

Effects Of Proliferation Of Small Arms And Light Weapons In Northern Region Of Kenya

¹Mucyo Mulinzi, ²Dr. Napoleon Kurantin

¹Student, Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSC)

²Lecturer, Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSC)

Abstract: Small arms proliferation is a term used by organizations such as Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), United Nations (UN) and individuals advocating the control of small arms and their trade. Some organizations use the term particularly in arguing for weapons restriction of small arms sales to private citizens in conflict zones. The main goal of this study is to investigate the effects of proliferation of small arms in northern Kenya while the objectives of the study include among others; to identify the sources of small arms in the northern region of Kenya, to establish the effects of proliferation of small arms in the northern region of Kenya, to identify factors influencing proliferation of small arms in the northern region of Kenya, and to establish the extent to which proliferation of small arms is practiced in Northern region of Kenya and how this problem can be addressed. Geographical positions of these areas and politics were said to be the main factors influencing the proliferation of small arms in the northern Kenya. It was revealed that weapons were locally made by the indigenous people in Kenya and some of them were imported from other countries. Also it was discovered weapons stolen from security personnel have been one of the major factors of arms proliferation in Kenya. Notwithstanding, it was made known in the study that weapons that were reportedly got from war torn neighbors such as Sudan, Ethiopia contributed to arms increase. In furtherance, the study discovered that most customers range from local politicians in high circles of northern Kenya politics to prominent community elders and security officials procuring arms for crime markets in other parts of Kenya especially Nairobi areas, Coastal towns and other crime prone areas. Based on the outcomes, it was recommended that government through local leadership should further embark on awareness creation on the importance of peaceful co-existence amongst communities thereby reducing the influx of arms proliferation. This can be made possible by initiating peace programmes and campaigns in the prone areas.

Keywords: proliferation of small arms, light weapons.

1. INTRODUCTION

The global security problems can be significantly attributed to the continuing small arms proliferation. Arms control specialists argue that small arms are among the major causes of death, insecurity, violence and armed conflict globally. In fact, concerns on large quantity of small arms have been raised as an important subject in countries not at war, with good examples being the United States, Australia, Canada and South Africa (Cukier, 2000).

Small arms and light weapons are terms used by organizations such as Integral Authority on Development (IGAD), United Nations (UN) and individuals advocating for the arms control. Small arms refer to a sub-category consisting of automatic weapons up to 20 mm, including sub-machine guns, rifles, carbines and handguns. Light weapon has been used as a generic term to describe all conventional munitions that can be carried by an individual combatant or by a light vehicle. This encompasses small arms, bazookas, rocket propelled grenades, light anti-tank missiles, and light mortars, shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles and hand placed landmines (Klare, 1994, Philippe, 2001).

Small arms and light weapons commonly abbreviated as SALWs continue to be commonly used in many of the violent civil and ethnic conflicts of the post-Cold War era. For example, according to the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), thirty four major armed conflicts that left more than 1000 casualties were documented in the year in 1993. All these conflicts were conducted mainly with light weapons and small arms (UNRISD, 1995). In Africa, much of research work point out that small arms and light weapons proliferation affects many African countries and their citizens in three main broad ways; first, they affect human rights and international humanitarian law, secondly development and thirdly governance (Bourne, 2006; Frankonero, 2008). Currently, proliferation of small arms and light weapons is one of the biggest security challenges facing Kenya and the East African sub-region (Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya). The ready availability of small arms through legal and illegal channels only serves to aggravate the problem in sub-Saharan Africa (AEFJN, 2013). These weapons fuel instability, conflict and pose a threat to sustainable development besides security of the nation (Small Arms Survey, 2012). The widespread proliferation of small arms is contributing to alarming levels of armed crime, in marginalized rural and urban areas. It has also exacerbated the ever existent armed cattle rustling and tribal conflicts in pastoralist areas (Mbugua, 2007).

Several ways have been documented in which small arms and light weapons proliferate. Key to note are through transfers from a benefactor to a recipient, leakages from state and civilian stocks, acquisitions of recycled weapons from previous transfers, homemade weapons and ammunition, and battle captures (AEFJN, 2013). Further, Kenya has long and undermanned borders with two conflict zones: the Horn of Africa and the eastern region, including northern Uganda. According to Mbugua (2007), arms traders find ready customers in the crime-ridden city of Nairobi and among the pastoralists of northern Kenya, who find it necessary to defend their communities and whose traditions include the carrying of weapons.

Approximately 20 per cent of households in Kenya are victims of a crime or an act of violence every year. Worse enough, 40 per cent feel that there is a likelihood of being victims of armed violence and/or crime. The government of Kenya embarked on voluntary disarmament among the warring communities in the Rift Valley, Eastern and North Eastern provinces in which a number of firearms were confiscated (Wepundi *et al.*, 2012). The action elicited mixed response from different quarters of Kenyan society. Some felt it was timely and a much needed response to the crisis of insecurity and proliferation of arms in the region. Others, particularly the pastoralist communities, had reservations regarding the motives and the nature of the disarmament. This indicates the enormous challenge in controlling small and light weapons in Kenya (Mkutu, 2008).

As illustrated above, the trade in illicit small and light weapons has many negative impacts to Kenya and its neighbors. However, Kenya alone cannot mitigate the proliferation of these arms and this calls for concerted efforts of all other nations, more so, the neighbors. Further, small and light weapons are not a simple problem to tackle. Unlike heavy weapons, they have a legitimate military, police, and civilian use.

As a result of the changing nature of the trade in small arms and the complexity of the problem, strategies to address the problem are mainly national, regional and international initiatives. For example, the unprecedented post-election violence that erupted after the December 2007 general elections placed the issue of small arms reduction higher on the national agenda. The government of Kenya started a number of important initiatives including the establishment of the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons (KNFP). The initiative was to control the proliferation of small arms. However, all the noted three initiatives mentioned above face significant challenges. Between 530, 000 and 680, 000 firearms may be in civilian hands nationally. Further, despite an overall perception of a reduction in the number of firearms nationally, some zones, including areas such as Mt Elgon and Rift Valley, where important disarmament initiatives have been carried out, have recorded a significant increase in gun possession since the year 2003 (Arms Survey, 2012). Therefore, the strategies have remained inadequate to address the problem of small arms proliferation.

1.2 Problem Statement:

It has been estimated that there are now about 500 million small arms and light weapons in circulation in the world, one for every twelve people. Gone are the days when Europeans could subdue other continents because they had firearms and the local peoples did not. In 1999, it was reported that an AK-47 assault rifle could be bought in Uganda for the price of a chicken (Robert, 2002).

Studies done on small arms and light weapons in UN, The Arms Bazaar (2003), found that, while international attention is focused on the need to control weapons of mass destruction, the trade in conventional weapons continues to operate in a legal and moral vacuum. That in Africa, the AFJN (2009) found that the persistence and the complication of wars in

Africa are partially due to small arms proliferation. Further, the consequences of small arms on African people due to international conflicts within Africa, rebel group activities, mercenary groups, and armed gang activities have yet to be fully measured.

In Kenya, historic conflicts between competing cattle herders have escalated to deadly warfare due to proliferation of small and light weapons. Weapons meant for war are now used by criminals to fuel crime waves and wage turf battles in communities.

Millions of assault rifles and similar military weapons are in the hands of civilians, criminal elements, and irregular armed forces, hence responsible for most of the killings. Further, the problem subverts the rule of law, threatening social stability and economic progress not only in Kenya but also in the East African region.

In the year 2010, Kenyan police uncovered 100,000 rounds of ammunition in a private residence in Narok, a town some 142km west-north-west of the capital, Nairobi. More than 30,000 additional rounds were later discovered at the same location. Many questions remained unanswered, but one thing was clear; many rounds of this ammunition were locally manufactured and originated from the Kenya Ordnance Factories Corporation based in Eldoret (Daily, Nation, 2010).

Though the uncontrolled cross-border proliferation of small arms is largely facilitated by illegal activities, practically all illicit small arms were originally legally produced or acquired but later fell into the hands of unintended recipients. Regulation would thus require the separation of illicit from licit arms transfers to develop protocols for exchanges between state or non-state actors that control the distribution of small arms without constraining the legitimate market.

