

**THE NEXUS BETWEEN POACHING AND PROLIFERATION OF ILLICIT SMALL
ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS REGIONAL REPORT**

**CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO,
KENYA, UGANDA AND TANZANIA**



Co-operating to Disarm



Co-operating to Disarm

VISION

“A safe and secure sub – region in a peaceful continent free from arms proliferation”

MISSION

To coordinate action against Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation in the Great Lakes region and Horn of Africa

CORE VALUES

Flexibility

Gender Sensitivity

Integrity

Professionalism

Partnership

Team Work

Transparency

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	Authority, Capacity and Legitimacy
ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
CAR	Central African Republic
COMIFAC	Central African Forest Commission
DRC	Democratic Republic Of Congo
FBOs	Faith Based Organizations
FGDs	Focussed Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFAW	the International Fund for Animal Welfare
IAPF	International Anti-poaching Foundation
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LATF	the Lusaka Agreement Task Force
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
RECSA	Regional Centre for on Small Arms
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNEP	United Nation Environment Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UNOD	United Nations Office for Disarmament
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority
WCS	Wildlife Conservation Society
UNPOA	United Nations Program of Action
ITI	International Tracing Instruments
UNODA	United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Poaching in Africa is currently at a crisis level with more elephants being poached and the risk of extinction more eminent. It is estimated that close to 30,000 elephants, get poached every year in Africa. If no comprehensive and coordinated action is taken, elephants could soon be extinct. Poaching is used in this study to mean illegal hunting or killing of wildlife for extraction of trophies for sale.

The primary objective of this study was to examine the nexus between proliferation of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and poaching, and the impact of the two on development and livelihoods. The research was conducted in the Central Africa Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. This report combines the findings from the five countries of study while highlighting manifestations, drivers and impact of poaching, the proliferation of illicit SALW, outlining some existing interventions against poaching and makes various recommendations.

The study revealed that elephants and rhinos are the most poached animals and various actors are involved at local, national, regional and international levels. The lead drivers of poaching were identified as: the proliferation of illicit SALW, porous borders, poverty and exclusion from economic grid, increased global demand for wildlife products and weak legislation and enforcement.

Poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW have had far reaching environmental, political, economic and social impacts. With this realization, various actors at the national, regional and international have put in place measures to address these challenges. However, there are gaps and limitations in legislation, SALW arms control, inter-agency and inter-state collaboration and end-market demand reduction.

The study therefore recommend among others the reduction in the proliferation of illicit SALW, capacity building for law enforcement agencies, dealing with end market users and provision of alternative livelihood for communities living around wildlife protected areas.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

There is clear evidence that poaching¹ is a major issue of concern in the Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In the last five years poaching has risen exponentially mainly due to the increasing demand for wildlife products particularly elephant ivory and rhino horns. The demand is especially higher in the Chinese markets, which accounts for 70% of the global market. Vietnam and Thailand are also major destinations for wildlife products.² Poaching has been fuelled by the proliferation of illicit SALW, which flow through the porous borders within the countries of the study.

Poaching in Africa has become rampant and poses a serious threat to the ecological stability of the continent, and to security and development. According to National Geographic, “Some 30,000 African elephants are slaughtered every year, more than 100,000 between 2010 and 2012, and the pace of killing is not slowing.”³ Currently illegal wildlife trafficking is worth an estimated \$19 billion a year, making it the “fourth most lucrative illicit activity in the world after drug trade, counterfeiting, and human trafficking.”⁴ The increase in poaching for African elephants and rhinos is consistent with the increased value of ivory in the black market and the increased outflows of illegal ivory from Africa headed to Asia.

Local people are often hired by ivory traffickers to find, kill, and de-tusk elephants. Ivory is then smuggled via different methods of transport across country borders. Customs and border agents lack the capacity to detect and seize trafficked ivory. Trafficked ivory is often well hidden or else disguised as another product in order to avoid detection by authorities.

Wildlife decimation represents not only the depletion of a precious and irreplaceable national resource, but is also a profound threat to development (tourism, livelihoods and national security), as well as to ecosystems (flora and fauna). The diverse interventions thus far have been inadequate mainly due to protracted conflicts in the region that has sustained the supply of illicit SALW, weak legal system, poor governance structures, lack of financial resources, poverty and marginalization. There is therefore a need for global efforts to end the sale of

ivory and rhino tusks among other wildlife products.

The primary objective of this study was to establish the nexus between poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW in Central African Republic (CAR), Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), hereafter referred to as the countries of study. The study was commissioned by Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great lakes Region, Horn of Africa and Bordering States (RECSA). It was conducted in the five countries between September 2015 and April 2016. The field research included the use of individual interviews, focus group discussions and observations. Those interviewed mainly comprised of government officials, non-government organisations (NGOs), civil society, academicians, Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), community leaders and members.

1.2 Conceptual framework

This study applied a conceptual framework guided by three concepts, authority, capacity and legitimacy (ACL model), to analyse the extent and impact of illicit SALW and poaching on human development.⁵

Authority refers to the ability of the state to enact binding legislation over its population and to provide the latter with a stable and safe environment.⁶ For the countries of study, State authority was measured by considering the extent to which the government provided security to the reduce the activities of armed poachers. It also included assessing the functionality and effectiveness of security forces in protecting wildlife in the various national parks, as well as citizens who often fall victim to exploitation and aggression of armed poachers.

¹Poaching is used in this study to mean illegal hunting or killing of wildlife for extraction of trophies for sale

²Hanibal Goitom, 2013. “Library of Congress about Wildlife Trafficking and Poaching in Central African Republic.” Available at: <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2013/04/law-library-report-on-wildlife-trafficking-and-poaching/> (Accessed on 14/02/2016)

³Brian Christy, “How Killing Elephants Finances Terror in Africa,” National Geographic, <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/tracking-ivory/article.html> (Accessed on 11/01/2016).

⁴“How to Stop the Illegal Wildlife Trade from Funding Terrorist Groups,” Scientific America. Available at: <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-to-stop-the-illegal-wildlife-trade-from-funding-terrorist-groups/> (Accessed on 8/01/2016).

⁵David Carment and Yiagadeesen Samy, “Assessing State Fragility: A Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Report,” in Country Indicators for Foreign Policy & Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (2012).

⁶Wim Naudé, Amelia U. Santos-Paulino, and Mark McGillivray, *Fragile states: causes, costs, and responses* Oxford University Press, 2011. P. 48.

Legitimacy refers to the ability of the state to command public loyalty to the governing regime and to generate domestic support for government legislation being passed and policies being implemented.⁷ In the countries of study, legitimacy was assessed by considering the extent to which existing legal instruments are effective and are complied with. In countries experiencing armed conflicts like DRC and CAR, the areas affected by poaching are under a state of lawlessness and gross impunity because of weak state control.

Capacity refers to the ability of states to provide the basic functions needed for poverty-reduction, development, and preserving the security and human rights of the people.⁸ State capacity was assessed by considering the extent to which government enforcement agencies are facilitated to perform their duties alongside provision of basic public entitlements such as health, education, and infrastructure.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall goal of this study was to establish the nexus between poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW in Kenya, DRC, CAR, Tanzania and Uganda and how this correlation impacts on livelihoods and development. The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To document manifestations of poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW in these countries;
- ii. To identify drivers of poaching in these countries;
- iii. To assess the role of proliferation of illicit SALW on poaching in these countries;
- iv. To explain the impact of poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW on development and livelihoods in these countries; and
- v. To identify existing national, regional and international intervention mechanisms addressing poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Study design and sampling

This study applied a cross-sectional study design, which involved triangulating opinions and perceptions from different sectors of the community

⁷Ibid.

⁸Bruce Jones and Rahul Chandran, "Concepts and Dilemmas of State Building in Fragile Situations: from fragility to resilience." Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2008).

in order to establish the relational impact between the proliferation of illicit SALW and poaching. To achieve this, the study used a mixed-method approach, which entailed a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods in an exploratory and inclusive manner.

