SALW and Development

module SAD 06B02
SALW and Development

written by
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List of Icons for TRESA modules

The following icons will be used in the text. These are intended as pointers for actions the trainer or trainee should take while using the text.

**Activity**
Indicates some sort of group activity, exercise, discussion, division into separate smaller groups, etc.

**Case study**
Two types of case studies are indicated here:
- Case studies which are required (later text refers to the case, and therefore the case study must be used). These are indicated by an "R".
- Case studies that are optional (trainers can use a similar case study they might be more familiar with, as the same lessons are drawn).

**Essential point**
Main points that the trainees *must* remember from the training.

**Formal quote**
Written or pictographic material that is a quote from some other source (e.g.: UN declaration, national law) and cannot be changed or modified.

**Outside reference**
An arrow pointing to some outside source, for example, another module.
**Tag**
This indicates an element of the module that the trainer must be careful to modify to fit the audience.

- **L:** *Linguistic usage.* Where the text uses a particular expression that might not translate well from one language to another.

- **C:** *Cultural usage.* Where the text uses examples from one culture that might be misunderstood in another.

- **S:** *Social usage.* Where a text is aimed at a particular audience (example, parliament members) and must be modified to fit another audience (example, military people).

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**Take a break**
Breathe some fresh air, relax, have a cup of coffee, ...

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**Technical device**
Trainer must ensure the availability of some technical device: a computer with presentation software, an OHP, a film projector, puppets, ...

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**Tool**
A film, a form or questionnaire, theatrical performance, etc., that accompany the module but are not part of it. Most are downloadable from www.tresa-online.org

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**Trainer preparation required**
The trainer must make some special preparation (prepare notes or labels, assemble material, collate material for distribution).
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Trainee Preface

This training module is intended for development project planners, managers, administrators, government officials, NGOs and local organizers. In fact, there are two types of audiences: those familiar with development issues for whom the training is designed to raise awareness and sensitivity of SALW issues; and those familiar with SALW, particularly NGO personnel, who are either mainstreaming their work with development programs or building more development sensitivity into their SALW projects.

Security and development are increasingly recognized as being indivisible. This goes beyond observations that insecurity undermines development programming or that a lack of development can contribute to the outbreak of conflict. Rather, the links between armed violence and development are multifaceted. This module aims to provide trainees with the knowledge and skills required recognizing the links between SALW, armed violence, and development. It also emphasizes the value of tackling SALW/armed violence for development programming and vice versa.

The objectives of this module are:

- To outline the ways in which SALW and armed violence can impact upon development.
- To examine the dynamic interrelationships between development, governance, security, and armed violence.
- To provide an understanding of how SALW programs can contribute to - and be integrated with - development programming.

**Note:** the sections of this module draw upon Owen Greene's *How is SALW control a development issue*, Background Paper for Wilton Park Conference on Integrating SALW Controls into Development Programmes, 14 – 17 April 2003, as well as other sources listed in the bibliography.

Additional reading includes:

- Small Arms Survey 2002: Counting the Human Cost.
- Small Arms Survey 2003: Development Denied, Chapter Four.

Please make use of the space provided within this module to record additional information or notes from the training, as well as your ideas and answers to specific exercises and discussion questions. As we hope to make this and all other TRESA modules more targeted, relevant and useful to your area of work, we welcome any feedback and comments you might have. Please feel free to contact us at www.tresa-online.org.
Please also note that all Module Abbreviations deliberately state only the first three letters (e.g. SB-D), as well the year in which the module was written (05), but not whether it is the A (trainer), or B (Trainee) version, or e.g. 01 (is the first version of this module, 02 the second, etc.). This is to emphasize that all our modules are works in progress, and will be regularly updated and modified (01, 02, 03, 04, etc).

We wish you the best of luck and success in your training.
Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Mike Bourne (Center for International Cooperation and Security, University of Bradford, UK) for his extensive contribution and input in developing this training module.

We would further like to thank Project Ploughshares (www.ploughshares.ca) for giving us their kind permission to reproduce the "Human Development and Armed Conflict" map, which accompanies this training module as a tool.

Last, but not least, we would like to thank Fabricia Lopes and Tonka Eibs for their contribution towards finalizing this module.

We would also like to thank Rosula Blanc for her creative design and illustration of the TRESA mascot, the Anteater.
Meet the Anteater, the TRESA mascot.

Much of the transfer of SALW occurs through what has been called the “ant trade”: the small-scale, cross-border smuggling and person to person transfer of SALW. Since the Anteater only has an appetite for ants, it’s no surprise to see it as the TRESA mascot.

The Anteater will appear throughout this module to highlight important facts and help draw your attention to some interesting points.
Glossary

**Armed group**
A term used for a group of armed people with various organizational levels. They may have a political agenda or solely an economic one, or a mix of both.

**Armed violence reduction**
Diversified, long-term activities targeted at underlying conditions for armed violence.

**Capacity building**
Training given to individuals and groups to equip them with the necessary skills they require.

**Child soldier/child combatant/children associated with armed groups**
UNICEF defines a child soldier as any person under the age of 18 years who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers, and those accompanying such groups, other than purely as family members. It includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms.

**Civil society**
Collective of civilian and social organizations or institutions which form the basis of a functioning society.

**Cold arms/arms blanches**
Implements other than firearms that can be used as weapons, e.g. sticks and clubs, machetes, knives, swords, etc. Not included in the definition of SALW.

**Community based policing (CBP)**
Active partnership between local communities and the police. Key principles of CBP: the involvement of Communities; controlling police weapons and civilian Armaments; well-trained and responsible police; the building of trust, community support and awareness.

**Community groups**
An association of people with common rights, privileges and/or interests.

**Conflict**
When a dispute turns into something bigger where more issues, often hidden and underlying ones, are at stake. A conflict can be carried out by means of violence.

**Conflict assessment**
A conflict assessment is a diagnostic tool that produces various recommendations for managing the conflict.

**Conflict trap**
A concept indicating that underdevelopment spurs conflict and conflict in turn impedes development, thereby creating a mutually reinforcing cycle of violence and poverty.

**CSO**
Civil Society Organization; an organization that focuses on the participation of civil society in social and political decision-making processes.
### Development
Long-term efforts aimed at bringing improvements in the economic, political, social and environmental spheres, as well as in the quality of life of all segments of the population.

### Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration (DDR)
A three-pronged program of reducing or abolishing weapons of former government or opposition forces, dissolving military structures and integrating their former fighters back into non-violent life, after a period of (usually internal) conflict. Sometimes there is a second R added, which stands for Reconciliation or Rehabilitation.

### Domestic violence
Conduct against family members, intimately involved partners or roommates, which can include beatings, threats, stalking or other forms of intimidation, harassment, neglect, physical, emotional or sexual abuse.

### Ex-combatants
Former members of an armed group (military, insurgency, militia, gang, or any other). The precise definition may be contested from one situation to another and is sometimes stipulated in a peace agreement.

### Explosives
A substance or a mixture of substances, which under external influence is capable of rapidly releasing energy in the form of gas and heat.

### Gender
The social expectations in any society that are attached to a particular biological sex.

### Gender-based-violence (GBV)
The targeting of specific persons because of their gender. This includes a history of sexual abuse in childhood, sexual abuse/rape and domestic violence.

### Gender-inclusive analysis
An assessment of gender roles, representation and participation in a particular project or program.

### Good governance
The process of decision-making and the implementation of these decisions if they are characterized by being participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. Good governance ensures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.

### Human Development Index (HDI)
Measurement tool of development published annually by the UNDP within their Human Development Report.

### Human security
A people-centered approach to security. Human security aims to remove the threats to people arising from poverty, conflict, disease, starvation and the environment, among other things.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Implementation</td>
<td>The act of putting into action or fulfilling the provisions and commitments a state has agreed to via an official document.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incentives</td>
<td>Something that is provided to motivate people into action. In weapons collection programs, incentives are often cash or in-kind contributions (e.g. tools, motorbikes, and cattle) that serve to induce people to hand in their weapons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal security</td>
<td>Security within the borders of a nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Donors</td>
<td>International Donors fund most of the weapon and ammunition destruction projects. They have certain responsibilities for ensuring that these projects are managed effectively and in accordance with national or international standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millennium Development Goals (MDG)</td>
<td>Eight goals compiled by the Member States of the UN, which shall be achieved in the year 2015.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light weapons</td>
<td>A crew operated weapon of less than 100-mm caliber. In practice, these include weapons of caliber’s of between 12.7 and 100 mm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine gun</td>
<td>Medium-sized and larger automatic firearm (less than 20mm caliber) that fires in bursts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization. A voluntary organization that is non-profit oriented and independent from the government and government institutions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pistol</td>
<td>A small arm that can theoretically be fired one-handedly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proliferation</td>
<td>Spread of weapons, weapons parts, weapons systems and ammunition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receiving communities</td>
<td>Communities where demobilized combatants will live and establish themselves as civilians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Role (social)</td>
<td>The rules an individual in any society is expected to follow concerning how to behave in any given position, such as ‘daughter’, ‘manager’, and ‘grandchild’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety, Security and Access to Justice (SSAJ)</td>
<td>Core element of good governance. It is promoted through three main elements: 1. Effective and accountable policing, 2. Effective and independent judicial and penal system, 2. Professional military and internal security apparatus under effective political and administrative control, respecting the legal system and human rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security forces</td>
<td>Forces that are supposed to guarantee security, such as the military, the police, intelligence service, the paramilitary, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Security sector</strong></td>
<td>Organizations and individuals in a state that are officially responsible for public order, physical security, and the borders of the state, such as the army, police, border police etc.</td>
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<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Security Sector Reform (SSR)</strong></td>
<td>Often a precondition in conflict torn societies for development and good governance. SSR may mean either some small transformations within a functioning security system or the complete re-structuring of the state's security apparatus. Especially in post-conflict situations, SSR aims to strengthen the political control over armed bodies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td>The biological distinction between males and females of any species.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small arms</strong></td>
<td>Weapons that can be carried and are used by one person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small arms and light weapons (SALW)</strong></td>
<td>Weapons that can be carried and are used by one person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social capital</strong></td>
<td>The degree to which an individual or group can call in favors, and the degree to which they can offer these favors to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stakeholder</strong></td>
<td>Someone – a person or an organization – who has or feels they have an interest in a particular issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transparency</strong></td>
<td>The act of disclosing information in a comprehensive, accurate and timely manner.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UN DDA</strong></td>
<td>United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UNDP</strong></td>
<td>United Nations Development Program.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UN Programme of Action/ UN PoA</strong></td>
<td>The UN Program of Action calling for international and national action to control SALW.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Weapons for Development Program</strong></td>
<td>A disarmament program aimed at the community level. Instead of providing individual incentives for the return of a weapon, the disarmament of a particular region is rewarded by community development projects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 1

Impacts of armed violence on development

Objectives and Goals of Section 1:

- To clarify the concept of development.
- To introduce the link between SALW and violence.
- To discuss the concept of gender and how gender and armed violence are related.

1. What is development?

Exercise 1: Painting

- Draw a picture of what you think would be your “perfect world”.
Exercise 2: Discussion

What does “development” mean to you?

As with all similarly broad issues, development is being defined by different actors in many different ways. For the purpose of this module, we suggest using the following definition: “Long-term efforts aimed at bringing improvements in the economic, political and social status, environmental stability and the quality of life of all segments of the population”.

The Millennium Summit agreed on eight Development Goals to be achieved through reaching 18 related targets (for more details on the MDGs, see Annex I). These are basically the same types of issues one would expect to find in a development agenda. The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are:

1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2) Achieve universal primary education
3) Promote Gender equality and empower women
4) Reduce child mortality
5) Improve maternal health
6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
7) Ensure environmental sustainability
8) Develop a global partnership for development

Box—The Millennium Summit

At the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000, world leaders agreed to a set of timebound and measurable goals and targets for combating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against women. Placed at the heart of the global agenda, they are now called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Summit’s Millennium Declaration also outlined a wide range of commitments in human rights, good governance and democracy. [...] The MDGs provide a framework for the entire UN system to work coherently together towards a common end. [...] The world is making progress toward the MDGs—but it is uneven and too slow. [...] The challenges for the global community, in both the developed and developing world are to mobilize financial support and political will, re-engage governments, re-orient development priorities and policies, build capacity and reach out to partners in civil society and the private sector.

Source: Implementing the UN Millennium Declaration. United Nations Fact Sheet, United Nations Department of Public Information, October 2002.
UNDP has developed indicators of “Human Development”, which are reflected in the Human Development Index (HDI). For more details see Annex III. They emphasize:

- People’s longevity
- Knowledge
- Standard of living
- Community participation

Both the MDGs and the HDI are written from a UN perspective and focus on specific areas. However, other foci may also be significant. The aspect of peace, conflict and violence is neither directly covered in the MDGs nor in the HDI.

