

**THE NEXUS BETWEEN PROLIFERATION OF SMALL
ARMS AND ARMED ROBBERY IN GHANA**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE AWARD OF MPhil SOCIOLOGY DEGREE.**

JULY, 2015

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that besides the references cited in this work which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the product of my independent research work under the supervision of Professor Chris Abotchie and Professor Kodjo Senah. I also declare that, this thesis has not been submitted in part or in whole for the award of any degree in any other university.

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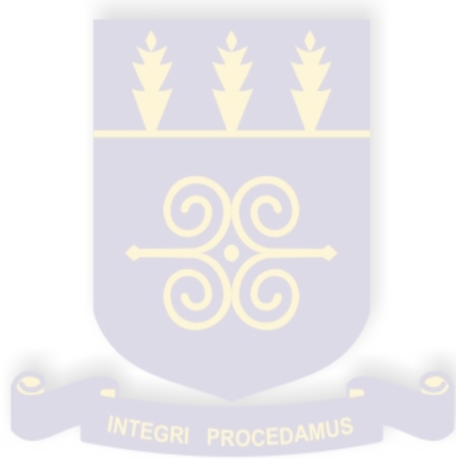
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the nexus between proliferation of small arms and armed robbery in Ghana using Alavanyo as the epicenter of manufacturing of small arms. Using a qualitative research method approach, a selected sample of 39 respondents were interviewed. The study relied on Merton's Strain Theory and Sutherland's Differential Association Theory to anchor data analysis. The study showed that blacksmiths engage in illegal manufacturing of small arms to obtain money to meet their needs. Further, there is evidence to support Sutherland's explanation that the blacksmiths go into the activity as a result of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law. Armed robbery was similarly an innovation adopted by the respondents. Moreover, the study found out that porous border, excessive use of arms by the police, blacksmiths activities, corruption, conflicts in parts of the country and weak arms control mechanism are some of the factors responsible for massive small arms proliferation in Ghana. While police Criminal Data Services Bureau statistics showed that armed robbers in Ghana use locally manufactured small arms. The study was not able to find a one-on-one relationship between proliferation of small arms and armed robbery, though, some of the convicted armed robbers reportedly used small arms. Also, none of the convicted armed robbers disclosed that they got their guns from Alavanyo. The study recommends the establishment of a defence industry under the Ministry of Defence to oversee the local manufacture of guns by blacksmiths.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved wife Grace and my children Lucas and Enoch. With their love, tolerance and endurance, I was able to find the extra-time needed to complete this study.



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Finally, I wish to record my sincere gratitude to all who contributed to the success of this thesis though, their names are not mentioned.

In spite of all the assistance received, I take full responsibility for any misinformation or misinterpretation of data in this thesis. God bless you all!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AQIM	Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ARAB	Ashanti Region Association of Blacksmiths
ASDR	African Security Dialogue and Research (Ghana)
CDSB	Criminal Data Services Bureau
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
D-GP	Director-General of Prisons
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAS Moratorium	Declaration of a Moratorium on Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons in West Africa
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FOSDA (Ghana)	Foundation for Security and Development in Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFA	Ghana Armed Forces
GHANSA	Ghana Action Network on Small Arms
GIABA	The Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundry on West Africa
GMT	Greenwich Mean Time
GNA	Ghana News Agency
GNCSA	Ghana National Commission on Small Arms
GOG	Government of Ghana
GPI	Global Peace Index
GPS	Ghana Prisons Service

GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IHRW	International Human Rights Watch
IRIN	<i>Integrated Regional Information Networks</i>
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MUJAO	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRCD	National Redemption Council Decree
NSC	National Security Council
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SASA	Saviefe, Akrofu, Sovie and Alavanyo
SIPRI	Stockholm International and Peace Research Institutes
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime

UNPoA	United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects
WAANSA	West African Action Network on Small Arms
WANEP	West African Network for Peace (Ghana)

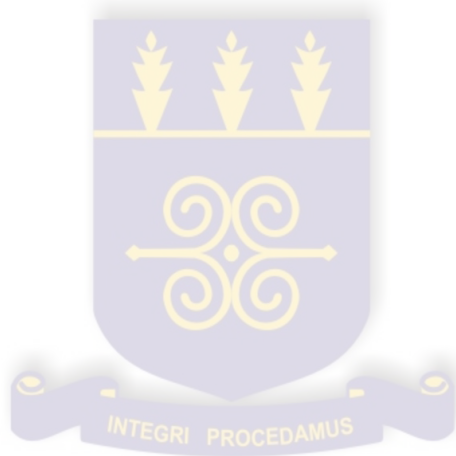


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CHAPTER ONE

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE: PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ARMED ROBBERY

1.0 Background to the Study

This study is about exploring the proliferation of small arms and the incidence of armed robbery in Ghana. This chapter gives a global overview of small arms availability in the hands of non-state actors. It also focuses on the concept of small arms and the permissive environment of the sub-region.

Globalization has become an ever-influencing architect of the new international security agenda. Its impact on the evolution of the relations among states is however, contradictory (Edeko, 2011). On the one hand, globalization has contributed to accelerated development of productive forces, scientific and technological progress and even more intensive communication among states and people (Malhotra, 2011). On the other hand, it has facilitated the easy transportation of illegal small arms from one country to the other (Azazi, 2011) and has transformed domestic law and order into a national and international security threat (Edeko, 2011).

Besides, globalization has created challenges to international and regional security as well. The end of the Cold War has engendered reconciliation between former political ideological enemies and offers a growing hope for co-operation between nations. One indication is the thriving of regional groupings, which create trust, understanding and tolerance with an expectation of peaceful co-existence among nations and eventually the promotion of world peace and stability (Muggah and Moser-Puangsuwan, 2003). However, the countless challenges arising from globalization include borderless world

which poses tremendous pressures on sovereign states due to the mobility of goods and peoples (Malhotra, 2011).

Nevertheless, it is generally perceived that the globalized world also reflects the unequal structure of the world system in which only powerful nations can assert their influence to guide the directions of development (ibid). These real or alleged injustices and the quest to rise above poverty, contributes to the use of violence as a means to promote self-interest, better treatment, equal share, or self-determination over territory or resources. Many of these activities require self-protection through which arming with weapons against authorities could be unavoidable as it provides rooms for the proliferation of weapons across borders (Azazi, 2011).

Hence, globalization results in the long term irremediable contraction in the sphere of state authority. Coupled with liberalization, states have in effect lost control over markets as reflected in the development of corresponding informal economy, the rise of grey and black markets and the inability of states to prevent the flow of illicit small arms (Muggah and Moser-Puangsuwan, 2003).

Thus, the rapid movement of small arms across the world is increasingly difficult to trace and has long-lasting effects on human security. Often small arms become available in Africa for valid and legal reasons related to national security, peacekeeping or law enforcement which might be legitimate and be accounted for. The result of this rapid global expansion is that weapons, their parts and ammunition are more easily diverted from their intended destination (Edeko, 2011). These globalized small arms may end up in countries that have few controls over how they will be used. Surplus or poorly guarded military weapons find markets in war-torn or post-conflict nations and end up in the hands of non-state armed groups (ibid). Small arms may cross from state to private

owners many times over. Once small arms enter an area, they may remain there for many years as they have a functional lifetime of many decades.

Furthermore, leaders and nations globally concentrate in placing restrictions on the sale and transfer of conventional weapons, while the proliferation of small arms is almost tragically ignored. Even major research centers like the Stockholm International and Peace Research Institutes (SIPRI) focuses more on the transfer of conventional weapons like tanks, heavy artilleries, aircrafts, warships, missiles and nuclear weapons and warheads (Ate, 2011).

However, the proliferation of small arms has wide ranging effects and touches upon many other problems that nations and societies face. Sometimes, these connections are so integrated that it may be hard to isolate if the small arms are the source of the problem or merely a symptom of other issues (Muggah and Bachelor, 2002).

1.1 The West Africa Permissive Environment

In the last two decades, West Africa has been marked by a sharp increase in terrorist activities by groups such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Movement des Forces Democratiques de la Cassamace, Ansar Al-Dine, Ansaru, Boko Haram and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO). These militant groups have often cooperated opportunistically with some regional criminal networks where a large shadow economy exists since the West African environment makes financing through criminal activities less dangerous (Shelley, 2005). Simultaneously, the sub-region has seen an unprecedented level of criminal activities and the presence of these organised crime syndicates and drug cartels may be turning the sub-region as a hub for the trafficking of drugs and small arms (ibid).

These militant groups may have exploited large shadow and illicit economy to gain the support of the population by assuring protection and an improvement of living conditions. They, therefore, obtain what Felbab-Brown (2010) defines as political capital, gaining legitimacy and support from the local population, which could be willing to provide rebels and terrorists with supplies and intelligence.

Hezbollah however, may not have engaged in militant operations in the West African sub-region directly but may have exploited the sub-region to raise funds by way of drug trafficking, money laundering and diamonds trade (Afokpa, 2013), taking advantage of the Lebanese Diaspora. Additionally, Hezbollah has set up several front companies with the aim of raising funds and covering illicit activities (ibid). In Sierra Leone, for instance, the Lebanese community plays an important role in diamond trafficking and provides Hezbollah with support and cover (Berdal and Serrano, 2002).

Another group deeply involved in criminal activities is Boko Haram in Nigeria. As shown by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF, 2013) report, members of Boko Haram organization are involved in arms smuggling and cooperating with groups outside Nigeria for the acquisition of small arms. On several occasions, the FATF report noted that, Boko Haram may have used women to deliver arms, since they are generally less controlled by security forces because of Islamic tenets that prohibit physical contact with girls.

In view of the porous nature of national borders, Boko Haram may have also taken advantage of belonging to a common ethnic identity which facilitates cross-border smuggling. Members of Boko Haram are mostly ethnic Kanuri who are present in north-eastern Nigeria, northern Cameroon, South-eastern Niger and also south-western Chad, where the bases of their activities are located (Baca, 2015). Boko Haram according to Afokpa (2013) has also increased its involvement in kidnappings and bank robberies and

has robbed several banks and cash-in transit convoys in Maiduguri and Bauchi, earning between 500 million and one billion Nigerian naira (between US\$ 3 million to US\$ 6 million).

Taking advantage of the West African permissive environment, the Tuareg in Mali raised funds through kidnappings, cigarette and drug smuggling, while Cassamace rebels are implicated in cannabis trafficking, cigarette and arms smuggling (GIABA report, 2013).

In the same vein, the Niger Delta militants often exchange oil for weapons with several criminal gangs, while in Cote d'Ivoire the rebels are assumed to have purchased weapons with money coming from the sale of stolen cocoa (ibid).

Furthermore, following from the above, the West Africa sub-region may be said to be widely characterized by weak or failing states and instability marked by weak judicial structures which criminal groups exploit by way of legal and illegal means to fund their activities (Shelley, 2005; FATF, 2013). These include a high level of corruption, instability and an inability to secure the borders and their territories showing lack of legitimacy of their political institution (Cordano, 2014). Since 2000, eight coups (in Cote D'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania and Niger), two attempted coups (Mauritania), three civil wars (Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone) and an assassination of one president (President Vera of Guinea Bissau in March, 2009) have taken place (Cordano, 2014). According to the Fund for Peace (*Failed States Index, 2013*), Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Niger and Nigeria are ranked among the 20 worst states in the world, with terrible performances related to permissive environment for criminal groups (<http://ffp.statesindex.org>).

West Africa's poor economy may have certainly benefited criminal networks, which exploit widespread poverty in order to recruit unemployed young people (Cordano, 2014). The demography of the sub-region is also relevant since the majority of the

population is under the age of 20 and feelings of anger and resentment against their governments are widespread. Couple with an informal economy amounting to 60-70 % of total sub-regional GDP and the existence of a cash-based economy (FATF, 2013).

Wherefore in 2005, the then Secretary General of the United Nations (UN), Kofi Annan, highlighted this problem, asserting that unemployment *is the cause of destructive and self-destructive behaviour, ranging from activity in neighbourhood gangs to local militias membership where unemployed young people desperately seek not only income, but also recognition and a sense of identity*”(UN, 2006). The situation may become even worse, since the population is expected to grow rapidly in the following years while resources and healthcare are likely to diminish (Cordano, 2014). For this reason, the possibility of an increase in the number of criminal gangs should not be underestimated, especially in urban spaces where traditional forms of authority are getting weaker (Norton, 2003).

West Africa however, is strategically located between suppliers of drugs from South America and consumers in Europe. This becomes useful to organised crime with a long tradition of smuggling and banditry (Cordano, 2014). In addition, the Sahel is a wide area of ungoverned space that allows these groups to operate with few risks (Afokpa, 2013). He further asserted that, there are over 200 ports in West Africa, often dedicated to local and regional traffic but also to international trade. Some of these ports are in Lagos-Nigeria, Abidjan-Cote D'Ivoire, Dakar-Senegal and Douala-Cameroon as the most important docking points for drugs. Those, drugs, especially cocaine, enter West Africa mainly transported by sea enroute to North Africa using trafficking routes in Chad, Nigeria and Mali (Afokpa, 2013). The proliferation of small arms across borders may have facilitated several criminal activities such as drug trafficking, kidnappings of

civilians and armed robbery, due to porous borders and easy movement of cash (Naim, 2003).

1.2 The Concept of Small Arms

Small arms or guns are given a special consideration in this study because the term is arguably a basic consideration with respect to proliferation. The concept of small arms which traditionally excluded sophisticated weapons has been expanded and the vocabulary now includes light weapons referring to a technologically sophisticated category of weapons. According to the United Nations, small arms are those weapons manufactured to military specifications and designed for use by one person, while light weapons are those utilized by several individuals working together as a crew.



Picture 1: Small arms

Source: Wikipedia.com

Small arms are attractive tools of violence for several reasons. They are widely available, low in cost, extremely lethal, simple to use, durable, highly portable, easily concealed, and possess legitimate military, police, and civilian uses (Edeko, 2011). As a result they are present in virtually every society (Boutwell and Klare, 1999). Besides, few hours of training are required to acquire the level of proficiency considered sufficient for operating a small arm which account for the large number of youth involved in armed robbery, violent crimes and armed conflicts in the sub-region.

1.3 The Concept of Armed Robbery

Man in his determination to develop and dominate his environment identified the need to socially interact with his neighbours. This need to interact for mutual benefit is the basis for society. It may be postulated that a society in which all the individuals have learnt to live in peace is the perfect society. Such a society is utopia as the temperament of man and differing values always cause some individuals to resort to violence of some sort. Armed robbery is an example of violence to which some individuals resort to various reasons; it is the use of small arms to forcefully dispossess persons of their possession.

More so, armed robbery is a crime which is generally understood as a violation of the law, the intentional commission of an act usually deemed socially harmful or dangerous and specifically defined, prohibited and punishable under the criminal law. Crime could produce physical and non-physical harm to its victim. According to Baker and Carter (1994: 7) *“it is the motive, intent or malice that tends to insult, trespass upon dignity, manifest feelings of inferiority and or violate an inherent legal right of a member of the populace”*. In sum crime is simply the violation of a person’s constitutional right, which could be physical, psychological or otherwise.

However, some crimes may be classified as unintentional acts but most crimes are predetermined; that is their perpetrators plan and executes the act and they are fully aware of the consequences of their actions. Such crimes include the activities of armed robbers, violent ethnic groups and insurgence against the state or individual. It is in this category that most violent crimes may be found and their operations exist in various forms, including but not limited to the use of small arms for robbery.

Therefore, armed robbery is one of the most dreaded crimes of violence known to mankind and is a source of fear and anguish among the populace (Attafuah, 2008). Robbery is both a property crime and a crime of violence. The definition of robbery delineates the relationship between two dimensions: theft or attempted theft by force and the threat of violence. It is the taking away of another person's property by force or with the threat of violence. It is a felonious and surprise attack on people, either by violence or intimidation, to forcibly take their property against their wish with the help of a gun (Nichols, 1980).

The first armed robbery attack was reported by the Daily Graphic on Friday 14th November, 1958. The newspaper reported that *"bandits held up a car and snatched £30,000 in notes on a lonely stretch of the Tarkwa-Bogoso road on Wednesday night with guns and machetes."* That robbery believed to be the biggest cash robbery in Ghana at that time, took place around 10:00pm (Daily Graphic 1958 cited in Attafuah, 2008). According to Attafuah (2008:5), by 1972, *"so serious was public concern with armed robbery that the National Redemption Council Government passed the Suppression of Robbery Decree (NRCD 11) with the express aim of combating this vicious crime through draconian punishment"*.

However, some of the armed robbers are found with both sophisticated and locally made weapons. These may sometimes be used to kill, maim or injure innocent people causing

general instability and panic which has a devastating consequence on our national developmental drive since investors would not invest in a turbulent society. For instance, in 2001 and early part of 2002, the activities of armed robbers compelled most fuel filling station operators in Ghana to close at 22:00 hours GMT and this affected the productivity of most organizations and individuals (Attafuah, 2008). This resulted in the Police-cum-Military policy of shoot-and-kill and public display of the dead was launched (Picture 2).



Picture 2: The Policy of Shoot-and-Kill: Police- cum- Military operation

Source: Ghana Police-Operation calm Life

Armed robbers strike fear in the citizenry in peace-time and according to Major-General Peter Augustine Blay, former Chief of Defence Staff, it is not the very best to live in perpetual fear of robbery when our soldiers could be deployed to minimise the threat (GNA, 2009). The Ghana Armed Forces had sharpened its intelligence and tactical strategies to deal with the menace of armed robbery. Hence, the formation of the Police Service-cum- military anti-armed robbery squad- dubbed, “Operation Calm Life,” designed to clamp down armed robbery in the country (Picture 2 above).

The armed robbers apprehended in this nation were found to possess either illegal locally made small arms or imported sophisticated types used by security agencies which were

not under the control of the State (FOSDA, 2008). The above situation is an impediment to the security of citizens and therefore needs holistic approach in combating it.

Nevertheless, armed robberies have been consistently increasing, arguably a consequence of increasingly harsh socio-economic conditions, within the context of the inability of the state to provide basic human needs. The identification of unemployment of youth as a factor related to the variability of crime over time was a manifestation of the trend towards the recognition of links between crime and the economic cycle (Ali, 2014).

Various authorities have identified some major causes of armed robbery in various societies as urban poverty and economic frustration resulting especially from widespread unemployment among the young people (Spergel, 1995; Ghana Police Service Annual Report, 2009). It may also be due to huge income gap between the rich and the feeling by the poor that the rich derive their wealth from socio-economic exploitation of the poor. This widespread unemployment among disaffected youth, according to Ali (2014), has fueled extremism, piracy, political instability and poverty. Youth may fall prey to extremist groups who might take advantage of disaffection and disillusionment to recruit them into the militia and armed robbery creating a destabilizing effect (Annan, 2003).

Spergel (1995), have identified a number of factors that expose the youth to armed robbery: poverty, school failure, substance abuse, family dysfunction and domestic and societal violence. Easy access to illicit drugs and the perceived financial rewards of armed robbery pose attractive alternatives for youth with inadequate education and limited employment opportunities, leading them into high-risk behaviours and potential robbery involvement.

Many are seeking the recognition they fail to receive from home or school (Shelley, 2005). Even parents with strong parenting skills cannot ensure that their children will not

become involved in gangs, particularly in low-income, problem-ridden neighborhoods (Sheley and Wright, 1992).

According to the Ghana Police Service, about 80 percent of guns used by armed robbers arrested in the country between 2000 and 2007 were locally manufactured (*Ghana Police Service Annual Report, 2009*). The menace of armed robberies has been consistently increasing in Ghana over the years. While social deprivation and poverty may have directly led to armed criminality, the easy availability of small arms has also facilitated the process of transforming frustration into crime (Aning, 2007). Even more disturbing is the fact that while most armed robberies employ guns as aids in the crime, middle class Ghanaians are feared to be anxiously arming themselves, creating a veritable recipe for inter-class conflicts and reprisal attacks (ibid). These pose a threat to individual and public safety, as well as to the health and longevity of Ghana's political stability and democracy (Aning, 2005). According to the Greater Accra Regional Police Command, between 2012 and 2013, armed robbery cases recorded involving locally-manufactured guns were 66 per cent, locally manufactured pistol were 30 per cent and the totemic AK-47 constituted about four per cent.

Furthermore, unemployment-crime relationship and the proliferation of small arms and robbery have set a wide palette of arguments (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939). Until transfers of small arms are controlled and limited, the human cost and the implications for long-term development will continue to be devastating (Garcia, 2004).

A survey undertaken by Atuguba, et al (2003), disclosed that, out of 900 convicts interviewed at the four prisons in Ghana (Nsawam Medium Security Prison, James Fort Remand Prison, Tamale Regional Prison and Navrongo Regional Prison) in 2003, 11 per cent of them were robbers.

In conclusion, armed robbers sometimes acquire small arms through attacks on the Police or other security agencies. In such situations, they open fire unexpectedly on such security men and in the process kill some of them. In the midst of confusion and shock, the rest of the security men who are often ill equipped take to their heels. The armed robbers then collect the arms of the dead ones and increase their armoury.

In some other situations, there could be a direct deal between corrupted elements in some security agencies and the armed robbers. In such cases they lend their arms to the robbers.

1.4 Sources of Small Arms Proliferation

Small arms may have been particularly increasing in proportion and causing devastation in Africa (Edeko, 2011), where machine guns, rifles, grenades, pistols and other small arms have killed and displaced many civilians across the continent. On the other hand, Musah (2008) asserts that the sources of small arms proliferations are many and varied. He therefore contends that the thrust of international efforts to curbing proliferation tend to concentrate on the manufacturer and supply of new weapons.

However, a major source of arms proliferation remains the stockpiles that were shipped into Africa in the 1970s and 1980s by the Soviet Union, the United States of America and their allies to fan proxy inter-state wars (Musah, 2008; Abdulai, 2003). According to Musah (2008), the small arms found their way into civilian hands from official sources due to a combination of factors. These include the breakdown of state structures, lax control over national armories and poor service conditions for security personnel. He further contends that the proliferation of weapons is socially-oriented because the issues involved, revolve around social relationship: values, beliefs, practices and identities. According to FOSDA (2008) factors that fuel arms proliferation are weak stockpile

management, post-colonial or cold war remnants, porous borders and local artisans' production.

