REGIONAL CENTRE ON SMALL ARMS

Co-operating to Disarm

AN ASSESSMENT OF ILLICIT SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION AND FRAGILITY SITUATIONS

SOMALIA

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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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACL	Authority Capacity and Legitimacy
AfDB	African Development Bank
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
COGWO	Coalition for Grassroots Women Orgs
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DDG	Danish Demining Groups
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FRS	Federal Republic of Somalia
FSI	Fragile States Index
GPI	Global Peace Index
HDI	Human Development Index
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LMG	Light Machine Guns
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPHDI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
RECSA	Regional Centre on Small Arms
RPG	Rocket Propelled Grenades
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SNA	Somali National Army
SNM	Somali National Movement
TFG	Transnational Federal Government
TNG	Transitional National Government
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNMAS	United Nations Mine Action Service
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
USA	United States of America
WAM	Weapons and Ammunition Management

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Fragility situations in Somalia are closely linked to extensive proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW) following many years of protracted conflicts. Somalia, a country located in the Horn of Africa, emerged from a total collapse in 2004. It however still occupies the last but one spot on the Fragile States Index (FSI), after South Sudan. According to the global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) of December 2015, Somalia is the third most destitute country in the World. Violent conflicts and proliferation of SALW have remained protracted phenomena. The protracted conflicts and presence of terrorist networks play negatively on the regional and international security.

The overall objective of this research was to establish the nexus between proliferation of illicit SALW and fragile situations in Somalia, and their impacts on development and livelihoods. Participants in the research included Civil Society Organizations, security agents, religious leaders, government officials, civil service members, academics and the general Somali populace. The research was conducted in different parts of Somalia, including Hargeisa and Burao (in Somaliland), Mogadishu, Jowhar and Afgoye.

On one hand, the findings of the study indicate that fragility situations in Somalia are manifested by proliferation of illicit SALW (75%), the presence of peacekeeping forces (70%) and protracted armed conflict (65%). On the other hand, the key drivers of fragility in Somalia were identified as proliferation of illicit SALW (92%), weak governance institutions (85%), poverty and youth radicalization (80%) and clan politics (71%). However, the manifestations and drivers of fragility vary from one region to another.

The impact of fragility situations in Somalia is profound. The study established that the key affected sectors included security, tourism, foreign direct investment, health, education and infrastructure.

A number of legal frameworks and interventions have been put in place by the Federal Government and the International Community with the objective of addressing the fragility situations. However, the challenges of continued proliferation of illicit SALW, weak governance institutions, clan-based politics, the presence of terrorist and radicalized groups still persists.

The study proposes strengthening of governance institutions, civilian sensitization and disarmaments, security sector reforms, post conflict reconstruction and regional cooperation as key recommendations to deal with the problems of fragility in Somalia.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background

The modern State of Somalia was born in 1960 at the departure of the colonial powers (British, French and Italian). Since then the contrasting political and economic traditions have become a source of divisions and conflicts in the country.[1] In 1969, Major General Siad Barre ended post-colonial democracy by seizing power in a military coup. However, under Barre's irredentist regime, the country endured major armed conflicts between 1977 and 1991. The first war was the Ogaden War with Ethiopia in 1977-1978. The second was the 1981-1991 war between the somali military and the Somali National Movement (SNM) in a bid to control northwest Somalia (the current Somaliland). The third war was fought between 1989 and 1990, and pitted government forces against an increasing number of clan-aligned liberation movements.

In addition to the above conflicts, the Barre regime was oppressive and exploitative as many politicians monopolized state resources and skilfully dominated others by appropriating significant assets such as land on the basis of clan identity for over two decades. This left a legacy of deep clannism and marginalization of many groups.[2] The figure below shows the political map of Somalia.

Figure 1: Political Map of Somalia

Source: University of Texas Library. [3]

[1]Centre for Justice and Accountability (CJA), "Somalia: Atrocities Under the Siad Barre Regime," http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287 (accessed February 4, 2016). The independent Somalia adopted the national flag with "a five pointed white star against a sky blue background", embodying the spirit of "Greater Somalia" that eventually made the government irredentist. The five points of the star represented the five regions of ethnic Somali population in the Horn of Africa across colonial borders: the Ethiopian Ogaden, British Somaliland, the former Italian Somaliland, Djibouti and the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya (Khalif and Oba, "'Gaafadhaabaa - the period of stop': Narrating impacts of shifta insurgency on pastoral economy in northern Kenya, c. 1963 to 2007," Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice. Vol. 3, No. 14 [2013], 2).

[2]World Bank, "Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics." Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSOMALIA/Resources/conflictinsomalia.pdf (Accessed on 22/01/ 2016).
[3]University of Texas Library. Available at: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/somalia_pol02.jpg (Accessed on 19/01/2016)

Driven by the competition for the control of power and resources, more armed conflicts broke out in Somalia in 1991, leading to the ousting of the Barre regime. This eventually plunged Somalia into a prolonged period of violent conflict and anarchy characterized by warlordism, ensuing what Menkhaus termed "the most protracted state collapse in (the) contemporary era." [4] The collapse of the State also gave rise to several Islamist movements vying to establish an Islamic State in Somalia, among which were Al Itihad Al Islamiya, the Islamic Courts Union, and the formidable Al-Shabaab that came into being in 2006.[5] The Somali society became awash with illicit SALW, which have enhanced violent conflicts and criminal activities including piracy in the high seas.

Through many internal, regional and international efforts, a Transitional National Government (TNG) was established in 2000 and lasted until 2004. Somalia was governed by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) from October 2004 to August 2012, with the support of international and regional actors. Since August 2012, it has become the Federal Republic of Somalia (FRS). A slow but positive progress has been made moving Somalia from total collapse to stable state.[6] During this interim period of building itself into a stable Somalia, the country continues to experience a great deal of fragility situations. The proliferation of illicit SALW remains a major challenge to building Somalia into a stable nation.

1.2   Conceptualisation of Fragility situations and illicit SALW proliferation in Somalia

The concept of 'fragility' in this study is understood as a state of vulnerabilities, at worst, to disintegration of or anarchy in a political state, but in general to the inability of the state to provide the overall socio-political and economic, security and developmental conditions for its citizens (both communities and individuals). Instabilities in social, political, and/or economic spheres indicate social situations of fragility in a country.[7] The African Development Bank defines fragility as "low capacity and poor state performance with respect to security and development" which is exemplified in a state's inability to provide for the security and development of its citizens.[8]

Generally, a state that is unable to provide basic elements that guarantee human security (for example, basic needs of survival including healthcare, physical security of individuals and communities including their properties and protection of human and people's rights) lacks trust of its peoples, and is a fragile state.[9] Not all the states that manifest factors of fragility situations disintegrate or fail to stimulate economic development. A country (whether developed or developing) can have fragility situations in some areas, but be strong in many others. Thus, while conflict-affected states are by definition more susceptible to fragility situations, some but not all fragile states are marred in deep-rooted conflicts and violent transitions that have postponed peace. However, particular factors of vulnerability (weak institutions, insecurity among others) can have significant impact on the state's ability to achieve its objectives (e.g. economic development, physical security and protecting human rights of its people) in an effective and efficient manner.

This study applied the model of authority, capacity, and legitimacy (hereafter the ACL model)[10] in order to analyze the various aspects of fragility situations in Somalia. Hence, fragility situations can be approached by looking at particular contributors of vulnerabilities to three key areas of a State (i.e., authority, capacity and legitimacy). [11]

[4]Ken Menkhaus, "State collapse in Somalia: Second Thoughts," Review of African Political Economy. Vol. 30, No. 97 (2003), 405-422.
[5]Mark Bradbury and Sally Healey, "Endless War: A Brief History of the Somali Conflict," ACCORD, Issue 21 (2010). Available at: http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/endless-war-brief-history-somali-conflict (accessed on 19/02/2016).
[6]J. Fergusson, "Somalia: A failed State is back from the Dead." Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/somalia-a-failed-state-is-back-from-the-dead-8449310.html (accessed on 19/01/ 2016); Nkube and Jones, "Drivers and Dynamics," Box 4, 7; Available at: http://europa.eu/newsroom/calendar/event/452067/conference--a-new-deal-for-somalia; United States Institute of Peace (USIP), "The Current situation in Somalia," http://www.usip.org/publications/2015/07/23/the-current-situation-in-somalia (accessed on 19/01/2016).
[7]Javier Fabra Mata and Sebastian Ziaja, Users Guide on Measuring Fragility, edited by Jörg Faust Joachim Nahem (Bonn and Oslo: German Development Institute and UNDP, 2009), 5.
[8]African Development Bank group (AfDB) 2015, "strategy for addressing Fragility and building resilience in Africa." available at: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Policy Documents/Addressing_Fragility_and_Building_Resilience_in_Africa_The_AfDB_Group_Strategy_2014%E2%80%932019.pdf (Accessed on 19/02/2016)
[9]See United Nations (UN), Human security in theory and practice (n.d.), available at: http://www.un.org/humansecurity/publications/Human%20Security%20Tools (accessed on 1/03/2016), 5-7; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report Office, Human Security: A Thematic Guidance Note for Regional and National Human Development Report Teams, by Oscar A. Gómez and Des Gasper (2013), 1-3; hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-security-guidance-note (accessed on 1/03/2016).
[10]David Carment, Stewart Prest and Yiagadeesen Samy. 2007. "Assessing fragility: theory, evidence and policy". Revue Trimestrielle De Politique Étrangère, p. 14.
[11]David Carment and Yiagadeesen Samy, "Assessing State Fragility: A Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Report," Country Indicators for Foreign Policy & Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (2012).

