **3.2 Social Impact of illicit Proliferation of SALW**

The illicit proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County has produced a number of social challenges which have hampered both individual and national development. Hubert, points out that when highly prevalent in an area, SALW have the propensity to significantly undermine the human

rights of civilians. These human rights are abused in four main ways. They increase the levels of human mortality, escalate and extent of conflict and increase crime against women and children. Lastly, they strengthening of criminals and criminal organizations.<sup>76</sup> There is strong association between high prevalence of SALW in Laikipia County and the high number of small arms homicide and inter-ethnic massacres. This research established that since 2015, small arms had led to over 200 deaths in Laikipia. Displacement of people is another consequence related to availability of SALW.

A research done by Pkalya et al in northern Kenya shows that; by 2003, more than 160,000 people had been displaced and by 2005, the number of the displaced had reached more than 200,000 people. This was directly attributable to illicit SALW.<sup>77</sup> In some cases, arms destined for neighboring countries have been diverted into the County. Some of these arms have gone on to facilitate drug trafficking. Drug trafficking is described as social problem in the County, a vice associated with availability of small arms. There is a close association between sexual violence and the availability of Small arms. The levels of sexual violence tend to increase particularly during disarmament and demobilization operations undertaken by the government security agencies during security operations.

According to responses obtained by this research, majority of rape cases and defilement incidences had occurred and traumatized residents in periods when the government security agencies conducted disarmament operations. The table below shows some of the social impacts reported to local authorities in Rumuruti and Nanyuki in Laikipia County which were commissioned with involvement of SALW.

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<sup>76</sup>Don, H .(2015). *Small Arms Demand and Human Security*. Ploughshares Briefing

<sup>77</sup>Adan, M & and Pkalya, R. (2005). *Closed to Progress: An Assessment of the Socio-economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral and Semi-pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda*. Nairobi: ITDG.

**Table 3.1 Types of Incidences or Cases reported**

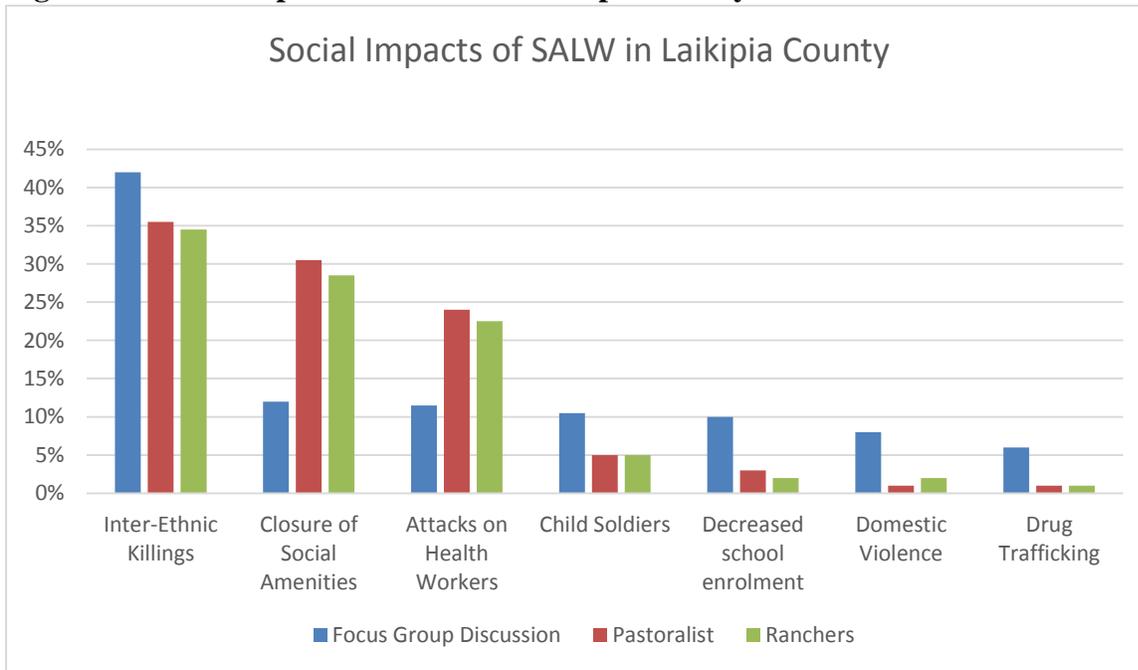
Type of Incidence	Incidences reported (cases)
Assault/Beating/Shooting/	24
Theft/Robbery/Threats with Weapons	22
Revenge Killings	18
Inter-clan fighting	16
Rape/Sexual Assault	15
Drug Trafficking	14
Domestic violence	10

**Source; Field Data, 2017**

During an interview with a Focus Group Discussion (FGD), a group of pastoralist and Ranchers in Rumuruti Town, Olmorani and Nanyuki Town respectively, it was evident that Small arms had a negative social implication on their society. They informed this research of the social implications of the illicit proliferation of small arms to both their individual security and that of their county. According to them, illicit proliferation of small arms was responsible for increased ethno-centric killings (42.0%), closure of schools and Health facilities (12.0%), attacks on Health/Education workers (11.5%), increased number of child *Morans* (soldiers, 10.5), decreased school enrolment (10%), increased incidences of domestic violence involving small firearms and threats of weapons (8%) as well as increased levels of drug trafficking (6%). The responses obtained by this study confirm the research findings established by Wepundi et al in their 2012

report on small arms that illegal proliferation of SALWs has a negative social implication on population.<sup>78</sup> The findings were analyzed and illustrated as shown in figure 3.2 below.

**Figure3. 2 Social impacts of SALW in Laikipia County**



**Source: Field Data, 2017**

The findings indicate that County had suffered socially due to the availability of illegal arms in the region. Societal security including cultural identity has been greatly challenged in Laikipia County which is inhabited by more than four ethnic communities and different races. Buzan asserts that social security is the sustainability of traditional ways of life and national identity.<sup>79</sup>

The logic of analyzing the social security implication stems from the extended approach of the expanded definition of security that is grounded on the individual rather than the state. It is based on the premise that there are other things in society that create social insecurity and cause people to die other than from military threats. The presence of SALW is one constituent threat that

<sup>78</sup> Wepundi, M et al. (2012). *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment Report*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

<sup>79</sup>Buzan, B. & Weaver ,Ole and De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner

challenges social security and human development. Poor health in general weakens the productive age group of a population that forms the economic workforce and hence affects national production. The very deaths that diseases cause are the existential threats to national security and the essence of the required corresponding policies is to prevent these deaths. The effect of the diseases has a direct negative impact on economy.

### **3.3 Increased Lawlessness and Impunity**

Among Community Elders respondents, there is a predominant perception that illicit SALW are directly responsible for increased human insecurity leading to human deaths and injuries in the Horn of Africa region. Averages of 50.0 per cent of the respondents believe that SALW are directly responsible for increased lawlessness indicating that impunity has increased exponentially. According to Human Rights Watch, there are approximately 1,137 Kenya Police Reservists in Laikipia conservancies. However, the exact number of reservists working outside the conservancies is unclear. This makes criminality highly possible without detection.<sup>80</sup>This emanates from the fact that these reservists move highly in and out of the county. Furthermore, many more have now moved into conservancies.

For example, Ol Pejeta Conservancy has 158 registered Kenya Police Reservists with 42 armed personnel possessing G3 rifles each with 100 rounds of ammunition.<sup>81</sup> Lack of accountability coupled with corruption and incompetence are rampant among the Kenya Police Reservists. The incompetence on part of the Kenya Police Reservists has divided the communities manned by these reservist. Despite the fact that the institution of police reservists was established with good intentions, it has been reported that the institution has contributed to crime and cattle rustling

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<sup>80</sup>HRW (Human Rights Watch). (2015). *Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence and Human Rights in Kenya*. Washington, DC: HRW.

<sup>81</sup>Mkutu , K & Wandera G.(2013). *Policing the Periphery Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya Police Reserves*. Working paper for Small Arms Survey. Geneva. SAS.

among pastoralist communities. The fact that KPRs regulate themselves and often work outside the hierarchical command of senior offices increases their propensity to misuse their arms. Some take advantage of such loop-holes and engage in criminal behaviors which threaten both human and state security.

### **3.4 Creation of Security Dilemma and an internal arms Race**

This was one of the remarks derived from a respondent (livestock trader) in area around Lewa Conservancy concerning SALW ownership; *“Since others have guns and ammunition and nothing has been done to them, then we may as well buy guns too”*.

This kind of insecurity has contributed to arms race in some parts of the county where people acquire SALW as a result of their neighbor’s acquisition. This situation leads to a security dilemma and breeds an insecurity phenomenon for all. For instance, a similar case scenario happened in northern Kenya due to the drought situation of early 2011. In this case, communities which lost their livestock to drought sought to restock through raids where they utilized SALW, a move which resulted into their counterparts acquiring arms also to defend themselves.<sup>82</sup>

The illicit proliferation of SALW is a determining factor of the outcome of conflicts. It also abets in the commission of crimes. In all instances, illicitly transferred SALW have had negative effects on the affected communities. In this regard, affected and largely civilians have been negatively affected. This has gone on to increase the severity and duration of conflicts.

