

**PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS ON SECURITY  
OF HODAN DISTRICT IN BANADIR REGION, SOMALIA 2006-2017**

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**DECLARATION**

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

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and all the people of Hodan district who have missed good governance and social services due to the proliferation of small arm and light weapons.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

<b>AMISOM</b>	African Mission in Somalia
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>COGWO</b>	Coalition for Grassroots Women Organization
<b>FGS</b>	Federal Government of Somalia
<b>NDC</b>	National Demobilization Commission
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>OAS</b>	Organization of American States
<b>SALW</b>	Small Arms and Light Weapons
<b>SSDF</b>	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
<b>UNHABITAT</b>	United Nations Human Settlement Program
<b>UNOSOM</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>USC</b>	United Somali Congress

## **OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS**

A **black market, underground economy, or shadow economy** is a clandestine market or series of transactions that has some aspect of illegality or is characterized by noncompliance with an institutional set of rules. If the rule defines the set of goods and services whose production and distribution is prohibited by law, non-compliance with the rule constitutes a black market trade since the transaction itself is illegal.

**Illicit arm supply:** The unlawful transportation and trading in the small and light ammunition

### **Light Weapons**

In this work, light weapons are taken as anti-personnel weapons which can be mounted on a vehicle and are used by several people. Examples are heavy machine guns as well as air defense weapons.

### **Proliferation**

This is the spread and or propagation of both light weapons and the small weapons within Banadir region of Somalia.

### **Small Arms**

These are small armaments that can be carried discretely and transported from one place to the other and are particularly projected for individual use. These weapons are assault rifles as well as light machine guns among others.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	5
1.4 Research Questions .....	5
1.5 Research Premises.....	6
1.5 Significance and Justification of the Study .....	6
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study .....	7
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>8</b>
2.0 Introduction .....	8
2.1 Conceptualizing Small Arms and Light Weapons .....	8
2.2 Sources and Genesis of Illicit Arms Supply and Security .....	9
2.2.1 Sources of Small Arms and Light Weapons.....	11

2.2.2 Source of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Somalia .....	12
2.3 The Impact of Proliferation and Use of Light and Small Weapons .....	16
2.3 Mitigations and Control for Small Arms and Light Weapons .....	17
2.4.2 Regulation on the Possession of SALW by Civilians .....	19
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>27</b>
3.1 Research Design .....	27
3.2 Study Location .....	27
3.3 Target Population .....	28
3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size .....	28
3.5 Research Instruments and Data Collection Procedures.....	29
3.6 Validity and Reliability .....	30
3.7 Reliability .....	30
3.8 Data analysis .....	31
3.9 Ethical Considerations.....	31
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>32</b>
4.1 introduction .....	32
4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents.....	32
4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents.....	33
4.2.2 Age of Respondents.....	34
4.2.3 Marital Status of Respondents .....	34
4.2.4 Education level .....	35
4.3 Sources of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in Hodan District .....	35



4.3.1 Poverty and Youth Radicalization .....	39
4.3.2 Weak Legislation on SALW Control and Security Agencies .....	39
4.3.3 Households in Possession of Small Arms and Light Weapons .....	40
4.4 Effects of the Use of Light and Small Weapons in Hodan District .....	41
4.4.1 Enhancement of Clan conflict and Clan based Self Defence Militias.....	41
4.4.2 Violent Crime and SALW .....	42
4.4.3 Forced Migration and Displacements Due to SALW.....	44
4.4.4 SALW and its Impacts on Women .....	45
4.4.5 Intensification of Armed Conflict between Militias.....	46
4.4.6 Response on the Impact of SALW on Governance, Security and the Rule of Law .....	47
4.5 Mitigation Measure Against the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Hodan .....	50
4.5.1 Mitigation of SALW through State Intervention.....	51
4.5.2 Mitigation of SALW through Non-State Actors .....	53
4.5.3 Mitigation through International Actors.....	54
4.5.4 Disarmament as a Mitigation Measure Against Proliferation of SALW in Hodan District.....	56
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION.....</b>	<b>59</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	59
5.2 Summary and Conclusion .....	59
5.3 Recommendation.....	61
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>69</b>

Appendix I: Questionnaire .....	69
Appendix II: Research Project Budget.....	71
Appendix III: Research approval letter .....	72
Appendix IV: Research Permit .....	73

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 4.1</b> Gender of the respondents.....	33
<b>Table 4.2</b> Respondents' age .....	33
<b>Table 4.3</b> Respondents' marital status.....	34
<b>Table 4.4</b> Respondents' educational level.....	35
<b>Table 4.5</b> Sources of illicit small arms and Light Weapons.....	38
<b>Table 4.6</b> Poverty and Youth Radicalization .....	39
<b>Table 4.7</b> Forced Migration and Displacements Due to SALW .....	44
<b>Table 4.8</b> SALW and its Impacts on Women.....	46
<b>Table 4.9</b> Response on the Impact of SALW on Governance, Security and the Rule of Law .....	48

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 4.1.</b> Map of Hodan District.....	27
<b>Figure 4.2</b> Violent Crime and SALW .....	43
<b>Figure 4.3</b> Mitigation of SALW through State Intervention.....	53

## ABSTRACT

Over many years and decades, Somalia has been in the limelight and has experienced civil strife internally. These actions have been attributed to the easy access to small arms and their proliferation within Somalia. This study revolves around three objectives: It examines the sources of illicit small arms in Hodan district of Somalia; examine the impact of the spread of light weapons in Hodan district of Somalia and lastly, it assesses the mitigation measures against the spread of small arms and light weapons in Hodan district. In terms of methodology, this study uses a descriptive research design. Similarly, in order to collect data, research instruments such as questionnaires, interview schedule as well as observation schedule were used. The study also relied on purposive sampling technique in order to get key informants. Nevertheless, random sampling method was also used in order to ascertain the extent to which light weapons and small arms have proliferated in Hodan district region. The study uses small arms demand theory and conflict theory as theoretical tools for analysis of the data. The study has demonstrated that the fragile nature of Somalia state, clan conflicts, existence of militia and terrorist group, the porous borders closer to Hodan district as well as illegal arms markets within and outside Somalia are the main sources of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in Hodan district. This has led to insecurity, violation of people's rights and more so women and the rights of children. Additionally, the proliferation of SALW has impacted negatively on the security and has also undermined sustainable economic development of Hodan district. Consequently, the study is of the view that there is need for multi-sectoral approach towards solving the problem of the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district. This study expects to inform policy on how states can monitor and control accessibility of firearms by unauthorized personnel for purposes of ensuring the security of citizens not only in Hodan district but also across Somalia as a state with a view to stabilizing the wider state of Somalia politically. In conclusion, therefore, the study recommends that there is need for interventions in capacity building in the security sector as well as sensitization and awareness creation among the civilians on the need to disarm. Moreover, the study further recommends that there is need to engage technology for purposes of keeping electronic records of arms while at the same time destroying obsolete stock of arms belonging to the government so that these arms do not get into the hands of civilians and militia groups.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 Introduction

World over, the prevailing argument is that about 875 million of small arms are in circulation. Others have been stockpiled in different regions while other light weapons are in the possession of private individuals and entities and manufactured by over a thousand enterprises within and from about one hundred countries. Similarly, legal trade on small arms have exceeded 8.5 billion dollars (Arms Survey, 2013). Based on the above figures, the governments of various states combined own about two hundred million arms which are under the disciplined forces of most of these nations. Additionally, over twenty million of the small arms are held by various law enforcement agencies. Majority of the small weapons which are widespread and in the hands of civilians and militias are estimated to be two thirds while about one hundred million are reportedly domiciled in Africa (Shah, 2006; Stohl et al 2010). According to Safeworld (2011,) the popularity of the light weapons and small arms is because these are easy weapons to transport and to smuggle and therefore have been used to kill many people all over the world every year.

The intensification and utilization of small arms in criminal acts in Africa has been witnessed and has become a security threat. This is a serious problem which has led to death and violent executions and interpersonal conflict (UNDP, 2002). Consequently, in the month of May 2000, Dr. Salim Ahmed, then African Union Secretary General put to the fore and stressed the impacts of the spread of both light and small weapons in the process of peace building and securitization of the state. Dr. Ahmed argued that this was the major cause as far as the escalation of armed violence in Africa was concerned. He further observed that the spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons

(SALW) encouraged the involvement of child soldiers in the many conflict experienced in Africa (Reynke, 2000).

Thus institutional frameworks and legitimate governments on which most African states and government are based and obtain legitimacy from the global market have gradually been challenged since the 1990s by non-state actors and organized criminal gangs operating under different names. Mostly the challenge has come from Boko Haram operating both in the coastal areas of West Africa and the Horn of Africa. The challenge bears similar traits specifically with respect to their origin and existence which is highly associated with Light and Small weapons respectively. This has established, and demonstrated that availability, spread and distribution of light and small arms and consequent wars generally affects good governance issues which sometimes may affect to a larger degree some of the development initiatives in Africa as compared to other parts of the world (Garcia, 2009). For example, the collapse of Siad Barre's regime which was basically a military regime led to many losses of lives and properties as well as violation of human rights.

Around 1969 Siad Barre took over power in Somalia through a bloodless coup and later on proved himself a dictator by declaring all political parties illegal and proceeded to put Somalia under a military system and rule. His ideology was oriented towards putting back together all the people and land which colonialist had succeeded in dividing with a view of forming a united Somali nation-state (*Soomaali weyn*). Therefore, the major powers and more so the Soviet Union (as part of its Cold War politics) gave Siad Barre weapons to help him realize his objectives of a greater Somali with a promise of allowing the Soviet Union to establish a military base in Somali. Consequently, Siad Barre proceeded to attack Ethiopia in order to recapture the Ogaden

region which he claimed to be part of Somalia. This aggression led to the 1976-1978 Ogaden war. However, Somalia later on decided to withdraw from Ogaden (AFP, 2006).

When Somalia lost the Ogaden war under the leadership Siad Barre, there emerged three rival groups in Somalia. For example, the United Somali Congress (USC) operating within central Somalia, the northwestern part of Somalia was occupied by the Somali National Movement, while the Somali Patriotic Movement was in the Southern part of Somalia. These rival and warring groups in one way or the other managed to possess arms and light weapons mostly from the government through raids. As a result, these arms were sold to members of the Somali community especially those who were in need of arms mostly the pastoralists for purposes of protecting their livestock. The distribution and proliferation of these arms was made easy by the porous borders as well as lack of concrete security around and within Somalia. Consequently, after the end of the Ogaden War, the trade in illegal arms and weapons became common with most households and communities who are livestock keepers owning at least an AK 47 rifles (AFP 2006). In the mix of all these chaotic political spaces and contestations for power within Somalia, Mr. Abdullah Yussuf led Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) emerged as one of the first opposition group which was more committed to ousting Siad Barre and his regime from power. Consequently, it could be noted that the origins and circulation of small and light weapons in Somalia could be attributed to the outbreak of the Ogaden War.

Similarly, with the collapse of the Somali as a state, the piling of military hardware from the Somali military forces were subjected to looting while others got destroyed. Because of this, many civilians and rebel groups easily got access and acquired weapons



of all kinds. Additionally, most of the weapons came under the control of militia groups, warlords, and other weapons found custody in the hands of clan members and business groups. Other weapons were in the hands of deadly armed gangs known as “*mooryaan, jirri or daydey*”. Therefore, an open market operation and exchange of weapons within Somalia made the acquisition of these weapons very easy and accessible to any person who was interested in acquiring them. Because of security concerns, a UN embargo was imposed on Somalia through resolution number 733 (1992) of the Security Council with the hope that it would end violence. However, despite all the UN efforts, supply of arms continued with a corresponding escalation of violence also going on (CRD 2004). It is against this background that this study explores the spread of small arms in Hodan district within Banadir region. This spread and proliferation of small arms and light weapons must therefore be understood and contextualized within the wider Somalia state as a failed state.

