



Conflict Resolution and Lessening the Demand for Small Arms

Summary Report of a Research Seminar
Organized by the Quaker United Nations Office (Geneva)
and Africa Peace Forum (Nairobi)

Nairobi, Kenya, April 20–22, 2004

Quaker United Nations Office



Quaker United Nations Office
13, Avenue du Mervelet, 1209 Geneva, Switzerland



Conflict Resolution and Lessening the Demand for Small Arms

Summary Report of a Research Seminar
Organized by the Quaker United Nations Office (Geneva)
and Africa Peace Forum (Nairobi)

Nairobi, Kenya, April 20–22, 2004

The organizers wish to thank the Peacebuilding and Human Security Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada for its generous support to this project.

In addition, the organizers would like to recognize the many contributions of the seminar participants who gave their time, energy and creativity to the discussions which are reflected in this document. It is our hope that their courageous and persistent work for a sustainable peace in their region will be furthered by the consideration of these perspectives in upcoming international meetings on the control of small arms and light weapons.

This report was prepared by David Jackman.

For more information on this report or on other related activities focused on lessening the demand for small arms and light weapons please contact:

David C. Atwood
Quaker United Nations Office
13, Avenue du Mervelet
1209 Geneva
Switzerland
T: +41-22-748 4802
F: +41-22-748 4819
E: datwood@quno.ch

This report is also available via Internet at the QUNO Geneva web site: www.geneva.quno.info

Design and production:
Richard Jones
Exile: Design & Editorial Services
(rmjones@onetel.com)

Printer:

Contents

I. Executive Summary 5

- Background 5
- Linking Conflict Resolution and Demand 5
- Main Lessons Learned 6

II. Background: Creating an Agenda on Small Arms Demand 10

- General Lessons 10
- Box: Why Focus on Demand Issues? 10
- The Next Stage: Consolidating the Knowledge Base 11
- Box: The UN Programme of Action and Demand Issues 12–13
- Focusing on Conflict Resolution 13

III. Workshop Methodology 15

- Why Choose the Great Lakes Region? 15
- Goals 15
- Participants 15
- Methodology 15

IV. Summaries of Opening Presentations 16

- Burundi: Brigitte Nshimirimana 16
- Burundi: Bernard Sindayigaya 16
- Rwanda: Dr. Anastase Shyaka 17
- Uganda: Stella Sabiiti 17
- Box: Heroes Summit on the Radio 17

V. A Checklist of Current Practice 19

- Crosscutting Themes 19
- Box: Resolving a Violent Youth Conflict in Burundi 19
- DDR Programmes 20
- Linking Small Arms, Conflict and Development Programming 21
- Cross-border Cooperation 21
- Peace and Conflict Programming 21
- Box: “Light Weapons and the Rise Of Delinquency And Violence In The Eastern DRC” 21
- Improvements in Governance 22
- Links to Development Programming 22

VI. Post Conflict Reintegration 23

- Box: Reintegration of Abducted Children in Northern Uganda 23
- Box: Why is Reintegration addressed so ineffectively? 24

VII. Main Lessons on Links between Resolving Conflict and Lessening Demand for Small Arms 26

- Box: Improving Connections between Conflict Resolution and Small Arms Control Activity 27

Appendices

1. “What Do We Mean by Small Arms Demand” 31
2. Sample Outlines of Integrated Programmes to Lessen Conflict and SALW Demand 34
3. Participant List 37
4. Additional Information Sources on Small Arms Demand 38

List of Acronyms used in the text:

APFO

Africa Peace Forum

CECORE

Center for Conflict Resolution

COPA

Coalition for Peace in Africa

DDR

demobilization, disarmament and reintegration

DRC

Democratic Republic of the Congo

EAANSA

Eastern Africa Action Network on Small Arms

IANSAs

International Action Network on Small Arms

IDP

internally displaced person

IGAD

Intergovernmental Authority on Development

NGO

non-governmental organization

QUNO

Quaker United Nations Office

SALW

small arms and light weapons

SFCG

Search for Common Ground

UNDP

United Nations Development Program

I. Executive Summary

Background

To date, much of the policy response to the small arms problem has been focused on regulating the supply and transfer of these weapons. But reducing their negative human impacts also requires efforts to address the factors that drive the flow of weapons and lead to their misuse. This “demand” agenda has not received sufficient emphasis from the international community because the possible range of work has been seen as too broad and complex for effective program development. In 1999 the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) decided to explore and define the demand issue through a series of international workshops that brought together representatives from groups that were working on the subject in different parts of the world.

By the end of 2002 QUNO and its partners had reached a consensus on the major topics that make up demand issues. In addition they noted that few of the demand projects identified had received intensive evaluation and only a few of the methodologies used had been fully analyzed. In response, QUNO decided that filling this gap would be the focus of its next stage of work and began planning for workshops that would focus on specific demand issues related to youth, conflict resolution and reintegration of former combatants.

Linking Conflict Resolution and Demand

Many programs working on small arms demand have included aspects of conflict resolution work in their strategies. This is based on the assumption that much of the perceived need by civilians for small arms is based in their fear of violence spawned by unresolved disputes. In this view, such conflicts perpetuate because the community has little capacity to intervene non-violently. In turn, this neglect leads

to violence because the parties involved in the dispute have no strategy for resolving their differences except by violent coercion. In response, conflict resolution specialists have initiated a range of projects that assist societies to recognize the practical possibilities for organized non-violent alternatives. These awareness programmes are typically integrated with direct capacity building projects that prepare local organizations to deal positively with social, economic and political conflicts and to prevent their degeneration into armed violence.

In April 2004 the Great Lakes and East Africa regions of Africa were chosen as the focal geographic area for a seminar that would look into the links between conflict resolution programmes and the lessening of demand for small arms. This geographic area was chosen because of the wide variety of conflict intervention and prevention programs that have been implemented there over the last decade. Such work has ranged from a focus on personal and small group attitudinal change, through wider societal capacity building, to direct intervention in large scale armed conflicts. In addition, most of the armed violence in these regions has been carried out almost exclusively with small arms and these weapons continue to be dispersed across the region in very significant numbers.

The seminar organizers invited twenty participants to a three-day residential seminar in Nairobi. All of the participants were working actively in the Great Lakes and East Africa regions in one or more of the following roles:

- Experienced organizers and trainers from programs in conflict prevention, conflict mediation, post-conflict trauma recovery, and long-term reconciliation;
- Regional project officers for development agencies with responsibility for conflict intervention programs; and
- Organizers and researchers involved in issues related to small arms demand and control.

The seminar program began with presentations on the concept of demand for small arms and the ongoing results of research on this subject. Several participants provided presentations on typical conflict management work in the region and this led to plenary discussions about common experiences, lessons and difficulties. Having set the stage in this way, the organizers led a two-stage process that asked

the participants to design programs for specific areas in the region that would focus on integrating processes relating to conflict resolution, the reduction of small arms demand and sustainable development.

Main Lessons Learned

On the basis of these reports, discussions and sample program proposals, the organizers drew together an analytic summary of the main lessons on links between resolving conflict and lessening demand for Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). Specific directions for action are highlighted in bold.

A. More Effective Cooperative Structures

1. National and Sub-Regional Collaboration with Government

With National Focal Points: Civil society organizations have developed considerable capacity for planning multi-dimensional programmes in conflict management, development and small arms control. They could partner more effectively with government in this work if there were institutional avenues available.

- ◆ **The Focal Point on small arms, now established in each state that has signed the Nairobi Declaration¹, could provide one location for such consultation and collaborative planning. For this to be effective the Focal Point's mandate and the scope of National Plans of Action would need to more explicitly include issues and programming focused on small arms demand.**

Local and District Levels: There is a growing experience with collaborative conflict management projects at the local and district levels, for example in Kenya (see the sample program in Appendix 2, below) but this has yet to find its way to action at the national level.

- ◆ **This collaborative experience should be documented and publicized so that its creative use of government, police and civil society cooperation can be extended conflict response at all levels.**

1. As of August 2004, all states that have signed the Nairobi Declaration, with the exception of Eritrea, have established national Focal Points as per the Declaration.

- ◆ **The joint mapping of existing and planned conflict management and small arms control programmes within each state would be an important step in developing coordinated national programs that will resolve conflicts and lessen demand for weapons. So far, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have conducted small arms mapping programmes.**

Sub-Regional Links: Small arms issues, including the conditions that stimulate demand, often cross national borders. The solutions require cooperation between neighbouring states and peoples.

- ◆ **Cooperative links among governments (e.g., IGAD, Nairobi Declaration) and NGOs (e.g., IANSA, EAANSA, COPA, etc.) offer immediate opportunities for exploring joint work on small arms, conflict and related development issues. In addition, there may be programming needs that go beyond the scope of existing sub-regional organizations, so governments and civil society should be prepared to create a range of informal arrangements and more formal institutions that can facilitate practical cooperation as the need arises.**

2. More Active and Effective NGO Collaboration

Linking Conflict and Small Arms Expertise: Work on small arms issues has begun in every country in the Great Lakes and East Africa, as has some programming that links conflict, development and arms issues. Nevertheless, small arms demand has not been recognized as subject of interest and this hampers the development of integrated work.

- ◆ **Small arms and conflict organizations may have some assumptions in common, but they have no real common analysis or language, nor are there existing networks that facilitate their cooperation. There appears to be a need for a variety of forums or events where common problems, opportunities and collaborative action can be addressed.**

Training Resources: Manuals and training events that link conflict and development practitioners have been created by international and regional NGOs.

- ◆ **Small arms issues, including demand perspectives, could be included in these training resources and made more generally available.**



If present high levels of armed violence are going to be lowered, it will be essential to understand the relationship between the demand for small arms and the strategies used for conflict management.

From Section II of the report

- ◆ **Research Data Needed:** One specific need is the development and implementation of research and evaluation methods that can be applied to the various conflict and small arms projects underway or being developed. While there is much anecdotal evidence that progress is being made, there is very little hard research data available. Small Arms Survey and others have begun to look into developing research tools focused on small arms demand, and there are a number of programs discussed at this seminar that could be the subjects of such study. For example, the different attempts to use indigenous conflict management processes in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi could be compared and assessed in relation to any changes in attitude toward acquiring small arms. Youth peacemaking and reintegration programmes in Burundi are now well underway and would benefit from the integration of research components into their ongoing activities.

B. Other Priorities

1. Post conflict Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programmes

Reintegration programmes, both those within formal DDR operations or related informal activity, have been conducted in the wider Great Lakes area and more are needed. The inadequate reintegration of ex-combatants leads to the re-recruitment of fighters, banditry, destabilization of political and civil life and a pervasive instability that itself breeds an increasing demand for weapons. The NGOs at the seminar emphasized that reintegration programming in their areas was often under funded or inadequately scaled for the conditions they face on the ground.

- ◆ **Bilateral and multilateral funders are strongly encouraged to bring adequate funding and**

resources to this urgent need and to seek out more effective means of collaboration with civil society. Local and regional NGOs are developing the capacity and experience to be active implementers of reintegration programming. Their contributions should be better recognized, and supported.

2. Focusing on Youth

Central Focus for Both Problems and Solutions:

Children and youth have a very significant role to play in small arms issues in the Great Lakes and East Africa. First, they are a very large part of the population of each country and the attitudes they take and alternatives they seek will increasingly determine the directions of their societies.

Second, youth and children are the most vulnerable part of the population to recruitment into armed groups – whether army, paramilitary, militias, or criminal gangs. Across the region chronic war, disease, political conflict, poverty and injustice all result in the marginalization and even abandonment of young people. So if violence, instability and demand for weapons in the region are to be lessened, the programme focus must be on addressing the needs and attitudes of young people.

Third, and more positively, young people are often in the forefront of efforts to reduce violence and participation in armed conflict. They have confronted their elders to press for non-violent alternatives and participate actively in peace dialogues, work camps and other efforts to build inter-ethnic solidarity.

Influencing Norms and Values: Successful youth programming aimed at establishing and reinforcing non-violent attitudes and citizenship are being conducted by civil society in the region. In many ways these parallel some of the better-developed reintegration programs for ex-combatants with emphasis on education, training, employment, income generation, citizenship, non-violent conflict settlement and leadership. All of this activity supports a crucial change in youth attitudes and encourages norms and values that ensure the development of peaceful, democratic societies.