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<sup>82</sup>Small Arms Survey. (2003). *Small Arms Survey 2003: Development Denied*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey

### **3.5 Internal Displacement of Civilians (Homelessness)**

Internal displacement of civilians is one of the major impact resulting from of illicit proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County with its mixed race and ethnic populations of Kikuyu, Maasai, Kalenjin, Borana, Turkana and the Europeans who are mainly ranchers. Previous research in Laikipia indicates that SALWs have displaced more than 160,000 people by 2012 in pastoralist violence.<sup>83</sup> The displacement of civilian population continues even today particularly with the recent banditry killings experienced in Baringo County which neighbors Laikipia County involving both the Turkana's and the Pokots.

The Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have re-settled in Laikipia County exerting more pressure on the already existing ethnic rivalries in the county and its resources. An estimated 8,000 people were displaced in 2008 with 25 killed being killed in conflicts between farmers, Tugen and Turkana pastoralists in Laikipia West.<sup>84</sup> With the rise and rise of the availability of small arms, rampant weapons ownership has increased in the area. As a result, guns are currently seen as necessary tools for survival. Once settled some of these agitated communities have embarked on re-armament procedures to revenge their loss of homes and property. The Turkana's and the Tugen have recently followed this path and their constant attacks against each other for revenge have created vicious cycle of violence and killings in the region.

### **3.6 Intensification of Electoral related violence**

Respondents in this study expressed that SALW in Laikipia County increase in their demand specifically during electioneering periods. The pre and post General Election period in Kenya presents a suitable occasion for organized criminals to acquire SALW in the county. The

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<sup>83</sup> Nthiga, E. et al. (2012). *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment*. Geneva. Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva 2012

<sup>84</sup> Gichigi, A. (2008). *In-depth: Kenya's Post Election Crisis: Tracing Roots of Conflict in Laikipia*. Nairobi: IRIN.

politicians from the county supply their supporters with weapons and ammunition to counter their political opponents. One lawyer who usually represent victims of violence in this County in seeking justice remarked;

*“In Laikipia, the demand for guns increase during election periods where politicians supply their supporters with guns and ammunitions to attack their enemies”*

After the disputed December 2007 General Election in Kenya, the unprecedented levels and intensity of armed violence that followed placed the problem of SALW higher on the national agenda. According to the Waki Report, a total of 1,133 people died in the wake of the unrest.<sup>85</sup> At the same time, over 3,500 Kenyans suffered injuries with over 100,000 private properties being destroyed.<sup>86</sup> It was observed in the report that gunshots were responsible for 962 casualties, with 405 of them dying.<sup>87</sup> Given 2017 is an election year and still ethnic politics characterize governance in Kenya, the levels of ethnic animosity are still ripe in the country and with such high levels of illicit SALW in civilian hands the situation might be worse.

### **3.7 Intensification of Resource fueled Conflict**

The inter-ethnic interaction of communities in Laikipia has led to resource based conflicts which have increased tremendously the demand for SALW in the region. The over-extraction of water for agricultural purposes by horticulturists leads to cases of invasions of ranches to access water points by pastoralist. Among the Responses obtained by this study, 18.8 % of the respondents indicated that they owned SALW for Personal protection from other clans while another 11.4%

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<sup>85</sup>CIPEV (Commission of Inquiry into Post-election Violence). (2008). *Report of the Findings of the CIPEV*. Nairobi: Government Printers. P.345-46

<sup>86</sup> Ibid

<sup>87</sup> Ibid

of them indicated that they owned arms to protect their property and wealth which in this case included livestock, grazing lands and water points.

Mkutu observes that there is immense pressure on natural resources due to population explosion and drought.<sup>88</sup> Since 2015, drought has often forced the Maasai and other pastoralist groups to move to private ranches and farmed areas in search of fresh pasture and water. Conservancies have in some instances fuelling unintended SALW conflicts. The Sera Conservancy in Samburu, for example, where the Rendile, Borana, and Samburu traditionally shared pastures during the dry season has often fueled conflict. Nexus has been observed between the differing interests of pastoralists and agriculturalists and the increased desire to own SALW further fuelling insecurity in the region.

Land grabbing in is a condoned menace in Laikipia County.<sup>89</sup> In addition, there is widespread ownership of land by a few. Presently, 70 per cent of the land in the country is privately owned, mostly by farmers, ranchers or absentee landlords. As a result, access to grazing land and water in this pastoral area is curtailed, a major challenge for the local population. This has contributed to illegal occupation of private land. The end result has been increased tensions and violent conflicts.

### **3.8 Political Impacts of illicit Proliferation of SALW**

The proliferation of small arms has created a considerable political implication both at the county level as well as at the national level. The political implication of illicit proliferation is closely related to the political practices initiated by the government and political leaders who for the better part dictate the policy formulation and policy-issues. The political developments resulting

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<sup>88</sup>Mkutu, K. (2005). *Pastoralist Conflict, Small Arms and Governance in the Northrift, Northeast Africa.* Doctoral thesis, University of Bradford.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid-Mkutu & Wandera pp. 24-25

from SALW in Laikipia is gaining both national and international attention due to vested interests emanating from such actors.

Illicit proliferation of SALWs have realized notable political developments such as disarmament operations, election-related skirmishes, politicization of cattle rustling and adoption of national, regional and international practices aimed at controlling the proliferation of the small arms. This study examines the impact of each of these political processes and the significance of each to maintenance of state security.

### **3.8.1 Disarmament Operations**

Kenya has conducted approximately 50 disarmament operations over the past 100 years. This has particularly been among the pastoralist communities north of the country.<sup>90</sup> Civilian disarmament has been a continuous political and security process carried out since pre-colonial period. The first civilian disarmament in Kenya was dubbed *Operation Tennis* carried out by the colonial government in Turkana to rid them of their arms.<sup>91</sup> The operation failed with Turkana's fleeing from the colonial authorities with their arms. The second effort to disarm civilian in Kenya involved the Dassanech who grazed in the Ilemi triangle. The colonial administration efforts to impose an economic blockade in the Omo region demanded them to give up their arms. A third colonial-era disarmament exercise was conducted in the Kolowa district of Eastern Baringo in 1950. It led to many deaths with displaced persons fleeing to Losiro, Uganda.

The 1952 *Operation Jock Stock* by the colonial government aimed at crushing the *Mau Mau* rebellion. Although the operation was carried out with much fervor, it was often targeted political elites. Interestingly, some did not even know anything about the insurgency.

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<sup>90</sup>Wepundi, M., Ndung'u, J & Rynn, S. (2011). *Lessons from the frontiers: Civilian Disarmament in Kenya and Uganda*. Nairobi: Saferworld Publication

<sup>91</sup> Ibid

Disarmament went on into post-colonial Kenya. Successive Kenyan governments have continued disarmament efforts often with intense fervor. During the tenure of President Moi, over 20 operations targeting the Pokot community were executed.<sup>92</sup>

The *Operation Nyundo* is categorically one of the most deadly disarmament operation carried out jointly between the government of Kenya and that of Uganda to rid both the Pokots and the Karamajong off their arms. The extremely forceful operation had coordinated ground and air operations. It has traumatized the Pokot so much that many of them fear helicopters ever since.<sup>93</sup> In this operation, 250 firearms and 3,000 rounds of ammunition were recovered.<sup>94</sup> In Karamoja, the disarmament aimed at collecting all instruments of violence. These included all small arms and crude weapons (mainly spears). Apart from these, the government of Kenya has carried out multiple disarmament operations which have been described by Wepundi et al. as massacres.<sup>95</sup>

In Laikipia County disarmament of the Samburu ethnic group was one incident undertaken by the government security agencies. This followed incidences of cattle rustling, animal theft, armed robbery attacks and an upsurge of natural resources conflicts (pasture, land and water) attributed to movement of herders with their animals from Isiolo and Samburu counties being reported in Laikipia West.<sup>96</sup> Many respondents in this study said that politicians were heavily involved not only in arming some communities and disarming the others. This was done purposely with intention of maintaining power for some ethnic groups and losing it on the part of

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<sup>92</sup>Kopel, B D., Gallant, P and Eisen, D J. (2008). *Human Rights and Gun Confiscation* in Quinipiac Law Review, Vol. 26, 2008, p 406, available at: [www.davekopel.com/2a/Foreign/Human-Rights-and-Gun-Confiscation.pdf](http://www.davekopel.com/2a/Foreign/Human-Rights-and-Gun-Confiscation.pdf). Accessed on 9/14/2017

<sup>93</sup>Ibid

<sup>94</sup>Mathenge, G. (2006). *War-Like Activities and the Question of Disarmament*. Daily Nation, 7 May 2006. NMG Publication Available at: [www.dailynation.co.ke](http://www.dailynation.co.ke) Accessed on 9/14/2017

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.13

<sup>96</sup> UNDP/GoK. (2015). *Deepening Foundations For Peace-building And Community Security In Kenya 2014 – 2018*. Nairobi. Quarterly Progress Report for January – March 2015

others. In Rumuruti Town respondent D8 described the disarmament to have started when a Pokot kidnapped a Samburu girl and raped her by threatening her with an AK 47 rifle.