Authority is the capability of the state to protect its citizens from any form of violence and criminality including provision of security for their lives and property. It refers to the state's ability to morally obligate its people to respect and obey its prescriptions,[12] provide security to its peoples and territories and offer a conducive environment for the betterment of the lives of its peoples. [13] Within the hierarchy of public goods delivered by states, the most important public good that modern states are required to provide to the citizenry is security, and most importantly human security, which holistically addresses the basic requirement of the citizens. It also involves having in place judicial systems that dispense justice fairly while prosecuting against breaking of the law. In Somalia, authority was measured by examining the extent to which the Somali government has functional state institutions so as to ensure security (internal and external) to the citizens. The proliferation of illicit SALW was measured against the state's capacity to provide security and deter armed militia groups from threatening the security of the citizens.

Capacity refers to the ability of a state to effectively provide basic services such as health, education, food, water, and sanitation as well as basic communication and transport. In other words, the state needs to guarantee the basic needs of its citizens through provision of infrastructural support, partnership with public and private sectors and encouragement of community initiatives. It refers to the ability of the state to provide basic functions necessary for poverty reduction, development, and for safeguarding the security and human rights of its population.[14] Fragile states often struggle to realize these basic needs to their citizens and in some cases this space is filled by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international development agencies. In Somalia, the capacity of the state was measured by examining the extent to which fragility situations have affected the government's capacity to provide basic needs and services to the population. The study also examined how the various economic infrastructures have been affected by the fragility situations and extent to which state capacity has been diminished.

Legitimacy refers to the ability of the state to influence public loyalty to its government as well as garner support for government's institutions of governance, legislations and policies. Legitimacy checks on whether the state is sensitive enough to the socio-cultural conventions of its population as well as to the principles of human rights. It evaluates whether its policy-making and implementation are inclusive, relevant, transparent and accountable. This evokes a sense of what Garthoff calls "adequate fairness" and benefit for all in an inclusive manner without giving rise to subordination or domination of one by another. [15]

A state enjoys legitimacy when the ruling regime receives public loyalty and support in its dispensation of law, and support in its policy-making and implementation.[16] Governments need functional institutions, but at the same time require effective legislations and legislative structures like the Judiciary, Parliament and the Presidency or the Executive, which are critical for the implementation of policies. In Somalia, legitimacy was measured by examining the effectiveness of institutions of government responsible for maintaining law and order such as the Judiciary, Parliament and the Presidency. The study also looked at how fragile situations have affected service delivery and affected levels of corruption and conflict susceptibility.

1.3   Objectives of the Study

This study aimed at establishing the interplay between illicit SALW proliferation (and diffusion) and increased fragility situations in Somalia, and how these affect sustainable development. To achieve this, it operationalized the following specific objectives:

i.   To examine manifestation of fragility situations in Somalia;

ii.   To identify drivers of fragility situations in Somalia;

iii.   To explain the impact of fragility situations and illicit SALW on development and livelihoods in Somalia; and

iv.   To identify existing intervention mechanisms to address fragility situations and the proliferation of illicit SALW in the country.

[12]Jon Garthoff, "Legitimacy is not authority," Law and Philosophy 29 (2010), 670.

[13]Wim Naudé, Amelia U. Santos-Paulino, and Mark McGillivray, Fragile states: causes, costs, and responses (Oxford University Press, 2011), 48.

[14]Bruce 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).

[15]Jon Garthoff, "Legitimacy is not authority," Law and Philosophy. Vol. 29, No. 6 (2010) pp. 669-94. P. 680.

[16]Naudé et al., Fragile states, 48; Robert I. Rotberg, "The new nature of nation-state failure," Washington Quarterly 25, no. 3 (2002), 83-96.
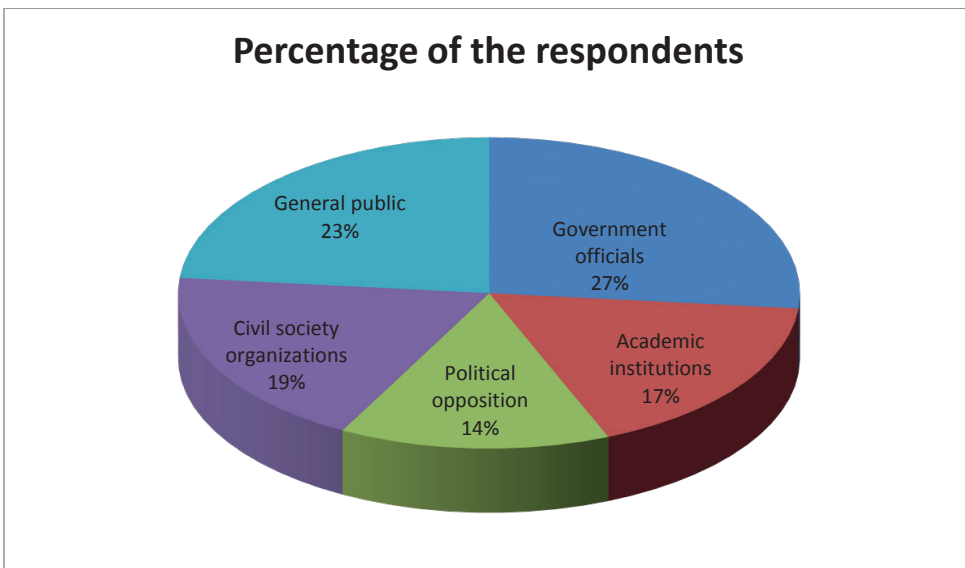
2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research design and sampling

This study applied a cross-sectional study design, which involved triangulating opinions and perceptions from different sectors of the community in order to establish the relational impact between the proliferation of illicit SALW and continuing fragility situations in Somalia. To realize this, the study used a mix-method approach, which entailed a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods in an exploratory and inclusive manner.

Figure 2: Population composition of respondents

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 in the society on matters touching on fragility situations, their level of knowledge, and organizational representation. They come from academic institutions (teachers, lecturers, and university students), government officials (government bureaucrats, security personnel, and civil servants), political opposition, the general public (religious leaders and ordinary citizens), and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) (both national and international). The pie chart below gives the percentage of the respondents.

Percentage of the respondents

- Government officials 27%
- General public 23%
- Civil society organizations 19%
- Political opposition 14%
- Academic institutions 17%

Researchers were not able to visit all the regions due to insecurity and infrastructural inaccessibility. To mitigate these limitations the researchers purposively chose individuals and local Civil Society Organisations as well as international NGOs with a presence in the country.

2.2 Data Collection and Management

Researchers obtained permission from the government to conduct the study, and no activity was carried out without the consent of the data providers. Primary data collection was done through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and questionnaire. The questionnaire contained both open-ended and closed questions. Secondary data was collected from published books and journals, reports from governments and national focal point

databases, online reports from the Small Arms Survey, International Crisis Group, United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and from other publically available materials.

The collected data from interviews and focus group discussions was recorded in notebooks and stored. The questionnaire was distributed through gatekeepers (those who command the trust of the data providers, or those who control access) given the challenges of insecurity in the country, and coded and stored for easy access. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained through the removal of names where they had been indicated, unless otherwise allowed by the respondents.

Descriptive statistics were used to summarize categorised variables. Both quantitative and qualitative data were generated. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics (means, percentages) while qualitative data was analyzed by use of content analysis. Data was presented in figures, tables, and narratives while guided by the thematic representation of the objectives of the study.
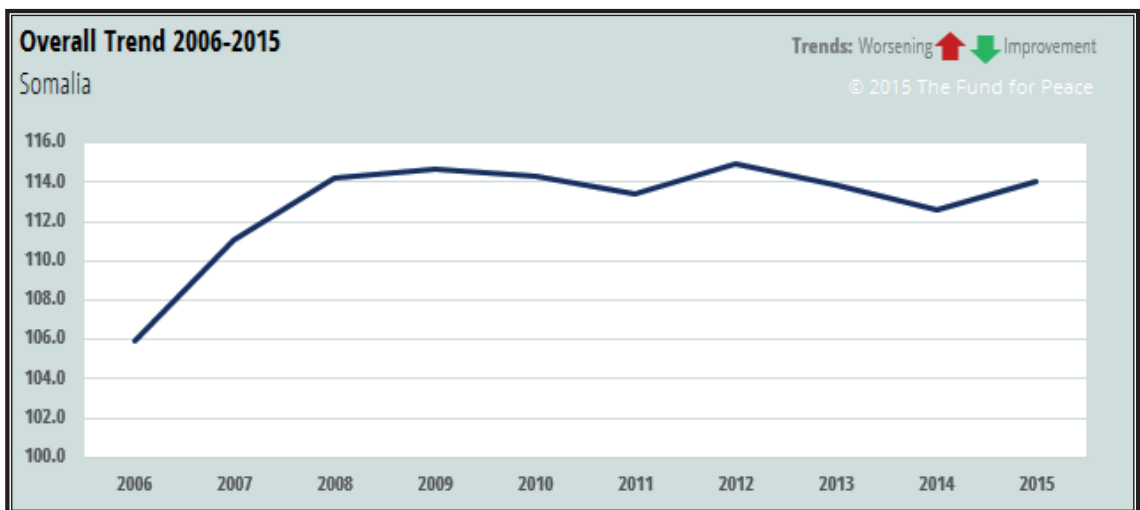
2.3   Limitations and delimitations

Studies on fragility and proliferation illicit SALW are delicate and sensitive due to their association with security issues. Initially, respondents were reluctant to divulge details on SALW ownership (licit and illicit). This was however, mitigated by informing the respondents about the intention and nature of the research. Somalia is volatile due to the presence of armed groups such as al-Shabaab, which pose a security threat in the country. The researchers, thus, used gatekeepers and local community mobilizers to organize Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and venues for in-depth interviews.