- ◆ **Such work deserves further support, evaluation and replication across the region. In many ways this work is part of or complementary to wider development goals. With good planning it can be integrated into more formal institutions as**

such as schools, social services, businesses, policing, community conflict management and political parties.

- ◆ **The creation of sustainable youth-focused programming is a major change in direction for a society. It requires informed, long term support by external funders as well as enlightened cooperation from governments in the region.**

3. Identity Change

Conflict management and peace organizations have widened their focus from immediate conflict intervention activity to including work on longer-term reconciliation processes. More specifically they are using trauma healing, personal reflection, and citizenship programs to begin affecting the self-image and identity of the many people who have been exposed to violent conflict, abuse, injustice and ethnic discrimination – whether they have been victims, perpetrators or both. In a political framework, one might see these programmes as the necessary preparation of individuals and groups that would precede larger reconciliatory processes. Interestingly, much of this identity-change work is conducted in groups, in contrast to the usual pattern of individual counselling. This is due in part to concerns about sustainability and cultural appropriateness in the African context.

- ◆ **Much more external support for trauma-related programming is needed if this promising work is to have a wider effect. So far it is largely conducted by civil society organizations. Even modest but consistent support for training of program planners and group leaders, assistance to networking and peer training processes and, where possible, integration of this type of programming into wider development programmes would reap large benefits in later peace building activity.**

4. Peace Education Programmes

It's widely recognized that establishing peace education programmes can lead to a broader public awareness of peace alternatives and eventually toward an attitude change that favours nonviolent conflict resolution. It is less well understood that peace education can contribute directly to more immediate peacemaking. Guided by their own experience, the seminar participants brainstormed

the following list of ways that their peace education work provides the basis for an active response to community conflict and the building of positive, shared identities:

- It helps to establish common definitions of and personal responsibility for civic peace;
 - It provides opportunities for positive interaction among otherwise divided communities;
 - For youth and others, it provides a useful venting and transformational process for pent up anger related to current and past injustice;
 - In schools and some other public institutions it may be an indicator of societal conflicts, such as ethnic tensions, issues of injustice and the presence of weapons; by the same token it can also be indicator of peaceful change (e.g., through diary or other communication projects);
 - Groups formed for peace education can be encouraged to “graduate” to providing the institutional basis for more specialized peace subjects, such as: control of small arms, community policing, return of combatants or displaced people; and
 - Through the broad Culture of Peace framework, it can offer a positive common vision and the outline of an integrated civic renewal program for post-war societies divided by previous ethnic, political and criminal violence.
- ◆ **Comprehensive Peace Education Programmes should receive funding support from the international community as integral parts of DDR, development and arms control initiatives as well as within peacebuilding programming.**

C. Broader Relevance of these Lessons

While all of the above lessons are derived directly from current practice in the Great Lakes and East Africa, they are broadly similar to experiences reported in the demand workshops organized by QUNO in other regions. (*See the list of relevant reports in Appendix 4.*)

This most recent report has added important details to all these themes. For example:

- There is an emerging experience with the use and even revival of indigenous conflict management programmes in a variety of local variants;
- The institution of small arms Focal Points, and national programming and an emerging experience with cooperation between government and

- civil society at a national level provides an important model for consideration in other regions;
- The emerging examples in Kenya of cooperation at a district level among civil society and government actors and the elaboration of roles for members of civil society are very promising;
 - The use of broadcast programming on peacemaking subjects in Burundi now has a positive history and, along with examples from Brazil and elsewhere, could be a very interesting model for consideration in other regions;
 - The work on trauma healing and personal attitudinal change being conducted in Burundi and Rwanda, and its implantation by trained community members are important models that could be adapted for use in many other regions;
 - The inclusion of specific, proactive, grassroots peacemaking elements within comprehensive peace education programmes is an important and novel expansion of this kind of work and could be developed in other geographic situations; and
- The pilot programmes by UNDP and others to integrate development, conflict and small arms management efforts – along with the efforts by CECORE, Saferworld and others to provide supportive training manuals for these kinds of joint efforts – are important examples to be reviewed and considered for application elsewhere.
- Research Needed:* Despite these many important additions to international practice on small arms demand, there is still a very significant lack of evaluation of project results. In particular, the link between a positive public acceptance of non-violent conflict alternatives and the lessening of demand for small arms is supported only by anecdotal evidence.
- ♦ **The organization of research programmes that would look critically at conflict-related programs in the Great Lakes (and other regions) and assess their effect on small arms demand remains a critically important task for the international community.**

II. Background: Creating an Agenda on Small Arms Demand

To date, much of the policy response to the small arms problem has been focused on regulating the supply and transfer of these weapons. But reducing their negative human impacts also will require efforts to address the factors that drive the flow of weapons and lead to their misuse. This “demand” agenda has not received sufficient emphasis from the international community because the possible range of work has been seen as too broad and complex for effective program development.

By 1999 when the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) decided to look into the demand issue, it was able to identify relevant groups that were working on the subject, even though they would not have used the same terminology. These groups could be found in Northern Ireland, the USA, Johannesburg, Rio de Janeiro, Cambodia, Burundi, Nicaragua and the Horn of Africa. They had begun independently, often without any special training. They applied

what they knew and utilized their knowledge of their own society’s strengths and weaknesses.

QUNO brought representatives from these groups together to find out:

- what they had tried so far,
- who they worked with,
- what they saw as most valuable, and
- what lessons they had to offer others.

QUNO conducted these workshops starting in Durban, South Africa in 1999 and continuing over the following three years in Nairobi, Phnom Penh, Amman and Port au Prince. Over fifty different organizations from around the globe were connected in this way, some of them attending more than one workshop. (See Appendix 4 for a list of reports on the QUNO workshops.)

General Lessons

What has been learned so far? Participants shared a basic assumption that it is most useful to regard small arms as tools that are used by individuals and groups to lessen their fear of violent threats and to increase their sense of security, while also understanding their utilization in criminal and political behaviour. But it would be inaccurate to see this demand as driven only by episodes of physical

Why Focus on Demand Issues?

Looking at the arms trade, one sees that countries subject to supply restrictions have always managed to acquire arms, through

- finding willing sellers nonetheless,
- black market acquisition, and
- domestic industry (e.g., Turkey, Brazil, South Africa).

That is, when there is sufficiently urgent demand, the supply will be forthcoming, even in spite of existing restrictions.

During the 1990s, the control of small arms became an active issue. Initially, the emphasis was on the supply-side, e.g., production, distribution channels, and supply-restrictions. But, compared with other conventional arms, small arms are even harder to reign in from the supply-side since they are relatively easy to produce, transport, smuggle, and hide (and they are long lasting, durable goods in working order when taken out of hiding). Moreover, control regimes require a sophistication of internal and global coordination beyond the capacity of many states to implement. So for these reasons as well we will need at least to explore the potential for controlling these weapons through the demand side.

This should be a promising direction. After all, most of the time most communities live in relative peace, not because of supply-side restrictions but because of lack of demand for small arms. Most of the time, there is no particular point in owning or possessing a gun and engaging in armed violence.

What is Demand

For any given group of people, demand is the level of their desire to acquire a product or service, as conditioned by their resources (ability to pay) and the price set by the market. Demand, then, is the interplay of willingness, ability to pay (resources) and price. It is important to note that both resources and prices can be monetary or non-monetary in nature.

There is no demand for small arms unless there are resources to acquire them, and there is no demand for small arms if the price asked is too high. Demand exists if one is willing *and* able to acquire; both aspects have to come together. That is what we mean by demand, and that is the ‘economic theory of demand’.

Jurgen Brauer, in “The ‘economic theory of demand’ as it relates to small arms.” (See Appendix 1 for the full text.)

violence. Insecurity can result from many different aspects of people's lives, for example from:

- Lack of honour, respect, an acknowledged role, or a protective group;
- Lack of basic physical needs such as food, shelter, or fuel;
- Lack of work, land, education;
- Lack of prestige goods that symbolizes a positive life;
- Lack of protection from others who are armed and threatening, including other civilians, police, militias, and armed forces;
- Inadequate policing and ineffective judicial systems;
- Lack of access to influence, decision-making, political power; and
- In some extreme situations, the fear of group annihilation – genocide.

In these conditions guns are chosen by some people as tools by which they can re-assert their personal or group worth and their need to be secure. But the effect of choosing and making use of this tool leads to greater social insecurity for the wider society around them. The resulting gun violence is destroying social cohesion, wrecking infrastructure, scaring away investment, interfering with education, and denying the fruits of development to large numbers in many places north and south.

In response community organizers asked themselves “If we are to lure people away from guns, what other tools would be more effective, less dangerous and equally attractive for responding to the insecurities experienced by people in our community?” What other tools, methods, or resources could be available to them? The answers to these questions led to five broad approaches to lessening the demand for guns. These included programs designed to:

1. Strengthen self worth, identity and positive social roles for individuals, especially children and youths, and particularly boys;
2. Improve community economic and social development, with broad participation in creating jobs, housing, recreation opportunities, schooling, and access to clean water;
3. Improve the capacity to resolve conflict non-violently, including conflict management training and direct inter-group peacemaking, sometimes using traditional indigenous processes;

4. Re-create governance so that it is more accountable to the society it serves, establishing community policing, reforming and retraining the police and working for an honest, independent judiciary; and
5. Increase public access to government, increase public participation in government and decrease the marginalization of some groups.

Not all of these options are used in each place, but usually several of them are linked together to provide the minimum conditions for successful reduction of weapons demand. Most groups recognized that the problems they face are complex and that their responses have to be organized in multidimensional systems.

While demand factors may be generalized across many situations, each geographic area exhibits these factors in different proportions and must be approached and understood on its own terms. It is these specific local factors which provide the clues for reversing the demand for weapons. Successful demand programs often begin with initial research surveys that ask community members to describe their situation and list what they want and need for a better, safer life. Such participatory assessments have proven to be an essential first step in gauging a community's potential support and willingness to change, identifying unforeseen obstacles and promoting local ownership of the process and its outcomes.

The Next Stage:

Consolidating the Knowledge Base

By the end of 2002 QUNO and its partners had reached a consensus on the major topics that make up demand issues. However, it was also noted that the work so far had been largely intuitive, generalized and without a firm research base. Few of the projects listed in the QUNO reports had received intensive evaluation and only a few of the methodologies used had been fully described, or their strategies analyzed. In response, QUNO decided that filling this gap would be the focus of its work over the next year. Together with partners from Small Arms Survey and other organizations QUNO planned to:

- Focus on specific topics – such as involvement of youth (as in Haiti in 2003), or conflict resolution (as in Nairobi in 2004) – to create a more detailed picture of lessons and strategies;

The UN Programme of Action and Demand Issues

The UN "Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects" (PoA), which was passed unanimously in July 2001, focuses mostly on supply-side issues. Nevertheless, it does recognize that such issues are linked to a wider context. Some small arms demand issues are mentioned in the PoA's Preamble and several specific demand items received attention in the operative paragraphs. *(For a more extensive look at demand issues mentioned in the PoA, see Ernie Regehr's paper listed in Appendix 4.)*

[The subject headings below were added by the author and are not in the UN document]

Social and Economic Development

I.3. *Concerned* also by the implications that poverty and underdevelopment may have for the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects,

Assistance:

III.17. With regard to those [post-conflict] situations, States should make, as appropriate, greater efforts to address problems related to human and sustainable development, taking into account existing and future social and developmental activities, and should fully respect the rights of the States concerned to establish priorities in their development programmes.

Conflict Resolution and Peace Promotion

I.4. *Determined* to reduce the human suffering caused by the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects and to enhance the respect for life and the dignity of the human person through the promotion of a culture of peace,

Global Level:

II. 41. To promote dialogue and a culture of peace by encouraging, as appropriate, education and public awareness programmes on the problems of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects, involving all sectors of society.

