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REPUBLIC OF SERBIA SALW SURVEY

This report was written by Sharmala Naidoo, Independent Consultant and Dragan Božanić, SEESAC Gender and Research Project Officer. The views expressed in this document do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations Development Programme, the Regional Cooperation Council, or the European Union. The designations employed and the presentation of material in this publication do not imply the expression of the United Nations Development Programme, the Regional Cooperation Council, or the European Union concerning 1) the legal status of any country, territory or area, or of its authorities or armed groups; or 2) the delineation of its frontiers or boundaries.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIA  Security Intelligence Agency
EC  European Commission
EU  European Union
EUML  EU Common Military List
EUR  Euro
ML  Military List
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO  Non-Governmental Organization
OSCE  Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PSSM  Physical Security and Stockpile Management
RDIT  Random Domain Intercept Technology
SALW  Small Arms and Light Weapons
SEE  South Eastern Europe
SEESAC  South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNDP  United Nations Development Program
UNODC  United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UK  United Kingdom
US  United States of America
USD  United States Dollars
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In 2018, with support from the South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC), Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia (hereinafter referred to as Serbia) coordinated the collection of data on the distribution and impact of SALW within the country. In parallel, SEESAC conducted an online public opinion survey on perceptions regarding the use, possession and dangers of firearms in Southeast Europe, including in Serbia. The purpose of this general survey process was threefold: to identify trends in the distribution of SALW particularly in relation to the type, quantity, possession, distribution, legal/illegal trade, production and movement of SALW; to identify trends in relation to the impact of SALW on the citizens of Serbia, particularly with regards to firearm-related incidents and their characteristics; and to gauge public perception regarding firearm use, ownership, violence and community safety.

This report analyzes the survey data collected for the 2012 to 2016 period, and outlines recommendations for policy makers and practitioners in Serbia to improve control of SALW trade, proliferation and/or their use. The following is a brief summary of the survey’s key findings.

- SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS/FIREARMS DISTRIBUTION IN SERBIA

Total firearm holdings by civilians and private entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civilians</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private entities</td>
<td>96.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The publication of the report only in 2019 is due to a long process of data collection which involved coordination from a number of institutions, agencies and private entities as well as feedback on the survey findings and recommendations from the authorities involved.
The total number of firearms held by civilians and private entities increased steadily between 2012 and 2016, from 587,192 in 2012 to 641,600 in 2016, an increase of 9.3%. While the number of firearms held by civilians increased over this five-year period from 564,403 firearms in 2012 to 618,061 by 2016 (9.5%), those held by private entities remained stable, increasing by a modest 3.3% from 22,789 in 2012 to 23,539 in 2016. Data on the number of firearms held by Serbia’s state agencies was unavailable.

In 2016, Serbia had 517,053 firearm license-holders, an increase of 6.6% over the 485,100 license-holders in 2012. In 2016, 94.7% of firearm license-holders were male and the majority were middle-aged and older. The majority of owners of registered firearms cited self-protection/defense as the main reason for possession in 2012; however, this proportion decreased over time, from 41.8% in 2012 to 39.5% in 2016, while the proportion of owners that cited hunting increased from 39.1% to 41.8% over the same time period. The increased number of registered firearms and firearm license-holders reflects an increasing demand for firearms in Serbia during the survey period.

Law 23/2015 on Ammunition and Weapons introduced weapons categories A, B, C and D as per EC Council Directive 91/477/EEC. Prior to the entry into force of the law, these weapons category definitions were not recognized in Serbia. Data on the number of registered firearms and firearm license-holders by weapons category were therefore not available for the survey period.

The number of firearm license applicants fluctuated but increased overall from 12,379 applicants in 2012 to 13,125 in 2016, an increase of 6%. The number of applicants peaked in 2015 at 17,060, which likely reflected the introduction of Law 23/2015, which tightened civilian firearm licensing conditions. While male firearm license applicants increased by 10.7% over the survey period, the
number of female applicants fell by 40.5%. Over time there was an increase in the proportion of firearm license applicants in the 18 to 35 age group from 27% of all firearm license applicants in 2012 to 33.8% by 2016, reflecting a growing interest amongst younger citizens in acquiring firearms. The number of firearms license applications that were rejected fell by 45.9% during this period, from 1,028 in 2012 to 556 in 2016. However, the number of revoked firearms increased over the five-year period from 9,523 in 2012 to 12,470 in 2016.

The number of reported cases of illegal possession of firearms fell from 1,340 in 2012 to 1,161 by 2016. A total of 3,959 civilian firearms were reported lost during the five-year period while 4,169 civilian firearms were reported stolen.

Data on the firearms held and the number of personnel employed by the Ministries of Defense, Interior and Justice and the Serbian police was not available as it was classified.

The private security companies held 52.1% of all private entity firearms in 2016, while sales shops held 27.8%, shooting ranges held 14.9% and shooting associations held 5.2%. In 2016, there were 105 private security companies operating in Serbia, which employed 7,041 personnel who were authorized to carry firearms. In 2016, 98.3% of the personnel employed by private security companies who were authorized to carry firearms were male. They collectively held 10,884 firearms in 2012, which increased steadily to 12,265 by 2016.
In 2012, there were 97 shooting associations in Serbia, which fell to 90 by 2016. The number of firearms they held fluctuated and fell overall, from 1,250 in 2012 to 1,224 by 2016. The number of personnel authorized to hold firearms was 79 in 2012, which increased to only 80 by 2016, 91.3% of which were men. They collectively had approximately 6,500 members, of which roughly 50% were female.\(^2\)

There were a total of 84 shooting ranges in Serbia between 2012 and 2016. They collectively held 3,412 firearms in 2012, which increased to 3,504 firearms by 2016.

The number of firearm sales shops increased from 142 in 2012 to 151 by 2016. While the number of firearms they held decreased from 7,243 in 2012 to 6,546 in 2016, the number of units of ammunition they held increased from 7.15 million units in 2012 to 7.4 million in 2016 (3.5%).

A total of 9,843 firearms were sold to civilians in 2016,\(^3\) while 6,224 firearms were sold to legal entities that same year. Of the firearms sold to civilians in 2016, the majority (51.3%) were category B firearms, while those sold to legal entities (37.9%) were category C.

A three-month firearm legalization campaign was organized from March to June 2015.\(^4\) A total of 8,955 firearms were legalized between 2015 and 2016, with 7,545 legalized in 2015 and 1,410 legalized in 2016. A total of 42,568 firearms were voluntarily surrendered over the five-year period and domestic tracing with matches and hits was carried out for all, apart from the 12,128 surrendered in 2015. Between 2003 and 2012, the government destroyed a total of 108,073 weapons and 42,000 units of ammunition.\(^5\) No destruction of SALW took place from 2012 to 2016.

The Serbian arms industry has experienced significant growth in recent years and is now the largest arms and military equipment exporter (including small arms and ammunition) in the Western Balkans region.

The value of arms and ammunition imports increased from EUR 3.1 million in 2012 to EUR 13 million by 2016. While the ML1 and ML2 category imports both fluctuated and increased overall by modest amounts, ML3 imports increased significantly from 431 million units in 2012 to 1.1 billion by 2016.

The value of arms and ammunition exports increased from EUR 21.1 million in 2012 to EUR 37.9 million in 2014 and decreased to 21.3 million in 2016. The main destination countries for Serbia’s arms exports were the United States of America (US) between 2012 and 2015, and the United Arab Emirates in 2016. The ML1 category exports fluctuated and fell from 1.3 million units in 2012 to 357,078 in 2016. The ML2 category exports also fluctuated but increased overall from a low of 2,519 in 2012 to 9,655 by 2016. ML3 exports fluctuated from 859.7 million units in 2012, peaking at 1.5 billion in 2014.

---

\(^2\) The records kept by the Serbian Shooting Association are not kept according to specific years. Therefore, estimates were provided regarding the number of members per year and the number of female members.

\(^3\) Data on sales to civilians was only available for 2016.


On the illicit trade of firearms, 22 cases of firearm trafficking were reported in 2012, which peaked at 105 in 2014. In all, 202 firearms and 43,825 units of ammunition were recorded as trafficked along Serbia’s 74 border crossing points during this period.

**IMPACT OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS**

A total of 10,061 firearm-related criminal offenses were registered in Serbia between 2012 and 2016. There was a steady decrease in the number of reported criminal offenses during the survey period, from a peak of 2,373 offenses in 2012 to 1,555 offenses in 2016. Firearms were most frequently misused in the context of the unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying, and sale and robbery, accounting for 67.5% and 28.4% of all firearm-related criminal offenses respectively.

A total of 85 out of 570 homicides (14.9%) was committed with firearms. Apart from the notable exception of 2013 when the number of recorded firearm-related homicides reached a record high of 29 homicides, the number of firearm-related homicides remained relatively constant. Throughout the entire survey period, men represented the majority of victims of firearm-related homicides, accounting for slightly over three quarters of homicide victims. Men aged 36 to 60 accounted for the highest number of victims, closely followed by men aged 19 to 35. During the same period, every fifth victim was a woman.

A total of 223 persons suffered injuries inflicted with firearms from 2012 to 2016 with 186 of the victims being men (83.4%) and 37 women (16.6%). The number of firearm-injured persons fell

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6 The typology of criminal offenses used in this survey refers to criminal offenses that are common to most of the criminal codes in South East Europe. However, respondents were given opportunity to add or change the list according to their criminal code.

7 However, data were not available for the criminal offenses of illegal trade, trafficking, unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying, and sale of firearms and explosives and making and obtaining weapons and tools intended for committing an offense. It can therefore be assumed that the number of firearm-related criminal offenses was significantly higher than documented, which can affect the reliability of the identified trends.
over the five-year period from 53 in 2012 to 34 by 2016. Men aged 19 to 35 were the highest risk group, accounting for 48.4% of all injured victims.