Note: the numerous elements of development are closely related. As you will see, armed violence perpetuated with SALW has negative impacts on these elements and inter-relationships of development.
2. SALW and violence

Overall, the impact of SALW on development occurs through their misuse and contribution to armed violence. Thus, it is useful to begin with a brief understanding of the impact of SALW flows and availability on the nature of armed violence.

Exercise 3: Brainstorming and discussion

- What is the purpose of armed violence?
- What factors favor or reduce the escalation of a conflict into armed violence?

2.1 Causes of violence

The availability of SALW does not by itself cause violence, armed conflicts or armed crime. Violence has numerous causes and dynamics that increase or reduce its likelihood. These causes are largely context specific, which makes generalizations very difficult. Nevertheless, there are several factors that play a role in causing armed violence, which can be divided into 3 categories:

- **Structural factors**, also called root causes, create the conditions that are necessary for a conflict to develop. These can include weak state structures, group inequalities, economic exclusion, poverty or environmental degradation.

- **Situational factors** are factors contributing to a climate which can bring about violent conflict or escalate violence further. They include ethnic or religious rivalry, economic self-interests, or the presence of SALW.

- **Trigger factors** are single key acts, events, or their anticipation that set off or escalate violent conflict. Both triggers and situational causes fuel the escalation of conflict and determine whether or not it will turn violent.

Box—Structural, situational and trigger factors

**Structural causes** can include:

- Weak states, intra-state security, and poor governance.
- Discriminatory political institutions, elite politics, illegitimate governments.
- Economic problems, modernization, lack of equal economic and social opportunities, inequitable access to natural resources.
- Patterns of cultural discrimination, problematic group histories.

**Situational causes** can include:

- Uncontrolled security sector, light weapons proliferation, collapsing states, changing intra-state military balances, changing demographics, destabilizing role of neighboring countries, role of diasporas, human rights abuses.
Political transition, increasing influential exclusionary ideologies, intensifying leadership struggles.
Mounting economic problems, growing inequities.

**Trigger causes** are specific incidents, which can include:
- Elections.
- Arrest / assassination of key leader or political figure.
- Drought.
- Sudden collapse of local currency.
- Military coup.
- Rapid change in unemployment.
- Flood.
- Increased price / scarcity of basic commodities.

More examples can be found on the following website:
http://www.sais-jhu.edu/cmtoolkit/approaches/causesofconflict.html#anchor1

### Table 1: Causes of armed violence
2.2 The role of SALW in the escalation of violence

Even though SALW do not cause violence, it is widely accepted that the availability of SALW helps escalate and/or exacerbate violence and conflict and increases its lethality.

The availability of SALW:
- Makes violence more feasible.
- Makes violence more likely.
- Makes violence more destructive.
- Contributes to dynamics of insecurity.
Overall, impacts of SALW availability include:

- Contributing to dynamics of insecurity.
- Increasing the willingness to resort to violence.
- Contributing to social militarization or cultures of violence.

### 2.3 What are SALW?

Despite their widespread use, there is no universal definition of SALW (see also TRESA module SALW Basics-SALW Definitions, SB-D05). For the purposes of this module, we recommend defining SALW as all lethal conventional munitions (arms and ammunition) that can be carried, maintained and used by an individual or a small group of individuals, or transported by a small vehicle or pack animal, and that do not require a substantial logistic and maintenance capability.

#### Box—SALW definitions

In most SALW control-related work and publications, SALW are divided into three categories:

- **Small arms** are those arms designed for personal use. They can be maintained, carried and used by one person.
- **Light weapons** are weapons that can be maintained, used and carried by small groups (2-3 persons), or transported by small vehicles or pack animals.
- **Ammunition and explosives** form an integral part of small arms and light weapons, since weapons can be rendered useless without appropriate ammunition.

Not included in the definition of SALW are so called ‘cold arms’ or ‘arms blanches’, which includes machetes, knives, swords, or other implements that can be used as weapons, e.g. sticks and clubs. However, such implements can, and notoriously have been used to commit atrocities and genocide. For more information on different SALW, please see TRESA module SALW Basics-SALW Recognition (SB-R05).

### 2.4 The gender dimension: men and women and guns

#### Exercise 4: Discussion and group work

Divide into separate groups (if possible into a female and a male group). Discuss what guns symbolize to each of you.
Exercise 5: Discussion

“Typically male, typically female?”

Box—Definition

The concept of gender is used to explain different learned identities associated with masculinity and femininity: it describes socially constructed as opposed to biologically determined identities of women and men. Gender shapes the roles, relationships, experiences and expectations of women, men, boys and girls in a society. It is intertwined with other forms of social differentiation such as age, ethnicity, class, caste, religion and socio-economic status. These different roles and relationships influenced by local, national and regional contexts often determine ways in which people are affected by the availability of SALW and the impact of SALW on their lives, both in conflict and non-conflict situations. Men, women and children experience, and are affected by SALW and armed violence in different ways.

Men
The highest percentage of both perpetrators and victims of SALW violence are men. Men are often expected by society to be the ones who have to defend and protect their pride, reputation, families, country or property; and who have to provide the necessities of living. Men often see weapons as symbols of characteristics such as “courage”, “masculinity” or “honor”. The last two points, in particular, help to explain why in many cultures and situations men often perceive guns as generally positive and necessary for their survival.

Women
Although in many cultures women don’t have access to weapons, their lives are strongly influenced by SALW: they are targets of rape, other forms of sexual violence and killings in conflict situations, crime, and domestic violence (violence in their homes). They are health providers and caretakers of the victims of armed violence.

Whenever men are absent in times of crisis, women are responsible for the survival of their families and have to take over all kinds of responsibilities at the community level. Women are indirectly involved in fighting, for example as associates to armed forces. Often they are forced to act as “combatant wives”, cooks, spies, or messengers, and often have to suffer sexual violence. In many countries there is a considerable number of female combatants, either in the military or (more often) non-state armed forces. While some women may also see SALW in their household as a means of protection, women generally tend to be more skeptical, or even have a negative opinion about the benefits of SALW for society.

Children
Children tend to be wholly victims of small arms use. Even when children turn into perpetrators of SALW violence, this is almost always at the instigation of (ir)responsible adults: every year thousands of children are killed or wounded by small arms. In conflict situations, children often can’t go to school and don’t have access to health care.
In many countries in crisis, children and youth are associated to armed forces. Children and youth join armed youth gangs and become involved in armed crime.

**Note:** gender is a dynamic concept, and gender roles can and do change. For example, in times of war women will take over responsibilities that are culturally considered to be the domain of men, such as acting as the head of the household or being an armed fighter.

**Box—Gender roles, attitudes and experience with SALW**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men:</th>
<th>Women:</th>
<th>Children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Defender</td>
<td>Nurturers</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provider</td>
<td>Supporters</td>
<td>Dependent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protector</td>
<td>Care-givers</td>
<td>Impressionable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Remember:** SALW affect and are perceived by different sections of the population in very different ways. As a result, the gender dimension of small arms action must always be kept in mind when planning SALW control activities.

**Note:** despite the potentially important roles of women in SALW control, most efforts to reduce the misuse and proliferation of small arms are targeted nearly exclusively at men, which affects the overall outcome.
3. Conflict, post-conflict and non-conflict development

Complex interrelationships vary between contexts. An important distinction must therefore be made between countries in conflict, post-conflict countries and ‘normal’ developing societies.

There are a number of forms of armed violence in which SALW are instrumental and dynamic. They include various forms of conflict and crime such as:

- War.
- Civil war.
- Inter-communal conflict.
- Crime and banditry.
- Criminal social violence (including domestic and gender-based violence).

**Figure 2**

The distinction between post-conflict and non-conflict situations, however, is not as strong as it may appear. In all of the above situations, armed violence may have similar economic and social impacts, and development will likely be affected negatively in each (see Section 2).
Casualties

High casualty and injury rates amongst civilians remain high even after peace agreements.\textsuperscript{11} Rates of death and injury from gun use can be as high in ‘non-conflict’ developing societies suffering from high levels of violent crime as they are in countries ‘in conflict’.

Case study


Injury rates from armed crime in countries such as Brazil and South Africa appear comparable to those of some countries suffering some degree of armed conflict, such as Indonesia or Palestine. For example, in the Occupied Territories, 250 Palestinian and 72 Israeli children were killed over a 23-month period between September 2000 and August 2002. In the 23 months between February 2000 and December 2001, 612 children were killed in Rio de Janeiro.\textsuperscript{12}

Political, economic and social impacts

The political-economic patterns established during war generally endure after peace agreements.\textsuperscript{13} Groups or individuals, such as warlords, continue to use violence for economic gain. Violence and insecurity obstruct farming and other economic activities, and vulnerable civilians and businesses have low incentives to invest time and resources in surplus production.

Non-conflict societies suffering from inadequate policing and access to justice and from high levels of armed violence and organized crime often develop similar political-economic distortions. Access to SALW enables gangs and individuals to extort goods, raising transport costs, bankrupting small and medium farmers and businesses, and distorting businesses in favor of well-connected elites with privileged access to state or private security forces.

The insecurity and fear experienced in areas where levels of social and domestic violence are very high disempower vulnerable people and undermine development.

Box—Greed and grievance

There is growing awareness of the combinations of greed and grievance that can motivate armed violence, as in Sierra Leone or Liberia.\textsuperscript{14} After peace agreements, similar processes are at play. The combination of widely available SALW and a large pool of ex-combatants enable warlords and criminal gangs to continue to use violence for economic benefits and engage in predatory behavior that threaten the livelihoods of vulnerable communities.
Summary of Section 1

- While SALW are not the cause of violence, they can contribute to the escalation of violence.
- The availability and misuse of SALW impacts men, women and children differently, which must be kept in mind when planning for SALW research and action.
- While the interrelationships between arms and violence vary according to the context, a high level of armed conflict has similar impacts on development in post-conflict and non-conflict situations.
Section 2

Interrelationships between development and armed violence

Objectives and Goals of Section 2:

- To become familiar with the direct and indirect effects of armed violence.
- To highlight the complex interrelationships between development and armed violence.
1. Impacts of SALW on development

“Not only are development, security and human rights all imperative; they also reinforce each other. This relationship has only been strengthened in our era of rapid technological advances, increasing economic interdependence, globalization and dramatic geopolitical change. While poverty and denial of human rights may not be said to “cause” civil war, terrorism or organized crime, they all greatly increase the risk of instability and violence. Similarly, war and atrocities are far from the only reasons that countries are trapped in poverty, but they undoubtedly set back development.”

UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, “In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All” 2005

Exercise 1: Group work and discussion

What are the impacts (positive and negative) of SALW availability and use?

The widespread use and misuse of SALW has direct and indirect impacts on civilians: they fuel conflicts, kill, cause population displacement, and destabilize whole regions. Their use and misuse can obstruct humanitarian relief and development programs, exacerbate gender-based violence, undermine peace initiatives, pose an obstacle to education and development, and foster a “culture of violence.” SALW make killing or injuring other people (or oneself) a relatively easy and simple process.

The complex interrelationships between armed violence and development present key challenges, but also useful opportunities for taking action.

One has to make a distinction between direct and indirect impacts of armed violence:

Direct impacts

Among the direct human costs of SALW availability and misuse, the most obvious and destructive relate to the number of people killed and injured every year.

Several hundreds of thousands of people are killed annually by SALW, and even more get injured and sometimes suffer for life. Death and injury from SALW occur both in war and peace, through conflict-related violence, crime, but also domestic violence, accidents or suicide.

Indirect impacts

In most developing countries, the indirect social, political and economic impacts of injury and insecurity arising from the threat or use of SALW are as significant as the direct costs mentioned above. In particular, the availability of SALW for misuse and violence and their role as a multiplier of the threat and lethality of armed violence increases the possible scale of indirect impacts of violence.
In most cases these indirect impacts have two linked effects:

- The costs of the impact itself.
- The broader opportunity costs (i.e., opportunities for development are lost because resources are spent on the conflict or lost as a result of the impact itself).

Both armed conflict and armed crime have similar negative impacts – particularly at local levels – and can undermine development at the macro level. For instance, major armed conflict may deter large investment by foreign firms. Likewise, high levels of armed crime in particular areas of a city deter businesses from those areas, further undermining local security and development.