Assistance:

III. 4. States and international and regional organizations should, upon request by the affected States, consider assisting and promoting conflict prevention. Where requested by the parties concerned, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, States and international and regional organizations should consider promotion and assistance of the pursuit of negotiated solutions to conflicts, including by addressing their root causes.

Multi-Faceted Nature

I.5. *Recognizing* that the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects sustains conflicts, exacerbates violence, contributes to the displacement of civilians, undermines respect for international humanitarian law, impedes the provision of humanitarian assistance to victims of armed conflict and fuels crime and terrorism,

I.15. *Recognizing* that the international community has a duty to deal with this issue, and acknowledging that the challenge posed by the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects is multi-faceted and involves, inter alia, security, conflict prevention and resolution, crime prevention, humanitarian, health and development dimensions,

National Level:

II.20. To develop and implement, including in conflict and post-conflict situations, public awareness and confidence-building programmes on the problems and consequences of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects, including, where appropriate, the public destruction of surplus weapons and the voluntary surrender of small arms and light weapons, if possible, in cooperation with civil society and non-governmental organizations, with a view to eradicating the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

Assistance:

III. 18. States, regional and sub-regional and international organizations, research centres, health and medical institutions, the United Nations system, international financial institutions and civil society are urged, as appropriate, to develop and support action-oriented research aimed at facilitating greater awareness and better understanding of the nature and scope of the problems associated with the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects.

Strengthening Particular Groups

I.6. *Gravely concerned* about its devastating consequences on children, many of whom are victims of armed conflict or are forced to become child soldiers, as well as the negative impact on women and the elderly, and in this context, taking into account the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on children,

National Level:

II.22. To address the special needs of children affected by armed conflict, in particular the reunification with their family, their reintegration into civil society, and their appropriate rehabilitation.

Postwar Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration

I. 22. *Resolve* therefore to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects by:
(c) Placing particular emphasis on the regions of the world where conflicts come to an end and where serious problems with the excessive and destabilizing accumulation of small arms and light weapons have to be dealt with urgently;

National Level:

II.21. To develop and implement, where possible, effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, including the effective collection, control, storage and destruction of small arms and light weapons, particularly in post-conflict situations, unless another form of disposition or use has been duly authorized and such weapons have been marked and the alternate form of disposition or use has been recorded, and to include, where applicable, specific provisions for these programmes in peace agreements.

Regional Level:

II. 30. To support, where appropriate, national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, particularly in post-conflict situations, with special reference to the measures agreed upon in paragraphs 28 to 31 of this section.

Global Level:

II.34. To encourage, particularly in post-conflict situations, the disarmament and demobilization of ex-combatants and their subsequent reintegration into civilian life, including providing support for the effective disposition, as stipulated in paragraph 17 of this section, of collected small arms and light weapons.

II.35. To encourage the United Nations Security Council to consider, on a case-by-case basis, the inclusion, where applicable, of relevant provisions for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the mandates and budgets of peacekeeping operations.

Assistance:

III.16. Particularly in post-conflict situations, and where appropriate, the relevant regional and international organizations should support, within existing resources, appropriate programmes related to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants.

Key Actors

I.16. *Recognizing also* the important contribution of civil society, including nongovernmental organizations and industry in, *inter alia*, assisting Governments to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects,

National Level:

II.5. To establish or designate, as appropriate, a national point of contact to act as liaison between States on matters relating to the implementation of the Programme of Action.

Regional Level:

II.24. To establish or designate, as appropriate, a point of contact within subregional and regional organizations to act as liaison on matters relating to the implementation of the Programme of Action.

Global Level:

II.40. To encourage the relevant international and regional organizations and States to facilitate the appropriate cooperation of civil society, including nongovernmental organizations, in activities related to the prevention, combat and eradication of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects, in view of the important role that civil society plays in this area.

(“Report of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, New York, 9–20 July, 2001,” UN Document A/CONF.192/15)

- Identify the most significant demand themes, policies and activities, based on a solid research agenda; and
- Incorporate these research findings into a new publication and, by means of a related outreach program, encourage governments, agencies and NGOs to support the implementation of effective demand policies at all levels.

QUNO plans to complete this process in time to influence international negotiations in the run-up to the 2006 UN Review Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons. This could lead to the revision and expansion of the existing UN Programme of Action or, alternatively, to the negotiation of one or more follow-up instruments.

Focusing on Conflict Resolution

As mentioned above, many programs working to lessen the demand for small arms have included aspects of conflict resolution work in their strategies. This is based on the logical, but unproven, assumption that much of the perceived need by civilians for small arms is based in their fear of violence spawned by unresolved disputes. In this view, such conflicts perpetuate because the community has little capacity to intervene non-violently. In turn, this neglect leads to violence because the parties involved in the dispute have no strategy for resolving their differences except by violent coercion. Such situations may take place at the inter-personal, inter-group, community or national levels. Indeed, conflict interveners would suggest that the inability to respond effectively to conflict at any one of these levels may contribute to the use of violence at other levels.

In response, security, church, peace, and development organizations have launched a wide variety of conflict management programs in areas heavily affected by small arms violence. These programs are aimed at preparing individuals, groups and institutions to analyze conflict processes with a view to intervening at an early stage when non-violent dialogue and negotiation processes are most likely to find success. To prepare communities to carry out such programs, individuals and groups (villages, women, youth, children, police, etc.) have received training in basic peacemaking and conflict resolution skills. Traditional indigenous conflict management

processes have been supported or revived. Individuals have been encouraged to look at their own attitudes toward violence in programs of reflection and personal transformation. Other programs have attempted to lift the burden of traumatic stress that victims of previous violence continue to carry. In situations where violence is imminent or has already broken out, experienced teams of mediators have been dispatched to promote negotiations among warring groups.

Over the past decade all the above interventions, and more, have been implemented in many communities in Great Lakes and East African countries. The reason for the scale and breadth of this interest has been the very high levels of armed violence in the region – most of it carried out with small arms and light weapons. Large numbers of these inexpensive yet deadly small arms are easily available and they have been used to terrorize and destabilize large areas, including entire countries in the region. If these levels of armed violence are going to be lowered, it will be essential to understand the relationship between the demand for small arms and the strategies used for conflict management. Many questions will need to be explored. Here are some that could be usefully pursued:

- Do peace agreements in the region always include disarmament and/or civilian reintegration programs for former combatants, and if so, have these been effective in lowering the demand for weapons in postwar periods?
- In areas where training in conflict management skills has been available, is there any evidence that the demand for weapons is lessening among civilians? How might such training programs address arms issues more directly?
- Has the addition of conflict management components to development programs had any effect on small arms usage and demand? Are such combined programs more effective at lowering demand than are stand-alone conflict training programs?
- What scale of conflict resolution programming is necessary to produce a clear effect on the incidence of armed violence or the demand for weapons? Are present programs large enough to make a real difference?
- Has the utilization of traditional conflict management practices been effective in lowering levels of violence and/or small arms demand? Do we think it has been more effective than processes imported from northern countries? What evidence do we have?
- Weapons demand seems to be related to issues of personal identity, gender roles, group norms (traditions) and to perceived levels of economic, ethnic and cultural security. In what ways do current conflict-related programs address this complex of issues? Does existing programming address the full range of these issues? Are there significant gaps in coverage? Are current programs sufficiently coordinated to be effective? How might programs be better inter-related or coordinated?
- Is there adequate understanding of arms and conflict management issues by governments in the region, and by donor governments, or other intervening agencies? Which formal policies and programs have been particularly helpful – or problematic – for your work?

III. Workshop Methodology

Why choose the Great Lakes Region?

The Great Lakes and East Africa regions were chosen as the focal geographic area for this seminar because of the wide variety of conflict intervention and prevention programs that have been implemented there over the last decade. Such work has ranged from a focus on personal and small group attitudinal change, through wider societal capacity building, to direct intervention in large scale armed conflicts. In addition, most of the armed violence in these regions has been carried out almost exclusively with small arms and these weapons continue to be dispersed across the region in very significant numbers.

Goals

The goals of the workshop were:

- To explore the experience of conflict resolution, small arms and development practitioners who are working in situations heavily affected by armed conflict involving small arms and light weapons;
- To identify lessons learned by conflict interveners in effectively preventing, resolving, or assisting reconciliation after armed conflict;
- To identify specific ways that conflict resolution and related programs have and could affect the perceived need for small arms and light weapons among civilians and governments in regions of violent conflict; and
- To identify relevant policies for governments and agencies seeking to reduce the demand for small arms and light weapons and to intervene effectively to prevent or resolve armed conflicts.

Participants

The seminar organizers invited twenty participants that were working actively in the Great Lakes and East Africa regions in or more of the following roles:

- Experienced organizers and trainers from programs in conflict prevention, conflict mediation, post-conflict trauma recovery, and long-term reconciliation;
- Regional project officers for development agencies with responsibility for conflict intervention programs; and
- Organizers and researchers involved in issues related to small arms demand and control.

In addition, four staff from QUNO and APFO served as planners and facilitators for the event. The entire group was kept small to facilitate informal discussion and an easy exchange of ideas.

Methodology

The organizers planned an informal, three-day meeting with an agenda that featured the following elements:

- Preparation by participants of short written reports on their relevant programs, including any activities that addressed small arms impacts and/or controls;
- Presentations by seminar organizers to a) outline the nature and relationship of supply and demand forces in fuelling armed conflict; b) describe the typical causes of small arms demand and list the major lessons learned in previous international workshops; c) outline the need for more focused and detailed policies related to small arms demand;
- Presentations by selected participants on the violent conflicts with which they are engaged, including analysis of a) the means they use to affect change toward a more peaceful environment; b) the indicators they use to assess their program effectiveness; and c) major lessons learned;
- A group exercise to identify the links between conflict dynamics and related aspects of small arms demand;
- The development of sample conflict management programs that would lessen small arms demand, noting the specific actors, timing and types of intervention recommended for implementation;
- Identification of links between conflict-related programs and other approaches to lessening small arms demand, e.g., governance reform, economic and social development, and human rights protection; and
- Summarizing of action and implementation ideas in the form of sample proposals for governments and agencies.

IV. Summaries of Opening Presentations

The seminar organizers invited several experienced conflict resolution specialists to describe the conflicts they faced, the means they have used to intervene and the lessons they have learned. These presentations highlighted the many different kinds of armed conflicts and the range of possible interventions across the sub-region.

Brigitte Nshimirimana

Search for Common Ground (SFCG)

Bujumbura, Burundi

For more than a decade the Burundian people have experienced the intense violence of a civil war. Killings, looting and displacement of populations have been commonplace. Poverty and illiteracy are pervasive and the population has been easily manipulated by political leaders. Now the country is engaged in a process toward peace accords and transitional institutions. The population is heavily affected by the trauma of war – exile, poverty, rape, torture, killings and maiming – and these memories were limiting the possibilities for a successful peace. So in 2003 SFCG responded to part of this trauma with a program supporting victims of torture and victims of rape by military forces. This work is carried out in coalition with human rights and peacemaking groups. It brings victims together to reduce their marginalization and provides group and individual counselling, legal assistance, accompaniment, capacity building and resettlement support.

Breaking the silence about trauma is an important step in countering the effects of violence. Attacks by small arms have made victims feel powerless and in response they have armed themselves. SFCG believes it is important to link trauma and arms issues.

Peace education is a major emphasis for SFCG and its aim is to link communities that have been divided. The organization identifies local leaders and provides training in leadership and conflict management and later works with these leaders on local peace strategies. At times this work is carried out with

partner organizations and with community elders to support their influence. This year SFCG organized a “Heroes Summit” on Studio Ijambo (also a SFCG programme). This will recognize heroic peace deeds carried out across the identity divide between Hutu and Tutsi communities. SFCG programmes are bottom-up in emphasis. This approach brings a wide range of views to our meetings and helps to begin closing the gap between people and government. Such meetings intentionally involve members of conflicting groups. This breaks what was once a taboo and is part of ending the silence and exclusion caused by fear and trauma.

SFCG is now working to revive the institution of community elders and their role in conflict resolution as part of building local, culturally appropriate capacity and responsibility for peacemaking.