Because of political instability in Somalia, many civilians were displaced internally and externally with some of the weapons owned by the government getting into the hands of the civilians. More so with the absence of a steady government to govern the security sector, private markets where arms and ammunition were sold emerged to fill in the vacuum left by the government. Some of the markets where illegal arms were sold in Somalia include the {in}famous Bakara market in Mogadishu where small arms could be acquired easily by any one so long as one was able to afford (Adam, 2007).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Matters security are fundamental for the stability not only of a state but also the region where the state is found. The collapse of Siad Barre’s regime in Somalia did not only posed a serious security challenge to the Horn of Africa but also internally within the

various districts of Somalia. The emergence of militia groups did not only affect the normal running of institutions in Hodan district but also enhanced the proliferation of small arms and light weapons within the district. Consequently, the securitization of Hodan district worsened despite the presence of AMISOM forces around Somalia. Frequent attacks have been witnessed across Hodan district with social services majorly operations of schools, hospitals and free movement of people being affected. The fact that small arms could be easily accessed by both civilians and militias has therefore posed a major challenge as far as governing the security sector as well as the social, economic and political spaces of Hodan district was concerned. It is against this background that this study examines the proliferation of Small arms and Light weapons as far as the security challenges and the stability of Hodan district is concerned.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

- i. To examine the sources of small and light weapons in Hodan district.
- ii. To analyze the effects of the use of light and small weapons in Hodan district.
- iii. To examine mitigation measure against the proliferation of Small arms and light weapons in Hodan District,

### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. Why are there many small arms and light weapons in Hodan district of Somalia?
- ii. How has the proliferation and use of SALW impacted on the daily operations in Hodan district?
- iii. What are the mitigation measures and solution against proliferation of SALW in Hodan District?

## **1.5 Research Premises**

- i. Political instability in the Horn of Africa may be the source of small arms and light weapons in Hodan district.
- ii. Proliferation and use of SALW has affected service delivery and governance in Hodan district.
- iii. Arms agreement and sanctions may offer the best solution to the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district.

## **1.5 Significance and Justification of the Study**

With the collapse of the rule of law after Siad Barre was deposed, the political instability in that country has affected internal security of Somalia. As a result, a number of militia groups emerged which has made the country and other districts such as Hodan ungovernable. Although a few studies have been undertaken to understand and interrogate this issue in general, no specific study has been undertaken in order to solve the issue of SALW especially within Hodan district. Consequently, there has been some devolution of insecurity especially in this district compared to other districts within Somalia. This is a situation which therefore needs some serious scholarly attention. The significance of this study is that it will be able to raise concerns that might attract a multi-sectoral approach towards mitigation of proliferation of light and small weapons.

Significantly, the study raises fundamental security issues which will inform policy on how to address and curtail easy accessibility and proliferation of light and small arms with a view to ensuring a long term stability and a secure Hodan district within Somalia. This will also go along way for purposes of mitigation of the spread of small arms and light weapons in other parts of Somalia. Lack of cooperation from some respondents

was anticipated to pose a challenge to the research due to fear of being exposed to state authorities for illegally holding firearms. However, this challenge was overcome by emphasizing to the respondents the confidentiality of their information and also the nature of the study being an academic work. The researcher also anticipated challenges arising from the sparse nature of the district. This limitation was addressed by organizing for interviews with respondents in a centrally located social spaces like trading centres.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

Hodan district is the study locale and the study only concentrated within this district. The study begins from the year 2006 and stops in 2017. This period is considered enough to analyze the dynamics of the proliferation of light weapons in Hodan district. The year 2006 when the study is beginning was characterized by the formation and establishment of the Islamic Courts Union which attracted the intervention of Ethiopian government which invaded Somalia with a view to try and dismantle the whole idea of the Islamic Courts. The study ends in the year 2017 which is considered as the time when there was a concerted effort by the Somalia government and her allies to mitigate over the challenges of insecurity which has become a menace to the republic of Somalia as a state and Hodan district as an administrative unit. In the next chapter, literature review is undertaken with a view to identifying scholarly gaps for the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the related literature while taking into consideration the objectives of the study. Therefore, the review was done with the sole objective of identifying the scholarly gaps that the study intends to fill. Its main focus is on the issues informing the proliferation of the Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW, henceforth) from a global perspective before narrowing down to the specific area of study.

#### **2.1 Conceptualizing Small Arms and Light Weapons**

World over, there is no agreement of how SALW can be defined or on the standard definition of SALW. The reason being that the logic and understanding of what SALW entails and the categories of weapons therein has undergone some transformations because of advances in technology accompanied by various dynamics of technological development. Nevertheless, there are some operational definitions which are available and have been adopted by scholars. These definitions have described SALW based on their size, characteristics, configurations or a combination of these traits. For instance, according to the UN Panel of Governmental Experts, SALW are those weapons which cut across things such as machetes, knives and clubs. They also include weapons that are below the caliber of 100mm. On the other hand, this UN agency goes further to demonstrate that weapons which are small in nature are also basically designed and meant for utilization by the military according to the particulars of that weapon and can only be handled by one person at any given time (UNPGESA, 1997). Furthermore, light weapons are weapons which can be used by many people working as a crew.

Similarly, small arms have been defined as portable weapons which are in most cases shoulder operated and of up to 12.7 millimeter caliber. Weapons of such nature generally always have a flat route and effectively operate within a range of between 0 to 800 meters. Nevertheless, sometimes this may greatly change based on the type of weapon and caliber, while in some cases certain types of weapons may offer counteracting fire of up to 1800meters (UNPGESA, 1997).

## **2.2 Sources and Genesis of Illicit Arms Supply and Security**

The state of Somalia would always make up for what it lacks in legal trade with illegal trade and diversion which in many cases is tragic. It has been observed that the possession of arms by armed groups and militias is often as a result of a legacy of conflict within the Horn of Africa (Mbugua, 2018). These weapons include the old AK 47 pattern rifles, and the rocket propelled grenade, motors and recoilless rifles (Conflict Armament Research). Within Somalia, the main entry point and source of the small arms has been Yemen. Yemen has, therefore, acted as a source of small arms to the Al-Shabaab and some other militias in Somalia. These weapons have been able to find their way into Somalia through Somaliland and various small entry ports in northern coastlands of Puntland where they are further transported into the hinterland of Somalia. Accidental and deliberate diversions of arms and weapons from formal institutions like the AMISOM and Somalia state also act as sources of weapons and ammunition which end up in the hands of militia and even the Al-Shabaab (Mbugua, 2018). The foregoing above was helpful to this study as it set the base for interrogating the circulation and spread of arms and weapons in Hodan district.

Illegal spread and possession of light weapons and small arms is an immediate threat to security for individuals, societies and the world altogether. It is, therefore, a huge task for societies and states to achieve sustainable development and security when these states are faced with challenges of insecurity. According to Kinyanjui (2015), terrorist attack, civil wars and organized crimes are always intensified with the availability of small arms. Humanitarian activities and programmes are also normally affected especially those which target fragile states as is evidenced in the Horn of Africa. Therefore, without any mitigation measure, the proliferation of small arms may end up causing unprecedented wars thereby destabilizing not only an entire country but also the entire region from where the civil war is fought.

Business and transfer of ammunitions and small arms have flourished among non-state actors in Africa. As a result, it has escalated security challenges to African states. The implication is that it also undermined the rule of law and the capacity of various governments to meet their constitutional obligations of providing security to their citizens. As a result, heightened attacks by terrorists in most of African states have not just been a question of nuclear but also a question of ammunition, light and small weapons (OGU. 2008).

Further, OGU (2008) observes that the indiscriminate and illegal spread of SALW could be one of the varied challenges that the globe is currently grappling with and struggling to manage. During Cold War period and in the recent past, the 21<sup>st</sup> Century to be precise, there has been some critical re-consideration of the level and nature of security as well as different issues of concern. From the time of September 11, Al-Qaeda attack on the USA, new issues of security concern have been part and parcel of

the international system. Such issues have continued to play a critical role within and at both regional and international organizations alongside state committees. The observation above was useful in understanding the impact and effects of the circulation of small and light arms in the study area of Hodan district.

### **2.2.1 Sources of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

According to world estimates, over two million small arms have been manufactured and are in existence as stockpiles in at least fifty-eight countries in Africa. Approximately, about 38 factories churn out SALW in the sub-Saharan Africa with the facilities doing the highest and major production of these weapons situated within the African continent with South Africa taking the leading position (Small Arm Survey, 2009). Nevertheless, the major producer of these weapons and small arms worldwide and which finds its way into Africa is Europe. But also there are some other sources of these arms within Africa and these involve the manufacturing and supply of new weapons within Africa adding up to the many weapons whose use could be associated with the early periods when Cold War began and the 1990s respectively. The main objective behind proliferation of these arms was basically to drive the agenda of the USA and the Soviet Union by facilitating and influencing different intra state as well as inter-state proxy wars, during the Cold War period. Based on the above discussion the researcher harnessed the knowledge about the sources of small arms in Hodan region while at the same time identifying various tasks played by the international community and the super powers in the spread of small arms within Hodan district.



### **2.2.2 Source of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Somalia**

With the issues of frequent conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea within the East African region and localized fighting being witnessed in Uganda and Kenya for instance, the Somali people have taken advantage of this situation to access and distribute arms. The desire to have a Somalia free of illegal arms and light weapons under the UNOSOM program did not bear a lot of fruits and consequently no serious disarmament took place among the Somali nationals as would be expected thereby leaving Somalia state and Hodan district with the problem of possession of SALW by civilians. Stohl & Smith, (1999) observes that with this kind of situation in Somalia, in case of any emergence of conflict, then Somalia would find herself in a precarious situation which would further enhance proliferation of these weapons. This situation thus poses a challenge to even the international community as far as mitigation over the circulation and spread of these weapons are concerned. Consequently, it would become difficult for Somalia to be salvaged from political instability and total collapse of Somalia as a state. The arguments by Stohl & Smith (1999) were utilized in order to understand the various challenges that Hodan district is experiencing as far as the proliferation and spread of SALW are concerned.

The secretive as well as the silent transportation of weapons into and through Somalia and the means through which states make it very difficult to ascertain the countries which may act as a source of new and illegal weapons poses a risk to the stability of Somalia. Although as indicated earlier, Cuban, Russian, American and Brazilian made weapons are believed to be widely circulated and disseminated within the East Africa region (Farah, Aisha & Omar, 2006). It is worth noting that the seaport of Boosaaso is the major known point of entry from where shipment of light weapons and small arms

from nations closer and far away from Somalia happens and is considered as the main port supplying Bakara Market within Somalia. It was, therefore, important for this study to ascertain whether or not Bakara market was also used as a source of small arms and light weapon in Hodan district in Somalia.

According to Mr. Mohammed S. Hassan who is the District Commissioner of Bula Hawa, most of the small arms have been delivered at Bakara market through conspiracies between custom officials and countries which have blatantly ignored the arms ban which had been put in place by the United Nations. Globally, there have been cases of smuggling of weapons into Somalia from United Arab Emirates, Ukraine, and West Africa via Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Libya and Yemen. Consequently, this study used the observations above in order to address the many sources of illegal weapons entering Somalia and which are in circulation in Hodan district.