2. The interrelationship between SALW and development

Exercise 2: Discussion

Discuss the interrelationship between SALW violence and development.
The interrelationships between armed violence and development are complex, as the tables below show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health situation</td>
<td>▪ Conflicts result in a series of side effects (displacement, poor access to food and water, lack of hygiene), which have a negative impact on health.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Lack of access to medical facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Poor health state of children who are parts of armed groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling and education</td>
<td>▪ No access to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Displacement results in a lack of school attendance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Children who are parts of armed groups usually don’t receive any school education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Long time consequence resulting from the low level of education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social structure</td>
<td>▪ Destruction of the social structure through migration and displacement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Children are forced or persuaded to become part of armed groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Children who are part of armed groups are often separated and alienated from their families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Children affected by armed violence are often perpetrators and victims at the same time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Armed violence and conflict destroys family structures and gender relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>▪ Reduced productivity stemming from death, injury and displacement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ High costs for health care and reconstruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ High costs for defence and security.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Loss in production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Negative effects on trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ The lack of security leads to a decline of foreign investment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Armed violence has negative impacts on the economic situation on the household level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State performance</td>
<td>▪ Deleterious effects on governance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Role of security forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Human rights violations by security forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development assistance</td>
<td>▪ Withdrawal of humanitarian aid and development assistance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact</td>
<td>Comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death rate</td>
<td>▪ Armed violence kills hundreds of thousands every year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ People get killed both in conflict (war, civil war, etc.) and non-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conflict situations (crime, accidents, suicides, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ The great majority of small arms casualties are young men of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fighting age.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ At the same time, young men are the main perpetrators of SALW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ A high percentage of SALW victims are civilians, many of them children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ SALW kill more people than heavy conventional weapons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounded</td>
<td>▪ Hundreds of thousands are wounded by armed violence every year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Many of the victims have to suffer for lifetime, because of pain or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mutilation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Again, the number of civilians and children is high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological consequences</td>
<td>▪ Victims of SALW violence often suffer from psychological consequences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ The psychological stress is extremely high for children who have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>been affected by war (e.g., as members of armed groups or victims of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>war), and for people who have been sexually abused at gun point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical destruction</td>
<td>▪ Bullets or grenades can cause serious damage to buildings, machines,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2.1 Education

The relationships between SALW availability and misuse and educational provision are both direct and indirect. This has long-term implications for development, since in the long term, education is always a cornerstone of development.

- **Direct impacts**

SALW availability directly contributes to violence and insecurity in schools. Gun control in schools has been both a priority and also a drain on resources from Bangladesh to the USA. A recent survey in Brazzaville revealed that violence, particularly gang violence, is a major problem in more than 75% of the schools surveyed, with armed violence involving firearms and ‘armes blanche’ in more than 50% of reported cases. Student expulsion and failure rates were attributed to violence in at least half of the high schools surveyed, and most teachers expressed anxiety about their personal safety.

- **Indirect impacts**

Indirectly, education programs are blocked or undermined by violence and armed conflict to which SALW availability contributes.

Generations of children miss out on primary education as a result of conflict. Insecurity reduces the possibility of children walking to and from school. Fears of armed assaults, rape or kidnapping further endanger children’s education.

After conflict, investment in schools and educational provision tends to be concentrated in areas where risks of armed violence are relatively low. This is due to security concerns for development workers, the ability of teachers to work in the area, and risks that renewed conflict may endanger aid investments.

Similar impacts on primary and other educational programs are found in countries or districts where there are high levels of gun crime and societal violence. Urban districts suffering high levels of gun violence also tend to have poor educational programs in both developed and developing countries, not only because of a general correlation with poverty but also because of the impacts of gun violence and the fear of gun violence within schools, teachers and parents.

- **Children affiliated with armed groups**

The availability of SALW makes it feasible for armed groups to use children as soldiers or support staff. It is estimated that some 300,000 children are members of armed forces, often fighting alongside adults in conflicts. Recruitment into rebel groups either as fighters or associates impacts negatively on the educational opportunities of such children:

- They usually do not receive any education while they are members of the armed group.
- Because of the psychological impact and traumatic experiences of taking part or witnessing fighting, they often face difficulties in attending school after their return to civilian life.
Note: Unfortunately, reintegration programs often fail to address this matter adequately.

Box—Child combatants

Children and youth have been present in armies in the past. Now they have become a recurring feature of the modern battlefield, present in many of the world’s armed conflicts. Research suggests that at present, 300,000 children are involved in over 30 conflicts around the world and that their numbers are constantly growing.

The current trends in warfare explain the rise of the number of child soldiers. One of the most important trends is the change in weapons technology and the proliferation of light, simple, and cheap SALW, which makes it possible to turn children and youth into a new source of military force. Today, boys and girls the age of 10 can handle weapons like the AK-47 and the M16, and those even younger can assist in carrying ammunition or providing other support services. Thus, a higher number of children can be more useful in battle with less training than in the past, putting them in more danger and making them more dangerous to their adversaries.

Boys and girls become associated with armed groups in Latin America, Asia and most of all in Africa, either voluntarily or through abduction and physical force. Many have to take part in the conflict as front line fighters, or they have responsibility for a range of tasks, including cooking, porting, domestic labor, scouting, spying, laying mines and explosives, and sexual slavery.

Children in armed groups have to commit atrocities. They also witness violence and become victims of violence, such as torture, beating and sexual abuse, usually at the hands of their peers, commanders or conflict adversaries. This has severe effects on the children's physical and mental health and well being.

Unfortunately, children are often forgotten when it comes to demobilization and reintegration, as they are not considered formal soldiers. However, they are the ones who need this support most in order to learn how to live again without having the power of a weapon.

For more information on this issue, see:

- International Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers: www.child-soldiers.org

2.2 Health and healthcare systems

In addition to the devastating direct impacts of SALW misuse on victims, the availability and misuse of SALW can have numerous implications on the broader public healthcare system.
The strains placed on health services by SALW injuries and by the indirect effects of conflict and violent crime have a major impact on all of the health issues addressed in the MDGs:

- Programs to promote maternal health and prevent diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis have been obstructed or funds have been diverted.
- Due to the deterioration of health infrastructures and limited access to medical services, mortality rates from preventable diseases often increase during armed violence.
- Wars disrupt prevention programs and blood screening, reduce access to clean water and sanitation and are associated with large-scale movements of infected combatants and displaced people.
- Refugee flows out of zones of armed violence can contribute to increased levels of disease, to a lack of drinking water and shortage in food.
- Armed violence tends to result in an increase of maternal mortality as women’s access to medical attention is restricted.
- Infant mortality tends to increase if the access of pregnant women to prenatal care is restricted and if the expecting mother is in a poor state of health.
- Disease and malnutrition caused by armed violence tend to result in rising child mortality rates.
- Emergency responses to large-scale violence often do not accommodate child vaccination or medicine distribution programs.
- The psychological impact on children stemming from the experience of armed violence can heavily affect their well-being. This holds true both for suffering, witnessing, and actively taking part in acts of armed violence.
- Conflict and violent crime exacerbated by SALW use, have contributed to high HIV infection rates. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, rape at gunpoint and prostitution has been a major factor in spreading HIV/AIDS. This is the case in conflict and post-conflict situations, as well as in relatively stable countries suffering from armed crime and societal violence, such as domestic violence.
- Armed violence considerably binds financial and personnel resources in a country’s healthcare system. Rehabilitating victims of armed violence is extremely cost-intensive.

*Did you know that most deaths in situations of armed conflict are due to disease or malnutrition?*
A Trauma Reaction is...

- A reaction to an extreme incident that is overwhelming an individual’s capacity to integrate experiences into a system of memories.

- Suffering from a complex of symptoms, especially **flashbacks** (vivid re-experiencing of the horrifying situation), **avoidance** of any situation that might be a reminder of the event, as well as from a constant state of alert (**hyperarousal**).

What happens in an extreme situation and what does it do to the human being? Human beings are able to deal with a lot of new situations. However, some events are so overwhelming that the body performs an alarm reaction.

When experiencing an extreme situation, the human body reacts with a variety of changes. Most of these changes aim at providing the body with the necessary energy it needs to protect itself, though this also affects psychological functions and the way the situation is memorized.

**The development of a traumatic reaction**

Not every person who experiences the same extreme situation (for instance, the same accident) is inevitably traumatized. Rather, it depends on whether the individual is able to integrate the experience into his/her life history or whether the situation interrupts his/her life history. This mechanism depends on a number of factors, some of which include:

- **Prior personal experiences** - have there been other traumatic events in the individual’s life history?

- The **social network** - does the individual receive support from family/peers? Is the person able to receive positive stimulation by peers in order not to classify the event as representative of the general state of the world?

- The **duration and the character of the extreme event(s)** - was it a singular incident or have there been more than one incidents? Did it last over a long period of time, days or even years? Was it life-threatening?

- The **conditions after the experience of the traumatic event(s)** - was the individual feeling secure after the event(s)? Was he/she able to talk about the incident(s) openly?

**Note:** it is not an individual’s fault for being unable to successfully integrate the event into his/her memory, nor a sign of weakness. There should be no room for blame.

**How is traumatic material stored?**

When integration (or digestion) of the event is not managed, the traumatic material is separated from other memories, stored in the deepest parts of the psyche and seemingly forgotten. But what has happened is quite powerful and has developed deep roots, influencing many facets of an individual’s personality. There is no way to undo the damage.
The traumatic events are not necessarily memorized in chronological order, but rather fragmented and highly charged with emotions and vivid sensations.

For further information on trauma see:


- Internet sources: http://trauma-pages.com/
2.3 Economy and investment

Armed violence and conflicts have significant impacts on production and trade at the macro and micro levels.

**At the household level**

- Armed conflict and violence can reduce the number or time available of family members contributing to household income:

- Members get killed, wounded or crippled.

- In times of high insecurity, family members have to provide for the security of the family (e.g. guarding them) instead of doing their usual work.

- In high-risk situations, people can’t go to work, till their fields or care for their cattle.

- In high-risk situations, people can’t go to the market to engage in trade.
In order not to avoid problems, so called “security taxes” or fees on road blockings have to be paid to armed groups, either in cash or goods.

- People are displaced from their land.
- Armed groups destroy and loot fields, shops, factories and houses.
- Families have to invest in security provisions instead of other goods.
- High security or reconstruction investments of the state may have to be carried by the households through an increase in taxes.

Nevertheless, SALW can also be used to provide livelihood to households.

In the Philippines, fighting in Central Mindanao has damaged agricultural production upon which 70% of families rely for their livelihoods. By April 2003, crops had been destroyed by troop movements and fighting on 37,000 acres of prime agricultural land, causing an estimated $10 million of losses in the agricultural sector.


**Armed violence as an unsustainable livelihood option**

For some, armed violence is seen as a livelihood option. Livelihood describes the possibilities people have of making a living, including formal employment, self-employment (like trade or craft production), work in the informal sector, or subsistence activities such as farming or gardening. It also comprises less ‘legitimate’ and socially accepted ways of making a living, from begging and prostitution, as well as illegal options, such as criminal activities.

The use of SALW can affect livelihoods in different ways:
The links between development and the use of SALW are complex. What is clear, however, is that much violent crime is a means of sustaining oneself, one's family or community. **The key point here is that while armed violence may be seen as a livelihood option, it is not a sustainable one. It harms the overall development and the livelihood of others.**

**Box—Armed violence as a livelihood option**

- **Case study 1—Cattle raiding**

  In many parts of Eastern Africa – such as Northern Kenya, Northern Uganda or Southern Sudan – cattle play a prominent role in the life of some pastoralist tribes. They constitute the main (if not only) form of wealth and have a high symbolic value. Amongst others, young men who want to get married often have to pay the bride's family in the form of cattle.

  In order to increase the number of cattle one owns, cattle theft and cattle raiding is an option frequently chosen: young men who are responsible for guarding and taking care of the grazing cattle try to steal cattle from other tribes. Often, this is done through violence, resulting in the looting of villages, injuries and death. With the introduction of guns, the degree of violence seems to have increased not only in stealing cattle, but also in protecting one's own cattle and fighting for grazing ground.

- **Case study 2—Economic motivation of young people to join armed groups**

  “I was in my village when they attacked them. We all ran out of the town. Then I was given information that the RUF [Revolutionary United Front] had a lot of food. So we were with all members of my family, we had no rice, so I decided to go to the town and I lived with them.” - Elisabeth, Sierra Leone

  “As you know, there was no work here, so joining up paid […] Above all, in this case you were allowed to loot, so you went in the banks, the safes, the taxis.” – Albert, Congo-Brazzaville

  “It’s a guaranteed wage.” – Andrew, United Kingdom

  Source: R. Brett, I. Specht: Young soldiers. Why they choose to fight. ILO, 2004

- **Case study 3—Economic motivation of young people to join urban criminal groups**

  “I got involved because I didn’t get back to school, I had no money and I had fun with them [bandas], riding motorbike and all. I was 12, I already knew some guys from the group. […] I liked everything they did: the motorbikes, the money… that excites anyone. One enters the group because of things like that, or else I wouldn’t belong. […]” – Member of a banda delincuente, Medellin.

At the macro level

- Reconstruction costs are high and an obstacle to post-conflict recovery.
- In states with a high level of armed violence, the government is likely to spend a lot of resources on the defense and security sectors or in armament. This money of course can’t be invested in sectors relevant for the sustainable development of society, such as health, education, trade or the protection of the environment.
- Also at the national level, the destruction of industry or crops during conflict, or the limited access of workers to their work places reduces productivity.
- A reduction or loss in production, lack of infrastructure, or a poor system of transportation negatively influences trade.
- Dangerous transport routes or “security fees” which have to be paid at road blocking hamper trade.
- Armed violence and a lack of security lead to a decline in foreign investment.  