Northern Kenya is a region with harsh living conditions, little water and not enough pasture for livestock. Poverty looms, intensifying competition for scarce resources, which takes the form of violent armed conflict (Khadiagala 2003). The tribes who are largely involved in proliferation of small arms includes Samburu, Pokot, Turkana, Borana, Rendille, Somali and Gabbra, who are basically pastoralists and mainly keep cattle, camels, goats, sheep and donkeys. Other tribes in these areas include Teso, Njemps, Marakwet, El Molo, Tugen, Elkony, Kiprign, and Orma.

The only option that tribes in Northern Kenya have is to arm themselves for personal, communal, clan or larger family defense requirements. They do this as a defensive measure against bandits and other clans as well as to advance their own interests, as they define them. A further source of conflict stimulating arms flow arises from livestock keeping, the only viable occupation in much of the region (Mkutu, 2008).

This is mainly in the area of the inadequate physical presence of law enforcement officers, poor infrastructure, corruption, the scarcity of resources, and difficult terrain in the small arms and conflict hotspot areas. Some police security initiatives have equally posed blowback challenges. Bevan notes that the Kenya Police supplies almost 50 per cent of the ammunition that circulates illegally in Turkana North to provide the Turkana people with some defense against rival groups in Sudan and Uganda (Bevan, 2008).

It is due to the proliferation of small and light weapons that northern Kenya is underdeveloped, human rights and international laws are violated regularly and governance is persistently poor. On human rights violation, the effects of proliferation of small and light weapons take the form of escalation and extension of conflict, strengthening of criminals and criminal organizations and increased crimes against women and children. The effects on development take the form of direct costs, indirect costs and obstruction of delivery and access to public goods and services. Lastly, effects on governance take the form of increasing insecurity, the privatization of security sources, which in turn cannot be adequately monitored due to weak governance. It is in light of this that the research is geared towards establishing the effects of proliferation of small arms into the Northern region of Kenya.

1.3 General Objectives:

The main objective of this study is to investigate the effects of proliferation of small arms in the northern region of Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives:

- 1 To identify the sources of small arms in the northern region of Kenya
- 2 To establish the effects of proliferation of small arms in the northern region of Kenya
- 3 To identify factors influencing proliferation of small arms in the northern region of Kenya
- 4 To establish the extent to which proliferation of small arms is practiced in Northern region of Kenya and how this problem can be addressed.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction:

The study on the role of small arms on conflict and insecurity in the Northern Kenya is a social research and is based on two theoretical frameworks. The motivation and means theory and the protracted social conflict theories are applied to put into perspective the conceptual and theoretical foundations necessary for guidance in the conduct of this research. In the past decade, much has been written on small arms and light weapons in Africa, containing both qualitative and quantitative data. These studies and analyses have been published by African NGOs and research institutes such as the Institute for Security Studies, the African Institute of International Affairs, Gun Free South Africa, and more recently, Safer Africa.

The pioneering research and writing on small arms in the mid-1990s was predominantly conceptual in nature, seeking to give readers a framework for understanding the situation (Cock, 1995, Smith *et al.*, 1996; Smith and Vines, 1997). Though early researchers developed literature focusing on the proliferation of small arms and their role in insecurity, their work did not penetrate national policymaking in Kenya. Although literature concentrating on small arms proliferation in the northern Kenya is scanty, a number of scholars of different disciplines have attempted to bring out the theme in relation to other areas. This work is informed by their studies in a number of ways. The review was partitioned in furtherance of the objectives of this research.

2.2 Describing the problem of proliferation of small arms in Kenya:

Most present-day conflicts are fought mainly with small arms, which are broadly used in inter-State conflict. They are the weapons of choice in civil wars and for terrorism, organized crime and gang warfare (Kamenju, 2003). The biggest contributor to the continued need for weapons in the region has been the persistent conflicts that have occurred on the continent over the past two decades. Weapons have been in high demand in all areas of the continent, which resulted in the black market trading of weapons and in particular small arms and light weapons within sub-Saharan Africa (Frankonero, 2008).

The lack of government control and instability in Kenya has done much to facilitate the illicit trade and spread of weapons on the continent. The inability of Kenya's government to exercise control over their borders makes it difficult to stop the trafficking of illicit arms. With five neighboring countries with relatively small security budgets, it becomes difficult to stop the flow of arms from one country to the next. In addition to the lack of adequate structures, corruption is extremely prevalent in the region (Rutto *et al.*, 2003; Amisi, 1997).

Although proliferation of small arms generates a lot of money for those who manufacture and trade them, African people pay a heavy price due to a lack of accountability or international regulations to address the abuses those products cause. According to Kifleariam (2002), the Global Facilitation Network Security Sector Reform, nations such as France, Russia, China, UK and USA – the five permanent members of the UN Security Council – together account for 88 percent of the world's conventional arms exports. These exports contribute regularly to gross abuses of human rights in Africa and elsewhere (Yud, 2004).

Insurgents, armed gang members, pirates, and terrorists - they can all multiply their force through the use of unlawfully acquired firepower. The illicit circulation of small arms, light weapons and their ammunition destabilizes communities, and impacts security and development in all regions of the world (Khadiagala, 2003).

There is a large variety of lethal weapons found in Kenya, including AK-47s, G3s, M-16s, Uzis, American carbines, rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), hand grenades, land mines and many brands of pistols. These arms are illegal and often in the wrong hands (Ibrahim, 1996).

There is a readily available market, particularly among nomadic communities in northern Kenya, along the Sudanese border, and also among the Kuria people along the Tanzanian border and in the underworld of major cities and towns such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret. In fact, among African cities, Nairobi has the third worst problem with small arms after Lagos and Johannesburg (AEFJN, 2013; Mbugua, 2008).

2.2.1 Effects of proliferation of small arms:

Small arms are also commonly used in domestic and transnational crime. The widespread proliferation of small arms is contributing to alarming levels of armed crime, in the northern part of Kenya, which exacerbates armed cattle rustling and conflicts in these pastoralist areas. Use of small arms has made conflict more deadly and crime easier, feeding cultures of retribution and downward spirals of violence around the world (Mohamoud, 2002).

2.2.1.1 Impact on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law:

Human rights, is usually the first and most affected aspects of the citizens' lives by small and light weapons proliferation. Some people and groups own small and light weapons to exercise their control over others. Therefore, small and light weapons significantly undermine the human rights of civilians in the areas where they are in abundance. Human rights are abused in three ways namely escalation and extension of conflict, strengthening of criminals and criminal organizations and increased crimes against women and children (Mbugua, 2008).

2.2.1.2 Escalation and Extension of Conflicts:

Small and light weapons play a significant role in determining the winners of conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. With the majority of the fighting being done in small continuous battles and the relative lack of economic prosperity in comparison to the rest of the world, the use of heavy weaponry such as tanks, aircrafts, etc., is limited to governments or significantly large rebel groups. Hence, small and light weapons play an important role in the conflicts (ProQuest, 2007).

It is believed that small and light weapons an impact on the intensity and the duration of conflicts. Further, armed conflicts greatly affect civilians, including men, women, boys, girls, the elderly, and the disabled. Civilians are often the deliberate targets of armed attacks during armed conflict in direct violation of international humanitarian law, which provides for specific protections to non-combatants. With more weapons available, the conflict is further extended and intensified (Mbugua, 2008).

2.2.1.3 Strengthened Criminals and Criminal Organizations:

Where small and light weapons are used to intensify fighting in areas of conflict, it is not uncommon for even countries that have enjoyed long periods of peace to witness the effect of the proliferation within sub-Saharan Africa. People flee areas of conflict, SALW trafficking on a small scale occurs as they travel. In most cases, these weapons fall in the hands of criminals who in turn use them to further violate the human rights of citizens. Violence in northwestern Kenya, particularly, the areas west of Lake Turkana along the Ugandan border have increased, exacerbated by the ready availability of firearms and spillover from regional conflicts (Bourne *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, northern Kenya has many refugees majority of who own small and light weapons. The presence of these weapons in refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP) camps has been associated with increased intimidation and militarization, in some cases closely linked with attempts to use such camps for recruitment and training areas for armed groups (Bourne *et al.*, 2006).