Purposive sampling was used to ensure that specific key informants were reached for the relevant information. The key informants were identified based on their roles and level of knowledge and organizational representation. The study, therefore, did not aim at having a representative sample proportionate to the population in the countries of study. However, the selected individuals and groups played important roles in the society as far as analysis of the poaching was concerned. Thus, the samples were from the categories of national and regional wildlife authorities and other government officials, peace missions, religious leaders, armed groups, community leaders, and ordinary citizens.

2.2 Study sites

The study was conducted in different locations within the countries of study. Researchers moved to areas, which are most prone to poaching activities in the respective countries of study. These areas represented the diversity of experiences of poaching from the research participants.

2.3 Data collection and management

In preparation for data collection, the researchers acquired permission from the relevant government authorities in order to have ease of access to the respondents. Respondents' consent was also sought before the data collection could begin. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews, phone interviews and through Skype. Secondary data was collected from published books and journals, government reports and reports from the Small Arms Survey, International Crisis Group, United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nation Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and from other publicly available materials.

Collected data was stored in notebooks and electronically. Databases were opened for each of the groups interviewed.

Questionnaires were also sorted and stored in databases for ease of reference and to avoid loss. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained through the removal of names where they had been indicated, unless otherwise allowed by the respondents.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were generated. Quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics (means, percentages) while qualitative data was analysed by use of content analysis of the responses by the respondents and as derived from the literature reviewed. Descriptive statistics was used to summarize categorical variables. Data was presented in figures, tables, and narratives while guided by the thematic representation of the objectives of the study.

2.4 *Limitations and delimitations of the study*

The study deliberately focused on elephant and rhino poaching, however, information on other affected species was considered where available. While serious effort was made to reach out to all poaching areas, the study was limited by inaccessibility, conflicts and time limits in some cases. To counter this challenge Skype and phone interviews were also used as well as follow-up email questionnaires to various key informants.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews literature related to nexus between poaching and SALW, manifestations, actors, drivers and impact of poaching in the countries under study

3.1 *Manifestation of poaching*

Poaching, which started as an environmental and conservation problem has turned to full-blown national security issue.⁹ As earlier noted, Africa loses more than 30,000 elephants every year, and there is risk of elephant and rhino extinction in Africa.¹⁰ The hunting of wildlife for meat has been going on for at least two millennia and is part of the village subsistence economy, along with commercial wildlife hunting.¹¹

⁹America Abroad Media, 2015. "Poaching and Terrorism: the Race to Protect Wildlife and National Security." Available at: <http://americaabroadmedia.org/radio/poaching-and-terrorism-race-protect-wildlife-and-national-security> (Accessed on 18/2/2016)

¹⁰Bryan Christy, 2015. "How Killing Elephants Finances Terror in Africa," National Geographic, <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/tracking-ivory/article.html> (Accessed on 11/01/2016).

Poaching has however surged due to proliferation of illicit SALW.¹² Large-scale commercialized and militarized poaching which has caused unprecedented death rates and unsustainable killing of keystone species. Left unaddressed this will lead to extinction of wild populations as killing rates exceed birth rates in some cases.

Tanzania, which was formerly home to the second highest elephant population in Africa, lost 60% of its elephant population between 2009 and 2014.¹³ According to the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), in the 1970s the elephant population in all the parks and reserves in Kenya was estimated to be 167,000. Because of poaching and other factors such as severe droughts, the elephant population in the country is just over 35,000. The same trend is also manifested in DRC, where Garamba's National Park elephant population has plummeted to 1,700 elephants,¹⁴ down from over 20,000 in the 1970s.¹⁵ In CAR, poaching has spiralled following 2013 coups, which created instability. However, in Uganda there are low levels of poaching in comparison to the above countries due to strong government control of illicit SALW.

Actors in poaching: Wildlife related crimes are complex and involves different actors. They range from community members, armed groups, corrupt government and wildlife officials, international, and trans-border criminal syndicates. Wildlife custodians have also been implicated in poaching either directly or indirectly.¹⁶ In CAR and DRC, actors involved in poaching include armed militias like the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), rogue members of the armed forces, bandits and criminal gangs, commercial poachers, bush meat and subsistence hunters.

¹¹K. A. Abernethy, L. Coad, G. Taylor, M. E. Lee, and F. Maisels, "Extent and ecological consequences of hunting in Central African rainforests in the twenty-first century," *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. B* 368, no. 1625 (2013)

¹²Karl Mathiesen, 2015. "Elephant poaching crisis unchanged a year after global pledge," *The Guardian*. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/mar/23/elephant-poaching-crisis-unchanged-a-year-after-global-pledge> (Accessed 12/04/2016).

¹³Karl Mathiesen, 2015. "Tanzania elephant population declined by 60% in five years, census reveals," *The Guardian*. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jun/02/tanzania-epicentre-of-elephant-poaching-census-reveals> (Accessed 12/04/2016).

¹⁴Ed Mazza, 2015. "Elephant Massacre Uncovered In Democratic Republic of Congo; 30 Animals Killed In 15 Days." *The Huffington Post*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/26/elephant-massacre-congo_n_6945266.html (Accessed 12/04/2016).

¹⁵World Heritage Site, 2016. "Garamba National Park." Available at: <http://www.worldheritagesite.org/sites/garamba.html> (Accessed 12/04/2016).

¹⁶Save the Rhino, 2014. "Corruption Threatens Kenyan Conservation Efforts." Available at: https://www.savetherhino.org/latest_news/news/977_corruption_threatens_kenyan_conservation_efforts (Accessed 12/04/2016).

In their engagement in this brutal trade, poachers use sophisticated weapons to kill elephants and rhinos, posing a major challenge to the park rangers.¹⁷ In Kenya, Somalia's al-Shabaab terrorist group has also been linked to poaching of elephants in the country.¹⁸

3.2 Drivers of poaching

3.2.1 Proliferation of illicit SALW

With exception of Uganda because of the government's strong control of illicit SALW The circulation of illicit SALW in these countries is fuelling poaching. The levels of proliferation of illicit SALW vary among these countries. In Tanzania, the number of illicit arms in the hands of the wrong people is approximated to be 500,000 in 2013.¹⁹ According to Kenya's Annual State of National Security Report to Parliament as at April 2016, there were 650,000 illicit SALW in circulation in Kenya.²⁰ The availability of illicit SALW has enhanced capacity for poaching. For example, between the year 2000 and 2010 the number of elephants poached using illicit SALW in Kenya stood at 53% of the total elephants that were poached nationally.²¹

The existence of armed elements within and around CAR has been identified as the major conduit to proliferation of illicit SALW. The militia groups and civilians possess more arms than the official government armed forces.²² Various reports have pointed to different sources of illicit SALW that flow into the DRC. The Small Arms Survey carried out in 2007 revealed the trafficking of arms into the DRC through South Sudan as a result of "minimal border controls, inaccessible terrain, a common cross-border ethnicity and culture, and crucially, protracted conflicts and militia-led violence in South Sudan and northern DRC".²³

3.2.2 Protracted conflict

The fragility situations due to protracted conflicts in some of the countries of study such as CAR and DRC contributed to extensive poaching. For example, the fragility situation that exists in CAR following the coup that broke out in 2013 has led to increased poaching in the country.²⁴ Similarly, the ongoing protracted conflict in the Eastern parts of the DRC has been exploited by armed groups such as Mai Mai and LRA to carry out poaching.²⁵ Uganda's rebel group Alliance Democratic Force poached chimpanzees in Mt Ruwenzori National park for food between 1995 and 2004.²⁶

In Kenya, terrorism and the flow of weapons from Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia contribute to increased poaching. An 18-month investigation conducted by the Elephant League in 2011-2012 revealed that 40% of Al-Shabaab's revenue comes from elephant tusks.²⁷ Some scholars have however, refuted this and argued that there is no direct link between terrorism and poaching in Kenya.²⁸

Tanzania is the outlier as it is relatively stable without internal conflicts. However, conflicts spill-overs have impacted on poaching. For example, the influx of refugees into Tanzania due to conflicts in neighbouring states such as DRC, Burundi and Rwanda stirred poaching in western parts of Tanzania. About 60 wild animals were illegally hunted per week to supply meat into the two main refugee camps of Benaco and Kilale Hill following arrival of refugees from Rwanda in 1994.²⁹ In recent years, there has been infiltration of illicit SALW, especially AK47s mainly due to influx of refugees from DRC and Burundi.