### Share of victims killed by their intimate partner in the total number of people killed by family member, by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012-2016</td>
<td>58.1%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 2012 to 2016, 279 persons were killed by family members using firearms or other means. Domestic violence disproportionately affected women who accounted for the majority of persons killed by both family members and intimate partners. Every third person murdered by a family member was killed with a firearm (87 out of 279 or 31.2%). In all, 63.2% of victims of firearm-related homicides committed by family members and 91.1% of firearm-related intimate partner homicide were women. Firearm misuse in domestic violence cases was rarely reported though. Between 2012 and 2016, there were 25 reported cases of firearm misuse in domestic violence, which made up 0.1% of all reported cases of domestic violence (22,709).

The number of perpetrators of firearm-related criminal offenses peaked in 2013 at 1,877, then decreased steadily to 1,427 by 2016. An overwhelming majority of firearm-related criminal offenses (96.6%) were committed by men. Men also dominated among the perpetrators of homicides committed with firearms, accounting for 97.1% of all perpetrators, i.e. 100 out of 103.

Between 2012 and 2016, 903 suicides out of 5,751 were committed with firearms (15.7%). In the overall structure of firearm-related deaths, suicides were by far the most common and accounted for 91.3% of all firearm-related deaths, followed by homicides. The number of firearm-related suicides remained steady during the survey period with some fluctuation.

Revolvers and self-loading pistols were the most widely used firearms in incidents with a lethal outcome, accounting for over 72.9% of deaths, while rifles, carbines and shotguns came second and accounted for 22.4% of deaths. Submachine guns represented 4.7% of deaths.

Firearm-related homicides were most frequently committed in homes, apartments and yards, as well as on streets, sidewalks and in parking lots at 38.8% each. This was followed by forests, fields and uninhabited areas, as well as cafes, restaurants, clubs, and hotels. While men were mostly at
risk in public spaces (on streets, sidewalks and parking lots), women were overwhelmingly more likely to be killed with a firearm at home.

**PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS REGARDING USE, POSSESSION AND DANGERS OF FIREARMS**

Based on the findings of the online perceptions survey conducted by SEESAC in 2017, approximately 63% of respondents in Serbia reported that they had not experienced the use of a gun at all. Younger respondents were more likely to report no experience with guns as opposed to older respondents.

43% of men reported to have some form of direct personal experience with a gun – used a gun, had a gun directed at them, or both - compared to 14% of women. The differences were particularly significant in terms of firearm usage, with 26% of men having used a gun compared to 7% of women. Men were twice as likely as women to have had a gun directed at them (11% compared to 5%).

The most common experience with gun use reported by respondents was in “hunting and sport” and “other”, both of which made up 20% of the respondents. Male respondents were more likely to experience gun use in “armed conflict” and “other” situations while female respondents reported more experience with gun use in situations of “intimidation and threats” and “celebratory shootings”.

The “police and military” (12%) and “partner and ex-partner” (12%) were the most frequently identified as perpetrators of the most recent act of gun violence.

The majority of respondents in Serbia (73%) would not own a gun. Women (81%) were more likely than men (62%) to not own a gun. The majority of respondents who would not own a gun were women aged 55 to 64 (87%). The majority of both genders (59% of men and 54% of women) said they would not own a gun because they did not need one.

Respondents were slightly more likely to feel that the presence of a gun at home would make them feel less safe (54%) than safer (46%). Men, though, were significantly more likely to say that having a gun at home improved safety. The majority of respondents who felt safer with a gun at home were young men aged 16 to 24 (65%), while the majority of respondents who felt less safe were women aged 35 to 54 (66%).

Of the 27% of respondents that reported they would own a gun, a desire for protection/safety, previous gun use, gender and age, and hunting were identified as factors that were all positively correlated with the demand for firearms. Respondents living in suburbs were slightly more likely than others to say they would own a gun. Apart from those with no income (32%), respondents from all other income groups would own a gun for personal protection (above 50%). The dominant respondents who would own a gun were men aged 16 to 24 or 45 to 54. Respondents who had experience with guns (either directed at them, used or witnessed) were also more likely to say they would personally own a gun.

More police or presence of authorities, violence awareness campaigns and stricter gun control regulations were generally believed by both women and men to be the most effective ways of
making a community safer. Only 7% of respondents believed that more people owning guns to protect themselves would be most effective to making communities safer.

Respondents believed that videos showing guns, social media and news about firearm incidents did the most to promote the use of guns. Music lyrics and pictures/posters of guns were believed to do the least to promote the use of guns.

Which of the following would be most effective to making your community safer?

- More police or authorities present: 25%
- Violence awareness campaigns: 19%
- Stricter gun control regulations: 14%
- More people owning guns so that they could protect themselves: 13%
- Weapons risk education: 14%
- People giving up their guns: 7%
1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this SALW survey report is to provide a comprehensive and up-to-date understanding of arms control challenges faced by Serbia and propose recommendations to improve the safety of citizens and the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions that address illicit SALW trade, uncontrolled proliferation and/or misuse. This report summarizes the main findings and recommendations resulting from the SALW distribution and impact surveys carried out in Serbia for the period 2012-2016 and a perception survey carried out by SEESAC in 2017. This report is aimed at policy makers and practitioners and is intended to inform the design and formulation of SALW control strategies, policies, legislation and activities in Serbia.

Between 2004 and 2011, a series of national SALW surveys were carried out by different organizations in the Western Balkan region using a mix of methods to obtain data on small arms distribution and impact, as well as public perception with regards to SALW. The methods used varied according to the organizations involved and were often not based on a standardized data collection approach that allowed for comparison of findings across the region. The timing of these surveys also preceded, in most cases, the establishment of the different SALW commissions in the region. Since these studies were conducted, no further national small arms surveys have been undertaken. In order to close this gap and facilitate the development of evidence-based SALW control policies and decision making in the region, SEESAC has worked in collaboration with SALW Commissions in the region to carry out a series of SALW distribution, impact and perception surveys, using a standardized methodology.

In February 2018, regional authorities committed to developing a Roadmap for a sustainable solution to the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of SALW/firearms and their ammunition in the Western Balkans by 2024. The Roadmap, formally adopted at the EU-Western Balkans Summit in London in July 2018, serves as a guiding and consensual document developed and owned by the regional authorities. This SALW survey report feeds into the Roadmap’s efforts to promote more accurate and updated data, disaggregated by sex and age, on SALW. It also contributes to improving the standardization, systematization and coherency of firearm data collection practices within the Western Balkans and, ultimately, the development of evidence-based policies that effectively tackle SALW misuse, proliferation and trafficking.

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8 This includes Saferworld, SEESAC, Small Arms Survey and UNDP.
9 SEESAC has continued to produce thematic national and regional research reports on different SALW-related issues.
10 Roadmap for a sustainable solution to the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and their ammunition in the Western Balkans by 2024, 10 July 2018.
1.1 Methodology

In 2017, SEESAC established a Regional Working Group, comprised of representatives from SALW commissions in the region. The Regional Working Group was tasked with developing and agreeing on a methodology for a regional SALW survey. At a regional meeting held in Sabac, Serbia in September 2017, the Working Group discussed, reviewed and adopted the methodology for conducting SALW distribution and impact surveys. Data on the distribution and impact of SALW in Serbia was collected and analyzed using standardized SALW distribution and impact questionnaires. Serbia’s Ministry of Interior coordinated the data collection process with technical support from SEESAC. The questionnaires included standardized questions to facilitate the collection of accurate and up-to-date data on the distribution and impact of SALW and to improve the coherency, standardization and comparison of data across the region.

In addition to an analysis of the quantitative survey data, literature relevant to the Western Balkans region and Serbia in particular was reviewed and analyzed. This included previous survey reports on relevant topics (e.g. civilian firearm possession, SALW trafficking, gender and SALW, etc). A review of legislation on weapons and export controls was undertaken to assess the provisions regulating firearms possession as well as trade. Relevant regional and international agreements, standards and conventions were also consulted.

Finally, SEESAC commissioned RIWI Corp., a global trend-tracking and prediction technology firm, to carry out a series of SALW perception surveys across the region, including Serbia. RIWI used its patented Random Domain Intercept Technology™ (RDIT) to collect data on public perceptions regarding the use, possession, and dangers of firearms in Southeast Europe through an online survey. RIWI and SEESAC collaboratively drafted the perceptions survey instrument, with questions modularized and randomized to the largest extent possible and translated into all the languages of the region. The survey instrument contained multiple modules with skip logic, so respondents would only see questions relevant to their previous answers, thus creating a fluid and personalized survey experience.

1.2 Small Arms and Light Weapons Context

Serbia officially applied for EU membership in 2009 and accession negotiations started in 2014 and remain underway. The EU has identified several areas where reforms are needed urgently within Serbia. Security, justice and the rule of law figure highly among the areas where reforms are needed and within this falls Serbia’s SALW control challenges. In 2005, Saferworld and SMMRI\(^{11}\) carried out a small arms survey in Serbia on behalf of SEESAC, the purpose of which was to assess the small arms and light weapons (SALW) situation in the country and to identify areas where reforms were needed.

\(^{11}\) Saferworld is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) based in London, while SMMRI is a Belgrade-based company.
arms situation in the country. The survey estimated that there were approximately 2.9 million SALW in the country at the time, of which over one million were registered civilian firearms. Legal entities including private security companies held an estimated 47,000 firearms. Data regarding the SALW holdings of state agencies was not available.

Since then, solid progress has been made to address SALW misuse and proliferation. Between 2013 and 2016, the Serbian government introduced new SALW control legislation, which included a new law on weapons and ammunition, helping to tighten restrictions on civilian possession. New legislation controlling the trade and production of arms and ammunition including dual-use goods was also passed. The government also carried out a weapons legalization campaign in 2015 as part of efforts to reduce the number of illicit firearms in civilian hands.

The government produced a SALW control strategy and action plan for 2010-2015 and it recently adopted a new strategy for the 2018-2024 period. Serbia’s Council for SALW Control is led by a Chair and includes representatives from the Ministries of Defense, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Economy and Regional Development, Justice, Finance, Education, Young People and Sport, and Health, etc.
2. SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS SURVEY: KEY FINDINGS AND TRENDS

Section 2 of this report presents the findings from the SALW distribution, impact and perception surveys carried out in Serbia for the period 2012 to 2016.