Similarly, there were deliberate leakages and movement of illicit weapons flow from South and Central parts of Africa and sale of state weapons to militant groups. Additionally, illicit weapons have been found within battlegrounds where militias, government forces and AMISOM forces in Somalia have been engaging with rebels (United Nations Security Council, 2015). Looking at the Organization of American (OAS) States and the proliferation of small arms in those states, Godnick (2002) observes that Member States unilaterally decided to take steps in a view to stop firearms that were legally manufactured and traded from entering the black, grey and illegal markets. Around November 2000, the government of Brazil was forced to introduce a 150 per cent tax levy on export of ammunition and handguns destined to the Caribbean, South America and Central America. However, countries such as Ecuador, Chile and Argentina were exempted from this export tax based on their stringent anti-smuggling

efforts and gun control laws. In the year 1999, the government of the United States of America suspended sales of handguns to companies in Venezuela because of concerns that a lot of weapons were finding their way into the hands of guerilla organizations and drug traffickers in neighbouring Columbia. Godnicks work above was utilized with a view to understanding how the East African Community as a regional block was providing solution to the proliferation of SALW in Somalia and how this helped in addressing the problem in Hodan region.

In many instances, heavier infantry arms and ammunitions have been acquired by the rebels in Somalia from different sources. According to a United Nations report of 2006, it was observed that various states from the Middle East and in the Horn of Africa traded and provided arms to rebel groups in Somalia. For instance, there has been frequent accusations of Eritrea as the main supplier of weapons to commercial weapon markets and insurgent groups through shipment of these weapons to the nearest port (Jamal, 2012). Furthermore, other states across the globe defied certain restrictions that were put in place by the Security Council of the United Nations and went ahead to supply Somalia with weapons. States such as Yemen, Turkey, France and United States of America have assisted Somalia security forces militarily without express authorization from the committee of the United Nations which imposed ban on the supply and trade in arms with Somalia (Jamal, 2012). The United Nations Monitoring group in March 2008 for instance estimated that about eighty per cent of light weapons and small arms that were intended to support the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia got diverted and channeled to the black markets and most of it put under private use and purposes with illegal groups and rebels benefitting more than the Somali government (Pieter, 2010).

The UN Monitoring group for Eritrea and Somali of 2012 indicates that whereas Eritrea's role in the supply of illegal weapons to Somali had declined, Yemen continued to assume a critical position as the main arms supplier to Somalia. As early as the year 2013, it was documented by the UN Monitoring of Somalia that a number of boats operated by Eritrea and Yemeni crew found their way into Somalia with lots of ammunition and machine guns. Most of these arms entered Somalia through Somaliland and Puntland. There were also evidence of arms being diverted from stockpiles owned by the government to black markets where these arms would be purchased by dissident groups such as Al-Shabaab. Some of these weapons, for instance, the new AK pattern assault rifle which has normally been formally supplied to the Somali National Army by the Ethiopian government resembled the ones found in the black arms market (UN Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group 2014). Similarly, the threat of these small arms and their proliferation to the Somalia state was also highlighted within the report especially after the partial lifting of the UN arms restriction within Somali state was effected. With this partial lifting of arms restriction, Somalia government bought over 13,000 weapons and about 5.5 million rounds of ammunition. The UN report above therefore becomes invaluable to the study research as it helped in shedding more light as far as the marketing and sale of small arms might have informed and influenced the security situation in Hodan area of study.

Although the issue of importation and exportation of arms in Somaliland is neither associated with the local markets at all but rather it is related to the role that Somaliland plays as a trans-shipment destination for other market places within the region. Evidently, therefore, according to Hughes & Lyng (2010) there is a possibility that the final destination for most of these weapons emanating from Somaliland find their way

into South and Central Somalia as well as other conflict areas like Ogaden region of Ethiopia as well as the Hodan region of study.

### **2.3 The Impact of Proliferation and Use of Light and Small Weapons**

The spread and abuse of the small arms poses a major security threat globally and to the general global community. The proliferation of these small arms have also affected the economic growth of many nations with no exception to Somalia. According to Schroeder and Stohl (2006), the illegal spread and use of light weapons and small arms is currently ranked as one of the most pressing challenges of security. Every year, millions of people do lose their lives or get injured in violence where the use of these SALW is the order of the day. Additionally, the use of light weapons has also been seen in crime ridden areas outside of conflict zones. The above arguments by Schroede and Stohl were useful in laying the base within which the contributions of small arms in the security situation of Hodan district were analyzed.

It should be noted that easy accessibility of small arms and light weapon has led to the escalation of conflict among different clans not only in Somalia but also across Africa as a continent. More so, the ease of accessing these small arms have also affected the political stability of states with subsequent failure to sustain development within states. Consequently, there has been an increase in cases of armed conflict and insurgencies (Nite, 2011). Nite's observations above were critical to this study in exploring how the proliferation of the small arms and light weapons could intensify conflict among groups. Mohammed (1999) has also addressed the same issue by stating that at least small arms could be in the hands of at least one out of every four Somali men. As such, the spread of and security challenges posed by this arrangement cannot be underestimated.

Within the Horn of Africa, the problem of light weapons together with small arms becomes dramatic when manipulation of those arms constrains the growth of peace as well as undermining social and national security. As a result, the illegal or misuse of small arms have negatively impacted on the security of people and the general population residing in Somalia with ultimate loss of lives and properties (Emaual & Ndimbwa 2013).

### **2.3 Mitigations and Control for Small Arms and Light Weapons**

According to Karp (2018), the number of SALW held by civilians is estimated to have risen at the global level in the year 2017 to about 875 million from 650 million in the year 2006. But also, data for firearms held by civilians in about 133 countries had risen and stood at 32 percent higher than the previous estimates. However, most of these weapons which were illegally held by civilians are believed to have been from the government stock pile and misused. It is therefore important that the government should mop up these arms and provide formal and structured security and retrieve weapons held illegally by civilians as a way of mitigating against the spread of SALW.

At the international scene, there has been an increased problem of uncontrolled spread of SALWs which in many ways has gained prominence. Cravero (2008) observes that the proliferation of these arms has been associated with cases of human trafficking and suffering, intensification of conflict thereby undermining the peace building and reconciliation efforts that have been put in place to resolve and restore peace in Somalia. In the year 2001, the firearm protocol against illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking of Firearms by the United Nations was adapted and came into force in the year 2005. This protocol supports the Convention of the United Nations against transnational organized

crime by providing governments with a framework or structure to commit themselves by putting in place some legislative, regulatory and preventive mechanism to control the illegal flow of firearms. The major aim of this firearm procedure is to strengthen and encourage inter-governmental cooperation for purposes of combating, preventing and destroying the illegal production and selling of weapons illegally including their components and parts. This study therefore utilized the above literature by assessing how the effectiveness of the various United Nations conventions have been useful in the mitigation measures as far as the proliferation and spread of SALW are concerned in Hodan district. In other words, our question in this respect would be whether, people who traffic and own small arms are aware of these conventions.

There has been a variety of regional efforts and initiatives on mitigating over the spread and circulation of small arms. For example, during the AU member states meeting held in Bamako, Mali in the year 2000 it was decided that there was a need to develop an African Common Position on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking of small arms and light weapons. It was emphasized that the problem around the illegal spread, circulation and trafficking of the small arms and light weapons was both anchored on the dictates of the market based on demand and supply. Member states recognized the fact that the circulation and spread of SALW undermined the development and security of the continent (African Union, 2009). Therefore, it was agreed in this meeting by member states that the problem around the spread of SALW should not only be solved by checking and controlling of the dealers but also by adopting the enhancement of actions and procedures whose aim is to restore confidence, peace and security between various governments, through observance of the rule of law, good governance, enhancing of democratic rule and prevention of conflict. It was

also resolved in this AU meeting that there was a need to promote a comprehensive solution to the menace of illegal spread and trafficking of light weapons and other smaller arms. Therefore, the AU meeting and the deliberations therein were utilized with the sole aim of getting a final solution to the problematique of illegal spread of SALW in Hodan district in Somalia.

### **The Nairobi Protocol**

The East African countries being represented by various officials were to sign the Nairobi Protocol whose purpose was to implement the Nairobi Declaration of 2000. The Nairobi Protocol provided a clear roadmap and direction on the latitude and meaning of various and commonly used terminologies for reduction of the spread of small arms and light weapons. The main purpose of this Protocol included: to fight and eradicate illicit manufacturing of weapons, to cooperate and share information between states, inter-governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations in the same region. Similarly, the Nairobi Protocol was intended to prevent possession of small arms by unlicensed people and use of light weapons and small arms in the sub-Saharan Africa region by unlicensed agencies and civilians (East African Member States 2004). The observations above indicate how regional and international efforts have been put in place towards the de-escalation of the proliferation of SALW as well as in the promotion of security and peace. The Nairobi protocol therefore laid the foundation upon which mitigation over the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Hodan district was based.

#### **2.4.2 Regulation on the Possession of SALW by Civilians**

There are so many civilians in possession and who use, hold and own firearms. For that matter, it is the duty of the government to regulate all the people who acquire and use



firearms as per the laws and regulations of the state. These regulations involve the use of legislation, policy development and through public awareness (Cravero, 2008). However, lack of a stronger management of stockpiles of small arms and poor enforcement of regulations by state agencies have seen serious leakage of firearms into civilian markets where these weapons have been traded and sold. Regulation on the ownership of arms by civilians is a major factor as far as mitigation over small and light weapons is concerned. It is so unfortunate that the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms in All its Aspects was unable to come up with a consensus on one specific and binding international norm related to restriction on possession of small arms by civilians (Miller, Cukier, Vasquez and Watson 2002). This study utilized the arguments above in mitigating over the proliferation and spread of SALW in Hodan district.

Based on the UN regulations and even regulations within states in Africa, it is mandatory that firearms must be registered as a way of regulating their use and possession by unlicensed civilians and groups of people. Through the help of state agencies, media reports and research, it has been established that there are about 100 million firearms which are officially registered in at least 133 countries across the world (Carlson, 2016). Against this backdrop and considering the security situation in Somalia, the Somali National Army together with all her allies under the UN Security Council's regulations are supposed to register and document all military equipment and ammunition that they have seized by recording their serial numbers and the type of these weapons while at the same time snapping all the items and markings on these arms (UNSC, 2014). This foregoing was helpful for the proposed study since it helped in shedding more light on the nature of insecurity in Hodan district and whether the de-

escalation of the proliferation of the SALW has been achieved or not. That is the scholarly gap that this study is filling.

Studies on the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya indicates that violence among pastoralist groups was majorly fueled by the proliferation of SALW. Consequently, over 160,000 people were displaced by the year 2003. Two years later, more than 200,000 pastoralists were internally displaced due to conflict arising from the use of small arms over claims on resources like pasture, water and cattle rustling (Adam et al 2003). More so, in the North Rift area of Kenya, there has been insecurity due to the prevalent use of small arms. This has led to the rise of a gun culture which has to a larger extent undermined economic investments and entrepreneurial development. Cases of sexual violence have also characterized some of these violent clashes (Kameniu et al, 2003).

In Tanzania, like elsewhere in the Horn of Africa, the spread of and possession of SALW have presented a major security challenge not only to the state but also to the civilian population. Consequently, the proliferation of small arms has affected social security of citizens within Tanzania with a lot of deaths being reported as well as stagnation in terms of development activities (Emmanuel & Ndimbwa, 2013). The negative impact of firearms has continued to increase in Tanzania. Nevertheless, the overall situation has not reached a level to constitute a crisis. However, this notwithstanding, the penetration of firearms seems to have become serious in a number of regions such as Morogoro, Kigoma and Kagera. The penetration of firearms has also been witnessed to a lesser extent in Mwanza, Arusha and Pwani. The Tanzania case therefore offered an opportunity for the current study to compare the extent of penetration and spread of SALW in Hodan district of Somalia.

