

THE IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS IN TANZANIA

RESULTS OF A COUNTRY SURVEY

Clare Jefferson and Angus Urquhart

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The survey was conducted as a partnership between the Tanzanian Government, and NGOs: the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Saferworld and the Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC).

The survey project was conceptualised by Jakkie Potgieter, with the assistance of Dominic Hayuma, Jerry Kitiku and Paul Eavis, while responsibility for the management of in-field logistics, the selection of sample areas and the validation of the research process was shared equally between the four.

The survey questionnaire was designed by Jakkie Potgieter and Clare Jefferson. Clare Jefferson also

designed and maintained the statistical database and produced the statistical tables that are presented in this report. During the training of the survey teams and the period in which the interviews were conducted, Assistant Commissioner of Police Dominic Hayuma was responsible for the co-ordination of activities that involved civil society and the Tanzanian government, and Inspector Joseph Konyo of the Tanzania Police Force was responsible for liaising with the survey teams on the ground.

The field teams that conducted the survey were comprised of the following Tanzanian police officers: Reuben Mwakabonga, Josephat Albert Mapande, Rawadhani Bakari, Yongo Omenge Barrack, Mgeni Mwinjuma Mgeni, Dunstan James, Aristedes Kasigwa, Samwel Lindi, Clemence Matata, Omary Khamisi Abdalla, Abbas Omary, Nzagalila Emmanuel, James Z Kalwani, John F Mmassy, Eric F Lubuua, James Chacha, Steven Tawe, Samwel Gabriel, David Cosmas, Hussein Abubakary Balige, Juma A Matis, Bonavetura Kitungulu, Bosco Hyera, Rashid Bura, Deusdedit Mpenda Muguha, Alex Sospeter Mukama, Pius Paul, Geraldson Mapunda, Samwel Olang, Jeremiah Machira, Ally Ngosha, Oscar Mahutanha, Mohamed Marusu, Godwilly Mweya, Stanslaus Mloge, Brian Mwinama, Amani daud Mlogoha, Michael Axwesso Tsere, Abdallah Shanjirwa, Emanuel Malosha and Mathew Pallangyo.

Finally, a number of other researchers were also involved in the survey presented here, including: S Hlongwa, V Gamba, J Roman, A McLean and A Urquhart.

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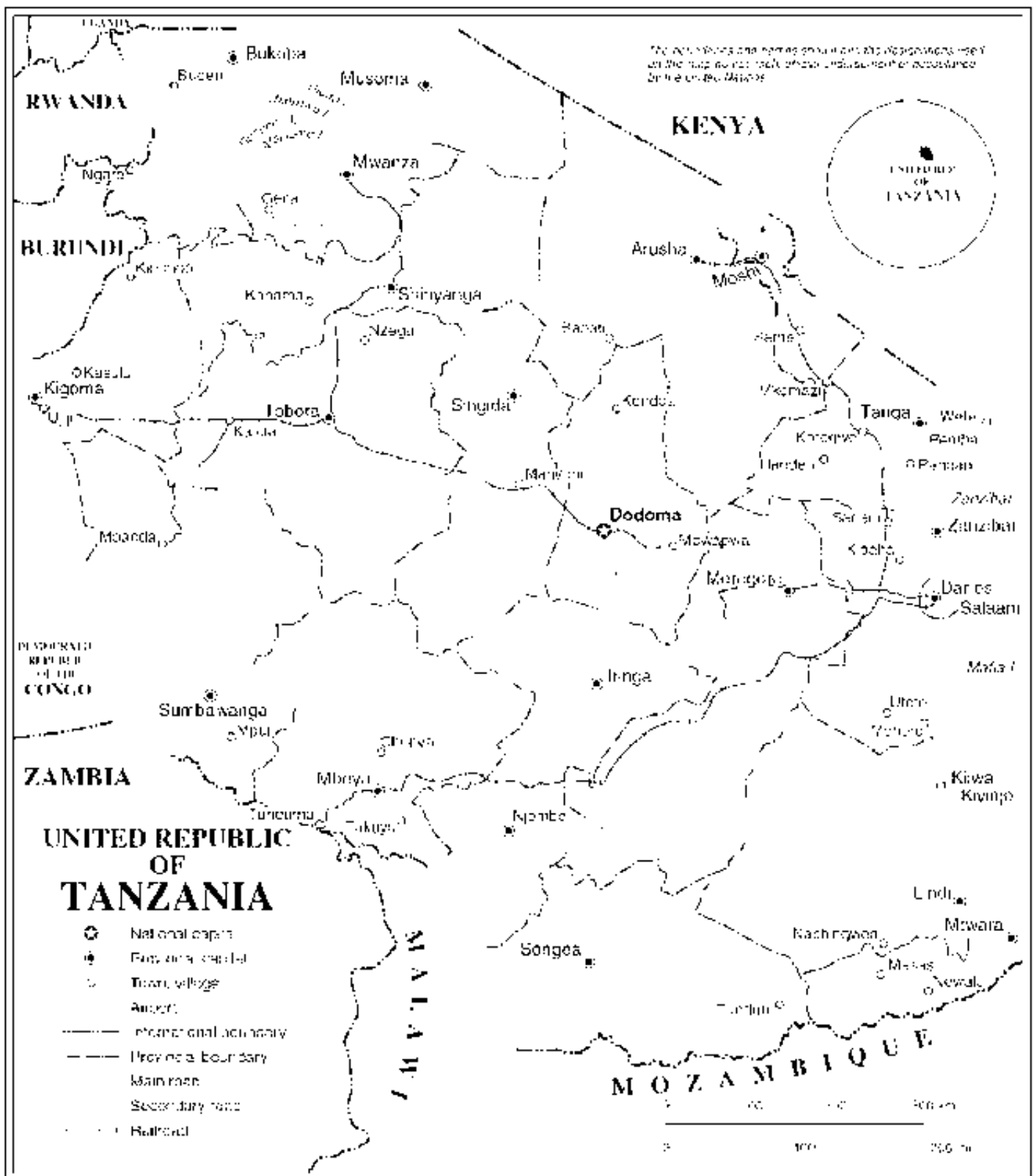
Saferworld gratefully acknowledges the support of the UK government for its Arms and Security Programme.

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MAP OF TANZANIA



Map No. 588, 472 - UNITED NATIONS
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The survey had three primary aims, which were to illustrate:

- the nature and extent of firearm proliferation within Tanzania;

- how the problem of firearm proliferation manifests itself in communities; and
- the resources and capacity in communities that might be utilised to address the problem as it exists.

The survey was conducted as part of a broader initiative of the Tanzanian government, involving both the government and civil society, to research firearm proliferation within its territory.

The survey, conducted between 1 and 18 August 2001, comprised responses from almost 2,900 Tanzanian residents across 12 of the country's 21 provinces. There were 41 fieldworkers utilised in the completion of surveys, all of whom were junior police officers within the Tanzania Police Force.

The first section of the report comprises the introduction. It outlines the purpose of the survey, as well as methodological considerations such as the sample demographics, research assumptions and data consideration. The second section of the report covers indicators of the social environment, focusing particularly on community structures, cohesion and interaction.

The main findings in this section are as follows:

- The overall impression is of a society in which social interaction is reasonably good, although there was a high degree of variation across the individual indicators and consequently clear trends were difficult to identify.
- Some regions are more inclined to help other community members (such as helping the sick) and to participate in community activities (such as attending church or mosque, helping with community projects and attending community meetings) than others.

The third section of the report focuses on economic indicators. Of the indicators measured in this section, these are divided into those that measure the current financial standing of the household, those that provide an indication of the financial situation to come and those that provide a picture of the past financial situation.

The main findings in this section are as follows:

- The economic indicators point towards an impending economic downturn in a number of areas, namely Kagera, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro and Tanga. However, despite the apparent economic downturn people do not seem to be going hungry.
- Those regions in which a serious firearm problem has been identified—Kigoma, Kagera and Morogoro—were also among those that appear to be entering a period of economic decline.
- There was a correlation between a worsening economic situation and a poor perceived sense of safety.

The fourth section of the report considers indicators of firearm proliferation (such as the frequency of hearing gunshots, the frequency of firearms being used in crime and the extent to which respondents are exposed to violent crimes involving firearms), shifts in the number of firearms in the area, the extent of firearm ownership and potential firearm ownership, as well as the extent of concern about the problem of firearms and the fear of injury.

The main findings in this section are as follows:

- There was widespread support for improving and tightening controls on firearms in Tanzania.
- Firearms are having a growing negative impact in Tanzania, although overall the situation does not as yet constitute a crisis. Firearm penetration appears to be serious in the regions of Kigoma, Kagera and Morogoro, and also, although to a lesser extent, in Arusha, Mwanza and Pwani.
- The exposure to firearms was relatively low across Tanzania while firearm ownership varied across the twelve sample regions. Morogoro appears to have high levels of ownership and there seems to be a high demand for firearms in the region. There also appear to be relatively high levels of firearm possession (mainly in illicitly acquired or possessed firearms) in Kagera and Kigoma.
- The levels of the use of firearms in crime, exposure to violent conflict involving a gun and the frequency of hearing gunshots were relatively low, although certain regions did appear to be more afflicted than others; notably Kigoma, Mwanza and Morogoro.
- Kigoma and Morogoro appear to be the regions in which firearm penetration is greatest. The region of Kilimanjaro is where firearm proliferation is perhaps lowest.
- Kigoma, Pwani and Kagera are the regions where the impact of firearms is greatest, while Mbeya and Arusha appear to be the least affected.

The fifth section considers a range of indicators of safety such as perceptions of safety, policing and crime, as well as the impact of armed conflict.

The main findings in this section are as follows:

- Tanzania appears to be a relatively safe place during daylight hours, with the exceptions of Kagera and Kigoma, and although the environment is perceived to be worse after dark—very markedly so in the regions of Pwani and Morogoro—the overall perception of security does not raise considerable concerns.
- There is a correlation between the high numbers of firearms in Kagera and Kigoma and the perceived sense of insecurity in these regions.
- There also appears to be a correlation between the high sense of insecurity after dark in Morogoro and the high incidence of firearm ownership. A similar but less obvious correlation can also be identified in Pwani where there is a generally poor safety environment and firearm ownership is relatively high.
- Only in Kagera did a significant proportion of respondents turn to the police as role players for conflict resolution. Tribal leaders and existing community leaders were considered to be much better suited to conflict resolution. This suggests that the overall perception of the utility of the police may not be so good.
- Crime rates are generally low in Tanzania. What crime is committed tends to be mainly theft, predominantly house-breaking and cattle theft. There does not seem to be any one region that is more seriously affected than others and the theft that does occur seems to be largely opportunistic.
- On the whole, the respondents have very little direct experience of armed conflict and almost none have ever been forced to move due to armed conflict.

The final section of this report contains an analysis of the results of the survey, drawing together the main findings and offering some explanations of what the survey outlined in terms of firearm proliferation within Tanzania.

In summary, the main demand factors for firearms seems to be insecurity linked closely to a worsening economic situation, as opposed to a perception of risk of violent crime. Although over one quarter of the survey sample expressed the willingness to own a firearm, there was strong support for more effective measures to control firearms. Strongly informed by existing levels of confidence in the police, and evidence gained from whom the respondents turn to for help and for conflict resolution, any national initiative to tackle firearm proliferation would need to be a partnership between government and civil society. At the community level, the generally strong social cohesion coupled with the widespread recognition of the need for controls suggests that community-based firearm control initiatives are likely to be embraced.

FOREWORD

This monograph provides an overview of the results of a firearm attitude survey conducted in Tanzania in August 2001, as part a research project that sought to comprehensively map the problems associated with the proliferation of small arms in Tanzania. The survey measured social, economic and security indicators in Tanzania as well as indicators of firearm penetration. The aim was to highlight any linkages between these indicators and especially those between the indicators of social, economic and security conditions and the penetration of firearms in communities.

The problems associated with the proliferation of small arms have in recent years gained an ever-higher profile and the harmful impact that their widespread diffusion can have within societies is now widely recognised. Countries have made significant strides at the national, sub-regional, regional and global levels, concluding a number of international agreements and establishing political and operational structures through which to take action. Countries across Africa, including in Southern Africa, West Africa, the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa—sub-regions which have been chronically affected by the scourge of small arms—have been at the forefront of attempts to address the associated problems. Within Southern Africa a legally-binding protocol on the control of firearms has recently been signed and in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa a similar process has resulted in the Nairobi Declaration and Agenda for Action. The experiences of these sub-regions in addressing small arms proliferation have also contributed to recent international processes, such as the United Nations Programme of Action to address the illicit trade in small arms and the UN protocol on the illicit trafficking in firearms. Progress has also been made within sub-regions on developing the institutional structures to implement these agreements. The challenge that now faces countries in Africa is to take practical steps to implement these agreements. While many of the recent developments have, necessarily, taken place at a regional and international level, practical action will predominantly be taken nationally.

To ensure that whatever action is taken is as effective as possible, national governments need to have a comprehensive understanding of the situation within their country. They need to identify what their most pressing problems are and the resources they currently possess to address these. The government of Tanzania has been one of the first governments to acknowledge this, recognising both the significant impact that small arms are having on its country and the need to act swiftly and begin to take practical action. In recognition of the need to find a comprehensive long-term solution, the government of Tanzania undertook a mapping exercise of firearm-related problems, in July and August 2001, of which the survey considered here was a requested component.

This report on the survey results seeks to illustrate the nature and extent of firearm proliferation within Tanzania, how the problem manifests itself in communities, and the resources and capacity that might be utilised to address the problem as it exists. The report provides a resource for those wishing to understand more about the social, economic and security conditions within Tanzania, about the firearm situation and about the linkages between these factors. Taken as a whole these indicators help to paint the picture of firearm use in Tanzania and the influence that socio-economic factors and security conditions have on firearm possession and use. Moreover, in paying particular attention to the development of community interaction, the report also seeks to provide information that may prove useful in the development and targeting of community-based initiatives to tackle the proliferation of small arms, and other social problems. In this regard, the report focuses upon factors such as perceptions of community leaders, the level of membership of local organisations, and attitudes to participation in community projects.

The report is divided into four main sections, each covering one set of indicators: social, economic, firearm penetration and safety. The reader should bear in mind the various possible linkages that may exist between the indicators surveyed, but should be aware that where a correlation of results does occur that the inter-relationship of factors is likely to be complex and rarely a simple causal one. The results of the survey point towards how social, economic and security conditions impact on and influence firearm penetration as well as how each of these set of indicators may influence one another. In the concluding section of the report some of these trends are examined.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction and methodology

The research exercise to map Tanzania's small arms problem was done in collaboration between the Tanzanian Police Force, the Institute for Security Studies, Saferworld and the Security Research and Information Centre. A central component of this project was a socio-economic survey of almost 2,900 Tanzanian residents conducted in 12 of the country's 21 provinces. By conducting the survey two ends were met. Firstly, the police officers involved in the exercise were trained in surveying skills and gained an important insight into and understanding of the firearms problem in the country. Secondly, a comprehensive data set outlining the pertinent aspects of firearm proliferation in Tanzania was compiled.

The following section of the report will provide a brief review of the objectives of the study, the methodology and the demographic profile of the respondents.

Purpose of survey

The aim of the survey was to determine the nature and extent of firearm penetration and of the firearm-related concerns in Tanzania. Through understanding the attitudes of respondents towards firearms and their socio-economic conditions, information is provided that can inform the design and implementation of community-based projects.

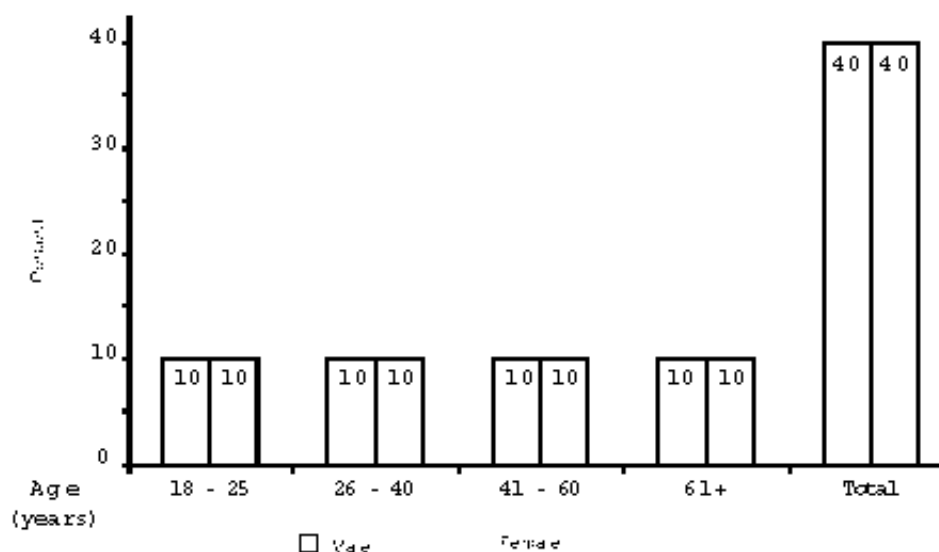
The purpose of the survey is to provide information to assist communities in understanding the nature and dynamics of firearm proliferation in order that they may conceptualise solutions to problems associated with the presence of firearms.

Survey parameters

The survey was conducted between 1 and 18 August 2001. There were 41 fieldworkers trained and utilised in the completion of surveys. In total, 2,892 questionnaires were completed across 12 regions of Tanzania. On average, each questionnaire took 50 minutes to complete and each fieldworker completed 70 questionnaires. The completed questionnaires were then sent to the police headquarters in Dar es Salaam, where they were checked, coded and captured in a database.

Each fieldworker was given instructions to sample 10 respondents within eight different predetermined sample categories as defined by age and gender parameters (as outlined in the table below). In some cases, adaptations were made in terms of the total respondents per fieldworker. This was due to unforeseen circumstances such as time limitations resulting from extensive distances traveled to training workshops, family problems, and other factors.

Figure 1: Sample grid per fieldworker



The sampling technique utilised was stratified random sampling. Each fieldworker randomly approached respondents within specified age and gender categories, within a given geographic locality. Fieldworkers ensured that some of their questionnaires were completed in private settings (such as within the homestead) and in public settings (such as at places of transport, recreation, etc.) to reduce any bias that could emerge with regards to the firearm ownership questions. Overall, 39% of the surveys were undertaken in public settings and 62% in private settings.