2.1 Distribution survey

This section summarizes the main findings from the SALW distribution survey. The number and type of firearms and ammunition held by civilians and private entities in Serbia is analyzed, in addition to the SALW collection and destruction activities undertaken by the authorities. Data on the firearm holdings of state agencies was classified by law and therefore unavailable. Findings regarding Serbia’s SALW production, trade and illicit trafficking are also presented.

Table 1: Total firearm holdings by state agencies\(^\text{12}\), civilians and private entities, 2012-2016

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State agencies</td>
<td>n/a*</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians</td>
<td>564,403</td>
<td>577,394</td>
<td>589,552</td>
<td>607,102</td>
<td>618,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private entities</td>
<td>22,789</td>
<td>23,029</td>
<td>23,687</td>
<td>24,760</td>
<td>23,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>587,192</td>
<td>600,423</td>
<td>613,239</td>
<td>631,862</td>
<td>641,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* n/a = not available

The total number of firearms held by civilians and private entities increased steadily between 2012 and 2016, from 587,192 in 2012 to 641,600 in 2016. While the number of firearms held by civilians increased over this five-year period from 564,403 firearms in 2012 to 618,061 in 2016, those held by private entities remained stable, increasing by a modest 3.3% from 22,789 in 2012 to 23,539 in 2016.

\(^{12}\) Data on the firearm holdings of state agencies was classified by law and therefore unavailable.
**Figure 1:** Total firearm holdings by civilians and private entities

- **Total number of firearms held by civilians:**
  - 2012: 564,403
  - 2013: 577,394
  - 2014: 589,552
  - 2015: 607,102
  - 2016: 618,061

- **Total number of firearms held by private entities:**
  - 2012: 22,789
  - 2013: 23,029
  - 2014: 23,687
  - 2015: 24,760
  - 2016: 23,539

**Figure 2:** Total firearm holdings by civilians and private entities

- **Civilians:** 96.3%
- **Private entities:** 3.7%
2.1.1 State possession of Small Arms and Light Weapons

Data on the firearms held and the number of personnel employed by the Ministries of Defense, Interior and Justice and the Serbian police was not available as it was classified.

2.1.2 Legal Civilian Possession of Firearms

On 4 March 2015, Serbia enforced a new Law on Weapons and Ammunition (herein referred to as Law 23/2015), which regulates the acquisition, holding, carrying, collection, repair and conversion, trade in, brokering and trainings involving weapons and ammunition.

Firearm license-holders

In 2016, Serbia had 517,053 firearm license-holders, an increase of 6.6% over the 485,100 license-holders in 2012. The number of female license-holders was marginal and grew from 24,966 in 2012 to 27,554 in 2016, while the number of male license-holders increased from 460,134 in 2012 to 489,499 by 2016.

Box 1: Firearm category definitions according to Serbia’s Law 23/15

- Category A: mines and explosive devices, automatic short and long firearms, weapons disguised as other objects and firearms with silencers. These cannot be acquired, held or carried by civilians, legal entities and entrepreneurs.

- Category B: all types of firearms (short, long, semi-automatic, repeating, single-action, double-action, with rifled or smooth-bore barrels, other than those in categories A and C) and convertible weapons. These can be acquired, held and carried but with the documentation of the competent authority (Ministry of Interior).

- Category C: deactivated firearms, antique weapons and their modern copies that do not use central or rim fire bullets, air weapons with kinetic energy equal to or greater than 10.5 J, with projectile velocity equal to or greater than 200 m/s, and of a caliber larger than 4.5 mm and finally, string weapons with a tension force exceeding 450 N, or whose drawing weight is more than 101 libras. These can be freely acquired and can be held but must be declared to the competent authority.

- Category D: cold weapons, gas sprays, electroshock weapons, air weapons with kinetic energy below 10.5 J or with projectile velocity below 200 m/s, and of a caliber equal to or smaller than 4.5 mm and finally, string weapons with a tension force below 450 N, or whose drawing weight is up to 101 libras. These can be acquired and held without documentation and declaration.

14 Ibid.
### Table 2: Total number of firearm license-holders by sex, 2012-2016

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female firearm license-holders</td>
<td>24,966</td>
<td>25,673</td>
<td>26,362</td>
<td>27,194</td>
<td>27,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male firearm license-holders</td>
<td>460,134</td>
<td>467,699</td>
<td>474,522</td>
<td>483,958</td>
<td>489,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>485,100</td>
<td>493,372</td>
<td>500,884</td>
<td>511,152</td>
<td>517,053</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2016, 94.7% of firearm license-holders were male. 51.9% of male license-holders aged 61 and older, 43% falling into the 36 to 60 age group and only 5.1% aged 18 to 35. Of the 27,554 female firearms license-holders, 50.8% were aged 61 and older, 45.9% were aged 36 to 60 and only 3.3% were aged 18 to 35.

### Figure 3: Civilian firearm license-holders by sex and age

In 2016, 40.4% of female firearm owners cited self-protection as the reason for acquiring weapons, 32.9% cited other, 15.4% cited hunting and 11.3% cited sport. Of the male firearm owners, in 2016, 44.7% cited self-protection, 37.5% cited hunting, 14.3% cited sport and 3.5% cited other. Across all five years, a significant proportion of women cited “other reasons” (31.2% in 2012 and 32.9% by 2016), compared to far fewer men (3% in 2012 and 2016). While the majority of firearm owners cited self-protection/defense as the main reason for possession in 2012, over time the proportion of male and female owners that cited self-protection/defense fell while those that cited hunting increased, potentially reflecting an increased sense of security amongst some citizens over time. Prior to the introduction of Law 23/15, registered firearms could not be held for ‘collection purposes’. Therefore, those registered firearms held for ‘other reasons’ may have included firearms held for collection purposes.
Table 3: Owners of registered weapons by reason for acquiring weapons, disaggregated by sex, 2012-2016

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-protection</td>
<td>10,578</td>
<td>212,155</td>
<td>10,725</td>
<td>213,676</td>
<td>10,845</td>
<td>215,020</td>
<td>11,017</td>
<td>217,349</td>
<td>11,140</td>
<td>218,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting</td>
<td>3,667</td>
<td>165,161</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>170,082</td>
<td>3,946</td>
<td>174,467</td>
<td>4,115</td>
<td>179,954</td>
<td>4,236</td>
<td>183,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sporting</td>
<td>2,941</td>
<td>67,641</td>
<td>2,973</td>
<td>68,695</td>
<td>3,023</td>
<td>68,961</td>
<td>3,086</td>
<td>70,603</td>
<td>3,114</td>
<td>70,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectors*</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7,780</td>
<td>15,177</td>
<td>8,175</td>
<td>15,676</td>
<td>8,548</td>
<td>16,174</td>
<td>8,976</td>
<td>16,852</td>
<td>9,064</td>
<td>16,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaggregated Total</td>
<td>24,966</td>
<td>460,134</td>
<td>25,673</td>
<td>467,699</td>
<td>26,262</td>
<td>474,522</td>
<td>27,194</td>
<td>483,958</td>
<td>27,554</td>
<td>489,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>485,100</td>
<td>493,372</td>
<td>500,784</td>
<td>511,152</td>
<td>517,053</td>
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</table>

Registered Civilian Firearms

Between 2012 and 2016, the number of registered civilian firearms increased steadily by 9.5%, from 564,403 in 2012 to 618,061 in 2016. Of the 618,061 registered civilian firearms in 2016, 95.1% were held by men. Approximately 74.2% of firearm owners held one firearm, 25.4% held between two and five firearms, and only 0.4% held six or more firearms.

Figure 4: Number of firearms categorized by reason for possession

Note: Data on firearms held ‘for collection purposes’ was not available.

15 The collector’s license was only introduced under the 2015 Law on Weapons and Ammunition on March 5, 2016; therefore, no firearms were held between 2012 and March 2016 for collection purposes.
Firearm license applicants

Firearm license applicants fluctuated but increased overall from 12,379 applicants in 2012 to 13,125 in 2016. The number of applicants peaked in 2015 at 17,060, but then fell to 13,125 by 2016, which likely reflected the introduction of Law 23/2015, tightening civilian firearms licensing conditions. While male firearm license applicants fluctuated and generally increased, the number of female applicants fell by 40.5% in the last two years covered by the survey, from 1,555 in 2015 to 673 by 2016. Between 2012 and 2016, an average of 91.2% of firearm license applicants were male, of which 54.1% were aged 36 to 60 on average. There was a high proportion of younger firearm license applicants compared to firearm license holders, the majority of whom were aged 61 and older. For example, in 2016, 54.2% of male applicants were aged 36 to 60, 34.6% were aged 18 to 35 and only 11.3% were aged 61 and older. In 2016, 53.5% of female applicants were aged 36 to 60, 27% were aged 61 and older and 19.5% were aged 18 to 35. Over time, there was an increase in the proportion of firearm license applicants in the 18 to 35 age group, from 27% in 2012 to 33.8% in 2016, reflecting a growing interest amongst younger citizens in acquiring firearms.

Table 4. Number of applicants for new licenses/permits/authorizations each year, disaggregated by sex and age

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<tbody>
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<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-35</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3,267</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>3,896</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-60</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>6,157</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>6,790</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>1,823</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>1,857</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,132</td>
<td>11,247</td>
<td>1,357</td>
<td>12,543</td>
<td>1,293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the increase in the number of firearm license applications between 2012 and 2016, the number that were rejected fell by 45.9% during this period, from 1,028 in 2012 to 556 in 2016, with a gradual decrease between 2012 and 2015, and then a reduction of 44.1% between 2015 and 2016, mirroring the fall in applicants between 2015 and 2016.
While the number of rejected applications fell, the number of revoked firearms increased over the five-year period by 29.9%, from 9,523 in 2012 to 12,470\(^{16}\) in 2016. Those revoked due to criminal records fell from 1,534 in 2012 to 1,266 in 2016. While no data was available on the number of firearms revoked on the grounds of domestic violence between 2012 and 2016, in 2016, a total of 96 firearms were reported seized due to domestic violence. The number of revoked firearms due to misdemeanors fluctuated during this period, from 1,618 in 2012, to a peak of 1,854 in 2014 and then 1,630 by 2016.