It is SFCG’s experience that the level of community violence goes down when people see that dialogue can be an alternative to fighting. Radio programming is part of this process of helping people hear about other perspectives and cooperative methods for accomplishing goals. These programmes provide news about national peace negotiations, the role of traditional elders, respect for human rights, the rights and duties of citizens, positive electoral processes and behaviour.

Changing attitudes is an important part of SFCG’s work. For example, a youth of 17 years, who was recruited as a village “peacekeeper” by the government, was told that to keep the peace he must be prepared to fight in response to violence. Instead he formed a group with other young people and sought conflict resolution training from SFCG’s youth program.

Bernard Sindayigaya

Program Coordinator, JAMAA

Bujumbura, Burundi

(Informal outline of additional programming in Burundi)

The aim of JAMAA is to create youth friendships across ethnic divides in Burundi. This work focuses on training in peaceful communication and self development for youth who are otherwise idle. Programmes use the creation of drawings by participants to open up the subject of past violence and current tensions. This is reinforced by showing a film, based on our programming that outlines the past involvement of youth in ethnic violence and contrasts it with

their potential for a positive role in reconstruction. An example of our programme's impact was the work by a cross-ethnic group to rebuild houses in a Hutu neighbourhood that had been destroyed in earlier fighting.

Dr. Anastase Shyaka

Center for Conflict Management, University of Rwanda
Butare, Rwanda

The demand for small arms in Rwanda is linked directly to the insecurity from past episodes of genocidal violence.

The roots of this pattern of violent conflict are found in: the colonial heritage of ethnic ideology of dominance; chronic bad governance marked by injustice, nepotism and ethnic discrimination; unmet needs for economic stability and fair distribution of land and other resources.

The result was a deeply rooted identity conflict that promoted a fear of extermination for both major ethnic groups and a "negation of history" to shore up their exclusionary views. This made it impossible to deal fairly and openly with resource scarcities and poverty. Governments ruled only for the benefit of the currently dominant group. The resulting tensions were exploited outside governments.

The characteristics of small arms demand and use follow from conditions such as: arming ethnic groups to maintain or challenge domination; involvement of outside governments in supplying weapons and promoting violence; poverty providing a ready pool of youth for recruitment into armed groups; weak governments that cannot reliably respond to conflicts, enact peace agreements, or assure security to citizens.

Lessening demand and use of small arms will require a coordinated program that responds to the complex of causes. Such a program would include:

education in positive citizenship and human rights; promotion of conflict management training; use of non-violent conflict resolution methods in current conflicts; regional efforts to prevent further interference by outside actors; development programs implemented on a non-discriminatory basis.

Stella Sabiiti

Center for Conflict Resolution
Kampala, Uganda

Project 1, Karamajong: The Center for Conflict Resolution (CECORE) began its focus on small arms issues after being approached by youth and younger adults from the Karamajong tribe. Tribal elders had called on them to take part in armed cattle raiding and the youth were afraid to refuse. They appealed to CECORE for alternatives. CECORE met both with youth and with nearby victims of past cattle raids conducted by Karamajong. The organization then launched a peace dialogue process that engaged, women, children, leaders, and diviners [spiritual leaders] from all affected communities. In addition the diviners (who had been the traditional initiators of raids) were taken to view areas in Uganda where cattle were cared for without weapons (and raiding) and to places in the DRC and Rwanda where governments are cooperating. All of this resulted in lessened gun violence in Karamajong areas. (The group that initially contacted CECORE had themselves been affected by similar knowledge derived from travel outside their traditional area.)

Experiences from this work led to the development of training resources that link conflict, disarmament and development issues.

The Karamajong situation is still threatened by a continuation of a culture of violence based in traditional practices. Guns are easily available with

Heroes Summit on the Radio

Studio Ijambo brought together men and women from throughout Burundi to participate in a historic three-day Heroes Summit in Bujumbura on April 16–18, 2004. The objective was to acknowledge those who have saved the lives of people from a different ethnic group, often risking their own lives in the process. In doing so, they demonstrated a different, more human face of Burundi to fellow Burundians and to the world.

A letter sent to Studio Ijambo by a Director of a secondary school in Burundi summed up the feelings shared by many others. He wrote, "Previously, to say that someone had saved your life during the crisis meant exposing him to dangers from people from his own ethnic group, who would consider him as a traitor. These good-willed people had to live in the shadows until now, even though their country needed them. The Summit has thus had an immeasurable impact. The world is full of people famous for their bad deeds. But there are others who act with their heart and faith – but we hardly know them. What Studio Ijambo has done is to take these numerous heroes from the shadows and present them in front of the nation as the genuine flames of peace and reconciliation for Burundi."

Search for Common Ground, Press Release, May 25, 2004

open markets in the Karamajong area and guns and ammunition are used as common items of trade. There have been Kenyan government programs to remove guns from the tribal area, but after a poorly planned gun collection process, the Karamajong acquired three times the number of weapons that had been originally surrendered.

Project 2, Northwest Uganda (West Nile region):

CECORE was called in to host talks between the government and some armed rebel groups that did not enter an earlier reconciliation process. These talks were successful and a peace agreement was signed in late 2002. Nevertheless, not all weapons were surrendered because rebels feared that their needs might not be sufficiently met by the government.

CECORE learned several lessons from this work:

- Peace agreements must be perceived by participants to be meeting their needs for economic and other security; if insecurity remains they will not disarm;
- After disarmament, the ex-combatants need to return to a new, peaceful environment that will not reactivate their old fears of insecurity;
- Education is vital to making a new environment for ex-combatants – in Uganda mobile schools

were created to respond to the needs of rural villages;

- All groups must be involved in setting the terms of agreement; imposing terms of settlement that are unacceptable will only lead to a return to violence;
- In Uganda populations do not have a strong national identity and their tribal identities are often viewed as threatening to each other, so there is a need for a national process in civic education that goes far beyond mere participation in elections.

CECORE has identified some indicators of successful intervention in armed conflicts:

- The intervener receives an invitation to participate from one or more parties to the dispute;
- Local communities absorb lessons from training and begin to initiate their own processes;
- There is direct evidence of guns being surrendered to a collection process;
- There is direct evidence of amicable relations between parties;
- The Government includes the conflict intervener in the national focal point on SALW and seeks to include civil society in a widened interpretation of national security.

V. A Checklist of Current Practice

Participants listened intently to the opening presentations. The very active questioning and discussion that followed made it clear that a number of the points made in the opening session resonated positively with the experience of the other practitioners present. It was also evident that several of the specific case examples described were not well known and that more information sharing among specialists working in conflict, small arms and development programming would be essential. The issues broached in this initial discussion period led later in the seminar to a more detailed exploration of many common issues faced by conflict interveners in the region. While everyone at the seminar recognized the daunting scale of the problems caused by armed conflicts in the wider Great Lakes region, the information they shared made it clear that African organizations had already moved a fair distance toward creating the basis for an indigenous capacity for conflict response.

Although few of the practitioners at this seminar would have described their work as focused on lessening “small arms demand,” a listing of their programme activities shows all the typical elements that one would see in an intentional demand programme. In fact, the broad scope of conflict resolution work is impressive, even more so because of its expanding links with development programming. The following list of actions and issues is derived directly from the

reports provided by the seminar participants or from their informal comments during discussion. It comprises, in effect, a rough checklist of the major elements one would look for in typical small arms demand programmes. While conditions vary from one country to another and some activities exist only as isolated projects, it is significant that many of the programme activities below can be found in most countries in the region. This consistency across many different areas is beginning to create a shared experience and, with a little outside assistance, a shared capacity for tackling small arms demand. As this work proceeds it will also provide an increasingly useful test bed for evaluating typical demand reduction programmes.

Perhaps most important to developing a capacity for affecting small arms demand in the region is the clear trend toward merging and linking activities that were once considered unrelated. Whether an intervener began in the conflict, security or development field, the necessity of creating effective programming in societies affected by extensive gun violence has led each planner to incorporate the perspectives and techniques of other disciplines. The issues driving conflicts and the resulting demand for guns are diverse and often interrelated. Increasingly interveners are looking for multi-dimensional solutions that match these characteristics.

Crosscutting Themes

- *Integration of traditional actors and institutions in conflict, security and development programs*

Since the late 1990s there have been a number of projects across the region that focus on the use of traditional tribal processes in reducing armed violence and managing conflict. These have been tried with pastoral peoples in Northeast Kenya

Resolving a Violent Youth Conflict in Burundi

At Makamba Lycee, south of Burundi, the Youth Project has facilitated dialogue among students, teachers, and administrative staff over ethnic discrimination conflicts in December 2002 that were caused by security incidents (including a grenade attack against the controversial new Director).

With good information and relevant analysis of the conflict SFCG was able to identify and invite active participants to training sessions and exchanges on peaceful resolution of conflicts which were enlivened by football and volleyball matches.

After many such activities the students, who earlier had passed sleepless nights watching one another, were able to sleep normally. The small ethnic groups that had formed were disbanded and the students received help to find a manager to give birth to a “Club de Gestion des Conflits” at the school.

Search for Common Ground, Presentation, “Youth Project Activities in Burundi”

(and elsewhere in the Horn of Africa), with the Karamajong in the border area straddling Kenya and Uganda, with the use of the *Gacaca* courts in Rwanda and the revival of the *Bashingantabe* (traditional elders) dispute settlement process in Burundi. While not all of these have yet proven successful, they all seek to harness the power of familiar cultural processes that may provide a stronger ownership and wider participation by local peoples.

- *Tackling issues in an integrated way by including development, security, arms control and conflict resolution goals in each program*

The connecting of conflict management with development programmes is being tried from each end of the relationship. In Kenya, conflicts are analyzed from their environmental and economic causes and then development practices and institutions are incorporated into the conflict management processes. Across the region UNDP is experimenting with pilot programmes that link conflict, security and development projects under a shared management umbrella. Reintegration and youth programs in the Great Lakes are being pursued as development and educational programming aimed at ending the alienation and marginalization that leads to youth recruitment into violent groups. The view that development and conflict work are interdependent is becoming an accepted norm in the region.

- *Conducting research on affected populations; stakeholder groups; conflict issues; availability and use of small arms and light weapons*
- *Capacity-building for civil society organizations to permit involvement in all aspects of peacebuilding programs*

- *Reliable, longer-term support from external donors*
- Much of the conflict and small arms related work in the Great Lakes and East Africa has to be carried out with only minimal or no data on the size and nature of the problem. Baseline data has yet to be collected and attitudinal research is sketchy. The results have been the initiation of often creative and far reaching programs, but with little evaluation or comparative research to support them. Local NGOs have recognized this need and have at least some of the minimum training that would allow them to begin tackling their research needs. What they need now is a more consistent



I didn't know that police officers could be good meeting facilitators. Once you start to build relationships, people can use them to explore cooperation much further.

Dekha Ibrahim, COPA, Mombassa, Kenya

availability of support and advice to tackle problems on their own and to share this experience with peers across the region. The external resources that they need are still being provided on a hit and miss, project by project basis, using relatively short-term funding. Development, reintegration and reconciliation programmes are by their very nature complex and long-term activities that require large scale local involvement for success. At present there is still a very poor match between the emerging need in the region and the support being offered.

DDR Programmes

- *Within DDR much greater focus on effective reintegration programming*
- *Civil society involvement in planning and implementing DDR programs*
- *Peaceful action opportunities for returning ex-combatants*

Particularly in the Great Lakes countries there is a growing NGO focus on and experience of DDR programming. Few of these programs are yet successful, in part because the reintegration aspects have received too little attention. More effective reintegration work would have very important spin-off effects, as its constituent activities are often very similar to other development and conflict reduction programming being carried out in civilian society. NGOs that are developing an increasing capacity to plan and deliver peacetime community programming could be effective partners in organizing reintegration programmes, if they were assisted with targeted capacity building support. The long-term needs of postwar societies extend far beyond the usual time spans of conventional reintegration programmes. Local NGOs with the knowledge to operate both in limited term DDR programs and in the later transition to long-term conflict management and development

“Light Weapons and the Rise Of Delinquency And Violence In The Eastern DRC”

The availability of light weapons, aggravated by a high rate of unemployment, nonexistent state control, corruption and poverty, creates an explosive situation. In our countries, which are experiencing economic and political transition or a post conflict conditions, it places civil peace in danger. In effect, to possess a weapon particularly emboldens those who are deprived of rights or who, rightly or wrongly, consider themselves to be such. This situation fosters a culture which accepts armed violence as a way to resolve conflicts as well as a means of acquiring power or status within society.