Sample area

The 12 regions surveyed were chosen to ensure that the most affected regions in Tanzania were included. Given the objectives of the survey—to identify the most prevalent demand factors for firearms in Tanzania; to gain greater understanding of perceptions of small arms penetration in Tanzanian society; and to determine the possible agents for change that could be used in a national implementation plan—it was necessary that areas that had been, were currently, or potentially could be, impacted upon by small arms proliferation were surveyed. This would provide an opportunity for sound deductions to be made about the nature of any implementation plan to address the proliferation of small arms. In addition to surveying the most affected regions, it was also important to obtain a geographically representative spread across the country in order to minimise any sample bias. For those regions in which no surveys were conducted, it is partially possible to deduce trends from neighbouring regions.

Table 1: Place of interview

	Number of surveys conducted	Percentage of total sample
Arusha	80	3
Dar es Salaam	459	16
Kagera	240	8
Kigoma	240	8
Kilimanjaro	238	8

Mbeja	240	8
Morogoro	232	8
Mwanza	377	13
Pwani	160	6
Ruvuma	223	8
Tanga	240	8
Zanzibar	163	6
Total	2.892	100

The survey was conducted by junior police officers within the Tanzanian Police Force. The police officers were deployed within the various sample areas and trained in two central training venues, in Moshi (in Kilimanjaro Region) and Dar es Salaam (in Dar es Salaam Region).

Table 2: Number of questionnaires completed per fieldworker, by region

Sample region	Fieldworker identification code	Total number of surveys per fieldworker (n=2,892)
Arusha	27	80
Dar es Salaam	1	60
	13	80
	19	80
	20	27
	22	80
	23	80
	41	52
Kagera	25	81
	26	81
	32	81
Kigomo	24	80
	31	81
	33	81
Kilimanjaro	34	79
	35	82
	36	72
Mbeja	7	80
	11	80

	15	80
Morogoro	8 9 14	80 80 72
Mwanza	29 30 37 38 39 40	67 67 53 67 56 67
Pwani	3 6	80 80
Ruvuma	16 17 18	73 80 70
Tanga	2 4 12	80 80 80
Zanzibar	5 10	80 83

Each fieldworker was given a quota of surveys to complete. The table above outlines the number of questionnaires per region completed by each of the 41 fieldworkers.

Police officers were specifically requested to conduct the survey and made significant contribution to the success of the mapping exercise, particularly given the tight budgetary constraints within which the project was operating. However, financial considerations were not the primary rationale for their involvement in the process.

The police were used as surveyors for a number of important reasons:

- To ensure their buy-in to the process, a necessary precursor for the successful implementation of any government response.
- As a confidence-building mechanism between civil society and the law enforcement agencies.

- As a capacity-building exercise for the law enforcement agencies.

At the start of the survey, many of the police officers did not see the relevance of the survey to their work, but once the connection to victim profiling, detective or investigation skills-development and improving an understanding of the dynamics of insecurity were made, the utility of the exercise was praised.

The police officers on the course were extremely junior. Many of them had never been on a training course besides their basic training and saw their involvement in the exercise as an opportunity for advancement within the police. Police officers from the more far-flung regions felt particularly marginalised from police processes and were glad to be involved in the exercise.

The quality of the survey completion was excellent. Most surveys were returned with extensive qualitative reports summarising the impressions and findings of the respondents. These were submitted to the Tanzanian police for their purposes.

It could be questioned to what extent the utilisation of police officers to conduct the survey would bias the study. It would be naive to try claim that the respondents would not be influenced by the fact that police officers were undertaking the survey. The biggest impact on the results of a survey of this type with police interviewers will be the reluctance to talk frankly and openly because of general suspicion of the police's motives, a general societal perception of the police and a desire not to implicate oneself or one's friends in any criminal activity. With these considerations in mind certain measures were employed in the survey design to off-set this impact including: the extensive nature of the survey, covering a comprehensive range of issues; the placing of sensitive firearm questions among enquiries about a range of other socio-economic information helping to make the survey non-threatening; and the pitching of potentially incriminating questions at a community rather than an individual level.

The margin of error in using the police to conduct the survey was not calculated. However, when reading the report, one should bear in mind that there may be a bias, especially with regard to the security-related questions and those questions implying illegal activities. This bias is not unusual in other quantitative surveys in which threatening questions are contained, and under-representation is expected to occur (especially on firearm ownership questions).

Survey design

In meeting the objectives of the survey, it was necessary that the survey be designed to accurately record the nature and extent of firearm penetration within Tanzania and the perceptions of the people of Tanzania towards small arms and to identify possible agents of change for the national implementation plan. The survey utilised questions which experience had shown were both reliable and consistent socio-economic, as well as security and firearm penetration, indicators within the African context.

A range of design techniques were used to ensure the reliability of the survey and to compensate for possible respondent bias resulting from the fact that police officers were conducting the survey. These design techniques included, amongst others, removing all threatening questions (for example, those that could implicate the respondent or their friends/family in illegal activities); locating questions about firearm ownership and illegal activities within a cluster of other socio-economic indicators; and ensuring that there was a fair balance between the various sections of the questionnaire in order that those relating to security were less obvious. The surveys were bilingual (in English and Swahili).

The survey was conducted as a partnership between the Tanzanian Police Force, the Institute for Security

Studies, Saferworld, and the Security Research and Information Centre. Each organisation provided the resources as available in a collaborative manner. The survey was made possible by the fact that the Tanzanian Police offered to cover the main cost factor, namely the fieldwork staff.

Data considerations

The data represented in this report is not weighted. The responses presented assume an even age and gender distribution within each region. Usually, the percentage value indicates the varying proportion of the responses to each question by region. Throughout this report, summary tables of the means (averages) are presented. These tables indicate the mean response per region for a particular question. A mean key table is provided at the end of each mean report table to assist with the interpretation of the data. The mean minimum and maximum value is presented.

The number of respondents for each question is indicated with 'n=...'. In some cases, the number of respondents is less than the total sample for that category of respondents. This occurs in those cases where data is omitted. Omitted data or missing information occurs due to a variety of reasons, including:

- the respondent's refusal to answer the question;
- the question not being applicable to the respondent;
- the respondent not knowing the answer; or
- human error (for example, data capture error or fieldworker omissions).

Methodological assumptions

Undertaking a quantitative survey is based upon a number of critical assumptions. In this case, it is assumed that the community have a need for a survey such as this both in form and content.

However, the community may not necessarily have a need for, or appreciation of, the survey, or adequate resources to ensure its completion. The survey was conducted on the assumption that there was a need to provide information to assist communities in Tanzania to understand the dynamics of firearm proliferation. The need for the survey was identified by the government of Tanzania in response to their growing concern about the number of firearms moving within and through their territory and the destructive and harmful impact that the presence of firearms appeared to be having.

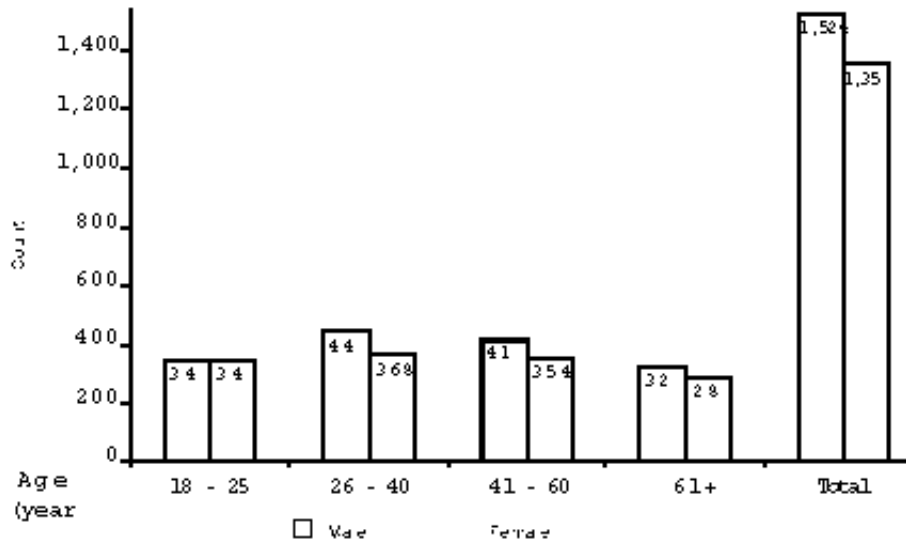
There is an assumption that the community appreciates quantitative data. There are ranges of methodologies available for the collection of data. Often those more interactive and qualitative methodologies, such as participatory research, focus groups and observations, provide more textured information—especially in light of the need to understand the micro-processes at play. Quantitative surveys (as utilised in this study) are critiqued for 'boxing' respondents into predetermined categories, for not allowing for nuances and for lending themselves towards blueprint planning, as classically used in top-down planning approaches. In an attempt to overcome some of the limitations of the quantitative survey there are some remarks that need to be made. The research team is well aware of the limitation of the quantitative survey, and saw this survey as a first step to scan the extent of the problem of firearm proliferation and understand how firearm penetration relates to a set of broader socio-economic indicators. Should a community wish to undertake actions to reduce firearm proliferation, they would be able to draw upon their own experience to identify possible programmes, with or without this study.

The utility of the survey lies in its broad nature—as applied across 12 regions—exploring a range of security, social and economic indicators. It provides a scope of the dynamics of firearm proliferation within Tanzania.

Sample overview

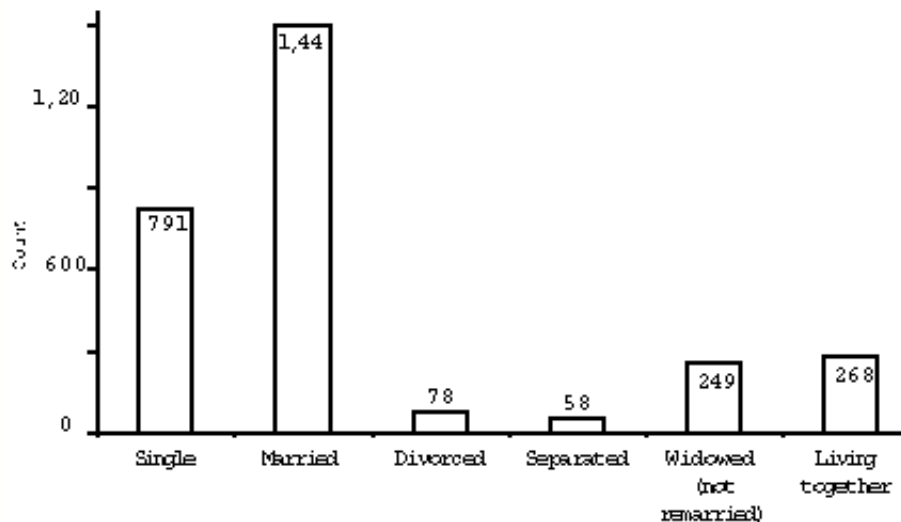
This section provides a profile of the respondents. As determined by the sampling technique, 53% of the respondents were male and 47% were female. On average, the respondents were 41 years old, with the youngest respondent being 18 years and the oldest 97 years old.

Figure 2: Age and gender profile respondents (n=2,876)



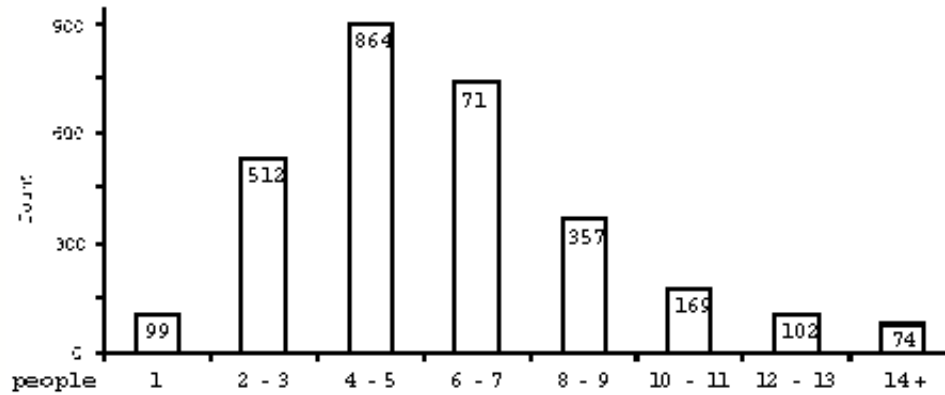
It was found that 27% of the respondents were single, and 50% of the respondents were married (the rest being either divorced, separated, widowed or living with a partner).

Figure 3: Marital status of respondents (n=2,889)



The size of the households varied from single person households to those larger households with more than 14 people. The majority of the households comprised between four to seven people.

Figure 4: Household size (n=2,891)



In the sampling methodology, fieldworkers were encouraged to sample people that were Tanzanian residents. It was found that all but seven respondents were Tanzanian. The other nationalities sampled included respondents from Burundi, Kenya, Mozambique, Rwanda and India.

The parentage of the respondent's mother and father was obtained in the survey in order to see the extent of integration within the region. The majority of the respondents had two Tanzanian parents. Among the respondents that did not have Tanzanian parents there were a range of nationalities comprising the parentage of the respondents.

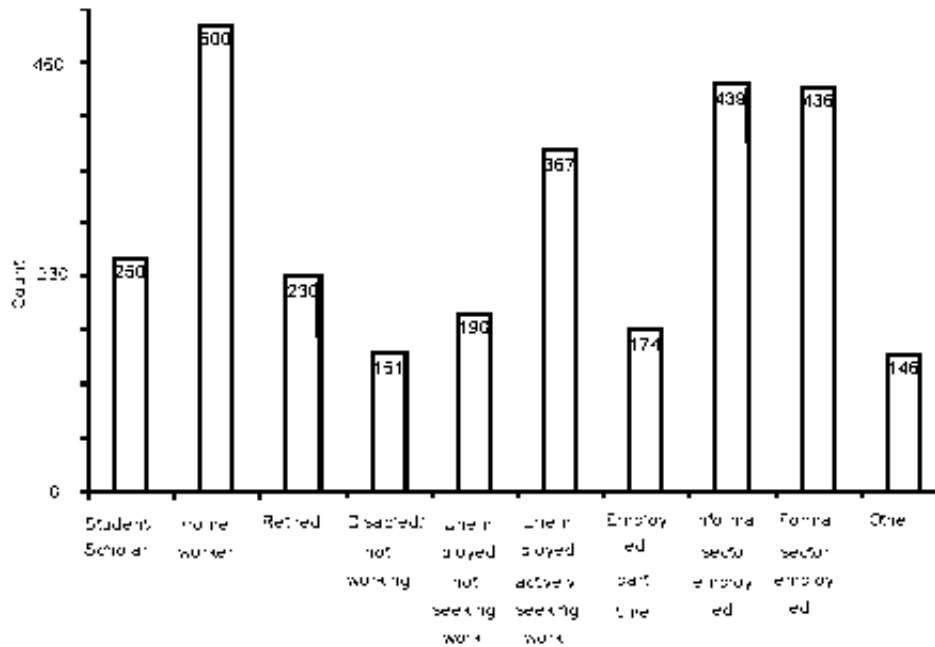
Table 3: Nationality of respondent, and their parents

	Nationality of respondent's father	Nationality of respondent's mother	Nationality of respondent
Tanzanian	2,871	2,845	2,885
Burundi	0	7	1
England	0	1	0
India	2	2	1
Italy	1	1	0
Kenya	2	10	1
Malawi	2	5	0
Mozambique	9	14	1
Rwanda	3	4	3
Somalia	0	1	0
South Africa	1	0	0
South Korea	1	1	0
Yemen	0	1	0
Total	2,892	2,892	2,892

The level of education of the respondents varied. Overall, 11% of the respondents had received no formal education and a further 64% of the respondents had received no further training since leaving school.

It was found that 36% of the respondents were employed part-time (6%), in the informal sector (15%) or in the formal sector (15%). Among the sample, 19% were unemployed.

Figure 5: Vocation of respondents (n=2,883)



CHAPTER 2

Indicators of the social environment

Introduction

Social indicators are used to indicate the social capital of the community. Social capital refers to those qualities inherent in a community that could be harnessed for the betterment of the community. A community with good social cohesion is more likely to succeed in its own betterment than one filled with distrust and a lack of social cohesion. A community that holds positive perceptions of each other, the leadership and the youth in the community, is more likely to work towards upholding the laws of the country and participating in locally-based actions to improve the control of firearms.

Placing in context the environment of the people who live with the proliferation of firearms paints part of the picture of the small arms problem. Gaining a greater understanding of the people and the conditions in which they live helps to throw light upon why there is a demand for small arms and therefore how the problem can be addressed. In particular, such information can guide and shape the design and targeting of community-based initiatives.

Certain indicators will provide insight and guidance into the likely success or failure of specific types of

firearm control initiatives. For instance, indicators such as time spent helping the aged and the sick provide a glimpse into the likelihood of the community participating in social-education programmes to improve conditions in the community. Special attention should be directed to those regions where distrust is highest and community cohesion is lowest, as these regions will require special confidence-building mechanisms both amongst the leadership and amongst community members.

Indicators of community action are also considered, helping to profile who the likely 'role players' of community actions will be. In addition this section unpacks key design elements that are used as 'building blocks' for the design of community action. These building blocks include: the frequency of using different forms of communications such as radio, television, newspapers, postal service; the level of memberships of organisations; and the existence of role players to whom people can turn for help (for instance for conflict resolution).

A number of assumptions are made when interpreting data as an indication of community action. Firstly, it is assumed that communities that have experienced positive development in previous years (as indicated by changes in levels of development) are more likely to undertake future community action. Secondly, it is assumed that the willingness to participate in community-based awareness campaigns (as seen from the community and the individual perspective) is a useful way to gauge willingness to undertake community action.

Analysis of survey findings

The social environment usually refers to the public arena in the community beyond the private realm of the household. Within the social environment, community members interact to meet a number of largely non-economic needs. These could include, amongst others, the formation of a sense of identity and belonging, strengthening the links between households and individuals within the community (referred to as social cohesion), bettering or developing the community through the provision of services and facilities, and exchanging ideas and experiences to enhance a sense of self-fulfillment and the expression of creativity.