16 Based on information sent to SEESAC from the Ministry of Interior, the data refers to the number of seized weapons.
Lost and stolen firearms

Data was not available regarding the number of firearms lost and stolen from state agencies and private entities while a total of 3,959 civilian firearms were reported as lost during the five-year period and 4,169 civilian firearms were reported stolen.\(^\text{17}\)

### 2.1.3 Estimated Illegal Civilian Possession of Firearms

The Serbian authorities did not have a methodology in place to estimate the number of illicit firearms held by civilians between 2012 and 2016. The number of reported cases of illegal possession of firearms, though, fell from 1,340 in 2012 to 1,161 by 2016, a reduction of 13.4%. No data was available regarding the number of confiscated and temporarily confiscated firearms.

### 2.1.4 Firearms Holdings by Private Entities

Between 2012 and 2016, the total number of firearms held by private entities fluctuated but increased overall, from 22,789 in 2012 to 23,539 by 2016. Private security companies held 52.1% of all private entity firearms in 2016, while sales shops held 27.8%, shooting ranges held 14.9% and shooting associations held 5.2%.

#### Table 5: Total number of firearms held by private entities, 2012-2016

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private Security Companies</td>
<td>10,884</td>
<td>11,065</td>
<td>11,968</td>
<td>12,246</td>
<td>12,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting Associations</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>1,162</td>
<td>1,178</td>
<td>1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranges</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>3,494</td>
<td>3,490</td>
<td>3,522</td>
<td>3,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Shops</td>
<td>7,243</td>
<td>7,249</td>
<td>7,067</td>
<td>7,814</td>
<td>6,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22,789</td>
<td>23,029</td>
<td>23,687</td>
<td>24,760</td>
<td>23,539</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{17}\) Articles 30 and 31 of Law 23/2015 require that lost and stolen weapons be reported to the authorities immediately.
Private Security Companies

In 2013, the Serbian government passed the Law on private security (herein referred to as Law 104/2013), which regulates the private security sector, in particular the operations of private security companies. The number of private security companies operating in Serbia in 2016 was 105. No data was available for the preceding years, nor was data available for the total number of personnel employed by private security companies during the 2012-2016 period. However, it is estimated that the sector employs between 40,000 to 50,000 people, the overwhelming majority of whom are men aged 18 to 35, as well as men aged 61 and older.  

The number of private security companies personnel authorized to carry firearms was 120 in 2015 and jumped to 7,041 by 2016, an increase which likely resulted from the enforcement of Law 104/2013 and companies registering their personnel. In 2016, 98.3% of the personnel employed by private security companies who were authorized to carry firearms were male. They collectively held 10,884 firearms in 2012, which increased steadily to 12,265 by 2016. Given the number of personnel employed and the rising number of firearms they hold, they can be viewed as both a source of security and potential insecurity.

Shooting associations, ranges and private shooting clubs

In 2012, there were 97 shooting associations, which fell to 90 by 2016. The number of firearms they held fluctuated and fell overall, from 1,250 in 2012 to 1,224 by 2016. The number of personnel authorized to hold firearms was 79 in 2012, which increased to 80 by 2016, 91.3% of which were men. They collectively had approximately 6,500 members, of which, according to data reported

by MoI, roughly 50% were women.\textsuperscript{19} There were a total of 84 shooting ranges in Serbia between 2012 and 2016. They collectively held 3,412 firearms in 2012, which increased to 3,504 firearms by 2016. The number of personnel authorized to carry firearms was 99 in 2012, which increased marginally to 103 by 2016, 93.2% of which were male. No data was available on the number of shooting range members or visitors. Private shooting clubs were not recognized by law in Serbia during the survey period.

Sales shops

The number of firearm sales shops increased from 142 in 2012 to 151 by 2016. The number of firearms they held for further sale fluctuated and decreased from 7,243 in 2012 to 6,546 in 2016. The number of units of ammunition held for sale by sales shops increased from 7.15 million units in 2012 to 7.4 million in 2016, peaking at 7.98 million units in 2014.

A total of 9,843 firearms were sold to civilians in 2016, while 6,224 firearms were sold to legal entities that same year. Of the firearms sold to civilians in 2016,\textsuperscript{20} 51.3\% or 5,048 were category B firearms, while 30.2\% were category C and 18.5\% were category D. Of the firearms sold to legal entities, 37.9\% were category C firearms, 35.6\% were category D and 26.5\% were category B.

\textbf{Figure 8: Firearms and ammunition held for further sale by sales shops}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\hline
Year & Firearms held & Units of ammunition held & Units of ammunition held & Units of ammunition held & Units of ammunition held \\
2012 & 7,243 & 7,249 & 7,067 & 7,814 & 6,546 \\
2013 & 7,148,718 & 7,447,906 & 7,982,796 & 7,907,836 & 7,398,323 \\
2014 & 7,243 & 7,249 & 7,067 & 7,814 & 6,546 \\
2015 & 7,148,718 & 7,447,906 & 7,982,796 & 7,907,836 & 7,398,323 \\
2016 & 7,243 & 7,249 & 7,067 & 7,814 & 6,546 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{19} The records kept by the Serbian Shooting Association are not kept according to specific years. Therefore, estimates were provided regarding the number of members per year and the number of female members.

\textsuperscript{20} Data on sales to civilians was only available for 2016.
### 2.1.5 Collection and Destruction

Several rounds of firearm legalization campaigns were carried out in Serbia over the past two decades to try to reduce the number of illicit firearms in civilian possession. Following the introduction of Law 23/2015, a three-month firearm legalization campaign was organized from March to June 2015, during which time civilians could hand in illicit firearms without having to prove their origin and without facing criminal and misdemeanor charges. Article 46 of Law 23/2015 authorizes the government to organize firearm legalization campaigns as needed and Article 51 provides the conditions under which firearm legalization and voluntary surrender can take place. A total of 8,955 firearms were legalized between 2015 and 2016, with 7,545 legalized in 2015 and 1,410 legalized in 2016. No data was available regarding whether domestic or international tracing was undertaken for these firearms.

A total of 42,568 firearms were voluntarily surrendered over the five-year period, with 5,379 surrendered in 2012, a peak of 12,128 handed over in 2015 and 8,396 surrendered in 2016. Domestic tracing with matches and hits was carried out for all firearms. No information was available regarding international tracing carried out on firearms that were voluntarily surrendered.

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Between 2003 and 2012, the government destroyed a total of 108,073 weapons and 42,000 units of ammunition.\textsuperscript{22} No destruction of SALW took place from 2012 to 2016. However, the authorities took steps to improve Physical Security and Stockpile Management (PSSM) capacity and procedures. For example, security upgrades were undertaken at the Ministry of Interior storage facility in Platicevo during this period. The European Commission noted in April 2018 that Serbia needs to make more progress in the area of PSSM.\textsuperscript{23}

\subsection*{2.1.6 Production and Legal Trade}

The Serbian arms industry has experienced significant growth in recent years, and it is now the largest arms and military equipment exporter (including arms and ammunition) in the Western Balkans region.

\textbf{Production}

During the survey period, Serbia had approximately 60 companies producing arms and military equipment, while only three companies were authorized to produce firearms between 2012 and 2016. The firearm producers collectively employed 2,100 personnel in 2012, which increased to 2,400 by 2016.

There was no reported illegal firearm production in Serbia during this period.

\textsuperscript{22} Police Directorate, 2017.

Brokering

While the number of brokers fluctuated from 22 in 2012 to 46 in 2016, no brokering licenses were issued throughout the five-year period. Consequently, no arms or ammunition were brokered during this period. However, licenses for re-export were issued (without the arms and ammunition entering Serbia’s territory) during the survey period.

Imports

The number of granted import authorizations increased from 151 in 2012 to 267 by 2016, an increase of 76.8%, while the number of import authorizations that were realized/implemented fluctuated but increased overall from 78 in 2012 to 151 by 2016, an increase of 93.6%. The value of arms and ammunition imports increased from EUR 3.1 million in 2012 to EUR 13 million by 2016, an increase of 319.4%. The number of temporary imports fluctuated but increased overall from 19 in 2012 to 48 by 2016.

The import of ML1 category items fluctuated but increased overall, from 27,519 items in 2012 to 223,004 by 2016. ML2 imports fluctuated and increased overall from 991 units in 2012 to 7,242 by 2016. ML3 imports increased significantly from 431 million units in 2012 to 1.1 billion by 2016.

Table 6: Firearm and ammunition imports by quantity and type, 2012-2016

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML1²⁴</td>
<td>27,519</td>
<td>99,944</td>
<td>160,679</td>
<td>144,257</td>
<td>223,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML2</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>24,973</td>
<td>1,136</td>
<td>4,035</td>
<td>7,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML3</td>
<td>431,446,335</td>
<td>373,523,350</td>
<td>485,552,741</td>
<td>547,613,103</td>
<td>1,116,559,233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exports

The number of export authorizations that were granted fluctuated and peaked in 2015 at 461, but fell to 378 by 2016. The number realized fluctuated and fell overall from 279 in 2012 to 225 by 2016. The value of arms and ammunition exports increased from EUR 21.1 million in 2012 to EUR 37.9 million in 2014 and down to 21.3 million in 2016. The number of temporary exports fluctuated but increased overall from 23 in 2012 to 38 by 2016. The main destination countries for Serbia’s firearm exports were the United States of America (US) between 2012 and 2015, and the United Arab Emirates in 2016.

²⁴ ML1 are defined as smooth-bore weapons with a caliber of less than 20 mm, other arms and automatic weapons with a caliber of 12.7 mm (caliber 0.50 inches) or less and accessories, and specially designed components. This definition and subsequent definitions for ML2 and ML3 weapons are based on the military list categories as adopted by the EU Council on 14 March 2016 (CFSP 2016/C 122/01).

ML2 are defined as smooth-bore weapons with a caliber of 20 mm or more, other weapons or armament with a greater than 12.7 mm (caliber 0.50 inches), projectors and accessories, and specially designed components.