The sub-region however, may be considered a major trans-shipment point for the international trade as well as a major producer of locally manufactured small arms (Edeko, 2011). These small arms in circulation end up in the hands of illegal arms dealers, security entrepreneurs, ethnic militia groups and local smugglers. The small arms, thereafter, may have fueled the deadly conflicts in Sudan, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Rwanda, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Somalia and other African countries (Abdulai, 2003). These weapons are frequently recycled from country to country, and their ownership is transferred among fighters, security forces and war profiteers due to porous borders (Diarra, 2005).

Arms continue to spread in the sub-region because countries want to ensure their national security and maintain supremacy over their opponents. Okodolor (2005) argues that the proliferation of arms in West Africa is assisted by plentiful supplies from law enforcement agents and military personnel and from growing domestic artisan production. Small arms also assist in the expansion of transnational criminal networks (Okodolor, 2005).

Arms spread in the sub-region may be possible through supplies from countries that are engaged in conflicts or full-blown war. Abalo (2006) asserts that there is widespread availability and rampant misuse of small arms by abusive state and non-state actors. This situation according to him, contributes to a pervasive climate of instability, humanitarian tragedy and wanton human rights violations riddled with underdevelopment, poor health system and corrupt state leaders and governments.

The conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Libya and Mali (Annan, 2003; Cordano, 2014), have been fuelled by unregulated trade in small arms, often paid for by

the illicit exploitation of natural resources. These weapons have helped regionalize and prolong wars in the conflicts clustered around the region: from the Mano River Union in West Africa through Maghreb Sahel regions and the Great Lakes region to the Horn of Africa as well as the Balkan comprising the nine nations of the Stability Pact: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia. The effects are the most insecure social environmental, spiraling violence, the mounting death toll and floods of refugees constituting a major development and human rights challenges (Annan, 2003; Edeko, 2011; Nte, 2011).

Similarly, Farr (2006) maintained that small arms are widely available, transportable and easy to use and as such play a significant role in accelerating violence, both in times of war and in degraded peace time environments. Farr asserts that easy access to small arms is central to perpetuating social dislocation, destabilization, insecurity and crime in the building up to war, in wartime and in the aftermath of conflicts. For instance, the Kel Tamasheq people (also known as Tuareg in Mali) who had served Gaddafi as mercenaries fled home after his fall in 2011. As they equipped themselves with whatever they could take from Gaddafi's extensive stockpile, they started an insurrection to topple the Malian government in 2012 (Afokpa, 2013) as large numbers of former combatants flooded the job market only to discover a lack of economic opportunities. The ex-soldiers still armed, often turned to crime and insurgency as are of the means of survival. However, West Africa continues to receive foreign supply of arms to both governments and rebel groups while arms also originate from within the sub-region through local production and move easily across borders (Farr, 2006).

For instance, in Central and Eastern Africa, many lives have been lost through conflict and its related effects. Conflicts are therefore said to degenerate into bloody and

uncontrolled proportions due to easy accessibility of small arms (www.iansa.org/regions). The irregular warfare that has been common in recent time is well served by small arms. Most small arms are in the hands of non-state actors in West Africa and this also worsens race and class tensions in violence-prone communities. Notwithstanding, the proliferation of small arms in the sub-region is made possible because these arms are small and are easy to transport or hide (Diarra, 2005; Yakubu, 2005). According to Diarra (2005), it is not only a question of regulating arms in general but only a specific category of them; those that are liable to fuel civil wars or acts of banditry. He thus states that arms are proliferated because of porous borders, weak governance and unregulated movement of people from one country to another, especially within ECOWAS member states (Diarra, 2005; Akuyomo, 2006).

Furthermore, the proliferation continues to increase in proportion due to the remnants of conflicts in Mozambique, Angola, Somalia, Liberia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, etc. (Abdulai, 2003; Edeko, 2011), as well as licensed weapons being stolen or lost. These play a major role in exacerbating crimes and armed violence within the sub-region (Abdulai, 2003), and threaten the consolidation of democracy and security in the sub-region.

Sustainable development however, is a combination of economic growth and social progress that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It is also undeniably linked to the problems of small arms and armed violence. Small arms affect development in the most basic way because they are the tools of conflict and banditry (Annan, 2003). During conflict, physical and human resources are destroyed; transit routes are blocked and diverted and national industries are corrupted or taken over by armed groups which undermine development (Naim, 2003).

Additionally, local gun manufacturing is one of the major sources of proliferation of small arms in the sub-region and Ghana in particular (Aning, 2005). These home-made guns have been used in armed robberies, intra- and inter-communal feuds, local wars, armed insurrections, armed rebel activities and terrorism including the facilitation of drug trafficking, smuggling, banditry and other crimes. Overall, small arms maintain a general state of fear as many people are killed, while many others are displaced or made refugees and property destroyed (Abdulai, 2003).

1.5 Outlay of Conflicts

In the context of globalization, structural adjustment and the advent of privatization, governments the world over were forced to make difficult decisions regarding public spending priorities in the early 1980s. As defence and policing expenditures declined and funding for welfare and safety nets were diverted to servicing debts, societies became more prone to criminality (Lock, 1999). This has been largely as a result of growing levels of social exclusion, inequality and the demobilization of millions of former combatants, with few opportunities for sustainable alternatives (Lock, 1999; World Bank, 1998). However, the cost of conflict on African development therefore, was approximately \$300 billion between 1990 and 2005 (Oxfam International, IANSA and Saferworld, 2007). According to Okeke (2014) on average, a civil war or insurgency shrinks an African economy by 15 percent. The African continent then loses an average of around \$18 billion a year due to armed conflict. Besides, Africa suffered about 5,994,000 fatalities due mostly to small arms in the last 50 years (Renner, 2006).

Narrowing the estimate to West Africa, while there are no official figures, an estimated 30,000 people are believed to have been killed using small arms in conflict setting each year since the end of the Cold War (Ero and Ndinga-Muvumba, 2004; Kopel, Gallant

and Eisen, 2004; Lacina and Gleditsch, 2005; Small Arms Survey, 2005) and 20,000 in periods considered peaceful (Small Arms Survey, 2001; Abdulai, 2003). Moreover, Muggah and Batchelor (2002) argued that, any discussion on the impact of small arms may be linked to armed robbery, banditry and armed insurgence revolving around the fact that small arms in the wrong hands kill many people, create a climate of terror and contribute to poverty and misery. Whereas the basic humanitarian suffering arising from the use of small arms may be evident, the underlying damage to a society is often less clear (Small Arms Survey, 2001).

More often than not, in the world's poorest countries, small arms are often the primary tools that might set back the development process years or sometimes decades (Abdulai, 2003). It often affects whether people can live in their own homes and communities, earn a livelihood, enjoy any legal rights or protection and have access to health and education services (Muggah and Batchelor, 2002).

Apart from the direct human cost, armed robbery including small arms has other profound public health and developmental costs such as impacting on economic activity, diverting public resources, damaging social structures and depleting social capital (Buchanan and Atwood, 2001). The increasing availability of small arms to non-state actors, bad management of government stocks and unregulated trade continue to fuel both armed conflicts and violent crimes especially banditry (Aning, 2005; Malam, 2014). However, no meaningful development can take place in nations or communities that are bedeviled with the activities of small arms and their related problems (Garcia, 2004).

1.6 Problem Statement

It has been estimated that there are over 640 million small arms circulating around the world. Out of this number about 30 million could be located in sub-Saharan Africa

(Okeke, 2014). Kiflemariam (2012) highlighted that France, Russia, China, United Kingdom and the United States of America the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council together accounted for about 88 per cent of the world's conventional small arms export. These exports contribute greatly to human rights abuses in sub-Saharan Africa in general and West Africa in particular (Yud, 2004).

Furthermore, as a result of the small arm trading more than 500,000 people are killed annually. It means that in every minute a person lost his life through gun battle (Small Arms Survey, 2001; Abdulai, 2003). Despite this trend, eight million new guns are manufactured every year by over 1,000 companies worldwide (Cook and Ludwig, 2002; Ibrahim, 2003). These weapons fuel instability, conflict and poses threat to sustainable development among the member states of the United Nations (Ibrahim, 2003). The persistence of wars may partially be due to the proliferation of small arms being the biggest security threat facing the West African sub-region (Mbugua, 2007; Small Arms Survey, 2012; AEFJN, 2013).

Ghana's twenty-two years of uninterrupted democratic dispensation and the pride in the practice of good governance has led to the country being described as a bastion of peace in the midst of turbulence in sister states in Africa. Notwithstanding the success Ghana has chalked, the 2000 Population and Housing Census revealed that there were at least 220,000 small arms in civilian hands in Ghana (Baseline Assessment of Small Arms, 2004; Vines, 2005). Out of this number only about 95,000 (43.2%) were registered leaving a significant number of 125,000 (56.8%) illicit arms are in circulation and unaccounted for (Baseline Assessment of Small Arms, 2004; Sowatey, 2005).

Ghana, notwithstanding, has not been left out of this canker of conflicts that have bedeviled the sub-region since the 1980s (Mahama, 2013). It was estimated that the

number of chieftaincy and uncountable land disputes across the country to be over two hundred (Edeko, 2011; Nte, 2011).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Tonah (2007) reiterated the historic intractable ethnic and land disputes across the country are largely explained by the proliferation of small arms in these areas. Some of the notable conflicts in Ghana among other things include the Konkomba-Nanumba war over chieftaincy reforms instituted by later in 1981; the Bimoba war against the Konkomba in 1986 and 1989; the violent clashes between the Nawuri and the Gonja at Kpandai over claims to paramountcy and land in 1991.

Further, the succession dispute among the Dagomba in 1991 and 2001, that led to the killing of the Ya Naa and several others, and the protracted conflict between the Mamprusi and Kusasi at Bawku in 2000 were all triggered by the use of small arms (Bogner 2000; Brukum 1995; 2001; Laud 2003).

The unregulated local manufacture of small arms by blacksmiths also poses a serious threat to security and other violence crimes (Aning, 2005; Mahama, 2013). Weapons meant for war are now used by criminals to fuel crimes waves and wage turf battles in communities (Van der Lindle and Nyalor, 1999

Moreover, Ginifer and Ismail (2005) argued that the intensification of small arms related violence in Ghana could be located within the context of a militarized psyche, low level of education and socio-economic deprivation. Similarly Feeney (1986) asserted that, in cross-cultural studies, perpetrators of armed robberies are unemployed, with a low level of education and mostly young males whose robbery expeditions may fetch only a few currencies. While Hanawalt (1979) concluded that most armed robbers come from disproportionately disadvantaged groups and backgrounds, their type of targets may require little or comprehensive planning and sophistication as the number of targets appears to be unlimited, although Gabor et al. (1987) believe that armed robbers

generally look for high-profit items. Nichols (1980) however defined armed robbery as a felonious and surprise attack on people either by violence or intimidation to take their property against their wish with the help of a gun.

The data revealed by the Greater Accra Regional Police Command of the Ghana Police Service indicated that between January and September 2004, a total number of reported armed robbery cases were 555 while in 2005 for the same period, armed robbery cases rose astronomically to 957. Armed robbery takes various forms such as car snatching, residential robberies, street or highway robberies and work place robbery such as banks, filling stations, forex bureau, shops, and stores.

Wegener (2002) asserted in his research conducted on illegal arms business in Ghana and found out that a large proportion of illicit locally manufactured small arms (80%) were seized in 2001. These include small arms seized during the search operations in the manufacturing towns as well as unregistered foreign pistols. The Greater Accra Regional Police Command annual report of 2013 supported the notion of heinous crime and the use of small arms. The annual report indicated 490 armed robbery cases were recorded and some of the weapons retrieved were locally manufactured single barrel shot gun (43%), pump action shot gun (23%), locally manufactured pistol (30%) and the totemic AK-47 assault rifle represented (4%) of the data.

The blacksmith productions might have provided the bulk of small arms used in armed robberies that have become a growing problem in the capital, Accra (Yakubu, 2005), and four out of five armed robbery cases recorded have used locally manufactured arms.

There are signs of a growing symbiosis between proliferation of small arms and armed robbery, though the relationship may appear to be very dynamic and the alliances fluid, the cooperation between blacksmiths and armed robbers seems to benefit both parts, as they may obtain their weapons through local production.

The information gathered show that the proliferation of arms in Ghana shares some basic commonalities with other parts of the world as well as some differences which should be observed carefully to understand the country's position in small arms. The study thus, attempted to explore the production processes of locally manufactured arms and how armed robbers acquire the various guns to perpetuate their crimes.

1.7 Study's Aims and Objectives

The aim of the study is to explore the relationship between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery in order to gain an in-depth knowledge on gun and security threat in Ghana. The study's objectives are to:

1. Examine the nexus between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery
2. Find out the regulations and policies guiding small arms manufacture and disposal
3. Examine the knowledge, beliefs and practices of blacksmiths who manufacture these guns
4. Explore the distribution mechanism of the small arms after production.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The discussion on the role of proliferation of small arms and armed robbery continue to engage the minds of academia, policy makers, national security and international bodies like, United Nations, Stockholm International and Peace Research Institutes, to mention but a few. The findings of this study would be useful to the Ministry of the Interior, National Security, Defence Ministry, policy makers and other civil society groups involved in policy formulation and implementation to control the menace of small arms proliferation.

Ultimately, the findings would provide information for strategic planning by the Ministry of the Interior and the Defence Ministry. Additionally, the study will add to the pool of existing research knowledge base and contribute to help shape policy. It will therefore serve as a source of data for scholars who may be interested in furthering studies on the topic.

1.9 Organisation of the Study

The study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one, which is the introduction, presents the background information on the research. It also defines the problem statement, states the general and specific objectives of the study which the study seeks to answer. The significance of the study is highlighted. Chapter two focuses on the review of pertinent literature as well as the demand factors for small arms and proliferation including the concept of crime as well as the theoretical perspective and the framework on which the study hinges. Chapter three is devoted first and foremost to the history and laws on gun manufacturing in Ghana. It examines the indigenous blacksmiths, demand and supply of locally-made guns and government control measures and the trajectory the policy has undergone over the years. Chapter four explores the profile of Alavanyo as the study area of this study. The chapter describes the traditional administration vis-à-vis modern traditional administration, population composition including the ethnic character of blacksmiths. Also, the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict is examined with the creation of Togo Plateau Forest Reserve. Chapter Five concentrates on the research methods used in gathering data for the study. It deals with the study design, targeted respondents, number of respondents, selection of respondents, data collection procedure, data collection technique, data management and analysis including ethical considerations. It also addresses the field problems encountered during the study. Chapter six focuses mainly

on the presentation and discussion of data. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of blacksmiths and the second section with the socio-demographic characteristics of convicted armed robbers. It also discusses in detail account of the findings of the study.

Finally, chapter seven comprises summary of the findings, conclusion, recommendation and suggestions for further study

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

In undertaking this research it is important to explore what has already been written about the problem under investigation. Literature review affords the researcher an opportunity to gain an impression about the important aspects of this topic, identify data sources that other researchers have used. Further, the researcher needs to identify the relationship between concepts and ideas for further consideration.

Though early researchers developed literature focusing on the proliferation of small arms and their role in insecurity, their work did not focus on the nexus between small arms proliferation and armed robbery in Ghana. A number of scholars of different disciplines have attempted to bring out the theme in relation to other areas but this work is informed by their studies in a number of ways.

It is in view of the above considerations that this review has been done. This chapter focuses on the previous research work done on the proliferation of small arms. Academic institutions such as the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) and more recently, SaferAfrica and Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) have written much on small arms and light weapons. These studies sought to give readers a framework for understanding the situation pertaining to small arms proliferation and its attendant influence on conflicts and armed robbery (Cock, 1997; Smith, Bachelor and Potgieter, 1996; Smith and Vines, 1997). There are also a number of ground-breaking investigative reports by the International Human Rights Watch (1994, 1995 and 1999), which provide evidence of small arms smuggling. The most insightful studies included studies by Chetty (2000) and Hennop, Jefferson and McLean (2001) which provided a

variety of official data on small arms related to crimes in South Africa. Minnaar (2008) focuses on the illegal trafficking of small arms through South African borders and ports of entry.

However, in the current world environment the realities of globalization are literally forcing the rapid breakdown of border. Hence, the low intensity conflict in which small arms are vital and extensively used, are threatening the non-negotiable core value of national security in the sub-region (Malhotra, 2011).

The Political, social and economic conditions of the sub-region simply guarantee easy breakdown of order within the various countries (ibid), requiring small arms for settlement of discourse within communities. According to Kamenju (2003), most present-day conflicts and armed robberies are the biggest contributors of small arms proliferation. The observation by Fiske (2000) as cited in Kia (2013) makes the point clearly:

With a seemingly constant supply of smuggled arms at their disposal, groups at battle fields in West Africa have been able to prolong conflict with disastrous effects on their immediate communities and beyond; gunrunners need war to keep them in business. Proliferation of small arms is thus a brisk business in the West African sub-region. It has become serious matter of concern not just to the countries in the sub-region but to the International community.

Furthermore, according to Louse (in Boutwell and Klare, 1999), the effect of globalization, societal disintegration and small arms propagation are the causes of many civil violent, ethnic and religious conflicts of the post-Cold War era. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI, 1993), all the 34 major armed conflicts documented during 1993 by the institute were fought with small arms as weapons of choice.

In furtherance, Krause (in Azazi, 2011) stressed that trade in small arms involves covert and clandestine systems such as black markets, secret government-to-government deals and sponsorship of sub-state groups. According to Frankonero (2008) small arms have been in high demand in all areas of the continent, which resulted in the black market trading of small arms within sub-Saharan Africa.

Krause (2008) further asserted that the availability and use of more sophisticated small arms have contributed to the erosion of state authority and have led to the spread of lawlessness and criminal violence. This has become particularly evident in the escalation of crime. Small arms are not the root cause of crime (Killias, 1993; Krause, 2011), but rather, crime is rooted in the inept structural forms which create or sustain human insincerity in its broad sense. However, guns may not kill people, but people with guns do, and they do so more often and more efficiently than people without guns. People do not behave in a vacuum. They are influenced by their environment, and when that environment is occupied by guns, people behave belligerently and impetuously.

The widespread proliferation of small arms is contributing to alarming levels of armed crime, which exacerbates armed robbery in the city and its peripheries. The use of small arms have made conflict more deadly and crime easier, feeding cultures of retribution and downward spirals of violence around the world (Mohamoud, 2002).



Picture 3: Easy access to Small Arms

Source: www.ghanaweb.com

Following from the end of the Cold War, Musah (2008) argued that the leftover weapons may have found their way through clandestine networks into the sub-region thereby fueling wars and facilitating the commencement of new ones. However, Killias (1993) argued that possessing small arms do not necessarily lead people to use guns for illegal purposes but its effect on conflicts cannot be ignored. According to Ero and Ndinga-Muvumba (2004:224): *While small arms do not of course, cause conflicts they soon become part of the conflict equation by fuelling and exacerbating underlying tensions, generating more insecurity and adding to the number of casualties.*

The presence of guns undermines alternative conflict resolution strategies (Weiss, 2003). The accessibility of small arms plays a role in perpetuating the violence and making it more lethal (Weiss as cited in Edeko, 2011), from criminal activity to full-fledged war, in both developed and developing countries.

In addition Ghana has in the past decades witnessed increased small arms circulation and violence. According to Malam (2014), the proliferation was attributed to porous borders, local production, the existence of chieftaincy disputes as noted by Aning (2005) the locally manufactured guns were identified as central in explaining the proliferation of illicit small arms in Ghana.

One striking feature of local gun production in Ghana according to Aning (2003) is its relative sophistication and efficacy. Furthermore, Aning (2005) noted that the ten regions in Ghana manufacture over 200,000 small arms yearly. According to IRIN (2007) the small arms are known to be cost-effective, easy to buy and reliable.

Scholars such as Ayissi and Sall (2005), Florquin and Berman (2005), Vines (2005) and Hazen and Horner (2007) focused on the supply side or push factors of the proliferation of small arms as well as, while others scholars concentrate on the demand or pull factors of small arms proliferation and crime, violence, conflicts, riots and unrests (Stohl and

Tuttle 2009; Chuma-Okoro, 2011; Nte, 2011). The study will explore the demand factors on small arms.

2.1 Demand (Pull Factors) for Small Arms

The proliferation of small arms has, developed to be a serious problem in Ghana. It is not only posing a danger to the country but also has a direct impact on the country's economy and social values (Malhotra, 2011). While society exists as an objective fact above and apart from us, it is also a social construction created, reaffirmed and altered through the day to-day interactions of the very people it influences and controls (Durkheim, 1915). The interplays between personal and social forces are the defining feature of everyday life (Aning and Florquin, 2003).

The United Nations baseline assessment of small arms on Ghana (UN, 2004) indicates that locally manufactured small arms are commonly used to commit crimes, such as armed robberies. The study emphasize that a minimum of 220,000 small arms are in civilian hands. These include 95,000 registered guns which imply that at least 125,000 illegal small arms may be circulating in Ghana. The more problematic is the fact that over 75,000 of the illegal small arms may be illicitly manufactured locally (GNCSA, 2012).

The Ghana National Commission on Small Arms further noted that 14 lives were lost nationwide in 2011 through armed robbery, while fifty armed robbery victims were injured nationwide over the same period. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2006) argues that the possession of illegal small arms and their use in armed robbery has increased and become a serious problem in various communities. In the same context, Mapunda (2004) in his study of illegal possession of small arms and armed

robbery in Tanzania found that the increase of illegal small arms was the reason behind social insecurity in that country.

Gun culture however, may have become part of the rituals in some parts of Ghana (UN, 1997; Aning, 2005; McCaskie, 2008) which served as a source of personal security and a means of subsistence. Gun possession according to Oppong (1973) is a sign of manliness and in some cases a symbol of ethnic and cultural identity as a gun is fired when a male child is born among the Gonja in Northern Ghana. On the other hand, the association of violence with males has led to a culture of violence nurtured by patriarchal societies (Cukier and Chaptelaine, 2000; Cock, 1997) and high levels of impunity and other perceived injustices (ISS, 2000). As Collier (1998) put it, a high level of unemployment and the presence of exportable primary commodities is a panacea for youth bulge and violence. Ghana as a developing country is experiencing an unprecedented demographic shift leading to a youth bulge.

The lack of employment opportunities for these youths, particularly in urban cities, is among the greatest security and development challenges today and has resulted in underemployment, inequality and marginalization of the youth. It is therefore essential to develop strategies to harness the incredible power of youth inventiveness and dynamism to generate economic growth and employment. Rather than being a burden, the bulge can become a demographic gift. Entrepreneurship and the private sector can leverage the potential of this population and provide a bottom-up approach to youth job creation.