From the foregoing above, this study has confirmed various gaps in literature where further intervention as far as proliferation of SALW is concerned needs to be explored. One of the major gap is that empirical research on the spread and impact of SALW in the economic and social growth of Hodan district in Somalia has not been undertaken and is therefore under researched. Similarly, mitigation measure and control practices against the proliferation of these arms have been overlooked by scholars. From the above reviewed literature therefore, it is clear that not so much has been done on the issue of proliferation of SALW in Hodan district of study. This is the point of entry and the gap in scholarship that this study is filling up.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

In terms of theory, the study utilizes small arms demand theory and conflict theory. Demand for SALW according to Jurgen and Muggah (2006) is informed by the need and desire to acquire these weapons. It is believed that motivation for the acquisition of these arms and light weapons could be politically driven. But also economic and socio-cultural factors sometime may drive the agenda for acquisition of these arms as well as people having preference to the different types of arms.

Motivations for acquisition of small arms and light weapons is always wide ranging and dynamics may range from the need for collective self-defense and/or personal defense to a culture of sport shooting and hunting, predatory behavior or the pursuit or search for social status. The people interested in obtaining light weapons and small arms normally have intersecting and very complex motivation behind looking for and having interest for specific arms, in many cases, a continuous shifting set of ways that inhibits or promote the acquisition of some of these weapons (Muggah & Braurer,

2006).Essentially, the constant need to keep some of the small arms because of the bad nature of security, protracted wars and other factors have continued to push the demand for the weapons, leading to the ever continuous process of the spread of the weapons under study in Hodan district.

Many social science theories which have been used to analyse social conflicts can be traced back to the ideas of Karl Marx (1818-1883), who was considered as the greatest German political activist and theorist (Fernbach, 1993). Karl Marx has been considered as one of the main proponents of the social conflict theory. According to Karl Marx, conflict approach to societal issues underscores a materialistic interpretation of history, a dialectical method of analysis a political programme of revolution and an emphasis on a materialistic interpretation of history (Otomar, & Paul 2002).

According to proponents of social conflict theory, the cause of crime in any society is conflict based on class interest. The theory's tenet is based on the fact that competition between groups over limited resources within a group may lead to conflict. These theorists also believe that those in power create laws to protect their interest and rights. All criminal acts have political undertones and this concept is referred to as the 'social reality crime'. However, efforts of researches that have been carried out to validate the conflict approach have not yielded any findings of significant nature. One of the most significant premises of conflict theory is that the justice system is biased and designed in such a way to protect the wealthy, however, research has not been overwhelmingly unanimous in supporting this point. Marxist criminologists perceive and look at the competitive nature of the capitalist system as a major cause of crime (Siegel, 2002).

According to conflict theorists, wealthy people always engage in illegal acts because they are used to competition and are always compelled to do so in order to keep their positions in society. On the other hand, the poor and less privileged do commit crimes due to their frustration, anger and need (Siegel, 2002). Many research on Marxist theory have concentrated on the justice system and how this justice system was designed and its operation in furthering class interests. However, both conflict criminology and Marxist theories have been criticized heavily by consensus criminologists. In the 1990s, new forms of conflict theory have emerged. For instance, left realism takes a centrist position on crime by demonstrating its destructive nature and its rationale. On the other hand, feminist writers draw attention to the influence of patriarchal society on crime (Siegel, 2002). From the above foregoing, conflict theory suits the test of analysis for this study since it looks at the proliferation of SALW from a class interest point of view. But also, this theory is alive to the fact that cultural issues such as patriarchy can also influence the stability or instability of the society especially when wealthy patriarchs commit crime to keep their position in the society.

The debate of how to control the spread of SALW until very recent revolved around how to decrease their supply through regulation of arms brokers, and creating controls on the transfer of arms. Nevertheless, a lot of people have started to recognize that emphasizing on the supply side alone will not succeed. Countries are able to get more dividends through active engagement in demand reduction approaches and through contribution to meaningful and useful improvements in human welfare. It is evident and clear that the demand for firearms is conditioned and informed by both social and historical environments (Artwood et al, 2006). Moreover, the motivation for and means of acquiring weapons are dependent and affected by various shifts in the labour and

macro-economic and governance environments. Changes in the quality of economic and political governance, regime changes or shifts in social norms can provide environments in which demand decreases. Demand in itself is indirectly influenced by the supply of weapons. Therefore, the sudden availability of small arms in the after war or economic shock can lead to the desire for people to acquire such arms. Similarly, the removal of weapons from the society and their regulation can reduce and control demand for arms (Artwood, et al. 2006). Therefore, supply and demand for arms are very much closely related. This study takes the proliferation of SALW as driven by the demand for arms by militia and criminal groups for purposes of maintaining control of their supposedly areas of jurisdiction as they push to have both political and economic power over these areas. Hodan district, therefore, provides both political and economic spaces where the law of demand and supply for SALW is very much applicable. Therefore, both conflict and small arms demand theory are better placed in understanding the dynamics of SALW and the security situation in Hodan district of study. These two theories will therefore be used to complement each other in analyzing SALW in Hodan district.

Within the context of Somalia, conflict should be understood and conceptualized as any situation where there is armed and violent conflict pitting militants, militias (whether clan) or the state against each other. This situation has always contributed to the destabilization of the already existing law and order with the ultimate goal of perpetuation and commitment of crimes against humanity. Consequently, the escalation of war and conflict in Somalia has been enhanced by the ease with which arms and light weapons have been able to spread across Somalia as well as being supplemented by terror activities across Somalia. It is therefore, suffice it to say that the way in which

small arms are easily available and their careless and indiscriminate usage in times of conflict especially as far back as the time when civil war began in Somalia has affected the duration and the intensity of the war while at the same time it has encouraged various armed groups to further engage in conflict at the expense of sourcing for a lasting solution and peace as a way of settling some of the political and economic differences that have embroiled Somalia as a state. In the next chapter, methodological issues of the study are discussed.

## CHAPTER THREE

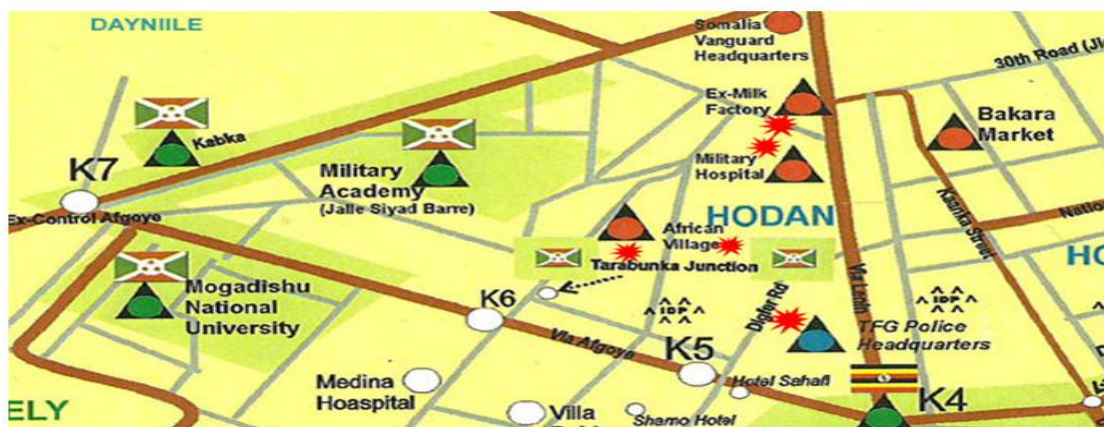
### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Design

A descriptive research design which is considered appropriate for purposes of guiding the researcher to explore the opinion of the people and their attitudes on social issues pertaining to the effects of the illegal SALW in the daily lifestyles was used during the research. Descriptive research design entails description, analysis and interpretation of the data received from respondents. This design was majorly descriptive in nature based on the oral interviews and responses received from the questionnaires.

#### 3.2 Study Location

Hodan district was the site of the study. It is situated about 5.5 km towards the South Eastern Banadir region of Somalia. It forms part of the neighborhoods of Mogadishu to the northwestern side. This district is home to one of the largest black market (Zobe market) where light weapons and small arms are traded. The map of Hodan district can be seen in the figure 1. below



**Figure 4.1. Map of Hodan District**

**Source: Horseed media, 2010**



### **3.3 Target Population**

According to Brink (1996), population is the whole cluster or group of people that interests the researcher as far as his/her research study is concerned. In this research, targeted population is estimated to be 140 respondents. This included the Civil Society and their members, civilians living in Hodan district as well as members of the police force. This population was structured taking into consideration the role that the security agents and agencies are doing in the control of the spread of SALW in Hodan district. Apart from security officers such as the police, the sampled population also involved local residents in Hodan, as well as people working with Non-Governmental Organizations around and within the Hodan district. This was for purposes of understanding their engagement with small arms and whether there was any attempt to address the proliferation of these arms within the study locale.

### **3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size**

Sampling procedure is always important for it reduces chances of unguided generalization of respondents in a study while at the same time reducing wastage of time. The sample size for this study was 130 respondents sourced from Hodan district. According to Amin (2005) The use of a sample table in a research study for purposes of demonstrating sample size is always recommended since it determines the kind of an equal sample that will give some aspects of representation of the entire population.

Further, the sample size emanated from entire population of Hodan because this is the population affected with issues of illegal and circulation of light weapons which created a major security risk to that wider population. Based on observation by Kothari (2004), the researcher worked with a sample size of 130 respondents. This sample size is always taken as appropriate especially in a research study which is positively oriented in social

sciences. Consequently, the purposive sampling technique was utilized to arrive at the respondents intended to participate in the research. Therefore, purposive sampling technique was used to identify respondents for the study. Moreover, these respondents were purposively selected from members of the security sector, Non-Governmental Organizations and from members of the public who are residents of Hodan district. These respondents thus formed a pool of key respondents. In terms of the sample size, the study picked 50 respondents from among residents living in Hodan district, 50 security agents from the security sector, 20 members of the civil society and 10 identified traders and middlemen dealing in the illegal sale of SALW as well.

### **3.5 Research Instruments and Data Collection Procedures**

Both secondary and primary sources of data were sought for purposes of collecting data. Primary data entailed the use of oral interviews, police annual and quarterly reports, archival data and letters of correspondence between different officers of government and even Non-Governmental Organizations on issues related to SALW usage in Hodan district. Additionally, secondary data was also used. These data were obtained from written materials such as books, projects, dissertations and journals. Mostly, the focus was on information leading to unearthing the emergence of SALW in Hodan district, their impacts and mitigation measures. For purposes of obtaining the data above, research instruments such as questionnaires, interview schedules and interview guides were used. Most secondary sources of data were sought from academic libraries and research organizations both in Kenya and Somalia through an online mechanism. Oral interviews and Focus Group Discussions were also carried out in Hodan district with the targeted sample group.

### **3.6 Validity and Reliability**

Validity of the content according to Amin (2004) is highly recommended for purposes of testing how valid a research is as a way of controlling the use and effectiveness of the research instruments. For instance, the validity of any given study is crucial in establishing the relevance of the questions appearing on the questionnaires as well as the other interview manuals. This was therefore established before the study began. This assisted the researcher to focus on his intended objectives and expected outcomes during the study. The researcher liaised with the supervisor for guidance to ensure that most of the key instruments met the validity threshold before the research was conducted. By doing so, key areas within the research tool which needed refinement and readjustment were identified and appropriate action taken before embarking on the real study.