ML3 are defined as ammunition and fuse setting devices, and specially designed components.
The number of ML1 category export licenses issued fluctuated between 2012 and 2016, peaking at 105 in 2015 but then falling to 62 by 2016. The number of ML2 export licenses steadily increased from 11 in 2012 to 44 in 2015, but then fell to 32 in 2016, while the number of ML3 export licenses also fluctuated, peaking at 173 in 2015, but then falling to 133 by 2016. The ML1 category items exported fluctuated and fell from 1.3 million in 2012 to 357,078 in 2016.

The ML2 category items exported also fluctuated, from a low of 2,519 in 2012, and peaking at 19,929 in 2015 but then falling to 9,655 by 2016.

ML3 category items exported fluctuated from 859.7 million in 2012, peaking at 1,45 billion in 2014 and then falling to 833.4 million by 2016.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML1</td>
<td>1,298,046</td>
<td>646,163</td>
<td>190,485</td>
<td>156,701</td>
<td>357,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML2</td>
<td>2,519</td>
<td>14,842</td>
<td>4,422</td>
<td>19,929</td>
<td>9,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML3</td>
<td>859,673,528</td>
<td>1,247,043,052</td>
<td>1,448,593,072</td>
<td>949,760,118</td>
<td>833,462,878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The value of ML1 category exports fluctuated between 2012 and 2016, increasing by only 1% overall, but peaking at EUR 37.9 million in 2014, and then falling to EUR 21 million by 2016. ML2 category exports value steadily increased from EUR 2 million in 2012 to a peak of EUR 50 million in 2015, but then fell to a value of EUR 30.7 million by 2016.

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Data based on SEESAC Regional Reports on Arms Exports for years 2012 to 2016.
ML3 exports value grew from EUR 61 million in 2012 to EUR 161 million by 2016, an increase of 163.9%.

Data was not available regarding SALW transited or transshipped through Serbia.

**Figure 12:** Value of arms exports in EUR by type

Table 8: Value of arms exports in EUR by type, 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML1</td>
<td>21,082,176</td>
<td>9,313,887</td>
<td>37,928,758</td>
<td>36,690,205</td>
<td>21,330,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML2</td>
<td>2,381,241</td>
<td>17,702,302</td>
<td>34,696,077</td>
<td>50,619,415</td>
<td>30,656,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML3</td>
<td>61,423,622</td>
<td>50,774,464</td>
<td>101,632,327</td>
<td>158,875,032</td>
<td>161,003,417</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.1.7 Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons Transfers

Given its shared border with EU member states and its geographic location within the Western Balkans region, Serbia is a transit country for the trafficking of drugs, firearms and migrants. To a lesser extent, Serbia is also a source country for trafficked firearms.

26 Data based on SEESAC Regional Reports on Arms Exports for years 2012 to 2016.
27 Ibid.
28 Since May 2015, Serbia has faced a refugee crisis, with almost one million refugees and migrants transiting through the country headed towards EU member states. However, with the closure of the Western Balkans migration route in 2016, the numbers have fallen and as of 2018, there were 3,300 refugees and migrants in Serbia. Source: EU/ECHO, Serbia Factsheet, accessed 15 February 2018; European Commission. Commission Staff Working Document, Serbia 2016 Report. Brussels, 9.11.2016 SWD (2016) 361 final.
Between 2012 and 2016, a total of 264 firearms were reported trafficked, with 22 firearms trafficked in 2012, which peaked at 105 in 2014 and then fell to 52 by 2016. A total of 43,825 units of ammunition were reported trafficked during the five-year period. Firearm trafficking was reported at 10 of the 74 border crossing points in 2016. A total of 19 firearms were reported trafficked along the country’s 64 land crossing points. A total of 4 firearms were reported trafficked along Serbia’s 8 blue border crossing points, while 33 firearms were reported trafficked at Serbia’s two airports. Data was not available for the number of trafficking indictments during this period or for the type of firearms trafficked.

The number of firearms seized in total throughout the country during this period was 7,048. No data was available regarding the number of seized firearms for which domestic and international tracing was undertaken. According to the Serbian Police Directorate, of the weapons seized between 2011 and 2015, 52% were pistols and revolvers and 21% were rifles. The remainder consisted of a mix of hunting rifles, small caliber firearms, gas pistols, automatic pistols, submachine guns, machine guns and old trophy weapons.

### Table 9: Firearms and ammunition reported trafficking summary, 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trafficked firearms</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Units of firearm ammunition trafficked</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>6,284</td>
<td>18,303</td>
<td>7,415</td>
<td>11,749</td>
<td>43,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms trafficked at border crossing points</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms trafficked over green borders</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms trafficked at airports</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Impact survey

2.2.1 Firearm-related criminal offenses

A total of 10,061 firearm-related criminal offenses were registered in Serbia between 2012 and 2016. There was a steady decrease in the number of reported criminal offenses during the survey period, from a peak of 2,373 offenses in 2012 to a low of 1,555 offenses in 2016.

Firearms were most frequently misused in the context of the unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying, and sale and robbery, accounting for 67.5% and 28.4% of all firearm-related criminal offenses respectively. The share of the majority of other firearm-related criminal offenses is under 1%.

Figure 14: Number of firearm-related criminal offenses, by year

Firearms were most frequently misused in the context of the unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying, and sale and robbery, accounting for 67.5% and 28.4% of all firearm-related criminal offenses respectively. The share of the majority of other firearm-related criminal offenses is under 1%.

---

29 Firearm-related criminal offenses refer to offenses in which a firearm was used to commit an offense (for example murder, injury, domestic violence) or was a subject of an offense (such as unlawful manufacture, possession or sale of firearms).

30 The typology of criminal offenses used in this survey refers to criminal offenses that are common to most of the criminal codes in South East Europe. However, respondents were given opportunity to add or change the list according to their criminal code.
**Figure 15: Firearm-related criminal offenses, by type**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying and sale of firearms and explosives</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing of general danger</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Murder</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated murder</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic violence</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light bodily injury</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious bodily harm</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated theft</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack on an official in performance of duty</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10: Firearm-related criminal offenses, 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated murder</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious bodily harm</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light bodily injury</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat by dangerous implement in brawl or quarrel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic violence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated theft</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>2,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal trade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafficking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing of general danger</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plotting of offenses against the constitutional order and security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preventing an official in discharge of duty</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack on an official in performance of duty</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making and obtaining weapons and tools intended for committing an offense</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying and sale of firearms and explosives</td>
<td>1,401</td>
<td>1,501</td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>1,298</td>
<td>1,191</td>
<td>6,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total criminal offenses</td>
<td>2,373</td>
<td>2,292</td>
<td>1,995</td>
<td>1,846</td>
<td>1,555</td>
<td>10,061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite a documented decrease, the unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying, and sale and robbery were the most recurring offenses during the survey period. A steeper linear decline was documented for robbery.
Serbia’s data recording system did not provide information on the type of ownership of firearms used to commit criminal offenses. This consequently limited the analysis of the extent to which illegal firearms represented a risk to the safety of citizens.

### 2.2.2 Homicides

As per the data provided by the MoI, a total of 85 out of 570 homicides\textsuperscript{31} (14.9\%) was committed with firearms.

![Figure 16: The most frequent criminal offenses, by year](image)

*Figure 16: The most frequent criminal offenses, by year*  
\[Unlawful manufacture, possession, carrying and sale of firearms and explosives\]  
\[Robbery\]  
\[Causing of general danger\]

![Figure 17: Share of firearm-related homicides in the total number of homicides](image)

*Figure 17: Share of firearm-related homicides in the total number of homicides*  
\[14.9\%\]  
\[85.1\%\]

\[31\] A note provided by the MoI explains what this data refers to the total number of injured parties with death as an outcome is shown for criminal offenses from Article 113 and 114 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia.
Apart from the notable exception of 2013 when the number of recorded firearm-related homicides reached a record high of 29 homicides, the number of firearm-related homicides remained relatively stable.

**Figure 18: Homicides committed with firearms, by year**

![Homicides committed with firearms, by year](image)

The share of firearm-related homicides out of all homicides decreased slightly during the survey period, reaching its lowest point in 2016, when 11.4% of homicides were committed with firearms.

**Table 11: Share of firearm-related homicides in total homicides**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of homicides</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of homicides committed with firearms</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of homicides committed with firearms in all homicides</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the entire survey period, men represented the majority of victims of firearm-related homicides, accounting for slightly over three quarters of homicide victims. During the same period, every fifth victim was a woman. This translates into 67 reported firearm-related homicides in which the victim was a man, and 18 firearm-related homicides in which the victim was a woman.

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32 Ibid.
The number of men killed with firearms fluctuated between 2012 and 2016, peaking in 2012 at 34 cases, and falling to a low of 15 cases by 2015. The number of killed women remained steady over the five-year period, ranging between 3 and 5 homicides per year.

In the overall structure of women’s and men’s homicides, firearms caused more deaths among men (17.4%) than among women (9.8%).
The majority of firearm-related homicide victims were aged 36 to 60 (42.4%), closely followed by those aged 19 to 35 (38.8%). Victims aged 61 and over were far fewer (18.8%), and there were no underage victims registered during the survey period. This age structure of homicide victims was valid for both women and men.

Table 12: Victims of homicide committed with firearms, by sex and age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total W/M per year</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similarly, men aged 36 to 60 accounted for the highest number of victims of homicide committed with firearms, closely followed by men aged 19 to 35.

Figure 22: Female and male victims of firearm homicide, by age

Figure 23: Victims of firearms inflicted homicides, disaggregated by sex and age

2.2.3 Injuries

A total of 223 persons suffered injuries inflicted with firearms from 2012 to 2016. The highest number of injuries was recorded in 2012, leveled off in 2013 and 2014 and then fell significantly in 2015 and 2016.
Of the 223 persons injured by firearms, 186 of the victims were men (83.4%), while 37 women were injured (16.6%). Men aged 19 to 35 faced the highest risk, accounting for 48.4% of all injured victims, followed by men aged 36 to 60 (25.6%).

