

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**IMPLICATIONS OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS (SALW)
PROLIFERATION ON PERSONAL SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA
REGION: A CASE STUDY OF GARISSA COUNTY, KENYA.**

STEPHANIE LUNG'UNG'U

R52/35227/2019

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR
THE REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AT THE DEPARTMENT
OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2021

DECLARATION

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

Signed.....

Date..... 26th Nov. 2021.

Stephanie Lung'ung'u

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University

Supervisor

Signed.....

Date..... 26th Nov. 2021.

Dr Martin Ouma

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.

DEDICATION

This project is cheerfully dedicated to my immediate family members, the Lung'ung'u's who have all been incredible sources of support during my academic endeavors and in my life and without whom I would not have embarked on this fulfilling journey, Stay blessed!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank God for the continued health, ability and strength to carry out this research. I want to acknowledge and appreciate the valuable guidance of my supervisor Dr Martin Ouma, who has been patient, supportive, encouraging and a wealth of knowledge throughout the process of undertaking this research, the wise counsel will forever be invaluable.

I must also appreciate the effort of my friends and family who were keen on cheering me on during this research as well as all the respondents who participated in this study.

I wish also to acknowledge the University of Nairobi for the support I have received throughout this course and all resources and trainings availed to myself as well as other students during the period of transition into online learning due to the unfortunate Covid-19 pandemic.

ABSTRACT

The destruction brought about by the use and indeed misuse of small arms and light weapons (SALW) has been described the world over as one of the most egregious occurrences in the human experience. SALW continue to present as a major global threat to peace and security, various regions of the world share challenges brought on by SALW proliferation, the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Regions are recognized as infamous where the above issue is concerned. These regions consist of the following countries: Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Tanzania. The above-mentioned regions and states therein maneuver through various volatilities which predispose them to vulnerabilities of violent conflict as a result of: ethnicization of politics, poor governance, unequitable distribution of social benefits, unsustainable access and control to key natural and state resources in addition to other obstacles. The objective of this research was to expound upon the implications of proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on the personal security situation in Garissa County. Which has in the past and even presently experienced violence relating to Small Arms and Light Weapons use, due to clan-based conflicts, politicization of issues, violent extremism, marginalization and other conflicts over access to limited natural resources to sustain their herds and communities as observed in the study. Therefore, the study established an interconnection between personal security challenges and the continued proliferation, availability and use of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons, which in turn are an obstacle to human security. There have been various control measures employed in combating illicit SALW proliferation which include: border policing and surveillance, amnesty and voluntary surrender of illicit SALW, disarmament, sensitization programmes and the implementation of the Nairobi Protocol. Despite the above efforts there are challenges faced in addressing illicit SALW proliferation, occurring at the national and regional levels such as resource and personnel constraints, institutional capacity issues, coordination issues between National Focal Points, regional organizations and states. Ultimately, illicit SALW threaten livelihoods, the well-being and development of a society. To counter this, requires continued sensitization in collaboration with key stakeholders as well as, reinforcement of the capabilities and capacity of those involved in the process of managing and controlling illicit SALW in Garissa County and Kenya as a whole. This study utilized a descriptive research design, with the Regional Security Complexes Theory anchoring the study. Primary data was collected by use of questionnaires and interviews with secondary data being sourced from books, journals, articles, newspapers and other authoritative online sources of information. The data was analyzed by use of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 20, the use of diagrams such as tables and figures aided in the presentation of the findings of this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| DECLARATION | ii |
| DEDICATION | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | iv |
| ABSTRACT | v |
| LIST OF TABLES | x |
| LIST OF FIGURES | xi |
| ABBREVIATIONS | xii |
| CHAPTER ONE | 1 |
| I.0 Introduction to the study | 1 |
| 1.1 Background to the study..... | 1 |
| 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem | 7 |
| 1.3 Research Questions | 8 |
| 1.4 Objectives of the study | 9 |
| 1.4.1 Broad Objective | 9 |
| 1.4.2 Specific Objective..... | 9 |
| 1.5 Literature Review | 9 |
| 1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review..... | 9 |
| 1.5.1.1 Relative Deprivation Theory..... | 10 |
| 1.5.1.2 Greed and Grievance theory | 11 |
| 1.6.1 Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation as a Major Threat to Personal Security..... | 13 |
| 1.6.2 Frameworks for Addressing Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation .. | 19 |
| 1.6.2.1 United Nations Protocol Against Illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking of Firearms (Firearms Protocol)..... | 19 |
| 1.6.2.2 United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime..... | 20 |
| 1.6.2.3 United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms and its International Tracing Instrument..... | 20 |
| 1.6.2.4 The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) | 21 |
| 1.6.2.5 Nairobi Protocol..... | 21 |
| 1.6.3 Conceptualizing Human Security..... | 21 |
| 1.6.4 Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Dimensions of Human Security..... | 25 |
| 1.6.4.1 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Health Security | 25 |
| 1.6.4.2 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Food Security | 26 |
| 1.6.4.3 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Environmental Security | 28 |
| 1.6.4.5 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Economic Security | 30 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1.6.4.6 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Personal Security | 31 |
| 1.6.4.7 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Community Security | 33 |
| 1.6.5 Gaps in the Literature | 34 |
| 1.7 Hypothesis | 35 |
| 1.8 Justification of the Study | 35 |
| 1.8.1 Policy justification | 35 |
| 1.8.2 Academic Justification | 35 |
| 1.8.3 To the general public | 36 |
| 1.9 Theoretical Framework | 36 |
| 1.10 Methodology of Research | 38 |
| 1.10.1 Research Design | 38 |
| 1.10.2 Scope of the Study | 39 |
| 1.10.3 Study site | 39 |
| 1.10.4 Target Population | 39 |
| 1.10.5 Sample Size and Sampling Technique | 39 |
| 1.10.6 Data Collection | 40 |
| 1.10.7 Data analysis | 41 |
| 1.10.8 Piloting | 41 |
| 1.10.9 Ethical considerations | 41 |
| 1.11 Chapter Outline | 42 |
| CHAPTER TWO | 43 |
| IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ON | |
| PERSONAL SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION | 43 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 43 |
| 2.1 The study demographic characteristics | 44 |
| 2.1.1 Gender of the respondents | 44 |
| 2.1.2 Age of the respondents | 45 |
| 2.1.3 Level of Education of the respondents | 45 |
| 2.1.4 Occupation of the respondents | 46 |
| 2.1.5 Area of residence of the respondents | 48 |
| 2.2 History and development of small arms and light weapons proliferation in the Horn of Africa | 49 |
| 2.3 Direct and Indirect Impacts of SALW Proliferation on Personal Security | 55 |
| 2.3.1 Intensification and Inflaming of Low Intensity Conflicts | 55 |
| 2.3.2 Upsurge in Regional Insecurities | 59 |
| 2.3.3 Increased Cross-Border Criminality | 63 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 2.3.4 Increase in Ungoverned Spaces and Lawlessness..... | 66 |
| 2.3.5 Displacement of People and Refugee Crisis | 70 |
| 2.3.6 Limited Access to Social Amenities | 72 |
| 2.3.7 Impact on Social Capital | 74 |
| 2.4 Summary of Chapter Key Findings..... | 75 |
| CHAPTER THREE..... | 77 |
| CONTROL MEASURES IN ADDRESSING TRENDS OF SMALL ARMS AND LARGE WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN GARISSA COUNTY..... | 77 |
| 3.0 Introduction | 77 |
| 3.1 Illicit SALW Proliferation Control Measures in Garissa County | 78 |
| 3.2 Border Policing | 83 |
| 3.3 Disarmament | 89 |
| 3.4 Amnesty | 96 |
| 3.5 Sensitization Programmes | 99 |
| 3.6 Nairobi Protocol | 102 |
| 3.7 Summary of Chapter Key Findings..... | 106 |
| CHAPTER FOUR..... | 108 |
| CHALLENGES IN COMBATING ILLICIT SALW PROLIFERATION IN GARISSA COUNTY | 108 |
| 4.0 Introduction | 108 |
| 4.1 National Level Challenges | 108 |
| 4.1.1 Resource Constraints | 108 |
| 4.1.2 Personnel Constraints..... | 113 |
| 4.1.3 Institutional Capacity Issues | 114 |
| 4.1.4 Politicking and the Politicization of SALW Issues..... | 116 |
| 4.2 Regional Level Challenges..... | 117 |
| 4.2.1 Mobilizing Resources | 117 |
| 4.2.2 Coordination Challenges Between RECSA and NFP's | 119 |
| 4.3 Summary of chapter key findings | 120 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 122 |
| SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... | 122 |
| 5.0 Introduction | 122 |
| 5.1 Summary of the key Findings | 122 |
| 5.1.1 Impact of SALW Proliferation on Personal Security in the Horn of Africa Region | 122 |
| 5.1.2 Control Measures in Addressing Trends of SALW Proliferation in Garissa County | 123 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 5.1.3 Challenges in Combating Illicit SALW Proliferation in Garissa County | 124 |
| 5.2 Conclusion..... | 125 |
| 5.3 Recommendations | 126 |
| 5.4 Academic Areas of Further Research..... | 127 |
| REFERENCES..... | 128 |
| APPENDICES..... | 140 |
| APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE..... | 140 |
| APPENDIX II: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE..... | 142 |
| APPENDIX III: INTRODUCTORY LETTER | 146 |
| APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH LICENSE | 147 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1.1 Target Population, Sample size and Sampling Technique | 40 |
| Table 3.1 Knowledge of ownership and access to SALW | 81 |
| Table 3.2 Frequency of encountering SALW in Garissa County..... | 85 |
| Table 3.3 Origin of illicit SALW in Garissa County..... | 86 |
| Table 3.4 Reasons for continued availability and use of illicit SALW in Garissa County | 92 |
| Table 4.1 The issue of SALW use and availability can be fully eradicated in Garissa County | 115 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 2. 1 Gender of Respondents..... | 44 |
| Figure 2. 2 Age of Respondents..... | 45 |
| Figure 2. 3 Level of Education of Respondents..... | 46 |
| Figure 2. 4 Profession of Respondents | 47 |
| Figure 2. 5 Area of Residence of Respondents..... | 48 |
| Figure 3. 1 Availability and accessibility of illicit SALW in Garissa County. | 79 |
| Figure 3. 2 Illicit SALW related threats..... | 83 |
| Figure 3. 3 Awareness of disarmament programmes..... | 91 |
| Figure 4. 1 Opinions on SALW proliferation being a major challenge in Garissa County..... | 111 |

ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL- Arid and Semi-Arid Land

ATT-Arms Trade Treaty

AU-African Union

CAR-Central Africa Republic

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

ECCAS-Economic Community of Central African States

EAC- East African Community

ECOSAP- ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme

ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States

GLR-Great Lakes Region

HDR-Human Development Report

HoA-Horn of Africa

HDR-Human Development Report

HS-Human Security

IGAD-Intergovernmental Authority on Development

KANSA-Kenyan Action Network on Small Arms

KNFP-Kenya National Focal Point

NAP-National Action Plan

NFP- National Focal Point

NGO-Non-Governmental Organization

SADC-Southern African Development Community

SALW-Small Arms and Light Weapons

SARPCCO-Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation

SPLM- Sudan People's Liberation Movement

SPLM/IO- Sudan People's Liberation Movement-in-Opposition

UAE-United Arab Emirates

UN-United Nations

UNODA- United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs

UNPoA- United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons

CHAPTER ONE

I.0 Introduction to the study

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons has aptly been identified and documented as a menace and major security threat. Civilian populations, military personnel and perpetrators of violence alike are injured and lose their lives every day in conflicts fought predominantly with such weapons, some of which are used indiscriminately as is the case in various conflict theatres.¹ Countries in Asia, the Middle East and Africa continue to wrestle with the after effects of arms use. It is from this that the study will stress how the personal security situation in Garissa County is continually affected by small arms proliferation. Kenya is located adjacent to states periodically living through conflict such as Somali, Ethiopia and South Sudan which in effect predisposes it to various regional arms related challenges. This chapter will include information on the background of the study, the problem statement, research questions, research objectives, literature review, hypothesis of the study, justification of the study, theoretical framework, research methodology and the chapter outline.

1.1 Background to the study

The classification of small arms and light weapons that proliferate globally include: conventional weapons, non-conventional weapons and SALW themselves with the latter being recognized as a shared international threat with the potentiality of causing great harm. The use of SALW in disputes, conflicts and wars brings with it great risk for death, disruption of livelihoods, refugee crises, healthcare predicaments, lack of food safety, environmental degradation, roll backs in education and insecurity all being just a few of the direct outcomes of SALW proliferation on populations around the

¹ ICRC, *Arms Availability and the Situation of Civilians in Armed Conflict* (Geneva: ICRC, 1999).

world.² Small arms and light weapons proliferation explain just one part of the larger issue within the SALW discourse. The angle on arms production, arms availability, arms trade and transfer in the globe are all critical areas of concern which have been highlighted by the United Nations, Governments, regional organizations, key academic and social groups as being causative in the challenges playing out today.

No nation in the world is safe from the illicit trade and unchecked proliferation of arms and weapons, with both black and grey markets being responsible for SALW proliferation as these are seen to be substantial arms markets. What is purchased or transferred during such transactions adds to the weapons that are utilized in conflicts especially by outlawed groups. The UN has severally termed the above occurrence as widespread proliferation of arms and weapons, which is a justified and verified observation with immense human cost repercussions as is witnessed in civil wars, ethnic and religious conflicts in the World and the World Wars.

The impacts then of SALW are felt long after the crisis is deemed to have passed but volatilities can easily spark up conflict once more. The far-reaching effects of arms use impact on human security. The concept of human security unlike traditional security has been able to factor in a human centered approach and human perspective where various issues are concerned. This concept was first mentioned in 1994 in the document, Human Development Report (HDR) where a number of issues captured in this writing focused on ways in which to develop initiatives that focused on the human experience.³ The UN has since used this document as a foundation to define the concept of human security which is deemed necessary, in countering both historical and contemporary

² John Dunne, *The Challenge of Reducing Arms Proliferation*, (England: University of the West of England 2007). pp 2-4

³ UNDP, *Human Development Report*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

security threats which may not as easily be managed by use of ordinary means. Human security aims at safeguarding the key aspects of human lives whilst protecting freedoms that are crucial in living what is perceived to be an optimal life.⁴

The seven components that make up the human security approach, speak to the following key areas relating to human beings and their ability to live a life that guarantees them their rights as captured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the dimensions include: political, personal, food, health, environmental, community and economic security.⁵ An imbalance or lack of access to any one of the above highlighted dimensions has an impact upon the rest of these key areas as they are all interconnected. The proliferation of SALW very well affects all aspects of human life and indeed the dimensions of human security due to its being a significant global problem.

SALW refer to the categories of arms and weapons that are man portable. Small arms in particular are those weapons that are purposed for use by a sole member or armed defence force. Light weapons are those made for used by a few members or security forces in form of a crew. Small arms take the form of revolvers, self-loading pistols, light machine guns, sub-machine guns and assault rifles. Light weapons include heavy duty machine guns, mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-graft guns, portable launchers of anti-tank missiles and rocket systems as well as mortars of calibers of less than 100mm.⁶ SALW have become the preferred weapons in modern conflicts with their lethality increasing as well as their portability, concealment and pricing making

⁴ Shahrbanou, Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, (England: Routledge. 2007) pp 11.

⁵ United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, *Human Security in Theory and Practice: Application of the Human Security Concept*, (New York: United Nations 2009).

⁶ Ashkenazi et al, *SALW basic definitions*, (Germany: Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) 2005).

them attractive for criminals, insurgents and violent extremists. SALW have been utilized as the solitary armament in armed conflict across the globe, this has resulted in widespread loss of lives, maiming, forced movement of people, insecurity and human rights abuses.⁷

SALW are used in peace missions, securing a state, its territory and populous from threats within and outside of their areas of reach and operation, inversely there are, militias, terrorists, gangs and other known and unknown unscrupulous groupings that utilize these weapons with a forethought of violence and annihilation. This then makes their availability inevitable. SALW remain in circulation due to: their simplistic nature making them relatively easy to operate and maintain, the ease at which they can be acquired and transported or trafficked, production of arms and upgrading of the same happens frequently and goes unchecked hence not accounted for in global indexes, making these issues greater than reported and documented.⁸

Overall, the harm done by SALW cannot be underscored, indeed it has been recorded as a leading cause of instability and upheaval internationally. SALW in conflict and turmoil prone Africa expose it to issues within the societal dynamics that manifest as unequitable access to resources, poor governance, lapses in the rule of law, marginalization, excessive militarization, ethnicization of politics among other ills.⁹ The above challenges when met with arms availability and use especially by militias, warlords and rebel movements conspire to affect greatly a number of areas in human

⁷ United Nations A/54/258 General Assembly Distr.: General 19 August 1999, fifty-fourth session Item 76 (f) of the provisional agenda, pp 8.

⁸ Suneel Kumar, *Small Arms and Light Weapons: A Global Threat to Human Security and Development*, The Indian Journal Of Political Science, Vol. 69, No. 4 (Oct. -Dec., 2008) India: Indian Political Science Association Salw, pp 787.

⁹ United Nations office on drugs and crime, *The illicit market in firearms*, (Vienna: United Nations 2019) pp 9.

development which speak to the aspect of just how dire the SALW dilemma is, especially in view of human security this is very well evidenced in Africa's history of armed conflict and civil wars. Despite arms embargos in various countries arms persist in locations such as the Central African Republic and South Sudan, these countries hold hope of lifting sanctions when relative stability and peace is achieved.¹⁰

Each region in Africa and indeed the world over, confronts both convergent and divergent problems, the Horn of Africa region and the Great Lakes region alike have SALW proliferation issues. Kenya in comparison to its neighbors in the Horn of Africa region does exhibit some level of stability, however it isn't untouched by the impacts of SALW. Kenya's geographical location leaves it susceptible to arms and weapons trafficking. The weapons found in Kenya indeed have varying sources most however are from conflict ridden countries within the region. Terrorism, crime, violent conflict, illicit movement of weapons are all security threats confronting Kenya.¹¹

Kenya encounters instances of insecurity brought on by the use, availability and continued proliferation SALW. The history of SALW where Kenya goes back to the pre-colonial era, arms were in mass use by pastoral communities, the need for arms and weapons intensified with the fight for independence, what is seen as a present-day problem began decades ago. SALW would be traded on occasion between the European settlers and natives. Civil wars in Uganda, Somali and South Sudan also have made certain that the inevitability of arms flow and transfer into Kenya is unavoidable. Urban areas of Kenya are also experiencing an upsurge in violent armed crime with arms affecting personal security.

¹⁰ "United Nations security council, S/RES/2567 (2021) Resolution 2567, New York: UNSC.

¹¹ "Wepundi et al, *Availability of small arms and perceptions of security in Kenya: An assessment special report*. (Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2012).

Violent attacks on police posts by Al-Shabaab insurgent group in the country sees criminals make away with state issued arms which then fall into the hands of dangerous groups and people. Al-Shabaab in its many attacks on the state and its populous have rationalized that they do so in an attempt, to dissuade a continued Kenyan military presence in Somalia. The radicalization and recruitment of young Kenyan people to join the ranks of Al-Shabaab militants poses significant long term national security threats. Economic hardship has been sighted as a key reason to join the insurgent group as well as the feeling and sense of marginalization.

In Garissa County arms flow has been historically attributed severally and blamed on the influx of refugees into Kenya, who settle in the countries north eastern region in the several refugee camps located there. The insecurity in the country has led to calls for the closure of the Dadaab and Kakuma, refugee camps to stem concerns over national insecurity.¹² Refugees once in a country integrate and while doing so, they interact with a country's inhabitants, the probability of arms changing hands with those already living in the county of Garissa is very high.

Such occurrences have been highlighted as a major SALW proliferation tactics in Garissa County and the entire north eastern frontier of Kenya. Which then has a spillover effect into various counties such as those in the North Rift of Kenya facing armed related challenges such as Turkana, Pokot, Samburu and Baringo.¹³ The current global situation is such that certain nations are still actively whirling through protracted conflict and those that had just come out of conflict end up experiencing a roll back because interests, needs and positions within conflicts change. A few of the countries

¹² Brendon J. Cannon and Hirotaka Fujibayashi, *Security, Structural Factors and Sovereignty: Analyzing Reactions to Kenya's Decision to Close the Dadaab Refugee Camp Complex*, African Security Review 27, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 20–41.

¹³ Op Cit. Wepundi et al (2012).

and places in the world that are currently living through and have had a history of excessive arms use include: Syria, Libya, Yemen, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, DRC, CAR and the Sahel of Northern Africa just to name a few. From this what can be deduced is that regardless of the continent or location of these countries in the world the situations therein are escalated by the availability and use of SALW.¹⁴

The United Nations, European Union, African Union and international regional organizations make policies in line with international law, conventions, frameworks, control measures to combat the proliferation of arms. It is for this reason, that continued thought must be spared and purposely directed at present and future generations with continued conscious efforts made in the direction of small arms and light weapons proliferation mitigation so as not to allow the bleak state of affairs continue to snow ball. An overview of the world shows clear facts that indeed there is much still to be done in this area of major concern and threat worldwide.¹⁵

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The identification of SALW as a significant challenge and threat to the overall human experience is a recurring theme. SALW can indeed magnify and spur insecurity as violent conflict, organized crime, violent extremism, civil wars and political strife all affect peace and security which in turn impact on the dimensions of human security which are human development issues also. The countries in HoA and indeed Kenya where Garissa County is located find themselves embroiled in instances of significant loss, brought about by the use of arms and weapons in clan-based conflicts, resource-based conflicts in addition to the above highlighted issues.

¹⁴Adesoji Adeniyi, *Human Cost of Uncontrolled Arms in Africa: Cross-National Research on Seven African Countries*, (Great Britain, Oxfam Research Reports, 2017).pp 8

¹⁵ Ibid

Garissa county has suffered major setbacks to the extent where certain places are deemed to be red zones making it hard to live, work, school or receive any NGO related assistance due to how unstable the situations therein can be. A number of areas have experienced security related challenges including areas like: Ijara, Lagdera, Daadab, Fafi, Masabubu, Masalani. The reasons sighted and highlighted as causative of SALW proliferation in Garissa County are issues of porous borders, refugee camps harboring criminals, hard to reach and ASAL areas, ungoverned spaces, issues of pastoral conflicts all feature heavily in the reasons of SALW challenges in Garissa County.

There is a persistence in the problem of SALW in the county of Garissa and its implications are multifold however the aspect of personal insecurity warrants special focus. Despite there being global, regional and state developed control measures to manage the effects of SALW proliferation, it is still a prevalent issue which continues to compound Kenya as well as its regional neighbors as a result of volatilities both predicted and unprecedented. Resources and programs alike have all been utilized through various frameworks in attempts to control the existing conundrum in Garissa County with varying success, ultimately SALW access, use and transfer are continued significant threats.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the effect of small arms and light weapons proliferation on personal security in the Horn of African region?
2. What are some of the legal frameworks being applied to manage trends of arms proliferation in Garissa County?
3. What are some of the challenges faced in addressing arms proliferation in Garissa County?

1.4 Objectives of the study

This section covers the broad and specific objectives of the research.

1.4.1 Broad Objective

The main goal of this study will be is to expound upon the implications of proliferation of small arms and light weapons on the personal security situation in Garissa County.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

1. To illuminate the impacts of small arms and light weapon proliferation on personal security in the Horn of Africa region.
2. To examine the legal frameworks used in addressing trends of SALW proliferation in Garissa County.
3. To examine key challenges faced in addressing SALW proliferation in Garissa County.

1.5 Literature Review

The comprehension of this study comes with understanding the human condition, the questions around various outcomes relating to what humanity is exposed to and challenged by makes for a much-needed perspective.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

This section examines the key debates around implications of small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation on personal security in the Horn of Africa region. The study adopts relative deprivation theory and the greed and grievance theory, with the aim of examining the key debates therein whilst linking them to the study on the implication of SALW proliferation on personal security.

1.5.1.1 Relative Deprivation Theory

The theory of relative deprivation is credited to Ted Robert Gurr, who is the most prominent proponent of this theory with Robert Runciman being instrumental in the developing of this theory earlier on. In his writing on *Why Men Rebel* in 1970, Gurr noted that relative deprivation has been the cause of civil wars, instability, disorder in society and terrorism. He also recognized that conflicts are part of the human experience and not merely a passing social occurrence. Relative deprivation then is the perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities. The gap between what people expect and what it is they actually have is the force and motivation behind various actions. In the case of this study, it will be used to explain potentiality of violence and the proliferation of SALW.¹⁶

A collective experience of deprivation is a probable cause of political upheaval especially where the increasing expectation are not matched with increasing capabilities. Thereby making it such that high levels of discontent and inequity are causative in violence. South Sudan and Zimbabwe for instance are examples of the above occurrence. Zimbabwe land issues have a long history since pre-independence and after, land reforms were bloody as the native Zimbabweans wanted what they felt they deserved after being deprived of resources and opportunities that the colonials had. Governance in Zimbabwe has been an issue with the late President Mugabe being accused of having power firmly in his hands all through his terms in office and eventual house arrest in 2013, with election grievances, unequitable governance and police

¹⁶ Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press,1974).

brutality being major causes of violence and conflict that is further escalated with the presence of SALW.¹⁷

South Sudan before its independence had faced marginalization from Sudan. South Sudan couldn't maintain control of key oil resources in as much as it has a majority of its reserves. Economic disparities, political issues and religious misunderstandings all caused violence and conflict as a result of relative deprivation. Kenya just like many African counties experiences instances of relative deprivation. Garissa county had been out of the loop of the national circuit and the radar of the national government, the people in the ASAL areas have for a long time taken to handling their affairs and opposing state intervention as they have experienced neglect. Tensions and violence have been known to erupt in the past but the devolved system of government has made strides to improve the situation having played out for decades due to power struggles, politics of exclusion and marginalization all causing conflict that can end up violent.

1.5.1.2 Greed and Grievance theory

This theory has been used to explain civil wars, with both greed and grievance individually taking on its own meaning within the theory, the proponents of this theory are Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler who wrote on the topic in a world bank paper in 2000. In their writing they were able to establish a link between war, conflict and the factors of poverty, natural resources and a history of civil war in the areas of their study. There has been criticism associated with their work with many claiming that civil wars and their causes cannot be over generalized as each case it different.¹⁸

¹⁷ Daniel Compagnon, *A predictable tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the collapse of Zimbabwe*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011).

¹⁸ Collier & Hoeffler, *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*, Policy Research Working Paper 2355, The World Bank Development Research Group, (Washington, D.C: World Bank Group, 2000).

The above being understood, there is still a great deal of validity to this theory. Greed is taken to refer to the ability to fund a revolt while grievance is taken to mean the division present within a society be it due to ethnicity, religion, political inequities or inequalities. Grievances then are a cause of rebellion especially when coupled with financing opportunities and ideations of injustice and oppression.¹⁹ South Sudan and its conflicts and wars is an example of greed and grievance. The conflict between Northern Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) eventually led to the cessation of South Sudan to form the youngest state in the world in 2011, the contention during this conflict was marginalization and religious underpinnings thus leading to fights for religious autonomy and representation in governance. The cause of the south Sudanese had long been championed by those in the diaspora representing the greed angle.

