

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES (IPSS)

**REGULATING PROLIFERATION AND MISUSE OF SMALL ARMS IN
EASTERN GOJJAM ZONE OF AMHARA REGIONAL STATE**

By

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JUNE, 2016.
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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Acronym

AEFJN	Africa-Europe Faith & Justice Network
AMP.....	Arms Management Programme
AMP.....	Arms Management Programme
ATT	The Arms Trade Treaty
CSA.....	Central Statistical Agency
DDR.....	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
ECOWAS.....	Economic Community of West African States
EU.....	European Union
FGD.....	Focus Group Discussion
HDR	Human Development Report
IDPs.....	Internally Displaced Persons
IRIN.....	Integrated Regional Information Networks
ITI.....	International Tracing Instrument
MDGs.....	Millennium Development Goals
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU.....	Organization of African Unity
OSCE.....	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PoA	Programme of Action
RECSA	Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons

SADC.....Southern African Development Community
SALWSmall Arms and Light Weapons
SSASocial Security Administration
UNUnited Nations
UNDPUnited Nations Development Programme
UNIDIR.....United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNODA..... United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs
UNODCUnited Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNREC-----United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa

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Abstract

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons is one of the serious human security and development challenges for communities in the world whether in the time of peace or conflict/war. Despite various international, regional & sub-regional and national approaches formulated to regulate proliferation of small arms and light weapons, they have faced implementation challenges. In addition, many states still lack national legislation to regulate small arms problem.

The central objective of the study is to assess the reasons for possession and misuse of small arms and legal and institutional policies in the study area. The study was basically qualitative case study using both primary and secondary sources of data. The sampling technique was non-random sampling technique which includes convenience, snowball and purposive sampling. Accordingly, the data were collected through in-depth interview with key informants and informants as well as illegal brokers, and focus group discussion organized from elders. Document analysis was also used as a source of data.

The study has revealed that even though the exact number of small arms is unknown, the magnitude or number of small arms possessed and circulated in East Gojjam Zone is high. This has negative implication to human safety and security. According to the findings of the study, the major reasons for possession and misuse of small arms are: cultural (pride, revenge and emotional music and poetry), easy availability and brokering, security dilemma, alcohol and lack of skills to manage guns. In addition, the findings show that the legal mechanism is not enough to regulate proliferation and miss use of small arms in the study area. As central territory of the country it is expected that the government should take strong and effective measures to control small arms problem. But, in practice, there are no much concrete actions to regulate small arms problem. Therefore, adoption, sensitization and implementation of the law as well as continuous awareness raising and education to bring attitude change towards possession of small arms and some harmful cultures is required to monitor small arms in the study area.

Key Words: Regulation, Small Arms, Light Weapons, Culture

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

The proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons is a worldwide, progressively complex and multifaceted problem. Taking into account the lack of precise data a huge number of weapons are in public and private hands (Quilop, 2007). According to Small Arms Survey (2007) there are at least 875 million firearms in the world of these, 200 million or more belong to state militaries and 26 million or more to law enforcement agencies. However, the majority of global firearms, roughly two-thirds of the estimated total are in the hands of non state actors and civilians, and many more are being produced (Stohl and Hogendoorn, 2010).

The uncontrolled proliferation and stockpiling of small arms and light weapons (SALW) before, during and after violent conflicts has led to many regions being flooded with small arms with devastating consequences on individual (human), national and international security (Mogire, 2004). As a result, the large post-cold war surplus stocks increased the possibilities for transactions by arms brokers (Garcia, 2006).

According to Garcia (2006), problems associated with the spread and availability of small arms is of an eminently international nature. Small arms proliferation has been particularly devastating in Africa, where machine guns, rifles, grenades, pistols and other small arms have killed and displaced many civilian across the continent (African Council of Religious Leaders Guide (2014). These weapons have been used in deadly conflicts in Sudan, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and other African countries. So, “in Africa where over 100 million small arms exist, they not only kill the innocent; they also maim, prolong conflicts, choke development and deepen poverty “(Ibid). In short, Small arms and Light Weapons (SALW) has placed Africa an arena of warfare, insecurity conflict and destruction (Chelule, 2014).

Thus, every year several hundred thousand people are killed in violent conflict and war. In so-called peaceful societies, the number of victims of intentional violence, suicide and accidents is almost as high. In addition to this, gun violence leaves profound personal, economic and

psychological scars on victims and their families who are left with the burden of caring for the disabled, or survive without their main provider or parent (hd Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue Briefing Paper, 2003).

The sources of small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation in Africa are many and varied (Sunday , 2011).They include the manufacture and supply of new weapons both inside and outside the continent to the remnants of weapons shipped into Africa in the 1970s and 1980s by the former Soviet Union, the United States, and their allies to facilitate different interstate and intra state proxy wars. Intra-state armed conflicts, such as in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria's Niger Delta region, has also expanded the frontiers of the gun trade and circulation in Africa by creating considerable demand for these weapons of war (Sunday , 2011).

Concern about the spread and use of SALW has developed rapidly since the mid-1990s. Initially stemming from increasing international involvement in peacekeeping operations in intra-state conflicts (Rana, 1995 cited in Quilop, 2007), concerns raised have been related to SALW in a variety of situations ranging from major armed conflict to criminality (Bourne, 2007). That means the problem of the destabilizing accumulation and uncontrolled spread of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) has gained prominence on the international agenda over recent years as the serious implications of these accumulations become apparent (Stability Pact Regional Implementation Plan for South East Europe, 2001).

Consequently, since the late 1990s a range of global, regional and national initiatives on SALW have been developed. These relate to international flows of SALW (legal and illicit) and also to such issues as disarmament and weapons collection, stockpile management and security, the disposal and destruction of surplus stocks of SALW and ammunition, and so forth. At the global level the primary framework is the politically binding UN Programme of Action on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects. Additionally, there is a narrower but legally binding 'Firearms Protocol' and a politically binding international instrument on marking, tracing, and record-keeping, agreed in 2005 (Bourne, 2007).

Numerous regional responses to the spread of SALW are also contributing to the potential for control, and are mutually reinforcing with these global measures. Significant agreements are in place in the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization for Security and

Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); the European Union (EU), Stability Pact (south Eastern Europe), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and a grouping of East African states under Nairobi Protocol; and the Pacific Islands Forum (Bourne, 2007). However, regional organizations suffer from problems similar to those of Member States in implementing the program of action (PoA): often, a lack of resources and expertise hinders effective implementation (Kytömäki, 2005).

Many actions on SALW are occurring at a national level. Particular projects, such as disarmament components of post-conflict Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programmes; programmes for destruction of surplus stocks of arms and ammunition; voluntary weapons collections, gun amnesties; and particular policy processes such as reviews of export controls, brokering controls, marking and record-keeping standards, controls over civilian possession and use of firearms, and the like have occurred with a apparently increasing frequency since SALW rose on international agendas (Bourne, 2007). Anyway despite numerous international, regional and national initiatives have been formulated it faced implementation challenges.

Ethiopia is one of the country that seriously affected by SALW problem. Despite various arms control measures, the country is ranked high in terms of the ease of access to SALWs, according to Arms Management Programme ((AMP), 2008). It is estimated that in Ethiopia there are more than one million weapons illegally possessed by individuals (Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA) Workshop Report, 2006). These have caused much causality in many parts of the country.

East Gojjam Zone, which is located in Amhara Regional State and site for this study is known for its widespread availability of small arms due to cultural factors for possession of small arms. In addition, people mostly misuse small arms for various reasons. Therefore, the researcher is intends to assess the reasons for possession and misuse of small arms, rules and measures taken to minimize or avoid the negative consequences in the study area.

1.2. Problem Statement

Small arms violence affects everyone, from the individual to whole countries, regions and even the entire international community (SALW Control Training Manual for West Africa, unknown). In other words, proliferation of small arms and light weapons is adjudged as the most significant security challenge to individuals, societies, and states worldwide, fuelling civil wars, organized criminal violence and insurgency posing great obstacles to sustainable security and development (Malam, 2014). So, civilians are the principal victims of gun violence, with an estimated 200,000- 270,000 people losing their lives to gun homicide or suicide in countries ‘at peace’ each year (Lumpe, 2005). Kofi Anan cited in Mogire (2003: 5) stated regarding the small arms problem as follows;

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 of development (Anan, 2000).

Small arms afflict countries in conflict and those in peace (African Council of Religious Leaders Guide, 2014). So, there are few places left in the world where people can live unhindered by the dangers posed by armed violence (Garcia, 2004). Since small arms are simple to use, durable, and easy to conceal they are especially prone to misuse and their misuse directly and indirectly affects hundreds of thousands of people and severely undermines sustainable development around the world (Stohl and Hogendoorn, 2010). Small arms have a disproportionate, far-reaching and long-lasting impact that extends well past their immediate use in conflict. Guns and other small arms are also the weapon of choice in violent crimes (Ibid).

However, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) has in recent years become recognized as a principal element of ongoing regional instability in various parts of the world (Stability Pact Regional Implementation Plan for South East Europe, 2001). Thus, As a result, since the mid-1990s, a myriad of national, regional and international legally and politically binding documents have been designed to set standards and norms to deal with the problems associated with the spread of small arms. But, the scope and implementation of these instruments varies tremendously (Stohl and Hogendoorn, 2010).

Now, many countries have legislation designed to control the trade and possession of small arms despite there are also states which have no still now. What differs is the ability of governments to enforce these laws (Killicoat, 2006). But, states especially most African governments have failed in fighting the proliferation of small arms.

So, despite various international and regional frameworks some of which are legally binding set agendas, call for or require concrete actions, and encourage best practices in this area and faced implementation challenges as political will, capacity and training funding and equipment (Small Arms Survey, 2013). The absence of baseline information also frustrates attempts to evaluate small arms controls. Here, illegal arms traders are significant to the erosion of small arms control by virtue of their ongoing role in fuelling the widespread availability of small arms, particularly in those areas in which armed violence occurs (Rogers, 2009).

In short, small arms and light weapons are in a real sense weapons of “mass destruction”, and the scale and costs of small arms proliferation are staggering (Stability Pact Regional Implementation Plan for South East Europe, 2001). Therefore the issue of small arms and light weapons is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon touching on all levels of society and efforts to address the small arms problem require comprehensive strategies involving governments and the civil society at national and international levels (Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA) Workshop Report, 2006).

According to Stohl and Hogendoorn (2010), Horn of Africa is characterized by proliferation of small arms, particularly Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda, and all of these countries have seen long periods of unrest and internal armed conflict. Thus, Ethiopia and other Horn states ratified Nairobi Protocol for Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa , which compels signatories to dispose of confiscated and unlicensed small arms and light weapons (SALWs) (Mehari Tadele cited in Arms Management Programme (AMP), 2008).

In Ethiopia and across the Horn of Africa, small arms have been used to kill thousands of people in conflict, cattle rustling and criminal activities. Thousands more are injured, terrorized or are displaced making them Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or refugees (Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA) Workshop Report, 2006).

As a result, Ethiopia had taken various measures to control small arms and light weapons proliferation in many parts of the country. According to the Ethiopian Police, between 2003 and 2004, there were 9,531 arrests and prosecutions for illegal arms transfers and possession. In addition, Ethiopia destroyed more than 11, 700 small arms, 3 000 hand grenades and 170 000 rounds of assorted types of ammunition in 2006 and 2007 (Muggah and Bennett, 2009). These arms and ammunition had either been confiscated by the police or had been voluntarily surrendered in Arms Management Programme (AMP), 2008). Despite these and other efforts employed, crime statistics show that small arms are the preferred instruments of violence in robberies, homicide and incomplete or inchoate offences in many parts of the Country.

East Gojjam Zone is one part of Ethiopia by which proliferation and miss use of small arms is going to be serious problem. It is often assumed that there is a relationship between small arms proliferation, their misuse, and levels of armed criminality. That means, the proliferation SALW is said to be partly responsible for the rise in criminal acts (Mogire, 2004). In confirm with this argument the area has been characterized by different criminal activities in relation to small arms. As a result, many people have been killed, injured and displaced in every year. For instance, according to the zone police office, more than 60 peoples were killed and 9 injured in 2007. In average between 40- 60 peoples have been killed every year. This does not include peoples that killed in relation to other crimes. In addition, many people have also been injured and displaced from their community to other parts of Ethiopia.

However, regardless of the magnitude of the consequences of SALW in the country, significant researches were not conducted that could explore the basic reasons for possession and misuse of small arms in detail and propose policy level solutions. Mekkonen (2011) conducted a research titled 'the challenges in the governance of small arms circulation and its effect on the security of Addiss Ababa'. Haneta (2011) did another research and assessed the effects of SALW circulation in Eastern parts of Ethiopia, particularly in Afar. In addition, Molla (2013) assessed the management and controlling system of SALW (focusing on registration and licensing of small arms) of Amhara Regional State. Generally speaking, all researchers mainly focused on effects of proliferation of SALW, challenges of governing SALW and sources and to some extent factors for SALW proliferation. However, researchers did not give emphasis for the reason why people want to possess and misuse small arms, magnitude of small arms and capacity of the law

to regulate proliferation and misuse of SALW. Moreover, despite the magnitude of small arms problem in East Gojjam, no research was conducted in relation to small arms.

Hence, the purpose of this research is to fill the gap by investigating why people want to possess and misuse small arms in East Gojjam Zone. It also explores the magnitude of possession of small arms in East Gojjam Zone. The efficiency of rules and legislations and measures taken in controlling proliferation and misuse of small arms in East Gojjam Zone is also analyzed. Moreover, the major efforts and measures taken by the government to regulate proliferation of small arms were also assessed.

1.3. Research Questions

The study is attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the Magnitude of small arms in East Gojjam Zone?
2. Why People possess and Misuse small arms in East Gojjam Zone?
3. How does the law address the threat of proliferation and misuse of small arms in East Gojjam Zone?
4. What have been done to put an end of proliferation and misuse of small arms in East Gojjam Zone?

1.4. Objectives of the study

The study has both general and specific objectives.

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the reasons for small arms possession and misuse, and rules and regulations implemented in East Gojjam Zone.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

1. To describe the magnitude of small arms in Eastern Gojjam Zone.
2. To identify the major reasons for small arms possession and misuse in East Gojjam Zone.
3. To analyze to what extent small arms proliferation and misuse has been regulated in East Gojjam Zone.

1.5. Significance of the study

The study helps to make the problem public by describing the reasons for possession and misuse as well as magnitude of small arms in the study area. In addition, the study provides empirical data to the ongoing debate of possession of guns and in turn will help to contextualize the concepts in the area of the study. Moreover, the study contributes new insights that enable policy makers to strengthen rules and regulations in managing SALW possession and misuse in the study area.

1.6. Study Site

Gojjam originally goazzam, was a kingdom with its capital city ,Debre markos, surrounded by Abay River. The name Gojjam was given to the inhabitants due to their resistance in accepting the doctrine of the Alexandrian Church in the past, keeping their own version of the ancient testament (Muse Tegegne, 1993 as cited in Abebaw, 2002). It was in the reign of Emperor Amdä Seyon that the political authority of the Solomonic state was established in Gojjam (Taddese Tamrat, 1977 as cited in Abebaw, 2002). Gojjam then became a power base for a series of warlords at least as late as *Ras Tekle Haymanot*, who was deposed in 1932 (Donham and James, 2002).

During the Italian occupation, Gojjam had many bandits whose leaders included Belay Zeleke, Mengesha Gembere, Negash Bezabeh and Hailu Belew. These resistance fighters, known as *arbegnoch* (or "Patriots"), limited the Italians to only the immediate areas around heavily fortified towns like Debre Markos (Gebru, 1996).

With the adoption of the new FDRE constitution, Gojjam is divided into West and East Zones of the Amhara Regional State. According to Abebaw (2002), following its incorporation to the

medieval Christian Kingdom in the early thirteenth century East Gojjam was transformed from a predominantly Agäw inhabited region to a Christian Amhara region.

The Çoqué Mountains that have an altitude of about 4000 meters above sea level mark the center of East Gojjam. From the peak of the Çoqué Mountains the altitude declines in every direction reaching the lowest point of 1500 meters above sea level in the Abbay gorge. The Çoqué Mountains form the watershed of the region. Having an altitude, which ranges from 1500 to 4000 meters above sea level, the region has different climatic zones as Dega, Woyna Dega and Qolla. The fertile black soils of the area produce *téff*, *nug*, *dagusa*, maize and wheat for which the area is known (Abebaw, 2002).

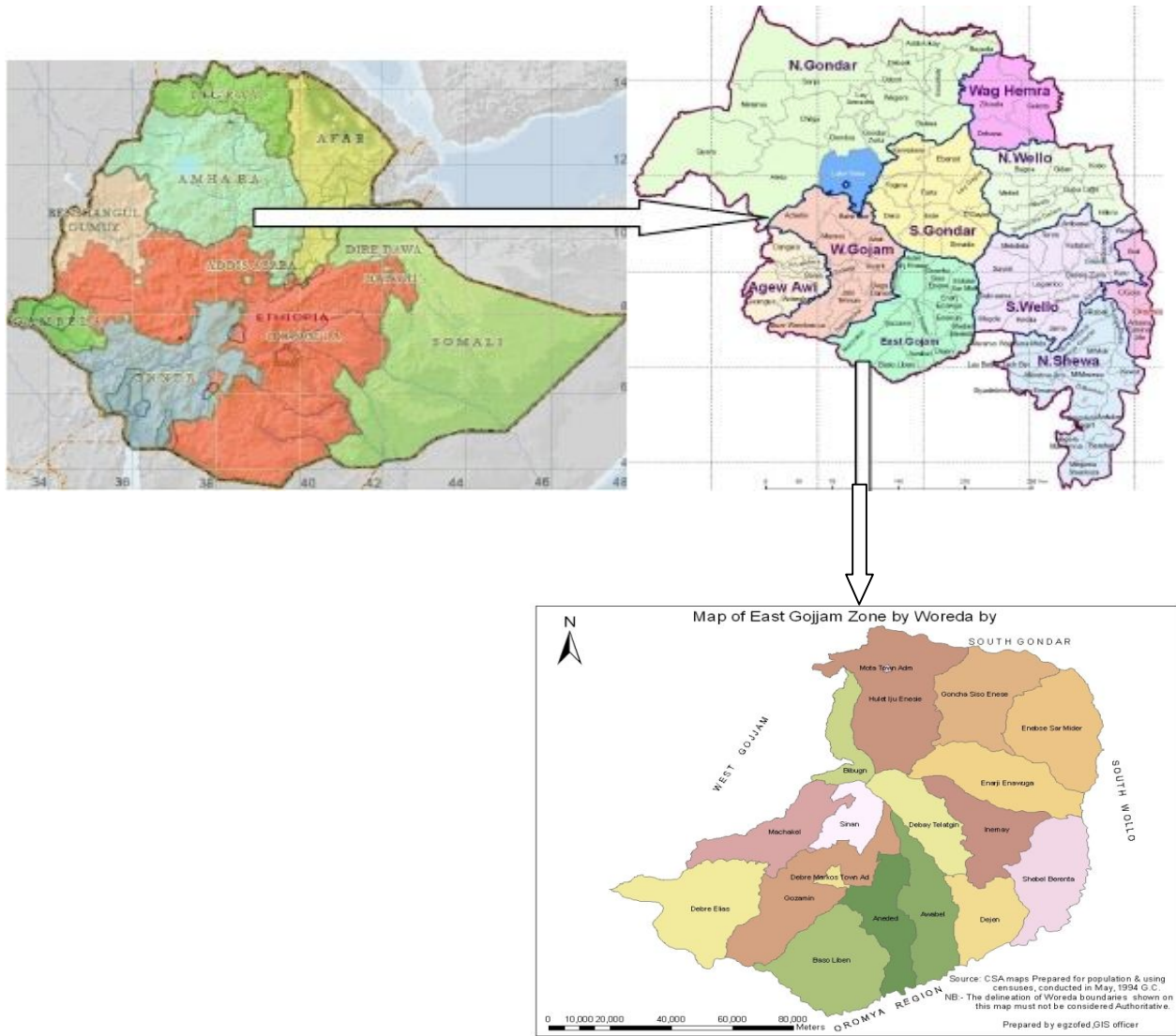
The area lies at 10o 20' North latitude and 37o 43' East longitudes, and at an altitude range of 500-4154 m.a.s.l. The annual rainfall of the area ranges from 900-1800mm and mean minimum and maximum temperature of 7.5 OC and 25 OC, respectively. Mixed crop-livestock production system is a common agricultural practice in the area (Central Statistical Authority /CSA/, 2012).