### **3.7 Reliability**

Reliability of the study is defined by Golafshani (2003) as the extent upon which the results of a study would consistently remain accurate over a given period of time as far as the entire population which is represented under study is concerned. The reliability of a study is achievable only when the outcome of the study remains consistent over time and can be reproduced when subjected to a similar methodology. If the outcome can be reproduced, then that would be an indication of the reliability of the research instruments. For the purposes of achieving the reliability of the research instruments, a pilot study was undertaken by the researcher in Bakool area away from Hodan district which was the focus of the study. Thereafter, a few adjustments were made on the questionnaires and interview schedule based on the realities that were found out during piloting of the research instruments.

### **3.8 Data analysis**

Analysis of data was based on the different forms of data that were collected from oral interviews, questionnaires, secondary sources and Focus Group Discussions. In most cases, recorded interviews were transcribed to make the process of analysis simple. Information from questionnaires was arranged thematically taking into consideration the various kinds of responses received from the respondents. This information was then compared with other data from secondary sources and oral interviews. This comparative analysis was useful in determining how the responses were informing the broader question on the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district of Somalia. Additionally, secondary source like books were subjected to content analysis. Apart from subjecting the data to descriptive analysis, the research findings were also subjected to a theoretical analysis while oral data were corroborated with secondary data to minimize subjectivity of the data obtained.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

This study considered ethical issues before and during the time it was undertaken. First, research permit was sought from the relevant authorities in Hodan region of Somalia after the research proposal was authorized and approved by the Graduate School at Kenyatta University. Similarly, respondents were taken through the research objectives before their consent was sought. The respondents were also informed about the confidentiality of the information they would give. Those respondents who requested to remain anonymous were also taken into consideration and their identity was not divulged. In chapter four, the study deals with findings, data analysis and interpretation of data.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 introduction**

This study investigated the impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons on security in Somalia with specific reference to Hodan district in Banadir region. The data collected was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. This chapter therefore represents demographic and administrative details of the respondents in terms of their age, gender, marital status, occupation and the major findings and discussions of the study. Similarly, the results gathered from both oral interviews and questionnaire containing about 27 questions are presented in form of tables and percentages in some sections. Nevertheless, most of the discussions of the findings are descriptive in nature.

#### **4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents**

The demographic characteristics of the respondents have been captured under this section. Here, some background information of the respondents who took part in the study are highlighted. The main reason for getting demographic background was to capture the idea and opinion of the respondents and to see how their age, sex and education inform some of the responses that they gave. The demographic characteristics of the respondents' also demonstrated how the distribution of questions was done. The study targeted a sample of 123 with a view to obtaining their opinion and knowledge about the spread of SALW in Hodan district of Somalia.

**Table 4.1 Gender of the respondents**

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	78	63.4
Female	45	36.6
Total	123	100.0

#### 4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

In this study, gender of the respondents was very important and the researcher requested all the participants to state their gender. This was basically to help the researcher to know how many women and men participated in the study. Table 4.1 above demonstrates that nearly two-thirds of the total population of the respondents were males at 63.4% whereas 36.6% were female. The findings imply that the Hodan district of Mogadishu is male dominated and point to the fact that the Hodan area is very patriarchal. But also the gender disparity points to the fact that men are the ones involved in the buying and selling of small arms in Hodan district.

**Table 4.2 Respondents' age**

Age	Frequency	Percent
Below30yrs	50	40.6
31-35yrs	13	10.6
36-40yrs	25	20.3
Above41	35	28.5
Total	123	100.0

#### 4.2.2 Age of Respondents

The study was also keen in knowing the age of the people who formed part of the study and contributed to the research findings. According to the study as tabulated on table 4.2 above, it is demonstrated that 40.6% were in the age bracket of 30 years and below and were the majority in the study. This was followed by participants who were 41 years and above at 28.5% of the respondents. Moreover, respondents between 36-40 years represented 20.3% of the respondents, while respondents between the age of 31-35 years accounted for 10.6%. It is evident from the age distribution that most of the participants were below the age of 30 which according to the UN categorization falls under the category of the youth. This implies that many youths are involved either as traffickers, agents and users of SALW in Hodan district.

**Table 4.3 Respondents' marital status**

Marital	Frequency	Percent
Single	84	68.3
Married	39	31.7
Total	123	100.0

#### 4.2.3 Marital Status of Respondents

From table 4.3 above it is evident that there are many single people in Hodan district who are not married and their number stands at 68.3%. Conversely, there were only 31.7 % of the respondents who were married. It could be argued that the spread of SALW involves a lot of movement and therefore it does not favour many people who are married and have settled down in marriage. However, some of the married couples also engaged in the sale of SALW as a source of livelihood while others also owned

these weapons as a way of protecting themselves, pasture and cattle from raids and threats from external attacks.

**Table 4.4 Respondents’ educational level**

Education Level	Frequency	Percent
Secondary Level	18	14.6
bachelor degree	67	54.5
Master’s degree	38	30.9
Total	123	100.0

#### **4.2.4 Education level**

Looking at the educational level of the respondents, a high percentage of the respondents had obtained a bachelor’s degree and this accounted for 54.5%, while 30.9% of the respondents had master’s degrees. Respondents with secondary level of education were 14.6% of the total population. According Ramadhan (O.I 2020) most of the residents of Hodan left and went out of the country and formed the Somali diasporic community abroad. A number of them acquired education up to undergraduate level before returning back. This accounts for a high number of people with bachelor’s degrees in the sampled population. This contradicts, the study by Muggah and Berman (2001) who have argued that many people living in areas of conflict have minimal or nil education.

#### **4.3 Sources of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in Hodan District**

The first objective of this study was to examine the sources of SALW in Hodan district. The trafficking and proliferation of SALW does not directly cause conflict. However, it is one of the major drivers that fuels and sustains conflicts, makes reconciliation more



difficult and increases their lethality (Eavis 2002). The availability of SALW is always seen as one of the tools that informs internal conflict whenever and wherever they occur. Taking Somalia for instance, easy access and availability of small arms played and continues to play a critical role in the escalation of internal conflicts. This is because, in each of every four Somali men, one of them was/is armed with a weapon (Eavis, 2002).

From the study it has been established that, a number of factors have contributed to the spread of illicit SALW within Hodan district. Many respondents have argued that fragile situation in Somalia contributed immensely to the proliferation of SALW in the entire region and Hodan district has become a victim of that. In societies which are divided and which do not have very strong institutions, there is an existence of a direct link between development of that society, its fragile situation and the proliferation of SALW. About 30.5% of the respondents strongly believed that the fragile nature of the state generally affected areas such as the Hodan district and has therefore been linked to the proliferation of SALW. Moreover, about 20.4% of the respondents cited sources of SALW to be the neighboring countries through their porous borders. A number of countries within the great lakes region. For example, South Sudan, Congo among others have been seen as sources of these arms which therefore brings in the international dimensions as far as the source of these arms in Hodan district is concerned. Porous borders are some of the drivers of fragility and as demonstrated in this study, porous borders between Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen provide the main channels and routes for trafficking and smuggling of SALW such as Light Machine Guns (LMGs), pistols, Rocket Propelled Grenades, AK 47, mortars and grenades.

Similarly, other respondents totaling about 15.2 % argued that the source of SALW in Hodan district is historical and could be traced back to the 1970s and 1980s when small and light weapons were shipped by the USA and USSR and their allies into Somalia to facilitate different proxy wars at intra-state and inter-state levels. Clan wars which are considered as intra-state armed conflict and which characterized Hodan region however increased the demand for these weapons resulting in their proliferation in the Banadir region. This finding is supported by Onuoha (2006) study on the escalation and spread of weapons in the Niger delta region of Nigeria.

The study has also established that some of the SALW come from the militia and terrorist groups who acquire this either through attack on government security officers or by attacking soldiers deployed there under the AMISOM. Militia/armed and terrorist groups that operate around Banadir region are believed to be the Al-Shabaab, Hawadle, Al-Itihad al- Islamiya, Hizbul Islam and Ahlusunna among others This response accounted for 16.7% of the total number of respondents. The other source of SALW in the study area has been attributed to local trade in markets such as Bakara market. Yussuf (O.I, 2022) observes that:

Bakara market is a known market where trade in illegal arms take place. This market is majorly supplied by traders who acquire these SALW from Yemen, Eritrea, Libya, Ethiopia and even as far as Saudi Arabia.

The findings above are thus supported by *UN Mentoring Group* in their report of 2012 which pointed and confirmed that in Yemen, there were arms markets which acted as a major source of weapons for militant and organized criminal groups not only in Hodan but also in the wider regions of Somalia most probably through arms traffickers. About 10.7% of the respondents mostly professionals argued that the source and proliferation of the illicit SALW in Hodan region could be attributed to the moment when the 21

years of the United Nations embargo that was put on Somalia was lifted. The UN embargo was put in place in the year 1992 to stop and cut off the flow of weapons to fighting groups in Somalia. Whereas lifting of the embargo on arms was geared towards facilitating the procurement of arms to the Armed Forces of Somalia in order to help it build capacity and to strengthen its efforts against Al-Shabaab, the lifting of this embargo nonetheless led to unintended effect and did not therefore achieved its intended goal. However, 6.5% of the respondents believed that some of the SALW were supplied by politicians and people working in the security sector (police officers) who sourced for these arms for purposes of arming members of their clan for political reasons. Anyoka (2010) has also looked at the causes and proliferation of SALW along the same line. The sources of illicit SALW are captured in the table below based on the respondents during fieldwork.

**Table 4.5 Sources of illicit small arms and Light Weapons**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Somalia Fragile situation	<b>30.5</b>
Porous borders	<b>20.4</b>
Cold War and Shipping of SALW from Soviet Union and America	<b>15.2</b>
Militias and armed groups	<b>16.7</b>
Lifting of UN's arms embargo on Somalia	<b>10.7</b>
Politicians and security officers	<b>6.5</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

### 4.3.1 Poverty and Youth Radicalization

In understanding the sources of SALW in Hodan district, the study was also keen in finding the link between poverty, youth and radicalization and how these two inform accessibility of SALW in Hodan region. It was established that through radicalization of the youth, some of these radicalized youths have raided armories and escaped with small arms and light weapons. A number of youths have been lured into criminal gangs and organized groups for purposes of radicalization. All these have been attributed to the fact that poverty level is high in Hodan (Karume, O.I 2020) and the unemployment rate is also high. These conditions have driven many youths to engage in illegal trafficking of SALW leading to their proliferation in Hodan district. In response to this question, 64.2% of the respondents agreed while 35.8 of the respondents disagreed citing other reasons especially the need to arm clans for political reasons (assumption of political power) as the major source for SALW and its proliferation across the area of study. This is captured on table 4.6 below.

**Table 4.6 Poverty and Youth Radicalization**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes (Poverty and radicalization)	79	64.2
NO (Poverty and radicalization)	44	35.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>100</b>

### 4.3.2 Weak Legislation on SALW Control and Security Agencies

A number of respondents had attributed the source of SALW to security agencies, this was also seen to be linked with the peace keeping missions in the wider Somalia. For instance, some residents pointed out that there were some members of security agencies

who have been implicated in lending and/or selling their arms to civilians, due to weak legislation on SALW control in the study area. The failure to disarm the civilian population has also created a vicious cycle of illicit arms circulation for self-protection and this has contributed to rise in insecurity and criminality. The illicit small arms and light weapons that are owned by civilians such as the AK47 (Hassan, O.I 2020) were associated with government security officers since civilians cannot make or acquire these arms locally. Onuoha (2006) supports this position by arguing that in some cases security personnel working for the state do double up as arms dealers while on the other hand, armed members of militia groups and insurgents have on many occasions been stealing or purchasing small arms from government soldiers.