2.2.1.4 Increased Crimes against Women and Children:

In case of a conflict, young adult men are usually the majority of the direct victims of armed conflict. Though women and children are also directly affected by the armed conflict, they in turn face a different set of crimes and hostilities against them. In the case of women, they are faced with detention, intimidation, torture, forced prostitution, and rape by combatants. This violates their human rights as it takes away their freedoms, creates unwanted pregnancies, and has been one of the reasons for the spread of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa (Mulama, 2003). Children are also faced with different problems as a result of conflicts. The most significant problem is perhaps the continued recruitment of children as child soldiers. Statistics indicate there are 300,000 child soldiers involved in conflicts most of them in sub-Saharan Africa (Mulama, 2003; Xolani, 1994).

The child soldiers are equipped with small arms and light weapons and are forced to fight members of their community at an early age. As they grow up during the times of conflict, they learn nothing else other than fighting such that, even when the conflict ends, they have a high chance to end up as criminals considering that the child soldiers have no formal education or skills to do anything else (Alusala, 2005).

2.2.1.5 Impact on Development:

Besides taking a heavy toll on human life, small arms undermine nations' development. The widespread abuse of small arms deprives Pastoral communities the skills and talents of the victims of small arms (Mohamoud, 2004).

2.2.1.6 Direct Costs – Human Costs:

The direct human costs of a conflict are seen in the form of deaths and injuries of the people of the country. The majority of combatants are usually young male adults or adolescents. As they fight during the prime of their lives, the lives lost reduces the number of young people available to work and help their countries develop.

The trafficking and wide availability of small arms fuel instability, conflict and pose a threat, not only to security, but also to sustainable development. Armed violence disproportionately affects the poor population and is an important factor undermining development and poverty reduction efforts in Kenya (Mbugua, 2008).

Chronic insecurity impedes the provision of services to the poor in the vast urban slum areas as well as in Kenya's under-developed peripheral regions. Much of this underdevelopment is fueled by the widespread availability of small arms (Rutto *et al.*, 2003). The direct costs of the armed conflict affect the development of the country for a number of decades as generations are lost during the war. Some of those who lose their lives are professionals at their prime age.

2.2.1.7 Indirect Costs:

Indirect costs of conflict also impede the economic development of a country as it results in the displacement of a large number of people. Similar to direct costs, the productive age demographic is lost to the country in the short term and with that, the future generations are also lost. Even though in some cases those displaced do return to their country of origin, a large proportion of the displaced settle as refugees in host countries. Another indirect cost of conflict is the deterred or disrupted economic investment that a country incurs during the time of conflict. As insecurity becomes more prevalent, businesses shut down as owners flee, burglary and theft take place resulting in losses for businesses. Once order is restored, the business owners may have been displaced or even have lost their lives. Foreign investors become weary of investing in the country for fear of losing their investment. As a result of the conflict, economic development comes to a stop and at times is reversed (Nganga, 2008).

2.2.1.8 Obstruct Delivery and Access to Public Goods:

Public goods such as health and education are vital to the economic development of a country. With adequate health services, the population is able to maintain a lower death rate and minimize the duration and spread of illnesses amongst its citizens. This increased health in the population ensures continuous economic development a characteristic that is not shared in countries with conflicts. However, in areas of conflict, health services are not as readily available as workers are reluctant or unable to work in areas of insecurity. The same applies to other public services that help sustain economic development such as education. As a result, the conflict limits the country's ability to economically develop.

Conflicts in northern Kenya are pegged on livestock resource constraints, competition over the control and use of pasture and water resources among different clans and the people of the neighboring districts. They widely use small arms to respond to these conflicts. Small arms are the dominant tools of criminal violence.

Between 8th and 10th June 2012, the Turkana community attacked a Toposa Manyatta driving away hundreds of livestock, killing about 30 people and injuring a dozen others. If there were no use of small arms these cattle raids would not exist and thus conflict would also not evolve (Mohamoud, 2004).

2.2.1.9 Insecurity:

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons is one of the biggest security challenges currently facing Kenya and the East African sub-region. Armed violence is an important factor undermining development and poverty reduction efforts in Kenya especially in the north and some parts of eastern provinces. Chronic insecurity impedes the provision of services to the poor in the vast urban slum areas as well as in Kenya's under-developed peripheral regions (Philippe, 2001).

A build-up of small arms alone may not create the conflicts in which they are used, but their excessive accumulation and wide availability aggravates the tension. The violence becomes more lethal and lasts longer, and a sense of insecurity grows, which in turn lead to a greater demand for weapons (Boiling, 1993).

2.2.1.10 Human rights violation:

Small arms facilitate a vast spectrum of human rights violations, including killing, maiming, rape and other forms of sexual violence, enforced disappearance, torture, and forced recruitment of children by armed groups. More human rights abuses are committed with small arms than with any other weapon. Furthermore, where the use of armed violence becomes a means for resolving grievances and conflicts, legal and peaceful dispute resolution suffers and the rule of law cannot be upheld (Rutto *et al.*, 2003).

2.3 Conceptual Framework:

"A Programme of Action to Address Human Cost of Small Arms and Light Weapons", a survey initiated by Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) in 2001 stressed that, the uncontrolled trade and proliferation of small arms and light weapons is a matter of life and death to people around the world. The failure to control this trade effectively has serious humanitarian consequences as the resulting widespread use of these weapons causes massive human insecurity as further illustrated in the figure below. Similarly, according to Maria & Ndimbwa (2013), argued that the possession of small arms

and their use in crime commitment has increased and becoming a threat to security which is associated with among other things, a greater incident of violent death such as homicide, suicide, interpersonal violence, intimidation and criminality and this depicts the designed conceptual framework for this study as shown in Figure 2.

In furtherance, Matt & Stohl (2006) debated that, the illicit proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons ranks among today's most pressing security threats. Tens of thousands of people are wounded or killed each year in conflicts that are fought primarily with these weapons and in crime-ridden areas outside of conflict zones. They are also the weapons of choice for many terrorists. The framework in as illustrated in in Figure 2 below explains and summarizes the rippling effects of small arms proliferation hence indicating that, insecurity, violence, armed crime, conflicts and underdevelopments are major consequences of small arms proliferation as far as Norther Kenya is concerned. This suggests that, the security of any state one way or the other depends on the level of small arms proliferation. In other words, the rate at which small arms are accessible to people in a given country, the rate of insecurity will also be high and in the long run hinders development, (see Figure 2 below).

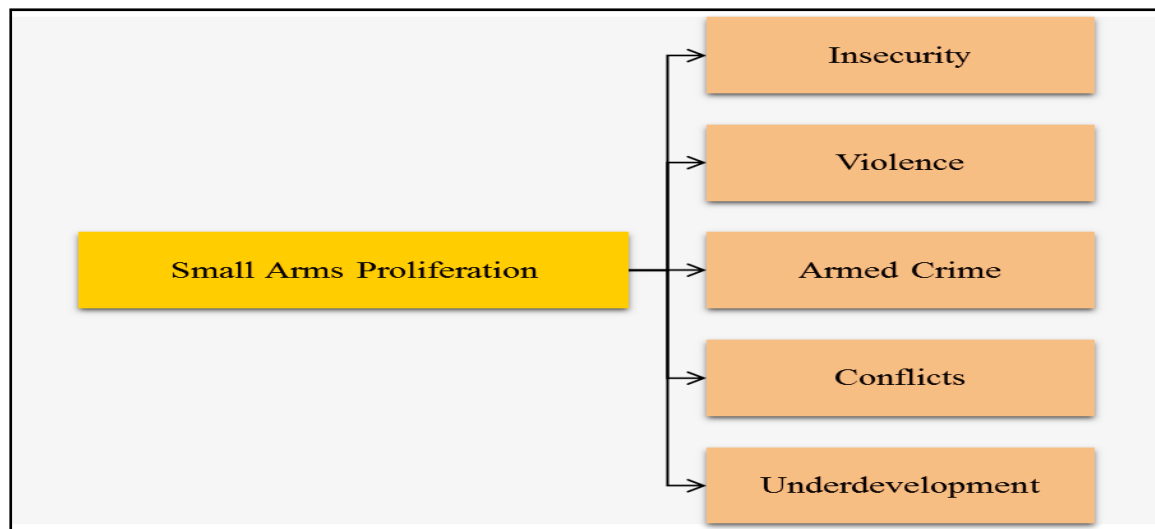


Figure.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author Compilation, (2015)

In accordance, Wepundi *et al* (2012) added that, there is a close inter-relationship between insecurity and increased desire for firearms ownership for protection and defensive purposes. For instance, there is concern that cycles of electoral violence could be feeding demand for guns in some areas. Clearly based on this designed concept, the insecurity, violence, armed crime, conflicts and underdevelopment are inextricably connected to the level of small arms proliferation. In simple terms, the dependents variables (i.e. insecurity, violence, underdevelopment, armed crime and conflicts) are consequences of small arms proliferation (i.e. independent variable). The conceptual frame work shows the rippling the effects of small arms proliferation.