**Figure 25: Victims of firearm-inflicted Injuries, by sex and age**

- Women 61+: 0.9%
- Women 36-60: 6.3%
- Women 19-35: 8.1%
- Women 0-18: 1.3%
- Men 61+: 4%
- Men 36-60: 25.6%
- Men 19-35: 48.4%
- Men 0-18: 5.4%
Table 13: Victims of injuries inflicted with firearms, by sex and age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-60</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total W/M per year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4 Accidental Deaths

Only one negligent homicide with firearms was reported during the survey period. The victim was a man in the 19 to 35 age group.

2.2.5 Domestic Violence

Homicides committed by family members

As per MoI data, from 2012 to 2016, 279 persons were killed by family members, using firearms or other means. Domestic violence disproportionately affected women. Nearly two thirds of the

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33 Accidental death is defined as any death that occurs as the result of an accident. It refers to a death resulting from an event that was unanticipated by everyone involved. It is not intended, expected, or foreseeable. Firearm-related accidental deaths refer to situations when one or more persons is accidentally shot and killed. Accidental death does not include murder or suicide. According to the Ministry of Interior, no records are kept regarding the information requested. Instead, the submitted data provides information on negligent homicide (Article 118 CCRS).

34 Unlike data on homicide and firearm-related homicide which was collected through the MoI Unified Information System, the data on domestic violence was retrieved from the MoI manual record keeping system. As per the note received from the MoI: “With entering into force of the Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence (“Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia”, No. 94/2016), which has been implemented since 1 June 2017, the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia prescribed the mandatory entry of the relationship between the perpetrator and the injured parties as of May 2018. Bearing in mind that the Impact Survey in the Republic of Serbia was prepared for the period 2012 to 2016, there is no official statistical data for this period, given the fact that during the said period, it was not required to enter the relationship when registering the criminal reports, instead, only manual records were kept by the competent organizational unit of the Ministry of Interior. Data from the manual records of the Police Analytics Department (Sector for Analytics, Telecommunication and Information Technologies), includes murdered persons in cases that are not qualified under Articles 113 and 114 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia, because of the death of the perpetrator (the perpetrator commits suicide) and no criminal charges are filed, as the cases are classified/registered as events. In this regard, it is not possible to compare the data from manual records regarding the number of homicides committed by family members and intimate partners with the data from the Unified Information System of the Ministry of Interior related to the total number of homicides (Questionnaire - Table 2.1 and other Questionnaire tables), which are qualified as such under the Criminal Code, Articles 113 and 114, since these two systems do not have the same coverage of data, given that the family murders also include criminal offences and events”. Such data incoherence hinders the analysis and comprehensive understanding of the share of homicides committed in a domestic context in the total number of homicides.

35 Family members, in the context of this survey, refer to: 1. spouses or former spouses; 2. children, parents and other blood relatives, in-laws or adoptive relatives, and persons related by foster care; 3. persons who live or have lived in the same family household; 4. cohabitees or former cohabitees; 5. persons who have been or still are in a mutual emotional or sexual relation, or have a common child, or the child is to be born, although they have never lived in the same family household.
persons killed by family members during the survey period were women and slightly over one third were men, 179 and 100 respectively.

**Figure 26: Persons killed by family members, by sex**

Out of all homicides committed by family members, 42.2% were committed by intimate partners, i.e. 118 out of 279 cases. Women accounted for the overwhelming majority of persons killed by their intimate partner (88.1%).

**Homicides committed by intimate partners**

Out of all homicides committed by family members, 42.2% were committed by intimate partners, i.e. 118 out of 279 cases. Women accounted for the overwhelming majority of persons killed by their intimate partner (88.1%).

**Figure 27: Persons killed by their intimate partner, by sex**

Of all the women killed within the domestic context by a family member, 58.2% were killed by their intimate partner (104 out of 179) compared to 14% of men (14 out of 100). This indicates that intimate partner homicide was the most common form of female homicide in the domestic context, while men predominantly fell victim to members of family other than their intimate partners.
Table 14: Persons murdered by a family member in the period 2012-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of persons killed by family members</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of persons killed by family members with firearms</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of persons killed by their intimate partners (out of total number of persons killed by family members)</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of persons killed by their intimate partners with firearms</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 28: Share of victims killed by their intimate partner in the total number of people killed by a family member, by sex

The misuse of firearms in domestic violence

Firearms were often used when homicide was committed within the domestic context. Every third person murdered by a family member was killed with firearms (87 out of 279 or 31.2%).

Figure 29: Homicides committed by family members, by means
Women represented the majority of victims of firearm-related homicides committed by family members. During the survey period, 55 women and 32 men were killed with a firearm in a domestic environment.

Proportionately, firearm-related homicides within the domestic context were equally frequent for both women and men, with 30.7% of women and 32% of men murdered by a family member using firearms.

Women were predominantly at risk from their intimate partners when it came to firearm misuse within the domestic context. Of all firearm-related homicides committed by an intimate partner, women were the victims in 91.1% cases (41), while this held true for 8.9% of men (4).
Institutional response to the misuse of firearms in domestic violence

Data regarding the number of rejected applicants for firearm license was not available, while data on the number of revoked firearms on the grounds of domestic violence was available only for 2016. In 2016, 96 firearms were revoked on the grounds of domestic violence, which accounted for 0.8% of all revoked firearms (12,470).

Firearm use in domestic violence cases was rarely reported. Between 2012 and 2016, there were 25 reported cases of firearm use in domestic violence which made up 0.1% of all reported cases of domestic violence (22,709).
As for the criminal offense against sexual freedom, firearm misuse was not reported in any of the 1,834 cases registered during the survey period.

**Figure 34: Reported cases of the criminal offense against sexual freedom, by year**

![Graph showing reported cases of criminal offenses against sexual freedom and cases in which the misuse of firearms was reported](image)

**2.2.6 Perpetrators**

**Figure 35: Perpetrators of firearm-related criminal offenses, by year**

![Bar chart showing number of perpetrators from 2012 to 2016](image)

The number of perpetrators of firearm-related criminal offenses peaked in 2013 at 1,877, then decreased steadily to 1,427 by 2016.

An overwhelming majority of firearm-related criminal offenses (96.6%) were committed by men. This held true for each type of criminal offense committed during the survey period.
**Table 15: Perpetrators of firearm-related criminal offenses, 2012-2016**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>W   %</th>
<th>M   %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>97.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted Murder</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated Murder</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>96.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious Bodily Harm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Bodily Injury</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat by Dangerous Implement in Brawl or Quarrel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Violence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated Theft</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal Trade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafficking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causing of General Danger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>99.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preventing an Official in Discharge of Duty</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack on an Official in Performance of Duty</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making and Obtaining Weapons and Tools intended for Committing an Offense</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Manufacture, Possession, Carrying, and Sale of Firearms and Explosives</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>6,809</td>
<td>7,067</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>96.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>8,078</td>
<td>8,364</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>96.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 36: Perpetrators of firearm-related criminal offenses, by sex**

- **Women:** 3.4%
- **Men:** 96.6%
Men also dominated among the perpetrators of homicides committed with firearms, accounting for 97.1% of all perpetrators, i.e. 100 out of 103. Women rarely committed homicide with a firearm, only 3 out of 103 (2.9%).

**Table 16: Perpetrators of homicide, by sex and age, 2012-2016**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-35</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-60</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost one half of the male perpetrators of firearm-related homicide were aged 19 to 35, followed by men aged 36 to 60. Seven homicides were committed by men who were underage.
Men made up 94.7% of firearm owners and committed 96.6% of firearm-inflicted criminal offenses and 97.1% of firearm-related homicides. They also accounted for the majority of victims of firearm-related homicides (78.8%) but were proportionately more frequently perpetrators than victims of firearm misuse. Women, on the other hand, owned only a minor share of firearms (5.3%), made up 3.4% of perpetrators of firearm-related criminal offenses and 2.9% of homicides, but were disproportionately represented among victims (21.2%).

No data was available for firearm-related criminal offenses committed by members of state agencies.
2.2.7 Suicides

According to the MoI data, between 2012 and 2016, 903 suicides out of 5,751 were committed with firearms (15.7%).

In the overall structure of firearm-related deaths, suicides were by far the most common and accounted for 91.3% of all firearm-related deaths, followed by homicides.

Data on the sex and age of suicide victims was not available and consequently hindered a comprehensive analysis of the phenomena. The number of firearm-related suicides remained steady during the survey period with some fluctuation.
2.2.8 Characteristics of the Incidents

Revolvers and self-loading pistols were the most widely used firearms in incidents with a lethal outcome, accounting for 72.9% of deaths, while rifles, carbines and shotguns came second and accounted for 22.4% of deaths. Submachine guns represented 4.7% of deaths.

Table 17: Share of deaths, by type of firearm and year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF FIREARM</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revolvers and self-loading pistols</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>72.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rifles, carbines and shotguns</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submachine guns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, this trend did not hold true for each individual year. While revolvers and self-loading pistols were responsible for the majority of deaths in each year, the number of deaths caused by rifles, carbines and shotguns as well as submachine guns fluctuated significantly over the survey period.

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36 This refers to data on criminal offenses, murder and aggravated murder committed with firearms.
Firearm-related homicides were most frequently committed in homes, apartments and yards, as well as on streets, sidewalks and in parking lots at 38.8% each. This was followed by forests, fields and uninhabited areas, as well as cafes, restaurants, clubs, and hotels.

Almost two thirds of murdered women and one third of murdered men were killed in their homes, apartments or yards. However, while men were mostly at risk in public spaces (on streets, sidewalks and parking lots), women were overwhelmingly more likely to be killed with a firearm at home.
July had the highest incidence of firearm-related murders, followed by August.

During this period, men were most frequently exposed to firearm-related lethal incidents in August, while women were most frequently victims in March.
Firearm-related injuries during this period were most frequent in January and April.

