

**HADDIS ALEMAYEHU SPECIAL BOARDING SCHOOL**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (PSIS)**

**ARMS TRAFFICKING AND THE CHALLENGE OF SECURITY  
IN ANRS: THE CASE OF GONCHA SISO ENESIE WOREDA:**

**BY  
NATNAEL DESSIE ASSEFA**

**AUGUST, 2022**

**DEBRE MARKOS, ETHIOPIA**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL  
SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (PSIS)**

IJSER

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**AUGUST, 2022**

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## **Acknowledgment**

First of all, I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Chen. Dereje provided unlimited encouragement and constructive feedback from start to finish. I just want to thank him for the way he gets along with people. Next, I would like to express special thanks to various agencies, such as the East Gojjam District High Court Office, the Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda Militia, and the Police Department, as well as those who are directly or indirectly involved in providing vital data for research. Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Almighty God because, without its funding, nothing would succeed.

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## Acronym

<b>AEFJN</b>	.....Africa-Europe Faith & Justice Network
<b>AMP</b>	.....Arms Management Program
<b>ANRS</b>	.....Amhara National Regional State
<b>ATT</b>	.....Arms Trade Treaty
<b>AU</b>	.....African Union
<b>BICC</b>	.....Biennial International Center for Conversion
<b>CAR</b>	.....Central African State
<b>CSA</b>	.....Central statistical Agency
<b>DDR</b>	.....Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
<b>DRC</b>	.....Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>ECOWAS</b>	.....Economic Community of West African States
<b>FGD</b>	.....Focus Group Discussion
<b>EPRDF</b>	.....Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
<b>GATT</b>	.....Global Arms Trade Treaty
<b>GBV</b>	.....Gender Based Violence
<b>IDMC</b>	.....Internally Displaced Monitoring Centre
<b>IDPs</b>	.....Internally Displaced Peoples
<b>ITI</b>	.....International Tracing Instrument
<b>KIs</b>	.....Key Informants
<b>NATO</b>	.....North Atlantic Treaty Organization

**NEPs**.....National Focal Points

**NGOs**.....Non-Governmental Organizations

**OAU**.....Organization of African Union

**QUNO**.....Quaker United Nation Office

**RECSA**.....Center of Small Arms and Light Weapons.

**SALW**.....Small Arms and Light Weapons

**SADC**.....Southern African Development Community

**UN**.....United Nation

**UNDP**.....United Nation Development Program

**UNGA**.....United Nation General Assembly

**UNDDR**.....United Nation Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

**UNODA**.....United Nation Office Disarmament Affairs

**UNPOA**.....United Nation Program of Action

**USA**..... United States

**WCC**..... Church Council

**WHO**.....World Health Organization

### ***Abstract***

One of the immediate causes of conflict and human insecurity in Ethiopia is the illicit distribution and supply of small arms and light weapons. Ethiopia has a porous border with neighboring countries (Somalia, Kenya, Eritrea, and Sudan). These porous borders facilitate the transport of small arms and light weapons between these countries. As a result, small arms have destroyed, injured, terrorized, and displaced thousands of people in Ethiopia. Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda is a part of Ethiopia located in the East Gojjam district of the Amhara region. This world is notorious for its problems with the arms trade and illegal possession of weapons. Therefore, the central objective of the development of this document is to assess the factors of the arms trade and their challenges for the security of the Goncha Siso Enesie radar. If the researcher views the problem as a social phenomenon, they use qualitative methods and case study designs as well as a non-probability sampling technique known as intentional snowball sampling. Primary and secondary data are available. The results show that the arms trade and illicit possession of arms are increasing at an alarming rate. A culture of retaliation, vigilance, and weak government security are the root causes of the illicit arms trade and possession of dead; people were injured and left the cities due to the easy availability of SALW. Although there are laws made by law, it is not enough because the laws lack uniformity between regions of a country. Therefore, the researchers recommend that the government first try to solve the problem by modifying previous laws. Moreover, disarming the individual mind by creating awareness is considered a fundamental proposition of problem solving.

**Keywords:** illicit trafficking, small arms, smuggling, and distribution.

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## Chapter one

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

One of the main challenges to human security and development in the international system is the illicit supply of small arms and light weapons. "Small arms and light weapons are weapons of mass destruction" (Annan, 2000). Various documents describe the various factors responsible for the illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the world. For example, according to Scholte J (2000), globalization and liberalism that advocate "free flow" policies can lead states to lose control of individuals and markets, thus providing opportunities for the easy transportation of small arms, especially at porous borders. The same is true for Malhotra (2011), as "political and economic integration and fewer restrictions on immigration and the movement of people help poor traders strengthen their current trade ties and develop new ones." Moreover, Kegley (1995, p.4) links this issue to a neoliberal theoretical perspective, arguing that "the state collapses with the development of cross-border exchanges, organizations, and economic interdependence." The end of the anti-colonial struggle and the Cold War, which led to a shift from superpower proxy conflict in the Third World to socio-economic development, generated global optimism about international peace and security (Dokubo, C, 2000). According to a United Nations General Assembly report (1997), the end of the Cold War created a surplus of European and North American armament industries, bringing surplus and modern materials to the world market. The sale and reduction of this surplus and the expansion of black market opportunities guarantee a high level of supply of small arms in the world (Report of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1997). In Africa, according to Shah A (2006) and Stohl Re et al (2010), approximately 2.1 billion small arms and light weapons are in storage, in circulation, and in private possession. Of these, approximately 70–100 million Ak-47 assault rifles have been produced and are found in the national inventories of at least 18 states. According to the Small Arms Survey (2009), at least 38 companies manufacture small arms in sub-Saharan Africa, with the largest and most important production facility in South Africa. However, various other sources of small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation in Africa, in addition to remnants of weapons shipped to Africa in the 1970s, include the production and supply of new weapons on and off the continent, initiated by the former Soviet Union, and various inter-state and intra-state proxy wars or cold wars brokered by the United States and its allies (Abdel-Fatau, 2004). After the end of the Cold War, free and heavily subsidized weapons continued to flow into the African region from many legitimate arms-producing countries,

including China, Iran, Russia, Ukraine, France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, and United Kingdom (Mogiré, 2004). The spread of small arms in East Africa predates 19th century European colonialism (Collins, 2006, pp. 16-22). The flow of firearms into the hinterland of the sub-region was the result of an established trade that increased raids on slaves, cattle, ivory, and other game trophies by Ethiopian looters and Arab traders (Wepundi, Ndung'u, and Rynn, 2011, p. 2). The time The British attempted to conquer and suppress local resistance in the border countries of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia (Collins, 2006, pp. 16–22). Thus, the proliferation of small arms dates back to the anti-colonial struggle of the Mau Mau in the 1950s. Mau fighters are said to have introduced illegal firearms into the Nairobi area and Central Province (Katumanga and Cliffe, 2005, p.5). Considering that the illicit distribution, circulation, and trade of small arms and light weapons constitute an urgent security challenge for the countries of the international system, various studies, declarations, and preventive measures have been initiated throughout the world. For example, the Bamako Declaration on the Illicit Distribution, Circulation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Africa (2000), the United Nations Conference on Illicit SALW (2001), the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Prevention and Management of the Proliferation of SALW (1998), 2000), the Nairobi Declaration adopted by the Ministers of the countries of the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa (2000), the United Nations Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Africa , the Global Arms Trade Treaty (2013), the South African Development Commission (2001), the Nairobi Protocol (2004) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 2006 are the most important efforts to prevent the illicit trade in these small arms. Ethiopia is one of the countries in East Africa heavily affected by small arms and light weapons. According to the Regional Center Small Arms and Light Weapons Workshop Report (2006), more than one million weapons are illegally held by private individuals in Ethiopia. As a result, small arms have destroyed thousands of people in conflict, cattle rustling, and crime; thousands more have been injured, intimidated, or displaced, making them internally displaced persons (IDPs) or refugees. The porous borders with other countries in the Horn of Africa such as Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya, and Sudan are factors of conflict, which in turn contribute to the illegal possession of weapons in regions such as Ethiopia (Kizito Sabala, 2002). Studies have been conducted on the distribution of small arms and light weapons in different parts of the country. For example, Eniyew (2013) studied the political economy of SALW in pastoral communities in Ethiopia, particularly in the Borena community. Megersa (2007) discusses the challenge of small arms on the Ethiopia-Somalia border. This means that the proliferation of SALW in the Ethiopian highlands, particularly in the regional state of Amhara, linked to the cause of arms trade and possession, has yet to be addressed. Hence,

Goncha siso Enesie wearda is one of the 21 weardas found in the East Gojjam district of Amhara Region state. The world is notorious for the illicit distribution of small arms and light weapons. Arms supply issues are common, which has made the area famous among Woredas in the East Gojjam region. Although the problem has escalated from time to time, no studies have been conducted to investigate the causes of the illicit trade and the possession of weapons. This begs the question in researchers' minds, "Why are the weapons coming and going in the area?" Why do people kill each other with illegally owned guns? With this question and this objective in mind, researchers set out to find the arms trade, the causes of illegal possession, the relationship between the arms trade and human insecurity, and the measures to control the trade in weapons in the study area. It not only examines the drivers of illegal firearm possession and its impact on human security, but also proposes or recommends policies that scholars expect as appropriate measures to address the problem.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is caused by many factors. According to Jekada (2005), small arms and light weapons are cheap, easy to deliver, and require less technical skill. In addition to their availability, porous borders without fences or walls separating countries also contribute to the large-scale flow of illicit SALW across these borders (Scholte JA, 2000; Kizito Sabala, 2002). African borders were poorly drawn by the colonialists and therefore not perfectly demarcated (Negatia, 1984). Countries like Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Chad have borders that are too long, which creates opportunities for easy smuggling of SALW into these countries, creating additional insecurity (Kizito Sabala, 2002). In fact, according to the United Nations Development Program (2002), weapons themselves may not be the cause of conflict, but their proliferation and ease of access can drive differences by increasing lethality and the duration of hostilities and encouraging violence rather than peaceful resolution differences, increasing violence. Mogire (2004) also points to a related problem, namely that "the proliferation of small arms and light weapons has led to an increase in crimes such as armed robbery, hijacking, terrorism, cattle theft , drug trafficking, and smuggling". The United Nations Economic and Social Council (1997) reiterated the link between guns and violence, stating that "more guns equal more violence". This means that guns fuel violence and increase the death rate in attacks. The widespread use of SALW therefore poses a threat to human security as their presence encourages violent rather than peaceful solutions and undermines confidence- and security-building measures (UNDDR, 2006). Because handguns are easy to use, durable, and easy to conceal, they are particularly vulnerable to

abuse, which directly or indirectly affects hundreds of thousands of people and undermines sustainable development in many countries around the world. (Rachel Stohl and E.J. Hogan Donne, 2010). As a result, small arms and light weapons are the weapons of choice, the primary tools of death and destruction, and are often used to forcibly displace civilians, obstruct humanitarian assistance, prevent or delay development projects, and hamper the maintenance and consolidation of peace try. According to Small Arms and Public Health (2010), one person is killed by gun violence every minute. As reported by the United Nations Development Program (2004), 500,000 people are killed each year by firearms, 200,000 of whom live in peaceful countries. As Michael Renner (2011, cited in Mogire 2003), small arms alone have wreaked havoc in Africa, killing an estimated 5,994,000 people over the past 50 years and 30,000 more each year. Despite national, international, and regional SALW control measures, this remains a challenge (Controlarms 2006). This is mainly because the Protocol is insufficient to cover small arms and to control arms transfers between countries (UNODA 2006). Membership of the agreement is not universal; many countries disagree with measures taken to combat the illicit trafficking of small arms and therefore oppose the United Nations legal framework on trafficking in small arms and light weapons (Stemmet, 2001; Stohl, 2010; Conflict Trend, 2009). For example, according to Controlarms (2006), major UN member states, as well as arms-producing countries such as the United States, China, India, Israel, Russia, and Egypt, have not yet accepted the UN Program of Action for Arms Control. Although many African countries have tried programmatic initiatives such as DDR, weapons collection, destruction programs, and physical stockpiling to address illicit weapons, lack of resources, good security management, and the need for bilateral and multilateral support have become major issues (Conflict Trends, 2009). The Horn of Africa is characterized by the proliferation of SALW, particularly in Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda, which have long been plagued by instability and civil conflict (Stohl and Hogendroorn, 2010). As a result, Ethiopia and other countries in the Horn of Africa have ratified the Nairobi Protocol on the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Illicit Possession of Arms, which obliges signatories to dispose of confiscated weapons and unlicensed under the 2008 Arms Management Plan (AMP), cited in Amero Tenaw, 2016). According to the Regional Center for Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA) workshop report (2006), small arms have claimed the lives of thousands of people in Ethiopia and throughout the Horn of Africa. Poor borders with other Horn of Africa countries such as Somalia, Kenya, and Sudan are factors in the conflict, which in turn contributes to the illegal possession of weapons in the region, including in Ethiopia (Kizito Sabala, 2002). While taking international and regional measures to control the illegal possession of weapons, Ethiopia has also made many efforts to control the illegal trade and



possession of weapons. For example, Ethiopia destroyed over 11,700 small arms, 3,000 grenades, and 170,000 cartridges of various types in 2006 and 2007 (Muggah and Bennett, 2009).

In the Goncha Siso Enesie study area, after this arms trade and the illegal possession of arms, researchers repeatedly heard that many people were killed, injured, and displaced each year. In the study area, competition between individuals for the possession of weapons is fierce. Thus, casualties resulting from the illegal acquisition of weapons are common in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda. Despite this problem, no significant research has been conducted to explain the causes of illegal possession and misuse of handguns. Mekonen (2011) and others conducted a study titled “Challenges in Managing the Circulation of Small Arms and Their Impact on Security in Addis Ababa”; Molla (2013) also assessed the “Small Arms Management and Control System (focusing on registration and )”. Therefore, researchers are primarily concerned with managing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. It shows that "causes that contribute to the illicit arms trade and possession" receive little attention. Therefore, the aim of this study was to fill in the gaps that other researchers have missed. Therefore, the main objectives of the researchers conducting this study at Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda were to: assess the factors that motivate people to participate in the arms trade; to demonstrate the link between the arms trade and human insecurity; to analyze past actions taken to control firearms possession, efforts, or measures; and recommend or recommend policies and strategies anticipated by researchers as shortcomings from past measures Researchers specifically promise not to miss what other researchers miss when doing their research.

### **1.3 Research question**

The aim of this study is to answer the following basic research questions:

- 1: What are the factors that lead to the arms trade and illicit possession of arms in Goncha Siso Enesie woreda?
- 2: How does the arms trade affect human security in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda?
- 3: What measures have been taken to control the arms trade in the study area?

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

The study has both general and specific objectives

### **1.4.1 General Objectives**

The overall objective of the study is to identify the factors that influence arms trafficking, illegal possession of arms, and their impact on human security in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- 1: Explain the factors that contribute to arms trafficking and illicit possession of arms Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda.
- 2: Demonstrate the impact of the arms trade and the availability of small arms and light weapons in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda.
- 3: Identify the measures to be taken to control the illicit arms trade in the study area.

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

Research helps inform the public, governments, and other concerned organizations about how the arms trade and supply pose a threat to human security and global development. This heightened awareness in Sumer paved the way for managing the arms trade in the study area. In particular, the study will serve as a secondary source for those interested in writing a research paper on this sensitive issue.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The study aims to assess the arms trade and its challenges to the security of Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda in the East Gojjam region. Therefore, the study was limited to Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda, which is far from Debre Markos town, about 7 km east of the Wello region. This paper examines the causes of the arms trade, its relationship to human insecurity, and efforts to combat the illicit arms trade. There are three main reasons researchers choose study areas. First, Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda borders Wello, and the Wellon community settled near the Nile has a gateway for the free exchange of goods and services, including small arms. As a result, researchers have repeatedly heard about the massive arms movement between Wello and Goncha Siso Enesie and its implications for human security. Second, the “culture of revenge” is well known in the Ethiopian highlands. Goncha Siso Enesie is one of the victims of this traditional culture. Therefore, researchers are interested in studying "why people in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda buy weapons on the black market." Third, although the problem of

arms trafficking in the region is getting worse, it has not yet been investigated. Therefore, the sum of these factors motivates the researcher to choose both the domain and the problem. Primary informants, focus groups, and in-depth interviews were the main sources of data. Police records, books, journals, articles, and documents are secondary data sources.

### **1.7 Limitation of the study**

Since the subject is sensitive in the field of research, it was difficult for the researchers to convince the poor brokers and traders interviewed of the object of the study. It is easier to use the snowball method to select arms dealers and brokers than to convince them to do an interview. But through the third person, the mediator (the persuasive), they trust the researcher because the goal is an academic goal. But that doesn't mean they're completely interested. In the interviews, there was little fear on the faces of some arms traffickers. To dispel their suspicions, the investigators even took an oath because nothing emerged from the interview. Additionally, the researchers appreciated their strategy of concealing their weapons, prompting them to talk more. Using all strategies, this limitation was reduced, but not completely. Another issue with conducting this research was the emotional control of some FGD members when discussing and reflecting on their thoughts. As shown by the methodology of the data collection tool, the researchers included individuals attacked by SALW in the FGD to obtain more information on the impact and availability of the SALW trade. Unfortunately, some people were bothered by the issues that arose. But the researchers tried to calm them down, telling them the problem was not just with themselves, but with the international community as a whole.

### **1.8 Operational Definition**

**Illicit Trafficking:** the unauthorized import, export, acquisition, sale, delivery, movement, or transfer of firearms, their parts, and components from or across the territory of one country to another or within the territories of member states(United Nations, 2000)

**Small Arms:** arms used by one person and which include firearms or devices such as explosives, an incendiary bomb or a gas bomb, a grenade, a rocket launcher, a missile, a missile system or landmine; revolvers and pistols with automatic loading; rifles and carbines; machines guns; assault rifles and light machine guns(Article 1(2)of ECOWAS Convention on SALW)

**Light Weapons:** portable arms designed to be used by several persons working together in a team and which include notably: heavy machine guns; portable grenade launchers; portable anti-aircraft cannons, portable anti-tank cannons, non-recoil guns; portable antitank missile launchers or rocket launchers; portable anti-aircraft missile launchers; and mortars with a caliber of fewer than 100 millimeters (Article1 (1) of ECOWAS Convention on SALW).