3.0   LITERATURE REVIEW

The available literature on Somalia is very scanty and often out of date. This has limited the extent of the analysis in this section.

Figure 3: Fragility situation trends in Somalia

3.1   Manifestations of fragility situations

a) Fragility situations create fertile ground for illicit SALW proliferation: The available literature demonstrates that the illicit SALW proliferation and diffusion is one of the significant contributors to the maintenance of fragility situations, for it affects the physical security of people and their livelihoods. [17]Fragility situations, at the same time, create a condition for the proliferation of illicit SALW in society. Simultaneously, economic development requires a level of stability. In a divided society and without strong institutions, therefore, there exists direct link between the proliferation of illicit SALW, fragility situations, and development. The Somalia case epitomises such a link.

b) Somalia fragility situations levels: The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report of 2015, places Somalia among the 50 most vulnerable countries.[18] Among five key areas the OECD uses to measure the levels of fragility situations include indices of violence, justice, institutions, and resilience, and economic foundations. Somalia has the deficit of the first four. These fragility situations have led to the ranking of Somalia, out of 178 countries, as the last but one country on the Fragile States Index (FSI), only better than South Sudan. Figure 3 below shows the fragility situation trends in Somalia between 2006 and 2015.

Source: 2015 The Funds for Peace

[17]OECD, 2015. "States of Fragility 2015: Meeting Post-2015 Ambitions" (Paris: OECD Publishing), p. 42-45; Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264227699-en (Accessed on 18/02/2016).
[18]Ibid.

The figure above demonstrates the long-term trend, year-to-year, for Somalia. Upward movements represent worsening trends, while downward movements represent improving trends. Fragility situations increased 2008-2012 because of the intense attacks by the Al Shabaab and lack of stable government. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) with increased forces from African Union (AU) countries reduced the strength of Al Shabaab and brought a relative calm to Mogadishu in the face some insecurity. To this day, Somalia continues to suffer fragile situations, with slow down economic development. It requires, therefore, a combined and simultaneous approach towards addressing both fragility situations and economic development.

c) Presence of peace-keeping missions: The presence of peace-keeping forces in the country is an indicator of fragility situations. From 1990 to 2000, Somalia was in a state of total collapse with no government. There have been national and regional efforts with the support of the international community and organisations to restore peace and order in the country. These efforts resulted in the creation of the internationally recognized Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2004. The TFG was weak because it lacked nationwide support, hence eroding its legitimacy. Therefore, the emergence of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in 2006 almost removed the weak government. This resulted in the direct intervention of the external forces such as the Ethiopian Army that helped with the removal of the ICU from its short-lived control of power in Mogadishu towards the end of 2006,[19] and the AU's regional peacekeeping mission in Somalia, AMISOM,[20] with the approval of the UN Security Council in 2007. With the support of these forces, Somalia was able to move from the TFG to the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) in 2012. As part of its duties, AMISOM has also been supporting the FGS's forces in their battle against Al-Shabaab militants.[21] The AMISOM, however, faces challenges in delivering its mission due to unpredictable funding and lack of sufficient land, air and naval assets.[22] The continued presence of the external players is in itself an indicator of fragility situations in Somalia.

3.2   Drivers of Fragility situations

a) Proliferation of Illicit SALW: Somalia suffers from pervasive illicit SALW proliferation.[23] The violent conflicts in the country since the 1960s coupled with contrasting political and economic traditions have brought many arms into the country. The post-1980 has seen the proliferation of illicit SALW, leaving the country today with the burden of estimated 550,000 – 750,000 weapons in the hands of the civilians. Of these, only 14,000 arms are registered.[24] Some of the consequences of the illicit SALW include violent activities, enhancement of clan-based self-defence militias, maintenance of violent militants (for example, Al Shabaab) and criminal activities.

According the 2015 Global Peace Index (GPI), Somalia ranks 157 out of 162 countries with a GPI value of 3.307 only displacing Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Central African Republic whose states of peace are the lowest in the world.[25] The value is between 1-5, with 1 being most peaceful and 5 least peaceful. The Global Peace Index primarily measures the state of peace in a country based on 23 qualitative and quantitative indicators of peace that reveal the absence of violence and absence of the fear of violence.[26] The combined factors accounting for this ranking in 162 countries include access to illicit SALW, violent crime, political instability, internal conflict, external conflict and the displacement of people, amongst others.

b) Irredentist aspiration and colonial legacy: The conflicts and fragility situations in Somalia cannot be understood without taking into consideration the country's colonial legacy. The colonial administration divided Somalia into British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland (South-Central region) and French Somaliland (Djibouti).[27] This territorial and political division brought division and inequality among clans, a system which the newly independent Somali government leadership inherited.[28]

[19]The removal of the ICU, however, resulted in the rise of al Shabaab, an al Qaida affiliated terrorist group that has been causing havoc and insecurity in the country.
[20]From 2007-2011, it constituted Ugandan and Burundian troops, who are still prominent in AMISOM.
[21]United Nations Security Council Resolution 1772. S/RES/1772(2007), p. 3. Available at: http://amisom-au.org/amisom-mandate/ (Accessed on 18/02/2016)
[22]Berouk Mesfin, "Ethiopia-Somalia Relations after 2012," in M. Eriksson (Ed.), External Intervention in Somalia's Civil War: Security Promotion and National Interest? Report No FOI-R-3718-SE, Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) [November 2013], 98.

[23]GunPolicy, "Somalia — Gun Facts, Figures and the Law." Available at: http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/somalia (Accessed on 19/01/2016); See also, Pieter. Wezeman, 2010. "Arms flows and the conflict in Somalia," http://books.sipri.org/files/misc/SIPRIBP1010b.pdf (Accessed on 2/01/2016)
[24]GunPolicy, "Somalia — Gun Facts, Figures and the Law." Available at: http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/somalia (Accessed on 19/01/2016)
[25]Global Peace Index, 2015. "Global Peace Index 2015: Measuring peace, Its Causes and Its Economic Value." Available at: http://www.visionofhumanity.org/sites/default/files/Global%20Peace%20Index%20Report%202015_0.pdf (accessed on 24/01/2016)
[26]Vision of Humanity, "Global Peace Index Methodology." Available at: http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#page/news/920 (Accessed on 10/05/2016).
[27]Bjorn Moller, The Somali Conflict: the role of external actors, Danish Institute of International Studies (DIIS), Report no. 3, 2009; K. Mbugua, Drivers of insecurity in Somalia: Mapping Contours of Violence, Occasional Paper, Series 4, no. 3(Nairobi, Kenya: International Peace Support Training Centre [IPSTC],2013).
[28]Joseph Kioi Mbugua, Drivers of insecurity in Somalia: Mapping Contours of Violence, Occasional Paper, Series 4, no. 3(Nairobi, Kenya: International Peace Support Training Centre [IPSTC], 2013).

This inherited colonial structure became a source of conflict as it gave rise to the politics of irredentism (a driver of fragility situations) at the dawn of independence when the leadership of Somalia attempted to reintegrate the territories that the colonial governments divided, as well as areas in Ethiopia inhabited by the Somalis. The 1977-8 Ethiopia-Somali war was the consequence of Somali irredentism. The expressed irredentist aspiration of the Islamic militant groups, such as Al Itihad Al Islamiya and the ICU, served as a key factor for the Ethiopian military interventions in 1999 and 2006.[29] To the degree irredentist or "Greater Somalia" aspiration exists, it remains an element of threat to the regional security, hence a driver of fragility situations.

c) **Presence of armed groups:** One of the measurements of State authority is to provide security to its people. The presence of the armed groups indicates fragility situations in the area of state authority. There exist clan-based armed militias and a well-determined violent and Islamist movement that poses a serious security threat to the government. Al Shabaab is the most prominent of the terrorist groups and functions through "a highly flexible organization with a decentralized leadership and multiple, disparate cells."[30] Beyond its interest of expanding Salafism (strict adherence to Sharia Law) in the Horn region, it does not seem to possess any written program. Nevertheless, the continued threats posed by this group to both the Somalia government and AMISOM forces indicate likelihood of external support.

d) **Weak institutions of governance:** the weak structural governance institutions such as the military, police among others are yet another driver of fragility situations in Somalia. The military, police and correction services are still at nascent stage with limited numbers, training, equipment and management capacities. The presence of semi-autonomous regions such as Somaliland and Puntland also presents territorial, governance challenges.

e) **Clannism:** Clannism among the Somalis, which has greatly contributed to the protracted collapse of the Somali state predates the colonial period. The colonial divide-and-rule policy[31] has led to its institutionalisation within the Somali society.[32] During his regime, Said Barre (1969-1991) introduced a clan-based divide-and-rule policy by appointing loyal politicians from his clan to guide and control military and civil institutions. He relied more on Marehaan, Ogadeen and Dulbahante clan coalition at the expense of other clans. This instigated suspicion and hatred among clans, which, from 1980, led to the rise of clan-based rebel movements such as the Darood-dominated Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), the Isaaq-dominated Somali National Movement (SNM), and the Hawiye-dominated United Somali Congress (USC), which finally toppled his government, and brought his downfall in 1991.[33] From this also ensued the declaration of independence by Somaliland from the Union. [34]

The fall of Barre's regime became a trigger for different factions fighting to fill the power vacuum, henceforth the communities have been militarised. It resulted in the destruction of the socio-economic fabric of the society.[35] Clannism in Somalia has become a political ideology, determining everything in Somalia ranging from power, resource distribution, expansion of territory, to even recruitment to positions of influence. It is the modus operandi of the political-economic arrangement of the Somalia society.[36]

3.3   Impact of Fragility Situations and illicit SALW on Development and Livelihoods

There are diverse impacts of fragility situations on development and livelihoods. These include poor economic structures which lead to poverty, low levels of enrolment in education, displacements, insecurity and weak governance structures.