The nature and extent of participation in the social environment by individual households is used in this study as a means of predicting the possible outcome of a community-based campaign to curb firearm proliferation. By exploring the current actions of the community in the social environment, deductions are made about what could be expected from the different regions. It should be borne in mind that this exploration is by no means taking a blanket approach. We are not assuming that the same combination of inputs will necessarily lead to the same predicted outputs. In this section, the aim was to gain a better understanding of the similarities and differences of the sample regions in Tanzania. From this information, insights to possible community-based campaigns to curb firearm proliferation could be given.

Some regions are more inclined to help other community members (such as helping the sick) and to participate in community activities (such as attending church or mosque, helping with community projects, attending community meetings) than others. The regions on the upper end of the helping and participating spectrum included Arusha, Pwani, Kagera and Zanzibar. It is likely that the initiation of a community-based project to reduce firearm proliferation in these regions would be actively engaged in.

The issue of resourcing the project however would need to be carefully considered. There was a tendency to hold back on the lending of money and giving of food across all the regions. Although it is not evident if this is linked to a lack of need, or a lack of ability, giving to other households was reserved. In the section on the economic status of the regions, it is evident that many regions are economically going into a recession. This would imply that resources and the sharing thereof may

become more limited in the future.

When considering the design of community-based projects there are a number of factors that are often considered to be integral parts. Of particular importance in this regard is ensuring that the project is sustainable. This can be achieved by making sure that people identify with the project and feel that those managing the project are attentive and responsive to their ideas and concerns. A sense of ownership needs to be developed and nurtured. The project must also be effectively and efficiently managed. Further significant contributory factors to the success of a project are the establishment of effective consultation and transparency mechanisms. The leaders of the community must be regularly consulted and the traditional decision-making structures within the community identified and embraced. It should be stated that although the presence of strong leadership within a community is likely to enhance the prospects of a project, weaker leadership does not preclude the success of an initiative, but means that ensuring high levels of transparency and consultation becomes even more important. With these considerations in mind the responses regarding community leadership were generally satisfactory across all the regions. Relatively speaking, the leadership in Dar es Salaam, Mbeya and Morogoro was considered better than other regions, and the leadership in Kagera weaker.

It was found that in those communities where people worked well together there was good cohesion. This implies that people had mechanisms to deal with differences and forge together on projects. On the scale of cohesion, the regions of Mbeya, Pwani and Ruvuma were strongest, while those communities that appeared to work less well together included Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Zanzibar and Kagera.

The youth were not perceived in a particularly favourable light. However, actively canvassing their participation in a community-based project would be a mechanism to provide them with a sense of belonging in the community and a chance to apply their energy towards its betterment. Within a traditional African community, the youth—and especially females—are a voiceless group. Age is a particularly relevant label determining the extent of participation in decision-making.

There are major community health problems in Tanzania. More people (than in previous years) are suffering from serious diseases such as malaria, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. Relative to the rising rates of these diseases, firearm injury rates seem insignificant. It is probable that were a community consulted on their health priorities, firearm injuries would be one of their lesser concerns. This calls for a degree of sensitivity when initiating projects to raise awareness around firearm proliferation—especially if resources are to be made available to the community for these projects.

Development does not affect people within the community evenly. Just under three-fifths of the entire sample felt that development in their community was better than in previous years. There was no difference between the views of the female and the male respondents but there were significant regional differences in the perceived levels of development. Comparatively speaking, the regions of Arusha, Kagera, Morogoro and Pwani indicated that there were improvements in development, while the respondents in Dar es Salaam and Tanga felt development was poor.

Comparatively speaking all the regions, except for Arusha and Mwanza, felt that the people in their communities would be willing to participate in community-based awareness projects. The respondents themselves were even more willing to participate than they felt their community would be—even on the issue of encouraging people to stop owning firearms. While such a positive response should be treated with a degree of caution, the findings with regard to the social environment indicate that the high willingness to participate in community projects by the Tanzanian people is probably an accurate reflection of reality.

Information was also gathered in this section about the main forms of communication. What is evident is

that the most widespread form of communication, next to word of mouth and obtaining information from community meetings, is listening to the radio. However, radio campaigns are expensive. Sending information through current organisations, clubs and societies is also a creative manner to transfer information and to obtain wide spread community support. Identifying the right organisations in the community needs to be done in close consultation with the community leadership.

Two scenarios were put to the respondents, one about who the community would turn to for help following an argument, and the other regarding whom the police should negotiate with about security. These questions aimed to obtain an understanding of what were some of the main structures that the community trusted on important issues such as security. In terms of conflict resolution and negotiations on security, the tribal authority and the existing community leaders were the most popular choices in most regions, although in some cases the respondents indicated that the community liked to solve problems on their own, or with the help of friends and family.

Although this section explores some of the options key to understanding leadership in the community, in each case independent investigations are necessary to determine the level of confidence the community have in the leadership. This section clearly indicates that different role players within the community are identified for different responsibilities. This was illustrated by the fact that different role players are responsible for locally-based conflict resolution and for larger macro security negotiations.

On the whole there is a good social environment in Tanzania. There are more positive indications than negative indications, in terms of the leadership and the level of community participation. The environment would be open to the idea of initiating community projects. On a case by case basis, some communities may have negative experiences of the execution of community projects, in which case more infrastructural support would be required to ensure that the communities do not succumb to the same developmental pitfalls. In addition, a greater level of sensitisation to the objectives and methods of a project will need to be ensured before and during the implementation of any such initiative.

Indicators of helping and participation

The indicators of helping and participation were obtained to understand in which regions there were strong and reliable social networks that assisted or worked for the good of the community. In communities where family, friends and neighbours reached out and helped other people a better sense of belonging and identification with the community would exist. Where this is the case, there is likely to be a greater willingness among individuals to participate in projects benefiting the broader community.

There are eight indicators measured in this sub-section on community helping and participation. The mean score is provided, whereby 1.0 indicates the maximum amount of time is allocated to this activity and 3.0 indicates the minimum amount of time is allocated. In this analysis, the relative rank order of the mean score in relation to other regions is used.

Two regions that stood apart from the other regions were Arusha and Pwani. In both these communities there were consistently high levels of helping in the community and of participation. The next two best-ranked regions were Kagera and Zanzibar. The worst region in terms of helping and participation was Tanga.

Amongst the range of examples for helping each other and participation, the most frequently undertaken activity for interacting with other community members was by attending religious meetings such as in mosques or churches. This was followed by the activity of assisting the community with the provision of better security. This is indicative of the fact that community members are nowadays spending more time than in previous years on improving their security and may also be indicative of an increasing awareness

n =	79	448	240	237	238	237	223	370	159	219	238	162
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum amount of time (More time) < > 3 = Minimum amount of time (Less time)												

Five regions expressed strong agreement with the statement, 'this is a peaceful community'. These were Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Kagera, Kilimanjaro and Mbeya. The three regions that did not agree with the above-mentioned statement were Kigoma, Tanga and Zanzibar.

The police are least trusted in the regions of Kigoma, Mbeya, Tanga and Zanzibar. The lack of trust in the police would need to be carefully weighed up, as this has implications for the likely success of disarmament or firearm collection programmes, in which the police may play a central role. A reluctance to co-operate with the police would be likely to undermine such projects. The regions that indicated the greatest level of trust for the police were Morogoro, Ruvuma and Arusha.

There were three statements that aimed to ascertain the perceptions of the community of their current community leadership, namely: 'community leaders work for our good', 'there is respect for the community leaders', and 'community leaders listen to my opinions'. The three regions that were most in agreement with the above-mentioned statements were Dar es Salaam, Mbeya and Morogoro. This would imply that the community leadership in these three regions was amongst the best in Tanzania, and should they be consulted on behalf of their region, they would be well able to represent the views of the people. Good leadership is characterised by regularly consulting and being accountable and transparent. There were indications that the community leadership in the region of Kagera was amongst the worst in Tanzania.

The level of community cohesion and the ability of the community to work well together are as important as the quality of the community leadership in determining the likely success of a community initiative. These are critical indicators of the possibility of implementing a community-based strategy to reduce firearm dependency.

It is apparent that those communities that worked well together were usually the same communities in which there was good community cohesion. It was found that the strongest levels of community cohesion and where the community worked best together were in Mbeya, Pwani and Ruvuma. The weakest levels of community cohesion were found in Kilimanjaro, Tanga and Zanzibar. Similarly, the members of the community do not work well together in Kagera, Kilimanjaro, Tanga and Zanzibar.

The final statement, evaluated to inform the likelihood of a community initiative being undertaken, was the extent to which the community was open to new ideas. Besides the regions of Mwanza, Tanga and Arusha, most of the other regions were open to new ideas. Overall, the level of community cohesion evident from these responses is relatively high and suggests that community-based initiatives to ameliorate security and reduce firearm dependency would be likely to meet with success.

Table 5: Indicators of community cohesion

Extent of agreement with statement:	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
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This is a peachful community	1.94	1.71	1.98	2.52	1.79	1.78	2.17	2.31	2.34	2.09	2.67	2.57
The community trusts the police	2.30	2.37	2.48	2.63	2.46	2.72	2.14	2.42	2.42	2.20	2.61	2.86
There is community cohesion	2.23	2.33	2.32	2.40	2.67	2.09	2.47	2.52	2.21	2.21	2.65	2.78
The community works well together	2.25	2.19	2.68	2.48	2.75	2.09	2.53	2.56	2.21	2.20	2.69	3.14
The community is open to new ideas	2.33	1.88	2.19	1.99	1.72	1.91	2.00	2.43	1.99	1.80	2.38	2.04
There is respect for the community	2.28	2.16	2.85	2.50	2.76	2.17	2.06	2.50	2.25	2.12	2.65	2.78
Community leaders work for our good	2.32	2.23	2.91	2.69	2.48	2.09	2.30	2.44	2.32	2.27	2.64	2.91
Community leaders listen to my opinions	2.37	2.25	3.23	2.67	2.91	2.16	2.21	2.73	2.26	2.43	2.65	2.66
n =	79	453	235	237	234	238	227	371	159	216	240	162

Key for mean score:

1 = Maximum agreement (Strongly agree) < > 3 = Minimum agreement (Strongly disagree)

Perceptions of the youth

Usually when the idea of community-based awareness campaigns are raised, the youth are identified as the key role players both in terms of target audience and implementers of the campaign. The energy, enthusiasm and the general openness to new ideas of the youth make them a pivotal grouping for the success of a community-based initiative. Within the sphere of firearm-related crime and violence, the importance of engaging younger members of the community is especially great. Young adults, in particular males, are the primary victims of firearm-related violence. Focusing on young adults and the youth—the soon-to-be young adults—is thus of paramount importance.

The following section aimed to understand the way in which the community perceived the youth. Among other things, this would inform the extent to which they could be involved in a community-based campaign.

The most strongly-held perception was that the youth are involved in crime. Across all regions, except Mbeya and Ruvuma, there was support for this idea. The youth were also perceived by the community as being very much less respectful of their elders and the law and as being less responsible. In addition to this, the youth were seen as unwilling to work for the good of the community. It was also felt that the youth were more willing to leave rural areas in search of opportunities in urban districts. In all these

statements, these are not surprising perceptions of the youth, and perhaps these are universally appreciated labels given to the category of people called the youth. What this section indicates above anything else, is that the youth of Tanzania are similar to other young people in Africa. Looking for something different to their parents, questioning the world around them and trying to find their own identity within the community.

Table 6: Perceptions of the youth

The extent of involvement	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Involved in crime	1.81	1.62	1.97	1.70	1.72	2.05	1.37	1.91	1.29	2.48	1.72	2.07
Respectful to the elders	3.41	3.86	3.41	3.75	3.86	3.51	3.83	3.73	4.48	3.80	3.97	3.34
Respectful of the law	3.62	3.98	3.54	3.88	3.76	3.52	4.08	3.68	4.39	3.76	2.28	3.50
Responsible	3.42	3.78	3.49	3.46	3.89	3.53	3.71	3.79	4.14	3.62	2.90	2.96
Willing to leave rural for urban areas	2.11	1.85	1.40	1.99	1.20	1.44	1.29	1.97	1.74	2.31	2.87	1.63
Working for the good of the community	3.39	3.89	3.65	3.73	3.61	3.55	4.01	3.75	4.27	3.62	2.74	3.60
n =	79	449	239	239	236	238	227	374	160	220	238	159
<p>Key for mean score: 1 = More involvement < > 5 = Less involvement</p>												

To determine the success of community-based initiatives and the involvement of the youth, one needs to look at the youth's perception of the community as well as the community's perception of the youth. In terms of community initiatives, what these results show is that there is a need for interaction within communities, between the youth and others, and that many of the problems in the community may possibly be connected with the youth. Therefore, specific initiatives need to be targeted on the youth and promoting among them a greater sense of responsibility and respect for the law. However, knowing what the community thinks of the youth does not tell us necessarily whether the youth are likely to participate actively in community-based activities. Nonetheless, it does highlight some of the perceptions of the youth that would need to be considered in order that the youth may be allowed to participate in a meaningful manner by the community. Additionally, if the community does not respect or trust the youth, they are unlikely to support a programme run by the youth, for instance a gun collection project.

Indicators of community health

Respondents were asked to indicate whether the number of people suffering from illness or injury had increased or decreased, relative to conditions in previous years. It should be borne in mind that the mean score in this case is a measure of the change in the level of affliction, as opposed to an absolute level.

Malaria	1.63	1.11	1.34	1.08	1.16	1.18	1.05	1.69	1.06	1.11	1.07	1.02
Malnutrition	1.99	1.82	2.10	1.68	2.25	2.75	1.98	2.10	1.64	2.08	2.15	1.99
Cholera	2.16	1.79	2.59	2.22	2.68	2.92	2.26	2.24	1.44	1.99	2.85	2.59
n =	79	442	239	236	234	166	213	366	160	182	239	158

Key for mean score:

1 = Maximum (More people suffer) < > 3 = Minimum (Less people suffer)

Table 8: Level of happiness (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
More happy than before	65	25	44	23	28	36	30	26	41	31	11	40
Same as before	23	27	11	13	9	36	38	39	23	22	8	26
Less happy than before ²⁶	12	48	45	64	63	28	32	35	36	47	81	34
Mean	2.42	3.27	3.10	3.46	3.31	2.90	3.03	3.11	2.95	3.20	3.83	3.00
n =	78	454	240	240	237	236	230	371	159	222	237	160

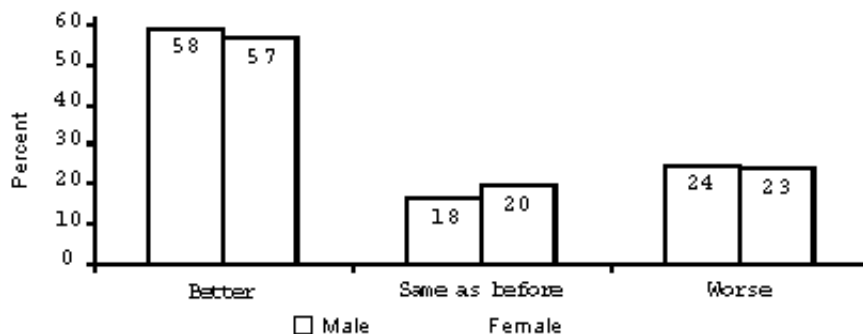
Key for mean score:

1 = Maximum agreement (more happy) < > 3 = Minimum agreement (less happy)

Perception of development

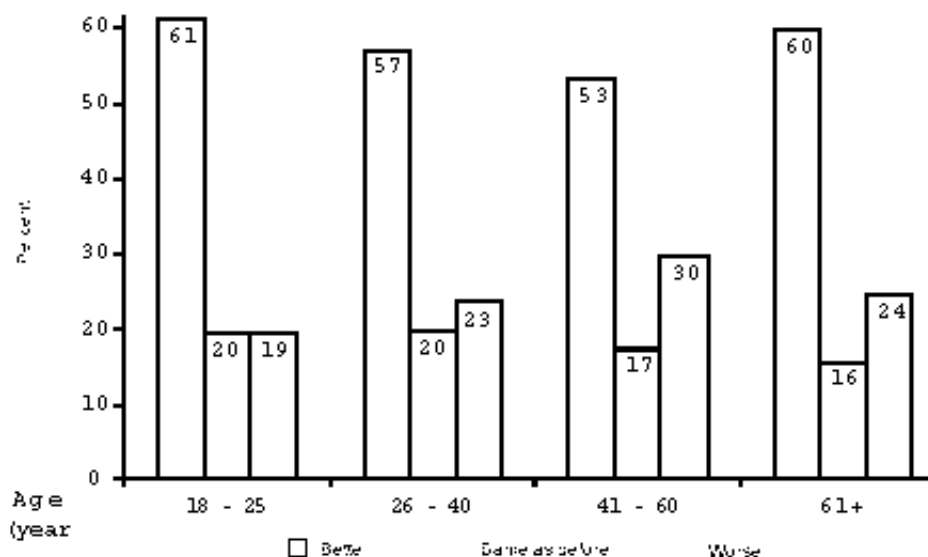
In response to the question, 'today, do you feel that the development in the community is better or worse than before', 58% of the sample indicated that development was 'better' than before, indicating that they feel that development is improving. Interestingly, there was no significant difference in perception between the male and the female respondents. This would imply that this assessment of development is relatively accurate.

Figure 6: Changes in development, by gender (n=2,892)



Similarly, amongst respondents of different age groups there were no significant differences in perceptions of development.

Figure 7: Changes in development, by age



Unlike the similarities amongst the respondents within the age and gender categories, the regional cross-tabulations showed distinct differences in perceptions of development. The respondents from Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Morogoro, Pwani and Kagera saw development as better off than in previous years. The two regions lagging behind in terms of development were Dar es Salaam and Tanga.

Table 9: Changes in development by region (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Better	73	45	66	60	63	65	69	49	68	59	49	58
Same as before	23	23	14	15	6	23	6	32	14	19	12	19
Worse	4	32	20	25	31	12	25	19	18	22	39	23

Willingness of the community to participate

In response to the question, 'how willing do you think the community would be to participate in community-based awareness campaigns?' respondents gave an overwhelmingly positive response. It was found that 79% of the sample felt that the community would be 'willing' to participate.