Of course there are always actors who profit from armed conflict, and these actors can also be found in the government or business sectors. In fact, foreign investment in some natural resources, such as oil or diamonds, has been shown to increase in times of conflict or unstable situations.  

Exercise 3: Discussion

- Can you provide examples from your own experience about the difference in economic activity during periods of calm and periods of fighting?

Note: SALW violence doesn’t impact on the rich and poor in the same way: the victims of gun violence tend to be concentrated in the poor rural and urban communities.

Urban development is undermined by violence and conflict. For example, armed sectarian conflict in Karachi resulted in the flight of capital and employment opportunities to other locations, increasing poverty and further exacerbating armed violence.

Rural communities are often amongst the poorest and most insecure in developing countries. They are often vulnerable to armed groups from outside or within their midst, contributing to low agricultural production and poverty. For example, in Assam, India, local people found that violence and insecurity obstructed farming, and farmers and others in the rural economy had low incentives to invest time and resources in surplus production. 

Availability of SALW can also empower sections of the community, such as alienated young men and reduce the influence of traditional authorities, as experienced in pastoral communities in the Horn of Africa. Such circumstances may feed into incentives to produce cash crops such as opium and cocaine, and thus to become entangled further in the nexus of illicit trafficking and armed criminal organizations, as has occurred in countries such as Bolivia, Colombia and Afghanistan.
The so-called “Conflict Trap” is worthy of note. Broadly, this means that underdevelopment spurs conflict, and conflict reverses development, thereby creating a mutually reinforcing cycle of violence and poverty. This mutually reinforcing dynamic may also relate to armed crime and may occur at all levels from the local to the national. This relates particularly to armed conflict, but may also occur in non-conflict situations of pervasive violence. Insecurity associated with SALW violence generally obstructs the provision of development aid on which the success of a peace-agreement can depend.

2.4 Humanitarian aid costs

Insecurity associated with SALW availability and misuse compromises and obstructs delivery of humanitarian aid and development assistance.

- Humanitarian agencies don’t have access to the needy during and after conflicts, or in regions with high crime levels. This may lead to a diversion of humanitarian aid.

- Humanitarian and development assistance agencies often have to withdraw in situations of conflict for fear of armed attacks.

- High security costs tie up the resources of aid agencies that otherwise could be spent on humanitarian aid and development assistance.

- Refugee camps have been militarized by armed groups. This occurred in Zaire (modern-day DRC), Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania.

- Displaced people are often used for covert SALW shipments.

- In the Great Lakes region, arms were smuggled to militias under the direct cover of humanitarian assistance.
Box—Mali

In Mali, the peace agreement between the government and the Tuareg was threatened in the mid-1990s because some $200 million of promised development aid to the north of the country could not be delivered due to high levels of insecurity. In this case, the UN provided precedent-setting ‘security first’ assistance with policing and SALW collection and control in response to an appeal from the Malian president. This security assistance, costing less than $20 million USD, improved the security situation so that development programs could begin. It consolidated the peace-building process not only through facilitating development (including communication, primary education and health programs) and enhancing community security, but also through the symbolic effects of ‘flamme de la paix’ weapons destruction ceremonies.22

2.5 Inter-communal relations and state performance

Inter-communal relations

SALW can lower the threshold to use violence. They can even facilitate the creation of perceptions that accept or even glorify (armed) violence and portray it as an integral part of social interaction. The leakage of arms from state stockpiles, repressive and violent policing, mistrust or the inability to access justice through the legal system, high levels of poverty, unemployment and criminality all contribute to the creation of such violent social behavior.

There are dynamic and mutually reinforcing interrelationships here:

- The acceptance of violence has significant impacts on social capital and can lead to the deterioration of livelihoods.

- The promotion of violence undermines good governance by encouraging the resort to violence as a means of dispute resolution rather than the use of state judicial processes or traditional governance and conflict resolution processes.

- The promotion and execution of violence contributes to opportunity costs, reducing the opportunities for police reform processes to include community-policing and other key practices in governance and development programming.

Box—Social capital

A social system is based upon a system of reciprocities: people do favors for each other in the hopes of having such favors returned at some point in the future (in the same or different form). The system is based on trust between people. The degree to which an individual or group can call in such favors, and the degree to which they can offer these favors to others, is an individual or community’s social capital.
Governance

The availability and use of SALW can facilitate and intensify the weaknesses of state actors – be it national or local governments or their institutions, such as the security forces or the judicial system.

In particular, the availability and misuse of SALW:

- Constrains state reach – particularly into rural areas.
- Challenges the re-establishment and strength of state institutions following protracted civil wars.
- Damages relationships between government and civil society.
- Contributes to human rights abuses.
- Interferes with and raises the costs of the delivery of basic services.
- Reduces the space for participation, consultation and democratic processes, such as elections.
- Undermines the ability of the state – as well as traditional and non-state justice systems – to manage or resolve disputes peacefully.
- Contributes to the growth of the promotion of violence.
- Facilitates intimidation, which denies the poor access to justice.
- Negatively affects personal safety and security in communities.
- Affects the ability of national security institutions to manage and resolve differences between communities to avoid violent conflicts.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that poor governance can be one of the root causes of armed violence and conflict:

- High levels of violent crime are, in part, caused by limited governance capacities to provide safety, security, and access to justice.
- Poor governance can create social and economic exclusion and weak legal and judicial systems.
- If the state cannot provide safety and income, armed violence may be seen by some people as a valid livelihood option.

Policing

SALW availability and misuse have contributed to downward cycles of high levels of crime, violence, poverty and insecurity in many areas across the world. This places a high burden on policing.

A high level of SALW availability and violence affects the performance of the police in many ways:
Local police are often routinely ‘outgunned’ and, as a consequence, yield ground to criminals or armed gangs. This reduces trust in the state’s abilities to provide security.

In some localities, armed gangs even have control. This can lead to the creation of virtual police “no-go” areas, which has happened in parts of Johannesburg, Kingston, Rio de Janeiro, Karachi and many other cities.

In rural areas where the reach of the state is limited and police forces are already overstretched, the availability of SALW makes effective policing more difficult.

Further, high levels of armed crime can deform the nature of policing in favor of a more paramilitary style police force. This can contribute to further insecurity when police personnel are unaccountable or inadequately trained in standards of the use of force, and hence misuse their weapons.

As a consequence, undue police violence against civilians becomes the norm. This further undermines trust in the government as an agency of the will and needs of the people. It also includes a range of opportunity costs, such as the costs of damaged community relations.

Poor local policing and police violence against civilians negatively affects access to justice. If the police are not – or not seen to be – reliable and accountable, access to justice through the legal system is curtailed. This makes violent means – such as the use of uncontrolled and unaccountable militias - more attractive.

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**Box—Security forces, their functions and pitfalls**

All security forces, whether they are police, military or private security companies, have the same function: to provide security. Their role is to protect the state from external threats and invasions (military), or to protect the states’ citizens (police and private security companies). Their mandate obviously also includes other topics (such as the protection of important people, buildings, etc), which will not be discussed in this module.

For a number of reasons (e.g. insufficient salaries to provide for their families), these security forces are sometimes incapable (e.g. due to a lack of resources) or unwilling to function and can become a threat to community security. This can happen when a police officer demands money in return for his police services (e.g. to investigate a crime), for example, or when some individuals within the security forces are engaged in illegal activities, weapons sales or crime. These activities create fear and mistrust amongst the civilian population in the ability of these forces to provide for their security.
Justice

A weak, biased, unreliable or corrupt system of justice can also contribute to the facilitation of armed violence.

The equal access to justice for all members of the population requires:
- An effective and politically independent judiciary.
- Appropriate laws and legal procedures.
- An effective penal system.
- In some cases, community-level traditional dispute resolution systems.

The availability of SALW can overwhelm the justice system and undermine an individual’s access to justice by creating a climate of fear and intimidation. Efforts to improve access to efficient and independent justice will be undermined if armed violence, intimidation, and militarized communal power structures are not tackled.

Exercise 4: Group Work

- Use the Dynamic Interaction Tool provided in Annex X.

Summary of Section 2

- There is a complex relationship between SALW availability and armed violence.
- Armed violence has a significant impact on development, the extent of which varies considerably depending on the specific situation and circumstance.
- The impact of violence on development can be both direct and indirect. Aspects that are affected include physical health and well-being, schooling and education, the social structure of a country/society, economy, state performance, as well as development assistance.
Section 3
Development programming and SALW control

Objectives and Goals of Section 3:
- To familiarize trainees with keyways in which SALW control programs can contribute to development.
- To reinforce understanding of dynamic interrelationships.
- To identify entry points for SALW activities in development.

Useful Readings
- Center for International Cooperation and Security, University of Bradford, UK (CICS) Briefing Papers at http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/cics/projects/avpi/. These cover the links between SALW and armed violence and key areas of development programming including: Conflict Assessments; Rural Livelihoods; Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration; and Governance, Security Sector Reform, and Safety Security and Access to Justice.

1. Tackling SALW in development programming

Although many acknowledge that SALW proliferation and availability has a negative impact on development and is thus relevant to development goals, a degree of skepticism remains about whether integrating SALW controls into programs is a development priority.

Exercise 1: Discussion/Debate
- Why tackle SALW in development programming?

There are several key areas of development programming in which SALW can be effectively tackled. In many cases these are weak points in the web of complex interrelationships outlined previously and can be utilized as entry-points for enhancing broader governance, security, and development. These include:
SALW, Conflict Assessment and Development Planning

DDR and Post-Conflict Peace-building

Rural livelihoods

Governance Programming, in particular in relations to:

- Crime, policing and access to justice
- Security Sector Reform

Options for tackling SALW issues are many and varied. However, they may include:

- **Voluntary weapons collections and weapons for development projects** (for more detailed information see TRESA modules Management of Weapons and Ammunition Destruction Programmes (MWA06) and Civil Society Action on SALW Control (CSA05)).

- Public **Weapons Destruction** (for more detailed information see TRESA module Management of Weapons and Ammunition Destruction Programmes (MWA06)).

- Conduct of **Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration** (for more detailed information see TRESA module Reintegration Strategies for Ex-Combatants (RSC06)).

- Establishing a forum for **community security**.

- **Awareness-raising** (for more detailed information see TRESA module Civil Society Action on SALW Control (CSA05)).

- **Community-based action against small arms** (for more detailed information see TRESA module Civil Society Action on SALW Control (CSA05)).

**Box—Tackling SALW issues**

- **Weapons collection programs** collect SALW from civilians. They can either be voluntary or coercive. In case of voluntary SALW collection, either development programs or individual awards may be provided in exchange for weapons.

- **Weapons destruction** is the preferred disposal option for SALW as it takes them forever out of circulation. Public weapons destruction ceremonies have a strong symbolic value. It is a public event marking the transition to a more peaceful environment.

- **Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)** alludes particularly to combatants. DDR aims to integrate combatants into civilian life in order to establish a more stable environment.

- **Armed violence reduction** comprises diversified long-term actions targeted at underlying conditions for armed violence such as shortcomings in the education system.
Community based action against small arms. By involving the local communities, more people can be reached, trust can be built and the specific needs of the people can be considered.

Awareness-raising campaigns raise interest, provide information and target the attitudes of the population concerning weapons.

Exercise 2: Actors mapping
- Which actors could be addressed if planning to include SALW control activities in development programming?

Exercise 3: Group work
- Where do you see starting points for SALW control in development programming?

Note: any SALW project should be conducted on the basis of an adequate assessment of the state of development and armed violence in the country or region concerned.

2. SALW, conflict assessment and development planning

Conflict assessments play a key role in preparing and reviewing country strategy plans and regional strategies relating to war-torn or conflict prone countries and regions.

Conflict assessments can be used to:
- Assess the risks of negative effects of conflict on programs.
- Assess the risks of programs or policies exacerbating conflict.
- Identify opportunities to improve the effectiveness of development.
- Contribute to conflict prevention and reduction.

Through conflict assessments, organizations working in the sphere of development, humanitarian aid and peacebuilding are able to understand the context in which they work. It also helps them to understand their role in this specific context.
Box—Conflict assessment

A conflict assessment is a diagnostic tool that produces recommendations regarding:

- The political, economic and socio-cultural context of the conflict.
- The causes and consequences of the conflict.
- The actors involved in the conflict.
- The interests of the actors involved.
- Current conflict trends in the region.
- The international response.
- Assistance programs that can most effectively support local efforts to manage conflict and build peace.

Conflict assessments are meant to provide a broad overview of destabilizing patterns and developments in a given society. They analyze the many potential causes of conflict that exist and focus on those that are most likely to lead to violence (or renewed violence) in a particular context. They provide recommendations on how to make assistance programs more responsive to conflict dynamics. However, they can not provide detailed guidance on how to design specific conflict activities.

While several donors have developed various frameworks for conflict assessments, a common feature is the examination of key aspects that affect the risk and possible nature of the conflict, including:

- Structures, causes and context.
- Actors.
- Dynamics.

