THE IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS ON CHILDREN’S WELLBEING: A CASE OF MANDERA COUNTY, KENYA (1967-2014)

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NOVEMBER 2015
DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for any award in this or any other University

Signature…………………………….. Date……………………………………..

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I dedicate this work to my beloved mum Martha Maluli, my brothers Maithya and Muli and sisters Dorcas, Janiffer, Naomi, kakundi and mutuo for their emotional support and encouragement.
ABSTRACT

Small arms have devastating effects on children either directly or indirectly, which not only occur during conflict or war but may have long lasting impacts even after the war. Research on the impacts of small arms has shown that children affected by small arms require much attention and support to put their lives back to normalcy and integrate them into the society. In Kenya, the proliferation of small arms in the Northern parts of the Country is an issue of serious concern for the government. Frequent reports of violent conflicts using small arms have been reported over since the year 1967-todate. In Mandera County, low access to education, food insecurity and poor health among children have also been reported. However, no study had been done to establish the impacts of these small arms on children. This study sought to determine the impact of small arms on children’s well being in Mandera County. The study will sought to examine the causes of the proliferation of small arms; determine the impacts of small arms on education of the children; access to health; and access to nutrition and water and examine the ways that can be used to control the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County. The study was guided by the deterrence theory. The study adopted a descriptive survey design obtaining data from teachers and humanitarian aid workers in the region. Data was collected using interviews schedules and document analysis guides. Interview guides was used to collect historical data from old village natives and humanitarian assistance workers while records of impacts were obtained from humanitarian organizations records of post armed conflict impacts and records on provision of education, health services, food and water. Data was then analyzed using descriptive statistics such as cross tabulations, frequencies and percentages and presented in form of tables and charts for interpretation with aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19. The information is expected to shed light on the impacts of small arms on children which may be used by the government and Non – Governmental Organizations in devising intervention measures that could help the affected children.
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### ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<td>ACR</td>
<td>Save the Children Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHD</td>
<td>Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue</td>
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<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
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<td>ICG</td>
<td>International Crisis Group</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced People</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>LRA</td>
<td>Lords Resistance Army</td>
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<td>NFD</td>
<td>North Frontier District</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>Small Arms</td>
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<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
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<td>UNCF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Small arms are fire weapons designed for personal use. These include revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles, sub-machine guns, assault rifles and light machine-guns (United Nations Regional Information Centre, (UNRIC), 2006). According to UNRIC (2006), while small arms and light weapons are designed for use by armed forces, they have unique characteristics that are of particular advantage for irregular warfare or terrorist and criminal action. Mortars and mounted antiaircraft guns, for example, allow for highly mobile operations that often cause heavy casualties among civilians if used indiscriminately. The low cost of small arms makes them affordable to actors beyond the State. Small arms require almost no maintenance, so they can essentially last for a very long time. They can be hidden easily, and even young children can use them with minimal training.

Small arms were introduced in Mandera as early as 1921 by the colonial British government by arming the Gurre clan in the North Eastern Frontier District of which Mandera County was part. Later due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Somali people who are the natives of the region, small arms continued flooding the region through smuggling by herdsmen from Somaliland (Whittaker, 2008). Whittaker (2008) further noted that this marked the beginning of the spread of small arms among the Somali communities in Kenya.
More arms were later reported to be trafficked into the Northern Frontier District (NFD) during the Shifta war of 1963 (Ringquist, 2011). According to Ringquist (2011) the Kenyan Somali of the NFD identified with their clans from Ethiopia and Somali and frequently had cross border migrations that were coupled with small arms smuggling from Somalia to Kenya. The situation worsened in 1963 when the Somali government supported the secession attempts by the Kenyan Somali to unite with Somalia. More fire arms were issued to the shifta bandits of the NFD by the Somali government (Ringquist, 2011).

The proliferation of small arms and exposure of children in Mandera to armed conflict has since the Shifta war been the order of the day with violent conflicts erupting between Somali clans along the Northern Kenya Border. For instance, on July 22, 2005, armed conflict between the Garre and Marehan clans exploded along the Somalia-Kenyan border over the disputed town of El Wak, Somalia, the third major armed clash over the town in six months. The fighting produced 30 deaths and an estimated 17,000 refugees fleeing into Kenya (IRIN, 2005). Only two weeks earlier, tensions between the Gabra and Borana in Marsabit, Kenya (near the Ethiopia border) exploded in what some observers claim is the single worst incident of communal violence in the history of post-colonial Kenya. In Mandera district currently Mandera County, Murille and Garre are the main proto-Somali clans and have constantly been under armed clan conflicts since the shifta war, owing to scramble for scarce water, pasture for their animals, different political affiliations and power struggle among the clans (IRIN, 2005)
Small arms have devastating effects on the lives of children either during conflicts or post conflict period. Children in war torn zones are affected by small arms in two ways: either as victims or as perpetrators of crimes against humanity. As victims children are killed, hurt, lack humanitarian assistance or are rendered orphans when their parents or guardians are killed. For instance, The United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament, Jayantha Dhanapala, estimates that more than 80 per cent of the victims of small-arms are women and children (Bonner, 1998). Machel (2000) notes that research on the effects of small arms on children is inconclusive as exact number of children affected by small arms is unknown because small arms fatalities and injuries are rarely noted. However, with two million children killed and six million more psychologically damaged, seriously injured or permanently disabled in conflict in the last decade, the figures are likely to be significant (Machel, 2000).

As perpetrators, children are also affected by small arms and light weapons. The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (2001) notes that children are especially vulnerable to death and injury, as child combatants, both as victims and perpetrators of the violence and that at any one time, some 300,000 children under the age of 18 are fighting as soldiers.

Indirectly, small arms diminish the support structures and opportunities that children need to survive. Misuse of small arms limits children’s access to health care, education, food, water, and humanitarian assistance (World Vision, 2006). Small arms can devastate families by causing the death or injury of a parent or the forced separation of children. In situations of armed conflict, societies often must redirect resources away from building
community infrastructures in order to address widespread lack of security. The resulting economic instability and lack of economic opportunities deny children, and most crucially adolescents, access to education, livelihoods, support services and skilled training (World Vision, 2006). Consequential impacts are the outcomes of the livelihoods include psychological trauma and culture of violence among children affected by small arms.

In many conflict areas of the world, children have been shown to be the most affected. For instance, in Colombia, Small arms violence has become a way of life for children. Two out of three displaced children have witnessed the murder or attempted murder of a family member (Berman & Muggah, 2001). The conflict not withstanding this has been largely due to the rise of urban crime and violence, fuelled in part by the widespread availability of small arms. In another study, it was noted that in Colombia in 1999, children were victims of 1,333 homicides, 58 accidents, and 16 suicides in which small arms were used (Small Arms Survey, 2001). According to the UNHCR Report of 2001 between 1987 and 2001, 467 children died in the Israel-Palestine armed conflict as a result of gun-related violence, while 3,937 children were killed by firearms in the state of Rio de Janeiro during the same four-year span.

South Eastern Asia, relevant information can be extracted from the International Criminal Police Organization’s (INTERPOL) claim that there are about 15,000 registered homicide cases every year in the region and many more unreported cases in which a vast majority was found to be children and women (Suksai et al. 2003). The livelihoods of children are also disrupted by small arms when children are displaced, lack humanitarian assistance and most remarkably used as combatants. For instance, the Coalition to Stop
the Use of Child Soldiers (2004) reported that Some 300,000 child soldiers are actively fighting in 41 countries and another 500,000 were recruited into paramilitary organizations, Non-state armed groups and civilian militias. Within Southeast Asia, the Human Rights Watch identified Myanmar and the Philippines as countries where child soldiers were involved in recent and on-going armed conflicts (Human Rights Watch [HRW] 2004b). Globally, Myanmar, together with the Congo and Colombia, tops the list on the use of child combatants (HRW, 2003).

An estimated 300,000 live in hiding or on the run, moving as many as a dozen times a year to avoid being caught and punished by the military. Thirty percent of IDPs in these areas are children who have never been to a school, and child mortality rate is extremely high. Additionally, at the end of 2003, there were some 600,000 Myanmarese refugees living in neighbouring countries, with over 400,000 in Thailand (Global IDP Project 2003).

In Mozambique Six hundred thousand children were killed during the conflict– small arms were the most commonly used weapon. The widespread availability of these weapons encouraged the recruitment of child combatants, some as young as six years of age. At the time of demobilization more than a quarter of all soldiers in Mozambique were under the age of 18 – 40 per cent of RENAMO forces and 23 per cent of FRELIMO forces (UNHCR, 2001).

According to a study by Oxfarm in Uganda over 11,000 children and adults were abducted by LRA in Kitgum between 1990 and 2000. The young boys and girls are targeted to carry LRA booty and later be trained as child soldiers. Young girls are also
assigned to LRA combatants as wives. Some are exchanged for guns while in Sudan. The Jie and Dodoth armed warriors mostly abduct girls and boys from eastern Kitgum and Labwor County. Some of the girls are taken as housewives, while others are raped, defiled, and abandoned. Some abducted men and boys have been sacrificed in rituals (Oxfarm, 2001).

A study on armed conflicts in Northern Kenya particularly Northern Rift Valley and North Eastern Kenya was carried out in the 2002. The study revealed that a total of 164,457 people had been displaced by conflicts in pastoralists’ North Frontier districts of Kenya. 70% or 105,500 of the displaced are women and children aged below 14 years (Pkalya, Adan, &Masinde, 2003). The study covered Samburu, Turkana, Wajir, Marsabit and West Pokot districts. A series of violent conflicts have also been reported in Mandera over years mainly due to scrabble for scarce natural resources such as water and pasture and of late the Al-Shabaab Militia.

The above studies reveal that violent conflicts entrenched through the use of small arms have been a dominant feature of Mandera County and its neighbouring Counties of Garissa and Wajir for the last 50 years. It’s possible that children living in Mandera have constantly been affected by the use small arms in this region.

Access and participation in education in Mandera County and other neighbouring Counties of Garissa and Wajir has been low as compared to the other parts of the country. For example, since the introduction of FPE enrolment at lower levels is almost similar for both boys and girls with some areas even having higher enrolment rates for girls. Enrolment increased in all regions with the introduction of FPE with more than million
children entering school for the first time. The same year, national primary school enrolment rose from 5.9 million to 7.2 million (MoE, 2004). About 82% of children aged 6-10 years are currently enrolled in school. Nationally the enrolment has been on the rise both in primary and secondary education (MoE, 2007). Despite this trend over 1 million children of school going age are still not attending school. These are mainly children from pastoralist communities whose lifestyle and recurrent drought in the north districts of Kenya make accessing education extremely difficult. Disparities in students’ enrolment exist at all levels of higher education and are particularly wide at higher degree levels especially in sciences, mathematics and technology disciplines. There are regional and gender disparities in access to education despite the introduction of free primary education. In places such as Northern Kenya (Mandera, Wajir and Garissa Counties), only 23% of children are enrolled in school compared to a national average of 84% (MoE, 2006).

Reports on food security further reveal that children in North Eastern Kenya frequently face famine and hunger. A report by African Network on the Right to Food (RAPTA) and Human Rights Organisation on the Right to Food (2010) 10 million people were facing hunger and starvation in September 2009. As indicated in the National Food Security and Nutrition Policy, an estimated 10 million people suffer from chronic food insecurity and around two million people rely on food assistance at any given time. The latest United Nations Development Assistance Framework states that child nutrition has not improved in the last 20 years and, according to government figures from 2005/6, levels of stunting, wasting and underweight among under fives was increasing slightly to 33%, 6.1%, and 20.2% respectively. Moreover, about 73% of these live in Northern parts of Kenya.
A number of factors have been identified as key contributors to the food insecurity in Northern Kenya. Among these include: drought, nomadic lifestyle as well as ethnic violent conflicts that lead to low productivity in the area as well as poor access to food aid from the government and other humanitarian organizations (Michelle, 2008). This study therefore seeks to determine the impacts on small arms on children in Mandera County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem
It is estimated that about 300 000 people perish every year in violent conflicts while other 200000 to 270 000 perish due to intentional violence, suicide and accidents involving small arms and several hundreds of thousands are left disabled from injuries (Small Arms Survey, 2004). Research estimates that of these, about 70% are children. Exposure of children to armed conflict has been a cause of serious concern in Africa with the escalating incidences of insecurity and violent conflicts. For instance, in Mozambique Six hundred thousand children were killed during armed conflict in which small arms were the most commonly used weapon. During this conflict an estimated 18 – 40 per cent of RENAMO forces and 23 per cent of FRELIMO forces (UNHCR, 2001). Violent conflicts have also been rampant in Kenya especially North Eastern Kenya in which small arms are used. The use of small arms in Mandera County dates back to 1921 when the British government issued Small arms to the Gurre community to protect their animals from cattle rustlers. Further, the Shifta war of 1963-1967 lead to wide spread use and proliferation small arms in Mandera. In the recent days a series of clan fights have been reported in Mandera leading to death of many people. The attacks of the terrorists linked to Alshaabab are evidences of the misuse of small arms in Mandera. The impacts of these conflicts are evidenced by the influx of refugees in Dadaab refugee
camps. Mandera County has had constant reports of low participation in education and food insecurity with long standing hunger and famine outbreaks. Among the reasons suggested for this situation is insecurity fueled by small arms. Despite this no study has been carried out to establish the impacts of Small arms on children in Mandera County thus the need for the current study.

1.3 Purpose of the Study
The purpose of this study was to investigate the impacts of small arms on children in Mandera County, Kenya.

1.4 Objectives of the Study
The study was guided by the following objectives:

i. To examine the causes of the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County

ii. To examine the impacts of small arms on children’s well being in Mandera County.

iii. Recommend ways in which proliferation of small arms can be controlled in Mandera.

1.5 Research Questions

i. What are the causes of the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County?

ii. What are the impacts of small arms on children’s well being in Mandera County?

iii. What ways can be used in controlling the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County?

1.6 Significance of the Study
The study established the impacts of the small arms on children over a period of 50 years in Mandera County. This information will be useful to different stakeholders at County and national level. The study will be useful to children as it will highlight different ways
in which children are affected which could be used to device ways of helping the affected children. The findings of the study will also be useful to the county government of Mandera.

Mandera County has been hit hard by conflicts in the recent past by terrorist attacks, inter-clan wars that have left hundreds dead and thousands displaced thus the impact of small arms proliferation is evident. The study will also examine the causes of the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County. This information will be useful to ministry of defense as well as ministry internal security as it could be used to device measures aimed at reducing the proliferation of small arms in the area.

The study will also identify possible ways which can be used to reduce the proliferation of small arms in the region. This will help the county and national government in collaboration with security organs in reducing the influx of small arms in the country from other countries.

The information could be used to help the County government device ways of preventing the impacts on children as well as devising intervention measures to integrate the affected children fully in the society. NGOs and other humanitarian assistance organizations may use the information determining what intervention measures are required to help the affected children as well as provision of the necessary assistance to the affected families. The study will also provide more literature to scholars in the field of small arms and their impacts on children.
1.7 Limitations of the Study

The research method used was a descriptive survey which is subject to bias of the respondents as the data was to be self reported. To curb the effect of this on the validity of the data, the information was verified using data gathered from document analysis as well as collected from other respondents.

The study collected information from old natives of Mandera who are mostly illiterate and may not communicate in English or Swahili which the researcher understands well. The researcher therefore employed a research assistant of Somali origin to help in interpretation.

The study was conducted in Mandera County which is vast and has poor transport means due to poor road network. To minimize this, the study was done in mostly urban areas which are easily accessible.

The study was done at a time when insecurity is a serious issue in the area. This may have hindered the access of certain areas that were be deemed insecure. The researcher minimized this by getting services of administrative police officers for escort where necessary.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The study was done in Mandera East Sub County in Mandera County. The areas that were covered included Bulla Mpya, Bulla Jamhuria, Lafey, Bulla Kamor, Koroma, Arabia, Damasa and Bulla Amoury. The target group were children in the specified locations although small arms affect all groups of people within the region. Lastly the study shall
delimit itself to the indirect impacts of Small arms although these have also not been documented.

1.9 Theoretical Framework
The study was guided by the deterrence theory of Jeremy Bentham and Cessare Beccaria. Deterrence is the application of certain sanctions or punishment to prevent offenders from repeating the offences they have committed as well as deter others from engaging in same crime (Moyer, 2001). According to Beccaria, since people are rationally self-interested, they will not commit crimes if the costs of committing crimes prevail over the benefits of engaging in undesirable acts. If the sole purpose of punishment is to prevent crime in society Beccaria argued, that punishments are unjust when their severity exceeds what is necessary to achieve deterrence. Excessive severity will not reduce crime, in other words, it will only increase crime. In Beccaria’s view, swift and certain punishment are the best means of preventing and controlling crime; punishment for any other reason is capricious, superfluous, and repressive. He believed that humans are rational beings with free will to govern their own decisions. Indeed, he emphasized that laws should be published so that people may know what they represent—their intent, as well as their purpose. Basing the legitimacy of criminal sanctions on the social contract, Beccaria called laws the conditions under which men, naturally independent, united themselves in society. He was against torture and secret accusations, and demanded they be abolished. Furthermore, he rejected the use of capital punishment and suggested that it be replaced by imprisonment.