In retribution, a baby was kidnapped and boiled in a drum by the Samburus.<sup>97</sup> However, the disarmament in the adjacent Samburu East and Laisamis districts was not successful. This was due to the fact that since the disarmament of 2005 in the area was considered to have left the Samburu unprotected since their hostile neighbors did not disarm. As such, this study endeavored to establish the impact of disarmament to the security of the population.

**Table 3.2 Impact of disarmament on security of the population**

<b>Impact</b>	<b>% of the Population</b>
Decreased	24.6
Increased	54.4
Stable	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source, Field Data, 2017**

Local pastoralists in conflict zones had increased knowledge on disarmament operations especially in volatile zones of county than academicians and businessmen combined. Furthermore, many interviewees from Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) were aware of these operations; terming them as grossly inhumane and violent. While the government's disarmament operations (specifically, *Operation Dumisha Amani*) had comprehensive media adoption and civil society participation, it did not yield satisfactory local community engagement. In some instances, the community did not participate at all. There is thus need to do more to bridge the knowledge gap on SALW control initiatives in the country.

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<sup>97</sup> Semi-structured interview, Samburu Pastoralist, Rumuruti, July 2017

### **3.8.2 Election-related Skirmishes**

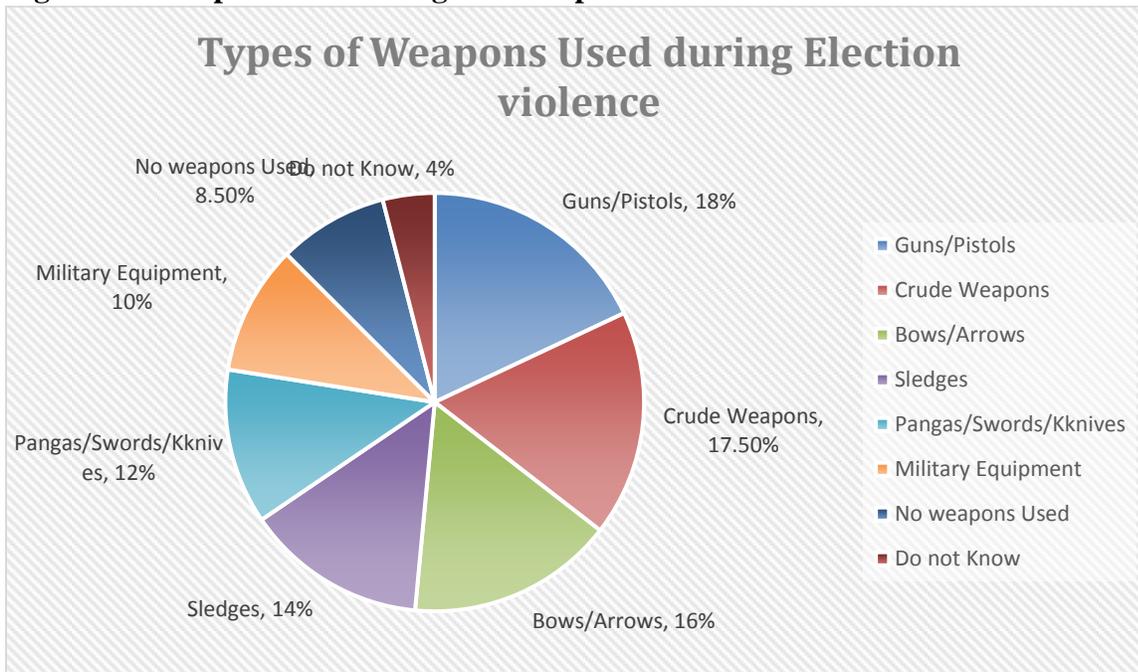
According to a small arms survey report done by Wepundi et al., demand for SALW was fueled by 2007/08 post-election violence that resulted in mass displacements and wide-spread insecurity in the Rift Valley region.<sup>98</sup> After the bungled elections in 2007/08 the issue of SALWs became an important national agenda. This followed the killing of more than 1, 333 people upon declaration of the hotly contested election. Several factors, resource inadequacy, corruption, understaffing and inaccessibility of conflict zones, have challenged law enforcement initiatives of controlling the proliferation of SALW during electioneering periods. In Laikipia County, respondents in this study indicated that gun-related violence was very rife during and after elections which challenged both human and state security. The politicization of ethnicity has produced upward demand of small arms where political leaders use weapons to win over their opponents.

This study realized that there was an increase in incidence of small arms related violence particularly during the election periods. The politicians are responsible for trading of votes (loyalty) with ammunitions thereby escalating inter-ethnic rivalries in the county. Although, guns and ammunitions were mentioned by respondents in this study as weapons mostly used during post-election violence and electoral related skirmishes, other weapons cited by the respondents included crude objects, traditional bow/Arrows, sledges, Pangas and Swords, military equipment and bladed weapons. When asked about the type of weapons during election violence periods some respondents indicated that no weapons were while other indicated that they did not know the type of weapons used. The Figure below shows some of the weapons used to perpetuate crime or violence during election periods.

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<sup>98</sup>Wepundi, M. et al. (2012). *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment*. Geneva. Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. Special Report 16, October 2012

**Figure 3.3 Weapons used during Election periods**



**Source: Field Data 2017**

A probative analysis of the responses demonstrates that Guns and pistols were the commonly used weapons in commission of election related violence in Laikipia County with 18% of the respondents asserting that. 17.5% of the respondents indicated that crude weapons were the weapons of choice for people who participated in election related skirmishes. Bows and Arrows were indicated by 16% of the respondents who termed them as abundantly available among the inhabitants of Laikipia County. Other respondents (4%) indicated that they never knew the type of weapons that were used to commit atrocities during post-election violence periods while (8.5%) indicated that there was no weapon used but the assailant's burnt property in cases of arsonist. Election related violence is therefore closely linked with the increased demand for illegal acquisition of SALWs.

### **3.8.3 Political Assassinations**

A significant 40 % of the respondents in this research indicated that SALW in their county have been used for political assassination. Due to their widespread use and uncontrolled regulation among the civilian population, the arms have been utilized by some politicians to settle political scores among themselves. This is a situation where perceived political competition is neutralized through killing of opponents and inflicting injuries to others. Although there was no reported case of political murders happening in the County under research, respondents remarked that SALW have been employed elsewhere to eradicate political competition and issue political threats which carried death messages to the perceived opponent.

Some Respondents (20%) pointed out cases of political assassination in the larger country perspective where they singled out the killing of prominent politicians like Tom Mboya, Robert Ouko and Pio Gama Pinto as case studies. There was even a mention of recent killings of Nairobi Businessman Jacob Juma whom the respondents termed as politically motivated which was committed through spraying of his car with bullets by unknown assailants. In the Horn of Africa region, proliferation of SALW is responsible for destabilization of countries like Somalia and South Sudan which have fought bitter civil wars for decades with such proliferation being responsible for their political turmoil and lack of responsible government to offer leadership for the countries.

In the case of Somalia, the country has for decade's experienced internal civil strife stretching to close of three decades with emergence of extremists militia groups ( for instance, Al-shabaab) which armed with assorted kinds of SALW have terrorized Kenya and the entire Horn of Africa region with insecurity. Trafficking of Arms is rife in Laikipia County where majority of the

respondents (60 per cent) named neighboring countries particularly; Somalia, South Sudan as well as southern Ethiopia as the source countries feeding the demand for SALW.

### **3.8.4 General Impact of Proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa Region**

#### **3.8.4.1 Upsurge in Insecurity Levels**

The availability of small weapons in the region is fueled rampant insecurity in the region. This has been particularly so in Kenya as evidenced by high levels of cattle rustling and armed criminals. In the suburban areas of Nairobi in Kayole, Mathare and Dandora the Kenya Police Service is gunning down wanted criminals who are said to be armed with involvement of women criminals emerging as a trending topic in the Country's social media platforms. In these suburbs, it costs less than Ksh, 20, 000 to acquire an illegal pistol. On its part, an AK-47 goes for Ksh. 50,000 or less<sup>99</sup> The trafficking into Kenya and to the neighboring countries of SALW from specifically Somalia and South Sudan, a countries in civil war, has spread insecurity all over to Kenya and Uganda. As already posited, illicit manufacture, circulation and stockpiling of SALW has had immense humanitarian and socioeconomic effects on urban and rural populations the world over. It poses a serious threat normal life and hinders peace, security, reconciliation, sustainable development and peace from local to international levels.<sup>100</sup>

In one of Africa's most brutal conflicts, the south Sudan government of President Salva Kiir has been battling the rebel forces led by Riek Machar since 2013.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore the conflict between Uganda Defense Forces and the rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) since 1989 have

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<sup>99</sup>Oxfam International (2016). *Africa's Missing Billions; International Arms Flows and the Cost of Conflict*. Briefing Paper 107

<sup>100</sup>The Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa (Nairobi, 15 March 2000); *Report of the Meeting of African Experts on Illicit Proliferation, Circulation, and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons*, 17-19 May, 2000 Addis Ababa Ethiopia

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

aggravated the situation. These two conflicts have shown some linkages in which each government has accused the other of supporting their opponents through the logistical support, providing bases and arms.