They also typically include an examination of international responses to conflict and conflict-prone situations, and the subsequent development of strategies and options for development programming. **SALW issues are relevant to each of these aspects of conflict assessments.**
While SALW do not cause conflicts, their wide availability and use obstructs development and humanitarian efforts, and thus contributes to factors underlying conflicts. It also hinders post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction contributing to the risk of recurrent violence and the costs of rising armed crime commonly experienced in post-conflict societies.

SALW are an important feature of the nature of conflict and the opportunities for working on and working in conflict. However, SALW issues are often inadequately tackled or ignored in conflict assessments. Reflecting the broad roles of the availability, flow and misuse of SALW in the structures, actors and dynamics of conflict, there is need to:

- Assess the proliferation of SALW.
- Integrate SALW issues within the assessment of other factors and program design.

**Note:** while SALW issues are important and should be integrated in conflict assessments, the risk of overemphasizing their salience and intractability should be recognized. The integration of SALW into conflict assessments is not just about noting their importance, but rather about **engaging and facilitating accurate assessments of the interaction of SALW and other conflict-related factors.**

While the complexity of the interaction between SALW and other aspects of conflict and programming opportunities is considerable, SALW assessments need not be a burdensome activity. Due to their crosscutting nature, an examination of SALW issues can be efficiently integrated into conflict assessments.
3. Post-conflict reconstruction and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)

In post-conflict situations, DDR programs are an increasingly important and relatively well established area of programming of many development aid agencies. They are integral to many peace accords and of crucial importance in avoiding a return to conflict, with all the associated development implications.

DDR typically refers to a complex process that takes place after armed conflicts, especially after internal conflicts. The principal objectives of DDR programs are:

- To prevent the resumption of armed conflict.
- To help create the conditions for post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

To do so successfully requires (re-)developing areas affected by war in order to create viable alternatives to civil war, armed crime and violence.

DDR has 3 stages:

1. **Separating combatants from their arms** by collecting arms, particularly SALW, after peace agreements or the cessation of violence.

2. **Breaking up military-like structures** developed during conflict by separating them from their armed formation.

3. **Returning combatants to civilian life** by providing them with civilian non-violent occupations.

Reconciliation and rehabilitation can be seen as separate stages or as parts of the reintegration process.
DDR bridges the realms of post-conflict security issues and those of post-conflict reconstruction and development. Successful DDR efforts are the precondition to peaceful and sustainable reconstruction and development. At the same time, poorly planned reintegration programs can obstruct livelihoods or prior development efforts.

Even though some development professionals might feel that these ‘purely security issues’ are not their concern, it is important for development professionals to be involved from the earliest point of the process in order to assure a smooth transition.
Table 1: Entry points for development professionals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DDR activities</th>
<th>Entry points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disarmament phase</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Assembling combatants</td>
<td>The role of the development professional is largely that of an observer and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Collecting weapons</td>
<td>advisor, in order to be prepared for future development planning and to avoid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Identification and registration</td>
<td>false promises and expectations:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Assessment of basic needs</td>
<td>• Number of combatants: how many persons will have to be reintegrated?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Age and sex: are they male, female, children/youth or adults?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• State of health: will they need health provisions? Do they carry contagious</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diseases? Will they be able to work?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Level of education: do they need training? Of what kind? Do are they able to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>read and write?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Regions to be reintegrated: where do ex-combatants want to go? Are the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regions prepared and able (politically, socially, economically) to reintegrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Livelihood options: can they sustain themselves? Will they be a burden for the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reintegrating community?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Social background: is there family to support them? Are there dependants (e.g.,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>children) that will have to be supported?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Needs: do they have specific needs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benefits to be expected by ex-combatants: what kind of services and support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can realistically be promised without raising false expectations?</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> Being not aware of the resources available and conditions for the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reintegreation and post-conflict recovery phase, those in charge of disarmament</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>often make big promises of aid, housing and jobs to ex-combatants in order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to convince them to join the DDR process. It is the function and responsibility of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>the development professionals to ensure that these promises are in line with</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reality and with what is doable. After all it is the development professionals who will bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the burden of having to fulfill those promises!</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Demobilization phase</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Preparation for entry in non-violent</td>
<td>Based on the information collected during the disarmament phase, an assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life</td>
<td>has to be made and the return and reintegration of ex-combatants have to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Dissolving former military structures</td>
<td>prepared. The reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life requires the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provision of allowances</td>
<td>development of job opportunities, infrastructure, education, medical care, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>financial support, advice and institutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Note:</strong> planning and preparations for the return and reintegraction should be</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>done consulting and involving the integrating communities!</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Integrating ex-combatants into the armed forces will most likely mean the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diversion of resources to the newly established or reformed national security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Reintegration</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide assistance in goods</td>
<td>At this stage, most of the burden (including the financial one) falls upon the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provide assistance in services</td>
<td>shoulders of the development professionals. Often financial resources are low,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>although this is the most resources and time consuming of the three phases.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

For more information on the reintegration process, please consult TRESA module Reintegration Strategies for ex-Combatants (RSC06).
Countries emerging from war are particularly at risk from the re-emergence of armed conflict and also from widespread violence and intimidation. Excessively available arms, particularly SALW, are often an important factor in the escalation, intensity, spread and duration of conflict and violent criminality, which obstructs and undermines peace-building and humanitarian and development aid.

Programmes tackling the proliferation, availability and misuse of SALW can address shortfalls of DDR programming, add and complement efforts for conflict-prevention, reconstruction and development efforts:

- **Problem 1:** DDR programs aim to disarm and integrate ex-combatants, but they are seldom integrated with initiatives to collect and control arms amongst other sectors of society, or with longer-term programs to provide a safe and secure environment for development to proceed.

SALW programmes can help to address some of the shortfalls experienced with DDR programmes and can provide useful complementary support for wider post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) efforts.

- **Problem 2:** DDR programs don’t link weapons collection with sustainable development.

Weapons for development programmes have the capacity to link arms collection with longer-term, sustainable community development objectives. Weapons for development programmes may also include ex-combatants who, for various reasons, have not registered in formal DDR-based disarmament or who have returned to civilian communities.

**Box—Weapons in Exchange for Development**

Weapons in exchange for development programs offer community-based development or community-building programs, such as the building of water wells, schools, health centers or community centers, in association with the voluntary hand-in of weapons by civilians.
Problem 3: DDR programs often only address stockpile management and safe storage for a temporary phase.

SALW programmes can complement efforts to improve stockpile management and safe storage of SALW, ammunition and explosives.

Problem 4: DDR programs do not prioritize confidence-building measures between the population and local authorities and security forces.

SALW programmes can address confidence issues between the population, the (local) government and security forces through confidence-building, awareness-raising and community-policing activities.

Problem 5: DDR programs don’t set priority on capacity building for security forces.

SALW programs can help to engage the police in arms collection and community security. They can help to address the problem of regional arms flows undermining disarmament through measures including training and strengthening customs, border police, and cross border commissions, as well as building up supporting infrastructure.

Problem 6: DDR programs don’t focus on changing attitudes and violent behavior, as they mainly target immediate weapons collection priorities.

SALW programming can add to the effectiveness of DDR by seeking to change attitudes toward SALW possession. Establishing local conflict prevention and dispute mechanisms is an SALW programme technique that may be particularly useful in facilitating weapons handovers in areas where arms are, in part, a means of protecting livelihoods. Long-term SALW programmes are often in a better position to address reconciliation issues than DDR programmes which tend to close at the point of the short-term reintegration of ex-combatants into communities.
Box—Community reintegration in Sierra Leone

A good example of a program that has addressed shortfalls in DDR programming is the Community Reintegration Program (CRP) supported by DFID in Sierra Leone. As part of this program, a number of ex-combatants are working with local communities in joint agricultural initiatives and also taking part in joint skills training. During the formal DDR program that ended in January 2002, a number of ex-combatants still hadn’t reintegrated into communities despite having been given transitional allowances. Along with the React Program, run by the German Association for Technical Co-operation (gtz) which adopted a community reintegration approach, the CRP has made significant strides in preventing ex-combatants from re-arming themselves or engaging in criminal behavior.

4. SALW and livelihoods programming

Development, especially in rural areas often focuses on producing sustainable livelihoods. A sustainable livelihood is defined by the capacity to recover from a loss of a particular asset – be that human, natural, social, physical or financial. In many rural areas, livelihoods are vulnerable to events that undermine these assets. The direct and indirect impacts of SALW, as outlined earlier, are a major source of threat to sustainable livelihoods.

As noted previously, armed violence such as banditry, cattle rustling, and conflict can be – for some sectors of society and in some circumstances – a livelihood strategy. While enlisting in a militia group or joining a criminal gang may for many individuals represent a livelihood strategy and part of a ‘rational’ adaptation to violent conflict, this is not a sustainable strategy for communities. Families and communities may respond to the resulting insecurity by acquiring weapons as a means of protecting their assets, or even of acquiring new assets – indeed in such settings, SALW themselves can be regarded by some as household or community assets.

Notwithstanding the benefits that may accrue to individuals or particular communities, such strategies must ultimately be judged by their net impact on the wider community and on the most vulnerable households within them over time. The impacts are inevitably negative, as the continued misuse of SALW quickly evolves into a self-perpetuating cycle of violence within a descending spiral of assets and opportunities for communities at large.

Case study—Northern Uganda

In Karamoja, a region in northern Uganda:

- Neighboring agro-pastoralist peoples like the Achole and Teso have been stripped of livestock and are no longer handy targets for raids.
- Even the warlords are cut off from the best markets and veterinary services because they cannot move their herds beyond the points where they can provide armed protection.
- Asset ownership can only be regarded as temporary given the insecurity that results from frequent raiding and violence.
Part of the net impact of this cycle over time is the rise in insecurity and armed violence, which consequently leads to the diversion of investment from conflict zones or high gun crime areas, along with a shift in the emphasis from long-term development to short-term relief activities. In some cases, development agencies may withdraw altogether as the risks and costs of intervention increase. An increase in the availability and use of SALW may also escalate the overall level of violence in society, as the government seeks to exert its authority. All these trends point to the need for livelihood support in SALW programming.

**Case study— Displacement and impoverishment in northern Sri Lanka**

Over one third of the estimated half million people of Jaffna District, the Sri Lankan peninsula which has seen the worst violence in the country, have been displaced – 120,000 have been internally displaced into camps, while 66,000 are refugees in south India. Some people have been in camps for 10 years. Most of these individuals lost access to their farmland and can no longer produce the crops that once sustained and fed them – the majority of the camps offer no access to alternative land. Those who were fishermen also lost their boats and access to their livelihood. Job opportunities are limited in the vicinity of the camps: there is only some fuel-wood collection, buying and selling fish, and seasonal labor.

Although some rations are provided, there are “visible signs of significant malnutrition”; most displaced persons and households almost certainly fall into the ultra-poor category of people who spend 80% of their money on food, but only acquire 80% of the required food intake.

Conditions following the ceasefire are beginning to allow these individuals to consider going home, but they anticipate problems in trying to re-establish their former livelihoods, including local looting by criminals who are armed, possible land disputes, and a shortage of assets to resume production.


There is a clear imperative for policies and programs that promote sustainable rural livelihoods to also address armed violence in some manner. In fact, understanding the forms and dynamics of armed violence can help agencies to recognize and anticipate changing patterns of vulnerability among beneficiary populations, and thereby to design more effective programs for and with the rural poor. However, the idea that some people may depend on the use of armed violence in order to earn a living is not often taken into account in programming. Moreover, livelihood programs and poverty reduction strategies, though well designed technically, may not recognize their potential for exacerbating conflicts of interest, potentially to the point of violence.

Typically among donors, agencies that deal with SALW and respond to ‘crises’ involving armed violence are organizationally separate from those promoting rural development:
In the European Community (EC), emergency response and development are the responsibility of different Directorates and Commissioners.

In developing countries themselves there is often very little cooperation between the economic planning and rural development ministries, and security-related elements of governments who often pursue and implement separate strategies.

Such divisions not only inhibit coordinated planning but, more crucially, perpetuate the tendency to rule out support for livelihoods from the ‘emergency’ measures responding to violent conflict. In post-conflict situations, the need for an integrated approach to the decommissioning of weapons and demobilization of combatants and their reintegration is now recognized - although not yet widely applied. If these matters are handled by separate agencies from those dealing with recovery and rehabilitation, there may well be a mismatch.

**Case study— Eritrea**

In the 1990s, the responsible demobilization agency, which was in fact in the business of promoting livelihoods for ex-fighters, did so along lines at odds with the rural livelihood strategy of the government as a whole. This disharmony was perpetuated in a second round of demobilization after 2000, even though the World Bank and other donors were involved in its design.25

Better institutional linkages between armed violence/SALW programs and rural livelihoods programming can enhance the success of both. For example, technical interventions dealing with weapons collection, demobilization or stockpile management could be combined with targeted and intensive economic recovery plans to improve rural livelihoods, and thereby reduce the demand for SALW.