2.4 Factors influencing proliferation of small arms:

There are several reasons for these weapons' wide use: They are cheap enough for even the poorest of criminals and insurgent groups to acquire in large quantities; they are lightweight and easy to conceal for smuggling and for carrying out operations; they are sturdy, require very little maintenance, and last a long time; and finally, they are very easy to use - no training is needed and no complex organization is necessary (World watch Institute, 1997).

2.4.1 Overview of Motivations for Demand of Small Arms:

According to Jacklyn Cock (1997), small arms demand is ultimately expressed at the individual level, an individual person actually acquires a firearm even if on behalf or at the direction of others. Jurgen Brauer and Robert Muggah, (2006) argued that, motivation for acquisition is at least partly socially constructed and embedded in various social practices and cultural forms. These motivations include:

Acquirers and Non-acquirers: Believe the gun came to substitute for other status symbols the cell phone, glamorous woman, and gold chains as a means of displaying (male) status and power. The gun came to substitute for other status

symbols – the cell phone, glamorous woman, and gold chains as a means of displaying (male) status and power (Brauer and Muggah, 2006).

Acquirers and Possessors: Brauer and Muggah (2006) further explained that, in many private households, adults acquire weapons but adolescents can take authorized or unauthorized possession of a gun. It is reported that in a number of rebels groups and gangs – and, of course, in most police and military divisions – weapons are made available for the day's (or night's) activities but are then expected to be turned in again. Thus, demand for arms acquisition is different from possession, use, misuse, and abuse.

Consumers and Producers: Research on demand for small arms needs to separate out demand by those regarded as 'consumers' of small arms such as those who acquire weapons for self-defense, recreation, or sport-hunting purposes and those for whom weapons acquisition is an input into the production of a good or service such as commercial hunting, pest-control, or security services (or the production of disservices such as rebellion, banditry, and crime). In contrast, producers those with the intent to abuse small arms for criminal purposes view guns as a tool that needs to earn a (perverse) return on investment, (Brauer and Muggah, 2006).

Final and Intermediate Demand: Asking about small arms flows is akin to asking about the supply chain. A supply chain is not equivalent to supply. If between the original supplier (S) and the final demander (D) a chain consists of one or more intermediaries – say A, B, and C – then we may depict this symbolically as $S \rightarrow A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow D$:

Thus, 'S' supplies to intermediary 'A' who demands from 'S'. Intermediary 'A' then supplies to 'B' who demands from 'A'. Likewise, 'B' supplies to 'C' who demands from 'B'. Finally, 'C' supplies to 'D' who demands from 'C' not from 'S'. Whatever are the motivations and means of final demanders is an interesting and important question; but to ask what are the motivations and means of the intermediate parts to the chain is equally important as it is likely easier to intervene with one thousand dealers than with one million final demanders. The symbolic representation can be expanded by also including ammunition and parts suppliers and maintenance and repair services. At each stage there may be opportunities to affect final demand, and possibly much more effectively so than at points 'S' or 'D', (Brauer and Muggah, 2006).

2.4.1.1 Economic factors:

Pastoralist communities often trade cattle for weapons. The main economic activity of the northern region of Kenya communities is animal husbandry __livestock keeping. Due to this there is widely use of small arms to protect their livestock from cattle raids, as these arms are cheaper and easy to handle and thus children can easily use small arms. They are simple to transport and hide, ready to use without much prior training and, in most cases, require little maintenance and support. Because of this, small arms have helped create more child soldiers. Children are also primary victims. The increased availability of small arms through illegal channels has contributed to an alarming rise in child casualties in northern region of Kenya where small arms have been used (Mbugua, 2005).

2.4.1.2 Social and Cultural factors:

It is a fact that northern region of Kenya suffers from small arms proliferation. Their cultures are of violence and gun-ownership as a symbol of power and pride, even objects of affection. It is so due to communal security, inter-ethnic rivalries, and struggles over scarce resources and the requirements of warrior cultures. Solutions to these problems require a fresh commitment of resources, new education programs and community participation (Kizito and Sabala, 2002). The culture of pastoralism makes them to find it necessary to defend their communities thus their traditions include the carrying of weapons.

2.4.1.3 Political factors:

Political instability in Kenya creates more demand for small arms. Manufacturers of weapons know best the link between politics and weapons markets and are therefore often linked to these political instabilities to take advantage of the weapons business it creates (Mbugua, 2005). In response to a Toposa (Sudan) raid on the Turkana during the run up to last year's general election in Kenya, the two communities entered into a customary agreement to stop cattle raids. The agreement was sealed at Kapota, Sudan and witnessed by communities' elders, legislators and government officials (Mohahoud, 2004).

The pact sanctioned the Toposa to return the stolen animals. No specific date or timeframe was given for the return of the livestock. To add salt to injury, the Toposa community again raided the Turkana in early May, provoking their victims to retaliate. The Turkana argued that the Toposa had not honored the Kapota declaration. Revenge was the only way to seek

justice, or so they thought (Wairagu and Ndung'u, 2013). Also the case of 2007 post-election violence where thousands of Kenyans were killed and others armed by the use of small arms (Mkutu, 2008).

2.4.1.4 Geographical Factors:

Africa is a vast and varied continent with different histories and geographic conditions; different stages of economic development; different sets of public policies and patterns of internal and international interaction. The causes of the conflicts in Africa thus reflect this diversity and are linked by a number of reasons depending on where the conflicts are located in Africa.

However, in Kenya, the overall history exhibit common patterns amongst which are conflicts over the control of natural resources; historical heritage; farmer-grazer problems; conflicts in relation to humanitarian aid. The Turkana community has borne much of the brunt due to her geographical location. The community is in conflict with virtually all her neighbors: Merille, Dong'iro, Toposa and Dinka to the north, Karamojong to the west, Pokot and Samburu to the south. Of all the regions, the northern frontier conflicts have been most severe and frequent (Kizito, 2002).

Geography factors such as the terrain and population distribution equally plays an important role. Thus, rebellions more regularly occur in these communities because of weak government force and one whose geographical forces does not warrant the government force to protect its total territory.

2.5 Sources of Small Arms:

Kenya has long and undermanned borders with two conflict zones: the Horn of Africa and the eastern region, including northern Uganda. The gun traffickers find ready customers in the crime-ridden city of Nairobi and among the pastoralists of northern Kenya who find it necessary to defend their communities and whose traditions include the carrying of weapons (Rukia, 2002).

The unstable states in the Horn of Africa are one of the principal sources of small arms and light weapons. Northern Kenya stands at the crossroads between the conflict areas of southern Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia. For the last 50 years these countries have been embroiled in a series of civil wars and unending strife as political ambition has overtaken common sense, resulting in violent changes of government and the release of more tools of violence into society (Mbugua, 2007).

According to Wepundi *et al.* (2012), a Small Arms Survey in Mandera-Kenya in 2011, shows that arms traffickers are said to use animals such as donkeys to transport firearms. Another method of concealment involves hiding firearms in cargo and/or livestock trucks transporting these goods to urban centres for sale. Some of the cargoes in which firearms are hidden include sand, charcoal, and cooking fat. Respondents observed that gunrunners use their connections in Somalia or border towns like Mandera and Garissa to discreetly move firearms to targeted destinations. Table 1 below were some of the trafficking routes and means of transportation of small arms according to Wepundi *et al.* (2012).