A report by *International Crisis Group* (a NGO) documents that refugees from South Sudan have been abetting banditry and cattle rustling in the Karamoja cluster which straddles the three countries of Uganda, Kenya and South Sudan.<sup>102</sup> The commission of cattle rustling and banditry employs full utilization of SALW present in the cluster. The entry of refugees into domestic conflicts of host countries complicates security situation and makes the humanitarian conflicts more frequent and violent especially when the host community feels marginalized and neglected by the authorities and their government as it is the case in Dadaab and in Kakuma.

#### **3.8.4.2 Increased Cross Border Criminality**

Statistics show that about ten million small arms are in circulation among the 300 million inhabitants of the pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa.<sup>103</sup> These arms are responsible for supporting illegal trade and skirmishes across national borders. In the pastoral communities these weapons have been by communities against each other in the Kenya-Uganda as well in Kenya-Somalia borders in cross-border cattle rustling raids and drug smuggling endeavors. In this context several communities such as the Karamajong, the Pokot, the Jie, Dodoso, Turkana, the Samburu and the Pokots have been involved.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>International Crisis Group -ICG, (2014). *South Sudan: a civil war by any other name* (Africa Report no. 217), Addis Ababa: ICG, 2014

<sup>103</sup>United Nations (2015). *Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat, and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*. UN Document A/CONF.192/15

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

### **3.8.4.3 Erosion of State Capacity to Govern**

Notably, the absence of accountable governments is culpable for armed violence and SALW proliferation. The utmost priority of any meaningful government is to offer security to her citizens against threats to their fundamental human rights and freedoms. Weak governments are also responsible, in part, for the successful spread and stockpiling of SALW in any country. This situation has negative ripple effects on the governance of the country. This is usually through weakening security sectors as criminals and criminal organizations increasingly become armed.<sup>105</sup>

This can be demonstrated by the recent killings of Kenya Police service Officers from the Anti-Stock Theft Unit by Bandits at the Death Valley in Baragoi and Kapendo in Kenya's Rift Valley early 2015 and 2016 respectively. Recently, fresh inter-ethnic killings involving the Pokots and the Turkana's have been witnessed in 2017 where despite the stern warning from the President and deployment of security agencies the killings are still ongoing at the time of this study. The reason behind such absurd killings is the widespread availability of SALW in the region and weakened state capacity to offer security to citizens by organized cattle rustlers who seem more intelligent and lethal than the government.

## **3.9 Chapter Summary**

This chapter sought to analyze the security implications resulting from the illicit proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County. The analysis of the impact focused on three major aspects of particularly economic sphere, social sphere and political sphere. The chapter has established that illicit proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County has produced negative economic and social implications. These implications are rooted in the increased level of insecurity which

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<sup>105</sup>Gikonyo, J.K. (2015). *The Illicit Proliferation and use of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Human Security in East Africa: A Case Study of Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press

consequently determines the level of economic activities and social cohesion among the inhabitants of the region. Cattle rustling has intensified and become more violent in recent times due to the employment of small arms.

Resource-fueled conflict has also intensified in the County as ethno-centric violence escalates towards full-blown war. The social integration of the society has sunk to the deepest lows in the recent times as inter-ethnic killings and retaliations take effect in the region. The proliferation has been politicized bringing yet another dimension to the already complex security situation. The government strategy of disarmament has taken a political dimension with some communities being rendered powerless and vulnerable to attacks from their traditional foes. This study realizes a gap in knowledge concerning how disarmament operations are conducted in the region and the sustainability of security in the County in both the short term and long term stability.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **STRATEGIES AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR CONTROLLING ILLICIT PROLIFERATION OF SALW IN KENYA**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on strategies as well as normative and institutional controls by the Kenyan government in efforts geared towards controlling the proliferation of SALW in Kenya. The chapter primarily addresses the national, regional and international strategies that have been adopted to strengthen the control of illicit SALW and curb their manufacture, trafficking and circulation. These national and international instruments will include specific provisions, conventions and practices that states have considering in regulating SALW. Special attention will be made on the effectiveness of legislation enacted in Kenya on combating SALW. The chapter will utilize primary data obtained from the study site as well corroborate the findings with the existing literature drawn from previous studies.

#### **4.1 Strategies for Controlling Proliferation of SALW in Kenya**

The researcher sought to establish some of the strategies initiated by the government of Kenya in a bid to control the illicit proliferation of SALW in the country by asking the respondents to indicate some of the strategies adopted for controlling illicit proliferation inside the country as well as in its borders. Various strategies such as legislation, law enforcement and awareness creation campaigns among others were investigated. The findings reveal that the government as employed a number of stringent measures to combat the challenge of small arms. Based on respondents views the following were some of the strategies named: disarmament (35.4%); border control mechanism (26.2%); effective stockpile management (12.5%); marking of all

arms in the country (8.9%) and; creation of awareness on small arms (6.4%). Other strategies include: arrest and prosecution (4.6%); early warning system (4.0%) and; creation of specialized police department (2.0%) to deal with illicit proliferation. The responses were illustrated in the figure below.

**Figure 4.1 Respondents Perceptions of Strategies for controlling illicit Proliferation of SALW**



**Source: Field Data, 2017**

#### **4.2 Disarmament Operations**

The findings obtained show that there is an increased trend of understanding and experience of disarmament operations among respondents. Majority of respondents (26.2%) reported awareness of disarmament operations and campaigns initiated by the government of Kenya in efforts directed towards eliminating illicit arms often quoting *Operation Dumisha Amani* and *Operation Nyundo* as the most notable disarmament operation that they know/witnessed. In Kenya, there have been multiple forced disarmament operations. These have often been

historically described as outright massacres.<sup>106</sup> It is also important to underline that the aim of disarmament operations should not be merely arms recovery. Such operations should be buttressed with the alleviation of the factors that fuel the quest for arms. One of the methods that could be used to this end includes boosting security in affected areas. According to Kamenju et al. poorly coordinated disarmament initiatives often increases the demand for small arms.<sup>107</sup>

In several cases, past efforts by Kenya to unilaterally disarm the targeted communities has forced some community members to flee into neighboring countries. In some instances, these communities have mounted effective resistance. When the disarmament does not translate to the security and development concerns of communities, it generates perceptions of exclusion. This goes on to increase the demand of SALW.<sup>108</sup> As already pointed out, chronic instability in the region, continues to augment the cross-border supply of weapons. This has been responsible for the creation of conditions of insecurity. The research also endeavored to establish the effect of disarmament to the proliferation of SALW. There were mixed perceptions among the respondents as shown in the table below.

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<sup>106</sup>Mathenge, G, (2006). *War-Like Activities and the Question of Disarmament*, Daily Nation, 7 May 2006. Available at [www.dailynation.co.ke/disarmament/docs](http://www.dailynation.co.ke/disarmament/docs). Accessed on 9/27/2017

<sup>107</sup> Kamenju, J, Wairagu, F, and Mwachofi, S, (2003). *Profiling Small Arms and Insecurity in the North Rift Region of Kenya*. Security Research and Information Centre, Oakland Media Services

<sup>108</sup>Eavis, P. (2002). *SALW in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region: Challenges and Ways Forward*. Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol. 9, No. 1

**Table 4.1 Impact of disarmament on Proliferation of SALW**

<b>Impact</b>	<b>% of Respondents</b>
Increased	20.6%
Decreased	78.2%
Remained the same	1.2%
Total	100.0

**Source; Field Data, 2017**

Majority of the respondents viewed disarmament in a positive way and indicated that it had potentially reduced the number of illicit SALW in the country generally even though it lacked human rights considerations. The number of illicit guns and ammunition reduced through forceful disarmament surpassed the number of arms recovered through voluntary surrender. This is attributed to the personal affiliation attached by those who possess them.

The Kenya National Focal Point (KNFP) works in close collaboration with the community leaders and civil society pressure groups to identify those in possession of SALW before engaging in the actual disarmament drives.<sup>109</sup> In most cases, and with the exception of areas with complex security dynamics, the police agencies in Kenya are widely involved.<sup>110</sup> In some instances for example when there was an armed militia group for instance the Mt Elgon's Saboat Land Defense Force (SLDF), the Kenya army intervened.<sup>111</sup> The Kenya Army is legally barred from participating in the internal policing duties reserved for the Kenya police and therefore should not participate in disarmament operations as they occasionally do.