According to Beccaria, jails should be more humane and the law should not distinguish between the rich and the poor. Judges should determine guilt and the application of the
law, rather than the spirit of the law. Legislators should pass laws that define crimes and they must provide specific punishments for each crime. To have a deterrent value, punishment must be proportionate to the crime committed. Finally, Beccaria argued that the seriousness of crimes should be based on the extent of harm done to society. As an advocate of the pleasure-pain principle or hedonistic calculus, Beccaria maintained that pleasure and pain are the motives of rational people and that to prevent crime, the pain of punishment must outweigh the pleasure received from committing crime.

The theory of deterrence that has developed from the work of Hobbes, Beccaria, and Bentham relies on three individual components: severity, certainty, and celerity. The more severe a punishment, it is thought, the more likely that a rationally calculating human being will desist from criminal acts. To prevent crime, therefore, criminal law must emphasize penalties to encourage citizens to obey the law. Punishment that is too severe is unjust, and punishment that is not severe enough will not deter criminals from committing crimes.

Certainty of punishment simply means making sure that punishment takes place whenever a criminal act is committed. Classical theorists such as Beccaria believe that if individuals know that their undesirable acts will be punished, they will refrain from offending in the future. Moreover, their punishment must be swift in order to deter crime. The closer the application of punishment is to the commission of the offense, the greater the likelihood that offenders will realize that crime does not pay.

In short, deterrence theorists believe that if punishment is severe, certain, and swift, a rational person will measure the gains and losses before engaging in crime and will be
deterred from violating the law if the loss is greater than the gain. Classical philosophers thought that certainty is more effective in preventing crimes than the severity of punishment. They rejected torture as a means of eliciting confessions, and the death penalty as an effective method for punishing murderers and perpetrators of other serious crimes. Capital punishment is beyond the just powers of the state.

The possession, and misuse of small arms are punishable crimes by both international law and the Kenyan law. The perpetrators violence by use small arms thus way the pleasure and benefits of the use of small arms against the punishment expected from the government. Laxity of the government in controlling the acquiring and misuse of small arms may have served to increase crime by use of small arms. It is in this view that this study sort to establish the causes of proliferation of small arms, their impacts on children and the possible ways of controlling the proliferation of small arms in Mandera.
1.11 Operational Definition of Key Terms

**Displacement:** Refers to eviction of humans from their usual residential area.

**Education:** Refers to formal schooling in accordance to the Kenyan educational system.

**Injury:** Refers to body harm inflicted with use of small arms.

**Light weapons:** Refers to small explosives such as hand grenades.

**Psychological impacts:** Refers to mental disturbance that negatively affects the emotional wellbeing of the children.

**Small arms:** Refers to light firearms which are easily portable and easy to use such guns and pistols e.g. AK 47, M16 rifles, light machine guns etc.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
This chapter contains a review relevant literature on the impacts of small arms on children in different parts of the world. The chapter is organized into different parts: Small arms proliferation in NFD of Kenya; The Shifta War of 1963-1968; Inter-clan violence in Mandera County; Impacts of small arms on children and summary of literature.

2.2 Small Arms Proliferation in NFD of Kenya
According to the World Health Organization (WHO), there are three factors that influence the use of small arms over other possible choices of weapon: availability, variety, and social norms regarding their use (Villaveces et al., 2001). Central America has excessive availability, a wide variety of military and civilian weapons, and large segments of society willing to use them for a multitude of reasons. Years of civil war and military dictatorship have a great deal to do with this.

The proliferation of small arms in NFD where Mandera is situated dates back to the start of the 20th century owing to the scramble for Africa (Turton, 1970). Turton (1970) noted that at the turn of the twentieth-century, as Britain, Ethiopia and Italy sought to define and protect areas of colonial administration in the Horn of Africa attempts were made to proscribe pastoral transhumance that opposed formal boundary delimitation. However, this was not easy and British administration of the NFD was problematic. Widespread inter-clan warfare, which was supported by kinsmen across borders and inadequate resources, left the area largely ungoverned. In an attempt to govern the area, the colonial
government in 1921 armed the Gurre clan in the North Eastern Frontier District of which Mandera County was part with rifles to aid in protecting their animals in a bid to woo the Gurre to stop their pastoral lifestyles.

Later due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Somali people who are the natives of the region, small arms continued flooding the region through smuggling by herdsmen from Somaliland (Whittaker, 2008). Whittaker (2008) further noted that this marked the beginning of the spread of small arms among the Somali communities in Kenya.

Between 1941 and 1946 all Somali inhabited territories were joined together under a single British Military Administration following the defeat of Italy by the Allied powers (Lewis, 1987). Lewis argues that this, and the placing of Italian and British Somaliland's under UN trusteeship for 10 years in 1950: ‘should be considered as the most potent factor in the stimulation of new [Somali] political aspirations. New Somali political aspirations for unity had also been provided with a powerful symbol in 1946 when Ernest Bevin proposed the idea of a ‘Greater Somalia’ (Reisman, 1990). In recognition of the need for a long-term answer to the problem of administering the defeated Italian colonies after the Second World War and as a solution to Somali transhumance over colonial frontiers, Bevin argued that ‘British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, and the adjacent part of Ethiopia should be lumped together as a trust territory, so that the nomads should lead their fugal existence with the least possible hindrance. In many respects this idea spoke of the determination of the Somali people to continue pastoral practices regardless of official state policies and boundaries, and has been the focal point of Somali nationalism
since. In the NFD it was forcefully expressed in the ‘Shifta War’, which began during Kenya’s negotiation of its own independence (Reisman, 1990).

2.2.1 The Shifta War of 1963-1968

As Kenya neared independence in the early 1960s and as the issue of Somali unification became a potent and sensitive political consideration for the emerging Kenyan state, President Jomo Kenyatta sought to downplay the significance of the secessionists in the NFD by describing them as ‘hooligans or armed guards or youths called “Shifta”. Those people who go raiding here and there’ (Ranger, 1970). In this respect, the secessionists were regarded simply as bandit rebels at odds with state authority.

For Kenyatta the secessionist movement that developed in the NFD had the potential to subvert domestic and regional political authority. Despite being the leading political force in the negotiation of Kenyan independence in December 1963, the authority of KANU rule was by no means certain. It was challenged specifically on two fronts. Regionally, the Somali Republic was laying claim to the Somali inhabited areas of the NFD on the basis of the right of all people to national self-determination (Arnold, 1974.). According to Anord (1974) this claim had been given some legitimacy following the conclusions of a 1962 commission of enquiry, which reported that over 87% of the population of the NFD favoured unification with the Somali Republic. Furthermore, domestically KANU’s authority was challenged by the idea of majimbo, a form of federal government advocated by the official opposition KADU that would decentralize political power in Kenya to its constituent parts (Arnold, 1974). Not only did Somali political aspirations challenge Kenyan territorial integrity, it lent weight to the federal argument as a possible
political compromise. The Somali were therefore an anathema to Kenyatta and regarded as illegitimate and criminal. It was in this view that a state of emergency was declared by President Kenyatta that led to the Shifta War.

Shifta insurgents were organized into battalions of 1,000 and were deployed throughout the former NFD in bands of as few as 25 to 30. They carried old Italian and British arms that included rifles, Brens (Second World War light machine guns), bazookas and grenade launchers (Arnold, 1974). From 1965 the Shifta insurgents also employed mine warfare to strategically limit the mobility of the Kenyan security forces, and extended their activity outside of the three major Somali districts of the former NFD – Garissa, Mandera and Wajir – to areas around Isiolo and Marsabit.

The year 1967 can be identified as a time of intense security action against Shifta which targeted not only those involved in identifiably politicized Shifta violence. On 19 July, an army patrol found a group of suspects watering stock in Marsabit. One suspect was shot dead while 110 cattle found in the area were destroyed.

Similarly on 22 July in Wajir, a gang of ten ‘spearmen’ were contacted and five of them killed (Army/GSU Report, 1967). On 24 July, a patrol of Kings Rifles sighted ten shifta who fled on their approach leaving behind landmines. During follow-up action when a ‘gang’ of five was sighted but not clearly identified as the same ten shifta, two were killed and a boy of eleven captured. All of the huts in the immediate area were destroyed, and in two further meetings with ‘gangs’, five more people were killed. It followed that on 28 July a patrol spotted a man, woman and child out walking who refused to stop. The man was shot and the woman and child arrested (Army/GSU Report July, 1967). The
report shows that corresponding incidents were also reported from Garissa, where on 15 July a patrol of Kings Rifles confiscated 500 head of cattle without making a single contact with shifta. Again on 16 July, the discovery of an ‘illegal’ manyatta resulted in two deaths and a further 200 head of cattle being confiscated. The above scenarios show the direct implications and possible untold stories of drastic impacts that this war could have had on livelihoods of the children living in the shifta war affected areas of Mandera among other places.

More detailed analysis of events suggests that the nature of military action was the result of confusion between potential and genuine Shifita (Whittaker, 2008). For instance, the events outlined in Garissa on 15 July that resulted in 500 head of cattle being confiscated without a shifta contact was sandwiched between spates of insurgency activity in the area. On 30 June, a shifta gang attacked a police post, and on 1 July a gang of 100 shifta abducted the mother of a known gang leader, Salad Kumo, along with four children, and attacked Ijara village (Whittaker, 2008). Then, on 28 July an engagement with a gang of fifty shifta resulted in the death of two known Shifata leaders, YakulDuale and Mohamed Karome (Army/GSU Report August, 1967).

Owing to the unexpected attacks of fellow Somali by the Shifita, it could be concluded that the Shifita War was not only war for secession but also mixed up with inter-clan clashes especially against those suspected to compromise the secession stand.

What often appeared to happen was that contact with genuine shifta insurgents led to subsequent military attempts to pacify an area. Indeed, in Mandera on 17 August 1967, contact was made with a Shiftagang of strength estimated at 800. During the engagement
forty Shiftawere killed, as were three Kenyan army personnel. This incident was of particular note for the security forces as it was the first time that Shiftastood to give direct battle. Orders were consequently given for the security forces to concentrate in this location. In the days following, twenty-four more Shiftawere killed in six separate incidents, yet, during these six incidents no arms were recovered; only spears and poison arrows, with one incident resulting in the death of four suspects who failed to stop on request (Army/GSU Report August, 1967). The history of the Shiftawar as revealed in literature shows that though government soldiers were out to counter attacks of the Shiftaand stop the secession bid by the Somali, the difficult manner in which the Shifta operated made it difficult to identify Shiftathus attacks on common Somali people who were not Shiftawere common.

2.2.2 Inter-clan Violence in Mandera County

Although the Shifta was a more significant war in Mandera and parts of the NFD, it was always coupled with other forms of violence and armed conflict that complicated the whole situation. Whittaker (2008) notes that throughout the ‘Shifta War’ other types of violence were also being played out in the NFD that compounded the difficulty of identifying shifta insurgents. On 28 November 1967 at Koromi, Mandera District, twenty armed shifta raided a manyatta stealing goats from the village. This followed an incident a day earlier where in Kubi Arana, also in Mandera, thirty armed shifta entered a manyatta and in the process of stealing six camels from the village wounded a woman and child (Army/GSU Situation Report November, 1967). Although it is not absolutely clear from the record whose livestock was raided, the pattern of violence at the village
level suggests that these incidents related less to politically inspired attacks and more to some form of inter-communal dispute.

In the first week of December three cattle raiding incidents were reported in Meru district. On 29th November in the Maua area, an armed gang stole 425 cattle. On 2 December an armed gang stole 100 cattle from Latuane, which was then followed on 4 December by a gang of ten armed shifta stealing 500 cattle from Mburieni (Army/GSU Situation Report December, 1967). This pattern of raid and counter raid continued, with reports from Maua of Shifat thefts on 8th December, and then again at Muurienne on 18th same month. Inter-communal violence was readily identifiable once the intensity of the Shifat insurgency began to reduce during 1967.

The above highlighted incidences of inter-communal violence indicate that it was practically difficult to differentiate between Shifta and common people within the region. It also explains the reasons as to why the military at times were reported to attack and kill civilians in confusion for the Shifta. This led the population including children to victims of the use of small arms within the region over the Shifta War period and beyond.

Clan based conflicts have broken out among different Somali clans of the North Eastern Province at different times. There have been conflicts between; the Degodia and Garre; the Ajuran and Garre; Ajuran and Degodia; the Ogaden and Degodia; and the Marehan and Garre among others (UNDP, 2010). Murulle and Garre lived together from independence days up to the 1980’s. All this time they shared pastures in all parts of the District, lived side by side in towns, such that Bulla Afya estate of El Wak was a predominantly Murulle sub-location with a large population needing more than four
Duksi, while the two clans were both represented in the administration of El Wak town and Mandera town (UNDP, 2010).

The UNDP reports show that between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Murulle and Garre where people lost their lives and property through assassinations and militia raids. However, it is notable that there was no serious attempt by the state to apprehend the culprits, some who were well known and often feted as Heroes in their home villages. Naturally, the two communities continued arming themselves even more. The mood of intolerance also pervaded the areas such that the minority Murulle in Garre towns started leaving the western parts of Mandera, while in Mandera town, tension between the two communities got so bad that clashes were a daily possibility. Since, the frequent clashes between the two communities have been witnessed till the current day; a few of the significant armed conflicts as reported by UNDP (2010) were as follows:

In 1983, Murulle and Garre clashed over shared pasture and water in Wargadud, Sotowaoro, and Lafey. In 1984, a man was killed in his house in El Wak. Soon after that, ten people, including an old man, were killed brutally, and their tongues were cut off. In 1985, six people were killed around El Wak Town. The dead included two brothers killed in El Wak town, two herders looking for their lost camels who were killed and their bodies hanged on a tree as a provocation and two pupils killed in Jabibar area as they went for their holidays. In the year 2000: a murder of a Garre clansman in Wargadud led to clashes between Garre and Murulle; suspected Murulle warriors passing on as Garre killed a Degodia in El Wak. The incident led to a major clash that claimed lives of forty
Garre and twenty Murulle in El Golicha that led to Murulle clansmen being forced to flee El Wak.

In the year 2004, two Murulle were killed in the “Ade Nyencha”; a family of three killed on the same day; (a man, a woman and her child); another man was killed near a Murulle settlement; Garre militia killed two people and injured another two in a dawn raid in Lafey; six Murulle herders were killed in September 2004 at Gaari dam; suspected Murulle attackers killed five Garre in Rhamu-two. On December 19th, a Garre relief worker is killed by suspected Murulle gunmen at Fino-El Wak road junction. The Fino-El Wak murder led to a full-scale battle in January 2005. The battle claimed about 100 lives Degodia boy was killed in El Wak; eight persons, including three girls and one young boy were killed in a nearly dawn at Qorobo Inn; twenty-one Garre (fifteen women, one man-the local imam, and five children),were killed by Murulle raiders in El Golicha. Garre defenders on their part killed seven of the raiders.

Other recent conflicts in Mandera began in 2007 and intensified between September and November 2008, when the Kenya army intervened. The incidents of violence started in isolated villages, and later to trading centers like Wargadud, El Wak and ShimbirFatuma. The elders from both the Garre and Murulle see their community as the victim in the 2007/8 Mandera clashes, and believe that their clan was wronged. Murulle elders claimed they readily participated in the peace meetings held in El Wak and Mandera, unlike the Garre elders who did so half-heartedly. More armed conflicts have been reported in the recent past as well as currently in Mandera occasioned by attacks from suspected Al-Shabaab Militia and politically instigated clan violence after the 2013 general elections.
2.3 Impacts of Small Arms on Children

The spread of light weapons of all kinds has caused untold suffering to millions of children caught up in armed conflict not only during the conflict but for decades thereafter (Stohl, 2001). The presence, proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons (SALW) have devastating impacts on children in conflict and post-conflict societies. Cheap, easy to use and widely available, these weapons fuel many contemporary conflicts and prolong, spread and deepen the consequences of conflict. The presence of SA increases the risks to children both directly, through death and injury, abuse and displacement, and also indirectly, through psychological trauma, insecurity and the loss of opportunities.

2.3.1 Death and Injuries caused by SA

There is no uniform regional system in place to measure the impact of small-arms use on the criminal justice and public health systems, although some useful and interesting information does exist. One of the problems is that there is limited capacity, communication, co-ordination, and data sharing among the institutions that deal with people injured or killed by firearm-related violence and accidents, namely the judiciaries, police, fire corps, Red Cross, hospitals, and morgues (Godnick, Muggah and Waszink, 2002).

In a study in Central America, it was noted that small arms related homicides accounted for about 75% of the total homicides in El Salvador (Cruz, 2001). It was further noted that according to data from the police, only 30 per cent of homicides are attributable to assaults and economically-motivated crimes, while 70 per cent are categorized as social violence. Between June 2000 and April 2001, 864 people were reported injured by
firearms in El Salvador, while an additional 2,000 were killed, meaning that only slightly more than 30 per cent of the victims of firearm-related injuries survived. This could be explained by the lethality of injuries involving firearms in comparison to knives, machetes, and other causes (Cruz, 2001).