2.6 Strategic Lessons Northern Kenya Need to Learn on Small Arms:

There is need for a collaborative implementation of national response strategies at the local level should draw upon traditional adaptation and coping mechanisms to security challenges. According to Mulinzi Mucyo (2014), traditional approach to peace building process are vital for unity and development in states torn by insecurity and other crisis. Strategies traditionally employed by pastoralists for instance could provide useful lessons for security in environments that become increasingly harsh to live. Additionally, northern Kenya communities need to develop joint strategies with the government to address conflict dynamics. It is particularly important that strategies for addressing insecurity and conflict prevention be collectively developed and owned by parties involved. The government should ensure that policymaking in these areas is coordinated and complementary. The establishment of a conflict resolution working group and enhancing the intelligence collection would prove vital to reduction in small arms and light weapons proliferation.

2.7 Impacts of Small Arms on East African Community (EAC):

The proliferation of small arms in East Africa pre-dates 19th-century European colonialism. Gunrunning in the sub-region's hinterland was the result of an established trade that escalated raids for slaves, livestock, ivory, and other game trophies by Ethiopian raiders and Arab merchants (Wepundi *et al.* 2011). At that time, gun markets were found in Maji in south-western Ethiopia and ammunition was used as local currency (Mburu, 2002).

Instability and internal conflicts increased as fewer regimes were propped up by external powers for ideological reasons. In response to increasing demand, organs of the state security sector in affected countries became important suppliers of weapons and ammunition, sometimes openly supporting a particular faction, sometimes providing undercover support, and sometimes through a loss of control as corrupt officials became involved in weapon transfers (Deutsche Gesellschaft

für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), 2012). There is a close relationship between global peace and security and economic, social and political wellbeing of the people (Gamba, 2005).

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are a serious threat to the security and development of East Africa. However, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda are tackling the illicit trade in SALW, developing new legislation, defining national objectives, and in some cases implementing action plans, and coordinating with the Regional Center on Small Arms and Light Weapons and the East Africa Community. Yet due to the lack of capacity and the extent of the SALW problem in the sub region, international assistance in implementing SALW programmes is necessary. Most SALW assistance received between 2001 and 2005 went toward disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes; only 5% of assistance was used to implement other SALW projects, primarily in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Each of the five states presented in this case study are at different levels of implementation and have different capacities available to implement the UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons, (Kerry and Hyunjoo, 2007).

2.8 Empirical Study of Impacts of Small Arms in EAC:

Kenya:

According to Kerry and Hyunjoo, (2007), armed crime, banditry, urban and pastoral violence, cattle rustling, poaching and trafficking are the common SALW problems in Kenya. Armed violence is found most frequently in the pastoralist and cross-border areas in the North Rift, north-eastern and parts of the eastern and coastal provinces. Kenya's lack of capacity at and in between border checkpoints, as well as proximity to countries experiencing varying levels of conflict, contributes to a steady flow of arms in and out of the country. Similarly, Wepundi *et al.* (2012) argued that, small arms play a significant role in determining the winners and losers of conflicts, and in the commission of crimes. Other than legitimate use for security management, misused or illicitly transferred small arms have only had negative effects on the communities affected and largely affect innocent people. They increase the severity of conflicts and extend their duration. One of the major impacts of illicit small arms is the displacement of people, which is not only confined to hotspots of electoral violence in the central Rift Valley.

Research in northern Kenya indicates that small arms fueled pastoralist violence had displaced more than 160,000 people by 2003. In two years, at a given period of time, more than 200,000 people had been internally displaced by small arms fueled conflicts over resources or livestock (Adan *et al.* 2003). In the North Rift area, insecurity as a result of the prevalence of small arms use has fed a gun culture that has undermined entrepreneurial development and investments while contributing to cases of sexual violence (Kamenju *et al.*, 2003).

One of the top ranking essays produced by "UkEssays.com" stated that, there are various effects that the proliferation of arms in the northern Kenya communities experience. Due to possession of arms there's a rampant ethnic conflict between tribes or clans. Cattle rustling and the rest as listed below:

- i. Destruction of property;
- ii. Rising poverty levels among the communities of Northern Kenya;
- iii. Increased insecurity levels;
- iv. Consistent banditry;
- v. Increased crime levels;
- vi. Sophistication of conflicts and crime incidences;
- vii. Attraction of businessmen in to commercial trading and deals in arms;
- viii. Hinders investors from the region hence affected tourism and livestock marketing businesses; and
- ix. Constant fear and feeling of vulnerability is instilled in the communities.

Burundi:

There are no figures available on the exact number of small arms related deaths and injuries in the Great Lakes District and Horn of Africa. However, it is clear that the region has been hard hit. Small arms have been the main weapons used in both recent wars between states and domestic conflicts, including the civil wars in Burundi. In the massacre in Gatumba in Burundi, for instance, 150 people were killed in 2004, spent cartridges showed that the ammunition used in the attack was manufactured in China (Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2006). Various sources confirm the insecurity in Burundi since 2003. The statistical graph suggested Minor Injuries recorded in 2004 and 2005 respectively.

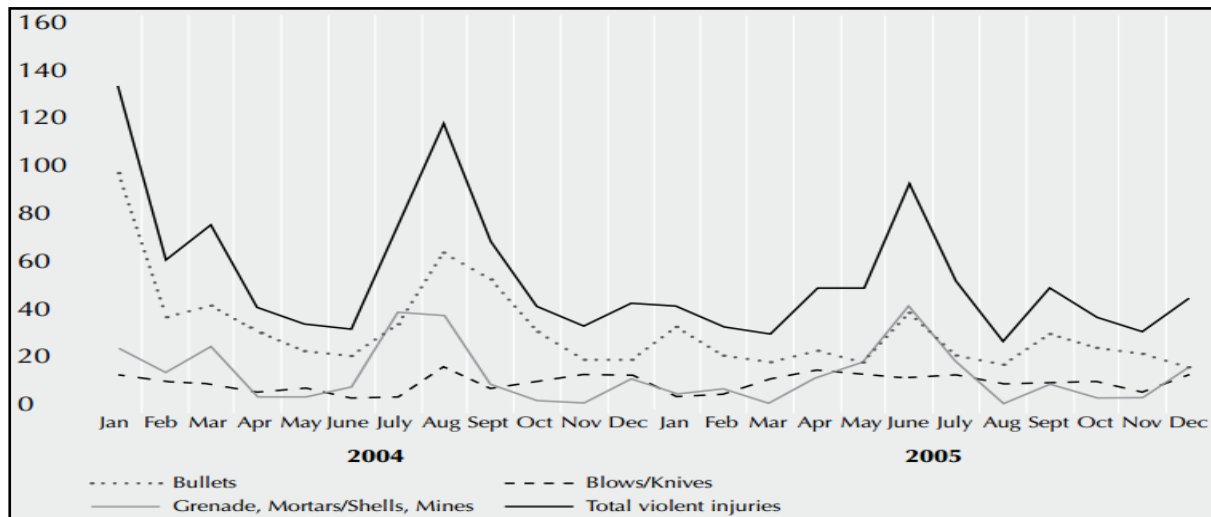


Figure.2: Monthly distributions of injuries in Burundi

Source: Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, (2006)

Tanzania:

The history of uncontrolled small arms in Tanzania dates far back as early 1960s during the cold war period. As a result of this, proliferation and the possession of illegal small arms have been a security challenge to individuals and nation in Tanzania. Small arms have negative impact on social security of the people in the country. People are dying, suffering and developmental activities are affected. In fact, the availability possession and usage of small arms are associated with greater incidences of violent crime, murder, armed robbery, cattle rustling as indicated in the table below. The figure shown in the table shows the impact of small arms from 2004 up to 2007 due to the sensitivity of the nature of the study. This hindered the availability of recent data on the research problem. The statistics for these four years (2004 to 2007) indicates that, the possession of small arms was used to commit various crimes in Tanzania (Maria & Ndimbwa, 2013).