It is evident that the ethnic divide between the Nuer and the Dinka tribes has led to profound instability for the South Sudanese people, especially with the splitting of the SPLM to the SPLM/IO due to political tensions between President Salva Kiir and former Vice President Riek Machar, the turn of events and a souring of a relationship that has seen the young country embroiled in protracted conflicts after the nations independence in 2011 through to 2020, with hopes for stability in the nation shattered by flareup even with agreements signed to end the hostilities.²⁰

Closer home in the context of Garissa County, ethnicity and clannism are big parts of the community's culture, some of whom have come from Somalia, those social and cultural underpinnings do not change but are reinforced in environments such as these.

¹⁹ Collier, P. and A. E. Hoeffler, *On the Economic Causes of Civil War*, Oxford Economic Papers, (Oxford: University of Oxford 1998).

²⁰ Lukong Shulika and Nwabufo (Ufo) Okeke Uzodike, *Inter-Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan: A Challenge to Peace, Conflict Trends.*(ACCORD 2013).

The issue of SALW use then goes beyond protecting the herds and communities from wild game, there are underlying issues which can surface and lead to clan clashes and conflict in the north eastern as has been witnessed before. The manifestation of the above grievances matched with greed will make a lethal cocktail resulting in volatilities and eventually conflict.

1.6 Empirical Literature Review

Humanity has found itself in precarious situations due to the volatilities it is exposed to. A number of these challenges make it such that our ability to live an optimal life is impaired. The blatant abuses of human rights taking place worldwide brought on by war, conflict, crime and other instabilities manifest as disruptive to the daily lives of a people. How then can we live comfortably when such odds are against humanity?

1.6.1 Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation as a Major Threat to Personal Security

The term SALW is used to describe the following sub-types of weapons: small arms, light weapons, explosives as well as ammunition. Small arms then are weapons that can be handled by one or more people, modified onto a mode of transport and moved from place to place using various means. Small arms encompass a broad arsenal and variation of weaponry. Light weapons are categorized just as much but include heavier artillery, such as tanks, automated and computerized projectile systems and explosives.²¹

The term proliferation is defined as a marked and sudden increase in the amount of something. Proliferation of arms especially illicitly is believed to be associated with irregularity and illegality of arms flow in the world, the aspect of illegitimate propagation of SALW is placed at the very top of immediate menaces to human

²¹ Op cit pp .787 Suneel Kumar (2008).

freedom and security. It has been for a while at the forefront in what is indexed the world over as the biggest challenge for mankind with disease and infirmity, poverty and hunger all topping the list.²² Famine, starvation, refugee crises, and an increasingly more aggressive and unequitable global political economy all are listed as major areas of concern confronting the globe today.

Outside of states arming their armed forces, nations with the producing and manufacturing capacity not only make but also sell and supply these weapons to other nations. The largest arms producers and traders in the world include USA, Germany, Russia, France and China with the list of major importers being Saudi Arabia, India, Pakistan, Turkey, Australia, South Korea among others. Emerging suppliers such as Brazil, Turkey, South Korea and the UAE are also fast becoming part of this group of producers.²³ African states are not far behind, with the following producing arms on the continent: Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Algeria and Egypt.²⁴

Armament and the use of weapons is not a new phenomenon but the human race has made innovations since the 1300's till today, the first ever recorded firearm use was in 1364. Hand guns, rifles, pistols, revolvers, double action revolvers and automatic weapons were some of the innovations to take place since then. The use of weapons in dueling, disputes, conflicts and wars indeed brought with them casualties, however the event in history that recorded the most fatalities and indeed left an indelible mark on humanity is the World Wars which necessitated the creation of the League of Nations in 1919 after the first world war which later after its conclusion transitioned to the

²² Ibid

²³ Pieter Wezeman, Alexandra Kuimova, and Siemon Wezeman, *Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2020*. (Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2021).

²⁴ Lucie Béraud-Sudreau et al, *Emerging Suppliers in the Global Arms Trade, SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, (Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2020). pp 5.

United Nations, these organizations saw a need to herald a new era which was keen on peace and security.²⁵

Since the end of the league of nation and the subsequent immediate operation of the UN, what has constantly played out is that the UN records more demand than ever to stabilize regions and states in turmoil, it is as a result that regional organizations especially in conflict prone areas act as key allies and partners in the fight against instability, conflict and crime. The flow of arms in the world today are from a number of sources including the World War, civil war, collapse of the Soviet Union during end of the cold war all to a degree causing arms to proliferate worldwide.²⁶

The fight against proliferation, illicit arms trade, transfer and trafficking is on the radar of states, security agencies, regional and international organizations. In the West for instance America has seen arms proliferation related problems over the past few years, with their second amendment which supports the right of its citizens to bear arms. Statistics from the US show that it is a country overrun by weapons where arms outnumber the citizenry.²⁷ The global south as well finds itself in a situation just as grave, with rebel movements in various countries being in possession of large stockpiles, South America has been reported as one to the toughest regions to live in worldwide and what gives it this title is the availability and use of arms, some of which are said to be flowing across the US border into Mexico to be trafficked to various locations.

The SALW challenges playing out in Africa presently have a history spanning decades, with each region tackling a host of circumstances placing demands on their ability to

²⁵ "History of the League of Nations (1919-1946)," n.d., 14.

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Christopher Ingraham, "Analysis | There Are More Guns than People in the United States, according to a New Study of Global Firearm Ownership," (Washington Post, 2018).

secure their countries and populous. There is however a profound recognition of the HoA region as volatile. This classification denotes that inter-state conflicts and civil wars lead to intense human suffering. The countries that have recently been embroiled in strife include Ethiopia due to the Tigray crisis, Somalia with the political row brought on by President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo's controversial decision to extend his term in office. Violent conflict of any kind has an effect on an entire populous which then affects countries, close to the eye of the storm. It is as a result of this that Kenya too is impacted due to regional dynamics and complexes. Kenya has found itself embroiled in a SALW storm with small arms in particular being difficult to control and elusive due to the fact that a lot more arms than are known of are in circulation within the state.

Kenya has experienced significant threats associated with SALW proliferation associated with the vast areas of poor policing, ungoverned spaces such as those found in ASAL areas with violent cattle rustling, skirmishes, dwindling resources to feed and cater to herds and protecting people's possessions all compounding together to necessitate the demand for SALW. What then is the cause of SALW proliferation are cultural factors, environmental factors, as well as a history of poor governance and sporadic eruptions of violence.²⁸ The deaths, maiming and disruptions to life all add to personal insecurity, devastating communities in Garissa County and greater Kenya.

Placing small arms in the context of Africa is a complicated undertaking with the issue coming to the attention of the AU, the African Union is as an organization mandated to promote democratization in Africa, uphold human rights and safeguard sustainability, however these areas have extensively been threatened by arms in the continent, it is to

²⁸Manasseh Wepundi et al, *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment*, (Switzerland: Small arms survey 2012.) pp 21.

this effect that programmes like ‘silencing the guns’ became the theme of 2020 for the continent so as to effect a stoppage of wars, conflict and violence on the continent.²⁹ Weapons are seen to be a major challenge with the influx of weapons from various places, the African Union deemed it fit through strategic partnership to find a solution to the problem.

The history of small arms and light weapons proliferation is a sorted and long tale but what it captured then and now is that extensive destruction occurs, this global problem requires a global strategy. It is for this reason that SALW proliferation continues to feature as a major concern the world over. Recognizing it as such then lays the ground for in-depth unified introspection on how best to tackle the matter at hand. The international community in present time finds itself in an explosion of various deterrents to sustainable peace and security due to the sporadic outbreaks in conflict, terrorism, violent extremism, intra and inter-state disagreements.

Regional organizations in Africa and their specific organizations and task forces have recognized SALW proliferation as a lingering problem with the potentiality for great harm. The ECOWAS regional block of western Africa states makes use of the, ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme (ECOSAP) is used in the management of arms in the region with the main goal being promoting stability, security and peace in the region while countering and averting the quantity of SALW undermining security in the region.³⁰

²⁹ Fredrik Svensson and Conrad Palmcrantz, *Silencing the Guns in Africa, on the human rights and peace and security nexus with a special focus on women, peace and security*, (Sweden: The Swedish Foundation for Human Rights 2020).

³⁰ Ecowas Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials (2006) Abuja: ECOWAS.

IGAD's SSP (Security Sector Program) aims at tackling transnational threats and strengthening the capacity of security agencies within this regional bloc.³¹ The EAC in the east African region, works with the Regional Center of Small Arms as well as National Focal Points guided by the SALW aspect in the regional conflict management and resolution program in line with the Nairobi protocol. SADC makes use of the Southern African firearms protocol which contains a framework to combat the proliferation of illicit arms in the region and end violence and conflict. ECCAS the regional bloc of central African states makes use of the Kinshasa convention which is a convention for the control of SALW, their parts and ammunition created to fight the illegal production, transfer and flow of SALW within the region.³² All these programmes are in partnership with the United Nations and other strategic partners, nothing substantive can be achieved without collaborative effort and commitment, to reinforcing existing international and regional frameworks.

A snapshot of what is carried out to control SALW includes and is not limited, to proposed and effected proper marking of arms and their accessories with serial numbers during production and manufacture stages. To assist in identifying their origin and producers for accountability and tracing of weapons aside from this disarmament, destroying of arms stockpiles, systems put in place to monitor sale and transfer of arms all speak to the control measures being used to mitigate the issue at hand.

Some initiatives and control measures began decades ago and are continually reinforced by improvements in the frameworks, funding, strengthening of UN conventions and well as other internationally binding agreements in an attempt to address arms

³¹ "IGAD - Peace and Security," accessed May 12, 2021, <https://igad.int/divisions/peace-and-security?itemid=128&start=25>.

³² Noel Stott, *Implementing the Southern Africa Firearms Protocol, Identifying challenges and priorities*, ISS Paper 83, (South Africa: Institute of Security Studies 2003).

proliferation and weapons related problems. The programmes utilized in SALW control also make use of internationally recognized instruments and frameworks to reinforce their efforts such as the UN conventions, Nairobi protocol, Arms trade treaty, firearms protocol and the UN convention on transnational organized crime.³³

1.6.2 Frameworks for Addressing Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation

There are quite a number of internationally recognized and binding control measures which have been put in place and are being utilized by states all around the world to deal with the reoccurring and persistent problem of SALW propagation. It is important to note that the United Nations has been crucial in the fight against arms and indeed what they represent in terms of securing peace for humanities sake and possible long-term continuity of the human race.

1.6.2.1 United Nations Protocol Against Illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking of Firearms (Firearms Protocol)

This protocol is in line with the General Assembly resolution 55/255 of May 2001 which came into use in July 2005, it is sighted as one of the premier legally binding instruments on SALW to be adopted on a global scale. Its main aim is to ensure that cooperation is fostered among states through a purposed prioritization of cohesive and coordinated preventative measures all possessing the ability to curtail the illegal production and illicit transportation of small arms. The ratification of this protocol signals that States will set in place and make the obligation to adopt continued control measures which are to be rolled out on a domestic level thereby strengthening the larger

³³ Ibid

international commitment as various states have committed to managing and controlling the risk of arms proliferation globally.³⁴

The determination of SALW proliferation as a threat goes hand in hand with its being a criminal and unlawful act, it is for this reason that the firearms protocol is to be applied in tandem with the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.

1.6.2.2 United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime

This convention as aforementioned is the principal global measure to combat all forms of transnational organized crime, it speaks to global issues and links back to issues of SALW proliferation amongst other ills. It is as a result of this it is usually augmented by other protocols dealing with organized international crime. These three protocols include the firearms protocol, protocol to prevent trafficking of persons, protocol against the smuggling of persons be it by sea, air or land.³⁵

1.6.2.3 United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms and its International Tracing Instrument

This programme is in line with the (UNPoA) programme of action to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects, this is managed through states agreeing to build on and revamp intrastate legislation on SALW, the importation and exportation of the same as well as finding appropriate and effective ways of handling the issue of arms stockpiles, these issues are better achieved

³⁴ Protocol Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2001) United Nations. pp 2-4.

³⁵ "United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto," (New York: United Nations. 2000) pp 72.

through deliberate strategic partnerships and the willingness of parties to participate in the same.³⁶

1.6.2.4 The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)

This is an international treaty intended to regulate the international trade of conventional arms while seeking eliminate illicit trade and redirection of arms by way of putting in place internationally recognized and agreed upon standards that govern arms transfers. This treaty is able also to highlight the specific obligations of those who have ratified this document according to United Nations Security Council obligations as well as international law.³⁷

1.6.2.5 Nairobi Protocol

This protocol is intended for the prevention, elimination, control and reduction of SALW in the HoA region as well as the Great Lakes Region. This framework is able also to effectively classify SALW as well as factor in illicit movement of arms within the regions while also ensuring efficient effective systems for tracing of arms and weapons.³⁸

1.6.3 Conceptualizing Human Security

Human security is a human focused approach utilized in dealing with cross-sectional challenges and threats to the survival of humanity, such as: poverty, natural disasters, economic booms and busts, naturally occurring disasters, violent conflict and prolonged

³⁶ "Programme of Action on Small Arms and Its International Tracing Instrument – UNODA," <https://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/salw/programme-of-action/>.

³⁷ Peter Woolcott, *The Arms Trade Treaty*, United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, (Geneva: United Nations 2014) pp 5.

³⁸ UNODA, *The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons In The Great Lakes Region And The Horn Of Africa*. (New York, NY: Regional Centre on Small Arms / United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs 2004). pp 1

crises. With the above highlighted captured by the UNDP in its 1994 Human Development Report, the report made it evident that traditional security was narrow in its interpretation, which was state or nation focused as opposed to being human centered.³⁹

The thinking towards a human security approach came after the end of the cold war with the dismantling of the bipolar world system. The security studies field saw a shift and experienced a shakeup in its analysis where security and development are concerned. HS is keen on approaches which focus on the areas in line with the ‘freedom of want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ thus, realizing a need for an advancement in international thinking that is broader within the security discourse and enabling a non-traditional perspective into policy and agenda where humanity is concerned.⁴⁰

This multi-component approach is able to recognize strategies to handle convoluted and demanding issues under the UN umbrella through strategic partnership with key stakeholders and States. Human security has never been intended to supplant traditional security or state security as the onus is on the state to provide and deal with issues that affect its populous but its application is crucial in the comprehensive prevention of cross-cutting issues. The dimensions within human security are: Health, Food, Environment, Political, Economic, Personal and community security.⁴¹

It would be crucial then to gain some perspective into the various dimensions of human security so as to develop a basis of understanding of the threats faced to each component. Health security is concerned with the lack of disease and infirmity through

³⁹ UN Doc on Human Security, *Human security*, (New York: United Nations 2016).

⁴⁰Edward Newman, *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, International Studies Association (ISA), edited by Robert A. Denemark, (Wiley-Blackwell Publishing 2010).

⁴¹ Oscar A Gómez and Des Gasper, *A Thematic Guidance Note for Regional and National Human Development Report Teams*, Human development report office, (New York: UNDP, 2013)

effective and timely interventions. Food security prioritizes being able to grow food, nourish and sustain a population thereby ensuring general health, preventing starvation and food scarcity.⁴²

Environmental insecurity is a hot button issue as the climate change debate rages on indeed the continuity of humanity depends on an environment that is fit to inhabit and gain sustenance from, it would then require that water catchment areas and natural resources are safeguarded through harnessing of indigenous knowledge, promoting a culture of environmental care from a young age as well as policy to safeguard the environment with steep punishment where degradation and harm to the environment occurs. Political security is an area that has in many parts of the world been threatened as is evidenced in human rights abuses as well as other violations, political security then should be able to promote and safeguard people's political freedoms by not suppressing them.

Economic security is closely linked with good economic prospects, little to no poverty and deprivation as well as access to economic entitlements with job and industry security being prioritized especially by the state. Personal security safeguards against all forms of violence that are physical in nature, crime and terrorism, this dimension has faced significant setbacks the world over due to disruptions that manifest as violent conflict and strife catalyzed by marginalization, militarization, ethnic conflicts, politization of community issues among other challenges. Community security in and off itself looks at cultural heritage and norms, ethnic ties and how to prevent this from

⁴² "Food Security and COVID-19," Text/HTML, World Bank, Accessed April 28, 2021, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/agriculture/brief/food-security-and-covid-19>.

dividing a people and causing challenges that may lead to conflict and eventually community insecurity.⁴³

The above snapshot into the dimensions of human security and their specificities links back to a want for human freedom and desire for human development. The world as a whole is confronted by various realities and threats, that of human insecurity is eminent and regarded as pressing in the global discourse. Conflict systems include international, regional and sub regional. In the very same vein just as the global north is confronting SALW proliferation challenges so is the Global south.

Africa has conflicts systems divided geographically or thematically, what is occurring in the HoA region that Kenya is a part of signifies the gravity of occurrences elsewhere, politically motivated conflict tends to be rampant in in the region with Kenya experiencing the same especially during its election cycle to the extent of politicians being alleged to arm civilians all in the name of fighting for their cause and that of the community or tribe. Urban crime in Kenya 's major counties points to a SALW proliferation crisis, with crime becoming ever more common this affecting significantly to human security.

The north eastern region of Kenya has proven to be a conduit for illegal movement of arms, people and other goods, the ease of movement, the scale of the border area even with law enforcement presence means there are still loop holes exploited to traffic anything with arms being common. In the case of arms, they are transferred and move through the area intended for different destinations and with varying demand, some

⁴³ Op cit. Human Security in Theory and Practice English (2009).

civilian gun owners solely own arms for protection of their herds and property others with the aim of committing crime with the terrorism angle not being left out of focus.⁴⁴

Human security then in Kenya and Garissa County alike has been thoroughly affected by the proliferation of arms and weapons by way of indiscriminate terrorist attacks, general insecurity and personal security threats. Some of the first areas to suffer in instances of human insecurity are healthcare, education, food sector and the economy which in the long run have an impact on an entire society in terms of its capacity and development prospects. Infrastructure and prospects for advancement through trade, investment and funding opportunities all are affected when confidence is shattered as a result of insecurity.

1.6.4 Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Dimensions of Human Security

The dimensions of human security consist of seven components crucial to the well-being and safeguarding of human freedoms and entitlements. They include: health security, food security, environmental security, political security, economic security, personal security and community security.

1.6.4.1 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Health Security

Health and wellness are impacted negatively by a number of issues such as arms use and conflict which affect the health and healthcare systems. This can very well negatively impact on humanitarian health as is evidenced in places going through protracted conflicts and are violence prone.⁴⁵ The populations in countries experiencing turmoil cannot access basic healthcare much less specialized care due to the

⁴⁴ Op Cit. Wepundi et al (2012).

⁴⁵ Alice Debarre, *Hard to Reach: Providing Healthcare in Armed Conflict*, (New York: International Peace Institute 2018).pp 2-3.

complication brought on by war or conflict, a classic example is evidenced in Syria, Libya, South Sudan, Ethiopia.

All disruptions caused by arms proliferation their use, misuse, trafficking, illicit sale and manufacturing, indeed destroy health systems, health infrastructure, medicine availability, much need medical professionals are lost through injury, maiming, death and brain drain caused by the international arms crisis. Populations are scattered during conflict, war and other acts of violence making it such that people scatter and flee and while doing this they are further away from crucial services, healthcare being the top of the list.⁴⁶

In Garissa County the continued competition for access to limited social amenities, due to less than satisfactory road transport system, few health personnel and healthcare centers for such a large population leaves the inhabitants of the county at a disadvantage. There is also a lack of sufficient maternal and child health care services in the harder to reach parts of the county and this can very well be attributed to the security situation in those areas with more traditional birthing techniques used to supplement a shortage in medical professionals in said areas.

1.6.4.2 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Food Security

Efforts to achieve and maintain food security are in areas facing instability is met with devastated food sources due to inadequate access brought on by conflicts.⁴⁷ People cannot get much needed nutritious food especially with devastated environmental conditions execrated by conflict. It must be mentioned that is an emerging global problem fueled by increased international demand for organic high nutrition foods like

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Professor Tilman Brück et al, *The Relationship between Food Security and Violent Conflict*, Report to FAOISDC, (Germany: International Security and Development Center 2016) pp 5.

avocado, cocoa, quinoa and what are perceived as super foods. Upsurges in violence sees reports of farms being raided by violent cartels, food being transported is intercepted and trafficked to other countries, as is the case of avocado in Mexico thought of to be a product of significant value.⁴⁸

Quinoa had become too expensive for native Bolivians to consume even as they are major producers of this food due to the increased global demand especially at times when it has experienced a global increased demand which left people in this country food poor and vulnerable to forced farm labor.⁴⁹ The raiding of farms through violent means also robs communities of food sources that they can otherwise utilize and sell to sustain themselves.⁵⁰

SALW access, use and proliferation make it such that food prices increase significantly and without warning due to reduced availability versus a large demand for food and farm produce, destabilization of a people's daily routine has grave effects which impact of societal wellness. In Kenya the food situation is dire in most counties due to the unpredictability of weather and rainfall patterns. Garissa county much like other counties in the ASAL areas are more vulnerable to food insecurity, the competition for limited food and water resources which has on occasion resulted on physical violence. Refugee influxes, a large population, harsh environmental conditions and limited resources all cause significant instances of food insecurity.

⁴⁸ Saeed Kamali "Are Mexican Avocados the World's New Conflict Commodity?" the Guardian.com, December 30, 2019. Accessed May 8, 2021. <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/dec/30/are-mexican-avocados-the-worlds-new-conflict-commodity>

⁴⁹ "Your Quinoa Habit Really Did Help Peru's Poor. But There's Trouble Ahead," NPR.org, accessed May 8, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/03/31/472453674/your-quinoa-habit-really-did-help-perus-poor-but-theres-trouble-ahead>.

⁵⁰ "Bunei et al (2013) *Factors Influencing Farm Crime in Kenya: Opinions and Experiences of Farmers*, International Journal of Rural Criminology, Volume 2, Issue 1 (December, 2013).

1.6.4.3 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Environmental Security

Weapons regardless of their capacity destroy the environment and this too refers to the biodiversity destruction in the aftermath of use of larger missiles, land mines, rocket launchers among others. They have the most impact on what is perceived to be a delicate balance within the ecosystem thus affecting environmental sustainability. The areas people farm, live, work, school and settle in all make up part of what is defined as the environment. Oil pollution, water pollution, deforestation and distraction of water catchment areas which affect atmospheric and environmental conditions. Aside from this small arms and light weapons exacerbate environmental conflicts globally due to access and control of resources.⁵¹

Our inability to thrive effectively within such spaces denotes a shift in what makes up a people's routine and this eventually will spill over into other aspects of human life where advancement is concerned, lapses in human development and the true impact on the environmental instability brought on by distraction are felt instantly especially where larger arms and weapons that destroy the environment are used. Renewability and diversity of species cannot be supported in a hostile and unlivable environment. In Garissa County the refugee influx has brought with it immense environmental pressure, due to the destruction of natural ecosystem to source firewood to cook or erecting temporary structures while they begin settling into the refugee camps in the county, such circumstances cause tensions in the area.

⁵¹Ángela María Amaya Arias et al, *Witnessing-the-Environmental-Impacts-of-War: Environmental case studies from conflict zones around the world*, (Netherlands: Paxforpeace.nl, 2020).

1.6.4.4 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Political Security

Societal instability is caused by a plethora of issues, of public interest is politics which closely links to desires for governance and governmental authority, a functioning democracy, freedoms to actualize by way of votes, speech and association as well as the upholding and continued promotion and access to inalienable human rights. Conflicts have been known to knock all the above off their axis and leave a trail of destruction, one which makes the protection of and the respect for fundamental human entitlements difficult to access and enjoy. Arms in their nature come with a caveat of potential for havoc especially in places and states that are have conflicts based on frustration caused by marginalization, governance challenges, inequitable familial legacies of power transfer all of which go against greater populations needs and interest to thrive.⁵²

Politics the world over is contentious, but nowhere on the earth is it more heated like in Africa, Kenya's election cycle tends to be one of the worst with violence expected and anticipated during these tense periods, an example of the gravity in Kenya was the 2007/8 post-election violence, then came the nullification of the presidential election of 2017 which led to a rerun, each group and their supporters' justifying claims of being dissatisfied with the entire process. This then resulted in deaths, beating, maiming and violence by state officers on protestors all in the aftermath of this process which was marred with protests and unrest, all in an attempt for people to safeguard their freedoms and right to rule of law.⁵³

⁵² Op Cit, Adeniyi (2019) pp 13.

⁵³ "Kenya: Post-Election Killings, Abuse," Human Rights Watch, August 27, 2017 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/08/27/kenya-post-election-killings-abuse>.

The national government has been accused severally of negligence in Garissa County and the greater north eastern, this predisposes it to its being an ungoverned space, the political marginalization in the area especially well before the devolved government system has been sighted as a key reason for human insecurity in the area.

1.6.4.5 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Economic Security

The economy of any state is important as it is from this that people can eke out a living, the economy is the backbone of most countries, with the smaller enterprises contributing a great deal of income for the state with manufacturing, exporting, importing and other trade engagements adding to the benefits here. The only blockage in this rather important train of profit, stability and economic advancement is that of the proliferation of SALW which puts in stark danger the above-mentioned due to fact that significant divestment takes place, brain drain of professionals occurs especially those in technical fields professionals who are crucial in various sectors, education and literacy levels suffer all of which are crucial in economic stability.⁵⁴

Arms and weapons use in areas of conflict cannot break away long enough to overhaul or improve their economic situations due to disruptions they live through and have come to anticipate will continue to happen as they live in insecure zones which are unattractive for investors, business operators and small-scale enterprises alike. Inviting people in or even maintaining them in zones that are ravaged by instability, war and conflict will be a hard task to manage. Aristotle the great philosopher himself said '*fear is pain arising from the anticipation of evil*'.⁵⁵ Fear is eminent and this carries with it the weight of not accessing freedoms of want and stability as if heralded by the human

⁵⁴ Op Cit, Wepundi et al (2012)

⁵⁵ "Aristotle Quotes," BrainyQuote, Accessed May 7, 2021.

security approach, the potential for a displeasing outcome makes economic security elusive in areas facing significant arms proliferation threats. The spillover of conflict from Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea affects Kenya. In Garissa County the competition and tension for scarce resources in the region is magnified. Pastoral communities especially cannot care for their herds, due to a strain on resource exacerbated by migration and urbanization in the area. Economic security is hard to achieve in such an environment and in these circumstances.

1.6.4.6 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Personal Security

SALW are utilized for a number of reasons, outside of what is conventionally securing states or peace keeping missions, they take on a different applications and roles. However, their upsurge is from more than the above reasons, illicit arms proliferation is rooted in crime, physical violence, terrorism, violent extremism and trafficking all of which impede human rights and freedoms. The level and scale at which SALW proliferate the world over is troubling making it a menace. The manifestation of SALW proliferation breeds a culture and creates an attitude of ferocity as is evidenced in say clan-based conflicts which are caused by resource access, control and management disputes which manifests as community insecurity. Personal security and community security within the human security approach are seen to be interconnected as a result.⁵⁶

The aspect of easy transportation of weapons across borders due to their porous nature signals a larger problem, grazing animals for instance by egalitarian pastoralist communities who depend on seasonal grazing areas brings with it ample opportunity to transport, trade and acquire new weapons. Garissa county has suffered poor policing at

⁵⁶ "Small Arms and Human Rights: The Need for Global Action a Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper for the U.N. Biennial Meeting on Small Arms. Pdf," accessed May 7, 2021 <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/arms/small-arms-full-070703.pdf>.

the Kenya-Somalia border making it such that any conflicts in Somalia can easily transfer into Kenya, a number of illicit activities take place and even terrorist groups utilize this opening to increase their hold in the region, they usually attack such areas they move inwards into the urban areas of Kenya.