Figure 8: Willingness of the community to participate in community-based awareness campaigns



Perceptions of the willingness of the community to participate varied from region to region. The regions found to be most willing to participate in community-based awareness campaigns were Pwani (93%), Morogoro (88%), Kagera (87%), Dar es Salaam (85%), Kilimanjaro (84%) and Kigoma (82%).

The regions of Mwanza (13%) and Tanga (24%) indicated that their communities would be most unwilling to participate in a community-based awareness campaign.

Table 10: Willingness of the community to participate in community-based awareness campaigns (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
More willing	66	85	87	82	84	73	88	59	93	85	69	79
Same as others	31	9	9	12	8	27	5	29	4	11	8	10
Less willing	3	6	5	7	8	1	7	13	4	4	24	10

Willingness of the respondent to participate

The respondents were asked to define the extent to which they saw themselves as the type of person that gets involved in community campaigns. This is a critical question for providing a profile of who would be most likely to assist in a community initiative in general, and a firearm control or reduction initiative specifically. It should be borne in mind that the information collected in this section only provides an indication. Should an initiative be implemented within a community by entities operating outside of the community, consultations with community representatives would need to take place.

The respondents were only asked to consider a hypothetical situation. The survey was not designed to obtain a mandate from the community to start a process. Having provided a profile of likely community activists, one should also be aware that from time to time, an individual who would not ordinarily consider himself or herself as an active community participant may be motivated to act by a particular set of life circumstances, for example, a crime-related tragedy or world disaster.

Overall, 73% of the respondents were 'willing' to get involved in community-based awareness campaigns. Although this is a useful indicator of what the level of involvement of individuals in the community would be in a community programme, there is no way of telling upon what assumption the respondents based their responses. For example, level of payment for participation, voluntary nature of participation, time frame of involvement, involvement dependent on the nature of the campaign subject matter, among other factors, may be a determinant or determinants of the participation or otherwise of individuals

Marginally more male (75%) than female (70%) respondents indicated that they were 'willing' to be involved in a community-based awareness campaign. The difference in opinion between the male and female respondents could be a reflection of male and female respondents having different amounts of time available to participate and different perceptions of the role and responsibilities in community affairs of male and female community members. The question was not located near to questions on firearm penetration or crime, thus the survey did not present a specific bias regarding the nature of the awareness campaign, besides a general development orientation.

There seemed to be a relationship between the age of the respondent and the willingness to participate in community campaigns. There appeared to be marginally more members, relatively speaking, of the older categories than the younger ones, who were 'very willing' to participate. However, generally this correlation did not hold. It was found that respondents in the 26-40 years and 41-60 years category were the most willing to participate in community-based awareness campaigns.

When it came to the issue of participation, the respondents were usually more willing to participate than they felt other members of their community would be. Similar to the responses given to the question assessing the community's willingness to participate, the respondents from Morogoro and Pwani were found to be more willing to participate than other respondents.

Figure 9: Willingness to participate, by gender

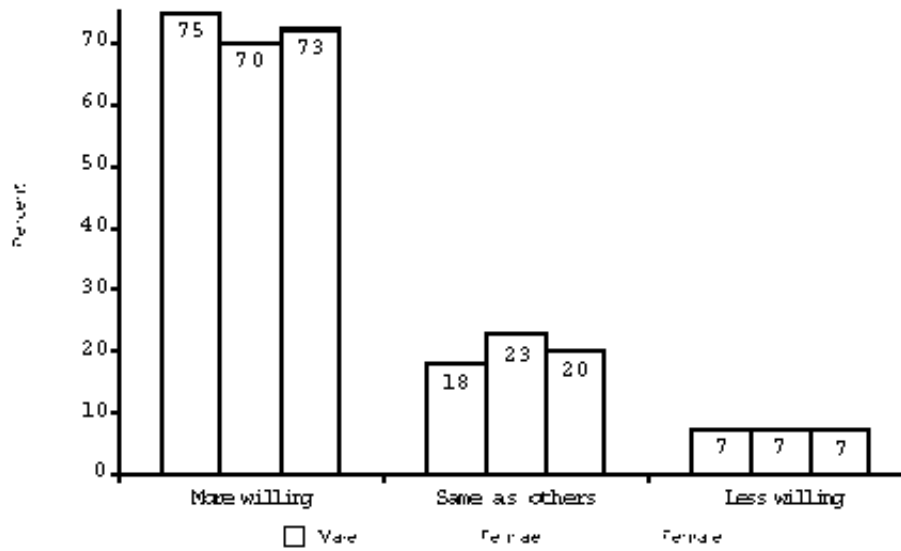
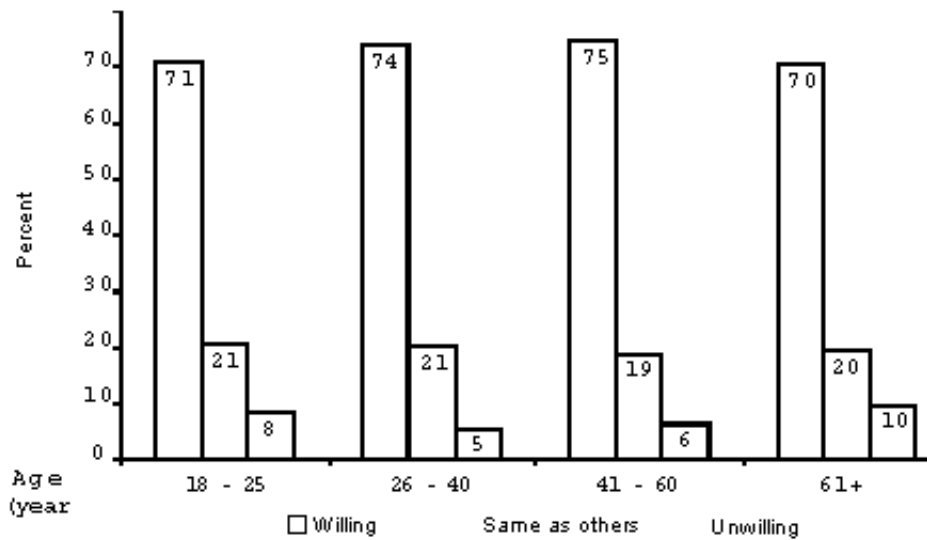


Table 11: Willingness to participate, by region (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Willing	55	73	81	83	83	67	89	63	88	59	68	62
Same as others	43	19	14	13	8	32	7	27	9	35	12	36
Unwilling	3	10	5	5	8	2	4	10	3	5	20	6

Figure 10: Willingness to participate, by age



Participation in action against firearms

In response to the question, 'if the security in your community improved would you consider encouraging

n =	80	459	240	240	238	240	232	377	160	233	240	163
Key for mean score: 1 = Everyday < > 6 = Never												

Level of membership

The level of membership was measured directly by tallying the number of different organisations the respondent belonged to. It was found that on average the respondents from Mbeya and Arusha belonged to five organisations, followed by the respondents from Dar es Salaam and Kigoma who belonged to four organisations each. Membership of organisations is a useful indicator of the existing level of interaction with other community members. It should also be pointed out that specific organisations may be of particular use in accessing certain target groups within a community, for instance, youths. Planners of community-based projects should thus examine closely the membership of local organisations to see which organisations might usefully be targeted.

Table 14: Level of membership in organisations

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Mean number of organisations	5	4	3	4	2	5	3	3	2	3	2	3
n =	80	459	240	240	238	240	232	377	160	223	240	163
Key for mean score: 0 = Minimum (Belong to no organisation) < > 14 = Maximum (Belong to 14 organisations)												

Role players community turn to for conflict resolution

The respondents were asked to identify to whom they would turn for help following a serious argument. It is assumed that this would be someone that is respected and trusted within the community. This person, it is further assumed, would institute some form of conflict resolution mechanism to resolve the matter.

Most sample regions identified tribal leaders as the persons most frequently turned to for help following a serious argument between community members. In Arusha, Kigoma and Zanzibar the community preferred to resolve the issue themselves, while in Morogoro the community turned to the existing elected community leaders. In Ruvuma, about a third of respondents also favoured consulting existing elected community leaders, while another third would turn to tribal leaders.

authorities, political organisations	1	3	1	12	7	2	1	1	1	6	3	45
Community organisations	4	8	0	36	3	11	12	4	1	8	3	3
Religious group	0	2	0	0	0	5	1	0	1	1	0	0
Business leaders & people	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	2	0	0
Teachers	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	3	0	0	2	1
Co-operative leaders	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0

CHAPTER 3

Economic indicators

Introduction

Economic indicators are crucial to the analysis of firearm proliferation as there tends to be a strong link between financial well-being, of which they are illustrative, and the propensity to own a firearm and the level of exposure to crime. This link, though not directly causal but rather based on an interactive complex, usually indicates that the poorer one's financial situation the greater the exposure to crime and the greater the likelihood of firearm ownership. This relationship will be explored in more depth in the final section of this report.

There is a tendency for respondents to dampen their financial situation in surveys of this type, particularly when conducted in a largely rural area. That is, respondents will tend to present their financial situation as being worse than in reality it is. The reason for this dampening tendency is unknown. One possible explanation is that respondents may identify the survey as being a precursor to, and determinant of, the provision of assistance to the area, and therefore, they are keen to present a worse situation so as to influence the delivery of this assistance, i.e. ensure that it comes to their area and is as substantial as possible.

There are five indicators that will be considered in this section. Loosely speaking, these are divided into those that measure the current financial standing of the household, those that provide an indication of the financial situation to come (leading indicators), and finally, those that provide a picture of the past financial situation (lagging indicators). The lagging indicators are the last to change when a financial situation changes.

The level of access to productive resources (such as land, livestock and household assets) also provides insights into the financial standing of respondents across the sample regions. When the level of access to productive resources is compared with other indicators a more in-depth understanding of the nature and extent of firearm proliferation can be obtained.

Analysis of results

Of the five economic indicators measured in this section, the most basic measure of the economic status of the region was that relating to the frequency of going hungry. The mean score for this indicator was substantially higher than for the other indicators (indicating that households go hungry seldom/never). This would imply that although the people of Tanzania are finding it more difficult to meet their household needs and are spending more time worrying about their financial situation, they are in fact still

able to meet their basic need commitments. The rising levels of worry about financial conditions and the strain in meeting household needs are leading indicators, pointing to the start of an economic downturn in certain regions.

Two indicators that closely mirrored each other (in terms of mean score) were those of the ability to meet the household's financial needs and the frequency of worrying about the household's financial needs, where the mean scores indicated a general perception of a worsening or tightening economic situation within households. As was previously stated, these are lead indicators and thus provide a projection of future developments. Consequently, it can be concluded that the following regions are starting to experience an economically worsening situation: Kagera, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro and Tanga.

However, although there is evidence of an economic downturn in some of the regions, in none of the regions were people frequently going hungry (besides perhaps in Dar es Salaam). This can be explained by the level of subsistence farming in Tanzania, which means that despite the extremely low levels of income and the apparent worsening economic situation, many Tanzanians are still able to adequately feed themselves and their families. In this regard, the level of land ownership for farming suggests that subsistence farming is less diffuse than previously thought.

Leading economic indicators

Two economic indicators were used to provide an illustration of the impending household financial situation; namely the frequency of worrying about the household money situation and the ability to meet the household needs.

The frequency of worrying about the household financial situation provided an accurate reflection of the current economic standing of the household. Respondents from Kagera (52%) and Tanga (51%) most frequently worried about their household's financial situation.

Table 17: Frequency of worrying about financial situation (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Always/often	13	33	52	44	24	10	28	22	30	41	51	29
Sometimes	14	29	20	15	18	31	36	24	33	21	24	20
Seldom/never	74	38	29	42	58	59	37	55	38	38	24	51
Mean	3.70	2.94	2.52	2.68	3.29	3.64	3.00	3.09	2.94	2.77	2.41	3.07
n =	79	454	236	240	236	239	226	373	160	222	239	162
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum agreement (Always/often) < 5 = Minimum agreement (Seldom/never)												

Respondents were asked to indicate whether meeting their family needs was more or less difficult than before. The respondents from Tanga (91%) and Morogoro (76%) were finding it more difficult to meet their family needs, as were, to a slightly lesser extent, respondents from Kagera, Kigoma and Mbeya.

What was interesting was that in some regions the respondents were actually finding it easier to meet the household needs. The respondents from Pwani, Arusha and Kilimanjaro were amongst those that found this to be the case.

Table 18: Ability to meet family needs (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
More difficult	23	42	64	59	10	62	76	46	36	51	91	52
Same as before	32	19	21	8	15	24	3	37	9	27	3	13
Less difficult	46	40	15	33	75	14	21	17	55	22	6	35
Mean	3.22	2.89	2.29	2.30	3.70	2.14	1.89	2.59	3.24	2.53	1.84	2.78
n =	79	455	229	237	234	236	223	349	160	214	230	161
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum agreement (More difficult) < > 5 = Minimum agreement (Less difficult)												

Current economic indicators

The frequency of going hungry provides an accurate indication of the household's current economic situation.

The predominantly urban region of Dar es Salaam, in which the city of Dar es Salaam is located, was the area in which respondents most frequently went hungry. It was found that 17% of these respondents 'always/often' went hungry, while a further 19% of these respondents 'sometimes' went hungry. Similarly, the respondents from Zanzibar frequently went hungry. Other regions of concern in terms of frequency of going hungry were, in descending order: Mwanza, Ruvuma, Kagera and Arusha.

In some regions members of the household seldom went hungry. These regions included Mbeya, Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Kigoma and Morogoro.

Table 19: Frequency of going hungry (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Always/often	4	17	8	1	3	1	4	5	1	5	3	11
Sometimes	9	19	5	6	2	2	1	13	7	10	2	11
Seldom/never	87	64	87	93	95	97	94	82	92	85	95	79
Mean	4.13	3.75	4.22	4.28	4.37	4.62	4.50	4.13	4.23	4.26	4.42	3.99

n =	78	454	240	240	237	237	228	371	159	222	237	161
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum agreement (Always/often) < > 5 = Minimum agreement (Seldom/never)												

Lagging economic indicators

The relative well-being of other community members were used as lagging economic indicators.

Relative well-being of community members

The respondents were asked to make an assessment of the relative financial well-being of the other community members in their area. In some districts (notably Arusha, Pwani, Zanzibar and Mbeya) the majority of respondents felt that other members of the community were better off than they were. While only in Tanga did a majority (53%) think that others were worse off. In Dar es Salaam, Kagera and Kilimanjaro over 40% of respondents in each of these regions also felt that other members of the community were worse off than they were.

Table 20: Relatively financial well-being of community members (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Better off	77	30	43	23	45	59	50	27	71	38	41	64
Same as before	18	26	10	39	15	20	12	39	18	23	5	17
Worse off	5	44	47	38	40	21	38	34	11	39	54	18
Mean	2.24	3.21	3.08	3.21	3.00	2.53	2.83	3.09	2.37	3.07	3.29	2.56
n =	79	448	240	239	235	239	227	374	160	221	240	162
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum amount of time (More time) < > 3 = Minimum amount of time (Less time)												

Access to productive resources

Access to land

For a country perceived as largely agricultural, with high levels of both subsistence and commercial farming, it was surprising that such a significant proportion of the sample did not have access to land for farm crops. The regions of least access to land for farm crops included Dar es Salaam (where 62% of the respondents had no access to land), Zanzibar (68%) and Kigoma (57%). By far the greatest access to land was found in Pwani where 85% of respondents farmed land. Of those respondents who indicated they had access to land, in the majority of regions more people had their own land by title deed than used tribal land or owned land with no title deed. Notable exceptions to this were Kilimanjaro and Mwanza

where an almost identical percentage of respondents had access to land through possession of title deeds or farmed on tribal land. In Tanga and Arusha a slightly larger proportion of respondents indicated that they had access to tribal land than held title deeds.

Table 21: Type of access to land for farm crops (percentages)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
No access to land	42	62	35	57	39	43	45	49	15	50	28	68
Yes, own land (title deed)	23	22	54	36	30	23	31	19	63	35	31	28
Yes, access to tribal land	25	13	10	5	29	17	13	19	21	10	33	2
Yes, own land (no title deed)	10	3	1	2	2	17	11	13	1	5	9	2

Household livestock ownership

As an integral part of the rural way of life in Tanzania, the level of livestock ownership provides a useful economic indicator. The survey sought to identify the levels of ownership of different types of livestock. It was hoped that this information, when compared to trends in firearm ownership, might throw some light on the nature of firearm proliferation. The proportion of the households that had livestock provided an indication of the level of livestock ownership.

What is immediately apparent is that levels of livestock ownership varied greatly from region to region. Overall livestock ownership appeared to be highest in Arusha while Pwani seemed to have the lowest levels of ownership, having only significant levels of poultry possession. Of specific animals, perhaps unsurprisingly, levels of camel and horse/donkey ownership were low across all regions. Arusha had the highest levels of cattle (63% of households), pig (76% of households) and sheep (29% of households) ownership.

The average number of livestock per household is a fair indicator of the well-being of the households. Comparing average household livestock ownership, it was found that the respondents from Mwanza, Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Kagera were best off while the worst off regions were Ruvuma, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam and Kigoma.