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[29]For instance, in March 1999, Ethiopian troops raided Somali border town, Balanballe, in pursuit of an irredentist Islamist rebel group, Al-Ittihad Al-Islamiya, that wanted Ogaden to be part of Somalia.

[30]Berouk Mesfin, "Ethiopia-Somalia Relations after 2012," in M. Eriksson (Ed.), External Intervention in Somalia's Civil War: Security Promotion and National Interest? Report No FOI-R-3718-SE, Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) [November 2013], 101.

[31]Stephen Musau, "Clans' and Clannism's Control over Weak Political Institutions," In Somalia Clan and State Politics, ITCPM International Commentary IX, no. 34 (2013), 13.

[32]Kidist Mulugeta, The Role of Regional and International Organizations in Resolving the Somali Conflict: The Case of IGAD (Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, 2009). Ismail I Ahmed & Reginald Herbold Green, "The heritage of war and state collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: local-level effects, external interventions and reconstruction," Third World Quarterly. Vol. 20, No. 1 (1999), 113-127.

[33]Kidist Mulugeta, The Role of Regional and International Organizations in Resolving the Somali Conflict: The Case of IGAD. Addis Ababa: Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, 2009.

[34]Matt Bryden, Somali Redux? Assessing the New Somali Federal Government, A Report of the CSIS Africa Program, 2013.

[35]Bradbury Ken Menkhaus, "State collapse in Somalia: Second thoughts," Review of African Political Economy, 30, 97 (2003), 410.

[36]UNSC, "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea pursuant to Security Council resolution 2182 (2014): Somalia," http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2015_801.pdf (accessed on 19/01/2016).

a) **Poverty:** Somalia is, according to Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHDI), the third most destitute country in the world.[37] In a country with fragile situations, poverty is a serious driver of fragility,[38] and Somalia finds itself in this situation. Drought and continuing desertification in Somalia plays a negative impact on natural resources, and contributes to economic hardships. Currently Puntland and Somaliland suffer severe drought. About 7.1 million Somalis today suffer humanitarian emergency and crisis, and 3.9 million are in food security stress.[39] Destitution displaces the population and is a driver of fragility situations.

The 2012 Human Development Index (HDI) value of Somalia was 0.285 and the country ranked 165 out of 170 countries.[40] The African Development Bank's (AfDB) Somalia Country Brief 2013-2015 shows that Somalia still has one of the lowest adult literacy rates in the world. In addition, the AfDB placed the country's health indicators among the worst in Africa, with an infant mortality rate of 108.4 and a child mortality rate of 178 per 1,000 live births respectively. Maternal mortality rates stood at a staggering 1,400 per 100,000 live births against 683 for Africa; and less than 30% had access to good water and sanitation. [41]

There is hardly any data on the human development profile of Somalia in the UNDP's 2015 Human Development Report. It does not indicate the expected years of schooling, life expectancy at birth and the rank as well as the HDI value of Somalia. The only available statistic on Somalia on the index is the life expectancy at birth, which stands at 55.4.[42] This severe lack of basic social and economic statistics has been blamed on the two-decade conflicts in the country and the resulting collapse of its institutions, which has made it difficult to monitor the economic and social developments in the country.

b) **Displacements:** Although drought and destitution greatly contribute to population displacement (IDPs and refugees), weapon-related violence in Somalia plays a principal role in the displacement. Due to insecurity factors, there exists today about 1.1 million Somali refugees in the Horn of Africa region and Yemen,[43] and about 1,133,000 IDPs as of June 2015,[44] underscoring the continuous prevalence of insecurity in the country. The table below shows the displaced Somali population just within the Horn of Africa and Yemen.

Table 1: Somali Refugees in the Horn of Africa and Yemen

Country	Individuals	Households
Kenya	419,142	113,168
Ethiopia	250,182	6,432
Uganda	35,893	-
Djibouti	12,363	-
Eritrea	2,485	-
Yemen	253, 398	-
Total	**973, 463**	**119,600**

Source: UNHCR statistics 2015[45]

[39]Mthuli, Ncube and Basil, Jones. 2013. "Drivers and Dynamics of Fragility in Africa," Africa Economic Brief 4, Issue 5 (2013), 1-16.African Development Bank Group (AFDB), 3.

[40]Drought and high level of poverty in Somalia also contribute to the displacement of people (see Relief Web, Humanitarian Bulletin Somalia January 2016 [26 January 2016]), available at: http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/humanitarian-bulletin-somalia-january-2016-issued-26-january-2016 [accessed on 06/03/2016]). For more information, see HRW, "World Report 2015: Somalia," available at: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/somalia (accessed on 06/03/2016).

[41]AfDB, "Somalia Country Brief." Available at: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/2013-2015%20-%20Somalia%20-%20Country%20Brief.pdf(accessed on 24/01/2016)

[42]UNDP, "Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development." Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr_2015_statistical_annex.pdf (accessed on 24/01/2016)

[43]The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), "Refugees in the Horn of Africa: Somali Displacement Crisis," Accessed Feb 27, 2016, http://data.unhcr.org/horn-of-africa/regional.php#_ga=1.126240651.786075860.1456561796

[44]The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), "2015 Country operations profile – Somalia." Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e483ad6&submit=GO (Accessed on 27/02/2016).

[45]Ibid.

The displacement of people because of physical insecurity affects negatively the country's prospect of economic advancement. This is not only because displacement makes people not secure enough to engage in economic activities, it also drains the working force.

c) Insecurity: The proliferation of armed militia and criminal gangs have reached out to the unemployed youth and enticed them to join them for quick gains, especially through looting and extortions. These groups appear to have appeal to some sections of Somali society, as evidenced by its ability to have recruits and even some defections from Somali military or police. For example, the Al Shabaab is involved in terrorist activities (roadside and other targeted bombings, grenade ambushes on military convoys, suicide attacks, targeted assassinations of political and security officials as well as other prominent persons [such as businessmen, religious figures], and other forms of violence) that see the loss of many lives, and maintains human insecurity in the country.[46] Al Shabaab has contributed to the displacement of many Somalis and economic hardships. Its presence sustains fragility situations in Somalia.

d) Piracy: Insecurity has further been exacerbated by piracy activities in the high seas making the coastal line of Somalia to be one of the most insecure and dangerous in the world. The period between 2005 and 2013, for example, recorded the high incidence of piracy within Somalia with "an estimated \$US18 billion yearly loss to the world economy."[47] However, with recent international security interventions, incidences of piracy have reduced and the security situation has improved.

e) Reduced quality of life: Over 300,000 children in Somalia are suffering from malnutrition, with close to 60,000 who are under the age of five years in critical condition, and in need of therapeutic feeding, according to the Red Cross.[48] The southern Somalia port city of Kismayo is the only feeding centre in the whole of the southern region and is currently overwhelmed by the need for feeding children[49]. Fragility situations have affected the levels of school enrolment. For example, close to half the population of Somalia is composed of rural and nomadic communities. In these communities, both boys and girls tend to be denied access to education with 22% of the school going age of 6-17 being taken up by pastoralist lifestyle.[50] This has negatively affected school enrolment in the country.

4.0   KEY FINDINGS

4.1   Manifestations of State Fragility situations and proliferation of illicit SALW in Somalia

The figure below indicates the various ways, which fragility situations are manifested in Somalia:

Figure 4: Manifestations of State Fragility situations in Somalia
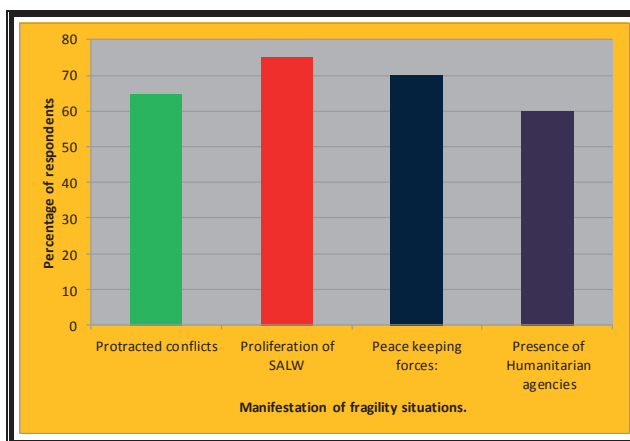
[46]Berouk Mesfin, "Ethiopia-Somalia Relations after 2012," in M. Eriksson (Ed.), External Intervention in Somalia's Civil War: Security Promotion and National Interest? Report No FOI-R-3718-SE, Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) [November 2013], 101.
[47]Blanc, J.-B., & World Bank,. 2013. "The pirates of Somalia: Ending the threat, rebuilding a nation." Available at: .http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTA-FRICA/Resources/pirates-of-somalia-executive-fact-sheet.pdf (Accessed on 12/042016).
[48]International Committee of Red Cross, 2016. "Somalia." Available at: https://www.icrc.org/en/where-we-work/africa/somalia (Accessed on 10/052016).
[49]Ibid.
[50]UNICEF, "Somalia." Available at: http://www.unicef.org/somalia/education.html (Accessed on 10/052016).