East Gojjam Zone is one of the Administrative Zones in the Amhara Regional State. The area is boarded with South Wollo, Wollega, West Gojjam and South Gonder. East Gojjam Zone Communication Office sated the Zone consists of 16 woredas and four administrative cities (Debre Markos, Mota, Bichena and Dejen). Here, Debre Markos is the capital city of the zone. The names of Woredas are: 2 Eju Enese, Goncha Siso Enese, Enebse Sar Mider, Enarge Enawga, Enemay, Shebel Berenta, Debay Tilategen, Dejen Zuria, Awabel, Aneded, Baso Liben, Gozamen, Senan, Bibugn, Machakel and Debre Elyas.

According to the 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), this Zone has a total population of 2, 153, 937 of whom 1,066,716 are men and 1,087,221 women; with an area of 14,004.47 square kilometers. East Gojjam has a population density of 153.80 per kilometer. A total of 506,520 households were counted in this Zone, which results in an average of 4.25 persons to a household, and 492,486 housing units. The largest ethnic group reported in East Gojjam was the Amhara (99.82%); all other ethnic groups made up 0.12% of the population. Amharic is spoken as a first language by 99.81%; the remaining 0.19% spoke all

other primary languages reported. 97.42% of the population said they practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, and 2.49% were Muslim.

Figure 1.1. Geographical Map of the Study Area



Source: Compiled From Google Maps and ANRS BOFED GIS Department, 2015

1.7. Scope of the study

The study is limited to East Gojjam Zone as case study. This is because as described above proliferation of small arms is very significant in the study area. Hence, focusing in the area can help to fill the gaps in the research areas. Second, though small arms are a major phenomenon in the country, it was very difficult to consider other case studies in the very limited period of time. Third, the researchers' better access to data in the study site has also encouraged doing the research in the study area.

1.8. Research methodology

1.8.1. Research Design

The researcher employed a qualitative research approach with case study research design. According to Hancock (2002), qualitative research is best to express social phenomenon. It is effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular population. That is to say, it aims to help us to understand the world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It is concerned with the social aspects of our world and seeks to answer questions about: Why people behave the way they do, how opinions and attitudes are formed, how people are affected by the events that go on around them, how and why cultures have developed in the way they have and the differences between social groups (Hancock 2002), . Here, semi quantitative method is also used to analyze numerical data which is found from documents.

Bhattacharjee (2012) stated that case research is an in-depth investigation of a problem in one or more real-life settings (case sites) over a period of time. Data may be collected using a combination of interviews, personal observations, and internal or external documents. Furthermore, Bhattacharjee (2012) stated the strength of this research method is its ability to discover a wide variety of social, cultural, and political factors potentially related to the phenomenon of interest that may not be known in advance. Analysis tends to be qualitative in nature, but heavily contextualized and nuanced. Thus, more or less descriptive case study research is used with the supplement of explanatory method to conduct the study. Descriptive research also examines the what, where, and when of a phenomenon (ibid).

1.8.2. Sample and Sampling Technique

The researcher has employed non-probability sampling technique which includes purposeful, convenience and Snowball sampling methods.

1.8.2.1 Purposeful Sampling

So, the researcher employed purposive sampling technique to select samples that means, the researcher purposefully selected key informants from the Zone Militia Office (two), Zone Police Office (three), Debre Markos Police office (one), Zonal High court (two) and Debre Markos University school of Law (two). Totally, 10 key informants were participated in the study. The researcher also selected Seven Woredas (Enebse Sar Mider, Goncha Siso Enese, Shebel Berenta, Debay Tilategen, Baso Liben, Gozamen and Bibugn) and one administrative city (Debre Markos) which are assumed to face more SALW problem in the Zone. This is because purposeful sampling method is useful if a researcher wants to study a small subset of a larger population in which many members of the subset are easily identified but the enumeration of all is nearly impossible, and expected to provide reliable and sufficient evidence for the study (Babbie, 1990).

1.8.2.2 Convenience sampling

Civilians selected for interview with convenience method from some purposefully selected Woredas. As a result, 3 civilians from each woreda and 3 civilians from Debre Markos City, totally 24 informants were selected through convenience technique.

This is because convenience sampling helps to include participants who are readily available and agree to participate in a study and convenience sampling is often called accidental sampling (Nealy and Sue, 1999). It is difficult to use other techniques of non-probability sampling such as purposeful sampling to select civilians since the researcher is not well aware about who could give sufficient and reliable data. In addition, since the issue is somewhat sensitive in the study area mostly civilians were not willing to give data. So, the researcher used convenience sampling technique to select participants who are volunteer and convenient to the researcher.

1.8.2.3 Snowball Sampling

The researcher has selected 3 brokers selected by using snow ball sampling technique which is very important to get members of a population that cannot be located easily by other methods. This is because snowballing is sometimes the best way to locate participants with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study. Snowball samples are particularly popular among researchers interested in studying various classes of deviance, sensitive topics, or difficult to reach populations (Pearson, 2010). The basic strategy of snowballing involves: first identifying several people with relevant characteristics and interviewing them or having them answer a questionnaire. These subjects are then asked for the names of other people who possess the same attributes as they do (Berg, 2001).

1.8.3. Data Collection Instruments

The researcher has used both primary and secondary sources. To collect primary data key and informant interview, Focus Group Discussion and document analysis were employed. Books, journals, articles, reports and other sources are also used to collect secondary data.

1.8.3.1 Interview

The interview method of data collection instrument involves oral stimuli and response. So, semi-structured interview method is used. This is because; semi- structured interview gives a chance for both the researcher and respondents to freely discuss the issue without restriction. Hence, 10 key informants and 27 informants were participated in the study.

1.8.3.2 Focus Group Discussion

Six community elders from Debre Markos City were selected for Focus Group Discussion for two main reasons. First, the elders can discuss and describe aspects of their attitudes, beliefs and culture of using small arms in the study site. Second, as Debre Markos a center of the Zone, to select elders in Debre Markos helped to get elders who can fairly know the problems of small arms in the study Woredas.

1.8.3.3 Document Analysis

In addition, secondary data has been collected from books, articles, Journals, reports, thesis papers. Militia and police office reports, cases presented to East Gojjam High Court were also assessed.

1.8.4. Data analysis and Interpretation

Once the data was collected, it was analyzed using content based analysis. This include a descriptive approach of data presentation, categorization, description and triangulation methods of interpret data qualitatively.

1.9. Ethical consideration

The researcher has gives due emphasis for the personality and dignity of the respondents of the study since the issue is very sensitive in the study area. To respect the safety of the participants, the researcher keeps names confidential and no name is disclosed. The major challenge was the unwillingness of participants for interview especially illegal brokers. But, by creating good relation between the researcher and the participants and telling the objective of the study for an academic purposes the challenge has been addressed.

1.10. Operational Definitions

Culture: the customs, lifestyles, beliefs, values, behavior and material objects that characterize a particular society or nation (Oxford Dictionary).

Revenge: Any form of personal retaliatory action against an individual or group for some perceived harm or injustice (Oxford Dictionary).

Misuse: the act of using a material in an improper or a wrong way.

Proliferation: an increase in the spread or circulation of something e.g small arms

Regulation: to control or direct something e.g small arms

Small Arms: are small arms designed to be used and managed by one person such as revolvers, self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine-guns. These are very common and dominant in the study area.

Light Weapons: are weapons, or heavy machine guns and small explosive devices that used by two or more people.

Illicit Trafficking of Arms: is international trade in conventional arms which is contrary to state and international law.

1.11. Organization of the study

The study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter is concerning about introduction and research methodology. The second chapter consists of review of related literatures. The third chapter deals with SALW in Ethiopia. Whereas the forth chapter is about data presentation, analysis and findings of study. Finally, the fifth chapter deals with summary, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

2.1 The concept of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs)

There is no universally accepted definition of Small Arms and Light Weapons. As Maj (1994) explained this is because the understanding of what constitutes these categories of weapons has undergone some changes due to the dynamics of technological development. However, good working definitions are available. These tend to describe such arms and weapons either by their configuration, characteristics, size, user perspective or a combination of some of these (Maj, 1994)

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are too similar, yet distinct, categories of weapons (Chelule, 2014). Although small arms and light weapons are distinct categories of 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 may vary slightly from the definition stated above (UNDP, 2008).

Small arms and light weapons defined as any portable lethal weapon that expels or launches, designed to expel or launch, or may be readily converted to expel or launch a shot, bullet or projectile by the action of an explosive (Heinrich, 2006: 2). In addition, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research highlighted small arms and light weapons to include: revolvers and self-loading pistols; rifles and carbines; sub-machine-guns; assault rifles; light machine-gun; heavy machine-guns; hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers; portable anti-craft guns; portable anti-tank guns; recoilless rifles; portable launchers of antitank missiles and rockets system; portable launchers of anti-aircraft missiles systems; and mortars of calibers less than 100mm(Swadesh,2006: Sunday , 2011).

According to ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons (2006:3) - the West African sub-regional instrument to regulate small arms and light weapons can be defined as; **Small Arms:** Arms destined for personal use and which include: firearms and other destructive

arms or devices such as an exploding bomb, an incendiary bomb or a gas bomb, a grenade, a rocket launcher, a missile, a missile system or a mine.

Light Weapons: are portable arms designed to be used by several people in a team: such as;1) heavy machine guns; 2) portable grenade launchers, mobile or mounted; 3) portable anti-aircraft cannons; 4) portable antitank cannons, non-recoil guns; 5) portable anti-tank missile launchers or rocket launchers; 6) portable anti-aircraft missile launchers; 7) mortars with a caliber of less than 100 millimeters.

In general, according to Chelule, (2014: 80), small arms are weapons designed for individual use such as pistols, rifles and light machine guns, and light weapons, on the other hand, are weapons designed for use by two or three people as a crew. Therefore, this is the most preferable definition.

2.2 Characteristics and Nature of SALW

When compared to other major weapon systems, small arms and light weapons are relatively cheap, easily accessible, simple to operate, portable and easy to repair or replace. In addition, they are easy to acquired and be used in conflicts by state and non state actors. Above all they are highly lethal (Sunday, 2011). Although they are used for legitimate national defense and security needs, they are also used by rebels, irregular armed groups, terrorist and criminal gangs.

According to African Council of Religious Leaders Guide (2014: 5-6), SALW can be characterized by the following features:

Low cost and wide availability: Small arms are relatively low-tech tools of war, and due to state-driven demand, there are well over 600 suppliers around the world. With more than 550 million in circulations—whether newly produced, liquidated by downsizing militaries or circulated from conflict to conflict— small arms are inexpensive and easily diffused.

Increasing lethality: the increasing availability of rapid-fire military assault rifles, automatic pistols and submachine guns and their distribution to non-state actors have given such actors a firepower that often exceeds that of police or military forces. The adoption of newly available

technology into shoulder-fired rockets, mortars and light antitank weapons has magnified the presence of warring factions in civil conflicts.

Simplicity and durability: Small arms are easy to maintain, require little support and may last several decades. They require almost no training to use effectively, greatly increasing their use in conflicts involving informal militias and children.

Portability: the flow of small arms is extremely difficult to track or monitor. Small arms and light weapons can be carried by a single soldier or light vehicle, are easily shipped or smuggled to areas of conflict and can be effectively cached in legitimate cargo, warehouses or the outdoors, often in the harshest of climates.

Military, police and civilian uses: unlike major conventional weapons, small arms and light weapons cross the dividing line separating military and police forces from the civilian population. In many countries, there has been a dramatic increase in the number and size of private militias and security firms that, in many cases, are equipped with military-type weapons.

In short, according to Philip (2013), (SALW) are “widely available, very cheap, deadly, easy to use and easy to transport and smuggle, unlike heavy conventional arms, such as artillery pieces and tanks, which are typically acquired by government forces, police, soldiers and civil populations”. That is why small arms have been used as preferable instruments to commit crime in the world including the study area.

2.3. The Sources and Factors to SALW

Africa-Europe Faith & Justice Network (2013) stated that both legal and illegal small arms trafficking become a big business. Small arms are supplied by companies and traders to states and rebel groups all over the world, and in turn this trade benefits producers, exporters and dealers but causes great suffering especially for the people of Africa. As Africa-Europe Faith & Justice Network further stated today, most conflicts are fuelled by illicit arms. More than 1,000 companies from nearly 100 countries produce small arms and feed them to states, armed groups and individuals. The annual authorized trade exceeds 6 billion US dollars. The illegal trade, though very difficult to assess, is worth about 1 billion USD a year (AEFJN), 2013).

The sources of small arms and light weapons (SALW) proliferation in Africa are many and varied. They include the manufacture and supply of new weapons both inside and outside the continent to the remnants of weapons shipped into Africa in the 1970s and 1980s by the former Soviet Union, the United States, and their allies to facilitate different interstate and intra-state proxy wars. Intra-state armed conflicts, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria's Niger Delta region, has however expanded the frontiers of the gun trade in Africa by creating considerable demand for these weapons of war (Sunday , 2011).

According to the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (2006), more than 640 million small arms and light weapons are expected to be circulated in the world, the majority is under civilian control. Small Arms Survey (2003) estimates that there are fewer than 30 million firearms in sub-Saharan Africa. While comparably a relatively small number (Europe is thought to have roughly 84 million and the US is thought to have nearly 300 million), these weapons have had a disproportionate effect on the continent. According to the Small Arms Survey, at least 38 companies currently produce small arms in sub-Saharan Africa, with the largest production facilities located in more developed nations, such as South Africa. However, domestic manufacturing fails to satiate domestic demand. Thus, African countries rely on the thriving international small arms market to meet their needs. In 2006, the US alone transferred over US\$8.5 million worth of small arms into African countries (Stohl and Tuttle, 2009).

A lack of transparency in the international small arms trade makes it impossible to quantify the value and sources of small arms sold to Africa accurately – but China, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United Kingdom and the US are known as the major legal sources of African weaponry. However, the illicit trade is quite active in Africa, and anecdotal accounts now suggest that Russia has supplanted China as the main supplier of small arms to African arms dealers. Craft production – the small-scale, manual production of crude weapons – has also proven to be a significant source of illicit weaponry in Africa. Unregulated brokers have also been blamed for providing weapons for some of Africa's bloodiest conflicts, in Sierra Leone, Uganda, Congo and Sudan (ibid).

As opposed to heavy conventional weapons like battle tanks, armored vehicles, artillery, warships, combat aircraft and helicopters, various characteristics/features make small arms and light weapons very attractive for government forces and civilians. (Ngang, 2007). Apart from the

fact that many governments increased their demand for SALW to counter political insurgency and suppress domestic opposition movements especially with the advent of multi-party politics across Social Security Administration (SSA) in the late 80s and the 90s, a number of different factors account for their 'high desirability', especially in Africa (Ngang, 2007). In short, Ngang stated the following major factors for SALW proliferation: simplicity and durability; low costs and wide availability; portability and easiness to conceal; porous borders; ineffectiveness to guarantee internal security; corruption and low income and customs and traditions.

Therefore, the source of proliferation of small arms is varied and many. For instance, in the Horn of Africa illegal brokering from illegal market, stealing selling of small arms by police, the occurrence of conflict areas such as Somalia and South Sudan and others are the major sources. Hence, demand factors (culture, violence, self defense etc) take the greatest share in the Horn of Africa.

2.3.1 Demand and Supply Related Factors

2.3.1.1 Demand Related Factors

Demand is a function of motivations and means. While small arms demand is ultimately expressed at the individual level – an individual person actually acquires a firearm even if on behalf or at the direction of others – the motivation for acquisition is at least partly 'socially constructed and embedded in various social practices and cultural forms'. They indicate that motivations include the factors influencing individual and group preferences for weapons and that means includes the resources required to obtain them (Jurgen & Muggah , 2006).

Thus, the increasing incidence of intra-state conflict and political violence in many parts of Africa has created high levels of demand for small arms from both state and non-state actors. For instance, Conflicts over political participation and/or conflicts over political identity were the most common forms of intra-state conflict in South Africa, Angola and Rwanda. All three countries have also experienced intra-state conflicts associated with termination of war and post-war reconciliation. The demand for small arms in countries such as South Africa has also been influenced by the high levels of crime and violence, which in turn are supported by the easy availability of small arms from both internal and external sources (Batchelor, Unknown).

In general, a focus on the demand for SALW fits well within the context of armed violence and development as many of the factors relating to demand for weapons, such as a lack of human security, education or access to employment relate to both social and economic development. It also relates to more traditional security issues affecting developing countries such as ethnic tensions and local and regional instability. However, while factors contributing to demand can be addressed within development programming, it does not fit easily within the international legal context through which disarmament is traditionally addressed.