Table 22: Level of household livestock owned by region (percentage yes)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Camel	0	1	0	0	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	1
Cattle	62	20	48	30	50	47	17	47	6	21	44	20

Goat	44	14	44	45	41	33	18	42	8	35	29	15
Horse/donkey	43	7	13	12	16	40	12	5	1	26	9	1
Pig	43	7	13	12	16	40	12	5	1	26	9	1
Poultry	76	42	60	60	55	57	50	56	69	44	79	57
Sheep	29	8	8	12	21	15	11	26	1	11	9	0

Table 23: Average number of livestock owned by region

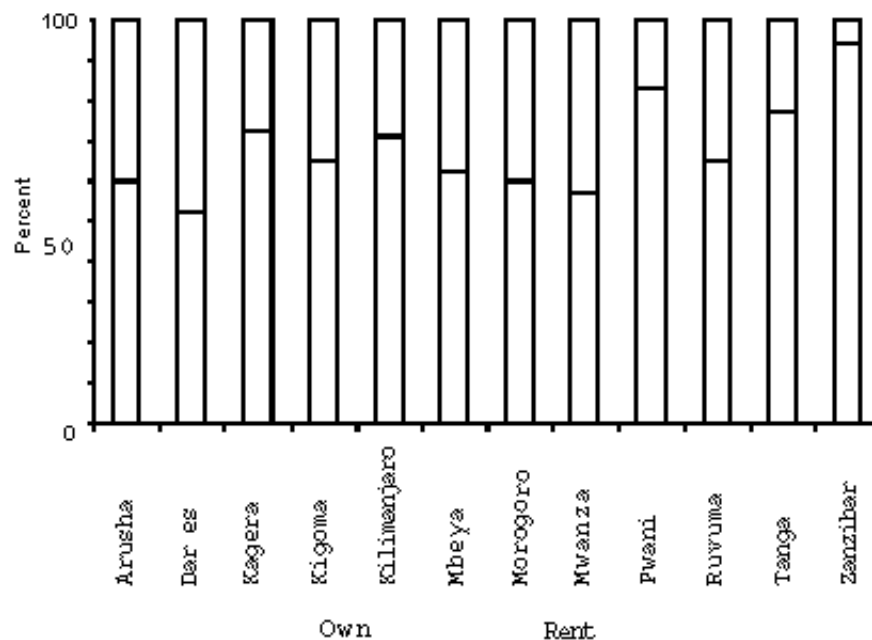
	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Camel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cattle	6	1	6	1	5	2	0	7	1	1	2	1
Goat	6	1	3	3	3	2	1	5	1	2	3	1
Horse/donkey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pig	7	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	1
Poultry	35	12	5	5	8	12	5	10	9	5	13	10
Sheep	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0

Household asset ownership

Home ownership

The majority of the households owned the home they resided in. Home ownership was highest in the provinces of Zanzibar (94%) and Pwani (83%). The lowest levels of ownership were found in Dar es Salaam (52%) and Mwanza (57%).

Figure 11: Form of home tenancy



Asset ownership

The most commonly possessed asset in all of the sample regions was a radio, with at least three-quarters

of respondents in all but one region, Pwani, having a radio. In Pwani, a lower proportion of respondents, only 71% indicated having a radio. Bicycle ownership was also relatively common across Tanzania. Bicycle ownership was highest in Arusha and Tanga where 69% and 60% of the households, respectively, owned bicycles. In Zanzibar, there was a high incidence of scooter possession. However, the extent of this was not measured in the survey.

Table 24: Level of household assets owned, by region (percentage yes)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Bicycle	69	50	55	48	37	55	62	59	48	43	60	51
Motor vehicle	40	17	7	5	8	23	13	20	3	8	7	12
Mobile phone	45	41	3	4	10	18	23	23	4	4	4	7
Landline phone	55	30	9	16	8	26	29	24	2	9	12	9
Radio	98	94	86	85	92	88	94	83	71	68	85	83
Television	76	57	14	22	23	50	47	36	5	13	21	38
Computer	10	9	1	2	3	6	6	4	2	2	0	1
Tractor	11	2	1	4	2	6	4	6	1	3	0	0
Firearm	18	9	4	5	9	8	19	15	5	6	5	1

Table 25: Average number of assets owned, by region

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Bicycle	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Motor vehicle	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mobile phone	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Landline phone	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Radio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Television	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Computer	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tractor	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Firearm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Key for mean score:

1 = Maximum amount of time (More time) < > 3 = Minimum amount of time (Less time)

The incidence of landline phone possession was marginally greater than mobile phone ownership, except in Dar es Salaam. In comparison to other household assets firearm ownership was relatively low. It was found that usually more bicycles, radios, televisions and landline phones were owned than firearms.

Across the 12 regions, firearm ownership was highest in Morogoro and Arusha at 19% and 18% of the households respectively. With the exception of Mwanza, where 15% of households possessed firearms, these levels of firearm ownership were significantly higher than elsewhere in Tanzania. By far the lowest incidence of gun possession was found in Zanzibar (1%), although caution should be used when interpreting the Zanzibar firearm ownership levels. It is most probable that firearm ownership in Zanzibar would be higher than indicated because of the strong moves towards independence from mainland Tanzania.

Comparing levels of firearm ownership with access to farming land does not throw up any consistent correlation. In Arusha, Morogoro and Mwanza, those regions with the highest indicated levels of firearm ownership, the level of access to land is roughly between 50% and 60% in all three regions. However, Pwani and Tanga have considerably higher levels of access to farming land, yet, in both of these regions firearm possession was found in only 5% of households (below the average level of possession). On this evidence there appears to be no correlation between engagement in farming and the possession of guns.

Comparing levels of firearm ownership with levels of livestock possession suggests that there may be some link between the two. Arusha has the greatest incidence of livestock possession and the second highest level of firearm ownership. Mwanza also has relatively high levels of both livestock and firearm possession. However, when the regions of Morogoro, Kagera and Tanga are considered the link is less apparent. Morogoro has the highest level of firearm ownership but low levels of livestock possession, whereas Kagera and Tanga both have a low incidence of firearm possession but, respectively, a reasonably high level and an average level of livestock possession. One reason for focusing on a possible link between firearms and livestock is that those with livestock might feel the need to acquire a weapon to protect their animals not only from natural predators, but also from theft. Although the results from this comparison are inconclusive, the responses from households in Arusha and Mwanza hint at some sort of relationship. This link will be examined further in the concluding chapter where respondents' perceptions of stock theft will be compared to levels of firearm ownership.

CHAPTER 4

Firearm indicators

Introduction

The firearm indicators measured in the survey aimed to obtain information on the extent and nature of firearm penetration within Tanzania. The extent to which the community is exposed to firearms, as well as is dependent on firearms, is critical to an understanding both of the reasons for concern regarding the proliferation of firearms and of how to design programmes to redress firearm dependency.

Firearm ownership is one of the most important firearm penetration indicators. It is often difficult to obtain information about the direct level of firearm ownership, as interviewees are often reluctant to be fully open on the topic of firearm possession and use. Given that acquisition and/or possession may not be legal in some cases this reluctance is entirely understandable. In order to overcome this, questions of associated firearm ownership are utilised, which avoid the direct and highly sensitive question of personal ownership but instead survey connected areas from which deductions about the nature and extent of actual firearm ownership can be made.

Measuring other perceptions of the respondent towards firearm proliferation is also important in order to gauge how the community will react to measures to curb proliferation. If the community is of the opinion that firearms are problematic, then a high level of co-operation could be expected towards government- and community-based initiatives to explore measures to curb firearm proliferation.

Analysis

The indicators of firearm penetration point to a country in which the prevalence of firearm possession is increasing but at a rate that does not as yet constitute a crisis. Overall levels of the use of firearms in crime, exposure to violent conflict involving a gun and the frequency of hearing gunshots were relatively low, although certain regions did appear to be more afflicted than others; notably Kigoma, Mwanza and Morogoro. When perceptions of the change in the number of firearms are considered, Kigoma and Morogoro appear to be the regions in which firearm penetration is greatest. These regions are those to which crime prevention strategies might be usefully targeted as a means of tackling the proliferation of small arms. In Kigoma the main determinants of this relatively high level of penetration appear to be its geographical location, bordering the conflict zones of Burundi and DRC, and the resultant destabilising influx of refugees from these regions.

The region of Kilimanjaro is where firearm proliferation is perhaps lowest. This is evidenced by the low incidence of residents having friends or family members who possess a firearm and of residents having access to firearms. This is emphasised further by low levels of willingness to possess a gun. Given these findings, Kilimanjaro is a region that deserves further study to ascertain why firearms are less of a problem there than elsewhere. One obvious factor, already mentioned above, is the significance of this region economically as a tourist destination and the importance placed on policing to ensure the safety of tourists, as a result. One can thus deduce that improved levels of policing both quantitatively and qualitatively is likely to have an impact elsewhere in Tanzania.

However, identifying clear trends across indicators of ownership proves difficult. Morogoro had the highest indicated level of actual possession and showed the highest willingness to possess a firearm, suggesting that the prevalence of guns in this region is great and moreover, that the situation is unlikely to improve in the near future. Morogoro, a region where crime is known to have burgeoned recently, should thus be prioritised by agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, that are to address issues of firearm control. While less immediately obvious, Kigoma also appears to have a notable firearms problem, particularly with regard to illegal weapons. This is illustrated in the respondents' answers by having the highest level of access to firearms and a higher than average willingness among its residents to own a weapon, which suggest guns are relatively widely dispersed. When this is considered alongside the comparatively very low number of respondents in this region indicating that they had friends or family members possessing a firearm and the relatively low levels of actual firearm possession, it is possible to conclude that ownership is relatively high but that respondents were, naturally, unwilling to implicate themselves or close associates directly.

That Kigoma borders countries in conflict, in which rebel factions—by their very nature illegal possessors of arms—are fighting, gives weight to this deduction. Given Kigoma's situation the responses of residents in Kagera, also bordering conflict zones, are of particular interest. Levels of actual possession were relatively low (only Zanzibar had lower levels) and the willingness to possess a firearm equally so (only respondents from Kilimanjaro indicated a lower willingness), yet only three regions had a higher level of access. Drawing concrete conclusions about the situation in Kagera from these results is not easy but a possible scenario can be reasoned. It may be that, as in Kigoma and for similar reasons, there are a large number of illegal firearms (indicated by high acknowledged access yet low acknowledged actual possession and low levels of licensing), yet the situation may be more stable in Kagera, which would explain the lower willingness to possess. Morogoro and Kigoma appear in the most urgent need of attention, while Kagera, but also Mwanza and Arusha, seem to have significant levels of firearm possession.

The indicators concerned with the need for controls point to a country in which there is general

acceptance of the need to control firearms. These indicators help to enhance the overall picture of firearm proliferation and in particular point towards the likely willingness of regions to accept, co-operate with and welcome initiatives to control and reduce firearm proliferation. They can also help to illuminate which are the most affected, perhaps not in absolute terms, but in the equally important sphere of the impact on the quality of life. Encouragingly, there appears to be very widespread recognition of the need to control firearms. This suggests a recognition of the desirability of improved arms control. One may also infer, however, that this may be the result of personal experience of the deleterious impact of guns and/or from an awareness through the media that the proliferation of small arms is a growing issue of more general concern within Tanzania, and perhaps also in the wider world.

Kigoma, Pwani and Kagera are the regions where the impact of firearms is greatest, while Mbeya and Arusha appear to be the least affected. For the reasons given above the serious concern about the situation in Kigoma, and similarly in Kagera, is unsurprising. What is interesting about Kagera is that firearm injuries are decreasing, while the risk of injury, the level of worry and the level of impact are high. This suggests that Kagera has suffered greatly in the past and continues to be badly afflicted but that the situation has, in recent times, improved slightly. Although Pwani did not stand out as one of the regions of greatest concern in terms of firearm penetration or ownership, there are indications (in terms of a general decline in safety and the relatively high incidence of friends and family possessing a firearm) that should be monitored in this region.

Indicators of firearm penetration

Frequency of use of firearms in crime

The respondents were asked to indicate how frequently firearms are used to commit crimes in their community. Overall, firearms were infrequently used to commit crimes. This could be strongly related to the fact that violent crime in Tanzania is relatively low. Kigoma, Pwani, Arusha, Morogoro and Mwanza were those regions with relatively more incidences of firearm usage in crime as compared to the other regions surveyed. However, in their own right the use of firearms in crime occurred infrequently (as indicated by a mean greater than 3.0 and less than 4.0, that is, somewhere between 'sometimes' and 'seldom').

Table 26: Frequency of use of firearms in crime (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
All the time	0	1	3	6	8	0	0	1	6	2	5	0
Often	0	6	10	11	6	3	6	6	10	2	2	0
Sometimes	33	8	7	24	7	5	39	22	10	3	10	1
Seldom	61	43	38	55	35	55	31	51	59	34	58	16
Never	6	42	42	4	44	37	24	20	15	59	25	83
Mean	3.73	4.21	4.08	3.38	4.00	4.27	3.73	3.83	3.66	4.46	3.97	4.83
n =	79	402	238	238	237	240	219	367	159	217	233	163

Key for mean score:
 1 = Most frequent (All the time) < > 5 = Least frequent (Never)

Frequency of being exposed to violent conflict involving a firearm

Across all the regions, the mean score indicating the frequency of exposure to violent conflict involving a firearm was above 4.0. This showed that most respondents had 'seldom' or 'never' been exposed to violent conflict involving a firearm. Respondents from Arusha, Morogoro and Mwanza have been exposed to marginally more violent conflict than respondents from other regions, although the level of exposure still remained low.

Sensitivity to the experiences of the people of Arusha, Morogoro and Mwanza needs to be shown when developing a strategy to reduce firearm proliferation. The respondents from these provinces would in all likelihood feel more insecure, and thus be less willing to engage in discussions or processes linked to micro-disarmament. Consequently, linking any disarmament initiatives to conflict prevention and resolution is likely to enhance both their acceptability and their long-term success.

Table 27: Frequency of being exposed to violent conflict involving a firearm

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Mean	4.23	4.63	4.47	4.82	4.38	4.73	4.47	4.23	4.81	4.78	4.81	4.61
n =	79	387	238	203	237	227	220	344	160	218	238	159
Key for mean score: 1 = Most frequent (All the time) < > 5 = Least frequent (Never)												

Frequency of hearing gunshots

The regions of Arusha, Mwanza and Kigoma heard relatively more gunshots than the other regions, although hearing gunshots was still a relatively infrequent occurrence. In Zanzibar, the incidence of hearing the discharge of firearms was very low with only 19% seldom, and 80% never, hearing gunshots.

Change in the number of firearms

The region with the most significant increase in the number of firearms compared to previous years was Kigoma. Overall, 80% of the Kigoma respondents indicated that the number of firearms had increased. The reason for the significant increase in the number of firearms in Kigoma may be attributed to the decades long destabilisation caused by the spill over from conflicts in Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This spill over included rebel groups training in this region of Tanzania, as well as the victims of conflict seeking refuge in Tanzania.

Table 28: Frequency of hearing gunshots

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Mean	3.95	4.12	4.02	3.61	4.47	4.48	4.07	3.89	4.27	4.67	4.03	4.80

n =	79	401	238	238	238	239	227	372	160	220	239	162
Key for mean score: 1 = Most frequent (All the time) < > 5 = Least frequent (Never)												

In addition to this, frequent raids are carried out across Lake Tanganyika by rebel groups seeking supplies for their soldiers. Having stated this, one should also note that Kagera seems to be afflicted by some or all of these destabilising factors, yet there does not appear to be the same level of increase in the number of firearms. Possible explanation for this lower level of increase in the number of firearms may be that the instability in Kagera was very bad, and although still by no means particularly good now, is relatively speaking getting better. This would explain why the number of firearms is decreasing and there is a general sense that Kagera is safer than it was but also why there is still a considerable concern about being shot and about the general impact of firearms, as identified elsewhere in the survey.

Table 29: Change in the number of firearms (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Increase	51	54	53	80	39	25	72	43	45	12	64	34
No change	24	30	21	9	27	30	12	40	35	59	26	55
Decrease	25	16	26	11	34	45	16	17	20	29	10	11
Mean	2.71	2.60	2.67	2.16	2.74	3.23	2.12	2.58	2.73	3.25	2.37	2.74
n =	79	334	224	224	215	193	122	295	140	200	163	73
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum increase < > 5 = Maximum decrease												

Other regions that experienced comparatively significant increases in the number of firearms were Morogoro (72% of the Morogoro respondents indicated an increase in firearms) and Tanga (with 64% of the respondents reporting an increase). Training camps in Morogoro used by the Umkontho we Sizwe combatants in the 1960-1980s are now housing Burundian refugees. The significant quantity of firearms present in Morogoro stems both from the legacy of the resistance fighters based in Tanzania— and the large quantities of weapons that they left behind on their return to South Africa—and from the fresh influx of weapons that has accompanied the arrival of many of the Burundian refugees. The increase in the number of firearms in Tanga, unlike in Kigoma and Morogoro, can be attributed to issues relating to both armed conflict and criminal activity. With the expansion of the mining industry in Arusha and Tanga, the police have been faced with an increase in crime, which is specifically linked to the mining of tanzanite and other semi-precious stones. Mbeya was the only region where a significant number of respondents (46%) felt that the number of firearms had actually decreased. On balance, although a clear trend across the whole country is difficult to identify, the number of firearms appears to be increasing, although not at an overly alarming rate.

Indicators of firearm ownership

The Tanzanian police award firearm licences to civilians for three main reasons, namely: security; hunting; and the protection of crops from wild pigs and monkeys. Firearms are registered at the Firearm Registry of the Tanzanian Police in Dar es Salaam. Firearm licences are approved in a hierarchical manner, whereby recommendations for approval are transferred from the district, to the regional and finally to the national level. This process is to ensure that only those people fit to possess a firearm are awarded a licence. The main limitation faced by the Firearm Registry is the lack of computers and a suitable computer network which hinders staff in keeping records up to date. The need for computer networking to link regional offices to the head office was seen as a very important mechanism to overcome existing delays in the submission of data. Electronic or technical communication was seen as the most effective mechanism in transmitting reliable information to the department¹ to enable the Firearm Registry to keep and maintain up-to-date records.

No assessment was made of what proportion of the Tanzanian population licensed their firearms. However, given the large rural population and the hierarchical approval process, it may be assumed that a fair proportion of the population did register their firearms. There are a number of possible reasons for this, including the ease with which prospective licensees can submit applications and the relatively small size of communities—in which vigilance and knowledge of the business of others is fairly great and thus the possession of a firearm is difficult to conceal. When this is combined with the role of traditional authorities, for whom the level of respect is likely to be high, the pressure to abide by the law will be great. However, three major categories of people would be by-passed by this formal registration system. These include the refugees in Kigoma, Kagera and Morogoro, Somali traders and the nomadic Masaai. In this section we will attempt to provide a profile of firearm ownership in Tanzania. Due to the fact that police conducted the survey and respondents usually under-report illegal firearm possession in quantitative surveys, it is assumed that the following results indicate a minimum level of firearm ownership in Tanzania.