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<sup>109</sup>KNFP. (2010). *Disarmament in Kenya.* Presentation at the Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop. Mombasa, Kenya, 30–31 August, 2010. KNFP

<sup>110</sup>Mburu, N. (2002). *The Proliferation of Guns and Rustling in Karamoja and Turkana Districts: The Case for Appropriate Disarmament Strategies.* Geneva: Small Arms Survey.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid

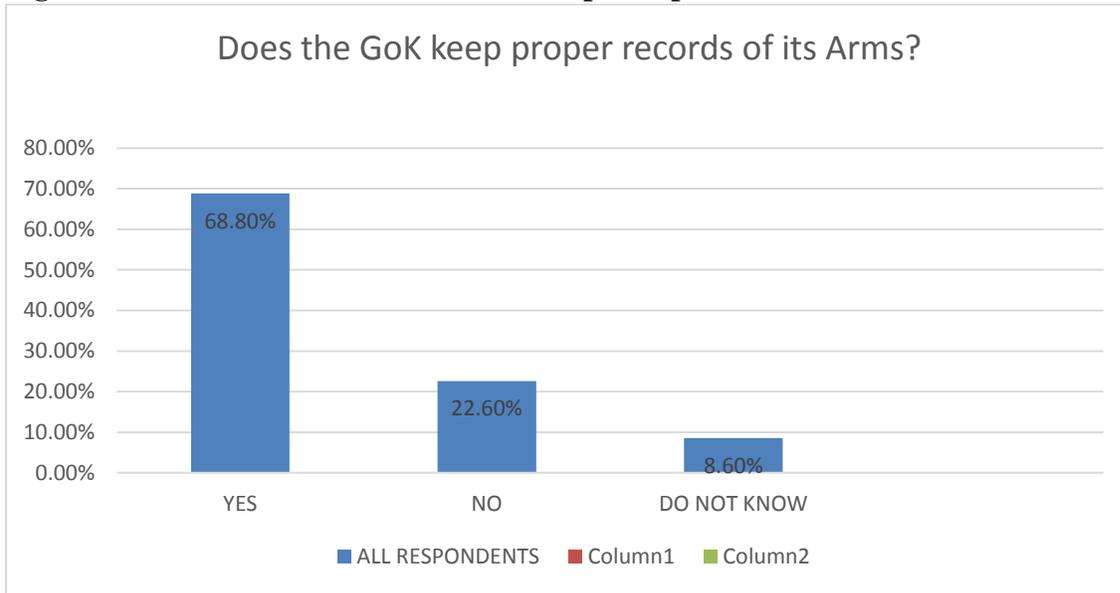
### **4.3 Effective Stockpile Management**

The researcher has established that effective stockpile management was central in checking the circulation of SALW in Kenya. This entails keeping proper records and information on all weapons available in the country. The strategy entails computerizing all records of government firearms and ammunition to prevent misuse and criminal activities for instance cases where police officers could hire out their weapons to commit felonies. In Laikipia County, there are increasing complaints made leveled against law enforcement officers. In this case, officers are often accused of leasing out guns and selling ammunition to civilians.<sup>112</sup> This has been attributed to inadequate and poor recordkeeping the arms stockpiles of the government. The researcher asked the respondents to indicate the level to which the practice of keeping proper records of arms stockpiles was undertaken by the government. The findings indicate that 68.8% of the respondents believed that Kenyan Government keeps proper records of all its arms while 22.6% said it does not of which 8.6% said they did not know as shown below.

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<sup>112</sup> Key Informant Interview, 24<sup>th</sup> August 2017-Rumuruti-Laikipia County

**Figure 4.2 The level to which the GoK Keeps Proper Records of its Arms**



**Source; Field Data, 2017**

A probative analysis of the findings established by the researcher reveals majority of respondents (68.8%) believed that the government kept proper records of all its arms. In addition, the respondents posited that the system of managing government stockpiles is effective. The findings corroborates information obtained from Kenya national focal point asserting that in the bid to ensure effective stockpile management, the government was marking all its arms and ammunition so as to augment the accountability of government arms.<sup>113</sup>

According to a key Informant Interview finding, these KPRs, who are armed by the government, often abuse their weapons and are usually not professionals in handling firearms resulting to frequent altercations with local particularly the pastoralist.<sup>114</sup> There were cases reported of KPRs who often rent out their weapons to criminals and the traces of spent ammunition indicated that the weapons belonged to the government, issued to Police reservists. There was a sentiment

<sup>113</sup>KNFP. (2011). *Small Arms Survey, 2011. Assessment of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya.* Database. Nairobi: KNFP Publication

<sup>114</sup> Key Informant Interview, Rumuruti, 24<sup>th</sup> August, 2017

obtained from the field that ‘*KPRs Don’t Die*’. That meant, once a person employed as a KPRs die, a member of his family inherits his guns and continues the legacy of his father a clear indication of improper record keeping of government arms.

#### **4.4 Border Control Initiatives**

This rampant perception that arms originate from neighboring countries is fueled by the porosity of national borders and the vast numbers of guns reported to have been trafficked across such borders.<sup>115</sup> Kenya sharing borders with conflict-riddled countries makes such trafficking easier and the problem of refugees complicates the situation. The need to secure the country’s border points makes it an effective strategy of controlling illicit proliferation of SALW in the country. According to Farah et al. transnational identities and commonalities and nomadic nature of borderland communities have posed immense challenge to securing border security.<sup>116</sup> For instance, most of the pastoral communities are related to those across the border while others straddle national borders. Respondents were asked to rate the effectiveness of border control mechanisms in controlling the illicit proliferation of SALW in Kenya. 24.2% of the respondents said the border control mechanism were highly effective, 15.6% said they were just effective, 18.2%. On the contrary, 20.8% of the respondents indicated that government mechanisms of controlling borders were ineffective while 21.2% said they were highly ineffective as shown in the table below.

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<sup>115</sup> Op cit.

<sup>116</sup>Farah, I et al. (2005). *Small Arms and Border Controls in the Horn of Africa: The Case of Malkasufta, Ethiopia; Mandera, Kenya; and Bula-Hawa Somalia*. Nairobi: African Peace Forum and Project Ploughshares.

**Table 4.2 Rate of effectiveness of border control mechanisms initiated by the GoK to control illicit proliferation of SALW**

<b>Rate of Effectiveness</b>	<b>% of Respondents</b>
Highly effective	24.2%
Effective	15.6%
Ineffective	20.8%
Highly ineffective	21.2%

**Source: Field Data, 2017**

Majority of the respondents termed the government's border control mechanisms as highly effective in the control of illicit proliferation of SALW. According to a research by the New York Times, the trafficking of arms across borders can be reduced through comprehensive border control mechanisms. Although these mechanisms are expensive to implement, they also reduce SALWs' related crimes.<sup>117</sup> For the border control mechanisms to be effective in checking the proliferation of illicit small arms, it is vital to take the identities of communities living along the boundaries.

#### **4.5 Awareness Creation**

The government of Kenya has put in place several awareness-raising initiatives regarding the illegal spread of small arms. The campaign against small arms is done collaboratively with civil society organization to advance education on issues of SALWs. There exists various means through which the awareness creation campaigns are run and through which information and education related to consequences of SALW is relayed. The researcher sought to establish the means through which the message concerning eradication of SALW was delivered to them and