Guatemalan newspaper conducted a comparison of reported firearm-related deaths occurring in the Guatemala City metropolitan area (estimated population two million) in the first three months of the year 1999 with those in the first three months of the year 2000, obtaining results of 91.2 and 95.4 per 100,000 people respectively (Rodríguez, 2000). From a survey on small arms it was estimated that by the year 2000 every year, some 300,000 people are wasted in violent conflict and war, in which small arms are weapons of choice (Small Arms Survey, 2002). Another 200,000 to 270,000 more perish due to intentional violence, suicide and accidents involving small arms and several hundred thousands are left disabled from injuries (Small Arms Survey, 2004).

In South Eastern Asia, relevant information can be extracted from the International Criminal Police Organization’s (INTERPOL) claim that there are about 15,000 registered homicide cases every year in the region and many more unreported cases (Suksai et al. 2003). Presumably, small arms and knives are the most frequently used tools in these criminal acts.

In Mozambique Six hundred thousand children were killed during the conflict—small arms were the most commonly used weapon. The widespread availability of these weapons encouraged the recruitment of child combatants, some as young as six years of age. At the time of demobilization more than a quarter of all soldiers in Mozambique
were under the age of 18 – 40 per cent of RENAMO forces and 23 per cent of FRELIMO forces (UNHCR, 2001). These children were exposed to brutal violence both as victims and perpetrators. Yet, despite the widespread use of child combatants, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes largely excluded children.

While it is obvious that small arms negatively affect the lives of children, it was really not until the lead-up to the UN 2001 Conference that the full effects of small arms on the welfare of children were documented. UNICEF drew attention to the issue in their pre-conference and conference statement, and a comprehensive NGO study on the impacts of small arms on children was released for the conference (Small Arms Survey, 2001). Such studies have provided data about the victimization of children by small arms violence. In Colombia in 1999, children were victims of 1,333 homicides, 58 accidents, and 16 suicides in which small arms were used. Between 1987 and 2001, 467 children died in the Israel-Palestine armed conflict as a result of gun-related violence, while 3,937 children were killed by firearms in the state of Rio de Janeiro during the same four-year span.

Data on effects of small arms on children in most African countries is scanty and difficult to quantify. However, surveys show that in those areas that were marred by conflicts millions of children lost their lives or were left maimed. The high number of SALW circulating in Afghanistan makes children suffer the direct and indirect consequences of this situation. The ready availability of small arms and light weapons facilitates the use of children as combatants and has resulted in the death and maiming of thousands of children whose homes, families and schools were attacked. As in other conflict areas, the presence and use of the weapons left children with broken-down families and
communities, limited access to healthcare and education, and vulnerable to child trafficki

According to a study by Oxfarm in Uganda, Most deaths and injuries have been caused by gunshot wounds as a consequence of Loads Resistance Army (LRA) insurgency, cattle rustling, acts of undisciplined soldiers of the Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF), road ambushes, and feuds. Deaths and injuries from cattle raids are heaviest between May and October, putting tremendous strain on the hospitals of Abim and Matany. The study reported that Over 11,000 children and adults were abducted by LRA in Kitgum between 1990 and 2000. The young boys and girls are targeted to carry LRA booty and later be trained as child soldiers. Young girls are also assigned to LRA combatants as wives. Some are exchanged for guns while in Sudan. The Jie and Dodoth armed warriors mostly abduct girls and boys from eastern Kitgum and Labwor County. Some of the girls are taken as housewives, while others are raped, defiled, and abandoned. Some abducted men and boys have been sacrificed in rituals (Oxfarm, 2001).

Conflicts instigated using SALW in Kenya are common in Northern Kenya particularly North Rift Valley and North Eastern province. A study on causes and effects of these conflicts showed that loss of lives was among the most common effects. The research reported that out of 57 people killed Kakuma and Lokichogio 21 were children in the year 1999. The same study reported that in Tot and Tunyo divisions in 2002, 11 children were reported killed. Similar findings were reported in Wajir district (Pkalya, Adan, Masinde, and Karimi, 2003).
2.3.2 Displacement Caused by SA

The direct costs of unregulated small arms availability and misuse include “fatal and nonfatal injuries,” cost of treating and rehabilitating firearms casualties and the opportunity cost of long-term disability. The problem of small arms also indirectly affects human security by increasing the intensity and duration of armed conflicts, displacing civilians, exploiting children as soldiers, obstructing humanitarian assistance in conflict and disaster areas and undermining the human rights and humanitarian law by threatening the lives and well-being of vulnerable sectors such as women and children, as well as humanitarian and development workers (Pattugalan, 2004).

Indirect consequences of small arms proliferation are also seen in the unspeakable human misery endured by the people who are forcibly displaced from their homes due to armed conflicts. Refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) are camped in isolated tracts of land where access to water and decent sanitation are limited and has become a cause of diseases. People’s mobility and freedom to carry out basic chores and to earn a livelihood are restricted within these satellite communities. Armed groups also use these camps to forcibly recruit new members and commit various forms of material and sexual exploitation (Frey, 2002).

The counter-insurgency campaign in ethnic minority areas in Myanmar has created one of the world’s worst humanitarian crises. It has displaced over one million people, mostly members of the ethnic minorities in eastern Myanmar. The primary agent of displacement is the Tadmadaw, the Burmese Army. Also involved are non-state armed groups (Global IDP Project 2003). Half of those driven away from their homes live in government-run
relocation centers, where the military exercise complete control over the populations. Those caught outside the designated areas could be arrested, tortured or shot on site. An estimated 300,000 live in hiding or on the run, moving as many as a dozen times a year to avoid being caught and punished by the military. Thirty percent of IDPs in these areas are children who have never been to a school, and child mortality rate is extremely high. Additionally, at the end of 2003, there were some 600,000 Myanmarese refugees living in neighbouring countries, with over 400,000 in Thailand.

In recent years, Indonesia was also a theater of dramatic displacement of communities of various ethnicities. The economic crisis in late 1990s has unleashed ethnic tensions that created thousands of internal refugees in Sulawesi, Maluku and Kalimantan. In May 2004, violence erupted again in Maluku, displacing 10,000 residents, in addition to an already existing large number of displaced people due to earlier conflicts (International Crisis Group [ICG] 2004).

In 2003, there were more than 100,000 people displaced, and many of them avoided official government camps out of fear and went hiding either in forests or with their relatives. Those who fled to Malaysia were forcibly returned to Aceh, allegedly tortured, and killed (US Committee for Refugees 2004, Global IDP Project 2003). The same year, the military campaign in the Muslim-dominated province of Mindanao uprooted some 400,000 civilians (mostly Muslims), 150,000 of which remain displaced either in evacuation centers or sheltering with relatives or friends.
Although the issue of child soldiers is not directly a product of the small arms problem, it is widely documented that where there is an abundance of small arms in conflict-affected areas there is a growing number of child combatants. These children are both perpetuators and victims of firearms-related weapons. The portability of weapons also enables the recruited children to carry weapons. Some 300,000 child soldiers are actively fighting in 41 countries and another 500,000 were recruited into paramilitary organizations, Non-state armed groups and civilian militias (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2004). Within Southeast Asia, the Human Rights Watch identified Myanmar and the Philippines as countries where child soldiers were involved in recent and on-going armed conflicts (Human Rights Watch [HRW] 2004b). Globally, Myanmar, together with the Congo and Colombia, tops the list on the use of child combatants (HRW 2003).

While some children join armed groups due to desperation, abject poverty and absence of access to education, majority of them are forcibly taken from their schools and separated from their families. Once inducted into an armed group, they are turned into combatants, domestic laborers, or sexual slaves (HRW 2003). At times, they are ordered to execute other children who try to desert the organization (HRW, 2003). Violent, traumatic experience impairs their physical, emotional and psychological well-being and presents long-term generational and developmental challenge to their communities. It is worth noting that in all these cases children are displaced from their families, parents and relatives and therefore denied their basic rights such as education.
Researchers agree that conflict fuelled by small arms often causes massive population displacement, uprooting millions of children and their families from their homes and making children more susceptible to disease, violence, military recruitment, and sexual assault. Approximately 12.8 million refugees and 23 million internally displaced persons (IDPs)—half of them children—have been forced to flee due in large part to violence and conflict fuelled by small arms. She notes that refugees and IDPs often share a common characteristic—‘they are motivated by the fear that people with guns will use them on vulnerable communities’. After a conflict has concluded, small arms continue to affect refugees and IDPs, especially children. Children and their families are often afraid to leave camps and return home because of the substantial amounts of weapons that remain in society at large and in the environment through which they would travel. Staying in the camps, however, is often problematic, as many camps have become militarized (Stohl, 2001).

A research on armed conflicts using SALW in Northern Kenya revealed that the number of displaced people is quite high and varies from region to region. In Samburu District, Baragoi division for instance, about 2023 families were displaced. This was occasioned by the use of small arms in cattle rustling in the region. The research further indicted that there were different of these small arms; Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda and the Government (Pkalya, Adan, Masinde, and Karimi, 2003).

In the same study, the authors indicated that similar problems were faced by people on North Eastern Province. In Marsabit district for instance, an estimated 58% of the people were affected either directly or indirectly by the conflicts brewed using small arms with
about 45% of the people actually living in displacement camps or villages. Most of the displaced people reported to have come from South Horr and North Horr and Pakati, Nachola, Marti, Kawap and Tum in Samburu District. In Kargi location at least 300 households were reported to have been displaced (Pkalya, Adan, Masinde, and Karimi, 2003).

2.3.3 Human Rights Abuse and SA

Small Arms have been used in different parts of the world to effect abuse of human rights both in conflict and post conflict era. Although there is a growing body of international law, norms and standards specifically designed to safeguard the rights of children, they are being breached with impunity. The availability of inexpensive weapons has allowed a growing number of individuals and groups to gain access to SALW with little, if any, training, discipline or accountability. Female adolescents are often victims of this indiscipline, forced to endure rape, sexual abuse and violence (The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2001).

The problem of small arms also indirectly affects human security by increasing the intensity and duration of armed conflicts, displacing civilians, exploiting children as soldiers, obstructing humanitarian assistance in conflict and disaster areas and undermining the human rights and humanitarian law by threatening the lives and well-being of vulnerable sectors such as women and children, as well as humanitarian and development workers. Furthermore, insecure conditions, fuelled by arms, discourage economic investment and employment opportunities, perpetuate poverty and political instability, erode civilian protection and undermine sustainable development. Ultimately,
an unstable state of affairs creates a cycle of desperation. Poor control to access of small arms can facilitate recourse to criminal, domestic and inter-state violence, creating a culture of violence and social discord that may last for generations (Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue [CHD] 2003 and 2004b, Dorn, 2000).

The most common scenario is the use of child soldiers. Although the issue of child soldiers is not directly a product of the small arms problem, it is widely documented that where there is an abundance of small arms in conflict-affected areas there is a growing number of child combatants. These children are both perpetrators and victims of firearms-related weapons. The portability of weapons also enables the recruited children to carry weapons.

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experience impairs their physical, emotional and psychological well-being and presents long-term generational and developmental challenge to their communities.

In the Philippines, two armed groups, the MILF and the New People’s Army (NPA), were identified with recruitment of children into their ranks. In 2002, the International Labor Organization (ILO) sponsored study of child soldiers in Mindanao. The study found that 10 to 30 percent of the household population in MILF areas were child soldiers. In Maguindanao, a province in Mindanao, this worked out to be approximately 4,500. These children are mainly used as auxiliary forces: with girl soldiers assigned as members of the medical team while boy soldiers engaged in actual soldiering and combat (Cagoco-Guiam, 2002, Bengwayan, 2002). The Philippine government also claims that the NPA recruits from ages 13 to 17 among urban students and out-of-school peasants.

Moreover, children, as young as eleven, may account for 35 to 45 percent of new recruits into the Myanmar’s national army, and 70,000 or more of the government’s estimated 350,000 soldiers. In January 2003, the Washington Post reported that children are being kidnapped by soldiers while on their way home from school, at ports, bus terminals and train stations. They are brutally treated during training and are used in forced labor by the army and forced to participate in armed conflict. Children are also used to commit extrajudicial killings and human rights abuses against civilians and other child recruits (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2004). In Aceh, when the Indonesian military launched an offensive in May 2003, following the collapse of the ceasefire agreement with GAM, “the army and rebels murdered, tortured, abducted, beat and raped civilians, and detained those they suspected of supporting their rivals” (US Committee for Refugees 2004). More than 1,000 people, including children, have been killed from
May to November 2003, mostly by the military. A coalition of seven nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) also reported in late August 2003 that more than 100 women had been raped (Balowski 2003, HRW, 2002, Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers 2003).

In conflict and post-conflict zones, women and girls suffer from a variety of harmful effects related to the threat and misuse of small arms. For example, sexual violence such as rape, sexual slavery and forced impregnation—the common tactics of war—usually occur at the barrel of a gun. In the course of the armed conflict in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), tens of thousands of women and girls were raped and sexually assaulted by well-armed combatant forces.

In Northern Kenya, SA have been cited as the key driver of conflicts between communities and cattle rustling. Abass (2013) notes that the armed conflicts of North Eastern Kenya have led to widespread displacements of people leaving many with nothing and living in camps. This has deprived the displaced children of education, access to health services as well as access to humanitarian aid in many parts.

2.4 Summary of Literature
Although scanty, literature on small arms has shown that the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County dates back to colonial period. Since then, small arms have been constantly used against the population in many instances that date from the Shifita War of 1963-1967 coupled with inter-clan armed conflicts that are endless and sporadic. Analysis of the various incidences reveal that armed conflicts have not been selective and children have been killed deliberately by fighting groups.
However inconclusive, information on impacts of SALW on children shows that small arms both directly and indirectly affect children. The direct impacts are death and injury, displacement, human rights abuse on children. Numerous studies agree that proliferation of SALW though not the sole cause of these, it causes an increase in the incidences. For instance, although there is a growing body of international law, norms and standards specifically designed to safeguard the rights of children, they are being breached with impunity. The availability of inexpensive weapons has allowed a growing number of individuals and groups to gain access to SALW with little, if any, training, discipline or accountability. Female adolescents are often victims of this indiscipline, forced to endure rape, sexual abuse and violence. Deaths caused by small arms are common in the whole world either during conflict or when used to commit crimes. Researchers agree proliferation and misuse of that small arms and light weapons is heightened by porosity of inter-country borders as well as illegal trade on SA from one country to the other.

Small arms have detrimental effects on important aspects of children’s’ lives. These may among others be: denying the children opportunity to attend school and learn effectively; denying children access to good health and nutrition which are all key for the well being of children as well as achievement of children’s potential. Mandera County has for a period of more than 50 years been involved in civil conflicts occasioned by use of small arms. Statistics show low educational standards, poor health and frequent lack of food and water in this region. However, no study has been done to establish the impacts of small arms on children in Mandera thus the need for this study.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
This chapter explains the different methods that were used in carrying out the research. The chapter contains the research design, target population, sampling techniques and sample size, research instruments, reliability and validity of research instruments, data collection and data analysis techniques.

3.2 Research Design
The study used qualitative methods in trying to gather information on causes of proliferation of small arms, impacts of small arms on children as well as the ways that can be used to control the proliferation of small arms in Mandera. This research used a descriptive survey design. According to Orodho (2005) a descriptive survey strategy is useful in gathering information by interviewing or administering questionnaires to a sample of individuals to obtain data useful in evaluating present particulars which have not controlled or manipulated the situation. Qualitative information seeks to explain phenomena as it is. In this study, the aim was to get an in depth understanding of the causes of the proliferation of small arms, their impacts on children and the ways of controlling their proliferation which is qualitative in nature.

3.3 Target Population
According to McMillan & Schumacher (1993) a target population is the total set from which the individuals or units of the study are chosen. It is the totality of the persons, events or organizations units with which the real research problem is concerned. The target population for this study was all the 1,056,213 people of Mandera County. The specific target populations were drawn from the different areas as indicate in Table 3.1
Table 3.1 Target Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulla Mpya,</td>
<td>134432</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulla Jamhuria,</td>
<td>94653</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafey,</td>
<td>136056</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulla Kamor,</td>
<td>145784</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroma,</td>
<td>121532</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia,</td>
<td>157056</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damasa</td>
<td>192798</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulla Amoury</td>
<td>739026</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1056213</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

According to Henry (1990), sampling is the scheme of action or procedure that clarifies how the subjects are to be selected for the research. Simelane (1998) posits that it involves the selection of a group of participants with which the researcher is to conduct the study. The study used purposive sampling techniques.

The study used qualitative data that was collected. In qualitative research the aim is to get in-depth understanding of events thus the sample should consist of key informants who are likely to have all the information. In order to get historical perspectives of the causes of proliferation of small weapons, their impacts on children over the 50 year period village natives were interviewed. The study adopted a criteria sampling that was used to select village natives who were born and brought up in the specific regions of Mandera.
The selected natives were selected on basis that they have witnessed all the wars since 1963 and therefore they must be above 60 years of age. The researcher identified two natives with the help of public members from each region: BullaMpya, Bulla Jamhuria, Lafey, Bulla Kamor, Koroma, Arabia, Damasa and Bulla Amoury.