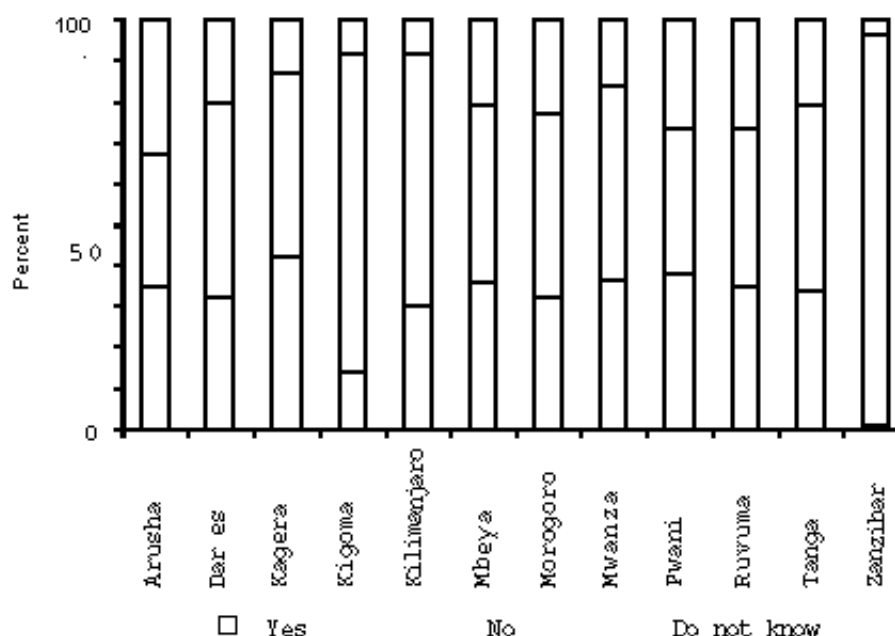
Knowledge of a friend with a firearm

With regards to the question, 'do you know a close friend or family member who has a gun?', it is best to first look at those respondents that indicated 'no' as it sometimes the case that respondents choose the 'do not know' response when they know the firearm in question is acquired and/or possessed illegally.

Legal firearm ownership is lowest in Zanzibar and Kigoma. The indication that 95% of the respondents in Zanzibar do not know someone that owns a firearm is clearly problematic data. It is felt that due to the secessionist sentiments in Zanzibar and the resultant perceptions among the local population of the police headquarters on the mainland, it may be best to disregard the Zanzibar responses to this question. The low firearm ownership in Kigoma, when considered in light of respondents from Kigoma indicating the highest increase in firearms across all sample regions, would suggest that the increase in firearms is largely in illegal weapons. Another possible explanation to bear in mind, however, is that firearm ownership was previously very low.

Legal firearm ownership would appear to be highest in Pwani, Arusha and Ruvuma. It is interesting to note that two of these regions, Pwani and Arusha, surround major urban centres—respectively, the cities of Dar es Salaam and Arusha. This suggests that the location (urban or rural) may be a factor influencing the level of firearm ownership. The high level of legal firearm ownership in Ruvuma may, in part, also be explained by its location. Ruvuma borders Mozambique and Malawi via Lake Nyasa along which there is a great deal of trading—both legal and illegal—and as with the other border lakes of Tanganyika and Victoria, is insufficiently policed.

Figure 12: Knowledge of a close friend or family member with a firerarm (percentage)



Firearm licensing

It is not surprising that the vast majority of the respondents across all regions indicated that they suspected that the firearm in question was licensed. The reason for this is that respondents in this type of survey are reluctant to admit to, or implicate themselves or close friends or relatives, in illegal activity, i.e. possessing an unlicensed weapon. The tendency will have been compounded by the fact that the survey was conducted by police officers. The highest level of firearm licensing was reported in Pwani, Ruvuma and Morogoro, while the lowest level of licensing was reported in the regions of Kilimanjaro, Manza and Kagera.

The regions with low levels of licensing could be identified as priority areas for public awareness and education campaigns when the government starts to address issues related to firearm licensing.

Table 30: Level of firearm licensing (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Definitely licensed	53	58	41	73	32	68	78	49	46	67	81	76
Most probably licensed	32	25	31	10	31	15	14	17	47	24	9	3
Sub-total licensed	85	83	73	83	63	83	92	67	94	91	90	79
Definitely unlicensed	4	6	11	3	15	13	1	15	4	4	6	19
Most probably unlicensed	11	11	17	13	22	5	6	18	3	4	10	2
Sub-total unlicensed	15	17	28	17	37	17	8	33	6	9	10	21

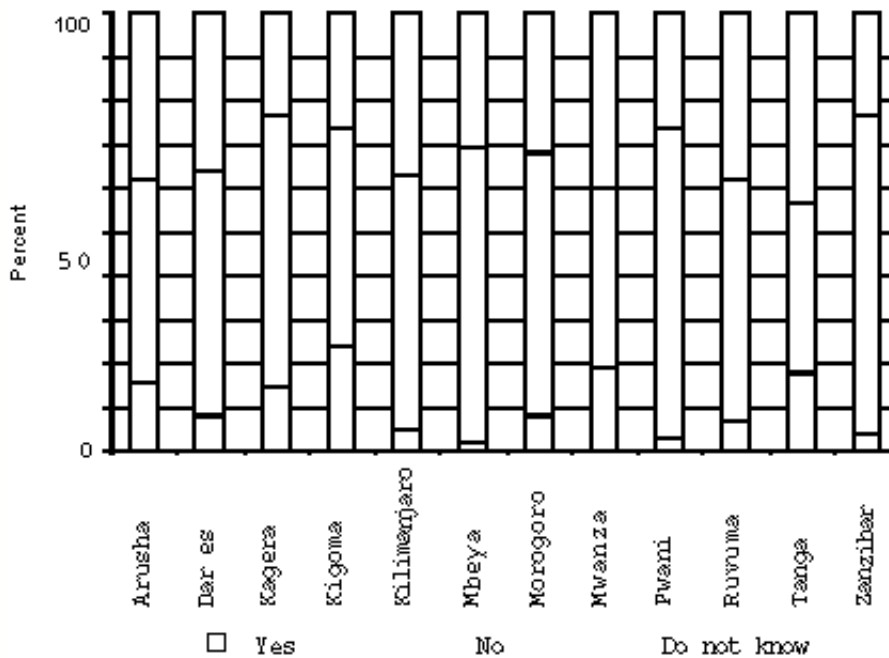
Access to a firearm

The regions with the highest level of firearm access were Kigoma (where 24% of the respondents had

access to a firearm), Mwanza (19% of the respective respondents), Tanga (18% of the respondents), Kagera (15% of respondents) and Arusha (17% of respondents). Both Kigoma and Kagera are regions of high insecurity. Similarly the residents of Tanga and Mwanza (located on the shores of Lake Victoria) are increasingly obtaining firearms for protection. The northern part of Tanzania, where these regions are located, are also some of the richest areas for hunting in Tanzania, which may further explain the relatively higher levels of access to firearms. Explaining Arusha's relatively high apparent incidence of firearm possession is slightly more difficult, as it borders neither a country openly riven by conflict nor a major lake, as Kagera, Kigoma and Mwanza do. In addition, Arusha does not appear to suffer from above average levels of insecurity. However, possible influences on the level of firearm possession in Arusha might include the presence of the major urban centre of the city of Arusha, that the region is the centre of tanzanite mining and that organised criminal groups are based in the region.

The lowest level of firearm access was reported in Mbeya, Pwani and Kilimanjaro, where less than 5% of the sample indicated they had access to a firearm if they needed one. The low level of firearm ownership in Kilimanjaro is expected, as this is one of the safest provinces in Tanzania. The main road transport route to Moshi, the town located closest to the tourist attraction of Kilimanjaro, obtains disproportionately more resources and attention than any other route within Tanzania as a result of the high priority the government places upon its tourism industry. The low level of access to firearms in Pwani, however, is slightly surprising given the responses to other questions. Respondents in Pwani indicated a general decline in safety (rising crime and a falling sense of peacefulness) and a relatively high incidence of legal firearm ownership (as indicated by knowledge of others who possess a firearm). Analysis of other indicators should help to illuminate the true picture of firearm diffusion in Pwani.

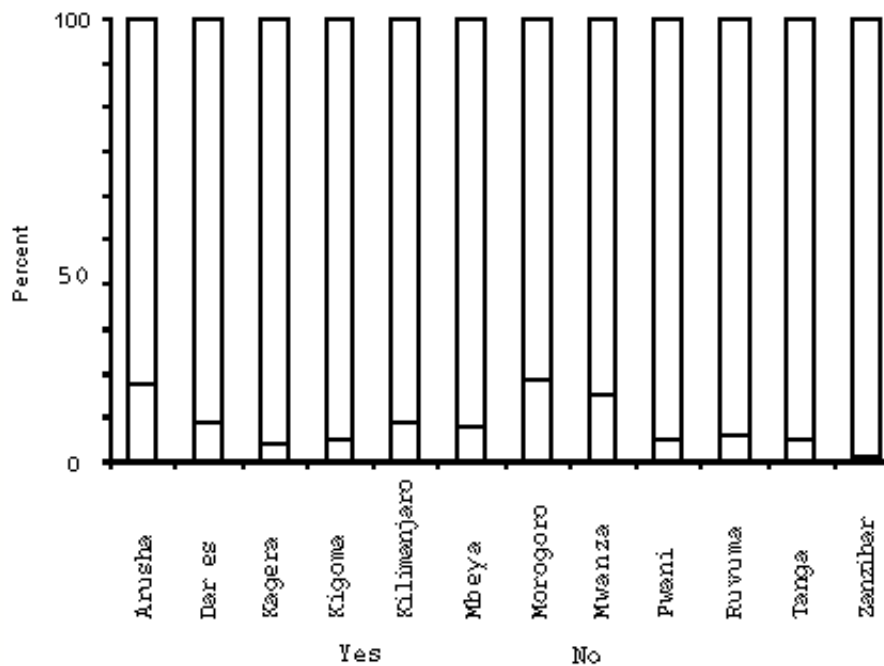
Figure 13: Access to a firearm (percentage)



Actual firearm ownership

Respondents were asked to indicate the number of household assets their household possessed. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of each item that they possessed from a list including things such as radios, bicycles and cell phones amongst others, but also firearms.

Figure 14: Possession of a firearm as a household asset (percentage)



Amongst those respondents that had firearms in the household, less than 1% indicated that they had more than a single firearm.

The highest level of firearm ownership was found in Morogoro (19%), Arusha (18%) and Mwanza (15%). The lowest indications of firearm ownership were in Kagera (4%) and Zanzibar (1%).

Willingness to own a firearm

Over a quarter of the sample was willing to own a firearm. The greatest willingness to own a firearm was in the region of Morogoro. The disproportionately large quantities of firearms in this region, as a result of the previously mentioned insurgent training camps, could influence the attitudes of these respondents. It was found that 55% of the Morogoro respondents would be willing to own a firearm.

The Kilimanjaro respondents were the least willing to own a firearm with only 21% of them stating that they were willing to possess a firearm. Reasons for this low willingness can be found in the relatively small amount of land available for hunting (as the many large national parks here prohibit hunting) and the large number of police in service, who bolster levels of safety. Willingness to own a firearm is often linked to the need to own a firearm, although broader social, cultural and historical factors, such as the extent of hunting, previous exposure to weapons and past association with firearms (in fighting independence struggles for example) will also be important.

Table 31: Willingness to own a firearm (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Yes	30	42	28	37	21	31	55	30	29	41	41	5
No	51	40	64	59	66	57	42	53	62	43	58	87
Do not know	19	18	8	4	13	12	3	17	9	16	1	8

Need for improved controls over firearms

Local residents are often in the best position to identify the need for better controls over firearms. They often have a better grasp of the reality of the situation and their perceptions provide reliable indicators to guide government policy.

Besides the relatively low response by the region of Arusha, all the other regions identified the need for improved controls over firearms. However, the respondents from Arusha had the largest 'do not know' category of all the regions. The undecided proportion of the sample implied they still had to make up their minds on the issue.

Clearly this gives the government of Tanzania a mandate to address the issue of firearm proliferation. The lack of control of firearms could extend to include such aspects as the need for tighter firearm licensing, seizure of unlicensed firearms and audits of existing state-owned firearms.

Table 32: Need to improved firearm controls in area (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Yes	56	82	85	89	98	94	96	79	91	90	98	72
No	9	1	9	4	1	3	0	10	4	3	1	6
Do not know	35	17	6	7	1	3	4	11	5	7	1	22

Fear of injury

The risk of injury is a useful indicator to assess the need for better controls. In those regions where the respondents feel they are at risk of a firearm injury, there is usually a greater sense of insecurity, and controls over firearms are often inadequate.

The regions of Pwani, Kagera and Morogoro indicated the highest risk of firearms injury. In these regions, the combined percentage of respondents that indicated 'always' or 'often' worrying about injury were as follows: 59% in Pwani; 56% in Kagera; and 54% in Morogoro. This is in stark contrast to the respondents in the relatively safer regions of Mbeya (4%), Arusha (8%) and Mwanza (9%).

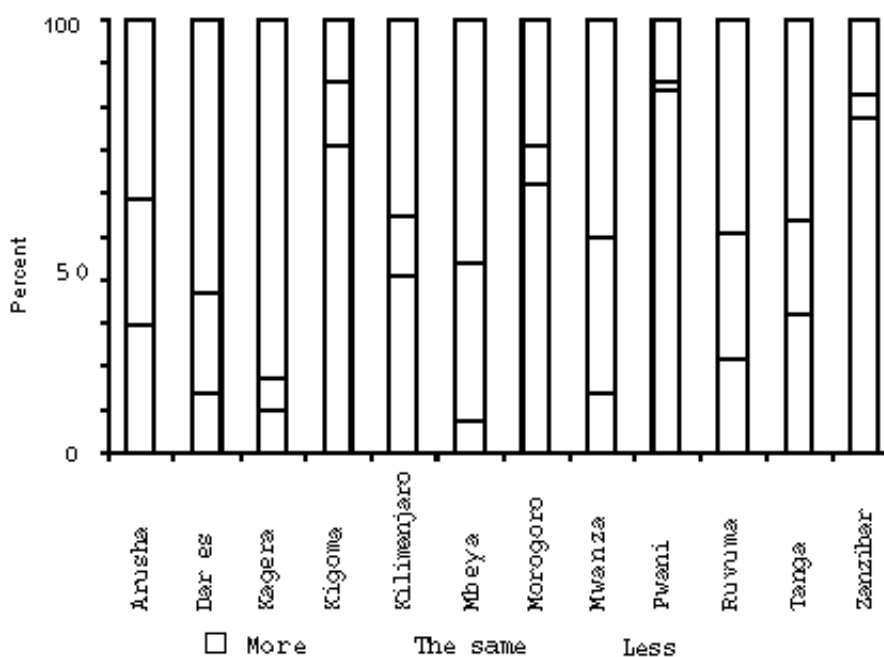
Table 33: Frequency of worrying about injury with a firearm (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Always	4	8	38	32	36	2	42	5	55	17	14	25
Often	4	9	18	6	2	2	13	4	4	4	6	4
Sometimes	17	10	20	21	2	5	5	11	4	4	8	1
Seldom	64	30	19	38	21	40	23	55	29	22	56	25
Never	11	43	5	5	39	51	17	25	8	53	16	45

In a previous section of the report, respondents were asked to indicate shifts in the prevalence of a number of health-related concerns such as HIV/AIDS, cholera and malnutrition. When respondents were questioned about these health-related concerns, firearm injury was one of the issues to be considered.

Respondents from Pwani (84%), Zanzibar (77%) and Kigoma (71%) indicated an increase in the number of people affected by firearm injuries. In Kagera (83%), Dar es Salaam (63%) and Mwanza (51%) firearm injuries were considered to have decreased.

Figure 15: Change in the number of firearm injuries (percentage)



The link between fear and risk of injury was not as direct as was expected. The respondents from Pwani indicated the highest level of fear of injury, as well as the highest level of actual firearm injuries taking place. However, this was not a consistent pattern for the other regions.

Concern about firearms scattered throughout the country

The respondents from Kigoma (85%), Kagera (76%) and Pwani (79%) indicated the greatest concern over the fact that there are so many firearms scattered throughout Tanzania. The lowest levels of concern were measured in Arusha (35%) and Mbeya (40%).

Table 34: Concern about firearms scattered throughout the country (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Yes	35	54	76	85	56	40	65	54	79	62	71	50
No	23	4	3	2	16	15	12	11	3	9	4	8
Do not know	42	42	21	13	28	45	23	35	18	29	25	42

Affected by firearms

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they were affected by firearms. This is, in part, an indication of the impact of firearms. The respondents from Kagera, Kigoma and Zanzibar have been the most affected by firearms, with a significantly greater percentage of respondents than from other regions indicating that they had been affected by firearms. It was found that 49% of respondents from

Kagera, 33% from Kigoma and 33% from Zanzibar, have been affected by firearms. The impact of firearms in other regions was only negligible, with less than 5% indicating that they had been affected by firearms.

Table 35: Extent of being affected by firearms (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Large	7	2	49	33	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	33
Same as before	16	4	8	4	14	21	2	43	1	20	2	33
Small	77	94	43	63	84	77	96	55	96	78	96	34

CHAPTER 5

Indicators of safety

Introduction

The following section will consider a range of indicators of safety such as perceptions of safety, policing and crime, as well as the impact of armed conflict. From these indicators a more comprehensive understanding of the relative levels of safety in Tanzania will be gained.

The relationship between safety and firearm ownership is one that is particularly relevant to informing the design and targeting of community-based actions to reduce firearm proliferation. A sense of insecurity is often a primary determinant of firearm possession. By identifying those areas with the greatest sense of insecurity, projects can be targeted to the most needy regions. From this information a glimpse of the future trend of firearm proliferation may also be discernible, as a heightening sense of insecurity may well precede an increase in the demand for small arms.

As stated in the methodology, the fieldworkers were instructed to only interview residents of Tanzania. Thus no effort was made to sample the large refugee population.

Analysis of results

Besides regions bordering Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, namely Kigoma and Kagera, and the regions of Pwani and Morogoro after dark, Tanzania is a relatively safe country.

The main indicator to confirm this is that population mobility is not too significantly hampered by safety. The areas of least safety would be Kigoma and Kagera, while the areas of better safety would be Mwanza and Mbeya. If a distinction had to be made between Kagera and Kigoma in terms of relative safety, then Kigoma would be identified as less safe than Kagera. Certain key problems repeatedly impact upon perceptions of safety in Tanzania, such as the steeply rising crime rates in Tanga and the spill over effect of refugees, and banditry activity in the northern provinces such as Kigoma and Kagera.

