

The Effectiveness of the Disarmament Exercise by Amisom in Somalia

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Abstract: *The conflict in Somalia has seen an increase in insecurity, deaths, displacement of civilian populations, and breakdown of infrastructure and creeping in of lawlessness because of emergence of clan warlords and lately increased insurgency from the Al-Shabaab Militia. This has led to majority of the civilian population acquiring arms illegally for their protection. The study sought to investigate the effectiveness of the disarmament exercise by African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) between 2007 and 2016. The study was based on the theory of conflict transformation. The study utilized primary data, which was collected using structured questionnaires and interview schedules. The unit of analysis constituted a sample size of 100 respondents drawn from the military, police, and civilian components of AMISOM and Somali civilian population working within Halane Base Camp, with a combined target population of 24,643. Quantitative data was descriptively analyzed using the percentages and qualitative data was analyzed using themes emerging from the data. The study found out that effectiveness of intervention strategies by the AMISOM forces in Somalia is not significantly influenced by their nationality. The research findings of this study are pointer that the nationality of various AMISOM forces takes no toll on the peacekeeping operations in Somalia. The study recommends that it is important for the African Union to establish proper and reliable funding mechanisms in support of AMISOM operations to reduce overdependence on donor and external support.*

Keywords: Effectiveness, disarmament exercise, AMISOM, conflict, Somalia

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The onset of the humanitarian crisis, after the fall of Siad Barre in 1991 and the subsequent civil conflict, which led to the displacement, killing, and starvation of thousands of civilians, prompted international intervention during the 1990s (Baraza, 2015). This saw the United Nations establishing the United Nations Operations in Somalia I (UNOSOM I) in 1992 whose mandate was to oversee ceasefire in Somalia, provide security for UN personnel and deliver humanitarian assistance (Brian, 2010). However, UNISOM I is said to have failed in providing security to aid workers and hence was replaced by a US led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) in 1993 which was mandated to provide security along the objects of UNOSOM I. However, the task force did not live to achieve its mission after the killing of the US soldiers by Mohammed Farah Aidid's army, which forced the US to withdraw its army. Consequently, the UN Security Council commissioned UNOSOM II in 1995 whose mandate was to establish regional institutions and civil administration throughout the country (Baraza, 2015).

Since the departure of UNOSOM, Somalia has remained a collapsed state, nonetheless ongoing efforts to have been made to operationalize the transitional federal government. The Federal Government of Somalia was established in 2010 after an end to an interim mandate of the Transitional Federal Government. Somalia recent transformation is an honour to its people and the political progress suggests that the nation is progressing and may have turned a corner in its bid to restore peace and stability (Menkhaus, 2007). In August 2012, an interim constitution was adopted and handed over to the New President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, Parliament and Prime Minister. In September 2013, the

Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and international donors completed a laudable three-year framework that aimed to achieve state-building and peace building goals in line with the internationally recognized New Deal Compact for Engagement in Fragile States. Now that the government is firmly established, it must prove its ability to deliver on this ambitious agenda. The New President of Somalia Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo who was sworn in 2017 brings hope to the country to the long-disintegrated nation.

The African Union (AU) just like its predecessor, the Organization for African Union (OAU) never got involved in the Somalia conflict from the onset until the year 2007 when the African Union's Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) established the AMISOM. One of the official mandate of AU as contained in the Constitutive Act of its Charter is to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent. As a continental organization, it focuses on the promotion of peace, security and stability as a prerequisite for the implementation of the development and integration agenda (AU Communique, 2007). The AU Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) established AMISOM in 2007 upon the approval of the UN Resolution 1744 (Baraza, 2015). Initially, the objects of AMISOM in Somalia were to stabilize the security situation and create conditions for humanitarian activities and transfer authority to the UN after six months. However, the UN did not take over the mission after the said period but instead it has been expanding AMISOM's mandate over the years of its existence in Somalia.

According to the AU communique of 2007, the broader mandate of AMISOM was to promote reconciliation through enhancing dialogue, providing protection to the federal institutions, oversee the demilitarization of the rebel clans and enforce stabilization programmes, manage national

security programmes and empower the Somalia security forces. AMISOM was also mandated to facilitate refugee repatriation refugees, resettlement of IDPs and protect AU interests within Somalia.