2.3.1.2 Supply Related Factors

The issue of arms proliferation and supply of SALW in the world and especially Africa has been the concern of scholars. The major source of proliferation remains the stockpiles that were pumped into Africa in the 1970s and 1980s by the Soviet Union, the United States of America and their allies to fan proxy interstate wars (Nna, Johnson, Gbara & Friday, 2012). Arms spread in Africa are possible through supplies from countries that are engaged in conflicts or full-blown war. Brauer (2013) asserts that for instance, there is widespread availability, proliferation and rampant misuse by abusive state and non-state actors of small arms in West Africa.

Brauer (2013) also claimed the spread of arms in Sudan for example, is made possible through various sources like government, military, distributors, terrorists, multinational corporations, smugglers and covert government agencies engaged in secret transfer. Brauer (2013) also claimed that direct sales from small arms and light weapons manufacturers' is also the other major source of supply in which such sales are mostly managed by nation states. For instance, the U.S. departments licensed over \$470 million of light military weapons for exports. Cold war era surplus stock is another source of light weapons supply (ibid).

The annual authorized international trade was responsible for the transfer of at least 4.6 million firearms. International trade represents only a proportion of all firearms bought and sold in the world; the rest of demand is met by production and trade entirely within a single country (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2015).

Several countries have large-scale industries, which primarily produce for domestic clients and are not significantly engaged in exporting. While the overall scale of illicit trade remains unclear. Illicit trade is often divided into “black” and “grey” transactions (Jones, 2014). The former involve illicit activities in all aspects of the transaction, while the latter involve some elements of an authorized transfer while other aspects may be illicit, for example if a transfer were authorized by either the importer or exporter but not both United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2015).

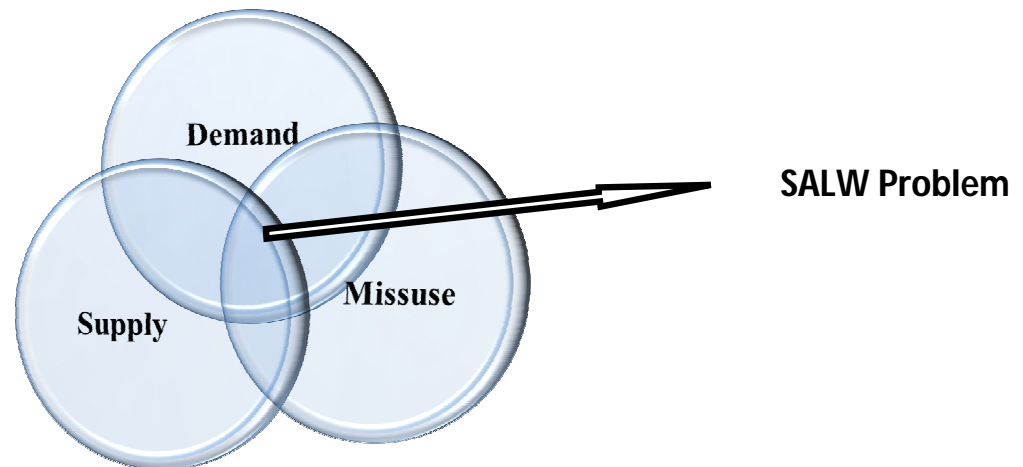
Thus, supply push factors also contributed a lot for the proliferation and miss use of SALW. SALW has been supplied to various parts of the world in different ways. First, the Cold War allowed for the stocking of arms beyond realistic requirements, even in the maximalist context of scenarios of the time. Most western countries immediately engaged in world-wide surplus sales as well as donations initiating in this way a process which has been labeled “cascading” towards the lower end of the international hierarchy (Lock, 1999).

Second, since for the time being the respective governments neither have the inclination nor the resources to destroy the vast surplus stocks, black marketer continue to benefit from this lucrative playing field where the wars globally in demand can easily be secured. Small arms have a low visibility which facilitates concealed logistics. Therefore, they are more difficult to police than major weapons. As mass produced commodities their source is often difficult to trace (Ibid).

For instance, a flood of small arms has poured into the continent of Africa as a result of the increasing demand from both state and non state actors in many African countries. While it is extremely difficult to estimate the extent of the supply, it has become highly lucrative for arms suppliers and dealers. Transport companies, especially air cargo and shipping companies, have also benefited enormously in many parts of Africa. The highly competitive nature of the international arms market, as a result of the surplus, together with the large black market for small arms, has kept prices at very low levels. This has allowed (relatively) poor African governments and non state actors to purchase large quantities of small arms from official and unofficial external sources. As a result, the supply of small arms, from both internal and external sources, to the conflicts in Africa has contributed to the proliferation of small arms in these countries and their respective regions like South Africa, Angola and Rwanda and others.

To conclude, SALW Control Training Manual for West Africa described, there are three inter-related dimensions of the small arms issue: supply, demand, and Misuse as shown in the figure. As shown in the above figure, the three dimensions are very interrelated issues including the study area.

Figure 2. 1: Three Dimensions of SALW



2.4. The Magnitude of SALW

According to small arms survey (2007), small arms ownership by civilian, law enforcement and military in the world is estimated about 875 million. It is also expected that except USA the ratio is one gun per every seven person and the magnitude drops to one small arm for every ten people in some other states. Civilian ownership of small arms can be ranged from 88.8 guns per 100 people in USA to one small arm or less for every hundred people in countries as Japan (0.6 per 100 people) (small arms survey, 2007). In addition about twelve billion bullets are produced each year; nearly two bullets for every person in the world. But, still it is estimation due to lack of accurate data (Oxfam, 2007).

It is estimated that state militaries hold approximately 200 million firearms (small arms survey, 2007). This can be due to security factor or lack of sufficient data of states in their stockpiles. Furthermore, there is no standard reporting mechanism for official military small arms holdings (small arms survey, 2013).

It is also estimated that there are 25 million firearms owned by law enforcement bodies. But like that of military stockpiles, few law enforcement bodies provide clear figures on their inventories. So the expert has no choice but to estimate (small arms survey, 2012). Six hundred fifty million guns out of the 875 million are possessed by civilians (small arms survey, 2007) that outnumber military firearms by over three to one (small arms survey, 2013). There are a little ways that could help to get data about civilian ownership of small arms, for instance, examining official registration records is one. But, laws of small arms possession vary from country to country, here some states don't require civilian to register their arms/guns. Furthermore, gun registration is a way by which gun has been legally, thus only depending on this method discounts all the illegal guns in proliferation and circulation. According to the Small Arms Survey, around 79 million civilian firearms are known to be registered with authorities (small arms survey, 2007).

Hence, the most common figures on gun ownership often are personal estimates by knowledgeable observers. Slightly worryingly however, is that estimates can differ (small arms survey, 2011). Therefore, since there is no clear data regarding the number of small arms possessed by civilian's estimation can be taken with detail observation.

2.5. Consequences of SALW

According to estimates half a million people are killed by small arms and light weapons each year that means 300,000 people are killed in conflict areas and a further 200,000 are killed in gun violence in non-war-torn countries(Stohl and Hogendoorn, 2010). The cost of small arms misuse to victims includes both the direct and indirect impact of gun violence. Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) ,2004)) also figures that, each year, about 500,000 people die from guns, of whom 200,000 are in countries at peace. Over the last 10 years, the use of small arms has killed thousands of people in the Great Lakes. Small arms and light weapons (SALW) also played a leading role in the 1994 genocide that killed a million people in Rwanda (Africa Peace Forum, 2006).

The direct impacts of small arms misuse include fatal and nonfatal injury, cost of treating those injuries and the cost of long-term disability (Africa Peace Forum, 2006). Small arms violence can also lead to internal and external. Gun violence can also cause government spending and assistance to be diverted to security issues rather than development projects. It may

also increase individuals' spending on security and cause them to alter their lifestyles in areas with high violence (Ibid).

2.5.1 SALW and Human Safety & Security

Today, small arms and light weapons (SALW) are a serious menace to human safety and security. With their easy availability, ease of use and longevity, the proliferation, circulation and misuse of these weapons has greatly contributed to the aggravation of armed violence, not only in times of violent conflict but also in peace time (Yoneda,2014).

Thus, currently growing attention has been given for the direct relation between SALW and its humanitarian consequences of availability of small arms. Challenges to a strict arms control approach and a focus limited to the illegal trade in small arms and light weapons are gaining ground. By focusing on the impacts – and the solutions required to alleviate suffering – human security approaches provide a framework for both understanding and action (hd Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue Briefing Paper, 2003).

The most immediate and traumatic effect of small arms violence is the loss of life (hd Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2004). Small arms do not cause violence by themselves rather the uncontrolled availability and circulation further encourages small arms misuse. Furthermore, hd Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2004) indicated “weapons availability can increase the intensity and prolong the duration of violence, undermining the rule of law, reconciliation after conflict, social cohesion and trust. The economic effects are also significant, ranging from the direct costs to the health care system to the loss of economic opportunities and investments”. In short, widespread arms availability is a barrier to human development (hd Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2004).

In short, regarding the impacts of SALW on human security, OAU report (2000) stated as;

The proliferation and illicit trade in small arms and light weapons have adverse effects on human security, in particular on women, children and other vulnerable groups, and on infrastructure. Furthermore, the misuse of arms promotes a culture of violence and destabilizes societies by creating a propitious environment for criminal and contraband activities ... Violence caused by small arms undermines good governance, jeopardizes fundamental human rights, and hinders economic development. It exacerbates armed conflicts, the displacement

of innocent populations and threatens international humanitarian law (OAU, 2000).

Generally, according to UNODA (2013), SALW have the following major negative humanitarian impacts: Exacerbating conflict, hindering peacekeeping and peace building; violating international humanitarian law and human rights law; displacement of people; denying development; impact on health; fuelling crime, organized crime and terrorism use of firearms in homicides—firearms as a tool of violence; impact on children and others.

2.5.2 SALW and Conflict & Crime

There is a complex link between SALW and violent conflict. Kusa (2006) claimed that today mostly conflicts occur within states instead of between states national borders. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, intrastate conflicts has been increased which are more visible in Africa due to the level of poverty and weak democratic institutions as a result of the long period of military rule in most of these countries (Ibid). Economic disintegration, political upheaval and competition for scarce resources according to Oluyemi, has opened a Pandora's cited in (Nna et al., 2012) box long-suppressed ethnic, religious and regional tensions that have erupted into violent conflict. Countries like Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire have suffered greatly from widespread and intense internal conflicts (Nna et al, , 2012).

Many factors determine both the start and the resolution of wars. Although opinions differ on exactly how, the availability of arms is generally considered a significant factor that influences the development of violent conflicts. The proliferation of arms is therefore a major issue in the debate on conflict prevention and resolution (Wezeman, 2003).

According to Wezeman (2003), in fact, there are different assumptions. The first assumption is that the availability of arms, and therefore the supply of arms, triggers the escalation of conflict into violent conflict. This assumption drives the small arms debate in which, for example, the estimated 639 million small arms and light weapons in existence are often considered a scourge that fuels conflicts. Contradicting this belief is the assumption that weapons are legitimate, efficient instruments for maintaining security, for self-defense and for use in peacekeeping operations and therefore can be instruments for conflict resolution. This assumption has received

considerably little attention in the current small arms debate, but it is still the major argument used against policies to further restrain the proliferation of arms, including small arms (ibid).

Anyway, small arms play a prominent role in all present-day conflicts, resulting in thousands of deaths and the displacement of millions of people; the proliferation of illicit SALW threatens to disrupt peace building and development efforts (Nna & et al, , 2012). That is why the illicit trade of small arms and light weapons concern of the world community comes from the recognition that illicit SALW have a major adverse humanitarian impact that cannot be ignored.

From conflict to crime, from acts of terrorism to the innumerable acts of violent repression by states, the use and misuse of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) is the common ingredient. For example, one statistic indicates that in 90 per cent of conflicts since 1990, SALW have been the primary weapons used in fighting, and have contributed to the increased proportion (between 30 and 90 per cent) of civilian deaths in those conflicts (Bourne, 2007).

As conflicts within nation-states proliferate, the flood of small arms becomes a relentless torrent. Their easy availability in an international environment that tolerates violence leads to waves of human suffering and deaths too numerous to count with precision. We think that 15 million innocent civilians have lost their lives in the intrastate mayhem of the world since 1991. Millions more have been maimed. About 12 million have lost their homes and become refugees or internally displaced persons (Garcia, 2006).

Thus, the widespread availability of small arms has a profound effect on violence in all its forms. In countless conflicts throughout the world, millions of lives have been shattered as the direct or indirect result of armed violence. The unrestricted availability of small arms fuels suffering, exacerbates massive violations of human rights, and hinders development and the provision of good governance (ibid).

As a result, SALW proliferation also exacerbates gun crimes. According to International Action Network on Small Arms (2007), even levels of small arms violence in countries at 'peace' can be as high as, or even higher than levels in war zones. For example, total gun deaths in the city of Rio de Janeiro between 1997 & 2000 exceeded conflict deaths in war zones such as Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Uganda during the same period. Therefore, the creation of national and international norms regulating the wide availability of small arms and light weapons with

effective implementation is crucial to control the bloodshed, reducing violence and providing the means for more sustainable post-conflict reconstruction.

2.6. Approaches to Control SALW

Small arms became an issue in the 1990s when civil society actors, the UN, and some governments described them as a threat to human security. A number of regional and voluntary agreements were reached in the 1990s. Pro-governance forces then mobilized to promote binding international regulation (Avant, 2013). Thus, in 1990s and 2000s a number of multilateral political and legal agreements on SALW control were produced (Sears, 2012).

2.6.1 United Nations

The United Nations is involved very heavily in the effort to reduce the proliferation of SALW and their detrimental effects. The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) is the leading UN department that coordinates these efforts, with 21 UN departments and agencies working on different aspects of the issue (Sears, 2012).

The main agreements regarding SALW control include:

- The Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition (Firearms Protocol)
- The program action to prevent and eradicate small arms and Light weapons (Programme of Action or PoA)
- The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)
- The international instrument to identify and trace, Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (International Tracing Instrument or ITI).

2.6.1.1 Firearm Protocol

In 2001 UN Firearms Protocol to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was formulated. This legally binding instrument focuses on illicit manufacture and trafficking of firearms by criminal organizations but ignores state-to-state transfers. Even most EU member states as well as USA have neither signed nor ratified it.

The Firearms Protocol seeks to address the harmful effects of illicit manufacture and trafficking in firearms. The purpose of the Protocol is to promote, facilitate as well as strengthen cooperation among States Parties in order to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, their parts and components and ammunition (UN General Assembly, 2001, art. 2). Its control measures and normative provisions cover numerous aspects of the small arms issue, but it does not apply to state-to-state transactions or to state transfers where the application of the Protocol would prejudice a state party's right 'to take action in the interest of national security consistent with the Charter of the United Nations' (Article 4).

According to the protocol, at the heart of the Firearms Protocol is the need to control the cross-border circulation of small arms, and criminalize activities that do not conform to the Protocol's requirements. The instrument provides for a comprehensive system to control the manufacture, import, export, and transit of firearms and related items. The central premise holds that strong controls allow increased transparency and enhance the ability of states to target illicit transactions.

Even if the Protocol achieves a far-reaching consensus, resource constraints could hamper its full implementation. Ratification and implementation of the Protocol will undoubtedly be time consuming and costly for many states. The Protocol depends on strong national structures to ratify, implement and co-ordinate policies. However, many developing countries lack the capacity for proper enforcement, and so implementation may be problematic. Moreover, in states in conflict or in the process of post-conflict reconstruction, introducing new legislation or institutionalizing provisions on record-keeping, identification and information exchange would demand a considerable investment of human and financial resources (UN Conference, 2001).

2.6.1.2 Program of Action

In July 2001, UN Programme of Action (PoA) to curb the Illicit Trade in SALW was adopted. It is an agreement addressed to countries which tries to control and prevent the illicit trade in SALW at regional, national and international levels and aims to monitor progress on the collection and destruction of arms and the management of stockpiles (AEFJN Manual, 2013).

. That means, the United Nations Programme of Action is a globally agreed framework addressing a wide spectrum of small arms issues and control measures, which has laid the foundation for action at the national, regional and global levels. It is a central tool for preventing, combating and eradicating the illicit trade in small arms and for controlling the negative consequences of small arms and light weapons (SALW) (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Affairs, 2012).

SALW remains a controversial program at the UN due to its open-ended commitments and lack of formal monitoring process. These obstacles and inconsistencies with biannual national reports mean that the PoA SALW needs to further develop internal policies and reaffirm existing external mechanisms. Additionally, while the initial creation of the PoA SALW was to aid states with arms control assistance, there is a vacuum of expertise, funding, and mechanisms with which to oversee these. Furthermore, the PoA SALW remains entirely dependent upon individual state sponsors, for both regular reporting and for reaffirming commitment to meeting the PoA SALW's goals (Kyömäki & Wayne, 2006).

In addition, the PoA does not mention human rights and has few references to international humanitarian law. Not being a treaty, it does not legally bind its signatories and so cannot be enforced by judicial processes. Moreover, this UN PoA does not indicate how to regulate the 75 % of the world's small arms owned by civilians. UN members had great difficulties in coming to a consensus on how to advance the PoA; the reporting to the Biennial Meetings (2003, 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012) is disappointing (AEFJN Manual, 2013).

2.6.1.3 International Tracing Instrument

The 2005 UN International Tracing Instrument (ITI) was formulated to supply additional an additional reporting requirement for implementation of its provisions under the PoA (AEFJN Manual, 2013). Accordingly, noting that in the UN program of action to eradicate proliferation of small arms in all its aspects, then states identified small arms as main means for regional, sub regional and national measures to combat and regulate illegal small arms and light weapons transfer and strengthening the capacity of states to cooperate in identifying and tracing in proper and accurate as well as reliable manner, Noting also that the tracing of illegal small arms,

including but not limited to those manufactured to military specifications, may be required in the context of all forms of crime and conflict situations.

It consists unique identifying of small arms, and establishing efficient national structure to trace illicit small arms as well as initiate and respond to international tracing requests. It also provides guidance on sources of international cooperation and assistance related to tracing illicit small arms and light weapons and on national reporting on the implementation of global commitments related to tracing (United Nations Coordinating Action on Small Arms, 2012).