As reports on the availability of light weapons and armed violence acknowledge, the uncontrolled circulation of light weapons has consequences that are difficult to assess. They run from mutilation, murder, theft and rapes, to the development of illegal activities and a culture of violence. Weapons availability and armed violence contribute especially to continued public insecurity which in turn causes the abandonment of socioeconomic activities. Under these conditions development is no longer possible. Eventually it becomes a vicious cycle: poverty encourages violence which contributes to a further increase in poverty.

... We urgently need to create the capacity to conduct research with a view to seriously and accurately documenting [our small arms situation]. This will enable us to correctly guide our next steps, particularly as regards a DDR program, which appears to be a precondition for the return of peace in the DRC. A network of researchers or research centers which will focus on these issues seems to us to be the best way to contribute to the realization of this objective.

From a report prepared for the QUNO seminar by Augustin Chabwine Chiza, Centre d'Etudes et de formation et sur la Gestion et la Prévention des Conflits dans la région des Grands Lacs, Bukavu, DRC.

would be crucial actors in successful postwar peacebuilding. (See Section VI, below, for more detailed comment on DDR issues.)

Linking Small Arms, Conflict and Development Programming

- *Civil society cooperation with national Focal Point on small arms and light weapons, including involvement of conflict intervention specialists*
- *Sensitization programs on problems related to small arms possession and use*
- *Gun collection programs*

The Nairobi Declaration process on small arms control has opened up new possibilities for linking related programming. The declaration now links all the countries in the great Lakes and East Africa in their small arms efforts and, while it is focusing initially more on supply aspects, it clearly has the potential for addressing demand (and hence, conflict and related development needs) in a powerful way. The national Focal Points and Action Plans on small arms are important openings for a two-way process that would link national small arms programs to a range of civil society actors far broader than the very small number of specialist small arms NGOs, and would allow the necessary skills and perspectives of conflict and development NGOs to be utilized in effective small arms programming. The NGO community is open to this kind of wider collaboration, but so far governments have been slow to catch up.

Cross-border Cooperation

- *Establishing contact with sub-regional network of groups working on small arms, demobilization, peacemaking and related issues*
- *Implementation of small arms programs across national and other boundaries to deal effectively with cross-boundary disputes and other problems*

Cross border movements of conflicts, populations, and weapons are pervasive phenomena in the region and NGOs can clearly see the need to respond in a more comprehensive and appropriately regional manner. There is already a growing sub-regional network of NGOs (EAANSA) working on small arms issues and other NGOs focused on the varied aspects of small arms demand (e.g., those dealing with reintegration work, or conflict management) can also see the need for wider contacts and support. The same is also true for work at the governmental level where there have been efforts through IGAD, the Nairobi Declaration and specific bilateral contacts to enable cross border solutions.

Peace and Conflict Programming

- *Peace education, including conflict resolution training, trauma recovery, dialogues for attitude sharing*
- *Use of broadcast media for peacemaking sensitization, dialogue and reliable information*
- *Conflict early warning system based in network of existing civil institutions*
- *Establish community monitoring of specific conflict flash points*

- *Dialogues, mediated settlements and joint projects among conflicting groups*

Conflict management organizations that have been operating in the region over longer periods of time have developed strategies that combine longer-term values-related programming with shorter-term interventions. This is demonstrated in several different ways. Some groups have become active in broad peace education and longer-term trauma recovery work as well as in providing direct responses to conflict flash points. In other situations, the response to specific, apparently ethnic-based conflicts has led to socio-economic solutions that link improved agricultural and environmental practices with changes in government institutions and new roles for civil society. Peace education itself has come to incorporate a number of direct links with practical conflict intervention. (See the sidebar in this section for an example on this.) Entertainment opportunities such as radio soap operas, live theatre productions, sports and music events are being used as a means of inculcating more peaceful values and promoting a range of non-violent alternatives to resolving conflicts.

Improvements in Governance

- *Civic education to instil a shared national identity based in a consensus on voter rights and responsibilities and the accountability of government to the public*
- *Improve community-police relationship with joint training of community, NGOs, and police in human rights, conflict resolution and community policing (using African examples and experts wherever possible)*
- *Establish pilot programs in community policing*

In discussion, conflict practitioners often said that the main problem they face is fundamentally one of governance. They can quickly identify problems such as nepotism, ethnic favouritism, corruption, unresponsiveness and lack of transparency that alienate the population from government institutions and actors. The resources available to government are not marshalled in support of needs that communities recognize as positive. Mistrust of government leads to apathy, non-participation, criminality and even direct rebellion. Most conflict

management NGOs have launched programmes that respond to this continuing crisis in governance. These actions may be specific step-by-step collaborations in training or in the reform of security services, or they may foster broad dialogues within civil society on the responsibilities and rights of citizens. In some cases this last type of program is part of the reintegration process for ex-combatants or returning refugees and IDPs, but its application is just as valid across entire national populations.

Links to Development Programming

- *Programs to provide shelter and other basic needs*
- *Address land problems for returning refugees and IDPs*
- *Social, educational, training and income generating programs for youth*
- *UNDP pilot program explores integrated development projects under a common steering committee to address control of small arms, environmental protection, governance/security reform, and alternative livelihoods*
- *Introduce dispute resolution capacity into development programming, including use of traditional processes and actors where available*

Conflict management practitioners are very aware of the intersection of their issues with those of the development community. The destruction of physical infrastructure and social capital that are the legacy of chronic warfare in the region, along with the economic disparities and environmental pressures that helped to foster these armed conflicts, are a basic reality for both groups of practitioners. Access to land for agricultural livelihoods and subsistence is a major cause of conflict and will be a significant focus for conflict sensitive development programming. The provision of basic needs to displaced populations and others is both a social necessity and a means for reconciling groups who have been in violent conflict. The widespread marginalization of youth and their resulting recruitment into violent groups is a high priority issue for both conflict and development programming and an effective programme response necessarily integrates activities and perspectives from both groups.

VI. Post Conflict Reintegration



In Liberia we worked to disarm Charles Taylor's militia. Their weapons were handed in but there was no UN demobilization package in return. The former fighters had nowhere to sleep, so the next day they took over the city and many people were killed. People have arms for a reason. They don't give them up until they know why they should.

Stella Sabiiti, Center for Conflict Resolution, Kampala, Uganda

Although this seminar was not focused directly on DDR issues, the participants expressed many concerns about the progress, or lack of it, in reintegration programs in the areas where they are working. They clearly felt that adequate demobilization programmes are an essential foundation for longer-term peacebuilding, particularly in Burundi, Rwanda, the DRC and Uganda. In the view of local peacemakers the DDR experience so far has not been positive. The seminar participants had a good deal to say about the problems they saw and the constraints they faced. More positively, several peace-making organizations have been building their capacity for involvement in planning and implementing DDR programmes. While situations vary across the sub-region, there are a number of common issues and suggestions in the following comments by the seminar participants. (Many of these lessons are highlighted in Section VII of this report.)

Isaac Kalonji

Les Enfants et les femmes d'abord
Kinshasa, DRC

In Kinshasa we meet two kinds of groups. First, women and children who did not take part in fighting but are heavily affected by the war. They are traumatized, psychologically disturbed, displaced, abandoned as a result of warfare. They are forgotten people and their needs are not met by traditional DDR programmes. Intervention does not respond directly to psychological healing as most are unwilling to talk about their experiences. Instead, we have created a resettlement centre where we can provide

Reintegration of Abducted Children in Northern Uganda

Local villagers in northern Uganda were caught in the crossfire between the rebel Lords Resistance Army (LRA) and the Ugandan Government forces that sought to restore order. The LRA recruited children by force to serve as guerrilla fighters, workers and sexual slaves. The resulting attacks so destabilized the region that social, economic and education systems were no longer functional. The Government's military response contributed to further violence – livestock and homes were destroyed and civilians felt their needs were not taken seriously. Local villagers protested the misbehaviour of government troops and in response the Army agreed to meet with village security committees and eventually agreed to punish the offending soldiers.

This ongoing crisis stimulated a number of significant initiatives by civil society:

1. To support the return of formerly kidnapped children:

- Provision of psychological counselling (individual and group);
- Training of teachers to promote the tolerant return of children and their quick re-entry into the education process;
- Organization of radio broadcasts by women's choirs to assure children that they are welcome to return;
- Preparation of parents to meet the needs of returning children;
- Preparation of elders and children for dialogue and promise of acceptance; and
- Initiation of tribal ceremonies for ritual payment for offences.

2. In turn, these specialized initiatives led to larger organizational developments:

- Women's groups were formed to respond to increased stress within communities;
- The ACCORD group brought women and men together for dialogue, created health groups, and launched development projects that could not wait for a formal peace agreement; and
- Victims' groups were established for the purposes of lobbying, healing, providing mutual support and income generation.

Adapted from the video cassette "Gulu: The Struggle for Peace" produced by Coalition for Peace in Africa (COPA)

Why is Reintegration Addressed so Ineffectively?

We asked participants to look at their own field experience and then to suggest the main stumbling blocks to effective reintegration programmes:

- Reintegration is essentially a civilian-oriented process composed of development activities. Its aims are broader and its activities more complex than the military-focused aspects of DDR, and are dependent on a wider range of expertise and community infrastructure.
- Successful reintegration requires attitudinal change on part of both ex-combatants, and members of receiving communities; this in turn requires knowledge of community and culture for successful planning and sufficient time to allow for trust building.
- The local receiving community will likely require resources and capacity to successfully absorb and support returning ex-combatants. Often these resources are not available and not covered by new funding.
- Government may be too affected by militaristic thinking to be an effective implementing partner or supporter.
- Reintegration programs may require longer implementation periods than are covered by the usual DDR funding programs.

training in vocational trades (sewing, carpentry, and mechanics), provide trades and help them to start afresh in supporting themselves.

Second, we meet demobilized or escaped child soldiers who can be recruited easily back into violence unless we provide alternatives. In the military they had food, clothes and an identity. Often they are dropped back into civilian life with no support.

We see the need for better programmes for supporting youth affected by war. This is a problem across the region and it would be helpful to have communication among groups who are responding so we can share experiences, and lessons.

Christian Ngendahimana

Search for Common Ground
Ngozi Province, Burundi

In working with child soldiers, ex-militia and vigilante members we have organized peace education work for different needs. We note that youth do not have clear long-term priorities. At first they need some basic food and education to prevent re-recruitment into armed groups. Later they move on to vocational training and help with income generation projects. (*Brigitte Nshimirimana* added that these programs need to be complemented with restrictions on availability of arms because “Guardians of Peace” ex-rebels and others will continue to destabilize the environment by theft, looting and other violence.)

Philip Muanza

Initiatives de Prévention des Conflits (IPC)
Kinshasa, DRC

Demobilization seems to be well planned but resettlement and reintegration are not. No alternatives seem to be offered to ex-combatants. So the combatants continue to see weapons as a useful resource. In addition, victims take up arms to seek revenge for attacks.

So reconciliation processes are also needed along with other alternatives to break the cycle of violence.

Augustin Chabwine

Centre d’Etudes et de formation et sur la Gestion et la Prévention des Conflits dans la région des Grands Lacs, Université Catholique de Bukavu
Bukavu, DRC

To work effectively on DDR we need to know more about militia members – why do they join; by what mechanisms. This will help us to design reintegration alternatives that meet the needs of ex-combatants.

Bernard Sindayigaya

Program Coordinator, JAMAA
Bujumbura, Burundi

Civil society will seek to assist with reintegration of former militia members. Part of our work is to bring the members of opposing Hutu and Tutsi militias together to reduce ethnic divisions in postwar society. They share a loss of educational opportunity and other victimization due to militia involvement, as well as negative attitudes toward the opposing ethnic group. All of these issues need to be addressed in reintegration work. This is a crucial time for us as continued instability is causing even some demobilized fighters to rearm themselves. We must build a civil society capacity to provide peace education, employment and schooling alternatives.