Table.1: Impacts of small arms possession in Tanzania

Type of crime	2004		2005		2006		2007	
	Number of crime	percent age	No of crime	percentage	Number of crime	percentage	Number of crime	Percent age
armed robbery	1,175	12.2	1,080	14	1,028	13.4	1,108	10.8
Stealing of small arms	70	0.7	55	0.7	72	0.9	104	1.2
Cattle rustling	5,080	53	3,528	45.5	3,904	51.2	5,153	50.5
Murder	2,926	30.4	2,775	35.8	2,612	34.2	3,583	35.0
Total crime incidences	9612	100	7746	100	7616		10202	100

Source: Maria and Ndimbwa, (2013)

Uganda:

The Uganda National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons report in 2006 stated that, Uganda is believed to have large stockpiles of SALW. According to the report, these stocks are held by the military, the police and other state security establishments, as well as the licensed privately owned arms. The report stressed that sizeable amount of the small arms holdings are in illicit possession, in the hands of insurgents, armed communities and criminals. It also confirms that the uncontrolled SALW has devastated lives and livelihoods, kill thousands of people in conflict, cattle rustling and criminal activities, thousands more are injured, terrorized, or are forced out of their homes into lives as refugees or internally displaced persons. Correspondingly, Kerry and Rhee (2007) mentioned that, Uganda has been one of the examples in which small arms can affect a state, illustrating as well the breadth of issues SALW programmes need to cover: from cattle-rustling and insurgencies, to post-conflict recovery, instability, conflict and involvement of armed Ugandans in neighboring states, weak borders, displaced and returning populations, weapons trafficking, banditry and

crime, and livelihoods and tribal identities that rely on guns. In furtherance, the Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA), (2006) reported that, in Uganda, the average number of annually recorded deaths by shooting decreased by over 20 per cent, from 360 in the period 2003-2006 to 279 in the period 2007-2010. The firearm homicide rate among all murders in Uganda fell from an average of 15.9 per cent to an average of 12 per cent in the period 2003-2006 compared to 2007-2009.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter describes the research methodology used to collect and analyze the data collected from the field. This section covers the following areas; research design, target population, sample size and sampling procedures, research instruments, validity and reliability of instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis techniques.

3.2 Research design:

The researcher preferred to use a case study design that utilized qualitative content analysis to elicit useful structural information on the effects of proliferation of small arms in northern Kenya. Ogula (1995) defines a research design as a plan structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions. For purposes of this study, case study design was used since it answers “how” and “why” questions being posed. It also because the investigator has little control over events as postulated by other researchers (Yin, 2009).

3.3 Target population:

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) have defined target population of a study as a complete set of individuals, cases or objects with some common observable characteristics. The study targeted the officials of various governmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned with peace building process in northern Kenya to get information. The study also targeted the elders of the selected tribes. It is through the interaction with the elders that the study was able to gather information on the small arms.

3.4 Study Population:

Respondents were drawn from a number of key categories including government officials in Kenya, church and civil society officials and security officials. Care was taken to ensure age and gender balance. There are 170 non-governmental organizations working to restore peace in northern Kenya. There are twelve (12) tribes in the north, including the fishing Turkana, near the lake that bears their name, the camel-herding Samburu, the farming Burji and cattle-owning Boran, the be-turbaned, camel-herding Gabbra and the nomadic Rendille, who also herd camels (Expert Africa, 2014).

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size:

3.5.1 Sampling techniques:

Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) define sample as a smaller group obtained from the accessible population. Sampling is the process of selecting a number of individuals for study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they are selected (Brinker, 1988). Northern Kenya has been purposively sampled due to high prevalence of small arms associated with frequent clashes that involve indigenous communities. Purposive sampling is a technique in which subjects are selected because of some characteristic (Paton (1990). Northern Kenya was purposively selected because of the level of small arms trafficking and incidence of armed violence which fall within the thrust of the study. According to Dane (1990), the advantage of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to zoom in an area, on people or events, which have good grounds in what they believe will be critical for the research.

The term Northern Kenya in this study is understood to mean the area comprising primarily three administrative counties that lie generally to the North of the Great Rift Valley, that is; Turkana, West Pokot, Marsabit, Wajir and Samburu counties.

Officials of various governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with peace building process in northern Kenya and the other for the community leaders (elders) and security organs in the region were selected. This randomization ensured the sample was distributed evenly.

The available and willing respondents were interviewed for this purpose; hence, convenience sampling was used. This technique has been used by Bourgeois (1995, 1997) and Feldman and Caplinger (1977) in behavioral studies among others with success. Security agencies including community leaders were approached cautiously due to the sensitivity of the topic of study hence snowballing technique being very appropriate. For secondary data, all materials and websites that were found relevant to the topic were sampled and subjected to content analysis.

3.5.2 Sample Size:

In this study, an elder from each of the 12 tribes in Northern Kenya was selected from three counties. In each of the 3 counties in northern Kenya, a county commissioner was selected to represent the government. For non-governmental organizations, the formula by Mugenda Mugenda (1999) was used to select representative sample as shown below;

The target population is 120 non-governmental organizations hence it is <1000

Therefore; $nf = n / \{1 + (n/N)\} - 1$

Where;

nf =desired sample size (population < 1000.)

N =estimated population size.

$384.16 / \{1 + (384.16/120)\} - 1$

= 120

The sample size for the customers is limited to 120 due to time and financial constraints as well as the difficulty of contacting willing government officials in Kenya, church and civil society officials and security officials who are scattered over the wide catchment area of Northern Kenya.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure:

The researcher upon preparation of the research instruments, permit and completion of the tools involved, and with the help of a research assistants obtain information from the northern Kenya in the three counties. Prior appointments were secured with the respective respondents and upon reaching them, an interview took about half an hour. The researcher was aided by a research assistant in the data and on completion of the exercise; the research assistant returned the filled tools for data processing.

The investigator collected both primary and secondary qualitative data. An interview schedule was used to obtain primary data from officials of various governmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned with peace building process in northern Kenya. Secondary data was gathered through extensive desk reviews of published and unpublished documents, books, reports, articles, journals, magazines and policy reports relevant to the study.

3.6.1 Data Analysis:

Qualitative method was used to analyze data collected from this study. For primary data, obtained from key informant interviews, cleaning for errors will be done read repeatedly to discover patterns, codes and themes. A structured content analysis with the coding process of themes and sub-themes emerging from the data was conducted on secondary data. Data interpretation was used to draw inferences from the analyzed data. The researcher made consultations on the issue and interpret the data accordingly. Thereafter, the information was printed and saved on hard and soft copies respectively and presented to various institutions and persons of concern including the university supervisors for their approval and onward dissemination.

3.7 Logistical and Ethical Considerations:

Authorization to conduct research was obtained from Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College and in Ghana. Further, confidentiality was kept at all levels, all paper records were kept in a locked cupboard and all electronic databases were password-protected. Only the research team had access to this information. The information collected was used only for research purposes. Informed Consent was sought from participants for interviews. Feedback on the findings of the study was given to the Government of Kenya and the communities involved. Since information on conflict can elicit strong emotions, the researcher debriefed participants where necessary.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Introduction:

The chapter focuses on the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data collected in the study using descriptive statistics. Frequencies, percentages and graphs were used to explain the responses to the questionnaires. Conclusions and recommendations were made based on the analyzed data. This survey was carried out in three counties from northern region of Kenya. The tribes involved included Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, Rendille, Somali, and other communities living in the Northern part of Kenya. A total of a hundred and twenty (N=120) respondents participated in this study.

4.2 Effects of Proliferation of Small Arms:

The respondents were further asked to state the extent, which they think proliferation of small arms in the region has led to effects such as insecurity, conflicts in the society, underdevelopment, armed crime, and human rights violation. The

extent was measured on a Likert scale of 1-5 (where one= very large and 5= not at all). Indeed, most of them ascertained that abundance of these arms largely led to human rights violation, armed crime, and insecurity in these areas. On the same note, a relatively large number of the respondents further indicated that these small arms led to underdevelopment in north Rift region. Nonetheless, it was reported that much as the small arms in region caused conflicts; they did not however do this largely (*See the table below*).