**Contraband:** goods that have been imported or exported illegally (Oxford Dictionary)

**Proliferation:** the rapid and excessive increase or spread of something, such as small arms and light weapons (Schmid Alex P, 1998)

### 1. 9 Organization of the study

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the introduction, the statement of the problem, and the objectives of the study. The second chapter is an overview of the related literature. Chapter 3 covers research methodology, design, and sampling techniques. Chapter 4 deals with data analysis, interpretation, and discovery. Finally, Chapter 5 is the conclusion, with conclusions and recommendations.

## Chapter two

### Review of Related Literature

#### **2.1 Origin and meaning of arms trafficking**

The word "commerce" is of Middle French (15th century) origin, *trafique*, which means "trade, commerce"; from Italian (14th century), *traffico* comes from *trafficare*, which means "to trade of unknown origin"; and finally, the word "trade" is derived from the colloquial Latin *trans-fricare*, which means "friction" (in Latin *trans* means "excess" + *fricatio* means "friction"). Douglas Harper (2010) offers the ultimate derivation of the Italian word from the Arabic *tafriq*, meaning "to scatter" (the coming and going of people and vehicles). The United Nations (2000) links the terms "weapons" and "trafficking" and defines them together as "the unauthorized import, export, acquisition, sale, delivery, movement, or transfer of a country to another or within the territory of a Member State." According to the Small Arms Survey (2015), it also means "involvement in the illicit manufacture and distribution of firearms, such as ammunition, revolvers and automatic pistols, rifles and carbines, submachine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns;". According to Transnational Crime Intelligence (2014), international trends in the illicit firearms trade generally originate from developed countries manufacturing and selling firearms to buyers in developing countries, particularly where firearms are in great demand due to internal or external conflicts or small-scale firearms national war. Firearms are also resold and smuggled, often to neighboring countries (Transnational Crime Intelligence, 2014). Today, illicit arms trafficking and possession occurs in almost every region of the world. However, according to the Small Arms Survey (2013), this illicit arms trafficking and possession is often concentrated in areas affected by intense civil conflict due to porous borders, poverty, and poor governance. Furthermore, according to Global Issues (2013), the majority of small arms (nearly 75%) target poor and developing countries, often in the throes of conflict. According to the Global Issues report, countries in Africa, Latin America, and half of Asia are the main recipients of weapons from the developed countries that produce and supply them.

## 2.2 The concepts of Small Arms and Light Weapons

Due to the conceptual structure, there is no single, universally accepted definition of small arms and light weapons (Mogire, 2004). Due to the dynamics of technological development, the category of weapons has undergone some changes. Many scholars confuse the definition of weapons in general and small arms and light weapons in particular. Consequently, most researchers who have written articles on the subject have used the definition proposed by the United Nations Group of Experts on Small Arms in its 1997 report. According to the report of the group of experts, small arms and light weapons are defined as any lethal hand-held weapon that can be fired or fired, designed to fire or fire, or readily converted to fire or fire bullets, bullets or projectiles by the action of an explosive. (Report of the United Nations Group of Experts, 1997; cited in Heinrich, 2006; 2) Moreover, the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research also highlighted small arms and light weapons to include: revolvers and self-loading pistols; rifles and carbines; sub-machine-guns; assault rifles; light machine-guns; heavy machine-guns; hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers; portable anti-aircraft guns; portable anti-tank guns; recoilless rifles; portable launchers of antitank missiles and rocket systems; portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems; and mortars of calibers less than 100 mm (Swadesh, 2006).

Despite this, there is a distinction between small arms and light weapons; UNDP uses the term “small arms” to cover both small arms and light weapons. It should be noted, however, that different definitions of SALW are used and that the definitions contained in the range of regional and international instruments on SALW vary slightly from the definition stated in the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNDP, 2008). According to the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2006:3) Small arms are arms destined for personal use and include firearms and other destructive arms or devices such as exploding bombs, incendiary bombs or gas bombs, grenades, rocket launchers, a missile, a missile system, or a mine. whereas, light weapons are portable arms designed to be used by several people in a team, such as; heavy machine guns; portable grenade launchers, mobile or mounted; portable anti-aircraft cannons; portable antitank cannons, non-recoil guns; portable anti-tank missile launchers or rocket launchers; portable anti-aircraft missile launchers; mortars with a caliber of fewer than 100

millimeters Broadly, according to Chelule (2014: 80), small arms are weapons designed for personal use, such as pistols, rifles, and light machine guns, while small arms are weapons designed for use by two or three people in a crew.

### **2.3 Nature and Characteristics of SALW**

Unlike other modern, sophisticated and heavy weapons, small arms and light weapons are relatively inexpensive, easy to acquire, easy to use, portable, easy to repair or replace, easy to conceal and require less technical skill (Jekada, 2005). The African Council of Religious Leaders guidelines (2014: 5-6) also describe small arms and light weapons as relatively low-tech, cheap, and easy-to-distribute tools of war. This means that people in less developed countries can easily buy and own guns at very low prices. Additionally, according to the religious leader's guidelines, small arms are easy to use, maintain, and require little training, which has increased their use in conflicts involving untrained combatants and children in recent decades. They require little training to use effectively, which has greatly increased their use in conflicts involving informal militias and children. (Guidelines for the Council of African Religious Leaders, 2014: 5-6) Therefore, small arms and light weapons are easy to carry and conceal. It is therefore extremely difficult to control or monitor the flow of small arms. Most importantly, small arms and light weapons can be carried by a soldier or light vehicle, can be easily transported or smuggled into conflict zones, and can be stored effectively in legal cargo, warehouses, or at home. Outdoors, usually in the worst weather conditions. The number and size of private militias and security companies have increased dramatically in many countries, in many cases armed with military weapons (Council of African Religious Leaders Guidelines, 2014:5-6). In short, according to Philip (2013), "SALW are widely available, very cheap, lethal, easy to use, and easy to transport and smuggle, unlike heavy conventional weapons such as artillery and tanks, which are usually purchased by government forces, police, military, and civilians."

### **2.4 Factors Contributing for the illegal Trafficking of SALW in Africa**

Several factors have contributed to the rapid and relatively free flow of small arms in Africa, including its status as a geographic bridge between national borders, which are porous and difficult for governments to monitor. For example, for Malhotra (2011), globalization and liberalism are factors in the free movement of

SALW. As for Negatia (1984) and Kizito Sabala (2002), the existence of porous borders between African countries is a factor in the free circulation of small arms and light weapons, from surplus to scarcity. And for Ayissi and Sall (2005: 68), corrupt government officials are the actors who distribute weapons from their stockpiles to criminal groups or illegal combatants. For clarity, the researchers sought to discuss factors contributing to the illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons in Africa, as outlined below.

### **2.4.1. Globalization**

The term "globalization" has no direct or widely accepted definition in general terms or in academic writings (Efrat, A. 2010). For some scholars, this means prosperity, while for others it means poverty in third world countries. Some think that it goes back to the empires of the ancient world, while for others globalization corresponds to the modern era and the process of modernization or even post modernization. The general idea of globalization is that technological development creates an environment in which global markets, rather than individual national markets, are the relevant domain of economic competitiveness (Schirato and Webb, 2003: 2). The state is used to justify the adoption of new practices by corporations and governments around the world, and these developments have shifted the political balance between the state, unions, and other interest groups (Halt and Kim, 2004). Forgetting its benefits, as in Halt and Kim (2004), the forces of globalization present opportunities and challenges. The abolition of state-imposed and controlled cross-border transactions and an increasingly integrated and complex global system of production and trade further complicate the challenge of limiting the proliferation of SALW. The idea of globalization and its advocacy of free market forces for the development of the world with minimal economic barriers and open trade provide fertile ground for the illicit arms trade by minimizing customs regulations and border controls, as well as the trade in small arms. Malhotra (2011) points out that "a very small percentage of container ships have cargo control, which allows for smooth arm movement." Falsifying documents, bribing officials and concealing weapons for humanitarian aid are common practices. In general, Malhotra (2011), cited by Bashir Malam (2014), identified globalization as a factor that contributed to the spread of the illicit arms trade in the following way:

*Political and economic integration, reducing restrictions on immigration and the movement of people, helps arms dealers strengthen their existing business ties and develop new ones. Arms dealers have moved to various regions due to business expansion or reduced operational risk. Malhotra (2011) argues that banking reform and capital mobility help the black market expand its trade internationally,*



*taking advantage of every corner of well-connected financial markets (Malhotra, 2011).*

From this, we can understand that the interconnection of the world with advanced technologies, such as fast communication, transport, banking, and free access to goods and services at very low prices, is a factor in the use of illegal weapons by criminals of all kinds of trade and turn it from a surplus to a scarcity. Although arm trafficking is one type of illegal activity that violates international law, it is not the only one. There is also human trafficking, drug trafficking, and international terrorism, the result of the free movement of people due to the paradigm of liberalism and globalization. This is the result of expanding global networks that facilitate criminals with simple communication. As long as the free market gives individuals the freedom to control the market and all exchanges of goods and services within the country are controlled by them, individuals in today's world use their freedom not only for legal activities but also for illegal activities, such as the gray and black market.

#### **2.4.2 Porous/poorly demarcated Borders**

Africa is the second largest continent in the world and has the second largest population in the world. Given its level of development, border control issues persist (Bashir Malam, 2014). For example, after the end of the Cold War, the international market was flooded with a surplus of small arms that crossed porous borders into the hands of rebels, guerrillas, and criminal groups. In fact, the embezzlement of public assets fuels violence in conflict zones and fuels crime in major conflict zones, such as in Cambodia and after the El Nio civil war in East Asia and El Salvador in America (Kizito Sabala, 2002). Thus, the existence of porous borders without fences or walls separating countries greatly facilitates the flow of SALW from one country to another. The borders of African countries were poorly drawn by the colonialists and were not perfectly demarcated (Negatia, 1984). As a result, some countries have very long borders, such as Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Chad, which are several kilometers long, and one country cannot control all border activity, so small arms are easy to smuggle between countries, creating more uncertainty. In East Africa, the loose borders between Kenya and Somalia and between Ethiopia and Somalia have also facilitated cross-border trade and fostered kinship between Kenyan Somalis in the North Eastern Province and Ethiopian Somalis in the Ogaden region (Gebre-Wold, K., Omar, M., Marwa, P., Gebre Selassie, S., Sisay, H., Sabala, K. (2002). The

illicit trade in SALW has been a widely accepted source of income for these communities since the 1980s. The problem of the illicit arms trade in the region is exacerbated by the absence of an internationally sponsored program for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants on the Somali side of the border. According to the BICC Conversion Survey (2002, p. 82), most ex-combatants fleeing Somalia to Kenya carried AK-47 rifles, which they gave to relatives or sold to strangers in exchange for food. Authorities at Kenya-Ethiopia border checkpoints are generally very poor and therefore prone to corruption and bribery (Gebre-Wold, K., Omar, M., Marwa, P., Gebre Selassie, S., Sisay, H., Sabala, K. 2002). As a result, civil servants have low and irregular salaries, a lack of promotion and training opportunities, insufficient vehicles, a lack of fuel, poor housing conditions, and severe ecological degradation in the region. According to two Somali warlord MPs, Mohamed Saeed Adan and Colonel Abdirizak Isaac Bihi, interviewed at the African Peace Forum (2006), Somalia and Ethiopia's Ogaden region. Tribal factions are moving weapons from the Ethiopian border to Burhaji in Somalia to Mandera in Kenya and vice versa...

### **2.4.3 Corruption**

This mainly happens on the gray market, when government officials distribute weapons from their stockpiles to illegal combatants. It covers the transfer of legally sold or manufactured SALW to unauthorized recipients, largely due to loopholes in the legislation. Legally, states may have the right to transfer arms to other states, but transfers to non-state groups (embargoes) violate international law (Marsh N, 2002). For example, in recent years, despite the embargo, the government secretly shipped thousands of SALW to various armed groups in Somalia. As such, the transfer or possession of licensed small arms and light weapons (SALW) to unauthorized users or use is a major contributor to the enormous human suffering and insecurity associated with proliferation. The misuse of SALW in large parts of the world According to PM News (2016), "Some corrupt Nigerian soldiers were arrested in February 2016 for illegally selling official weapons to members of Boko Haram." Ethiopia and Uganda serving in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) stockpiles to illegal arms dealers in Somalia (Wezeman, 2010), and official stockpiles have also been diverted from targeted looting of state arms by armed groups, such as in Sere, Central African Republic, in 2013 by Card Rebels (Conflict Arms Research, 2015). Similarly, Libyan military weapons were looted after the fall of Gaddafi. In other cases, legal weapons have also been seized

by non-state armed groups during raids and fights with state forces, such as in northern Mali.

#### **2.4.4 Poor Governance and development deficit**

According to the Small Arms Survey (2011), weak governance and inefficiencies characterized by inadequate security are fundamental factors that compel citizens to seek ways to protect themselves through the possession of arms. More than half of the SALW in the world are in the hands of civilians, who consider them a valuable means of security and protection (QUNO, 2006). When states lose control of their security functions and fail to keep their citizens safe, the subsequent growth in armed violence, banditry, and organized crime increases citizens' need for self-defense weapons to protect themselves and protect their property from violence. Security services, criminals, former enemies or members of retaliatory communities (Report of the United Nations Panel of Experts, 1997) Weak and irresponsible security services also often lead to the privatization of security personnel, such as bodyguards and security companies. Research shows that in many African countries, lack of trust in security forces, understaffing, or sometimes simply the inability of security agencies to perform their duties effectively results in a strong need for citizens to acquire weapons to protect themselves and their property against armed violence (Small Arms Survey, 2011). Deteriorating economic conditions, unemployment, and poor infrastructure in most African countries are the main factors driving people to express their opposition to governments through arms (Report of the United Nations Group of Experts, 1997). The 2016 World Bank Africa Poverty Report confirms that poverty levels in Africa are higher than in the 1990s. Where jobs and infrastructure are provided, they are largely concentrated in urban centers or loyal constituencies to the ruling party, thereby contributing to or exacerbating inequalities between individuals and groups (Issac Abrak, 2016). As a result, many disenfranchised or excluded groups express their discontent against the state through the use of illegal weapons.

#### **2.5 Major sources of SALW in Africa**

According to Grimmett (2003), the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (United States, France, United Kingdom, Russia, and China) are the main suppliers of small arms, accounting for 80% of all stockpiles of weapons. These weapons have caused great suffering to people around the world. It is estimated

that 79% of small arms in Africa are in civilian hands, and if lost or stolen, the same weapons return to the black market, increasing the number of arms held illegally (Grimmett, 2003). As the Cold War ended, free and heavily subsidized weapons continued to flood the region from many legitimate arms producers, including China, Iran, Russia, Ukraine, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States; The main legal source of weapons for Africans (Dokubo & C, 2000). The flow of small arms to the conflict-ridden Horn of Africa is a ready market for arms, such as Ethiopia (1991), Rwanda (1994), Somalia (1991) and Uganda (1979 and 1986). Some African countries supplying arms to rebels and private traders include countries such as Sudan, which supported rebels in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda; Uganda, Eritrea and Ethiopia supported Sudanese opposition in the south; Eritrea and Ethiopia lost ground due to border disputes. Support Somali opposition groups and rebel groups operating in the opposite country. There is an illicit trade in small arms in Africa, with the main suppliers being Russia and China (WCC, 2012; Stohl, 2010; African Union, 2001). An estimated 2.1 billion small arms and light weapons are stockpiled and circulating in Africa due to large imports of small arms from Europe and other arms-producing countries (Shah, 2006; Stohl Re et al., 2010). As a result, approximately 70–100 million AK-47 assault rifles were produced and found in the national inventories of at least 58 states. According to the Small Arms Survey (2009), at least 38 companies manufacture small arms in sub-Saharan Africa, with the largest production facilities in Africa, led by South Africa. It is well known that Europe is a major producer of small arms and light weapons destined for Africa. However, there are various other sources of small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation in Africa, including the production and supply of new weapons on and off the continent, in addition to the remnants of weapons being shipped to Africa (Abdel-Fatau, 2011).

### **2.5.1 The Nexus Between proliferation of SALW and violence**

Small arms are considered a major factor that can compromise personal security (African Forum for Peace, 2004). According to (Louise, 1995), there is a link between the illicit distribution and circulation of small arms and light weapons and social violence and the general weakening of the social fabric. However, determining the exact nature of this relationship in all cases or in general is more

problematic. This is also true of the report of the United Nations Group of Experts on Small Arms (1997, p. 15), "The accumulation of small arms and light weapons does not in itself lead to conflicts in which they are used." The roots of these conflicts lie in a variety of cumulative and complex political, commercial, socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and ideological factors. The widespread use of SALW therefore poses a threat to human security as their presence encourages violent rather than peaceful solutions and undermines confidence-and security-building measures (UNDDR, 2006). Although weapons themselves do not cause conflict, their proliferation and ease of access contribute to high levels of violence by increasing the lethality and duration of hostilities and by encouraging violence rather than the peaceful resolution of disputes (Program of United Nations Development, 2002). This means that even if the influx of firearms is not the cause of the conflict, "the abundance of weapons at all levels of society can increase tensions and hostility between communities, leading to a greater likelihood of gun violence and bloodshed" (Michael Rayner, quoted in Mo Gill, 2004). Medical research has also shown empirical correlations between rates of gun ownership and rates of murder and suicide (Wendy Cukier, 1998) and other violent crimes. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), "the total number of people killed by all forms of murder, war, and suicide worldwide was estimated at 2,272,000 in 1998." In the same year, victims of the war were estimated at 588,000 (WHO, 2001). Civilians Non-combatants account for about 80–90% of all parties killed in today's conflicts, compared to about 5% of civilians killed in World War I (Claire, 1999). About 52% of war-related deaths among civilians and combatants are attributable to small arms, with more than half of the casualties in sub-Saharan Africa (C J L Murray, B G King, A D Lopez, N Tomijima, E. G. Krug, 2002).

