

Regulating Arms in Africa: A New Development Agenda?



Robert Muggah,
Small Arms Survey, Geneva

Outline

- Armed violence in Africa
- Disaggregating “arms availability”
- First generation arms control
- Second generation arms control
- Closing reflections

Armed violence in Africa: conflicts since 1946

	Victory	Peace Deals	Ceasefire	Other	Total ended	Ongoing
Africa	38	23	12	44	117	7
Asia	25	16	17	64	122	15
Latin America	29	7	1	6	43	2
Middle East	18	4	8	22	52	5
Europe	10	7	9	12	38	2
All	120	57	47	148	372	31

Armed violence in Africa: crime

	Robbery		Assaults and threats		Sexual offences	
	Overall (per 100,000)	Firearm (%)	Overall (per 100,000)	Firearm (%)	Overall (per 100,000)	Firearm (%)
Africa	4.18	0.54	5.42	0.48	5.19	0.11
L America	7.89	0.4	5.13	0.44	5.35	0.03
Asia	1.32	0.02	2.04	0.04	2.70	0
SE Europe	1.81	0.09	3.20	0.2	2.02	0.02
W Europe	1.45	0.08	4.02	0.05	3.10	0.03
N. America	1.24	0.08	4.02	0.05	3.10	0.03

Armed violence leads to underdevelopment

Millennium Development Goals	Armed violence effects
Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Loss of livelihoods, unemployment, displacement, changes in household composition, disruptions in service/welfare provision
Achieve universal primary education	Destruction of schools, disruption of schooling, diversion of state revenues from social expenditures to military/public security
Promote gender equality and empower women	More women-headed households, expanded workloads for women, increases in gender-based violence
Reduce child mortality	Destruction and closure of medical facilities, disruption of livelihoods, food security and composition of family structures. Increases in child and infant mortality due to disease, malnutrition, and/or lack of protection
Improve maternal health	Destruction and disruption of health infrastructure retards improvements to maternal health and increases infant mortality
Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	Destruction and disruption of health services and sanitation, poor living conditions for the displaced, increase in sexual violence and prostitution, introduction of infected combatants
Ensure environmental sustainability	Accelerated rural to urban migration and growth of slums. Destruction of infrastructure for safe drinking water and sanitation. Unregulated resource exploitation and deforestation

Underdevelopment leads to armed violence

- Under- and unemployment
- Rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation
- Marginalisation
- Demographic youth ‘bulge’
- Socio-economic income inequality
- **Easy availability of arms and munition**

Considering arms availability

Assumption

- Western arms to “southern” conflicts
- “Illicit trade” most important
- Arms availability = conflict onset
- Arms availability = contagion effects

Response

- Production and export transparency/controls
- Regulation of brokers
- Reduction and regulation of arms in/following war
- Bilateral/international agreements to control borders

Reconsidering arms availability

What we know

- **Arms widely produced:** 1,400 arms companies in 90 states
- **Demand complex:** motivated by preferences, prices and resources
- **Uneven distribution:** 75 per cent of arms with civilians, 12 per cent with the state and less than 1 per cent held by “armed groups”.
- **International and domestic trade:** legal, covert and illicit trade between states, non-state actors, armed groups and civilians
- **Arms availability and other factors intensify lethality/severity:** socio-economic inequality, unemployment, governance are critical

Reconsidering arms regulation

How are responses conceived

Focus on public and private producers: need industry standards, transparency in production and oversight on export and import procedures

- **Integrate development approaches to mitigate demand:** Ensure that ‘development’ programmes do not exacerbate ‘risk factors’.
- **Enhance international and national regulation:** adopt state and civilian controls, tighten stockpile and inventory security, focus on ‘high risk’ groups
- **Operate at multiple levels:** focus on international, regional, national and municipal and introduce inter-sector and multi-disciplinary strategies