Also a lack of adequate security personnel on border points all around Africa, creates an enabling environment for illegal aliens to enter into various states, some with noble intentions of starting a new life post conflict with others coming across intending to commit crime or all together collect data on the security situation and the lay of the land in the places they inhabit, this has been seen as a tactic used by terrorist organizations in the horn of Africa region where Kenya has fallen victim several times with devastating effect as was evidenced in the American Embassy bombing, Westgate attack, Garissa university attack, Dusitd2 attack as well as instances in Kenya's coastal regions and the north eastern frontier of the state consisting of ASAL counties being a soft target so such groups who see an opening and find ways to access weapons and arms and commit heinous crimes.⁵⁷

The physical well-being and safety of people is grossly threatened by arms. Women, men and children alike experience the perils of instability albeit it is important to note that the impacts are different, what confronts women in conflict and their needs after are very different from that of men or children. In this way the essence of human security is grossly put to test with advancement of a people being the first area to suffer gravely. Personal security then would dictate that human entitlements must be secured and safeguarded constantly and prioritized, without which areas such as education,

⁵⁷ Rashid Abdallah, "It Is Time to Negotiate with Al-Shabab," accessed May 7, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/2/26/it-is-time-to-negotiate-with-al-shabab>.

capacity building, health, agriculture, economy and community all will be negatively affected.

1.6.4.7 Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Community Security

A sense of community inculcates individuals into what it is they hope to become and what society desires them to be. We herald our cultures and norms as grounding aspects to return to and refer to all through life. It is a result of this that people fight, struggle and prioritize to maintain what they feel and know is a part of their identity, indeed when we are born into this world we are deemed to be '*Tabula rasa*' a blank slate as was captured by philosopher John Locke in the writing in his essay on human understanding.⁵⁸

What we are exposed to and socialized into makes up a big part of who we are in terms of language, dress, food, historical sites of occupation and overall culture. The point of bringing all this into sharp focus is that ethnic, tribal, regional and national related conflicts have been fought the world over especially in instances where discrimination has been felt and frustration brews over the same, the result may be the outward violent expression of this growing aggression which is escalated by the sourcing and indiscriminate use of arms and weapons. Clannism in Kenya and Garissa, especially amongst pastoral groups is seen as a major issue, which sometimes manifests in violence. Raids, rustling of herds and the death of active participants and non-active actors in the violence is the result of these tensions.

⁵⁸ William Uzgalis, "John Locke," In *the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Metaphysics Research Lab, (USA: Stanford University, 2020).

1.6.5 Gaps in the Literature

From the above literature review, what is evident is that SALW are indeed recognized as significant threats to human security. It is during the process of investigation that a gap was realized in the fact that there has been no examination into the consequences of SALW specifically on personal security dimension in Kenya talk less of Garissa County. The concept of human security is handled as a unit with its components evaluated together, no individual study of the specific dimension of human security has been handled especially on this area.

Another gap is that Garissa County has indeed been fodder in various researches where insecurity is concerned. An investigation into SALW have proven difficult due to a lack of access to data for various reasons, the direct implications then of SALW demand, use and proliferation in Garissa County has yet to be covered with other counties in the North Rift being more popular in such studies in as much as North Eastern faces similar challenges. There may be assumptions about why SALW have been held in the past by civilian populations, this study will open up a new avenue to understanding the issue of SALW which has been on the states radar for a long time. The aftermath and challenges that SALW bring with them are recognized and valued as significant. It is as a result of this, that the state has taken continued steps to control the tendency of SALW proliferation by use of international, regional and intrastate measure and legal frameworks, the study will look into what has been achieved thus far and the issues faced in curating and implementing programs to control this major threat.

1.7 Hypothesis

H₁: There is a direct link between the accessibility, use and proliferation of small arms and light weapons and personal insecurity in Garissa County.

H₀: The proliferation of small arms and light weapons has no consequences on personal security in Garissa County.

1.8 Justification of the Study

1.8.1 Policy justification

Policy makers can utilize this study as a means of gaining a unique background into the already available information about the larger issue of proliferation of small arms in the horn of Africa region, SALW have already extensively been proven as a major threat to peace and security, a keen look into communities living through the aftermath of conflict, disputes and daily occurrences that are sometimes violent like Garissa county will be a starting point of how best to integrate new methods of managing and preventing continued trends of the proliferation of arms which can harm a large populous and set it back decade in terms of development and advancement in key areas due to the destruction that ensues.

1.8.2 Academic Justification

This study will assist in the continued efforts to generate fresh ideas and new academic material to add on to what is already known of human security, personal security and small arms proliferation in Africa and most specifically about Garissa county which has been an area plagued by insecurity brought on by issues of armament and the use of the same in conflict and crimes in this volatile North Eastern region which has the added challenge of being located adjacent to states that are facing major issues as well.

Conflict management, diplomacy, international studies and international relations students alike can all benefit from the findings of this research.

1.8.3 To the general public

This study will enable there be a greater understanding into the human security approach and personal security which is continually affected by issues that have an impact on other key areas such as human development especially where various threats such as violent crime, terrorism, trafficking of weapons and community conflict are concerned. The HoA region is a keen area of interest as Kenya is a part of this region, therefore what affects one state has a spillover effect that can impact upon us all, what that means then is that insight into what these dynamics are act as an eye opener to what all populations within the regional grouping are going through.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The regional security complex theory was coined by Barry Buzan in 1983 who first wrote of it in his book 'People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations' since this time the theory has been advanced by Oliver Waever, Jaap de Wild and Barry Buzan himself. The logic in this theory is that there is an interconnection between proximity, shared real and perceived threats which move and progress rapidly over shorter distances hence the regional perspective.⁵⁹ Security complexes are taken to mean a grouping of countries whose security worries are closely interconnected making it such that national and regional securities cannot be considered as isolated and completely separate.

⁵⁹ Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørsv, "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security," *International Studies Review* 7 (June 1, 2005): 269–274.pp 270.

Before the end of cold war, global dynamics were much different. Initially globalization and geopolitics had not taken root but movement from the modern era which was the period between 1500's to mid-1900's to cold war and decolonization period from mid-1900's to late 1980's, and finally the post-cold war era which is from 1990, demonstrates a significant shift in what we have come to know as global and regional trends.⁶⁰ SALW proliferation has been pinpointed in the African continent and in all its regions as posing notable security and developmental challenges, the Great Lakes region and Horn of Africa region that Kenya is part of experiences shared consequences relating to instability and uncertainty.

Regional security complexes can be used to explain aptly the role that, various interactions play in national security in view of the fact that regional groupings share dynamics of insecurity. The theory lays a good foundation for the researcher to appreciate and understand the issues that affect states that are in close relationship as a result of the security complex. The aspect of interstate perspectives, boundaries, borders and regional interactions sum up the rationale of the theory, with regional patterns and security interests being linked with all aspects of security being important at national, regional or international and global levels.

This theory is important in this study as it conceptualizes and informs in a sense what is playing out in Kenya is as a result of the instability and volatility its regional neighbors are experiencing. An example can be taken from the conflict in Somalia, Ethiopia or Eritrea as is being witnessed with the Tigray crisis and the 2021 post-election crisis in Somalia.⁶¹ These instances of destabilization can be internationalized

⁶⁰ Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, (New York: Cambridge University Press 2003).pp 15

⁶¹ Giotom Gebreluel "The Tripartite Alliance Destabilizing the Horn of Africa" accessed June 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-54964378>

due the issue of conflict systems. The regional complexes can best articulate the shared SALW proliferation threat and the movement of the same across borders when conflicts flare up occur, how then Kenya is at risk of such occurrences will be aide through the use of the regional complex's theory.

1.10 Methodology of Research

Research methodology is the systematic process used by a researcher in a study to acquire information about a problem that concerns a population all in the interest of finding a solution to the same.⁶² This section includes the research design, scope of the study, target population, research population, sampling techniques, data collection methods and data analysis. The research methodology serves as a means of exploring the implications of SALW proliferation on personal security in Garissa County.

1.10.1 Research Design

Descriptive and case study research designs were utilized in this study as these designs are keen on reporting the existing condition in the areas of investigation. Qualitative and quantitative approaches were used, thus utilizing triangulation in this study thereby increasing validity and an in-depth understanding of the research problem. Interviews and questionnaires were utilized to obtain primary data, with each respondent being encouraged to express themselves freely and confidentially to aid in the data collection process.

⁶² Kothari, C. R, *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques* (2nd Ed.), (New Delhi: New Age International limited 2004). pp 1.

1.10.2 Scope of the Study

The study aimed at looking into the various consequences associated with SALW proliferation on personal security, the examination of the challenges associated with efforts to end SALW proliferation in Garissa County featured in this study. The study also highlighted recognized control measures and legal frameworks utilized in addressing the continued challenge that is SALW proliferation in Garissa County.

1.10.3 Study site

Garissa county is located in North Eastern Kenya it covers an area of 44,736 km², it has an estimated population of 841,353 thousand people as of the 2019 census. The county has six sub counties namely: Balambala, Daadab, Fafi, Garissa, Hulugho, Ijara and Lagdera. The counties neighboring Garissa County include Lamu, Tana River, Isiolo and Wajir with the county of Somalia sharing a border with Kenya.⁶³

1.10.4 Target Population

A respondent register of the following key groups was utilized to conduct this research, as these groups have information crucial to this study. The groups included: security personnel, NGO staff, county government workers and community members. See table 1.1.

1.10.5 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The sample population will total to 100 individuals as calculated using Yamane (1967) formulae as enumerated below. See table 1.1

⁶³ Kenya Population and Housing Census Results," *Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019, Government of Kenya.*

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

Where: n= Sample size, N= Population size e= Level of Precision (0.10).

$n = \frac{841,353}{1+ 841,353(0.10)^2}$

$n = 99.98811579$ (Approximately 100 respondents)

$n = 100$

Table 1. 1 Target Population, Sample size and Sampling Technique

| Target population | Sample | Sampling Technique |
|---------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Security Personnel | 20 | Purposive sampling |
| NGO Staff | 20 | Simple random sampling |
| County Government Workers | 20 | Simple random sampling |
| Community Members | 40 | Simple Random sampling |
| TOTAL | 100 | |

Source: Researcher, 2021.

1.10.6 Data Collection

Data in this study was obtained by way of questionnaires and interviews. The purpose of these data collection methods is that they enabled a narration and chronicling of the present state of affairs within the Garissa County with each respondent giving their own perspective on what they see, know and experience on a daily basis where SALW proliferation is concerned within the area and its surrounding environs. Questionnaires were filled out individually by each respondent during fieldwork or sent via email in

the event that a respondent was unavailable to do so at the time of fieldwork. Interviews were also carried out during fieldwork and those unavailable during the period of data collection were contacted to take part in online video calls or phone calls to facilitate data collection.

1.10.7 Data analysis

Data once collected underwent a thorough overview to ensure that all was in order, thereafter the raw data was entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20, enabling accurate feedback on the data that would then support and prompt the formulation of descriptive analysis with diagrams of percentages, graphs and charts utilized to elaborate on the findings by using the information synthesized for the data collection process.

1.10.8 Piloting

This was carried out before the study with respondents from Garissa County, so as to determine if the data collection tools were effective.

1.10.9 Ethical considerations

The researcher encouraged voluntary participation, an important requirement to contribute as a respondent in this study thereby complying with voluntary informed consent. The participants were assured of confidentiality, the safety and security of participants through anonymity was also upheld throughout this study. An introduction letter about the purpose of the research and the researcher as well as a National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation (NACOSTI) permit were used to legitimize the process informing prospective respondents that the exercise is purely an academic one and above board.

1.11 Chapter Outline

This study includes five chapters in total, the breakdown of the chapters is as follows. Chapter one comprised of: the introduction and background to the study, research questions, objectives of the study, literature review, hypothesis of the study, justification of the study, theoretical framework, methodology and design. Chapter two tackled objective one of the study which was on the perceived impacts of SALW proliferation on human security in the greater Horn of Africa region. Chapter three dealt with objective number two of the study which focused on the legal frameworks utilized in addressing SALW proliferation in Garissa County. Chapter four captured the challenges faced in addressing SALW proliferation in Garissa County which was in line with the third and final specific objective of this study. Chapter five being the concluding chapter of this study captured the summary, conclusions and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ON PERSONAL SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION

2.0 Introduction

Personal security is challenging to safeguard due to all the obstacles that humanity faces and endures, conflict and disputes have been identified and theorized as part of the human experience. Conflict is caused by an incompatibility of goals between parties with varying needs and interests. Conflicts can manifest as either direct violence or indirect violence. Direct violence is that which is easily identifiable due the presence of maimed individuals, injuries, and fatalities. Indirect violence in comparison is not as easily seen or known, and is present in imbalanced and unequitable power relations and power dynamics within the structures of society.⁶⁴ Highlighting the above categorizations of violence will better explain the major threats causing personal insecurity in the HoA region.

This chapter then, adopts a breakdown of demographic information within the study, as well as an illumination of the impacts of SALW proliferation of personal security in the HoA, by looking into the direct and indirect effects on the human populous who experience the after-effects of SALW proliferation in a multitude of ways. Such as the: intensification of low-level conflicts, upsurge in regional insecurities, increased cross-border criminality, increase in lawlessness and ungoverned spaces, displacement of people resulting in negative impacts on social capital.

⁶⁴ Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–91.

2.1 The study demographic characteristics

This includes information on research participants such as gender, age, level of education, occupation and area of residence all relating to the study. The demographic characteristics are crucial as it gives information on the sample population.

2.1.1 Gender of the respondents

The study sought to find out the gender of respondents as all genders experience societal dynamics differently, thus each gender may hold attitudes in line with their socialization processes. This then impacts their opinions, observation and articulation of various issues in their environment. This variance offers a unique perspective in the study. The categorization here consisted of male, female and other, the study determined that a majority of the respondents are males numbering 59% and women being the remaining 41%. See figure 2.1

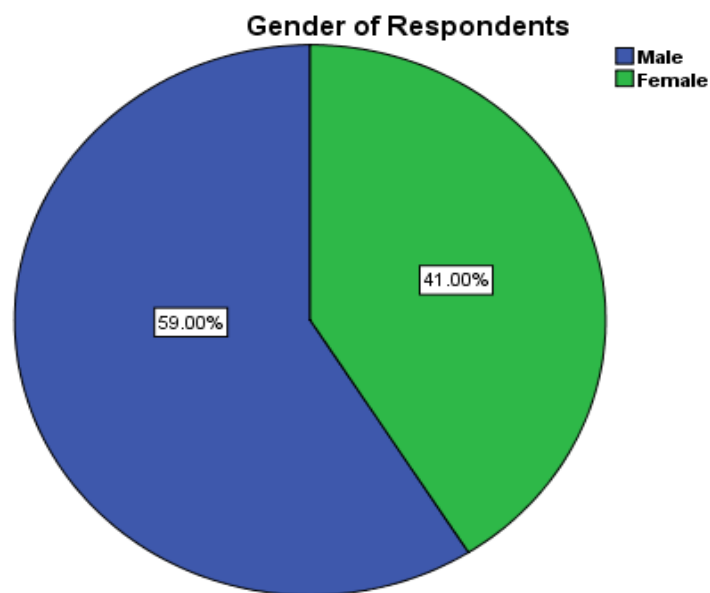


Figure 2. 1 Gender of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021.

2.1.2 Age of the respondents

Age is included in the study as it may be an indicator of shared experiences amongst people of a similar generation growing up at a similar time, hence the reason why age brackets were utilized. The age ranges catered for ages eighteen upwards. According to the study, the breakdown of age ranges shows that a majority of respondents are between the age of 18-30 totaling 31.7% of all respondents, 31–40-year old's total 22.8% of respondents, 41–50-year-old respondents account for 23.8% while 51–60-year old's number 13.9%, the final group of respondents being those 61 and above total 6.9%. See figure 2.2

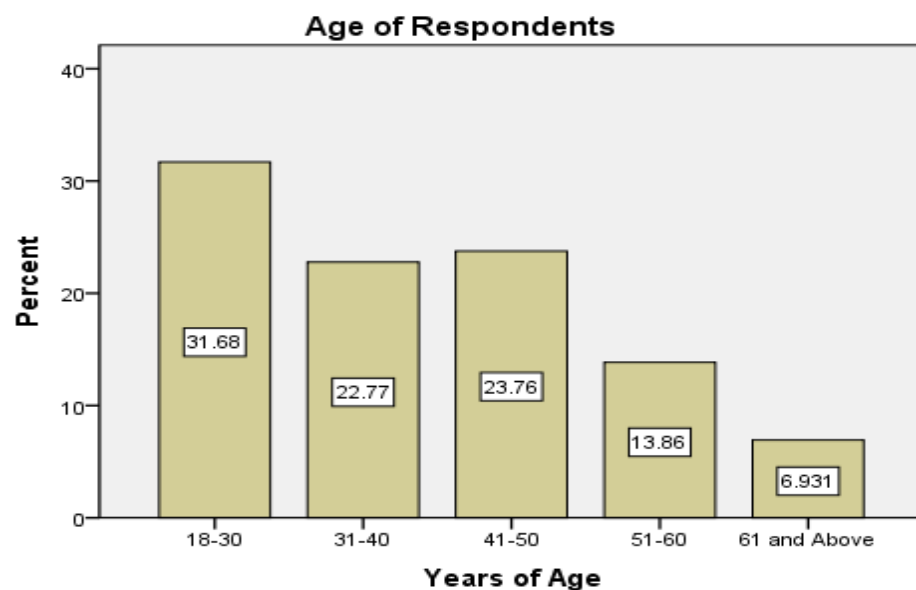


Figure 2. 2 Age of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021.

2.1.3 Level of Education of the respondents

The study sought to find out the level of education that the respondents have attained the results will be presented in the figure below. The level of education was categorized by primary school education, secondary school education and college or university level education. The study determined that level of education attained by 5.9% of

respondents was a primary school education, 15.84% of the respondents attained a secondary school education while a majority of respondents have been educated at the college or university level making up 77%. See figure 2.3

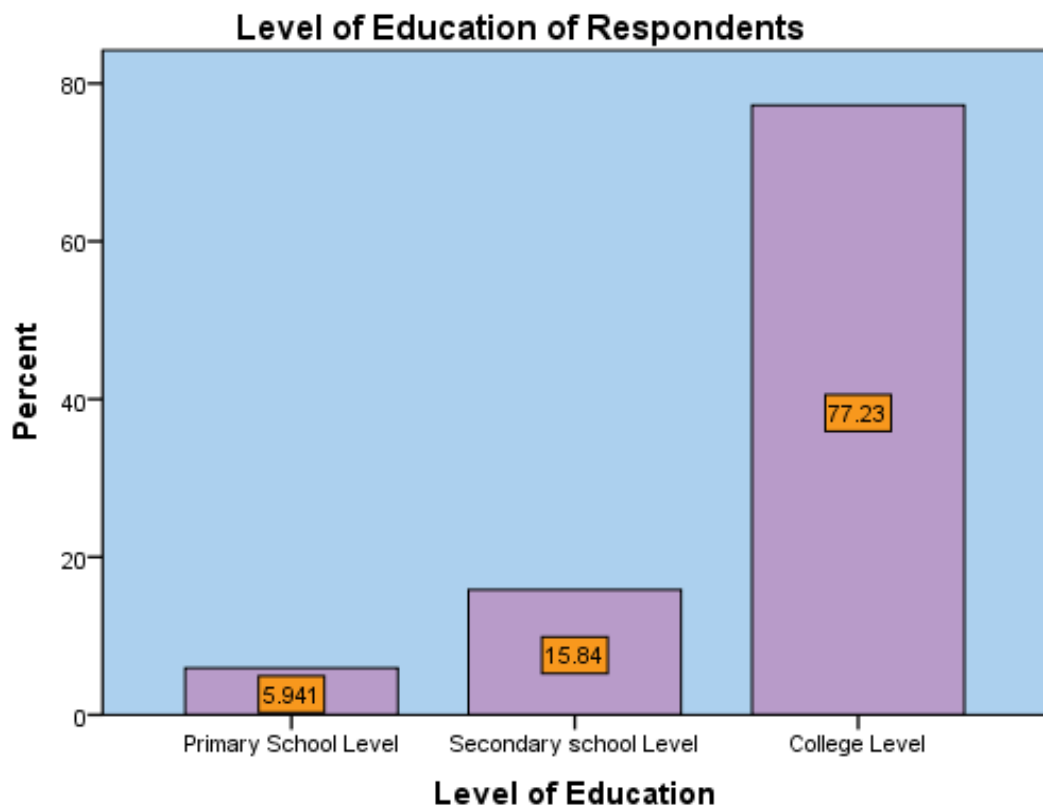


Figure 2. 3 Level of Education of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021.

2.1.4 Occupation of the respondents

Each respondent has a different experience where the study is concerned, some are closer to the issue like the security personnel, who deal with the aspect of control and disarmament of SALW in the county of Garissa and indeed the entire country. The respondents working in the county government and the NGOs are key allies in the fight

against illicit arms and weapons, thus their role is important to include in the study as they are a wealth of knowledge in this regard. Therefore, each respondent adds a different perspective to the study due to the interaction and information they may have on the study.

The categorization here represents security personnel, NGO staff, county government workers and community members all of whom have varying profession from security and community development respondents, entrepreneurs, volunteers and pastoralists. The study observed that security personnel, NGO Staff and county government staff all total 19.80% respectively of respondent professions, with the bulk of community members making up 39.60% of careers in a plethora of fields such as entrepreneurship, consultancy, logistics, volunteering, transportation, outreach officers, counselors and pastoralists among other professions. See figure 2.4

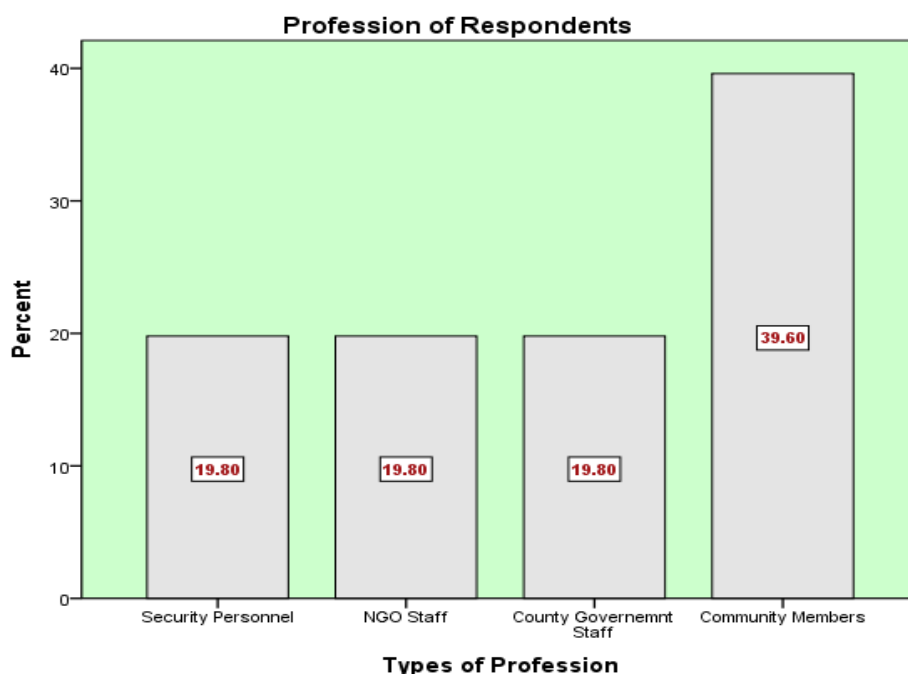


Figure 2. 4 Profession of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021.

2.1.5 Area of residence of the respondents

The location of respondents is important as it will shed light on the happenings within the various areas. Some places may experience more SALW proliferated challenges than others who may experience less, this information is crucial to the study. The locations captured here consisted of locations all across the county such as Garissa town, Daadab, Ijara, Fafi, Lagdera, Hulugho and Mbalambala. From figure 2.5 below it is evident from the pie chart that the study established a majority of respondents reside in Garissa Town at 20%, 18% of respondents reside in Daadab with another 18% residing Ijara. Fafi residents' number 16%, with those in Lagdera accounting for 9%, Hulugho at 9% as well and finally those in Mbalambala totaling 10%. See figure 2.5.

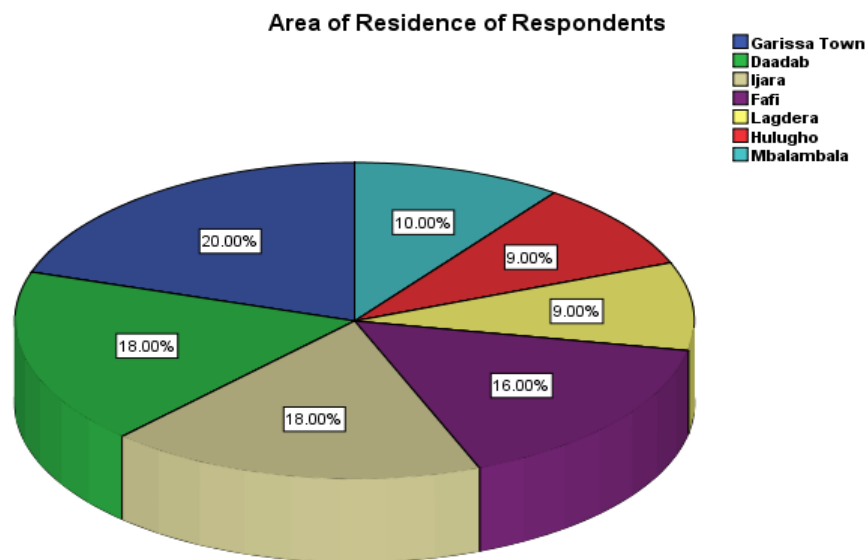


Figure 2. 5 Area of Residence of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021.

2.2 History and development of small arms and light weapons proliferation in the Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa region has been the epicenter of some of the worst conflicts in the world and this has spanned decades both pre-colonial and post-colonial eras. During such periods the issues of SALW have not been far from the epicenter of tragedy. Proliferation of SALW in the context of the HoA, means a marked increase in the spread of arms in circulation from one country to another. The main cause then of the arms proliferation in the HoA has unequivocally been conflict both interstate and intrastate all fought over social, political, economic and historical reasons as well as violent extremism and ethnic conflict.⁶⁵ The HoA then has proven to be one of the most heavily arms proliferated parts of the world. The illicit arms flow makes it such that weapons are made easily accessible, as has been witnessed in history of the HoA, conflict hinders development and advancement. An increased vulnerability to illicit arms proliferation in HoA is as a result of its location adjacent to major vast trade routes and water routes. The study has been able to establish unequivocally that, sale and transfer of arms from the West has a history spanning decades making the history of proliferation of arms in the HoA a complicated one. The Global North traded arms for slaves, food, ivory, wild game and precious minerals. The Arab influence on the continent and indeed the HoA region, saw Arab merchants and locals contribute significantly to rampant gun trade and gun running. The toppling of various regimes left illicit arms in the possession of civilians which then proliferated throughout the region depending on the conflict hotspots and issues of that time period. This coupled with conflicts during the Cold War

⁶⁵ Kidane Mengisteab and Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, *Critical Factors in the Horn of Africa's Raging Conflicts* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2011).

era and Soviet Union and United States of America crisis, saw a major flood of millions of SALW in the aftermath of these major historical events due to proxy wars.⁶⁶

There is an accession by respondents that there is a nexus between poaching and the proliferation of SALW, the demand for wild game across the world has endangered significantly the wildlife on the African continent. Wild game trophies demand creates an enabling environment where, contracted unscrupulous individuals are dangerously and heavily armed to complete the job and illegal task of trapping, catching, maiming, transporting, trafficking and killing of wild game to get their trophies.⁶⁷ Respondents also observed that international demand for trophies is met with an equal ability to supply, thus increasing weapons availability and eventual proliferation in the continent. The long-term effects of these illegal activities impact on biodiversity and lead some species to near extinction. On the other hand, it is an open secret that some of the world's rich come to hunt game for sport in Africa, thus making legal and illegal wildlife hunting difficult to distinguish but both contribute to the larger SALW problem.