**Case study— Kenya**

In Turkana and other districts in northern Kenya, communities based on a semi-nomadic form of cattle herding seek arms to protect themselves and their cattle from both cross-border and internal raiding. As a result, the rural setting, particularly in border areas that link to regional conflicts, has become an arena for a variety of ‘low intensity’ conflicts, gun crime and social violence fuelled by the wide availability of SALW.

However, in the last 4-5 years, district level ‘peace and development committees’ involving government development and security personnel, civil society organizations and ‘traditional’ mechanisms, have begun to see a reverse of this pattern in some of these areas. The handing in of weapons and effective prevention and resolution of conflicts over cattle have resulted in a peace dividend. Normal trading and livestock movement are slowly resuming. One observer noted that animals are now being trekked and no longer trucked for their protection.

Such institutional linkages can be achieved in a variety of ways. For instance in post-conflict situations, arms reduction programs could, as a normal ingredient, include specific elements to enhance, restore or replace livelihoods. Typically that would
mean a focus on specific participants in violence, especially those most likely to resort to armed violence in the future, namely young men. This should include not only victims but also perpetrators, as the latter are most likely to revert to living off the barrel of a gun.

Box— Targeting dangerous groups in the Republic of Congo

The “Ex-Combatants Reintegration and Small Arms Collection” was a stand-alone project implemented by UNDP-IOM, though it was connected to a parallel UNDP project on community development – “Action Communautaire.” With a budget of US$4.5m (July 2000 - December 2002), the project’s goals were specific: to assist ex-militia members to re-integrate into civilian life by offering them the opportunity to establish their own businesses or other livelihood, and induce them to turn in their weapons. The target group included the most dangerous elements of the militia, considered to be young male leaders, primarily in Brazzaville.

From the demise of the authoritarian regime in 1991 to the outbreak of civil war in 1997, Republic of Congo’s experience with democracy was extremely fragile and fraught with disputed elections and sporadic violence. Armed gangs financed and manipulated by political factions engaged in partisan violence, which developed into outright conflict in 1997. An amnesty and ceasefire in 1999 led to a stabilization of the situation and a new constitution. However, the country continues to suffer from a political system based on patronage and corruption, severe economic problems and enormous external debt. Despite heavy criticism initially from donors that it was “rewarding” perpetrators of violence (a charge that offering incentives for arms collection inevitably invites), the project has been highly successful as an immediate security measure critical for maintaining a fragile peace. It managed to provide sustainable livelihoods to 15,000 ex-combatants (and unusually, as many as 66% of them were still functional two years later), and it collected 3,106 SALW (although this constitutes only 4-5% of total SALW in the country). Moreover, it did set up an informal and participatory form of DDR – without camps, peacekeepers or coercion. It achieved this by giving privileged access to project benefits to ex-combatants who gave up at least one weapon. Thanks to this simple device and low overhead costs, the cost of getting an individual into gainful economic activity was less than US$500.

There are three main lessons to be learned from this project. First, it offers an example of an innovative, participatory and low-cost initiative that disarm ex-combatants and provides them with a means of livelihood, along the lines indicated. Second, this project could have achieved stronger links with longer-term rehabilitation and development processes, particularly in relation to access to micro-credit, training and micro-enterprise support. It overcame initial criticism by linking into broader programmes. Third, the World Bank unintentionally thwarted the disarmament process by providing their own, alternative credit, which could only be spent on reintegration and not disarmament, preventing ex-combatants like those in the UNDP Project from benefiting. This led to the discontinuation of the Project, which could not obtain follow-up funding, and virtually brought SALW collection to a halt.

Exercise 4: Discussion

Whom to support in DDR?

A range of rural development programs or poverty reduction measures could, on the other hand, include provisions for dampening violence or addressing the needs of the most vulnerable groups. For example, prioritizing ex-combatants had a stabilizing effect in Mozambique and in a UNDP arms reduction program in the Republic of Congo. Both kinds of programs often require micro-credit facilities. Providing these in conjunction would help to maximize synergies and save on overhead costs.

The benefits of such links may flow both ways. For example, experience indicates that efforts to address excessive availability and misuse of SALW can often provide a useful focus for wider community mobilization and confidence-building processes.

Overall, development programs that support rural livelihoods can be more effective in areas affected by armed violence when these interrelationships are carefully taken into account. Moreover, measures to tackle excessive availability and misuse of SALW and to reduce violence have the potential to contribute to the success of rural livelihoods programs.

5. Governance, policing and justice

As elaborated in section 2, the availability and use of SALW can decrease the ability of states to perform their duties in the field of good governance, policing and justice. Including SALW control elements in programs aimed at improving or reforming state performance can help to stop this downward trend and to improve stability.

5.1 Governance, SALW and development programming

Note: conducting governance programs in situations of pervasive armed violence is difficult! However, governance programs can help to increase the capacity of developing countries to govern themselves in a way that manages tensions and prevents or reduces armed violence.

SALW issues interfere with governance programming in four main ways:

1. Governance programs – as with many types of transitions – can run the risk of alienating previously privileged groups or help bring grievances to the fore.

In a situation of wide availability of SALW the potential for these grievances to turn into violence is heightened. If violence breaks out, a governance program could be obstructed.
2. Governance programs aim to provide **economic stability** and facilitate **investment** and **poverty reduction**.

**Armed violence** can undermine stability, deter investment, reduce and distort economic activity, and thereby **challenge governance programming**.

3. **Armed violence increases the costs of delivering basic services.**

These costs may **affect the options** for governance programming and their effectiveness.

4. **Mobilizing public concern and action on armed violence** and other SALW issues can be a valuable entry-point to develop wider partnerships and improve governance.

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**Exercise 5: Group work or discussion**

- Discuss entry points for SALW programming.

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**5.2 Safety, security and access to justice**

Safety, Security and Access to Justice (SSAJ) is a core element of good governance. It is promoted through three main elements:

4. **Effective and accountable policing.**

5. **Effective and independent judicial and penal system.**

6. **A military and internal security apparatus that is professional, under effective political and administrative control, and respectful of the legal system and human rights.**

Building public trust in policing, justice and the rule of law is essential. The issue of SALW availability and armed violence can affect these areas in a number of ways.

**Justice and policing**

Programmes to reduce urban violence play a central role in promoting urban development. Innovative programs in San Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Mendoza (Argentina) and several other developing country localities demonstrate the relevance of gun collection and control programs, particularly when linked to wider policing and governance concerns.
Lessons learned from such SALW collection and control projects appear to be:

- The actual collection and destruction of weapons itself contributes slightly to violence reduction.
- Awareness-raising and confidence-building measures are crucial components for sustainability and success.
- Benefits of such measures are greatest when they are assessed in terms of their contributions to wider community building, police reform, and local development initiatives. These can provide a context in which both government and social controls over weapons possession and use may be strengthened and mutually reinforced.

While the wide availability and misuse of SALW obstruct and undermine efforts to promote safety, security and the access to justice (SSAJ), SALW issues can also be an important entry point for generating debate and action in support of programs to enhance policing and judicial systems.

Experience shows that concerns about gun violence can be a rallying point for co-operative action amongst otherwise divided social groups, and a focus for developing improved police-community relations or improving and enforcing laws.

Key practical opportunities exist in SSAJ programming to deal with SALW and armed violence. These include:

- Policing.
- Crime prevention and access to justice.
- Community based policing (CBP).

Establishing effective controls over SALW helps to reduce levels of violence, thereby enhancing the capacity of the police to engage in broader crime prevention and SSAJ activities. Concerning CBP, this means:

- Involvement of communities. In order to build trust and find ways of co-operation, communities in which policing and SSAJ provision is taking place should be involved in the process.

- Police weapons control. Controls over police weapons stocks and stored or confiscated weapons should be established.
- **Well-trained and responsible police.** Police should be well trained and equipped. Good civilian oversight should be guaranteed. This will encourage communities to work with the state to tackle crime and arms trafficking.

- **Trust-building.** SSR and SSAJ programs help to build a foundation of trust in the state's ability to provide security. If the police are considered trustworthy and effective in providing security, the population’s willingness to report security threats, criminal incidents and to refrain from taking matters into their own hands through weapons increases. In the absence of trust, people are unlikely to hand over the weapons they perceive as their only option for protection!

- **Community support and awareness.** In countries where direct engagement with the police or security sector is politically sensitive, SALW projects allow armed violence issues to be addressed through community support and awareness, for example through ‘Gun-Free Zones’.

### Case study— Macedonia

In 2003, a SALW control program was implemented in Macedonia. It included a component to increase the trust and co-operation between certain communities and the police. Apart from providing the police forces with training in good practices, activities included “open days” in police stations as well as visits of policemen and – women to schools to talk to the children and answer their questions.

Some of the key principles of CBP – consultation, community ownership and so forth - offer a significant entry point to tackling armed violence in that they help to make police and security governance more accountable to local populations. This, in turn, will help enhance the capacity of the police to tackle armed violence. Entry points for developing community-policing relationships include:

- Controlling civilian armaments.
- Tackling problems of criminal access to weapons.
- Making police use of firearms more transparent and accountable.

### Box— Gun-free zones

Gun-free zones have been established in a number of communities around the world that have had problems with SALW prevalence. They consist of commitments – by the security services, the community and individuals – to restrict or completely eliminate the presence of guns from a defined area (a neighborhood or village). The important elements in such a gun-free zone include:

- Community and individual agreement and support.
- Co-ordination between the community and the security services on the precise and detailed terms of the zone.
- Absolute commitment on the side of the parties – the security services and the community – to abide by the rules that form the zone.
While ideally, such a gun-free zone would eliminate all guns within the designated area, this is not always a practical first step. Gun-free zones might dictate, for instance, that all guns are stored in a collective arsenal or that they be restricted in some other way.

Important features of a gun-free zone include:

- It ensures that security services do not exceed their authority.
- It provides clear rules for SALW, upon which more detailed rules can be constructed.
- It strengthens trust between security services and the public.
- It can provide a focus for other forms of community action in development or for human security.

While gun-free zones can reduce security tensions and issues, they can also serve as the nucleus for other development efforts. This is partly because the dynamic in maintaining the zones can be harnessed for other development campaigns, and partly because better security is more likely to enhance economic, training and education, and political activity within the zone.

**Box—Weapons collection in Mendoza, Argentina**

A weapons exchange program in the Mendoza province of Argentina provided an entry point for the development of broader community engagement and commitment to security measures. The program prompted debate, raised public awareness and was facilitated by a law on disarmament, which is being expanded into other provinces. The success of the program contributed to:

- The establishment of a bi-provincial security commission to develop provincial border controls.
- The development of a permanent information exchange mechanism among police and provincial government institutions.
- The harmonization of police and judicial reform.

### 6. SALW and Security Sector Reform (SSR)

Good governance requires that the state has the capability “to manage national security arrangements accountably, and to resolve differences between communities before they develop into violent conflicts.” (DFID, 2001) In order to achieve this, many developing or conflict-prone countries and countries undergoing a transition from authoritarian rule require a process of Security Sector Reform (SSR).
SSR is a growing area of development programming and there is no universally agreed definition of its scope and aims – these vary according to the context of the country concerned. One such definition, used by the United Kingdom’s ‘Global Conflict Prevention Pool SSR strategy’ states that the aims are “to help developing and transitional countries manage their security functions in a democratically accountable, efficient and effective way by initiating and supporting reform and providing appropriate education and training.”

The security sector, broadly defined, comprises all those institutions responsible for protecting the state and communities within it. This includes:

- Bodies authorized to use force (the armed forces, police, and paramilitary units);
- Intelligence and security services;
- Civil management and oversight bodies (the president/prime minister, the legislature and legislative committees, national security advisory bodies, statutory civil society organizations, the Ministries of defence, interior, finance, and foreign affairs);
- Judicial and public security bodies (the judiciary, justice ministries, defence and prosecution services, prisons and corrections services, human rights commissions and customary and traditional justice systems);
- Non-state security bodies (private security companies, political party militias, liberation armies, civil defence forces and other militia), though these are often neglected in SSR programs; and

Civil society bodies (non-governmental organizations, advocacy, the media, professional and religious organizations).

SALW issues are relevant to SSR for at least the following reasons:

- Persuading civilians to give up their arms in voluntary weapons collection programs involves building community trust in the police and the security sector to provide them with security.
- State and civil society oversight of the security sector is likely to be undermined in a situation of armed violence. In particular, public awareness and discussion of security issues may be curtailed because of fear and intimidation.
- A desire to tackle and reduce armed violence can provide a focus for mobilizing support for SSR to address inadequacies in the police and other security services. Alternatively, however, wide insecurity can create conditions for popular support for vigilantism or authoritarian policing, as demonstrated in most developed and developing countries suffering from high levels of armed violence. Outcomes depend on specific local factors, but the relationship between SALW and SSR issues is often close and complex.
SSR processes may generate grievances among soldiers and officers either because they are being demobilized or disempowered, or their access to resources (perhaps through corruption) is reduced. For instance, reform processes may threaten the economic interests of the military – such as the military industrial complexes in Indonesia – and of groups of soldiers – including criminal activities by soldiers in conflict zones such as “Sobels” (soldiers by day, rebels by night) in Sierra Leone. The potential for these actors to engage in violent activity is enhanced by the availability of SALW – not least from inadequately controlled state weapons stocks. This runs the risk of derailing the reform process.