¹⁷Ledio Cakaj, 2015. "Tusk Wars: Inside the LRA and the Bloody Business of Ivory" <http://enoughproject.org/reports/tusk-wars-inside-lra-and-bloody-business-ivory> (Accessed 12/04/2016).

¹⁸Kasper Agger and Jonathan Hutson, 2013. "Kony's Ivory: How Elephant Poaching in Congo Helps Support the Lord's Resistance Army." Washington: Enough Project.

¹⁹Bilham Kimathi, 2013. "Joint Efforts Vital to Curb Small Arms Proliferation." Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201302180100.html> (Accessed on 15/03/2016)

²⁰Moses Nyamori, 2016. "650,000 illegal firearms in circulation in Kenya, report reveals." Standard Digital. Available at: <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000198259/report> (Accessed on 18/4/2016)

²¹Varun Vira and Thomas Ewing, 2014. "Ivory Curse: The Militarization and Professionalization of Poaching in Africa." available at: <http://www.all-creatures.org/articles/ar-Ivorys-Curse-2014.pdf> (Accessed on 18/04/2016)

²²Small Arms Survey, Small Arms Survey 2015: Weapons and the World. Geneva: Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, 2015.

²³Joshua Marks and Andy Mash. Border in Name Only: Arms Trafficking and Armed Groups at the DRC-Sudan Border. Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007.

²⁴Adam Welz, 2013. "Poachers kill 26 elephants at central African world heritage site." The Guardian. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2013/may/10/poachers-kill-elephants-central-africa> (Accessed on 18/04/2016)

²⁵Kasper Agger and Jonathan Hutson, 2013. "Kony's Ivory: How Elephant Poaching in Congo Helps Support the Lord's Resistance Army." Washington: Enough Project.

²⁶Madeleine Torracca Jones. Poaching as a threat to biodiversity and a barrier to sustainable development in Western Uganda: A Case Study of Queen Elizabeth National Park, Rwenzori Mountains National Park, Kibale National Park, and Surrounding Areas. (2013, Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection. Paper 1706.

²⁷Nir Kalron and Andrea Crosta. "Africa's White Gold of Jihad: Al-Shabaab and Conflict ivory." Elephant Action League (2012).

²⁸Tom Muguire and Cathy Haenlein, 2015. "An Illusions of Complicity: Terrorism and the Illegal Ivory Trade in East Africa." Available at: <https://rusi.org/publication/occasional-papers/illusion-complicity-terrorism-and-illegal-ivory-trade-east-africa> (Accessed on 18/02/2016)

²⁹Jafari R. Kideghesho, "Reversing the trend of wildlife crime in Tanzania: challenges and opportunities," *Biodivers Conserv* 25 (2016), 425-449.

3.2.3 Weak legislation

Weak legislation has been a key factor for escalating poaching in the countries of study. Many poaching suspects are often given light sentences that are not deterrent enough. In Tanzania and DRC, poaching is partly thriving due to weak legislation and corruption.³⁰ These laws offer lenient penalties to poaching and trafficking of wildlife products. In the article “*Bloody Ivory: Elephant poaching in Africa*,” Rebecca Buchanan³¹ notes that in CAR poor law enforcement, weak governance structures, and armed conflict in CAR are fuelling elephant poaching and the illicit trade of ivory. Weak governance is also manifested through corruption and weak legislation. The legislation regarding wildlife protection has been characterized as “diverse and fragmented.”³² This is mainly because there are overlapping legal instruments that handle the same matter making it difficult to determine, which legal instrument would apply in a specific situation.³³

In Uganda, weak legislation has been a central cause of an escalating use of the country as a transit point by commercial traffickers. Many poaching suspects are often given light sentences that do not deter them from engaging in this high-value trade. For instance, in 2014 a priest and a former soldier convicted of possessing and trading illegal ivory were sentenced to 12 months in prison or a fine of UGX 8 million only, which was not commensurate to the high profits made through the ivory trade.³⁴ Law enforcement is also hampered by inadequate funding for frequent patrols and purchase of adequate equipment, and weak laws resulting in low rates of prosecution and penalties that do not offer adequate deterrents.³⁵

Kenya has a strong legislation dealing with wildlife crimes. The enactment of the Wildlife Conservation and Management Act, 2013, is one of the most progressive legislations that have led to the decline in poaching. Under the Act, poachers, traffickers, and those committing wildlife crimes face more severe penalties, including substantially higher fines, confiscation of property, and longer prison terms.³⁶

³⁰Varun Vira and Thomas Ewing, 2014. “Ivory Curse: The Militarization and Professionalization of Poaching in Africa.” available at: <http://www.all-creatures.org/articles/ar-Ivorys-Curse-2014.pdf> (Accessed on 18/04/2016)

³¹Rebecca Buchanan, 2015. “Bloody ivory: Elephant Poaching in Central Africa.” Available at: <http://www.hscentre.org/global-governance/bloody-ivory-elephant-poaching-central-africa/> (Accessed on 12/0/2016).

³²Library of Congress. “Wildlife Trafficking and Poaching: Central African Republic.” Available at: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/wildlife-poaching/centralafricanrepublic.php> (Accessed on 18/04/2016)

3.2.4 Increased global demand for wildlife products

The illicit trade on wildlife products generates around US\$ 7.8 to US\$ 10 billion in a year, making it the fifth largest criminal activity in the world.³⁷ The global and regional trade on ivory and rhino horns has become more lucrative due to the high prices, particularly in China. Hence, the ever increasing global prices of rhino horns and elephant tusks are driving the levels of poaching to an all-time high. The price of a rhino horn is estimated at \$50,000 per pound in the black market, more than gold or platinum.³⁸ On the other hand, an elephant tusk is reportedly priced at over US\$2,200 per kilogram in China.³⁹ This unprecedented increase in prices is mounting pressure on the already endangered species. Hence, global increase in trade of wildlife products has resulted in increased levels of poaching in source countries due to hefty proceeds acquired by criminal poaching syndicates.

3.2.5 Corruption

Corruption has enabled poaching and illicit trade in wildlife parts to thrive with police, customs officials and judges taking bribes from criminal gangs to protect poachers.⁴⁰ In a review of 750 cases involving wildlife crimes in Kenya from 2008 to 2013, Wildlife Direct found out that 70% of the files were either lost or misplaced.⁴¹ The profits from wildlife trafficking have also fuelled corruption, weakening and co-opting critical state institutions such as the police and military.

3.2.6 Porous borders.

Porous borders among these countries have contributed to poaching. In some cases, this has been to the advantage of armed groups. For example, the LRA has taken advantage of porous borders between the DRC and Central African Republic (CAR) to poach large numbers of elephants in Garamba National Park in the DRC. According to Enough Project (2013), former captives recorded that LRA groups in the DRC and CAR trade in ivory.⁴²

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Mariel Harrison, Dilys Roe, Julia Baker, Geoffrey Mwedde, Henry Travers, Andy Plumtre, Aggrey Rwetsiba, and E. J. Milner-Gulland. “Wildlife crime: a review of the evidence on drivers and impacts in Uganda.” IIED, London (2015). p. 33

³⁶Government of Kenya 2013. Wildlife Conservation and Management Act, 2013

³⁷Jeremy Haken, “Transnational crime in the developing world.” Global financial integrity 22 (2011): 1724.

³⁸Johan Bergen. Killing Animals, Buying Arms. (Stimson, January 2014)

Arua-Ariwara, the border of the DRC and Uganda, has been used as exit point for ivory flowing out of the North-eastern DRC en route to Kampala for containerization.⁴³ The Tanzania-Mozambique border is yet another major corridor for the smuggling of wildlife products. Therefore, the presence of poorly protected borders has provided a conduit for the different armed groups and commercial poachers, to smuggle wildlife products and illicit SALW in and out of these countries.