**Figure 47:** Number of firearm-related homicides, by month and sex of victim

**Figure 48:** Firearm-related injuries, by month
2.3 Perception Survey

The perception survey was conducted online in all the languages of the region and asked a range of questions relating to exposure to firearm use, possession and community safety. The following is a summary of the key findings from the SALW perception survey in Serbia:

2.3.1 Demographic Breakdown

A total of 13,733 respondents in Serbia accessed the online perception survey, of which 2,452 completed it in full. More respondents were aged 65 and over (22%) than any other age group. There was a roughly equal divide between women and men, with slightly more women (52%) than men (48%). Forty percent of respondents were employed full time, with 20% retired and 18% looking for work. The geographic distribution clustered in towns (47%), the capital region (24%) and villages (20%). Most respondents had a secondary level of education (38%) or a Bachelor’s degree (28%). The dominant monthly household income was between EUR 200-500 (41%), followed by 28% of respondents who earned more than EUR 500/month.

2.3.2 Experience of gun use

The majority of respondents (63%) had never experienced the use of a gun. Younger respondents were more likely to report no gun experience as opposed to older respondents. Twenty-nine percent of respondents had personally experienced the use of a gun to some degree, while 7% said they knew someone close who had been exposed to gun use.
Forty-three percent of men had some form of direct personal experience with a gun – used a gun, had a gun directed at them, or both - compared to 14% of women. The differences were particularly significant in terms of firearm usage, with 26% of men having used a gun compared to 7% of women. Men were twice as likely as women to have had a gun directed at them (11% compared to 5%).

**Figure 49: Experience of gun use**
Have you ever experienced the use of a gun?

- Yes, I have had a gun directed at me: 7%
- Yes, I have used a gun: 16%
- Yes, I have both used a gun and had one directed at me: 4%
- Yes, but indirectly (witnessed): 2%
- No, but someone close to me has: 7%
- No, not at all: 63%

**Figure 50: Experience of gun use by sex**
Have you ever experienced the use of a gun?

- No, not at all (Men): 51%
- No, but someone close to me has (Men): 10%
- Yes, but indirectly (witnessed) (Men): 2%
- Yes, have both used a gun and had one directed at me (Men): 2%
- Yes, I have used a gun (Men): 26%
- Yes, I have had a gun directed at me (Men): 11%

- No, not at all (Women): 73%
- No, but someone close to me has (Women): 4%
- Yes, but indirectly (witnessed) (Women): 3%
- Yes, have both used a gun and had one directed at me (Women): 6%
- Yes, I have used a gun (Women): 7%
- Yes, I have had a gun directed at me (Women): 5%
The most common experience with gun use reported by respondents was in “hunting and sport” and “other”, both of which made up 20% of the respondents. Of the potentially violent or dangerous situations, “armed conflict” (11%), “part of my job” (7%) and “intimidation and threats” (7%) were the three most common.

Of the respondents that had previous gun experience, the majority (53%) reported incidents that were violent or dangerous (excluding “part of my job”, “hunting and sport” and “other”). Male and female respondents reported different situations where they most frequently experienced gun use. Male respondents were more likely to experience gun use in “armed conflict” and “other” situations while female respondents reported more experience with gun use in situations of “intimidation and threats” and “celebratory shootings”. Out of those respondents who reported having experienced gun use, male respondents were more than three times more likely to have personally used a gun and twice as likely to have had a gun directed at them than female respondents.
Forty-three percent of respondents did not know or could not remember when the violent act occurred. 18% reported that the gun violence happened more than 15 years ago and an almost equal number reported that the event had occurred during the past year (16%).

The “police or military” (12%) and a “partner” or “ex-partner” (12%) were the most frequently identified as perpetrators of the most recent act of gun violence. The majority of the “police or military” gun violence referred to occurred more than 15 years ago (36%). Gun violence committed by a “partner” or “ex-partner” was the most prevailing form of gun violence that had occurred within the past year (26%), as well as 6 to 15 years ago (25%).
Respondents with no income were the most likely to have had a gun directed at them. In terms of gun usage, respondents with a higher monthly income were more likely to report having used a gun than those with lower household incomes or no income at all. Respondents with post-secondary education (27%) and university degrees (22%) most frequently reported the use of a gun. Respondents from the capital (11%) and rural areas (11%) more often reported having had a gun directed at them than those from towns and suburbs (both 5%). Respondents from villages had considerably more often used a gun (30%).

### 2.3.3 Firearm possession

The majority of respondents in Serbia (73%) would not own a gun and 54% of respondents would not feel safe with a gun at home. Women (81%) were more likely than men (62%) to not own a gun. The majority of respondents who would not own a gun were women aged 55 to 64 (87%). Of those who would not own a gun, 59% of men and 55% of women gave as their reason that they would not need one. Twenty percent of women and 16% of men would not own a gun because it is unsafe. Women are 2.5 times more likely than men to report that they do not know how to use a gun.

Respondents reported that their main reason for gun ownership was motivated by the need for personal protection and safety. Those who felt their neighborhood was “very safe” or “safe” were slightly less likely to own a gun for protection than those who felt their neighborhood was “somewhat unsafe”. Respondents who felt their neighborhood was “very unsafe” were much more likely than residents of seemingly safer neighborhoods to own a gun because “everyone has one” but less likely to explicitly state it was for personal protection.

![Figure 54: Perceptions of safety with a gun at home](image)

Respondents were slightly more likely to feel that the presence of a gun at home would make them feel less safe (54%) than safer (46%). Men were significantly more likely to say that having a gun at home improved safety, while 60% of women thought they would feel less safe. The majority of
respondents who felt safer with a gun at home were young men aged 16 to 24 (65%), while the majority of respondents who felt less safe were women aged 35 to 54 (66%). Respondents living in suburbs were slightly more likely than others to say they would own a gun. Apart from those with no income (32%), respondents from all other income groups would own a gun for personal protection (above 50%).

Respondents aged 65 and over were much more likely to say they would personally own a gun than younger respondents. The dominant respondents who would own a gun were men aged 16 to 24 or 45 to 54, and the dominant respondents who would feel safer with a gun at home were men aged 16 to 24.

Respondents who had experience with guns (either directed at them, used or witnessed) were more likely to say they would personally own a gun. Sixteen percent of respondents who said they would not personally own a gun had experience with guns.

The majority of both women and men (54% and 59% respectively) said they would not own a gun because they did not need one. Sixteen percent of men and 10% of women said that it was unsafe to have a gun.

Factors linked to the demand for firearms

Twenty-seven percent of respondents reported they would own a gun. The following factors were identified as being positively correlated with the demand for firearms:

- Protection/safety: The desire to improve personal safety was a key driver of gun ownership. Just over half of the male respondents (51%) and 41% of female respondents said “protection and safety” were their reason for owning a gun. Fifty percent of the respondents who would

Figure 55: Gun ownership vs. neighborhood safety

Would you own a gun by Do you feel that your neighborhood is:
feel safer at home with a gun would own one. Ninety-two percent of those who felt less safe with a gun at home would not own one.

- **Previous experience of gun use**: Any form of gun experience increased the likelihood that a respondent would own a gun. Sixty-four percent of respondents who had a gun directed at them would own a gun, while only 15% of respondents who had no experience with a gun, would own one. The readiness to acquire a gun also correlated with the period when the gun violence happened. Sixty-eight percent of respondents who had experienced the use of a gun in the past year would own a gun, compared to 45% of those who experienced gun violence 6 to 15 years ago.

- **Hunting**: Hunting was also a driver of gun possession. Seventeen percent of respondents (17% of men and 16% of women), reported hunting/sport as a reason to own a gun.

- **Gender and age**: Men (38%) were twice as likely as women (19%) to own a gun. The majority of respondents who would own a gun were men in the age groups of 16 to 24 (42%), 45 to 54 (41%) and 65 and over (40%). Most female and male respondents would own a gun for protection and safety (51% of men and 41% of women).

**Figure 56: Gun ownership vs. experience of gun use**

Would you own a gun by Have you ever experienced the use of a gun?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience of Gun Use</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I have had a gun directed at me</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I have used a gun</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I have both used a gun and had one directed at me</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but indirectly (witnessed)</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, but someone close to me has</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not at all</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.4 Community safety

Eighty-eight percent of respondents in Serbia were aware of the penalties for illegal possession of guns. Women (88%) and men (89%) were both equally aware of the penalties involved with illegal gun possession.

Eighty-seven percent of those who would own a gun were also aware of the penalties for illegal possession. The majority of respondents whose reasons for owning a gun were “for protection/safety” (96%) and “hunting and sport” (93%) were the most aware of the penalties for illegal possession of weapons, while the least aware were those whose reason for owning a gun was that “everyone has one” (59%).

### Figure 57: Gun ownership by sex and age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Man-yes</th>
<th>Woman-yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 58: Community safety initiatives

Which of the following would be most effective to making your community safer?

- 25% More police or authorities present
- 19% Violence awareness campaigns
- 14% Stricter gun control regulations
- 13% More people owning guns so that they can protect themselves
- 12% Weapons risk education
- 9% People giving up their guns
More police or authorities present, violence awareness campaigns and stricter gun control regulations were generally believed by both women and men to be the most effective ways of making a community safer. Only 7% of respondents believed that more people owning guns to protect themselves would be most effective to making communities safer. The degree of gun experience significantly influenced what respondents believed would be most effective to making communities safer. The most likely respondents to select “more people owning guns” were those who had both used a gun and had one directed at them, and respondents who had only had a gun directed at them.

Most age groups selected more police or authorities present as the most effective measure to make their communities safer, except respondents aged 55 to 64 and 65 and older who selected violence awareness campaigns. Stricter gun control regulations came as second or third in each age group, making these three items the most popular amongst all age groups. Respondents believed that videos showing guns, social media and news about firearm-related incidents most promoted the use of guns.

**Figure 59: Community safety initiatives by sex**

Which of the following would be most effective to making your community safer?