Drawing attention back to state related conflict and the illicit arms proliferation in the HoA, it would be prudent to include the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict between 1998-2000 leading to the souring of diplomatic relations. The relationship between them was quite recently reinstated in the year 2018 after over 20 years of being estranged, since then some instability has occurred between the two states making the reality much the same to what it was before the reinstating of relations between the two states. Millions were spent on armament at the time of above-mentioned conflict with countless casualties

⁶⁶ Yuriy Kirshin, *"Russia and the Arms Trade, Conventional arms transfers during the Soviet period,"* (United Nations: SIPRI Publications and Oxford University Press, 1998). pp 42

⁶⁷ "Small-Arms-Survey-2015-Chapter-01 A-Yearbook "In the line of fire, elephant and rhino poaching in Africa'", (Geneva, Switzerland 2015).pp6.

and distraction occurring, caused by an incompatibility of each state's goals relating to the disputed Badme border area with Eritrea claiming Ethiopia repositioned the border area to infringe on Eritrean territory despite the border not being effectively and distinctly marked.⁶⁸

In 1991 the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front led the ouster of Mengistu Haile Mariam who was a dictator and had committed crimes against humanity, the entire occurrence further worsened the security situation in the state and led to an excess flow of arms in the state and indeed in the HoA. Eritrea has experienced two civil wars and conflicts characterized by a struggle for an independent state.⁶⁹ Such occurrences led to the deaths of tens of thousands of people, civilians and armed forces alike. There was also a mass exodus of people who moved to safer countries both within the HoA region with others fleeing the African continent all together. In this time weapons continued to flow throughout the region as a result of internationalizing of aforementioned conflicts.

South Sudan as well has been embroiled in interstate and intrastate conflicts due to militarized political conflict and inter-communal conflict, weapons are made available to civilian populations by militias and rebels and an overflow from conflicts between the government of Sudan and the SPLA/M add to SALW proliferation. Young people who are recruited to fight are armed and this too resulted in an influx of weapons in the state which are then used when instability occurs. The Karamajo area close to Uganda faces significant arms proliferation challenges and crisis due to the sources and

⁶⁸ Abbink, Jon. "Badme and the Ethio-Eritrean Border: The Challenge of Demarcation in the Post-War Period." *Africa: Rivista Trimestrale Di Studi E Documentazione Dell'Istituto Italiano per L'Africa E L'Oriente* 58, no. 2 (2003): 219-31

⁶⁹ Kostas Loukeris, "Contending Political Ideologies In Ethiopia After 1991: The Role Of Intellectuals" 12 (2004): 11. pp 1

circulation of weapons.⁷⁰ South Sudan has been determined as a major source of SALW as it borders Uganda and these arms eventually find their way to Kenya, especially among pastoral communities who live in the periphery of the state in rather harsh and demanding environments. The Pokot and Turkana communities of Kenya where some of the worst raids and pastoral skirmishes have occurred tend to possess weapons from South Sudan, Karamajo and Somalia.

Uganda and its SALW history is characterized by a fierce fight for independence with the formation of political parties all geared towards improving the situation of native Ugandan's who had faced significant discrimination and maltreatment at the hands of the colonials. A group of farmers formed Uganda's first ever political party the Uganda National Congress in 1952. The deposing of Idi Amin Dada Oumee was a major event in Uganda, he too had come to power after he got his predecessor Obote out of office. Idi Amin was known for the brutality of his regime which spanned eight years, it was characterized by wanton killings and the massacre of thousands and the violent expulsion of Pakistani and Indian citizens from Uganda.⁷¹

It is during this time also that he increased on military expenditure, thus negatively impacting the economic situation of Uganda affecting it for decades to come. This then would indicate the way in which arms proliferated extensively throughout the GLR and the HoA regions from what was left over during his regime as well as other violent conflicts and rebellions in the country.

The study contends that the Karamoja region of Uganda has experienced continued pastoral and interclan conflicts, the weapons used during such conflicts are said to be a

⁷⁰ James Devan" *Crisis in Karamoja: Armed Violence and the Failure of Disarmament in Uganda's Most Deprived Region*".(2008).

⁷¹ Peter F. B. Nayenga. "Myths and Realities of Idi Amin Dada's Uganda." *African Studies Review* 22, no. 2 (1979): 127-38.

form of security for the communities. Illicit arms flow and arms sources persist due to there being insufficient security provision on the part of the state of Uganda. The weapons the Karamojong have, are sourced from South Sudan and DRC as well as the illicit arms market within Uganda, the outlying status of Karamajo is the principal factor of insecurity. The Karamoja cluster is a group of people found in areas that sprawl the borders of four countries: Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. These areas have continued to be conflict hotspots due to clan conflicts, cattle raiding, criminal attacks, climatic variations causing land access and use issues which can turn bloody and deadly especially with arms availability and use.⁷² Contemporary weapons and assault rifles have made pastoral conflicts more lethal than traditional raiding practices the situation is worse now due to SALW use and misuse.

Somalia has been on the international radar for decades due to its political, security and diplomatic challenges. Terrorism has further worsened an already dire situation, individuals and organizations both based regionally and internationally have been known to channel funds into funding terrorist organizations and their activities of recruiting, training, payment of fighters. Also, funning the propaganda flames which sees many fall victim and join terrorist groups and organizations, either because they are economically motivated or indeed believe in the ideology of said groups.⁷³ The UN has explicitly sighted terrorism as the greatest threat to humanity and global security.

The study observed that Kenya has in effect been a conduit of arms flow in the region, the number of entry points are countless and proliferation results due to this reality. Kenya's fight for independence was a hostile, bloody and dangerous affair. The natives

⁷² Op Cit, Wepundi (2012)

⁷³ Robert I. Rotberg, World Peace Foundation, and Brookings Institution, eds., *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Washington, D.C: World Peace Foundation; Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

risked their lives with groups like the Mau Mau being vocal and frontline in the rebellion against the colonial class. They had at that point in time made life unbearable for the population with deaths, torture, imprisonment, taxes, curtailing of freedom being the way of life during that time. To defeat such an adversary would require tact and resources which were sourced from various fronts, the fight eventually led to the birth of the Republic of Kenya.

The evolution of Kenya's political system, politics, election cycles, regional insecurity, terrorism, pastoral conflicts, clan-based disputes and natural resources disputes affect the security of the state and impacts upon the citizenry. Illicit arms are indeed available in Kenya in various counties, some events reach us and are exposed on the news while others do not make it on primetime television. The destruction caused by weapons cannot be underscored and is this valued as a significant problem in the country and indeed in the region as a whole.⁷⁴

All in all, the proliferation of arms in the HoA is complicated, the most sighted reason for this has been the aspect of having vast unpoliced border areas, continuing and sporadic conflicts within the region. The large geographical size of the HoA makes it such that for a dedicated human resource to man such areas would take all of the trained personnel, which would then leave the rest of the areas within the region and individual states therein susceptible to increased criminality and lawlessness.⁷⁵ There are a number of continued obstacles on a societal and state levels in as much as various commitments have been made on a regional level to support peace initiative and operations. All the countries and regions above mentioned have been active in recognizing and working at

⁷⁴ Manasseh Wepundi et al., *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment* (Geneva, 2012).

⁷⁵ World Bank Group "The-Borderlands-of-the-Horn-of-Africa," (Washington, DC, 2020) pp 35.

turning said areas away from SALW proliferations with various programmes, initiatives, policies, conventions and laws against illicit arms flow, transfer, sale and eventual proliferation.

2.3 Direct and Indirect Impacts of SALW Proliferation on Personal Security

The terms direct and indirect here are taken to mean the immediate and long-term effects of SALW proliferation on personal security in the HoA region. The way in which this will manifest happens in a large part due to: Intensification of low-level conflicts, security related predicaments in the region brought on by insecurity, cross-border criminality, challenges caused by ungoverned spaces, displacement of people, issues in accessing social amenities and social capital impediments.

2.3.1 Intensification and Inflaming of Low Intensity Conflicts

The inflaming of low intensity conflicts is a reality in the HoA region. Lower scale conflicts are those that have yet to manifest into violence and may be hidden within power relations and relationships, hence they are structural in nature. Structural violence does exist, it may be hidden and suppressed but can possibly catalyze violent conflicts. Structural violence according to Johan Galtung is indirect and presents in the imbalance in social structures and entitlement preventing people from meeting their needs resulting in some portion of society feeling left out and deprived leading to a blame game with other sections of society being deemed responsible for disparities.⁷⁶ Structural violence can have the uncanny potentiality of being gradually or sporadically intensified leading to full blown conflicts. Such is the character and volatility of the HoA region.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." (1969).

⁷⁷ Robin Clempson, "The Primacy of Structural Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa," *International Relations* (England, University of Plymouth, 2011).pp 3

The personal insecurity is prevalent due to continued incidences of violent conflict with other factors contributing to instability such as: lack of regard for human rights, absence of transparency and accountability on the part of various HoA regimes, poor governance and lapses in the rule of law and economic disparities.

One of the greatest contributors to the inflammation of low intensity conflicts as the study has determined, is the angle of political disagreement and indeed equitable representation. There is a nexus between political violence, the democratization process and political leadership, in the HoA these patterns are habitual in countries such as South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia as well as other nations in the region. During such crisis both regional and international states and organizations galvanize support to bring peace and work towards reconciliation.

The Republic of Somalia has at various intervals experienced violence relating to the political situation within the country. Somalia was among the first nations to face significant political distress post-cold war era, by the 1990's the country had experienced barbarity that was politically motivated leading to a civil war, the mass movement of people, famine, infrastructural and economic distraction all affecting personal security of the people. During this time the contention was over power and resources, this adding to the challenges caused by the ever-present post-colonial legacies all adding to the complexities of this conflict.⁷⁸

In addition to this the angle of clannism added another layer to the conflict. Fighting between clans, clan militia and the government due to the marginalization they faced combined with the availability and eventual use of SALW saw the ouster of leaders like

⁷⁸ Abdulkadir Yusuf Ali, "Security Challenges in Somalia: Causes and Consequences" 6, no. 3 (IJIRST August 2019). pp 27

Mohamed Barre. Having been in power for decades, he was deposed in a bloody civil war which spiraled the country into decades of no efficient operating government institutions, which are crucial for state building and advancement.⁷⁹ Arms during this period did continue to flow extensively through the landscape of the state and indeed between bordering nations. After this period, successive governments have in one way or the other been faced with similar political challenges whilst trying to rebuild a country severely impacted by disruptions to its path towards stability caused by its past.

There have been efforts made by Somali government authorities and officials to prioritize state building, political and economic stability and increasing social capital so as to bridge the gap and move the society forward. Despite the above commitment the personal security and human security of its citizens has been affected with maritime related crimes, the scourges of terrorism and clan related disputes. There is a spillover effect of what happens in Somalia has security impacts on neighboring states thereby introducing regional dynamics to the HoA.

The study asserted that Kenya too has experienced personal security challenges, it shocked the world in the aftermath of its post-election violence of 2007/8 which was a prime example of what long standing political, social, electoral and constitutional disagreements would drive a people to. There have been quite a few contentious issues in the Kenyan landscape which have contributed to and may exacerbate violence, they include: historical marginalization of certain communities, cultural impunity and tribal underpinnings leading to injustice, land resources access, use and allocation abuses,

⁷⁹ Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, "The Somali Conflict: Root Causes, Obstacles, and Peace-Building Strategies," *African Security Review* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 32–54.

inequality in society and electoral manipulation all mixing together to create a toxic and lethal cocktail especially during major electoral cycles in the country.⁸⁰

This political crisis in Kenya came after similar circumstances during the 1992 and 1997 elections both experiencing clashes. Past wounds, disregarding of certain groups, privilege, inequality, weaponizing politics and hate speech all feature in political violence and this too was the story of Kenya during the post-election violence of 2007/8.⁸¹ The violence saw the violent death of over a thousand people, injury of countless more and displacements of hundreds of thousands. The affected areas were: Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western, Central, Nairobi and some parts of the Coastal region. The violence during this time was spontaneous as well as organized against specific groups with arms being used, some more crude than sophisticated with ethnicity and politics being the principal points used to mobilize and turn people against each other. The police were also at this time involved in the suppression of protests and it involved the use of live fire causing injuries and fatalities.⁸²

Eventually after this a post-election crisis mediation team headed by Kofi Annan, in a forty-day mediation process managed to reach a settlement in the crisis, leading to a power sharing deal prompting the formation of a coalition government. This was done to offer some reprieve from the violence, bring peace and make strides towards moving the country forward and starting the process towards healing the large divide within the society.⁸³ All throughout this time the personal security of the Kenyan citizenry was

⁸⁰ Seung Yeon Cho et al., "Preventing Post-Election Violence Based on the Kenyan Experience," (Stanford University Press, California USA, 2015). pp 3&4

⁸¹ Fidelis Edge Kanyongolo, *Kenya: Post-Election Political Violence* (London: Article 19, International Centre Against Censorship, 1998).

⁸² "Kenya: Post-Election Killings, Abuse," Human Rights Watch, August 27, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/08/27/kenya-post-election-killings-abuse>.

⁸³ Khadiagala Gilbert "Forty Days and Nights of Peacemaking in Kenya" *Journal of Africa Elections*, Volume 7 No 2 (2008).

affected greatly, due to the aftermath of the post-election events, life as many knew it was no longer the same with the effects being long term for many.

2.3.2 Upsurge in Regional Insecurities

Security in the region lapses where there are significant challenges affecting human security, regional relations and interactions predispose a region to threats and insecurity. Majority of respondents to this study assert that security is key for humanity to thrive. Security is therefore taken to mean a protection from potential threats be it at a personal or state level. The process of security requires investment and vast resources to preserve freedom, peace, liberty and tranquility in the society. The nature of conflicts after the end of cold war changed into what is now known as ‘new wars’ which is a concept academic Mary Kaldor explained as a shift in the involvement of various actors especially non-state actors in various conflicts. The new wars are fought over identity concerns and not always ideologies, the continent then suffers a majority of conflicts motivated by political issues and governance concerns.⁸⁴

The study is premised on the theory of regional complexes and this theory is utilized so as to effectively link and describe the close ties shared by countries within a certain geographical and thematic area. The regional insecurities experienced in the past and presently indeed point to a security dilemma, this manifests in a number of ways but that which concerns this study is the continued threat of proliferation of SALW in Kenya and in the HOA region at large. There is an internal arms race within the HoA region due to the insecurities faced therein, the large expanse of land, communities inhabiting hard to reach and unpoliced areas, pastoral lifestyles, border crossings and crime all contribute to illicit SALW culture within the region. The HoA is infamous

⁸⁴ Mary Kaldor, “In Defence of New Wars,” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 1 (March 7, 2013): 4.pp 2.

where conflict prone and devastated regions are concerned. The region is confronted by SALW proliferation, cross-country crime, terrorism, human insecurity, human rights challenges, ethnic, clan, religious and resource-based injustice and conflict.⁸⁵

The application of this theory is appropriate to the study as it unearths the increase of SALW across the expanse of the HOA as well as neighboring regions such as the GLR, this illicit proliferation adds to the exploitation of people, illegality and violence all of which have long term effects. There is an entanglement between relations amongst neighboring countries as well as an interconnection between risk and security stressors. The close links then prove a connection linking local, national, regional and even international levels of security or insecurity.

The dilemma where security is concerned within the region is brought on by the location of the HoA adjacent to the Red Sea and the Gulf. The illicit increase, accumulation and proliferation of SALW impact on instances of social violence, illegal activities, regional electoral insecurity, informal networks all add to the categorization of the region as one of the most deprived and conflict prone in the world. The manifestation of the above situation has been witnessed in Somalia with various governments aiming at making lasting strides for peace and stability despite the conflicts and challenges faced, this would place them on the path towards a hope for a better life.

Ethiopia and the aspect of marginalization has been an issue that strokes tension in the society. These inequalities where politics, power and ethnicity are concerned have seen people take up arms as is the situation in the Tigray crisis, between the Ethiopian Army and the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF).⁸⁶ Issues have trans nationalized

⁸⁵ Rachel Stohl and EJ Hogendoorn, "Stopping the Destructive Spread of Small Arms," (2010).pp 17.

⁸⁶ T Olika, "Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa: Toward the Study of Regional Peace and Security," *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities* 6, no. 1-2 (November 16, 2011): 1-24, pp 14.

with state level challenges and issues taking on regional dimensions requiring multilateral approaches that have been put in place to confront concerns resulting from colonial and post-colonial legacies, terrorism, SALW proliferation, internationalization of conflicts and the displacement of people.

South Sudan has had a great number of security implications on the HoA, being that after its independence in 2011 it was plunged into civil wars which necessitated the involvement of regional organizations to facilitate peace agreements some of which fell through. Conflicts have been fought over political representation, governance and marginalization as well as key state natural resources which attract attention of actors from various fronts both local and international.⁸⁷ Adding the aspect of involvement from actors within the region to issues confronting South Sudan increases the threats as well as the reach of said issues, they permeate daily life within the region. Leftover weapons from past conflicts and an influx of others from allies to those in South Sudan sees a miscarriage of justice. Each one is focused on achieving what it is they desire leading to economic underdevelopment, a government that is not fully functioning leading to devastating security issues which unresolved leads to long term general under development and a region in breakdown as a result.

SALW proliferation and the aftermath of their use makes it such that there is an overdependence on the international community to right the wrongs caused by continued conflict making the aspect of African solution to African problems as coined by Ghanaian economist George Ayittey harder to achieve and maintain even when the HoA region and the African continent has the ability to do so if only it could reorganize

⁸⁷ Aldo Ajou Deng Akuey, "South Sudan and the Emerging Security Implications for East Africa," *Universal Journal of Educational Research* 6, no. 2 (February 2018): 218–25.

and utilize its capabilities, endowments and brain power.⁸⁸ The lack of political goodwill, complications brought on by actors and allies and ethnicity related inequalities in the region leave huge cracks and holes in the security of the region. Personal security cannot be safeguarded if the daily struggle is one categorized by political triggers and a disregard for agreements and a commitment for good governance.

The region suffers when there are instances of instability and it goes beyond personal security all aspects of human lives are impacted negatively and it takes a long time to work towards stabilizing, transforming and rebuilding of a state or region that cannot catch a break. For this reason, the way to address the above-mentioned challenges will first be to establish and continue regional security solution responses with frameworks such as the Regional Economic Communities (RECs).⁸⁹ There integration into the security apparatus of the region will assist in resolving some of the social and political problems faced. All while ensuring transparency and accountability of leaders to support good governance and the democratization process especially as these are all prerequisites, for stability and development of any state and region in the world. All in all, the horn of Africa has a history of conflicts and what transpires in one country indeed has an effect on its neighbors regardless of how subtle it may seem at first glance, changes occur beneath the surface and eventually a single catalyst can lead to multiple flareups and security threats across a region that is already conflict prone.

⁸⁸ Elyse Lipman, "African Solutions for African Problems?" (2010).

⁸⁹ Thomas Perry Thornton, "Regional Organizations in Conflict Management," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 518 (1991): 132–42.

2.3.3 Increased Cross-Border Criminality

Cross border criminality are grave crimes committed at or next to extremal or shared borders. Some of the most significant cross border crimes plaguing the HoA are internationalization of conflicts, illegal trafficking and terrorism. Terrorism took on a new face after the 911 attack in the United States of America in 2001, the subsequent response of the USA was to go to war with Afghanistan in response to the attack on their state and the breach of security. The fight against terrorism today is an international undertaking with large budgets, training and human resource dedicated to the task.

Terrorism and violent extremism have single handedly been responsible for toppling entire cities and the displacement of millions across the world. The HoA is thought of a major contributor of terrorism and has been on the international radar. There are indeed various terrorist networks operating within the region and in Africa. Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan all have experienced terrorist related activity and threats especially now that there is an international component with members drawn from countries all over the world all with varying competencies.⁹⁰

Terrorist activity between borders has been calamitous where attacks occur in Somali and militants will inhabit residents in Kenya's several refugee camps in North Eastern Kenya, where it is alleged fighters have families and conduct activities within the camps. Also attacks executed in Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia are planned in and across the HoA region with militants and weapons being transported into the countries and being smuggled back out after attacks. Porous borders remain a high priority problem, there are vast expanses of land, the outskirts tend to be lawless and not effectively

⁹⁰ "Terrorism in the Horn of Africa," (2004).

policed and this creates an enabling environment for criminality to occur. The theory of regional security complex plays into these shared patterns and challenges thus needing there to be action taken across the expanse of the HoA.

Undocumented individuals are often trafficked across borders for various reasons from forced labor and marriage with others fleeing prosecution, and some paying smugglers to get them to main cities to make a living and improve their economic situation and support those they have left at home and hope to bring over to the new places they have settled. Smuggling and trafficking of people is not a new occurrence it however places significant pressure on resources of a state, security is affected by sudden influxes of people. This is a burden shared by nations across the HoA, Uganda and Kenya have the highest refugee numbers in the region, where they are accommodated in various camps across both nations.⁹¹

SALW flow through the region in an unprecedented and unchecked manner most times and those nabbed still does not account for those who manage to come through either by chance or due to corruption and security agents allowing them passage in exchange for money, favors or other goods.⁹² The long-term effect of such criminality may not be known as each individual has their own intentions and agenda's but what is fact is that such occurrences do lead to significant security threats.

The border crossings in various countries across the HoA, have been highlighted as hotspots for crime and illegal activities. For instance, Kenya and Ethiopia share the Moyale border crossing and have been experiencing criminal activity such as clashes

⁹¹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "WFP, UNHCR Appeal for Funding for over 3 million Refugees Hit by Ration Cuts in Eastern Africa," UNHCR, accessed July 17, 2021, <https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2021/3/603dec5f4/wfp-unhcr-appeal-funding-3-million-refugees-hit-ration-cuts-eastern-africa.html>.

⁹² Op Cit, Wepundi et al. 2012

between Kenya police and Oromo rebels. Migrant smuggling, illicit SALW smuggling and drug trafficking. The items smuggled are concealed in clothes, jerrycans, cooking oil containers and other innovative ways used to disguise the items. The ease of travel makes the area attractive for criminal networks and people to operate the above illicit business with some officers accused of turning a blind eye to the happenings for personal gain.⁹³ The Kenya and Somalia, Garissa crossing has been an entry point for smuggled firearms, militants and other illegal items which can be used to cause harm to people, this problem then can clearly be seen to be a shared one.

Globalization it must be noted has played a big role in transnational crime and criminal activity, there has been a shift in the participation of Africa in illicit activity on a global scale due to international criminal networks responsible for an increase in criminal economies involved in recruitment of fighters, illicit SALW markets, money laundering, violence, drug trafficking, wild game trophy trafficking and illegal natural resource exploration and exploitation.

Sudan and South Sudan have experienced violence and some of it by way of SALW, the aftermath of this is the communities confronted with is issue of SALW proliferation which is a pervasive problem. South Sudan in particular has had a hard time addressing this issue due to the continued civil wars in the country after their independence in 2011, SALW then continue to be in circulation and in possession of rebels in various areas across the state sometimes in remote and insecure areas. These weapons are transported across the region, used in cattle raiding attacks, clan violence, terrorism, organized crime and other instances of gun related violence.⁹⁴ SALW find their way into illicit

⁹³ Lisa Misol, Joost Hiltermann and Jan Hogendoorn "Weapons Inflows and The Impact of Regional Conflict" (New York, United States: Human rights watch, 1999).

⁹⁴ James Bevan, "Armed Violence and the Failure of Disarmament in Uganda's Most Deprived Region," n.d., 90.

gun markets which are traded for cheap with even civilians being able to afford weapons and arm themselves.

Criminality across borders then cannot be effectively tackled when there is not only a demand for weapons but also a steady supply of said weapons which are used to cause local and regional conflict which then has an impact on personal security of people. Attitudes around weapons and knowledge about them can be part of the strategy at a grassroots levels authorities can use to integrate a lasting disarmament programme in countries across the region.⁹⁵ A people cannot develop where there is no peace and stability, if this message is spread eventually at some point a people may be able to rationalize that illicit SALW are not worth the trouble thus changing the narrative around gun culture possibly reducing the demand and illicit supply of the same.

There are areas all across the countries in the HoA that may be notorious for criminal activity, not all crime can be intercepted or even covered by the media as a few incidences may slip through the cracks and go unreported, mitigating the risks and threats of SALW proliferation is important in disarmament and control operations.

2.3.4 Increase in Ungoverned Spaces and Lawlessness

The term ungoverned spaces refer to the areas that are not sufficiently governed thereby increasing their likelihood of being threats to security. This is because said areas are in most instances far to reach or just out of reach of central authorities.⁹⁶ The proponents of this thought posit that to understand ungoverned spaces would need there to be an appreciation for the sovereignty of states and governance within them, states have various responsibilities which guarantee their populations entitlements afforded to them

⁹⁵ Op Cit, Wepundi et al. (2012)

⁹⁶ Shu De Teo, "Evaluating the Concept of Ungoverned Spaces," (2021),.pp 126

by being inhabitants and citizens of a country. The first being security for all, protection from threats both within and outside the state.⁹⁷

Countries that have ungoverned spaces are numerous on the African continent due to its vastness. Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, DRC and the Sahel of Northern Africa are a few examples of such spaces. Ungoverned spaces lack an authoritative presence which sees terrorist and rebel groups thrive, coupled with the enabling environment and influx of arms worsening the situation therein.⁹⁸ To counter the effect of lawlessness and insecurity in said areas, would require concerted efforts to establish security, good and effective governance and an overhaul of the insecurity in these spaces. Ungoverned space in many ways can be used to explain the proliferation of SALW in the world, HoA and GLR region which are large areas in terms of size and is estimated to be over a million square kilometers, more areas than most would know have no central authority leaving such spaces vacant, this creates an a vacuum that is filled by criminal groups who take on this lawless spaces and make them their own, whilst doing so their immediate and long term impact is felt due to the activities they involve themselves in.

Ungoverned spaces are exploited by Islamic militants as is witnessed in Somalia, Kenya and Uganda. Activity in these countries also have effects in countries in the GLR, this insurgency has severely impacted security with militants hiding in various areas and moving between the GLR and the HOA region. Peace and security become elusive as a result of the interaction of ungoverned spaces, lawlessness, inadequate police presence and SALW availability and proliferation. The North Eastern region of Kenya

⁹⁷ Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds., *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (California: Stanford Security Studies, 2010).