However, complex socio-economic factors have fuelled the demand by the youths for the supply of small arms in Ghana. These include: inter-ethnic rivalries; political competition, especially electoral violence; the large mass of unemployed youths and the increasing profitability, and socio-economic utility of small arms, especially with the increase in kidnapping, hostage, ransom-taking and armed robbery.

2.2 Factors Influencing Small Arms and Armed Robbery

There are several factors for these small arms wide use: they are cheap enough for even the poorest of criminals to acquire in large quantities. They are easy to conceal for smuggling and for carrying out operations. They are sturdy, require very little maintenance and last a long time and finally, they are very easy to use, no training is needed and no complex organization is necessary (World Watch Institute, 1997).

Much of the factors influencing the demand for small arms, particularly military weapons and handguns that serve little practical purpose may be exacerbated by violent movies and television programs that tend to link heroism with guns and violence (ibid).

The suggestion that there is a link between easy availability of small arms and or gun violence was made prophetically by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in November 1963 (cited in Violence Prevention Task Force, 1994), when he stated that; *by the readiness to allow small arms to be purchased at will and fired at whim or by allowing movies and television screens to influence the children that the hero is one who masters the art of shooting and the technique of killing...then it creates an atmosphere in which violence and hatred will become popular pastimes.* This means insecurity may undermine development and impede poverty reduction provision to the poor (Philippe, 2001). Excessive accumulation and wide availability of small arms may aggravate tension and insecurity which in turn may lead to greater demand for weapons (Wepundi *et al* 2012).

Unemployed and disaffected youth living in the urban city face daunting economic and social challenges including social exclusion, lack of economic opportunities, and limited access to resources and these have fueled extremism and poverty (Ali, 2014). They are increasingly marginalized, excluded from the economic growth of cities and forced to live on the margins of the society where violent activity, crime, and drug use are rampant, among the informal settlements in the outskirts and inner cities in Ghana (ibid).

More so, this economic and social exclusion is rooted in the cities failure to create quality jobs. As millions of youth migrate from small towns and villages into urban centers, they face limited opportunities with insufficient infrastructure, housing and other basic services as well as unequal access to opportunities for education and employment (Wepundi *et al* 2012). As such, they are not sharing in and benefiting from the prosperity of their cities. Rather than being at the center of economic activity and growth in cities, the youth find themselves unemployed or living in poverty in the unstable informal sector (*ibid*).

The rapid economic growth of cities has not resulted in similar rise in youth employment and those able to find employment are often under-employed or work in the informal sector at insecure, low-skill jobs (Adan and Ruto, 2003). As a result of limited job opportunities in the public or formal private sector, millions of young people are forced into the unregulated, exploitative informal sector where wages are not sufficient to cover basic living needs. In addition to the lack of available opportunities, much of the youth population lacks the qualifications or training required by most formal sector jobs (Wepundi *et al* 2012).

Therefore, the rapidly growing unemployed youth population may result in an explosion of urban slums. Hence, newly arrived youth may end up living in slums (Ali, 2014). The youth living in these slums have limited access to education, social services, and health care and are subjected to undignified work and living conditions (*ibid*). In light of the exploding population growth in urban centers, the concentration of youth living in poverty in the peripheries of cities may increase dramatically in scale Wepundi *et al* 2012).

2.3 Motivation for Demand of Small Arms

According to Cock (1997), small arms demand is ultimately expressed at the individual level, an individual person actually acquires small arms even if on behalf of or at the request of others. Jurgen Brauer and Robert Muggah, (2006) argued that motivation for acquisition is at least partly socially constructed and embedded in various social practices and cultural norms. The motivations for cell phones, glamorous women, and gold chains as a means of displaying male status and power are substituted by the gun or small arms as a means of displaying male status and power (Brauer and Muggah, 2006).

In many private households, according to Brauer and Muggah (2006), adults acquire weapons but adolescents can take authorized or unauthorized possession of the gun. Thus, demand for small arms acquisition is different from possession, use, misuse and abuse.

Research on demand for small arms needs to separate demand by those regarded as “consumers” of small arms such as those who acquire weapons for self-defense, recreation, or sport-hunting purposes and those for whom small arms acquisition is an input into the production of a good or service such as commercial hunting, pest-control, or security services or the production of disservices such as rebellion, banditry, and crime/armed robbery.

In contrast, those producers with the intent to abuse small arms for criminal purposes view guns as a tool that needs to earn a perverse return on investment (Brauer and Muggah, 2006). As Koh (2003:2334) observed:

“All over the world, there are guns, more guns than we could ever use. There are more guns than any sane civilization would ever need. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, we live in a world drowning in guns. Why is this so and what should we do about it?”

Due to the existence of internal conflict between communities, their confrontations, especially the ones involved violence, usually leads to the demand for both smuggled foreign weapons as well as locally manufactured small arms for resistance (Okeke, 2014).

Again, the spread of international network of criminal syndicates and their linkages also intensify the issue as small arms become one of the significant tools to secure and protect their activities. Drug lords may acquire small arms to protect their supply routes across countries or sea pirates may arm themselves to carry out a raid on civilian vessels and safeguard their ships from authorities.

Whereas, Ghana's geographical location which is situated in the midst of international trade routes and transportation also facilitates the flows of small arms, Ghana has an open door policy to welcome tourists and foreigners. This, in turn, may result in the compromise between economic efficiency and security. Small arms may pass through the ports as they are not equipped with proper security installation, such as container scanners. Moreover, the existence of Ghana long borderlines may complicate the problems through which small arms can be smuggled without proper monitoring from the authorities. For instance, Ghana lies in the center of the Gulf of Guinea coast, 2,420 km of land borders with three countries: Burkina Faso (602 km) to the north, Cote d'Ivoire (720 km) to the west, and Togo (1,098 km) to the east. To the south are the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean With a total area of 238,533 square kilometers, Ghana is about the size of the United Kingdom (CIA World Factbook, 2015). Therefore, it is unimaginable for the state authority to mobilize enormous resources for patrolling and monitoring the movement of these weapons along its borders.

With the use of small arms, non-state actors can easily pursue their interests with no respect to laws and orders. State may need to pull its resources against this insecurity,

which otherwise could have been used in improving their infrastructure, education and health.

Likewise, the transnational crime and terrorism are the threats to humanity; therefore, the use of small arms by these outlawed groups, whether or not directly or indirectly on civilian targets, is harmful and creates fear among citizens which eventually hinders development in any aspect (Garcia, 2004).

The abundance of small arms in Ghana constitutes a major threat to the country's political stability. The availability of small arms in Ghana is also bound to significantly change the character of conflict in homes, workplaces and communities, making conflict resolution altogether difficult such as the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict. It also facilitates conflicts, chieftaincy disputes and armed robbery among others. What began as internal strife among the disputing parties, quickly degenerated into serious conflicts over-running their boundaries.

2.4 Theoretical Perspectives

The discipline of criminology has been concerned throughout history with the attempt to unearth the underlying causes of criminal behavior. Thus, social structures theorists believe that the key elements to criminal behavior are the dominance of social and economic influences which drive people to transgress against societal rules and prohibitions. This chapter is focusing on Strain theory of anomie and Differential Association theory to explain the linkages between small arms and armed robbery in Ghana.

(a) Strain Theory

The Strain theory of anomie is probably one of the most popular sociological explanations of crime and delinquency since it was first formulated by Merton (1938) on the functional analysis following his adaptation of Durkheim Anomie theory. Durkheim (1951) argued that crime mostly occurs in societies that are experiencing changes in the structure and organizations as a result of weak and dysfunctional moral norms.

Merton used this Durkheim notion of social disorganization situation to develop his Structural Strain theory to explain causes of deviance which occurs in many societies. According to Merton (1938) in every society there are cultural goals or things worth striving for, such as wealth, money, prestige and the institutionalized means such as getting education, working hard, disciplining oneself, pursuing honest vocation as a means to generate income or achieving these goals. Anomie occurs when there is a breakdown or an acute disjunction between the cultural goals and the socially structured capacities of members of society to attain these goals. Which means some people cannot achieve the culturally approved goals through culturally approved institutional means, hence they resort to unapproved means to acquire the cultural goals that have been internalized. For Some people there is structural strain between the goals and means of society. Merton (1938); Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1970) identified five responses to these goals and means dilemma, four of which turns to be deviance in anomic society. These include Conformity, Innovation, Ritualism, Retreatism and Rebellion which are expatiated in the subsequent paragraphs.

First, Conformity to rules will be among those who have internalized the cultural goals of society and also have the means to attain these goals. Most children from rich homes for example, should be conformist because they have the means to complete schools thus

having good certificates that would qualify them for obtaining high-paying jobs and become successful in life.

Second, the Innovators are individuals who have accepted the culturally approved goals but lack economic resources to pursue them. They continue to embrace monetary and material success as a worthy goal (Lilly et al., 2007), but they turn to crime or deviance upon realization that their social status or experience limits their access to legitimate means for success (Winfrey and Abadinsky, 2003). They therefore innovate by becoming armed robbers, illegal gun manufacturers (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2001), in order to get wealthy which are not approved by the society especially the youth. While the youth are not unaware of the danger and risks of involvement in armed robbery, education and employment opportunities are insufficient counter-incentives for youth not to become involved in the act. As noted by Pinnock (1997), the favourite topic of conversation by delinquent youth is about guns and crimes to demonstrate their toughness and daring.

However, for the purposes of this study, the emphasis would be placed on the Innovators to explain both the blacksmiths and armed robbers' circumstances.

Third, the Ritualism occurs when individuals lose touch with success goals while abiding by the institutionalized means. The over-zealous bureaucrat makes fetish of the rules and regulations of bureaucracy, creates red-tapes and not bothered about achieving the goals of the society or organization.

Fourth, Retreatism is characterized of individuals who have internalized fully the cultural goals of success but not getting the approved means to obtain the goals and at the same time the Retreatist is unwilling to adopt illegal means like the innovator to achieve the goals because his cultural orientation does not condone with such practices. As a result, he adopts escape mechanisms such as defeatism, quietism, vagrants and drunkenness to respond to the societal pressures. The Retreatist form of adaptation is often condemned

by conventional society, because it is not productive and attaches no values to the societal goals of success.

Last but not the least, Rebellions are people who get frustrated with the existing system or the status quo and reject the goals and means of society but create or substitute new goals and means for society. Such people come with new ideologies and seek to radically change the society. They are mostly the revolutionaries and rebel leaders.

From the theory, crime and delinquency can be prevented or reduced if there is concordance between cultural goals and institutionalized means for attaining wealth. However, crime delinquency will increase wherever there is disconnection between the goals and the means. Thus, as Shaw and McKay (1942:439) observed;

Where there is the greatest deprivation and frustration..... and where there exists the greatest disparity between the social values to which people aspire and the availability of facilities for acquiring these values in conventional ways, the development of crimes as an organized way of life is most marked. Crime, in this situation, may be regarded as one means employed by people to acquire, or to attempt to acquire, the economic and social values generally idealized in our culture, which persons in other circumstances acquired by conventional means.

In Ghana, there is an overwhelming emphasis on being successful. Success in the Ghanaian context therefore means the desire to be wealthy, to engage in ostentatious lifestyle and conspicuous consumption. It also includes driving expensive cars, putting up mason, obtaining high educational credentials and making huge donations at fund-raising events. Individuals who failed to meet these aspirations prescribed by the society may experience tremendous pressure or command low respect. To redeem their image, many individuals may turn to other non-institutionally alternatives to attain the culture goals. This theory explains why illicit small arms producers ignore the gun laws in the

country to make illegitimate money. It also explains why some disadvantages youth adopt armed robbery to make a living.

Although the Strain theory shared light on how society in the organization and unequal distribution of its economic resources and opportunities can inadvertently generate deviance and criminality. This notwithstanding, Bernard (1987) argued, while Merton (1938; 1960) assumed that monetary success is the first priority to achieve economic success, other goals are equally of more importance for personal development. Arkers and Sellers (2009) also concluded that research testing anomie theory using direct measures of social structure and cultural goals has not provided much empirical support for the five modes of adaptation. In my view, the theory also failed to explain how deviant behavior is learnt through deviant subcultures and exposure to other deviants. On that note, the researcher further explored the differential Association theory to explain how blacksmiths and armed robbers learn their illegitimate businesses.

(b) Differential Association Theory

According to Sutherland (1939), criminal behavior is learned in the same way as law-abiding values are learned, and that, this learning activity is accomplished in interactions with others, through a process of communication within intimate groups.

He further argued that individuals encounter many inharmonious and inconsistent social influences in their lifetime. Whereas many individuals become involved in contacts with carriers of criminalistic norms (Lainer and Henry, 2004), the consequence to become a criminal and rationalize such behaviour as normal and enjoyable is high. Sutherland (1939) therefore proposed that an excess of definitions conducive to criminality could be learned by individuals. His theory has been seen as particularly useful in explaining armed robbery and white collar crime (Vold and Bernard, 1986). Sutherland (1939)

further argues that just as one can be socialized into good behavior, so also can one be socialized into bad behavior. The theory of Differential Association consists of nine principles:

1. Criminal behavior is learned; it is not inherited. This means that the person who is not already trained in criminal act does not invent such acts, just as a child does not make courteous remark unless he has been trained or socialized to that effect.
2. Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with others through communication. This communication is verbal in many aspects but it also includes communication of gestures often described as non-verbal communication.
3. The learning occurs in intimate groups: Sutherland claimed that only small, face-to-face gatherings influence criminal behavior. Consequently he focused on peer or family groups as the most likely sources of initiation into delinquent values and activities. This means that, impersonal agencies of communication such as picture shows and the newspapers play unimportant part in the genesis of delinquent behavior.
4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques for committing it, which are sometimes complicated, and sometimes very simple; (b) the specific direction of motives and drives, rationalization and attitude.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives are learned from definitions of legal codes as favorable or unfavorable. This means that when one's associates with define legal codes as the things to be observed, the learning of the criminal acts may be impeded. The reverse is true.
6. A person becomes criminal because of excess of definitions favorable to violation of laws over definitions unfavorable to violation of laws. This is the core principle of Differential Association theory. It reinforces the belief that the

definitions favorable to the violation of laws can be learned from both criminal and non-criminal people. Pfohl (1994) observes that the likelihood of deviant behavior may be determined by calculating the difference between favorable and unfavorable associations. This comes into play when considering cultural variations and/or interpretations of legal codes. Specifically, different cultures in Ghana and its community's interpretation of what is favorable or unfavorable vary. Cultural norms within the Ghanaian context therefore conflict with societal norms. Thus the problem of a dialectical relationship between the two publics (Ekeh, 2012).

7. Differential Association (tendency towards criminality) varies in frequency, duration, priority and intensity. This means that the longer the time and earlier in one's life, the more intensely and more frequency people are exposed to such attitude about criminality, the more likely it is that they will be caught up in the fray.
8. The process of learning criminal behavior involves in any other learning. This implies that, the mechanisms for learning criminal behavior are the same as those for law abiding values and other socially relevant skills. The suggestion is that, in as much as the content of what is learned is different, the process giving rise to criminal behavior is the same as any other law-abiding behavior.
9. Both criminal and non-criminal behaviors are expressions of the same needs and value. Put differently, the goals of criminal and non-criminals are usually the same. What is different is the means they adopt to pursue this same goals. For instance thieves generally steal in order to secure money. Honest laborers likewise work with the monetary value in mind.

Differential Association theory is therefore applied to the illicit local gun manufacturers at the study's site (Alavanyo) and its environs despite its prohibitions by the state. It is argued that the learning of gun making occurs within the primary group that is the family structure within Alavanyo traditional area. Learning gun making involves learning the techniques, values, motives, drives, rationalization and attitude through interaction with people who have the skills in small arms manufacture within the community.

The techniques already acquired by the local blacksmith in the gun manufacture are now embedded in the individual's while they rationalized that; the government may legalize local gun manufacturing industry. Coupled with definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable with the economic benefits, drive them to continuous the production of small arms. Amedzator (2013) elucidated that the farming and hunting at Alavanyo do not generate enough funds to improve upon people's lives. Thus, gun manufacture continues to thrive because there is an excess of definition favorable to violate the law over deterrent factors. This is one of the reasons why the production sites are mostly located within the rocky Togo Plateau forest reserve which makes it difficult for the security operatives to clamp down on their activities. It is also a fertile ground for the production of marijuana (Wee) (Letter of Togbega Tsedze Atakora VII, Fiaga of Alavanyo Traditional Area, 12/1/98).

However, Differential Association theory is defective because it omits consideration of freewill and ignores the role of the victim (Clinard, 1942; Caldwell, 1956; Clinard, 1957). The Differential Association theory does not explain the origin of crime as well as apply to rural offenders (Clinard, 1946; Cloward, 1959; Jeffery, 1959), while Leader (1941); Barnes and Teeters (1959) assumes that all persons have equal access to criminal and anti-criminal behaviour patterns but ignored biological factors

In spite of these lapses, Differential Association theory is still use to explain the nexus between gun production and armed robbery in the Ghanaian context. The two theories have revealed the linkages between the illegal arms production and frequent occurrence of armed robbery in Ghana especially Accra metropolis. The relationship is driven by the fact that lack of socio-economic and political opportunities deprives people to achieve their physiological needs. Consequently, both the armed robbers and blacksmiths will violate all the legitimate legal codes and then established their own subculture behaviors which run counter to the larger interest of the society.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY AND LAW OF GUN MANUFACTURING IN GHANA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the overview of the law and historicity of small arms in Ghana. This chapter is important because it sets the context for the discussion of proliferation of small arms and the trajectories of the activities of local blacksmiths, small arms production and the government anti-legislations, and policies proscribing gun manufacture and assembling in Ghana.

According to Blandford (1998), one of the longest established crafts known to civilize man which has held its place of importance through all challenges of thousands of years while civilization have come and grown is blacksmithing. Blacksmithing was born when Stone Age man first succeeded in separating metal from ore and making something from it by hammering.

Although local blacksmiths craft started as a traditional family business, those who found small arms production as a trade with good prospects started engaging in blacksmithing as a full time job (Adu et al, 2013). In furtherance, blacksmithing is present throughout West Africa (Kante, 2004), but Ghana's long-standing and socially embedded gun-making tradition makes it a country of particular concern (Aning, 2005). During pre-colonial and colonial times, blacksmiths were highly regarded in society because of the nature of their work. The blacksmith produced weapons for war such as swords, spears, shields, bow and arrows, guns and gun powder. They also produced implements like hoes, rice and cocoa sickles, cutlasses, 'gong-gong' etc. According to Aning (2005), gun manufacture in Ghana dates back several hundred of years, when iron working was first introduced, and were used in a variety of different contexts. Subsequently, guns played

important roles in traditional ceremonies such as festivals, installation of chiefs and funerals of important personalities. Moreover, the growing domestic artisan production scattered across the country and passes down established trade routes (Musa, 2002; Bah, 2004; Aning, 2005; Badmus, 2009).

Small arms proliferation was not an issue in Ghana after independence in the early 1960's, but rather, in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, where Portugal imported millions of small arms to fight African nationalist and freedom fighters. Also, in Algeria, France imported large quantities of the same kinds of small arms to pursue its colonial agenda. While Ghana was more or less free from these small arms menace as the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) (1999-2006) disclosed (Abdulai, 2003), the first proliferation of small arms in the then Gold Coast was in 1824, when the Colonial Governor, Sir Charles McCarthy lost his gun and was beheaded in the battle of Nsamanko.

The issue of small arms proliferation is a major security concern or challenge currently facing Ghana and contributing to alarming levels of violent armed crime and militancy (Nte, 2011).

However, sources of illegal small arms proliferation include purchases from international and national arms dealers, pilfering from security agencies and purchases of locally-produced craft weapons, leakage from government armories with corrupt law enforcement and security personnel selling or borrowing their weapons to armed robbers pose a challenge (Aning, 2005). Some other sources include theft from residences and seizures from security officials during robberies and in clashes with other armed groups (Abdulai, 2003; FOSDA, 2008). Some Ghanaians who also live abroad and peacekeepers smuggle guns by shipping them together with their personal effects and fail to register them.

Guns ‘made in Ghana’ are known in the sub-region for their competitive prices, their effectiveness and their accessibility, thus raising concerns that they might one day represent an important source of weaponry for armed groups (Aning, 2005). Without a doubt, some local blacksmiths, according to Aning (2005) now possess the indispensable know-how to copy imported AK-47 assault rifles and other weapons as parts can easily be replicated by the local blacksmiths.

3.1 Indigenous Blacksmiths

Blacksmiths have been license to produce trinkets, gold ornaments, and basic farm implements. The blacksmiths are also licensed to repair legally imported firearms when they are in the country. Under the guise of doing their legitimate business, they secretly copy and manufacture small arms which are more profitable to them (Picture 4 below). This however, slipped outside the purview of the law and the state (Aning, 2005). Not only did clandestine manufacture continue to grow, but it also engendered networks and mechanisms designed to elude law-enforcement agencies (ibid).



Picture 4: Local blacksmith gun manufacturer

Source: Wikipedia.com

Guns ‘made in Ghana’ are now known for their competitive prices, reliability and accessibility. According to Aning (2005), small arms produced elsewhere rarely challenge Ghanaian gunsmiths when it comes to their own market. The blacksmiths are able to reproduce pistols, single-barrel guns, double-barrel shotguns, pump-action shotguns, and traditional Dane guns. Some also now possess the capability of copying imported AK-47 assault rifles (McCaskie, 2008). According to Aning (2005), all the ten regions in Ghana are home to workshops with small arms manufacturing capability. He noted that small arms are manufactured in conformity with imported ammunition available on the open market.

3.2 Notable Areas for Gun Manufacturing

In the Volta Region for example, Kpando, Tafi Atome, Alavanyo and Ho are towns that support appreciable levels of gun manufacture (Aning, 2005). Small arms manufacture is deeply embedded in the region’s colonial history and host communities accept and protect their gunsmiths. Oral tradition suggests that the Volta Region’s first gun manufacturer was a man called Asamoah. He learned his trade by working with Europeans and studying in India (*Ghana districts.com, 2006*). Some even claim that Asamoah knew how to make guns before the arrival of Europeans, while others also believe that the Alavanyo learned their art from the Germans during pre-colonial time.

However, over the past 90 years, conflicts between the citizens of Alavanyo and those of Nkonya which started in 1923, have contributed to the dispersion of gun-making skills across the region’s towns and beyond (Aning, 2005). Gunsmiths originating from Alavanyo are usually recognized as the more capable gun manufacturers and handlers (ibid).