3.2.7 Poverty and unemployment

Poverty may encourage people to engage in poaching, but it is not the main driving factor for poaching.⁴⁴ However, in DRC and CAR poaching may be linked to poverty in the sense that protracted conflict has led to insecurity; therefore, making the population destitute due lack of engagement in income activities. Hence, there are high chances that many people may resort to poaching as an alternative livelihood. The 2013 report, Evidence on Demand indicated that poor people in conflict areas such as eastern parts of the DRC and CAR have lost the value of wildlife to militia and rebel groups, which uses the proceeds from ivory and rhino horn to fund their operations.⁴⁵

In Virunga National Park, the locals poach for survival.⁴⁶ The insecurity in such areas also reduces revenue from tourism hence making the communities vulnerable to poverty. Lack of unemployment, marginalization and protracted conflict create a pool of individuals who can be recruited by poachers or militia groups to poach on their behalf. There will always be one more poacher to step into the shoes of a captured or killed poacher, providing an endless supply of poachers willing to kill on behalf of organized criminal syndicates, despite never seeing the largest share of the profits.

³⁹UNEP Year Book 2014, "Emerging Issues Update: Illegal Trade in Wildlife." Available at: <http://www.unep.org/yearbook/2014/PDF/chapt4.pdf> (Accessed on 13/11/2015).

⁴⁰Morgan Winsor, 2016. "Kenya's War on Poaching: Police Charged For Allegedly Selling Ivory in Nairobi West." Available at: <http://www.ibtimes.com/kenyas-war-poaching-police-charged-allegedly-selling-ivory-nairobi-west-2327872> (Accessed on 2/2/2016)

⁴¹Paula Kahumbu, Levi Byamukama, Jackson Mbutia and Ofir Drori, 2013. "Scoping study on the prosecution of wildlife related crimes in Kenyan courts, January 2008 to June 2013." Available at: <http://www.thedswt.org.uk/wildlife-crimekenya.pdf> (Accessed on 2/2/2016)

⁴²Kasper Agger and Jonathan Hutson, 2013. "Kony's Ivory: How Elephant Poaching in Congo Helps Support the Lord's Resistance Army." Washington: Enough Project.

⁴³Varun et al., (2014).Op cit.

⁴⁴Rosaleen Duffy and Freya A. V. St John, "Poverty, Poaching and Trafficking: What are the links?" Consultancy Report for DFID, (June 2013).

⁴⁵Ibid. p. 5

⁴⁶Roxanne L. Scott, 2015. "The fight is on to end poaching in Africa's Virunga National Park." PRI.Avaliable at: <http://www.pri.org/stories/2015-07-28/fight-end-poaching-africas-virunga-national-park> (Accessed on 29/03/2016). Uganda Wildlife Authority, "Our Wildlife Heroes." available at: <http://www.ugandawildlife.org/news-a-updates-2/uwa-news/item/240-our-wild-life-heroes> (Accessed on 29/03/2016).

Poaching in Uganda has led to loss of lives of both poachers and wildlife rangers who are killed as they perform their duties in protecting wildlife.⁴⁷ The loss of family breadwinners has affected the economic status of the dependants making them even more vulnerable to poverty and further deepening the vicious cycle.

The pastoralists in Kenya have been marginalized and poverty levels are higher in comparison to other areas. The poaching industry provides alternative livelihood opportunity for the poor populations.⁴⁸ For example, Marsabit National Park and Reserve are located in an arid and semi-arid region with high susceptibility of food insecurity, conflicts and with poverty levels of 93%.⁴⁹ These conditions expose communities in the region to a life of hardship; therefore, poaching offers an alternative source of livelihood for the armed members of the community.

3.3 Impacts of poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW on livelihoods and development

3.3.1 Economic impact

Tourism can serve as a potential contributor to the socioeconomic development of poor countries.⁵⁰ Thus, the high levels of poaching in the countries of study are a threat to the tourism sector, which will result into loss of employment by the local communities. With the alarming rate of poaching, the sector is under threat, posing an economic risk to the nations.

In Tanzania for example, tourism accounts for approximately 14% of the national gross domestic product (GDP) and is expected to grow by more than 5% by 2020.⁵¹ It has also created roughly 250,000 direct jobs in the country.⁵² The wildlife sector is critically important to the countries of study. Essentially, poaching "hinders the potential durable and development which is crucial in new economic activities and enterprises."⁵³

⁴⁸Rolf D. Baldus, "African Indaba, Policy & Economics, Wildlife Crime Poaching in Africa: Facts, Causes and Solutions 2014," Africa Indaba 12-13, (2014).

⁴⁹Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSPN), "Marsabit." Available at: <http://www.hsnp.or.ke/index.php/county/marsabit> (Accessed on 14/03/2016)

⁵⁰Okello, M. M., &Novelli, M. Tourism in the East African Community (EAC): Challenges, opportunities, and ways forward. Tourism and Hospitality Research. Vol. 14, No.1-2 (2014) 53–66. P. 53.

⁵¹Ibid. p. 55

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Anon 2014b, as cited in International Institute for Environment and Development. "Wildlife crime: a review of the evidence on drivers and impacts in Uganda." IIED.2015 p. 57.

In Uganda, the direct contribution of Travel & Tourism to Uganda's GDP and employment was UGX2, 982.1bn (US\$ 876,884) which is 3.7% of total GDP and 464,500 jobs respectively, in 2015.⁵⁴ Therefore, any impact on wildlife sector would mean reduction of GDP and employment thus affecting the country's economy.

In Kenya, wildlife is an extremely important economic asset to the country. In 2014⁵⁵ it contributed Ksh 561.8bn (10.5% of GDP) to the GDP of the country through tourism. In addition, it provided 543,500 jobs, which was 9.2% of total employment in 2014. Therefore, illegal poaching of elephants and rhinos is a major threat to Kenya's national economy.

In the DRC, tourism plays a vital role in local and national economy of the country. For example, in 2015 the direct contribution of travel & tourism to the country's GDP was CDF215.2billion (0.6% of total GDP) and directly supported 78,500 jobs.⁵⁶ Hence, any decline in wildlife numbers due to poaching will have immediate effects in terms of financial cutbacks, job losses, and overall economic sustainability.⁵⁷

Tourism in CAR is almost non-existent due to a combination of insecurity and extensive reduction in the number of wildlife in the national parks. In fact, CAR is one of the least developed in the world, currently ranked 186 out of 187 according to the Human Development Report, 2015.⁵⁸

3.3.2 Human rights abuse

The war against poaching has negatively impacted human rights in the countries of study. It is noted that during the anti-poaching operations, incidents of human right violations have been reported. For example, during the Operation Tokomeza Ujangili

in Tanzania, it was reported that suspected poachers were raped, tortured and extorted.⁵⁹ In the DRC, armed poachers have been known to use their arms to steal, extort or harass local citizens. The armed militia have mainly targeted women and children. For example, the LRA, which is known to conduct poaching in DRC and CAR "are alleged to have killed tens of thousands of people, slicing the lips, ears and breasts off women, raping children and women, chopping off the feet of those caught riding bicycles, and kidnapping young boys to create an army of child soldiers who themselves grow into killers."⁶⁰ The abducted children have been forced into poaching and carrying illicit wildlife products.⁶¹

The sustained rebel activities in the DRC and CAR have caused untold suffering to the populations living around the protected areas. Over 150 LRA attacks were recorded in the DRC and CAR in the first eight months of 2015. In addition, 500 cases of abduction, nine deaths were recorded during the same period. The continued LRA activities within the CAR have also led to the displacement of approximately 200,000 people.⁶² These groups are attracted to poaching because of "possibility of huge profits with little risk, and penalties that are both disproportionately small and not always enforced."⁶³

3.3.3 Armed Violence

Instability in the DRC and CAR has created favourable conditions for poaching. There are diverse rebel groups such as LRA, Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, Janjaweed, among others have benefited from poaching. These groups make hundreds of thousands of dollars by either directly or indirectly participating in the killing and sale of animal parts.⁶⁴ Therefore, the illicit profits obtained from poaching are funding terrorism, militia groups and continued poaching of wild life animals.