On the other hand in order to get in depth information on the impacts of small arms on children qualitative information was obtained from key informants in each area. Intensity sampling was used to select all the eight administrative chiefs and eight head teachers from the Bulla Mpya, Bulla Jamhuria, Lafey, Bulla Kamor, Koroma, Arabia, Damasa, and Bulla Amouary as well as all the 7 programme coordinators from the seven NGOs: RACIDA, Women for Peace, Islamic Relief, IPAG, Habiba International, World Food Programme and Red Cross. In order to obtain qualitative information on impacts of smalls on children data was also collected from school secondary school children. Chain sampling used to identify secondary school students who have rich information on the impacts of small arms on children. These are perceived to be those students who have directly been involved or affected by misuse of small arms. By help of the teachers about 50 students were identified from different schools in each of the eight regions from which the 8 most common appearing names were selected to form a focus discussion group. This were given a total of 8 discussion groups and 64 secondary school students. This gave a total sample size of 105 subjects.

3.5 Research Instruments
The study used interview schedules and focus discussion group guides for data collection.

3.5.1 Interview Schedules
Kvale (1996) regarded interviews as an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest, sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasizes the social situations of research data. Qualitative methods, such as interviews, are believed to provide a deeper understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative methods, such as questionnaires (Silverman, 2000). Interview schedules were also used to collect qualitative data from area chiefs, primary school head teachers and programme coordinators on the indirect impacts of SA on children such as education, humanitarian assistance, loss of opportunities among others. They also gave information on the causes of the proliferation of small arms and the possible ways that can be used for the control of influx of small arms in Mandera.

The interview had four sections: section 1 was demographic information; section 2 was to give request information on causes of proliferation of small arms; section 3 was on impacts of small arms on children while section 4 was to give insights into the ways that can be used to control the spread of small arms in Mandera County.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions

According to Israel (2013), focus group discussions are ideal for gathering in-depth information from large groups of people in a short time. In addition, focus groups can reveal a wealth of detailed information and deep insight. When well executed, a focus group creates an accepting environment that puts participants at ease allowing them to thoughtfully answer questions in their own words and add meaning to their answers (Israel, 2013). The study seeks to obtain information on personal experiences of the
impacts of SA of children which require a free environment to reconstruct and present thus focus groups were thought to be most appropriate.

In this study, focus group discussions were held with the secondary school students as they are deemed to be able to communicate better than primary school children. The group discussion started with a brief introduction of researcher to the participants and the participants in which the researcher explained the purpose of the discussion to the students. An audio recorder was set to record the proceedings of the discussion. The researcher engaged a local interpreter to assist in asking the questions in the local Somali language.

3.6 Validity of Research Instruments
Validity of an instrument refers to the ability of a research instrument to measure what it is designed to measure (Field, 2003). There are various forms of validity. However, this study measured content validity and construct validity. To measure construct validity, the researcher conducted a pilot study with known subjects. Correlation analysis of the results of the study were then used to test for predictive ability, concurrence, and convergence of the items. The questions were also reviewed by experts in the area. Using the results of the pilot study the researcher tried to check consistency in answering of similar items. Ambiguous questions were then deleted or modified before data collection.

3.8 Reliability of Research Instruments
Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh & Soorensen (2006) noted that reliability is the ability of a research instrument to produce similar results after repeated trials. In this study the tester-test method was used to test reliability of the instrument. This was done by administering the
interviews to four people in Mandera County twice within an interval of 10 days. The researcher then compared the consistency in answering the questions. Questions found to provide different responses from same respondent were modified or deleted from the interview guide.

3.9 Data Collection Procedures
The researcher obtained a research permit from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) before proceeding to the field for data collection. The researcher then sort permission from the County coordinator Mandera County to conduct research in the County. Data collection start by arranging visits with the chiefs that assisted the researcher in identifying potential informants. The researcher then sort consent from the identified informants before commencing the interview. The researcher interviewed the area chiefs, head teachers, local natives and programme coordinators during arranged visits. The children were divided into boys and girls in which focus groups of sizes 8 children in secondary schools were selected while the local adults were divided into men and women. This enabled free participation of the members of each group.

3.10 Data Analysis Techniques
The study collected mainly qualitative data. Data analysis started by sorting the information into historical war periods: Shifta War; inter-community armed conflicts of 1963-2013; and inter-community conflicts from the year 2008 to date. Cross tabulations was be carried out to establish the relationships between the impacts of the small arms on children over the three conflict periods.
3.11 Ethical Considerations
The study sort to obtain vital and confidential information on security in Mandera County. The study therefore sort to obtain the relevant documents that identified the researcher to the locals so as to allow him get the necessary information from them. Firstly, the researcher obtained an introductory letter from the Kenyatta University and there after a research permit from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI)before proceeding to the field for data collection. The participation in the study was to be voluntary and that the information gathered from the study was to be solely used for purpose of the research.
4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction
This chapter consists of analyzed data and discussion of research findings. The chapter is arranged into; causes of the proliferation of small arms, impacts of small arms on children, and ways of reducing proliferation of small arms in Mandera County.

4.2 Demographic Information
A total of 100 village natives were interviewed with 56% being women and 44% being men. The ages of the village native ranged from 65-81 years with a mean age of 73.5 years while all the natives reported that they had witnessed all the wars. It was also noted that 65% of them were involved in the wars except the shiffa war in which only 30% men were involved as fighters while protecting themselves while non had been involved in Al-Shabaab insurgency.

![Respondents Gender Chart]

- **Respondents Gender**
- **Women** 56%
- **Men** 44%
4.3 Causes of Proliferation of Small Arms
The study sought to establish the causes of proliferation small arms in Mandera County. Village natives were required to give detailed accounts of how small arms have been trickling and increasing in number day in day out over long time. The historic wars were divided into four: Shifta war of 1963-1968, the inter-clan conflicts of 1968-1990, and interclan/Al-Shabaab Insurgency of 1991-2014.

4.4 Causes of Proliferation of Small Arms during the Shifta War
The natives gave accounts of the Shifta war on where the small arms were obtained from and the possible reasons why the small weapons spread to the locals. The village natives were required to explain sources of the small arms that were used during the war, the groups of people who acquired the small arms as well as the reasons or motivation for acquiring the small arms. The sources reported are presented in Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Sources of Small Arms Used in Shifta War

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>People acquiring</th>
<th>Motivation/Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somali Government</td>
<td>All people deemed supportive to Shifta war</td>
<td>• Protection of their livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Help in Shifta war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Help fight for water and pasture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya Government</td>
<td>The Degodia</td>
<td>• Self protection from the Neighbouring Garre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly clans in Somalia</td>
<td>All the clans</td>
<td>Clan protection or security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results presented in Table 4.1 show that during the Shifta war there were three major sources of the small arms that were used. Firstly, the Somali government provided the Shifta with small arms as it fully supported the secession agenda that would see the NFD belong to Somalia as suggested the British colonial government. It was also noted that through the Shifta insurgents, members of the public who were supportive to the Shifta war were given small arms with the pretext that they could be attacked by Kenya forces though it was a way of the Shifta arming their people. It was further reported that recruitment of the Kenyan Somali people into the Shifta war was deemed by the Shifta and the Somali Government as a way of strengthening their forces thus small arms were issued to all those locals who appeared supportive without segregation on ethnic basis. The respondents reported that due to this a large percentage of the natives used this opportunity to acquire fire arms though with different motives such as protection of their own livestock from cattle rustlers from other clans as well the fighting for important resources such as water and pasture. This implies access to small arms by the locals was highly possible to all those people who committed to support the Shifta.

The second source of the small arms was the Kenya Government. It was reported that the colonial government had issued the Garre fire arms as early as 1921 to help them to protect their livestock in a bid to woo them to stop their nomadic lifestyles. This made it possible for the locals to acquire small arms without fear as it was indistinguishable from the government issued arms. The use of the government issued small arms by the Garre to steal livestock from other clans made them to be deemed government sympathizers during the Shifta war a feeling that led to the frequent attacks by the Shifta which further served as a reason why they should acquire more small arms. To achieve this, clans
among the Somali people started grouping themselves in support of the major clans in Kenya with the aim of cross borderer support with the Murulles getting affiliated to Hawalles and the Marrehan clans of Somalia. The Garres are affiliated to the Garre clan of Somalia while the Degodia affiliated themselves with the Shebelle of clan of Somalia. This marked the start of the easy spread of small arms from Somalia to Mandera from Somalia. Similar findings were reported by Whittaker (2008) who noted that due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Somali people who are the natives of the region, small arms continued flooding the region through smuggling by herdsmen from Somalia.

The third source of small arms to the locals in Mandera County was friendly clans in Somalia. After the affiliation of the Garre, Murulle and the Degodia with other Somali clans in Somalia trade in small arms started with small arms being exchanged for livestock a fact that made it easy for any willing native to acquire a firearm. This was done with the fear of being attacked by other clans as the nature of the Shifta was in such a way that cattle rustlers could be distinguished from the Shifta and often residents that seemed unsupportive to the war were attacked by the Shiftas. This prompted the locals to arm themselves with small arms. According to Mzee Abdullahi of the Degodia, this was an opportunity that they were waiting for and a golden chance as they had suffered so much and lost thousands of livestock to the Garre who already had acquired small arms from the colonial government. Supporting these findings are the sentiments by Turton (1970) who reported that the issuing of rifles to the Garre by the colonial government as early as 1921 marked the start of proliferation small arms with everyone in the region aspiring to acquire one for security reasons.
The study sought to establish whether the local people possessing small arms were willing to surrender them to the government. It was reported that small rams were part of lives of people in Mandera and therefore no one would surrender his unless disarmed by the government. The respondents also reported even those who surrender their arms for fear of being arrested would seek to obtain others immediately. Small arms being cheap and easily available from Somalia then lost small arms would soon be replaced. The village natives were further requested to explain why they thought people living in Mandera wanted to retain their illegally acquired fire arms despite the end of the Shifta war. The respondents reported three main reasons:

- First, people were afraid that the Shifta would soon return and the war would continue thus the need for their self defense.
- Second, people had gotten used small arms unlike traditional weapons for their protection as well as protection of their livestock.
- Lastly, the spread of small arms during the Shifta war was accompanied by misuse of the arms that led to a culture of prestige for those who owned small arms. Shabure reported that anyone who owned a small arm was deemed superior in the society thus it was also a source of pride.

Among the major causes cited issuance of small arms to civilians by the government and the laxity by the government in enforcing law on use and possession of fire arms. In this case respondents noted that the people of Mandera were not aware of the use fire arms in fighting until the government issued some villagers with guns to protect their livestock without control. This idea is supported by what was reported by Turton (1970) who noted that the British government attempts to proscribe pastoral transhumance that opposed
formal boundary delimitation proved impossible and that widespread inter-clan warfare, which was supported by kinsmen across borders and inadequate resources, left the area largely ungoverned. In an attempt to govern the area, the colonial government in 1921 armed the Gurre clan in the North Eastern Frontier District of which Mandera County was part with rifles to aid in protecting their animals in a bid to woo the Garre to stop their pastoral lifestyles. This marked the start of small arms proliferation in Mandera as villagers started changing from their traditional weapons to fire arms. An elderly respondent reported that since then owning a small arm was considered an achievement in the region and therefore people were always out to get fire arms at whichever cost.

It was further noted that the issuing of fire arms by the British government was counterproductive as it gave room for possession of illegal fire arms. In an attempt by the neighbouring Degodia clan to protect themselves and their livestock against the armed Garre clan they sought the help of their kinsmen across borders specifically Somalia which was obtained at relatively low cost through exchange with livestock. Expanding this Mzee Shabure of the Degodia clan reported that there were fears of attacks and livestock stealing since the arming of the Garre by the British government. In a bid to secure themselves, the Degodia sought help from the other Somali tribes of similar origin living across borders in Somalia and Ethiopia. Shabure further reported that, the Degodia established good links and affiliation with the Murulles who are affiliated to Hawalles of Somalia and Ethiopia and also the Marrehan clan of Somalia. The Garres are affiliated to the Garre clan of Somalia and Ethiopia while the Degodia are affiliated to the Degodia of Ethiopia and the Shebelle of Ethiopia and Somalia. This interclan affiliations did not only strengthen each clan but also allowed for smoothing trafficking of small arms from
neighbouring countries to Kenya. This has made the control of influx of small arms in Mandera almost impossible till the present day. The researcher sought to find out why government attempts to disarm people fails. It was noted that the porosity of the borders allowed armed people from Mandera to seek refuge during this time of crackdown only to return after wards with more arms. Similar trends are followed by their counter parts who cross into the country with small arms freely and are hosted well by their kinsmen in Mandera. These sentiments concur with Whittaker (2008) who noted that due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Somali people who are the natives of the region, small arms continued flooding the region through smuggling by herdsmen from Somaliland which marked the beginning of the spread of small arms among the Somali communities in Kenya.

The second noted cause was internal insecurity caused by animosity between clans in Mandera County. This implies that every clan felt unsafe and started planning to arm themselves to secure themselves and their livestock. It is due to these that clan elders started enlightening their people on importance of owning a fire arm making the already bad situation. Emphasizing this, Mohammed a village native said “as early as three years we knew that we need to be armed to protect ourselves and our wealth from the teaching we got from our fathers and elders in our clans. Shabure also noted that from tender age they were taught of their clan affiliations across borders as well as their perceived enemies thus the need to arm themselves early in advance. Confirming the same MzeeAbdulahi reports “all along I had thought that we must fight these people to live and to be a man I must own a gun and use it to protect the interests of my people”. This implies that for all clans it is a mandatory venture to acquire small arms. These
sentiments are supported by what was reported by Whittaker (2008) who noted that due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Somali people who are the natives of the region, small arms continued flooding the region through smuggling by herdsmen from Somaliland which marked the beginning of the spread of small arms among the Somali communities in Kenya.

On the traditional fights by the clans villagers expressed concern that high dependency on pastoralism makes pasture and water so precious that clans must do anything to control them. This accompanied by lack designated boundaries between the clans makes the situation volatile all the times especially during dry seasons when such are scarce. However, when asked about establishing clear boundaries for different clans it was reported that all clans are opposed to that and resistant to modern land tenure system but still want to practice nomadic pastoralism. These findings concur with what was noted by Reisman (1990) who spoke the determination of the Somali people to continue pastoral practices regardless of official state policies and boundaries. This finally culminated to great urge for SA as the people of NFD started preparing for Somali nationalism whose focal point became the Shifta war.

Porosity of national borders was also noted as a key factor accelerating the proliferation of small arms in Mandera. On this the village natives, the chiefs and programme officers reported that Mandera County borders Somalia on one side and Ethiopia on the other side and that the borders are porous with no restricted entry for humans making it possible for easy travel from Ethiopia to Kenya and from Somalia to Kenya a factor that enhances trafficking of small arms from the neighbouring countries of Somalia and Ethiopia. Supporting this, the chiefs reported that one of the challenges they faced was
distinguishing between the Kenyan Somali and the foreign Somali. A coordinator of a humanitarian organization also reported that the Somali clans of the Garre, Degodia and Murulle traverse Kenyan boundaries extending to Ethiopia and Somalia a factor that allows nomadism across the borders. This does not only allow smuggling of SA weapons into Mandera but also Kenya as a whole.

Poor security operations by the government were reported by villagers, NGO coordinators and teachers. It was explained that security personnel do not offer adequate or promising security during conflict and even post conflict times a situation that persuades every clan to equip its men for their own protection. With porous borders again it becomes easy for loose and cheap small arms to be traded in with livestock from militia in Ethiopia and the Somalia. Explaining this respondent says “guns in our neighbouring countries are traded like cows in open markets, you need two you get three”. The situation is worsened by the fact Somali clans identify themselves with their people in other Countries making SA arms business a clan business that is allowed and controlled by leaders of the clan. These findings are similar to what was reported by Ringquist (2011). According to Ringquist (2011) the Kenyan Somali of the NFD identified with their clans from Ethiopia and Somali and frequently had cross border migrations that were coupled with small arms smuggling from Somalia to Kenya. The situation worsened in 1963 when the Somali government supported the secession attempts by the Kenyan Somali to unite with Somalia. More fire arms were issued to the shifta bandits of the NFD by the Somali government (Ringquist, 2011).

Another factor that was cited was traditional clan animosity. A serious concern on this was expressed by the teachers, village natives, the students, the chiefs as well as the
humanitarian organization officers. Historically, the Kenyan Somali are divided into clans Murulle, Gurreh and Degodia being the major clans in Mandera. These are sub clans that identify themselves with some other clans in both Somalia and Ethiopia which have long history of animosity. For instance, the Murulles are affiliated to Hawalles of Somalia and Ethiopia and also the Marrehan clan of Somalia. The Garres are affiliated to the Garre clan of Somalia and Ethiopia while the Degodia are affiliated to the Degodia of Ethiopia and the Shebelle of Ethiopia and Somalia. These inter-clan affiliations across borders do not only necessitate the smuggling of SA but also cattle rustling across the borders as well as import of militia well-armed with SA from neighbouring from Ethiopia and Somalia to Mandera.