However, blacksmiths from Nkonya are believed to have migrated to Nkawkaw and Hordzor, near Ho and Tafi Atome, in Hohoe District. The migration of these itinerant gun manufacturers is significant because it reveals how expertise is dispersed and suggests wider implications for the spread of gun-making technology (Sowatey, 2005).

According to Aning (2005), the Alavanyo gunsmiths produce pistols (nickname 'Klosasa' or 'Tukpui'); single-barrel guns ('Aprim'); double-barrel shotguns ('Nueze'); pump-action shotguns ('Gadoe') and traditional Dane guns ('Nueze'). He further asserted that, it is almost impossible to distinguish guns manufactured in Volta Region from imported ones as the blacksmiths have managed to create near-perfect replicas of the originals. The only difference may be the degree of smoothness inside the barrel (ibid).

Furthermore, Suame-Magazine in Kumasi, Ashanti Regions, and Techiman in the Brong Ahafo Region host a large group of manufacturers organized under the rubric of the Ashanti Region Association of Blacksmiths (ARAB). While Suame is known as the technological hub of Ghana (Picture 7 below), Techiman is better known as a regional trading centre, which attracts customers from the entire West African sub-region (Aning, 2005; McCaskie, 2008).

According to McCaskie (2008), some manufacturers and apprentices admit to producing weapons commissioned by armed robbers, macho-men, 'landguards', and gun traffickers intended to smuggling them out of the country. The Suame-Magazine is one of the most established gun-manufacturing centres in Ghana, owing to the presence of numerous mechanical workshops specializing in different products. This large manufacturing capacity has resulted in larger numbers of highly skilled craftsmen, which has in turn facilitated the proliferation of manufacturers producing high-quality weapons McCaskie (2008).

Besides, in the Central Region, blacksmiths primarily manufacture guns and supply to *Asafo* (warrior) companies. These weapons are deployed for musketry displays during their annual *Akwanbo* (literally, 'clearing the path') festival (Aning, 2005).

Also, the inhabitants of Sabunjida-Machelene (*meaning a colony of blacksmiths in Sabunjida, a suburb of Tamale*) are also known and recognized for their blacksmithing skills (ibid). They manufacture tin drums and agricultural implements, production of pistols and convert discarded steel pipes into lethal weapons (Aning, 2005; McCaskie, 2008).

Although, Greater Accra Region is under relatively tight police control, Kasoa, one of the adjoining market towns, is a well-known and technologically advanced gun manufacturing and trading centre (Aning, 2005). Proximity of Kasoa to the capital has facilitated a strong industrial technological developments base which makes it possible the transfer of widely available technological skills (ibid).

Moreover, Eastern Region has a limited small arms production, which occurs in small villages and towns. Blacksmiths primarily concentrate in the repair and servicing of guns but also produce a wide variety of 'non-lethal' domestic implements such as hoes, cutlasses, and farm implements (ibid).

Whereas Takoradi is geographically critical to the exportation of small arms to other West African states, it is a minor manufacturing town. Furthermore, demand for small arms is high in Côte d'Ivoire, which borders the region to the west. As a result, locally manufacture guns may be smuggled in while some Western Region gunsmiths maintain that they have been invited to demonstrate their skills and to train Ivoirians to make their own weapons (Aning, 2005). He further noted that Western Region gunsmiths are poorly organized and seldom join forces, even when producing comparable products. The

gunsmiths there also produce agricultural implements and basic household equipment such as irons, drying lines, tongs and buckets.

Furthermore, in the Upper East and Upper West regions, which border Burkina Faso to the north, locally manufactured shotguns availability are less of a problem than imported industrial weapons. Gun violence including armed robberies and cattle rustlers armed with AK-47 assault rifles have forced herders and communities to also arm themselves (Aning, 2005). Fulani herdsmen, who criss-cross the West African sub-region searching for cattle pasture, may also be well armed owing to struggles with locals over access to grazing lands and watering holes. These weapons of choice include AK-47 assault rifles, Mark 4, G3, pistols, shotguns, self loading rifles, sub-machine guns, hand-held grenades and rocket-propelled grenades among others (Aning, 2005; Appiah, 2007).

3.3 Demand and Supply of Locally-made Guns

Although self-defence, collection, and sport shooting, that is primarily hunting, clearly drive the demand for locally made guns, significant number of small arms have also made their way into criminal hands. Low price, efficacy and easy accessibility have resulted in Ghanaian craft guns being the weapon of choice in as many as 30 per cent of gun-related robberies (Ghanaian Chronicle, 2002). According to law-enforcement officials, these have risen sharply since 1998 (GPS, 2004). Out of the 60 reported armed robbery cases in the Greater Accra Region and its vicinities during June 2001, as many as 15 involved the use of locally manufactured small arms (Accra Mail, 2003b). Apart from armed robbers and bandits (Accra Mail, 2003a), vigilante groups, landguards, and ‘political macho-men’, that is, the armed gangs hired by politicians; are the main organized users of locally made weapons in Ghana (Mingle, 2001; Arthur, 2001). Recurring chieftaincy disputes in the Northern Region, including the 1994 conflict

involving the Nanumba and Konkomba, and the more recent Dagbon crisis, did fuel small arms demand, as well as clashes between even butchers in Bimbilla (Daily Graphic, 11 July, 2015).

Insecurity in Ghana and instability in Togo, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire, has resulted in higher prices, which holds trans-national implications for Ghanaian production. In these countries customers not only import Ghanaian craft guns, but also invite gunsmiths to teach their craft to others (Aning, 2005). Again, it is under the rubric of skills transfer, manufacturers are able to escape the scrutiny of Ghanaian security forces. Gunsmiths credit this ploy with raising their earnings, while simultaneously reducing the need for bribery and the likelihood of arrest.

Despite these worrying trends, there is a general lack of reliable information on the extent of Ghanaian locally-made gun production. Analysts only run into a wall when it comes to confronting high levels of secrecy (McCaskie, 2008), but must also deal with the politicized nature of the debate, which tends to result in official underestimation of the true extent and breadth of small arms production and trade (Aning, 2005). It remains practically unfeasible to quantify the actual extent of craft gun production in Ghana. This is mostly due to the fact that it is an illegal activity and gunsmiths have no incentive to keep records (*ibid*), of which, disparities in production and demand actual output nevertheless remains unknown.

3.4 Government Control Measures

Small arms production in the then Gold Coast was first criminalized and banned in the mid-nineteenth century after colonial powers, Denmark and the then Great Britain, began to perceive the proliferation of small arms as a serious threat to their hegemony (Jones, 1985; de Marees et al., 1988; Aning, 2005; Florquin and Berman, 2005). Since Ghana

gained independence in 1957, the government has also enacted new legislations to curb small arms manufacture and possession.

Conversely, the wars in Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Sierra Leone and Libya flooded the sub-region with a lot of small arms, thus making the restriction of small arms a priority in the sub-region and in Ghana in particular (Afokpa, 2013). In spite of this gloomy picture painted by the proliferation of small arms and the alarming rates of armed robbery, banditry, communal and chieftaincy conflicts, it is gratifying to note that there have been serious attempts at local level to control the number of weapons in circulation. To eliminate the proliferation of small arms in Ghana is not an easy task. As mentioned earlier, the proliferation of small arms is as a result of various factors propelled by globalization. Small arms proliferation problem is linked to many variables inside the sub-region and within the country, and categorically not isolated from the global phenomena.

In Ghana for instance, several legislations to stem the proliferation of small arms, such as Arms and Ammunition Act, 1962 (Act 118) was enacted to control the manufacture and assembling of small arms in Ghana. It is remarkable to learn that, section 16 of the Act (Act 118) allow local blacksmiths to repair foreign guns or weapons. However, section 17 of the same Act outlaws the manufacture of small arms and in cracking down on the Ghanaian blacksmiths has succeeded only in driving the trade underground. This legal loophole has been successfully explored by the local blacksmith, hence their continuance production of small arms. It is however noted that, by way of repairing foreign guns which got damaged, the blacksmiths are able to copy or duplicate same (see Picture 4 above) and sell the weapons out to their customers, which slipped outside the purview of the state.

However, in a subsequent attempt to legalize the trade by providing gun-making licenses, the Act was amended by Arms and Ammunition Decree, 1972 (NRCD 9) to improve the registration process and also soften sections of the 1962 law that criminalized the local manufacture of arms. Section 6 of Arms and Ammunition Decree, 1972 (NRCD 9), permit local blacksmith to obtain license to manufacture any arms and ammunition. However, section 6 of the Decree has been met with a complete dearth of applications, while more artisans continued in secrecy to manufacture and supply to their clients who may use them for various illegal activities including armed robbery. Further, Locksmiths (Licensing) Act, 1994 (Act 488), Arms and Ammunition (Amendment) Act, 1996 (Act 519) and the Arms and Ammunition (Amendment) Act, 2001 (Act 604), further reinforced the previous laws. The prohibition of locally blacksmith/gunsmith manufacture guns or firearm manufacture and assembling in Ghana has not prevented the industry from growing.

Furthermore, in 2003, a Draft Arms and Ammunitions Bill, which has remained in its draft form till date, reiterated the previous Acts which states: *“A person shall not without the written consent of the Minister manufacture arms or ammunition”* (Draft Arms and Ammunition Bill 2003, Section 14*i*). While the law clearly bans firearms manufacture, in practice the Minister of the Interior can at his or her discretion, grant exemptions although the conditions are not spelt out. However, as of May, 2015, no known exemptions were granted.

Furthermore, in line with commitments at the sub-regional level (ECOWAS) and the global level (United Nations Programme of Action), Ghana established the Ghana National Commission on Small Arms (GNCSA) in 2005 to consolidate legislations on the production, export, import, and transit of weapons due to the continuing proliferation of small arms (Act 736 of 2005). Nevertheless, the National Commission is still arguing

for the passage of a new legislation that will consolidate the various scattered laws into a single legislative instrument.

Some of the major challenges of illicit small arms control in Ghana reside in addressing the conditions leading to the demand for illicit small arms. The legislative regime allows two categories of small arms importers in Ghana: the first-class arms and ammunition dealers who import between 1,000 and 2,000 shotguns a year, and second-class importers, who bring in fewer than 1,000 units a year (Aning, 2005). Annual shotgun imports in Ghana average 20,000 units and are dominated by five major arms importers: Game Marketing Limited; Yadco Enterprise; Globart Teslria Enterprise; Bradco Trading and Associates and Ampoma Ahwene Enterprise (GOG, 1999).

However, most of the Ghanaian laws on small arms, manufacture and assembling are very old and cannot address current issues of small arms. The interpretation of the law in some cases is quite ambiguous and in other instances the laws themselves are not in consonance with the ECOWAS Convention. For example, Arms and Ammunition Act, 1962 (Act 118) and Arms and Ammunition Decree, 1972 (NRCD 9), remains in force over some decades now. On the issue of the manufacture of arms, section 16 of NRCD 9 of 1972 indicates an outright ban while section 17 allows it after official permission. In Ghana, while the ECOWAS Convention encourages dialogue with local manufacturers of small arms (Article 12 of the ECOWAS Convention of SALW their Ammunition and other Related Materials), such activity is prohibited by the Arms and Ammunition Decree (NRCD 9) of 1972.

On the contrary, new gun registrations by the Ghana Police Service in 2003 was about 5,600 annually (Aning, 2005), but this raises questions about the final destination of other imported guns. According to the Arms and Ammunitions report of 1999, a

disturbing number of guns imported into Ghana were smuggled into other West African states (GoG, 1999).

In spite of this, the potential clash between ‘modernity’ and ‘tradition’ in the interpretation of the law has resulted in a pronounced legal dualism when it comes to gun control in Ghana (Aning, 2005). First, a parliamentary and judicial-legal system inherited from the colonial period forms the ‘official’ system. And second, unofficial system is based on more traditional norms, often in the form of taboos, which, like the official system, are associated with various sanctions and systems of institutional support. As a result, people ‘jump’ from one system to the other whenever it is felt appropriate (Sowatey, 2005).

Legally, only the first system exists and the second is barely acknowledged. However, in reality the first is embedded in the second (Ekeh, 2012), that is, the way the official system is interpreted in any given situation depends on its relationship with the traditional system. The power of the traditional system, of course, arises from the fact that it is rooted in the traditional values and ethical concerns of the people, and its ultimate sanction lies in its unseen and spiritual dimensions, especially with ancestors. One may be legally required to observe the first system but morally obliged to observe the second. Because of this dualism and dichotomy, the police and other law enforcement agencies, often side with gunsmiths or are sympathetic towards them. They may be breaking the law but it is a Western law (*yevu wofese*) and therefore not really regarded as something that works for the common good. From this perspective, they are bearers of an important tradition and perform a valuable service to the community, of which they are upstanding members (Aning, 2005).

However, in 2000, a proliferation of small arms was so rampant that the government of Ghana initiated a joint police and military small-arms collection scheme titled “*Etuo Mu*

Ye Sum: The Barrel of a Gun is Dark". This joint operation according to Wegener (2002), resulted in the collection of 2,000 weapons, primarily from former government civil servants who had acquired these weapons during the 1979–1992 military regimes (Bah, 2004), to flushed out illicit weapons. Weapons confiscated included AK-47 assault rifles, pistols, shotguns (both locally manufactured and imported), and pump-action guns.



Picture 5: Confiscated Weapons in a Joint Operation

Source: Wikipedia.com

There is little information regarding the number of guns in private hands. During International Weapons Destruction Day in 2001, about 8,000 weapons were destroyed (Picture 6 below) on 9 July 2001 including 715 small arms of various types seized in a massive cordon and search operation conducted in Accra (Aning, 2005).



Picture 6: International Weapons Destruction Day

Source: www.ghanaweb.com

It is worth noting that the series of legislations put together since Ghana's independence to control the production and distribution of small arms has been hindered as the laws are obsolete with loopholes. The influx of locally-made small arms in circulation posed a security challenge. The gloomy picture of small arms production by blacksmiths and the alarming rates of armed robbery is problematic.

The judicial-legal system inherited from the colonialist became a potential clash between modernity and tradition as excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law is more reinforce in the traditional system. Therefore the blacksmiths observes the judicial-legal system while the traditional system is morally acknowledge reinforcing the belief that the definitions favorable to the violation of law can be rationalized resulted in dualism and dichotomy between the Western laws as against traditional system. The power of the traditional system of course, arises from the fact that it is rooted in the traditional values and ethical concerns of the people, and its ultimate sanction lies in its unseen and spiritual dimensions.

Drawing from the foregoing discussions, it is significant to note that the history of gun manufacturing emerged in the country during the pre-colonial era and all the ten Regions

possess the skills to produce small arms. The sources further discovered that the small arms industry has grown in sophistication and intensity to meet the growing demand by citizens who require them for self-protection as a result of general insecurity, and also unfortunately used by criminals for robbery and other criminal intents. In fact, no meaningful development can take place in a nation that bedeviled with the activities of small arms and their related problems. The influence public opinions on the need to create a peaceful and stable environment as a precondition for accelerated development have propelled many governments to enact several legislations to control the production and assembling in Ghana. However, the ambiguity of the various enactments has created a ‘night market’ for both local manufacturers and their clients without government detection. Having examined the history and laws regarding small arms, the next chapter will look at gun manufacturers in Alavanyo with reference excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law.

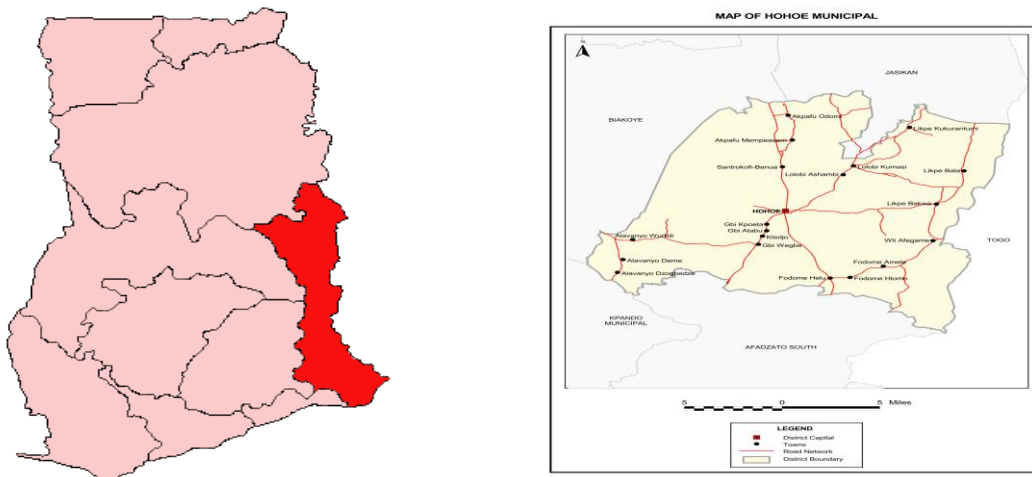
CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE OF ALAVANYO

4.0 Introduction

This chapter expands on the study area Alavanyo in the Hohoe Municipality in the Volta Region where this research was conducted. This is important because the researcher wants to understand the social structure of the area under study so as to understand the main economic activities. It is imperative to explore the activities and expertise of the people of Alavanyo in the gun economy.

First, the demographic configuration of Hohoe Municipality is discussed including brief history of the population and location of Alavanyo, and its economic activities, topography, drainage and vegetation. The next section narrows the focus on the ethnic component of blacksmithing and the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflicts.



Picture 7: Volta Region (Red) and Hohoe Municipality

Source: Ghana District.com

Hohoe Municipality was created in 1979 after being carved out of the old Jasikan and Kpando District Councils (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). There are several ethnic groups in the Hohoe Municipality. The major ethnic groups in the Municipality are the Ewe,

Likpe, Akpafu, Lolobi, Logba, Santrokofi, Tafi and Nyagbo (Table 1 below refers). The 2000 population figure for Hohoe Municipal Assembly is about 144,511 with the gender breakdown established as 70,754 males and 73,547 females, (Table 1).

Table 1: Ethnic groups and population in the Hohoe Municipality

Ethnicity	Language	1995	%	2000	%
Ewe	Ewe	95,497	66.5	104,664	66.0
Likpe	Sekpele	14,286	9.9	15,699	10.0
Akpafu	Siwu	8,158	5.7	8,964	5.7
Lolobi	Siwu	7,100	4.9	7,815	4.9
Logba	Ikpana	4,6,727	4.7	7,334	4.6
Santrokofi	Sele	4,687	3.3	5,851	3.7
Tafi	Tegbor	3,629	2.5	4,212	2.7
Nyagbo	Tutrugbu	3,582	2.5	3,938	2.5

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2010

4.1 Population, Location and History of Alavanyo

It is estimated that Alavanyo has a total population of about 9,714 people. This splits into 4,736 males and 4,979 females respectively (Hohoe Municipal Assembly, 2006).

The people of Alavanyo are hitherto believed to have settled in Notsie in Togo. Legend has it that they escaped from the tyrannical rule of King Agorkoli, who ruled over that empire (Notsie) during 18th century. They, therefore migrated from Notsie in the Republic of Togo to Saviefe through Akrofu and Sovie (near Kpando) and then to Logloto. Their present place allocated to them by the people of Nkonya in about 1840 (Amenumey, 1969).

Alavanyo is mostly made up of Ewe speaking people and comprised seven communities such as Abehenease, Agoxoe, Wudidi, Kpeme, Agome, Deme and Dzogbedze bonded by common ancestry, culture and historical antecedents (Ghana district.com, 2006). The seven villages of Alavanyo are all located on the west side of the Hohoe Municipality almost on the Kpando border which sits at the base of Togo Plateau forest reserve. The geographical size of the area is about 5000 sq. km. (Adogley, 2012).

It is said that Alavanyo means '*It shall be well*' in Ewe. The name may have originated in the new-found optimism of those migrated from Notsie in search of freedom. Interestingly though, there is a place called Alavanyo in Togo, about 17 miles north-east of Hohoe.

While the people of Alavanyo settled on lands allocated to them by Nkonya in about 1840 (Amenumey, 1969; Ohene, 2013), the people of Nkonya were in their settlement where they are today before the arrival of the people of Alavanyo. The leader of Alavanyo migrant was called Amega To. In those ancient times, land was not a problem, as extensive unoccupied lands were available for migrating parties to settle on. Amega Kondodze, however, directed the migrants to the Logloto area, quite a distance from Nkonya, near the Volta River, an area beyond the territorial borders of Nkonya. The Logloto and the whole area are now under water as a result of the creation of the Volta Lake. The migrants did not settle in the Logloto area because the vegetation in the area did not appeal to them and the Volta River was a deterrent, posing danger to safety of their children. The people of Alavanyo turned their back to the Volta River and, on their own, explored the uninhabited areas around until they found a place they considered suitable to settle on.

The traditional boundary separating Nkonya from Alavanyo lands was respected until the advent of cocoa, the cultivation of which, unlike food-crops, required much larger and longer occupation of land.

4.2 Economic Activities

Agriculture plays a crucial role in the economy of Alavanyo, providing food, income and employment to majority of the people. It is made up largely of subsistence small holder production units, with weak linkages to industry and the service sectors. The Alavanyo are among the top producers of plantain, maize, cassava and yam in the Hohoe Municipality (Ghana district.com, 2011). Some trading goes on within the localities but traders (women) travel to Hohoe or Kpando markets in order to buy and sell their goods.

Furthermore, agriculture which is rain-fed provides employment for about 70 per cent of the working force; hence they are unable to generate enough funds to improve upon their lives (ibid). Apart from subsistence farming and hunting, they also engage in pottery, ceramics, carving, traditional medicine, soap making, cassava processing, distilling, carpentry/joinery and blacksmithing, among others (Akanbong, 2012).

The people of Alavanyo are expert gun makers and once manufactured weapons for World War II as oral tradition had it (Ghana district.com, 2011). Oral tradition further suggests that the first gun manufacturer Asamoah learned his trade working with Europeans and studying in India in the eighteenth century. In the same vein, oral legend also believes that the Alavanyo inherited their blacksmith skills from the Germans during the pre-colonial times.

The blacksmiths at Alavanyo are a contemporary example of pre-industrial craft manufacturers. Their production technology has not essentially changed over the centuries. The blacksmith technology has persisted and expanded to a national market.

The blacksmiths' economic and technological roles in history, culture and religion are considered a social and economic success. Gun production rests upon cooperation between independent specialized blacksmiths who own their tools and their workplace and coordinate production and supply of raw materials. According to an informant, Alavanyo operates as a community of producers of all categories for guns and is a social as well as productive entity.