On a simple map, it would appear that Mwanza should experience some spill over effect from refugees moving in from Kagera and Kigoma, but the topography of Mwanza plays a significant role in curbing this effect. The strong feelings of safety in Mbeya could also be put down to the region being perceived as relatively more peaceful than in previous years. It should be borne in mind that respondents were

asked to give a relative judgement as to the state of safety in their region. Consequently, although safety may not be that good compared to other regions in absolute terms, a previous period of high insecurity that has now passed is likely to be reflected in the appearance of an improved sense of safety. Obviously, the opposite is also true. Relatively speaking, respondents indicated that levels of peacefulness had increased in Mbeya, Ruvuma, Kagera, Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar in recent years, while there was declining peace in Tanga, Pwani and Kigoma.

Feelings of insecurity are more pronounced after dark across all regions, while respondents also feel they are safer within the boundaries of their community than away from their community (such as when collecting wood and water). The stark shift in feelings of safety amongst the respondents from Pwani and Morogoro between the hours of daylight and night implies that the conduct of illegal activities and the movement of people and goods is probably occurring and unsettling respondents. The disproportional feelings of insecurity at night in these communities—even greater than in Kagera and Kigoma—could be linked to illegal activities connected more closely to the urban area of Dar es Salaam. The presence of a large port at Dar es Salaam, at the start of the most direct transport route from the coast to the interior of central Africa, could be one of the factors contributing to this. Dar es Salaam experiences a great deal of movement of imported goods to the land-locked countries of Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo, and illegal activity may be associated with some of this trade.

The samples were relatively positive about the level of police services provided. It has repeatedly been said that the results may have been inflated because police officers were conducting the survey. However, other factors would impinge on this too, such as the historically dominant role of the police force within Tanzania. The respondents from Morogoro and Tanga were the most positive about the police service, indicating more strongly that the quality of police service was good when compared to other regions. However, it appeared that the good police service in Morogoro did nothing to prevent fears about safety after dark, where respondents were amongst the most concerned about their safety after dark.

Crime is increasing in Tanga, Pwani and Kigoma. What was interesting was that the respondents from Tanga felt the police were doing a good job, even though crime was increasing. Perhaps the response of the police to the crime wave has been positive and hence influenced perceptions of the service.

It is not surprising that crime is increasing in Kigoma given the disruption of public services and facilities that has been caused by the significant rise in population in the form of conflict-fleeing refugees. The police service is over stretched in Kigoma as a result of the larger population needs, and this has allowed criminal activities to flourish. In addition to this, the police service has had to undertake a number of roles they were not trained for, which has placed further strain on their capacity. This includes, amongst other things, managing reconciliation of refugee families, land disputes and medical emergencies.

Overall rates of crime are low in Tanzania and compared to countries such as South Africa it is a much safer environment in which to live. What crime is committed tends to be mainly theft, predominantly house-breaking and cattle theft. There does not seem to be any one region that is more seriously affected than others and the theft that does occur seems to be largely opportunistic. Given the mainly rural nature of Tanzania and the high level of surveillance that exists in rural communities, where the aged often stay at home, the relatively low incidence of crime generally is not surprising.

The relatively high numbers of respondents who felt refugees had a large impact on their community illustrate the negative perceptions that abound in Tanzania about the presence of refugees in the country. These perceptions do not, however, seem to be supported by reality as the incidence of refugees moving into most regions is low.

On the whole, the respondents have very little direct experience of armed conflict and almost none have ever been forced to move due to armed conflict. Yet, armed conflict was a frequent source of worry for some, especially the respondents in Pwani, Kigoma and Kagera. Unsurprisingly, 92% of the respondents from Kigoma and a smaller, yet significant percentage of respondents from Kagera (35%), indicated that refugees have moved into their areas. Given this experience of refugee settlement, negative perceptions of refugees are easily understood and the level of worry more justified. Elsewhere, however, fears of refugees destabilising local communities do not appear to be so well founded.

Perceptions of safety

Frequency of worrying about safety

The respondents did not seem too concerned about their safety. This would imply that the risk to their safety was low. When asked to indicate how often they worried about their safety in general, about being attacked in their home and about being worried about being attacked in their community, the average response for all the regions was above 2.98. This indicated the respondents were seldom worried about their safety, on average selecting a response from the 'from time to time', 'seldom' or 'never' category, as opposed to the 'all the time' and the 'very often' worry-categories.

Table 36: Frequency of worrying about safety

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
About safety	3.87	3.87	3.07	3.14	4.19	4.53	3.66	4.01	3.41	4.05	3.48	4.34
About being attacked at home	3.90	3.71	2.98	2.83	4.25	4.50	3.57	4.02	3.12	3.85	3.65	3.89
About being attacked in the community	3.87	4.03	3.22	3.01	4.26	4.62	3.47	4.09	3.85	3.97	4.00	4.11
Key for mean score: 1 = All the time < > 5 = Never												

The respondents from Kigoma and Kagera worried more about their safety (in terms of their general safety, their safety in the home and their safety in the community) than respondents from the other regions. These two regions, situated in the north west of Tanzania, border countries that have been riven by violent conflict in recent years. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi have experienced extremely serious violence—peaceful settlement of the civil wars in DRC and Burundi remains illusive at the time of writing—and refugees have crossed from these states into Kagera and Kigoma. One of the especially destabilising factors is the presence of factions within these refugee camps which heightens the level of insecurity. This has a particularly negative impact on the level of firearm proliferation in these regions, both in terms of illegal weapons in the hands of rebel fighters and the responsive demand for arms as a means of self-defence and security, that a diminishing sense of safety stimulates. The proximity to conflict and the presence of refugees are two of the most plausible explanations for the high sense of insecurity in Kigoma and Kagera.

Respondents in Mbeya and Mwanza were by far the least likely to worry about their safety. The implication of this is that there is little risk to their safety in these two regions.

Perceptions of safety

Perceptions of safety, as measured by responses to questions concerning the respondent's feelings of safety, change according to whether the respondent was in their area or away from the community, and whether it was day or night. Respondents could choose from five possible answers to various questions about their feelings of safety. These responses ranged from very safe to very unsafe. The mean score presented below indicates stronger feelings of safety the closer it is to 1.0, while it indicates weaker feelings of safety the closer it scores to 5.0.

Generally, respondents felt safer undertaking activities in the day than at night, and during the day respondents felt marginally safer within their area than undertaking activities further afield such as in the fields, collecting wood or water.

Table 37: Perceptions of safety

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Walking in your area during the day	2.00	2.00	1.92	1.98	1.82	1.70	1.63	2.14	1.97	2.12	2.36	1.15
Walking in your area after dark	3.24	3.18	3.19	3.68	2.90	3.06	3.73	3.05	3.79	2.95	3.18	2.11
In your fields/collecting water during the day	2.03	2.08	1.99	2.74	2.12	1.83	1.93	2.23	2.41	2.16	2.57	1.40
In your fields/collecting water after dark	3.70	3.57	3.36	4.02	3.47	3.82	4.17	3.47	4.41	3.59	3.49	3.43

Key for mean score:
1 = Very safe < > 5 = Very unsafe

The respondents from Morogoro and Pwani experienced the greatest shift in feelings of safety between the day and after dark. The respondents from Morogoro indicated a mean level of safety of 1.63 during the day and 3.73 after dark. Similarly, the respondents from Pwani indicated a mean level of safety of 1.97 during the day and 3.79 after dark. This implied that after dark the respondents of Morogoro and Pwani felt slightly more unsafe than respondents from the other regions.

What is interesting about the marginally lower perceptions of safety amongst the respondents from Morogoro and Pwani is their relatively closer proximity to the Dar es Salaam urban area. Nestled around the urban settlement, feelings of insecurity may be higher as a result of the relatively faster and more numerous access routes through the area, which may result in a loss of insulation. In addition, the transient nature of residency with many people passing through on a rural-urban migratory route may further undermine security. As a result there is less sense of community, and consequently weaker authority structures, less sense of responsibility and lower respect for others within a community to which people have less affinity, less vigilance and more anonymity, which all contribute to making it easier for criminals to commit offences undetected. People migrating to urban areas often do so in stages,

first moving to the less organised peripheries of the urban area, before making a final move to the urban residential, informal settlements and inner city areas. Particularly in Tanzania, where government policy stipulates against urban migration, people would rather settle in regions with access to Dar es Salaam beyond state detection. Access to Dar es Salaam could imply superior work opportunities and higher order health care and education facilities than other regions in Tanzania.

Level of peacefulness

A factor that holds a strong bearing on perceptions of security is the relative peacefulness of a settlement. The perceptions of the respondents about whether their community was more or less peaceful than in previous years was gauged by the responses to the question, 'do you feel your area is more or less peaceful than in previous years?' Overall, there were five regions that strongly indicated that their area had become more peaceful than in previous years, namely: Mbeya; Ruvuma; Kagera; Kilimanjaro; and Zanzibar. These five regions are all bordering onto neighbouring countries, and have all felt the impact of their neighbouring conflicts spill over into their regions in the past twenty years.

Amongst this cluster of improved peace, there were two regions that more strongly felt that their area was more peaceful, as compared to previous years, namely: Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar. The regions of Kilimanjaro (34% of the respondents) and Zanzibar (33% of the respondents) strongly indicated that their regions were very much more peaceful than before. The three areas which are experiencing declining levels of peace are Tanga, Pwani and Kigoma.

Table 38: Changes in levels of peacefulness (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
More peaceful	35	35	53	15	50	65	29	17	15	53	12	47
Same as before	39	26	12	6	2	10	4	42	5	15	8	15
Less peaceful	26	39	35	79	48	25	67	41	80	32	80	38
Mean	2.86	2.95	2.77	3.72	2.67	2.52	3.29	3.27	3.87	2.72	3.87	2.59
n =	77	454	239	234	236	238	228	374	160	221	240	162

Key for mean score:
1 = More peaceful < > 5 = Less peaceful

Table 39: Ability to move around area at will and in safety (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Easier mobility	77	53	59	46	70	80	86	50	78	67	38	54
Same as before	19	26	27	44	19	14	5	39	17	11	15	31

More difficult mobility	4	21	14	10	11	6	9	11	5	22	47	15
Mean	2.06	2.55	2.33	2.60	2.03	1.92	2.12	2.44	2.01	2.40	3.10	2.14
n =	78	458	239	237	236	239	228	372	158	220	240	162
Key for mean score: 1 = Easy < > 5 = Difficult												

Ease of movement

Of the three regions (Tanga, Pwani and Kigoma) in which respondents reported that their area was less peaceful than before, the Tanga region was the only one in which respondents felt it was more difficult to move around freely and easily than previously. This could in part be attributed to the reduction in public transport as a result of banditry activities. In the other regions respondents did not have significant difficulties moving around at will. If mobility is not too significantly hampered, one can assert with relative certainty that issues of safety are not of too great a concern for the sample.

Perceptions about the quality of police service

Across all the regions the perception was held that the police were doing an above average job in Tanzania, reflecting well on the police force. It should however be borne in mind that police personnel were conducting the survey and impressions may have been inflated due to their presence when answering this question.

Respondents were asked how they would rate the police service in their area. The respondents from Morogoro and Tanga were the most positive about the police service. According to 80% and 72% of the Morogoro and Tanga samples respectively, the police were doing a good job.

The respondents from Zanzibar were more disillusioned by the level of police service. It was found that 25% of the respondents from Zanzibar felt the police were doing a poor job.

Table 40: Perception of the quality of police service (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Good job	32	53	65	64	65	48	80	66	61	42	72	34
Average job	63	43	20	28	25	40	14	28	34	48	22	42
Poor job	5	4	15	8	10	12	6	6	6	10	6	24
Mean	2.62	2.41	2.33	2.32	1.92	2.59	1.91	2.19	2.42	2.54	2.30	2.90
n =	79	452	239	239	237	239	225	373	1600	22	240	163
Key for mean score: 1 = Maximum amount of time (More time) < > 3 = Minimum amount of time (Less time)												

Shifts in level of police service

Compared to previous years, the majority of respondents from all regions except Arusha, Zanzibar and Mbeya were of the opinion that the levels of police services were actually improving.

There were declining levels of police service in Zanzibar and Arusha. It is of concern that in Zanzibar only 34% of the respondents and in Arusha only 28% of the respondents felt that the police service was better than in previous years, while in Mbeya only 43% of respondents were of this opinion. Of these regions, Zanzibar is of most concern as a considerably greater percentage than in any other region (28%), felt that the service was actually getting worse. Given this relatively high level of dissatisfaction attention should be paid both to the actual effectiveness and efficiency of the police service and also to the public image of the service. There should be an assessment of how the police conducts itself, focusing particularly on the image that it presents to the public. It may be that policing practices need to be reconsidered and that public awareness campaigns aimed at promoting a positive profile and bolstering flagging confidence in the police will be needed. Such measures should help to promote a greater sense of security and should enhance the likely success of any firearm reduction strategies.

Table 41: Changes in the level of police services (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Better service	28	50	65	66	62	43	77	51	63	50	68	34
No change	69	46	20	29	22	47	15	43	31	41	26	38
Worse service	3	4	15	5	16	10	8	6	7	9	6	28
Mean	2.65	2.46	2.41	2.26	2.08	2.61	1.97	2.39	2.37	2.49	2.36	2.93
n =	78	452	240	239	237	239	227	372	160	220	239	163
Key for mean score: 1 = Better service < > 5 = Worse service												

Frequency of crime

Change in the level of crime

Crime (as indicated by the perception of the change in the level of crime) increased the least in the region of Mbeya (34%), Ruvuma (41%) and Arusha (33%). On the other side of the coin, it was thus not surprising that the level of crime actually decreased in Mbeya (50%) and Ruvuma (43%), when the trend within the other sample regions of Tanzania was for an increase in crime.

Crime was increasing most significantly in Tanga (87%), Pwani (88%) and Kigoma (79%).

Table 42: Change in the level of crime (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Increased	33	75	58	79	63	34	68	51	81	41	87	48
Stayed the same	44	13	17	6	6	16	3	37	8	16	5	37
Decreased	23	12	25	15	31	50	29	12	11	43	8	15
Mean	1.90	1.38	1.68	1.36	1.69	2.16	1.61	1.62	1.16	2.02	1.22	1.66
n =	78	448	240	237	235	236	222	372	160	222	237	161

Key for mean score:
1 = Increased < > 5 = Decreased

Change in the level of violence

In the survey, a distinction was made between the levels of crime and violence. Usually there is some correlation between crime and violence, and this was evident from the fact that the level of violence closely mirrored the crime levels. The only change to this pattern was in Tanga, where crime increased more steeply than levels of violence.

Table 43: Change in the level of violence (percentage)

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Increased	39	75	55	86	71	39	80	50	89	41	65	58
No change	33	21	15	6	6	21	4	40	6	15	24	34
Decreased	28	4	30	8	23	40	16	10	5	44	11	8
Mean	1.89	1.30	1.75	1.22	1.54	2.01	1.37	1.61	1.15	2.02	1.45	1.50
n =	79	452	238	237	237	238	224	371	160	222	240	160

Key for mean score:
1 = Increased < > 3 = Decreased

Crime trends

Respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which various crimes occurred within their area. The more frequently the crime took place the closer the mean score was to 1.0, while crimes that occurred infrequently would have a mean score nearer to 5.0. The crime indications provided here are based upon perceptions as opposed to reality. It should be remembered that perceptions of crime often exaggerate certain crime types especially those that are more readily reported in the media. For the purposes of this study, the frequency of crime (as based on perceptions) indicates that on the whole crime is fairly low in the 12 sample regions.

Up front it should be stated that the crime situation in Tanzania appears to be stable. On the whole respondents indicated that crime was not too frequent and that crime levels were average or below average in occurrence. Property crimes such as robbery occurred, but violent crimes were comparatively rare. Most respondents indicated that the crime occurrence rate was at levels above 3.00, indicating average frequency. The only exception to this occurred in Zanzibar with the crime of stock theft (mean score 2.52) and mugging (mean score 2.28), indicating that these crimes were increasing in frequency compared to previous years. Of note from the responses on the frequency of various crimes are the consistently high relative levels of most crimes, compared to other regions, of Ruvuma. Ruvuma was one of the regions in which crime was felt to have increased the least and where a significant number actually thought that crime was decreasing. This suggests that current crime rates are relatively high in this region but that they may have been even higher in previous years. A similar trend is also discernible in Mbeya, where levels of crime were not perceived to be increasing greatly compared to other regions.

The type of crimes listed in the table range from those more conventional crimes to those more unconventional crimes associated with armed conflict situations. What is evident is that the people of Tanzania were more heavily affected by conventional crimes as opposed to war-related crimes, such as abduction to become a soldier and landmine injuries.

Amongst the property crimes, house-breaking and theft were perhaps the most common. Amongst the violent crimes, rape was more prevalent than murder across most of the regions.

Population movement

The population movement is indicated by the variable length of residence. The shortest length of residence in an area was one year, and the maximum length of residence was 93 years. Across the entire sample, it was found that 25% of the respondents had lived in their respective area for not more than five years. On average, the respondents from Kagera and Pwani had the longest length of residency in any one area.