## **2.6 Impacts posed by the illicit trafficking of SALW in Africa**

In many conflict zones, small arms and light weapons are the weapons of choice, a major tool of death and destruction, and are often used to force the displacement of civilians, obstruct humanitarian assistance, prevent or delay development projects, and hinder peacekeeping and peacekeeping operations. -Construction works (Rachel Stohl and EJ Hogendoorn, 2010) Small arms are often still in circulation when conflicts end or abate, which can lead to more violence and suffering when fighting resumes or conflict erupts in adjacent areas. In non-conflict areas, handguns can be used for criminal violence, murder, suicide, and accidents. They are often the main tool of terrorists who aim to sow chaos and discord. The

appalling global rate of death and injury from gun violence requires alternative thinking and action. According to UNDP data (IRIN 2004), approximately 500,000 people are killed by firearms each year, 200,000 of whom live in peaceful countries. The use of handguns has killed thousands of people in the Great Lakes region over the past 10 years. Small arms and light weapons (SALW) also played a major role in the 1994 genocide that killed one million people in Rwanda. Thus, at the international level, various studies demonstrate that the serious impact of the proliferation of SALW is a direct cause of the destruction of human life, including socio-economic activities. For example, the United Nations Development Program (2002: 31) explained the impact of the spread of SALW in Africa and globally as follows:

*The destabilizing accumulation and uncontrolled spread of small arms and light weapons in many regions of the world increases the intensity and duration of armed conflict, undermines the sustainability of peace agreements, impedes the success of peace building, frustrates efforts aimed at the prevention of armed conflict, hinders considerably the provision of humanitarian assistance and compromises the effectiveness of the Security Council discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security” (United Nations 2002: 31).*

In fact, the fact that rebels and combatants have weapons in rebel hands hampers alternative conflict resolution strategies and instead increases insecurity and protracted conflict in the country, as well as the role of peacekeeping operations and peace building in rebuilding and rebuilding societies ravaged by conflict (Sondag, 2011; Stemmet, 2001). Man-portable air defense missiles, small arms commonly referred to as shoulder-mounted air defense missiles, also pose a potential threat to global commercial aviation when they fall into the hands of criminals, terrorists, and other unsuspecting -actors state. As Michael Renner (2011, cited in Mogire 2003), small arms alone have wreaked havoc in Africa, killing an estimated 5,994,000 people over the past 50 years and 30,000 more each year. Many have fled their homes as refugees or internally displaced, crossing borders into neighboring countries while cutting off humanitarian aid. The Observatory of Internal Displacement Situations estimates that in 2007, approximately 12.7 million people were living as displaced persons in Africa (Religion for Peace, 2004). Former UN Secretary General Kofi Anan (2000, quoted in Mogire 2003) describes how small arms and light weapons are weapons of mass destruction against human life. The number of casualties from small arms dwarfs that of all other weapon systems and, in most years, far exceeds the number

of casualties from the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Small arms can indeed be qualified as "weapons of mass destruction" by the carnage they cause... The proliferation of small arms is not only a question of security; it is also a question of human rights People and development (Anan, 2000). The researchers therefore wished to synthesize the impact of the proliferation of small arms from the Small Arms Survey (2003). According to these surveys, the cost of small arms misuse has two effects (direct and indirect), as described below.

### 2.6.1 Direct Impact

Protracted conflicts, proxy wars, and inter-communal conflict following the illicit acquisition of small arms and light weapons have characterized many parts of Africa (Oxfam, 2017). This violence has led to unprecedented atrocities, deaths, sexual violence, and displacement, and has exacerbated poverty, destroying lives and communities across the continent. Uncontrolled weapons in Africa fuel this violence and put lives at risk. Thus, the immediate effects of handgun misuse include fatal and non-fatal injuries; the cost of treating those injuries; and the cost of long-term disability (Small Arms Survey, 2003). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons has led to increased fighting and civilian casualties during conflicts, as well as increased criminal activity. Kofi Annan wrote in the foreword to the second expert report in 1999. Small arms are widely used in conflicts, where the majority of casualties are civilians, and the violence is a serious violation of international law. This has resulted in millions of deaths, injuries, displacements, suffering and insecurity in the world... Although the accumulation of these weapons does not in itself lead to the conflicts in which they are used, their easy availability often intensifies and increases the lethality of conflict and impedes development and relief efforts (Annan, 1997) Dokubo C (2003), cited by Mogire (2003), also provides the impact of small arms on the world and provides a graph of estimated deaths as shown below;

*Of the 500,000 people killed every year across the world, an estimated 300,000 of them are as a result of small arms. An estimated 50 percent of illicit weapons that proliferate in Africa are used in internal conflicts, armed robbery, and drug trafficking. West Africa alone is reported to have an estimated eight million illicit weapons. The availability of small arms outside the formal security structures had contributed greatly to creating a continuous cycle of violence and instability in which particularly women and children are brutalized (Dokubo C, 2003).*

As we have learned from these comments, the availability of weapons cannot in itself be the cause of conflict, but it can lead to tensions that later escalate into

conflict and death. Among the conflicts in the world, wars related to SALW dominate.

### **2.6.2 Indirect impacts**

Indirect effects of handgun misuse can include an increase in the incidence and mortality of violent crime; the collapse and erosion of social services; a decrease in formal and informal economic activity—and an increase in illicit activity—and distortions in investment, savings, and income collection. (Small Arms Survey, 2003). Conflict and social violence, including armed crime, are the main causes of persistent poverty, underdevelopment, and deprivation of human rights, which in turn are the root causes of conflict and poverty. There is an increasing demand for small arms. World Bank research (WB, 2016) confirms that the risk of armed violence is associated with poverty and economic underdevelopment, inequality, and weak political institutions. According to the UNDP Human Development Report (2005), small arms-related violence, particularly during armed conflict and post-conflict situations, undermines human security and development at the micro level and social and economic development at the global level at a macro level; As a result, conflict disrupts or disrupts food production systems, exacerbating hunger and malnutrition. In addition, it undermines progress in health and education. Armed violence can impede access to schools, universities, and medical services or lead to the destruction of social facilities (UNDP, 2005). In addition, shifting public resource allocations to security and military spending often results in cuts to public health and education, as well as food subsidies. According to Heinrich 1 (2006), "In countries affected by civil war, 18% of production per year is devoted to military expenditure, sometimes exceeding expenditure on health and education combined." This situation is exacerbated when the indiscriminate use of SALW hampers humanitarian aid and food aid. In many cases, increased military spending leads to increased budget deficits, and inflation which in turn reduces the purchasing power of individual (Heinrich 1, 2006).

#### **2.6.2.1 Proliferation of SALW and its impact on Development**

Arms proliferation undermines development by devoting limited national resources to the purchase of arms, particularly in developing countries. Thus, according to the United Nations Development Program (1998, cited in Mogire, 2003), developing countries spend 172 billion dollars on their armed forces, i.e., nearly five times the official aids they receive, representing 44% of their education and health expenditure. According to the Small Arms Survey (2003), armed



violence can lead to the diversion of public spending and aid towards security rather than towards development projects. Regarding the positive relationship between the arms trade and its impact on socio-economic development, the United Nations Development Program (2002) states:

*Where guns dominate, development suffers, schools close, shops close, commerce stops, and the local economy grinds to a halt. Buildings are destroyed, bridges are blown up, and whatever development there has been, is gone. Private investment dried up and development organizations can't operate. Even after the shootings stop, there is no security. People can't return to their homes or a normal life...(UNDP, 2002).*

States and international development organizations also recognize that small arms and light weapons threaten sustainable security and development. The United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000 recognized that "the supply and misuse of illicit small arms and light weapons undermines efforts to reduce poverty and slow economic growth" (United Nations Millennium Declaration United Nations, United Nations, 2000). The UNHCR study has been completed. Combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons will be "the most important contribution to greater stability, peace, and security" (UN Firearms Protocol, 2001).

Overall, Liberian President Ellen Johnson Serlief summed up in 1997 how conflict harms development in Africa:

*...on top of the human misery suffered by millions during armed conflict, these conflicts cost Africa billions of dollars each year. This is money Africa can ill afford to lose. The sums are appalling: The price that Africa is paying could cover the cost of solving the HIV and AIDS crisis in Africa, or provide education, water, and prevention and treatment for TB and malaria. Literally thousands of hospitals, schools, and roads could have been built, positively affecting millions of people. Not only do the people of Africa suffer the physical horrors of violence, armed conflict undermines their efforts to escape from poverty (Ellen Johnson, 2007).*

This shows that the arms trade problem in Africa is so deep that it is setting the continent back economically. The budget was diverted to armaments instead of building schools and treating HIV/AIDS and malaria patients. This means that Africa remains a source of conflict and poverty, which undermines the security of the continent and of countries in the Horn of Africa, particularly Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda (Kizito Sabala, 2002).

### **2.6.2.2 Impact on Forced Displacement**

According to Oxfam (2017), forced movements of people within and across Africa are often driven by the need to avoid injury and death from uncontrolled weapons. Although data on refugees and internally displaced people is fragile and incomplete, the report notes that a large number of people have been displaced due to increased mortality caused by armed groups and conflicts. According to Oxfam's report, seven countries, including the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Lake Chad Basin, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan, have been severely affected by the violence, with the largest number of internally displaced persons, and refugees in Africa. According to the Refugee Report (2003), at the beginning of 2003, nearly 35 million people worldwide—13 million refugees and 22 million internally displaced people—were still uprooted by war and persecution. Intimidation and insecurity related to small arms are key factors that hinder sustainable repatriation or resettlement. UNHCR also acknowledges that “armed conflict is now the driving force behind most refugee flows” (UNHCR, 2001: 283). The United Nations has repeatedly observed that “in many recent and current internal armed conflicts, combatants deliberately intimidate, attack, and drive out local populations to strengthen their economic control over natural resources.” In such situations, combatants rely on civilians to be displaced and even profit from the displacement of civilians.

### **2.6.2.3 SALW as a Factor for Conflict**

In fact, according to the United Nations Development Program (2002), uncontrolled arms do not necessarily lead to conflict but can increase tensions and tip the balance towards violent confrontation. On this issue, the illicit supply of arms reduces the use and effectiveness of dialogue and negotiated settlement of disputes; conversely, unregulated weapons contribute to the choice of violence to settle disputes. The uncontrolled proliferation of weapons increases mutual suspicion and mistrust, fuels retaliatory measures, and exacerbates social divisions and divisions between different groups. M.T. Klare (1999) has also It is considered that "the large circulation of small arms is a major cause of the worldwide prevalence of racial, sectarian, and criminal violence." The United Nations Development Program (2002) also explains the link between arms proliferation and conflict as follows:

*Guns don't kill people, but societies awash in guns are far more likely to resolve their differences violently, in ways that can quickly spiral out of control. Once this happens, the international community can neither stop*

*the killing nor heal societal wounds inflicted by militias, warlords, criminal gangs, or repressive governments (UNDP, 2002).*

Guns are considered a major factor that can compromise personal safety. recognizing also that the illicit manufacture, transfer, and circulation of small arms and light weapons and their excessive accumulation and uncontrolled distribution in many parts of the world have widespread humanitarian and socio-economic consequences and pose a serious threat to peace, people, reconciliation, safety, security, stability, and sustainable development at the national, regional, and international levels (UNPOA, 2001).

## **2.7 Initiatives to control SALW proliferation**

After the end of the Cold War, the threat of SALW proliferation was on the international agenda (Sears, 2012). Consequently, since the mid-1990s, several forums have been created to regulate the distribution and misuse of small arms. To address the negative effects of the proliferation and misuse of small arms, states, with the help of civil society, have developed a large number of international and regional treaties, agreements, declarations, model regulations, and resolutions.

### **2.7.1 International measures**

The United Nations first played a leadership role on the issue of small arms with the publication in 1995 of the Supplement to the Agenda for Peace by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Galli, which introduced the concept of "micro-disarmament", which he defined as "conflicts and weapons dealt with by the United Nations, most of which are small arms, which have killed hundreds of thousands of people" (Sears, 2012). The UN encounters weapons in conflict zones and recognizes "the contemporary importance of micro-disarmament, as evidenced by the massive proliferation of automatic attack weapons, landmines, etc." These are the international agreements, protocols, and treaties established by the United Nations to reduce the proliferation of SALW.

#### **2.7.1.1 Firearm Protocol**

The Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components, and Ammunition (the Firearms Protocol) supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in June 2001 (ibid.). It is a groundbreaking agreement between countries that emphasizes the prevention of the illicit manufacturing and trade of firearms by criminal organizations but rejects arms transfers between countries (UN General Assembly, United Nations, 2001, article2). The main objective of the Protocol is to prevent, promote, facilitate, and strengthen cooperation between States Parties to prevent,

combat, and eradicate the illicit manufacturing of and trade in firearms, their parts and components, and ammunition (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2001). , Art. 2). The Protocol entered into force after Article 3 of the Protocol defined firearms trafficking. According to this article, illicit trade is defined as "the import, export, acquisition, sale, delivery, disposal, or transfer of firearms, their parts and components, and ammunition from or through the territory of a State Party is authorized by the provisions of the Protocol, or if the firearms are not marked in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of this Protocol." It also identifies various measures that can be taken to prevent firearms trafficking, including border controls, information exchange between jurisdictions, ensuring documentation security and control measures, and public awareness programs. Its control and normative provisions cover many aspects of the issue of small arms, but they do not apply to interstate transactions or state transfers, and the application of the protocol would undermine the right of states parties to "not act in their interest". National Security under the Charter of the United Nations "(United Nations Firearms Protocol, 2001, Article 4). This instrument provides a comprehensive system of control over the manufacture, import, export, and transport of firearms and related items. The basic principle is strict control. Transparency can be improved, and the country's capacity to combat illicit trade can be strengthened. Even if the agreement achieves broad consensus, resource constraints may hinder its full implementation (Control Arms, 2006). For many countries, ratifying and implementing the Protocol is undoubtedly time-consuming and expensive (United Nations General Assembly, 2001). The Firearms Protocol is also limited in that it only controls firearms and their parts and components, as well as ammunition (Article 3);

### **2.7.1.2 Program of Action**

The UN Program of Action is a globally agreed framework covering a wide range of small arms issues and control measures that provides the basis for action at national, regional and global levels (AEFJN Handbook, 2013). It was adopted in July 2001, the year of the Firearms Protocol. According to the AEFJN manual (2013), the program of action is an agreement on the collection, destruction, and management of stockpiles of SALW at the national, regional, and international levels. Its central objective is to prevent, combat and eliminate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and to control the negative effects of small arms and light weapons (SALW). (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Affairs, 2012). SALW remains a controversial subject at the United Nations due to their open-ended commitments and the lack of formal follow-up procedures. These

obstacles and inconsistencies with the biennial national reports mean that the SALW POA needs to further develop its internal policies and reaffirm existing external mechanisms. Furthermore, while the POA, ALPC, was originally created to help countries provide arms control assistance, there is a void in terms of expertise, funding, and monitoring mechanisms. Furthermore, POA SALW remains completely dependent on individual national sponsors for regular reporting and a reaffirmation of their commitment to achieving POA SALW objectives (Kyömäki and Wayne, 2006). Furthermore, the Program of Action contains no reference to human rights and little reference to international humanitarian law. As it is not a treaty, it is not legally binding on its signatories and therefore cannot be enforced through legal means. Furthermore, the UN Program of Action does not specify how most civilian small arms in the world will be regulated. UN members struggle to agree on how to move forward with the Program of Action; reports to biennial meetings (2003, 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012) were disappointing (AEFJN Handbook, 2013).

### **2.7.1.3 International Tracing Instrument**

In 2005, the United Nations International Tracing Instrument (ITI) was developed to provide additional reporting requirements for the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Protocol and Program of Action on Firearms (Manual AEFJN, 2013). In accordance with the general provisions of the ITI (Article 8 b is), marking and tracing begins with the manufacture of a pistol or small arm under its jurisdiction or control. They must either provide a unique marking of the manufacturer's name, country of manufacture, and serial number, or retain any other unique and user-friendly marking containing simple geometric symbols and numeric and/or alphanumeric codes so that anyone can easily identify the product and encourages the marking of additional information such as year of manufacture, weapon type/model and caliber. This includes the unique identification of small arms and the establishment of effective national structures to trace illicit small arms, as well as initiating and responding to international tracing requests. It also guides sources of international cooperation and assistance related to the detection of illicit small arms and light weapons, as well as national reporting on the implementation of global commitments related to detection (United Nations Coordination Action on small arms, 2012). According to the UN Program of Action Review Conference (2011), while the instrument represents an important step in an international strategy to combat illicit SALW, the scope of the

ITI reflects the difficulty of the process of negotiation and the relatively low level of consensus in the negotiations state-limited by the fact that it simply defines tagging and record keeping as a "state prerogative". It does not specify how the tests should be carried out in practice. It formally excludes ammunition from its scope. It does not establish any specific enforcement mechanism. As noted in a number of related publications, the implementation of the ITI remains limited for a variety of technical and institutional reasons, many of which were initiated by countries in 2011 in preparation for the second IEP Review Conference.

#### **2.7.1.4 The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)**

Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in April 2013 and entered into force on December 24, 2014, the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) is the latest and most comprehensive addition to a series of measures aimed at controlling the trade and proliferation of conventional arms. Weapons...Before instruments such as the United Nations Program of Action against the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (POA) 2 and the Firearms Protocol (UNGA, 2001a) 3 , the Arms Trade Treaty was central to the field of arms control. Its significance lies in the fact that it is the first legally binding international instrument to set common standards for the trade in conventional arms, particularly with regard to export licensing standards (AEFJN Handbook, 2013). According to the UN Firearms Protocol (Article 3), the Arms Trade Treaty states that "all conventional weapons, such as main battle tanks, armored fighting vehicles, artillery systems weapons, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, missiles and missile launchers, and small arms and light weapons." But the Arms Trade Treaty does not regulate manufactures and manufacturers unless they involve import, export, and transfer activities. Also, ammunition is not included in the Arms Trade Treaty and cannot cover weapons of mass destruction. I mean nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons (AEFJN Manual, 2013).

### **2.7.2 Regional measures**

#### **2.7.2.1 Bamako declaration**

The Bamako Declaration is an Africa-wide consensus to combat the illicit distribution, circulation, and trade of small arms and light weapons (Bamako Mali, 2000). It is a politically binding policy instrument adopted in December 2000 by the Ministerial Conference of Member States of the now defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) (now the African Union (AU)). Its objective is to develop a

common African position for all members to agree on their provisions on the illicit distribution, circulation and trade of SALW and AU to encourage the production, trade, intermediaries, codification, marking, record keeping of legislation and coordination. , import and export, and legal possession and use of small arms and ammunition in countries that control imports, exports and legal trade (Stemmet, 2001; Conflict Trends 2009) The declaration aims to help African countries respond to the 2001 United Nations Conference on Small Arms (Bamako, Mali, 2000) by addressing the supply and demand for small arms. It is a politically binding agreement that forms the basis for priority control of illicit arms in countries across Africa. The Bamako Declaration also led other African sub-regions to adopt and implement their own initiatives on small arms (Bamako, Mali, 2000).