However, Alavanyo became celebrated of its expert in gun making when Senyo Gatro Antor, the leader of Togoland Congress, mobilized blacksmiths from Alavanyo to protest against the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) government on the eve of independence. In Alavanyo, some of them took their guns and went into the bush to engage in what would today be called guerrilla warfare. In quelling the rebellion by the CPP government, there were a few deaths on both sides. Many of the hardliners went into exile in Togo and others into Nigeria. Those who went into exile remained there until after the overthrow the CPP government in 1966 coup (Amenumey, 1969; Skinner, 1974). Again, Alavanyo came into the limelight when Monica Amekoafia from Alavanyo-Deme became the winner of the first edition of the Miss Ghana contest in 1957 representing the Volta Region; she was contestant number '9'. It was from her number that the people from the Volta Region are nicknamed Number nine (Akpablie, 2015).

An informant had this to say of Alavanyo:

Alavanyo had been a troubled area for a long time, but this place has given birth to many heroes, people of this area are kind and soft hearted but when it comes to fighting for a cause, no one is old and no one is young. We fight hand-in-hand till the last bullet is spent.

Even though Ghana does not produce weapons, indigenous production of guns takes place in all of Ghana's ten regions and is highly advanced in terms of quality and quantity (Aning, 2005, Wegener, 2002).

Gunsmiths from Alavanyo are usually recognized as the more capable gun manufacturers and handlers (Aning, 2005). It is almost impossible to distinguish guns manufactured in Alavanyo from imported ones, the only dissimilarity being the level of smoothness inside the barrel (ibid).

4.3 Topography, Drainage and Vegetation

The Hohoe Municipality is mountainous rising above 500 meters at Akpafu, Likpe and Kpeve. It also has the highest mountain in the country, Afadjato which rises to the height of 890 meters above sea level. Alavanyo sits at the base of Togo Plateau Forest Reserve (Adogley, 2012). The Togo Plateau Forest Reserve (150.45km²) covers Nkonya, Bonwiri and Akpafu in the new Biakoye District, while the southern and eastern flanks lie within the Hohoe Municipality. The Togo Plateau Forest Reserve was demarcated between 1929 and 1931. The land-owning communities are: Bonwiri owning about 16.5 per cent; Alavanyo 8.8 per cent; Santrokofi 7.7 per cent; Akpafu 21.4 per cent; Gbi 9 per cent and Nkonya 36.6 per cent of the reserve.

Alavanyo falls within the wet equatorial zone. The vegetation is generally depicted by moist deciduous forest due to the relatively high rainfall experienced yearly. The vegetation is thicker and luxuriant and made up of different species typically of semi-deciduous forest. The temperature varies between 22° and 34°. The vegetation supports wildlife and the major animals found there are monkeys, antelopes, grass-cutters and reptile hence hunting is predominant in the area.

The Alavanyo traditional area falls within the forest-savannah transitional ecological zone. The vegetation of the zone developed from the forest. Several valuable trees in the forest include wawa, obeche, odum and mahogany while Tsatsadu Waterfall at Alavanyo-Abehenase is for tourism development. Alavanyo is also known for its Secondary Technical High School at Alavanyo-Kpeme.

4.4 Road Infrastructure

Though, it is a fact that road infrastructure plays a key role in the socio-economic development of Alavanyo, road infrastructures are in deplorable states.

The road infrastructure is critical for economic growth and poverty reduction, given its pivotal role in improving competitiveness. Fortunately, the Kpando/Alavanyo stretch of road from Gbi-Wegbe to Alavanyo was being reconstructed during the data collection period.



Picture 8: Current road network in Alavanyo

Source: www.ghanadistrict.gov.gh

4.5 Traditional Administration

In the Hohoe Municipality, none of the 21 paramouncy owes allegiance to another (Ghana district.com, 2006). People of Alavanyo have a paramount chief at Alavanyo-

Kpeme with his sub-chiefs. Kpeme is the capital of Alavanyo. Traditional authorities administer stool lands, holding them in trust for their people. They are also the custodians of traditional beliefs and customs, passed on from one generation to another.

4.6 SASA Festival

Festivals are important within the various ethnic groups in this country. One of the most attractive aspects of the Ghanaian culture is the colourful traditional festivals and durbars which are held yearly in all parts of the country. At a time when the need for money is forcing Ghanaians to leave their towns and villages to look for work elsewhere, the festivals offer them the opportunity to go back to their heritage, renew old ties and draw inspiration for the future. These festivals reveal some common features and beliefs of the society. Through the festivals, the people remember their ancestors and ask for their protection. Festivals are also held in order to purify the whole state so that people can enter the new year with confidence and hope. The people of Alavanyo also celebrate Hogbetsotso to symbolize their migration from the tyrannical ruler of Notsie in olden day Togo to their present homeland in Ghana. There is a re-enactment of this migration, which involve walking backwards, performed by women, children, the old and the young alike and many other festivals.

Historically, the people of Saviefe, Akrofu, Sovie and Alavanyo were once a united entity when their ancestors lived in Sakome in the city of Notsie several centuries ago, that is, before the exodus of the Ewe from their ancestral home in Notsie. (Amenumey, 1969). SASA is the acronym formed from the names of the four towns namely, Saviefe, Akrofu, Sovie and Alavanyo, SASA was initiated in 1948, and was aimed at renewing the traditional fraternity, affinity and love among themselves (Dzathor, 1998). It is also

to promote social activities, encourage educational activities and promote development and self-help activities and projects (ibid).

SASA celebrated in October every year, on rotational basis among the four traditional areas. A grand durbar of chiefs crowns the festival on a Saturday to commemorate the day.

4.7 Alavanyo/Nkonya Conflict

History had it that, in about 1905, there was a confrontation between the Alavanyo and the Nkonya regarding land encroachment. The Nkonya lodged a complaint with the German Colonial Administrator at Kpalime. This eventually caused Dr. Hans Gruner assisted by Chief Cartographer, Paul Sprigade, to commence cartographic work on Togo Plateau Forest Reserve in 1913. They prepared a map titled "*Karte des sechsherrenstockes' or 'bisher Kunjagebirge genannt*" showing the boundaries of the six communities that surrounded the Togo Plateau Forest Reserve: Nkonya, Alavanyo, Gbi, Santrokofi, Akpafu and Bonwiri. The map was printed and each head-chief of the six communities was given copies of the map for his guidance (Ohene, 2013).

However, on 24th May, 1923 under the leadership of one Kwasi Addae of Nkonya-Tayi, a crowd holding machetes, clubs etc., invaded the Alavanyo-Kpeme Paramount Chief's palace to compel the Paramount Chief (*Fiaga*) to accompany them to the bush to demarcate a land boundary. This culminated in one of them smashing and bruising the head of the linguist of the Paramount Chief with a club and this led to a scuffle. Following the incident, Kwasi Addae and some members of his group from Nkonya-Tayi were tried and convicted on 1st June, 1923, at the District Commissioner's Court at Kpando, presided over by His Worship S.D. Le Lievre, Esq. Before passing sentence, His Worship, S. D. Le Lievre advised them to take their case to court, for determination

of ownership of the land allegedly encroached on, after serving their sentences. This marked the genesis of the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict (Ohene, 2013).

4.8 Creation of Togo Plateau Forest Reserve

Following the skirmishes between the people of Nkonya-Tayi and Alavanyo-Kpeme, the Colonial Secretary set up ‘Togo Plateau Forest Reserve Settlement Enquiry’ headed by Norton Jones, the Chief Conservator of Forest in 1931. According to Ohene (2013), Norton Jones met representatives of the six communities on the issue where they all agreed that their boundaries were as shown on the Gruner map drawn in 1913. In his report to the Colonial Secretary at Victoriaborg, Accra, Norton Jones noted: *“There are in this reserve, parts of six divisions. Their boundaries in the past formed the subject of an exhaustive enquiry at the hands of a German Commissioner, whose name is still a household word with the people, Dr. Gruner. By infinite patience and laborious care, he had investigated, laid down on the ground and set forth on a detailed plan, the boundaries between these divisions (Gbi, Santrokofi, Akpafu, Bonwiri, Nkonya and Alavanyo) surrounding the Togo Plateau Forest Reserve which was titled “Karte des sechsherrenstockes” or “bisher Kunjagebirge genannt”.*

Ohene (2013) further stated that this commission’s report has therefore served as the basis for the determination and settlement of land and boundary dispute between the Alavanyo and Nkonya over the years

4.9 The Court Cases

In 1951, Paul Kodzo Anane and others of Nkonya-Tayi filed a suit at Akpini Court “B” (No.Tr.L19/53) against six individual farmers of Alavanyo-Kpeme. They based their claim on Dr. Gruner’s map of 1913. The case was to determine and declare the true

boundaries of Nkonya and Alavanyo. The case was later transferred, on the orders of the Chief Justice, to the Land Division of the High Court in Accra under Justice Van Lare. On 24th May, 1957 in the High Court, Accra, Justice W. B. van Lare accepted the said map as genuine and ruled in favour of Nkonya-Tayi (Ohene, 2013).

Furthermore, an appeal was filed by the six farmers from Alavanyo-Kpeme. In 1959 His Lordship, Granville Sharp J. A.(presiding) Court of Appeal, with C. S. Acolatse and H. O. Smith (Suit No. 12/59), up-held the accuracy and authenticity of the 1913 Gruner map as indicating the true boundaries and that defendants (Alavanyo) are “*estopped per rem judicatam*” (a matter that has been finally determined), from ever raising the question about their boundaries and that “*interest reipublicae ut sitifinis litium*” (it is in the public interest that a litigation must come to an end).

According to Ohene (2013), the court, by Consent Order dated June 19, 1962 made by His Lordship Mr. Justice Prempeh at the High Court, Ho ordered a surveyor, Mr. Henry Hagan of Cape Coast, to demarcate the Nkonya /Alavanyo boundaries based on the Gruner map of 1913. The result of the surveyor’s work was that some other thirty-eight families in Alavanyo-Kpeme, whose land holdings were not originally perceived by the Nkonya to be on their side of the Gruner map boundary, were shown on the ground by the surveyor as being on Nkonya side of the boundary. The question is, did the surveyor make a mistake in tracing the Gruner map boundary on the ground or is the Gruner map of 1913 of such a character that it cannot be accurately traced on the ground (Dzathor, 1998).

The sudden prospect of losing their land holdings to Nkonya-Tayi as a result of a court litigation that did not originally concern them, they always found it difficult to accept. This triggered increased discontentment among the Alavanyo community and the

conflict took a further angle when the Alavanyo disputed the accuracy and legitimacy of the 1913 Gruner map.

In 1970 a Ho High Court presided over by Justice G. R. McVane Francois again ruled in favour of the Nkonya and ordered Alavanyo to atone tenancy to the Nkonya. His Lordship noted that, the impression one is left with is a strenuous bid by the defendants, the Alavanyo to discredit once more the Gruner map of 1913. This is the third judgment the defendants, the Alavanyo had lost. After the people of Nkonya entered the land and begun to farm on it after 1970, the Alavanyo people again appealed against the Justice Francois's judgment at the Court of Appeal which was dismissed again in 1975 (*Ghana Law Report, 1976:194-203*).

In 1980 the people of Alavanyo decided once again to re-litigate the matter, which they took to the Stool Lands Boundaries Commission in Accra. The Commission ordered that the boundaries be re-demarcated. The Nkonya felt dissatisfied with the Commission's re-demarcation order and therefore instituted action at the High Court in Accra and the order was quashed.

It is worth-noting that in all the above-cited cases for the determination of the boundary, the judgment had rather been against the Alavanyo Stool and not the earlier six encroachers. However, the West African Court of Appeal, later discredited the Gruner map, saying: *"Their Lordships noted that the map is on a very small scale; that is, and must in the circumstances be, doubtful whether it was intended to be used for the purposes for which the respondent seeks to use it, viz; to set out accurately tribal boundaries; and that moreover, it has been shown to contain inaccuracies..... In short, the map is of such a character that it would not be safe to draw an inference from it regarding tribal boundaries now in dispute..... Their Lordships think that the court of*

appeal attached undue importance to the map and that their legal effect has been much exaggerated” (W.A.C.A. 24 in A. Kponuglo and others versus A. Kodadja)

After reviewing the criticisms against the Gruner Map of 1913, said: *It seems from the review that the Gruner map is vulnerable to the serious criticism of unreliability. It should not have been the basis of a decision.* All these point to the fact that the Gruner map of 1913 should not have been used for the purpose of demarcating tribal boundaries on the ground. That means, where the map has been used, the Court decision is based on false premises. According to Bogner (2000), access to land, as well as other natural resources is critical for the livelihood of rural peoples. A farmer at Alavanyo expressed the views below: *“It is our land given to us by our great grandfathers and whether you like it or not, me as a traditional person I believe that posterity will judge our integrity if we do not fight with the last clot of blood for us to redeem our image for us to get our land intact..., and I am sure that one day by the help of our ancestors and the gods, we will get our land back.”* These statements seem to be shared by a greater part of Alavanyo community.

Due to the frequent occurrence of hostilities in Alavanyo towns, these have brought serious and adverse psychological effect on school children. According to Dzathor (1998), the children seem to take the conflict as normal and whenever the alarm is raised that Nkonya assailants are upon a town, the young children rush towards the place of action to witness the war; innocent children, fighting with arms are becoming a matter of fun.

It is worth-noting that in all the above-cited cases for the determination of the boundary, the judgments had rather went against the Alavanyo Stool. At the local platform, access to land as well as other natural resources is critical for the livelihood of rural people. A

farmer at Alavanyo who happens to be a traditionalist expressed the view about the land dispute in the area as;

It is our land given to us by our great grandfathers and whether you like or not, me as a traditional person I believe that prosperity will judge our integrity if we do not fight with the last clot of blood for us to redeem our image be our spiritual lineage. And I am sure that one day by the help of our ancestors and the gods we will reclaim the land.

The worldview articulated by the interviewer is also upheld by many traditional Ghanaian societies. The ownership is deeply embedded in our fundamental cultural assumptions that land belongs to the ancestors, living and the unborn. Owing to the practice, family heads are always mindful to protect stool lands from encroachers to avoid calamities from their spiritual bondage. It is therefore not surprising that most land litigations cannot settle through the court structures and other legally recognized intuitions. These causes protracted chieftaincy disputes resulted in violence confrontations between disputants. Supporters of the disputants and their factions have sometimes resorted to the use locally manufactured small arms to resolve the problem. The development is not only worrying but also a serious drain of the meager resources of the country. Security personnel sometimes deployed in the trouble areas to keep the peace and prevent the future destruction of live and property. The resources the government spends in keeping the troops in the conflict areas could be invested in other equally important infrastructures such as the provision of boreholes, roads, hospitals and education to increase the life expectancy of the citizenry.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methods used to collect and analyze the data obtained from the field. This section covers the following areas: study design, target respondents, number of respondents, selection of respondents, data collection instrument and techniques, data management and analysis, ethical consideration and field experience.

5.1 Study Design

There are two basic methods of research designs that one can use to carry out a study. These are the quantitative which relies on numbers to describe data and the qualitative which resort to the use of words, interviews, recordings, videotape, personal comments, etc to describe a phenomenon. The researcher preferred to utilize qualitative design to provide an in-depth understanding and to elicit useful information on the linkage or nexus between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery which is the core objective of this study.

Ogula (1995) defines a study design as a planned structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions, such as “how” and “why”.

In qualitative study smaller but focused samples are used (Braddock, et al., 1995) because of the dynamic nature of the interview which engages respondents more actively than is possible in more structured surveys. The opportunity to probe enables the researcher to reach beyond initial responses and rationale. The opportunity to observe, record and interpret non-verbal communication (that is, body language, voice intonation) as part of a respondent’s feedback, is valuable during interviews, discussions, and analysis. This design allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the social

lives of respondents at the micro level. These were the considerations underpinning the selection of the qualitative research design.

5.2 Targeted Respondents

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) have defined target respondents of a study as a complete set of individuals with some common observable characteristics. The study targeted blacksmiths at Alavanyo and convicted armed robbers in Nsawam Medium Security Prison in the Akwapim South Municipal Assembly to get information. The study also targeted some selected government officials responsible for small arms control. It is through the interaction with these officials that the study was able to gather information on the small arms availability and misuse.

The blacksmiths were interviewed to identify the constraints they go through in engaging in the manufacture of small arms. It was also to explore the distribution mechanism (accessibility) of the small arms after production and the kind of collaboration that exists between blacksmiths and armed robbers. It was also to ascertain the knowledge, belief and practices of the blacksmith regarding policies on their activities. The Deputy Director-General, CID, the Hohoe Divisional Commander and Crime Officer, Senior programme officer at Ghana National Commission on Small Arms, Programme Officer at KAIPTC, Small Arms Department, the Director of Bureau of Firearms Registry were also interviewed to establish the state of existing legislation on the manufacture of small arms. Some convicted armed robbers were also interviewed in order to determine their source of supply of small arms. Table 2 below summarizes the modes of data collection.

Table 2: Summary mode of data collection

Objectives	Method of data collection	Respondents
1.To examine the nexus between proliferation of small arms and armed robbery	In-depth interview	Deputy Director, CID, Accra, Div. Crime officer, Hohoe, Armed robbers
2. To find out the regulations and policies guidelines on small arms manufacture	In-depth interview	Snr. Programme officer at GNCSA, Programme Officer at KAIPTC
3.To explore the knowledge, beliefs and practices of blacksmiths on policies regarding the manufacture of small arms	In-depth interview	Blacksmiths
4.To explore the distribution mechanism (accessibility) of small arms after production	In-depth interview	Blacksmiths,

Source: Field data, 2015

5.3 Number of Respondents

In quantitative studies, the emphasis is on large and representative samples in order to provide a broad and generalizable description that is representative of most situations, whereas qualitative research focuses on smaller groups in order to examine a particular context in great detail (Borrego et al., 2009). Limitations in the access to the study site at Alavanyo were constrained by the fact that fighting was still ongoing during the data collection period. This had an adverse effect on the sample size. Altogether, 39 respondents were interviewed made up of 14 blacksmiths, 19 convicted armed robbers, 1 Deputy Director-General, CID, Accra, 1 Director Bureau of National Firearms registry, 1 Senior programme officer (GNCSA), 1 programme officer (KAIPTC), 1 Divisional Commander and 1 Divisional Crime Officer. Table 3 below provides a summary of those interviewed.

Table 3: Summary of Respondents

Respondents	Number of Respondents
Convicted armed robbers	19
Blacksmiths	14
Key informants	6
TOTAL	39

Source: Field data, 2015

5.4 Selection of Respondents

Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) define sample as a smaller group obtained from the accessible population. Sampling is the process of selecting a number of respondents for study in such a way that the respondents selected represent the large group from which they are selected (Brinker, 1988). Alavanyo blacksmiths were purposively sampled due to their involvement in small arms production and trafficking.

According to Dane (1990), the advantage of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to zoom in on an area and on people. This technique has been used by Bourgeois (1995, 1997) and Feldman and Caplinger (1977) in behavioral studies with success.

Convicted armed robbers were approached cautiously due to the sensitivity of the topic under study. Hence snowballing technique was very appropriate and was used to identify the potential respondents in Nsawam Medium Security Prisons. Through the first respondent, other convicted armed robbers were contacted and interviewed as well. The Snowball sampling technique was subsequently applied to blacksmiths respondents at Alavanyo.

This was necessary because both the blacksmiths and armed robbers activities are clandestine in nature. However, the key informants were purposively sampled based on their in-depth knowledge of the subject matter (Kumekpor, 2002; Babbie, 2007).

5.5 Data Collection Instrument and Technique

A semi-structured interview guide and observation was more appropriate for this study than other instruments because most of the respondents especially, some blacksmiths and convicted armed robbers could not read and write (Williams, 2001). For the purpose of this study, the standardized interview technique where questions are formulated beforehand and asked in a face-to-face manner was used to gather the needed information. It also allowed respondents to disclose thoughts and feelings which were not possible using semi-structured interview guide. It also gave the researcher, the liberty to vary the sequence of the questions and the laxity to probe further. It combines questions that prompt discussion with the opportunity for the researcher to explore particular themes or responses further. This was relevant as the researcher captured the language and verbal indications of the respondents. Observation and interview data collected formed part of the field notes and audio-taped recorded interviews, were transcribed and used in the data analysis. This procedure helped the researcher to appropriately elicit information under investigation.

Prior appointments were secured with the respective respondents and an interview took about half an hour or more. The researcher was aided by an informant in the data collection and on completion of the exercise the researcher returned with the information for data processing. Direct and close observation in the field was also done by the researcher to gather more information which the interview guide could not cater for to buttress the information gathered.

Nkpa (1997) argues that information provided by respondents in questionnaire can be inaccurate, biased or fake. In contrast, the use of observation in collecting data makes it possible to obtain first-hand information about the group under study. In his view, observation is more preferred when studying illiterates, traits that cannot be tested with pen and paper and phenomenon which must be looked at.

The researcher collected both primary and secondary qualitative data. An interview guide was used to obtain primary data from the blacksmiths, convicted armed robbers and official of various institutions concerned with small arms control. Secondary data was gathered through extensive desk reviews of published and unpublished documents, books, reports, articles, journals, magazines and policy reports relevant to the study.

5.6 Data Management and Analysis

For the primary data obtained from blacksmiths, convicted armed robbers and key informant interviews, cleaning for errors was done and read repeatedly to discover patterns, codes and themes.

This was appropriate because the great deal of data generated was qualitative materials coming from talking with people through formal interviews and casual conversations. These interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim and used in the analysis. The research reveals targeted respondents behaviours and the perceptions that drive them with reference to specific objectives.

The descriptive analyses were appropriate for this study because it easily communicates the research findings to many readers by showing the number of subjects in a given category. This was generated by interviews of respondents and key informants. Additionally, the researcher's personal observations also include the Criminal Data

Services Bureau (CDSB) of the Ghana Police Service of the CID Headquarters, Accra, as documents are a useful source of data in qualitative research.

Furthermore, a structured content analysis with the coding process of themes and sub-themes emerging from the data was conducted on secondary data showing the patterns and inter-relationships (Kumekpor, 2002). Data interpretation was used to draw inferences from the analyzed data.

The qualitative data was analyzed by means of grounded theory and incorporated in the general discussions of findings. Research findings were however linked to empirical and theoretical literatures that were reviewed for the study to determine the relationships or nexus between proliferations of small arms and armed robbery in Ghana for empirical conclusions.