However, according to UN PoA Review Conference (2011), despite the fact that this instrument represents an important step in the international strategy against illicit SALW, the ITI's scope – which reflects the arduousness of the negotiation process and the relatively weak level of consensus among negotiating states – is rather limited by the fact that it simply defines marking and record-keeping as “national prerogatives”. It contains no specific provision on how tracing should be conducted in practice; it formally excludes ammunition from its scope of application; and it fails to establish any specific implementation mechanism.

As outlined in a number of relevant publications, the implementation of the ITI remains limited because of a number of technical and institutional reasons, many of which were discussed by states in the framework of the open-ended working group that was established in 2011 to prepare the second UN PoA Review Conference. It is also worth mentioning that, even though the ITI does not explicitly set any obligation for states to deal with tracing requests from non-state entities, it does not formally exclude this possibility either. Thus, States are allowed to fulfill tracing requests from actors which do not belong to State institutions or do not operate under a governmental mandate (ibid).

2.6.1.4 The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)

The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) to ban arms transfers that have the potential to lead to violations of international human rights and increase conflict was processed and discussed in 2002 UN conference. In the ATT Conference in March 2013, 3 countries: North Korea, China and Syria blocked the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) that was finally approved on April the 2nd 2013 at the United Nations General Assembly (AEFJN Manual, 2013), and failed to achieve unanimous support but garnered the support of a majority of Member States. As AEFJN Manual (2013)

stated 154 countries voted in favor, three voted against the decision, while 23 countries abstained. The ATT would apply to all types of arms transfers import, export, and transshipments conventional arms .But, munitions are not included in the ATT which could not cover weapons of mass destruction i.e. nuclear, chemical and biological weapons (AEFJN Manual, 2013). In fact, from African countries only fifteen have ratified the ATT.

The proposal for an ATT has arisen from a perceived need for common international rules and regulations for this trade in order to promote stability and focus resource on human development and the attainment of the MDGs (Mohammad, 2012). As the global rules and regulations need to take multilateral treaty, the regular international rules can be true. For example, as Mohammad (2012) stated membership is voluntary, reservations are possible on condition that they do not go against the object and purpose of the treaty, entry into force of the draft treaty is only subsequent to a specified number of member states signing it, etc. (ibid).

Finally, common obstacles cited for effective implementation were the lack of political will to be ready for negotiation, lack of capacity of states, lack of capacity in implementing the ATT by which some states could not actively participate.

According Small Arms Survey (2013), overview of international instruments covering small arms and light weapons stated as follows;

Table 2. 1. Overview of international instruments covering small arms.

International instrument	Date adopted	Legal status		Scope		
		legally binding	Non-legally binding	SALW	Ammunition	Parts and components
Firearms protocol	8 June 2001	✓		✓ *	✓	✓
PoA	20 July 2001		✓	✓	**	**
ITI	8 December 2005		✓	✓		
ATT	2 April 2013	✓		✓	✓ ***	✓ ***

Notes:

* The Firearms Protocol covers all small arms but applies to only a narrow range of light weapons—specifically, those using cartridge-based ammunition that can be moved or carried by one person (McDonald, 2005, p. 126).

** The PoA contains no definition of ‘small arms and light weapons’, creating uncertainty as to whether provisions that are not clearly limited to the weapons themselves, in particular those on marking (UNGA, 2001a, para. II.7), apply to small arms ammunition and parts and components. The ammunition question has been the source of political controversy, with some states arguing that the PoA applies to ammunition and others refuting this assertion.

*** Only certain ATT provisions apply to ammunition and parts and components.

So, global level, the international community has endeavored to find out various mechanisms in order to address the small arms and light weapons problem that can be implemented from local to international community levels. They have also established specific guidelines and rules to help nation-States develop an effective national mechanism so as to address SALW issue. Even where the instruments incarnating these standards lack legal force, there is nevertheless a strong

moral obligation on States to respect them. As Okoro stated “The legal responsibility and due diligence obligations imposed by international human rights law in connection with SALW entails putting in place an effective regulatory framework for SALW as well as an effective enforcement mechanism following the international guidelines” (Okoro H., 2006).

However, despite there has been an increase in global efforts to control small arms since the end of the Cold War, governance regimes for small arms have not really existed in the sense of a comprehensive framework of control requiring uniform compliance by state and non-state actors. In other words, even if there have been multilateral involvement in addressing small arms availability and misuse received increased support following the Cold War, just as small arms proliferation surge due to surplus weapons and personnel (Ebo., 2005).

Thus, despite these positive developments, gaps remain in international law with respect to the use and transfer of guns and ammunition remain, with profound negative implications for the protection of human security. For instance, how could states obligations to prevent aspects of abuse by civilians changed to regulation of civilian ownership and use of small arms? Based on which criteria must states assess the cost benefit analysis of small arms transfer, and what knowledge can be used to assess misuse of small arms? What rules should govern transfer of arms by non state actors and brokers? Do rules only covers small arms or should consist light weapons and ammunition? How could very relevant rules and laws be better enforced? (hd Centre for humanitarian dialogue , 2006). These questions must be answered to control SALW problem.

2.6.2 Regional and Sub-regional Governance Approaches

At the international level, the UN PoA provides the framework for the regional implementation of measures to curtail the proliferation of SALW (Kirsten and Stott, 2008). There have been regional and sub regional initiatives on normative frameworks and confidence-building measures in various regions of the world. The most significant among these is the OAS Firearms Convention, known formally as (CIFTA), in November 1997, and stands out as the first legally binding regional agreement on illicit firearms trafficking. The PPCIT was agreed by the EU Council in 1997, while the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports was agreed in 1998. The OSCE document on SALW was adopted in 2000 and outlines how the organization would

provide assistance to participating states, and has resulted in a series of workshops on SALW (Ebo, 2005).

Regional cooperation has an important role in preventing small arms proliferation and misuse (Stohl and Tuttle, 2009). The importance of including regional and sub regional organizations in the fight against small arms proliferation was already clear in the 1990s, when small arms and light weapons as a specific category was first taken up in the UN context. For example, in 1996 the Organization of African Unity initiated an in-depth study on ways to reduce small arms proliferation and to improve sub regional cooperation in dealing with illegal arms smuggling (Stott, 2003). Regional agreements, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, the Americas and Europe, became part of the international process addressing problems related to the uncontrolled spread of and illicit trade in SALW (Kytömäki, 2005).

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has stressed the importance of seeking regional solutions to the small arms problem by noting that regional and sub regional efforts to curb gun violence can pave the way for further action at the global level, leading to a wider implementation OF PoA Regional organizations have an important potential role in building consensus and momentum, and in advancing global norms. We have seen how regional instruments helped to shape the UN PoA and support its implementation, but the relationship between international and regional levels also works the other way around: having an international agreement on the illicit small arms trade has opened the door to further regional and sub regional action (ibid).

Thus, despite the fact that regional and sub regional cooperation is very important but its implementation is somewhat weak. For instance, there is ECOWAS convention to control small arms proliferation but, the problem is still there. In the near year, we have seen various conflicts triggered by Proliferation of Small arms.

2.6.3 Regional and sub Regional Initiatives in Africa

At the African regional level, out of the eight items on the Peace and Security Agenda of the African Union's New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), two relate directly to small arms and democratic governance of the security sector: (1) ensuring efficient and consolidated action for the prevention, combat and eradication of the problem of illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of SALW; (2) improving the security sector and the capacity for good governance as related to peace and security (ibid).

Regions have developed their own plans to address their specific small arms challenges, including the Nairobi Protocol, which provides a framework for national small arms legislation in East Africa; the SADC Protocol on Firearms, ECOWAS convention on small arms and light weapons which is politically binding moratorium on the importation, exportation and manufacture of small arms, which was made legally binding in 2006 as well as the Kinshasa convention. For each region to address the small arms challenge successfully, these agreements must be fully implemented (Stohl and Tuttle, 2009).

For instance, ECOWAS has established a Small Arms Unit (SAU) at its headquarters in Abuja to initiate and implement programmes and policy issues relating to the Convention in the sub-region. Similarly, the organization also established the ECOWAS Small Arms Programme (ECOSAP) in Bamako (Mali) as a five year capacity building programme to facilitate the implementation of the convention. In addition, other initiatives taken to implement the convention include the collection and destruction of weapons in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire and more recently in Benin (Arms Management Programme (AMP), 2008). However, in West Africa, the uneven implementation of regional agreements leaves loopholes that arms traffickers can utilize for their nefarious trade. These traffickers are usually quick to adopt trade routes where national controls are weak, and often take advantage of insufficient cooperation between border control authorities or differences in national regulation (ibid).

To conclude, regarding regional and sub regional initiatives, they can prove valuable as hubs of cooperation for global action: in view of the limited national resources available for direct PoA implementation if well implemented. And many organizations have proven active in arranging small arms meetings and creating political dialogue to pave the way for international negotiations. In Southern Africa, for example, the Technical Committee on Small Arms,

established by the states party to the SADC Protocol, acts as a forum for sharing best practices, providing mutual assistance on stockpile management, security and safety measures and sharing experiences on issues such as cost-effective methods to destroy surplus weapons. Through such work, the Committee establishes a regional standpoint and thus contributes to the advance of international negotiations (Stott, 2003).

But, regional and sub-regional agreements faced various limitations to control small arms circulation.

First, myriad regional agreements exist, but more than many states do not belong to any regional agreements, particularly states in Western Asia, Southeastern Asia, Southern Asia, and Oceania. On the other hand, some states belong to multiple regional or sub regional organizations, which can result in conflicting obligations and standards (Stohl and Hogendoorn , 2010). But despite limitations to regional agreements and initiatives—they only affect the region involved, for example they can provide examples for other regions and establish global norms and standards (Stohl and Hogendoorn , 2010).

Second, the capabilities of individual states and regional organizations to assess and address problems of armed violence, small arms availability and trafficking vary. Among regional organizations, general reasons for lack of success in small arms control are the absence of political commitment and of resources. For example, the practical impacts of the ECOWAS Moratorium and the OAS Convention remain minimal, despite the strong political commitment expressed on paper. The international community has responded to some aspects of the problem but significant work remains to be done to target small arms and their proliferation properly (Kytömäki, 2005).

Third, still financial and resource trouble in addition to lack of political commitment is a major challenge for effective implementation.

In general, the Regional and Sub-regional agreements identified above provide a road map to reduce illegal small arms trade both in Africa and globally. Some measures and efforts has been taken, but still they are not enough and the circulation and illicit trafficking of SALW is still rampant. The progress made by signatory countries in implementing the agreements varies greatly. Therefore, although some of these agreements have resulted in increased information

sharing and regional co-operation as well as the strengthening of national firearms control regimes such as SADC protocol, they appear to have had little impact to date on reducing the movement of weapons into pastoral regions.

2.6.4 National and Community Governance Approaches

At the national level, most governments use institutional and administrative arrangements to comply with global and regional/sub regional normative frameworks, such as the designation of a national point of contact for small arms, as required by the UNPoA. In West Africa, the ECOWAS Moratorium demands that states establish a National Commission on Small Arms. All West African states, except Liberia, have complied with this provision, though with varying levels of effectiveness. Governments also put in place legislation which set out to define eligibility criteria for firearm possession and importation, together with a regime of penalties for breaching the law (Ebo, 2005).

Many states are not able to establish government bodies to implement PoA in turn can regulate proliferation of small arms. More than 100 states have failed to enact what is considered to be a minimum step towards implementation that is, establishing governmental bodies to coordinate action on small arms at a national level while more than 120 countries have failed even to review their laws and regulations on small arms (IRIN, 2006). Thus, despite important progress has been made with regard to SALW control, both at the policy and programmatic level over the last decade, yet potential progress was consistently stymied by a minority of States who stretched the consensus approach in undemocratic ways (Kytömäki, 2005). Thus, the environment surrounding small arms reflects a fragmented global governance process (Avant, 2013).

Hence, legislations need to be comprehensive in scope to effectively address various challenges. The evidence about the costs of not acting to control small arms and reduce armed violence is well established. Comprehensive and harmonized laws within a nation and amongst neighboring nations provide a framework for regulating weapons manufacture, possession, storage, transfer and use, setting the parameters for permissible behavior and practice, and providing measures for enforcement (UNDP, 2008).

In general, measures against SALW proliferation are critical at international, regional and national levels, including the Arms Trade Treaty and other instruments on border control,

weapons and ammunition marking and tracing. However, those measures do not resolve the root causes (Yoneda, 2014). Therefore, comprehensive national legislations and government bodies are the first steps to control small arms circulation. In fact, the implementation aspect has also been considered.

2.7. The IGAD Region: The Regional and sub-regional Context

The region of East Africa has for decades been plagued by political insecurity, extreme poverty, wars and natural disasters, such as droughts and famines. The region has rarely known peace, peaceful transitions, prosperity or democracy. Pastoral conflicts (such as those in North-Eastern Uganda and the borders between Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, and Ethiopia) have also emerged as a result of competition over resources and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) that prevails in the region (Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform, 2010).

Despite national security threats vary across the region, small arms are eminent danger. Several countries including Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia are dealing with ongoing insurgencies within their borders; tensions and the risk of renewed hostilities remain between the Government of Sudan and the Government of South Sudan; Somalia is a failed state; conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia has ended but tension, and the risk of renewed fighting, remains; the perception of a democratic success story in Kenya was shattered by the post election violence (ibid).

Proliferation of small arms has been continuing a devastating consequence for horn of Africa and great lakes region, especially in conflict areas for example, Somali, Sudan and parts of northern Uganda, using small arms is primary tool for violence death. In Sub Saharan African countries experiencing violent conflicts, the availability of SALW escalates insecurity and duration of violence. The impact of insecurity and other problems attributed to SALW are also manifested in the neighboring peaceful countries within the region (Nganga, 2008).

In fact, proliferation of small arms is not only for Horn of Africa its devastating consequence, but in the entire Sub-Saharan Africa and many other parts of the world. Illicit trafficking of SALW is prevalent in the Sub-Saharan Africa where achievement of stability and peace remain elusive and a farfetched reality to most African countries. And various factors make SALW suitable for

trafficking and particularly better suited for trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa due to the lack of government controls and the consistently present conflicts in the region (ibid).

So, the major challenge of states in the Horn and Great lake region to control small arms and light weapons proliferation is the unresolved border conflict. In addition to this, lack of comprehensive national legislation also takes the great share. Therefore, in order to regulate small arms circulation in the region states has to solve the root causes of their border conflicts, and formulate comprehensive national legislation.

Chapter Three

Small Arms and Light Weapons in Ethiopia

3.1. Historical Background

Ethiopia was the only African country to preserve her independence throughout the period of the scramble for Africa. Ethiopians fought against colonizers using Swords and rifles which were available during that time. Different emperors introduced excessive firearms to the country at different times mainly from Italy, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Turkey, and Russia (Pankhurst, 1962).

The first guns were introduced to Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Libne Dengel (1508-1540). Emir of Harar Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim El Ghazi was also armed with muskets and cannon from Turkish Pasha in the same period. However, the circulation and availability of firearms was very limited. The importation and proliferation of firearms exacerbated following the arrival of Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and further strengthened by Egyptian, British and especially Italian invasions. The number gradually increased through importation and arms trade (Ibid).

The medieval firearm of Ethiopia include bows and arrows, swords and shields, spears, coats of mail, helmets, slings, and rolling boulders. Bows and arrows were used by the armies of Christian kingdom for example in the reigns of Emperor Gelawdewos (1540-1560) and Emperor Sussnyos (1607-1632) (Anon, 1965). In addition, they were also used by other neighboring vassal states as Adal and Ifat (Poncet, 1967). Sword, shields and spears or lances were also the standard set of arms of the infantry, with swords and spears being used by the cavalry (Anon, 1965).

Firearms figured importantly in Emperor Theodros's rule. As Rubenson (1978) indicated, during the time small arms were not that much important for internal struggles within Ethiopia. Rather arms were used to defeat external aggressions. Rubenson also stated that Emperor Yohannes (1872-1889) seemed to be much better aware than Emperor Theodros about small arms. He had been one of the aristocrats disenchanted with Theodros, and he made a pact with the British, providing their expedition with 15,000 kilograms of grain per week and guaranteeing its safety

en route in return for a reward. When the British expedition left, Yohannes gained a number of guns as a reward (Rubenson, 1978). And even Yohanes had imported arms through massawa.

Menelik (ruler of Shoa) was fully conscious of decisive importance for firearms, he was well aware of the value they had been to his grandfather Sahle Sellasie, considered their import a matter of life and death. So, Menelik received large quantities of arms from Italian (Pankhrust, 1967).

After Emperor Menelik II Emperor Haile Sllasie I (1930-1974) similar to Menelik modernization policies were continued and importation was the source of arms. During Emperor Haile Sllasie's time, modern arms were used ruthlessly to suppress opposition, for example in Tigray, Balie, Smyen, and Gojjam, but the bulk of the weapons were used against the threat of external aggression (Copeland and Lamm, 1973).

In 1974, Emperor Haile Sllasie was deposed and a Provisional Military Council took over power. Then, many opposition groups formed in the country. Later on Somalia invaded the country in 1977. In addition the country joined the socialist block during the military regime. Ever since then, the importation of weapons into the country has been growing at an alarming rate until the collapse of the regime. After the collapse of the Dergue most of those Guns imported from the socialist countries finally circulated into the wrong or illegal hands.

Currently, the condition continued as worse for various reasons in Ethiopia. First, the regional instability paved the way for infiltration of arms to the country. The Somalia crisis, South Sudan conflict and problems of Darfur combined with porous borders still encourages for proliferation arms to different parts of Ethiopia. Second, different insurgent groups also contribute their role for further proliferation of SALW. Third, violent cattle rustling as a way of life among the lowland pastoralists and gun culture of many parts of the country, especially highlands escalate the proliferation of SALW. As a result, private small arms possession has increased from time to time.

3.2. Proliferation of SALW in Ethiopia

3.2.1. Regional Dynamics for Proliferation of SALW

In Ethiopia and across the Horn of Africa, small arms have been used to kill thousands of people in conflict, cattle rustling and criminal activities. Thousands more are injured, terrorized or are displaced making them Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or refugees. It should therefore be noted that the issue of small arms and light weapons is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon touching on all levels of society and efforts to address the small arms problem require comprehensive strategies involving governments and the civil society at national and international levels (Regional Center Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA) Workshop, 2006).

The Horn of Africa is characterized by long lasting conflict and instability. The small arms problem is therefore further compounded by inflows from conflicts in the Horn of Africa conflict system and its epicenters. The recent crisis in South Sudan, Somalia as well as the Darfur crisis created preferable situation for the flow of SALW to the western and Eastern parts of Ethiopia. During the Derg regime civil war and frequent political problems in neighboring Somalia, further prompts for easy inflow to Ethiopia of SALW through their agents and parallel economies thereof (RECSA Workshop Report, 2006).