As highlighted by the village natives, through traditional teachings such animosity has traversed generations worsening from one generation to the other. MzeeAbdulahi notes that “a 3 year old boy in the Gurreh clan knows that a Degodia boy is an enemy who stills from them and kills their people and grows ready to protect his clan and clan’s property”. On the other hand, the students in focus groups also expressed idea that clans form the basis of every aspect of Somali life and therefore they are taught to protect their clans. With the climatic changes witnessed over the last four decades marked by prolonged drought, the Gurreh have encroached land previous thought to be owned by the Degodia or Murulle and vice versa which has now turned conflicts in a constant thing. This creates the need for more SA and therefore the proliferation of small arms is greatly increased through smuggling across borders. On the same note chiefs reported that SA are exchanged between clans from Mandera and Militia from neighbouring countries for livestock making it easier for the locals to acquire a fire arm. Supporting this, a village
respondents asked, “why would I not exchange two cows for a gun that I will use to protect my family and other more that 200 cows that I have?” this implies that for any pastoralist a gun is a necessity which further increases the demand for small arms. Supporting these findings are findings by IRIN (2005) noted that conflicts in Mandera draw both material and personnel support from clan’s men from Somalia and Ethiopia making it difficult to arrests the culprits or conduct a successful disarmament exercise.

4.5 Causes of Proliferation of Small Arms Used in Tribal Clashes (1968-1990) 

On this the village natives were requested to give detailed account of war. It was reported that the clashes were characterized by sporantic attacks on that were based on clans. The main clans involved in the clashes included the Garre, the Degodia and the Murulle. The village natives were further required to explain the source the small arms used in the tribal clashes within this period.

The main source of small arms identified was fellow clans men from Somalia. It was reported that during the Shifta war, the Murulle clan of Mandera identified themselves with the Hawalles of Somalia, the Garre with the Garre clan of Somalia while the Degodia became strong affiliates and clansmen with Shebelle clan of Somalia. The clans of Mandera thus obtained small arms from such affiliated clans from Somalia through exchange with livestock. It was further reported that due to the many small arms that circulated in Somalia during and after the Shifta war a kind of batter trade was started between friendly clans that increased the number of small arms illegally possessed by members of the public in Mandera. Mzee Shabure reported that during this period a AK 47 rifle was exchanged with a cow while a camel was worth four AK 47 rifles with tin full of ammunition. With the population in Mandera being nomadic pastoralists, all families had cattle and therefore any willing family could acquire a gun. These findings
concur with findings reported by UNRIC (2006), which noted that the low cost of small arms makes them affordable to actors beyond the State. Small arms require almost no maintenance, so they can essentially last for a very long time. They can be hidden easily, and even young children can use them with minimal training.

Later in 1980’s there were more concerns as friendly clans became hostile to each other. For instance, it was reported that the Garre and the Murulle which are the largest clans used to live together in peace sharing pasture, water and even administrative positions in all parts of the District, lived side by side in towns, such that Bulla Afya estate of El Wak was a predominantly Murulle sub-location. However, an attack of 2 Murulle boys herding cattle in 1983 by suspected Garre men marked the start of clashes between the two clans. This intensified the need for security by the clans which prompted people to acquire more fire arms. It was further reported that these clashes have continued till the present. Owing to the intense need for protection of their animals clans sought for further support from the neighbouring Ethiopian Somali which led to the Garre uniting with Garre of Ethiopia, the Degodia affiliating with the Degodia of Ethiopia and the Murulle affiliating with Hawalles and Marehan of Ethiopia. This implies that the clans had a wide market for the search of small arms that increased proliferation from the years 1983-1992.

The study further sought to establish the motivating factors of the people to acquire small arms in Mandera. Three key reasons were given. Firstly, personal security was deemed impossible without a fire arm. The village natives noted that criminal activities had increased within the communities with brutal murders becoming common and showing no sense of inter-clan conflict for water and pasture which almost made all clans think of equipping themselves with small arms to protect their people especially women and
children. Supporting this a respondent from Bulla Jamhuria a Mr. Nurelmoge reported that the brutal killing of two Murulle boys by suspected Garre men was the beginning of the clashes between the Garre and the Murulle who had co-existed peacefully since independence. These reports concur with what was found by UNDP (2010) between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Murulle and Garre where people lost their lives and property through assassinations and militia raids.

The second motivation to acquire small arms was the continuous lack of intervention of the government on security matters in Mandera. it was reported that, well known militia men from different clans carried out assassinations with impunity and were even regarded as heroes in their clans but the government took no action. This was deemed to motivate clan members to acquire fire arms not only for defense but also revenge. With cross boarder migration in search for pastures that was not controlled local people were able to traffic fire arms from the neighbouring Uganda and Ethiopia.

Third motivation was the need for prestige in the society with fire arm owners being regarded as heroes. Owing to this a number of young men who were exposed to the Shifta war and denied education earned their livelihoods through cattle rusting. To this group being a true man meant possessing a gun. This was further complicated by the fact that little or no attempts were made by the government to control the spread of small arms. Similar findings were reported in UNDP (2010) report that between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Murulle and Garre where people lost their lives and property through assassinations and militia raids. However, it is notable that there was no serious attempt by the state to apprehend the culprits, some who were well known and often feted as Heroes in their home villages.
The study established that small arms were acquired for a number of reasons. A vast majority of the people used small arms to protect their livestock, water and pasture. The security of people was also a key reason why local natives were willing to acquire and never to surrender the small arms. Lastly, was the use of fire arms for criminal purposes such as cattle rustling and brutal assassinations of people from other clans. With the laxity of the government in providing security and controlling the ownership and use of small arms the proliferation small arms in Mandera increased tremendously.

The respondents were required to explain the possible causes of the proliferation of small arms within this period. The causes identified the village natives and the area administrative officers (chiefs and sub-chiefs) are presented in Figure 4.1

**Figure 4.1 Causes of Proliferation of Small Arms (1968-1992)**

The results presented in Figure 4.1 show that there were five major causes of proliferation of small arms in Mandera County that were identified by both the area chiefs and the village natives. These included: cross boarder pastorarism, government laxity in the control of small arms, drought, livestock theft and insecurity.
The findings of the study show that cross border pastoralism was the most highly rated cause the proliferation of small arms with 41% of the chiefs, 30% of the village natives and 29% head teacher blaming it for the trafficking of small arms from neighbouring countries; Somalia, Ethiopia and sometimes Uganda. It was reported that with Somali clans in Kenya affiliated to other Somali clans in Somalia and Ethiopia, nomadic pastoralists from Mandera would move with their herds from Kenya crossing to Somalia or Ethiopia in search of pasture during which they would exchange small animals for SA. Such small arms would enter the country undetected as they would be carried by animals such as camels. Similarly, SA arms traders from the neighbouring countries cross in to Kenya with their animals which they use to carry SA for exchange with livestock. The chiefs further reported that a vast majority of the herders did not have national identification cards and therefore there was no way of differentiating between the Kenyan Somali, the Ethiopian Somali and the Somali from Somalia. This implies that small arms are transported to Kenya through the Somalia-Kenya and Ethiopia-Kenya boarder in the
notion that Kenyans are herding their cattle across the boarders a situation that could not be controlled by the local administration since such movement took place through the bush and not the designated boarder points used between the countries. It could further imply that armed raiders cross in to Mandera from Ethiopia and Somalia with livestock so as to be seen as herders but to supply small arms to their kinsmen in Mandera a situation that was not easy to control. Small arms being easy to carry, are their transported by animals and humans across the boarders enhancing their proliferation in Mandera. The findings of this study agree with the findings of Stohl (2001) who noted that SA arms spread easily to civilians due to the fact that they are cheap, easy to maintain and carry since they are light.

The second highly rated cause was government laxity in the control of possession and use of small arms in Mandera. This was reported by 46% of the chiefs 28% of the village natives and 25% head teachers. On this the chiefs explained that SA possession in Mandera was not treated as a secret affair although the SA are illegally possessed by the
public. This provides the government with the opportunity of arresting and prosecuting the identified people. However, this has not been done for political reasons a situation that gives the rest of the public the courage to buy theirs. Secondly, such open use of SA became a trend and therefore possessing a fire arm was seen as an achievement. The village natives noted that people known to possess fire arms in the villages are always feared and respected. Youths thus aspire to own fire arms as a way of mighty. To the chiefs the government was not doing what it should as they are able to identify the people in possession of small arms but no action could be taken. Owing to this the number of small arms circulating in Mandera has grown so much that almost every extended family has at least a gun.

Drought was noted by 42% of the village natives, 33% of head teachers and 25% of chiefs. It was explained that due to long dry spells, there is serious lack of pasture for livestock as well as drinking water. This prompts the people to travel long distances in search of pasture and water. Owing to the regular livestock theft within the area herdens are forced to seek for arms to secure their livestock as they move in search for pasture.
The village natives noted that herders are forced to illegally cross the Kenyan boarders and graze in neighbouring countries thus they have access to SA from their clan affiliates. This also allows the cross the herders to Kenya unnoticed making SA trafficking easy. Drought leads to drying of water points and scarcity of pasture which in turn brings about competition among clans for the few remaining water points. This has in many cases resulted to heavy clashes between clans which encourages clans to arm their people to protect their pasture, water resources as well as their livestock. Confirming this, a village native from Elwak reported that the origin of the heavy fights between the Murulle and the Garre who had lived together peacefully for decades sharing pasture, water and administrative positions was drought that led to struggle for water at their boarder point. These findings concur with what was reported by UNDP (2010). According to UNDP, (2010), the Murulle and the Garre lived together Murulle and Garre lived together from independence days up to the 1980’s. All this time they shared pastures in all parts of the District, lived side by side in towns, such that Bulla Afya estate of El Wak was a predominantly Murulle sub-location with a large population needing more than four Duksi, while the two clans were both represented in the administration of El Wak town and Mandera town before heavy fights broke up in 1983 leading to assassinations (UNDP, 2010).
Livestock theft was identified as the fourth most common cause of proliferation of small arms with 53% of the respondents representing village natives, 32% of head teachers and 15% of the area chiefs reporting it. Area chiefs felt that the only economic activity that the communities in Mandera relied on was livestock farming which was considered by all as the only source of living. However, cattle rustling coupled with sporadic theft of camels and goats was a big threat especially with raiders from neighbouring countries. This has prompted clans to seek for fire arms that would be used to guard their livestock while out herding or at home. The village natives supported this with one respondent noting “it’s worth selling two cows and buy a gun that will be used to protect the other hundred than to be a coward and loose all the hundred”. This implies that residents of Mandera were ready to break the law and possess illegal fire arms for the protection of their livestock. It further symbolizes that the people of Mandera felt that the government had failed to provide security to them and their livestock and that it was their responsibility to do at which ever cost. These sentiments were echoed by the chiefs who noted that it was difficult to control the use fire arms when the government has
deliberately failed to provide security to the people and their livestock. Similar findings were reported by the UNDP (2010) on insecurity in Mandera which showed that between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Murulle and Garre clans where people lost their lives and property through assassinations and militia raids but there was no serious attempt by the government to apprehend the culprits, some who were well known and often feted as Heroes in their home villages.

The last cause was insecurity which was reported by 56% of the village natives, 33% by the area chiefs and 11% by head teachers. The chiefs felt that owing to the insecurity situation in the area people have resolved to arm and protect themselves as the government had failed to it. Adding on to this, the chiefs further reported that there were frequent attacks that seem not related to livestock theft but mere assassinations that the government did not address even with the knowledge of the culprits. This has culminated into pre-planned conflicts organized as retaliatory attacks between clans which has prompted more villagers to arm themselves. The chiefs further noted not attacks from rival clans but attacks by raiders are common in Mandera a fact that was emphasized by
the village natives. This implies the government had failed to provide security to the people of Mandera which has resulted into high demand for small arms for self protection thus accelerated proliferation of small arms. The findings of this study concur with the findings of Whittaker (2008) who reported that wide spread clan conflicts, raids from Ethiopia and Somalia have prompted constant fights in Mandera and a high tension situation that has called for villagers to arm themselves.

4.6 Causes of Proliferation of Small Arms (1991-2014)

The data on this was collected from the chiefs, village natives and coordinators of humanitarian organizations. The village natives and the chiefs were requested to give accounts of conflicts involving the use of small arms in Mandera starting from the year 1991 to year 2014. It was reported that the year 1991 had a drastic turn of events when the then government of Somalia under Mohammed Siad Barre was overthrown by rebel groups who immediately disagreed on the formation of a new government making Somalia a stateless region with as many as 7 groups fighting all linked to different Somali clans. Since then Somalia has remained in civil war with different militia groups
controlling different regions of Somalia and heavy fighting being reported in almost all parts of the country. The formation of the Somali Federal Government finally led to some of the Militia like the Al-Shaabab converting into terrorist groups. Since then the influx of small arms into Kenya has been on the rise with refugees from Somalia moving into North Eastern parts of Kenya.

The respondents were required to state what motivated Mandera residents to acquire firearms. Two major factors were reported. These are increased insecurity due to influx of refugees and terrorists from the neighbouring Somalia. The second motivation was that small arms became cheaper and easily available from neighbouring clans in Somalia even free to those who wished to join in the fights in Somalia. This implies that acquiring a firearm was not anymore a business but mutual agreement for support of their clans in Somalia.

The study further sought to establish whether local that possess illegal firearms were willing to surrender them and if not, why they are not willing. The village natives reported that insecurity was increasing and taking different dimensions from livestock theft cases to attacks from unknown people which seemed to have no link with pasture, water. With clans in Somalia forming different militia groups similar divisions started emerging in Mandera in which each clan seemed to be arming themselves forming groups that seemed to take certain political stands. With the porous border between Kenya and Somalia trafficking of firearms was thus very easy and almost everybody could acquire a small arm at will. The chiefs, teachers and the village natives all seemed to agree that after the fall of Siad Barre the single largest source of small arms used in clashes in Mandera was Somalia.
The study sought to establish what motivated people to acquire small arms. It was reported that the single most common motivation was fear due to insecurity. This was supported by the fact that all respondents reported that no single respondent was willing to surrender his/her fire arm at whatever cost. The project coordinators noted that instead members of public are now seeking to obtain more sophisticate weapons which are nowadays available and in the hands of the terror group Al-Shaabab which has been seeking support from Somali community. This implies a vast majority of residents have lived by the gun sufficiently enough to consider having a gun the only way to survive.

The village natives, the chiefs and the head teachers were required to explain the possible causes of proliferation of small arms within Mandera County. The causes identified are presented in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Causes of Proliferation of Small Arms (1991-2014)
The results presented in Figure 4.2 show that the most common cause of proliferation of small arms was border porosity with all the 27% of the head teachers, 31% of the village natives and chiefs 42% noting that the Kenya-Somali border allowed free trafficking of small arms. The chiefs explained that at any time there are non-Kenyans especially Somali nationals living in Mandera without valid immigration documents and who are not in refugee camps as expected. Explaining this a chief expressed concern that however vigilant they may be at the entrance points stretch of more than 300 kilometers along the Kenya–Somali border is unmonitored and bushy which is commonly used by Al-Shaabab militia in crossing to Kenya unnoticed. The border also allows frequent movement of Kenyans to Somalia and back a condition that makes it difficult for the provincial administration to curb influx of illegal immigrants. Explaining this, the village natives reported that due to the already established clan affiliations between the Kenyan Somali and the Somali clans it is difficult to identify terrorists or any non-Kenyan among Kenyans. This implies that terrorists and traffickers of SA are able carry out their business with minimal interference. Asked why it’s difficult to identify the intruders while they are well known to the community members a number of reasons were given. Firstly, the village natives noted that it was a well-established network of clans and that all the Somali nationals coming to Kenya illegally have a planned place to live within the established affiliated clans in Mandera or elsewhere and thus clan members hosting it may not be willing to disclose their activities. Commenting on this chiefs further noted that even the Al-Shaabab belong to particular clans are have affiliates who host them among the Mandera clans. These results concur with what was reported in January 1991, when rebels had managed to defeat the Red Berets, in the process toppling Barre's regime.
(Fitzgerald, 2002). According to Fitzgerald, the Somali National Army and all related military and security forces concurrently disbanded, with indeterminate elements reconstituted as irregular regional forces and clan militias.

Terrorism was rated second with 31% of the chiefs, 23% of the head teachers and 46% of the village natives indicating that it played a role in the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County. On this the chiefs explained that with the disbanded armies and other forces in Somalia becoming regional forces and clan militia men, all clans with affiliate clans in Mandera readily supply them with small arms as well train them. Further the chiefs reported that a vast majority of the militia associated with brutal murders and assassinations that are not linked to cattle rustling are from Somalia and not Kenya. Supporting this, the village natives reported that before the break of the Somali government inter-clan conflicts were based on scramble for pasture and water for animals. However, this changed drastically to erratic assassinations in which no animals are stolen. This implies the use of small arms has different motives rather than ordinary
inter-clan conflicts. The village natives further indicated that terrorists have managed to gain the support of their affiliate clans in Mandera and therefore are able to carry out their attacks unnoticed.

On the same matter, the chiefs noted that the militia have sophisticated weapons that they do not sell to their people in Mandera but aim at recruiting more to their group. This makes it easy for any interested people from Mandera to acquire small arms. Supporting this, the chiefs reported that it was a difficult situation to overcome as the natives of Mandera and their affiliated clans from Somalia speak same language.