5.7 Ethical Consideration

Babbie (2007) acknowledges that all forms of social research bring researchers into direct and often intimate contact with their respondents. The study was field-focused which raises ethical concerns. The main ethical debates in qualitative research revolve around the tension between covert and overt research and between the public's right to know and the subject's right to privacy (Hulnick, 1954). To conform to the required ethics, authorization to conduct research was obtained from the Director-General of Prisons Service and a letter of introduction from the Ethical Board of Humanities, University of Ghana was shown to all convicted armed robbers in Nsawam Medium Security Prisons for their consent before interviews were initiated or carried out in the facility as it is a security setup.

Prior to this, the semi-structured interview guides were presented to the Ethical Clearance Committee of the University of Ghana, the Humanities Ethics Committee for

scrutiny and advice. Based on their advice and comments, the semi-structured interview guides were administered on the respondents. The semi-structured interview guides were also constructed in relation to each research objectives to ensure relevant responses.

Further, confidentiality was kept at all levels; all paper records were kept in a locked cupboard and all electronic databases were password-protected. Only the researcher had access to this information. The information collected was used only for the research purposes. Informed Consent was also sought from blacksmith participants for interviews. Since information on blacksmith activities can elicit strong emotions, the researcher debriefed participants where necessary.

The respondents were again assured that the study was strictly for academic purpose and utmost confidentiality was observed. Besides, no respondent was forced to provide information hence only those who expressed interest to take part in the study were included. The data collected and used in this study were anonymously coded so that they could not be traced to individual respondents.

5.8 Field Experience

The study was not carried out without any human-posed hindrances. These limitations resulted from the circumstances which were experienced in various ways including the following: Firstly, permission to undertake research in the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons was not easily obtained from the Ghana Prison Service (GPS) because the prison is a high security establishment.

Secondly, gaining access to the targeted respondents (convicted armed robbers) was not easy. The researcher was not allowed to enter the dormitories of convicts and therefore could only meet them when they were in the prison yard. It was also difficult for the researcher to openly engage the convicted armed robbers since he was a police

prosecutor at the court and might encounter some of the convict he prosecuted. However, the researcher disclosed his identity to only the prison officers and therefore was permitted to use the education office block to conduct his interviews. The researcher located a convict known as *'headmaster'*, who has been in the facility for almost 15 years. He knows most of the convicts. Through the *'headmaster'*, the first respondent (an armed robber) was recruited who also recruited other colleague armed robbers. The convicted armed robbers were debriefed and assured that the research was mainly for academic purposes and information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Finally, there was a limitation on time and access to Alavanyo blacksmiths respondents due to the protracted Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict which was ongoing at the time. The police clamping down on the blacksmiths and closure of their gun manufacturing sites was another factor. As a farmer from Alavanyo-Wudididi who is also blacksmith opined about the experience of gun manufacture stated: *"You are a stranger here and I have to tell you that, we do not discuss anything relating to our gun manufacture. I cannot tell you anything about gun manufacturing"*. This was the initial reluctance to grant interviews but the researcher did well to overcome the challenges by explaining the importance of the study to the respondents.

Further, there exist limited research database and relevant local literature on the issues under study especially in the context of Alavanyo blacksmithing. The researcher was able to contact a "war" leader from a neighbouring town who introduced him to an informant through whom the blacksmiths within Alavanyo were contacted and interviewed. This also came with its complications. All the interviews could not be conducted in Alavanyo, so the researcher arranged and transported some respondents (who were identified through snowball sampling) to Hohoe Municipality. Language was not a problem, as most of the respondents expressed themselves in Pidgin English whiles

others spoke the Akan language during the in-depth interviews. The manufacturing sites located at the base of Togo Plateau Forest Reserve (Abodome Mountain) could not be visited due to the protracted conflict.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

6.0 Introduction

The chapter focuses on the presentation, interpretation and discussion of data collected in the study using descriptive statistics. Tables and pie chart are used to explain the responses to the interview guide. This study was carried out in seven communities in Alavanyo. The communities included Abehenease, Agoxoe, Wudidi, Kpeme, Agome, Deme and Dzogbedze. A total of fourteen (14) respondents participated in this study. The interview was conducted in accordance with the research objectives which were to examine the nexus between proliferation of small arms and armed robbery; to understand the regulations and policies guiding the manufacture of small arms; to find out the knowledge, beliefs and practices of blacksmiths on policies regarding the manufacture of small arms and to explore the distribution mechanisms (accessibility) of the small arms after production. The analysis begins with the socio-demographic characteristics of blacksmiths.

6.1 Section A: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Blacksmiths

In the social sciences the background of respondents is very significant to understanding their mindset. Keeping this in mind, in this study a set of social background characteristic of respondents was examined. These include age, education; religion and marital status of the 14 respondents. The characteristics and demographics of Alavanyo blacksmiths interviewed are displayed in Table 4 below.

The data show that all the respondents were males. This mean that females are not accepted into the blacksmith industry because of the nature of the work. Most of the blacksmith job required lifting of heavy materials, tools and equipments, which demand

energy women do not have. Thus many are of the assumptions that blacksmithing is a job for males. Respondents were in age range of 31-90 years old. Six (42%) of the respondents were aged between 51-70, while the rest (29%) were aged between 31-50 years and 71-90 years respectively.

Almost all the fourteen respondents had spent their entire life in the Alavanyo community, while one person had lived for a long time elsewhere. Farming was a common occupation, with 83% of respondents incorporating farming activities into their livelihood. Only 10 individuals (71%) reported that blacksmithing was their sole occupation.

6.1.1 Education and Occupation of Respondents

Education is one of the most important characteristics that affects a person's attitudes and understanding of any particular social phenomenon. In a way, the level of education is ultimately associated with one's occupation (Assimeng, 1999). The researcher sought to explore the quality of life of the respondents as determined by their occupation and income levels. The occupation of the blacksmiths also influenced their sense of approach which in turn reflects their pattern of behaviour and understanding of particular phenomenon.

As far as the level of education of blacksmith is concerned, out of the 14 respondents, 6 (43%) were primary school leavers, 4 (29%) had no formal education while 2 (14%) were JHS and 2 (14%) were SHS school leavers. None of the respondents had attended a university.

All these respondents were considered to be knowledgeable in the topic under study. Gender is an important variable, but was not captured simply because, in the case of blacksmithing, it is not a woman's job, due to its nature, It is hot and dirty dealing with

utilitarian implements like axes, hoes, maddocks, spear, mattocks, harvesting knives, chains and other rugged implements (Hunley, 2010).

Based on the data, it can be concluded that by and large the respondents were not very literate.

6.1.2 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

Religion impacts on people's attitudes, beliefs, and practices and is key to understanding their behaviour. Most blacksmiths (71%) interviewed believe in the traditional religion which enable them to uphold the secrecy of their trade. Though most of them were bearing Christian names, only 4 (29%) were Christians.

6.1.3 Marital Status

Marriage is an important social institution. The attitudes of a person may differ according to his or her marital status because marriage makes a person responsible in a way. The marital statuses of respondents were investigated to enable the researcher understand their level of responsibility. All the respondents were married.

Table 4: Marital Status of Blacksmiths

Age group	Number
31-50	4
51-70	6
71-90	4
TOTAL	14
%	100%

Source: Field data, 2015

6.1.4 Length of Residence in the Community

In social science research, belief systems and practices shape the behaviour of respondents' overtime. These beliefs and practices tend to be accepted as the normal way of doing things. These practices are passed on from one generation to another. It is therefore necessary for the researcher to find out their period of stay in the community. The study found that all the respondents lived in Alavanyo except one who runs a school outside Alavanyo.

6.1.5 The Knowledge, Beliefs and Practices of Blacksmiths

One of the objectives of this study is to ascertain respondents' knowledge and opinions including their beliefs and practices regarding blacksmithing and the type of guns they produce. Analysis of the data revealed that all participants regard blacksmithing as natural skill. Blacksmithing has been around since about 1,500 B.C., villages could not survive without the blacksmith, for they were critical in the making and repairing of tools such as axes, knives, etc. Without them technology would never have advanced to the stage it is now. Blacksmithing is directly responsible for the advancement of society through technology (Hunley, 2010).

The data revealed that, many blacksmiths used guns for hunting and recreation. The important role of gun among the people allowed them to take with ease and to ensure the survival of their families and communities. A blacksmiths at Dzogbedze observed thus: *“Guns, particularly rifles, helped us defend ourselves”*. It was however concluded that, as a result of the local needs to protect their lives and properties regardless of the process of criminal behavior involved, they still rationalize their attitudes.

6.1.6 Cost of Small Arms

The level of knowledge about the cost of small arms among respondents varied. It is also possible that there was inhibition among some respondents who may have thought they would be implicating themselves by estimating the cost of small arms. Generally, the price of small arms and ammunition depends on the source.

In terms of gaining experience in gun manufacture, the respondents mentioned that, they gained their experience since infancy. That is, the knowledge is derived from the family. Conversations with many respondents clearly indicated that their experience in gun manufacture was learned from their parents or in some cases from other family members. Individual hinted that through observation and assisting their parents in their work the knowledge and experience needed to practice these skills on their own was acquired. The most common activity passed on via family members was farming and blacksmithing. In turn, hunting was also passed down either from father to son, or from the community's head hunter.

In an interaction with a blacksmith aged about 90 years from Abehenase, he observed thus: *"It is only the indigenes that can learn blacksmithing in Alavanyo. It is a community business and we have to protect it."*

He stated further: *"We grew up to meet it and we have to obey tradition"*. Guns in Alavanyo traditional area are held in high esteem and the community protects their gunsmiths. In another interaction, to gain more understanding on gun manufacturing industry, the response below was recounted:

"We want to preserve the trade so we can pass it on; preservation, for us, means practice. We look on each gun we make as a research project. All of them give us a chance to learn and to expand our skills. Any type of gun has been reproduced here."

The blacksmithing technology is as old as human civilization itself. Indeed, the development of different human civilizations has been linked to the discovery and use of metal to manufacture tools and implements that supported an agrarian lifestyle (Aning, 2005; Hunley, 2010). At Alavanyo, blacksmithing is an indigenous technology.

The illicit trade in small arms is a dangerous problem that is growing at an alarming rate.

When a question was put to Snr. Programme Officer of GNCSA, observed thus:

“Our goal is to establish universal programs to help in stopping small arms manufacturing and trafficking by our local blacksmiths, and to teach communities about the dangers of small arms. This education program would be vital in informing the younger generation so they do not follow in the footsteps of these ones. It would also help in the prevention of child soldiers, though not yet prevalent here. If we can teach the younger population what is out there now, they will be better equipped when it is time to face these hard times in life”.

In my view, the blacksmiths learn through interactions and the process of communication within intimate groups. Criminal behavior is learned, according to Sutherland (1939), and not inherited. This means that the blacksmiths who are already trained in the gun manufacture did not invent such acts, because they have been trained or socialized to that effect. The local gun manufacturers learned gun production within the primary group that is the family structure and it involves learning the techniques, values, motives, drives, rationalization and attitude through interaction. These techniques already acquired are now embedded in the individual as they rationalized legalization of industry.

The blacksmiths and armed robbers’ specific motives and drives are learned from definitions of legal codes as favorable or unfavorable. This means that they accept the culturally approves goals but lack economic resources to pursue them. They innovate by becoming armed robbers and illegal gun manufacturers in order to get wealth which is

not approved by the society. Their tendencies towards criminality vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity.

The gun makers of Alavanyo are a modern example of pre-industrial craftsmen. Their production technology is essentially unaffected over the centuries. Blacksmiths at Alavanyo are culturally bound not to disclose any information about their trade as observed by the Assemblyman:

The manufacture of small arms here is a family trade where knowledge and skills are passed on from father to son or to close associate or sister's sons. The 'rounds' (AK 47 rifle) is only imported by the state for security forces, but our people got it and copy it through our fellow blacksmiths who repair the soldiers and police guns. It is made simple because, 'rounds' do not have so many parts which can be replicated here except M16 from America.

The blacksmiths economic and technological contribution to the creation of a contemporary industrial enterprise is remarkable by any standards. For example, under the current system, the blacksmiths earn their living with incomes relatively high.

6.1.7 Distribution Chain of Small Arms after Production

Alavanyo have a culturally and socially mediated preferences for small arms manufacture, acquisition, possession, carrying, and use, as against mediated preferences for non-acquisition, non-possession, non-carrying, and non-use.

The supply chain of small arms between the blacksmiths and the armed robbers consists of one or more intermediaries. According to Brauer and Muggah (2006), the supply chain may be symbolically depict thus: $S \rightarrow A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow D$: (Thus, S supplies to intermediary A who demands from S. Intermediary A then supplies to B who demands from A. Likewise, B supplies to C who demands from B. Finally, C supplies to D who demands from C not from S).

This means the specific direction of motives of blacksmiths are learned from definitions of legal codes as favorable or unfavorable as the things to be observed (Sutherland, 1939). The motivations and means of the intermediate parts to the chain of supply of the blacksmiths are equally important as the symbolic representation can be expanded by also including maintenance and repair services.

The study revealed that blacksmiths supply chain depended on the relationship with the traditional system. The power of the traditional system arises from the fact that it is rooted in the traditional values and ethical concerns of the people, and its ultimate sanction in its unseen and spiritual dimensions with ancestors. The respondents therefore disregard any question related to distribution chain as they are bearers of an important tradition and upstanding members perform valuable service to the community.

A blacksmith at Wudidi observed that due to the strict upholding to their traditional customs in relation to the manufacture and distribution, no blacksmiths have been arrested for selling weapons to anyone. He noted:

...my friend, the blacksmiths will not tell you anything because, over here, we suspect any other person coming into our town, we believe that they are looking for information to harm us. The manufacturing is not done in the town but cannot also tell you because, every citizen from this place has to swear to our big deity not to disclose anything in relation to our gun manufacturing and how we dispose or sell it.

6.1.8 Regulations and Policies Guiding Small Arms Manufacture

Small arms subvert regions spark, fuel and prolong conflicts undermine peace initiatives; exacerbate human rights abuses, hinder development and foster a culture of violence. Since they are easier to transport, hide and obtain illegally than generalized armaments, small arms are a much more likely to exist outside the control of governmental organizations and instead reside with people who engage in violent criminal activities.

Within Ghana's legal framework, however, possessing small arms was criminalized in the then Gold Coast and outlawed when Ghana gained independence in 1957 (Jones, 1985; de Marees et al., 1988; Aning, 2005; Florquin and Berman, 2005). Since then, subsequent governments have enacted new legislations to curb small arms manufacture and possession. For instance, there have been a number of laws prohibiting the manufacture of firearms such as, Arms and Ammunition Act, 1962 (Act 118) and later amended by the Arms and Ammunition Decree, 1972 (NRCD 9). Afterward, Locksmiths (Licensing) Act, 1994 (Act 488) was enacted to further strengthen the previous Acts. The registration fees of arms was therefore revised, and hence Arms and Ammunition (Amendment) Act, 1996 (Act 519) and the Arms and Ammunition (Amendment) Act, 2001 (Act 604) were affected.

Ghana has also adopted the 2001 UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects to address the illicit trade. By this, Ghana has committed herself to collecting and destroying illegal weapons, improving national legislation to help criminalize the illicit trade in small arms, setting strict import and export controls, taking action against violators of such laws, and better coordinating international efforts to that end.

While Ghana is not the only country plagued by widespread armed violence, she is one of the few that also possess a large and thriving artisanal blacksmiths small arms industry. This situation translates into myriad implications for small arms issues in Ghana. At the most immediate level, it is becoming clear that locally-made small arms in Ghana make up the majority of small arms related to criminal activity.

However, outlawing blacksmith gun production is inimical to the nation's technological advancement and fostering continued domination of developed countries in the arms industry. This was opined by a Snr. Programme Officer of GNCSA:

Basically, we need to eliminate all of the illicit small arms entirely to protect everyone. This is nearly impossible because there is always going to be at least one person who finds some way to hide from the law, and ruin it for everyone else. But getting a bit safer is better than nothing. In otherwise, it does not really make sense to ban guns, because in reality what that means is that you are actually banning effective self-defense.

The researcher also sought the opinion of respondents on several measures that have been applied in addressing the challenges of illicit small arms. Common approaches suggested by them include disarmament, awareness raising, arrest and prosecution and the possible establishment of a specialized police unit to deal with illicit small arms.

In respect of awareness creation on small arms, the respondents were asked whether they had witnessed any awareness-raising on issues pertaining to small arms in their community. They responded that they had not attended or been involved in or seen any awareness-raising efforts.

Further, an official from KAIPTC was asked to specify which categories were to be considered as most important groups to target for campaigns against small arms. The official of KAIPTC responded thus:

The youth and criminal gangs are to be given high priority, followed by the civil society organizations who can disseminate information using various means. These armed robbers or the youth, are believed to be the primary perpetrators of firearms-related crime and violence, and targeting them is part of a frontal approach to resolving the small arms problem.

However, some respondents also suggested that children should be taught the dangers of small arms. Respondents thought that being shown a different type of life through interaction with other communities in a formal environment like school would be most appropriate. A school-based curriculum on peace building and the dangers of firearms would be useful towards this end.

According to the Deputy Director-General, CID, successfully prosecuting cases involving arms-related crimes and violence is central to resolving the impunity around illegal small arms possession. One of the deep-rooted gun cultures in Alavanyo was witnessed by the researcher when in one of the “war chief” house some community members came with their guns and gestured to indicate to the researcher that what they needed were bullets for their guns and not the security and development issues he was talking about.

There are laws to punish illicit small arms possession, the prosecution of arms-related cases is sometimes hampered by ineffective investigations which contribute to failure to convict.

Besides, other respondents were of the view that the formation of a specialized police unit could improve small arms reduction efforts. Some also asked for the training in small arms control issues. The respondent from KAIPTC was positive on this. Such initiatives should target all law enforcement agencies. According to an Officer from KAIPC, the failure of law enforcers in small arms control efforts is partly blamed on their lack of collaboration with the community.

An efficient early warning system is relies on strong partnerships among all relevant stakeholders a working communication and feedback mechanism and more importantly, an effective and functional early response capacity.

Asked to rate how the public should be involved in providing information on small arms to the government or law enforcement agencies, the use of telephone facilities was viewed as effective. The sending of SMSs (text messages via cellular/mobile phones), the establishment of monitors to collect and disseminate information, is highly preferable.

Most of the weapons produced in the world are from developed countries who love to promote international peace and freedom.

This was clearly put in a nutshell by an official at the Ministry of the Interior, thus:

In this era of globalization and trade liberalization, it is very disadvantageous for a sovereign nation like Ghana to criminalized local production of small arms and still import large quantity of these arms from other countries. This is because the criminalization of the local manufacture of small arms is in conflict with the state policy of private sector led economy where the private sector is regarded as the engine of growth. The state should rather create the enabling environment for local artisans (blacksmiths) who have the requisite expertise and skills to manufacture the small arms in a large scale so that some may be exported to other countries in order to gain some income.

If Ghana goes ahead to legalize and organize blacksmiths to manufacture weapons for home consumption and export, it will give a comparative advantage and create employment for the people. Also, it may enable Ghana to enjoy economies of scale and continue to dominate in both local and international market with her comparative advantage in blacksmithing know-how. Blacksmith in Alavanyo-Dzogbedze sums it up thus:

The legalization, monitoring and regulatory bodies like Ghana Co-operative Distillers Society in checking the production of local gin “Akpeteshie” should be extended to the activities of blacksmiths in the country. The regulatory bodies comprising the state security agencies, blacksmiths and some members of the District Assemblies will help to exposed those who will manufacture their arms illegally.

In a nutshell, harsh policies of government only succeeded in driving the local manufacturers, underground which makes it more difficult to regulate and control the activities of this illicit trade. A classical example of this is when the local gin

(*Akpeteshie*) was made illegal by the colonial government. The distillers went underground to manufacture the local gin due primarily to its higher patronage by the citizens. The legalization of the local gin and subsequent establishment of various bodies like the Ghana Co-Operative Distillers Association, Ghana Standards Board, and Food and Drugs Boards has helped streamlined the activities of the various distillers and exposed those who distill unwholesome products.

This attest to the fact that harsh regulations and policies are not answers to lessening the rate of circulation of small arms in the country. The Ghana National Commission on Small Arms must have a consultative meeting with the local blacksmith to help improve their regulations. According to the Senior Programme Officer at GNCSA, the main objective of the body is to identify, register and ascertain the number of blacksmiths and local gun manufacturers in every region by the end of 2015 but the commission has been constrained with funds. Friedrich Ebert Stifting (Foundation) supported the Commission in the past. The commission also has a mandate to sensitize the blacksmiths on the dangers involved in the production and proliferation of locally manufacture guns. The most important thing that the commission is engaging in is dialogue with the blacksmiths on the need to develop and divert their skills to more socially beneficial products.

Furthermore, the legislative framework dealing with firearms in Ghana also contributes to the ability of locally-made guns producers to flood the market with their products. Although, blacksmiths are not allowed to manufacture guns, they can repair imported firearms and have taken advantage of this loophole in the law to manufacture more sophisticated weapons.

It is ironic that the Ghanaian public discourse is that while the government appears quite comfortable with importing foreign weapons without laying down a saturation point for

such an exercise, the same government seems to harbour a quasi-pathological fear of local gun producers and their products.

6.1.9 Knowledge of Laws Pertaining to Gun Manufacture

Overall, Alavanyo blacksmiths and community members demonstrated knowledge of the laws pertaining to gun manufacture. Respondents demonstrated knowledge about farming practices, blacksmithing and their experience with the law enforcement agencies.

During interviews, respondent were asked what they knew about gun policies. Overall, respondents were considered to have an understanding of gun policies if they could list the major rules in their own words. The level of detail was kept basic. They were not required to know the exact processes of obtaining a permit to enter into the manufacture of guns, for example, but were considered to have an understanding if they knew they had to obtain one to manufacture, and to approach the Interior Ministry to begin this procedure.

Generally, respondents listed several items, including: no manufacture of gun without license; no assembling of firearms; no possession of firearms, among others. All respondents disclosed that the manufacture of gun without permission was illegal. It is also important to note that an '*understanding*' of gun policies did not mean the blacksmith respondents had an understanding of available small arms programmes.

When it came to whether or not people felt the gun policies hindered their daily livelihood, respondents felt that the policies allowed them to practice their activities underground. One blacksmith in Alavanyo-Agoxoe explained thus:

It is due to the law enforcement agencies that we move our manufacturing sites to Abodome Mountains. No Police will like to go there, because you can be killed on the way

to the sites. No Policeman has ever arrested a blacksmith from Alavanyo for manufacturing guns.