### **2.7.2.2 The Nairobi Protocol**

The African region has also developed its own plan to address national and specific challenges related to small arms in East Africa (Nairobi, 2004), known as the Nairobi Protocol on the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Disorders. Small arms and light weapons in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. It is a legally binding agreement, adopted in April 2004 and entered into force in June 2005, which provides the framework for national legislation on small arms (African Peace Forum, 2006). The 2004 Protocol aims to implement the Nairobi Declaration of 2000. It provides clear guidance on the meaning and scope of certain commonly used terms. The objectives of the Protocol are not only to prevent the possession of small arms and light weapons in the sub-region, but also to prevent the illicit manufacture, trade and use of small arms and light weapons ; to promote and facilitate communication between the governments of the sub-region and between governments, intergovernmental organizations and civil society, the sharing of information and cooperation on all matters related to the illicit trade and proliferation of arms light and small caliber; encourage accountability, law enforcement and effective control and management of small arms and light weapons in the possession of States parties and civilians. Strategies involved in addressing the illicit trade in small arms include establishing broad-based consultative mechanisms at the national level, known as National Focal Points (NFPs), and improving national laws and other norms governing the manufacture, trade, possession, and use of weapons (African Peace Forum, year 2006).

At the regional level, the declaration emphasizes cooperation, surveillance, and control of SALW, as well as the strengthening of cooperation between national intelligence, security, and police forces. It also calls on signatories to, among other

things, increase public education and awareness, and strengthen cross-border cooperation among law enforcement agencies (ibid.). The implementation of the different States Parties shows that there are great differences in the capacity and level of implementation of these plans, and post-conflict stabilization can be considered as one of the main reasons for the delay in the implementation of the Nairobi Declaration.

## **2.8 Small Arms and Light Weapons in Ethiopia**

### **2.8.1 An overview**

Of the only two African countries not ruled by colonialism, Ethiopia is famous for its victory over Italy. It also maintained its independence during the partition of Africa. At a time when Ethiopia lacked advanced weaponry, it fought the settlers using the traditional swords, spears, bows, and arrows available at the time. Different periods and different emperors introduced different weapons to Ethiopia. For example, according to Pankhurst (1962), firearms were introduced to European countries such as Italy, Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia. Despite the lack of real and tangible data on how weapons entered the country, history shows that "Firearms such as bows and swords were first introduced into Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Libne Dengel" (1508–1541), quoted in Amero Tenaw (2016). Furthermore, weapons such as muskets and cannons were also imported from Muslim Turkey during the time of the Emir of Harare, Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim Al-Ghazi (Anon, 1965). The importation and distribution of these firearms intensified after the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century, and were further intensified by the Egyptians, the British, and especially during the Italian invasion (ibid.). The Battle of Venardaga in 1543 was one of the important factors in the introduction of European arms into Ethiopia. Thus, the Portuguese supplied arms to the Abyssinian Emperor Gelawdewos, while the Ottoman Turks supplied arms to the Islamic vassal, Adal. Rivalry between Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi and the Ethiopian Emperor Gelawdewos and competition for arms supplies between Portugal and Ottoman Turkey increased Ethiopia's weapon stock (ibid.). Prior to the Battle of Venadaga, Ahmed ibn Ibrahim El Ghazi fought the Portuguese expedition at the Battle of Wafra in 1542 and attempted to seize all the cannons captured by the Portuguese. During the victory of Wayna Daga in 1543, the Abyssinian Emperor Galawdewos also accumulated a large number of firearms from the army of Ahmed Pankhurst (Richard Pankhurst, 1962). Unlike his predecessor, the brilliant king who tried to make cannons and mortars by introducing modern European technology was called Sevastopol and was Emperor Tewodros II. According to Richard Pankhurst (1967), the unification and modernization of the country were the emperor's two main dreams. Although its



objective was not achieved due to its powerful means, "Makadala became 15 guns, 7 mortars (Sevastopol), 11063 guns of various types, 875 guns, and 481 baryons and ammunition, including a hoard of 555 shells and mortars, and 83,563 cartridges," Bahru (2002:34). The importance of small arms became crucial during the reign of Emperor Johannes (1872–1899). Emperor Johannes made a deal with the British to import weapons through Massawa. The emperor received 15,000 kg of grain and several rifles per week as a reward (Rubenson, 1978, quoted in Amero Tenaw, 2016). The successor of Emperor Yohannes was the ruler of Shoa (Menelik II). Before the severance of diplomatic relations with Italy, Menelik was able to buy a large number of weapons from the Italians, as well as from the Russians, French, and British. After Italian resources were exhausted, Menelik attempted to increase his other imports, and a key player in this trade was Ras Mekonin in the eastern Ethiopian city of Harar, which had trade links with the Red Sea (Melake Tekeste, 1998). After the reign of Menelik II, Emperor Haile Selassie I (1930–1974) ascended the throne and adopted a similar policy of modernization. During his reign, the emperor faced internal and external challenges. There was internal opposition from Gojjam, Bale, Tigray, Willow and others. The Emperor faced challenges from Italy during the invasion period (1935–1941). Thus, according to Copeland and Lamm (1973), the main source of weapons for the repression of this opposition group was imported from abroad. During the Adowa era, weapons seized from the Egyptians in the battles of Gundet (1875) and Gura (1876), and when the Italians themselves were confiscated in 1935-41, were originally SALW Ethiopian (MerakTexter, 1998). In 1974, a very cruel and autocratic leader, Colonel Mengistu, overthrew the emperor. In order to advance the socialist ideology pursued by Russia at that time, Mengistu obtained a large number of advanced weapons from Russia (Copeland and Lamm, 1973). Mengistu's military force is one of the largest in the world. After the fall of the Dege regime, most weapons imported from socialist countries ended up in the hands of outlaws. After the overthrow of the Mengistu dictatorship in 1991, Ethiopia became a major source of illicit arms. Under Mengistu, gun ownership laws were liberalized as large numbers of guns were distributed to citizens for self-defense and government militias (Copeland and Lamm, 1973). When Mengistu was deposed, these weapons remained in the hands of citizens and could be recycled within society and the region. Currently, the situation persists due to regional instability and porous borders with the most unstable political factions. The imperfection of the Ethiopian-Somali and Ethiopian borders is the main cause of the conflict and, consequently, of the acquisition of weapons in the Horn of Africa. As with Kizito Sabala (2002) the construction of the Gibe I, II, and III dams and the reduction in the flow of the Omo River. Herder groups in Kenya and Ethiopia are a direct factor in the ongoing spread of SALW along the porous border in protest against the

government and upstream tribes cutting off the flow of rivers. In the Amhara region, there was a conflict in Wolkayt Wearda caused by a border breach. The details are not important, but it is to show that border instability has led to the illegal acquisition of weapons from dealers.

## **2.9 Factors for SALW trafficking in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia shares porous borders with some of East Africa's most politically unstable countries, such as Somalia, Sudan, and Kenya. Weak and corrupt police services along Ethiopia's borders with its neighbors have contributed to the influx of small arms into Ethiopia (Kizito Sabala, 2002). Ethiopia and its neighbors are home to numerous pastoralist groups over a wide geographical expanse, stretching from the Kenya-Somalia border to northern Ethiopia and northwest to Uganda, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and parts of the Central African Republic (CAR) (Bevan, 2007). These regions have suffered massive civil wars, providing herding groups with modern weapons and leading to protracted conflicts with many neighboring countries. For example, due to unclear borders, the Toposa in South Sudan have repeatedly clashed with one or more neighboring groups, including the Turkana, Dassenach, Didinga, Dinka, and some Karamojong sub-tribes (ibid.). As noted by the Bonn International Conversion Center (2002), macro and micro factors are the main reasons for the demand for small arms in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. At the macro level, the Horn of Africa is characterized by scarce resources, porous borders, and high levels of conflict. For example, in East Africa, the porous borders between Kenya-Somalia and Ethiopia-Somalia facilitate cross-border trade and foster kinship between Kenyan Somalis in the North Eastern Province and Ethiopian Somalis in the Ogaden (Gebre-Wold, K). Omar, M., Marwa, P., Gebre Selassie, S., Sisay, H., and Sabala, K. 2002) Unrestricted warfare with its neighbors and the region's harsh climate plunged Cape Horn into poverty. According to BICC (2002), "this has contributed to poverty and political instability in the region". In most African countries, unemployment and poor infrastructure are the main factors that drive people to express their opposition to the government with firearms. At the micro level, the expansion of gun culture and revenge are mostly mentioned. For example, a culture of revenge or blood feud is a widely accepted tradition in the Ethiopian highlands and Somali lowlands, which can motivate individuals to illegally possess weapons (Kiflemariam, 2001, p., cited in Amero Tenaw, 2016.) For these societies, therefore, a culture of revenge, vendetta, or warrior-ship is nothing but justice and fair treatment of criminals.

In addition to the "man-to-arm" factor or the demand side, there is also the SALW supply factor or the "gun-to-man" aspect of small arms. As a result, the oversupply of SALW near borders, especially due to the looting of government stocks, has become a problem for human safety and security.

### **2.10 Impacts posed by SALW in Ethiopia**

Beginning with the importation of weapons into Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Libne Dengel (1508–1540), handguns had a traumatic impact on people's lives and safety. For example, when the armies of Adal and the Ottoman Turks were victorious and fought against the Abyssinian Emperor at the Battle of Volfa (1542), the Somalis entered the Ethiopian highlands and began looting and raiding, burned many churches, burying the tombs of several-emperors remains. The country was plundered by Ahmed's army, destroying several Christian monuments and oppressing non-Muslims in Amhara and Tigray (Pankhrust, 1962, quoted in Amero Tenaw, 2016). Additionally, Imam Ahmed's Adal army defeated the greatest Ethiopians and introduced European technology to the Ethiopians (1529). Thus, small arms in Ethiopia have had a serious and lasting impact, directly or indirectly altering the demographic, material, social, political, and economic affairs of the country. Internally, through conquest and internal strife as well as warfare externally, firearms had a huge impact. In particular, the availability of small arms near the country's borders encourages civilians to settle disputes with firearms. For example, according to Kizito Sabala (2002), "The porous Kenya-Somalia and Ethiopia-Somalia borders facilitate cross-border trade and maintain kinship between Kenyan Somalis in the North Eastern Province and Ethiopian Somalis in the Eastern Region." are common in the region, especially among the triangular tribes of Elemi (Turkana, Dasenach, Didinga, Dinka, and Karamorong). The 1998 Battle of Badme between Ethiopia and Eretria has also been cited as an example of the impact of SALW proliferation on human insecurity in the country. Thus, small arms remain the enemy of livelihoods and assets, hampering socio-economic and political development efforts in different parts of Ethiopia. This also applies to study areas.

### **2.11 Initiatives to Control SALW proliferation in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is party to the Nairobi Protocol for the Control, Reduction, and Prevention of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region, under the Arms Management Plan (AMP) (2008), which encourages signatories to sell confiscated weapons and unauthorized small arms and light

weapons (SALW), and has taken various measures. For example, in Ethiopia, the EPRDF conducted demobilization and reintegration in two phases over three years. In the first phase (November 2000–June 2001), it was envisioned as a pilot project; this involved the demobilization of approximately 17,000 disabled people and 42,000 ex-combatants (the last in the army and those whose extended family needed help) and reintegration into society. The second phase (July 2001–December 2003) was designed to accommodate a larger proportion of ex-combatants—another 90,000 able-bodied ex-combatants for demobilization and reintegration (Muggah and Bennett, 2009). From 2003 to 2004, Ethiopia arrested 9,531 illegal arms traffickers and illegally detained persons, according to the Arms Management Plan (2008) cited by Amero Tenaw (2016). In addition, Ethiopia destroyed over 11,700 small arms, 3,000 grenades, and 170,000 cartridges of various types in 2006 and 2007. These weapons and ammunition were either confiscated by the police or voluntarily surrendered (Muggah and Bennett, 2009). In addition, Ethiopia has enacted its own weapons law in the Penal Code, sections 808, 809, and 481(1) (a) and (b) (FDRE, 2005). For example, with respect to arms and ammunition control, Section 481(1) (a) of the Penal Code states:

*Intentionally an individual who sells or delivered to the persons not entitled to receive them, and in particular to infants or young persons, arms or ammunition or allows them to dispose of them without supervision, is punishable with a fine or arrest.*

In addition, Section 809 provides for the carrying and use of prohibited weapons: "Any person who is in a public place with a weapon which he is not licensed or authorized to carry, or who has been authorized to use a weapon, must pay a fine not exceeding 100 birr or be arrested not exceeding 8 days." With regard to the prohibition of arms trade (Sections 481(1) a and b of the Penal Code), the following is also provided: (1) Persons guilty of crimes against national security (Article 256): (a) manufacture, import, export, or transport; acquire, store, or conceal; offer for sale, release, or distribute friendly arms, explosives, or ammunition for commercial purposes without special authorization (with license) or contrary to law; Where (b) The failure to knowingly sell, sell, deliver, or hand over weapons to a suspicious or dangerous person is punishable by a fine and a heavy sentence not exceeding five years, and in serious cases, by a heavy sentence, up to a maximum sentence of ten years, without prejudice to the case of the designation of confiscation of materials.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Research Methodology and Design**

#### **3.1 Description of the Study area**

Goncha Siso Enesie is one of 105 porters from the Amhara region of Ethiopia Part of East Gojjam district, Goncha Siso Enesie is bounded by Enarj Enawga to the south, Hulet Ejju Enesie to the west and the Nile (Abay) to the north, separating it from south Gondar district, east of Enbise Sar Midir. The capital town of Goncha Siso Enesie is Gindewoin. The river of this woreda include: the Azuari, a tributary of the Abai River. In 2002, Goncha Siso Enesie was assessed as one of four Woredas suffering from chronic food insecurity in this part of the Amhara region, as most of their agricultural land is "extremely depleted, cut down and eroded". (Wikipedia)

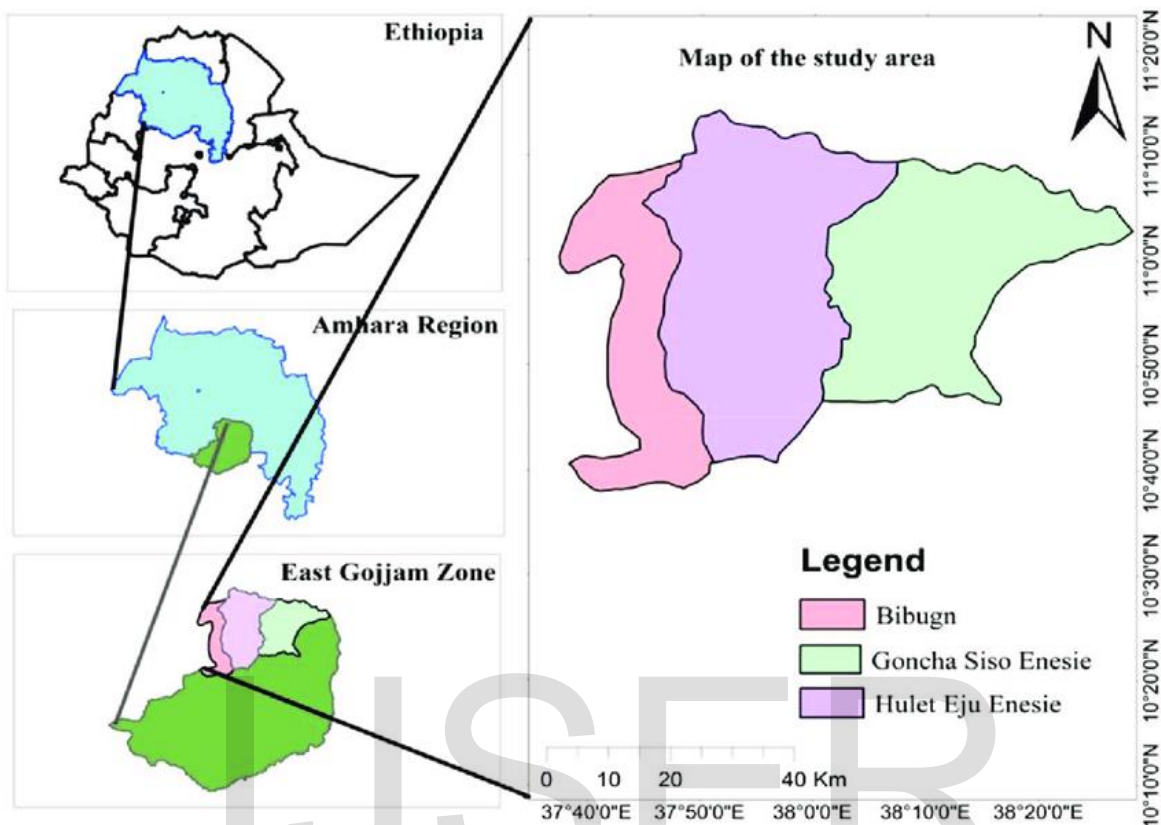
##### **3.1.1 Population size**

According to the 2007 national census of the Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency (CSA), the total population of the region was 149,646, an increase of 29.66% from the 1994 census, of which 74,347 were male and 75,299 women; 7,690 urban residents, or 5.14%. Goncha Siso Enesie covers an area of 1,038.17 square kilometers and has a population density of 144.14 people, which is below the region's average of 153.8 people per square kilometer. A total of 34,082 households were counted, with an average of 4.39 people per household and 33,108 houses. According to the 1994 national census report, the village has a total population of 24,491 households with 115,412 people, including 57,870 men and 57,542 women; 3,952 people, or 3.42% of its population, are urban residents. The largest group reported by Goncha Siso Enesie was the Amhara (99.97%). more Most residents believe in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 98.08% believe in the Eastern Orthodox Church, and 1.78% believe in Islam. (Wikipedia)

##### **3.1.2 Climatic condition**

Goncha Siso Enesie warda has two climatic zones. That's to say, Qolla and Wayna Daga Waynadaga occupies 54% of the total area. Quella occupies 54% of the total area. The landscape or geographical features consist of 35% hills (top and bottom), 30% plains, 25% mountains, and 10% valleys (accessed from Goncha Siso Enesie City and Development Office, 2022). While the communities around the Nile depend on mixed activities (crops and livestock), the livelihoods of the populations in the study area depend mainly on agriculture. According to reports from Woreda communications officials, the region's fertile black soil produces teff,

oxtail, dagusa, corn, and wheat. The poor desert soil is known to produce sorghum and cotton.