Peter Mcomalla

Human Rights Education and Peace International (Hurepi-Trust)
Arusha, Tanzania

Tanzania does not have child soldiers, as such, but the need to reintegrate homeless “street boys” into peaceful employment is a parallel situation. Also our country borders on countries that are at war so we

experience problems with armed refugees, porous borders, and increased arms availability. The civil society response to these problems should use all the available opportunities for civil society organizing at the local, national, regional and global levels. In Tanzania, the national Focal Point provides an opportunity for national planning and coordination on arms and security issues, while regional links through IANSA and COPA offer opportunities for training, experience sharing and skill development. The upcoming UN-sponsored sub-regional meeting on civil society and security will encourage networking.

Dekha Ibrahim

COPA

Mombassa, Kenya

There are several gaps in dealing with small arms demand. Some of these relate to the ongoing tensions

caused by external wars, as well as to our own internal problems:

- Some Government decisions themselves create threats to civilians and thereby increase demand for weapons. For example, the Kenyan Government responded to terrorist bombings in Mombassa with mass arrests and in response the community armed its own vigilante groups.
- Demobilization in one area may lead to destabilization of other nearby areas, for example in the Horn of Africa where returning soldiers promote fears of increased violence to encourage public to use their protection services.
- Public ignores possible conflict alternatives. In Kenya youths do not avail themselves of the existing conflict management system provided by elders and instead respond to attacks and threats with violent revenge.

VII. Main Lessons on Links between Resolving Conflict and Lessening Demand for Small Arms

On the basis of the many reports, project descriptions, discussions and sample programme proposals made available through the seminar, the organizers drew together an analytic summary of the main lessons on links between resolving conflict and lessening demand for Small Arms and Light weapons (SALW). For each lesson, they added one or more recommendations for follow-up action.

A. More Effective Cooperative Structures

1. National and Sub-regional Collaboration with Government

With National Focal Points: Civil society organizations have developed considerable capacity for planning multi-dimensional programmes in conflict management, development and small arms control. They could partner more effectively with government in this work if there were institutional avenues available. One can see the emergence of a long-term partnership that would take a systems approach, including a capability for early warning, conflict analysis, and interventions by a range of government and civil society actors.

- ◆ **The Focal Point on small arms now established in each state that has signed the Nairobi Declaration², could provide one location for such consultation and collaborative planning. For this to be effective the Focal Point's mandate and the scope of National Plans of Action would need to more explicitly include issues and programming focused on small arms demand.**

Local and District Levels: There is a growing experience with collaborative conflict management projects at the local and district levels, for example in Kenya

2. As of August 2004, all states that have signed the Nairobi Declaration, with the exception of Eritrea, have established national Focal Points as per the Declaration.

(see the sample program in Appendix 2, below) but this has yet to find its way to action at the national level.

- ◆ This collaborative experience should be documented and publicized so that its creative use of government, police and civil society cooperation can be extended conflict response at all levels.
- ◆ The joint mapping of existing and planned conflict management and small arms control programmes within each state would be an important step in developing coordinated national programs that will resolve conflicts and lessen demand for weapons. So far, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have conducted small arms mapping programmes.

Sub-Regional Links: Small arms issues, including the conditions that stimulate demand, often cross national borders. The solutions require cooperation between neighbouring states and peoples.

- ◆ **Cooperative links among governments (e.g., IGAD, Nairobi Declaration) and NGOs (e.g., IANSA, EAANSA, COPA, etc.) offer immediate opportunities for exploring joint work on small arms, conflict and related development issues. In addition, there may be programming needs that go beyond the scope of existing sub-regional organizations, so governments and civil society should be prepared to create a range of informal arrangements and more formal institutions that can facilitate practical cooperation as the need arises.**

2. More Active and Effective NGO Collaboration

Linking Conflict and Small Arms Expertise: Work on small arms issues has begun in every country in the Great Lakes and East Africa, as has some programming that links conflict, development and arms issues. Nevertheless, small arms demand has not been recognized as subject of interest and this hampers the development of integrated work.

- ◆ **Small arms and conflict organizations may have some assumptions in common, but they have no real common analysis or language, nor are there existing networks that facilitate their cooperation. There appears to be a need for a variety of forums or events where common problems, opportunities and collaborative action can be addressed.**

Training Resources: Manuals and training events that link conflict and development practitioners have been created by international and regional NGOs.

- ◆ **Small arms issues, including demand perspectives, could be included in these training resources and made more generally available.**
- ◆ **Research Data Needed:** One specific need is the development and implementation of research and evaluation methods that can be applied to the various conflict and small arms projects underway or being developed. While there is much anecdotal evidence that progress is being made, there is very little hard research data available. Small Arms Survey and others have begun to look into developing research tools focused on small arms demand, and there are a number of programs discussed at this seminar that could be the subjects of such study. For example, the different attempts to use indigenous conflict management processes in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi could be compared and assessed in relation to any changes in attitude toward acquiring small arms. Youth peacemaking and reintegration programmes in Burundi are now well underway and would benefit from the integration of research components into their ongoing activities.

B. Other Priorities

1. Post conflict Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programmes

Reintegration programmes, both those within formal DDR operations or related informal activity, have been conducted in the wider Great Lakes area and more are needed. The inadequate reintegration of ex-combatants and the complete lack of such programs in some situations lead to the re-recruitment of fighters, banditry, destabilization of political and civil life and a pervasive instability that itself breeds an increasing demand for weapons. The NGOs at the seminar emphasized that reintegration programming in their areas was often under funded or inadequately scaled for the conditions they face on the ground. While the inherent difficulties in focusing on reintegration work are well understood (see the Box in this section on this subject), there must be more attention to this work.

- ◆ **Bilateral and multilateral funders are strongly encouraged to bring adequate funding and resources to this urgent need and to seek out more effective means of collaboration with civil society. Local and regional NGOs are developing the capacity and experience to be active implementers of reintegration programming. Their**

Improving Connections between Conflict Resolution and Small Arms Control Activity

Both small arms and conflict resolution programming would benefit from more cooperation with each other. The seminar participants noted a number of specific avenues that could be used to increase such collaboration.

With other NGOs:

1. IANSA and other interested groups should distribute information widely to conflict NGOs and researchers and organize specific workshops to sensitize them to small arms issues.
2. Manuals are now available that link small arms, conflict and development issues and these can be used as the basis for ongoing capacity building among NGO networks.
3. In some areas church networks, with their general interest in peacemaking and anti-violence issues, have provided the necessary first links between SALW and conflict resolution groups.
4. Small arms organizations should seek networking opportunities and cooperative projects with conflict resolution and development organizations.

With Governments:

5. DDR programs can offer structures and programs that integrate conflict, SALW and development work.
6. Conflict resolution specialists should be added to each National Focal Point and NGO networks on conflict and small arms should invite representatives from the Focal Point to their own events.
7. In Kenya and Uganda there are examples of positive linkages between groups at the local and district levels but not so much at the national level; perhaps the National Focal Points of these countries could improve linkages to the national level by agreeing to map local activities.
8. Joint civil society and police training programs now being planned could provide a setting for exploring shared work.
9. Most countries signatory to the Nairobi Declaration have committees of Members of Parliament on small arms issues and these committees could also be addressed by conflict resolution organizations at a national level; in addition, the regional center intended to support the Nairobi Declaration process could also be a point for integrating across small arms and conflict resolution issues.

contributions should be better recognized, and supported.

2. Focusing on Youth

Central Focus for Both Problems and Solutions:

Children and youth have a very significant role to play in small arms issues in the Great Lakes and East Africa. First, they are a very large part of the population of each country and the attitudes they take and alternatives they seek will increasingly determine the directions of their societies. While young people don't make the official choices for their countries now, they will soon be the generation in charge. How they understand and are affected by current conditions will be crucial to life in the region.

Second, youth and children are the most vulnerable part of the population to recruitment into armed groups – whether army, paramilitary, militias, or criminal gangs. Across the region chronic war, disease, political conflict, poverty and injustice all result in the marginalization and even abandonment of young people. Even those still with their families are often exposed to violent propaganda and discrimination. So if one is to lessen the violence, instability and demand for weapons in the region, then the programme focus must be on addressing the needs and attitudes of younger people.

Third, and more positively, young people are often in the forefront of efforts to reduce violence and participation armed conflict. Among pastoral peoples in Kenya and Uganda and in villages in Burundi younger people have confronted their elders and pressed for non-violent alternatives. They have also been responsive to dialogues, work camps and other efforts to build inter-ethnic solidarity.

Influencing Norms and Values: Successful youth programming aimed at establishing and reinforcing non-violent attitudes and citizenship are being conducted by civil society in the region. In many ways these parallel some of the better-developed reintegration programs for ex-combatants with emphasis on education, training, employment, income generation, citizenship, non-violent conflict settlement and leadership.

In addition, dialogue programmes, direct conflict intervention and joint service work across community divisions have all been initiated successfully. In Burundi, radio, video, musical and sports programming have been used to very positive effect. All of this activity supports a crucial change in youth

attitudes and encourages norms and values that ensure the development of peaceful, democratic societies.

- ◆ Such work deserves further support, evaluation and replication across the region. In many ways this work is part of or complementary to wider development goals. With good planning it can be integrated into more formal institutions as such as schools, social services, businesses, policing, community conflict management and political parties.
- ◆ The creation of sustainable youth-focused programming is a major change in direction for a society. It requires informed, long term support by external funders as well as enlightened cooperation from governments in the region.

3. Identity Change

Conflict management and peace organizations have widened their focus from immediate conflict intervention activity to including work on longer-term reconciliation processes. More specifically they are using trauma healing, personal reflection, and citizenship programs to begin affecting the self image and identity of the many people who have been exposed to violent conflict, abuse, injustice and ethnic discrimination – whether they have been victims, perpetrators or both.

In a political framework, one might see these programmes as the necessary preparation of individuals and groups that would precede larger reconciliatory processes such as truth commissions, resettlement and land redistribution, reintegration of former combatants, and national elections and reform. Without a lowering of fear and suspicion among the general population, as well as a willingness to face difficult experiences and a strengthening of personal responsibility, the larger political and economic processes cannot be sustained.

Interestingly, much of this identity-change work is conducted in groups in contrast to the usual pattern of individual counselling. This is due in part to concerns about cost and availability of trained workers, but also to an awareness of culturally appropriateness in the African context, where group identity is very significant.

- ◆ Much more external support for trauma-related programming is needed if this promising work is to have a wider effect. So far it is largely con-

ducted by civil society organizations. Even modest but consistent support for training of program planners and group leaders, assistance to networking and peer training processes and, where possible, integration of this type of programming into wider development programmes would reap large benefits in later peace building activity.

4. Peace Education Programmes

It's widely recognized that establishing peace education programmes can lead to a broader public awareness of peace alternatives and eventually toward an attitude change that favours nonviolent conflict resolution. It is less well understood that peace education can contribute directly to more immediate peacemaking. Guided by their own experience, the seminar participants brainstormed the following list of ways that their peace education work provides the basis for an active response to community conflict and the building of positive, shared identities:

- It helps to establish common definitions of and personal responsibility for civic peace;
 - It provides opportunities for positive interaction among otherwise divided communities;
 - For youth and others, it provides a useful venting and transformational process for pent up anger related to current and past injustice;
 - In schools and some other public institutions it may be an indicator of societal conflicts, such as ethnic tensions, issues of injustice and the presence of weapons; by the same token it can also be indicator of peaceful change (e.g., through diary or other communication projects);
 - Groups formed for peace education can be encouraged to “graduate” to providing the institutional basis for more specialized peace subjects, such as SALW controls, community policing, return of combatants or displaced people, etc.; and
 - Through the broad Culture of Peace framework, it can offer a positive common vision and the outline of an integrated civic renewal program for post-war societies divided by previous ethnic, political and criminal violence.
- ♦ **Comprehensive Peace Education Programmes should receive funding support from the international community as integral parts of DDR, development and arms control initiatives as well as within peacebuilding programming.**

C. Broader Relevance of these Lessons

While all of the above lessons are derived directly from current practice in the Great Lakes and East Africa, they are broadly similar to experiences reported in the demand workshops organized by QUNO in other regions. (See the list of relevant reports in Appendix 4.) Themes, such as the critical importance on focusing on programmes for children and youth; the constructive criticism of existing DDR programming; the need for planning joint programming using small arms, development and conflict resolution expertise; and the need to relate conflict management to indigenous practices and institutions, are all echoed in experiences in Latin America, the Caribbean, Southern Africa, and Southeast Asia.