⁵⁴World Travel and Tourism Council, "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2016 Uganda," (2016). Available at: <http://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic%20impact%20research/countries%202016/uganda2016.pdf> (Accessed on 13/04/2016).

⁵⁵Worlds Travel and Tourism Council (WTTTC), "Travel and Tourism Economic impact 2015: Kenya," (2015), available at: <http://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic%20impact%20research/countries%202015/kenya2015.pdf> (Accessed on 14/03/2016)

⁵⁶World Tourism and Travel Council, "Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2016 Democratic Republic Of Congo," (2016). Available at: <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic%20impact%20research/countries%202016/democraticrepublicofcongo2016.pdf> (Accessed on 16/04/2016)

⁵⁷The International Anti-Poaching Foundation, "The Problem of Poaching, available at: <https://theproblemofpoaching.wordpress.com/about/> (Accessed on 16/04/2016)

⁵⁸Human Development Index (HDI) measures the average achievements in three main areas: a long and healthy life; levels of knowledge; decent standard of living and quality of health. Hence, the average would be the annual compound growth.

⁵⁹Kizito Makwaye, 2014. "Anti-Poaching Operation Spreads Terror in Tanzania." Available at: <http://www.ipsnews.net/2014/01/anti-poaching-operation-spread-terror-tanzania/> (Accessed on 14/03/ 2016)

⁶⁰Bryan Christy, 2015. "How Killing Elephants finances Terror in Africa." available at: <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/tracking-ivory/article.html> (Accessed on 14/03/ 2016)

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ledio Cakaj. Tusk Wars: Inside the LRA and the Bloody Business of Ivory. (Enough Project, October 2015).

⁶³UNEP, 2014. "UNEP Year Book 2014, Emerging Issues Update: Illegal Trade in Wildlife." Available at: <http://www.unep.org/yearbook/2014/PDF/chapt4.pdf> (Accessed on 13/11/2015). P. 26

⁶⁴Johan Bergenas. Killing Animals, Buying Arms. (Stimson, January 2014)

The proceeds from illicit trade of wildlife products are used for “buying guns and bombs, paying their members and planning and executing terrorist attacks.”⁶⁵ These funds have been used for the militarization of these armed groups. The LRA is alleged to be extensively involved in poaching of elephants in the DRC, specifically in the Garamba National Park in the country as well as in the CAR. They take part in the illicit practice to sustain itself by trading ivory for arms, ammunition, and food.⁶⁶ The weapons that are acquired from the sale of ivory have been used against civilians and this has contributed perpetuating the vicious cycle of violence within the DRC and CAR.

4.0 KEYFINDINGS

4.1 *The Manifestations, Flows And Routes Of Poaching And Illicit Salw*

Poaching dynamics have changed over the years. It has evolved from the traditional subsistence hunting, controlled armed hunting during the colonial and post-colonial periods to the contemporary highly commercialized illegal poaching. Tanzania is the only country among the countries of study that still allows licensed hunting. This licensed hunting has however been abused leading to over-hunting. A university professor was emphatic that the allocation of hunting blocks is often marred by corruption and unclear procedure of acquisition. In addition, there are no follow-ups to ensure that the individuals that operate these hunting blocks do not engage in illegal activities such as poaching of endangered species including rhinos and elephants.

On the other hand, Kenya is the only country that allows individuals or communities to own a conservancy.⁶⁷ These conservancies have also been a target by poachers despite some being well protected. The conservancies have been of importance in wildlife management, through improved wildlife monitoring and sensitizations of communities on the importance on wildlife conservations.

Poaching and use of illicit SALW, according to respondents manifested themselves in the following ways:

⁶⁴Ibid. P.3

⁶⁵Kasper Agger and Jonathan Hutson, 2013. “Kony’s Ivory: How Elephant Poaching in Congo Helps Support the Lord’s Resistance Army.” Washington: Enough Project.

⁶⁶A conservancy is a piece of land set aside by an individual landowner, corporation, group of owners, or community for the purpose of wildlife conservation.

a) Elephants and rhinos the most targeted: findings in the five countries of study revealed that elephants and rhinos are the most poached animals at 78.2% and 21.8% respectively according to the respondents. The percentage of elephant poached is derived from national percentages as follows: 84% in Tanzania; DRC in 83%; 78% in CAR; 78% in Kenya; and 68% in Uganda. For example, Tanzania, which accounts for 73% of the East Africa’s elephant population, significantly stands out as a major source of illegal trade in ivory.⁶⁸

In the last three years CAR and DRC have lost many elephants and rhinos attributed to protracted conflicts. A survey carried out by Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) and DRC officials in 2013 showed that 75% of elephants in the Okapi Fauna Reserve had been lost.⁶⁹ In CAR 63% of the total population of the respondents pointed out that elephant populations had drastically dropped and that rhinos were almost extinct.

Kenya saw increasing numbers of poaching incidents. According to a wildlife sector official in Nairobi, between 2013 and 2014 Kenya lost 94 rhinos and 466 elephants. Symbolically, the country burnt 105 tons of ivory and 1 ton of rhino horns on 30th April 2016 to express commitment against poaching and the trade in all its forms.

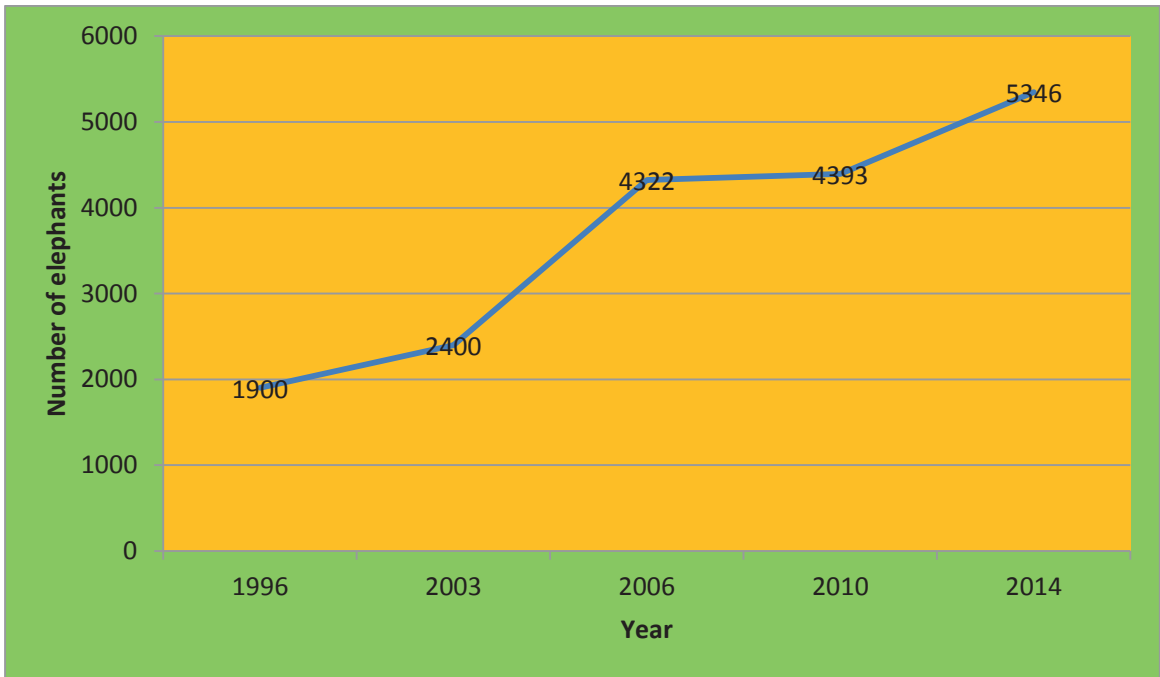
A total of 61% of the respondents agreed that poaching in Uganda has reduced significantly over the years. According to an official from the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the Wildlife Conservation Society there has been a 600% increment in the number of elephants in the national parks. The Figure below indicates the trend of elephant population increase in Uganda since 1996.