⁹⁸ Op Cit, Shu De Teo (2021).

for instance has for a long time been thought to be a breeding ground of violent extremists and radicalized individuals especially with porous borders, trafficking of people and weapons, corruption of certain individuals who fail to effectively discharge their duties and secure shared borders, police and other members of the force are the first line of defense in a country or territory, a lapse in their ability has significant impacts and add to the treats in said areas.⁹⁹

The above illegal movement of people, goods and arms have all been proven as catalysts for general insecurity in the case of Kenya, people face vulnerability due to lack of authority in ungoverned spaces all around the country. All in all, the aspect of ungoverned spaces presents an eminent threat, this is a fact as is evidenced in the happenings around the globe in places that are confronted by this reality, in most instances ungoverned spaces rationale articulates and is used to explain terrorism in various regions but an expansion around this thinking is key in not only accessing but valuing the fact that various variables exist within ungoverned spaces such as the proliferation of SALW.¹⁰⁰

SALW propagate easily in places that are lawless, ungoverned and lack an authoritative presence. Arms once in circulation especially illegally are hard to track down or get rid of effectively, it is a result that ungoverned space explains aptly why they are a potential breeding ground for disaster where arms and weapons are concerned. Each state has its own unique and individual interest which guide the use of a central authority in the state even in areas that are said to be a distance away from authority which then creates an enabling environment in these spaces for what many observe is unchecked crime,

⁹⁹ Humanitarian And Development Programme “North-Eastern Kenya: A Prospective Analysis” (Paris France, Institut De Relations Internationales Et Stratégiques, 2015).

¹⁰⁰ Matthew Hoisington, “Toward an International Law for Ungoverned Spaces,” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 20, no. 4 (August 19, 2014): 491–98

violence and lawlessness which describes aptly ungoverned spaces. These distant spaces have been proven as being breeding grounds for crime, religious indoctrination and radicalization. In one way or the other identify with the challenges brought on by ungoverned spaces especially where terrorist or rebel groups thrive. It is for this reason that it has been argued that ungoverned spaces suffer from a lack of governance but indeed there is a significant lapse in the same.

The availability of key resources in ungoverned spaces leads to a rush of criminal elements all of whom recognize maintaining and controlling access and control of these resources brings with it a great deal of leverage and authority in some senses. SALW are likely to see an increase due to the need to defend and leverage abovementioned resources hence the reason why most terrorist and criminal groups are strategically placed in areas of significant resource wealth, Democratic Republic of Congo is a country that is a classic example of resource curse and ungoverned spaces making it a prime example.

Countries with significant wealth in minerals find that their discovery and exploration raise their profile and this also brings with it security threats. Kenya has minerals and oil and their discovery has not gone without significant shifts in security, social and economic dynamics in as much as the other side of the coin would be increased investment, economic booms and trade.¹⁰¹ To harness these benefits can only happen with effective governance to protect such high stakes.

¹⁰¹ Abdullahi Boru Halakhe, "Avoiding the Resource Curse in Kenya," accessed April 15, 2020, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/05/avoiding-resource-curse-kenya-2014517115053638503.html>.

2.3.5 Displacement of People and Refugee Crisis

Feeling unsafe impedes the ability of a people to thrive and advance, aside from robbing the country of human resource the brain drain is the worst being that people feel unable to imagine a future that is bleak and devoid of opportunities to develop, optimize their capabilities and even actualize them. The HoA due to its instability has been a huge area of humanitarian concern, the future generations especially the young have grown up in and witness distress impeding their growth and prospects for a healthy future, this is the aftermath of SALW proliferation, conflicts, terrorism, human rights abuses and having to run away due to being targeted for whatever reason.

There are various social impacts associated with the SALW proliferation, one manifestation is the displacement and mass movement of people caused by insecurity, with violent conflicts being a major contributor. Several examples can be sighted from across the continent of the physical safety and well-being of people being negatively impacted, there is significant trauma on societies and people affected leading to intense fear resulting from the wide spread proliferation of weapons as well as the unchecked use of them. The HoA is in a humanitarian crisis prompted by the internal and external conflicts, poor governance, corruption, economic down turns and population growth.

Refugees, internally displaced people and asylum seekers in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Region number millions. There are an estimated 4.7 million refugees, over 10 million internally displaced people as of June 2021. Refugees are drawn from countries all around the continent with South Sudan, Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea, DRC and Burundi being the highest in terms of refugee numbers.¹⁰² A refugee is an individual who has sought safety and refuge in other countries and fled home due to war,

¹⁰² "Situation Regional Bureau for the East and Horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes Region," accessed July 17, 2021, <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/rbehagl>.

conflict, discrimination or persecution. Internally displaced people are individuals who are compelled to leave their homes due to instances of violence, conflict or human rights abuses, they however do not cross state borders.

When one looks into the personal security situation in these countries it is evident that there are lapses in the government's ability to guarantee safety against all security threats its citizens face due to the fact that they are numerous and all play out at the same time coupled with the fact that each country has varying military capacity and capability. No nation is fully secure as threats are always present, this then demonstrates the nexus between conflict and refugee crises which induce migration across the continent, this occurrence is not a new phenomenon making this issue a complex one and part of the human existence.

Various catalysts across the HoA lead to the displacement of people resulting from the fragility of states and governance related inadequacies as is witnessed in countries like Somali and South Sudan, both countries have experienced civil wars, internal conflicts, ethnic and clan related violent conflicts, terrorism and post-cold-war dynamics all of which add to regional security challenges. SALW proliferation is a continuing challenge on the continent, there is a ready availability and ease of access makes it such that said weapons end up in the hands of criminals who affect peace and security across the region.¹⁰³

Cross border criminality and porous borders that are manmade and are colonial legacies continue to lead to conflicts, over the decades significant strain has been place on the relations and relationships between states while impact the security situation in said areas due to border related crisis between the following countries: Kenya and Uganda,

¹⁰³ Bereketeab, Redie, ed. *The Horn of Africa: Intra-State and Inter-State Conflicts and Security*. (London: Pluto Press, 2013).

Kenya and Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia, South Sudan and Sudan. The ill management of shared borders adds to the threat of terrorism all affecting personal security, which respondents agree is the case. The above occurrences do put populations at significant risk and a way to get away from it all is to flee and seek refuge in places that are relatively safe and secure enough for people to rebuild their lives and try and regain what they lost which in most instances is impossible due to the level of loss, trauma and destabilization caused by the aftermath of conflict, SALW proliferation and instability within the specific countries.

2.3.6 Limited Access to Social Amenities

Social services and public amenities are crucial for communities, these social infrastructures are the bedrock of communities, they include education facilities, recreational centers and healthcare centers. They are affected when there are lapses in peace and security. People fall victim to SALW related crime and conflict especially in cases of targeted attacks on healthcare centers, healthcare professionals, schools and education staff. In the long run the effect on life expectancy, school population numbers and future prospects of development are impacted by the above occurrences.

In Kenya for instance, majority of respondents spoke to the fact that the insecurity in certain ASAL areas like northeastern Kenya having a negative effect of the education and healthcare sectors, where there is a difficulty in consistently improving access of such entitlements to all within North Eastern resulting from security threats. The above situation was especially true before the devolved government system which has made significant adjustments in these areas. Teachers have faced attacks from militants and general insecurity prompting them to leave the region all together and not accept

postings in said areas due to SALW related crime and violence. The war against terror in the HoA region has led to limited access of these important services.¹⁰⁴

The humanitarian consequences of insecurity are significant making the security environment a challenging one, places in Somalia and Sudan for instance have harder to reach areas due to active criminal groups and organizations using the ungoverned spaces. Key routes cannot be accessed that would otherwise deliver key resources and assistance to these areas, this continually makes populations across the state vulnerable and unable to get assistance and have intrinsic needs met. Military and defence spending have increased the world over in constant preparation for any and all eventualities, for more established countries this expenditure is well within their spending and budget allocations.

In 2020 alone there was a 2 trillion dollars increase in the world's military spending with a 2.6 percent increase from the previous year. With the Covid 19 pandemic there has been a reallocation of funds by certain states like South Korea and Chile to deal with the health crisis this however is the exception as globally it is evidenced that spending increased despite the pandemic with at least two- thirds of the expenditure coming from five major countries which include the United Kingdom, China, Russia, United States and India.¹⁰⁵

For countries facing more significant financial strain they may be forced to make the tough decision between social amenities versus military spending. What we see in Africa is a paradox, sophisticated armaments either gifted or purchased are present

¹⁰⁴ Fredrick Nzwili "Mass Exodus of Teachers Triggers Education Crisis in North East Kenya," *World Watch Monitor* (blog), March 18, 2020, <https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2020/03/mass-exodus-of-teachers-triggers-education-crisis-in-north-east-kenya/>.

¹⁰⁵ "World Military Spending Rises to Almost \$2 Trillion in 2020 | SIPRI," accessed July 9, 2021, <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2021/world-military-spending-rises-almost-2-trillion-2020>.

meanwhile societal needs are not met wholly. The security industry is worth billions with governments around the world spending large amounts for armaments and sophisticated technology all geared towards kitting the military and security forces with the best defense technology. Ultimately attacks near health centers, schools and community resources impact those in and around them immensely, the development of a people is underpinned by their ability to access and make use of social amenities so as to build capacity and self-actualize in a way that best serves the greater society in the long run.

2.3.7 Impact on Social Capital

There is a human cost to SALW proliferation especially when uncontrolled, it leads to fatalities, injury, displacement, refugee crisis, gender related violence all of which are personal security related threats. Civil wars have been fought in various nations across the HoA landscape. Rebels, militias, gangs and terror organizations alike all take advantage of the easy flow of illicit weapons within the continent and region that are from a variety of sources such as the black market, diverted stockpiles, ineffective regulation on arms that are locally produced, illegally trafficked arms as well as the larger global external market.

The situation in South Sudan is one that is characterized by turmoil since its independence and long before that, the hostilities between rival groups, civil war and fights for independence have all led to the mass flow and availability of SALW, the Sudan also is facing crisis on various fronts with the conflict in the Darfur with various causes driving the conflict as well as various actors including themselves or being involved in the conflicts further destroying communal trust and cohesion.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Aziza Geleta Dessalegn, "The Cause and Consequence of Conflict in South Sudan," (2017). pp 18.

Social capital takes a hit where human cost is factored in, a community may be polarized with some being forced to take up arms for various reasons such as joining armed groups, this thereby increases criminality amongst various demographics with the young being the most vulnerable. There is a loss of beneficial productivity within the society with significant negative costs on the sociology of a people, their financial and economic capabilities as well as the personal cost associated with the impediments of SALW proliferation within the HoA region.

2.4 Summary of Chapter Key Findings

This chapter has established that the history and development of SALW proliferation in the HoA has both direct and indirect impacts of personal security within the region. The proliferation of arms is underpinned by historical factors in addition to cross border criminality, porous borders and an ineffective management of arms flow within the HOA. What is evident as well from this chapter, is that conflicts and insecurity have a major role to play in the flow of illicit arms, their continued availability and most certainly their use. A majority of the arms available in the HOA originate from Somalia and South Sudan, these arms go on to significantly affect personal security in an already severely threatened and conflict prone region.

The other observations made includes the fact that, conflicts are a major cause of arms proliferation and the way in which such conflicts manifest is mostly prompted by politically motivated reasons as has been evidenced by the coups, attempted coups and political violence in the HOA. This reason tends to be a common link between insecurity occurrences within the region. The chapter also established that direct and indirect impacts on personal security, associated with the proliferation of SALW closely linked to unstable regional dynamics as well as porous borders which are major causes of insecurity and lawlessness in the region either prompted by corruption,

inadequacies by governments in the HoA or a lack of accountability and total transparency on their part where SALW related issues are concerned.

There is also the intensification of low intensity conflict and an increase in cross-border criminality, as well as challenges brought on by ungoverned spaces all of which pose significant threats to the populous across the HOA. These very same threats have a negative effect on social capital and influence on human cost especially where personal insecurity is concerned. This chapter was also able to highlight the way in which SALW proliferation goes beyond just negatively impacting personal security, it called attention to the human condition that is completely affected by SALW proliferation and in turn is completely destabilized. Imbalanced development and lapses in advancement can very well be blamed on the conditions of societies in turmoil resulting from SALW related threats.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTROL MEASURES IN ADDRESSING TRENDS OF SMALL ARMS AND LARGE WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN GARISSA COUNTY.

3.0 Introduction

Control measures and disarmament globally has been dedicated to getting rid of specific large-scale weapons, nuclear armaments, mass stockpile management and illicit arms trade control. However, as global dynamics continue to change and the security landscape experiences significant shifts, there has been an overwhelming need to incorporate and actualize continued SALW control measures at a local and regional level. There are a number of measures employed in the management of the illicit influx of SALW, measures that incorporate key stakeholders such as security personnel, key international stakeholders, community-based organizations, religious groups, NGOs and civilians. Legal frameworks are usually put in place to be a supporting structure, to control and manage SALW proliferation. At the international level there is the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) which highlights global standards in the trade of weapons whilst exploring means to reduce and limit the trade of illicit arms and weapons.¹⁰⁷

The treaty envisages limiting the suffering brought on by unmitigated illegal use and trade of SALW. According to the treaty there is need to improve regional security, accountability and transparency by all parties in the movement of arms across the globe. The above intervention informs to some degree arms control at regional, sub-regional and local levels the world over. This chapter then will identify the trends of SALW proliferation and what prompts demand and supply in Garissa County narrowing down on its specific experience, the subsequent steps taken to curtailing the negative aspects

¹⁰⁷ "Understanding the Arms Trade Treaty from the humanitarian perspective, International committee of the red cross (Geneva Switzerland: ICRC, 2016)" pp 18.

of aforementioned influx through control measures, all of which will feature in the discussion.

3.1 Illicit SALW Proliferation Control Measures in Garissa County

The urgency of SALW control became increasingly apparent with Kenya's post-election violence of 2007/8 as well as the continuing severity of pastoral conflicts and animal raiding that causes death and distraction in many of Kenya's pastoral communities with terrorism and crime following close behind. The control measures in place today borrow heavily from what has been proven to be a good framework in the managing of the same at the regional and international levels. The United Nations then has been instrumental in the fight against all lethal weapons large and small the world over, as is its mandate.¹⁰⁸

The measures employed by many nations across the world include: disarmament campaigns, sensitization programmes, community led initiatives, amnesty and voluntary surrender of weapons by community members, intelligence initiatives that employ techniques such as border control necessitated by the factors influencing proliferation of illicit SALW, the researcher sought to establish various methods and initiatives utilized in Garissa County in an attempt to manage the SALW threats therein. The factors that continue to cause threats and lead to an influx of illicit weapons include violent crime, porous borders, influx of refugees especially when conflict is internationalized, corruption, personal protection, clannism and clan-based conflicts.

The study established that there is an availability of cheap and easily accessible arms in Garissa County with a majority of respondents strongly agreeing with this statement in line with the opinion that there is an ease of obtainability of said illicit SALW, the

¹⁰⁸ Nelson Alusala "Africa and Arms Control challenges and successes, Enhancing Africa's Response to Transnational Organized Crime (European Union: ENACT, 2018)," pp 7.

study also established that respondents knew of people in their lives whom they interact with who have access to or own SALW. The other statement that respondents agreed with, was that there is a notable percentage of people who own illicit SALW in the county, there was also an overwhelming response by respondents to the effect that SALW availability affects the personal security of the inhabitants and workers in Garissa County thereby increasing threats to overall security. See figure 3.1.

Availability and accessibility of illicit SALW in Garissa County

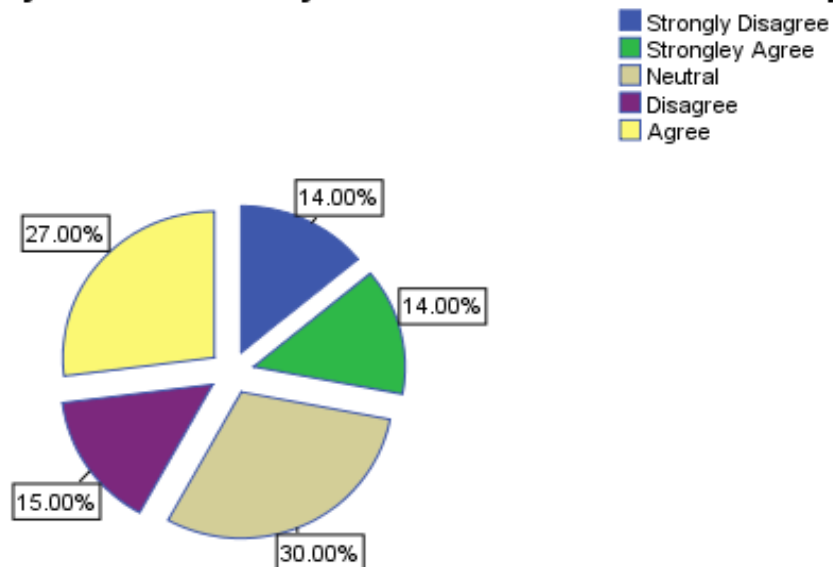


Figure 3. 1 Availability and accessibility of illicit SALW in Garissa County.

Source: Field Data, 2021.

From the above chart it is evident that the levels of agreeance concerning the easy and cheap availability and accessibility of illicit weapons yields varying opinions among the respondents. Those who strongly agree and disagree total 14% respectively with those of a neutral opinion totaling 30% denoting that the respondents here are

ambivalent and may not want to attach a negative perception or feeling on the matter. Respondents who disagree that illicit weapons are easily and readily available in the county amount to 15% while those in agreeance make up the remaining 27%.

The above informs arms control measures employed by the government which prompts interagency methods to stem the very present and serious threat of illicit SALW. The use of disarmament programmes, calls for community members to surrender weapons and receive amnesty all come into play where said effort are concerned. Community leaders, NGO's and religious organizations, all in their own way find means of addressing this major issue by touching base with those who are affected by it and confront personal insecurity brought on by illicit SALW use, availability and accessibility.¹⁰⁹

A change in the opinions of people about guns and gun culture in North Eastern and the North Rift regions of Kenya is beneficial especially as illicit arms tend to be simple, low cost, easily concealed, willingly obtained, readily available and their level of lethality cannot be underestimated therefore intervention is key in the action against this threat.¹¹⁰ There is also the issue of people owning weapons or at least knowing someone who does. The figure below highlights respondents' articulation and level of agreement on the statement which was that the respondents themselves owned SALW or at least knew someone who has access to arms. See table 3.1

¹⁰⁹ Anatole N. Ayissi et al., eds., *Combating the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa: Handbook for the Training of Armed and Security Forces* (Geneva, Switzerland: UNIDIR, 2005).

¹¹⁰ Franck Kuwo "We Must Tackle Illicit Weapons, Ammunition in Parts of Africa, Globally," (United Nations Africa Renewal, August 29, 2021).

Table 3. 1 Knowledge of ownership and access to SALW

| <i>Level of Agreement</i> | <i>% Respondents</i> |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | 4% |
| Disagree | 18% |
| Neutral | 27% |
| Agree | 23% |
| Strongly Agree | 28% |
| Total | 100% |

Source: Field Data, 2021.

From the table, the researcher was able to deduce that a notable number of respondents were themselves owners of arms or have some type of knowledge or awareness of those who do. The remaining respondents were neutral on the matter and therefore were not too keen on sharing outwardly what they thought and felt on the matter. The respondents who completely disagreed were fewer than those who agree, thereby establishing that there is some sought of gun ownership culture amongst some of the respondents.

Organizations such as the Kenya National Focal Points on Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (KNFP) and other state offices have been instrumental in the fight against these ills, its mandate is based on implementing the United Nations Programme of Action (UNPoA) on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons. They are able to carry out surveys, establishing the magnitude of the problem and present the finding as well as possible solutions and a plan for action to the same using crucial intelligence strategies, civil society and community engagement.¹¹¹

The National Action Plan (NAP) has been developed by the Kenya National Focal Points (KNFP) as an arms management policy, Kenya being a signatory to the Nairobi

¹¹¹Philip Alpers and Laura Spano, "Implementing the Arms Trade Treaty and the UNPoA: A Guide to Coordinating an Effective Arms Control System," (Sydney Australia: The Centre for Armed Violence Reduction, October 2017).

Protocol is at the forefront of this fight to prevent the continued negative effects, of illicit SALW all in partnership with Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) which organizes and looks after the implementation of the Nairobi Protocol. The organization works to control, reduce and prevent SALW in the Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and Bordering States. The member states include Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania.¹¹²

The efforts by national focal points, local governments, regional organizations and communities marry with the opinion of respondents that there needs to be tough action against illicit SALW due to the effects their use and availability cause to personal security and general security threats already volatile areas in Kenya. The table below will indeed show that two respondents disagreed that their personal security is not at all affected by SALW, with the remaining larger percentage of respondents asserting that indeed illicit weapons affected their security and exposed them unnecessarily to the ills related to trends of proliferation and use of SALW within the county of Garissa and surrounding areas.

Personal security here is taken from the larger human security umbrella, this includes and is not limited to all form of physical violence, crime, terrorism, clashes and tensions amounting from clannism or political tensions. See figure 3.2.

¹¹² Claudia Gramizzi "Tackling Illicit SALW and Ammunition in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa". Africa-China-EU Expert Working Group (EWG) on Conventional Arms (June 2014).

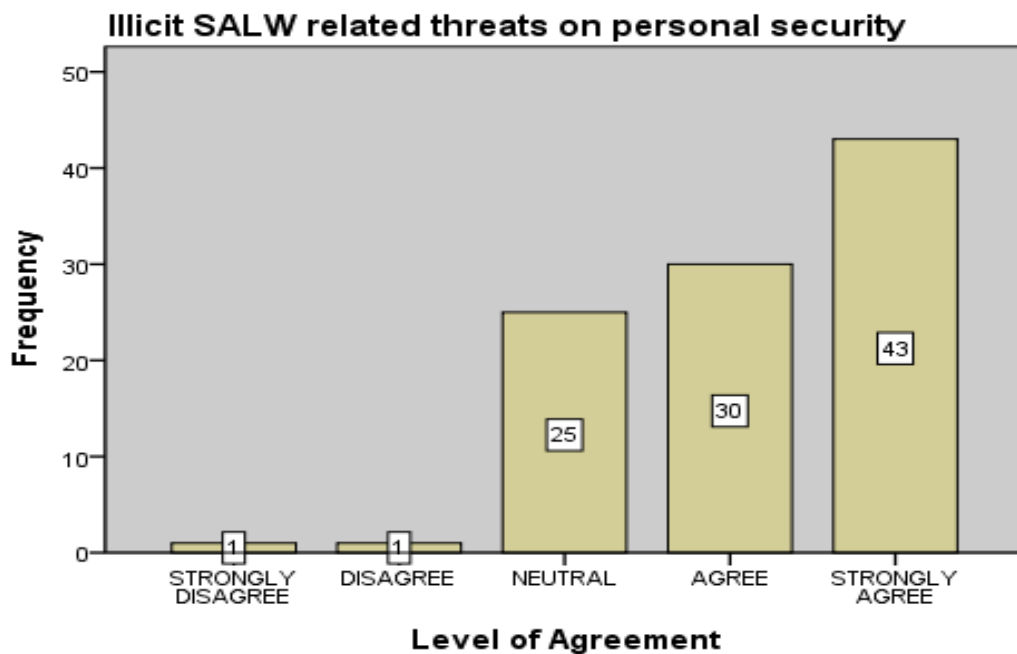


Figure 3. 2 Illicit SALW related threats

Source: Field Data, 2021.

3.2 Border Policing

The porosity of Kenya’s borders has meant that security threats have increased significantly over the years. Cross border criminality continues to affect strategies set in place to safeguard against insecurity. The government has noted severally that one of the key areas to secure are the borders and various entry points across the country hence the need for border control measures. Building capacity, increasing surveillance and intelligence information sharing between agencies are key in illicit arms control.¹¹³

Counter terrorism efforts are under the border control umbrella, the Kenya Somalia border in particular has been the focus of such efforts, the large expanse of this area as

¹¹³ Deo Gumba and Guyo Turi “Cross-Border Smuggling between Kenya and Ethiopia Continues Apace,” ENACT Africa, August 19, 2020, <https://enactafrica.org/enact-observer/cross-border-smuggling-between-kenya-and-ethiopia-continues-apace>.

well as its frequent use has meant that effectively securing it against all threats has been a difficult task. Threats of terrorism and actual attacks have taken place in Kenya caused by the Al-Shabaab with militias being of Somali and Kenyan nationalities. Border patrols has been employed as means of managing the present threat of illicit arms flow and other forms of insecurity.¹¹⁴

Borders cannot be thought of only in terms of land borders alone, there are various other entry points that could pose security challenges. Kenyan water ways and ports have been seen to be contributors of illicit activities and have been a smuggling and transit point for weapons to and from countries in turmoil within the GLR and HOA which then increases the stocks of weapons and the flow of them across borders thus leading to recycling and repurposing of weapons that have in the past been used in conflicts across the African continent.

The study established that border patrols and policing has increased security efforts in an attempt, to minimize on smuggling activities in the county and between the counties thus blocking the entry and sale of weapons from neighboring countries where arms control wasn't managed effectively leading to the spill over of illicit weapons into Kenya and neighboring countries. The respondents observed that the Government is aware of the challenges that borders present where illicit SALW are concerned and are trying as best they can to carry out border control measures.

However, the paradox is that the activities carried out by border security personnel is not fully effective in stopping and ending completely illicit SALW flow due to porous borders and large border areas making it harder to manage. Despite the aforementioned

¹¹⁴ Robert I. Rotberg, World Peace Foundation, and Brookings Institution, eds., *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa* (Cambridge, Mass: Washington, D.C: World Peace Foundation; Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

it is important to acknowledge that surveillance and border policing are indeed the main methods used in illicit arms control as well in the enhancement of overall security efforts as the study explains.

The researcher sought to establish the frequency at which SALW are encountered or seen by respondents in the county, the responses based on the questions asked by the researcher are illustrated in the table below. See table 3.2.

Table 3. 2 Frequency of encountering SALW in Garissa County

| <i>Frequency</i> | <i>% Respondents</i> |
|------------------|----------------------|
| Daily | 8 % |
| Weekly | 10% |
| Every two weeks | 21% |
| Every month | 24% |
| Every few months | 37% |
| Total | 100% |

Source: Field data, 2021.

Considering the above table, it is evident then that those who see SALW on a daily basis total 8% and a majority of the respondents who shared this frequency of spotting or interacting with illicit SALW were security personnel. Those who saw SALW weekly were 10 % of respondents with 21% of respondents admitting to seeing them every two weeks. Another 24 % of respondents saw SALW every month, with a significant large number of respondents totaling 37% stating that they saw and encountered arms every few months. The totality of this discovery reinforces the need for border policing, there is indeed a challenge posed by unchecked illicit weapons and catching them in time can save countless lives. Intelligence gathering then is important for security agents in particular so as to inform best practices in securing the safety of citizens.

As already established border crossings are crucial in gate keeping or stopping potential security threats from infiltrating the counties or country, it is for this reason that the Liboi border post or border crossing located in Garissa County has been brought into sharp focus due to its proximity to Somalia. This is a busy and active border crossing where there has been illegal trade and transportation of people and items thus posing considerable security threats especially terrorism which has seen several members of Kenya’s armed forces losing their lives in improvised explosive device (IED) and landmine attacks over the years.¹¹⁵ Aside from the threat of improvised explosives, illicit weapons are sourced from various locations all across the continent contributing to cross border criminality. Respondents had varying opinions on where the SALW found in Garissa County originated from. See table 3.3.

Table 3. 3 Origin of illicit SALW in Garissa County

| <i>Origins of Illicit SALW</i> | <i>% Respondents</i> |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Within the country | 35% |
| Outside the country | 65% |

Source: Field data, 2021

An overwhelming percentage of respondents said they believed that illicit arms and ammunition found in Garissa County was sourced externally and not from Kenya. Some respondents even stated some of the countries they thought they came from as those neighboring Kenya, these are sentiments that are shared by respondents who are from a security background. The most mentioned countries therefore for where the illicit arms originate include: Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. The rest of the

¹¹⁵ “10 Kenyan Police Officers Killed in Blast near Somalia,” Accessed October 1, 2021 <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/15/kenya-police-officers-killed-in-blast-near-somalia-border>.

respondents who totaled 35% said that the illicit arms originate from within the country, here in Kenya and that said arms usually will circulate around the more volatile counties and ASAL communities so they felt strongly that what is available in Garissa is of Kenyan origins.