Ethiopia experienced 17 years of armed struggle in its liberation war to dislodge previous military regimes with the aim of transforming the country to a democracy (Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons (RECSA) Workshop Report, 2006). During that time the Mengistu government offered several thousand weapons. Following the collapse of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, weapons flooded into the hands of civilians (Michael Renner, 1997). This can be the suitable condition for the easy flow of SALW to many parts of Ethiopia.

In addition, according to Zhukov (unknown) cited in RECSA (2006) from the early 1980s and until its fall in 1991, Ethiopia's Derg regime largely supplied sophisticated arms (including SA-7 missiles) and ammunition, provided the rebel army of Sudan with military training and shelter for its fighters on Ethiopian territory in the west. This also back infiltrated into Ethiopia and

become cyclical. Consequently, it is estimated that in Ethiopia there are more than one million weapons in illegal possession by individuals.

Meanwhile, crime statistics show that small arms are the preferred instruments of violence in robberies, homicide and incomplete or inchoate offences Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons (Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons, 2006). Therefore, the regional dynamics paved the way for proliferation small arms and light weapons into Ethiopia supplemented by porous borders.

3.2.2. Demand and Supply Related Factors

Ethiopia and Horn of Africa has numerous pastoral groups in a broad geographical band that stretches from the Kenya Somalia border northwards into Ethiopia; and northwest to encompass regions of Uganda, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic (CAR) (Bevan, 2007). These regions have suffered large-scale intra-state wars that have supplied pastoral groups with modern weaponry, resulting in protracted conflicts with numerous neighbors. The Toposa of Southern Sudan, for instance are, at various times, in conflict with one or a number of neighboring groups including the Turkana, Dassenach, Didinga, Dinka, and some of the Karimojong sub clans (Ibid).

The root cause of the demand for small arms in the Horn of Africa can be seen from a macro & micro-level perspective. From a macro-level perspective: poverty and disparity attract small arms. That means in the Horn of Africa social, political and economic injustices, massive poverty and marginalization have lead to a growing demand for small arms in their region. The demand for arms is easily satisfied as arms can be purchased, obtained through barter trade (for example, cattle in exchange for small arms and ammunition), or stolen from government depots (Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2002).

Bonn International Center for Conversion (2002) also stated in addition to the above factors there are also dynamics operating at a micro level. For example, Vendetta and warrior culture something that we might call a culture of vendetta or a warrior culture is noticeable in the highlands of Ethiopia and the lowlands of Somalia, and can be found elsewhere in the region. If a person from a family is killed, then revenge, as we call it, or justice, as they call it, must be carried out, often before the victim's burial ceremony. This naturally leads into a spiral of

violence and feeds demand for efficient and reliable small arms. Celebration of the victor and his heroism is part of this dynamism (ibid).

Thus, demand-side analysis is fundamentally interested in motivations in the Horn (Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2002). So, reducing demand of SALW is one aspect of controlling proliferation of small arms in Ethiopia and the Horn. From this perspective, however, the goal of reducing demand is “not to remove and eliminate the weapons from communities, but to render them unnecessary by a change in the community’s perception of its identity and security” (Ibid).

In addition to the demand side factors, supply of illicit small arms availability has become a human safety and security issue. For instance, the case of Somalia is the best example. The Great Lakes and Horn of Africa region is amongst the most affected regions by the easily availability and proliferation of SALW (Lock, 1999). The sub-region has received and recycled arsenals of arms and weapons from the decolonization struggles throughout the Cold War and its aftermath. Conflicts and incidents of cattle-rustling involving Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, northern Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, and north-western border area between Kenya and Somalia, continue to threaten peace and stability and consequently hinder prospects for socioeconomic development in the entire sub-region (ibid).

Therefore, in Ethiopia Horn of Africa there are several demand related factors as conflicts, gun culture, cattle rustling and insurgency movements. This is further strengthened by the supply of arms by the west and Arab world during and after the cold war.

3.2.3. Lack of strong SALW Policy in Ethiopia

Across all regimes of Ethiopia, there is no comprehensive and single legal framework to control SALW. Instead, it has been found scattered in the criminal codes. For instance, the new Criminal Code at Article; 481, 808 and 809 stated that illegal possession, transfer and brokering of arms are punishable.

As a member of AU and regional centre on small arms (RECSA), it has adopted the policies since 2000 on illicit transfer. But, it lacks effective implementation. For instance, from 1991 to 2001, the UN Security Council imposed an arms embargo to Ethiopia due to the conflict with

Eretria. As a result, the country has been accused of being a route for arms transfer to non-state actors (Noronha & Rosa, 2013).

Despite the fact that Ethiopia had adopted various regional and international conventions and agreements, it does not have comprehensive and consolidated firearms legislation. Thus, the absence of comprehensive SALW control legislation might have its own role for the present and future circulation of firearms. Therefore, in order to control SALW proliferation and miss use Ethiopia has to implement international, regional and sub-regional agreements and formulate and implement comprehensive law.

3.2.4. Impacts of SALW in Ethiopia

The arrival of firearms in Ethiopia was traumatic. Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim El Ghazi, the Emir of Harer, one of the hitherto Muslim states of the east which had formerly been vassal states, armed with muskets and cannon from the Turkish Pacha of Zebid, and mercenaries from the Mocha Arabs, India, Persia, Egypt, and Turkey, routed the Christian empire (Coulbeaux, 1929 cited in Pankhrust, 1962).

Since their introduction, firearms have figured prominently in Ethiopia in all kinds of situations, ranging from imperial murders, the killing of priests by a governor (Sinoda and Knfe Michael, 1881) and civil wars (Dngl and Tekle Sllasie, 1892).

Hence, all the European technologies introduced into Ethiopia, small arms had serious and long lasting impact which directly and indirectly, and totally changed the country demographically, socially, politically, and economically. Internally through conquests and internal conflicts as well as external wars externally, huge consequence had occurred in relation to firearms. Therefore, SALW remains to be the enemy of people's livelihood and property, and discourages people's efforts to achieve socio-economic and political development in different parts of Ethiopia. This is also true for the study area.

3.3. The Nairobi Protocol

Eleven countries in the great lakes region and the Horn of Africa signed the Nairobi protocol for the prevention, control and reduction of small arms and light weapons in 2004 (Nairobi convention, 2006). The protocol primarily concerning with controlling proliferation, transfer and illegal possession of small arms which had long sustained impact on the conflict, security and development of the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Region. In addition, it deals with the supply aspect of small arms into the region by brokers outside of the region so as to effectively control illegal transfer and trade in the region .The protocol recognizes the urgent need to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit manufacturing of, excessive and destabilizing accumulation of, trafficking in, illicit possession and use of small arms and light weapons, ammunition, and other related materials, owing to the harmful effects of those activities on the security of each state and the sub region and the danger they pose to the well-being of the population in the sub region, their social and economic development and their right to live in peace(Nairobi convention, 2006).

The Nairobi Declaration is, at its core, an attempt to form a regional partnership between governments, multilateral agencies and civil society groups. Its signing indicated a collective will to adopt international and African initiatives at a more practical level. The strategies involved in combating illegal small arms and trafficking include the establishment of broad-based consultative mechanisms at the national level known as National Focal Points (NFPs), as well as the improvement of national laws and other instruments regulating the manufacture, trade, possession, and use of arms (Africa Peace Forum, 2006).

Although the majority of countries in the region have shown encouraging signs of moving towards post conflict recovery, the availability and continued proliferation of small arms (SALW's) threatens these newfound gains (United Nations General report, 1997) .Far from being restricted to simply combatants, small arms and light weapons find their way into civilian hands with equal efficacy and often relative ease. In addition, countries without internal conflict such as Tanzania and Kenya have suffered from the proliferation of small arms through illicit trafficking and increased armed violence. In both countries, their most isolated, far stretched and least monitored borders are those with countries in conflict or immediate post-conflict situations (Regional Programme of Action for Peace and Security, 2006).

At the regional level, the declaration emphasizes cooperative monitoring and control of SALW and the strengthening of cooperation among national intelligence, security, and police forces. It calls also on signatory states to, among other things, enhance public education and awareness-raising, and increase cross-border cooperation between law enforcement agencies (Ibid). The implementation by the state parties shows however great discrepancies in the implementation capacities and level of such plans, where post-conflict stability can be seen as one of the major reasons behind delays in the implementation of the Nairobi Declaration.

Thus, the regions have been facing various challenges for implementation as financial, resource limitations and lack of political commitment. Ethiopia is a member of the protocol but it lacks proper implementation. For instance, the Nairobi protocol encourages state to formulate national legislation to control SALW proliferation and miss use but, still it is on the process.

3.4. Efforts Made by Government to Control SALW in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is party to the Nairobi Protocol for control, reduction and prevention of small arms and light weapons in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes region that encourages signatories to , and set out of confiscated and unlicensed small arms and light weapons (SALWs) and had taken various measures (Arms Management Programme (AMP) ,2008).

For instance in Ethiopia, EPRDF was undertaken demobilization and re integration in two phases over a three-year period. The first phase (November 2000–June 2001) was conceived as a pilot; this involved the demobilization and reintegration of approximately 17,000 disabled and 42,000 able-bodied veterans (those who joined the army last, and those who had large families to support). The second phase (July 2001–December 2003) was Context matters in Ethiopia 193 designed to accommodate a larger share of the veterans – the demobilization and reintegration of a further 90,000 able-bodied veterans (Muggah and Bennett, 2009).

The Arms Management Program further stated between 2003 and 2004, there were 9,531 arrests and prosecutions for illegal arms transfers and possession. In addition, Ethiopia destroyed more than 11 700 small arms, 3 000 hand grenades and 170 000 rounds of assorted types of ammunition in 2006 and 2007. These arms and ammunition had either been confiscated by the police or had been voluntarily surrendered (Muggah and Bennett, 2009).

Despite these small arms regulatory and controlling measures, Ethiopia is ranked highly in terms of the ease of access to SALWs, according to the Arms Management Programme (2008). This is the result of easy availability/ accessibility of small arms in the neighbouring states like Somalia; through porous borders, and the demand for small arms possession in many of Ethiopia's rural areas. The availability and accessibility of small arms has the ability to determine the inter community and inter ethnic conflicts. Small arms have diverse cultural and pragmatic uses among the Ethiopian population (Mehari Tadele cited in Arms Management Programme (AMP), 2008). Therefore, the researcher argued that the measures taken by the government are not sufficient enough to control proliferation of Small Arms and light weapons. So, the government has to focus on awareness raising and capacity building.

Chapter Four

Data Presentation, Analysis and Findings

4.1. The Magnitude of Small Arms in the Study Area

In the study area participants (Officials, Civilians, Brokers and Lawyers) were asked about the magnitude of small arms. Accordingly, respondents stated that the magnitude of small arms in the study area is high. For instance, one informant from Enebse Sar Mider Woreda expressed the magnitude of small arms in the study area as follows;

In many households there is at least one gun. Even, in some households there may be two and more than that which is illegal. Here, people registered and licensed only one gun / small arm/ where as others still kept secret and illegal. Simply I can say that the majority of households in this Woreda possess a small arm at least one.

This indicates that in the study area, the circulation of Small Arms is high. In addition to this, one informant from Baso Liben Woreda states that despite difficult to indicate the exact number of small arms in his Woreda many people had guns at least one per household. Even in the future the number of small arms will increase as the people continue to buy guns. Moreover, participants of Focus Group Discussion believed that the number of small arms circulated in the study area is high and even seems to be increasing in the future since the need of possession of guns is also increasing. Furthermore, one key informant from Debre Markos City Police office stated the situation as follows;

I have been working as a police officer in different parts of the Amhara regional state. Before I came to East Gojjam I had worked in wollo. But, when I compared the possession of small arms by civilians in wollo and Enebse Sar Mider woreda (East Gojjam), there is a big difference. The magnitude of small arms is increasing from time to time in an alarming rate. I expect that over 60% of the population had legal or illegal small arm, especially in woredas like Enebse Sar Mider, Goncha Siso Enese, Shebel Berenta and Baso Liben .

On the other hand, there are specific numbers of small arms which is found in East Gojjam Zone Militia office. Despite poor recording system of the office, since 2002 small arms has been registered on the basis of Amhara regional state proclamation 44/2001. For instance, according to the Zone Militia Office Report (2007), about 7601 small arms were registered and licensed

within only 23 days by 2007 schedule. The registration was taken place only for 23 days from 22/07/2007 up to 15/08/2007 E.c. Until now, in the Zone Militia office 35,489 small arms and light weapons had legally registered. From this number about 11,253 small arms are owned by police and militia where as 24, 236 are under civilian control. That means, small arms owned by private individuals is more than double to that of owned by government forces. In addition to this, it is expected that there are also a high number of small arms and light weapons which is not registered and licensed.

In fact, poor record-keeping and the absence of reporting mechanisms has complicated the assessments of global stockpiles of small arms and light weapons (small arms survey, 2011). This is true for the study area. The Zone militia office indicated that based on 44/2001 proclamation people have been registered and licensed their own guns which is found in the Zone Militia Office despite not significant since they are not willing to make registered. But, still people have small arms in a large quantity in their own hands that is not registered and licensed. Due to lack of information, it is difficult to mention the specific number of Small arms that the people possess in East Gojjam Zone. Any way still there are a number of small arms which have been circulated illegally.

Generally, although difficult to state the exact and real number of small arms in the study area, it is assumed that magnitude is still high and majority of households believed to have guns. This has negative implications to human safety and security, especially on people who have not guns as the number of small arms increases its impact also become rampant and visible.

4.2. The Reasons for Possession and Misuse of Small Arms

The presence of arms is an indicator not only of uncontrolled proliferation, but also of perceived need (McIntyre and Weiss, 2003). People possess and misuse small arms for various reasons. The degree of demand and misuse of small arms may differ from place to place. So, based on the data obtained from respondents, the following are the major reasons for the possession and misuse of small arms in East Gojjam Zone.

4.2.1. Culture

When you carry a gun, you feel like you are a human being (South African youth cited in McIntyre and Weiss, 2003). On a social level, arms are often seen as a symbol of status and make the owner feel he/she belongs to the community (Douglas et.al. 2004). Similar to this argument possessing a gun is a common culture in the study area. So, culture is major reason for both possession and misuse of small arms in the study area. This can be manifested in different ways.

First, people want to possess guns to get pride/ respect by the community members. At the same time people also misuse small arms in different occasions like funeral and religious ceremonies. For instance, one informant from Enebse Sar Mider Woreda narrated as follows;

In my Woreda [Enebese Sar Mider] the people are highly interested to posses or own firearms. The people have an inherent love for guns. In most rural parts of the Woreda if an adult is ready to marry a girl, his father should buy a gun. Unless and otherwise he could not even considered as a male and cannot be respected in the community. In addition, in our culture, people misuse guns for different reasons. For example, they fired a gun for different cultural services/occasions like wedding, funeral, and religious ceremonies.

One key informant from East Gojjam Zone Higher Court confirmed that in Baso Liben Woreda for instance, youth and adults are expected to posses or own guns as a means of self-protection and protecting their family members. Thus, having a gun is considered as a symbol of pride in the community. Furthermore, some members of the community intentionally carry a gun to frustrate individuals who are in conflict with them on different issues before. So, this situation also encourages other peoples to possess small arms.

Furthermore, one key informant from the Zone Militia Office claimed that the interest of the people of East Gojjam Zone towards having a small arm is high. In most parts of the Zone, it is very easy and more preferable to buy a gun than buying a house. He added, for example, in Shebel Berenta Woreda to get respect from the community a person bought a gun after he sold his house. Likewise, many community members sell their farm ox and buy guns for pride.

Moreover, as participants of FGD confirmed the East Gojjam Zone community have a great connection with small arms. For instance, when a person who have a gun die, many people who

have guns attends his funeral ceremony. The attendants of the ceremony carry a gun and circle the dead body. The FGD participants also explained that small arms have a variety of cultural values and other functions but, they are also prone to misuse. In other words, despite the fact that guns have other functions in addition to their cultural values but, people mostly misuse. Here, the researcher is interested to quote what one participant of FGD said as follows;

The people had an inherent love for small arms in our culture. Especially since Emperor Haile Silassie guns provided varieties of functions for the community and the country in general. For instance, in cooperation with government forces private arm holders protect churches, bridges, offices, schools, clinics, and others. In addition, in the past private arm holders tried to initiate and even force the people to work hard in different activities as farming, protecting the environment, and arranged different things to make the people to pay tax. More than this they also participated in protecting the security of the people and safeguarding the sovereignty of the country. This is cyclical from time to time. However, peoples have also been used small arms for criminal activities such as killing.

So, this encourages the cycle of possession of small arms and in turn contributes for misuse. Therefore, the issue of pride/respect is one aspect of culture of the people for both possession and misuse of small arms in the study area. That means, people are interested to carry guns for pride but they also use guns in wrong and unnecessary conditions. As literatures indicate small arms are subject to misuse. Not only in times of war but, in ‘peace time’, the presence and availability of arms often intensifies crime and violence (Amnesty international Oxfam international report, 2003).

Second, revenge is the other aspect of culture which encourages people to possess and misuse small arms in the study area. Based on informant from Enargi Enawga Woreda, revenge is very common in the study area. There is a traditional notion of bringing justice by force instead of bringing the case to the courts with a culture known as ‘ደም ምለሳ’ (literally to mean ‘revenge’). When a member of one family killed, the victim family is also also kills from the killer’s family or directly the killer. Here, not taking revenge is unacceptable until now. Peoples insult him, and he will be isolated in the community from various social activities in turn it will have negative psychological impact. So, the only option become, revenging. As a result of culture of revenge people want to possess small arms.

Moreover, according to Kiflemariam (2001), something that we might call a culture of vendetta or a warrior culture is quite noticeable in the highlands of Ethiopia, for example, when a person is killed, revenge as we would call it, or justice as they understand it, must be carried out by the victim's family, often before the burial ceremony takes place. This naturally leads into a spiral of violence and feeds demand for good and reliable small arms.

One FGD participant of the study area stated about the relation between revenge and possession & misuse of small arms in the following way;

Revenge is a serious culture and acceptable by the members of the community. If one family's member killed another member of a family, the response of the victim family is already known. Whatever the place, the revenge action will be taken. There may be even police, without fear and hesitation the revenge can be taken. Even in the presence of police revenge can be taken without fear and hesitation. I remember when I was in Enebse Sar Mider Woreda, Family 'A' killed the husband of Family 'B's mother. At that time there is no anybody who is able to revenge the action. But, she was a pregnant while her husband killed. So, fortunately, the child born was male. The children grow up and arranged preconditions to take revenge. As a result, when he was age of 26, he killed his father's killer.