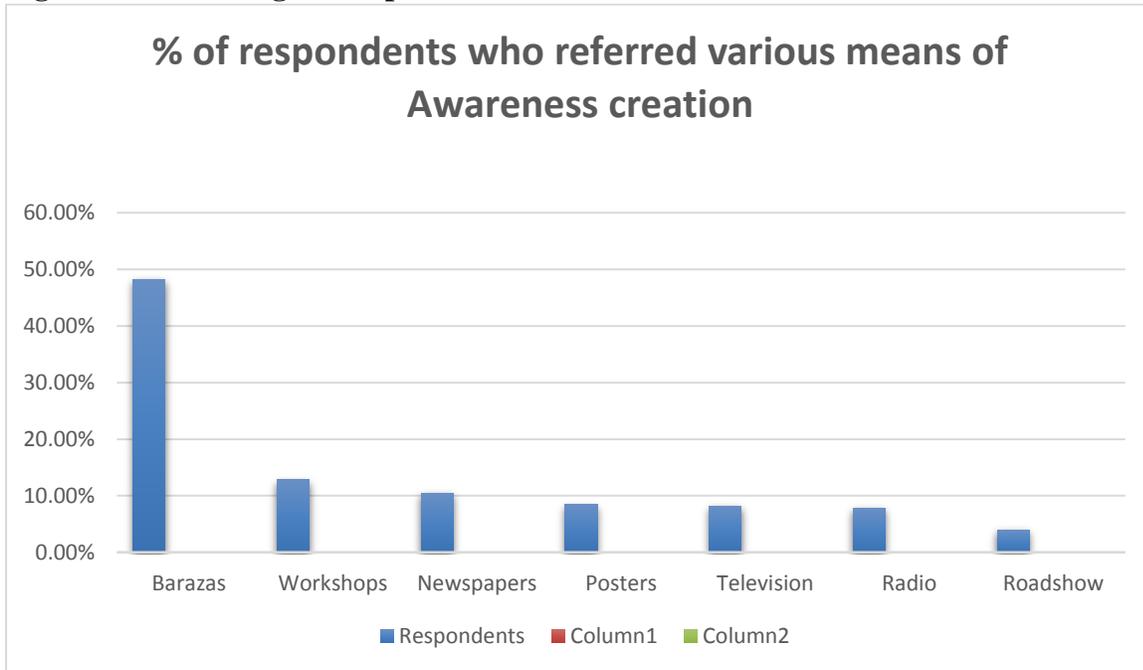
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<sup>117</sup>*Kenya's Porous Border Lies Open to Arms Smugglers*, Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/international/africa>. Accessed on 9/27/2017

majority of them (48.2%) indicated the informal meetings (*Barazas*) as the platform where the message was delivered to them.

Another 12.8% said they attended workshops from where they were sensitized on the harm of keeping illicit arms. 10.5% said they read newspapers, 8.5% saw posters with the information on illegal arms, 8.2% said they watched television campaigns discouraging people against illicit ownership of SALW, 7.8% indicated Radio as means through which they acquired information while only 4.0% indicated roadshows as the only awareness campaign they have ever witnessed. The *Barazas* were quoted as highly effective and interactive unlike the other means of creating awareness. Workshops are ranked as the second-most-effective awareness creation method that respondents ranked as most effective control initiatives. However, brochures, documentaries, and the print media (newspapers) were mostly rated as less effective. The figure below shows the preferences of various means of creating awareness on control of illicit proliferation of SALW.

**Figure 4.3 Percentage of respondents who referred to various means of awareness creation**



**Source: Field Data, 2017**

In Laikipia County, respondents (KIIs) suggested that the dangers of SALWs should be taught to children. Thereafter, these children should be used to influence their communities to abandon illicit ownership of these weapons. The Key Informants proposed that information should be availed through the modest means so as to reach more people on abandoning cattle rustling and embracing say agriculture as an alternative to their livelihood. The respondents also proposed inclusion of control approaches to be included in school based curriculum for their children for them to grow with such knowledge and pass it their kin. This was seen as sustainable and effective.

#### **4.6 Normative Framework for controlling Illicit Proliferation of SALW**

The most pronounced normative frameworks adopted over the last decades to curb the illicit proliferation and illegal trade weapons included marking, record-keeping as well as mechanisms

for tracing of SALWs owned by civilian population. Some of the normative and institutional frameworks for prevention of SALW both national and international. In 2001, the United Nations Programme of Action (UNPoA) was approved. This was aimed at curbing the illicit trade in SALWs.

States adopted the UNPoA and domesticated it in regional platforms and in a mutually binding manner.<sup>118</sup> In this respect, Kenya adopted the Nairobi Protocol, as already cited. This was aimed at checking unbridled spread of SALWs in the region. In this light, it can be argued that the establishment of the existent various control structures for SALW is pegged to various initiatives at local and international levels that started in the late 1990s the globally as countries started appreciating the lethality of SALW more.

Some of the notable normative frameworks governing the proliferation of SALW in Africa were developed by consensus by respective national governments. A Continental Conference of African Experts on Small Arms in 2000 was proposed in Algiers during a Head's of State meeting in 1999. This was aimed at enhancing co-operation tackling the problems posed by the proliferation of SALW in the continent.<sup>119</sup> The ratification of the Nairobi and the Bamako Declarations in 2000 had landmark achievements on the spread of SALWs in the African continent.<sup>120</sup> This was in preparation for the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in SALW the following year, 2001, in New York. This research focused on the regional center on small arms as well as the Kenya National Focal Point on small arms.

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<sup>118</sup>Reyneke, E. (200). *Small Weapons and Light Weapons in Africa: Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking*. Proceedings of the OAU Experts Meeting and International Consultation May-June 2000. Institute for Security Studies, South Africa.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

<sup>120</sup>Saferworld. (2011). *Controlling small arms and light weapons in Kenya and Uganda. Progress so far*. London. Saferworld Publication

#### **4.7 The Regional Center on Small Arms (RECSA)**

The member states established RECSA In June 2005. The Center comprises of the Council of Ministers, the Technical Advisory Committee and; the Secretariat. The Center develops implementation guidelines as well as methods for evaluating the Nairobi Protocol in collaboration with security agencies.<sup>121</sup> In addition, the Secretariat coordinates the joint effort by NFPs in member states to check the illegal trafficking and stockpiling of uncontrolled SALW, ammunition and related material in its target area.

RECSA has facilitated top level discussions on SALW that are relevant to the top echelons of government in the member states. Technical support is also proved to states to review their SALW legislation in line with best practices. During the time of its existence, RECSA has been responsible for the destruction of thousands of SALW; landmines and tons of unexploded ordinance and ammunition in the region.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, RECSA has enabled the supply of 27 marking machines to member states. Most of these are reportedly in use.<sup>123</sup> In association with partners, it has developed software aimed at tracking down arms brokers and dealers. Several computers have also been provided to support the tracking and marking SALW in the region.

#### **4.8 The Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms**

Established in January 2003, the Kenya National Focal Point (KNFP) is comprised of the Secretariat and the Technical Steering Committee.<sup>124</sup> The main duties of the KNFP is the coordination of the national policy and action to address the problem of the proliferation of

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<sup>121</sup>RECSA, *Annual Review Report*, July 2007–June 2008.

<sup>122</sup>RECSA. (2014). *Regional Implementation Strategy, 2009–2014*, Nairobi: Regional Centre on SALW. Nairobi. RECSA Publication

<sup>123</sup>Ibid

<sup>124</sup>Government of Kenya (2006). *Kenya National Action Plan for Arms Control and Management*. Nairobi: Oakland Media.

illegal SALWs. It is also mandated with coordinating research on the challenges associated with illicit SALW.

Evidence shows regarding the National Action Plan impressive progress has been made in stockpile management and information exchange. Research has also been conducted in line with it's the mandate. In the period starting in March and ending in April 2004, the KNFP conducted its national mapping of SALW. This informed of the NAP thereafter.<sup>125</sup> Landmark achievements have been made ever since. By March 2010, the country had destroyed thousands illegal SALW, assorted ammunition and explosives. By May of the same year, the country had marked 25,000 arms through the use of two marking machines that had been supplied by RECSA.<sup>126</sup> The table below shows the total arms destroyed.

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<sup>125</sup>Op cit. Government of Kenya (2006).

<sup>126</sup>Op cit. KNFP. (2010). *Disarmament in Kenya*, presentation delivered during RECSA Practical Disarmament Validation Workshop in Mombasa Kenya, 30–31 August 2010.

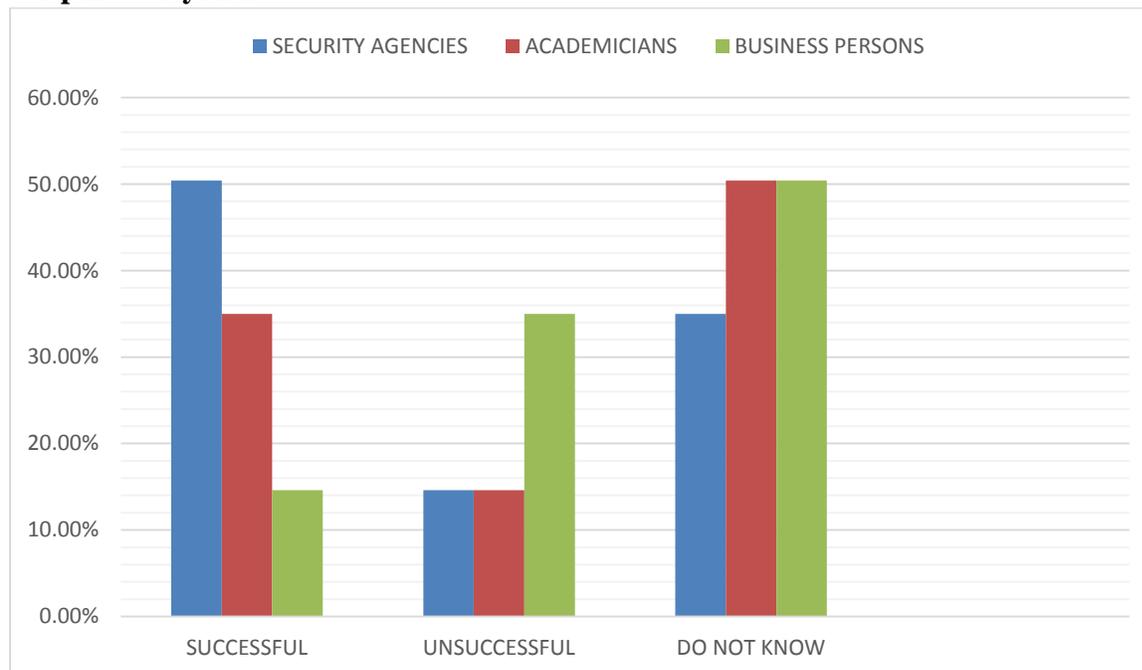
**Table 4.3 Number of SALW and ammunition/explosives destroyed in Kenya**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of SALW</b>	<b>Ammunition/Explosives</b>
2003	8289	-
2005	3839	-
2007	8008	50,000
2009	2498	-
2011	2545	-
2013	2245	60,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>27,424</b>	<b>110,000</b>