From the above discussion the study reiterates that the instability in leadership and insecurity experienced in Somalia and Ethiopia has meant that much needed border procedures that prevent and catch illegality before it occurs is lacking, thus cracking down on insecurity has been difficult as the Kenyan efforts alone are not enough, such an undertaking requires considerable collaboration. The study did note that indeed security agencies in Kenya have made attempts at stopping activities that may lead to further insecurity through proper patrols and continued surveillance as a major strategy.

The study noted that border patrols are done by ensuring that first there is a security personnel presence, this is an initial deterrent to those who may harbor ill intentions. Detention of those caught on suspicion of committing illegality and those caught with illegal items or people found without proper legal documentation are all means of supplementing border policing efforts. Patrols yield various outcomes and may not be the same throughout the day, surveillance and intelligence will know what time of day is most notorious for certain activities and will be able to circumvent them in good time.

Respondents did say that they choose to stay keen on the going ons in their area, as they are more aware of the terrain and less known crossing points. Staying in touch with local security agents helps in the efforts to achieve a positive outcome in patrols hence why local knowledge and expertise is key in planning patrols and developing surveillance apparatus in line with this crucial information. Cooperation between security agencies and stake holders is key even with continued insecurity threats in the

area especially with how scarcely populated it is in certain parts, cross border crimes persist such as trafficking, planting of mines and explosives, SALW proliferation.¹¹⁶ All these efforts are indeed intelligence driven, knowing the gravity and severity of an issue will determine best practices in all control measures. It is important to note that the terrain in ASAL areas like Garissa poses a significant challenge to patrol efforts and further jeopardizes the security of the country and its inhabitants. Border control must be systematically carried out especially with the presence of pastoral communities that lead a nomadic lifestyle making law enforcement difficult as a result of this constant movement, a few things may slip through the cracks.

The state has been able to counter this challenge by utilizing the help of immigration organizations, NGO's and community involvement, this is a practice carried out in Garissa County as well as neighboring counties in North Eastern Kenya such as Isiolo, Marsabit, Mandera among others. The study noted that refugee camp patrols in the Northern frontier are carried out due to the threat posed by banditry, crime, assaults and terrorism. There has been a presence of Kenya police in these camps with community policing also being used by inhabitants to stay safe within the environment they live, work and school in. The Kenya National Police Reserves have also been a key resource in policing and promoting community security in ASAL areas all around Kenya. This is part of cooperation between various agencies their mandate has been to support already existing security efforts.¹¹⁷

It is important to note that over the years there has been growing support for the closure of refugee camps and such sentiments reached fever pitch this year (2021) with the

¹¹⁶ Jonathan Fisher, "Mapping 'Regional Security' in the Greater Horn of Africa: Between National Interests and Regional Cooperation," (Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014).

¹¹⁷ Esther Njuguna, James Ndung'u, and Kyalo Musoi, "National Police Reserve and Community Security in Kenya's Frontiers," Saferworld Preventing Violent Conflict Building Safer lives, (Kenya, 2015).

government of Kenya issuing a closure order of the two largest refugee camps in Kenya which are Dadaab and Kakuma which hosts well over 400,000 refugees. The concerns over national security and need to close the camps closest to the border came after a string of attacks in Garissa County and Kenya at large between 2013 and 2016 and subsequent years even as recent as 2019 and 2020. It has been established that indeed some of those involved in these heinous attacks are inhabitants within above mentioned camps and criminal elements living in urban areas.

In the past there have been curfews in the camps, with constant patrols within the camps day and night taking place, UNHCR kitted the police with vehicles to assist with camp patrols, respondents did note in this instance that security situations in the camps and surrounding areas was fairly better as there was faster response in case of any issues thus controlling the threat in good time. This donation was also aimed at cementing strategic partnerships thus promoting better public welfare and protection. Improved transportation correlates with an increased likelihood of better service delivery and response to the threats in Garissa County.¹¹⁸

3.3 Disarmament

Disarmament has been used as a method to avert conflict and promote peace, the presence of SALW brings with it the potentiality for conflict, distraction and war. Disarmament efforts have much to do with intelligence and liaising between various agencies within the state, and those at the border crossing as well as in other SALW prone regions of Kenya. Disarmament has severally been used as a means of preventing further SALW related crime and injury while mopping up illicit SALW in circulation.

¹¹⁸ "UNHCR Donates Vehicles to The National Police Service," accessed September 22, 2021, <https://www.nationalpolice.go.ke/2015-09-08-17-56-33/news/199-unhcr-donates-vehicles-to-the-national-police-service.html>.

The world over, this method is employed by states and the UN in an attempt to solve the issues associated with an influx of illicit weapons as well as accessibility of the same for purposes of distraction.¹¹⁹

Countries have since adopted the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA). The African Union in 2019 dedicated the year to an initiative known as Silencing the Guns in Africa, in an attempt to resolve illicit SALW threats while also improving existing arms control activities and assessing previous methods whilst working towards a conflict free Africa.¹²⁰ This activity took place in several central African and Horn countries with support from Japan and Germany through the joint efforts of the African Union Commission and United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (AUC-UNODA).

Stockpile management after the disarmament process sees the distraction of thousands of illicit weapons and ammunition. Since the inception of the UN, the organization has been guided by the pillars of human rights, the rule of law, development, peace and security. The following areas are under attack all across the globe. It is for this reason that the UN is in certain capacities in disarmament efforts with the main responsibility of removal of SALW being that of the country in question. See figure 3.3.

¹¹⁹ Adesoji Adeniyi, "The Human Cost of Uncontrolled Arms in Africa: Cross-National Research on Seven African Countries," (Great Britain: Oxfam International, 2017).

¹²⁰ Wafula Okumu et al, "Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020: Achievements, Opportunities and Challenges," (Institute for Security Studies, 2020).pp 2.

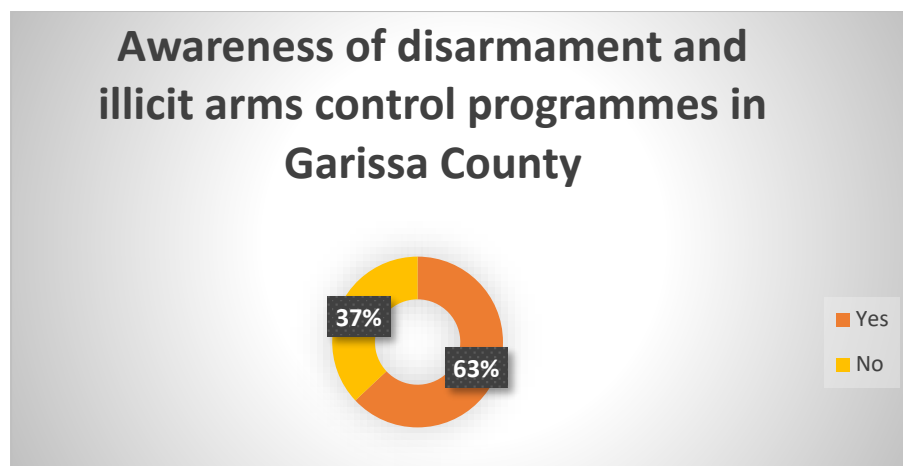


Figure 3. 3 Awareness of disarmament programmes

Source: Field Data, 2021.

In Kenya this is a process that goes way back and the destruction of illicit arms occurs every few years or sooner. For instance, in the following years illicit SALW have been set ablaze in a clear effort in improving security at national and local levels. A rundown of what has occurred in the past few years is as follows: In the year 2003 on March 15 and these were weapons collected and seized over the previous decade seeing the destruction of over eight thousand illegal arms.¹²¹

After this the next destruction event took place in the year 2005 with the torching of nearly 4000 varying weapons. The next such public occasion would be held in 2010 to observe the signing of the Nairobi Declaration, at this time over 2000 weapons were destroyed. The subsequent illicit arms torching exercises took place 2016, 2019 and 2021 respectively. In 2016 alone saw the torching of 5250 weapons, 2019 saw 8700 arms destroyed and most recently this year 2021 an estimated 5000 arms were torched.

122

¹²¹ Manasseh Wepundi and James Ndungu, *Lessons from the Frontiers civilian disarmament in Kenya and Uganda*, (Switzerland: Saferworld, 2011).

¹²² Michael Oduor "Kenya Burns over 5,000 Illegal Firearms to Curb Crime," Africanews, June 10, 2021, <https://www.africanews.com/2021/06/10/kenya-burns-over-5-000-illegal-firearms-to-curb-crime/>.

Such high number of weapons destructions does not begin to factor in the even larger number of weapons confiscated, which have over the past decades numbered the high thousands. There have been various reasons cited as to why there is a continued use and availability of illicit weapons in Garissa County, the greatest of the issue has been natural resource conflicts, pastoral conflicts, clashes between clans and protecting owns property among other reasons. See table 3.4.

Table 3. 4 Reasons for continued availability and use of illicit SALW in Garissa County

| <i>Reasons</i> | <i>% Respondents</i> |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| Natural resource conflicts | 57% |
| Clan based conflicts | 40% |
| Pastoral conflicts | 64% |
| Terrorism | 46% |
| Violent crime | 40% |
| Protecting property | 60% |
| Politics | 48% |

Source: Field data, 2021.

From the above findings the researcher determined that illicit SALW demand is most likely brought about by the need to protect one’s livelihood and family with 60% of respondents admitting as much. This same thought process is what 64% of respondents felt led to continued pastoral conflicts in the area. It is important to note that the role politics plays in people’s daily lives can be in some instances difficult to separate hence the reason why it permeates all levels of society. This realization makes its such that 48% of respondents feel that politics plays a role in why illicit arms are still in use and readily available. This too may lead to clan clashes relating to the weaponizing politics

there by leading to violent crime which 40% of respondents felt was the case. Natural resource conflicts and violent crimes were also sighted by respondents as key factors of continued arms availability and use in the county, totaling to 57% and 40% respectively with respondents stating that these two are major contributors of volatility in the county.

Pastoral disputes relating to the access and control of natural resources important to maintain the survival of their herds and livelihoods elicits strong feelings thus it is probable for it to be transferred to acts of violence when access is denied to those who depend on the resources. Where solutions are not found on how to equitable share resources then disagreement, disputes and even conflicts are likely. Finally, 40% of respondents claim that terrorism is a continued cause of arms availability in the county with some of them being transported all across Kenya leading to significant threats to human security. Kenya has for a while now being contending with terrorism and its effects therefore disarmament efforts in many ways ensure that illicit weapons are mopped up to prevent the catastrophe brought about by their indiscriminate use.

All the above reasons are what catalyzes disarmament programmes, due to the threats that each one individually or collectively poses to the security and wellbeing of a people. The study further observed that disarmament has been used as a control measure in the North Eastern frontier of Kenya where Garissa is located, this method aims at limiting the proliferation of SALW in the county. There have been a range of weapons and ammunition collected, found and surrendered during the processes of this exercise and they include AK-47 rifles, pistols, mark 4's, G3's, home modified and made weapons among others.

There have been concerns over the issues between inhabitants of bordering counties, the clashes are between those in Isiolo Garbatulla and Lagdera Garissa. Instances of violence has increased in intensity over the years due to a boundary dispute prompting accelerated disarmament when violence breaks out. These clashes occur and unfortunately a solution is yet the cycle repeats.¹²³ The clashes and violence have been systematically destabilizing and frustrating lasting peace efforts beside leading to death and destruction. Community leaders, members of parliament and community members alike are seeking a solution and have called on the government to intervene to find a solution. This then led to signing of peace pacts which have yielded no long-term solution, disarmament has been used as a major intervention technique in such instances.

Respondents mentioned that they were aware of disarmament programmes in Garissa County however there were varying opinions on its success and effectiveness. Some site support for the process while others say they see no difference as what is taken away or surrendered will soon be replaced by other illicit weapons coming in soon after thus indicating a cyclical nature to this threat and challenge of SALW. Other respondents are in full support of the efforts by the state, police and the community to support peace promotion, they say they have intentions of complying where its applicable to them as the arm of the law is long and they too want to support peace and prosperity in the area they live, work and raise their families in.

As it has already been established quite a number of people are involved in the disarmament process and they include and are not limited to: Kenya police and administration officers, county commissioners, the military, GSU, police reservist have

¹²³ "Peace Or into Pieces, Conflict Analysis and Mapping for Isiolo And Marsabit Counties" Minority Rights Partner Report, (United Kingdom: Minority Rights Group International, 2021).

been involved where they sweep the counties and recover what they come across or have intelligence information of hidden stashes or people who have a cache with them, where they may source weapons at a local level is also discovered and disarmed, this method has worked well in these areas according to some respondents as it helps continually reduce on illicit and deadly arms in the area. The disarmament process is a challenging and frantic one at times, as there has been resistance at some points but the benefit of relative safety far outweighs the discomfort of the process.¹²⁴

The Kenya National Focal Points (KNFP) has been mentioned by respondents as one of the agencies involved in the process. Usually when the process is to be rolled out, it is based on calls to do so or comes after major spurs of violence or intelligence on high levels of accessibility and availability of illicit arms, the Ministry of Interior, County Commissioners and the officers under them are called upon to inform the public of the planned activity and how it is to be handled and what comes after it. '*Operation Dumisha Amani*' was one that focused on parts of Eastern Kenya and the North Rift, this operation utilized the media extensively, NGO'S and civil society and community engagement. It was a mixed bag of results.¹²⁵

It is important to note also that arrests and prosecution do take place where criminals are caught with them during sting operations or border patrols. These arrests and prosecution help in curtailing and building a database on who is who, what and how things are happening at the state level where such criminality is concerned, it is an additional control measure outside of disarmament where illicit arms are concerned. A key point to consider where disarmament is concerned is not just the aspect of

¹²⁴ Op Cit, Wepundi et al.(2012).

¹²⁵ Office Of the President Ministry of State for Provincial Administration & Internal Security "Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons Kenya's Report on The Interrelation and Initiative on Armed Violence and Development" (Nairobi: Government Press, 2011).

disarmament alone is without a purposed curtailing of demand and supply of the very same illicit weapons will be back in circulation, so the issues feeding armament must be dealt with accordingly.

3.4 Amnesty

Amnesty implies a pardon where a certain indiscretion is concerned, in this case where illicit SALW are the focus. Amnesty and the voluntary surrender of illicit SALW is indeed part of the larger disarmament process and is housed under this. Globally this method has served various purposes and has been seen to allow the citizenry take responsibility for their actions and complacency, in line with illicit arms ownership. The happenings in the insecure and conflict prone areas leads to individual and communal accountability for the impacts illicit weapons has on economic development, opportunities for investment and advancement. Insecurity has been the kryptonite to progress due to the constant interruptions to a people's livelihood as well as personal security and overall human security.¹²⁶

There are calls for surrender of weapons in the years 2016, 2019, 2020, 2021 all prompted by insecurity or events that bring focus to the threat of illicit arms use. This exercise of extending amnesty to civilians in possession of illicit weapons has occurred in various counties but tends to be more frequent in high volatility areas around the country which in turn is the counties in the periphery or ASAL areas of Kenya.

The researcher found that 46% of respondents had indeed experienced violent crime relating to the use of SALW with the remaining 54% reporting that they haven't. What is interesting here is that respondents from both groups, those who have faced violence and those who have not were keen, on stating that violence resulting from SALW

¹²⁶ Lisa Misol, Joost R. Hiltermann, and Ernst Jan Hogendoorn, *Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence, and Human Rights in Kenya* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002).

availability and use has impacted their personal security. Making it such that there is a constant fear of the unknown with a speculation of attacks and an anticipation of the same causing uncertainty. Aside from this the fact that daily routines are disrupted such as education and access to healthcare make the lived experience of affected people difficult especially due to constant unease brought on by an assortment of security threats.

The sentiments captured above are important in understanding the need for a voluntary and softer approach such as amnesty which go a long way towards promoting peace efforts and relative stability. By extending such an option to the citizenry they decide how best to effectively do away with illicit weapons, once collected by security agents the next step is proper disposal. Resident's state that they have been urged on several occasions to surrender illegal firearms in the past and recently as well, the understanding that there would be no charges preferred upon those who voluntarily give up possession of illegal firearms in this conflict prone area is a form of goodwill that some respondents said had made the decision to give up arms less difficult. The study also noted that all sub counties within Garissa County have been targeted in this exercise in the past this has been used to mop up as much as is possible illicit arms and ammunition.

This method according to respondents has had some level of success in the past, but some respondents explained that they also felt fear where arms control activities were concerned due to their past experiences with the officers and law enforcement who are on a mission to curtail insecurity and bolster counterterrorism efforts. Detention,

disappearances, shootings, maiming and killing of people has happened in the past with some respondents being personally affected by the issue.¹²⁷

Such trauma leads to great distrust in the government and police forcing some to shy away from offers of amnesty. The government has been keen on charting routes and hotspots in North Eastern and identifying illicit SALW networks within the country. However, this has been hampered by the fact that there is hostile terrain and an active cross border trafficking activity. The arms surrendered through amnesty and the process of disarmament are then destroyed in very public events that send the message that illicit arms ownership is not condoned. As of September 14th 2021, there have been violent clashes in Laikipia and this has prompted the ministry of interior through its CS issue a call for surrender of all illicit arms across Kenya, thus launching ‘September Amnesty Month’ with the exercise being conducted by regional county commissioners and the national police service in line with then roadmap laid by the African Union following the silencing the guns initiative of 2016.¹²⁸

These illicit weapons when collected are then destroyed, the understanding has always been that when illicit SALW are destroyed indicates that the state is ready to take on the challenges of illicit armament and such sentiments were shared by President Uhuru Kenyatta who on June 9th 2021 destroyed weapons at the Regional Police Traffic Training Centre in Ngong, Kajiado County. He issued stern warnings against people fueling inter clan conflicts as well as the production of illegal SALW. Factors that have affected people all across the country due to destabilization of livelihoods and resultant development challenges.

¹²⁷ Human Rights Watch “Deaths and Disappearances: Abuses in Counterterrorism Operations in Nairobi and in Northeastern Kenya,” (HRW, 2016).

¹²⁸ Okumu, “Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020: Achievements, Opportunities and Challenges.” (2020).

3.5 Sensitization Programmes

Sensitization is carried out to inform people of the negative impacts of illicit SALW availability, sale, transportation and use. The dire circumstances surrounding communities in the ASAL regions of Kenya attest to this as is also pointed out by respondents. This undertaking is not an easy one and requires a lot of good will on the part of the authorities as well as a willingness to receive the message amongst the target audience. Usually to effectively reach the people, those who live and work within the community and among the people have a better entry point advantage. Local community groups, NGO's and most certainly religious leaders or religious groups play a big role in enhancing sensitization campaigns.¹²⁹

The study established that government agents have been able to note that indeed the cooperation and collaboration between the members of the community, security agencies as well as community organizations has been instrumental in the amount of progress made in the area illicit of arms control and disarmament efforts. Sensitization is part of arms control especially when amnesty is extended and disarmament is to take place. There is usually the push for civilians to understand that illicit armament brings with it a great deal of disadvantages such as facilitating violence, economic challenges, community development and advancement problems both short and long term.

Sensitization campaigns and programmes are a collaborative effort it is for this reason that a number of groups must be included in the exercise.¹³⁰ Respondents stated that both uniformed and non-uniformed security personnel, border offices, religious and

¹²⁹ Thomas Donnelly et al., "Community-Based Approaches to Safety and Security," (United Kingdom: Saferworld 2013).

¹³⁰ Willemijn Verkoren et al., "From DDR to Security Promotion: Connecting National Programs to Community Initiatives," (International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 15, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2010).pp 1.

community organization all in their own way impart valuable information on the going ons where SALW threats are concerned. Having the no how and experience on these matters from different angles depending on exposure enhances the sensitization programmes.

The study was then able to highlight that all arms control measures are indeed an integrated approach, one without the other is as good as lost. Take for instance the identification and profiling of key actors and coordinators of the illicit SALW racket, they are in most instances through intelligence known and are on put on notice during *barazas* as most who engage in this within the community are well known. There activities are disclosed to all as what they do engage in is indeed a dangerous exercise of supplying and transporting of illicit SALW and ammunition. The most important thing is to make provisions for continued engagement with the public to know the new trends within illicit arms trade as well as routes, those involved and the reasons why gun culture is prevalent in certain areas. This ability to learn from the people and the daily experiences will inform how help can be extended to promote more long-term solutions to the continued threat that is SALW proliferation.

Key stakeholders and groups of interest as the study has established are resourceful and their knowledge must be used to pivot past all the challenges experienced and predicted in the control of illicit weapons. The use of *barazas* which are basically public meetings and community gatherings as a means to communicate the intention and of the government or government related news through local chiefs and administration in the area. These gatherings paired with an apt inclusion and involvement of community heads and respected people may yield the best possible result tying back to the finding sustainable solutions to this major issue. Key stakeholders are better spokespeople thus

increasing significantly the likelihood of better reception by the community to most government and police messaging or requests.

NGO's and community-based organizations enjoy a unique support from the locals as they operate in this remote area build up rapport and help community members. The aim at finding solutions for issues causing conflict in community for instance the issue of resources, in arid areas they can fund sinking and maintaining of boreholes reduce conflict and aim at safety from the grassroots. Religious groups on the other hand have been keen on urging their members to surrender weapons whilst preaching peace and instilling religious tolerance and good will by encouraging communities to live peacefully especially where SALW have caused distraction. All in all, the public engagement that community-based organization and religious groups do has been highlighted by respondents are key in creating safer more livable environments for their people.

The Kenya action network on small arms (KANSA) is the Kenyan chapter of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA), this organization is that has membership comprising of community-based organizations, civil society organizations faith-based organizations, professional bodies, NGOs formed in 2002, its main is working towards stopping the unchecked proliferation of SALW.¹³¹ KANSA builds capacity and supports key stakeholders so as to participate effectively in SALW proliferation control measures. This requires a concerted effort of open and honest dialogue, partnership and facilitation, such that there is a united front in solving illicit SALW threats.

¹³¹ IANSA "Quick Guide to the Results of the Third Review Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons," (New York USA: International Action Network on Small Arms, 2019).

As already mentioned in the discussion above the KNFP has played a role in the sensitization process across the country with involvement of civil society, council of elders and faith-based organizations as a collective they have been incorporated, to the larger framework such as the work KANSA does. The information sharing among members enables these key groups mobilize action against illicit SALW. The way in which these groups reach out to people varies depending on the audience, awareness raising, they can take on any form through barazas, workshops, use of all forms of media, billboards, roadshows, docuseries and even brochures. Some of the methods above have little success and impact. Community meetings, local radio, road shows, workshops and *barazas* have been mentioned as the most relevant and effective with civil society, community-based organization and law enforcement affirming as much. Print media does not achieve the same effect and is therefore ranked as less effective due to literacy levels and lack of applicability in some areas.

3.6 Nairobi Protocol

The implementation of this protocol anchors all other control measures aforementioned which include border control, amnesty and sensitization. This protocol was created to prevent, eliminate, control and reduce SALW in the HoA region as well as the Great Lakes Region.¹³² This framework is helpful in effectively classifying SALW, also the factors in illicit movement of arms within the regions as well as ensuring efficient effective systems for tracking down and uncovering of arms and weapons. The signatories to this protocol include Kenya, Uganda, DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti all of whom have also ratified the instrument.

¹³² The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in The Great Lakes Region and The Horn of Africa (2000). pp 1

This treaty has been applied at the state and regional level, much like what is used in other regions of the continent such as West Africa through ECOWAS in its convention and according to its 18th article which speaks to the identification and marking of all SALW and ammunition with serial numbers and supplier details. Markings on all weapons produced after the convention coming into full force. The above information then makes the tracing process easier in the event of unchecked and unprecedented proliferation.¹³³ The ECOWAS convention has made a provision for states to establish and sustain a database of arms in the governments stockpiles, member states have been following this article as with the ratification of the ATT.

Southern Africa through SADC firearms protocol and the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO) has carried out arms control measures guided by their regional coordinating committee engaging in widespread awareness creation and marking of SALW exercises in this subregion. Central Africa utilizes the Kinshasa Convention on SALW which is a convention focused on the control of SALW, ammunition as well as all components utilized in the manufacture, repair and assembly of weapons. North Africa is making use of a mix of measures some of which include the work of the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament (UNREC) with their discoveries on trends in that subregion drawing the attention of the AU and UN both seeking a prolonged measures in the Sahel and surrounding areas especially with the instability and volatility of this region.¹³⁴

¹³³United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research UNIDIR "The Complex Dynamics of Small Arms in West Africa" (Geneva: United Nations, 2008).

¹³⁴ UNIREC "United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa fact sheet" un.org/disarmament/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/UNREC-Fact-Sheet-Jul2017.pdf

The researcher found it important to highlight what is happening at the subregional level all around the continent, as well as efforts taken by the AU and UN to contend with this threat. A contextualization of the efforts and lengths that states go to whilst attempting to control the continued problem of illicit SALW is important. Despite the continued setbacks states continually make efforts to nip at the bud the clear transnational crimes on the continent that lead to an influx of illicit weapons and lingering supply. The regional security complex makes it such that security concerns at the national level for all states within the region are closely linked and therefore require considerable collaboration to address the same.

Drawing focus back to the Kenya the Nairobi protocol is the framework utilized in the Horn, East Africa and Great Lakes for the prevention, control and reduction of SALW, this protocol came about through discussions between states facing the shared challenge and threat of illicit arms. The regional centre on small arms in the great lakes region, the horn of Africa and bordering states (RECSEA) is an intergovernmental organization guiding and building capacity amongst the member states with the implantation of this protocol.¹³⁵

The protocol has assisted Kenya in best practices of dealing with stockpiles, illicit SALW destruction, awareness creation, campaigns for endorsement of advocacy on the ills caused by SALW. Some respondents mentioned that they were aware of the Nairobi protocol but this was mostly those working in the security fields, law enforcement, community-based organizations, civil society and county levels, some community members were privy to the protocol and its application in Kenya and Garissa in particular.

¹³⁵ Eric G Berman et al., *Implementation in Practice: National Points of Contact in the RECSEA Region*, Issue Brief No 7, (Geneva Switzerland: Small Arms Survey 2014).pp 6.

Kenya has utilized best practices of the protocol in line with article seven which highlights how states are to handle the marking and tracing of SALW plus record keeping. The aim here is to properly mark weapons with serial numbers at production and import. State weapons must also be uniquely marked with there being provisions made to maintain a database of records on the same.

The above method as well as that of articles 9, 12 13,14, 15 and 16. The articles deal with the following issues from articles nine through sixteen respectively. They are: the disposal of seized SALW, operating and maintaining a quality system for import, export and transfer licensing, having a plan of action for voluntary surrender of SALW and community sensitization through awareness creation on the pros and cons of SALW. Legal partnership and corporation between states to enhance investigation, searches, confiscation, examining of papers and intelligence gathering to enhance efforts of illicit SALW transfer and use.¹³⁶

Mutual regional support that does not interfere with the sovereignty of any state is good so as to seamlessly enforce the law at the national and regional level this strengthening cooperation between security personnel and border services. There can be a development of best practices based on open communication, sharing of mutual challenges that can even see culprits extradited for prosecution if found to be big fish in the illicit SALW business and this can only be achieved through continued good will, transparency and a harmonization of what occurs at National Focal Points all across the GLR and the HoA.