Furthermore, an informant from Baso Liben Woreda said there are families that had killed many people from each other's family. What he remember is that from two families six people were killed (three people each family). When Family 'A' killed, Family 'B' also kills in response. This has been continued until now, and he feared that it could be continuing like this in the future. Surprisingly, what the researcher surprised of is that, when the community elders tried to negotiate and resolve the conflict between the killer and the victim family, the first precondition is forcing the killer to leave his residence area for a time being.

Furthermore, based on the cases reviewed from Zone High Court from 60 peoples killed in 2007 about 18 were in relation to revenge. Therefore, culture of revenge is one of the major aspect of cultural reason for the possession as well as misuse of small arms in the study area. That means, since there is a culture of revenge people want to have small arms. On the other hand, people also misuse their guns in unnecessary condition for revenge purpose.

Third, emotional Music and Poetry are other cultural factors for possession and misuse of small arms in the study area. Music is a widely available form of media with the ability to influence

attitudes and manipulate emotions (Karon, 2013). Traditional music and poetry encourage people to possess small arms and promote misuse of arms for unwanted actions in the study area. According to respondents, some traditional music and poetry of Gojjam in general and East Gojjam in particular are characterized by emotional and aggressive in nature. Despite they have their own advantage and function of refreshment and expression of the culture of the area but some of them initiate and motivate people for aggressive actions. For instance, according to one informant from Debre Markos City the following poem of a traditional music encourages people to misuse;

**ጋሬጣና ዕሾህ ካልፈተነህ
 ያላፍርሀል ወንድነትህ
 አጎጠጎጤው ጎፈሬው በዛ
 ማነው ደፋሩ ዐይሆን በዋዛ
 ማነው ሚነካሽ ማን የጎበረው
 አሳይኝና ልቡን ልበልው።።**

The aforementioned has a meaning about taking immediate and serious action if somebody gets into quarrel with one’s own wife or girl friend. If somebody is hesitating to take such action, he is not a brave man. In general, this music implies one can bring justice with forceful means instead of legal means.

In addition, one respondent from Shebel Berenta worda expressed the role of music and poetry for possession and misuse of small arms as follows;

For me music is good and important in the communities’ daily life. It used to refresh our minds and expresses our culture. The people have a great love and connection for music. However, the traditional music sometimes instigates illegal actions and unnecessary decisions. For example, once upon a time many people were listening traditional music in a traditional lodge in our town during a market day. The music was a mixture of ‘qarrarto’ (war chants) & ‘fukkara’ (heroic recitals)¹. Unfortunately, there were two individuals who

¹ **Qarrarto & Fukkara:** War Songs and Heroic Recitals which are Expressions of Praise Poetry.

have disputes before. So, initiated by the music, ‘fukera’ and ‘qarrarto’ they heard, one of the individuals shot and goes out with his gun. Some part of the ‘fukkara’ is stated as follows;

..... የታትየ ልጅ የቀበጧና
ሃምሳ ሰው ገሎ አለ በጤና
ያባኮስትር ዘር የተሰረፈው
በጠመንጃው ፊት ሰው የማያልፈው
ጉዳይ በጉዋንዲ ባፈድምድሙ
ይዘቅዘቅና ይንጠፍጠፍ ደሙ
የማታ ጮራ ሲምስል ደሙ
ዕንበልውና ጉልበት ጉልብቱን
ዕንክፍልዋልን የየግምቱን
የታትየ ልጅ የፈታይቱ
ቅንድቡን ብሎ ጣለው ባናቱ።

This poem narrates how an individual kills a number of people using gun and he is alive without any problem. Thus, from this one infer that understand that the contents of the poem may initiate people for further actions such as revenge, insult and so on.

Gete (2001) stated when the people performed ‘qarrarto’ (war chants) and ‘fukkara’ (heroic or patriotic recitals) recitals, they accompanied this with their favorite stick, or gun, so as to display their “manhood.” Indeed, performers of ‘qarrarto’ and ‘fukkara’ appear aggressive and war-like and are full of praise for the glorious deeds of the past. These genres are very much respected by the people. For instance, one informant from Goncha Siso Enese woreda expressed as follows;

Qarrarto can be an instrument to express ones gratitude and respect for a certain person, community, family or country. However, at the same time it can also be a mechanism to show low respect or attitude towards a certain person, community, family or country. For instance, I remember that due to the following ‘qararto’ the people of the area killed each other in a certain wedding ceremony.

ምን ጁሉ ነ ውምን ሞኙ ነ ው

ሲሰ ድቡት ዝም ያ ለ ሲመቱት ም ያ ው ነ ው: :

The above Amharic poem can be translated as; “if somebody become silent while he is insulted, he will also become silent when he is hitted. This also implies that anybody who tries to be peacefully resolve conflicts without taking force, that person becomes subject to bullying and insult. As a result of fearing of insult by other peoples he may get into violent action. According to one informant from Bibugn Woreda, most qarrartos begin with a word **ገዳይ** (meaning killer). The informant further stated some ‘qarrartos’ as;

ተቀመጥ ጠላቴ ወዳጄን መስለህ

ሰዐቱ ዕስከሚደርስ ዕስካበጥርህ::

ተንኮላኛ ገደል በሬ ያሳልፋል ዝንጀሮ ይጠልፋል

ደም ያመጣው ነገር ለሁሉ ይተርፋል::

The above poem has a message that an enemy can stay without a problem until one took effective action while he gets an opportunity to kill. However, the action of killing is an inevitable. The consequence also touches many people. In other words, whatever the time could be long enough but the response is violent, and the consequence touches many people. Moreover, regarding how ‘qarrarto’ and ‘fukkara’ instigate violent conflict, one informant from Enebse Sar Mider Woreda also described as follows;

One day we were celebrating a wedding ceremony in our village. Every one drank alcohol and performing music, qararto and fukkara holding with guns. While people were performing fukkara they became emotional and aggressive. Then after, one individual insulted the person who is performing fukkara emotionally. Soon after the one who performing fukkara shot to the individual who insult him. The situation changed to inter-personal violence. As a result, the wedding ceremony changed into funeral ceremony.

In addition, during fukkara carless people misuse small arms because of careless management. For example, the zone militia office key informant stated the following statement about the case presented above;

One of the challenges to regulate small arms in our zone is misuse of guns during chanting of fukkara in various ceremonies. These ceremonies include,; wedding and funeral ceremonies. Performing fukkera with guns is very

common culture in our zone. While people chanting fukkera they become emotional and are not able to manage their guns properly. So, unfortunately the gun shots one or more participants of the wedding ceremony. In addition, during funeral ceremonies people also misuse small arms to express their mourn. At this time, the bullet may kill individual from the participants of funeral ceremony.

Therefore, the culture of the community in the study area encourages people to hold Guns. In other words, most traditional music encourages peoples to possess small arms, especially when people perform qarrarto and fukkara. As a result, in East Gojjam Zone holding guns during cultural holidays/ ceremonies like wedding has caused misuse of small arms. Because, during the ceremonies people became emotional and unable to manage guns while they perform qararto and fukkara.

In addition to the above cultural reasons **alcohol** is one motivating factor for misuse of small arms in the study area. The presence of alcohol might cause the individual to become violent when they otherwise would not do so (Leonard, 2005). In fact, alcohol is not a cause for possession of small arms. In the study area, there is a strong link between alcohol and violent crime. According to the informants, in East Gojjam Zone, the consumption of traditional alcohol such as *tela* (local beer) and *areki* (traditional /local wuski) is common and high, especially during a market. During a market day people killed each other initiated by alcohol. Moreover, high consumption of alcohol is one of the fertile conditions for misuse of small arms. One key informant in Debre Markos city stated the role of alcohol for misuse of small arms as follows;

Alcohol is one major factor for misuse of guns in our zone. The peoples' consumption of alcohol is very high. People drink alcohol during traditional ceremonies and especially market days. Because of drinking much amount of alcohol people misuse their arms when they return back to home. When they drank alcohol they will memorize past disputes/conflicts and act aggressively with the people in relation with. For instance, if a person is in conflict with another individual for different reasons (may be land related conflict, insult, etc) and met with that individual after he drank alcohol, he might shot at him. So, for me alcohol is one major stimulator to commit crime in this zone.

In addition, one interviewee from Gozzamen Woreda explained the role of alcohol for misuse of small arms as follows;

I am sorry; peoples killed each other initiated by alcohol. For instance, one day in our woreda town, I, and my friends and other individuals were drinking alcohol which was 'areki' (local wuskhi) in a small traditional Bar. Behind I

and my friend there were three individuals. From the three individuals one of them carried a gun. They drank too much alcohol and began to speak loud. One of the three individuals speak to the person who carry a gun as, "I think the government made a mistake to give a license for your gun. I am sure you did not manage well this gun". Then, the person who carries a gun replied, "How do you say like this? If it is necessary I will show you". Gradually, the situation changed in to inter-personal violence. At the end, the person with gunshot on a person who quarreled with him uses one bullet on the person who gets into a quarrel.

Therefore, according to many of the informants, in East Gojjam Zone drinking alcohol causes aggressive behavior and in turn leads to violent acts/violence. In short, alcohol is one major motivating factor for misuse of small arms in the study area.

4.2.2. Easy Availability and Proliferation of Small Arms

Wherever arms flow, violence follows (Michael Douglas, Actor and Disarmament Advocate cited in McIntyre and Weiss, 2003). It is often assumed that there is a relationship between small arms, their misuse, and levels of armed criminality. Small arms availability, ownership, and portability are linked to a greater incidence of violent death (e.g. homicide, suicide, and unintentional death), interpersonal violence, intimidation, and criminality. Accordingly, more firearms equal more violent crime (UN Economic and Social Council, 1997). What is clear is that gun use intensifies violence and increases the case-fatality rate in assaults. Armed criminality is particularly violent in post conflict countries where small arms and light weapons are still readily available (Cook and Ludwig, 2006).

According to the participants of the research, small arms are easily accessible to the people of the study area. This is due to the culture of the society, lack of strong security checkpoints as well as the role of illicit arm brokers. Therefore, the easy availability of small arms encourages the people to own guns and in turn misuse in different conditions. For instance, one key informant from Debre Markos city police stated the following fact as;

In my observation, currently the demand of the people to possess small arms is very high. Moreover, in the society that I live there is big supply of small arms from different sources through illegal arm dealers and brokers. If one wants to buy a gun, he/she can easily access and buy, at any time. Accordingly, as far as I know in the Zone, the main reason for misuse of small arms is it's easily availability in different black markets. In the past, during inter-personal conflicts many individuals' used traditional tools like

spear to injure/kill other persons who are in conflict with them. However, today every individual who is capable to buy has a gun. Many of them used guns to either create fear or kill other individuals.

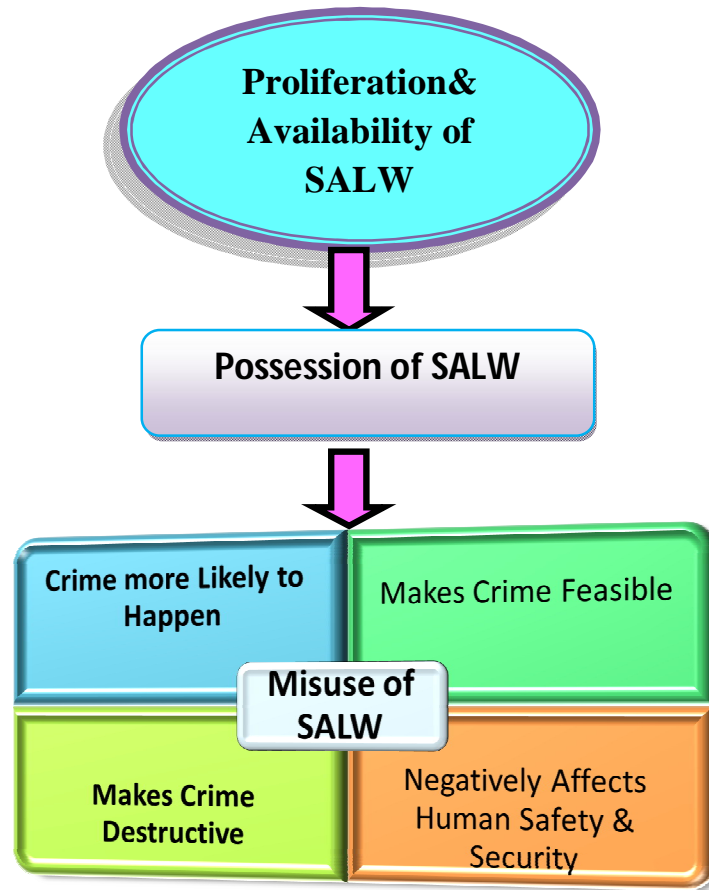
One of the Salvadorian psychologists Ignacio Baro indicated that excessive militarization of a society leads to a mental militarization in which violent responses to social problems become the norm (Baro, 1988). In crime-ridden societies, beyond armed conflicts, the easy availability of arms is linked to the level of armed violence (Amnesty International and Oxfam International, 2003).

Apart from the above, based on his experience one arm broker from Debre Markos city described the easy availability of small arms as follows;

Small arms are easily accessible for the people at any time and without any problem. The people of the area can buy and own guns easily without any frustration. Selling arms is my big business and source of income for my business. I brought small arms from Gambella, North Gonder and Afar using public transport. In transporting these small arms, I simply pack in to boxes as different commodities like soap. After transporting the small arms I used to sell at East Gojjam, Addis Ababa and other parts of the country. As far as I have an experience in transporting and selling small arms I didn't face any problem from the security institutions like police. Moreover, small arms are also available in the area because during the collapse of Derg regime a large amount of small arms were circulated to the people of the area from the nearest military training camps like Birsheleko Military Camp. So, for me the proliferation of small arms played an important role for increasing of crimes in this Zone.

In the study area as multiple sources of data collected indicated, there is a relationship between small arms availability and misuse. In short, the relationship between small arm proliferation & availability and misuse is shown in the following figure:

Figure 4.1. The Relationship of Availability and Proliferation of small arms and its Misuse



Source: Organized based on the Data Obtained from Fieldwork, 2016

Based on the above figure (figure 4.1), the proliferation and easy availability of small arms are one of the reasons for possession of small arms in the study area. At the same time, it is also one of the factors for misuse of small arms. In other words, based on respondents it is assumed that when the availability of arms increases, the level of misuse also increases.

As the East Gojjam Zone Police Office official report on crime confirmed in relation to small arms, there is a misuse of small arms in the study area. According to the report the number of people killed and injured in relation to small arms has been increasing. As shown on the table below, the researcher tried to assess the number of people killed in relation to misuse of arms from 2004 up to 2007 E.C.

Table 4.1 .The Number of People Killed from 2004 to 2007 by Guns in East Gojjam Zone.

Year (E.C)	Number of People Killed	Number of People Injured
2004	43	7
2005	49	12
2006	38	8
2007	60	9
Total	190	35

Source : organized from East Gojjam Zone Police office

Based on the above table (table 4.1), in the four consecutive years (2004-2007 E.C) a total of 190 and 35 people were killed and injured respectively due to misuse of arms. Based on the data the highest and lowest numbers of killings by gun recorded in 2007 and 2006 respectively. The numbers of killings are increased in 2007. In 2006, the numbers of people killed were 38 but in 2007, it increased to 60. However, due to lack of proper official record and report, the researcher is unable to include the number of killings in the year before 2004 E. C. In other words, the above data did not include people killed with other traditional tools and other means. So, relatively in average the problem is becoming serious in every year.

Furthermore, small arms are also a business in the study area. Some people want to possess small arms to make a profit in the future. One informant from Bibugn Woreda described about the issue as follows;

In our society, small arms become a big business. In the Zone, there are illegal arm dealers and brokers. The arm dealers/brokers brought a number of small arms from outside of the Zone. Then, they sold a number of guns to the people with a big profit. After some time, the people also sell their arms for others with some profit. This is cyclical. Moreover, there are some occasions by which some police officials also sell the government guns after they reported its disappearance, as thief steals it.

Therefore, based on many of the informants, the contribution of arm dealers and brokers to possess and misuse arms is very high in East Gojjam Zone. How small arms are becoming a big

business for those arm dealers and brokers, one arm broker from Debre Markos City described as follows;

I can say that now brokering of arms become one major job opportunity for many people in East Gojjam Zone. I have been working for years, until I did not face any problem. I have high profit. For instance, by selling one Makarov pistol, I can get a profit about a minimum from 5000 -10,000 Ethiopian Birr. Based on the profit I have got from this business, I have bought a house and three- wheeler Bajaj auto. I have a plan to buy cars in the near future. However, I believe that illegal arm brokering is a threat to the peace and stability of the Zone. Because, people misuse arms and many of them injured and lost their life.

This means that the profit people get from small arms encourages further possessing of small arms. At the same time small arms are also prone to misuse while their number increases and mostly preferable instruments.

One key informant from the Zone Police office also added that in East Gojjam Zone small arms become parts of a big business like other business types. Moreover, the price of small arms has been increasing from time to time. Currently, small arms are sold with a high price. For instance, in the current market, the price of one Makarov pistol and Kalashnikov is around 50,000 and 60,000 Ethiopian Birr respectively. Therefore, the people bought small arms and sold back after some time to get profit.

4.2.3. Security Dilemma

As many of the participants of FGD surfaced, people possess and misuse small arms for self-defense and worry for the future. This is can be described in the concept of “Security dilemma” This can be expressed in different ways. **First**, people need to possess small arms to defend themselves from criminals and their property from theft. However, gradually they might misuse it in the name of self-defense. In fact, even for cases that can be resolved through discussion, people kill each other. Informant from Goncha Siso Enese woreda stated that he and his friends need guns so that they have small arm. Whether there is police or not peoples can kill other peoples, particularly for revenge. Most of the time the police arrived after the crime is committed. Therefore, he asked that what is wrong to possess small arm to protect oneself.

Regarding the issue of security dilemma of individuals, one key informant in East Gojjam Zone Militia office explained;

Our people have a great demand for small arms. The people had developed a wrong perception that they could not be able to secure themselves and their property without holding small arms. This might be the result of lack of education of the population. Peoples do not have full confidence on police. In fact, there may be weaknesses from the police side to safeguard the security of the people. And I have observed that many times people lost their property even life with thieves using guns. However, it is only solved with a cooperation of the people with police. Therefore, in the name of self defense peoples had illegal as well as legally registered small arms.