**Figure1 Geographical Map of the study area**

(Source: Compiled From Google Maps and ANRS BOFED GIS Department, 2022)

### 3.2 Research methodology

Before starting this study, researchers assumed that arms trade, arms supply, and illegal possession were security issues for Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda. But this assumption may raise the question: how and in what way will the illegal possession and acquisition of weapons become a security challenge in the study area? According to Hancock (2002), qualitative research is the best mechanism for answering questions such as the "how" of social phenomena using words, sentences, and paragraphs. Additionally, qualitative research methods explain how societies are affected by the events that occur around them and why people behave the way they do (Hancock, 2002). Therefore, based on this premise, the researchers adopted a qualitative research method in this study.

### 3.3 Research Design

Dealing with a complex and sensitive issue requires a comprehensive and in-depth interpretation of contemporary social phenomena and behavioral issues (Kubat and Schirmer, 2006; Thales, 1997) The arms trade is a very sensitive and complex issue in the international system, "Jekada, 2005; Chellule, 2014" quoted. The same is true in the field of research. According to Yin (1994: 23), a case study is an empirical study that examines contemporary social phenomena in a real context. One of the reasons for considering case studies as research models is that researchers are increasingly concerned about the limitations of quantitative methods in providing comprehensive and in-depth explanations of social and behavioral problems (Tellis, 1997). Therefore, this article adopts a case study design.

Because the problem is sensitive and obtaining data from individuals is somewhat difficult, the researchers used two non-probability sampling techniques. This means that a **deliberate** sampling of Keble, which has a high risk of problems, selects key informants-interrogators (police, militiamen, and judges) and members of the FGD To collect data through in-depth interviews (of bad brokers and traders), **snowball** sampling was used. Indeed, according to Avico et al. (1998) and Pearson (2010), the snowball sampling technique is important for obtaining population members that cannot be easily detected using other methods. Additionally, snowball sampling is very popular in selecting respondents when studying sensitive topics such as drug users (Avico et al., 1998); prostitution (McNamara, 1994); pickpockets (Inciardi, 1977); AIDS patients (Pollok and Schlitz, 1988); and critically ill patients (Sudman and Freeman, 1988). Therefore, the researchers applied the snowball method to select individual arms brokers and dealers for data collection.

### 3.4 Sample and Sampling Technique

#### 3.4.1 Sample Size determination

In research, sampling is done whenever a part of the population, rather than the entire population, can be studied comprehensively (Paul A Ogula, 1999). Therefore, the researchers tried to choose the sample size for an in-depth study. Hence, Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda is one of 21 garments found in the East Gojam district of Amhara Regional State. This one carries 42 kebeles. According to Officer Woreda, December 2017 report Segena-Guchiba and Kedaye are kebeles in

the northeast and share a long and porous border with Wello, which creates greater opportunities for the exchange of goods and services, including small arms. Meanwhile, English and Filatako hail from Kebele in the northwest, with direct ties to Wello communities such as Simada and Begemidir. The Nile separates the four kebeles of the Wello region. In winter, when the size of the Nile decreases, people cross from Wello to Segena, Kedaye, Enegesh, and Filatako Kebele, and from these Kebeles to the Wello community. The researchers therefore deliberately chose these four kebeles because of their proximity to Wello, which has become a factor in the illicit proliferation of weapons that hinder human security in the study area.

### **3.4.2 Sampling Technique**

This study used non-probability (directed and snowball) sampling techniques. Indeed, the subject being sensitive, it is difficult to randomly or possibly select individuals to obtain real data on the issues of the arms trade in the study area. At the same time, since each kebele in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda has different levels of problems, the researchers used a deliberate sampling technique to select the kebeles with the highest crime rate after the arms trade and the illegal possession of weapons used to select focus group members and key informant respondents. Snowball techniques are used to select members of in-depth interview panels (arms dealers and brokers). Generally, researchers use two non-probability sampling techniques.

#### **3.4.2.1 Purposive Sampling**

Purposive sampling is the best mechanism, rather than probability or random sampling, when it is not possible to enumerate the entire population and populations face varying degrees of problems (Babbie, 1990). Therefore, researchers not only used purposive sampling to select regions but also selected FGD members and key informants for interviews based on June's knowledge judgments on the topic. FGD members are selected from individuals attacked for misuse of illegal weapons, kebele leaders, soldiers, and kebele militias. To understand who was threatened by the problem, the researchers first selected kebele leaders, soldiers, and militias, taking into account their knowledge of the subject and their witnesses to the problem. Later, the researchers asked these people to identify SALW victims in the study area. Therefore, the researchers included those who were attacked by SALW in the focus group discussions. The reason for including those exposed to the problem in the discussion is to gain a better understanding of the impact of SALW on human security. Given time, and



budget constraints, the researcher selected three people from four sample groups. Twelve members of the FGD were selected, including both genders. For members interviewed by key informants, researchers focused on people with knowledge and awareness of why SALW are illicitly held and the positive relationship between the illicit arms trade and human insecurity in the area of study. Therefore, Woreda Police Council, Kebele Police, Courts (Woreda and Districts) and Militia Officers are aware of the drivers of arms trafficking and their direct and indirect links to human insecurity. Eight personal key informants were deliberately selected from police, militia, and judges, taking into account any gaps that might be barriers to the study.

### **3.4.2.2 Snowball Sampling**

To collect data through in-depth interviews (of bad brokers and traders), snowball sampling was used. Indeed, according to Pearson (2014), the snowball sampling technique is very important for obtaining members of the population that cannot be detected by other methods. Similarly, snowball sampling is important for selecting respondents for sensitive research topics (Avico et al., 1998; Pearson, 2010). This is a technique in which one subject provides the researcher with the name of another subject, who in turn provides, the name of the third subject, and so on (Vogt, 1999). In Vogt's case, this strategy can be seen as a response to the problems associated with sampling hidden populations such as criminals and orphans. In his Kedaye, the researcher met two arms traffickers. Researchers systematically asked those closest to dealers (smugglers) to name and identify arms dealers and brokers in selected sample areas. So, as long as the traders and brokers have their own network, they will name the bad traders and brokers based on the request sent to them. Using this mechanism, the researchers selected one arm broker from four selected samples from Kebele and two arm brokers from Kedaye and Segena-Guchiba Kebele. Four arms traffickers and two brokers, a total of six people, participated in in-depth interviews.

#### **3.4.2.2.1 Approaches to Arm Traffickers and Brokers**

Once arms dealers and brokers were identified using snowball sampling, researchers thought of a mechanism to solicit and collect data from these illegal individuals. Since the issue is sensitive in the field of research, getting data directly from bad brokers and traders is dangerous for the life of the researcher. To convince these arms dealers, since the goal is academic, using a third party is the last option that comes to mind. Unless the arms dealer and broker can trust the researcher, whatever the mechanism of persuasion that it uses, it is useless to

obtain these illicit transactions. Traders and brokers thought the purpose was academic, and scholars set out to convince their two closest friends (the arms dealers) to convince other traders. Surprisingly, the two arms traffickers are therefore in a network or closely linked to these arms dealers and brokers selected by snowball sampling. Through this strategy, researchers are easily approached and persuaded to participate in providing real data.

### **3.5 Data Source and Collection Method**

In this study, the researchers used both primary and secondary data.

#### **3.5.1 Instruments to collect primary Data**

##### **3.5.1.1 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

For the FGD, the researchers selected representatives of Kebele, soldiers, militias, and individuals attacked by the issue of SALW. For the FGDs, there are two main reasons for choosing these people. First, the representatives of Kebele, the military and the militias addressed the issue and were able to express the situation on the issue of SALW in the study area. They are particularly important because they point to the most important pathways and drivers of the illicit trade in small arms. Second, those affected by the problem can elaborate on the effects of arms trafficking after witnessing the problem. Based on the above criteria, three people were selected from the four sampled kebeles (12 FGD members in total) and participated in the discussion.

##### **3.5.1.2 Key Informants Interview**

The key informant interviews are those of Woreda police officers, militiamen, Woreda lower court judges, and kebele police officers were selected based on their knowledge of the causes of arms trafficking, sources of SALW, and the correlation between the trafficking of weapons. Weapons and human insecurity in the study area. The researchers deliberately limited the number of key participants to eight (8). They are a kebele police officer, a woreda police officer, a militia officer, a woreda lower court judge, and a high court judge among the four selected kebeles from East Gojjam district.

##### **3.5.1.3 In-depth Interview**

In-depth interviews were used to collect data from arms dealers and brokers. Indeed, according to Creswell JW (2007) and Kvale (1996), in-depth interviews are beneficial for collecting data on sensitive topics, as some participants may be

afraid to divulge intimate and personal experiences. Additionally, this method of data collection provides interviewers with more opportunities to ask follow-up questions, explore more information, and return to key questions later in the interview to better understand attitudes, perceptions, and motivations. (Creswell JW, 2007). Choose an arms dealer from four sampled kebeles (four people in total) to participate. Kedaye and Segena-Guchiba Kebele also deliberately chose two agents with mediocre personalities. A total of six people participated in in-depth interviews. However, interviews with arms dealers and brokers are confidential, considering their safety and security.

### **3.5.2 Instruments to collect Secondary Data.**

#### **3.5.2.1 Document analysis**

Secondary data comes from articles, journals, books, reports, legal documents, and memoirs. Additionally, researchers collected secondary data from Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda police files, communications, and databases.

### **3.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

After data collection using both instruments, analysis was performed using subject-based analysis. This involves descriptive methods of representing data and qualitative classification of data.

### **3.7 Trustworthiness**

After collecting data using primary sources (through in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions), the researchers attempted to cross-check the data with secondary data collected from articles, Woreda Police documents, and article reviews to test the reliability of the data. This means using triangulation methods to examine the data. Still, the researchers attempted to assess the redundancy of the data provided by different respondents to ensure that the data was authentic.

### **3.8 Ethical consideration**

Throughout the study, the researchers emphasized the morality, dignity, and individuality of the respondents. As the subject is sensitive in the field of research, it is expected that individual respondents, particularly arms dealers and brokers, will be identified and their names published. But from the start, the researchers convinced them that it was all about ethics and that it was not necessary to disclose and release the names of the participants. In order to protect the security of the arms brokers and dealers, the interviews were conducted in secret.

## **Chapter four**

### **Data Presentation, Analysis and Finding**

#### **4.1 Factors Contributing for the Illegal Trafficking and possession of SALW in the study area**

We interviewed key informants, FGDs, and arms dealers/brokers about the factors that drive Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda to engage in the arms trade and illicit possession of arms. According to these interviewees, "the number of weapons held illegally in the study area is increasing at an alarming rate." Conflicts, deaths, injuries, deaths and displacements are daily activities in the study area. Respondents stated that "self-protection is at the heart of the high demand for and possession of illicit arms by civilians." For example, an FGD soldier in Segena-Guchiba kebele said that Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda takes into account the illicit trade and possession of arms. SALW as follows:

*We are in a period of self-preservation. Our enemies are twice as numerous as we are. Our lives mainly depend on agriculture and animal husbandry. The sanctuary and pasture of our cattle is Mesenako (a desert surrounded by the Nile). Just after crossing the Nile, our cattle and crops were taken by willow thieves who lived near the Nile. In the same way, our company crossed the Nile and committed the same crimes in the Willow region. To do all this, having weapons is essential to build our confidence in the event of war. We are in a state of tension with each other. When the government declares the free movement of people, goods, and services from one region to another, it creates a big problem in itself. Even at each toll*

*booth (the road across the Nile), there are no security forces to control the illicit flow and transfer of goods and services, including small arms.*

As can be seen in the discussion above, the lack of a clear boundary between Wello and Goncha Siso Enesie (one without walls or fences) makes it easier to transport weapons and other goods. The border between these two regions is the Nile. But according to these respondents, “crossing the Nile is an easy task, especially in winter when there is less water.” This creates an opportunity for arms traffickers to move from Wello to Goncha and vice versa. In fact, it is the responsibility of the government to control the main roads and toll stations around the border for the security of the country. However, according to the soldier's FGD explanation, there are no security forces on the Nile to control the movement of individuals from Goncha Siso Enesie to the Wello region. Thus, according to Kizito Sabala (2002) and Negatia (1984), “it is the porous border between the Kenyan Somalis in the North Eastern Province and the Ethiopian Somalis in the Ogaden region which is a factor facilitating the cross-border arms trade.” Furthermore, researchers have linked this issue to globalization. As Malhotra (2011) points out, “globalization that promotes the free movement of people and goods between regions and countries is fertile ground for the illicit arms trade”. Based on data collected from key informant interviews, focus groups, and individual arms dealers, the researchers attempted to categorize the factors contributing to the illicit SALW trade in the study area as follows:

#### **4.1.1 Self protection**

Self-protection was the root cause among the targeted respondents who were asked what drives individuals to engage in the arms trade and illegal possession of weapons in the study area. For example, researchers would like to quote a key informant from the East Gojjam District High Court Judge as follows:

*Goncha Siso Enesie is one of the districts of East Gojjam, which has a long border with Wello district. Often, corporations remote from the government do not trust government security and begin to make arrangements to protect their own lives and property. So in Goncha Siso Enesie, people are interested in having weapons as long as they are not sure of the government security forces.*

Data shows that lack of trust in the power of government is the motivation for people to seek out guns to protect themselves from criminals and theft. From the perspective of a key insider, residents of the study area did not trust government security. This is indeed the case, as the Small Arms Survey (2011) found that in many African countries, the lack of trust and reliability in security forces or the inability of security institutions to perform their duties effectively is a factor in the citizens' strong need for weapons to maintain order. Protect yourself and your property from gun violence. Regarding the importance of firearms as a tool for self-protection in the study area, a member of the Derg militia of the FGD in Kedaye kebele explained:

*My weapon is in my right hand. Not having a gun makes me feel inferior, like someone who has no brothers at all. Even when I sleep, I can never sleep without holding the gun close to my shoulder. The day has become a day of self-preservation. This is why we are surrounded by different enemies, from my neighbor (the village) to the Welloian pastoral community. Everyone is crafty and cunning these days because they are so well prepared for self-defense. This is why it is not known when the enemies will appear. Therefore, it is better to have weapons as early as possible to prepare for war. Otherwise, the personal*

*restlessness of the post-war period is nothing. "It's like a dog barking after a hyena passes by."*

This suggests that the inhabitants of the study area have an innate tendency to survive unarmed. People even worship guns as brothers who can stand up in times of danger or emergency. Furthermore, there is uncertainty about the existing peace and stability. Thus, with an uncertain future, everyone can prepare their weapons for the coming war. For example, in the quote above, individual soldiers explain that "an individual's cry after a war is nothing". This means that everyone should have a gun before arguments or conflicts arise, so guns are important to defend against the enemy. Considering self-protection as a factor in the illicit SALW trade in the study area, a focus group militia participant in Enegesh Kebele said:

*Goncha Siso Enese is one of the most remote Woredas in the East Gojam region. It has a long border with the Wello region, in particular with the communities of Begemgir, Simada, Weldia, Sekota, Mekane-Selamand Dessie. During the winter, when the Abbey shrinks in size, everyone crosses the Nile and steals from each other. To protect their property and their lives, they were given firearms. Even within Huada and Kibel, the companies cannot trust each other. If you look at everyone roughly, everyone looks poor. But all their wealth is wasted on buying weapons to protect them. A person considered absolutely poor should have at least a gun or pistol in the house for protection, revenge, or as a form of identity.*

This means that the long, porous border without walls or fences between Goncha and Willow causes tension between them. According to the data repeatedly provided by the FGD led by Enegesh Kebele, it is not only the imperfect border

that is at the root of the security dilemma between the Goncha and Wello communities. But within Woredas, societies are also pitted against each other; they cannot trust each other; and due to the scarcity of resources such as land, water, and gender issues, there will always be conflicts. Respondents stated that “government security forces are not sufficient to meet the needs of citizens unless they are prepared to protect their own conditions.” The lack of confidence in the security forces, the lack of personnel or sometimes simply the inability of security agencies to carry out their functions effectively in many African countries demonstrates a strong need for citizens to acquire weapons to protect themselves and their property from armed violence (Small Arms Survey, 2011). Considering future disputes that will arise in the near future, everyone in the study area will be prepared to protect themselves by having weapons from their arms suppliers. As many focus group participants and investigators showed, handguns are owned and used for self-defense and fear for the future. People need to possess handguns illegally to protect themselves from criminals and protect their property from theft. However, they gradually abused it in the name of self-defense. Viewing weapons as a security dilemma, an FGD member from Enegesh Kebele said:

*Ever since I was a kid, I've had a keen interest in owning at least one gun. The days have turned bad and no one has at least one arm in their house to save themselves. In fact, God probably wouldn't, but if there was a dispute, I would be the first victim because there was no money for a gun. Rivalry and competition for weapons is a feature of today. Those who have no brothers in June have guns at home, and these guns are like brothers. However, I have neither brothers nor guns. I live alone and I feel inferior. Sometimes I ignore my presence. The question then becomes, how many guns or weapons does my opponent have? If the situation continues like this, it will be difficult to predict what will happen in the near future.*



From the above discussion, it is easy to understand that the society in the study area has a great interest in owning weapons, mainly to protect themselves from criminal gangs and to protect their property from theft. Even so, the community still sees the guns as big or little brothers. This means that firearms are the vehicle of society and a tool to protect the enemy at random times. Since the majority of focus group discussions and survey respondents were conducted in all sampled kebeles, there was internal competition between armed individuals. This rivalry later led to tension and fear between them. A key informant to Lower Court Judge Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda explained people's interest in guns this way:

*While Goncha and Willow's closeness was one of the tension factors that motivated individuals to have weapons to defend themselves, the main factor came from generations. Children grow up hearing wonderful stories from their fathers, ancestors, cousins, and uncles as they become heroes, taking pride in hunting, defeating enemies, and more. They also heard bad stories from their ancestors, and if anyone heard that their father had threatened other people in the past, they knew revenge was inevitable. Thus, individuals are forced to illegally possess weapons in order to defend themselves against their ancestral enemies.*

As the aforementioned judge pointed out, the interest in owning a firearm has been passed down from generation to generation. In fact, the first beneficiaries of the new generation are children. If they hear good experiences from their ancestors, they will stay good for one generation and last for countless generations. Conversely, if children grow up hearing about their father's bad past, they will also be the

villains of a generation. That's what the Woreda Magistrate's Court judge likes to say. Moreover, from the quotes above, we can easily understand that the people of the study area have a strong interest in perpetuating their ancestors. In order to simply understand the quote above, scholars would like to quote a statement given by FGD by Filatako Kebele;

*A glorious father passes on his accumulated wealth to his children, while a bad father passes on his blood and his enemies to his future son.*

This means that fathers who were warlike and eager for conflict in the past can pass on their blood and past wounds to the offspring of their sons, daughters, and other relatives. In this case, contemporary citizens have weapons to avenge their grievances or to defend the avengers of the past. Therefore, according to these key informants, the possession of weapons, whether legal or illegal, is due to the history and childhood experiences of the study area.