Table.2: Effects of proliferation of small arms

	Very Large (%)	Large (%)	Fair (%)	Less (%)	Not at all (%)
Insecurity	13.3	49.2	23.3	7.5	6.7
Conflicts	16.7	15	65	0.8	2.5
Underdevelopment	21.7	26.7	22.5	15.8	13.3
Armed crime	35.8	44.2	17.5	1.7	0.8
Human rights violation	45.8	38.3	13.3	1.7	0.8

Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

Besides, it was also reported that proliferation of small arms in these communities led to looting and massive loss of property, and had led to increase in theft cases in region. It was argued that cattle rustling, which is so common in the region, is usually instigated by the increased use of weapons. Majority of the bandits/rustlers arm themselves with these weapons that aid them to intimidate and threaten the herdsmen from whom they steal the livestock. Moreover, the study was informed that these weapons have led to an increase in murder cases/mass killings in the area. The above findings confirms Wepundi et al. (2012) argued that, small arms play a significant role in determining the winners and losers of conflicts, and in the commission of crimes. Therefore, misused or illicitly transferred small arms have only had negative effects on the communities affected and largely affect innocent people in the East African Communities. The table below displays some of the effects of small arms proliferation according to Wepundi et al. (2012).

Table.3: Effects of small arms misuse on human development

Effects	Impacts on development	Indicators
Direct effects	Fatal and non-fatal injuries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lost productivity • Personal costs of treatment and rehabilitation • Financial costs at household, community, municipal, and national levels • Psychological and psycho-social costs
	Armed crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased Rates of reported crime (homicide) • Community-derived indices of crime
Indirect Effects	Access to and quality of social services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidence of attacks on health/education workers • Incidence of attacks on and closure of health/education clinics • Decrease in school enrolment rates
	Economic activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in transport and shipping costs • Destruction of physical infrastructure • Increase in price of local goods, and local terms of Trade
	Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in numbers of child soldiers recruited and in action • Rise of membership of armed gangs and organized crime • Incidence of domestic violence involving firearms or the threat of weapons
	Development interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidence of security threats • Costs of logistics and transportation • Costs of security management • Opportunity costs associated with insecure environments and/or damaged investments

Source: Wepundi et al. (2012)

4.3 Factors influencing proliferation of small arms:

Geographical positions of these areas and politics were said to be the main factors influencing the proliferation of small arms in the northern Kenya. This assertion was made by 45% and 38.3% of the respondents respectively. In addition, social-cultural and economic factors were also found to play a major role in the increase of small arms.

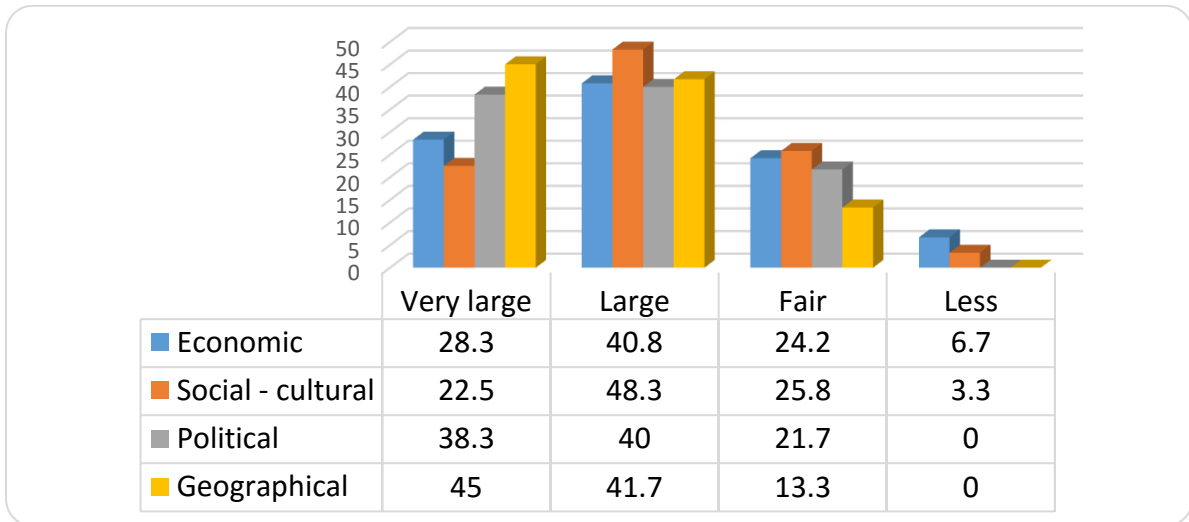


Figure.3: Factors influencing proliferation of small arms

Source: Field work, (2015)

Other Factors:

Similarly, it also was brought to light that most of the people in these areas have weapons (guns) barely to protect their properties such as land, animals and other resources. The porous borders of the neighboring communities and countries contribute immensely to the availability of the small arms. The war-like cultures of the neighboring countries such as Sudan and Ethiopia too have a hand in the increase of the small arms and other weapons in the region.

Table.4: Other factors influencing proliferation of small arms

Factors	N	%
Porous borders	46	38.7
Protection of property (land, animals)	51	43.3
War-like culture of the communities	21	18
Total	120	100

Source: Field work, (2015)

4.3.1 Practice of Small Arms in the Northern Region of Kenya:

Cumulatively, more than 80% of the respondents reported that small arms are to a large extent traded and practiced in the northern regions of Kenya. However, it was only a minimal 2.6% of these respondents that indicated that the proliferation of small arms is practiced in these areas in a small extent.

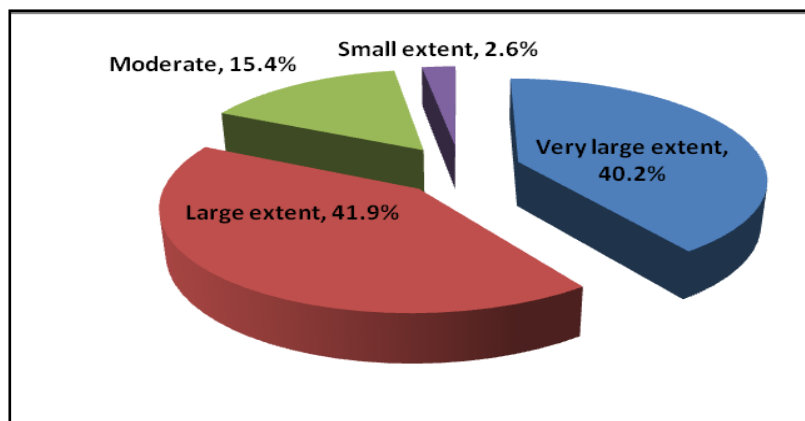


Figure.4: Extent of practice of small arms in the Northern region of Kenya

Source: Field work, (2015)

4.4 Sources of small arms:

When the respondents were further asked to give the sources of the small arms used in the region, 38% of the respondents reported that the weapons were locally made by the local people. Another 29.2% indicated that the arms come from the foreign countries. The study was further informed that some of the arms are stolen from security personnel as this was reported by a massive 26.3% of the respondents. There were those weapons that were reportedly got from war torn neighbors such as Sudan, Ethiopia.

Table.5: Sources of Small Arms found and Used in Northern Kenya

	N	%
Foreign countries	35	29.2
Some are made by the local people	46	38
Some are stolen from security personnel	32	26.3
War torn neighbors e.g. Sudan, Ethiopia & Somalia	8	6.4
Total	120	100

Source: *Field work, (2015)*

4.5 Summary of Discussions:

Indeed according to the findings the ultimate expression of demand for small arms acquisition is governed by the interplay of motivations and means. Small arms demand is ultimately expressed at the individual level as advanced by Jurgen Brauer and Robert Muggah (2006) in the ‘motivation and means’ theory – an individual person actually acquires a firearm even if on behalf or at the direction of others – the motivation for acquisition is at least partly ‘socially constructed and embedded in various social practices and cultural forms’ as shown by the data above. This motivation or willingness aspect refers to a person’s private beliefs and attitudes, the social relations in which an individual is embedded and of which he/she forms a part, and the large scale cultural and historical environment that form and shape that person’s world. By means we mean resources and prices. Resources include monetary resources such as credit, grants, earned, income from work, and income drawn from the investment in, or depletion of financial or physical assets. Non-monetary resources include, but are not limited to, a person or group’s drive, inventiveness, organizational and social capacity, and networks that make arms acquisition possible or impossible, prices directly influence the purchasing power of one’s resources, higher prices reduce purchasing power; lower prices increase it.