The government of Kenya has made efforts to carry out training in line with all the above interventions especially in vulnerable areas. What takes place is context specific,

¹³⁶ "Nairobi Protocol. Pdf."

some areas may require more specialized operations and this instrument will guide the state on the resources and personnel to dedicate to this issue. Respondents did mention that the above interventions would be helpful in tracing ammunition and arms used in violence in this volatile area, they also noted that such efforts go a long way towards changing the attitude and behaviors around illicit ownership thus enhancing peace efforts and upholding the commitment of the state, key partners and neighboring countries implementing the instrument.

All things considered the Nairobi protocol can only thrive where cooperation at a sub-regional level is strengthened and this requires accountability by parties to the protocol and civilians in those states, everyone has a responsibility in combating the personal security threats resulting from destabilization for unchecked SALW proliferation in the sub regions concerned.

3.7 Summary of Chapter Key Findings

This chapter was able to establish that there have been several attempts to control the proliferation of illicit SALW and ammunition in Garissa County and Kenya as a whole. There has been partial success with regard to these efforts considering all the challenges faced in practice. Despite this the government has demonstrated great promise and has achieved significant milestones in disarmament efforts, sensitization, cross border policing and implementation of regional and national frameworks supporting the processes of illicit SALW control. Of all the measure explored in the discussion the study established that the key method is border policing and surveillance, both methods that are keen on intelligence gathering. Aside from this, these methods have served as a preventative measure in many occasions where effective and timely policing has been able to foil security threats and also capture those responsible for insecurity and criminality both in Kenya and at the border crossings.

A lot more can be done with adequate planning and resources allocated to the immediate needs of those involved in the process both at an institutional level as well a human resource capacity level with the added advantage of intelligence gathering and sharing with the relevant authorities. Taking the following into consideration then would require that the issues affecting effective arms control are established and examined there after employing best practices could very well improve the efficiency of the process. Aside from this, partnerships must continue to be enhanced so as to rip the full benefits of collaboration. Good governance, good will, community accountability and social co-operation must be developed and encouraged so as to benefit the entire arms control implementation processes across the country and indeed within the region, with relevant continued partnership being encouraged and supported.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES IN COMBATING ILLICIT SALW PROLIFERATION IN GARISSA COUNTY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the challenges faced in the process of combating illicit arms proliferation in Garissa County thereby highlighting local level challenges in Kenya. The challenges at the regional level will also feature here as what occurs within the region has significant impact on Kenya and its illicit arms control measures. The discourse will then be split into two areas, one focusing solely on national level challenges and the other dealing with regional level challenges.

4.1 National Level Challenges

Kenya has experienced a number of issues at the national level relating to various arms control attempts, the greatest of these impediments being capacity and resource based. The points below will give an account of these and other difficulties experienced.

4.1.1 Resource Constraints

An undertaking such as that of illicit SALW control is one that requires a lot of resources at many levels. The inner workings of such measures are compounded by a great number of things during the process which means that resources will never be sufficient enough due to the demands placed on them by porous borders, refugee influxes and crime across the borders. The results of SALW proliferation include insecurity, conflicts, armed crime, under development and abuse of human rights all ills that require a concerted and continued efforts to sort out. The only hinderance in this endeavour seems to be resources either a complete lack or a less than adequate amount. From previous discussions it was reported and established by the study that the main

method of arms control in Kenya is border control, with disarmament, amnesty and sensitization following close behind to supplement the efforts of border security. Border policing for instance is a huge undertaking with an area measuring approximately 681 kilometers at the Kenya Somalia border, due to this the enormity of the task cannot be understated especially when several entry points are considered and concerned.¹³⁷

Respondents felt strongly that Kenya on its own cannot take on the financial burden of undertaking arms control and border policing without support both material and immaterial from key stakeholders and states facing similar challenges especially those within the region. Over the past few decades there has been an increased interest in Kenya and Somalia due to terrorism. Networks have had to be established so as to curtail cross border insecurity and criminality which Western states have assisted, most times due to the interests they have within the state or what the impact that insecurity will have on their states and citizenry back home.

Due to this the United States and the United Kingdom have been involved in various capacities, the main ways are through funding and training of the Kenya Defense Forces. The British Army for instance has been deployed to some African countries such as Somalia, South Sudan Mali, Nigeria and Kenya.¹³⁸ Most of these missions are in pursuit and support of peace and stability in these countries. Kenya and the UK recently in July of 2021 signed defence cooperation agreement. Before this there was an agreement to share strategic defence priorities such as those of fighting extremism and countering terrorism as well as all other perceived threats to security and peace.

¹³⁷ "East Africa Living Encyclopedia," African Studies Center accessed October 2, 2021, <https://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/kgeography.html>.

¹³⁸ "Deployments Africa | The British Army," accessed October 2, 2021, <https://www.army.mod.uk/deployments/>.

Such efforts have enabled Kenya assert itself and its capabilities accordingly in various security situations especially with the past and recent bouts of terror activity in the capital and Kenya's frontiers. Ultimately the long history of partnership between Kenya and the United Kingdom enhances support for Kenya and its endeavors. What supports this has been the analysis, information sharing and collaboration between Kenya and the West through investigation, research and reports thus filling the gaps where necessary.

The US has dedicated a lot of effort towards security relations with Kenya, they include the special training for the Kenyan military forces thereby enhancing already present competence of the Kenyan forces. The aim here has always been to equip Kenyan security personnel with increased military capabilities and expertise especially relating to ever increasing terror threats. The other form of support is in capacity building for peacekeeping capacity and maritime security. Kenya is considered a strategic partner by many states in the West, where the fight against cross border criminality, terrorism and insecurity, peace, security and political stability are concerned.¹³⁹ The long and short of the above discussion is to highlight just how major an undertaking any security related exercise is, and without adequate and specialized support or training then not much can be achieved, meanwhile insecurity and arms proliferation occurs further worsening the vulnerability of Kenya and its citizenry.

The opinions of respondents were sought to determine their level of agreement, disagreement or neutrality on whether or not they thought SALW proliferation is a major challenge in Garissa County. The following pie chart will show that 16% of respondents strongly disagreed, with 17 % disagreeing, 14% being neutral on the matter

¹³⁹ "Strategic Framework Denmark-Kenya partnership 2021-2025," n.d. 40, pp 22&23.

with 28% of respondents agreeing and the remainder 25% strongly agreeing. From this it is clear that a larger percentage of respondents held the opinion that proliferation of SALW is indeed a major challenge in Garissa County.

Their experiences where SALW are concerned is one compounded by many issues that predisposes them to ease of accessibility, availability and use. See figure 4.1

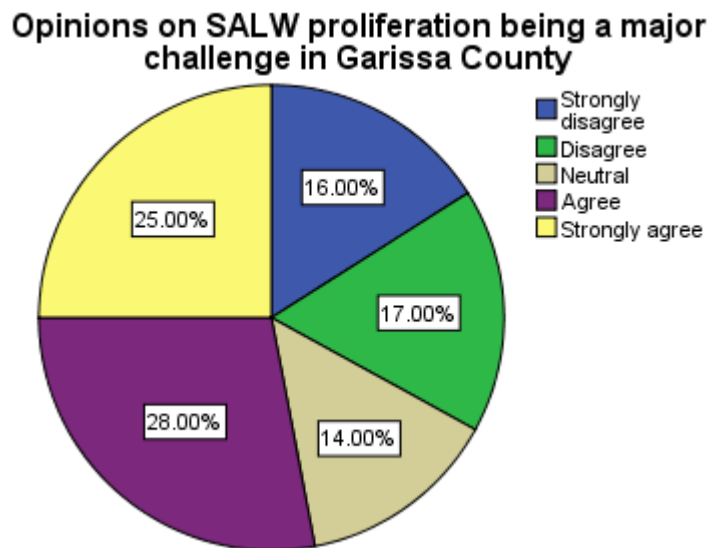


Figure 4. 1 Opinions on SALW proliferation being a major challenge in Garissa County

Source: Field Data, 2021

The basis of the above chart's importance is that it aims at linking the increased or frequent availability of illicit SALW and a need for matching resource bases to dispatch efforts to manage the threat as and when it presents itself. Other areas where resource constraints are glaring according to respondents is in the fact that the cases of illicit SALW and cross border criminality are plenty with some offenders slipping through the cracks while some are nabbed and prosecuted for transporting and trading in illicit SALW. The above occurrence is compounded by poor investigation either due to few personnel, instances of corruption causing crucial matters to slip through the cracks and

insufficient resources like fully equipped police stations. Kenya has a national action plan for arms control and management which requires critical support from various quarters.

The study established that there is a lack in many areas such as technical and human resource support, lack of visibility and presence of officers who constantly build a rapport with communities thus ensuring smoother entry when seeking support in illicit arms control programmes. There is also the lack of collaboration in the national firearms unit that would be key in the collection of evidence and analyzing of statistics on crimes. The KNFP, national security advisory committee, county task forces and national policies must not only be present but functional and active which sometimes is not the case due to funding issues, internal organizational challenges and red tape.¹⁴⁰ There must be a constant evolution putting in practice the mandate of said units according to what their tasks were set up to achieve, they have made positive strides however more can be done in this regard.

The national treasury in 2021/22 budget allocated a whopping Ksh 294.5 billion to the National Police, National Intelligence Service (NIS) and Department of Defence. Aside from this the National Communication and Surveillance System was allotted Ksh 1.5 billion this being under the National Security Telecommunications Service (NSTS) whose aim is to strengthen and upgrade communication between the security agencies in Kenya. Over the years more has been spent on kitting security agencies with the best technology and expertise so as to enable them deal accordingly with threats as they emerge.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management (2011) pp 21&33.

¹⁴¹ Budget-Statement FY 2021/22.

All in all, the support extended by other countries is useful in the larger scheme of things, opportunities to train and learn with other officers, access to state of the art facilities and infrastructure enhance Kenya's efforts and experience. If Kenya is able to learn from this and take the invaluable lessons on board then, its own systems can benefit from integrating new and best practices in line with emerging needs and trends in the security arena.

4.1.2 Personnel Constraints

Indeed, there has been a dedication of officers and security personnel to the cause of securing the borderlands and vulnerable parts of Kenya. The demands on the defence forces far exceeds the supply of officers to dedicate to every aspect of security, in as much as this would be the ideal situation this is unfortunately not the case. It is for this reason that arms control efforts in Garissa County have been partially successful even with the already available resources dedicated to this issue.¹⁴² Few officers were reported by respondents as one of the major challenges in securing the large expanse of Garissa County, a significant number of respondents felt that they confront a very vulnerable reality where illicit SALW is concerned and they need a constant security presence and this can only be guaranteed with adequate human resource.

The Kenya national focal point as well as Kenya National Police Reserves have a tough task and the staff and officers engaged in arms control are overstretched and they face challenges on many levels, especially as their roles are not only locally based in Garissa County but extend nationally.¹⁴³ The national action plan and KNFP, have been ambitious but the execution has not been as fruitful especially with staffing challenges.

¹⁴² Manasseh Wepundi et al., *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment* (Geneva, 2012).

¹⁴³ Esther Njuguna, James Ndung'u, and Kyalo Musoi, "National Police Reserve and Community Security in Kenya's Frontiers," (Nairobi: Safer World, 2015). pp 1.

It is also important to note that the roles that nations in turmoil bordering Kenya play in the security situation, further compounds the enormity of the activities that officers assigned to the frontiers of Kenya must complete. There needs to be a flow between that which is carried out at the local and national level where a multitude of tasks are concerned. This too goes hand in hand with finance challenges, the rationale would be that if there are more resources then there could be more staff who then would reduce the strain on current employees whilst ensuring better application of action plans and declarations in line with the agency of the threat that is continued SALW proliferation.

4.1.3 Institutional Capacity Issues

The reality is that staff and resources are overstretched both at a local and regional level, the NFP's aim at achieving their goals set through application of knowledge and skills. The capacity of the organizations focused on illicit arms control are hampered by institutional challenges. For instance, the funds dedicated to arms control efforts must pass through a long bureaucratic process and channel which is time consuming such as the national treasury, money can only be dedicated to these efforts just like others through budgeting and allocation of funds and sometimes other expenditure requests may be an immediate priority.

Thus, making it seem like the KNFP and its needs are on the periphery and departments like it do not necessarily require internal financing but may need to source funds externally hence the need for international support.¹⁴⁴ The above situation then brings in the issue of competing national priorities that may take precedent over specific exclusive spending for illicit SALW eradication, the effect then will be increased threats

¹⁴⁴ Maze and Rhee "International Assistance for Implementing the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects: Case Study of East Africa" (Geneva: UNDIR, 2006) pp 6.

to national and regional security. This work ties in to the duties of the NFP's and this is not just referring to Kenya but other nations facing the same issues in the HoA and GLR. The security of the state is of course very important and each agency dedicated to securing the country and its citizenry has their own specific practices of achieving this, what they do when arms control is carried out is that the lack of coordination with the KNFP may come at the expense of a seamless implementation of programmes relating to arms control.

However, in times of crisis it is communicated that a certain programme will be carried out to achieve what purpose and during what time frame as has been witnessed in Kenya's frontiers recently and in the past. In summary success of any agency or stakeholder involved in illicit arms control requires an enabling environment, resources, personnel and indeed a system that is cognizant of the agency of the process that reducing red tape that will ease fulfillment of mandates. When respondents were asked whether or not they felt that the issue of arms use and availability can fully be eradicated, they responded in a number of ways, the table below will demonstrate their level of agreement or disagreement on the matter. See table 4.1

Table 4. 1The issue of SALW use and availability can be fully eradicated in Garissa County

| <i>Level of Agreement or Disagreement</i> | <i>% Of Respondents</i> |
|---|-------------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | 20 |
| Disagree | 27 |
| Neutral | 15 |
| Agree | 16 |
| Strongly Agree | 22 |
| Total | 100 |

Source: Field Data, 2021.

From the table it is evident that respondents hold varying opinions on the likelihood of complete eradication of illicit SALW. Those who strongly disagreed and said it could not be eradicated total 20%, those who disagreed were 27% with those neutral being 15%, those in agreeance with the possibility of there being a full eradication of illicit arms totaled 16 % with the remainder of respondents strongly agreeing being 22%. From the level and percentage of disagreement and agreement it is clear that those who disagree number higher those that agree. Institutional capacity encompasses a great number of things not only the work of the national focal points but also the citizenry and community-based organizations. The opinion of a target population in arms control exercises has a big role to play in the process as they are key allies in the fight, positive attitudes and opinions on the capability of various bodies to complete the task will determine how well the process will go. Those with confidence of NFP's and their plans will enhance the applicability and implementation of various strategies beside traditional security.

4.1.4 Politicking and the Politicization of SALW Issues

The political class and their opinions or utterances about the going ons in volatile areas has been a reason for great concern, as a matter of fact there has been an acceleration of issues around conflicts in ASAL areas of Kenya and Garissa County which is home to a number of communities some of which may not often relate well. Politicking and politicians meddling in such issues creates a toxic cocktail which can inspire violence, the idea that violence can break out any time leads to gun ownership culture which then may cause SALW use leading to destruction, death and a destabilization of livelihoods as has been witnessed in the past especially with clan hostilities and animosities catalyzed by political competition.

The range of issues that lead to an increased access and availability of illicit weapons are the following: pastoral issues, interclan disputes, socio economic inequalities, inequity of access and control to key resources, politics, positioning for re-election and personal interests.¹⁴⁵ It is unfortunate that arms control measures end up becoming political. SALW proliferation and subsequent control amongst some leaders is based on a blame game and also the need for rivals to be disarmed whilst the same may not be true for their constituents and community members. Sometimes efforts to disarm and eradicate weapons becomes political fodder. Security personnel, national focal points must then step in with the help of key stakeholders to stem the effects of negative attitudes when performing arms control measures. The leadership of vulnerable communities ought to band together and develop a system that is equitable and can be applied across a large expanse, with continued political goodwill and the backing of the community as well as religious and community-based organizations who have a foot in the door with regards to relating well with the community.

4.2 Regional Level Challenges

As previously stated in the discussion above, what occurs at the regional and national level do intersect. Being that the problems and threats encountered are shared between nations within the region. Therefore, looking at the case of one country in isolation will not fully factor in what is being done at all levels by governments and organization within this the HoA and GLR.

4.2.1 Mobilizing Resources

As has already been highlighted the lack of resources has been a major setback in illicit arms control, not only in Kenya but indeed in the entire region with neighboring states

¹⁴⁵ Sahgal et al " Clan Conflict and Violent Extremism in North Eastern Counties of Kenya" (2019).

going through the same issue. The NFP's have to work on implementing their national plans of action against illicit SALW, aside from this they must also take on commitments made to the application of the Nairobi protocol whilst keeping pace with the Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) whose overall mandate is to coordinate implementation efforts by member states of the Nairobi declaration on prevention, control and reduce of SALW in GLR, HoA and bordering states.¹⁴⁶

The role of overseeing such a major undertaking is not one that can take place without great foresight especially as there are many states involved all with varying capabilities both financially, with regards to governance and indeed the stability of the state. Some of them are in turmoil and need more support especially as their resources are going into other pressing national needs. Securing resources has been difficult in the past and that which has been managed so far has been done so through collaborating and contribution of member states and the West and putting forward some initiative on the part of the country and other regional neighbors.

The EU, UK, US, Japan and Netherlands have all been partners and instrumental sources of international support. They have been able through various signed agreements, training and ongoing funding to solve some of the more pressing resource constraint issues. This commitment on their parts has been due to goodwill and a realization that security challenges eventually have a global impact regardless of how far a country is from the issue or how well equipped a state is. The EU and AU have partnered together and created the Africa Peace Facility, it is a monetary support tool cooperating with Africa in security, peace, political cohesion and good governance. The strengthening of institutional capacities with the disbursement of 2.7 billion Euros by

¹⁴⁶ Berman and Maze "Regional Organization and UN Programme of Action on Small Arms (PoA)" (Switzerland: Small Arms Survey, 2016) pp 60.

close of the year 2019. This amount has been allotted over the years since the inception of the APF.¹⁴⁷

Whilst supplementing the efforts of the APF individual states like the US and UK sign agreements and have programmes worth significant amounts aimed at improving response and effective handling of all threats, the need for financial and expertise assists in dealing with some of the resource mobilization shortfalls.

4.2.2 Coordination Challenges Between RECSA and NFP's

RECSA has in place various guidelines that aim at improving arms control responses in member states, the unfortunate reality is that NFP's in some states who are signatories there may not be the ability to always liaise with RECSA due to various impediments. This form of liaising between the key organs can foster a near seamless application and implementation of key suggestions and regulations. The aim here is to ensure that signatory states are not only utilizing the appropriate approach and best practice but also building capacity.¹⁴⁸ At the end of the day the functionality of SALW control measures relies heavily on the effectiveness of NFP's in member states.

The ability of NFP's to work in a diverse socio-economic and political climate determines the way in which, they will be valued and indeed not bypassed as an extension to other governmental services. Thereby, ensuring they are not rendered inactive and ineffective in the long run especially with purposed and continued coordination between regional states and bodies, so as to in some ways blend their efforts thus maintaining significance and applicability through extended interactions.

¹⁴⁷ European Commission. Directorate General for International Cooperation and Development., *African Peace Facility: Annual Report 2019*. (LU: Publications Office, 2020), Accessed October 19,2021 <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2841/509221>.

¹⁴⁸ Nelson Alusula "Africa and Arms Control, challenges and successes," (ENACT, European Union,2018).pp3.

Kenya and Uganda and their NFP's have been active in many areas relating to SALW proliferation such as: creating awareness, border control, regional co-operation, exchange of crucial information with regional partners, human development, legislation, policy, stockpile management, capacity building of staff and other key stakeholders. Each country has its own level of progress and it boils down to good policy and legislation whilst focusing on expanding SALW programmes into developmental strategies thereby consolidating a more long-term approach to managing SALW proliferation threats spanning the GLR, HoA and neighboring states.

4.3 Summary of chapter key findings

The study sought to establish some of the challenges faced in the arms control process locally in Garissa County and at the regional level. The findings established they include: resource constraints, personnel constraints, institutional capacity issues, politicking and politicization of SALW issues, mobilizing resources, coordination challenges between RECSA and NFP's. The issues faced at the national and regional levels are inevitable in many ways as arms control is an exercise that is ongoing and will likely carry on, for as long as SALW will be available in the globe.

It was determined by the study that a large undertaking such as that of arms control is in some instances met with less than enabling environment which can exacerbate the already present challenges. To counter this would ensuring that legislation and policy is developed, put in place and operationalized so as to boost the functionality of arms control units and agencies within Kenya and indeed at the regional levels. Kenya does enjoy relatively better stability than its neighbors and is a strategic partner in peace and security efforts.

It was also established that support from all fronts be it local, national, regional and international must be galvanized so as to stand a chance against the threat being mitigated. The West has in various ways strengthened institutions through strategic partnership and encouraging full ownership by states of the SALW control initiatives. By African states also dedicating their own resources to these programmes they inspire confidence and demonstrate goodwill therefore increasing cooperation amongst potential partners or those already involved. Skilled and experienced personnel the study has determined must be prioritized during employment and capacity building especially in NFP's and other arms control units.

The functionality of arms control units as the study asserts must be supplemented by regional efforts and capacity through monitoring, analysis, information sharing and collaboration as means of countering the adverse challenges in the arms control measures programmes. Additional support is needed in initiatives through capacity building, effectiveness of programmes, compatibility of action plans, legislation and policy on the same. Especially liaising with RECSA and the NFP's in Kenya and regionally, it should not be an afterthought in any initiative but should be a big part of above-mentioned control measures. So as to achieve prolonged and purposed positive results therefore, attention must be focused on these processes by ministries and agencies within states machinery to achieve set goals by adhering to set frameworks and commitments.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the summary of findings established in the entire research study in line with the broader objective of establishing the implications of small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation on personal security in Garissa County, Kenya. The study also sought to establish the control measures in addressing SALW proliferation in Garissa County as well as the challenges faced in combating illicit SALW proliferation. Therefore, this chapter presents the summary of the entirety of the research findings, conclusion, recommendations and areas of further research in line with the subject of this study.

5.1 Summary of the key Findings

5.1.1 Impact of SALW Proliferation on Personal Security in the Horn of Africa Region

The first objective of this study aimed at establishing the impact of SALW proliferation on personal security in the Horn of Africa region which has been severely threatened. The study established that the intensification of low-level conflicts, continued volatility, upsurge in regional insecurities, increased cross-border criminality, increase in lawlessness and ungoverned spaces, displacement of people, direct and indirect violence stemming from incompatibility of goals were the leading causes of maimed individuals, injuries, fatalities and trauma which negatively impact people's personal security. It was highlighted in the study that what the aforementioned issues have in common is the use and availability of SALW a majority of which are illicit.

The study also reveals that the history and development of SALW proliferation in the Horn of Africa is one that is indeed plagued by unrest, causing the HoA region to be categorized as a conflict prone region especially with the spread and circulation within states and around the region of illicit weapons. Weapons which are usually excesses from other wars, terrorism, pastoral conflict, clan disputes, ethnic conflicts among other causes. The HoA has therefore been seen to be one of the most heavily illicit arms proliferated parts of the world. The initial arms flow occurred with arms traded by Arab merchants in the region, later on the fights for independence in various African nations increased the demand and flow of weapons and eventually the end of the cold war further exacerbated the proliferation of illicit weapons in the region.

The study highlighted that indeed civil wars, ineffective arms management of arms flow in the region and conflicts in the past or recently in the region in countries like South Sudan, Somali, Uganda and Ethiopia have led to massive illicit SALW availability in the region thus creating a market for those who want said weapons. All in all, illicit arms and the aftermath of their demands, availability and use affect already threatened regional security dynamics, state security, human security and personal security as the study demonstrated.

5.1.2 Control Measures in Addressing Trends of SALW Proliferation in Garissa County

The second objective of this study focused on highlighting the control measures utilized in addressing SALW proliferation trends in Garissa County. From the study it was established that there is indeed illicit arms flow and movement in the county which occurs due to proximity to countries in conflict, available demand for illicit SALW, refugee influxes, porous borders, pastoral conflicts, protection of property, livestock protection and terrorism among others. The state and the inhabitants of North Eastern

where Garissa is located have experienced instability and violence relating to the accessibility, availability and use of illicit SALW.

The study determined that the recognition that illicit SALW is a threat to peace, development and security has prompted action by the government of Kenya through state agencies in partnership with state security officers who have worked together to carry out active border policing and patrol, investigation and arrest so as to prevent cross border criminality and indeed stem the flow of illicit items, people and SALW. Aside from this disarmament was also another pronounced strategy carried out with the involvement of state officers, community-based organizations, religious organizations and the citizenry.

There is also the use of amnesty or voluntary surrender of illicit arms as well as sensitization programmes utilizing a balanced community ownership focus thus enhancing the fight against the ever-present threat of illicit weapons. In keeping with the control measures effective stockpile management of destruction of the same is carried out by the state. The implementation of the Nairobi protocol which Kenya and other regional states are signatories to is a reinforcing strategy in combating illicit SALW proliferation. The outcome of these efforts has been a mixed bag with some success and degree of failure, but it cannot be understated that which has been carried out and accomplished thus far however it needs to be a collaborative undertaking involving key stakeholders, engaging the right expertise and goodwill on the part of leaders and citizens.

5.1.3 Challenges in Combating Illicit SALW Proliferation in Garissa County

The third objective of this research established the challenges faced in the process of contending with illicit SALW proliferation in the county of Garissa. The study

expounds on national and regional level challenges, the logic here was that proximity to other nations did impact Kenya and what occurs within the region impacts on control measures and the challenges faced therein. The greatest the impediments came with inadequate finances and resource constraints which also includes human resource, capacity and relevant expertise. Aside from this institutional capacity issues stemming for bureaucracy and internal organization red tape having an impact of slowed arms control efforts, there is the political angle that in some instances sees the politicization of such crucial efforts thereby leading to a potential resurgence of illicit SALW or an increase in demand and supply of the same.

The study elucidates that resource mobilization and coordination challenges between RECSA, NFP's and other key stake holders are the key challenges faced at the regional level the way in which this is countered is by developing a system of continued support around the efforts of agencies and organization involved. The work these organization mustn't be an afterthought but are crucial in securing the state and its people, in this way then they must own their initiatives and continued develop plans of action applicable to the environments they are in whilst promoting information sharing, collaborating and strategic partnerships.

5.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that there is a link between challenges to personal security and SALW proliferation, the impact is felt by those in Garissa County and Kenya as a whole. It is important to note that availability and proliferation of these SALW is influenced by a number of factors all captured in this study, the ability to effectively control them would require the government to put in place means and measures of handling them whilst considering that which is occurring at the regional and global level.

The study acknowledges that a combination of issues impacts the personal security of inhabitants in Garissa County, the misuse of illicit SALW does threaten the well-being, livelihood, development and advancement of a people and this can be prompted by: clan and pastoral issues and conflict, cross border criminality and porous borders, protection of property, socio-economic competition and politicking.

The decrease in the number of illicit SALW is attributed to increases in government control and the implementation of legal frameworks such as the Nairobi protocol among other interventions. In addition to the aforementioned there is the support of key stakeholders such as community-based organizations, religious organization who work at the grass roots with the communities so as to educate them on the dangers and consequences of such proliferation on human security, personal security and state security.