Political alignments were also cited as a major cause for the proliferation of small arms. On this 30% of the village natives, 41% of the chiefs and 29% of the head teachers indicated that politics played a key role in enhancing the divisions of the people of Mandera on clan grounds. It was explained that just like their counter part clans in Somalia clans in Mandera started aligning themselves politically and choosing their own kinsmen to be their leaders. With clans having militia men support from Somalia and
other trained from within minority clans in specific areas have suffered repeated losses in politics resulting to fighting for political supremacy. The chiefs further noted that politicians have also been financing clans to acquire small arms used in unleashing terror on other clans.

These sentiments were supported by the village natives who alluded that the serious clan conflicts of 2006-2008 were a battle for political supremacy between the Murulle and the Garre with the Garre opposing election of political leaders from the Murulle community in their areas. The chiefs further reported that clans were also opposed to sharing political regions such as constituencies and wards with leaders inciting their communities into fighting for the personal political gain. Based on this the political leaders have protected their people from disarmament by the government claiming that it amounts to mistreatments while on the other hand encouraging them to be armed for their own protection. Specifically, it was noted that the Mandera clashes of the year 2013 were fueled by the capture of all parliamentary seats by the Garre who had teamed up with other communities. A village native attributed the clashes to the particular loss of the Garre community to capture the Mandera North Parliamentary seat, which had been curved out of Mandera Central Constituency. Supporting the political argument as a cause of proliferation of small arms, the chiefs reported that after the area politicians were summoned by the president, the conflicts stopped for a while. This implies that politicians were responsible for the conflicts and consequently the SA used. These findings are similar to what was reported by Frey (2002) who noted that armed conflicts are mainly political maneuvers by certain individuals who finance and plan for acquisition of small arms.
Increased insecurity was noted as a cause of proliferation of small arms by the chiefs (41%), the head teachers (35%) and also the village natives (24%). It was explained that all the clans felt insecure with the increasing insecurity in the area. It was noted by the chiefs that unlike in 30 years ago when conflicts were only clan based, currently clashes have become more common and shifted from fighting for resources to ideologies. This has forced clans and their leaders to have organized security for their people implying that they need to be armed and well trained. This has increased the demand for small arms and also the need for more sophisticated ones. Owing to this situation clans have also sought the support of militia from Somalia, housed the militia and protected them from arrest in exchange for small arms a factor that has increased the demand for small arms.
Least rated factor was the influx of refugees with 18% of the chiefs, 28% of the head teachers and 54% of the village natives noting that it contributed to the proliferation of small arms in Mandera. The village natives noted that a number of refugees are not genuine refugees but militia men who seek entry into Kenya as refugees. Such people are used by their militia leaders in trafficking SA to the country. The chiefs explained that with number of refugees growing well over 400000 it was impossible to monitor the camps closely and therefore they are likely to be used as hideouts by terrorists who are kinsmen of the refugees. Such camps are also used as traffic centre's for the small arms before they are delivered to their destination. This makes it easier for members of the public to acquire the fire arms as the refugee camps are free settlement areas that can be visited.

4.7 Impact of Small Arms on Children
The respondents were required to indicate the impacts of SA on children starting from the Shifita war of 1963 to the inter-clan conflicts of the year 2014 and Al-Shabaab attacks. It was established that the all the village natives interviewed had witnessed the wars from
the Shifta which started in 1963 and ended in 1968. However, the head teachers, the chiefs and the project coordinators could only give accounts of the recent conflicts from 1991 to 2014.

4.8 Impacts of Shifta War (1963-1968) on Children

It was found that only the village natives witnessed or participated in the Shifta war. This because it occurred a long time ago and majority of other respondents were either not born or were young to notice what was happening. While giving account of the Shifta war the natives reported that it was war between the government troops and Somali people supported by the Somali government with aim of uniting the Somali of Kenya and Somali of Somalia into a single nation the so called Somali nationalism.

On the involvement of children in the war, it was reported that children did not take centre stage as perpetrators or child soldiers although occasionally teenage boys would be involved in the fighting. This implied such children were affected as victims but not as perpetrators of violence by use of small arms.
On the direct impacts the respondents reported that occasionally children caught in battle front would be killed by government soldiers indiscriminately. Supporting this, a Mr. Shabure reported that he lost two sons who were the so called in Somali “Lambeera/Dalalya” (teenagers) during the Shifta war and that in a number of attacks in Bulla Jamhuria, Bulla Kamor and Bulla Amouary were completely wiped out including their young children. Explaining this, a respondent noted that the Shifta war was mingled with some clan conflicts aimed at livestock theft. Such clans would attack other clans pretending to be Shifta only but to steal their flock during which women and children were occasionally killed. Secondly, the Shifta were not only fighting the government soldiers but also the local people perceived to be opposed to the secession movement or sympathizers of the government. Basing their argument on this the Shifta would attack and kill people in their residential areas indiscriminately. Supporting this, it was noted that a group of the so called Shifta raided a manyatta and killed a man, his wife and a child in El-Wak during the Shifta war. These findings concur with the report of Army/GSU Report (1967) that on 24th July 1967, a patrol of Kings Rifles sighted 5 suspected Shifta in which two were killed and a boy of eleven captured. The village natives further reported that the Shifta was not purely Shifta fighting with government troops but also mingled with clan conflicts. This was highlighted by many respondents noting that clans would attack others and still livestock or destroy livestock under the pretext that they were pro government or did not cooperate with the Shifta movement. These sentiments concur with the findings reported by Whittaker (2008) who noted that in July 1967 in Garissa on 15 July 500 head of cattle being confiscated without a Shifta contact was sandwiched between spates of insurgency activity in the area. On 30 June, a
Shifta gang attacked a police post, and on 1 July a gang of 100 Shifta abducted the mother of a known gang leader, Salad Kumo, along with four children, and attacked Ijara village.

Another key impact was displacement of children from their homes. For instance, children were arrested alongside their parents by the Kings Rifles troops on some occasions which led to displacement from their homes. It was also reported that due to the sandwich between the Shifta war and insurgency by Somali militia on some communities that were deemed not supportive to the secession movement families fled their Manyattas especially in areas considered unfriendly that were frequently attacked. A native from Bulla Amoury reported that Koromi and Kubi Arana villages were among the most hit with Shifta attacks and displacement of humans. Supporting these are the findings of Whittaker (2008) who notes that on 28 November 1967 at Koromi, Mandera District, twenty armed Shifta raided a Manyatta stealing goats from the village. This followed an incident a day earlier where in Kubi Arana, also in Mandera, thirty armed
Shifta entered a Manyatta and in the process of stealing six camels from the village wounded a woman and child.

On education, the Shifta was reported to have brought education not only in Mandera but the entire NFD to a halt. Villagers noted that the government withdrew their support for the existing schools leading to the closure of more that 80% of the schools. It was further reported that insecurity was so high that girls would not be let out by their parents due to fear of rape and abduction by insurgents while boys were constantly attacked and arrested by both the government troops as well as the insurgents. It was further explained the clans purely supportive to Shifta were preparing their teenage boys for war with government while those opposed to it were preparing their boys for war against suspected insurgents. This implies that the Shifta war further widened the gap between the Somali clans leading to the endless clan conflicts shortly after the end of the Shifta in 1968. Mzee Abdikadir from Damasa arguably reports that such divisions are conspicuous till the present date and clans are still divided along such lines in Mandera. This implies that the Shifta has had long standing impacts as a cause of community conflicts in Mandera.

Loss of opportunities by the children was reported as most profound impact. On this, lack of humanitarian assistance, famine and loss of parents denied a huge number of children the opportunities to go back to schools even after the Shifta war. Reconstruction of schools was not done as expected thus more that 90% of the children who had dropped out during the war never went back to school. Citing specific examples, the village natives further reported during the time of the Shifta were only a few schools were present in Mandera town and they were all closed down either throughout the period of Shifta war or for the better part of it. This virtually brought education to a halt. It was
further explained that locals were unable to distinguish between Shilta militia and clan rivals who attacked them in the name of Shilta with aim of stealing cattle a situation that made them withdraw their children from school and start training them on how to defend themselves their families and their livestock. Confirming this Mzee Abdullahi who was the then village elder in Bulla Jamhuria reported that it became so difficult to re-unite the people from different clans as there was no more trust between them. This implies that parents who had problems in enrolling their children to school had now a reason for not taking their children back school. Others who were willing were unable due to the schools closure. Further, it was reported by the village natives that the period was long extending beyond 5 years. Those children, who were in school majority of whom were already over age, could not wait that long, as they reached adult and got married. This problem cut across gender although girls were more affected. Supporting this Mzee Abdikadir from Damasa noted that almost all the girls never went back school after the war since they had all been married by the end of the war. Similar findings have been reported in other studies. For instance, the report of Small Arms Survey (2001) the presence and use of the weapons in African countries has left children with broken-down families and communities, limited access to healthcare and education, and vulnerable to child trafficking, exploitation, gender-based violence, though data on direct impacts is scanty.

Psychological affection was noted by the teachers and the humanitarian workers. The teachers reported that a culture of violence seems to be a norm in Mandera and this has traversed from one generation to the other till the children of the present day. Supporting this, a large number of the teachers reported fights between boys in schools as so frequent.
and always based on clan lines. A Mr. Maahalim noted that similar differences to those shown by the boys appear between the parents if called for arbitration in schools. This implies that children have been brought in an environment where violence is the order of the day and developed culture of violence as a means of solving problems. The fights among clan lines further indicate that clan animosity is historical and traverses from one generation to the other along ethnic lines. These findings are in concurrence with the findings of Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue [CHD] (2003) in which it was found that poor control to access of small arms can facilitate recourse to criminal, domestic and inter-state violence, creating a culture of violence and social discord that may last for generations.

A second psychological impact that was not was despair. The village natives noted that with formal education having been introduced in Mandera scores of families were ready to adopt formal education after independence. Reporting this it was noted that a number school age children though very few had the courage to walk even 20 kilometers in a day to Mandera town for formal schooling. However, with the schools closed and having been forced to engage in war or stay at home for years such children despaired in life as education seemed to be their only hope. MzeeAbdullahi noted that these were mostly converted into cattle rustlers and clan fighters whose hopes were broken by the Shifta war.

4.9 Inter-Clan Conflicts (1968-1990)
This is post Shifta war in which inter-clan conflicts were clearly identified. The respondents were requested to give a brief account of the wars in terms of the nature of attacks, who were targeted as well as the impacts. The period is divided into three different conflict era: 1968-1982; 1983-2005; and 2005-2015. On involvement of
children in clan clashes it was noted that very few schools were available immediately
after the Shifta war children especially boys were forced to be herds men before age of 18
years and even entrusted with the security of their livestock. The village natives further
reported that clans thus started training their boys on use small arms acquired during the
Shifta as a way of protecting their livestock. This shows that occasionally children were
involved in the fights as both victims and perpetrators of gun violence. A Koroma native
noted that it was now time for the Shifta raided clans to claim back their livestock from
other clans lost during the Shifta war. Owing to this a number deaths were reported
including children. A respondent in Bulla Afya implicated this period as the traumatizing
to the children as armed gangs were not selective but killed anyone preventing them from
stealing livestock or deemed to be using their pasture and water or water.

In another interview it was noted that, children especially boys were being trained early
on claniarism, fighting and cattle rustling. This was a serious problem especially on
education as it was deemed a better way of grooming the boys as opposed to formal
education. Such trained boys would engage in fights when there are attacks or when
herding their livestock. Supporting this, teachers, area chiefs and project coordinators
reported that this has led to adoption of attitude of violence by the boys which is always
on clan lines even at school. Similar results were reported by Cagoco-Guiam (2002),
when he noted that exposure of children to armed conflicts leads to the development of a
culture of violence. Further support of these findings is by Bengwayan (2002). According
to Bengwayan (2002) children born in fights always use violence as the only and easiest
way of solving their problems or simple conflicts.
Dropout from school was also reported as a major impact of interclan conflicts. The village natives explained that due to insecurity, a large number of schools would be closed down for long periods of time within which a large chunk of children would drop out. Owing to the time wastage girls would grow into teenage while still in lower primary school levels a fact that led to dropout due to early marriage. Supporting this, teachers reported that due to frequent disruption of schools by the fights most the children in schools in refugee camps or affected areas are over age and constantly dropout of school. Secondly, due to insecurity there are few government schools and almost no private schools except schools owned by NGOs and mainly humanitarian organizations such as churches. This makes it hard for a large number of children to access schools from their homes. The village natives noted that some children could trek distances beyond 15 kilometers to school a factor that greatly contributes to poor performance and in advanced states dropout. Other may not even enroll. It was further explained that in such areas where schools were that scarce, the entry age of children could be even be 11-13 years owing to the long distances increasing the rate of dropout due to over age.

Insecurity has also had serious impacts on education of the children in other ways. For instance, the head teachers reported that long period of conflict have led to low education standards with very low completion rates. This implies trained man power such as teachers in the area are always scarce. This has prompted Mandera County to rely on people from other regions as teachers thus the schools are always understaffed. This understaffing further leads to poor performance denying the children opportunities to join good schools, colleges and universities. Confirming this problem, the area chiefs reported that more than 90% of the teachers in both primary and secondary schools were from
outside Mandera County. More serious is the fact the few teachers who accept to be employed in Mandera County soon transfer to other areas due to insecurity. These findings concur with the findings of Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (2004) which reported that children in war torn areas may drop out of school due to school closure, lack of schools or inaccessibility of the existing schools as well as low standards of education due to lack of qualified teachers due to fear especially girls.

Poor access or lack of essential services to the children was also noted. Under this, it was reported that important institutions such as hospitals were few and poorly staffed due to insecurity. This could be attributed to the fact that insecurity made medical personnel unwilling to work within Mandera. This coupled with lack of native medical officers in Mandera made the situation worse. Supporting the project coordinators reported that they had serious problems when providing humanitarian assistance to the affected in conflicts such as the injured due to lack personnel. The coordinators further reported that a number of dispensaries were opened a long time ago including El-Wak, Ramo and Takaba but had only one medical person who worked as a nurse, a doctor and a pharmacist each while even Mandera district hospital did not have even a single consultant doctor. This implies that primary services to children such as medical services were not well provided.

On the other hand, food and water have been scarce in Mandera forcing children to be malnutrition. As noted by the coordinators, food and water were scarce over long periods and provision of the same was extremely difficult during the period when clashes were taking place. This has made children starve and at times death due to malnutrition and hunger have been reported. Similar sentiments were made by Global IDP Project (2003) that children in war affected areas lack food, water and other essential services as
insecurity conditions may not even allow humanitarian organizations deliver such services.

4.10 Inter-clan Conflicts/Al-Shaabab Insurgency of 1991-2014

The natives were required to give a brief account of the conflicts involving the use of small arms in Mandera since 1991 which marked the fall of Somali government after the killing of Siad Barre. The village natives reported that the start of this period was marked by mass immigration of Somali refugees into Kenya through Mandera. it also led to the beginning of a new era in the conflicts in Mandera with a large number of fire arms being brought into Mandera by affiliate clans that had formed clan militia men most of whom were members of the disbanded armed forces of Siad Barre’s government.

The respondents noted that for the first time organized groups started being formed in clans so that each clan now seemed to have its own militia. More sophisticated weapons were started spreading among locals in Mandera County. Furthermore, just as it happened in Somalia, political interests started growing along clan lines and this started attracting the attention of politicians who were keen to gain from the new political realignments.

Similarly, the clashes changed tactics from the usual inter-clan fights to unexpected killings between supporters of different political figures. Recruitment of “Lambeera/qeero” (teenage boys) into militia also became prominent thing coupled with training in the use of fire arms. This implies that the inter-clan conflicts of this era are usually organized, financed and motives are usually based on political alignments rather than on clan bases such that clans with common political interests support each other.

The study sought to establish who are involved in the armed conflicts of Mandera. The respondents reported that the fights involve clan militia men who are sometimes assisted by militia from affiliated clans in Somalia. These conflicts usually occur just as the
common inter-clan though they show no motive of stealing livestock as the case in the earlier years. They are commonly night attacks by armed bandits on settlements that kill people indiscriminately from the men to women to children. The village natives further noted that such attacks are more frequent and intensified just before or immediately after elections signifying that they have some political motives and links. Other common incidences of misuse of SA are related to terrorist attacks to innocent civilians living in Mandera mostly orchestrated by the Al-Shaabab.

On involvement of children the village natives and the chiefs acknowledged that terrorist groups have recruited children under the age of 18 years mainly boys, radicalized them and trained them as fighters using arms. The chiefs further alluded that clan militia also involve boys in their fights mainly by training them on the use of small arms with aim of enhancing clan security. This implies that unlike other conflict periods during this period children are affected by the small arms either as victims or perpetrators of gun violence. The impacts of the SA on the during the period 1991-2014 identified are presented in Figure 4.3.
Figure 4.3 Impacts of Small Arms on Children in the Period 1991-2014

The results presented in Figure 4.3 show that among the impacts of the misuse of SA on children was death which was noted by 100% of the village natives. The village native explained that some children were directly involved in the fighting especially those who joined the clan militia and were caught in fire during the clan conflicts. The villagers further reported that raiders were not selective in killing when carrying out their operations and this has led to a number children being killed. Similarly, 87.5% of the head teachers and 75.0% of the chiefs acknowledged that children have lost their lives orchestrated by small arms. Explaining this, the chiefs not that some children were recruited in terror groups such as the Al-Shabaab and clan militia. Such children were actually as child soldiers and majority die in crossfire during attacks. The head teachers also reported that some school children were lost in the home raids while others dropped out of school only to recognize they had become clan fighters. This implies that children lost their lives as perpetrators of violence using small arms or as victims of violence. This was confirmed by the children during focus group discussions who reported that all of
them had witnessed some form gun violence with some saying that they have lost their brothers and sisters in fights. These findings concur with the findings reported by the HRW (2003a) which reported that militia train children on the use guns and sometimes such children are forced to execute others or other people.