The hunters who were also blacksmiths presented a different story in this context. Manufacturing and possession of gun is an illegal activity, even though it is practised throughout the entire community but hunting is legal. A blacksmith and a hunter at Alavanyo-Kpeme had this to say:

Since Kwame Nkrumah's era, the laws are always against us. We have our laws governing our activities whereby we cannot break them but "yevu wofese" (the white man's laws) can be observed by us. Why are they not recognizing our talents and expertise?

However, the head hunter who is also a blacksmith provides talk about how the forest served as a classroom for teaching hunting knowledge and skills. "*We teach our young ones how to hunt and fight. We teach skills and the knowledge is transferred to them, there are also visual performances (such as dancing) when individuals make successful 'big' kill*" (picture 9). Both blacksmithing and hunting knowledge is a human asset, as acquiring it increases an individual's education and experience. In addition, participating in these hunting outings opens entry into the social network of the community's hunters.



Picture 9: Alavanyo hunter dance after a successful hunting trip

Source: www.ghanaweb.gh

The geographical location of the town makes it difficult for security personnel crack down the illegal blacksmiths as espoused by Agoxoe (participant); ‘it is due to the law enforcers that we moved the gun manufacturing companies from Alavanyo to Abodome Mountains. No security officer can venture the site because he can be killed on the way’. This outcome also in tandem with the literature where Dr. Ohene Konadu opined that the mountainous location of Alavanyo can be linked to Darra in Pakistan. Darra is also noted for mass gun production but the place is forbidden due to security reasons. This affords the Alavanyo communities an opportunity to produce the various weapons without government controls.

6.2 Section B: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Convicted Armed Robbers

The characteristics of research respondents have an important function to play in understanding the attitude of respondents. Keeping this in mind, the social background characteristic of respondents was scrutinized. They include age, education, religion and

marital status of the 19 convicted armed robbers studied. The characteristics and demographics of convicted armed robbers interviewed are outlined below.

6.2.1 Age of Respondents

Age of convicted armed robbers who participated in the study ranged between 25 and 45 years. Though gender is an important variable in the Ghanaian social context, this was not captured simply because, in the case of armed robbery, women often play supportive roles, such as assisting with the general planning of operations, spying on particular targets and caring for the sick and wounded male partners after operations (Einstadter, 1975; Conklin, 1972; Jatz, 1996; Atuguba et al., 2003). Thus, no female armed robber was interviewed because they were not available at the time of the study in the facility.

6.2.2 Educational Background of Respondents

As far as education is concerned, the field data revealed that, almost all the convicted armed robbers had some form of formal education, except three. There are three SHS leavers, five primary school leavers and seven JHS leavers. Only one respondent representing had tertiary education. According to Assimeng (1999), one's level of education is associated with the type of occupation or employment one engages in. Everywhere in the world unemployment is one of the critical macro-economic variables. This is because unemployment, especially among the youth is very expensive and when it is not managed properly, its far-reaching implications on the national economy are very disastrous.

The point is that the youth that form the cream of the society are able-bodied and are idle as well as unskilled. There are virtually no job opportunities for them with respect to their educational level. Life then becomes hopeless and the future looks bleak and

uncertain for them. Thus, become susceptible to crime and join criminal gangs like armed robbers. The research revealed that, some youth have refused to engage themselves in jobs they describe as menial such as farming and trading.

6.2.3 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

Religion impacts on people's attitudes, beliefs, and practices; it is key to understanding behaviour. All the convicted armed robbers interviewed had some form of belief system. The study revealed that 68 per cent of them were Christians, while Moslems constituted 32 per cent. Christianity according to Abotchie (1997) determines the worldviews of believers and affects their behaviour. The fact that the majority of convicted armed robbers interviewed were Christians illustrates that their Christian teaching had very little or no impact on their decision to rob people.

6.2.4 Marital Status

Marriage is an important social institution. The attitudes of a person may differ according to his or her marital status because marriage might make a person responsible. The marital status of respondents was investigated to enable the researcher understand their level of responsibility. The research revealed that only three were married while 16 were not married. According to the Pacific Center for Violence Prevention (1994), lack of maturity contributes to youth violence. Young people seldom understand the full impact of their behavior. This lack of awareness of consequences coupled with a tendency to respond with violence can be a lethal combination. Research has shown that the environment of fear in which many youth live, the culture of the illicit gun trade has popularized firearms and made backing down from arguments and "losing face" difficult for young people (Fagan, 1995). Self-defense, the need to show off, or the need to ensure

respect and acquiescence from others also contribute to armed robbery (Elliott, 1994). According to Shapiro et al (1993), youth who respond aggressively to shame, will find guns exciting and feel comfortable with aggression, and believe that guns bring power and safety.

Table 5: Marital Status of Respondents

Age group	Married	Not married
25-30	x	6
31-35	1	8
36-40	1	2
41-45	1	X
Total	3	16
%	16%	84%

Source: Field data, 2015

6.2.5 Proliferation of Small Arms and Armed Robbery

There is a close connection between global peace, security and economic, social and political happiness of people (Gamba, 2005). In line with this, Igbuzor (2011) has argued that peace and security of life and property are pre-requisite for progress and development of any society. Globally, Ghana has been improving on the peace index by moving from 61st position in 2014 to 54th position in 2015 (GPI, 2015).

The world has become less peaceful each year since 2008 according to 2014's Global Peace Index (GPI). The continued conflicts in other parts of the world and deteriorating situations and civil wars helped contribute to this trend.

Armed robbery is a dreadful crime as it involves the use of deadly weapons as displayed (Picture 10). The causes of armed robbery could be diverse. For example, the obsessed

character of most men to gratify inordinate needs influence them to embark on dreadful venture that often lead to untimely deaths or arrests (Green, 1999).

According to anomie theory, the material success is one of the primary goals of persons within society (Merton, 1938). The inability to achieve this goal causes individuals to adopt normlessness and disorganization as a way of life. It therefore posits that individuals become disenfranchised with society and decide to seek wealth by whatever means necessary (Merton, 1938; 1960). Furthermore, armed robbers appeared to tailor their modus operandi with a view to both maximizing the potential financial rewards and reducing the likely risks involved in the crime. It does not require great physical strength, intellectual power, technical know-how but the presence of a weapon replaces this need. This implies that simply reducing the availability of small arms will be the most effective preventive strategy.

Convicted armed robbery respondents made reasonably accurate predictions with regard to the financial benefits of the crime. Also their analyses of the potential costs involved in committing armed robbery were found to be neither irrational nor grounded in ignorance of the likely outcome. The study revealed that they have given some thought to the possibility of being caught and the likely sentence but the presence of gun and from the definitions of legal codes as favorable or unfavorable. Armed robbery however involves learning the techniques, values, motives, drives, rationalization and attitude through interaction with criminals who have the skills in robbery by the use of small arms (Picture 10).



Picture 10: Small arms seized from armed robbers

Source: Ghana Police Service, Regional CID, Accra

During Rawlings regime (1979 and 1992) various individuals operating in the national security network and militiamen had official weapons issued to them. Whether these weapons were properly accounted for after the country's transition to civilian administration is a matter for serious debate. In short, there are many weapons in private hands which have no documentation and therefore, in the event of their being used to commit any crime such weapons cannot be traced to anyone. Robbery is a serious offense, and police are encouraged to pursue the allegation as vigorously as possible. The result, however, is that when the police have settled on a suspect in a robbery case, they will issue charges based on evidence that would seldom be considered sufficient for other, lower profile offenses.

It appears no single day goes off without an armed robbery incident been reported in the media. Coupled with the rate at which it occurs in the country, is the tragic dimension it has taken in the country. Almost everybody in this country is a potential victim of armed robbery. This sometimes causes fear in the people. If people may live in a constant threat

of armed robbery then it shows the seriousness of the problem. Gone were the days when lone ranger thieves were coming to homes to steal stereo machines and video cassette players. Less than two decades however, small pilfering has graduated to armed robbery. Today when armed robbers storm a home or an office, they are no longer after sound systems or its equivalent but rather cash, jewellery and mobile phones including their would-be victims' lives.



Picture 11: Locally-made pistol with cartridges

Source: CID Headquarters, Accra

6.2.6 Possession of Locally-made Guns

Over the decades, Ghana and the world have experienced an increase in crime. These incidences are related to the availability and proliferation of small arms. The possession and widespread of small arms not only cause insecurity but also hinder national and community development. The history of uncontrolled small arms in Ghana dates as far back as early 1960s during the Cold War period (Abdulai, 2003). The proliferation and the possession of illegal small arms is a security challenge to individuals in Ghana. The Deputy Director-General, CID indicated thus: A total of 1,610 guns were seized between 2010 and 2014. Out of this number, 204 were locally made single barrel shotguns, 132 locally manufactured pistols, 1,064 pump action guns, 95 AK-47 assault rifles, 102

locally made double-barrel shotguns and seven G-3. He further said, 3,241 assorted ammunition were also seized while fifteen blacksmiths engaged in the illicit trade had been arrested and are currently being prosecuted.

A major catalyst of the armed robbery was the proliferation of small arms as well as its ammunitions. For the five-year (2010-2014) period, the total number of weapons tracked by the Criminal Data Services Bureau of the CID headquarters is distributed as show in Figure 1 below:

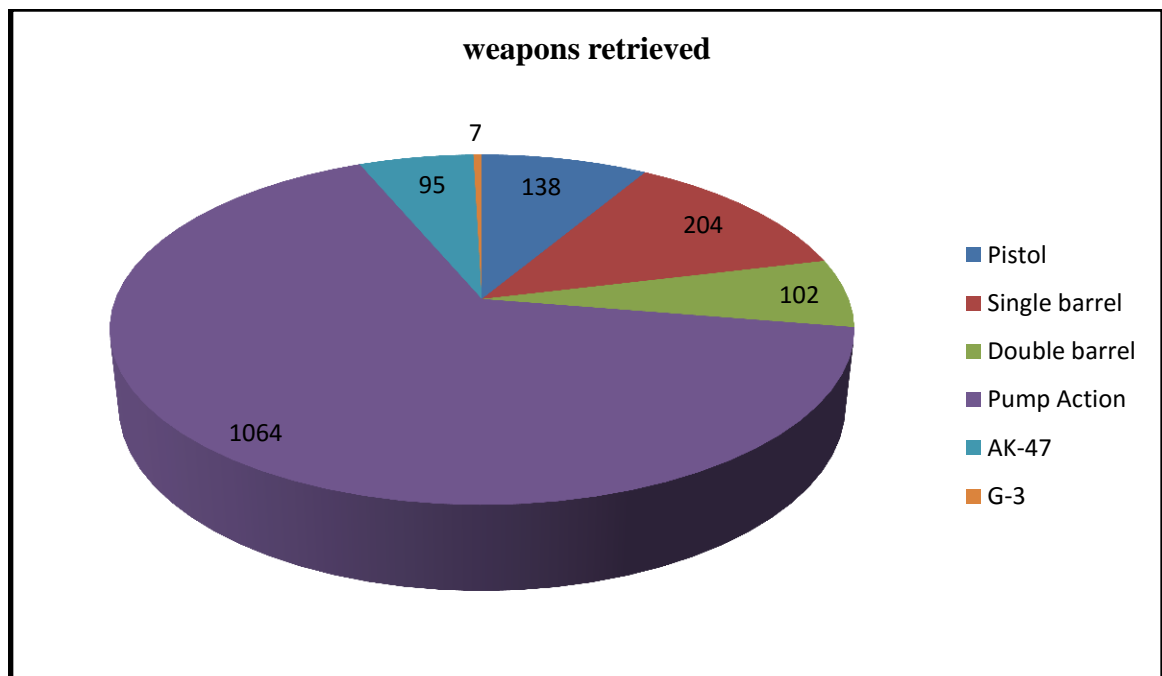


Figure 1: Weapons retrieved by Police between 2010 and 2014

Source: Criminal Data Services Bureau, CID Headquarters, Accra

As Figure 1 indicates overall, 66.1 percent of pump action shot guns were retrieved by the police during the period. The single barrel shot gun category recorded the second highest with 13 per cent, pistol recorded 8.2 per cent and the double-barrel shot gun recorded 6.3 per cent while the AK-47 assault rifle category was the fifth highest with 6

per cent. The number of G-3 rifle retrieved from the armed robbers was however the lowest (0.4%).

However, between 2010 and 2014 locally manufactured pistols were used in most of the armed robberies (8.2 %). This was clearly illustrated in an interview with a Senior Programme officer of GNCSA. He observed thus:

Guns are now so cheap that one can obtain a locally manufactured gun for as low as GHC200. He said, 60 per cent of guns used for armed robberies in Ghana are locally manufactured while the remaining 40 per cent are automated guns.

In another response, the Hohoe Divisional Crime Officer stated thus:

Guns are very important to armed robbers during an armed robbery. Armed robbers use guns to scare the people they are robbing and also they use it as an escape tool. They sometimes fire the gun to prove to you that they are in charge.

Although most armed robberies are committed with just the threat of violence. It is both their willingness to use extreme violence against innocent civilians and to target businesses that makes armed robbers a higher security risk. Their motives are based on financial gain rather than gaining the more subjective common among the younger and less experienced criminals.

According to the Ghana Police Service in 2013, a total of 5,416 ammunitions were found alongside the other small arms. Specifically, 604 cartridges, 219 rounds of Pistol, 1,826 rounds of AK-47 assault rifles, 12 magazines loaded with 732 rounds and 2,000 shot guns were retrieved from armed robbery suspects.

The impact of armed robbery on the youth is that it destroys the manpower which would have engaged in productive activities in various sectors of the economy such as agriculture, trade and industries and creates social insecurity in the country. These concur with the findings by the United Nations Development Programme (2006) that the

possession of illegal small arms and their use in crime and armed robbery in particular has increased and become a serious problem in various countries including Ghana. In the same context Mapunda (2004) found out that illegal possession of small arms by armed robbers was the reason behind social insecurity in Tanzania. Despite the Police efforts, the possession of illegal small arms in the country still persists. This is a challenge to the security agents and institutions responsible for controlling illegal circulation of small arms.

The number of armed robbery cases involving illegal small arms has seen a slight decrease over for the period between 2010 and 2014. One among other reasons for the decrease is explained by the recent government efforts in combating illegal possession of small arms and the drug trade.

The researcher relied on the official Ghana Police Criminal Data Services Bureau (CDSB), as no victimization surveys have ever been conducted in Ghana. Notwithstanding the assertion above, The Police Criminal Data Services Bureau statistics are used in this study since they are the only official data available and also since armed robbery appears to have a relatively high discovery rate. Table 6 below indicates the number of recorded armed robbery cases by the Police from 2010 to 2014.

Table 6: Official Police crime data on armed robbery from 2010- 2014

Region	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Percent
Greater Accra	586	436	304	316	338	32.7%
Ashanti	272	333	367	245	242	24.1%
Central	133	261	163	161	88	13.3%
Eastern	82	85	68	143	124	8.3%
Volta	46	52	54	89	106	5.7%
Western	25	46	62	67	59	4.3%
Brong Ahafo	42	52	49	94	23	4.3%
Upper West	23	19	20	35	64	2.7%
Northern	28	21	22	33	34	2.3%
Upper East	23	20	17	52	38	2.3%
TOTAL	1260	1325	1126	1235	1116	100%
Summary %	21%	22%	19%	20%	18%	
Total Pop.	24,658,823	25,235,268	25,824,920	26,427,760	27,043,093	
Per (100,000)	5.1	5.3	4.4	4.4	4.1	

Source: Ghana Police Service, Criminal Data Services Bureau (CDSB), CID Headquarters, Accra, 2015

(The indicated population figures are projection by the GSS)

Total robberies recorded from 2010 through 2014 = **6,062**

From table 5 above, the statistics indicated that armed robbery increased from 21 per cent in 2010 to 22 per cent in 2011 with the rate of 5.1 and 5.3, respectively. This means that there were 5.1 armed robberies for every 100,000 in the population. The Table shows that the highest number of armed robbery was in 2011 (5.3) However, the armed robbery rate decrease to 4.1 in 2014, while in percentage terms, it decrease in 2012 (19%) to (20%) in 2013. Armed robbery further dropped to 18% in 2014.

6.2.7 Influence of Drugs and Alcohol

According to Matthews (2002), the use of drugs by armed robbers during robbery takes two major forms. The first is that the armed robber takes drugs or consumes alcohol and then decides to carry out a robbery. The second is that an armed robber makes a decision to do a robbery and then take drugs or consume a quantity of alcohol to help them get through it. Offenders who use drugs typically do so extensively. As noted, drug dependency is an important ingredient in robbery offences in Ghana, and in particular in cases with multiple robbery convictions. This was clearly affirmed in the response below by a convicted armed robber:

I used to take tramour and d-10; after that I smoke 'wee' (marijuana). But because of the 'wee' scent, I will smoke cigarette in addition, then I will become 'high'. I will become fearless do anything with the help of my gun.

For the majority of armed robbers, crime is primarily about funding a lifestyle, particularly one fuelled by illicit drugs. Most armed robbers are often drug addicted. Add onto this that they often come from violent, dysfunctional and abusive backgrounds. Another extreme is that drug addicts who have sunk far enough into their addiction, are no longer competent to execute higher yield robberies. Their goal is to obtain money for their next drug use.

Still another issue affecting over-all intelligence is that criminals who tend to robbing people are themselves, often youth, not over or just barely over eighteen. That makes him more dangerous. If such a person perceives that something is going wrong with the carjacking, then the next logical step is to pull the trigger, at least according to what he considers 'logic.' For a small group of entrenched armed robbery offenders, the motivation to commit armed robbery appears to be more about earning a regular (illicit) income; a means to pay bills and support a family (that is, more like a regular

job). According a convict respondent: *“While I robbed, I never thought of tomorrow. The money I made went just like that. I gave them to friends. After buying guns and bullets, everything went to women and drinks.”*

As to how recruitment was done, the respondent said:

I used to go to bars and nightclubs and search for hard boys. I buy them drinks and cigarettes. I befriend them, make them to like and trust me before I introduce them to it. We take oath at a very powerful juju man’s place. We also buy protection, that is, charm against bad luck and police bullets.

As to how to he became an armed robber, he has this to say:

I used to go to school but I stopped in JHS II. I was following bad boys, smoking Indian hemp and drinking hard liquor. But my father and mother did not know. I lied to them that I had part-time job in a factory. All were lies.

He further noted that when they are going out to rob, depending on where they want to rob, they always go out in batches of four and five. Another thing is, he opined:

We meet at graveyards which are normally lonely where our operations are planned. We also bury or hide our guns. But if we want to go into a new town, we usually hide our guns inside bags of rice, maize or gari. So with that method, the police cannot catch us.

He concluded the conversation and explained his ordeal to the investigator why he was imprisoned;

I used to wash cars at a washing bay when my friends come to me to go to a spot for a drink, they displayed a lot of money and with beautiful girls while I cannot get that, so I asked them, the business they do, because I want to get money to also display on girls and to be able to buy drugs to be on top. They told me that, they work at Sefwi and if I am interested I may join them. I agreed and we left for Sefwi-Wiaso enroute to Sefwi-Asenso where I was given a single-barrel shot gun. I used it and we blocked the road and robbed the passengers but later I became afraid and ran away. As I was running, I got to a town and the people arrested me that I was among the Fulani people who

robbed the bus. I also mention my partners' names and we are all in the prison yard here.

In the literature Edwin Sutherland posited that criminal behavior is learned in the same way as law-abiding values are learned through the process of differential association. The learning activity is accomplished in the interactions within intimate groups. The simple explanation then is that some youth engaged in armed robbery because some friends or close allies were into it. Thus, as they always move together, the “sharpening of iron by iron” takes place. They get awed by things their friends present and end up being wooed into unpromising behavior like armed robbery. In fact, that is one of the very popular ways by which most young people get into the act. During the interview, one of the convicted armed robber admitted; “my friends engaged me at drinking spot and later taught me how to handle weapon, block the road and robbed passengers’. When non criminals interact frequently with criminals, the tendency of that person becoming criminals is very high because during interactions ideas are shared, especially when the criminal is a close friend to the non-criminal.

6.2.8 Planning an Armed Robbery

There are two extremes in armed robbery: at one extreme the amateur or opportunistic armed robber depicts the amount of time and effort put into planning an armed robbery. The robber spends little or no time planning and so does not research the target, does not wear a disguise, and makes no plans for escape; this type of armed robber does not usually choose his target in a calm, deliberate manner, but rather in a state of perceived desperation. For instance, in the case of West Hill Mall attack at about 2.00pm on 25th May, 2015, two armed robbers were not wearing any mask and had no waiting vehicle or possible escape plans. The two armed robbers allegedly shot two persons at the

projecting room of the Silver Bird Cinema, located within the West Hill Mall. The two armed robbers were a shoe maker and unemployed aged between 20 and 24, respectively. According to the police the arrested armed robbers' were aged between 18 and 30 years.

The Ghana Police Service Annual Report (2009) indicated that nearly 70 percent of armed robbers arrested in the country ranges between 18 years and 30 years. In Accra and Kumasi, the ages of persons arrested are even younger. Slightly more than 6 percent of persons arrested in these cities are 18 years old and younger.

This pattern is confirmed by Laub (1983), who analyzed victims' knowledge of pattern of violent crime. According to Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998) robbery in Ghana is essentially a group activity. The participants are known repeat offenders and who might have met in prison.

The other extreme is the professional types of armed robber who spends a number of weeks planning for the robbery; he thoroughly researches the target, considers in detail any security measures that may be present and, where possible, takes action to overcome them, and spends considerable time and effort organizing disguises and escape plans (Matthews and Harley, 1996; Wright and Decker, 1997).

Nevertheless, levels of violence used in armed robberies are not simply a function of offender inclination, but are also dependent on the reactions of victims and bystanders. People who stand in the way of an armed robber and his main objectives (money and escape) run the highest risk of physical injury. While violence pervades all armed robberies, most research demonstrates that the actual use of violence by offenders and serious (physical) injuries sustained by victims are relatively uncommon.

Armed robbers are people who have no employable qualifications or for those who have it, they have to compete with other colleagues in the already choked job market. If someone could easily get access to a weapon, then his ability to commit crime is higher.

A convicted armed robber was asked whether or not he had ever shot at his victim during robbery and he responded thus:

I did not kill anyone with my gun during my operations but I shot the limb of a resistant during my fifth operation because the man was not obeying my orders and want to look at my face. I never meant to do him harm, but to let him know I was in-charge and to take what I feel belong to me but in a wrong hand. I have to eat, feed my family and make them to enjoy life but these big men always use us and chop our money.