#### **4.3.3 Households in Possession of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

The study also sought to determine and know the number of individuals in possession of some of the SALW in Hodan district. It was established that 70% of the respondents and their close relatives were in possession of SALW while 30 percent of the respondents and their close relatives did not possess SALW. For instance, Khalid (O.I 2021) stated that he acquired his pistol from his brother who works as a police officer. He needed this gun for purposes of protecting himself as a businessman and also his family back at home. The acquisition of these SALW is also driven by the fact that formal securitization of Hodan district is lacking due to its expansive nature. Therefore, the presence of government security is always not seen. These views are in line with Akonya's (2010) study who observes that most residents always acquire small arms to protect themselves and their property due to inadequate government presence in certain areas.

#### **4.4 Effects of the Use of Light and Small Weapons in Hodan District**

The impact of the failed state in Somalia has created a situation where SALW are found and easily accessed by civilians across the country. This has worsened prospects for human, economic and political developments in a country that was among the poorest in the world. SALW are at the heart of the security challenges that continue to deter development as the government is unable to provide adequate security to its citizen.

Apart from extending the period of conflict, SALW also increases the severity of conflict in places where they occur. But also Ehiane and Uwizeyimana (2018) have argued that apart from the violent and devastating outcomes as a result of the growth and rise in the spread of SALW across Africa as a continent, SALW have been declared as one of the immediate obstacles to sustainable development, peace and security. Nevertheless, Hodan district has had its unique outcomes due to the spread of SALW.

##### **4.4.1 Enhancement of Clan conflict and Clan based Self Defence Militias**

The respondents were asked about the major effects of the SALW in Hodan district. Accordingly, about 40 % strongly agreed that the proliferation of SALW has led to enhanced rise and operation of clan based self-militias within Hodan district especially among the Darod and Rahanweyn, Hawiye clans. Similarly, 25% of the respondents agreed that SALW actually enhanced clan conflict. However, 15% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the assertion that SALW enhanced clan conflict and clan based self defence militia while 12% of the respondents disagreed with this assertion. The main argument for disagreement was that the urge for political power was the main driving force behind the spread of SALW within Hodan district. Nevertheless, 8% of the respondents remained neutral and were not committal on whether SALW enhanced clan conflict and clan based self-defense militias in the region. It is therefore apparent

that the sources of SALW are directly related to their impacts within the area of study. In this study it was established that one of the major sources of SALW is the issue of clan conflict which necessitates members of the various clans to look for weapons either to protect themselves and forcefully access pasture and water in areas belonging to other clans.

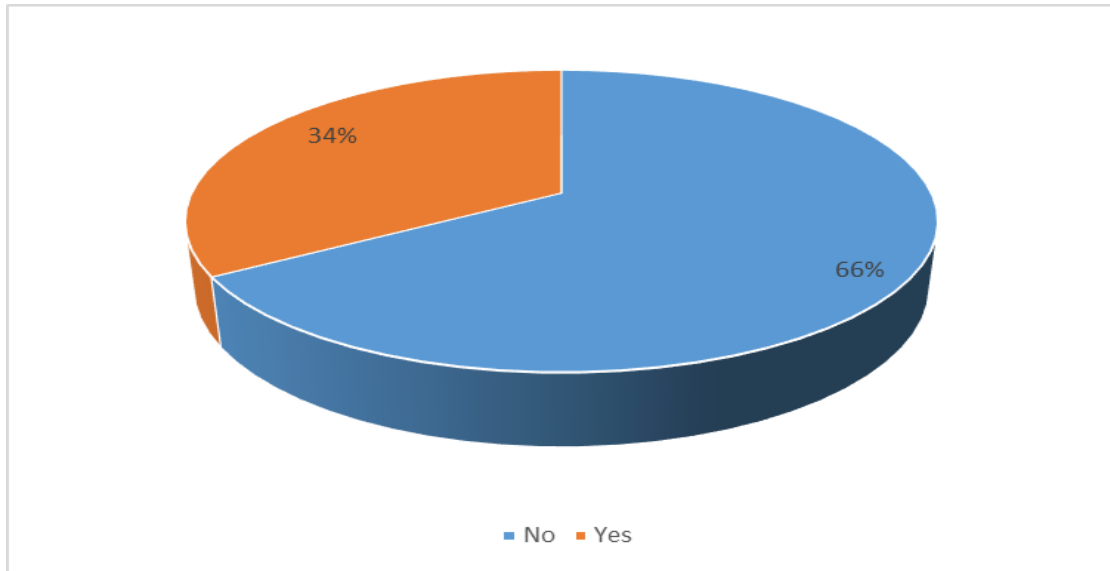
Within Hodan district, the dominant clan is majorly pastoralist and among pastoralist groups, there are two traditional strategies of processing conflict which are dominant in the Somali society. These are blood revenge and violent self-help which normally escalate in long standing feuds. The discussions above are supported by EASO (2021) report which has indicated that various rights including and not limited to rights to access water and grazing land, rights based on ownership of livestock, and personal rights, even if these rights are not always achieved through forceful means, the only way to defend such rights against usurpation is only through the use of force of arms.

Further, Lewis (2010) has also weighed in on this by arguing that war and feud are the major ways through which group relations are regulated. Nevertheless, among the pastoral communities' aggression as one of their objectives is not necessarily to achieve the purpose of subjugating enemies completely as to establish political ascendancy. This escalation and enhancement of clan conflict according to Lewis must be seen within the context ecology and of critical scramble for resources which are both scarce and sparse and in the abrogation of the loyalty of an individual through group loyalties.

#### **4.4.2 Violent Crime and SALW**

The respondents were also asked about the connection between SALW and violent crime within Hodan district. It is demonstrated that 66% of the respondents were found to have been a victim of violent crime while only 34% of the respondents argued on the

contrary opinion. This has been captured as shown on fig 1 below. The issue of SALW therefore enhanced violent crime rate in Hodan district and this also affected the general security of the area.



**Figure 4.2 Violent Crime and SALW**

Because fire arms are highly available and the ease in which they can be carried and transported makes the enemy bold and this assists criminals to rob people without fear. Ahmed, (O.I, 2020) observes that such violent criminal acts have led to loss of lives and in many cases stigmatized a number of people within Hodan region. That is why each person has always sought to have small arms for purposes of protecting oneself and the family. Although many of these SALWs may look simple in nature, their lethality is so high therefore making it very possible for one combatant to pose a huge risk and threat to a society in its entirety.

Currently, there are automatic weapons and assault rifles which are considered and categorized as small arms. These arms are capable of discharging several bullets in a minute (Anyoka, 2017). Violent crime also came up with extra cost in Hodan district.



For instance, apart from leaving a number of disabled and maimed people needing extra medical attention which is not adequate in Hodan district, there are also personal costs of treatment and rehabilitation with huge psychosocial and psychological costs as put forward by Gorea (2006) whose work supports these findings.

#### 4.4.3 Forced Migration and Displacements Due to SALW

In terms of forced migration and displacement, a number of respondents 70.7% agreed that SALW has led to forced migration and displacement of people. Nevertheless, 29.3 of the respondents did not agree with this position citing other reasons such as destruction of property as their main concern. Apart from forced displacement and migration, SALW has affected and destabilized institutional operations within Hodan district. Together with violent crime and clan conflicts over power, many residents of Hodan district were forced to migrate outside the district and outside the country too. Amina (O.I, 2020) argues that:

The clan war that characterized Hodan in the 1980s and 1990s could not allow me to stay and die as I see with my children. I managed to escape to Kenya and later on through the UNHCHR, I found myself in Sweden as a diapora Somali before returning back a few years back.

**Table 4.7 Forced Migration and Displacements Due to SALW**

Statement	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	70.7
No	36	29.3
Total	123	100.0

The above observations have very negative implications as far as development is concerned within the Hodan region. Gorea (2006) has argued that forced migration has inhibited development and has also led to restriction on access to basic needs such as

food, clothing and shelter. SALW has therefore contributed to the refugee problem that is associated with Somali refugees in Kenya and Uganda

#### **4.4.4 SALW and its Impacts on Women**

Responding to the impact of SALW on women and young girls in Hodan district, the study found out that a number of women and young girls were sexually assaulted. Cases of forced rape under threat was also common as demonstrated by 67% of the respondents. However, 33% of the respondents were of the contrary opinion. This could be explained in terms of the fact that in areas where there were many SALW in the hands of armed groups, cases of sexual assault were high compared to areas where armed and militias presence was low within Hodan district. According, to Surur (O.I 2021), ‘women have experienced sexual violence and coercion from men because they have guns in their possession. If you don’t comply with whatever they want they threaten to kill you’ However, it also important to note the complexities of the relationship between women and guns. This is because in a number of cases women were killed and injured but in some cases they were also looped in to play other roles as traffickers of SALW. This position is supported by Sarah (2010) who argues that in certain situations, women were sometimes used as perpetrators of armed violence or as encouragers of men in their use of guns, but also as peace activists and agents of change, addressing issues related to conflict and security related to the proliferation of SALW.

Further, Sarah (2010) has observed that small weapons have been used to subjugate, coerce and threaten people within the society where these weapons are readily and easily available. Sexual violence at gun point, intimidation at home, rape as a weapon of war, all these were used to muzzle women and to keep the silent in their abusive

marriages. All these were characteristics of Hodan social spaces and have remained a common undertaking as a result of proliferation of SALW.

Although women and children have been directly affected by SALW, the fact that women have been sexually molested, intimidated and tortured is a clear indication that their fundamental human and women rights and freedoms have been violated and taken away. Such acts on women have in many other cases been compounded to explain the rise of cases of HIV amongst male members of the militia groups (Mulama, 2003). The responses are as shown on table 4.8 below.

**Table 4.8 SALW and its Impacts on Women**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Yes</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

#### **4.4.5 Intensification of Armed Conflict between Militias**

Looking at the various impacts of SALW on the intensification of armed conflict between militias, 80% of the respondents agreed that with the possession of the weapons there has been a high intensity of fights between militia groups such as the Al-Shabaab, Rahanweyn Resistance Army and Ras-Kamboni movement. However, only 20% of the respondents negatively denied that the spread of SALW has led to the intensification of armed conflict between militias within Hodan district. Generally, the availability of such weapons in states with a history of poor governance like Somalia has not only increased the continued fragmentation of the state but has also contributed to instability, poor governance and service delivery in various parts of the country.

Hodan district has therefore suffered these consequences as part of the wider Somalia state.

Behera (2001) supports this position by arguing that portable nature of the SALW and their great firepower has immensely contributed to the intensity and duration of armed conflict between militias and intra-state conflict. Although such weapons may not themselves cause the conflicts and criminal activities in which they are put to use, nevertheless, the fact that they are widely available, their illicit flow and accumulation tend to undermine peace agreements, escalate conflicts, and intensifies the impact of violence and crime in the society. They may also impede social and economic development as well as interfering with the development of good governance, social development and social stability in Hodan district. In a nut shell, the accumulation and easy access to SALW has become a major factor in the intensification of not only armed conflict in Hodan district but it has also informed societal violence, drug trafficking and the sustenance of subversive and terrorist groups, thereby, contributing to local, domestic and regional instability.

#### **4.4.6 Response on the Impact of SALW on Governance, Security and the Rule of Law**

During interviews with respondents, they were asked about how SALW has impacted on governance, security and the rule of law. The outcome has been summarized on table 4.9 below.