There are three components of AMISOM, which include the military, the police and civilian. The work of the AMISOM military is to ensure that stability has been achieved by neutralizing insurgency from the threats of Al-Shabaab and other warring factions, to disarm the insurgents and re-integrating the surrendering ex-combatants. AMISOM Police on the other hand is tasked with training, mentoring and advising the Somalia Police Force (SPF) in order to transform it into a credible force according to the international standards while the AMISOM civilian component offers logistical and other humanitarian support services. The AMISOM Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) that military derives its forces from are Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Ethiopia and Djibouti whilst the PCCs include Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Sierra Leone and Zambia that recently deployed in 2017. With the existence of forces from various countries as discussed, this study therefore intended to assess the effectiveness of AMISOM in the disarmament exercise in Somalia.

2. Purpose of the study

The general objective of this study was to examine the effectiveness of the disarmament exercise by AMISOM in Somalia.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the theory of conflict transformation as propounded by Vayrynen (1991). The theory draws on many of the familiar concepts of conflict management and conflict resolution, and that it also rests on the same tradition of theorising about conflict. It is best viewed not as a wholly new approach, but rather as a reconceptualization to make it more relevant to contemporary conflicts. The theory argues that certain crucial changes in the nature of conflict call for such a reconceptualisation.

First, most contemporary violent conflicts are asymmetric, marked by inequalities of power and status. Second, many contemporary conflicts are protracted, crossing repeatedly into and out of violence and thus defying cyclical or bell-shaped models of conflict phases. Thirdly, protracted conflicts warp the societies, economies and regions in which they are situated, creating complex emergencies fuelled on the one hand by local struggles and on the other by global factors such as the arms trade and support for regimes or rebels by outside states (Miall, 2004).

The theory was important in the study in determining if parties can be helped to explore, analyse, question and reframe their positions and interests. Conflict resolution emphasises intervention by skilled but powerless third-parties working unofficially with the parties to foster new thinking and new relationships (Hill, 2014). They seek to explore what the roots of the conflict really are and to identify creative solutions that the parties may have missed

in their commitment to entrenched positions. Conflict resolution is about how parties can move from zero-sum, destructive patterns of conflict to positive-sum constructive outcome.

2.2 Literature Review

According to Manktelow and Carlson (2012), disarmament strategies are aimed at the control, documentation, collection and disposal of ammunition, small arms, heavy and light weapons that are potentially held by civilians and rebel groups/ combatants. It also entails development of a responsible arms management plan. Disarmament through Peace Agreements will often call for the absorption of ex-combatants into the national security organs such as the army thus leading to dismantling the security apparatus they had been using. Absorption is critical since the demobilized ex-combatants are likely to pose risks both in the short to the long-term if cannot easily re-join the security sector. Once absorbed however, they need to be trained as poorly trained former combatants can affect the worth and professional ethos of the security sector (Manktelow & Carlson, 2012).

The AUPSC established AMISOM due to the civil war in the culturally standardized country of Somalia, with an aim to stabilize the situation in the country, encourage dialogue, assist in providing humanitarian assistance and aid, and ensure among other things that disarmament to be done to generate good conditions for lasting peace. In 2007, AU exposed the weakness of its peacekeeping mission to Somalia and its inefficiency to Somalia conflict due to the complexity of the situation at the ground (Pavsi, 2013).

Merwe (2003) suggests that disarmament initiatives are some of the initial efforts towards full recovery and stabilization in post-conflict environments. These initiatives intend to deal with post-conflict security challenges that may arise if the ex-combatants have no livelihood or support systems. The programmes are meant to cushion them from reverting to the lives they have been accustomed to as war soldiers. For a disarmament programme to succeed, it is important to liaise with local networks including community elders, aid workers in the communities and the civil society to provide intelligence for disarmament and demobilization. It should however be noted that disarmament is a complex process requiring both human and financial resources to plan, implement and monitor. Considering the various factors involved in the process, there is need for integrated planning, coordination and having a unitary command system in order to be effective.

Alusala (2005), studied on Rwanda with regard to disarmament is the scale of illicit weapons in circulation and the enormous amount of resources required to effect a comprehensive disarmament programme. International assistance to facilitate a disarmament process in Rwanda overshadowed the on-going armed conflict and the humanitarian crisis in the eastern DRC. Much of the attention is focused on demobilization (hence the creation of the Rwandan Demobilization and Reintegration Commission) as opposed to disarmament within the country. Effective disarmament, according to the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO),

should correspond with mobilization of resources and expertise

Conflict is quite often an unavoidable in human systems and it affects both the social and political systems of our lives. Conflict as a social, it is as old as humanity and cuts across regions, continents and nations. It arises in the world because of opposing opinions, different desires, rival needs, and conflicting interests (Harper, 2012). Conflict can be classified into intra-personal, interpersonal, intra-group, and inter-group conflicts. In Africa, most prevalent types of conflicts ranges from ethnic and religious conflicts, state border conflicts, political conflict, civil wars and genocides.