Often they consider that the victim is holding their money (so it is not robbery, it is getting back what is rightfully theirs). Most importantly, an armed robber has absolutely no hesitation about pulling the trigger, because to him, the victim does not matter. While an armed robber could pull a trigger on a whim, most people are harmed by him because they may either try to stall him, argue with him, resist ineffectively or scare him away.

Offenders typically view the use of violence as being about gaining control over an unpredictable situation and reducing the resistance of victims. The resistance of victims to the demands of offenders or the attempt of victims or other bystanders to otherwise obstruct them, greatly increases the risk of violence (Indermaur, 1995; Mouzos and Borzycki 2003).

While firearms can result in far more serious injuries than other weapons, they are infrequently used. However, where victims resist armed robbers, physical injury is much more likely to occur.

According to Tatem-Kelley (1994), due to target hardenings, gang activity may extend beyond the inner city into smaller communities and suburbs. This is simply because people there may be less suspecting than people in the city. At the same time, armed

robbers may feel secure knowing that they are not known by the local police in a particular suburb, offering a bit more anonymity. For this same reason, higher-end suburbs can be targets for home-invasion robberies as well.

According to the Ghana Police Service, whether this has been at the expense of displacing the crime into other areas and or onto other targets is not entirely certain (Cusson, 1993). This lack of clarity derives most from crimes prevented, as against those committed (Clarke, 1990). On the issue of the displacement of armed robbery, the Deputy Director-General, CID responded thus:

Rural communities near metropolitan areas have been experiencing an increase in armed robbery attacks due to the displacement effect. Urban police, through various strategies such as saturation patrol and undercover work, make it "too hot" for armed robbers to continue all or part of its operation in the city. The gang moves out to the edge of the metropolitan area and sets up its operations there. Development also does not go with security and new developing places or areas within and around the cities environs are susceptible to armed robbery attacks.

Armed robbery can happen at any place and anywhere, most happen at night, after sunset and before sunrise. According to an armed robber respondent, *"the times one may be robbed include getting off work and going to ones car; stopping by a mall or grocery store in the evening hours; dining out on the weekend; going to a gym before or after work"*.

Most robberies target individuals. Having someone with you reduces the chances of robbery attack. Indermaur (1995) noted that some armed robbers are high on drugs like crack or methamphetamine. These drugs can make people overly paranoid and overly suspicious (ibid).

As shown in Table 6, the Greater Accra Region and Ashanti Region recorded higher incidence of armed robbery between 2010 and 2014; Greater Accra Region recorded

32.7 per cent and Ashanti Region 24.1 per cent while the Central Region recorded 13.3 per cent.

Similarly the study revealed that a lot of small arms circulating in this country are not captured in the official documents of the Ghana Police Service. This situation makes it difficult for the Police and for that matter the state to monitor the usage of these small arms in the system. This situation is compounded by the fact that the operation of the blacksmiths is shrouded in secrecy.

The study reveals that the armed robbers' tend to be younger and inexperienced.

The research also found that the presence of small arms facilitate their operations. This is attributed to the fact that the mere possession of the weapons makes them more courageous and able to overcome any resistance put up by their victims. Others also stated that the arms put fear in their victims which makes them hurriedly give away their valuables.

On the whole, the research found that the majority of the convicted armed robbers interviewed at Nsawam Medium Security Prison do not have any employable skills as they have no educational qualification. That, the ineffective policies and regulations on illegal manufacture of small arms by the local blacksmiths may account for the circulation of small arms in the country.

6.2.9 Summary of Main Findings

The main findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

- Firstly, the data clearly shows that the proliferation of small arms has largely led to human rights violation, armed robbery, conflicts in the society and insecurity. The need to show off or the need to ensure respect and acquiescence from others also contribute to youth gun violence

(Elliott, 1994). Some also respond aggressively to shame, find guns exciting and feel comfortable with aggression and believe that guns bring power and safety (Shapiro et al., 1993). The improved technology and increasing demand for small arms has compelled most blacksmiths to redirect their skills to the manufacturing of guns locally, which account for the increasing circulation of illicit small arms among non-state actors including armed robbers.

- The data show further that, low educational qualification, lack of employable skills coupled with socio-economic deprivations condemns a large proportion of the youth to life-long poverty depriving them of their basic needs.
- Furthermore, the rocky Togo Plateau forest reserve makes it very difficult for security operatives to reach the manufacturing sites which serves as a fertile ground for the production of small arms and cultivation of marijuana 'wee'. Thus, factors such as unemployment, poverty, greed, broken homes with parental negligence, adventure and the influence of drugs causes people to engage in armed robbery. When people are poor, there may sometimes be the tendency for young men in such homes to try anything they can to bring money home. They may join bad company and indulge in all sorts of unacceptable behaviours.
- The analysis revealed that, stricter legislation and illegal small arms bans are not approaches to limit the accessibility of small arms to youth who indulge in armed robbery. An evaluation of the effectiveness of local gun laws and policies shows that mandatory sentencing laws for felonies involving a firearm or small arms have not prevented gun-related violent

crime such as armed robbery and related conflicts in the country. The various policies and regulations of illegal manufacture of small arms are not effective because the existing laws such as Arms and Ammunition Act, 1962 (Act 118), Arms and Ammunition Decree, 1972 (NRCD 9) needs to be reviewed, as they are weak with loopholes and thereby insufficient to address the current security challenges.

- Additionally, the small arms laws do not restrict small arms repairs and the widespread acquisition of technological knowledge within Alavanyo traditional area. This meant possessing the skills was not unusual and went largely undocumented.
- The analysis also revealed that the competence of blacksmiths to locally manufacture small arms was intimately tied to the ability to repair them. Though, local production documentation was limited, it was important to look beyond existing manufacture facilities and examine the knowledge and technical capacity for local production as it has technically equipped experience blacksmiths/gunsmiths.
- The study further revealed that, the production of small arms by indigenous blacksmiths appears to be a complex issue as it is often a family business, and several parts of the small arms are obtained from different sources and assembled. Perhaps, what makes the trade flourishing is that the manufacturing process is simple and all that the artisan sets out to do is to transform scrap metal (car steer) into a gun. The implements needed include a pair of bellows, iron pipe, forge anvil, chisel, hammer, hacksaw and sledgehammer.

- The local production has been encouraged by continuous conflicts between the people of Alavanyo and Nkonya due to protracted land dispute since 1923. The analysis further revealed that, geographical position and politics influence the continuous production and proliferation of small arms within the study area.
- The study revealed that, most of the small arms were distributed through several middlemen and not directly from the blacksmith manufacturer. The conflict with the neighbouring communities of Nkonya contributes immensely to the continuous production and arming their youths. Their war-like cultures and that of the neighboring community cannot be overemphasized.
- To ascertain the sources of small arms used by convicted armed robbers, the study revealed that, small arms are locally made by the indigenous blacksmiths and others are also imported from foreign countries. The study further revealed that some of the small arms were stolen from security personnel as this was reported by some of the respondents, while others had their small arms from friends and this attests to the earlier assertion that most transfer of small arms from one actor to the other are done outside the purview of the law.
- The study revealed further that, the cheaper cost of locally-made guns accounts for the higher circulation of small arms among armed robbers. This attests to the fact that, the low cost of the small arms makes them affordable to the poor, hence the higher circulation of illegal manufactured pistols, pump action shot guns, etc among armed robbers.

- It is apparent that there may neither be sufficient programming to directly address small arms possession, nor the will or capacity within the state security services, to fully deal with this problem. The State security services may be part of the problem often reacting disproportionately to sub-state violence or targeting certain communities for reprisals. Arresting those involved in this business is a herculean task because they apply their skills often under cover in their private homes, kitchens, farms and hamlets at Abodome mountains. To worsen the situation, the trade in illicit small arms has been facilitated by activities of middlemen, who buy the small arms from the producers cheaply for distribution to customers at high prices in the cities. Small arms display may create a climate of fear and coercion, as the fear of hidden small arms couple with the fact that anyone can be carrying it to cause violence can create panic.
- Other findings includes the fact that: The use of hard drugs and small arms played a decisive role in the escalation and intensification of armed robbery coupled with the beliefs in spiritual fortification (use of talisman or charms (*African insurance*)) (Picture 12).



Picture 12: Armed robber with a talisman/charm (*African insurance*)

Source: Ghana Police, Accra Regional Police Headquarters

- The strategy to get the indigenous blacksmiths to open up should be based not on pointing an accusing finger at any one group; criminal or legal; but instead insisting on bringing everyone to the planning table with a bottom-up approach in the formulation of a new Arms and Ammunition Act to replace the outdated Act.
- Small arms issues should be treated as a public health problem, rather than a legal/criminality issue.
- Most of the laws on the issues of small arms are quite obsolete and cannot address current issues of small arms. The interpretation of the law in some cases is quite ambiguous and in other instances the laws themselves are not in consonance with the ECOWAS Convention.
- The limited job opportunities in the public or formal private sector forced the youths into the unregulated, exploitative informal sector where wages are not sufficient to cover basic living needs. Most of the youth population also lacks the qualifications or training required by most

formal sector jobs which resulted in the migration of the youth to the urban areas leading to the creation of criminogenic urban areas. However, the study could not establish a one-on-one relationship between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery at the study area, despite Police Criminal Data Services Bureau.

- The study has further established that, the incidence of violence and armed robbery, does not depend on the availability of small arms, even if its intensity does.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study, the conclusions based on the specific objectives and the recommendations.

7.1 Summary of the Study

The rapid urbanization and the socio-economic exclusion of the youth have some serious social ramifications. The quality of life for the growing number of young people in urban centers around the world will depend on how the youth transit into economic independence and freedom. If this transition is stunted, and the youth are unable to find dignified work, their lives will be characterized by uncertainty, poverty, and violence, which will have a negative impact on sustainable economic development. As most of the youth migrate from rural areas into urban centers, they face limited opportunities with insufficient infrastructure, housing, and other basic services as well as unequal access to opportunities for education and employment. The disaffected young people that lack the economic opportunities to raise themselves out of poverty became more vulnerable to participate in opportunistic armed robbery.

This study was designed to explore the relationship between the proliferation of small arms and the incidents of armed robbery in Ghana for a workable policy direction to ameliorate the situation.

The study's objectives are to:

- Examine the nexus between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery.

- Find out the regulations and policies guiding small arms manufacture and disposal.
- Examine the knowledge, beliefs and practices of blacksmiths on policies regarding the manufacture of small arms.
- Explore the distribution mechanism (accessibility) of the small arms after production.

The study was conducted at Alavanyo in the Hohoe Municipality in the Volta Region as well as Nsawam Medium Security Prison in the Akwapim South Municipal Assembly also in the Eastern Region over a period of nine (9) months.

Alavanyo which means *“it shall be well”* is noted for the production of locally manufactured guns since the pre-colonial era. The area comprises seven towns such as Abehenease, Agoxoe, Wudidi, Kpeme, Agome, Deme and Dzogbedze bonded by common ancestry, culture and historical antecedents. All these towns are located on the west side of the Hohoe Municipality almost on the Kpando border which sits at the base of Togo plateau forest reserve.

Though agriculture plays a crucial role in the local economies of these communities, however, they are noted for their expertise in gun making. For instance, it is on record that Alavanyo once manufactured weapons for World War II. It further suggested that the first gun manufacturer, from the town learned his trade from working with Europeans and studying in India in the eighteenth century.

The views of five stakeholders were solicited. They include the Police officers, Ghana National Commission on Small Arms, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, the convicted armed robbers and the blacksmiths.

The research design for the study was combined method which utilizes both the quantitative and qualitative strategies.

The first-hand information was obtained from a total sample of thirty-nine (39) respondents made up of blacksmiths, convicted armed robbers and officials of various institutions concerned with small arms control.

The secondary data was gathered through extensive desk reviews of published and unpublished documents, books, reports, articles, journals, magazines and policy reports relevant to the study.

The purposive and snowball techniques were used to recruit the respondents. In-depth interviews and semi-structured interview guide were the primary instruments used to collect the data.

In the qualitative analysis all interviews were transcribed verbatim and codified into themes. The descriptive statistics generated from the secondary data were also analyzed and presented in the form of tables and pie chart to explain the results in relations to the demographic variables of the convicted armed robbers and the blacksmiths.

In undertaking this study, the sociological explanations on crime using the Mertonian Theory of anomie and Differential Association theory was explored to explain crime.

In analysing the linkage between the small arms proliferation and armed robbery in Ghana, emphasis was placed on realization of material aspirations in the society. The Strain and the Differential Association theories explained the degree of correspondence between culturally prescribed goals and institutionalized means for attaining the cultural goals.

7.2 Conclusions

This section of the study presents the major conclusions drawn from the study based on the objectives that underpinned the work.

From the foregoing, the following conclusions were reached:

- With reference to my first objective which required an examination of the nexus between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery, the research found that, the improved technology and increasing demand for small arms has compelled most blacksmiths to redirect their skills to the manufacturing of guns. This account for the increasing circulation of illicit small arms among non-state actors including armed robbers. The data shows that all convicted armed robbers were poorly educated youth. They lack the ability to effectively communicate due to illiteracy. This resulted in their lack of employable skills coupled with socio-economic deprivations that condemns a large proportion of them to life-long poverty depriving them of their basic needs.
- My second objective required finding out the regulations and policies guiding small arms manufacture and disposal. The focus is on the Arms and Ammunition laws contained in Act 118 of 1962 and NRCDC 9 of 1972 as instruments controlling small arms production and distribution in Ghana. The data indicated that the laws need to be reviewed, as they are obsolete and suffer from loopholes which pose a security challenge.
- My third objective required an examination of the knowledge, beliefs and practices of blacksmith on policies regarding the manufacture of small arms. The findings indicate that the competence of local blacksmiths to manufacture small arms was intimately tied to the ability to repair guns. Records detailing small arms repairs at Alavanyo are limited because widespread technological knowledge within the towns was not unusual and went largely undocumented. The people's knowledge regarding the provisions of the law regulation small arms was limited. Their knowledge was based on the insistence by the security forces on clamping down on their productions. The research found also that the

local production was encouraged due to continuous conflicts with their neighbour.

- The fourth and final objective required the explanation of the distribution mechanism (accessibility) of the small arms after production. The data indicated that some convicted armed robbers had their weapons from friends. The study further suggested that, the proliferation of small arms emanated from the imported licit small arms into the country while others were diverted from the government stockpiles. The data was however not clear on the identity of those who were the middlemen or gun runners. Other findings included the fact that, the cheaper cost of locally-made guns accounted for the higher circulation of arms among the armed robbers.

7.3 Policy Implications

Based on the fact that the linkage between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery is a threat to Ghana's economy, democracy, peace and security, any concrete policy direction should target the perpetrators and the law enforcers. Thus, with reference to the conclusions and findings of the study, the researcher recommends the following measures to combat the menace:

- The Government in collaboration with the Ministry of Interior and Attorney General's department should set up a panel to review and consolidate Firearms legislation. They should dialogue with the local blacksmiths (bottom-up approach) to have a better legislation devoid of obvious loopholes as indicated in the current laws on small arms.

- The Government through an Act of Parliament should establish a Defence Industry under the Ministry of Defence to oversee the blacksmiths gun manufacture as a comparative advantage for the country.
- The Ministry of Interior should initiate an inter-agency law enforcement policy to develop comprehensive gun prevention, intervention, and suppression strategies such as gun buy-back programmes.
- The Ghana National Commission on Small Arms should embark on awareness creation to reduce the threat of small arms production. The blacksmiths should be organized into trade associations to jumpstart new businesses and livelihoods. Economic incentives should be provided to them to enable them to shift from to the production of lethal weapons to agricultural inputs such as hoes and cutlasses, and other industrial products.
- In order to empower national law enforcement agencies to properly prosecute the proliferation of small arms, there should be capacity building, training from time to time for the security services to equip them with knowledge on modern skills in their line of work. This will empower them to cope with new and developing innovations. The training objectives must be abreast with the current trends in small arms control techniques to help them effectively combat the new challenges and opportunities in the blacksmithing industry. Licensing locally manufactured small arms should be legalized to generate tax revenue for the country.
- The Government and the private sector should come to the aid of the youth by providing them entrepreneurship programmes in a bottom-up approach to youth job creation.
- Firearms legislation on gun production should be treated as a public health problem, rather than a criminal issue so as not to outlaw craft gun production.

The established regulations should bring the trade into the open, while strengthening government control.

- . The early introduction of entrepreneurship and vocational skills courses in first and second cycle schools curriculum will enable the youth to start their businesses and marketing schemes.
- The government should further initiate pro-poor programs targeting the poor and the marginalized in society. For instances, improving the social infrastructure and the conditions in the inner city areas will create a positive social impact on youth job creation.

Suggestion for Future Research

Based on the findings of this study, future studies on the issue of small arms and armed robbery could focus on the demand equation in the small arms production industry.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICE OFFICERS

TOPIC: THE NEXUS OF PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ARMED ROBBERY IN GHANA.

I am an M.Phil. student from the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana conducting a research on the above topic. Please be kind and feel free to respond to the following questions. In addition, take note that this research is purely for academic purpose and as such all the information supplied will be treated as confidential as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

To examine the nexus between the proliferation of small arms and armed robbery

1. What is your opinion about the spate of armed robbery in the country?
2. What is your opinion about proliferation of small arms in the country?
3. Why do we have a lot of armed robbery in the cities?
4. Why do the suburbs now experiencing a lot of robbery?
5. What types of weapons do you retrieve from armed robber offenders?
6. Are the arms photocopies of the foreign arms?
7. Are the weapons locally manufactured?
8. Any documented evidence at your outfit about trend of armed robbery?
9. Do you get to know where these weapons were manufactured?
10. If you do, what is your outfit doing to curb the proliferation?
11. What is the relationship between armed robbery and the weapons retrieve?
12. Can you share with me any concerns in relation to armed robbery menace?

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GNCSA AND KAIPTC

TOPIC: THE NEXUS BETWEEN PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ARMED ROBBERY IN GHANA.

I am an M.Phil. student from the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana conducting a research on the above topic. Please be kind and feel free to respond to the following questions. In addition, take note that this research is purely for academic purpose and as such all the information supplied will be treated as confidential as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

To find out the regulation and policies guiding the manufacture and handling of small arms

1. Are there steps to legalize small arms production in Ghana apart from calls by some officials and opinion leaders in recent times?
2. The production of locally made small arms are scattered all over the country, in your opinion, how could this be controlled to prevent these weapons falling into wrong hands in the country?
3. Section 6 of Arms and Ammunition Decree (NRCD 9) of 1972 allow local blacksmiths to apply for license to produce small arms and explosives in the country, is there any evidence that local artisans have applied for a permit to produce small arms in the country?
4. If yes, would you consider the number of applicants significant?
5. If none, what in your opinion discouraged the blacksmiths from applying for the license?

6. What will you say about government establishing a defence industry to incorporate all blacksmiths for the production of small arms for the State and export?
7. What is your opinion about blacksmiths that are scattered all over the country?
8. What would be some of the control measures to curb the small arms falling into wrong hands?
9. Are there some alternative socio-economic developments options for artisans from the State to curb the menace of locally made guns?
10. The blacksmiths have been engaged in production of small arms which frowns on the law, should their activities be legalized? (explain)
11. The Ghana National Commission on Small Arms have been mandated to identify, register and ascertain the number of blacksmiths and local gun manufacturers in every region by the end of 2015, what is the current situation?

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR BLACKSMITHS

TOPIC: THE NEXUS BETWEEN PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ARMED ROBBERY IN GHANA.

I am an M.Phil. student from the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana conducting a research on the above topic. Please be kind and feel free to respond to the following questions. In addition, take note that this research is purely for academic purpose and as such all the information supplied will be treated as confidential as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

To explore the knowledge, beliefs and practices of blacksmiths on policies regarding the manufacture of small arms

To explore the distribution mechanism (accessibility) of the small arms after production

PART ONE

SOCIAL-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS.

Age

Occupation

Religion

Level of education

Marital status

PART TWO

1. Can you share with me how you came to learn blacksmithing?
2. Can you share with me the history of blacksmithing in Alavanyo?
3. How long have you been an apprentice?
4. What are the types of items you produce? (List as many as you can)
5. You also learn how to manufacture small arms?
6. What type of guns do you manufacture?
7. How long does it take you to manufacture a weapon?
8. How much do you sell a gun (specify each type of gun and its price)
9. What do you think will make people give up their continue production of guns in the community?

10. How are/were the guns distributed after production?
11. How can one acquire a firearm in your community?
12. Do you manufacture small arms solely (from start to finish) or in a group (you specialised in specific parts production)?
13. How do you sell the guns and to whom after production?
14. How much does it cost to purchase a firearm?
15. Are you aware of any law regarding the manufacture of small arms?
16. If yes, have you obtain a permit to produce guns?
17. What motivate your continue production of small arms despite legislation banning it?
18. Do you have a blacksmiths association in Alavanyo?
19. If yes, when was it established and its name?
20. If no, why
21. Can you share with me any other concerns?

APPENDIX D

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ARMED ROBBERS

TOPIC: THE NEXUS BETWEEN PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ARMED ROBBERY IN GHANA.

I am an M.Phil. student from the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana conducting a research on the above topic. Please be kind and feel free to respond to the following questions. In addition, take note that this research is purely for academic purpose and as such all the information supplied will be treated as confidential as possible. Thank you for your cooperation.

To examine the nexus between proliferation of small arms and armed robbery

PART ONE

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CONVICTED ARMED ROBBERS

Age

Level of education

Religion

Marital status

PART TWO

GENERAL QUESTIONS REGARDING ARMED ROBBERY

1. How did you get involved in the robbery?
2. Did you use a gun in committing the crime which you are convicted?
3. How did you obtain a small arm?
4. If you bought it, how much?
5. Are you aware of the procedure for obtaining a license to own a firearm?
6. How easy or difficult do you think it is to acquire a small arm in Ghana?
7. Would you say that the easy access to guns greatly facilitates armed robbery?
8. Do you think there are too many guns in Ghana?
9. Do you believe that possessing weapons makes you safer or less safe?
10. How positive/negative do you consider small arms availability to be in Ghana?
11. Do you know some people who are involve in the manufacturing of guns in Ghana?
12. Can you identify them?
13. Do you know some distributors?

14. Did you get the gun free of charge? Yes/No
15. If no, how did you get money to purchase the gun?
16. In your opinion, what should be done to control easy access to small arms in Ghana?
17. Do you have other concerns you will like to share with me?