**Source: KNFP, Nairobi, 2017**

The researcher sought to establish the rate of effectiveness of the institutional Frameworks adopted by the government of Kenya to regulate the proliferation trend in the country. The findings established indicate that the government's frameworks as effective (56.4%) while there were no responses for highly ineffective but the rest (43.6%) indicated that the frameworks were ineffective. The study also assessed the success of past government efforts aimed at checking the spread of illicit small. Although 50.4% of the respondents rated government arms control initiatives as successful, 14.6% (which was a lower proportion) felt that government efforts have been unsuccessful while 35.0% did not know. The findings are illustrated in the figure below.

**Figure 4.4 Respondents perception regarding Kenya’s success in controlling small arms in the past five years**



**Source: Field Data, 2017**

A probative analysis of the finding indicates that the Kenyan government has not fully succeeded in checking illicit proliferation of SALWs. In most cases, the respondents were highly cautious in their assessment of the small arms policy control efforts by the government. To them, the fact that there were persistent insecurity and arms challenges was a show of government failure. Furthermore, the government was viewed as having underperformed as a result of weak mechanisms coupled with poor policy frameworks. Unwillingness by the government to deal square with the challenge of SALWs was also reported. In this regard, it was evidenced that the government did not match law enforcement requirement with the requisite security personnel.

#### **4.9 Chapter Findings**

This study sought to establish some of the strategies initiated by the government of Kenya in a bid to control the illicit proliferation of SALW in the country. The findings established show that

some of the strategies employed by the government to control SALW include; disarmament, awareness creation, border control, stockpile management, early warning system, marking of all arms and arrest and prosecution while normative framework include the Kenya national focal point on small arms and the Nairobi Protocol as well as the legislative frameworks adopted by the regional bodies.

However, disarmament is the best strategy that can eliminate SALW in Laikipia County since it eliminates the physical arms themselves and rids the region of illicit proliferation. The government should adopt effective disarmament approaches which inculcate human rights and dignity of people. This calls for community inclusion in identifying those in possessions of arms. In addition, policy frameworks, such as the KNFP- formulated National Policy on SALW and the NSC-formulated Peace Policy are some of the sound institutional and normative strategies employed by government of Kenya to control SALW. The success of the control strategies is debatable and the findings show that the war is far from being won.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the summary findings established in the entire research study in line with the broader objective of establishing the impact of SALW on the state of security in the Horn of Africa (HOA) region utilizing a case study of Laikipia County in Kenya. The summary is based on the findings established in regards to specific research objectives namely: establishing the proliferation history of SALW in the Horn of Africa region; establish the impact of SALW on state of security in addition to analyzing the relevant normative and; institutional framework initiated by the government of Kenya to control the illicit proliferation of SALW among the civilian population. This chapter therefore presents summary of the entire research study findings, conclusion and lastly policy recommendations suitable to the subject under study.

#### **5.1 Summary of the Findings**

##### **5.1.1 Proliferation history of SALW in the Horn of Africa and trends**

The first objective of this study focused on establishing the proliferation trend of SALW in Laikipia County through an historical review. The study reveals that generally, the proliferation of SALW in Kenya started with the struggles against colonialism as well the Cold War Era in the 80's and the 90's. In addition, the recent civil wars in South-Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia had created a massive entry of illegal weapons in this region creating lucrative markets, increased demand and rise of arms politics in the Horn of Africa region. The entry of these weapons to this region has now re-energized resource-led conflicts, cattle raiding, banditry and inter-ethnic armed violence which altogether have affected both state and human security. In

Laikipia County, gun ownership has been a trend since colonial time and has been embraced by the communities living in the county for a number of reasons. This research has established that some of the reasons for guns ownership in Laikipia County include for protection from other clans; protection of property; for fear of future conflicts; it is part of tradition; for protection of the community; for protection against wild animals; it's a valued family possession and it is a part of work equipment. All these reasons feed to a lucrative arms business which occasionally is exploited to achieve political ends. Apart from the colonial legacy which had left many arms in the hands of civilians in the County, the misuse of government owned arms issued to Kenya Police Reservist (KPRs) has led to security related threats which have challenged societal cohesion and state security in region and beyond.

### **5.1.2 The impact of SALW on state of security in Laikipia County**

The second objective of this research was to establish the impacts of illicit proliferation of SALW on state security in Laikipia County. The net impact of such proliferation has been increased deaths and injuries resulting from utilization of SALW, increased lawlessness and impunity, creation of an arms race and security dilemma in the region, intensification of resource-fueled conflicts, political assassinations, general level of backwardness and under-development, increased level of poaching and increased cross-boundary criminal activities. In general illicit proliferation of SALW has influenced and inflamed low-intensity conflicts characterized by inter-ethnic clashes, armed banditry and cattle rustling. These forms of insecurity have had direct negative implications on the citizens. They had led to poverty and competition for land, natural and man-made resources. This was particularly so as displaced groups were forced to flee to more secure places. This study therefore summarizes that SALWs have made the Horn of Africa an arena of conflict, insecurity, warfare, death and, destruction.

### **5.1.3 The Relevant Strategies and Normative Framework for controlling the Illicit Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kenya**

The third objective guiding this research analyzed the strategies and the normative framework governing and checking the illegal spread of SALW in Kenya. The research has established some of the strategies being applied to curb illicit proliferation include; disarmament operations; effective stockpile management; marking of all government owned arms; border control mechanism; awareness creation; creation of specialized police units; early warning system as well as arrest and prosecution of those found in possession of small arms. Disarmament was the most pronounced strategy used by the government to control small arms in Kenya and has been criticized for its lack of human rights considerations as well as politicization making it counter-productive. Evidence shows that when disarmament campaigns bow to political pressure they lead to increased demand for SALW since the desired goals are never reached.

The government of Kenya and regional states have ratified some normative legislations and framework in efforts geared towards reinforcing national strategies of combating illicit proliferation of SALW. Some of the notable normative frameworks include the adoption of the Nairobi declaration; UNPoA; the Nairobi Protocol and; the Kenya National Focal Point (KNFP) as institutional bodies with mandate of curbing stockpiling and spread of illegal small arms. These strategies have seen elimination of more than 27,424 small arms and more than 110,000 ammunition by the end of 2016.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

This study endeavored to establish the impact of SALW in the Horn of Africa region through a case study of Laikipia County which has recently witnessed violent ethno-centric killings commissioned with small arms. After six months of extensive field research and in-depth

interviews with relevant stakeholders and victims of SALW illicit use, this study has established that Kenya still continues to experience numerous negative socio-economic and political consequences resulting from illicit utilization of small arms. This study has found out that on average 2.2% of respondents owned arms in Laikipia County. This translated into about 450,000-500,000 illicit arms in the hands of civilians nationally. These study findings differ with the previous survey done by *Small Arms Survey* in their 2012 Special Report which indicated on average 2.7% of Kenya's population owned small arms translating to 530,000-600,000 illegal arms in the whole country.

The decrease in the number of illicit small arms is attributed to increased government control measures as well as gains made by Civil Society Organization in creating awareness on the negative consequences of such proliferation on both human and state security. Whereas, there was under-reporting among the respondents for fear of self-implication particularly after recent disarmament operations, the real estimate of the illegally owned small arms could be over 700,000 small arms in Kenya's territory alone. This research study has identified new trends in the perceived number of small arms in the country. The ownership of illicit arms attributed to traditions and customs of a given community is a factor which complicates the disarmament drives mounted by the government making it counter-productive due to re-armaments soon afterwards.