Precise examples of conflicts in Africa include ethnic/religious conflicts which developed into civil wars in Zaire, Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, Liberia, Uganda and Lesotho to mention but a few; turmoil in Angola; state /rebels conflicts in Serra Leone, Cote D' Ivoire and Guinea Bissau; border conflict (Ethiopia and Eritrea, Nigeria and Cameroon) and genocide in Rwanda. Since the collapse of the Soviet Bloc marking the end of Cold War by 1989/1990, International Colloquium Report (2012) observed that civil conflicts increased in Africa. Genocide in Rwanda for example in 1994 resulted in about 800,000 deaths. Actually, from 1990 to 1997, fourteen of the sixteen wars fought in Africa were intrastate wars, and in 1992, the African continent hosted 46.7 percent of all civil wars in the world.

The International Community through United Nations established United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) in 1998, which promotes nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. UNODA further strengthens disarmament regimes in respect to other weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological weapons and promotes disarmament efforts in the area of conventional weapons especially landmines and small arms which are the weapons of choice in contemporary conflicts. Illicit small arms and light weapons and ammunitions undermine security and rule of law and are often behind IDPs, refugees and massive human rights violations. UNODA also fosters disarmament measures through dialogue, transparency and confidence building on military matters and encourages regional disarmament efforts (UNODA Website).

Regional disarmament efforts have also taken centre stage in contemporary conflicts especially in Africa. The Government of South Sudan started disarmament process campaign in mid-2006 that saw over 3,000 weapons collected through forceful disarmament (Nyoat, 2013). The United Nations Mission in South Sudan has been the key actor in disarmament exercise in South Sudan where the Civil Affairs monitor disarmament exercises in different states notably Warrap's State Greater Tonj, Greater Grogial area and Jonglei Town (UNMISS Website).

The President of South Sudan in 2011, issued a disarmament declaration in three states of Lakes, Warrap and Unity which experienced a great deal of insecurity lessening from cattle raiding, both internally and the between the border of the three states. SPLA were sent to carry out the disarmament exercise, where the state officials, civil society and tribal chiefs were tasked to sensitize the population about

disarmament who registered the weapons from the communities and later requested to collect the same. Once they were collected, the weapons could be handed over to the SPLA for transportation and safe storage; where in process over 3,000 weapons were collected (Safer World, 2012).

Various scholars have come up with different approaches in which disarmament of the civilian population can be achieved. The researcher is on the view that control of SALW and Ammunition and their use by the civilian population requires multi-faceted strategies that will address both the supply and demand factors. In the current shortfalls of any state in security provision, lack of basic infrastructure to enable effective protection of civilians, responses have to include short-term measures to mitigate immediate security concerns and threats as well as addressing long-term measures to improve the structural issues facilitating civilian arms possession. An overall strategy of civilian disarmament campaigns can be part of the interventions to be taken alongside other interventions to reduce demand for weapons and further ensure community and state security.

3. Methodology

This study adopted a mixed design strategy to unravel the effectiveness of the AU mission in disarmament in Somalia. First, being an evaluative study, the research design for this study was descriptive survey design. The design was appropriate for this study, as data was collected from a cross-section of the AMISOM staff in Somalia using both the quantitative and qualitative approaches. Secondly, the study applied the case study approach in trying to understand the Somalia conflict through the AMISOM intervention. The location of the study was at the Mogadishu capital where the African Union operations in Somalia are based. The study targeted 24,643 AMISOM staff and Somali civilian population.

The researcher used purposive sampling to include the individuals deemed to be have the relevant information for the study. The research also used the strata whereby the population was divided into groups depending on the demographic characteristics considered important for the analysis for this study. The sample size for this study was calculated using the formula by Yamane (1967) where a total of 100 respondents were sampled.

The study relied on use of primary data. Primary data was collected using questionnaires and interview schedules containing both structured and semi-structured questions respectively. Both quantitative and qualitative data analysis approaches were applied to this study. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics were conducted through frequency counts and percentages to capture the distribution of responses on the key issues addressed in the study objectives. Qualitative data on the other hand was analyzed by use of thematic analysis.