**Table 4.9 Response on the Impact of SALW on Governance, Security and the Rule of Law**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Poor enforcement of Law	14	14
Poor governance	43	43
Disruption of security and peace	29	29
Violation of human rights	14	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

From the responses above, it was evidenced that 43% of the respondents believed that the proliferation of SALW contributed immensely to poor governance in Hodan district. Additionally, 29% of the respondents agreed that disruption of security and peace was highly attributed to the proliferation of SALW. Furthermore, other respondents accounting for 14% of the total respondents indicated that the presence of SALW in Hodan provided a better environment where the rights of citizens are violated. A similar percentage of the respondents 14% however argued that the proliferation of SALW undermined enforcement of law by law enforcement agencies. Nganga (2008) observes that the use of SALW has negatively impacted the rights of individuals because of the inherent absence of the rule of law. This has been accelerated by the fact in Hodan, members of militia group who own guns are high likely to rape and kill. More so these militias have also set certain rules that undermine the various freedoms of individuals.

Freedoms such as the right to vote, freedom of worship and the right to education were undermined a great deal.

Securitization of Hodan has remained a major problem arising from the proliferation of SALW. Whereas policy makers and scholars have been grappling with the problem related to the spread of ballistic and missile technologies and nuclear proliferation, insurgencies, intra state conflict and consequent violence continued unabated, exacerbated majorly by uncontrolled spread of SALW in the hands of non-state actors. The violent use of these SALW have had serious implications on the securitization of Hodan district. Behera (2001) states that, it is important for us to re-examine first the changing characteristics and dimensions of the concept of security in order for us to understand fully the implications of SALW.

The structures that emerged to support the process of proliferation of SALW, whether they are militant groups, Islamic militants or cross-border linkages between traffickers of SALW, dealers in drugs and arms smugglers have posed serious threats going by the potential that they have in undermining the economic regime and to destabilize political system. The issue of SALW in Hodan district, therefore, has informed the way governance was undertaken and how issues of human rights and securitization of Hodan district is undertaken. The pervasiveness of violence and the rise of violent ethno national movements would always lead to the erosion of legitimacy and sovereignty of the state as a result of the loss of control over the traditional monopoly by the state over violence and territory. Erosion and lack of legitimacy of a state is also manifested when political institutions are not able to provide the minimum order, and when the state fails to provide security to its citizens who may no longer perceive the central government as a manager of conflict. When this happens, there is a high risk of lawlessness,

insecurity and perhaps poor governance (Behari, 2001). Such failures at the national level have been replicated in Hodan district.

#### **4.5 Mitigation Measure Against the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Hodan**

SALW has been identified in the last decade as one of the high profile challenges among countries in the Sub Saharan Africa. Yet, the way threat of arms availability has been constructed as one of the authorized trade and illicit trafficking over international borders has resulted in a narrow focus aimed at regulating and controlling lawful imports, exports and brokers. Whereas these concerns are legitimate and real, the availability of SALW should be re-evaluated as a complex social phenomenon involving very fluid demand and supply dimensions. A small emphasis on controlling authorized transfers to zones where war takes place glosses over the illegal markets and challenges associated with these markets, the systematic diversion of ammunition and weapon surplus from the domestic stock of security services into the hands of civilians and the gradual emergence of national arms production capacities across Africa. It also obscures a landscape that is more dynamic of armed violence across Africa which goes beyond war zones.

While the interpretation of arms availability at a conventional level looks favourable in the eyes of international arms control experts and African diplomats, such a reading has a potential of obscuring the weaknesses of security governance and the many motivations and means shaping the acquisition and misuse of SALW amongst civilians and armed groups. That is why there is need to rethink and relook at the mitigation measures of these SALW in Hodan district in Somalia (Muggah & Sang, 2013). It is

always more useful to think beyond and above a given supply chain of weapons to also account for reasons behind the use of weapons in Africa when thinking about and considering strategies that could be used to reduce the threat of availability of arms. It stands to reason that the gradual decrease in the total number of armed conflicts across the world and specifically within Africa as a continent from the early 1990s affected the dynamics of local demand (Muggah & Sang, 2013).

#### **4.5.1 Mitigation of SALW through State Intervention**

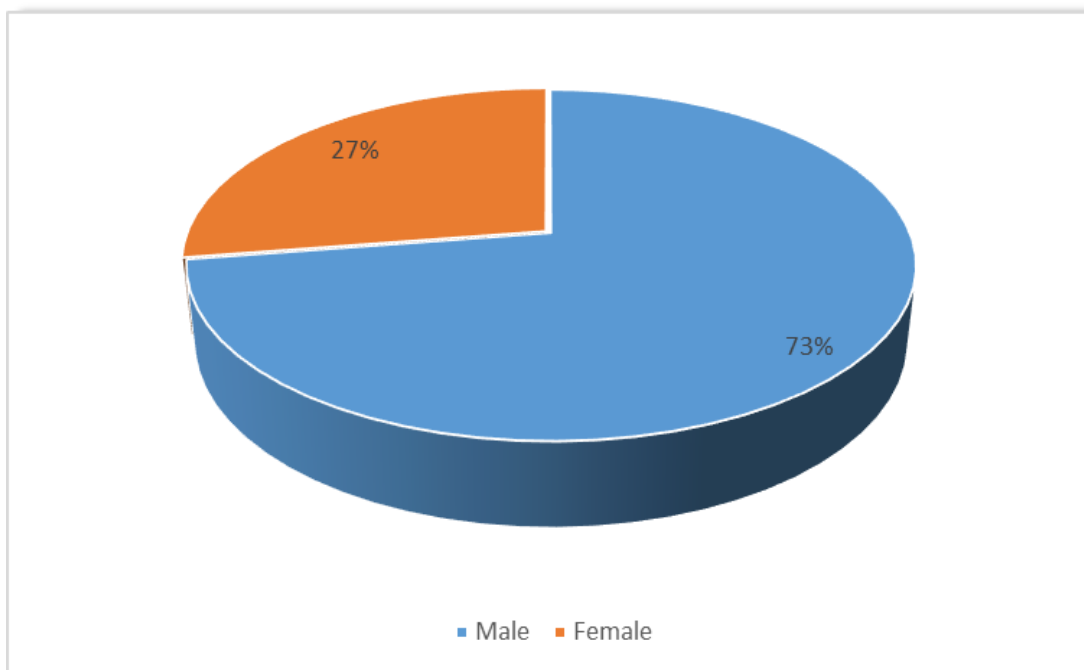
In trying to understand how the proliferation of SALW could be mitigated in Hodan district, 73% of the respondents believed that it is only the government through her own security agencies that can decisively solve the problem of the proliferation of these arms. Fatuma (O.I 2020) argues that “if the government can put enough security in the porous borders then we can live safe here in Hodan.” However, 27% of the respondents argued that government alone cannot be able to mitigate over the issue of SALW because there are groups of people who do not believe in the government and these people do not also recognize the government in place. This high percentage is a demonstration that the respondents are highly confident that it is only through government intervention that the problem of SALW can be solved amicably in Hodan district.

In line with this school of thought, the government of Somalia has been in the forefront in terms of trying to sort out this problem of SALW. For instance, in January 2014, an Arms and Ammunition Management Steering Committee was established by the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS's) to monitor and coordinate the implementation of the FGS's obligations under the arms embargo that was partially lifted under five key pillars. These pillars are: public awareness and education and legislative measures;



arms control and stockpile management; import, export and transit, tracking and brokering among others. The position of the National Security Advisor to the president of Somalia was created and holder of this office chaired the Arms and Ammunition Management Steering Committee. This committee met on a quarterly basis in order for it to provide strategic guidance to the government of Somalia on the management of SALW according to the International Law and the Constitution. This was to be done under the auspices of the National Security Council. (Regional Centre on Small Arms, 2017).

Moreover, one respondent (Suleiman, O.I 2020) recognizes the fact that the FGS has taken great measures to reduce the spread of SALW especially in the Hodan region, He argues that several forums have been created by FGS to help reconcile warring clans by encouraging them to surrender their weapons and other small arms to the government. Most importantly, there are also some trainings for officials of the government put in place by the government where government officials are trained on the dangers of the SALW and on issues of good governance (FGD, 2020). It is also important to note that by 2014, a bill was proposed by the cabinet of Somalia government with a view to prevent and curb illicit SALW. The passage of this bill alongside Somalia government's effort to mark, register and license civilians and private security arm owners has significantly helped in mitigating over the issue of the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district. This observation is also supported by the Regional Centre on Small Arms (2017). The responses by respondents have been captured in the pie chart below.



**Figure 4.3 Mitigation of SALW through State Intervention**

#### **4.5.2 Mitigation of SALW through Non-State Actors**

There was also a wide belief by 65% of the respondents that Non state actors mostly NGOs could provide solution to the problem of SALW in Hodan district. These respondents argued that security issues were matters that could not be left to the government alone since the use of SALW had a direct impact on the operation of the society. Conversely, 35% of the respondents did not believe that NGOs could help in mitigating over the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district. The reason for the negative answer was based on the fact that NGOs have no capacity to deal with and negotiate with people who were armed while personnel from NGOs were not armed. From the study, it was evident that local Civil Society Organizations such as Safe and the Coalition for Grassroots Women Organizations (COGWO) which operated locally in Hodan were very instrumental in supporting a voluntary demobilization programme. This programme was key in helping with the integration of former criminals,

unemployed youth and militias accused of instigating and fueling violence in Hodan district and its neighbourhoods.

Other NGOs have also supported initiatives to end the proliferation of SALW as well as peacebuilding efforts. It was demonstrated by respondents that apart from local NGOs, international NGOs such as OXFAM, Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and ActionAid played a key role in mitigating over the spread of SALW from a peacebuilding initiative (Jones, 2010). Their support involved financial assistance towards meetings, logistically supporting meetings and some work on training in conflict resolutions technique for participants drawn from clan members involved in war and in possession of SALW within Hodan district. Zakat (O.I, 2021), a resident of Hodan believes that for the problem of SALW to be resolved in Hodan district, there is a need to push the NGOs to drive the agenda of community based reconciliation efforts. This should include engaging members of the community and opinion leaders at the grassroots level through a structured kind of dialogue with a view to emphasizing on populist social organizations and traditional leadership which may involve all villages in Hodan district.

#### **4.5.3 Mitigation through International Actors**

There is a general expression of frustration among Somali population, Hodan district population included which shows that the level of and extent of implementation of mitigation measures by the international actors is inadequate. Although this expression was aired by 45% of the respondent, 55% of the respondents still believe that the role of international actors and community cannot be underestimated. The 45% of the respondents who expressed frustration argue that the problem of SALW in Hodan is a local problem and therefore requires a local solution. One of the respondents working

for UNHABITAT, Mwangi (O.I, 2020) argued that the key to solving the problem is through dismantling patrimonialism in Hodan region. Muggah and Sang (2013) observe that there was enough evidence which suggested that the problem of SALW is directly related to the existence of armed groups. The emergence of these armed groups was due to patronage as a crisis as much as a desire for rent seeking and profiteering. This model known as the grievance model highlights how the explanation of collective action through the simple rational choice insufficiently account for behavior that is also shaped by the political economy and social structure of a society. The need for SALW is driven by armed groups which sometimes emerged within the context of a wider social crisis and fighters and people who backed them may be reacting to their social and economic exclusion. These are the issues that should be dealt with at a local level before involving the international actors.