⁶⁷A conservancy is a piece of land set aside by an individual landowner, corporation, group of owners, or community for the purpose of wildlife conservation.

⁶⁸United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC), 2013. Transnational Organized Crime in Eastern Africa: A threat Assessment. United Nations Offices on Drugs and Crime. Available at: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Studies/TOC_East_Africa_2013.pdf (Accessed 16/05/2016).

⁶⁹Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), 2013. “WCS Documents Major Decline in Democratic Republic of Congo’s Last Large Forest Elephant Population.” Available at: <http://newsroom.wcs.org/News-Releases/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/5992/WCS-Documents-Major-Drop-in-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo’s-Last-Large-Forest-Elephant-Population.aspx> (Accessed on 14/04/2016).

Figure 1: The population of Elephant in Uganda since 1996

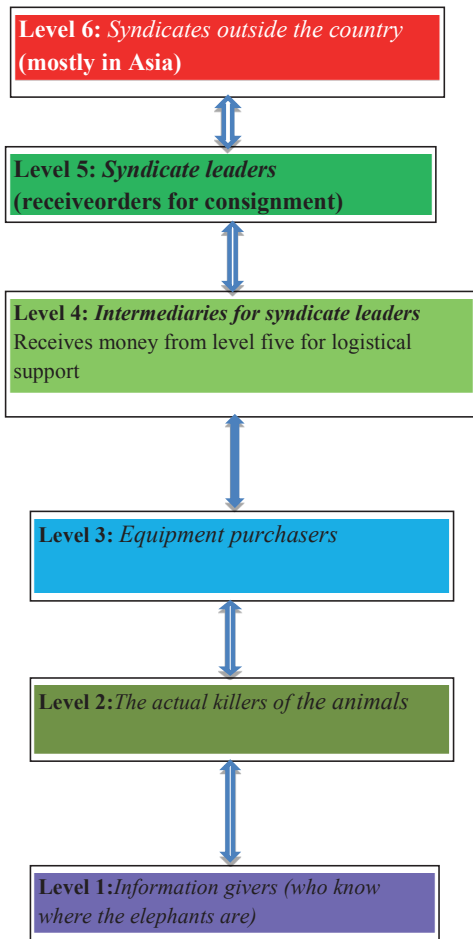


Source: UWA board of trustees and term performance report march 2015

The enactment of Uganda Wildlife Act in 1996, established Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) of which since the then wildlife population has been growing. The establishment of UWA has improved the management of the protected areas hence reducing poaching. The wildlife custodian has come up with better ways of managing the protected areas and even involving the communities that live around these areas, further bolstering their effort in fighting poaching. There are consequently significant lessons that can be learnt from the Uganda experience of involving communities in wildlife protection.

b) Actors in poaching: In all the countries of study, the majority of respondents (an average of 74%) pointed out that there are many actors involved in poaching at the national, regional and international levels. Actors identified include international traders, businesspersons, community members, politicians, armed groups and government personnel. The hierarchy of their operations is demonstrated in the figure below:

Figure 2: The Hierarchy of operation of the actors implicated in poaching.



Source: Research Findings

Level 6: International Syndicates: These entail persons who receive the poached consignment on behalf of the international market.

Level 5: Syndicate leaders: These comprise of persons who have direct contact with level 6 actors and negotiate for the pricing and periods on when to deliver the ivory or rhino horns. Level 5 operates with the collusion of senior park officials. The syndicate leaders could be politicians and elites respected in the society. In some other cases, the syndicate leaders who often get involved in money laundering, fund politicians who may or may not be aware of the origin of the funding. The syndicate leaders can also be rebel leaders who coordinate poaching activities for the purchase of arms.

Level 4: Intermediaries for syndicate leaders: These receive money from level 5 actors for logistical support, which includes purchase of illicit SALW; recruitment of hunters; transportation to carry poached products; food; and bribery of government and/or security officials.

Level 3: Equipment purchasers: These have no direct contact with level 5 but instead receive money for the purchase of illicit SALW, night-vision goggles, snares and other equipment to be used by the actual killers. They collude with the senior wildlife officers in the parks.

Level 2: The actual killers of the animals: These entail persons who have the experience of killing elephants and rhinos. These could be privately hired individuals, rebel or militia groups or even game wardens in the park.

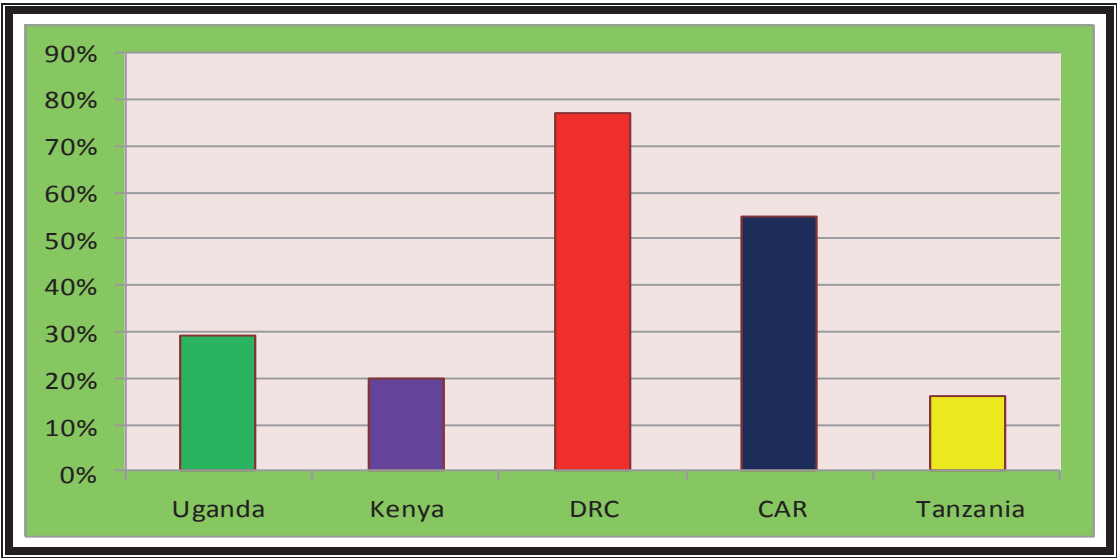
Level 1: Information providers: These are private individuals, managers of parks and game reserves, game rangers and local community members. They provide essential information on the landscape of the park, locations of the elephants and rhinos, as well as security agents such as the game wardens and police. The above levels may vary according to contextual variations in each country.

4.2 Drivers Of Poaching

4.2.1 Proliferation of illicit SALW

Porous borders were identified as the major entry and exit points facilitating the flows and routes of illicit SALW. Enhanced capacity to poach using illicit SALW was identified by different percentages of respondents in the respective countries as contributing to poaching as follows: DRC 77%; CAR 55%; Uganda 29%; Kenya 20%; and Tanzania 16% as indicated in the figure 3 (below).

Figure 3: Respondents’ Perceptions on use of illicit SALW in poaching



Source: Research Findings

From this analysis, it is evident that illicit SALW were more prominently used in CAR and DRC for poaching because of the protracted conflicts and subsequent availability of illicit SALW.

Respondents generally attributed the sources of illicit SALW to cross border movements and trade. Those identified as most responsible for the transfer and sale of illicit SALW included business people, armed groups especially in DRC and CAR, former military and police personnel, licensed owners of firearms especially rifles, as well as game wardens. In DRC and CAR, 62% and 72% of the respondents, respectively, largely attributed the flow of illicit SALW to protracted conflicts, multiple number of armed groups and commercial trade in the informal mining sector that fund poaching.