This most recent report has added important details to all these themes. For example:

- The emerging experience with the use and even revival of indigenous conflict management programmes in a variety of local variants, builds on earlier reporting and also suggests some of the limits and problems that are occurring during implementation;
- The institution of small arms Focal Points, and national programming and an emerging experience with cooperation between government and civil society at a national level provides an interesting model for consideration in other regions;
- The emerging examples in Kenya of cooperation at a district level among civil society and government actors and the elaboration of roles for members of civil society are very promising, particularly as they add sustainability, and community ownership and formal institutional resources into the resulting conflict management processes;
- The use of broadcast programming on peacemaking subjects in Burundi now has a positive history and, along with examples from Brazil and elsewhere, could be a very interesting model for consideration in other regions, particularly if it included explicit connections with relevant small arms and development programming;
- The work on trauma healing and personal attitudinal change being conducted in Burundi and Rwanda, and the efforts to organize these as activities implemented by trained community members, are important models that could be adapted for use in many other regions;
- The inclusion of specific, proactive, grassroots peacemaking elements within comprehensive

peace education programmes is an important and novel expansion of this kind of work and could be developed in other geographic situations; and

- The pilot programmes by UNDP and others to integrate development, conflict and small arms management efforts – along with the efforts by CECORE, Saferworld and others to provide supportive training manuals for these kinds of joint efforts – are important examples to be reviewed and considered for application elsewhere.

Research Needed: Despite these many important additions to international practice on small arms demand, there is still a very significant lack of evaluation of project results. Many of the practitioners at the seminar could identify lessons from their work,

but generally their assessments are not based on objective research. In particular, the links between a positive public acceptance of non-violent conflict alternatives and the lessening of demand for small arms has not been demonstrated. Those working in the field are able to cite considerable anecdotal evidence that supports their conclusion that they have achieved some success, but this is not a sufficient basis on which to plan further work.

- ♦ **The organization of research programmes that would look critically at conflict-related programs in the Great Lakes (and other regions) and assess their effect on small arms demand remains a critically important task for the international community.**

Appendix 1

What Do We Mean by Small Arms Demand?

The following text is shortened and adapted from a presentation by economist Jurgen Brauer at a workshop organized by Small Arms Survey and the Quaker UN Office on 12 March 2004, in Geneva. The original title was “The ‘economic theory of demand’ as it relates to small arms.” (For a more formal and extensive application of this approach see the paper by Muggah and Brauer listed in Appendix 4.)

Why Focus on Demand Issues?

Looking at the arms trade, we see that countries subject to supply-restrictions have always managed to acquire arms, be it

- by finding willing sellers, nonetheless;
- by black market acquisition;
- by self-production (e.g., Turkey, Brazil, South Africa).

That is, when there is sufficiently urgent demand the supply will be forthcoming, somehow, even in spite of restrictions.

During the 1990s, the control of small arms became an active issue. Initially, the emphasis was on the supply-side, e.g., production, distribution channels, and supply-restrictions. But, compared with other conventional arms, small arms are even harder to reign in from the supply-side since they are relatively easy to produce, transport, smuggle, and hide (and they are long lasting, durable goods in working order when taken out of hiding). Moreover, control regimes require a sophistication of internal and global coordination beyond the capacity of many states to implement. So for these reasons as well we will need at least to explore the potential for controlling these weapons through the demand side.

This should be a promising direction. After all, most of the time most communities live in relative peace, not because of supply-side restrictions but because of lack of demand for small arms. Most of the time, there is no particular point in owning or possessing a gun and shooting someone.

What is Demand

For any given group of people, demand is the level of their desire to acquire a product or service, as conditioned by their resources (ability to pay) and the price set by the market. It is important to note that both resources and prices can be monetary or non-monetary in nature. Demand, then, is the interplay of willingness, ability to pay (resources) and price. There is no demand for small arms unless there are resources to acquire them, and there is no demand for small arms if the price asked is too high. Demand exists if one is willing *and* able to acquire; both aspects have to come together. That is what we mean by “demand,” and that is the ‘economic theory of demand’.

When one understands the definition of demand as an economist understands it, then one also understands that it is not about economics *versus* other scholarly disciplines but that it is economics *and* the other disciplines. Understanding demand requires cooperation among the disciplines. It is *not* inter-disciplinary, but multi-disciplinary research that we need to carry out. Indeed, without the other disciplines, economists themselves would never understand demand because the very definition of demand requires us to examine preference formation (the willingness aspect).

Preferences, Resources and Prices

Demand is formed by preferences (willingness) and resources and prices (ability).

Preferences

Granted, historically economists have taken “preferences” as given (by criminologists, anthropologists, scholars of religion, sociologists, and psychologists). But when preferences are formed, they can be confronted with constraints, such as monetary and non-monetary resources and prices.

When resources are squeezed, preferences may never be revealed, and when resources are increased, then preferences we never knew existed may ‘suddenly’ come to the fore. For example, do entire communities ‘suddenly’ break out with bad cases of mass armed violence, as if the community’s collective state of mind has dramatically, and inexplicably changed, or is it more true that one of the existing, effective constraints that kept certain preferences from being revealed has been removed?

The term “preferences” refers to a state of mind that is not always deliberately arrived at, and is shaped by culture, generational transfer of values, peer-groups, education and reflection, as much as by personal experiences. It is in these broader group processes that the ‘economic theory of demand’ *requires* the participation of the other disciplines.

But, if one were to study nothing but preferences – particularly in the absence of constraints – we would not get very far in our understanding of people’s actual behaviour. So, when we study the demand for small arms, we must study not only the underlying preference formation but also the effect of constraints and the effect of the removal of constraints. This means we must look at the role of resources and prices.

Resources

Resources can be non-monetary. They can be one’s innate talent, education, strength, convictions, drive. These are a set of personal attributes or a set of personal resources or institutional resources to which one may have recourse (personal connections, in other words). Sometimes, economists and others use the phrases “human capital” and “social capital” to capture these facets of resources. It would not be surprising to find that communities cut off from the rest of the world are weaker and more vulnerable to attack and exploitation than otherwise comparable communities that can call on outside assistance. One of the strengths of well-regulated states is in fact that its constituent communities are not isolated from support.

Resources can be monetary. These include:

- earned income (including appropriation, e.g., theft, pillage, looting);
- grants and inheritance (i.e., unearned income);
- credit and other advances (i.e., conditional income, income conditional on repayment on credit, speci-

fied repayment such as joining a gang of bandits, a kind of debt service); and

- income from accumulated wealth or the depletion of wealth (i.e., generation of cash flow for the present by taking it from the future).

How does one rob a community of its resources? One steals its horses, slaughters its cattle, burns its fields, and cuts off communication to its neighbours. That community understandably will develop a “preference” for revenge, but will not have the resources to retaliate. But if this constraint is removed, if for example the community were able to get in touch with its brothers and sisters in the diaspora, it may suddenly be enabled to take revenge.

Resources of course can also work the other way around so that the causality runs not from resources as one condition for arms acquisition but from arms acquisition as one means of (illegally) obtaining income. In that case, for example, the armed violence associated with the drug trade is like a lottery: a few will get fabulously wealthy, but every other participant loses, perhaps even their lives as may innocent bystanders.

Prices

Prices need to be looked at in relative terms:

- relative to substitute goods and services. If I wish to purchase genuine defence against armed violence, what are my alternatives? I can move – that’s expensive; I can work hard to create a neighbourhood-watch organization, which extracts a non-monetary and expensive price in itself and also costs me the opportunity to do something else; I can buy a knife – that’s inexpensive but ineffective. In a word, in our applied research we **MUST** ask for and enumerate what the feasible available alternatives are. Once a community has broken down, there may be few feasible alternatives.
- relative to complementary goods and services. For example, is it useful to work on ammunition restrictions? Perhaps not. Explosives and shell casings are easy to manufacture. Is it useful to restrain firearms training which is complementary to firearms use? Probably not, since almost no training is required. Once a community has broken down, there may be little that can be done to reign in products that are complementary to firearms use.

So the issue is very difficult. Substitute products for genuine defence (i.e., substitutes to small arms) are expensive and complementary goods to small arms are cheap. This suggests that we really cannot expect to do a whole lot to lower demand by manipulating prices. Nevertheless, prices serve as a constraint, although perhaps less and less over time.

But we may be able to supplement budgets, i.e., alleviate budget constraints, for example, for community policing and self-monitoring. But even here there is a caveat: if economic development leads to *higher* average incomes, the relative prices of small arms has just fallen.

In Conclusion

The small arms problem is similar to environmental problems: it takes only a few minutes to destroy a valuable natural resource but hundreds of years to restore it. Similarly, it takes only minutes to carry out a massacre but many years to rebuild a community. It looks like it will be hard to affect the demand problem from the side of resources and prices. That would leave the reduction of preferences as the only lever of intervention to reduce demand for small arms. But preference cannot be understood in isolation from resource and price considerations because, if we do so, we will likely come to very mistaken conclusions about what it is that *enables* people to

pursue their preferences and which one of a variety of alternatives they choose to fulfill their deep preferences for security and punishment.

When we look at the demand for small arms, the fundamental questions that we must always bear in mind are the following ones.

- First, what are people's deep preferences (e.g., for security, but perhaps also for revenge, and punishment)?
- Second, how do changes in relative prices reveal or hide derived preferences (derived that is from a deep preference for security, which may be obtained in a number of alternate ways)?
- Third, how do changes in resources reveal or hide derived preferences?
- Fourth, what feasible security alternatives do people actually have? We may find that their opportunity set may be narrow. Can intervention enlarge the set? And how? Can intervention foreclose some security alternatives and open up others (e.g., alternatives for security and punishment other than through recourse to small arms)?
- Fifth, what factors, other than relative prices and resources, trigger apparent preference shifts? For example, from one sort of defence (nonviolent) to another sort of defence (violent).
- Sixth, are the behaviours we observe reversible in a symmetric or asymmetric way? Are there ratchet effects that make behaviour reversals unusually difficult to achieve? Are they reversible at all?

Appendix 2

Sample Outlines of Integrated Programmes to Lessen Conflict and SALW Demand

The following program outlines were drawn up by four working groups on the last day of the seminar. Even though these were prepared on an ad hoc basis after a relatively short period of consultation, the chosen program elements reflect the broad, on-the-ground experience of the participants and reveal some of their new thinking on the integration of small arms demand issues into their ongoing work. In each case the programme outline is preceded by a short listing of the goals specified for each working group.