According to Azar (1990), in the PSC theory, the main features of the conflict represents prolonged and violent struggles by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, access to political institutions, and economic participation just as proven in the North Rift by the above executed study. He identified four clusters of variables that act as preconditions for potential conflicts’ transformation to high levels of intensity that is communal content, deprivation of needs, state and governance issues, and international linkages (Hans J. Morgenthau, 1954).

4.5.1 Qualitative analysis:

Most of the informants gave real stories of how small arms proliferation had cost lives of many residents in the region. One of the elders narrated, “Two of my neighbours have one thing in common: they are all widows after their husbands were killed during tribal clashes in Pokot”.

During the data collection period and on the day of interview, one elder told of having witnessed a consignment containing 2,000 rounds of ammunition and a rifle intercepted near his village by security officers. He said the consignment in four boxes were discovered in cargo compartment of a bus plying Mandera-Nairobi route and the police claim that the cache was destined to conflict zone of Tana River in southeast Kenya where raging inter clan strife has claimed 64 people, 230 people injured and 340 houses torched in various villages since August 2012.

Confirming the elder’s story, One County Commissioner admitted that the discovery of the arms haul raises red flag on multi-million illegal arms trade flourishing in northern Kenya which is used as conduit to various local and regional arms market. The Commissioner said that the bus ferrying the arms haul left Mandera (border) town that borders Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia and passed various security checkpoints undetected before police acting on tip off from a rival arms dealer stormed the bus and intercepted the boxes containing the assorted ammunition and one rifle.

These questions lead to thriving study by (Murithi Mutiga, 2015), indicating that small arms and light weapon trade in the two arms market located in southern central Somalia and managed by Al-Qaida-linked Al-Shabaab militant group. The

terror group recently hit a university college where they killed 147 students and staff as well as police officers. The study found that the bustling underworld business is undertaken by a wealthy cartel that procures arms from the two markets before ferrying across the border into Kenya. According to another respondent, who is based along Kenya/Somalia border and who has since fled the area after losing favor with Al-Shabaab, the onslaught by Kenya Defence Force culminated with relocation of the arms market into areas viewed as bastion of the terrorist outfit?

The study was informed that Al-Shabaab have used the two arms market to sustain their armed activities as they rake millions of dollars from arms sales to support their terror activities. They also used part of the arms proceeds to recruit more Kenyan youths into terror outfit and also supply various conflict hotspots with various sophisticated arms that has caused death, destruction, massive displacement and recurrent conflict that undermine development and tranquility.

“I used to check which officers will be manning various security checkpoints along the borders, because the terrorists check of any movement of security personnel along the border areas used to sneak the arms and also check if local communities along the border areas are unhappy with then consignments going through their areas at night hours,” a County Commissioner said. He remembered vividly that most customers range from local politicians in high circles of northern Kenya politics to prominent community elders and also security officials procuring arms for crime markets in other parts of Kenya especially Nairobi areas, Coastal towns and other crime prone areas.

The Kenya Police in conjunction with the Regional Center for Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA), Kenya National Focal Point for Arms and supported by UNDP conducted the public destruction of 2,545 recovered illicit firearms. Since 2007, police have confiscated thousands of weapons that were allegedly used in crimes.

Fewer International and Local NGO's work in Small arms and Light weapons Program in Kenya and include, Oxfam, SaferWorld, Danish Demining Group and Northern Kenya Caucus (NORKENYA) among others. In addition to the above responses from the study (by Murithi Mutiga, 2015), Xinhua News Agency (in China) on October 24, 2013 published that, the illicit arms pass through some security checkpoints where they enjoy security patronage and further taken through undesignated routes to various transit points in northern Kenya and other areas in Nairobi. The two markets that supplies arms to Kenyan and regional markets are located in two towns of Bualle and Bardera in southern Somalia that are under control of Al-Shabaab terror groups and Kismayu port city acting as the main gateway of arms from various illegal arms exporters like Yemen, former Soviet satellite states, Libya, Egypt and Eritrea.

4.6 Terror Attacks Common in Northern Kenya: The Garissa University Attack by Al-Shabaab:

BBC on 4th April 2015 published that, gunmen stormed the Garissa University College in Garissa, Kenya, killing 147 people and injuring 79 or more. The militant group and Al-Qaeda offshoot, Al-Shabaab, which the gunmen claimed to be from, took responsibility for the attack. The gunmen took over 700 students' hostage, freeing Muslims and killing those who identified as Christians. The siege ended the same day, when all four of the attackers were killed. Five men were later arrested in connection with the attack, and a bounty was placed for the arrest of a suspected organizer.

The East Africa Newspaper on Thursday, April 2, 2015 report that, the attack was the deadliest in Kenya since the 1998 United States embassy bombings and is the second deadliest overall, with more casualties than the 2002 Mombasa attacks, the 2013 Westgate shopping mall attack the 2014 Nairobi bus bombings, the 2014 Gikomba bombings, the 2014 Mpeketoni attacks and the 2014 Lamu attacks.

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction:

This section briefly gives an overview of the study findings and further seeks to suggest the possible remedies/solutions to the problem at hand.

5.2 Summary of Findings:

The major findings of the study are summarized below:

Firstly, it was observed from the analysis that, large quantity of arms proliferation have largely led to human rights violation, armed crime, and insecurity; and for that matter it has hindered underdevelopment in north Rift region.

Moreover, the analysis revealed that, geographical position and politics were the main factors influencing the proliferation of small arms in the Northern Kenya as affirmed by 83.3 % of the respondents.

In addition, social-cultural and economic factors also played a major role in the increase of small arms. Notwithstanding, protection of property (land, animals) has been one of the factors influencing proliferation of small arms.

In furtherance, more than 80% of the respondents reported that small arms are to a large extent trafficked and practiced in the northern regions of Kenya.

To ascertain the source of small arms in the northern regions of Kenya, 38% respondents revealed that weapons are locally made by the indigenous people and 29.2% affirmed that some of the small arms are imported from foreign countries. The study further discovered that some of the arms were stolen from security personnel as this was reported by a massive 26.3% of the respondents.

5.3 Conclusions:

It was clear that there was rampant proliferation of these weapons as most of the respondents ascertained that abundance of the arms largely led to human rights violation, armed crime and insecurity in these areas. A good number of the respondents further indicated that these small arms led to underdevelopment in northern Kenya. The increase of these weapons in the said regions has led to looting and massive loss of property, and has seen the increase in theft cases in these areas. It was argued that cattle rustling, which is so common in the region, is usually instigated by the increase of these weapons as they (the small arms) have led to an increase in murder cases/mass killings in the region.

It was, further, argued that geographical positions of these areas, politics, social-cultural and economic factors were the main factors influencing the proliferation of small arms. This was also as a result of the locals needed to protect their properties such as land, animals and other resources. The porous borders of these communities and the neighboring countries contributed immensely in availability of the small arms in the region. Regarding the sources of these weapons, it was said that most of them were locally made/manufactured by the local people. Surprisingly, some of the arms are stolen from security personnel, while others were got from war torn neighbors such as Sudan, Ethiopia.

5.4 Recommendations:

The government of Kenya needs to ensure that the porous borders between communities living in the northern Kenya are manned to avoid smuggling of the illegal fire arms and also embark on a serious disarmament programme to recover these weapons. By so doing, it will be hard for the bandits and rustlers to access and raid the communities of their livestock and therefore the menace of cattle rustling that makes, or sometimes coerces people to have the guns will be over.

The government through the local leadership should further embark on awareness creation on the importance of peaceful co-existence amongst communities. This can also be made possible by initiating peace programmes and campaigns in the prone areas in Africa. Moreover, traditional leaders from different communities in Northern part of Kenya should take part in peace processes and reconciliations.

More police officers especially from the Anti-Stock theft department to be deployed in these areas to curb the menace of cattle rustling which is rampant in the region. Moreover, security needs to be beefed up in these areas to avert the many forms of crimes such as theft, rape, murder and other social injustices.

Government ought to empower people in these communities through education so that they can take up/adopt other income generating activities other than pastoralism and livestock keeping.

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