Politicization of small arms ownership also complicates the government's war against illicit arms. The post-election violence following the December 2007 elections left indelible marks in the Kenyan population. In spite of the 2013 election being peaceful the 2017 general elections have manifested elements of large-scale politically motivated ethnic animosity leading to post-poll election violence. This research study establishes that the majority of respondents from

Laikipia tend to feel more insecure in the periods building up to general elections. Evidently, bottom-up and multispectral dialogical approaches are key in checking the stockpiling of illegal arms, a condition that can enhance peace and security. Community buy in into non-coercive disarmament efforts can also check the spread of SALWs. They can also sustain peace in the region.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Based on the study findings, this research has developed a number of policy recommendations. These recommendations originate from the perceptions of respondents. The recommendations are developed according to institutional demands and current socio-economic considerations. Some of these recommendations are suitable to both the government as well as individual concerns.

The government should prioritize community policing initiatives as measures of controlling illicit acquiring of small weapons. This calls for increased engagement of the community in their own security system through adoption of policy strategies like *Nyumba Kumi* (Ten Houses). The essence of community policing lies in its strength of involving the community in matters of their own security where criminal elements known to the people can be reported to authorities and effective action can be taken. This government should therefore increase civilian law enforcement officers who are well versed with security related issues. In many of the pastoralist areas, the minimal interaction between communities and formal government institutions and law enforcement agencies calls for more inclusion of these communities in securing themselves.

The government should prioritize public sensitization and information sharing between the civilian population and the security agencies. This can be achieved through initiatives including

but not limited to district peace committees, community-based policing, and among other relevant structures. These efforts are vital since they could lead to improved confidence of the public in law enforcement agencies. Logistical support to law enforcement agencies is also vital. In this regard, commensurate efforts should be made to provide transport and communication resources to these agencies. In this regard, priority should be given to borderland regions and conservancies. Additionally, the government should ensure streamlining the management of Kenya Police as well as their accountability in the use of firearms.

The County government should prioritize SALW surveillance in Laikipia County and resolve inter-ethnic conflicts. The surveillance should involve community in detecting arms dealers who operate cartels of guns and weapons in the county. This involves strengthening the capacity of security officers to detect gun trafficking by investing in gun detection equipment. Additionally, a specialized police unit should be prioritized by the government to deal with small arms particularly in Arid and semi-Arid areas (ASALs).

The government should prioritize mediation and reconciliation particularly for traditional rivals who for ages have conducted revenge and counter-revenge attacks aimed at acquisition of livestock. The process should involve community elders from both sides in open and transparent peaceful conflict resolution. This is particularly important since it can reduce the demand for small arms and enhance total disarmament as stipulated by the RECSA Best Practice Guidelines.

The devolved system of governance should conduct a needs assessment study on the communities where there jurisdiction lies and try to develop appropriate strategies aimed at reducing marginalization which has characterized these areas for a protracted periods of time. The government should prioritize resettlement of internally Displacement persons (IDPs) from pastoral community conflicts. The government should not ignore the plight of natural resources

induced IDPs. This goes along identifying alternative land for resettlement and developing alternative livelihood coping strategies.

There should be collaborative measures between the national government and the county government of Laikipia on in-depth assessment of the movement of SALW in the County. Although this study looked at proliferation history and trends characteristics, there should be effort to study cross-border weapon trafficking trends so as to demolish trafficking routes in the region. Civil society groups and other community development agencies should collaborate to identify the nexus between the socio-economic factors fueling the demand for SALW, the politics surrounding the possession of arms and crime in the region.

#### **5.4 Areas of Further research**

This research study recommends that a detailed study on the socio-economic impacts of the proliferation of illicit SALWs on Pastoral and Semi-pastoral Economies in Kenya.

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## Appendix I: Research Questionnaire

### Introduction

#### Dear Respondent,

I am carrying out an assessment of the impact of SALW (Small Arms and Light Weapons) on the state of security in the Horn of Africa utilizing a case study of Laikipia County in Kenya. The findings and recommendations established by this study will contribute to knowledge aimed at improving security and saving lives in this particular region of Africa. In this regard, I would like to collect data that will assist in accomplishing the objectives of this study. Kindly answer the questions appropriately since your contribution will be much appreciated and the information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

### PART A

#### Personal Data

i. What is your gender? (Please tick in the boxes provided)

a) Male

b) Female

ii. Please tick the age bracket in which you fall.

21-30 years ( )

31-40 years ( )

41-50 years ( )

51-60 years ( ) above 60 years ( )

iii. Kindly indicate your profession

.....  
.....

**Part B: The History of Proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa and the trends there in**

1. From your knowledge and understanding where do you think SALW in Kenya’s territory generally originate from?

.....  
.....

2. Laikipia County has experienced sporadic violent clashes in the recent past involving SALW. Where do you think is the origin of these SALW?

.....  
.....  
.....

3. In your opinion why do you think communities acquire SALW particularly in the Horn of Africa?

.....  
.....  
.....

4. Does the acquisition of SALW by the civilian population in Laikipia County challenge state security and human life?

.....  
.....  
.....

5. Can you point out an incident that you may know where SALWs in civilian possession were used to challenge either state or human security

.....

.....

.....

**PART C: The impact of SALW on the state of security in Kenya**

6. Proliferation of SALW in Kenya has led to a myriad of factors. State some of the consequences of their widespread use in your country.

.....

.....

.....

7. Devastating effects due to utilization of SALW have been experienced globally. Kindly indicate areas of great concern where these effects have been experienced most in Kenya's territory.

.....

.....

.....

8. In your Opinion what has been the political Impact of proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa region?

.....

.....

9. Elaborate in your own understanding the Economic Impact of Proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa.

.....

.....

.....

10. Apart from continual loss of human lives in Laikipia County due to use of SALW, state any other social cost experienced as result of increased proliferation in this region.

.....

.....

**PART D: Normative and Institutional Frameworks governing the proliferation of SALW in the Horn of Africa.**

11. From your own understanding highlight any significant approach that has informed policy formulation towards regulation of SALW in your country.

.....

.....

12. Which policy framework exists in your country which has contributed to regulation of SALW to a greater extend?

.....

.....

13. How can you rate the effectiveness of the institutional Frameworks adopted by the government of Kenya to regulate the proliferation trend in the country?

.....  
.....  
14. Has the government of Kenya succeeded in implementing both the normative and institutional frameworks governing the proliferation of SALW in the country?

.....  
.....  
15. Drawing your argument from the recent Ethnic clashes in Laikipia County, do you think the government of Kenya will win the war against proliferation of SALW in the country?

.....  
.....  
16. Highlight some of challenges confronting the fight against the illicit proliferation of SALW in Kenya

.....  
.....  
17. Given the state-centric approach to security challenges in Kenya by the government, propose any other suitable means to achieve human security in the country.

## **Appendix 11: Interview Guide**

- i. What has caused the recent inter-Ethnic clashes in Laikipia County?
- ii. Was there involvement of SALW in those violent clashes?
- iii. Were ALL ethnic groups involved in the clashes armed or it was some?
- iv. In the recent past did the government of Kenya initiate any elaborate policy of eradicating SALW in Laikipia County like it has done previously elsewhere?
- v. Given the geographical location of Laikipia County in Kenya, could there be logistical easiness of acquiring SALW from the adjacent regions
- vi. Could there be in existence, a clear land-use policy in Laikipia County which regulates people's socio-economic activities?
- vii. What are the expected results of increased proliferation of SALW in Laikipia County in civilian hands?
- viii. What challenges do the government and other security stakeholders face when confronting the SALW menace?
- ix. How can these challenges be overcome given the conflicting interests of different actors involved in Laikipia's violent clashes?
- x. Propose an effective approach towards elimination of SALW in civilian hands in the Horn of Africa Region taking Laikipia as a case study.

**THANKYOU!!!**

## Appendix 111: Research Permit

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. LENENGWEZI SAMIA GABRIEL**  
**of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 30197-100**  
**Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Laikipia County**

**on the topic: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE**  
**IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT**  
**WEAPONS SAWL ON THE STATE**  
**SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA A**  
**CASE STUDY OF LAIKIPIA COUNTY IN**  
**KENYA**

**for the period ending:**  
**30th October, 2018**

.....  
**Applicant's**  
**Signature**

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/15647/19692  
Date Of Issue : 31st October, 2017  
Fee Received :Ksh 1000



*Spalenz*  
.....  
**Director General**  
**National Commission for Science,**  
**Technology & Innovation**

**CONDITIONS**

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4. The Licensee shall report to the County Director of Education and County Governor in the area of research before commencement of the research.
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**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**



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## APPENDIX 1V: Authorization Letter from NACOSTI



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: 020 400 7000,  
0713 788787,0735404245  
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249  
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke  
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke  
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete  
Off Waiyaki Way  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/17/15647/19692**

Date. **31<sup>st</sup> October, 2017**

Lenengwezi Samia Gabriel  
University of Nairobi  
P.O. Box 30197-00100  
**NAIROBI.**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*An assessment of the impact of small arms and light weapons SAWL on the state security in the horn of Africa. A case study of Laikipia County in Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Laikipia County** for the period ending **30<sup>th</sup> October, 2018.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Laikipia County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM  
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Laikipia County.

The County Director of Education  
Laikipia County.