In Kenya, 68% of the respondents were of the view that arms mainly came from pastoralist communities that are often armed. Other illicit SALW came from across the border where there is regular trade between communities in the frontiers. In Tanzania, 59% of the respondents associated the use of illicit SALW to individuals licensed arms with the permission to conduct hunting. Some of these individuals regularly lease their arms for poaching. In other cases, licensed individuals themselves are engaged in poaching. Other arms used were acquired through criminal networks as well through the flow of refugees from

neighbouring countries. In Uganda, the flow of illicit SALW was limited due to successful disarmament programs. In all the countries, the most commonly used SALW are assault rifles such as the AK47 and dedicated high-calibre hunting rifles.

4.2.2 Armed groups

The lucrative nature of poaching attracts armed groups to use this illicit trade to fund their activities. Such activities include purchase of arms, combat gear, fighting equipment, food and carrying out armed attacks. These groups are attracted to poaching because of enormous profits with little risk and penalties, which are unreasonably small compared to the crime.

In DRC and CAR, armed groups such as the LRA, Mai Mai and the Seleka among others are carrying out poaching of elephants and rhinos to sustain their operations. A total of 61% and 56% of the respondents in CAR and DRC respectively, were of the view that the funding of some of the rebel group activities was accrued from the sale of ivory. Trans-border rebel groups such as the LRA were particularly cited as one of the rebel groups involved in the sale of ivory for SALW acquisition. The respondents’ perceptions were in line with Ledio Cakaj who implicates the LRA in poaching of ivory.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Ledio Cakaj, 2015, Tusk Wars: Inside the LRA and the Bloody Business of Ivory. Washington, DC.: Enough Project.

4.2.3 Increased demand for wildlife products

In all the countries of study participants pointed out that, the demand for wildlife products in the international markets was one of the major contributing factors to poaching. The number of respondents holding this view varied in Kenya 79%; Tanzania 78%; CAR 68%; DRC 62%; and Uganda 60%. In order to meet the global demand poaching still exist in national parks such as the Tsavo in Kenya, Selous in Tanzania, Garamba in DRC, and Dzanga-Sangha in CAR. In Tanzania for example, a kilo of ivory was estimated by a wildlife official at Tsh. 1 million (\$500) in the black market, demonstrating a significant increase in prices in source countries, directly fuelled by high demand.

4.2.4 Poverty and exclusion in the national economic grid

The study established that although poverty per se does not drive poaching, but to an extent, it provides motivation for the communities living around the wildlife protected areas to poach. Due to high levels of unemployment and low public investment in many parts of these countries, poaching offers an attractive alternative source of livelihood activity for populations. For example, there are barely government services or employment opportunities in eastern parts of DRC around the Garamba National Park and areas around Manovo-Gounda St. Floris and Bamingui-Bangoran National Parks in CAR. Discussants at focus group discussions in both Kinshasa and Bukavu in DRC, were in agreement that that poverty and unemployment are major factors sustaining poaching.

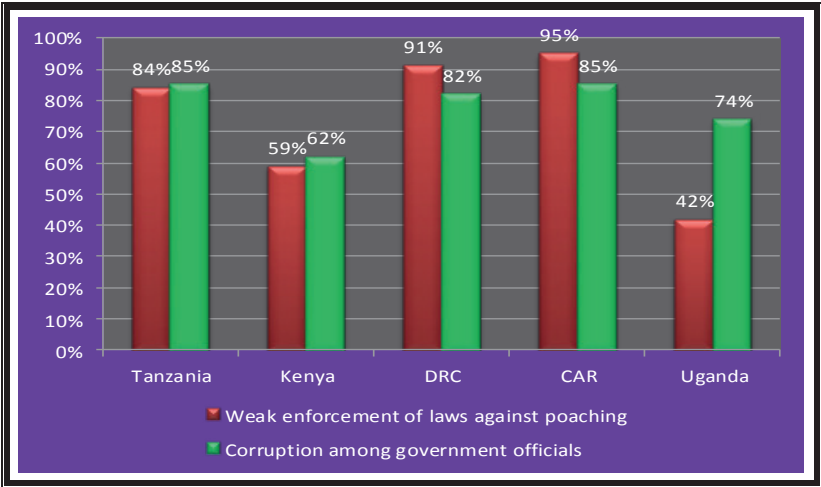
In Kenya, people living around the Tsavo and Maasai Mara ecosystems have been marginalized for a long time. In Kenya, subsistence poachers are motivated by need for livelihood. Some of the park neighbourhoods suffer from extreme starvation and poverty and the members cannot resist the temptation to poach as they are in desperate need for food. For example, a 28-year-old respondent from Taita Taveta in Kenya observed, “hunting provides us with food, and given the widespread poverty and unemployment it is easy to find many of us engaged in the activity willingly or unwillingly.” This emphasizes the circumstantial nature of engagement in wildlife trafficking.

In Tanzania, the Rufiji region communities living around Selous, Mikumi and Ruaha have minimal employment and economic opportunities. The situation is similar in Uganda particularly areas around Murchison National Park. As a result, some people have turned into poaching as means of meeting their livelihood needs. The poor local people around these parks have been co-opted by commercial poachers, in providing crucial information on wildlife movements.

4.2.5 Weak legislations and enforcement

Weak legal systems were cited as contributing to increased cases of poaching in the five countries. This is at formulation, implementation and enforcement of legislations. Majority of the respondents affirmed that poaching thrived because the anti-poaching laws were not enforced as illustrated in Figure 4 below:

Figure 4: Respondent’s perception on law enforcement and corruption



Source: Resaerch Findings

Respondents in CAR observed that increased poaching was because of the government's failure to protect the parks and provide basic entitlements to the population. In Uganda, 42% of the respondents emphasized that poaching was still common due to poor enforcement of the legislation.

There were cases where rogue government and security officials were accused of colluding with poachers, renting/leasing out their arms, deliberately providing access to sections of the parks to poachers and identifying elephant and rhino locations. High levels of corruption within government institutions and law enforcement agents were particularly mentioned by respondents as a major contributing factor to poaching: in CAR 85%; DRC 82%; Tanzania 74%; Kenya 62%; and Uganda 58% as shown in the figure 4 (above). In fact, some wildlife officials have been suspended for alleged corruption issues linked to poaching in Uganda and Kenya.

4.2.6 Social-cultural aspects

Socio-cultural values and perceptions among the communities that live around the protected wildlife areas also fuel poaching. In some pastoralist communities in Kenya, individuals look for the tail end whisk of an elephant or the nail of a lion as a show of manhood. According to participants at a focus group discussion (FGD) in Bangui in CAR, there was nothing wrong with hunting or eating bush meat. They underlined that the tradition had been there for many years. Animals are seen to be part of the ecosystem and as long as a person has a need for meat consumption (food), then it is fine to kill.

In Uganda, communities living around the wildlife-protected areas indicated that poaching is part of their culture since time immemorial and that their ancestors practiced it, therefore, they were just doing what was part of their cultural heritage. According to one respondent near Queen Elizabeth Park in Uganda, even death of fellow poacher(s) would not scare potential poachers.

4.3 IMPACT OF POACHING AND ILLICIT SALW

4.3.1 Impact on Security

Incidents of insecurity associated with SALW used in poaching were reported in all five countries in the study. Respondents indicated that insecurity had

increased due to poaching, particularly in DRC (79%) and CAR (68%). The study revealed that there was no significant association between insecurity and poaching in Kenya (24%), Uganda (27%) and Tanzania (19%). However, in these three countries security personnel asserted that some of the SALW used in poaching had been used for other criminal activities.

In diverse FGDs and interviews conducted in the five countries of study there was a perception suggesting a connection between poaching and terrorism, with wildlife poaching funding criminal and terrorist organizations in several parts of Africa and beyond. These groups include the LRA in CAR and South Sudan, who have reportedly turned to the killing of wild rhinoceros, elephants, and other protected species to earn money for weapons from the selling of horns and tusks.