4. Findings

4.1 Demographic Information

The demographic information sought from the respondents in this study included: gender, nationality, as well as the category of the respondents. Gender is a construct that influences people’s attitudes and response to given situations hence this study sought to collect gender-disaggregated data and ascertain if gender differences influenced their responses. The findings are presented in Figure 1.

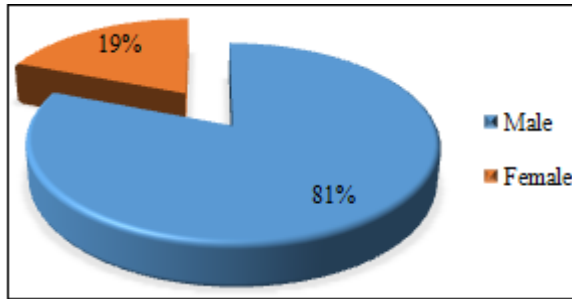


Figure 1: Gender of respondents

From the findings in figure 1, most of the respondents (81%) were male while 19% were female. The findings reflect disparities attributable to the conflict prone Somalia where AMISOM recruitment target more males in the mission operations being a high volatile region.

The researcher was also interested in establishing the nationality of the respondents in this study working under the AMISOM. The findings are presented in Figure 2.

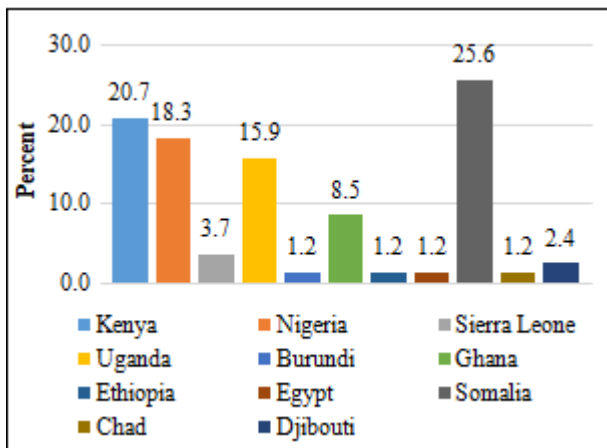


Figure 2: Nationality of respondents

Most of the respondents in the study were Somali (26%) and Kenyan (21%). Nigerians comprised 18% followed by Uganda (16%), Ghana (8.5%) and Sierra Leone (3.7%). Respondents from Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Egypt and Chad comprised 7%. These findings underscore the involvement of different nationalities in the AMISOM operation in the horn of African country.

The category of the respondents was important as it informs from different dispensations the effectiveness of the AMISOM in the transformation of the Somalia conflict. The researcher sought information on the category of the respondents and the findings are presented in Table 1. The findings indicate that majority of the respondents were AMISOM police (36.9%) while AMISOM civilians were the least (9.5%).

Table 1: Category of respondents

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
AMISOM Military	24	28.6	29
AMISOM Police	31	36.9	65
AMISOM Civilian	8	9.5	75
Somali	21	25	100

4.2 Presentation of the Findings

The study sought to examine the effectiveness of the disarmament exercise by AMISOM in Somalia. The study first established which disarmament strategies have been used by AMISOM in peace making operations and the effectiveness of the strategies in light of AMISOM’s peace and stabilization efforts. The findings are presented in table 2 and 3.

Table 2: Disarmament strategies

	Little extent (%)	Moderate (%)	Great extent (%)
Working with the local civil society organizations to disarm combatants	58.5	13.8	27.7
Engaging with local elders to volunteer information on weapons	37.9	28.8	33.3
Sealing loopholes of smuggling of small and light weapons to the country	52.3	16.9	30.8
Using of force to disarm	43.1	21.5	35.4
Use of resources such as money to disarm the combatants	79.7	12.5	7.8
Empowering the combatants to surrender their arms	68.3	12.7	19.0

Research findings indicate that use of force to disarm was the most commonly used disarmament strategy by AMISOM in its peace making operations in Somalia, cited by 35.4% of the respondents. More than half of the respondents (57%) acknowledged the use of force in disarmament by AMISOM, in moderate to greater extent. Secondary to use of force in disarmament was engagement with local elders to volunteer information on weapons. This was cited by about a third (33%) of the respondents. Majority of the respondents, 62% indicated that this was a strategy used from moderate to greater extent in disarmament.