#### **4.1.2 Presence of Security Deficit from the Government**

Therefore, the second factor contributing to the illicit trade in SALW in the study area is the lack of security provided by the government, according to a member of the FGD from Kedaye Kebele:

*Any police force before 2004 CE would have been perfect for me. They really served the people, but today I'm right because our Kebele is run by police who work with illegal arms dealers instead of denouncing and arresting them. That said, my eyes are my witness. I remember when I was going to the market to buy sheep for a certain party, I suddenly saw our cop from Kebele with a guy I knew because he was known for his arms trade. No need to name him, but whoever he is, this arms dealer goes to the market with the police with a bag of charcoal. The*

*police and arms dealers spoke in very low voices. They more frequently use symbols to communicate. Suddenly, while an arms dealer was joking with the police, he forgot our normal route, so he fell to the ground with a bag of charcoal. Soon the bag was bitten and the charcoal, including two Kalashnikovs and two pistols, fell to the ground. During this time, the police collected all the items and sealed the material intact in the bag. From this, I learned that the government itself is weak in controlling the illicit trade and possession of arms. After buying what I wanted at the market, I settled into a mansion for lunch. While having lunch, I suddenly set my sights on another room in the hotel. In this room, the police and arms dealers drank a mixture of Valeria and Meta beer. They stood facing the shadows, their voices low. So after that, I came to the conclusion that we are governed by natural law.*

Similar data was collected at the Segena-Guchiba kebele, indicating that poor government security was a factor pushing civilians to engage in the illicit arms trade and possession. According to data provided by an arms dealer interviewed in Segena-Guchiba Kebele,

*Initially, I did not dream of getting involved in this lucrative business. One day, my father ordered me for the first time to go to Willow, specifically to Begemidir, and buy her a gun. When I found out that guns were very cheap, I bought an extra gun besides the one my dad needed. On our return to Gojjam, we are supposed to wait for the security forces in Abbay (Nile), which control the entry and exit of individuals from Goncha. But not everything went as planned, so we crossed Abbay easily. I sold a pistol for the first time for a profit of 2900 birr. The short distance to the source of the weapons (only a 5 hour walk from Segna to Cork), coupled with the absence of tolls at*

*Abbay, compelled me to continue the activity. By the way, on the one hand, I do my business and live my family life; on the other hand, my colleagues and I strengthen the capacities and skills of our company in the use of certain weapons. The future is uncertain, we can never expect peace, and there will always be a broken day to measure our men and women. Society must therefore be prepared to protect them.*

As the data obtained from personal interviews and focus group discussions in the quotes above show, civilians are not the only ones affected when involved in illicit arms transfers. Instead, the government and its affiliated police departments appear to support civilians involved in arms trafficking. Indeed, if the police keep silent while watching people move weapons, and if the government cannot appoint toll collectors on the main roads to control the legal and illegal movement of people from one area to another, there will be an opportunity for all Switch civilians to work in this lucrative industry. Various studies have attempted to show that the main factor explaining the participation of civil servants in this trade is the low salaries paid by the state. For example, according to Mkutu (2008, pp. 6–9), poor governance is the main factor driving civilian demand for SALW. Poor governance is used as an incentive for civilians to engage in the arms trade, an arms dealer from Filatako Kebele said in an interview:

*Over the years, I secretly exchanged weapons with a heart full of fear, fear and nervousness. Most of the time I go to Densa (a Welloian sub-city and a source of SALW) it's at night when people are sleeping. But in 2007, C.E., I went to Densa with my colleagues to buy a gun.*

*Suddenly, I saw a police chief from Segena-Guchiba Kebele buying a gun from Densa. Before that, I met him when he chaired a special session at Segena-Guchiba Keble. But he couldn't identify who I was. Again, two weeks later, I went to Denza and asked him to buy two Makarov (pistols). With Dansa back, no more than two months later, we have a political meeting in Derit. At this meeting, the Chief of Police (his later name, Arms Dealer), came to the meeting just to look like a corporate person. He barely glanced at me when I was in a meeting. For a split second, he seemed to remember the place we had encountered while buying weapons from Dansa. At the end of the meeting, he called me and said, "I remember you from a certain place!" So I said, "Yes!" I remember when you bought a weapon in Densa. Then he introduced his name, and I introduced who I was, and we promised not to tell our secrets. From this meeting to the C.E. of 2008, we moved our arms together. But today the cop changed his place of work, so I'll tell you our secret.*

As the quote above shows, some police forces deal with arms brokers and dealers rather than deterring individuals involved in such illegal activities. This puts the status of government security forces below average individual and civilian estimates. Also, it encourages most people to get involved in this lucrative business. As the interviewees said, "An innocent can't handle an innocent, and an illegal can't handle another illegal." It means: "We have observed that the police work with illegal arms dealers so that we cannot do anything against them for any crime." Help out! " It has become so rigid that it can be controlled by the police. Even so, there was no doubt that people were

crossing the Nile to transfer weapons from Wello to Goncha. A member of the FGD in Segena-Guchiba Kebele, who represents the arms dealer's control weak security, explained as follows:

*As far as I know, weapons are usually traded in concealment. But today we see individual arms dealers transferring weapons during the day. Sometimes legitimate businesses and individuals appear to be officially visible and cannot be expected to be identified. Since arms traffickers are legitimate because security forces are weak enough to control them, they carry weapons as if they were legally registered and owned by individuals. Today, I am not involved in such a profitable business. It's not because of government fear, but of a lack of capital to begin with. My friends in the arms business are doing well financially. They got rich while I was still poor enough to support even my family's basic needs. At that time, competition between individuals was not for the purchase of cattle, sheep, etc., but for the purchase of automobiles, which made arms, unlike other goods and services, a lucrative trade.*

The results of this member of the FGD show that the secrecy of personal arms transfers has almost become an open trade in the absence of strong security forces to control these illicit activities. According to the explanation of an FGD member in Kedaye Kebele, "the police are not strong enough to control illegal individuals due to the fear of bandits/thieves living in the forest." This fear stems from the deaths of two CE police officers (Ebabu and Yismaw) in 2006, their previous experience. When they tried to confiscate illegal guns from dealers, According to this FGD participant, "After that, the police were named Goncha Woreda because they had no choice but to lead once they were alive." Furthermore, the testimony of a police key informant in Kedaye Kebele suggests that "any police force in the region was appointed without love or confidence in the work, for fear of those who

lived near the Nile Segna. People are aggressive and cruel". In order to escape death, security forces are reluctant or passive to expose or control arms traffickers in the study area.

Knowing the weaknesses of the security forces in controlling illegals, the researchers also interviewed an arms dealer from Enegesh Kebele about ways to conceal weapons in the study area and said the following:

*For me, diverting firearms from the source is a very easy task. First, I split a gun into smaller pieces from its joints. Then I'll collect it in a bag. Then I would fill the bag with teff, corn, cotton, sorghum, or any other type of crop. After all, the burden of carrying the burden rests on the donkey. This is because no one should expect a donkey to have a gun.*

But what surprised the researchers was a hidden tactic used by an arms dealer from Kedaye kebele. According to the person interviewed by this arms dealer, weapons can be moved from place to place in the following ways:

*I heard special news because in Kok, Wello, there is a poor camp that sells weapons at very low prices. After sharing this information with all my brothers, we went around the corner and bought 6 guns. After buying it, we put a lot of emphasis on crossing the Nile. I created a strategy. First, we pull out the whole gun and cover it with a white cloth. Then we have to make it look like he's dead. Next, we cut out two sections of the ladder bar. At the end, we carried it and cried so that those who carried the dead would see. We started crying when we found out another person was traveling with us. We laughed when no one was on the*

*road. Thanks to this mechanism, we pass through a road that is not as wide as the eye of a needle.*

As evidence collected from arms dealer shows, there are different ways to transfer weapons from surpluses to requesters. People are smart because they trade guns in ways government agencies don't expect. As the arms dealer said, no one expected the donkey, covered in white clothes, pots, and other things, to have a gun.

## 4.2 The Culture of Revenge

According to various FGD respondents, key informants, and arms dealers/brokers interviewed, a culture of retaliation was the third factor driving people to possess illegal arms in the study area. According to one of the East Gojjam District High Court Judge's key informants, revenge is defined as "the victimization of individuals and groups in turn." Another participating Goncha key informant, Lower Court Judge Siso Enesie Woreda, will be interpreted as: "An action or attack in response to an action that occurred earlier." A FGD participant from Kedaye Keble also defined the word "revenge" as; 'ገደገደ ገደገደ ወይንም ጥቁር ደም' (literally to mean 'revenge' or በቀል). This means, if a member of "Y" family killed from the family of "Z", the family of "Z" will in turn kill from the family of "Y". According to another interviewee, this is called retaliation. But it is common for participants to possess illegal firearms in retaliation. In the study area, there is a cultural notion of using force (firearms) rather than going to court. As for revenge as a culture of Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda, scholars would like to quote FGD member Enegesh Keble as follows:

*In our wereda, revenge is the most receptive culture for community members. If a family member kills another family member, the reaction of the victim's family is*



*inevitable. What they are waiting for is an observation post until they have weapons and revenge. A life without revenge on an enemy marginalizes the individual from social life. Thus, for fear of marginalization and ignorance, individuals are forced to take revenge on their enemies with firearms. Even so, men cannot marry women unless they respond to the victimization that has happened to them. It is because of the fear of being insulted by their wives. By the way, our enemies are not only guns but also our women, who help and encourage us to act against our enemies. I have proof. These are the catalysts that fuel the fire. One day, my uncle asked me to attend the Mahiber ceremony. When we were invited to the ceremony, the husband insulted his wife, saying "you are not professional in doing wot and enjera, you should be trained by others"! As soon as the woman answered him, "You kill your father's murderer first, and then you can talk to me!" You should always pay attention to your belly! Unfortunately, the man just kept his secret weapon and fled to his enemy. Soon there was a cry of revenge for the murder he wanted. Finally, because of this small mistake (an insult between husband and wife); the mahiber ceremony becomes a funeral. Today, their house is closed, the children have become workers in another house, and the husband has been moved to an unnamed area.*

The results of the discussion above suggest that people in the study area believe and accept that retaliation is the most important solution to attack by others, rather than appealing and taking the matter to court. Most of the time, individuals possess illegal weapons in order to retaliate against others. As respondents put it, "those who fear retaliation may be permanently marginalized by society and considered female" (literally, those who do not meet norms of masculinity and act or decide passively). It is a major obstacle to

human security and general development. In the discussion above, if the person had not been armed for revenge, he probably would not have killed his opponents so that they did not leave their original homeland. However, this is a meaningless wish. Therefore, action has been taken. Regarding reprisals as a factor in the illicit trade in SALW, an arms broker in Kedaye Kebele was interviewed and replied: Most of the time, my company acts as a mediator (connection) between arms seekers and arms dealers. When I was trying to guess the number of people who needed weapons, I realized that the number of retaliation was a little more than the number of people. Often, those who want guns for revenge can be easily identified. Many people came to me for this, and with this information I went to the arms dealer. This is a business problem involving two parties (requester and supplier). Arms dealers who only have a limited number of customers will never lose sight of their work. This is not only to satisfy our customers but also to profit from arms sales. Therefore, the execution of retaliation represents the factor that motivates us to continue this activity.

This means that most weapon seekers are those who need revenge. They are regular customers of poor dealers. Since retaliation is considered a cultural norm in the study area, any individual victim is interested in obtaining firearms from those who supply and transfer them. Like some of these poor brokers, revenge is unthinkable without weapons. Indeed, firearms are important for shooting enemies from distances that no one can see. Given this advantage, everyone would risk arming brokers and traders to obtain weapons. Although the exact

number of retaliatory deaths was not given, a Woreda lower court judge estimated that retaliatory deaths accounted for 60% of the total. It's a big number. This means that the illegal acquisition of arms in retaliation is high relative to other factors. The judge ultimately interprets the study area's backward traditional culture of revenge as

*Our people are belittled by a traditionally backward culture of revenge. In fact, to avoid a culture of revenge, I quoted a golden quote from our former Prime Minister, Melesse Zenawi: "If a rude person throws a stone at you, don't throw a stone at you, the enemy will not retaliate." You should build with stone. But this sentence does not apply to Goncha Siso Enesie. You may engage in other destructive behavior towards others, but even minor insults will result in retaliation. People really hate going home to be hurt and insulted by others. They see it as the abandonment of his masculinity and his pride. Truly, masculinity is not measured by revenge on others.*

Retaliation is one of the things that drive people to get guns. As long as it is social and cultural, individuals are bound to oppose others.

### **4.3 Arms trafficking and its impact on Human Security**

Regarding the relationship between the availability of weapons and human insecurity, almost all respondents gave a relevant answer, namely that "the more the availability of weapons is on the side of civilians, the more they resolve their problems and disputes, and not by arms." in a peaceful way. For example, an FGD in Segena Guchiba Keble explained the positive relationship between armaments and insecurity as follows:

*Unarmed people will be afraid, pray to their god, be patient, and be cold-blooded (i.e., those who don't get hot easily and never act against others). Returning empty-handed, no one can oppose the other. Instead, they support investment and development. As long as they believe in the power of God, they will never attack and attack others lightly. On the other hand, people with firearms cannot resist their ardor in any argument. They prefer to shoot balls to show how frustrated and*

*aggressive they are. As society is more illiterate, guns are seen as a symbol of their pride and heroism.*

A police key informant in Filatako Keble also explained the relationship between the availability of weapons and their impact on human security as follows:

*Although there may be demons encouraging gun owners to commit crimes, people mostly kill each other with illegally owned guns due to the influence of alcohol. By the way, our biggest safety challenge in Keble is the local wuski (Araki, jin, and Tella). Mentally unstable people drink too much. When they go to the house of a local wuski, they hide their arms in coats, blankets, and bags. After drinking until the brain is chewy, they kill each other. Therefore, the illegal distribution of firearms and alcohol poses a threat to personal safety in the study area.*

According to these interviewees, the availability of weapons was a source of tension and mistrust between individuals, which then led to violence and war. As the data above shows, people are more confident in engaging in conflict when they have guns than when they do not. According to the data obtained from the aforementioned respondents, the availability of weapons is not the only factor contributing to human insecurity in the study area. Local beer is also a major factor in the uncertainty that alcohol triggers personal crime. Although the presence of weapons is not in itself a cause of conflict and hostility, their abundance in any society can lead to tensions that gradually lead to violence and war between individuals. As Michael Douglas (actor and disarmament advocate, quoted in Amero Tenaw 2016) said, "Where guns go, violence follows". The arms trade is often thought to be linked to It is friendliness and abuse. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (1997) also noted the link between guns and violence, stating that "more guns equal more violence". This means that guns fuel violence and increase the death rate in attacks. The same is true in many types of literature. For example, according to Wendy Cukeir (1998) (cited in Mogire, 2003), "Despite the influx of guns, the abundance of guns at all levels of society means that any increase in tension and hostility between communities is more likely to bring armed violence and bloodshed." Medical research has also shown an empirical correlation between gun ownership and rates of murder, suicide, and other violent crimes (Wendy Cukier, 1998; WHO, 2001). Regarding the link between the availability of firearms and alcohol and human insecurity, an illiterate member of the FGD in Enegesh Keble explained the following:

*For me, alcohol reminds me of my old enemies. The others too. Most of the time, the crime is committed by someone who has a weapon while drinking too much. In addition to alcohol, however, traditional music such as quarrarto (battle songs) and fukkara (patriotic songs) are grounds for individual crime. I remember when the band sang this: "A man committed a crime motivated by these fight songs."*

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*We drank local beer (Tella) together in a small bar in our area. There was a band singing the above poem in this bar. One of us lost our land to his uncle in the past. When he heard Quarrarto say, "Fifteen cubits of land and a cow borrowed from someone else," he angrily got up from his chair and ran towards his house. About 5 minutes later, we heard gunshots. It was then that he shot his uncle.*

The study showed that alcohol and traditional music, poetry, quarrarto (battle songs) and fukkara (patriotic songs) and access to weapons were the main motivating factors for civilian participation in crime in the study area. Someone who has ever been threatened by a particular problem may remember and regret it when they hear the music and fukkara. In the quote above, he probably wouldn't have killed his uncle if not for the tires reminding us of the scarcity of land. It is also true that, like Leonard (2005), the presence of alcohol also makes individuals violent and aggressive. In the study area, people accidentally became violent when they drank too much and heard poems that reminded them of past deeds. Therefore, based on the data obtained from the respondents, the researchers hope to point out that the close relationship between weaponry, alcohol, traditional music, and fukkara poses a threat to the security of the study area. Regarding the link between the illegal acquisition of weapons, alcohol, and quarrarto and human insecurity, a member of the FGD militia in Kedaye Keble recounts the following:

*In our Keble, people have a great interest in local beer (tela) and local wuski(are, Jin and ouzo). In addition, listening to music, and poetry (especially fukkara and quarrarto), is the culture of the society. When we are starting drinking two glasses of alcohol, we began to boast/exaggerate ourselves and see others as inferior. This mostly occurs when we listen to poetry that narrates the past glorious deeds of our ancestors. One day, at a market day, I was drinking Areki with my colleagues. At that time, everybody was tempered with alcohol and music. Suddenly, when the tape performed quarrarto saying;*

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*An individual who possessed legally registered arms emotionally stood up to perform fukkara. When he was in fukkarrar, those individuals who sat in front of him laughed. They were laughing at the type of gun he possessed. One of the individuals among them stated “your gun is very important for firewood so please give it to your wife”! Soon, the person who possessed an*

*arm gave two bullets to the person who has touched his dignity. It was the cruelest death that I have seen for the first time.*