First Generation arms regulation

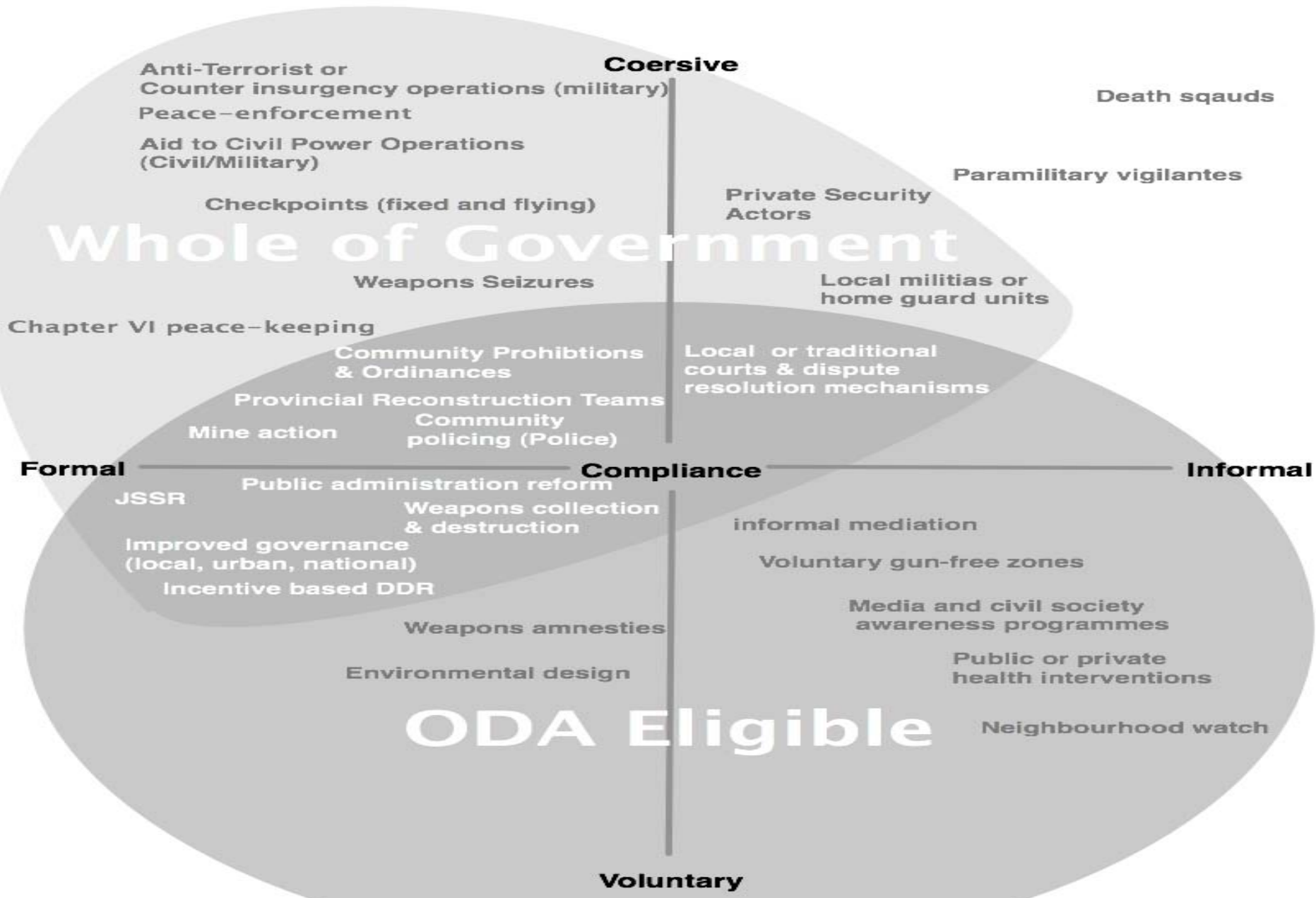
- **Internationally mandated:** often under the mandate of UNSC chapter VI/VII or with backing of a multinational/regional peace-support operation
- **Hard tactics:** includes embargoes, no-fly zones, cordon and search
- **Soft tactics:** includes DDR, SSR, civilian arms collection)



Second generation arms regulation

- **Integrated and locally-driven:** Inter-sectoral and based on consultative mechanisms
- **Enforcement:** includes embargoes, no-fly zones, cordon and search, intelligence-led operations, stop and seizures, etc.
- **Compliance-oriented:** includes rule of law, introduction of penalties and incarceration, etc.
- **Voluntary:** includes DDR, SSR, civilian arms collection), weapons for development, neighbourhood watch, urban renewal, gun free zones, etc.

Second generation in practice



Closing reflections

- Arms regulation highly political
- Arms regulation most effective at municipal level – confounds development actors
- Arms regulation often drawing on development incentives to achieve ends
- Do development actors “get” arms regulation?
- Can development actors “integrate” arms regulation into mainstream activities?