Source: Research Findings

Protracted conflicts: A total of 65% of the respondents were emphatic that protracted conflicts were clear manifestations of the fragility situations in the country. This is derived from the continued instability in Somalia since the fall of the Siad Bare regime in 1991.

Proliferation of SALW: the proliferation of illicit SALW came out strongly as a manifestation of fragility (75%). Continued armed conflicts and protracted insecurity in Somalia have been fuelled by the wide availability of illicit SALW. Armed groups in Somalia such as Al-Shabaab, Somali National Army, Hawadle, Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya, Jabhatul Islamiya, AhluSunna Waljama'a, Hizbul Islam, Rahanweyn Resistance Army and Ras-Kamboni movement among others have acquired arms and ammunitions from national and international sources and from neighbouring countries.[51] This is further corroborated by the Small Arms Survey (SAS) which notes that illicit SALW have originated from Yemen, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates and diverted to Somalia, most probably through arms traffickers.[52]

Peace-keeping forces: The existence of peace-keeping forces supporting the state to fight its enemies was identified by 70% of the respondents as manifesting fragility situation in the country. At the time of collecting data, Somalia had 22,126 uniformed peacekeepers.[53] A respondent from Burao
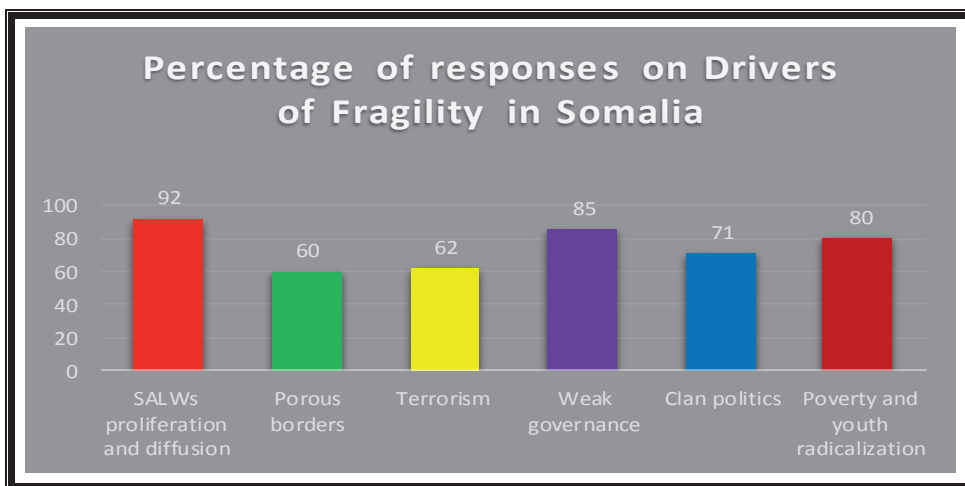
noted that if Somalia was a stable country with a functioning government it would never need external forces. The deterioration of security in Somalia has limited the central government's capacity to provide security and basic services to its citizens. At a focus group discussion in Mogadishu, participants were emphatic that the situation in Somalia could have been worse without external support of the African Union. They underlined that, on the military front, the forces that are supporting Somali army to fight Al-Shabaab include the military forces of Uganda, Burundi, Liberia, Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia.

Presence of Humanitarian agencies: the heavy presence of humanitarian and relief agencies in Somalia is yet another manifestation of fragility situations as highlighted by 60% of the responses. International communities directly and indirectly (through NGOs) and the UN through its bodies are supporting Somalia in the process of building statestructures. Other international organisations (e.g., the World Bank, the Catholic Relief Services, the Norwegian Refugee Council and the Danish Demining Group) are in Somalia providing developmental (e.g., health care, education and training) and humanitarian support. All of these are contributing towards building the Somali state to carry out its obligations towards its citizens.

4.2   Drivers of Fragility situations

The figure below presents the percentage of responses on drivers of fragility in Somalia:

Figure 5: Drivers of State Fragility situations in Somalia

Percentage of responses on Drivers of Fragility in Somalia

SALWs proliferation and diffusion	Porous borders	Terrorism	Weak governance	Clan politics	Poverty and youth radicalization
92	60	62	85	71	80

Source: Research Findings

[31]Small Arms Survey, "Feeding the Fire: Illicit Small Arms Ammunition in Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia," Issue Brief, no. 8 (July 2014), p. 12.
[32]Ibid.
[33]AMISOM, "Frequently asked questions." Available at: www.amisom-au.org/frequently-asked-questions/ (Accessed on 29/02/2016)
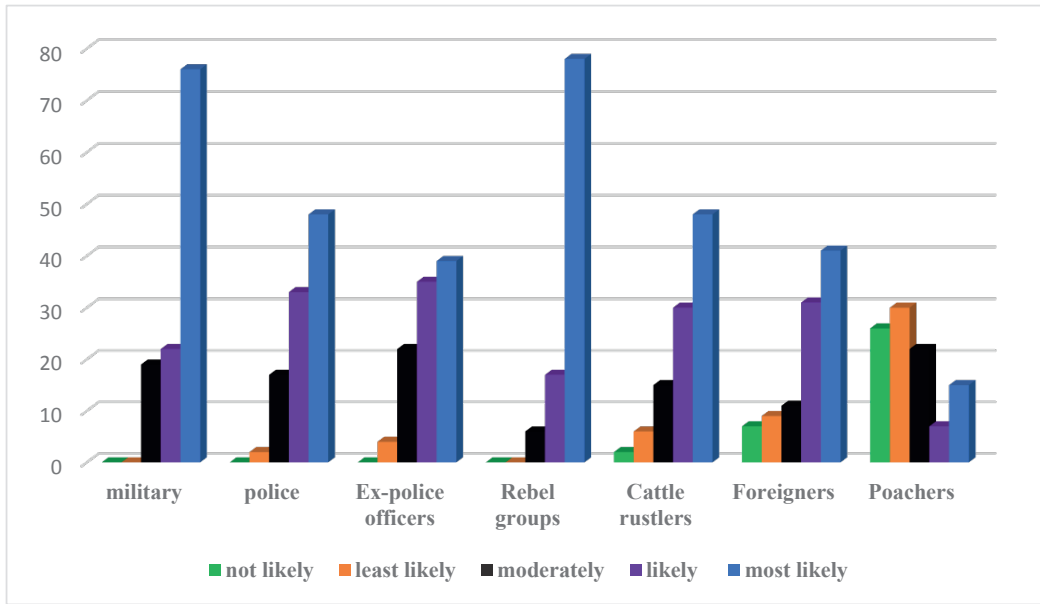
The continuing proliferation of illicit SALW as highlighted by 92% of the responses is the leading driver of fragility situations. On further probing, the respondents held the view that the illicit SALW are used for criminal activities such as robbery, extortion and piracy as well as for attacks against state officials and state institutions.

In relation to piracy, respondents noted that the presence of international forces on the high waters and armed security personnel in the ships has significantly reduced piracy in Somalia.

The participants were asked to identify those most responsible for the proliferation of illicit SALW, and responses were as follows in Figure 6 below:

Figure 6: Most implicated actors in SALW (licit and illicit) proliferation in Somalia by 2015
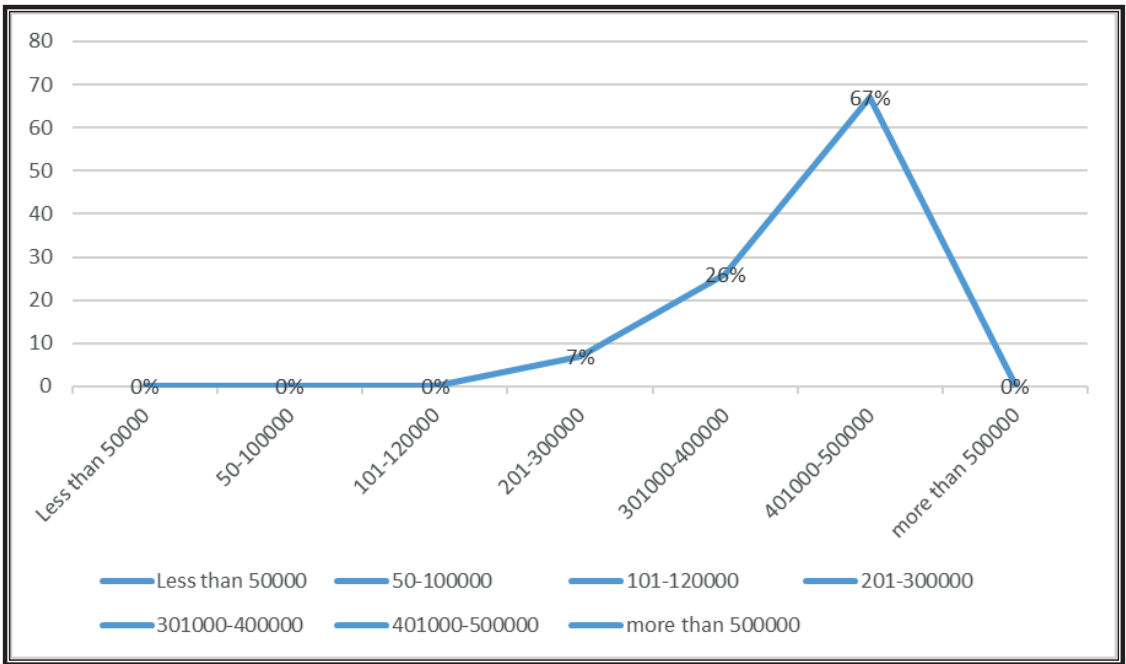

Source: Research Findings

Seventy eight percent of the respondents identified the rebel group as the most responsible in the proliferation of illicit SALW. Armed groups import weapons because they need to fight their political, economic and religious wars. Among the rebel groups, respondents noted that the Al-Shabaab has since 2006, armed youth groups to fight against the FGS and to establish a radical Muslim state. The military was identified by 75% of the respondents as being responsible for the proliferation of illicit SALW. This was mainly related to the fact that some of the militia groups are composed of ex-government military.