The actual estimate of weapons available in circulation within the county might never be known as people choose not to self-incriminate in this way then there may be ownership trends in line with the traditions and customs of a people thereby impeding disarmament efforts by the government which may see re-armament soon after. Such occurrences may very well add to the challenges faced in the process of addressing illicit SALW proliferation in Garissa County.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings in this study, the research did come up with some policy recommendations such as the need for continued public sensitization which does not come during or after times of crisis or violence, but occurs all through with the involvement of civilian populations, community-based organizations and security agencies. This would then make calls for voluntary surrender of weapons and

disarmament easier to accomplish when such programmes are carried out. Community involvement is key in owning initiatives that improve the living conditions, security and perceived development capabilities of a people therefore SALW programmes should be thought of in the same way.

Logistical support must be extended at all levels to ensure for instance, better transportation to respond to threats. Modern equipment, expertise and high-level surveillance in line with border patrol efforts should also be prioritized so as to improve the odds of the state in the fight against illicit weapons. This strengthening of capacity especially that of institutions will better help the government in dealing with SALW related issues through ownership, close monitoring, managing of results, assessing progress and implementation of effective initiatives thereby supporting action plans and commitments to the control of illicit SALW proliferation and other related threats.

5.4 Academic Areas of Further Research

This research recommends that a detailed study expound further on the impacts of SALW proliferation on the other components of human security which include: economic security, food security, health security environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. This should be done with a view of explaining how people and communities from various areas and backgrounds are impacted by the continued availability, accessibility and use of illicit weapons.

The other area to study would be that of expounding on regional insecurity and how complex it is vis-à-vis the management of the continued threat that is illicit SALW proliferation whilst considering the role that shared borders plays in the above occurrences.

REFERENCES

- Abbink, Jon. "*Badme and the Ethio-Eritrean Border: The Challenge of Demarcation in the Post-War Period.*" *Africa: Rivista Trimestrale Di Studi E Documentazione Dell'Istituto Italiano per L'Africa E L'Oriente* 58, no. 2 (2003): 219-31.
- Adesoji Adeniyi, *Human Cost of Uncontrolled Arms in Africa: Cross-National Research on Seven African Countries*, Oxfam Research Reports, (Great Britain: Oxfam GB 2017).
- Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, "*The Somali Conflict: Root Causes, Obstacles, and Peace-Building Strategies,*" *African Security Review* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 32–54.
- Ajou Deng Akuey, Aldo. "*South Sudan and the Emerging Security Implications for East Africa.*" *Universal Journal of Educational Research* 6, no. 2 (February 2018): 218–25.
- Aljazeera News "10 Kenyan police Officers Killed in Blast near Somalia," Accessed October 1, 2021
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/15/kenya-police-officers-killed-in-blast-near-somalia-border>.
- Alice Debarre, *Hard to Reach: Providing Healthcare in Armed Conflict*, (New York: International Peace Institute. 2018).
- Ali, Abdulkadir Yusuf. "*Security Challenges in Somalia: Causes and Consequences*" *IJIRST –International Journal for Innovative Research in Science & Technology* | Volume 6 | Issue 3, (August 2019).
- Anatole N. Ayissi et al., eds., *Combating the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa: Handbook for the Training of Armed and Security Forces* (Geneva, Switzerland: UNIDIR, 2005).

Ángela María Amaya Arias, Dmytro Averin, Carl Bruch and Nickolai Denisov, *Witnessing-The-Environmental-Impacts-Of-War: Environmental Case Studies from Conflict Zones Around the World*, (Netherlands: Paxforpeace.NI 2020).

BrainyQuote. "Aristotle Quotes," Accessed May 7 2021, https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/aristotle_122430.

Ashkenazi M, C. Beeck, J. Brethfeld, F. Foltz, J. Horner and S. Wanjau, *SALW Basic Definitions*. (Germany: Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) 2005).

Barry Buzan And Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003).

Berman Eric G and Maze Kerry, *Handbook on Regional Organization and UN Programme of Action on Small Arms (Poa)*, (Switzerland: Small Arms Survey, 2016).

Bevan, James. "Armed Violence and the Failure of Disarmament in Uganda's Most Deprived Region," (Geneva Switzerland: Small Arms Survey, 2008).

Brendon J. Cannon and Hirotaka Fujibayashi, *Security, Structural Factors and Sovereignty: Analysing Reactions to Kenya's Decision to Close the Dadaab Refugee Camp Complex*, *African Security Review* 27, No. 1 (January 2, 2018): 20–41.

Bunei Emmanuel, Rono Joseph and Chessa Samuel, *Factors Influencing Farm Crime in Kenya: Opinions and Experiences of Farmers*, *International Journal of Rural Criminology*, Volume 2, Issue 1 (December), 2013.

Christopher Ingraham, "Analysis | There Are More Guns Than People in The United States, According to A New Study of Global Firearm Ownership," *Washington Post*, 2018.

Cho, Seung Yeon, Erin Connors, Faizaa Fatima, and Utku Yalim. "Preventing Post-Election Violence Based on the Kenyan Experience," (California USA: Stanford University Press, 2015).

Claudia Gramizzi “*Tackling Illicit SALW and Ammunition in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa*”. Africa-China-EU Expert Working Group (EWG) on Conventional Arms (June 2014).

Clempson, Robin. “*The Primacy of Structural Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa.*” International Relations, (England: University of Plymouth, 2011).

Clunan, Anne L., and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds. *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (Stanford, California: Stanford Security Studies, 2010).

Collier & Hoeffler, *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*, Policy Research Working Paper 2355, The World Bank Development Research Group, (Washington, D.C: World Bank Group 2000).

Collier, P. And A. E. Hoeffler, *On the Economic Causes of Civil War*, Oxford Economic Papers. (Oxford: University of Oxford 1998).

Daniel Compagnon, *A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the Collapse of Zimbabwe*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania 2011).

Deo Gumba and Guyo Turi “Cross-Border Smuggling between Kenya and Ethiopia Continues Apace,” ENACT Africa, August 19, 2020, <https://enactafrica.org/enact-observer/cross-border-smuggling-between-kenya-and-ethiopia-continues-apace>.

Dessalegn, Aziza Geleta. “*The Cause and Consequence of Conflict in South Sudan,*” International Journal of Political Science and Development (2017).

“*Deployments Africa| The British Army.*” Accessed October 21, 2021, <https://www.army.mod.uk/deployments/>.

“*East Africa Living Encyclopedia.*” Africa Studies Centre, Accessed October 21, 2021 <https://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/kgeography.html>.

Elmi, Afyare Abdi, and Dr Abdullahi Barise. “*The Somali Conflict: Root Causes, Obstacles, and Peace-Building Strategies.*” African Security Review 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 32–54.

Ecowas Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials (2006) Abuja: ECOWAS.

Edward Newman, *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, International Studies Association (ISA), Edited by Robert A. Denemark, (UK: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing 2010).

Eric G Berman et al., “*Implementation in Practice: National Points of Contact in the RECSA Region*,” Issue Brief No 7, (Geneva Switzerland: Small Arms Survey, 2014) n.d., 12.pp 6.

Esther Njuguna, James Ndung’u, and Kyalo Musoi, “*National Police Reserve and Community Security in Kenya’s Frontiers*,” Saferworld Preventing Violent Conflict Building Safer lives, (Kenya, 2015).

European Commission Directorate General for International Cooperation and Development. *African Peace Facility: Annual Report 2019*. LU: Publications Office, 2020. Accessed October 19, 2021, <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2841/509221>.

Franck Kuwo “*We Must Tackle Illicit Weapons, Ammunition in Parts of Africa, Globally*,” (United Nations: Africa Renewal, August 29, 2021).

Fredrik Svensson and Conrad Palmcrantz, *Silencing the Guns in Africa, On the Human Rights and Peace and Security Nexus with A Special Focus on Women, Peace and Security*, (Sweden: The Swedish Foundation for Human Rights 2020).

“Food Security And COVID-19,” Text/HTML, World Bank, Accessed April 28, 2021, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/agriculture/brief/food-security-and-covid-19>.

Galtung, Johan. “*Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*.” *Journal of Peace Research*, Sage Publications, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969).

Gayatri Sahgal, Timothy Kimaiyo, Abdulrahman Hamo Mohamed, Stephen Rotich, David Karieny and Ahmed Osman Warfa, *Clan Conflict and Violent Extremism in The North-Eastern Counties of Kenya, Conference Report*, (United Kingdom, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies, June 2019).

Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørsv, “*Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*,” *International Studies Review* 7 (June 1, 2005): 269–274.

Halakhe, Abdullahi Boru. “*Avoiding the Resource Curse in Kenya*.” Accessed April 15, 2020 <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/05/avoiding-resource-curse-kenya-2014517115053638503.html>.

Hoisington, Matthew. “*Toward an International Law for Ungoverned Spaces*.” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 20, no. 4 (August 19, 2014): 491–98. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02004001>.

“History of The League of Nations (1919-1946),” n.d., 14.

Humanitarian And Development Programme “*North-Eastern Kenya: A Prospective Analysis*” Institut De Relations Internationales Et Stratégiques, (Paris France, 2015).

Human Rights Watch. “*Kenya: Post-Election Killings, Abuse*,” August 27, 2017. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/08/27/kenya-post-election-killings-abuse>.

IANSA “*Quick Guide to the Results of the Third Review Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*,” (New York USA: International Action Network on Small Arms, 2019).

ICRC, *Arms Availability And The Situation Of Civilians In Armed Conflict*. (Geneva: ICRC 1999).

“IGAD - Peace and Security,” Accessed May 12, 2021, <https://Igad.Int/Divisions/Peace-And-Security?Itemid=128&Start=25>.

Jeremy Cherfas “*Your Quinoa Habit Really Did Help Peru’s Poor but There’s Trouble Ahead*”, Accessed May 8, 2021

<https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/03/31/472453674/your-quinoa-habit-really-did-help-perus-poor-but-theres-trouble-ahead>.

John Dunne, *The Challenge of Reducing Arms Proliferation*, (England: University of The West of England, 2007).

Jonathan Fisher, “Mapping ‘Regional Security’ in the Greater Horn of Africa: Between National Interests and Regional Cooperation,” (Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014).

Kaldor, Mary. “In Defence of New Wars.” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 1, (United Kingdom: The London School of Economics and Political Science (March 7, 2013).

Kanyongolo, Fidelis Edge. *Kenya: Post-Election Political Violence*. London: Article 19, International Centre Against Censorship, (1998).

“Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons Kenya’s Report on The Interrelation and Initiative on Armed Violence and Development” (Nairobi: Government Press, 2011).

“Kenya Population and Housing Census Results,” Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019, Government of Kenya.

Khadiagala Gilbert ‘*Forty Days and Nights of Peacemaking in Kenya*’ *Journal of Africa Elections*, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (Volume 7 No 2, 2008).

Kidane Mengisteab and Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. *Critical Factors in the Horn of Africa’s Raging Conflicts*. (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2011).

Kostas Loukeris, “*Contending Political Ideologies in Ethiopia After 1991: The Role of Intellectuals*” 12 Department of Political Science and International Relations Addis-Ababa (2004): 11.

Kothari, C. R, *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques* (2nd Ed.) (New Delhi: New Age International Limited 2004).

Lipman, Elyse. “*African Solutions for African Problems?*” *The Philosophy, Politics and Economics of African peacekeeping in Darfur and Liberia* SPICE, Philosophy, & Economics Undergraduate Journal (2010).

Loukeris, Kostas. “*Contending Political Ideologies in Ethiopia After 1991: The Role of Intellectuals*” *Polis, Revue Camerounaise De Science Politique*, Vol. 12, Numero Special (2004): 11.

Lisa Misol, Joost R. Hiltermann, and Ernst Jan Hogendoorn, *Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence, and Human Rights in Kenya* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002).

Lucie Béraud-Sudreau et al, *Emerging Suppliers in The Global Arms Trade, SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, (Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2020).

Lukong Shulika And Nwabufo (Ufo) Okeke Uzodike, *Inter-Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan: A Challenge to Peace, Conflict Trends*. (ACCORD 2013).

Manasseh Wepundi et al, *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment*, (Switzerland: Small Arms Survey, 2012).

Maze K And Rhee H *International Assistance for Implementing the United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons: Regional Analysis of National Reports*, (Geneva, UNDIR, 2006).

Ministry Of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, *Strategic Framework Denmark Kenya Partnership 2021-2025*, Copenhagen, August 2020, www.um.dk/da.

Ministry Of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security " *National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management*, (Office of The President, Nairobi December 2011).

Nayenga Peter F. B. " *Myths and Realities of Idi Amin Dada's Uganda*." *African Studies Review* 22, no. 2 (1979): 127-38.

Nelson Alusala " *Africa and Arms Control challenges and successes, Enhancing Africa's Response to Transnational Organized Crime* (European Union: ENACT, 2018).

Njuguna, Esther, James Ndung'u, And Kyalo Musoi. *Matching Needs with Resources, National Police Reserve and Community Security in Kenya's Frontiers*, (Nairobi: Safer World, 2015).

Noel Stott, *Implementing the Southern Africa Firearms Protocol, Identifying Challenges and Priorities*, ISS Paper 83. (South Africa: Institute of Security Studies 2003).

Nzwili Fredrick “*Mass Exodus of Teachers Triggers Education Crisis in North East Kenya*,” *World Watch Monitor*, March 18, 2020, <https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2020/03/mass-exodus-of-teachers-triggers-education-crisis-in-north-east-kenya/>.

Olika, T. “*Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa: Toward the Study of Regional Peace and Security*.” *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities* 6, no. 1–2 (November 16, 2011): 1–24.

Oscar A Gómez And Des Gasper, *A Thematic Guidance Note for Regional and National Human Development Report Teams*, Human Development Report Office (UNDP, 2013).

“Peace Or into Pieces, Conflict Analysis and Mapping for Isiolo and Marsabit Counties” *Minority Rights Partner Report*, (United Kingdom: Minority Rights Group International, 2021).

Philip Alpers and Laura Spano, “*Implementing the Arms Trade Treaty and the UNPoA: A Guide to Coordinating an Effective Arms Control System*,” (Sydney Australia: The Centre for Armed Violence Reduction October 2017).

Pieter Wezeman, Alexandra Kuimova, And Siemon Wezeman, *Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2020*. (Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2021).

Peter Woolcott, *The Arms Trade Treaty*, United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law, (Geneva: United Nations 2014).

“Programme of Action on Small Arms and Its International Tracing Instrument—UNODA,” <https://www.Un.Org/Disarmament/Convarms/Salw/Programme-Of-Action/>.

Protocol Against the Illicit Manufacturing of And Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, (United Nations, 2001).

Rashid Abdallah, “*It Is Time to Negotiate with Al-Shabab*,” Accessed May 7 2021, <https://www.Aljazeera.Com/Opinions/2020/2/26/It-Is-Time-To-Negotiate-With-Al-Shabab>.

Robert I. Rotberg, World Peace Foundation, and Brookings Institution, eds., *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa* (Cambridge, Mass: Washington, D.C: World Peace Foundation; Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

Saeed Kamali Deghan “*Are Mexican Avocados the World’s New Conflict Commodity?*” The Guardian.Com, December 30, 2019. Accessed May 8, 2021, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/dec/30/are-mexican-avocados-the-worlds-new-conflict-commodity>.

SIPRI “*World Military Spending Rises to Almost \$2 Trillion in 2020* |” Accessed July 9, 2021. <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2021/world-military-spending-rises-almost-2-trillion-2020>.

“Situation Regional Bureau for the East and Horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes Region.” Accessed July 17, 2021. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/rbehagl>.

Shahrbanou, Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, (England: Routledge 2007).

“Small Arms and Human Rights: The Need for Global Action A Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper for The U.N. Biennial Meeting on Small Arms.Pdf,” Accessed May 7, 2021

<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/arms/small-arms-full-070703.Pdf>.

Small-Arms-Survey-2015-Chapter-01 A-Yearbook “*In the line of fire, elephant and rhino poaching in Africa*, (Geneva, Switzerland 2015).

Stohl, Rachel, and EJ Hogendoorn. “*Stopping the Destructive Spread of Small Arms*,” Center of American Progress (2010).

Suneel Kumar, *Small Arms And Light Weapons: A Global Threat To Human Security And Development*, The Indian Journal Of Political Science, Vol. 69, No. 4, India: Indian Political Science Association SALW, (Oct. -Dec., 2008).

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1974).

The National Treasury and Planning *Budget Statement FY 2021/22 Building Back Better* www.treasury.go.ke.

Teo, Shu De. “*Evaluating The Concept of Ungoverned Spaces: The Limitations of a Two-Dimensional Worldview*” *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 2, Ungoverned Spaces (Spring/Summer-2018).

The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in The Great Lakes Region and The Horn of Africa (2000).

The World Bank Group "*From Isolation to Integration: Borderlands of The Horn of Africa*, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, (Washington DC, World Bank, 2020).

Tilman Brück, Negar Habibi, Dr. Charles Martin-Shields, Astrid Sneyers, Dr. Wolfgang Stojetz and Dr. Stijn van Weezel, *The Relationship Between Food Security and Violent Conflict*, Report To FAOISDC, (Germany: International Security and Development Center, 2016).

Thomas Donnelly et al., “*Community-Based Approaches to Safety and Security*,”(United Kingdom: Safer world, 2013).

Thornton, Thomas Perry. “*Regional Organizations in Conflict Management.*” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 518 (1991): 132–42.

United Nations A/54/258 General Assembly Distr.: General 19 August 1999, Fifty-Fourth Session Item 76 (F) Of the Provisional Agenda.

United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and The Protocols Thereto, (New York: United Nations 2000).

UN Doc on Human Security, *Human Security*, (New York: United Nations 2016).

UNDP, *Human Development Report*, (New York: Oxford University Press 1994).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. “WFP, UNHCR *Appeal for Funding for over 3 million Refugees Hit by Ration Cuts in Eastern Africa.*” UNHCR. Accessed July 17, 2021. <https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2021/3/603dec5f4/wfp-unhcr-appeal-funding-3-million-refugees-hit-ration-cuts-eastern-africa.html>.

“*UNHCR Donates Vehicles to The National Police Service,*” Accessed September 22, 2021, <https://www.nationalpolice.go.ke/2015-09-08-17-56-33/news/199-unhcr-donates-vehicles-to-the-national-police-service.html>.

UNODA, *The Nairobi Protocol For The Prevention, Control And Reduction Of Small Arms And Light Weapons In The Great Lakes Region And The Horn Of Africa.*, (New York, NY: Regional Centre On Small Arms / United Nations Office For Disarmament Affairs 2004).

United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research UNIDIR “*The Complex Dynamics of Small Arms in West Africa*” (United Nations, Geneva 2008).

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *The Illicit Market in Firearms*, (Vienna: United Nations 2019).

United States Peace Institute “*Special Report on Terrorism in the Horn of Africa*, (Washington, USA: USIP,2004).

United Nations Security Council, S/RES/2567 (2021) Resolution 2567, New York: UNSC.

“Understanding the Arms Trade Treaty from the humanitarian perspective, International committee of the red cross (Geneva Switzerland: ICRC, 2016).

United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, *Human Security in Theory and Practice: Application of The Human Security Concept*, (New York: United Nations, 2009).

UNIREC “*United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa Fact Sheet*” [un.org/disarmament/wp/uploads/2017/07/ UNREC-Fact sheet-July 2017.pdf](https://un.org/disarmament/wp/uploads/2017/07/UNREC-Fact-sheet-July-2017.pdf)

Wepundi M, Nthiga E, Kabuu E, Murray R and Anna Alvazzi del Frate, *Availability of Small Arms and Perceptions of Security in Kenya: An Assessment Special Report*. (Geneva: Small Arms Survey 2012).

Wafula Okumu et al, “*Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020: Achievements, Opportunities and Challenges*,” (Institute for Security Studies, 2020).

William Uzgalis, “John Locke,” In *the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Ed. Edward N. Zalta, Metaphysics Research Lab, (Stanford University, 2020).

Willemijn Verkoren et al., “*From DDR to Security Promotion: Connecting National Programs to Community Initiatives*,” (International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 15, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2010).pp 1

Yuriy Kirshin, “*Russia and the Arms Trade, Conventional arms transfers during the Soviet period*,” (United Kingdom: SIPRI Publications and Oxford University Press, 1998).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear Respondent,

My name is Ms **STEPHANIE LUNG'UNG'U and I** am a Masters student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. I am undertaking a study on the Implications of Small Arms and light Weapons (SALW) Proliferation on Personal Security in the Horn of Africa Region, a Case Study of Garissa County, Kenya. The study is purely for academic purposes. Kindly, answer the questions as openly and truthfully as you can, as the process will be confidential. I appreciate you taking part in this study.

PART A: General information

State briefly on the following

1. Your gender.
2. Your age
18-30 () 31-40 () 41-50 ()
51-60 () 61 and above ()
Others (specify)
3. Your occupation.
4. The highest level of education attained.
5. Area where you live in Garissa County.

PART B: This section will address the trends of proliferation of SALW in Garissa County.

6. How often do you encounter illicit SALW in Garissa County?
7. Where do you think the illicit SALW in Kenya and Garissa originate from?
8. What reasons would you site as being responsible for continued use and availability of illicit SALW?
9. Explain how you might have faced violence or crime relating to the use of illicit SALW?
10. In what ways does the availability and use of illicit SALW in Garissa County affect personal security?

PART C: This section is on the control measures to counter arms proliferation and challenges faced in this process.

11. Are there government-initiated arms control and disarmament programmes that are in effect in Garissa County?

12. How successful have they been?

13. How much can you rate the following groups in terms of effectiveness in the fight against illicit SALW?

| Target group | Very Effective | Effective | Less effective | Ineffective |
|--|----------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| Uniformed and non-uniformed security personnel | | | | |
| Border security personnel | | | | |
| Religious groups | | | | |
| NGO's | | | | |

14. In your opinion, how do the following factors influence Arms Control and Disarmament measures in Garissa County?

a) Religious ideology-----

b) Porous borders-----

c) Proximity to bordering countries in conflict-----

d) Refugee influx-----

e) Socio-economic status of the community members-----

15. What would you say is a continued challenge in countering the proliferation of SALW in Garissa County?

16. What long term measures would you propose to be utilized in managing the proliferation of the illicit SALW in Garissa County?

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX II: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

My name is Ms **STEPHANIE LUNG'UNG'U** and I am a Masters student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies. I am undertaking a study on the Implications of Small Arms and light Weapons (SALW) Proliferation on Personal Security in the Horn of Africa Region, a Case Study of Garissa County, Kenya. The study is purely for academic purposes. Kindly, answer the questions as openly and truthfully as you can, as the process will be confidential. I appreciate you taking part in this study.

PART A: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. What is your gender? (Kindly tick in the box provided)

Male () Female () Others specify ()

2. What is your age (kindly tick your age bracket)

18-30 () 31-40 () 41-50 ()
51-60 () 61 and above ()
Others (specify)

3. What is your highest attained level of education?

Primary level () Secondary () College ()

4. What is your profession or occupation?

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

5. Where in Garissa County do you reside? Kindly tick

Garissa town () Daadab () Ijara () Fafi () Lagdera () Hulugho
() Mbala mbala ()

PART B: THIS SECTION WILL ADDRESS THE TRENDS OF PROLIFERATION OF SALW IN GARISSA COUNTY.

6. Kindly tick in the box that best describes your level of agreement or disagreement to the following statements.

| No | Statement | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|-----|---|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| i | The illicit SALW is easily and cheaply available in Garissa County. | | | | | |
| ii | At least you know several people who owns or have access to SALW | | | | | |
| iii | The availability of SALW causes personal security threats? | | | | | |

7. Kindly tick how frequently you may see or encounter SALW in Garissa County.

Daily () Weekly () Every two weeks () Every month () Every few months ()

8. Kindly tick where you think SALW in Garissa County originate from.

Within the country () Outside the country ()
Others(specify).....

9. On a scale of 1- 5, where 1 represent the highest and 5 the lowest, kindly tick below the areas for continued use of the available illicit SALW in Garissa County.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natural resource conflicts | | | | | |
| Clan based conflicts | | | | | |
| Pastoral conflicts | | | | | |
| Terrorism | | | | | |
| Violent crime | | | | | |
| Protecting property | | | | | |
| Politics | | | | | |

10. Have you ever experienced violence or crime related to use of SALW?
Yes () No ()

11. If yes above, explain how you might have faced violence or crime relating to use and availability of SALW.

.....

12. In what way have incidences of violence relating to SALW availability and use impacted on your personal security.

.....

PART C: THIS SECTION IS ON THE CONTROL MEASURES TO COUNTER ARMS PROLIFERATION AND CHALLENGES FACED IN THIS PROCESS.

13. Are there SALW arms control of disarmament programmes carried out in Garissa by the government?

Yes () No ()

14. Explain your response above.

.....

15. How successful are the arms control and disarmament programmes?

.....

16. Explain in what ways the following groups have been effective in arms control and disarmament programmes

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Uniformed security personnel | |
| Non uniformed security personnel | |
| Border security personnel | |
| Religious groups | |
| NGO's | |

17. Kindly tick in box that best describes your agreement or disagreement

| No | Statement | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|----|---|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| i | You feel safe and effectively secured by law enforcement in Garissa County. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| ii | Security forces deal effectively with SALW related crime and violence. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

PART D: CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH ARMS PROLIFERATION CONTROL IN GARISSA COUNTY

18. Explain in what ways the factors below affect arms control and disarmament measures in Garissa County.

| | |
|--|--|
| Religious Ideology | |
| Porous borders | |
| Proximity to bordering countries in conflict | |
| Refugee Influx | |
| Socio-Economic status | |

19. Kindly tick in box that best describes your agreement or disagreement

| No | Statement | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|----|---|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| i | SALW proliferation is a major challenge in Garissa County. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| ii | The issue of arms use and availability can fully be eradicated in Garissa County. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

20. In what ways do you think the illicit SALW could be reduced in Garissa County?

.....

.....

21. Whose responsibility is it to tackle the misuse of SALW in Garissa County?

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION AND FEEDBACK.

APPENDIX III: INTRODUCTORY LETTER



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

College of Humanities and Social Sciences

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies

Tel : (020)318262 P.O. Box 30197
Fax : 254-2-245566 NAIROBI
Website : www.uonbi.ac.ke KENYA
Telex : 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya
Email : director-idis@uonbi.ac.ke MAY 18th, 2021

TO

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION
(NACOSTI)

P.O BOX 30623-00100

NAIROBI

REF: RESEARCH PERMIT FOR MS STEPHANIE LUNG'UNG'U-R52/35227/2019

I am writing to recommend Ms Stephanie Lung'ung'u and to attest to her qualification and suitability for the research permit she is applying for. Ms Stephanie is my supervisee and a student at the University of Nairobi, in the Department of Diplomacy and International Studies pursuing MA in International Conflict Management, and she has completed the course work, refined the proposal and now embarking on research project writing entitled: **IMPLICATIONS OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS(SALW) PROLIFERATION ON PERSONAL SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION: A CASE STUDY OF GARISSA COUNTY, KENYA**. As a university, we would appreciate your assistance in enabling him attain the research permit and authorization for the study.

If you need further information or clarification, I can be reached at (254) 721-942-138 or by email martin.ouma@uonbi.ac.ke.

Respectfully



Dr. Martin Odhiambo Ouma, Ph. D

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH LICENSE



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **881237**

Date of Issue: **17/June/2021**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Miss., Stephanie N/A Lung'ung'u of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Garissa on the topic: IMPLICATIONS OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS(SALW) PROLIFERATION ON PERSONAL SECURITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION: A CASE STUDY OF GARISSA COUNTY, KENYA. for the period ending : 17/June/2022.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/21/10949**

881237

Applicant Identification Number

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code



NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.