Second, respondents replied that the people had developed a perception that the existing peace and order in the country could not continue as it is. So, they thought that possessing a gun is important to defend what would happen in the future. For example, an informant from Debre Markos City expressed this as follows;

We believe that everything would happen in the future, it may be good or bad that is the willing of God. At this time it could be difficult to forecast the future. But who knows what would happen in the future. Therefore, to defend the bad/pessimistic future, everyone wanted to own small arms.

Even one participants of FGD said, " nothing is unchanging, and everything will be changed, not only in our community and country but also the world in general. So, putting a gun as a reserve is being good and rational person". To emphasize the issue, one participant of FGD stated the following Poem;

**አምጧት ምኒሂሬን ታናሥ ወንድሜን
ለከፉ ቀን ደራሽ የምትሆነኝን**

The poem deals with since no one knows what would happen in the future having a gun is mandatory and important. Therefore, to defend themselves whether from thieves and other peoples in their community as well as the future, peoples want to possess small arms. But, they also misuse it as small arms are more preferable to commit crimes in the study area.

4.2.4. Lack of skill and Knowledge to manage Guns

In fact, it is not a reason for possession of small arms. But, according to respondents, peoples also misuse small arms due to lack of skill and knowledge to properly manage guns in East Gojjam Zone. For instance, key informant in the Zone militia office expressed as follows;

Small arms need their own unique skills and knowledge to be managed. But, many people in our zone do not have the required skill and knowledge to manage guns. In fact, there are also some other people who have special skill and quality of management of small arms even more than security forces. Due to this there are people who killed and injured themselves as well as other people, even their members of a family. I remember in this zone in Shebel woreda one person killed his wife when he carelessly clean his gun.

In addition, one informant from Debay Tilategen woreda added many times in our woreda people were killed and injured due to lack of skill and knowledge as well as carelessness of the owner of small arms. As the informant said, for instance, in his woreda once upon a time an individual carelessly manage explosive and killed himself as well as his families (four) and injured (two). So, simply some people bought guns without having the necessary skill and knowledge which resulted to bad consequences.

4.3. Impacts of Misuse of Small Arms

According to researches small arms proliferation and misuse directly and indirectly affects peoples in the world. Direct effects of small arms occur as deaths, injuries, and disabilities, as well as direct costs that result from the treatment of injuries and disabilities. Development studies have identified the indirect effects of small arms by pointing to the link between SALW and instability and insecurity, which, in turn, are seen as responsible for a number of socioeconomic effects (reduced productive economic activities, limited possibilities for education, malfunctioning health structures) that hinder a nation's or community's development (Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, 2005). So, there are various impacts of misuse of small arms in the study area.

4.3.1. Economic Impact

Africa loses around \$18bn per year due to wars, civil wars, and insurgencies (Oxfam, 2007). On average, armed conflict decreased an African nation's economy by 15 per. The real costs of armed violence to Africans could also be much, much higher. Income from valuable natural resources ends up lining individual pockets rather than benefiting the country (Oxfam, 2007).

In countries at peace, the indirect effects of gun violence are also significant, if less multifarious. Victims and witnesses of such violence experience a decline in physical and mental health,

resulting in inflated costs for society in terms of treatment for firearm-related injury and lost productivity through disability or premature death. A survey in the US estimated the annual cost of gun violence to be \$80 million (Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 2006).

Respondents replied that misuse of small arms causes economic loss on many families in East Gojjam Zone. For instance, informant from Enebse Sar Mider Woreda narrated the impact of small arms misuse the situation as follows from his experience;

Misuse of guns had negatively affects the economy of many families of East Gojjam Zone. Many families have been left without father because of 'revenge' and counter revenge when someone kills the other. When fathers or other members of a family kill, members of a family are forced to leave their residence fearing revenge. So, the economy of many families seriously affected. When a father killed a person he left his children and goes to another far area, not to be killed. So, children have become unable to eat and learn". On the other hand, when families get into gun violence, they may also prepared further action by buying additional guns which have negative impact on their economy.

In addition, one informant from Baso Liben Woreda stated that the people prefer to buy guns than other materials and properties like house, cloth, cow, and sheep and so on. This in turn adversely affects the economy of many families.

4.3.2. Social impact

The linkages between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, globalization and social disintegration have been greatly under-researched. The dearth of serious enquiry into these relationships is all the more significant because small arms and light weapons continue to be commonly used in many of the violent civil and ethnic conflicts of the post-Cold War era (Louise, 1995). Social disintegration linked to gun culture is most clearly reflected in areas severely affected by militarization. It can be argued that widespread social trauma is, therefore, a result of weapons proliferation in an unstable environment (ibid).

Thus, gun violence seriously affected the social life of many families and communities in East Gojjam Zone. According to one informant from Goncha Siso Enese, in our woreda many families get into conflict in relation to gun violence. The culture promote traditional norm of revenge which seriously damaged the social life of many families. Families that get into gun

violence are not able to work as well as enjoy other aspects of community life. Even children's of such families are not permitted to play and talk to each other. That means children are the main victims of misuse of small arms. In addition, the zone militia office said that misuse of guns may directly affect the social life of children.

Displacement is also another social impact of misuse of small arms in the study area. According to respondents due to armed violence many people have been displaced from their community to other parts of the country. This also has its own negative impact on the social, individual and families life.

Another social impact of small arms misuse is its psychological impact. Key informant from Debre Markos City Police stated the psychological impact of misuse of small arms as follows;

Take an individual planned to work hard and enhance the quality of life in the community. But, unfortunately his/her brother killed a person. So, after that this person might faced psychological impact as he/she thinks when he/she will be killed because his brother kills instead of thinking about how to work and enhance his/her life. This is because in this community's culture, the killer's brother has the greater probability to be killed.

4.3.3. Culture of Violence

In fact, the impact of the availability and proliferation of SALW varies in each country and conflict situation. In some (post-conflict) cases, the presence of SALW often perpetuates a 'culture of violence' where guns are used as problem-solving tools or are used to exert power and influence over others. Their presence and misuse can lead to a cycle of violence in which people acquire guns out of fear, which increases the likelihood of more SALW violence and insecurity. This, in turn, causes people to arm further (SALW Control Training Manual for West Africa, unknown).

This is also true for the study area. One informant from Debre Markos Town expressed the culture of violence in the study area as follows;

In my opinion and observation, in Debre markos Town many people had at least one gun. And beyond our town in our Zone, East Gojjam, the majority of the people are with guns. So, in this zone various crimes have been committed in relation to Small Arms in almost all woredas. For me, the main reason is the result of uncontrolled proliferation of small arms on the hands of civilians. When the number of small arms increases, the number of crimes committed also increases. Even in the future, I feared that the situation could continue as it is.

Therefore, culture of violence is the other major impact of small arms misuse in the study area.

4.4. Regulating Small Arms Possession and Misuse: A Legal and Institutional perspective

Limiting and controlling the acquisition and possession of arms on the part of civilians [is necessary], not only for combating the culture of violence but especially to prevent the extensive and lucrative illicit commerce in arms that were originally 'licit' - (Ambassador Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico at the UN Biennial Meeting of States cited in hd Centre for humanitarian dialogue , 2005).

So, regulating small arms problem is a very important aspect of fostering long lasting peace and sustainable development in the study area.

4.4.1. Legal Perspective

Laws or policies that regulate the manufacture, sale, transfer, possession, modification, or use of firearms in order to control crime and reduce the harmful effects of violence vary in the world. Some countries, such as the United Kingdom, have very strict limits on gun possession while others, like the United States, have relatively few restrictions (although policies vary from state to state).

According to the New Yorker (2015), supporters of small arm control generally argue that wide availability of small arm possession facilitates the danger of gun violence. Opponents of gun control and advocates of gun rights on the other hand argue that small arm control do not reduce crime, and violates individual liberties.

Barring a few exceptions, most countries in the world allow civilians to purchase firearms subject to certain restrictions (Karp, 2010). A 2011 survey of 28 countries over five continents

found that a major distinction between different national regimes of firearm regulation is whether civilian gun ownership is seen as a right or a privilege (Parker, 2011). The study generalized that both Yemen and United States were unique than other countries that promotes more gun ownership right for the people as basic right. Where as in other sample countries, private small arm possession is considered a privilege and the legislation governing possession of firearms is expected to be more restrictive (ibid).

In Ethiopia in general, there is no uniform and comprehensive law for brokering, possession and transfer of small arms which is ready for implementation. So, it is only found in a scattered manner in different articles of Criminal Code which are not that much strong to control proliferation and misuse of small arms. For instance, Article 808 (a) on the Control of Arms and Ammunition state that “Knowingly sells or delivers to 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 fine or arrest.” In addition, Article 809 on Carrying and Use of Prohibited Arms stated that Whoever is found carrying in a public place an arm which he was not authorized to acquire or entitled to carry, or makes use of an arm, even though authorized, at a time when or in a place where such use is prohibited, is punishable with fine not exceeding one hundred Birr or arrest not exceeding eight days. So, from this one can understand that the law is not strong enough to control the proliferation of small arms with such weak restriction and punishment.

Article 481 on Prohibited Traffic in Arms also stated;

(1) Whoever, apart from crimes against the security of the State (Art. 256):

a) makes, imports, exports or transports, acquires, receives, stores or hides, offers for sale, puts into circulation or distributes, without special authorization 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.

Here, according to Key informant interview with one Higher Court Judge the most difficult part of this article is how judges could know whether a person possesses a gun intentionally/knowingly or not. It needs interpretation. In fact, according to key informant interview with East Gojjam Militia Office, the law is on the process. But, it is not ratified by the parliament of the country. So, first of all the law has to be quickly ratified and ready for implementation.

To control small arms internationally, it will be necessary to control them nationally. It is therefore vital for countries to work together in developing policy recommendations that enable co-operation at a regional and international level (Callahan, 1997) cited in (Morgan, 1999). But, in the second place and the most important how far the law could be implemented, especially in the areas that have great connection and love for Small arms like the study area East Gojjam. Thus, before implementation how far the government gives emphasis for awareness rising to disarm the outlook of the minds of the people than disarming small arms should be take into consideration.

On the other hand, the Amhara Regional State formulated its own law (proclamation 44/2001) to control proliferation and miss use of Small Arms in the region a head of the federal government which is entitled to formulate national law which is applicable to all regions of the country. The law state that so as to guarantee peace and security in the region registration and licensing of Small Arms and Light Weapons is found to be important. In fact, the law does not confirm with the federal constitution because it is against article 51/21 and 55/2(h). Article 51/21 stated that enacting laws regulating the possession and bearing of arms is the Powers and Functions of the Federal Government. In addition, article 55/2(h) state that the House of Peoples' Representatives shall enact specific laws on the possession and bearing of arms. However, the proclamation 44/2001 was formulated to aid the already existing criminal code in the region including the study area.

Regarding constitutionality, relevance and comprehensiveness of the proclamation, key informants from Law School instructors of Debre Markos University argued that the legislation can play a pivotal role in controlling proliferation and misuse of small arms in the Zone despite it does not confirm with the federal constitution. The law gives a fair warning to those potential culprits by stating what is prohibited and allowed. Hence, it is relevant to deter other offenders.

Moreover, it can play a crucial role in safeguarding the rights of the society in general. However, it could be thorny to say that the legislation is comprehensive enough due to the following reasons. First, its scope is limited or unable to address illicit trading and misuse of small arms by certain national and international organizations that may be found in the region. The legislation merely provides that it is applicable to 'any person 'found in the region. Article 3 of the proclamation seems to regulate only 'physical' person as it has been expressed by contained the word 'nuari'. Second, besides the legislation lacks specificity as it does not exhaustively provide the small firearms which should in fact be regulated in terms of size and type. Third, its vague definition given for small arms might lead to wrong interpretation of the legislation that would ultimately results in miscarriage of justice.

In addition, one judge from East Gojjam Zone Higher court indicated that the wise implementation of the law may play an important role to reduce misuse and proliferation of small arms in this zone. However, it has its own limitations. First, article 7/2 stated that if a person is found guilty of illegal trade and brokering of small arms in the region, he is punishable. The degree, amount, duration and even the kind of the punishment are not stated in the proclamation. Thus, it is controversial. Second, according to article 12/1, a person who have a licensed gun unable to properly handle and unable to possess due to serious illness or death, can transfer for other person. Here, for whom it should be transferred, is not clear. Third, sometimes may people accused of misuse of small arms. And based on 44/2001, this person may be guilty of the crime and his gun may be surrendered to the government. But, by considering article 808 of criminal code, that person may be released as innocent. In this case, whether his gun shall be give back or not, it is not clear, and raises disputes.

Furthermore, the zone militia office stated that the law has its own limitations to control misuse and proliferation of small arms. Many times we wrote report and suggestions to enhance the efficiency of the law. But, still there is no change. When a person is found guilty of crime of transferring, trading and possession of illegal small arms, courts at least decided about 50-100 birr or 1-3 months arrest or birr punishment and surrender of the arm. So, this cannot regulate small arms proliferation in East Gojjam Zone.

Moreover, one key informant from Debre Markos city police stated as follows;

For me the law is not contributing to regulate small arms misuse as well as proliferation in our zone. At one time I arrested three individuals who were trading illegally a number of small arms, and I brought them before court. However, after one day imprisonment the court let them released free by surrendering the arms. Since then I am not in a position to fight against illegal possession, transfer and brokering of small arms in this city. But, if the law is strong and give proper punishment for law breakers, one can work in a full commitment.

That means, successfully prosecuting cases involving arms-related crimes and violence is central to resolving the impunity around illegal arms possession (small arms survey, 2012).

Regarding the registering and licensing system of small arms in the zone, the majority of respondents argued that instead of reducing misuse and proliferation of small arms it initiated peoples to have more guns. First, once people registered their arms they also buy another illegal gun as a reserve fearing that the government may issue a law which prohibits the private ownership of gun. Due to this many people want to possess one or more additional illegal guns, immediately following the registration process. Second, as the zone militia office stated during interview, circulation and proliferation of small arms has been increasing after registration is permitted. The registration has been conducted for a specific time every five years. For instance, in 2007 E. C. when registration is allowed for two months significant number of small arms were proliferated and circulated because the licensing process have opened a new window of opportunity to anyone in order to possess and transfer small arm. If, for instance, a police found peoples with illegal guns, it is difficult to accuse him/her because; at that time it was a time of registration. In fact, it may be the limitation of the law that permits people to register any arms whatever the source is come from. As a result, it is assumed that the number of small arms possessed by the community is dramatically increased. In turn, crime has been increasing. For instance, law instructors from Debre Markos University argued that as a principle the system may have positive contribution to control small arms proliferation and misuse. However, one cannot confidentially argue that this system could automatically or directly curb crimes and proliferation of small arms. What we see in practice is that small arms proliferation is increasing from time to time. Thus, the law is good with its limitations but, it also became a cause for further proliferation of small arms in the study area.

On the other hand people are not willing to register small arms. East Gojjam Zone Militia office claimed as follows regarding unwillingness of the people to register Arms;

Here in our Zone, the people are not willing to register their illegal arms due to fear of surrender of arms for the government gradually in the future. They had a wrong perception that the government is working to systematically collect arms through a means of registration and license. As a result, civilians are not in cooperation with the government to control circulation/proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

To give an emphasis for the role of brokering for proliferation of small arms and the response of the law, as a country level there is no any law which supports legalizing of brokering small arms and light weapons. This is also true for proclamation 44/2001 of Amhara regional state. That means, it does not allow brokering of Arms. So, brokers are illegal in general.

In addition to this, based on the document that the researcher reviewed from East Gojjam Zone Higher Court, the response of the law towards illegal brokering and possession of small arms is low. For instance, one individual accused of illegal possession of small arms in Debre Elyas Woreda. So, Debre Elyas Woreda Court decided that the person is guilty of illegal possession of (criminal code 808 and proclamation 44/20001, 5/2) small arms. So that the person punished to pay 50 birr and surrender his arm to the militia office. Moreover, one person also accused of illegal trading of small arms according to criminal code 481/1 and proclamation 44/2001, 7/1 in Debre Markos City. So, Debre Markos City high court found guilty of the crime and decided that the person should be punished with three months arrest. Despite the case is appealed to the Zone High Court, but the decision was the same. Therefore, based on the above cases the response of the law towards illegal possession and transfer of small arms is not strong and efficient. This implies that the law has limitations in principle as well as practical implementation.

However, advocates of small arms control strong and appropriate laws are mandatory to manage small arms problem in a country and states/regions/principals. For example, after the amendment of the new very strict Law towards small arms control the following two main contributions were emerged in Brazil. First, ban on carrying for civilians impacts homicides in the country. More thorough requirements for civilians to acquire a firearm had an impact on the reduction in firearm homicides in Brazil. Second, increase in the number of weapons removed from circulation .The Disarmament Statute has also made it possible to remove a large amount of guns

from circulation through apprehension by police officers, gun buyback campaigns and the destruction of guns carried out by the Army (Ford Foundation, 2010). Thus, the researcher is interested to quote karp's argument "the greatest hurdle to overcome in controlling the small arms and light weapons proliferation is not powerful lawbreakers but weak lawmakers (Karp, 2010). The law has to be strong enough to overcome the threat of proliferation and misuse of small arms.

4.4.2. Institutional perspective

As an institution Militia office is responsible for regulation of misuse and proliferation of small arms and light weapons based on proclamation 44/2001.

The zone militia office stated that proliferation of small arms is a very serious problem in our zone. Arms has been continued to circulate across our zone in alarming rate. We have also challenged seriously in managing this problem. In fact, the sources of these illegal small arms remain a mystery. If the interactions between legal and illegal small arms markets are intricate and complex, identifying their sources are even more nebulous. Even when the transaction is done through licensed manufacturers and distribution is legal, the movement of arms is often shrewd in secrecy (Okiro, 2004).

For this, the role of illegal brokers is the major one. For instance, one illegal broker from Debre Markos City stated he freely transfer small arms from Sudan, South Sudan, Afar, Moyale, Wollega, to East Gojjam and even pass to Addis Ababa without any problem simply as a commodity on bus by making hidden into carton or other materials. Until now he did not face any challenge. This indicates that check points are not that much effective. Moreover, one key informant from Debre Markos City Police also stated that;

Brokering of small arms is one of the major security challenges in this zone. Brokers are very systematic, strong and skilled in this activity. They have the capacity to circulate small arms for a certain kebele at once. So, it is very difficult to know who brokers are, how, when and by what means they transfer small arms. In fact, in this activity police officials who retired and fired from their job are participants. This makes the efforts to control proliferation and misuse of small arms in our zone very challenging.