Some respondents also indicated that there were military personnel involved in the selling of arms to the rebel groups. The police were also implicated in a similar manner by 48% of the respondents. A focus group discussion consisting of police, University students, a UNHCR representative, public servants and civilians stated the main sources of diffusion of arms in the country is most likely the military, police officers and former members of the police force. Cattle rustlers mostly now involved in livestock theft were equally mentioned by 48% of the respondents as being among those responsible for the illicit SALW proliferation.

A university lecturer respondent held the view that the proliferation of illicit SALW in the country is also due to the lifting of the 21-year UN arms embargo on Somalia, imposed in 1992 to stop the flow of weapons to feuding militia groups. While the lifting of the arms embargo was meant to facilitate the procurement of arms to the Somali Armed Forces to strengthen efforts against Al-Shabaab, it has nonetheless had the unintended effect. It is fuelling instability in Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia, with its autonomous regions, worrying that their hard-won security will be compromised. The figure below shows the estimated number of illicit SALW in Somalia:

Figure 7: Estimate of the number of illicit SALW in the hands of civilians

Source: Research Findings

As shown in Figure 7 above, 67% of the respondents placed the number of illicit SALW in the civilian hands to be between 401,000 and 500,000. This indicates pervasiveness of diffused arms in Somalia. Respondents estimated the price of AK 47 to be between $100-200 depending on the condition of the illicit SALW. This corroborates with the Somaliland Sun that estimates the price of an AK47 at $160.[54]

4.2.2   Porous borders

Porous borders as a driver of fragility was highlighted by 60% of the respondents. For example, officials of government and NGOs who took part in FGDs in Somaliland indicated that Somalia's porous borders with Kenya and Ethiopia are the main conduits for smuggling of arms and weapons such as grenades, AK47, pistols, rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), Light Machine Guns (LMGs) and mortars. In addition to the black market for arms, the culture of impunity was also blamed for the proliferation of illicit SALW in the country.

4.2.3   Terrorism

There was a general concern by 62% of the respondents that Somalia has become the main producer of terrorist activities in the Eastern and Horn of Africa.

Respondents noted that the Al-Shabaab has emerged as a major destabilizing factor to peace and stability in the region. In the last decade, the Al Qaeda-aligned terrorist group Harakat Al-Shabaab al-Mujahedeen (Mujahidin Youth Movement), better known as Al-Shabaab, has destabilized Somalia resulting in displacement and loss of lives, particularly in Mogadishu and Kismayo. According to a former Al-Shabaab fighter, its aim is to upset the Western-backed Somalia government and impose a strict interpretation of Islam in Somalia. After concerted efforts from AMISOM and the Somali National Army (SNA) it has, however, been driven out of major strongholds such as Mogadishu, Afgooye, Baidoa, Merca and Kismayo.[55]

4.2.4   Weak governance institutions

Weak governance, manifested by corruption and poor leadership scored 85% of the responses as the key factor behind the weak government institutions. Corruption was highlighted to be related to impunity among government officials who despite economic crimes were never prosecuted.

[54]Somaliland Sun, 2012, "Weapons Statistics on Somalia at a Glance." Available at: http://www.somalilandsun.com/index.php/world/1174-weapons-statistics-on-somalia-at-a-glance (Accessed on 24/01/2016).
[55]E.J. Hogendoorn, 2014. "Security and governance in Somalia: consolidating gains, confronting challenges, and charting the path forward: hearing before the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Thirteenth Congress, first session, October 8, 2013." Available at: http://purl.fdlp.gov/GPO/gpo53744 (Accessed on 02/03/2016).

Poor leadership was equally cited by 84% of the respondents as a key fact to weak government institutions.

To explain the 'weak government institutions' one of the respondents noted that jobs are hardly allocated on the basis of merit, and that politicians who loot the state of its resources are not punished. An academician from the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies of Hargeisa University also concurred with this, positing that the levels of impunity are such that if a politician is convicted of a crime and is detained, he would be released easily by offering the police money in bribe. Another university lecturer in Somalia blamed the political leaders for their greed and egocentrism. One respondent in Somaliland described the government as illegitimate. Other participants in a focus group discussion described political leaders in the country as power hungry and unreliable. They also noted that the economic elite too, if arrested, often bribe prosecutors and judges to buy their freedom.

4.2.5   Clan Politics

Seventy one percent of the responses highlighted clan politics as another driver of fragility. It had adversely affected the stability of the country and aspirations for national unity. The respondents noted that clannism has for years been the result of manipulations by political leaders for their own selfish purposes. A university lecturer in Hargeisa explained that after the ousting of President Abdirashid Ali Shermake's civilian regime, President Barre advocated a socialist system in the country and discouraged clannism. Nevertheless, his authoritarian regime was increasingly challenged and, to stay in power, he relied more and more on his Darood clan and particularly his Marehan sub-clan.

The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of President Sharif on its part perfected clan politics favouring certain clans, particularly the Abgal in recruitments into the national army. This clan legacy is still a reality in contemporary Somalia as different clans continue to consider political positions as a means of political and economic dominance over others and a pathway to provide certain benefits to their clan and sub-clan kin. Currently, the country is divided into three regions, Puntland, Somaliland and Somalia, each with a separate president and each from a different clan - Darod, Isaaq and Hawiye respectively.[56]

The university professor at Hargeisa, further explained that factionalism makes governance very complex as different clans compete for political posts and natural resources. For instance, in Puntland, a clan elder lamented that sporadic clashes have continued between the Harti and Darod over both urban and grazing land. In late 2014 and early 2015, a conflict erupted in the southern Mudug Region, tensions between the Haber Gedir and Marehan sub-clans over land ownership. In the Middle Shabelle region too, land-related conflict between the Abgaal and Shidle communities appeared to have been superseded by intra-Abgaal clashes in 2015. In Hiran, fierce attacks were launched on Kabxanley and Defow villages by the Hawadle militia, supported by the SNA in an attempt to displace the Surre clan from the fertile banks of the Shabelle River on a permanent basis. The divisions have weakened the country and further increased the fragility situations.

4.2.6   Poverty and youth radicalization

Eighty percent of the responses pointed out that poverty was also a key driver of fragility in Somalia. The youth are lured into criminal gangs and organizations, which include radicalized groups like Al Shabaab, Al Qaeda or Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS). In much of Somalia, the population is poor. According to the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2015), 81.5% of the Somali population is poor on the Multidimensional Poverty Index.[57] Somalia also has high youth unemployment rate. These conditions together with the allure of religious fundamentalists and bad governance contribute to youth radicalization. Poverty thus remains a significant driver of fragility situations in Somalia.

[56]M. Radlicki, 2015. "Who really rules Somalia? – The tale of three big clans and three countries" Available at: http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-05-18-who-really-rules-somalia-the-tale-of-three-clans (accessed on 19/01/2016)
[57]Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (2015). "OPHI Country Briefing Dec 2015: Somalia." Multidimensional Poverty Index Data Bank. OPHI, University of Oxford, December. Available at: www.ophi.org.uk/multi-dimensional-poverty-index/mpi-country-briefings/ (Accessed on 19/01/2016)

The following table sums up the factors that drive fragility situations in Somalia.

Table 2: Drivers of Fragility situations

Drivers	Comments
SALW proliferation and diffusion	The wide availability of illicit SALW in Somalia fuels political instability, conflicts and insurgency in the country, piracy and other criminal activities
Porous borders	Porous and poorly protected borders have been used as conduit for illicit SALW into Somalia by armed groups.
Terrorism	It has seriously impacted on the State authority and capacity, making state-building efforts difficult. Indiscriminate attacks by Al-Shabaab have led to several displacements and loss of lives.
Bad governance	Corruption and neo-patrimonialism permeates key sectors of the country (economy, security and private sectors) and there are hardly any anti-graft measures in the country nor the political will to fight corruption
Clan politics	Clan based politics continues to be a strong force in the fragmentation of the nation as poor and ignorant citizens are manipulated for political ends and this is a strong incentive for conflicts in the country
Poverty and youth radicalization	Sustains *Al-Shabaab* and its ideology

4.3 The impact of fragility situations and proliferation illicit SALW on Human Development and Livelihoods

Fragility situations in Somalia, greatly occasioned by the proliferation of illicit SALW in the hands of civilians and armed groups, have negatively affected the country. The quality and quantity of services that the Federal Government provides have been strained, especially with regard to human security. Respondents were asked to evaluate the impact of fragility situations on selected livelihood aspects.