Thus, as data from different respondent shows, while the availability of weapons on the civilian side is a factor of human insecurity, it is exacerbated by other contributing factors such as music, poetry, war songs, patriotic recitations, and reckless drinking claim that "alcohol unlocks a long-closed secret". This means that, under normal circumstances, people try to keep whatever secrets they have. They can also resist any emotion as they have a normal mind. Those who drink can never be silent. According to various interviewees, when fukkara and quarrarto are added to this wine, everyone forgets their goals. Although it seems to them that there is no death, they are fully convinced that any action will be taken. For example, in the quote above, if Joan hadn't been drinking too much, gun owners wouldn't have laughed at her. Regarding the effects of alcohol on human safety, the researchers would like to quote a member of the FGD from Kedaye kebele; while the patient's tongue swallows butter, the talkative tongue eats balls. (Karon 2013) also noted that music is a widely used form of media with the ability to influence attitudes and manipulate emotions. Therefore, traditional music and poetry encourage people to remember past hurts and encourage the misuse of weapons for unnecessary behavior in the study area. According to interviewees, there are emotional and aggressive fukkarras and quarartos that motivate people to help and commit crimes. Music, poetry, battle hymns, patriotic recitations, etc., all have the benefit and function of revitalizing and expressing one's own culture, but some of them initiate and inspire positive action. The researchers also interviewed a High Court judge in East Gojjam district about the links between the arms trade, arms supply and human insecurity. The judge explained the correlation between illegal weapons and their impact on human security as follows:

*It is not just the illicit supply of arms that affects security. But basically, social illiteracy is the number one problem that causes civilians to drink too much, get easily depressed, and misuse weapons. Illegal Possession, for me, lack of education is associated with the illegal acquisition and misuse of weapons, which then has a devastating effect on security. Emotions in music, poetry, and reckless drinking are the result of this society's lack of education and awareness.*

From the High Court interview with East Gojjam District Judge, it is easy to assume that the main cause of human insecurity in the study area is the high rate of illiteracy among the citizens. Without education, people stop thinking about their future life. They have neither ambitions nor objectives. This is why, according to the district judge, people are finding guns and abusing them due to lack of awareness. People also get emotional easily because their minds don't expand with education. In general, at the international level, the destructive effects of the illicit

distribution and possession of SALW are highlighted in different literatures. For example, according to the Small Arms Survey (2003), "Small arms have a direct impact (fatal and non-fatal injuries) and an indirect impact (erosion of political, social and economic activity)". Likewise, researchers to understand the illicit possession of weapons and the extent to which the availability poses a threat to human security in the study area, different respondents were interviewed. Nonetheless, respondents listed various impacts on the illicit trade and supply of SALW in the study area, which the researchers divided into two broad categories. There are therefore direct and indirect effects:

### 4.3.1 Direct impact

The immediate impact of SALW is related to violence against human life. Its main characteristics are fatalities and non-fatal injuries. According to the data collected from the targeted respondents, the supply of illegal weapons in the study area has ruined the lives of many people, exposing them to disability. For example, regarding the direct impact of small arms, a trader from Enegesh Keble, a member of the FGD, explained the following:

*Deaths that come from God are a wedding. I can never cry to those individuals who died due to the order of God. But, the cruelest deaths here in our Woreda are the death of people by other people. I have my reason to say this. I had a crisis that I faced in 1997 E.C. In this year, I lost two of my brothers and two uncles with illegal small arms. Within one month, I celebrated the burial ceremony of my lovely brothers and uncles. Beginning from that year, I am living just considering it is better than suicide myself. It is not expected that there June be other happiness which makes me forget them. Together with my brothers and uncles, the numbers of deaths in our Keble were ten. It was only in 1997 E.C (within 6 months).*

In a similar explanation, one woman FGD member in Kedaye Keble explained the direct impacts of the proliferation of illicit arms in the study area as follows.

*It was Monday. I was traveling with my husband to celebrate the memorial feast/tezekars of a particular individual. When we returned from what we have gone, we got our houses encircled by thieves. They all had guns. They were covered with a black and long cloth called max. When I started crying to call the police force or other ordinary soldiers from the community, one of the thieves who clothed max came up to me and kidnapping. Soon, the other two individuals shot my husband and take away his gun. After a week, the two brothers of my husband killed those of my husband's killer. With acts of revenge and so on, today the number of deaths from our bloc is reached three and from our counterparties around four lives are dismissed.*

*The lives of seven people have lost to two opposite parties in 1999 E.C. The situation can never be stopped unless the numbers of deaths from two sides are equal. And, to balance the number, we will lose one life shortly.*

This shows that, in the study area, the deaths of people are common either through revenge or flagrant delicto (hand with hand killing). As to the respondent’s explanation, the accessibility of guns encouraged individuals to commit crimes like murder, kidnapping, and the violation of human rights. In the above quote, individuals are expressing their idea in that “death comes from God is not severe but with a gun”. This implies that deaths with arms are severing as compared to natural death. There is competition in killing individuals.

Regarding the impacts of arms on human lives, several kinds of literature had narrated. For instance, the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Anan (2000) explained the impacts of SALW at the international level as

*The death toll from small arms dwarfs that of all other weapons systems and in most years greatly exceeds the toll of the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In terms of the carnage they cause, small arms, indeed, could well be described as “weapons of mass destruction” ... Small arms proliferation is not merely a security issue; it is also an issue of human rights and development (Anan, 2000).*

It is also true in the study area, that small arms have a devastating impact not only on human lives and the security of individuals but also on the socioeconomic activities of their life. To understand this impact, asking ordinary individuals and respondents is not sufficient. There should be instead recorded data from the administration. Despite the lack of a well-organized document that indicates the number of people killed with legally possessed arms and illegally possessed ones, the researcher tried to dig out such files from Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda police office of crime investigator and found the following data.

Table4. 1 the number of people killed from 2010 to 20114 E.C by guns in

Goncha Siso Enesie

Year(as per E.C)	Number of people killed	Number of people who are tested for killing and injured
2010	13	7
2011	16	17
2012	15	15
2013	13	13



2014(within 8 months)	14	8
Total	71	60

(Source, organized from Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda Police office of crime Investigator and Documentary desk, Agu 21/ 2022)

From the table above, one can easily understand the impacts of arms trafficking, availability, and the misuse of small arms and light weapons in the study area. Of the five consecutive years in which crimes are committed, the year 2007 E.C is the special one. According to the question forwarded to the criminal investigator and police commissioner, the reason why this year is going to be high is, due to election-related cases. The police left the details to the researcher to narrate. Anyways, within five years term, the number of 65 people living has been dismissed and 60 people’s tested for killing and injured.

Despite the accessibility of such data from the official reports of the police officers, the researcher had felt bad due to the lack of data regarding the number of people killed before the year 2006 E C. But to assess the situation before 2006, the researcher had tried to ask some informants and FGD members from the field. This is why; above all, they are near to the problem and a witness to any action. From FGD conducted in Enegesh Kebele, the researcher would like to quote the statement given by one individual who was attacked by the problem.

*Beginning from the time at which I lost my single son, I have counted 7 years. Shortly, I June tell you the historiography of my son. One day just holding his gun, my son went to the desert to plow the land. In the past, I had two enemies. When they heard my son alone go into the desert, they were following him. Without reaching his farming land, my son has left on half of a voyage.*

*In this situation, still I am shouting together with my wife. Starting from the death of our son, we are not counted as living but we are seeing those who live. Today, we are waiting for God until he takes our lives.*

### 4.3.2 Indirect impact

According to interviewees, the illicit trade and supply of arms into civilian hands indirectly affects human survival. “Without peace and In the presence of a conflict, the investment is unthinkable, because everything will go to the budget for the purchase of weapons ”(Voice of the Judges of the East Gojjam District High Court, 22/2022) According to the Small Arms Survey (2003), the illicit distribution of small arms and light weapons has a negative impact by worsening political and socio-economic activities in specific countries and the world as a whole. With the exception of the East Gojjam region, the involvement of High Court Judges, key informants and FGD explained the impact of arms trade and illicit possession of

arms on Goncha Siso Enesie wearda. Therefore, scholars have tried to put the indirect consequences of the arms trade below.

#### **4.3.2.1 Economic impacts**

According to the United Nations Development Program (1998), "The illicit distribution and possession of arms hinders development, particularly in developing countries, by diverting limited national resources to the purchase of arms." Thus, according to the United Nations Development Program (1998), "Developing countries spend \$172 billion on their armed forces, nearly five times the official aids they receive, and 44% of their spending on education and health." It has also been shown that "armed violence misappropriates public expenditures and aids security ". As development projects Economic development has also suffered as limited personal resources are diverted into the illegal possession of firearms, according to targeted respondents who participated in the study. Individuals waste the weapons they have to buy. Regarding the impact of the arms trade and illicit possession of arms on economic activity, a member of the FGD from Kedaye Kebele said

*In our Kebele, people are working day and night not to buy a car, house, and other things but to buy a gun. Oxen; cows; houses and all things are sold to buy a gun. In this case, there is no ox to plow; cow for milk, and shelter houses. Children are starved and faced with malnutrition and diseases. Guns are partly made of metal and partly from wood. Therefore, it can never be a piece of bread or injera that can be supplied to children to eat. Despite I am not exactly sure about the real cost of arms, a minimum of 45,000 (ETB) can take to buy one automatic gun. Assume the risk of wasting this much money on the gun that absconds underground; inside the pot and other concealment tactics.*

Respondent data showed slowing economic growth as personal budgets were diverted to military needs. Even individuals who had accumulated wealth sold their guns. In this regard, families are hungry and face malnutrition and disease. When people get sick, they can easily die due to the lack of treatment costs. According to the respondents, people invest a large part of their income in firearms rather than in other economic activities. As the number of weapons in the hands of individuals increases, so do the motivations for conflict and war. Thus, conflict and development are two contradictory paradigms. According to the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000), it is also true that "the supply and misuse of illicit small arms and light weapons undermines efforts to reduce poverty and slow economic growth." On the illegal possession of weapons and its impact on development, FGD, a farmer from Filatako Kebele,

*...I am still advising others not to buy guns just by selling the property they have. This was from my experience that I faced in 2008 E.C. In this year, I bought one Kalashnikov by selling 250 care meter land in Getesemanie town. But, as soon as I handled the gun, my enemies reported to the police and my gun surrendered. Now, when you see me, I seem like a normal individual but I became half-crazy due to that I have lost the land which can buy a car. Today, having six children, I haven't something for them to build a house.*

In addition, one woman FGD from Enegesh Kebele replied about the economic impacts of illegal arms possession as follows;

*In the past, we had an enemy. To defend himself and his children, my husband bought a gun by selling one ox, one of our single cows, three sheep, and one rope farming land. We had five children. Our house was left without cows; oxen, and sheep. One day, when my husband traveled at night by possessing his arms, our enemy killed him and took away his gun. Thus, I have lost the father of my children and the gun that all our property has wasted. Until now, I couldn't accept the saying that "war is better than hunger". But today, I accept it. And today, my children are starved. By this time, I preferred death to see my children starved.*

From all these FGD participants, it is easy to understand that many families are financially threatened and want to buy weapons. What surprised the researchers here was the loss of one person's life and the gun that was purchased by selling everything in the house. In this case, individuals in the study area do not become owners of their lives or property. According to the respondents, once an individual buys a firearm by wasting what they have in their hands, those firearms are no longer for them. In any case, whether the weapon was handed over by the government or by another enemy, Joan will obtain it by killing the owner of the weapon, by stealing it, or by using any mechanism. Thus, the economic impact and the risk to human life occur simultaneously. For example, in a woman's FGD led by Enegesh Kebele, we saw the loss of her husband's life and family property. Most importantly, the researchers wish to cite a statement by FGD, a soldier from Segena-Guchiba Kebele, on the adverse effects of illegal arms distribution and its impact on the economy;

*In our Kebele, possessing arms and killing individuals is an easy task. But the challenging task is paying compensation to the dead family. To negotiate or agreed between the killer and the victim's family, a minimum of 30,000 to 40,000 birr are required as compensation. To pay for this, people borrowed money from smaller credit associations and banks. Later, they faced the challenge to pay back the money.*

In the study area, as per respondents, there is a culture of “**blood dry up elders**” (□□ □□□□ □□□□). Literally it is to mean that, those elders who are elected by the agreements of all communities to negotiate with those who are in conflict and bloody war. According to these respondents, the numbers of these elders are always three to be represented in the name of **Trinity**. This is to be feared like **God** and to make conflicting parties be easily submitted to the order of elders. Despite the presence of these elders, compensation to the dead family is inevitable. The first criterion for agreement is remedial by the guilty to the victim. What the researcher became tragic was not by the compensation but after compensation; the killers are not allowed to live around the victim’s family. He is advised by the elder to displace from his village. Assume the amount of money paid for remedy and the land that the guilty left when he displace for economic bankruptcy.

#### 4.3.2.2 Political impacts

“Where guns are commonplace, people express their grievances and complaints against the government through guns rather than peaceful protest” (C Tella, 2015). Klare (2004) also states that “anti-government groups can easily collect enough weapons to start an uprising or a revolution”. The Small Arms Survey (2011) also proved that the widespread availability of weapons in civilian hands was the motivation for staging a coup against the government. In the area of research, respondents, particularly police key informants and focus groups, explained the impact of illegal arms acquisition on government policy. For example, a key informant from Segena-Guchiba Kebele Police explained illegal arming and its impact on policy implementation as follows:

*Frankly speaking, we have faced a big challenge to control those individuals who possessed arms illegally. This is why, in the daytime, all individuals seem polite; loyal and trust the law. But secretly, they are doing their task like killing; theft; kidnapping, and other related crimes. In this case, we are worried to distinguish the innocent. This is because you don’t know who possesses arms and committed the crime unless they exposed themselves.*

This shows the challenges police forces face in controlling those who illegally possess weapons. All appear to be legal during the day, but most engage in criminal activity at night, as explained by the main police informant. This led to social instability in the study area. Similarly, a Kebele-edited FGD from Filatako Kebele added a case related to the above;

*Individuals did a crime and tried to fugitives to the forest. By this time, if you visit the forest, you get it full of the bandit. There is a well-organized bandit in the desert who is living through theft and killing people. Administering these people is a challenging one. The government even publicly announced as finding and getting them is impossible unless caves and forests are distracted. In this case, I can say that the police are administering the majority of legal people leaving a few criminals and rude individuals in the forest.*

Respondent data showed that many broke the law and engaged in illegal activities. They are beyond the control of the common law. This makes government policy impossible to implement. To right individual wrongs, the government always arrests those found guilty. But in the study area, according to the respondents, people ignored the prison and preferred to live in the forest as bandits or thieves. This is the direct meaning of illegality. People are trusted by the weapons they have. They are involved in different criminal activities and end up in the forest (Chaka).

On illegal weapons and their challenges for policy enforcement, a key informant from Kedaye Kebele Police tragically explained:

*What we do and our payment are contrary. Still, the government couldn't understand us we are at war and confrontation with society. People in Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda have an inherent love for gun and they are rigid to be governed by the law. It is better to fight in Badme as long as it has at least a name and recognition. Here, when we keep one community, we phoned another community in which war occurs and when we go to that community, another new phone is ringed. Now, I strongly hate this job and I will start my private business shortly. To get a salary that can't exceed the cost of buying candy, I can never lose my life.*

In the quotes above, key informants compare their salaries with the challenges of running this company. This shows that the police are busy looking into all the cases in every community in Kebele. This is due to the high rate of conflict resulting from the illicit acquisition of weapons from civilian hands.

#### **4.3.2.3 Social impacts**

As the United Nations General Assembly (1997) and Sunday (2011) reports show, people are disintegrating, which means internal and external migrations due to small arms wars. The migration and resettlement of individuals from their small town to another is an over-studied social impact. Once a person is convicted, they are expelled from community life. This can lead to psychological and psychiatric disabilities (Small Arms Survey, 2009). In the study area, although there is no actual data recorded regarding the number of internal (into the Amhara region) and

external (outside the region) migrations, a rough estimate by Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda, Police Commission Crime Investigator, replied that “every year it is expected that at least 60-70 people and 10-15 families will be displaced by the small arms conflict”. In addition, various respondents answered questions about the social impact of the proliferation of small arms. For example, a FGD woman from Segena-Guchiba Kebele interprets this as:

*A person who killed human lives and an ox having a single eye is the same. They are always walking without their normal mentality. They easily shiver when they heard even a little sound. Psychological fears of others, individuals are always preferred to live alone.*

This means that if a person commits a crime, they are still considered evil and forced to live away from the community. People have a negative image of him and he is discriminated against in social life. According to the respondents, this leads to psychological effects such as loneliness and mental retardation. Regarding the social impact of the illicit acquisition of small arms in the study area, a woman from the FGD of Enegesh Kebele said:

*I have a baby that was born without his normal date of birth. It is well known that females are born within nine months and for males, five days are added. But in 2003 E.C, with the occurrences of war and gun shouting in our surroundings, something became beyond my control and I gave birth to my child within eight months and 15 days. Today, the community named my child “Asichenik Abebe”.*

This is not the only problem encountered in the study area. According to the woman participant, several went insane when their father, brother, uncle, and a relative were innocently killed.

## **4.4 Measures are taken to control arms trafficking in the study area**

### **4.4.1 Legal Perspectives**

The illicit trade and proliferation of small arms and light weapons have become a major international problem since the end of the Cold War (Sears and UNDP, 2002). Various steps have been taken, from the local to the international level, to understand the serious impact of the illicit arms trade and its consequences for human security and development. Ethiopia was one of the casualties of the 2006 East African States Seminar on the Illicit Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons. Ethiopia is a member of the Bamako Declaration, implemented in Addis Ababa from March 6 to 10, 2000, entitled "Common African Position on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation, and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons", in recognition of progress made at national and regional levels in developing programs of action to reduce, prevent, and manage the proliferation of small arms

and light weapons (Bamako, Mali, 2000). Although the proclamation on the prevention of illicit trade and distribution of small arms and light weapons is not uniform across all regions of the country, Ethiopia has laws to address these issues, the judge says of the East Gojjam High Court. According to Article 808 (a) of the Penal Code relating to the control of arms and ammunition, it provides:

*Intentionally an individual who sells or delivered to the persons not entitled to receive them, and in particular to infants or young persons, arms or ammunition or allows them to dispose of them without supervision, is punishable with a fine or arrest.*

In addition, Article 809 relating to the carrying and use of prohibited weapons stipulates: "It is forbidden for any person found in a public place carrying a weapon which he is not authorized to possess, or having the right to carry, or making use of a weapon, notwithstanding authorization, at the time or place of use of the weapon." Thus, one can understand from this that the law, besides its lack of uniformity, is not sufficient to control the use of handguns. The dissemination, restriction, and punishment are so weak. A fine of 100 birr or eight days in prison is a very simple punishment and does not apply to everyone who is supposed to be afraid.