The children also noted that they were trained to handle guns and use guns when herding to protect their livestock and that sometimes they are attacked some are killed while others would manage to escape. Others reported that at times when attacked they have managed to kill the attackers. This could be attributed to the nomadic pastoralist lifestyle of the Somali in which during drought boys drop out of schools to move cattle in search of pasture thus exposing them to gun violence. Confirming this, one chief said “all herding boys in today’s Mandera can use a gun and have at least handled it in their life”.

Supporting these findings are the findings by Oxfarm (2001). According to Oxfarm (2001), some 11 children were killed in Lokichogio by armed gun men. Pkalya, Adan, Masinde, and Karimi (2003) also reported that analysis of media reports showed that a number of children from Mandera have lost their lives while engaging in clan fights while other are innocently killed.
The second direct impact of SA on children was that the use SA in Mandera cause displacement of children. On this, 100% of the chiefs indicated that children suffer displacement due to SA, 93.8% of the village natives as well as 87.5% of the head teachers. Explaining this, the head teachers reported that many times schools have been hit with chronic absenteeism of children when clashes displace population. The chiefs further explained that it was common occurrence that people in Mandera are internally displaced. Supporting this, chiefs reported that the 2013 clashes between Garre and the Degodia left the Garre people displaced with more than 20 houses burnt. These findings agree with the findings reported by Global IDP Project (2003).
The indirect impacts noted included negative impact on the education of the children. All the head teachers (100%), all the chiefs (100%) and 87.5% of the village natives felt that SA arms use in Mandera had devastating impacts on the education of children in Mandera County. This was expressed in a number of ways.

Firstly, it was noted that clashes led to closure of schools due to insecurity leading to school time wastage. The head teachers further noted that tension was always high among the teachers and students for schools not closed and therefore little teaching and learning went on during periods of conflicts. For instance the 2013 clashes led to the closure of all the primary and secondary schools in Rhamu while in the neighbouring areas teachers were not attending school due to fear of being attacked. Supporting this, the chiefs explained that most teachers were not natives of Mandera and could not report to work when clashes were on going. The chiefs further mentioned the patterns of the clashes were unpredictable and therefore at times they are forced to close down schools in the neighbouring areas to affected area. Further during times of conflict parents are afraid of
releasing their children to school especially girls for fear of rape or sexual violence thus, high absenteeism rates.

Another aspect on the impact on education was the everlasting problem of teachers. The head teachers noted that SA misuse in Mandera has caused untold suffering to teachers teaching in Mandera due to fear and lack of access to important social services. Owing to this teachers are not motivated to teach in Mandera. Such teachers seek for transfers leaving schools understaffed. This lowers the standards of education denying the children of Mandera the opportunities to compete effectively with their counterparts in other counties. The low education standards have had long term effects on the staffing as Mandera County has been unable to produce enough teachers from the region to serve their schools. This was further supported by the chiefs who regretted that the brutal murder of about 20 teachers by Al-Shaabab militia has led to mass exodus of teachers from Mandera County which has seriously affected staffing and therefore the education standards. This implies use proliferation of small arms in Mandera has serious negative impacts on education.
On the other hand, the head teachers reported that a vast majority of children have suffered psychologically due to the use of small arms. Specifically, children who have witnessed killing using small arms appear depressed for a long time before recovery thus low concentration in school. Others who have been involved in the fights using small arms have developed violent behavior which is difficult to prevent in school. Such children may not receive rehabilitation services and therefore believe that life must be by the gun. Clan animosity driven by SA has also caused the view that different clans exist in schools hindering socialization in schools. The children also expressed the ideas that SA arms have affected them psychologically with a number of boys reporting that they have been involved in clan fights which cause long term trauma to them when they remember. Others content that they have lost brother, sisters and parents being killed using small arms which has caused them emotional distress. Similar findings were reported by Abass (2013) who noted displacement of population, destruction of
infrastructure as well as teacher insecurity have affected the provision of quality education in Mandera County.

Provision of medical care to children has also been impaired by the SA arms proliferation in Mandera County. This was highlighted by 75.0% of the village natives and chiefs while 62.5% of the head teachers reported the same. In Mandera County there are a number hospitals that offer general medical services in different towns. However the chiefs noted that the hospitals are always understaffed and lack consultants due to insecurity. Destruction of infrastructure further affects the delivery of services at medical centre's. Supporting this a head teacher reported that Mandera District hospital which is the largest hospital lacks doctors and nurses enough to handle casualties in Mandera county. The project coordinators working with humanitarian organizations further reported that giving medical care to affected children is hard due to poor staffing and poor infrastructure in Mandera especially during conflicts where victims are to be
relocated to long distances for medical care. The spread of SA in Mandera thus impairs the provision of medical services to children.

Another impact on children was cited was the denial of the children to access adequate food and water. This was noted by 87.5% of the head teachers, 87.5% of the village natives and 75.0% of the chiefs. The head teachers felt that Mandera County being an arid area people mainly depended on livestock for their livelihoods. When livestock are stolen and access to pasture and water for livestock denied to some clans due to conflicts families may not have anything to feed their children a case which leads to starvation of the children. The chiefs and the natives seemed to agree on the fact that displaced families do not get adequate food and sometimes go without clean water for days as humanitarian assistance may not provide adequate food and water. Secondly, clashes have often lead to destruction of houses leading to total displacement of the people. This forces the families to survive on food aid which mainly may not be enough. In case of
vast areas being affected by violence by small arms, insecurity in the area prevents the populations from searching for food and even makes it hard for humanitarian workers to provide compounding the problem. This implies that often during crisis food and water are always scarce commodities to the affected people. Violence by SA has also claimed the lives family heads leaving children orphaned thus subjecting them to long term lack of basic wants such as food and shelter. These findings are the sentiments by Abass (2013) who reported that the misuse of fire arms has led to wide spread displacements of people leaving many with nothing and living in camps. This has deprived the displaced children of education, access to health services, food, water as well as access to humanitarian aid in many parts of Northern Kenya.

Lastly, were the psychological impacts of SA on children. A number of psychological impacts were identified. These were: trauma, despair and culture of violence. The teachers, the coordinators, chiefs, village natives as well as the children themselves
reported the psychological impacts as common among all children who have been involved in armed conflict or affected by SA. Reporting this, the head teachers noted that in their schools there were numerous cases of students who appeared depressed owing to the trauma of seeing their relatives die. The children supported this indicating that memories of their experience with small arms being used to kill people make them stressed. The chiefs also reported that a number of children required rehabilitation in hospitals after being subjected to SA violence. This was also the case of children who could remember losing their relatives through gun fire in raids by militia or in the battle for pasture and water. More depressed were girls who had been subjected to sexual violence such as rape or other children who had witnessed such atrocities being done to their relatives. For instance, during the focus group discussions one child says between sobs “I don’t like to remember what they did to my mother”. These findings concur with the findings of Pkalya, Adan, Masinde, and Karimi (2003) who noted that, the presence and use of the weapons left children with broken-down families and communities, limited access to healthcare and education, and vulnerable to child trafficking, exploitation, gender-based violence, HIV/AIDS and other diseases leaving the children depressed even during the post conflict era.

Another psychological impact was despair caused by lost opportunities. The teachers noted that a large number of affected students had their hopes in education, are bright and willing to prosper in life. However, with SA violence some of them lost their parents and their livestock while their homes were completely burnt. Such children loose hope in life leading to despair. This implies that such a child may resolve to dropout from school and join militia out of despair. The children further noted that violence has caused them a
number of years out of school leading to despair in education and that they have no more hopes in education. These results are in agreement with the findings of HRW (2003) some children join armed groups due to desperation, abject poverty and absence of access to education, majority of them are forcibly taken from their schools and separated from their families.

The respondents also noted that children who had been exposed to violence over time and grown in conflict prone areas developed a culture of violence. The head teachers reported that incidences of violence in schools are very common are usually based on clans. For instance Degodia boys will usually want to fight the Garre boys whenever there is a disagreement however simple it is. This could be attributed to a number of things. First, is the teaching and training of the boys at clan level that makes them grow up knowing their clan rivals as enemies. The chiefs further indicated that teenage boys are trained to protect their families and livestock when herding using guns. Such a child who has been exposed to the use of fire arm at a tender age learns how to live by the gun may have been involved in a gun fight or even killed somebody using a gun. The head teaches reported that such children threaten not only their peers but also teachers. These findings are similar to the findings shown by Stohl (2001) who noted that children brought up in conflicts are more likely to be violent users of SA and even join militia as a way of life.

4.11 Ways in which Proliferation of Small Arms can be Controlled
The respondents were required to suggest possible ways that could be used to curb the proliferation of small arms in Mandera. The following strategies were identified as ways that could be used to the proliferation of small arms.
4.12 International Boarder Restrictions

The most key way of controlling the proliferation of small arms in Mandera that was emphasized by the chiefs, head teachers, village natives and the coordinators was imposing restrictions on boarders between Kenya and all other neighbouring countries especially Somalia and Ethiopia. It was reported by all the respondents that SA used in Mandera gain entry into the country through the Kenya-Somalia, and the Kenya-Ethiopia boarders. The village natives explained that clans in Mandera have affiliations with other clans in Ethiopia and Somalia where SA arms are in plenty are almost trafficked openly from militia. These affiliate clans supply not only SA to the Kenyan Somali in Mandera for free but also militia aid through training on the use of the SA.

The head teachers further noted that militia men from Somalia and Ethiopia have terrorized residents in Mandera in a number of times though they always attack a specific clan but not all the people in general. This implies that the militia are acting on behalf of their kinsmen in Kenya or they are Kenyan Somali who cross into the neighbouring countries arrange and attack other clans in Kenya at night and seek refuge back in Ethiopia and Somalia. This could be attributed to the porosity of the boarders that allows entry and exit from Kenya unnoticed to the extent that one may carry all sought of weapons to Kenya even during the day and not be recognized. These results concur with the findings of Pkalya, Adan, Masinde, and Karimi (2003) who noted that SA proliferation cannot be reduced in Kenya with porous borders and so many militia in Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia with access to Kenya at will.

Similarly, the chiefs further noted that, the nomadic lifestyle coupled with the open boarders in which pedestrians could be restricted is a major accelerator of the proliferation of small arms. Since there is a stretch of close to 700 Km along the northern
parts of the country that is bushy with few entry points to restrict movement of vehicles, herdsmen cross with the their animals in pretence that they are in search for pasture only to visit their counter parts in the neighbouring countries and obtain arms and ammunition. One chief exclaims “surprisingly even for those not affiliated across the border guns are so cheap and sold in exchange for livestock that each family can have a gun at will”. This could be attributed to the insecurity situation in Mandera which necessities underscores the need for a fire arm and the availability of the SA at low cost. SA being easy to use, maintain and potable they are obtained even by the poor.

The study further sought to know in which ways could boarder entry restriction be put. Firstly, the respondents suggested the construction of a wall or digging of a spiked trench that could not allow anyone except at the designate boarder entry point. This would imply that whether herdsmen, refugees or militia all people would have to pass through entry points unless they break or climb the wall which would be difficult. However, the village natives still felt that bandits would still find a way of making the SA arms cross without having to climb the wall and cross to Kenya themselves. It was argued that either the wall or the trench could be supplemented by forces.

On the forces, respondents felt that the Kenyan army was idle and doing nothing at other barracks where no external threats yet there are supposed to guard Kenyans against external aggression. It was proposed that such boarders to could further be monitored through constant patrols by the Kenya army with military camps erected at specific points along the border.

The project coordinators further expressed the feeling that this may reduce the influx of armed militia into our country but may not fully control the SA rams trafficking business
due to minimal time required to cross a gun a over a fence. Based on this argument, the coordinators suggested that there should be 24 hour CCTV surveillance that could capture and relay real time incidences along the border to a central control system that can store images without manipulation. This would further avert the incidences of SA entry into the country through collaboration of militia with corrupt officers at the border points. These findings are similar to what as suggested by UNRIC (2006), who reported that the unique characteristics of SA make them spread easily as they are easy to operate, portable, easy to maintain and cheap and they last long. The sentiments made by Ringquist (2011) since the Shifta the Kenya-Somalia border has been the major entry point of small arms into Kenya thus its closure or control is a possible solution to the proliferation of small arms.

4.12 Controlled Disarmament and Enforcement of the Law
This refers to a way of collecting and destroying the already acquired SA from the people living in Mandera and taking stern legal actions against all those involved in either acquisition, purchase, misuse of SA and profiling of conflicts without discrimination. This suggestion was given by the head teachers, coordinators, village natives as well as the chiefs.

The chiefs revealed that already the number of SA circulating within Mandera was so high that it is enough to sustain war for a long time. It is the feeling that rival clans have fire arms that motivates locals to maintain theirs even when government amnesty is given. Secondly, the fear of attacks coupled with the government's inability to protect the local people greatly drives others to acquire fire arms for their own security. This argument was complemented by the argument by the head teachers who reported that its worth risking arrest for possession of SA than being murdered in cold blood
defenselessly due to lack of arms to protect yourself an enemy you know. This implies that locals need a convincing action to willingly surrender their SA amnesty or no amnesty. It further insinuates that the residents of Mandera are not only ready to acquire SA for their protection but have completely lost trust with the government apparatus and activities in providing security. It was therefore evident that disarmament would require careful operation that would first bring government trust to the people before undertaking disarmament process.

When asked about the solution to this mistrust, the respondents explained that the government needs to stamp out authority in security affairs and first ensure that there is improved security in the region. This would involve dealing with the perpetrators and financiers of the conflicts who happen to mainly politicians. On this matter the chiefs lamented that their lives are put at cross roads when, politicians incite villagers and chiefs are held responsible. The chiefs further expressed the government’s unwillingness to take the right action by protecting those who are politically right and victimizing those who are not politically connected. The village natives further noted that good arrangements of procurement of SA are made by politicians and thus the government needs to deal with the political class first before disarming the people. This could be attributed to the fact that political alignments are clan based on clans. This led to the suggestion that for the clashes to come to end the government must unite the politicians and take action against those involved in community violence and the rest will comply. Secondly, the teachers and the coordinators advocated for community awareness and teaching supported by the community political to enable the people to understand the negative impacts of the SA on the livelihoods of their children. This should also involve counseling and rehabilitation.
of those children and adults affected by the violence directly so as to end the culture of violence as well as despair.

As noted, a number of children have been introduced into militia and involved in gun fighting, a situation that has caused them trauma, despair and a sense violence in resolving issues. Such people need to be assisted through guidance and counseling to enable them re-integrate with the society. This counseling may then be followed by voluntary disarmament that could involve surrendering of fire arms of the security organs without the fear of victimization.

The study sought to find out what would be done if a vast majority were not willing to surrender the SA even after the government’s effort in community awareness and security enhancement. The chiefs noted that it was expected that not all will be willing to be disarmed and therefore forceful disarmament may then be used as well enforcing the local on illegal possession of fire arms to deter the public from acquiring more. The findings of this study are in agreement with the findings of Berman and Muggah (2001) who noted children and people involved in armed conflicts are psychologically affected and need counseling to rehabilitate them and re-integrate them with the society.

4.13 Creation of Opportunities for Mandera Residents in General

It was noted that a vast majority of residents of Mandera did not have formal jobs and no income earning activities at all. This was attributed to the fact that Mandera is an arid area with low population density thus very little business opportunities. The problem of lack of investments in Mandera was compounded by insecurity and poor infrastructure. Owing to this a vast majority of Mandera residents especially the youth did not have any income earning activities thus idleness led them into joining militia groups. The
government would thus partially solve the problem by creating income earning opportunities.

The study sought to establish the ways in which the government would help create job opportunities. The chiefs noted that due to insecurity, people were unwilling to invest in Mandera thus improved security was one way of creating opportunities as well as reclaiming lost opportunities. The coordinators identified improvement of infrastructure as a way of encouraging investment in the area. Mandera has poor road networks, communication network as well as power supply a factor that prevents investors from opening businesses in rural parts of Mandera. Mandera being dry the residents have thus been condemned to nomadic pastoralism which is facing serious challenges due to drought, increased population and ever escalating livestock theft. On this matter village natives felt that the government needs to provide adequate sources of water for irrigation which would turn the population from pastoralists to mixed farmers and eventually stop cattle rustling, the fight for pasture and water among others. Supporting this, chiefs noted that a small population within Mandera practice horticulture and these are mainly never involved in armed conflicts unless suffering as victims of the attacks. This could be attributed to the fact that such farmers do not fight for pasture and have small patches of land that give them enough food for their families and for sale as well as grass for their livestock. An example of such farms are locate along Dauariver from Mandera town towards the Somalia-Kenya border.
5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings
The study sought to find out the causes of proliferation of small arms, the impacts of small arms on children in Mandera County from 1963-2014 and suggest ways in which the proliferation of small arms can be controlled in Mandera County. The period was divided into three different era: Shifta war of 1963-1968; inter-clan conflicts of 1968-1990; and interclan conflicts/Al-Shabaab insurgency of 1991-2014.