The results are presented in Figure 8 below:

Figure 8: Impact of fragility situations on selected aspects of livelihood
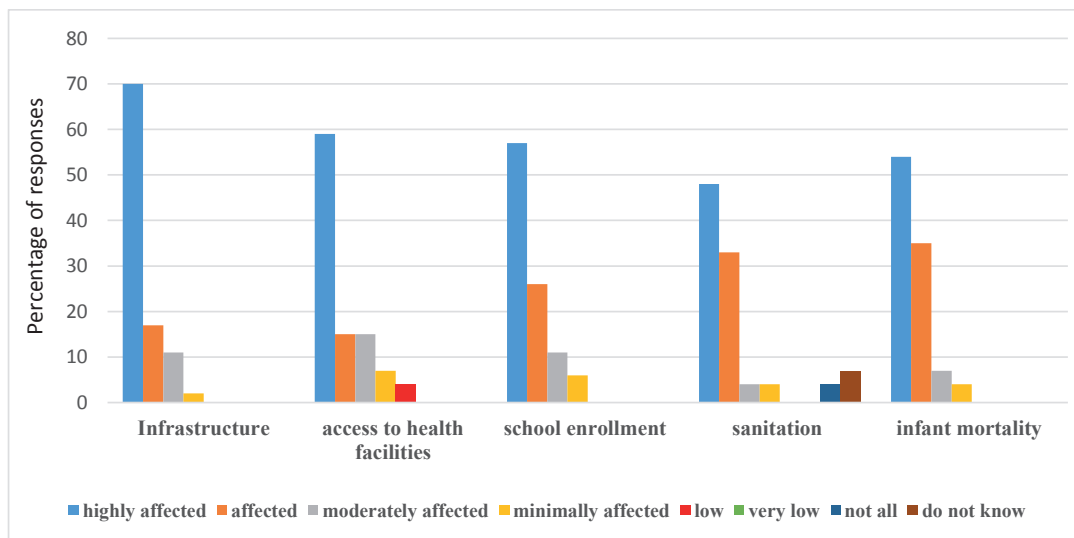
Source: Research Findings

4.3.1   Social impacts

Social amenities like provision of health, education, sanitation, roads and mortality has been adversely affected by the fragile situation in the country as demonstrated in Figure 6 above. The respondents identified the most affected sectors as explained below:

a.   Infrastructure

Seventy percent of the respondents held the view that infrastructure has been adversely affected by the fragile situation. Most of the roads are dilapidated due to lack of maintenance, which is a result of the prolonged conflict. However, in some cases the roads are inaccessible due to road blocks mounted by militia groups. The leaders have also been blamed for the poor roads as some corrupt leaders use government funds for personal selfish use rather than investing in road construction.

b.   Health

A total of 58% of the respondents were of the view that access to healthcare has been highly affected. Health facilities are non-existent in most parts of the country and where they are present, they are mostly run by NGOs. This severe lack of access to health care has been blamed on the more than two-decade conflicts in the country causing collapse and destruction of health facilities. The African Development Bank

(AfDB) placed the country's health indicators among the worst in Africa, with an infant mortality rate of 108.4 and a child mortality rate of 178 per 1,000 live births respectively. Maternal mortality rates stood at a staggering 1,400 per 100,000 live births against 683 for Africa; and less than 30% had access to good water and sanitation. [58]

The sanitation conditions were equally deemed by 49% of the respondents to be substandard. The government hardly provides social services that would ensure availability of clean running water and prevention of outbreak of contagious diseases like cholera, dysentery and typhoid. With poor access to health facilities and sanitation, there is a high mortality rate, as viewed by 55% of the respondents.

c.   Education

Figure 8 demonstrates that 56% of the respondents were of the view that school enrolment has been affected by the prolonged fragile situation. Education facilities have been destroyed due to the prolonged conflict and where they are present, they are located in far places. This has hindered access to education. Low education levels is also attributed to school dropout by the youth to join militia groups, which are perceived to be the most viable source of employment. Besides, the conditions of the schools are equally poor due to poor management and lack of capacity by the government to maintain them.

[58]Africa Development Bank (AfDB), "Somalia Country Brief." Available at:http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/2013-2015%20-%20Somalia%20-%20Country%20Brief.pdf(Accessed on 24/01/2016)

4.3.2 Economic impact

A respondent working for a NGO maintained that because of insecurity, development partners and donors are reluctant to provide development funds to the country and this explains why several parts of the country lack good education and health infrastructure. Lack of economic investment has also led to high levels of poverty. Majority of the Somalis are poor. This has in turn contributed to the lack of a sustainable economy and subsequently instigating impoverishment.

Normal economic and social activities are limited and the country's GDP continues to lag behind other countries lesser endowed with resources. There has been marked growth of interest in Somalia's maritime (fish) and mineral resources (oil), but this has not been matched by progress in development owing to the presence of Al-Shabaab-driven terrorism, which scares off potential investors. In particular, one of the respondents explained that agricultural and pastoralist activities have been disrupted as people flee due to insecurity, causing famine and further exacerbating poverty as pastoralism is the mainstay for many Somalis. This is illustrated by Figure 9 below.

Figure 9: Impact of fragility situations on selected economic sectors
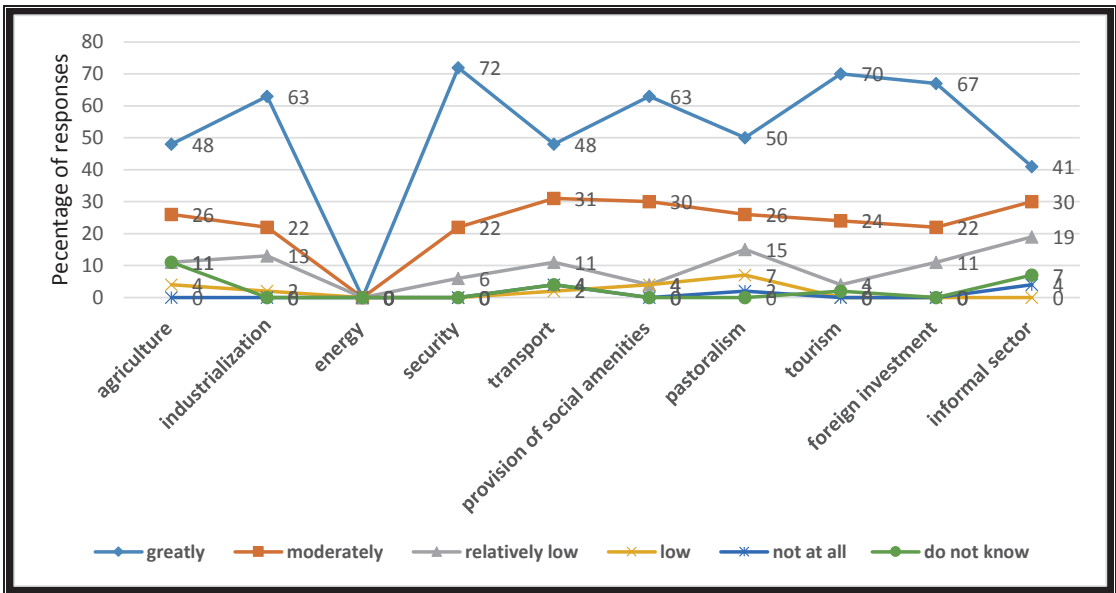
Source: Research Findings

A total of 72% of the respondents, as shown in Figure 9 above, considered security to be greatly affected by the fragility situations. This implied that there is a high level of insecurity in the country. The insecurity is fuelled by the availability of illicit SALW. According to 70% of the respondents, tourism has been greatly affected by the fragile situation. Tourists cannot easily move around due to insecurity and inaccessibility of some regions. Additionally, 67% of the respondents, as shown in Figure 9 above, held the view that the fragile situations have gravely impacted on foreign investment due to high cost of doing business; therefore, foreign investors prefer to invest in neighbouring countries. As a result, the industrial sector has been negatively affected as noted by 63% of the respondents, in Figure 9 above.

4.3.3 Political impact

The diffused arms in Somalia have been used for criminal activities such as piracy, intimidation kidnapping of foreign workers for ransom, and for other forms of violence such as assassinations of government officials. A resident of Mogadishu, for instance, stated that he does not even know his Member of Parliament because many parliamentarians are targeted by rebel groups and so lead low profile lives for fear of being killed. Worse still, some Members of Parliament have fled their homes and are now residing in hotels. This may explain why the Al-Shabaab group has been targeting high-profile hotels in Somalia. NGO participants in an FGD pointed out that the Al-Shabaab continues to view government officials as enemies who deserve nothing less than death.

Besides the assassination of government officials, several thousands of ordinary Somalis have lost their lives or family members as a result of insecurity caused by the proliferation of illicit SALW. Under these conditions, the officials' ability to deliver is limited, and slows any development process that would help in achieving the wellbeing of the citizens.

4.3.4   Displacement and human rights abuses

The high levels of insecurity fuelled by the availability of illicit SALW have also resulted in displacement of citizens within the country and into neighbouring countries as refugees. This displacement negatively affects the country's development. It deprives the country of work force and professional group (e.g., the phenomenon of brain drain as educated Somalis feel compelled to seek refuge elsewhere). A university lecturer noted that serious social disorder has caused fear amongst the population, exacerbating poverty, causing schools and universities to close down and making young boys easy targets for recruitment into Al-Shabaab. This also unfortunately generates a conducive environment for rape and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls. Such conditions seriously injure the socio-economic and political fabric of the country.

Besides, insecurity prevents the delivery of humanitarian assistance to internally displaced populations as insurgents attack some humanitarian workers. These displaced populations are not just threatened by the physical insecurity, but are also at increased risk of disease transmission, when food and clean water cannot be reliably secured and when sanitation systems break down. In many camps, civilians are often specifically targeted by armed groups, with women and girls often sexually assaulted and young boys often abducted by insurgents for recruitment.