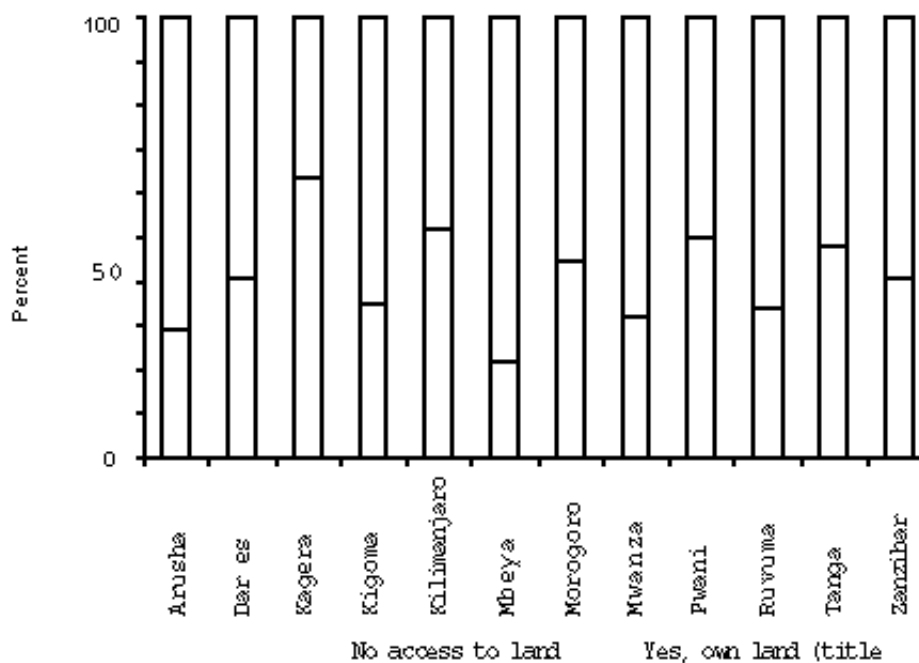
The highest proportion of respondents that had always lived in the same region was in Kagera. There was greatest mobility in Mbeya, Arusha and Mwanza.

Table 44: Frequency of crime

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
House breaking	3.30	3.18	3.41	3.53	3.43	3.07	3.01	3.04	3.28	3.78	3.74	3.15
Rape	3.53	3.77	3.87	4.12	3.93	3.80	3.61	3.44	3.74	4.30	3.96	3.95
Murder	3.73	4.12	3.94	4.21	4.25	4.24	4.00	3.50	4.13	4.36	4.39	4.85
Child abuse	3.66	3.82	4.11	4.26	4.02	4.08	3.66	3.47	3.96	4.39	3.95	3.88
Stock theft	3.84	4.29	3.60	4.01	3.94	3.87	3.43	3.36	3.66	3.72	3.65	2.52
Mugging	3.57	3.41	3.85	3.53	3.52	3.59	2.98	2.88	3.27	3.57	3.78	2.28
Car-jacking	3.86	4.19	4.79	4.92	4.55	4.88	4.13	4.33	4.24	4.78	4.73	4.93
Drug-related crime	3.51	3.39	4.40	4.72	4.15	4.48	3.44	3.83	3.60	4.45	4.25	3.42
Gang-related crime	3.41	3.64	4.29	4.47	3.96	4.20	3.33	3.63	3.48	4.25	4.04	3.15
Theft	3.47	3.43	3.82	3.86	3.67	3.55	3.12	3.09	3.31	4.00	3.89	2.86

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Work opportunities	61	30	31	47	44	47	49	56	33	40	36	20
Since marriage	21	21	29	17	25	18	17	16	31	20	35	23
Since family relocation	11	34	27	29	21	31	28	22	25	32	19	31
Fleeing from conflict	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	1	0
Other	7	7	11	7	10	1	3	5	3	4	2	26

Figure 16: Proportion of respondents that have always resided in the area (percentage)



Forced movement

The majority of the sample had never been forced to move due to armed conflict. In Morogoro, 2% of the respondents had at one time or the other been forced to move as a result of armed conflict.

Frequency of worrying about being affected by armed conflict

Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they worried about being affected by armed conflict. The respondents from Kigoma, Morogoro, Pwani and Kagera worried the most about being affected by armed conflict. That respondents from Kagera and Kigoma were concerned about armed conflict was unsurprising, given their close proximity to Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC, which are, or in the case of Rwanda have recently been, plagued by civil war. This would explain their concerns, as there is a real risk that conflict may spill over. In Pwani and Morogoro the reasons for worry are less immediately obvious.

Figure 17: Forced movement as a result of armed conflict (percentage)

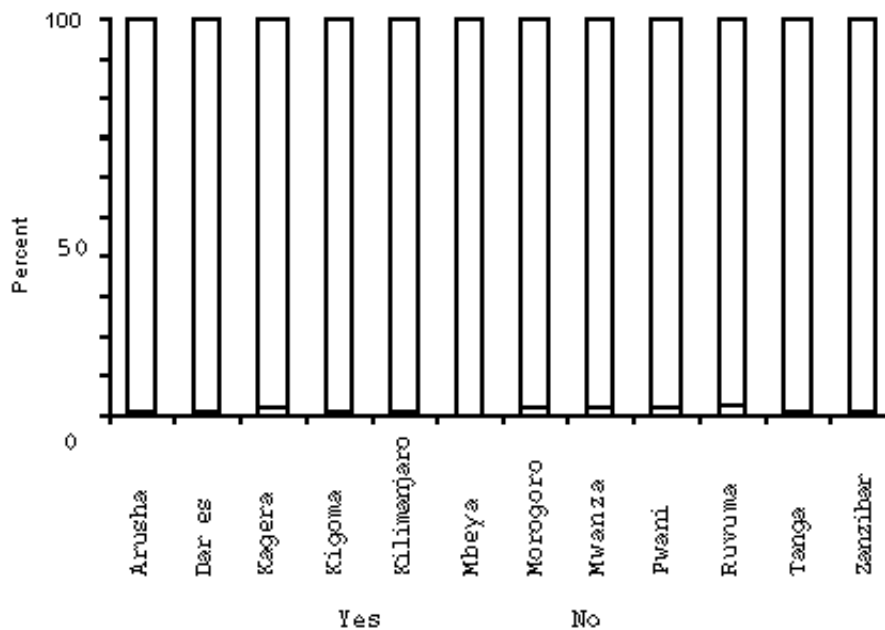


Table 47: Frequency of worrying being affected by armed conflict (percentage)

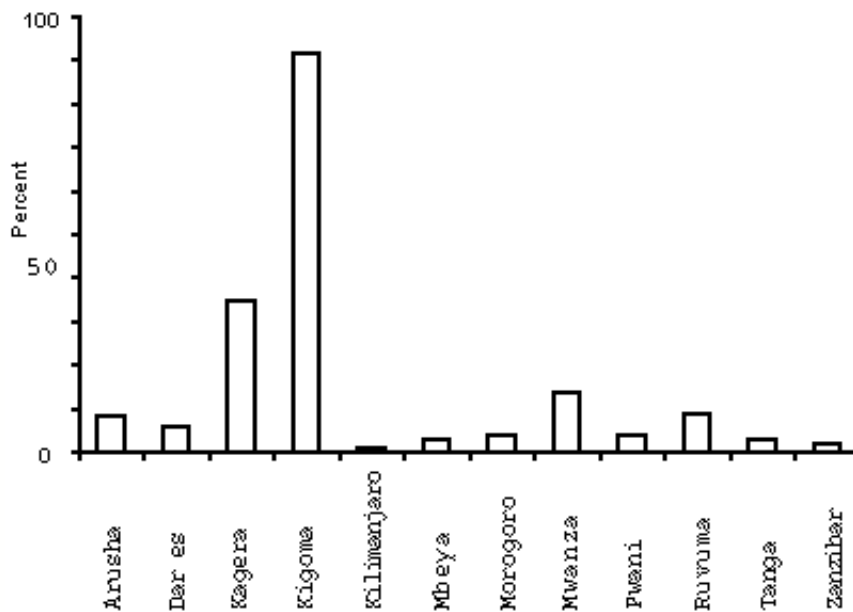
	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
More	4	16	56	61	29	3	62	8	70	19	18	16
Same as others	34	11	23	23	17	9	9	26	5	11	18	24
Less	62	73	21	16	54	88	29	66	25	70	64	60

Extent of refugee penetration

The region that is experiencing by far the greatest movement of refugees into its territory is Kigoma. The majority of the respondents (92%) from Kigoma indicated that refugees are moving into their area. To a lesser extent, respondents from Kagera (35%) also indicated a significant movement of refugees into their area.

It is clearly apparent that none of the sampled regions were unaffected by refugees. All the regions reported some degree of relocation of refugees, although in some regions the level of settlement of displaced foreigners was negligible. For instance, only 1% of respondents from Kilimanjaro indicated that refugees had moved into the region. A number of possible reasons for the low incidence of refugees in Kilimanjaro can be identified. Foremost among these is the difficulty of traveling from the regions into which most refugees first arrive—the majority of which appear to enter Kigoma and Kagera, at present. In terms of distance and the ease of travel, Kilimanjaro is not easily accessible from these regions. Indeed Kagera residents that need to visit Kilimanjaro often travel by train and bus through Kenya and Uganda, as this is a more comfortable and affordable route. Kilimanjaro is also a mountainous and thus relatively inhospitable area. Furthermore it is a region in which there are many national parks—to which access may not be easy to gain—and where tourism is a key economic concern and resultantly the settling of refugees may be discouraged for fear of harming this industry.

Figure 18: Refugees moved into area (percentage)



Impact of refugees on the community

Respondents were asked to assess the degree of impact that the refugees had on the community. Taking the results from the regions of Kagera and Kigoma, where a substantial refugee population is present, it was evident that the community felt a very large impact from the refugees. It was found that 41% of the Kagera and 44% of the Kigoma respondents felt the refugees had a 'very large impact', while a further 33% and 54% of the Kagera and the Kigoma respondents respectively felt the refugees had a 'large impact' on the community. The results for Morogoro—where 90% of respondents indicated the refugees had a large impact on the community—are surprising, given the low percentage (4%) that indicated that refugees had moved into the area. There is no obvious explanation for this lack of correlation.

Table 48: Extent of the impact of refugees on the community

	Arusha	Dar es Salaam	Kagera	Kigoma	Kilimanjaro	Mbeya	Morogoro	Mwanza	Pwani	Ruvuma	Tanga	Zanzibar
Large impact	33	46	74	98	50	25	90	48	25	44	17	100
No impact	17	4	13	2	0	0	0	8	0	44	17	0
Small impact	50	50	13	0	50	75	10	44	75	12	66	0

CHAPTER 6

Results

The rationale for conducting this survey was that firearms are deemed to have a significant impact on Tanzanian society and that consequently the government felt that there was a need to determine more clearly where and how firearm-related instability manifests itself. Further to this the need to examine what capacity communities retain that could be utilised to address firearm dependency was also identified.

Given the above rationale the survey sought to highlight three main themes. Firstly, the nature and extent

of firearm proliferation in Tanzania. Secondly, the manifestation of firearm proliferation and, in particular, the linkages and relationships between the various indicators surveyed and how these indicators impact and influence one another. Thirdly, to examine the development, capacity and dynamics of Tanzanian communities. In addressing the first two closely related themes it was hoped that the survey would further the understanding of firearm-related problems that could then guide governmental and non-governmental agencies in the development and targeting of strategies to reduce firearm dependency. That is, highlight what the specific problems are and where these problems are most acute, and as such, where is the greatest need for engagement. In looking at the final theme of community development it was hoped that the likely readiness of communities to engage with and embrace initiatives to tackle firearm dependency would be highlighted. Particular attention was to be paid to the development and engagement of community structures and personages with a view to further guiding the conceptualisation and targeting of community projects.

The indicators that outline the firearm situation in Tanzania—the perceived exposure to firearms in the community, firearm ownership and the perceived impact of, and consequent need to control, firearm use—suggest that firearms are having an increasing influence and impact in Tanzania, although overall the situation does not as yet constitute a crisis. However, firearm penetration appears to be serious in the regions of Kigoma, Kagera and Morogoro, and also, although to a lesser extent, in Arusha, Mwanza and Pwani. The overall exposure to firearms was relatively low across Tanzania while firearm ownership varied across the sample regions. Morogoro appears to have high levels of ownership and there also seems to be a high demand for firearms in the region. This suggests that the residents of Morogoro feel insecure and have identified firearms as a tool that can bolster their personal safety. Furthermore, the results of the survey indicate that in the short term the current high levels of demand in Morogoro are likely to persist. There also appear to be relatively high levels of firearm possession in Kagera and Kigoma, although the indicators suggest that much of this ownership may be of illicitly acquired or possessed firearms. Despite the relatively low levels of firearm penetration across Tanzania and the variation from region-to-region in terms of ownership and possession, there is very widespread support for improving and tightening controls on firearms.

By looking at responses with regard to perceptions of safety, the role of the police and crime, the broader picture of firearm proliferation in Tanzania begins to take shape. With the notable exceptions of Kagera and Kigoma, Tanzania appears to be a relatively safe place during daylight hours, and although the environment is perceived to be worse after dark—very markedly so in the regions of Pwani and Morogoro—the overall perception of security does not raise considerable concerns. What is immediately worthy of note is the apparent correlation between the high numbers of firearms in Kagera and Kigoma and the perceived sense of insecurity in these regions. The survey results also indicate that refugees have moved into these regions, suggesting that this may be one of the determining factors of instability and demand for firearms. There also appears to be a correlation between the high sense of insecurity after dark in Morogoro and the high incidence of firearm ownership. A similar but less obvious correlation can also be identified in Pwani where there is a generally poor safety situation and firearm ownership (as indicated by friends having a weapon) is relatively high. The other stark discovery made with regard to the general safety situation is the rising level of crime in Tanga. Fortunately, there does not appear to be a corresponding firearm problem but note should be taken of this perceived increase in the incidence of crime. At this point it should be re-iterated that the questions posed on the level of crime required a comparative response to be given, between present and past rates of crime. Consequently, Tanga may not be suffering high absolute levels of crime but merely experiencing a deteriorating crime environment. Whatever the current level of crime there remains a distinct possibility that a continuing deterioration in Tanga might, at some point, precipitate or accompany a worsening firearm situation, in terms of firearm use in the commissioning of crime and/or of possession and use as a means of self-defence. There is an obvious need to address rising crime in Tanga as a problem in and of itself but given the above, there is a further need to monitor and address the situation from a firearms control perspective.

Conclusions drawn from the social and safety indicators of perceptions of the level of peacefulness and of the trust in and quality of the police service tend to reinforce one another. With regard to the role players turned to for conflict resolution, it is interesting that only in Kagera did a significant proportion of respondents turn to the police. Tribal leaders and existing community leaders were considered to be much better suited to conflict resolution. This suggests that the overall perception of the utility of the police may not be so good.

A further piece of the firearms jigsaw is put in place when the indicators of the economic environment are considered. In isolation these indicators point towards an impending economic downturn in a number of areas, namely Kagera, Kigoma, Mbeya, Morogoro and Tanga. However, despite the apparent economic downturn people do not seem to be going hungry. Those regions in which a serious firearm problem has been identified—Kigoma, Kagera and Morogoro—were also among those that appear to be entering a period of economic decline. A correlation between a worsening economic situation and a poor perceived sense of safety is also evident in these regions, as it is in Tanga, where rising levels of crime were identified. This suggests that there may be some form of link between the perception of safety and the general economic situation in these regions. However, no such relationship between economic decline and possession of firearms and/or a sense of insecurity within one's community is evident in Mbeya, where firearm penetration is relatively low and security deemed to be good.

The other set of indicators measured in the survey was that of social environment, focusing particularly on community structures, cohesion and interaction. Within the context of the survey these indicators can point towards the possible links between economic and security conditions and firearm penetration as well as throwing light upon the available social resources for, and willingness to participate in, community based projects to reduce firearm dependency. The overall impression is of a society in which social interaction is relatively good, although there was a fairly high degree of variation across the individual indicators and consequently clear trends were difficult to identify. In Kagera, perhaps the region with the most serious firearms problems and also one apparently blighted by high levels of insecurity and a deteriorating economic situation, perceptions of the community leaders and of the willingness of community members to work together were not particularly good. Conversely, however, responses regarding the willingness to help other members of the community and perceptions of development in Kagera suggest that general community interaction is, nevertheless, well-developed. This trend of positive responses to some indicators and more negative responses to others is found across all of the sample regions. Consequently, comparative analysis of indicators of the security and economic environments and of the degree of firearm of penetration throw up few obvious correlations. One interesting observation that can be made, however, regards the general economic situation in some of the sample regions and the perception of development within the community. In Kagera and Morogoro, despite indications that these regions are entering a period of economic decline, there is a general perception that development was improving. However, in Tanga development was perceived to be poor and the economic situation appeared to be worsening. In this region communities were also experiencing rising rates of crime.

The above concluding remarks highlight some of the key findings of the survey in terms of firearm penetration and the socio-economic environment within which this phenomenon manifests itself. We have also pointed to some of the apparent correlations between the different indicators and at points within the preceding chapters on possible determining factors. However, where observations have been made and correlations pointed out this does not mean to imply that there are causal links. This may or may not be the case but speculation or more reasoned assertion of these links is beyond the scope of this report. What this section has so far outlined should provide a greater understanding of the nature and extent of firearm proliferation and also the socio-economic conditions that pertain in the regions sampled. In so doing, the particular objective of the report is to provide information for the development

and targeting of initiatives to redress firearm dependency. Given this objective and the overview of conditions within the sample regions already provided, the final area in which indicators were measured was on the community structures, cohesion and interaction. These were surveyed with a view to guiding the design and targeting of community-based strategies to address firearm proliferation.

Encouragingly, community structures, cohesion and interaction were generally good across Tanzania and there was a high level of willingness to participate in community-based awareness projects which, when combined with the high recognition of firearm proliferation as a problem worthy of attention, bode well for the initiation of community-based firearm projects. In contemplating how to develop community-based projects, a number of general considerations should be borne in mind. The funding of any initiatives need to be carefully considered as the financial resources available within and likely to be contributed by communities are limited. Tanzania is a very poor country and survey responses suggest that a number of communities are tightening their belts as economic conditions deteriorate. In addition, there appears to be a relatively low willingness to lend money and provide food to others in the community as well as greater concern over issues like HIV/AIDS and malaria than over firearm injuries. Funding for community-based firearms projects will thus have to be very carefully considered. Ensuring that the objectives of any project are clearly stated and are demonstrable, that the project is transparently and efficiently run, that any projects are seen through to their natural end and that engagement from any outside agencies is long-standing and unequivocal will greatly enhance the people's readiness to engage in, the active support for and success of any community initiatives.

The structures and people used to implement initiatives will also be important to ensuring the success of community-based projects. The degree of trust and faith in community leaders and in the police should be considered. Where the quality of the police service is deemed to be poor particular projects to enhance both the actual quality of the police service should be contemplated as well as initiatives that enhance the public perception of the police and the level of interaction with the community.

NOTES

1. Interview conducted by Slu Hlongwa with superintendent Kato, at the Firearm Registry of the Tanzanian Police on 26 July 2001.