5.2 Causes of proliferation of Small Arms Shifta war (1963-1968)
It was found that the Shifta war was a fight between government forces of Kenya and shifta insurgents who were sponsored by the Somalia government supporting the secession agenda that wanted to unite all Somali people by making the NFD part of Somalia an idea that was strongly opposed by the government.

The main sources of small arms were the Kenya government which used the armed forces and issued some rifles to the Garre community to protect their livestock. The government of Somalia was responsible for the SA used by the Shifta in fighting government troops as well as natives deemed un supportive to the secession agenda. The supportive natives also received SA from the Shifta.

Among the major causes cited was issuance of small arms to civilians by the government and the laxity by the government in enforcing law on use and possession of fire arms. In this case respondents noted that the people of Mandera were not aware of the use fire arms in fighting until the government issued some villagers with guns to protect their livestock without control.
The second noted cause was internal insecurity caused by animosity between clans in Mandera County. This implies that every clan felt unsafe and started planning to arm themselves to secure themselves and their livestock. It is due to these that clan elders started enlightening their people on importance of owning a fire arm making the already bad situation.

Porosity of national borders was also noted as a key factor accelerating the proliferation of small arms in Mandera. On this the village natives, the chiefs and programme officers reported that Mandera County borders Somalia on one side and Ethiopia on the other side and that the borders are porous with no restricted entry for humans making it possible for easy travel from Ethiopia to Kenya and from Somalia to Kenya a factor that enhances trafficking of small arms from the neighbouring countries of Somalia and Ethiopia.

The third cause was poor security operations by the government. It was explained that security personnel do not offer adequate or promising security during conflict and even post conflict times a situation that persuades every clan to equip its men for their own protection. Another factor that was cited was traditional clan animosity. A serious concern on this was expressed by the teachers, village natives, the students, the chiefs as well as the humanitarian organization officers. Historically, the Kenyan Somali are divided into clans Murulle, Garreh and Degodia being the major clans in Mandera. These are sub clans that identify themselves with some other clans in both Somalia and Ethiopia which have long history of animosity.

5.3 Inter-clan Conflicts (1968-1990)
This period was characterized by armed conflicts between different clans in attempt to control pasture lands and water resources as well as livestock theft. However, intense
fighting was reported as clans had acquired fire arms during and after the shifta war from affiliate clans in Somalia.

The causes identified for the proliferation of small arms were: Cross borderpastorarism was the most highly rated cause the proliferation of small arms with 87.5% of the chiefs and 87.5% of the village natives blaming it for the trafficking of small arms from neighbouring countries; Somalia, Ethiopia and sometimes Uganda. Second was the government laxity in the control of possession and use of small arms in Mandera. This was reported by 75.0% of the chiefs and 93.8% of the village natives. On this the chiefs explained that SA possession in Mandera was not treated as a secret affair although the SA are illegally possessed by the public. This provides the government with the opportunity of arresting and prosecuting the identified people. However, this has not been done for political reasons a situation that gives the rest of the public the courage to buy theirs.

Drought was noted by 75.0% of chiefs and 68.8% of the village natives. It was explained that due to long dry spells, there is serious lack of pasture for livestock as well as drinking water. This prompts the people to travel long distances in search of pasture and water. Owing to the regular livestock theft within the area herders are forced to seek for arms to secure their livestock as they move in search for pasture. The village natives noted that herders are forced to illegally cross the Kenyan borders and graze in neighbouring countries thus they have access to SA from their clan affiliates. This also allows the cross the herders to Kenya unnoticed making SA trafficking easy. Livestock theft was identified as the fourth most common cause of proliferation of small arms with 75.0% of the respondents representing village natives and 62.5% of the area chiefs
reporting it. The last cause was insecurity which was reported by 50.0% of the village natives and 37.5% by the area chiefs. The chiefs felt that owing to the insecurity situation in the area people have resolved to arm and protect themselves as the government had failed to it.

5.4 Inter-clan conflicts/Al-Shabaab Insurgency (1991-2014)
Border porosity was the main cause with all the chiefs (100%), 87.5% of the head teachers and 75.0% of the village natives noting that the Kenya- Somali border allowed free trafficking of small arms. Terrorism was rated second with 100% of the chiefs, 75.0% of the head teachers and 62.5% of the village natives indicating that it played a role in the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County. On this the chiefs explained that with the disbanded armies and other forces in Somalia becoming regional forces and clan militia men, all clans with affiliate clans in Mandera readily supply them with small arms as well train them.

Political alignments were also cited as a major cause for the proliferation of small arms. On this 87.5% of the village natives, 75.0% of the chiefs and 62.5% of the head teachers indicated that politics played a key role in enhancing the divisions of the people of Mandera on clan grounds. It was explained that just like their counter part clans in Somalia clans in Mandera started aligning themselves politically and choosing their own kinsmen to be their leaders. Increased insecurity was noted as a cause of proliferation of small arms by the chiefs (87.5%), the head teachers (62.5%) and also the village natives 56.3%. It was explained that all the clans felt insecure with the increasing insecurity in the area. It was noted by the chiefs that unlike in 30 years ago when conflicts were only clan based, currently clashes have become more common and shifted from fighting for resources to ideologies. This has forced clans and their leaders to have organized security
for their people implying that they need to be armed and well trained. Least rated factor was the influx of refugees with 75.0% of the chiefs, 62.5% of the head teachers and 50.0% of the village natives noting that it contributed to the proliferation of small arms in Mandera. The village natives noted that a number of refugees are not genuine refugees but militia men who seek entry into Kenya as refugees. Such people are used by their militia leaders in trafficking SA to the country.

5.5 Impacts of Small Arms on Children
The impacts identified as follows: death of children caught in battle. The Shifta war was mingled with some clan conflicts aimed at livestock theft. Such clans would attack other clans pretending to be Shifta only but to steal their flock during which women and children were occasionally killed. The interclan conflicts had also none selective brutal murders that would include children especially boys that were herding livestock. Terrorist attacks have recruited children into militia thus a number of them are killed in fights. Another key impact was displacement of children from their homes. For instance, children were arrested alongside their parents by the Kings Rifles troops on some occasions which led to displacement from their homes. The interclan conflicts also lead to burning of houses making children to internally displaced.

Negative effects on education of the children was also reported. The Shifta war, interclan conflicts as well as terrorists attacks led to closure of schools. They also led to failure of children to attend schools due to fear of possible attacks. Poor staffing in schools due to insecurity led to low education standards. There was also poor access to medical care, food and water. Psychological impacts such as distress, trauma and culture of violence were also reported among school children.
5.6 Ways of Controlling Proliferation of Small Arms
Three major ways that could be used to control the proliferation of small arms were identified. Firstly was the restriction of international borders between Kenya and other Countries. This could be done by building a barrier wall or a trench that would limit easy entry coupled with border patrols and CCTV surveillance to monitor corrupt entry allowance by immigration and security officers.

The second was controlled disarmament of civilians and enforcement of law on small arms possession and use. Lastly was the creation of opportunities in Mandera through improvement of infrastructure, water supply for irrigation so as to reduce nomadic pastorarism.

5.7 Conclusions
The study identified, border porosity, insecurity, lack of opportunities, government laxity in control of small arms and enhancement of security as the key causes of the proliferation of SA.

The impacts of SA on children were found to be death, displacement, poor or no education for the children, poor access to medical care, food and water. Psychological impacts such as despair, trauma and culture of violence were noted.

5.8 Recommendations
Based on the conclusions, the study recommends the following:

i. Erection of barriers and border patrols to restrict entry and exit of humans across the Kenya-Somalia and the Kenya –Ethiopia borders.

ii. Improvement of infrastructure and provision of adequate water for irrigation to reduce reliance on nomadic pastorarism.
iii. Provision of community awareness programmes on impacts of small arms conflicts as well as rehabilitation and re-integration of affected children into the society.

5.8 Suggestions for Further Studies

There is need for a study to establish the effect of provision of humanitarian services on the affected population.
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APPENDIX

Appendix I: Interview Guide for local Natives

Section 1: Background information

1) How old are you?
2) Which wars/conflicts have you witnessed in Mandera?
3) Have you been involved in any of the conflicts and how?
4) Have you been directly affected by the war/conflicts and how?

Section 2: Causes of Proliferation of Small arms

Part A: Shifta War (1963-1968)

1) In your opinion where did the small wars used come from?
2) What motivated people to acquire the arms?
3) Are people willing to surrender the small arms?
4) Why do you think people want to maintain small arms although they are illegal?
5) In your own opinion what are the small arms mainly used for in Mandera?
6) Give causes of the spread of small arms in mandera.

Part B: Inter-clan Conflicts (1968-1982)

1) In your opinion where did the small wars used come from?
2) What motivated people to acquire the small arms?
3) Are people willing to surrender the small arms?
4) Why do you think people want to maintain small arms although they are illegal?
5) In your own opinion what are the small arms mainly used for in Mandera?
6) Give causes of the spread of small arms in mandera.

Part C: Tribal clashes (1983-2005)

1) In your opinion where did the small wars used come from?
2) What motivated people to acquire the small arms?
3) Are people willing to surrender the small arms?
4) Why do you think people want to maintain small arms although they are illegal?
5) In your own opinion what are the small arms mainly used for in Mandera?
6) Give causes of the spread of small arms in mandera.

**Part D: Inter clan conflicts/Al-Shaabab insurgency of (2006-2014)**

1) In your opinion where did the small wars used come from?
2) What motivated people to acquire the arms?
3) Are people willing to surrender the small arms?
4) Why do you think people want to maintain small arms although they are illegal?
5) In your own opinion what are the small arms mainly used for in Mandera?
6) Give causes of the spread of small arms in mandera.

**Section 2: Impacts of small arms on children**

**Part A: Shifta War (1963-1968)**

1) Give a brief account of the wars/armed conflicts that you have experienced in Mandera stating the period they occurred.
2) Were you born during the shifta war of 1963-1968?
3) Who were involved in the fighting?
4) Were children used as soldiers in the shifta war? How were they used?
5) How did the shifta war affect children?
6) Are there children who were killed, explain how?
7) Were children displaced from their homes?
8) Were schools operating during the shifta war?
9) Were children able to get food regularly?
10) Were children able to receive adequate medical attention?
11) In which ways do you think the war affected children?

**Part B: Inter-clan Conflicts (1968-1982)**

1) Give a brief account of the wars/armed conflicts that you have experienced in Mandera stating the period they occurred.
2) Were you born during the clan conflicts of 1968-1982?
3) Who were involved in the fighting?
4) Were children used as soldiers in armed conflicts? How were they used?
5) How did the clashes affect children?
6) Are there children who were killed, explain how?
7) Were children displaced from their homes?
8) Were schools affected by the conflicts during this period?
9) Were children able to get food regularly?
10) Were children able to receive adequate medical attention?
11) In which ways do you think the war affected children?

Part C: Tribal clashes (1983-2005)

1) Give a brief account of the wars/armed conflicts that you have experienced in Mandera stating the period they occurred.
2) Were you born during the clan conflicts of 1983-2005?
3) Who were involved in the fighting?
4) Were children used as soldiers in armed conflicts? How were they used?
5) How did the clashes affect children?
6) Are there children who were killed, explain how?
7) Were children displaced from their homes?
8) Were schools affected by the conflicts during this period?
9) Were children able to get food regularly?
10) Were children able to receive adequate medical attention?
11) In which ways do you think the war affected children?
Part D: Inter clan conflicts/Al-Shaabab insurgency (2006-2014)

1) Give a brief account of the wars/armed conflicts that you have experienced in Mandera stating the period they occurred.
2) Were you born during the clan conflicts of 1968-1982?
3) Who were involved in the fighting?
4) Were children used as soldiers in armed conflicts? How were they used?
5) How did the clashes affect children?
6) Are there children who were killed, explain how?
7) Were children displaced from their homes?
8) Were schools affected by the conflicts during this period?
9) Were children able to get food regularly?
10) Were children able to receive adequate medical attention?
11) In which ways do you think the war affected children?
Appendix II: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Children

1) Have you witnessed any armed conflict?
2) What kind of incidences did you see?
3) How did it affect you and the other children?
4) Have you been involved in any armed conflict as a soldier? How did this affect you and other children? What kind of incidences were you involved in?
5) When fighting occurs in your area how does it affect your life at home?
6) How does fighting affect your schooling?
7) Does fighting deny children food and other essential things. Explain how?
8) Do the things you witnessed during fighting affect you life. What do feel when you remember what you saw?
Appendix III: Interview Schedule for chiefs and head teachers

Section 1: Demographic information

1) Where were you born-----------------------------
2) Have you been brought up in Mandera County?
3) Were you living in Mandera during the Shifta War?

Section 2: Causes of Proliferation of small arms

1) In your opinion where did the small wars used come from?
2) What motivated people to acquire the arms?
3) Are people willing to surrender the small arms?
4) Why do you think people want to maintain small arms although they are illegal?
5) In your own opinion what are the small arms mainly used for in Mandera?
6) Give causes of the spread of small arms in Mandera.

Section 3: Impact of small arms on children

Part A: Impact of Small arms on education for children

1) In which ways do you think small arms e.g. guns used in shifta war affected the education of children in Mandera

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__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

2) Were small arms used to destroy schools during shiftawar. In which ways was this done?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

3) From your own view did children get involved in the shifta war?
   Yes [   ], No [  ]
4) In which ways do you think this was done?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

5) Does the use of small arms in Mandera in inter-community clashes make children leave school? Yes [   ], No [   ]

6) In which ways does this happen?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

7) During the inter-community clashes of 1980 to 2005, how was education affected in Mandera County?

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__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

8) During the inter-community clashes after the 2007 post election violence to date how was education of children affected by use of fire arms?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
Part B: Impacts of small arms on access to health care by children

1) During the shifta war were children able to obtain health care in Mandera?
   Yes [ ], No [ ]

2) In which ways do you think use of small arms affected the access to health care for children during the shifta war?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
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3) In which ways do you think use of small arms affected development of hospitals in Mandera County during shifta war?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

4) In which ways do you think use of small arms affected development of hospitals in Mandera County during inter-clan conflicts of 1980 to 2005?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

5) In which ways do you think use of small arms affected development of hospitals in Mandera County during inter-clan conflicts of 2007 to date?
Part C: Impacts of small arms on access to nutrition and water in by children in Mandera County

1) During the shifta war were children able to obtain adequate and balanced diet and water in Mandera? Yes [ ], No [ ]

2) In which ways do you think use of small arms affected the access to food and water for children during the shifta war?

3) In which ways do you think use of small arms affected the access to food and water for children during the inter-community clashes of 1980 to 2005

4) In which ways do you think use of small arms hindered the provision of food and water to children in Mandera County during inter-community clashes of 2007 to date
Section 4: Ways of controlling proliferation of small arms

1) Which are the ways which can be used to control the entry of small arms into Mandera from other countries?

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_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

2) In which do you think we can use to control the spread of illegal small arms within Mandera?

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

3) In your own suggests strategies that can be used to reduce the number of illegally owned small arms in Mandera County.

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

_______________________________________________________________

4) Suggest ways that could help motivate people with illegally possessed small arms to surrender them to the government as a way of reducing number of small arms in the region.
Thanks for your Participation
Appendix IV: Interview schedule for project coordinators

1. Which organization do you work for?

2. What services do you provide to the local community?

3. In which ways do you think children are affected by armed conflicts in Mandera during the conflict period?

4) In which ways do you think children are affected by armed conflicts after the war?
## Appendix V: Research Budget

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity/Cost center</th>
<th>Estimated cost</th>
<th>Total cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> Project writing.</td>
<td>Library - 2000, transport - 3000, internet - 1500, typesetting 3000, copies and binding - 3000 and stationary – 1500</td>
<td><strong>14,000</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Piloting</td>
<td>Instruments copies – 360 Research assistants 2 X 2 days x 500= 2,000</td>
<td><strong>2,360</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> Data collection</td>
<td>Copies of research instruments 14,400 Research assistants 5 X10 days X 500 = 25,000</td>
<td><strong>39,400</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> Data analysis and report writing</td>
<td>SPSS data entry and analysis = 7500 Stationary, copies and binding = 5000</td>
<td><strong>12,500</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong> Thesis</td>
<td>Defense, correction, copies and binding = 10,000</td>
<td><strong>10,000</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td><strong>78,260</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>
### Appendix VI: Time plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>period</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project writing</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} August 2014 to 30\textsuperscript{th} February 2015</td>
<td>7 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study and testing of research instruments</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} April 2015 to 30\textsuperscript{th} April 2015</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data collection</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} May 2015 to 30\textsuperscript{th} July 2015</td>
<td>2 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data analysis and project writing</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} August 2015 to 1\textsuperscript{st} September 2015</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>