Group 1: Multi-Year Reintegration and Development Programme for Youth from Militias in a Town in Burundi

Goals:

- Successful re-entry
- Joint development with community
- Lower armed violence
- Less demand for guns

Proposal: “Multi-Year Programme For Reintegration And Development In Burundi (Reintegration Project For Young Militia Members From Cities And The Country-Side)”

Context:

1. Institutional framework established by government
2. Demobilisation and disarmament already undertaken
3. Proposal for a project within the scope of the national demobilisation and reintegration plan]

Beneficiaries:

1. “Gardiens de la Paix” (government sponsored force) (5000 individuals)
2. “Sans Echec” and “Sans Défaite” (informal militias: “without set-back” and “without failure”) (1500 individuals)
3. Reintegrated civilian communities

Project activities:

1. Profile groups to be demobilized:
 - government to focus on their “peacekeepers”]
 - NGOs to focus on “spontaneous militias”]
2. Creation of provincial centres
 - a) Sensitization/Information:
 - sensitization strategy
 - sensitisation training
 - training of trainers]
 - training of the three beneficiary groups
 - first-level psychological support]
 - b) choice of occupations/activities/projects:
 - for the demobilized
 - for the welcoming communities
3. Reconstruction of infrastructure for welcoming and support of personnel (schools, professional centres, sanitation, feeding, water, mail, police)
4. Training or education: school, agriculture, animal husbandry, sewing, mechanics, craft, micro-credit, blacksmithing
5. Re-establishment of community links:
 - cultural and sporting activities
 - community police
 - making people aware of their responsibilities/security
 - reconciliation forum
 - spaces for dialogue

Group 2: Multi-Year Conflict Reduction Programme in Rwanda

Proposal: “5 year conflict reduction programme in Rwanda”

A. Objectives:

1. Increased level of reconciliation
2. Re-integration of refugees and ex-combatants

B. Outputs:

1. Lessened armed violence
2. Lower demand for guns
3. Improved relationships among the community
4. Common citizenship re-enforced

C. Activities:

Objective 1: Increased level of reconciliation

(i) Sensitisation on:

- Human rights
- Citizenship
- The need to tell the truth

- (ii) Increase effectiveness of Gacaca system:
 - Capacity building for judges
 - Trauma healing for Gacaca
 - Protection for those testifying
 - Involve all levels of community
 - (iii) Identify and recognise people who saved lives during genocide
 - (iv) Introduce community-based dialogue to support joint community development activities
- Objective 2: Re-integration of refugees and ex-combatants
- (i) Enact land law
 - (ii) Increase special programmes for ex-combatants and returnees
(Income generating activities)
 - (iii) Prepare and support communities that receive refugees and ex-combatants
 - (iv) Advocate for regional socio-economic integration
 - (v) Advocate for integration of refugees in countries of asylum

Group 3: Long-term Conflict Management in Eastern DRC

Goals:

- Reintegration of former militia
- Special focus on child-soldiers
- Controlling cross-border conflict
- Lessen armed violence
- Lower demand for guns

I. Activities:

1: Documentation on militias and armed groups]

- Where are they?
- How many are they?
- Number of weapons; type; possible sources?
- Identification: of child soldiers
 - women and girls]
 - associated non-combatants]

2: Sensitization of communities and armed groups regarding formal DDR/DDRRR programme

3: Reintegration

- trauma healing]
- peace education in the welcoming communities, on arms especially
- find alternatives for the reintegration (income generating activities)
- Reintegration of child-soldiers
 - mental deactivation

- training; schooling
- defend; mediation
- reintegration rituals in the communities and in the families
- reinforcement of community and family capacities

4: Campaign to collect and destroy arms in the community]

5: Lobby for the reinforcement of legislation on the circulation and possession of light weapons

6: Follow-up and evaluation of the program; sharing of information and experiences at the community level

II. Expected Results

- Lessening of armed violence
- Lessening of demand for arms
- More peace
- Support activities and consolidation of peace
- Reinforcement of peaceful resolution of conflict mechanisms and good governance

III. Participants

- Civil society organisations (NGOs, researchers, ...)
- Government
- Local communities
- Ex-combatants
- Victims of armed violence
- Traditional structures

IV. Partners: MONUC, UNICEF, UNDP, ILO; Funders: QUNO, EU, Development Cooperation Belgium, USAID, Canada, German]

V. Total programme time and budget: 10 years, \$6.5 million

- (documentation: 2 years, \$1 million;
- demobilisation: 2 years, \$1 million;
- reintegration/reconstruction: 5 years, \$3 million;
- evaluation and putting in place follow-up structure: 1 year, \$1.5 million.)

Group 4. Multi-Year Development and conflict management N.E. Kenya/Uganda

Goals:

- focus on water disputes
- increased sustainability of livestock herding communities
- improved relationship with government
- improved capacity for conflict management

- lessened armed violence
- lower demand for guns

Project Title: “Development and Conflict Management in N.E. Kenya (managing water disputes)”

Background

- N.E. Kenya is a dry area
- There is the problem of water scarcity because of unreliable rainfall. These are seasonal
- There is an increase in human and livestock population. This has increased the pressure on land (pasture and water)
- There has been an increase in violent conflict over access to water and its control.
- There has been an increase in incidences of violence (armed)
- The N.E. part of Kenya borders Somalia and Ethiopia, which experience a similar problem.

Objectives

- To make water resources available to all
- To reduce water related conflict and to reduce the consequent proliferation of SALW
- To enhance participatory management of water resources to a population of 600 000 in 2 districts
- To create mechanisms and structures for conflict management

Implementation strategy

- The existing structures and mechanisms shall be studied and the means of enhancing those structures and mechanisms shall also be considered.
- There is a need to involve the local community at all stages of decision making.
- This project shall be implemented by a consortium of organisations through a leading agency so as to ensure greater ownership.
- This project has two components. Access to water is a short-term objective, located within a broader long-term objective of building community structures for conflict resolution.

Activities

- An all inclusive consultative process for needs assessment and planning.
- Identification and training of community leaders in water resource management
- Training of community peace monitors
- Mapping of water resources while paying due regard to the movement of people and live-stock
- Creation and support of dialogue forums

Time Frame

- The project shall cover a period of 2 years, however some programmes need to be implemented within the first six months
- Within the first six months the mapping of the water resources and the creation and support of the dialogue forums shall be conducted.
- The training of community peace monitors and water management committees.
- The monitoring and the strengthening of the community response mechanisms shall be a longer-term activity, to be completed within the 2 year period.

Budget

1. Management and Administration: US\$ 13,200
 2. There are 5 programme areas:
 - (i) Assessment US\$ 6,000
 - (ii) Training US\$ 20,000
 - (iii) Water resource mapping (2 week period) US\$ 5,000
 - (iv) Dialogue forums US\$27,000
 - (v) Monitoring and evaluation US\$ 8,000
- Total: US\$ 79,200

Sustainability

- The community shall contribute in kind (goats, camels etc.) to the dialogue forums.
- There shall be a tax levied at the water sources which shall be banked in a “peace account”, so as to ensure greater sustainability of the project.

Appendix 3

Participant List

Robert ABEL

Country Representative, Christian Aid
Bujumbura, Burundi

Josaphat BALEGAMIRE

Africa Tomorrow, Geneva, Switzerland

Augustin CHABWINE Chiza

Centre d'Etudes et de formation et sur la Gestion et
la Prévention des Conflits dans la région des Grands
Lacs, Faculty of Law, Université Catholique de
Bukavu, Bukavu, DRC

Dekha IBRAHIM

COPA, Mombassa, Kenya

Isaac KALONJI

Les Enfants et les femmes d'abord, Kinshasa, DRC

David K.A. KIKAYA

Nairobi, Kenya

Jonathan LWEHABURA

Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Dar es Salaam,
Tanzania

Peter MCOMALLA

Executive Director, Human Rights Education and
Peace International (Hurepi-Trust), Arusha, Tanzania

Philip MUANZA

Initiatives de Prévention des Conflits, Kinshasa, DRC

Felicien MWUMVANEZA

SaferRwanda, Kigali, Rwanda

Christian NGENDAHI MANA

Search for Common Ground
Ngozi Province, Burundi

Joyce NIMA

Uganda Joint Christian Council, Uganda

Brigitte NSHIMIRIMANA

Coordination, Assistant, Victims of Torture, Search
for Common Ground, Burundi

Alex NYAGO

Africa Peace Forum, Nairobi, Kenya

Laurel PATTERSON

Small Arms Reduction Great Lakes Region, UNDP
Nairobi, Kenya

Cheruiyot Edwin RUTTO

Africa Peace Forum, Nairobi, Kenya

Stella SABIITI

Center for Conflict Resolution (CECORE)
Kampala, Uganda

Dr. Anastase SHYAKA

Center for Conflict Management, University of
Rwanda, Butaré, Rwanda

Bernard SINDAYIGAYA

Programme Coordinator, JAMAA
Bujumbura, Burundi

Silas SINYIGAYA

CLADHO, Kigali, Rwanda

Manasseh WEPUNDI

Security Research and Information Center
Nairobi, Kenya

Organizers

Ochieng ADALA

Senior Programme Officer, Africa Peace Forum/
International Resource Group, Nairobi, Kenya

David ATWOOD

Quaker UN Office (QUNO), Geneva, Switzerland

David JACKMAN

Consultant to QUNO, Ottawa, Canada

Kizito SABALA

Africa Peace Forum/International Resource Group,
Nairobi, Kenya

Appendix 4

Additional Information Sources on Small Arms Demand

- , “Shrinking Small Arms: A Seminar on Lessening the Demand for Weapons-Durban, South Africa, November 19–24, 1999”
Quaker UN Office, New York and Geneva, 2000
www.geneva.quino.info/pdf/smallarmsdurban.pdf
- , “Curbing the Demand for Small Arms: Lessons in East Africa and the Horn of Africa-Nairobi, Kenya, December 12–15, 2000”
Quaker UN Office, New York and Geneva, 2001
<http://www.geneva.quino.info/pdf/smallarmsnairobi.pdf>
- , “Curbing the Demand for Small Arms in Southeast Asia: a summary report from the workshop held on 26–31 May 2002, Phnom Penh, Cambodia”
Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and Quaker UN Office, Geneva, 2002
www.geneva.quino.info/pdf/ENGLISH_Report_Cambodia_May_2002_workshop.pdf
- , “Traditional Cultural Practices and Small Arms in the Middle East: Problems and Solutions, Conference Report, Amman, November 2002”
American Friends Service Committee and Regional Human Security Center, Amman, Jordan
http://www.mena-small-arms.org/Traditional_Cultural_Practices_Workshop_Report-November_2002.pdf
- , “Curbing the Demand for Small Arms; A Middle East Seminar, Amman, Jordan June 2002”
American Friends Service Committee and Regional Human Security Center, Amman
http://www.mena-small-arms.org/Small_Arms_demand_wshop_Report_-_July_2002.pdf
- , “A summary of Lessons on Small Arms Demand and Youth” from the workshop ‘Small Arms Demand in the Caribbean: Special Focus on Haiti and Youth Issues’

8–13 June 2003, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Quaker UN Office, Geneva, 2003
http://www.geneva.quino.info/pdf/Haiti_SmallArmsHaiti.pdf

—, “Youth and Small Arms—A Dangerous Combination”, Documentation of an Expert Discussion on 8 November 2002
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, Eschborn, 2003

Clacherty, Glynis, and Johanna Kistner
“Guns, Power and Identity: A research project of the Zimiseleni Researchers”
Clacherty and Associates Research and Ekupholeni Mental Health Centre, South Africa, October 2001
glynis@clacherty.co.za

Dowdney, Luke
Children of the Drug Trade: A Case Study of Children in Organised Armed Violence in Rio de Janeiro, 7 Letras]
Rio de Janeiro, 2003

Harriott, Anthony
“Controlling the Jamaican Crime Problem: Peace Building and Community Action” (Draft version)
Department of Government, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, Jamaica, March, 2001

McIntyre, Angela and Tanya Weiss
“Exploring Small Arms Demand – A Youth Perspective”
ISS Paper 67, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, March 2003
www.smallarmsnet.org/issues/themes/paper67.pdf

Moser, Carolyn
“Urban Poverty and Violence in Jamaica”
Latin American and Caribbean Studies, World Bank, Washington, January 1997

Muggah, Robert and Jurgen Brauer
“Diagnosing Small-Arms Demand: A Multi-disciplinary Approach,” unpublished paper, June 2004
www.aug.edu/~sbajmb/paper-Geneva-v2.pdf

Peters, Krijn
“Re-Examining Voluntarism: Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone”
ISS Monograph, No. 100, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2004.
<http://www.iss.org.za/pubs/Monographs/No100/Contents.html>

Regehr, Ernie

“Reducing the Demand for Small Arms and Light Weapons: Priorities for the International Community”

Ploughshares Working Paper, 04-2, Project Ploughshares, Canada, 2004

www.ploughshares.ca/CONTENT/WORKING%20PAPERS/wp042.pdf

Weiss, Tanya

“Guns in the Borderlands: Reducing the Demand for Small Arms”

ISS Monograph, No. 95, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, January 2004

<http://www.iss.org.za/pubs/Monographs/no95/Contents.html>