“Sobel” is a contraction of the words “soldier” and “rebels”. The term refers especially to the conflict in Sierra Leone in the 1990s, when many soldiers that were officially employed by the army became rebels at night. Sobels are notorious for often using very aggressive ways to procure their own benefit.

Tackling SALW within SSR

There are some SALW-related issues that are often seen as less politically sensitive than SSR, thereby creating entry points for engagement with other security issues and wider reform processes. These include:

- Border control.
- Stockpile management.
- Weapons collection.

SALW issues relate to a wide range of security sector agencies, providing multiple entry-points for engaging with them and linking with wider SSR efforts. Thus, programs to address illicit arms trafficking may involve engagement with customs, border guards, police, military, judiciary and intelligence services. Concerns about the development and enforcement of laws regulating arms possession, trade and production relate to legal reform, parliamentary and government debate. Efforts to improve security of official arms stockpiles involve links with elements of the police and military that may otherwise be relatively isolated from reform processes.

Furthermore, integrating SALW issues within SSR programming can yield significant results.
Case study—Linking SALW projects and SSR. The case of Cambodia

The EU-Assistance on Curbing Small Arms and Light Weapons in Cambodia (ASAC) project was effectively linked with SSR by:

- Including the security forces in weapons collection and destruction programmes, insisting on appropriate cooperation between relevant police and military forces and local and national authorities, and building community-security sector relationships.
- Supporting wide social and parliamentary engagement with arms law reform.
- Including key elements of SSR programming within its scope. For example, a key aim of the project is to increase public trust in protection by police forces. This has been pursued through:
  - Training police in human rights;
  - Training the families of police officers in skills to enhance their livelihoods in order to try to reduce the incentives for police corruption;
  - Supporting the registration and safe storage of weapons stocks by the military (Ministry of National Defence) and the National Police.

Particular priorities for tackling SALW in post-conflict SSR may include cutting off cross-border arms smuggling and the movement of armed groups that are key components of SALW availability and misuse. If a country is suffering significant problems of arms trafficking – contributing to armed violence in rural areas or violent crime in urban centers – one security priority of the state should be to enhance the capacity of customs and border guards. This requires:

- Adequate training and capacity-building in the interdiction of weapons smuggling.
- Information sharing and co-operation.
- Equipment and resources for communication and transport.

Early phasing of this support may contribute to a more secure foundation for broader governance and SSR programming, as well as helping to strengthen regional security and cooperation.

Similarly promoting effective stockpile management and security within SSR, the management and security of arms and ammunition stockpiles is often seen as a technical issue or conducted later in SSR programs. However, the leakage of arms and ammunition from state arsenals – either through theft or illegal sales by official personnel – is often a major source of arms in illicit circulation. Including stockpile security in SSR can provide an important practical focus for cooperation within a wider SSR program, and have a major pay-off in terms of reducing risks of armed violence. Key programming opportunities for tackling stockpile problems include:
■ Early phasing of stockpile management in SSR programs.
■ Advice and resources for ensuring good practice and secure storage.
■ Assistance in developing procedures for inventory management and accounting systems, e.g. in marking unmarked weapons, or establishing and maintaining weapons registries or centralized record keeping.
■ Training for personnel in stockpile management, security, and record keeping.
■ Advice and assistance in the secure destruction of surplus arms or their re-assignment.
■ Regulation and restriction of possession and storage of arms by off-duty police, military, judiciary and others. This is often important as off-duty personnel sometimes rent their weapons to criminals.

Finally, **tackling civilian arms** can be made more effective by, and enhance the success of, integration or coordination with SSR programs. SSR programs raise key opportunities for:
■ Review and reform of relevant arms-related laws.
■ Supporting awareness-raising and debate involving citizens, parliament, government and the police.
■ Civilian arms registration and licensing.
■ Confidence building.
■ Community policing.
■ Control over domestic arms markets – both legal and informal markets.
■ Regulation of craft production.
■ Guidelines for legitimate use of firearms (through community consultation).
■ Voluntary Weapons Collection Programmes (VWCPs) and gun amnesties. Conducted in partnership with communities, these can help reduce arms availability as well as raising community awareness, which can contribute to the development of pro-poor security governance. Gun amnesties are useful opportunities for wider weapons collection and community security projects.

**Exercise 6: Group work**
■ Use the Dynamic Interaction Tool provided in Annex XV.
Summary of Section 3

- There are many areas of development programming where the SALW component plays a crucial role for success or failure, but is often neglected.

- Interrelationships between SALW and other post-conflict reconstruction efforts can provide important entry points for making progress in each field.

- Entry points for SALW control programming include DDR, livelihoods programming, good governance and SSR, among others.
Annex I: The Millennium Development Goals (MDG)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Millennium Development Goals</th>
<th>Associated Targets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</td>
<td>Target 1: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than $1 a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Target 2: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Achieve universal primary education</td>
<td>Target 3: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Promote Gender equality and empower women</td>
<td>Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Reduce child mortality</td>
<td>Target 5: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Improve maternal health</td>
<td>Target 6: Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases</td>
<td>Target 7: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Target 8: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Ensure environmental sustainability</td>
<td>Target 9: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and program and reverse the loss of environmental resources.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Target 10: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Target 11: Have achieved, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Develop a global partnership for development</td>
<td>Target 12: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system (includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction—both nationally and internationally).</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Target 13: Address the special needs of the least developed countries (includes tariff-and quota-free access for exports enhanced program of debt relief for HIPC and cancellation of official bilateral debt, and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target 14: Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing states (through the Program of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and 22nd General Assembly provisions).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Target 15: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Target 16: In cooperation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Target 17: In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target 18: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Annex II: The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and SALW violence

### BOX 2. Armed Violence and the Millennium Development Goals: How are they linked?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Millennium Development Goal</th>
<th>Armed conflict and armed criminal violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</td>
<td>Armed conflict can inhibit economic activity, compromise livelihoods, and force people to relocate to places where food supplies may be low. Widespread armed violence can exacerbate the effects of famine and hunger by inhibiting coordinated responses in affected areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieve universal primary education</td>
<td>Armed violence in the context of conflict often results in the destruction of educational infrastructure, including schools. Student-age children may be forced to forgo education for roles in armed violence including as child soldiers. The availability of teachers may be reduced due to increased levels of armed violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote gender equality and empower women</td>
<td>Widespread armed violence can disempower men and women, who are often coerced to adopt violent roles against their will. Women are often victims of sexual abuse in situations of armed violence. Armed violence can perpetuate gender imbalances in societies that carry over into post-conflict life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce child mortality</td>
<td>Child mortality rates due to disease and malnutrition can increase in situations of widespread armed violence. Young children often fare poorly when they experience the loss of one or more of their parents due to armed violence. Infant mortality tends to increase in situations of armed violence as pregnant women’s access to prenatal care is severely restricted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve maternal health</td>
<td>Maternal mortality can increase in situations of widespread armed violence as women’s access to medical attention is restricted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases</td>
<td>Mortality from a wide range of preventable diseases often increases during armed violence as health infrastructures deteriorate and peoples access to medical services is reduced. Refugee flows out of zones of armed violence can contribute to increased levels of disease. Most deaths in situations of armed conflict are due to disease or malnutrition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensure environmental sustainability</td>
<td>Widespread exploitation of natural resources is often a precipitating or exacerbating feature of widespread armed violence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex III: The Human Development Index (HDI)

The state of human development

“People are the real wealth of nations. Indeed, the basic purpose of development is to enlarge human freedoms. The process of development can expand human capabilities by expanding the choices that people have to live full and creative lives. And people are both the beneficiaries of such development and the agents of the progress and change that bring it about. This process must benefit all individuals equitably and build on the participation of each of them. [...] The range of capabilities that individuals can have, and the choices that can help to expand them, are potentially infinite and vary by individual. However, public policy is about setting priorities, and two criteria are helpful in identifying the most important capabilities for assessing meaningful global progress in achieving human well-being [...]. First, these capabilities must be universally valued. Second, they must be basic to life, in the sense that their absence would foreclose many other choices. For these reasons Human Development Report focuses on four important capabilities: to lead a long and healthy life, to be knowledgeable, to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living and to participate in the life of the community.

The ideas behind this development paradigm are not new—they are at least as old as Aristotle. Aristotle argued that “wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else.” Immanuel Kant similarly asserted that human beings should be seen as ends in themselves, rather than as a means to other ends. And parallel ideas are reflected in the writings of Adam Smith, Robert Malthus and John Stuart Mill—to name just a few.

But for a long time development policy debates seemed to forget this simple, yet profound truth. Caught up with the rise and fall of national incomes, economists often lost sight of the real end of development—people’s wellbeing. Economic growth is merely a means— albeit an important one—for achieving this end.

[...]

It is easier to measure national incomes than human development. And many economists would argue that national income is a good indicator of human well-being. While there is evidently a strong relationship, since economic growth is an important means to human development, human outcomes do not depend on economic growth and levels of national income alone. They also depend on how these resources are used—whether for developing weapons or producing food, building palaces or providing clean water. And human outcomes such as democratic participation in decision-making or equal rights for men and women do not depend on incomes. For these reasons the Report presents an extensive set of indicators [...] on important human outcomes achieved in countries around the world, such as life expectancy at birth or under-five mortality rates, which reflect the capability to survive, or literacy rates, which reflect the capability to learn. They also include indicators on important means for achieving these capabilities, such as access to clean water, and on equity in achievement, such as the gaps between men and women in schooling or political participation. [...]”
Annex VI: Case study. Ghana—artisan gunsmiths feed demand for illegal weapons

Teye Wayo stands, silently abashed, as Ghanaian police officers display the cache of 73 rifles and six pistols the 70-year-old blacksmith has hammered out of scrap metal on his anvil.

Wayo told police he had learned his gun-making skills from his late father, who also engaged in a secretive but thriving sideline for blacksmiths up and down the country. Although porous international borders and cheap, imported semiautomatic weapons are frequently blamed for the proliferation of small arms across West Africa, Ghanaian blacksmiths like Wayo are part of a flourishing industry - and developing a reputation for good-quality weapons that can match the performance of an AK-47 imported from Russia.

Emmanuel Kwasi Aning, a former professor at the University of Ghana, has conducted extensive studies on the manufacture of small arms in Ghana. He said there are some 2,500 blacksmiths with gun-making capacity in the central Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions alone.

A decent traditional hunting rifle can cost as little as US$4.50, according to Aning's research, while a locally produced semiautomatic machine gun - something like an AK-47 - would cost as much as $93.

The Ghanaian police are keen to crack down on the internal production of arms, which provides the bulk of guns used in the armed robberies that have become a growing problem in the capital, Accra. “If you take five armed-robbery cases, four - or four-and-a-half - will have used locally manufactured arms,” said Rashid Yakubu, of the Foundation for Security and Development in Africa (FOSDA), which works for greater controls of the manufacture and trade in small arms.

Armed gangs are increasingly terrorising wealthier suburbs of Accra, and in some cases the guns are more than a threat. “All of a sudden, I heard pah-pah-pah! We rushed into the house to find Dada lying in a pool of blood. He had his back to the ground and his teeth clenched,” explained a tearful Shallotte Quarshie, 48. “He was still holding onto his spectacles and mobile phone,” she said, sitting on the front porch of the family home in Accra’s Domi Pillar Two quarter. Two blocks away, neighbour Awuah Boateng was also shot dead, along with his wife’s niece and two other family members, by a pistol-wielding burglar.

The incidents have instilled a sense of fear in a neighbourhood where high, razor-wire-topped walls have failed to keep out the gun-toting criminals. To curb the rise in armed crime, the Ghanaian government has repeatedly implemented measures to crack down on the production and circulation of arms. Nonetheless, there remain some 100,000 illicit weapons in circulation, according to the Ghana National Commission on Small Arms.
Kofi Ametepey, also from FOSDA, said the government needed to take fresh stock of how to deal with the covert gunsmiths, because the clampdowns had done little more than push the gunsmiths further underground. He believed the trade should be regulated and monitored instead of outlawed. "We must give local [gun] producers faith and confidence that we can work together and not arrest them, but legalise them," he said.

The deputy minister of the interior, Nkrabea Effah Dattey, agreed. "I believe the solution lies in regularising the production of small arms. And we must bring all weapons in and licence them so we can control their uses," he said. Dattey, who is also chairman of the Ghana National Commission on Small Arms, said the gunsmiths should be encouraged to use their skills to make other products.

Not every blacksmith in Accra wants to be a gun-maker. Emmanuel Siaw, 37, said he could understand why other blacksmiths were tempted to make guns. "I have a lot of friends who make a lot of money making guns on the side. It's tempting, but it's wrong. I'm not going to get involved in that business, even if it were legal."

Instead, Siaw, sweat beading on his brow, labours longer hours for less money, knocking crumpled car parts back into shape.