4.4   Existing Interventions

a.   National level

In early August 2012, the Provisional Constitution of Somalia was adopted by the National Constituent Assembly of Somalia. This marked a landmark achievement for Somalia. It was further reinforced with the election of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud on September 10, 2012. Gradually institutions are being put in place and the FGS is gaining some level of authority and legitimacy. It has received recognition from the international community, notably the United Nation (UN), the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU), the United States of America (USA) and other countries and organizations.

Notwithstanding such positive developments, the proliferation of illicit SALW continues and insecurity keeps the country isolated. To reduce the trade and diffusion of illicit SALW, the FGS has taken significant steps. The respondents mentioned that the FGS has created several forums to help reconcile warring clans and encourage them to return illicit SALW to the government. They also mentioned the existence of organized trainings for government officials on good governance and the dangers of illicit SALW. The government has also granted amnesty to militias and rehabilitated them. The government is also in the process of undertaking security sector reforms by training police and the army. The Somalian Cabinet proposed a bill to curb illicit SALW in August 2014; it was forwarded to Parliament for consideration.[59] The government has also been marking, registering and licensing civilians and private security arms owners. The marking of weapons has significantly reduced the number of arms diverted to illicit arms markets in the country.

b.   Local level

In response to the waning security in Mogadishu in 2002, Civil Society Organizations came up with an initiative called "Neighbourhood Watches," a community-based security system aimed at stopping the violence and creating a conducive environment for political dialogue in the country. In addition, local development NGOs, such as the Coalition for Grassroots Women Organizations (COGWO) and Safe among others, supported a voluntary demobilization programme, which has helped to integrate back into the community former militias, criminals and unemployed youths who had been instigating violence in the neighbourhoods.[60]

c.   International level

Significant progress and military gains have been made on the security front, thanks especially to AMISOM, which mainly include Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Burundi and Somali security forces.

[59]Shukri Mohamed, 2014. "Somalia: Somali Government Continues Campaign to Clear Weapons From Mogadishu." Available at: http://allafrica.com/stories/201408130363.html (Accessed on 12/04/ 2016).
[60]Mohamed Ahmed Jama, "Securing Mogasishu: Neighborhood Watches," Accord: An International Review of Peace 21 (2010), 66.

Under the umbrella of AMISOM, control of Mogadishu, Kismayo and other parts of south central Somalia have been recovered from Al-Shabaab, a notable step in the restoration of government authority and stability in the country.

To continue supporting the government's efforts for peace, the UN Security Council (UNSC) decided to extend, on 24th March 2016, the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) until 31st March 2017. Besides, in 2013, the UNSC lifted in part the arms embargo on Somalia for one year in order to have the FGS strengthen its security forces in the fight against Al-Shabaab. The partial embargo continues and the Somali National Army and security infrastructure is being reconstructed although the capacity is still low.

As of November 2013, development partners had rehabilitated or constructed a total of 66 armouries, ranging from relatively small police storage facilities to larger purpose-built constructions for the Somali Police Force. Of these 66 armouries, 40 are designed to store recovered illicit SALW and small-calibre ammunition.

In January 2014, the FGS hosted a Weapons and Ammunition Management (WAM) workshop in Mogadishu, in cooperation with the UNDP, the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), the United Nation Mine Action Service (UNMAS), the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) and RECSA, with the aim of reviewing the scope of existing WAM activities and identifying WAM capacity-building requirements.

On January 22, 2014, the FGS established an Arms and Ammunition Management Steering Committee to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the FGS's obligations under the partially lifted arms embargo under five key pillars: arms control and stockpile management, import, export and transit, tracking and brokering, public awareness and education and legislative measures. The Steering Committee is made up of representatives of the FGS, the United Nations, AMISOM, the European Union, bilateral partners and non-governmental implementing partners, and is chaired by the National Security Adviser to the President of Somalia. It meets quarterly under the auspices of the National Security Council to provide strategic guidance to the FGS on the management of small arms and light weapons in line with International Law and the Constitution.

In June 2015, the Danish Demining Group (DDG) in partnership with Nagaad network carried out grassroots public awareness project on small arms legislation. This was to sensitize the community on vices of illicit SALW, and managed to change the attitude of clans in the rural areas on illicit SALW usage. DDG has also a draft bill for the Somaliland constitution on Small Arm Regulatory Act, which will require each household to register their arms, and prohibit any civilian from using or being seen publicly using the arms. The bill is being debated by Parliament for approval. Table 3 below provides a summary of the efforts being undertaken to control illicit SAWL.

Table 3: Mechanisms to control illicit arms

Levels	Mechanisms	
International	-Partial lifting of arms embargo on Somalia	To help the government have sufficient means to fight the militant groups
	-Support through capacity building the efforts of Somali government in its efforts to carry out its governmental duties, manage weapons and ammunition (e.g., the UN through it bodies [UNDP, UNIDIR, UNMAS and UNSOM], the EU, NGOs [e.g., Danish Demining Group], and bilateral partners)	To enhance the authority, capacity and legitimacy of the Somali state
	-financially, logistically as well as militarily helping the government to fight the militant group, Al-Shabaab (e.g., AMISOM of the AU, international community through financial and military hardware)	To reduce violence and insecurity
National	-Provisional constitution	Governance tool
	-government policies	to fight corruption, reform security sector, and promote good governance
	-State institutions (e.g., government, military and other security structures) in place	to help in promoting authority, capacity, and legitimacy of the state
	-Fighting al-Shabaab	to promote security for the people and state
National	-Specific illicit SALW reducing measures: • Forums to help reconcile warring clans • Encouraging people to return arms to the government • Abolition of illicit SALW markets • Policy act on licensing of arms for every person wanting to own arms • Built (with the help of development partners) arms storage facilities • Organised trainings on good governance for government officials	to control and reduce violence and insecurity in the country, to discourage and reduce trade and diffusion of illicit SALW

		• Raising awareness on the dangers of illicit SALW • Granting amnesty to militias and rehabilitating them • Training police and army	
Local	CSO (neighbourhood watch)	To stop violence, create conducive environment for political dialogue	
Local	Local development NGOs: Coalition for Grassroots Women Orgs (COGWO)	Support voluntary demobilization programme; help the integration of former militias, criminals, and unemployed youths who had been instigating violence in the neighbourhoods. Support alternative livelihood interventions. Support women empowerment interventions such as micro-finance and business clubs	

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

The study established that there is a strong nexus between proliferation of illicit SALW and fragility in Somalia. The historical fragility situations in Somalia can largely be attributed to the proliferation of illicit SALW, weak governance institutions and protracted conflicts among others that the country has experienced for more than two decades. These have subsequently weakened the government's authority, capacity and legitimacy. This is demonstrated by existence of ungoverned spaces within the Somali territory, semi-autonomous administrative structures, and the dependence on peace-keeping forces for government survival. This has offered a fertile ground for existence and breeding of armed groups and continued proliferation of illicit SALW, further undermining the little authority, capacity and legitimacy of the existing government and society resilience to socio-economic shocks. This has in the end become a vicious cycle of continued fragility breeding more proliferation of illicit SALW and vice versa.

There is a general expression of frustration among the Somali population indicating that the level of implementation of the stabilization process of Somalia is inadequate. The country has failed to fully recover into a united functional state since its collapse in 1991 following the coup d'état against the then President Siad Barre. There is need to implement the recommendations of this study in addressing the fragility situations to building resilience, in Somalia.

5.2 Recommendations

Despite the implementation of the above mentioned interventions, challenges and resistance, remain. The efforts in place have not been effective enough in addressing the fragility situations in Somalia. In line with this therefore, the study proposes the following recommendations in order to build resilience, strengthening of governance institutions, sensitization and civilian disarmaments, security sector reforms, post conflict reconstruction and regional cooperation, as elaborated below.

a) **Strengthening of governance institution:** to effectively address fragility in Somalia, the establishment of effective governance institutions is critical. The lack of effective coordination and information sharing between the various government departments and agencies that have a role to play in building resilience is often a significant barrier in tackling fragility situations. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the capacity of various governance institutions for them to implement their mandates.

b) Address proliferation of illicit SALW: The government should fast-track the establishment of a national institution responsible for small arms and light weapons management and control with enough budget and staff. The government should also commence the drafting of legislation dealing with SALW to help deal with proliferation and possession of SALW.

c) Security sector reforms: the long history of conflicts in Somalia coupled with security sector institutional dilapidation calls for comprehensive security sector reforms. These should involve establishment of appropriate security sector management policies and laws, recruitment of sufficient law enforcement personnel, training and kitting, and retention mechanisms. The role of development partners is critical in providing the needed resources and integration of international and regional standards.

d) Sensitization and civilian disarmaments: the many years of internal conflicts in Somalia has left the population heavily armed. To address this, it is imperative to develop and implement long-term behaviour and mind change programs, to dissuade the population from the existing pervasive gun culture. This could be done using various disarmament practical options.

e) Post-conflict reconstruction: the many years of conflict have left the socio-economic sector of Somalia shuttered. Majority of the people are poor, illiterate and cannot access basic social services. The higher levels of unemployment coupled with the proliferation of SALW has led to the increase of armed violence as a means of bargaining for social gains. It is therefore necessary to establish alternative livelihood through heavy investment in the socio-economic sectors of the country.

f) Regional cooperation: the fragility in Somalia is of regional and international concern and therefore cannot be addressed in isolation. This calls for a concerted effort and political will among the regional and international actors for a lasting solution in Somalia

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HOW TO CONTACT US
Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons
7th Floor, Timau Plaza, Arwings Khodek Road, Nairobi, Kenya
P.O. Box 7039-00200, Nairobi Kenya
Tel: +254-20-3876203, +254-20-3876023
Fax: +254-20-3877397

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