The aforementioned laws and penal codes deal with the illegal possession of weapons by individuals, especially individuals who are prohibited from possessing weapons in the presence of minors, children, and other civilians. With regard to the prohibition of the illicit arms trade, Article 481(1) a and b provide the following:

Concerning the Prohibition of Trafficking in Arms (criminal code 481(1) a and b) stated as;

(1) Whoever made a crime against the security of the State (Art. 256):

a) manufactures, imports, exports or transports, acquires, receives, stores or hides, offers for sale, puts into circulation or distributes, without special authorization(have a license) or contrary to law, weapons, explosives or munitions of any kind, with the intent of trafficking; or

b) without indulging in trafficking, knowingly sells, delivers or hands over arms to suspect or dangerous persons, is punishable with fine and rigorous imprisonment not exceeding five years, or, in serious cases, with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding ten years, without prejudice to confiscation of the specified materials.

But as the zone higher court judge, this criminal law has its limitations as long as it does not distinguish which types of illicit arms possession and trafficking are violations of law and so penalized by the law. This is because, according to the UN General Assembly Report (1997), "small arms are not only automatic guns but it includes even a handmade knife, swords, bows, etc". In this case, the judge explained as the law needs interpretation of such vague phrases and words. The judge also added another drawback of Ethiopian law in preventing the illegal

possession of arms. This is because other than the Amhara region, there is no periodical registration of arms in other regions like Afar, Gambella, and Wells. One is not prohibited from transferring arms in these regions. Therefore, as of the key informants of the zone higher court judge, despite the Amhara region has its own proclamation 44/2001 for gun registration licenses and it is usually periodical (conducted within fixed weeks or months), but the border regions like Afar, Gambella, and Wello disturbed the region. This is because, as to Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda militia officer and the zone higher court judge, in these regions, there is no problem whether an individual bought a gun and registered it or not. This implies that there is no restriction on the time and date for the registration of arms. Standing from the Woreda and zonal key informant's interviewee, the researcher would like to say that the presence of various proclamations in the country is the major obstacle to disarming and implementing the policy of arms control. Above all, regarding the weakness of the law, the researcher would like to quote the statement provided by Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda militia officer;

*Usually, we are complained about by the government in case of being unable to control the illegal proliferation and possession of arms in our Woreda. But as of our capacity and knowledge, we have established our systematic selection of individuals who are involved in arms trafficking, illegal possession of it, thefts, and criminals. For instance, in each Keble, we have individuals who spied on every individual, and now a day we are beneficiaries of this system than legally codified law. But, unless uniform laws are there, it is difficult to control the illegal possession of arms by civilians.*

This shows that there are problems in the implementation of laws enacted in accordance with the law, mainly due to ambiguity and lack of uniformity between different regions. As for the Woreda militia officers, although they have no official data on the number of small arms, ammunition, and stowaways captured, a rough estimate indicates that the militia indicates that "at least 1,000 ammunition, more than 35 pistols, and automatic rifles are awarded each year". Most of the ammunition, rifles, and pistols were confiscated when told to do so by spies, according to militia officers. Moreover, according to those interviewed, periods of conflict are favorable conditions for the surrender of these personnel. That's why when a conflict arises everyone participates in the conflict by dealing either with legally registered weapons or with illegal weapons. This exposes their possession of unlicensed weapons and forces them to surrender. After hearing from all FGDs and key insider participants about the main limitations of legal measures taken to control the illegal distribution and possession of weapons, the researchers repeatedly asked them what to do if the previous measures were not weak enough.



The High District Court judges offered the following as a solution to the problem of arms trafficking in the study area and throughout the region:

*First, the government should give a lesson to the public as possessing a gun is nothing but it is foolishness as long as the cost/money wasted to buy a gun can change the lives of a particular individual if it is properly invested in the economy. Then, in the second stage, for those individuals who do not listen to the first, a standard and a uniform law that can govern nine regions and two city administrations should be enacted. In the third stage, the penalty for those who violate the law should be high contrary to the 100 birr penalty and day not more than eight prisons.*

In a similar explanation, one Woreda militia key informant put a solution for the adverse problem of the illegal finding and possession of arms in the study area as;  
*Forever, there is no solution to prevent arms trafficking and illegal possession of it unless the government makes society busy by employing them in different investments and educating the community about the badness of revenge, conflict, and war against others. Before this, giving a license for registration of arms seems to us a solution. But, the problem is aggravated after the registration of arms. Just by registering one arm, each keep other illegal arms inside their home and observed when they did crimes. Therefore, only disarming the minds of individuals is core and option fewer solutions in the study area.*

From these informants, it is not difficult to understand that sensitization and conference to society are the most important solutions to fight against illegal weapons in the study area. That's why if people are told that guns are nothing, conflicts are worse, and revenge is stupid, they defend development and forget about criminal activities. The absence of a uniform code is another major obstacle to the implementation of disarmament policies. Therefore, the government must develop uniform and standardized laws for all regions of the country.

## **Chapter five**

### **Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

#### **5.1. Summary and Conclusion**

Small arms and light weapons are the world's “weapons of mass destruction”. Horn State, in particular, is also a victim of this problem. Hence, Ethiopia is one of the African countries located in the Horn of Africa region that is under attack through the illegal distribution of arms. In Ethiopia, small arms have destroyed thousands of people in conflict, cattle rustling, and crime; thousands more have been injured, intimidated, or displaced, making them internally displaced persons (IDPs) or refugees. A similar problem exists in the Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda study area in the East Gojjam belt. During the era (2006–2010 CE), 65 people were killed and 60 injured. Political, social, and economic impacts are other consequences of the supply of small arms in the study area. Self-preservation issues contribute to the proliferation of weapons; weak or inadequate security provided by the government; a traditional culture of revenge; and a porous border with the Wello region. The uncontrolled tolling of the Nile played a significant role in the movement of arms between the Goncha Siso Enesie and Welloian communities. Thanks to this open road between the two areas, illegals can freely pass from Goncha Siso Enesie to Wello and vice versa.

The cultures of revenge, (what is called in the study area, ጥቁር ደም/በቀል) which is descended from generations are the major motivating factors for individuals to possess arms illegally. History shapes the mind of man either positively or negatively. Children, who are grown hearing a good history from their ancestor, became good for the future generation and in contrary those who heard a bad story, became bad to the generation. In the study area, children are grown hearing the cruelest deeds of their fathers, ancestor fathers, uncles and others. They heard as

their father had died by an enemy. To turn back their earlier victim, they obliged to possess gun from arm suppliers. This encouraged the majority people to be involved in arms trafficking. Moreover, the high demand of arms by civilians makes gun to be profitable business and this in turn attracts others to be involved on this lucrative trade. As a third point, poor security provisions from the government have taken as a factor for the illegal proliferation of arms in the study area. The study shows that, some government officials particularly the security force are involved in arms trafficking instead of stopping those illegals. As the data indicates, this is emanated from poor salary paid from the government.

As the finding of data shows that, there is a great nexus between the illicit availability of arms and the occurrence of conflict which hampers human security and safety. Individual are inactive for war or conflict when they haven't gun than when they possessed gun. Despite the presence or availability of illegal arms are the cause for insecurity, there are other facilitators like alcohol, traditional music like quararto(war chants) and fukkara(patriotic recitals) that have encouraged the society to possess and misuse guns. People remind past injuries and enemies when they heard a traditional music and when they drank lots of alcohol.

Thus the illegal availability of arms has a direct and indirect effect in the study area. As the data displayed from respondents and police report files, the direct effect of small arms are the deaths of 65 people and the injured of 60 peoples. The loss of 65 lives by gun excluding of natural death is a tragedy action. Indirectly, SALW trafficking and conflict retarded economic activities due to the redirection of limited individual incomes for arms possession. Politically, the society's disobediences of the law and the movement to forest/chaka as a shifta make government policy un- implemented. Small arms have also an adverse effect on the social life of the society in the study area. Displacements of people both internally

within the region Amhara and outside the region are the major social impact that hurts human psychology due to feeling of loneliness.

In order to control arms trafficking and proliferation, Amhara region had enacted a proclamation 44/2001 in addition to the criminal code of the FDRE (2005) of 481,808 and 809. This proclamation is forwarded to each zone and woreda's in the region. Thus, Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda is the one applying this law. But as the data displayed from respondents, this proclamation is weak enough in controlling arms trafficking and illegal possession of it. This is because; one, due to its low penalty for those individuals who are found possessing illegal arms. The penalty to those individuals who found possessing illegal arms is 100 birr and eight days prison. Second, the proclamation is vague as long as it doesn't distinguish which type of small arms possession lead to penalty. Third, the presence of porous border and an experienced trafficker has strongly challenged the law. And finally, lack of uniform law between regions makes the proclamation unimplemented.

From thus, the researcher would like to conclude that initiatives taken to control arms trafficking and illegal possession of arms at the country level in general and in the study area in particular are inadequate and it needs amendment by the concerned body.

## **5.2 Recommendation**

On the basis of the collected and analyzed data from the study area, the researcher would like to recommend the following core points for the government and other concerned body in order to take appropriate measures:

- ❖ As per the findings of the study, people felt insecure unless they possess arms. And even, some others have an inherent and generationally descended love for the possession of arms. This is mainly due to the influence of high

rate of illiteracy and a traditional culture of revenge. As a result, people instead of investing their money on house, cattle and other infrastructures which have a pivotal role on economic change, they run to buy gun. Therefore, government should create good awareness to the society about the disadvantages of wasting money on gun. Enacting law or proclamation by itself did nothing to do with the control of individuals from acquiring arms. Instead, filling the psycho of people to hate arms are the major initiatives to control possession and trafficking of arms. This is because, if the mass people hate possessing of arms, to what individual that arm trafficker June supply arms? Therefore disarming the minds of the people means indirectly preventing arm traffickers.

- ❖ From the study, the researcher had understood as porous border and weak security from the government are the major factor for the illegal trafficking and possession of arms. Therefore, taking this case into account, government has to employ strong and well trained guards or Toll keeper on Abbay to control the legal and illegal movement of people from Goncha Siso Enesie to wello and vice versa. Government should also pay sufficient salary to the police force and other law implementing body. This is because, due to the low salary paid from the government, some individuals from the police had participated in arms trafficking instead of exposing and controlling other criminals.
- ❖ People in the study area couldn't trust government security. As a result, the society arranged their own means of self-protection by possessing arms in the black market. This expectation from the society is emanated from the provision of weak security from the government. In this case, government has to fill the confidence of citizens to protect their security by establishing and employing a professional security force who worked for justice.

- ❖ The finding shows that, “aggressive and hot music’, emotional quarartos and fukkaras” are the motive behind individuals to possess arms and did a crime. Therefore, government should condemn this aggressive music, fukara, and Kararto’s as long as they initiated individuals for unnecessary actions like killing, thefts and kidnapping. Concerning this and unwise use of alcohol, the community policy in collaboration with religious leader, should create a good awareness to the society regularly.
- ❖ In addition, government and his part and parcel, the police have to conduct a continuous meeting with the society of the study area so as to create awareness about the bad effects of possessing gun and revenging of others. This is because, in the study area, a traditional culture of revenge is an immediate factor for the illegal acquisition of arms. Therefore, lessons should be given to the people to forget past injuries and enemies and to stand for economic change.
- ❖ For a single country, Ethiopia, a single and uniform law of gun should be enacted. But, here, the law made in Amhara regions to prevent arms trafficking doesn’t work and functional in other regions. At the same time, what is accepted in other region, are not accepted in Amhara, Therefore, the law should be amended to be implemented in all regions.
- ❖ Sometimes, government May be busy to see and settle all cases happened between societies. When answers for their question are delayed, they take their own means of solution using force. In this case, government so as to simplify its burden should acknowledge or recognizes civic societies and community elders to be involved in settling disputes happened between individuals and groups. This indirectly to mean, traditional conflict resolution should be appreciated and encouraged.

- ❖ Above all, giving continues lesson/awareness to the society about the badness of armament and revenge should not be forgotten as a solution to a problem.

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## Appendix I:

### List of Respondents

**Table 1 List of FGD Participants**

No	Name	Age	Sex	Kebele	Status/Educational level	Date of Discussion
1	FGD 1	65	M	Kedaye	Derg militia/lieutenant	August 12/2022
2	FGD 2	37	M	“	Grade 6	“
3	FGD 3	49	F	“	Farmer, merchant	“
4	FGD 4	41	M	Segena- Guchiba	Kebele leader	August 15/2022
5	FGD 5	43	F	“	Grade 8	“
6	FGD 6	60	M	“	Soldier in the time of Derg	“
7	FGD 7	42	F	Filatako	Farmer	August 18/2022
8	FGD 8	36	M	“	Grade 9	„
9	FGD 9	48	M	“	Vis kebele leader	„
10	FGD 10	62	M	Enegesh	Soldier in the time of Derg	August 19/2022
11	FGD 11	38	F	“	Grade 5	„
12	FGD 12	59	M	“	Illiterate, Merchant.	„

**Table 2 List of Key Informant Interviewee**

No	Name of institution	Quantity	Position/status	Date of interview
1	Kedaye Kebele police office	1	Police officer	August 12/2022
2	Filatako Kebele police office	1	Police officer	August 18/2022
3	Enegesh Kebele police office	1	Police officer	August 19/2022
4	Segena-Guchiba Kebele police office	1	Police officer	August /15/2022
5	Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda Militia office	1	Militia officer	August 21/2022
6	Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda police office	1	Crime investigator/examiner	” ”
7	Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda, office of First Instant Court	1	Judging lower cases happened at the Woreda level	” ”
8	East Gojam Zone, office of Higher Court	1	Judging serious crime and higher financial cases at zonal level	August 22/2022



**Table 3 List of Arm traffickers and brokers interviewee**

No	Name	Age	Sex	Keble/residence	Specific job	Date of interview
1	Interviewee, 1	35	M	Kedaye	Arms trafficking	August 12/2022
2	“ 2	41	M	Segena-Guchiba	“	August 15/2022
3	“ 3	39	M	Filatako	“	August 18/2022
4	“ 4	51	M	Enegesh	“	August 19/2022
5	“ 5	38	M	Kedaye	Arm brokering	August 12/2022
6	“ 6	47	M	Segena-Guchiba	“	August /2022

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## **Appendix II: FGD, KIs and in-depth Interview Guide Questions**

This paper is prepared for the purpose of gathering data concerning “arms trafficking and the challenge of security in East Gojjam Zone, Goncha Siso Enesie Woreda” for the partial fulfillment of the *skill of researcher* in Political science, Debre-Markos University (Haddis AleJuneehu special boarding school). The data which will be provided by the participants are expected to be accurate and reliable as much as possible. It is not necessary to disclose the name of participants. Thus, it is also confirmed that the data which will be given by participants will be treated confidentially.

### **➤ FGD Guide question for individuals attacked by small arms.**

1. How do you explain the danger of SALW availability and its correlation with conflict (violence) in the study area?
2. Do you think that the possession of arms by itself motivates individuals to committee crime? Or, is there any other factor that you are familiar with?
3. How do you imagine the interest of people to possess arms? (great, medium or low)?if great, why?
4. What impacts are you faced due to small arms and light weapons proliferation/availability?
5. What were the remedies/measures that have been taken to combat illicit arms trafficking?
6. When you compare, who individual (legally registered or unregistered) arms are usually exposed for crime?

7. What do you think about the solution to tackle the illegal proliferation of SALW? Do you believe that licensing or registrations of arms are better? Or if any other option?

➤ **FGD Guide question for Keble leader, soldier and militias**

1. What do you think about the factor that contributes for the illegal trafficking of SALW?

2 As a Keble administrator and soldier, cases (crimes) are presented to the Keble first. From thus, how much of cases are related to SALW problem?

3. Do you think that the availability of SALW have a direct relationship with conflict (violence)? And in turn with human insecurity? If yes, explain? If not, why?

4. How do you explain the impacts posed by the availability of SALW in the study area?

5. What are the major sources and impacts of small arms proliferation in the study area?

6. Do you think that firearm registration and licensing system is a good idea, and could prevent gun related crimes and incidences? If so, how? If not, why not?

7. What type of measures, programmes and initiatives are going on in the local community to promote small arms control?

➤ **Key Informant Interview Guide Question for Keble and Woreda**

**Police officer**

1. What demands motivate the people for the illegal acquisition of small arms in the study area?

3. As a police officer, you are the pioneer in investigating crimes. How could you explain cases related to the misuse of SALW?

4. Do you think that there is unregistered/un licensed arms on the civilian hand? If so, why?

5. How do you explain the relationship between arms trafficking and availability of arms with human insecurity in the study area? Is there a positive relationship between them or not?

6. What impacts practically you have observed due to the accessibility of small arms?

7. What efforts have been taken so as to curb the illegal possession and trafficking of arms?

8. What should be done to control illicit arms trade and possession? Do you think that registrations of arms are better or confiscation of it?

➤ **KI Interview Guide Question for Woreda Militia officer**

1. What do you think about the factor which contributes for the illegal trafficking and possession of SALW in the study area?

2. Arms are registered in your office. Could you guess the feeling or interest of individuals, or civilians to register or unregister their arms? If people are reluctant to register their arms, what do you expect the factors?
3. As a militia officer, what measures have been taken to control the illicit possession of SALW by individuals?
4. What do you expect as a better condition and remedies to tackle the illegal trafficking and possession of SALW in the study area?

➤ **KI Interview Guide Question for Woreda and Zonal Courts**

1. How do you see and explain the factor that motivated people to possess small arms?
2. What seems to you about the relationship between availability of arms and the incidence of conflict which disturbs human security?
3. Why people need to possess and misuse small arms in the study area?
4. How far the legal mechanism is strong enough to control illegal brokering?
5. What should be done from court officials to control the problem in the area?
6. Do you think that firearm registration can address small arms problem, and how far the law monitored and implemented?

➤ **In-depth Interview Guide Question for Arm brokers**

1. How do you see the interest of people to possess small arms in the study area?

2. For what purpose it seems to you that people are requesting and interesting to possess arms?
3. Do you think that brokering of arms are the best and profitable business? If so, what makes it profitable one?
4. What challenges have you faced from the legal aspects not to do this business? Or, no challenges at all and so that you are brokering the demander and supplier freely?
5. Why people ignore registration of their arms? Do you know the reason why? Could you expect that licensing of arms are better? Or not?

➤ **In-depth Interview Guide Question for Arm Traffickers**

1. Where is the source of small arms?
2. Do you think that there is an easy access of small arms? If yes, what are the preferable conditions? If not, why?
3. In what way that you are transporting/transferring small arms from its source? Is there a special technique, tactic/method of concealment of arms?
4. Was there any law that has interrupted you to stop your business?
5. Is there a good customer/arm demander who initiates you to continue your business?

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