Nevertheless, the role played by the international actors and community cannot be gainsaid at a continental level. Ramadhan (O.I, 2020) states that:

our neighbours in Uganda, Ethiopia and Burundi are trying to help us by cooperating with our local security agents to persuade people who own small arms to surrender them. Although this may take time, nevertheless, people have started to see the positive long term benefits especially in our area in Hodan district.

Looking at Somalia, there has been a significant progress and military gains from the international community. Hodan district for instance, which neighbours Mogadishu has benefitted immensely from the activities of AMISOM. Based on the activities and operations by AMISOM, a number of small arms have been recovered from militia groups and even the Al-Shabaab which is a good step towards not only ensuring stability of the country but also in the restoration of government authority at the national level and at the local district levels in areas such as Hodan district. Similarly, the UN

Security Council (UNSC) agreed in the year 2016 to extend the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) up to the month of March 2017. This was meant to support the peace effort by the government of Somalia. The international actors are also helping in the reconstruction of the security infrastructure and the Somali National Army (Regional Centre on Small Arms, 2017).

Further, the international development partners have also gone ahead to rehabilitate and constructed about sixty-six armouries, ranging from small storage facilities to larger purpose built constructions for the Somali Police Force. Out of the sixty-six, forty armouries were designed for purposes of storing recovered illicit small arms and light weapons as well as small caliber ammunition. Other international actors such as the UNDP, UNSOM, the United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS) and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) have played a key role in the fight against the proliferation of SALW in Somalia in general.

#### **4.5.4 Disarmament as a Mitigation Measure Against Proliferation of SALW in Hodan District**

The issue of disarmament as a mitigation measure remains tricky but a very effective way of controlling the spread of SALW not just in Hodan area but in the wider Somalia republic since this is what made the state ungovernable. A number of respondents, 55 % of the respondents argued that this was a better and a very quick method of curtailing the spread of SALW. On the other hand, 45 % of the respondents believed that disarmament was not a very effective way of solving the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district. This group cited biasness since it appeared to them that this exercise only targeted a certain clan and not all clans and/or people with small arms. The respondents who agreed that disarmament as an approach to solving the proliferation

of SALW argued that when this is done in consultations with clan heads then it could be a very effective tool which can be employed with a view to realizing the intended purpose.

Bryden and Brickhill (2010) have argued that disarmament and demobilization exercises should be structured in such a way that clan leaders should be at the forefront and also part of leadership of the exercise. The exercise should therefore be done in such a way that it is not perceived as one that is imposed on the people by the state or one based on mono-clan structure. This should also be supplemented by the creation of an independent national demobilization commission (NDC). This commission should allow its work to be governed by certain principles. One key principle should be that disarmament and demobilization should be voluntary and centrally coordinated and locally implemented with representation of all military groups.

Respondents who agreed that disarmament was a useful tool for mitigating over SALW further argued that this could be achieved through the support of some local NGOs and community members since it was an exercise that was meant for the benefit of all people who live in Hodan district. Religious leaders were also cited by these respondents as people who persuaded members of the community in possession of SALW to surrender these weapons unconditionally. Mosque and clan leaders would increasingly spread the message of peace citing the dangers of SALW to members of the community. Most importantly, this group of respondents also agreed that this exercise could also be achieved through incorporation of the international community.

Nevertheless, the whole issue of disarmament and demobilization in Hodan and in the Somalia republic should be looked into from a broader security perspective and this is what has informed the choice of 45% of the respondents against the idea that

disarmament could be a better way to mitigate over the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district. At the centre of the dilemma of security in Somalia lies a simple question: who is disarming who. Bryden and Brickhill (2010) argue that so long as the institutional character and political character of Somalia's future government is still under contestation, the many clans in Somalia, regional and political actors would still feel compelled to control power. These regional and political actors also feel compelled to retain enough levels of military power to defend their interest from putative central authorities and also from each other. In the last two decades, interim authorities that have successively been in place in Somalia have become identified with specific regional interest, ethnic and political interests, while at the same time seeking to disenfranchise and weaken others. In a context like that, efforts of disarmament may threaten to entrench inherently and unbalanced unstable power relations between parties to the conflict. The next chapter summarizes and makes concluding remarks for the study.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the summary and conclusion of the entire study based on the discussions arising from issues relating to the sources, impact and mitigation of the proliferation of SALW. The chapter also deliberates on the recommendations for the study and likely areas for further research.

#### 5.2 Summary and Conclusion

The main objectives of this study were three. It set out to examine the sources of small arms and light weapons in Hodan district; assess the effects of the use of SALW as well as to examine the mitigation measures against the proliferation of arms and light weapons. The study found out that Hodan district which is the area of study is a post colony within the Somalia postcolonial space characterized by political, ethnic, economic contestations. These contestations have consequently resulted in the proliferation of SALW as each group of contestants fight for both political and economic spaces. The study has established that the youth below the age of 30 are majorly involved in the trafficking of and spread of SALW. This was attributed to high unemployment rate in Hodan which drives the youth to engage in illicit trade in illegal small arms and light weapons as a way of eking a living.

The study has demonstrated that the main sources of SALW in Hodan district are the fragile nature of the Somali republic. Majority of the respondents argued that fragile situations in Somalia led to the proliferation of small arm and light weapons in the entire region and Hodan district has become a victim of that fragility. In a divided society



which operates without strong institutions, there exists a direct link between the proliferation of illicit SALW, fragile situations and development. Other respondents cited the sources of SALW to be the neighboring countries through the porous borders. A number of countries within the great lakes region have been seen as sources of these arms which therefore brings in the international dimensions of these arms as far as their source in Hodan district is concerned. Porous borders were also considered as some of the drivers of fragility and as demonstrated in this study, porous borders between Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen are the main conduits for smuggling of arms and weapons such as grenades, AK 47, pistols rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), Light Machine Guns (LMGs) and mortars.

The study observes that some of the SALW come from the militia and terrorist groups who acquire these weapons either through attack on government security officers or by attacking soldiers deployed there under AMISOM, an assertion that has been supported by Anyoka (2010). Other sources of SALW in the Hodan district region were informed by poverty, youth radicalization and weak legislation on SALW.

Further, it was observed that one of the major effect of the proliferation SALW lies in the ability of this arms to cause and sustain violence which may be detrimental to the realization of peace, security and sustainable development of the study locale (Ehiane and Uwizeyimana, 2018). Notably, the study has demonstrated that the proliferation of SALW has enhanced clan conflict and clan based militias. Clan conflict in Hodan was therefore majorly informed by competition for scarce resources such as pasture, water and land (EASO, 2021). Moreover, the proliferation of SALW was characterized by gender based violence, intimidation and rape targeting women and young girls. Sexual

violence and coercion, therefore, were major characteristics in Hodan areas where militias operated from.

In conclusion, therefore, the study is of the view that there is need for multi-sectoral approach towards solving the problem of the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district. For instance, the study vouches for both state and non-state actors' involvement in the fight against the proliferation of SALW. This will involve the government of Somalia being at the forefront in leading the fight against SALW. Although this was partially achieved through the establishment of an Arms and Ammunition Management Steering Committee in Somalia, more still needs to be done. Non state actors such as NGOs have also played a critical role in mitigating over the proliferation of SALW in Hodan district by supporting voluntary demobilization programmes and peacebuilding efforts in the area of study. The study points out that there is need to continue enhancing the presence of AMISOM and other United Nations initiatives such as the reconstruction of the security infrastructure and capacity building for the Somali National Army as a way of empowering them to manage security issues within Somalia in general. Finally, the study has demonstrated that disarmament and demobilization when executed putting into consideration and incorporating clan leaders and making it a clan driven agenda could go a long way in solving the problem of SALW not only in Hodan district but also in the entire Somalia state.

### **5.3 Recommendation**

The study has highlighted the sources of small arms and light weapons in Hodan district while also highlighting some mitigation measures. Consequently, this study recommends that there is need to strengthen governance institutions, as well as the need to have a robust agenda for purposes of reforming the security and public sectors. To

achieve this there will be need for interventions in capacity building in the security sector, sensitization and awareness on the civilians on the need to disarm. The study also recommends that there is need to engage technology for purposes of keeping electronic records of arms while at the same time destroying obsolete stock of arms belonging to the government so that they don't get into the hands of civilians and militia groups. Additionally, the study recommends tighter control and surveillance at the border and other points of entry; this should be supported by stricter legislation and stricter gun control measure by ensuring effective implementation mechanisms. Finally, more studies should be done to compare the proliferation of SALW and its impacts in other districts and even countries bordering Somalia.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. Why are there many small arms and light weapons in Hodan district of Somalia?
2. How has the proliferation and use of SALW impacted on security in Hodan district?
3. How can the proliferation of small arms and light weapons be controlled in Hodan District?
4. Which kind of small arms have you been able to see in Hodan district
5. Which kinds of light weapons have been able to see in Hodan
6. Who did you see with these weapons? Were they police officers or licensed holders of these weapons.
7. In your own opinion how has the spread of these weapons affected the security of Hodan district
8. What should the government do to control the proliferation of weapons
9. Is there a way in which the community can stop the spread of these weapons?
10. How has the proliferation affected relations and the economic development of Hodan district?
11. Which militia groups do you that are operating in Hodan region
12. Which clans are domiciled in Hodan district and how often do they fight each other.
13. In your own view do you think the government is able to stop the spread of small arms and light weapons?

14. What are the types of small arms and light weapons have you seen?
15. Do you own any small arms or light weapons?
16. What should the local do to stop the spread of small arms and light  
weapons
17. Would you mobilise and create awareness regarding the dangers of small  
arms and light weapons
18. Do you think AMISOM is doing enough to control the spread of light  
weapons

## Appendix II: Research Project Budget

### Budget Item

No	Activity Description	Total (\$)
1	Printing and Photocopy	200.0
2	Stationary	50.0
3	Transport Cost	150.0
4	Data collection	120.0
	Airtime	100,0
5	Editing cost	250.0
	<b>Grand Budget</b>	<b>\$870</b>

### Appendix III: Research approval letter



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: [dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke](mailto:dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke)

Website: [www.ku.ac.ke](http://www.ku.ac.ke)

P.O. Box 43844, 00100  
NAIROBI, KENYA  
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: CSO/27896/2014

DATE: 17<sup>th</sup> March, 2022

Director General,  
National Commission for Science, Technology  
and Innovation  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR HASSAN BEDEL KHALIF – REG. NO. CSO/27896/2014.**

I write to introduce Hassan Bedel Khalif who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. The student is registered for MA degree programme in the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies.

Hassan intends to conduct research for a MA Project Proposal entitled, "Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Security of Hodan District in Banadir Region, Somalia 2006-2007".

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

  
PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI  
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

AM/du

## Appendix IV: Research Permit

### APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT

JAMHUURIYADA FEDERAALKA SOOMAALIYA

Maamulka Gobolka Benaadir

Degmada Hodan



Somalia Federal Republic  
Benaadir Regional Administration  
Hodan District

جمهورية الصومال الفيدرالية

إدارة محافظة بنادر

منطقة حدان

Taariikh: 06/04/2022

Summad: MG/G/16x/140/02/10/2022

تاریخ: 06/04/2022

رقم

To: Who may concern

Cc: General Secretary of Hodan District

Cc: Deputy Commissioners of Hodan District

Subject: Permission

The administration of Hodan District received a request for permission from

Hassan Bodeh Khalif who has requested to conduct a research on the "Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on Security: Case study of Hodan District in Banaadir Region, Somalia".

On behalf of the Hodan District authority, we permitted him to conduct the research

Thanks,

Deputy Of Social Affairs in Hodan District

Mr. Abdikarim Abdikarim Hussein

Tel: 0615959787/0613244443/851091 Email: degmadahodan@gmail.com