4.3.2 Livelihoods

The majority of the respondents in all the countries held the opinion that increased cases of poaching have negatively affected longevity, health provision, income, education and mortality rates. For example, 60% of the respondents in CAR pointed out that mortality rates had been adversely affected by incidences of armed poaching and associated violent activities that has disrupted health delivery system. In addition, 62% of the respondents in CAR noted that children dropped out of school to engage in poaching.

In DRC, livelihood concerns revolved around mortality (60%) and health (42%). In Kenya and Tanzania, there were concerns over lack of employment and high levels of poverty in communities around the parks. For instance, 65% of the respondents in Kenya held that community income from the tourism sector had been moderately impacted on by poaching, whereas 62% of the respondents in Tanzania observed that the agricultural sector had been affected by many years of poaching. This has meant that people hardly farm despite the very fertile land in the region. Cases in point are communities around Selous National park and Rufiji region where the communities over-rely on hunting and poaching for their daily subsistence.

4.3.3 *Development*

Increased cases of poaching had negatively impacted on tourism and subsequently on national income in all the countries studied. For example, according to wildlife protection official in Tanzania, the policy of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism is to use 25% of the revenues from tourism for the local population. In the DRC, respondents identified foreign investments (49%) (including tourism) and agriculture (44%) as most affected development sectors. In CAR, concerns were on impact on agriculture (74%) and foreign investment (58%) particularly because of the intense armed activities that prevent farmers from accessing their farms. In Kenya, the tourism industry has lost close to 7.5% of its earnings, which has been attributed to insecurity because of proliferation of illicit SALW, terrorism activities and general security threats associated with crime. The study thus revealed that economic development has been negatively affected by increased poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW.

4.3.4 *Environmental sustainability*

Poaching of elephants and rhinos is a threat to the balance of the ecosystems in the parks and game reserves because of their significant role in the environment. Elephants disperse seeds for long distances and their dung is highly nutritious as manure for other plants. They also bring down big branches allowing other animals to access the vegetation. Elephants are also credited for digging watering holes, transforming woodlands into open spaces for other smaller animals to circulate, among other benefits. In CAR, Tanzania and DRC poaching was closely associated with illegal logging of trees further creating a potential environmental disaster for the future. In both Kenya and Uganda, there was no evidence of logging of trees.

Competition for land use emerged particularly in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda as a driver to low scale poaching. The wildlife encroachment into individual and community land has led to tension between wildlife protection agencies and the communities living around the parks. In the above three countries, there were cases of elephants destroying farm produce while lions, hyenas, leopards and cheetahs attack domestic animals and humans. At a focus group discussion with community members near Queen Elizabeth National Park it emerged that there have been conflicts between the Basongora cattle keeping community and the park authorities.

In the case of Kenya, there have been cases where the local community have complained about wild animals invading their farms. In FGDs conducted in Meru and Maasai Mara in Kenya, it emerged that in some instances elephants encroached farms and destroyed peoples' crops. In such cases, elephants have been killed and their tusks sold in the black market. In other incidences, animals such as leopards, lions and hyenas have killed livestock further creating conflict between the population and wild animals. Similarly, near Selous National Park residents complained of constant destruction of farm produce by elephants. One resident said that poachers have helped the community keep the elephants away from the farms.

4.4 *Existing Interventions*

4.4.1 *National*

There are diverse national interventions in all the countries of study. In Tanzania the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism has developed a national strategy to combat poaching and illegal wildlife trade, which lays out a coordinated and integrated strategy aimed at strengthening the law enforcement and governance structures against poaching.

In Kenya and Uganda there are structures put in place to reduce poaching such as increased policing, improved fencing of the parks and game reserves, and heavy penalties for poachers. In Uganda, the 1996 Uganda Wildlife Act and intensive disarmament of civilians have reduced poaching and increased the number of elephants in the country. Kenya enacted a new law (Wildlife Conservation and Management Act 2013) that came into force in January 2014 making poaching and trophy trafficking a serious crime. While Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have reviewed their wildlife enforcement legislations, DRC and CAR are yet to do so.

4.4.2 *Regional*

The considerable reduction in poaching incidences in Kenya and Uganda has largely been attributed to cross-border cooperation and collaboration. The Lusaka Agreement Task Force (LATF) has been instrumental in facilitating regional cooperation against poaching and trafficking in wildlife products among its member countries. Using its global links and networks, LATF also coordinates transnational enforcement operation involving the source, transit

transit and destination countries. LATF also coordinates and facilitates repatriation of ceased wildlife products to the country of region to support prosecution of the smugglers. The Kenyan and Tanzanian wildlife security agencies meet regularly to discuss and review their joint operations. CAR and DRC are members of the Central African Forest Commission (COMIFAC), which, though not as active, remains a good channel for poaching control in the region.

On the side of control of proliferation of SALW, the Nairobi Protocol for the prevention, control and reduction of SALW in the Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and Bordering States) whose implementation is coordinated by the Regional Center on Small Arms.

4.4.3 *International*

There are a number of international efforts to control poaching and reduction of illicit SALW. These include the Wild Wide Fund, the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), International Anti-poaching foundation (IAPF), among others. In an effort to regulate the international trade in conventional weapons as well as prevent diversion of arms and ammunition into the illegal markets, the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) coordinates the implementation of international instruments aimed at controlling SALW proliferation like United Nations Program of Action (UNPOA, 2001), International Tracing Instruments (ITI, 2005) and Arms Trade Treaty (ATT, 2013). In addition, there are international bodies supporting the control of poaching and proliferation of SALW like Interpol.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Even though the above interventions have been undertaken, they have not been effective enough in addressing the poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW in the countries under study; therefore, the study offers the following recommendations in building resilience:

a) Control of proliferation of illicit SALW: It is important to strengthen regional initiatives to control the flow of SALW across the border and to seal the common routes of arms trade. A comprehensive implementation of the Nairobi Protocol would be paramount in eradicating illicit SALW in the member

countries. For example, countries of study should focus on arms marking and electronic record keeping, safe storage to control diversion and capacity building of law enforcement agencies.

b) Legislations review and enforcement: In CAR and DRC the countries should be supported to enact and enforce consolidated legislation to deal with wildlife poaching and related crimes and providing severe sentencing. For Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda the governments should be supported in enforcing existing laws. For all the countries of study, there is also need for capacity building in terms of training and provision of appropriate equipment.

c) Inter-agency collaboration: There is need to enhance coordination and collaboration between the various arms of government such as security agents (wardens, police and military) and judiciary. Tanzania has been able to develop an effective inter-agency collaboration that could be emulated in the other countries of study. Kenya has moved in the same direction of pulling together different security agencies to investigate, arrest and imprison culprits of wildlife product traffickers.

d) Cross-border collaboration: there is need to improve cross border relations, develop and strengthen cross-border monitoring and information, evidence and intelligence sharing on illicit SALW proliferation and poaching. This should be harmonized to avoid cross-border conflicts.

e) Livelihoods: In all the countries of study, provision of alternative livelihoods is crucial for communities living around the national parks and game reserves. Revenues from tourism and additional government funds need to be geared towards building new schools and health centres, as well as employment creation and improvement of security for communities around parks.

f) Sensitization and awareness creation: there is need for communities living around the wildlife protected areas in the countries of study to be sensitized on the importance of protecting wildlife. Sensitization should be done through various avenues with the aim of Changing attitudes and behaviour.

g) Engage end-market countries: governments in the countries of study need to effectively engage the end market countries in Asia, particularly China, Thailand and Vietnam, in strategies to end poaching through transnational enforcement strategies. Such engagements should extend to countries of transit where poached products pass through before they reach their destination.

Future research: this study recommends further research on the impact of elephant poaching on the environmental eco-system and how it affects the survival of the rest of the wildlife.

CONCLUSION

The study established that there is a strong nexus between poaching and proliferation of illicit SALW. This correlation is mutual as poaching contributes to proliferation of illicit SALW and vice versa. Thus, the prevention and control of the two vices must need to go hand in hand.

In order for governments to succeed in routing out poaching and reducing the proliferation of illicit SALW there has to be a strong political will against the major financiers and facilitators of poaching activities and proliferation of illicit SALW.

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