Thus, mainly from the militia office a number of efforts are expected to manage misuse and proliferation of small arms and light weapons in East Gojjam zone. So, key informant interviewee from zone militia office explained the following regarding what measures and efforts had been taken by the office from woreda level up to zone despite it is not satisfactory;

First, identify who should possess a small arm from kebele level up to zonal level. Then gave awareness about how to register arms, how to use arms after registration, in what circumstances they may oblige to surrender their arms for the government. In general, the process of registration of arms make public for the people. But, it was not enough, and our education mainly focuses on the process of registration. So, we have also focus on giving awareness and training for skill and knowledge to manage small arms.

Second, if a person commits a crime after registration we take the case to court in order to punish him/her. Until now about ten persons punished because of misuse of guns after registration. Their arms also surrendered to our office. In relation to this, we are also confiscating illegal arms of civilian and brokers despite not enough.

Third, peoples who possess illegally are confiscated by police and militias. For instance, according to the Zone Militia Office, since 2004 E.C about 880 illegal small arms and light weapons as well as 10,372 bullets and ammunition were confiscated and surrendered by the police.

Fourth, in cooperation with police office we are fighting against illegal transfer of arms. In this year, about four brokers were punished.

On the other hand, informants from selected Woredas responded that in this zone there is no that much commendable trainings and awareness creations for the people, especially on the technical aspect of small arms. So, raising awareness would counter confusion and misinformation about efforts to address small arms proliferation and misuse and assist real and sustainable progress. Such awareness promotion would include increasing dialogue, through interagency meetings, reports, and statements, on how small arms proliferation and misuse can undermine security and development goals. This could then encourage policy initiatives and budgetary support for efforts to combat the illegal spread of small arms (Stohl and Hogendoorn March 2010).

Other respondents also emphasized on the issue of bringing attitudinal change on the minds of the people towards small arms. One participant in the Focus Group Discussion described;

The security sector is not that much strong to control small arms misuse and proliferation. Small arms always transferred on the cars easily as other commodities. Many people's publically shot on other peoples and killed as well as injured without fear of police. So, the security sector has to enhance its own performance and quality. Judges also lacks proper knowledge and awareness about the issue of small arms and its legal aspect. Some woreda militias intentionally and unknowingly disarm some peoples in the name of miss use of arms. But, even if some peoples are obliged to surrender their arms, in the next day they can buy other small arms because there is easy accessibility in the zone because the people had strong love for arms. So, for me before disarmament of small arms the government has to work towards disarming of the strong attitude/mind and love of the people for arms.

So, in fact, the law might have its own positive role to regulate small arms in East Gojjam Zone but, the government has to work towards how to change the culture of the society. In other words, the government has to work towards attitude change of the society. If the attitude of the society towards possession of Guns is changed, it could be easy to regulate proliferation of Small Arms.

The researcher is interested to state the following case study that is found in SALW Control Training Manual for West Africa regarding the importance of public awareness and raising about small arms control;

Case Study: Raising awareness in Senegal

The Movement against Small Arms in West Africa (MALAO) has developed a number of education and awareness-raising tools on SALW control, such as banners, posters, stickers, pens and T-shirts, as well as a comic book entitled “My Strength is in Peace.” Each tool has its own advantage:

Comic books are excellent sensitization tools for young people and people who are illiterate. Meaningful images attract and capture attention, particularly if they are a symbol within the community.

Banners are excellent tools for raising awareness since they address a large public and are easily readable.

Posters can address large groups, special groups or individuals. They can be posted on streets, doors (public or private), lounges and offices, on cars and other vehicles.

Pens can target all different groups in society (children, teenagers, adults and women etc.). They are especially effective because they pass from one hand to another and spread the message far beyond the initial recipient of the pen.

T-shirts are a great way to raise awareness on a particular issue given their universal popularity.

Therefore, effective awareness rising combined with clear, understandable and appropriate messages is very important to control small arms problem in the study area in various ways as such as participatory meetings, training sessions, or other forms of contact and exchanges with the target population.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Summary and Conclusion

Everyone has the right to feel secure in every aspect of life, especially protection from the threat that affects the well-being of the individual and their communities in general. At present small arms witnessed to be the major threat for the security of human society throughout the world. The community of the world, no matter whether they are in war or peace, are not secure from the threat and violence of small arms due to the easy availability and proliferation of small arms outside the jurisdiction of the state. The easy availability of small arms when accompanied with the culture of violence, retribution and intake of stimulant drugs like alcohol leads the misuse and impose a serious challenge on the well-being of the society. Thus, regulating this serious problem is the responsibility of the international, continental and national community, including NGOs and IGOs.

In Ethiopia, the problem is self-evident in different parts of the country. For instance, all Ethiopians have a fresh memory about the massacre of hundreds of civilians in Gambella by people who came from South Sudan. In the same vein, in East Gojjam Zone, the problem attributed to the easy availability and proliferation of small arms continued to be a serious challenge despite the efforts of governments both at the Zonal and Regional levels.

Despite the difficulty to mention the exact number of small arms due to lack of sufficient data (Killicoat, 2007), the magnitude or number of small arms circulated and possessed by civilians is high in the study area. Based on the findings of the study, it is estimated that the majority of households had gun either licensed or not. This created negative implications to human safety and security. That means, people feel insecure as there has been vicious cycle of possession of small arms.

As the finding of the study displays, the major reasons for the possession and misuse of small arms includes: cultural (pride, revenge and emotional music and poetry like fukkara and karrarto), easy availability and brokering, security dilemma, alcohol and lack of skills to properly use guns. In other words, these are the responsible factors for both the possession as well as for

the misuse of SALW in the study area. For instance, people want to possess small arms for pride/bombast and even to get respect. In addition, the culture expects an individual with wealth and high social status to appear with gun and blast on some social gatherings like wedding, funeral and religious ceremonies. Thus, people need to have guns for pride and respect, but there are cases in which they also misuse it. Culture of revenge is one of rampant cultural practices for both the possession and misuse of small arms in the study area. In this regard, small arms are the prime and easily available option to take the act of revenge. Moreover, emotional music and poetry like fukkara and karrarto is the other cultural cause for both the possession and misuse of small arms. This means, some music culture of the community encourages individuals to possess small arms. But, the bad thing is when people become emotional and aggressive encouraged with heroic music, fukkara and karrarto, they misuse it in a way that can inflict death and other casualties. It is obvious that the easy availability of small arms encourages people to possess and in turn misuse small arms. In addition, small arms become a business issue. The profit the people got from the circulation of small arms initiates the people to have more guns. Many people possess various illegal guns to sell with high benefit since the price of small arms has been increasing at alarming rate. From one gun in average one can make a profit of 5000-10,000 birr. Most of the time, one can harm anyone at anywhere without considering whether there is police or not, especially for revenge case in the study area. As a result, the people have no full confidence on the security sector. Even, in areas which have strong security institutions, people possess guns with the name of self-defense. People worry about internal enemies and external situations. Thus, to protect themselves people believed that they need to have their own Gun. So, security dilemma is also the reason for both possession and misuse of small arms in the study area. Alcohol and lack of skill on properly utilizing small arms highly contributes for the misuse of small arms, but not for the possession of arms. Alcohol is major stimulator factor for misuse of small arms. In the area there is high consumption of traditional alcohol, especially *areki* and *tela*. So, even for silly reasons people kill each other through arms. Furthermore, some people possess small arms without knowledge and skill to manage. As a result, lives have also been lost frequently due to this skill gap and it in turn becomes a cause for another cycle of revenge. In fact, there are also peoples who properly handle guns.

According to the findings of the study, the people of the area is well known in defending external enemy as it was witnessed during the period of Italian occupation. But, internally they mostly misuse Guns and killed each other. The social life of many families and communities are seriously affected due to this fact. In addition, it resulted for displacement of the people to different parts of the country and encouraged culture of violence. The family can face economic problems when their father killed by someone or leave the community to escape from the practice of revenge when life is lost on his hand. Moreover, some people also encountered psychological problems in various ways. For instance, when a person is unable to take revenge while his father or brother is killed, the community bulled and insults him.

The Law that has been implemented to control small arms proliferation and misuse (proclamation 44/2001) in the Amhara regional state in general and East Gojjam Zone in particular is not capable of achieving its objective. This is the result of many factors; one, the Law is not comprehensive enough and lacks strong punishment; second, the people and even the Judges and other concerned officials lack proper understanding and awareness of the proclamation; third, the presence of systematic and strong illegal brokers (especially those who hired from job of police office) in the zone makes very difficult to implement and control; fourth, the law is not applicable on people outside the Amhara regional state. Due to these drawbacks, the law is not capable of regulating small arms problem in the study area. In other words, it encountered limitations in principle as well as in practice.

The findings shows that despite the seriousness of the problem the government is not taking appropriate measures to control proliferation and miss use of small arms in East Gojjam Zone. The militia office, except confiscating finger counted guns, have done little in changing the attitude of the people on the possession and misuse of small arms. Therefore, proliferation and miss use of small arms is not well regulated in East Gojjam Zone.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the finding of the study, the researcher recommended the following basic points for the concerned body in order to take appropriate measure:

- According to the finding of the study, the demand of the people for acquisition and possession of small arms is very high. Everyone wants to have a gun for various reasons. As a result, the number of small arms circulated and possessed by civilians has been increasing from time to time. Therefore, the government has to disarm the minds of the people before to bring attitudinal change. Confidence building has also been built on the security sector to defend human safety and security.
- Fostering good governance and strong institutions of justice can enhance the confidence of the community on government institutions. In this regard, the government expected to provide sufficient protection to the lives and properties of the community. The justice institutions required to have the necessary skills and ability to punish offenders proportionately. This raises the confidence of the people on the government institution and they began to rely on legal instruments instead of taking the justice on one's own hand. At this time, the gun no longer perceived as a means of executing justice by the individual and the community as well.
- Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms have to be reinforced to solve conflicts peacefully instead of taking action/justice on one's own hand.
- In addition, the government has to conduct continuous awareness creation activities on the bad consequences of guns, traditional culture of revenge, and reinforce music and poetry which promotes positive aspects of life of the community. Moreover, the concerned body has to provide sufficient skills for those people who register arms so as to help proper management of guns. So, the government has to work to alleviate the root causes of possession and misuse of small arms.
- At the national level despite it is on the process there is no comprehensive Law that could be equally implemented across the country. So, the law shall quickly ratified and implemented. But, awareness rising should be given an emphasis more than simply enacting the law.

- At institutional level the government did not take that much effective measure to control small arms problem as one expects in the study area. In fact, the militia office tried to confiscate some illegal arms from civilians and illegal brokers. But, this is not long lasting action to control small arms problem in the study area. Therefore, the government should work towards capacity building strategy of the security sector. Here, civil societies can play a great role to regulate small arms proliferation and misuse by educating the people. The government can change the issue of small arms to development aspect of life of the people. For example, when individual voluntarily surrender his/her Gun an incentive could be given. So, reinforcing continuous education is very crucial. In general, the government should give emphasis for attitudinal change of the society towards possession of small arms and some bad cultures as revenge.

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Appendix I: List of Informants

Lists of informants

List of Informant interview of Civilians

No.	Name	Age	Place/Woreda/city	Educational Level
1.	Informant 1	36	Debre Markos City	Masters
2.	Informant 2	41	Debre Markos City	Degree
3.	Informant 3	29	Debre Markos City	Degree
4.	Informant 4	39	Enebse Sar Mider Woreda	Illiterate, Farmer
5.	Informant 5	46	Enebse Sar Mider Woreda	Grade 8
6.	Informant 6	54	Enebse Sar Mider Woreda	Degree
7.	Informant 7	52	Baso Liben Woreda	Degree
8.	Informant 8	34	Baso Liben Woreda	Diploma
9.	Informant 9	40	Baso Liben Woreda	Illiterate, Farmer
10.	Informant 10	57	Shebel Woreda	Diploma
11.	Informant 11	49	Shebel Woreda	Degree
12.	Informant 12	43	Shebel Woreda	Illiterate, Farmer
13.	Informant 13	58	Gozamen Woreda	Educated
14.	Informant 14	32	Gozamen Woreda	Grade 1F
15.	Informant 15	57	Gozamen Woreda	10+3
16.	Informant 16	61	Goncha Siso Enese Woreda	Degree
17.	Informant 17	39	Goncha Siso Enese Woreda	Diploma
18.	Informant 18	47	Goncha Siso Enese Woreda	Illiterate, Farmer
19.	Informant 19	50	Debay Tilategen Woreda	Grade 12
20.	Informant 20	38	Debay Tilategen Woreda	Masters
21.	Informant 21	45	Debay Tilategen Woreda	Illiterate, Merchant
22.	Informant 22	59	Bibugn Woreda	Degree
23.	Informant 23	60	Bibugn Woreda	Illiterate, Merchant
24.	Informant 24	51	Bibugn Woreda	Grade 9

List of FGD participants

No.	Name	Age	Place/Woreda/City	Educational Level
1.	Informant 1	72	Debre Markos	Masters
2.	Informant 2	68	Debre Markos	Masters
3.	Informant 3	66	Debre Markos	Illiterate, Merchant
4.	Informant 4	76	Debre Markos	Diploma
5.	Informant 5	62	Debre Markos	Degree
6.	Informant 6	84	Debre Markos	Illiterate, Merchant

List of Key informant

No.	Institution's Name	Position/ status
1.	East Gojjam Zone Militia Office	Chair person & Information Desk Officer
2.	East Gojjam Zone Police office	Chair person & Crime Investigator officers
3.	East Gojjam Zone Higher Court	Higher Judge & Judicial Administration Council chair person
4.	Debre Markos City Police office	Police officer
5.	Debre Markos University	Law Instructors

List of Informants-Illegal Brokers

No.	Name	Age	Place/Woreda/City	Educational Level
1.	Informant 1	27	Debre Markos	Grade 9
2.	Informant 2	28	Debre Markos	Grade 10
3.	Informant 3	40	Debre Markos	Degree

Appendix II: Interview Guide Questions

This is designed for the purpose of gathering information concerning the “regulation of proliferation and misuse of small arms in East Gojjam Zone” for the partial fulfillment of Master’s Degree in the department of Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University .The information that provided by the participants expected to be accurate as much as possible. The name of the participants is not also disclosed without their will/consent. Thus, it is also confirmed the data given by participants is treated confidentially.

Key informant interview Guide questions for Zonal militia office & police office.

1. How could you say about the number/magnitude of small arms (per household) in East Gojjam Zone? And what is its implication to human security in the area?
2. Is small arms access to small arms easy or difficult in the study area?
3. What demands motivate the people for the acquisition of small arms?
4. What are the major sources and impacts of small arms proliferation in the study area?
5. How often misuse of small arms occur? And what factors instigate misuse of small arms in the study area?
6. How might the feeling of security be affected if majority of the people had guns?
7. How can the enforcement of gun control law be ensured to reduce the threat of proliferation of small arms? And how far the law is capable of regulating proliferation of small arms in the area?

8. Do you think firearm registration and licensing system is a good idea, and could prevent gun related crimes and incidences? If so, how? If not, why not?
9. What practical steps and inputs (time, personal and financial) the region and zone taking to curb proliferation of small arms? And what challenges faced?
10. What type of measures, programmes and initiatives are going on in the local community to promote small arms control?

Interview Guide Questions for civilians

1. Do you have small arms problem in your area? How do you define the problem?
2. How do you see the magnitude of small arms in the study area and its impact?
3. How might the feeling of security be affected if majority of the people had guns?
4. Is the demand to possess small arms is increasing or decreasing? If so, what demands motivate peoples to possess small arms? If not, Why?
5. How do you see the capacity of the law to control proliferation and misuse of small arms? What major limitations do you observe?
6. Do you think 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 would be the role of the government to change the attitude of the people towards possession of small arms?
8. Do you have small arms problem in your area? How do you define the problem?
9. What factors aggravate misuse of small arms?
10. What are the major sources of small arms?
11. Is there anything that may prevent you from getting a license?
12. What would be your suggestions about how to control small arms in the area?

Interview Guide Questions for Brokers

1. How do you see the interest of the people to possess 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. Where is the source of small arms? Who are the major actors?
4. How do you see the magnitude of small arms and its impact to human security?

5. What is the response of the law to control illegal brokering?
6. Is brokering small arms is more profitable?
7. What are the major types of small arms you brokering?
8. Do you think that Proliferation of small arms could have a negative impact to human security? If yes, what should be done from all the stakeholders? If not, why not?
9. Do you think firearm registration and licensing system is a good idea, and could prevent gun related crimes and incidences? If so, how? If not, why not?

Focus Group Discussion Guide Questions for Elders

1. How do you see the magnitude of small arms in the study area and its implication to human security?
2. How might the feeling of security be affected if majority of the people had guns?
3. Is the demand to possess firearms is increasing or decreasing? If so, what demands motivate peoples to possess small arms? If not, Why?
4. Do you have small arms problem in your area? How do you define the problem?
5. Do you think firearm registration and licensing system is a good idea, and could prevent gun related crimes and incidences? If so, how? If not, why not?
6. What would be your suggestions about how to control small arms in the area?

Interview Guide Questions for Zone Court Officials

1. How do you see the magnitude of small arms and its implication to human security in the area?
2. Why people's needs to possess small arms in the area?
3. How often misuse of small arms occur? And what factors initiates peoples for misuse of arms? If any case, mention?
4. What is the role of illegal brokers for the proliferation and misuse of small arms?
5. How far the legal mechanism is strong enough to control illegal brokering? If there cases, mention?
6. How do you see the relevance and comprehensiveness of the legal mechanism to control misuse and proliferation of small arms in the area?

7. Do you think that firearm registration can address small arms problem, and how far the law monitored and implemented?
8. What should be done from court officials to control the problem in the area?

Interview Guide Questions for Lawyers

1. How do you see the relevance and comprehensiveness of the law to control proliferation and misuse of small arms? If any limitation you witnessed?
2. Do you think that firearm registration can address small arms problem? If yes, how. If not, why?
3. How far the gov't goes beyond firearm registration to create public awareness about the law?
4. How do you see the implementation and monitoring activities of the legislation?
5. What should be done from all stake holders (public, gov't, civil societies) to control proliferation and misuse of small arms in the study area?

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS GUIDE: Documents to be Reviewed/Analyzed include: Books, Research Works, Journals, Articles, Online documents and official reports& letters.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in AAU or any other university, and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been acknowledged.

Declared by
Aemro Tenaw

Confirmed by: Advisor
Mesfin Gebremichael (Dr)

Signature

Signature

Date

Date

Date of Submission _____