Further, working with the local civil society organizations to disarm combatants was the third extensively used disarmament strategy by AMISOM in the peace making operations in Somalia. About 28% of the respondents mentioned that this was used to a great extent with 40% citing its use by AMISOM is moderate to great extent. Among the disarmament strategies employed by AMISOM in a greater extent, empowerment of combatants came fourth indicated by 19% of the respondents. On the other hand, majority of the respondents mentioned the use of resources such as money to disarm the combatants as the least employed strategy to disarm combatants, indicated by 80% of the respondents.

The researcher also sought to establish the relative extent to which disarmament strategies that are used in peace keeping

operations have been effectively used by AMISOM. A multiple response analysis is shown in table 3.

Table 3: Multiple response analysis of disarmament strategies

		Responses	
		n	Percent
Use of Disarmament strategies	Very Little extent	132	34.0%
	Little extent	87	22.4%
	Moderate	69	17.8%
	Great extent	55	14.2%
	Very great extent	45	11.6%

Disarmament strategies have not been extensively used by AMISOM in their peacekeeping operations in Somalia. A third of the respondents (34%) mention that the disarmament strategies mentioned herein have been used to a very little extent. Cumulatively, more than half of the respondents (56%) indicate that the strategies have been used to a little extent. On the other hand, 27% of the respondents indicate that disarmament strategies have been used to a great extent while 18% of the respondents mentioning these have been used just to a moderate extent. The findings reveal that disarmament, as a conflict resolution mechanism by AMISOM is not extensive yet.

4.2.1 Effectiveness of disarmament strategies

The researcher further sought to enquire from the respondents the effectiveness of different strategies on disarmament, in view of AMISOM’s effort in its peace and stabilization efforts. Respondents indicated which strategies they deemed effective for use by AMISOM and the findings are presented in table 4.

Table 4: Effectiveness of strategies

	Not effective (%)	Moderately Effective (%)	Very Effective (%)
Provision of national security	20.0	37.1	42.9
Empowerment of the local security organs	18.6	37.1	44.3
Disarmament of war lords	66.2	19.7	14.1
Neutralizing insurgents	22.4	26.9	50.7
Use of force to dispel enemy	19.7	22.5	57.7
Reconciliation efforts	31.3	26.9	41.8
Repatriation of refugee	42.6	35.3	22.1
Resettlement of IDPs	39.1	33.3	27.5

Majority of the respondents (58%) of the respondents observed that use of force to dispel the enemy is the most effective strategy in light of its efforts in peace stabilization in conflict torn Somalia. Second to use of force, half of the respondents (51%) mentioned neutralizing insurgents was an effective strategy. Moreover, 44% of the respondents indicated empowerment of local security organs was among top three effective strategies in the peace stabilization efforts and provision of national security as fourth most prioritized strategy in effectiveness cited by 43%.

On the other hand, disarmament of warlords was cited by respondents as the most ineffective of strategies in light of AMISOM’s peace and stabilization efforts, mentioned by 66% of respondents. Respondents mentioned repatriation of refugees as the second least inefficient strategy 43%

followed by resettlement of IDPs (39%) and reconciliation efforts (31%).

4.2.2 Success of disarmament efforts

Respondents were further asked to rate the success of AMISOM disarmament efforts in Somalia and the findings are presented in figure 3. From the findings, most of the respondents indicated that AMISOM has not effectively succeeded in its disarmament efforts. Only one in every four respondents (25%) acknowledged the effectiveness of success in AMISOM’s disarmament efforts.

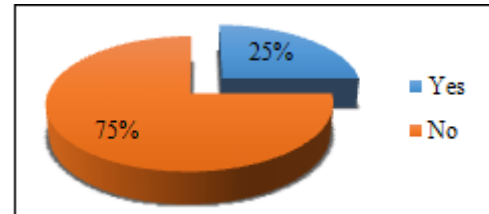


Figure 1: Success of disarmament efforts

5. Discussion

The aim of the study was to examine the effectiveness of the disarmament exercise by AMISOM in Somalia. Disarmament strategies are aimed at conflict resolution and focus on control, documentation, collection and disposal of ammunition, small arms, heavy and light weapons potentially held by rebel groups or civilians. The findings indicate that disarmament strategies have been used to a little extent by AMISOM relative to conflict resolution and peace and stabilization efforts in Somalia, more than half of the respondents indicating this. These findings however are contrary to those of Merwe (2003) who observes that disarmament initiatives are some of the initial efforts toward full recovery and stabilization in post conflict environments and should therefore be employed to a greater extent as a conflict resolution mechanism.