Source: Guns Out of Control: the continuing threat of small arms (IRIN In-Depth) http://www.irinnews.org/webspecials/small-arms/53222.asp
Annex IX: Case study. Burundi—Security has improved, but small arms still pose a serious challenge

The prevalence of small arms and light weapons in Burundi threatens to undermine state authority, despite democratic elections having been held in 2005, ending 12 years of civil war in the Central African country.

Overall, security conditions across Burundi have improved, despite continued attacks by the country’s remaining rebel group, the Forces Nationales de liberation (FNL), led by Agathon Rwasa. However, police records of criminal acts committed mostly in the capital, Bujumbura, suggest that the problem of small arms must be dealt with before the rule of law can really take hold in this fledgling democracy.

According to Maj Céléstin Nibona, the Bujumbura regional police superintendent, 11 acts of armed banditry were committed in Bujumbura capital during the month of February alone. Four persons were injured, and several properties stolen. Although armed banditry targeting vehicles and motorcycles declined during the first months of the year compared with 2005, acts of armed banditry remained high, he said.

"Killing, rape, harassment at gunpoint, injuries - small arms claim a victim each day," said Capitoline Ngenzahayo, the executive secretary of the Compagnie des Apôtres de la Paix (CAP), a local civil-society organisation involved in the fight against small arms. Although no formal survey had been conducted, the number of small arms in the country was estimated at between 200,000 and 300,000, Ngenzahayo said.

According to Col Déo Hakiza, Bujumbura deputy police superintendent, the most common small arms in Burundi are Russian-made Kalashnikovs, or AK-47s, and, to a lesser extent, Belgian-made rifles. Years of civil war had created a high demand for weapons and produced an environment highly conducive to the prevalence of small arms, both in the country and in the region as well. “They not only circulate within one country’s borders but also move from one country to another in the Great Lakes region,” Hakiza said.

Following the outbreak of civil war in Burundi in 1993, the government of President Pierre Buyoya distributed arms to the population, particularly to paramilitary youths known as Guardians de la paix (Guardians of Peace) to protect civilians against rebel attacks. Individuals also bought weapons for their own personal security. These weapons now circulate from one person to another.

According to Nibona, unemployed people who have weapons hire them out to criminals as a means to earn a living. In a January 2006 report on arms circulation in Burundi and eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, the Belgium-based Groupe de Recherche et d’Information sur la Paix et la Securité (GRIP) stated that owners hire out weapons at 50,000 francs (US $50) per night.
Armed banditry is not the preserve of civilians alone. Hakiza said other agents include FNL combatants, demobilised soldiers as well as police and soldiers. According to a report by the Centre d’Alerte et de Prévention des Conflits (CENAP) released in Bujumbura on 29 March, “Eighty percent of criminal acts are imputed to police agents and soldiers whether demobilised or still active.”

As a result, the government put in place measures to prevent the misuse of weapons by law enforcement officers. One such measure was to prohibit police officers and soldiers from carrying firearms when not on duty. To limit the circulation of weapons, the government has also established programmes to disarm civilians and to demobilise soldiers, former combatants and militias.

[...]

Source: Guns Out of Control: the continuing threat of small arms (IRIN In-Depth) http://www.irinnews.org/webspecials/small-arms/53230.asp
Annex X: The dynamic interaction of SALW and development I

The relationship between SALW and development is not characterised by simple, one-way impacts. Rather a range of interacting dynamics link SALW, armed violence, and development (including governance, and all other issues outlined above) in both conflict and non-conflict situations. Two types of dynamic interaction can be discerned:

**Root causes:** Processes, conditions, and dynamics that contribute to the construction of an environment in which armed violence is more likely to occur, or likely to be more destructive if it occurs; that underlie poverty or poor governance.

**Proximate aspects:** Events, processes, and dynamics that can “spark” violence or other dramatic change in poverty, governance.

**Note: Root and Proximate is not the same as Direct and Indirect!**

Drawing on the impacts outlined above, the key features of poverty, and governance, use the Diagram tool below, draw lines between issue areas to show the different dynamic interactions between poverty, governance, and armed violence. Different types of lines describe different types of relationships. A series of relationships can be used to demonstrate indirect impacts. You should note such indirect relationships in your presentation to plenary.

The types of impacts outlined above may be part of this dynamic interaction, but are not comprehensive. You should try to think of different types of links and discuss them in your groups. You are encouraged to use any examples you may be aware of.

The arrows already inserted in the Dynamic Interactions Tool are intended as a guide. You may disagree with them.

You will be asked to report to plenary on your choices of relationships and their nature.
Dynamic Interaction Tool

**POVERTY**
- Poor livelihoods
- Basic services
- Government revenue
- Health Care
- Education
- Civil War
- Inter-communal
- Regional conflict

**CONFLICT**
- Culture of Violence
- Traditional governance
- Security Sector
- Corruption
- State Reach
- Policing
- Access to Justice
- Gender Violence
- Organised Crime
- Banditry/Armed robbery

**GOVERNANCE**
- Access to Justice
- Gender Violence

**CRIME**
- Culture of Violence
- Traditional governance
- Security Sector
- Corruption
- State Reach
- Policing
- Access to Justice
- Gender Violence
- Organised Crime
- Banditry/Armed robbery

**Interaction Key:** Root —— Two-way Root —— Proximate —— Two-way proximate

SALW and Development
Annex XII: Arms for Development

Arms for Development in Sierra Leone

The UNDP Arms for Development Programme was designed to remove SALW from circulation in Sierra Leone by providing an incentive for communities and individuals within them to disarm. Once they were declared weapons-free, each chiefdom participating in the programme was allocated US$20,000 (20,000,000 Leones) to implement a development project of their choosing. These projects were selected and meant to be run by chiefdom recovery committees (CRCs), project management committees (PMCs), police and local communities. Other goals of the programme included strengthening borders and advising on arms legislation. One of the criterion for the project was that the chiefdom should be on a “weapons corridor”. Thus by having the chiefdom as “weapons-free”, this disrupted the flow of weapons for sale. The overall aim was to increase public security to foster development.

Sierra Leone’s deep structural inequalities and economic malaise exploded into a brutal ten-year civil war that finally came to an end in 2002. As a result SALW have flooded the country. Despite their continued presence, these weapons are no longer used extensively, except for hunting, though some are in the hands of criminals in Freetown, the diamond areas and the border areas. Sierra Leoneans view guns as legitimate hunting tools but generally have a weapons-averse culture and their possession has been further stigmatised by the war.

The community development projects undertaken included: 1) a football field, 2) a market place, and 3) a school and health post. However, often fuelled disputes over location etc., and are often only of token direct benefit. Since being declared weapons-free, there have been no reports of gunshots in selected chiefdoms and this has had a positive impact on people’s perception of security. The knock-on effect is that people feel freer to move around the countryside to work, farm or attend school for example. However, not all the impacts have been positive. Without guns, hunters are unable to hunt and farmers are unable to scare off animals that can destroy their crops. Also Sierra Leoneans remain deeply suspicious of police and government officials and this does not appear to be changing.

The programme has been administered through the chiefs and is likely to reinforce an authoritarian and patriarchal chiefdom system that some see as an obstacle in the way of opportunities for disaffected young men. Any potential for beneficial effects on community involvement and building local capacity depend on ensuring the democratic functioning of CRCs and PMCs. To encourage this, a robust participatory monitoring and evaluation regime is needed and should be implemented with proper staff in place. Similarly, communities feel detached from the gun legislation being debated and they should be brought on board. Finally, there is some disagreement between the stated goal of a weapons-free Sierra Leone and the gun legislation that would set out terms for gun ownership.
Annex XIII: Awareness raising

Awareness raising in El Salvador

The Strengthening Mechanisms for Small Arms Control project is situated within the larger UNDP Society Without Violence programme in El Salvador. With a budget of US$300,000 and running from February 2001 to December 2003, the project's goals were to produce information for public policy on SALW and their impact, reform arms legislation, and enforce and cultivate a public mood in favour of disarmament. The particular target areas were 12 municipalities with high levels of violence and crime and specific target groups included schoolchildren, young men and boys (aged 15-35), but the public awareness campaigns had a national focus.

El Salvador, much like the rest of Latin America, is a country of deep inequalities of wealth. These stresses led to a civil war, which began in 1980 with a major influx of SALW from the US and neighbouring countries. The parties to the conflict signed UN-sponsored peace accords in 1992. Currently the explosion of violent crime, which is the major area of concern in relation to SALW, is associated with the proliferation of youth gangs or maras, which draw more on returned refugees than the combatants of earlier civil war. Unlike countries of the region with comparable histories, this organised criminality pervades rural areas, which account for over 40 per cent of firearms homicides, and not just the towns. Although there is no direct linkage the new manifestations of armed violence are still rooted in the underlying inequalities in land and opportunities.

The project supported the work of existing organisations and local leaders and built up their capacity to combat the existing culture of armed violence - this enhanced the sustainability of the project. In addition it worked with a range of actors, including schoolchildren and government officials, and promoted its work widely and professionally. There are many possible indicators of the impact of this project on armed violence and poverty such as public opinion polls on small arms possession attitudes, change in number and size of gang-controlled "no-go" areas and changing trends in annual victimisation surveys.

A lesson from this project is that more work needs to be done to develop a clear monitoring and evaluation strategy especially in relation to the impact on different socio-economic groups. Furthermore, poverty reduction aims could be more built into project design by including (or planned alongside) measures that could benefit the target group with suitable measurement of the combination of factors that affect the development of that group over time.
Annex XIV: Changing attitudes

Developing self-esteem in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

The Fight for Peace Boxing Club is one of the only Viva Rio projects that is explicit about its intention to remove young men (and more recently women) from joining armed drug gangs. Participants learn how to box from a former professional and are prohibited from bringing weapons into the club. The target group is for youth aged 15 to 24, with a specific emphasis on those between the ages of 15-17 as this is when they are most vulnerable to becoming a perpetrator or victim of gun violence.

The Club is more than just a boxing club, although obtaining boxing skills is one of the main reasons for its popularity. There are rules, which include no fighting outside the club and mandatory attendance at civic/citizenship classes. The club provides the opportunity to develop an alternative identity through helping build self-esteem, developing a culture of rights, responsibilities and duties, thereby creating greater opportunity for entering the formal economy. Although small, this project has had a significant impact on the lives of individuals.
Books and Papers


Brett, Rachel and Irma Specht. *Young Soldiers. Why They Choose to Fight*. ILO 2004


**Internet resources/web pages**

International Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers: www.child-soldiers.org


IRIN report. *AFRICA: Wars costing US $15 billion per year.* 13 March 2003


Johnston, Nicola, and William Godnick with Charlotte Watson and Michael von Tangen Page. *Putting a Human Face to the Problem of Small Arms Proliferation: Gender Implications for the Effective Implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects.* International Alert, February 2005.


SALW and Development


Schauer, Maggie, Frank Neuner, Thomas Elbert. *Narrative Exposure Therapy: A Short-Term Intervention for Traumatic Stress Disorders after War, Terror, or Torture*. Göttingen, 2005

Small Arms Survey 2000-2005


UNDP. *Securing Development*. UNDP’s support for addressing small arms issues. UNDP, 2005


UNICEF. Funding Description and Funding Appeal 2002-2003, Colombo.


**Endnotes**

1. These rules were adapted from the UNDP Sierra Leone “Arms for Development, Module II Training Workshop, Police Training School Hastings, 27.9.-02.10.2004”


5. See for example the Small Arms Survey 2001; ibid., note 5, chapter 6 for review and references.


7. This definition comes from Nicola Johnston and William Godnick with Charlotte Watson and Michael von Tangen Page, Putting a Human Face to the Problem of Small Arms Proliferation: Gender Implications for the Effective Implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects, International Alert, February 2005.


15 See Coupland and Meddings, Reporting on the wound database of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as noted on p. 163 of the Small Arms Survey, 2002.

16 R. Muggah, private communication with M.Bourne.


23 Source: APFO, CECORE, CHA, fewer, International Alert, Saferworld 2004. Conflict-sensitive approaches to development, humanitarian assistance and peacebuilding: A resource pack. For more information, we recommend that you have a look at this publication, which is available at http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/resource_pack.html.


25 For more information on demobilisation attempts in Eritrea, please refer to Mehreteab, Amanuel: Veteran combatants do not fade away: a comparative study on two demobilization and reintegration exercises in Eritrea. BICC paper 23, 2002


27 Due to a dispute with Greece over the name of the country, the UN refers to Macedonia as Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). For reasons of practicality, “Macedonia” will be used in this publication.

28 Source: Securing Development. UNDP's support for addressing small arms issues. New York, 2005


31 Source: Guns Out of Control: the continuing threat of small arms (IRIN In-Depth) http://www.irinnews.org/webspecials/small-arms/53222.asp

32 Source: Guns Out of Control: the continuing threat of small arms (IRIN In-Depth) http://www.irinnews.org/webspecials/small-arms/53230.asp