Further, the findings also reveal that majority of the respondents, 75%; agree there has been limited success in disarmament as a strategy enforced by AMISOM. The limited success is due to use of force to disarm, which was the most commonly used disarmament strategy by AMISOM in its peace making operations in Somalia, cited by 35.4% of the respondents. This brings to the fore the complexity of the disarmament process, requiring both human and financial resources to plan, implement and monitor. The gap in disarmament is linked to the absence of accurate and up to date numbers, types and location of forces and armaments including storage depot sites, stockpiles and weapon caches. According to Nyoat (2013), figures have greatly affected the planning and delays in transmittal of such information hamper implementation of a peace agreement. Consequently, the failure to leverage on integrated planning, coordination and presence of a unitary command system ascribes to limited success in disarmament (Merwe, 2003).

Among the most effectively used strategies by AMISOM in disarmament are use of force to disarm, engaging with local elders to volunteer information on weapons and sealing loopholes of smuggling small and light weapons into the

country. These findings are consistent with those of Nyoat (2013) who established forceful disarmament strategies as on the forefront in management of regional conflicts resonate with those established by this study. Additionally, these findings undergird the importance of liaising with local networks as found out by Merwe (2013) including local elders, aid workers in the community and civil society to provide intelligence for disarmament and demobilization.

In view of AMISOM's effort in its peace and stabilization efforts, use of force to dispel the enemy was the most effective strategy to support disarmament acknowledged by majority of the respondents followed by neutralizing insurgents and empowerment of local security organs. These initiatives are accounted for as effective to the greatest extent among other initiatives that act as recipe for disarmament consistent with the findings of Freear and de Coning (2013).

In line with the findings of the study that engaging with local elders to volunteer information on weapons and sealing loopholes of smuggling small and light weapons into the country, Manktelow and Carlson (2012) also found out that disarmament strategies are aimed at the control, documentation, collection and disposal of ammunition, small arms, heavy and light weapons that are potentially held by civilians and rebel groups/ combatants. It also entails development of a responsible arms management plan by involving key parties. Manktelow and Carlson (2012) also noted that absorption is critical since the demobilized ex-combatants are likely to pose risks both in the short to the long-term if cannot easily re-join the security sector.

The study found that disarmament strategies are aimed at conflict resolution and focus on control, documentation, collection and disposal of ammunition, small arms, heavy and light weapons potentially held by rebel groups or civilians. Alusala (2005) agrees with these findings when he noted that disarmament is the scale of illicit weapons in circulation and the enormous amount of resources required to affect a comprehensive disarmament programme. Alusala (2005) also noted that international assistance to facilitate disarmament overshadowed the on-going armed conflict and the humanitarian crisis in the study area of eastern DRC.

The study found that with proper mechanisms in place, conflict can be avoided. However, Harper (2012) disagrees with these findings and argues that conflict is quite often an unavoidable in human systems and it affects both the social and political systems of our lives. Harper (2012) also noted that conflict is as old as humanity and cuts across regions, continents and nations. It arises in the world because of opposing opinions, different desires, rival needs, and conflicting interests.

The study in line with the findings of Pavs (2013) established that AMISOM due to the civil war in the culturally standardized country of Somalia, dialogue should be encouraged; AMISOM need to be assisted in providing humanitarian assistance and aid, and ensure among other things that disarmament to be done to generate good conditions for lasting peace. AU had exposed the weakness of its peacekeeping mission to Somalia in the year 2007 and

its inefficiency to Somalia conflict due to the complexity of the situation at the ground.

6. Conclusions

The research findings of this study are pointer that the nationality of various AMISOM forces takes no toll on the peacekeeping operations in Somalia. AMISOM is comprised of different troop contributing countries all having the mandate to foster peace and stabilization and transform the Somalia conflict. While conflicting views may often arise based on one's nationality on the appropriateness of different intervention strategies aimed at peace and stabilization operations, this is not the current situation in Somalia.

In light of the financial dares accosting AMISOM, it is important for the African Union to establish proper and reliable funding mechanisms in support of AMISOM operations to reduce overdependence on donor and external support. This also undergirds the need for support from UNSC in funding, logistical and intelligence support, their dispatch of troops in Somalia likely to lobby more support from other African countries to contribute to AMISOM operations.

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