- More police or authorities present
- Violence awareness campaign
- Stricter gun control regulations
- More people owning guns so that they can protect themselves
- Weapons risk education
- People giving up their guns

### Breakdown by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More police or authorities present</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence awareness campaign</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stricter gun control regulations</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More people owning guns so that they can protect themselves</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons risk education</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People giving up their guns</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS AND PRACTITIONERS

A significant amount of data requested for this survey was either classified or not available. In future, the collection and sharing of this data would enable the development of effective solutions to the misuse, proliferation and trafficking of SALW in Serbia. The purpose of the following recommendations, aimed at policy makers and practitioners, is to spur greater progress on several fronts.

Data Collection, Analysis and Transparency

− The Serbian Ministry of Interior is encouraged to declassify data on the SALW holdings of state agencies in order to facilitate analysis and develop evidence-based SALW control policies and programs. Follow the example of authorities elsewhere in the region who have demonstrated considerable transparency in this regard. Draw upon the technical expertise available to further strengthen capacity in systematic SALW data collection and to facilitate the sharing of experiences and good practice within the region.

− Conduct in-depth research into SALW trafficking within Serbia, in order to obtain accurate data on trafficking dynamics, actors and trends, and put in place evidence-based policies and programs that will stop illicit SALW trafficking, particularly in border areas.

− Conduct an extensive review of current data recording and data keeping practices to identify gaps in the availability of data on firearms and map good practices in data collection. Based on this review, ensure that data collection methodologies and accompanying standard operating procedures are in place so that coherent and comparable data is generated. It is recommended that the methodologies be based on regional good practices aligned with MOSAIC (ISACS) and Regional Micro-Disarmament Standards, as well as on the experiences related to the development of this SALW Survey.

− Ensure that data on the firearm-related homicides and firearm-related homicides committed by family members and intimate partners is collected with a coherent methodology so that data is comparable.

− Ensure that data collection practices on homicides, including homicides committed by family members, generate reliable and comprehensive data on the actual number of persons murdered with firearms, irrespectively of whether criminal charges are filed or not or whether cases are counted as events.
− Ensure that quality assurance procedures related to data collection are in place so that coherent data is generated.

− Ensure that collected data fully captures both the type of firearm and the type of ownership of firearms (legal/illegal) used to commit firearm-related incidents.

− Ensure that all SALW related data on individuals is disaggregated by sex and age and other characteristics when relevant.

− Ensure that data on accidental deaths caused by firearms is regularly collected.

− Ensure that data on firearm suicides are sex and age disaggregated.

− Ensure that data on domestic violence is properly collected and recorded, including the reported cases of criminal offenses of domestic violence and against sexual freedom, as well as domestic violence committed by the members of state agencies (such as the Ministry of Interior, the police, the Ministry of Defense and the armed forces, Forest Guards, Customs, the Ministry of Justice (Judicial Police and Correctional Services).

− Ensure that data on the number of rejected firearm license applicants and the number of persons whose license/permit/authorization was revoked on the grounds of domestic violence is collected and recorded.

− Produce firearm-related risk analysis based on the collected data and trends documented in this report and develop, in a consultative manner, hands-on recommendations for both decision and policy makers as well as first-line responders in order to improve the operational response to the identified risks and enhance prevention efforts.

− Fully integrate the activities above in the action plan for the implementation of the SALW control strategy and ensure budgeting for the implementation of these activities, where applicable.

− Make full use of the data and patterns identified in this survey to inform the development and/or revision of SALW legislation, the SALW control strategy and the action plan with particular focus on prevention practices.

− Considering the high incidence of robbery, conduct a review of robbery cases involving firearms and propose a set of measures based on the review findings.

− Homicides, accidental deaths and suicides
  
  ● Understand whether the figures provided on homicides committed with firearms, as well as firearm-inflicted accidental deaths reflect reality or if there is a case of under-reporting or mis-recording of data.

  ● Regularly review all cases of homicides to improve understanding of the contexts in which firearms were misused and develop prevention measures.

  ● Implement awareness-raising activities to emphasize the necessity that firearms are stored safely and handled responsibly.

  ● Conduct a thorough analysis of suicides committed with firearms and determine how the availability of firearms is related to suicide rates. Develop recommendations on how to
prevent and address the use of firearms when suicide is committed and integrate this into prevention programs and public health strategies, including awareness-raising programs.

- Conduct research on how gender norms, roles and other social and cultural factors condition risk-taking behaviors in regard to firearms and fuel the demand for firearms among men and young men in particular.

**Awareness-raising**

- Given that civilian firearm possession in Serbia is male-dominated, develop SALW awareness-raising and behavior change programs that specifically target them.

- Target shooting associations and ranges with focused campaigns to raise awareness among staff, visitors and members of the risks associated with SALW misuse and proliferation.

- Given the growing number of firearm license applicants that fall within the 18 to 35 age category, develop tailored small arms awareness-raising campaigns and behavior change programs that specifically target them, as well as boys aged 7 to 17. Educational programs and dialogue platforms should specifically engage them in discussions about conceptions and symbols of masculinity and power, gender roles and gender equality, and how to prevent domestic violence.

- Actively engage youth in community-based discussions about security and involve them as active members in local security councils and community policing forums. Provide them with training on anger management and how to peacefully prevent and mediate conflict. Include youth violence prevention programs into the education system. Bearing in mind the exposure of young men to risk-taking behavior, develop and pilot specific and contextualized preventive programs addressing young men.

- Ensure that future firearm legalization campaigns provide citizens with adequate information well in advance about the campaign’s duration, purpose, scope and implementation modalities. The campaigns should be designed to reflect local needs and security concerns and should be implemented in close partnership with local and national media. Community-based security councils, civil society organizations and local leaders are recommended to be actively involved in the design and implementation of these campaigns, in order to help communities make the connection between their community safety concerns and the proliferation of firearms, and to enable them to see how voluntary surrender and legalization will help them make a positive contribution to their own security.

**Legislation**

- Given the high rate of firearm-related female homicide, conduct an analysis of domestic violence and intimate partner homicide, identify trends on the use of firearms and map omissions in institutional response. Based on the analysis, develop and implement recommendations for policy and legislative change.\(^\text{37}\)

− Given the lack of systematic check for and confiscation of firearms in domestic violence-related incidents as a precautionary measure, design awareness-raising campaigns and training aimed at police on the risks of misuse of firearms within the domestic context.\textsuperscript{38}

− Amend LAW 23/2015 so that:
  
  • The criteria for holding a category B firearm require that the individual pass a background check that specifically considers their criminal, mental and domestic violence records. The competent authorities should also check if in the previous five years the applicant has been treated for mental illness, has a history of behavior that includes violence or the attempted violence against other people.
  
  • Firearm licenses are permanently revoked in cases where someone has been convicted of domestic violence.
  
  • Article 13 on the acquisition of weapons in category B specifically states that applicants must obtain a third-party character reference and must also get the approval of family members/ adults sharing the same domicile where the weapon and ammunition will be stored.

− Domestic and intimate partner violence
  
  • With respect to the legislative response to the misuse of firearms in domestic violence in terms of the regulation of civilian possession, an extensive evaluation should be undertaken to review the effectiveness of the legal and institutional response to restrict access to firearms in the context of domestic violence and intimate partner violence.
  
  • Ensure that legislation on weapons is fully aligned with the legislative framework on the prevention of domestic violence, including the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention).
  
  • Include and consult representatives of women’s organizations, gender equality bodies and gender experts in the development and implementation of such legislation and policies.

− Law 23/2015 classifies deactivated firearms, antique firearms and air weapons as category C and therefore makes it possible to freely acquire them. However, in recent years, an increasing number of these types of weapons, which have been easy to acquire in certain countries, have then been illicitly converted into lethal firearms and, in some cases, have been used to carry out criminal acts, including terrorist attacks.\textsuperscript{39} To therefore reduce the risks associated with deactivated firearms, carry out an assessment of Serbia’s arms control legislation to assess compliance with the EU’s common guidelines on deactivation standards and techniques for ensuring that deactivated firearms are rendered irreversibly inoperable. Implement the recommendations of this assessment.\textsuperscript{40} Given the potential risk of conversion associated with antique firearms and air weapons, re-classify them as category B weapons or amend the law so that possession of category C firearms also requires documentation.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.


Enforcement

- Conduct regular outreach to the arms industry and arms traders/brokers in Serbia to inform them of their obligations under national law.

- Given the rising number of private security companies and the increasing number of firearms that they held between 2012 and 2016, conduct an assessment to determine whether sufficient oversight of their procedures and operations is in place. Implement the assessment recommendations.

- Continue to invest resources in strengthening PSSM capacity and accelerate the destruction of surplus SALW and ammunition, which has been seized, confiscated and voluntarily surrendered, in order to prevent further theft and leakage.

- Given the falling number of rejected firearm license applications between 2012 and 2016 and the low number of firearm licenses that were revoked in 2016 on the grounds of domestic violence, conduct an assessment to determine whether firearm licensing authorities require capacity development assistance to ensure more rigorous scrutiny of firearm license applications and revocation procedures and to implement the recommendations of this assessment. If needed, organize training for the relevant authorities responsible for reviewing and approving civilian firearm licensing to ensure they carefully consider domestic violence as part of the vetting process.

- Monitor the enforcement of regulations with regards to the safe storage of SALW and ammunition held by all private entities.

- Domestic and intimate partner violence
  
  - Conduct a domestic violence fatality review of each domestic and intimate partner homicide committed with firearms to identify possible gaps in the institutional response leading to the lethal outcome.
  
  - Review current procedures to identify gaps that led to a low rate of reporting the misuse of firearms in domestic violence and revocation of firearms on the grounds of domestic violence. Based on this, develop a new set of SOPs on reporting and handling the misuse of firearms in domestic and intimate partner violence.
  
  - Review current risk assessment tools for front-line officers and revise them to ensure they duly address the specific risks related to the presence of firearms in the context of domestic and intimate partner violence.
  
  - Review the license application process to ensure that security vetting and background checks fully take into account the complexity and gender-based nature of domestic and intimate partner violence. Based on this, provide adequate training to the personnel responsible for the issuance of firearm licenses.
Capacity development

- Improve the capacity of law enforcement authorities to effectively and systematically send trace requests for seized, confiscated, surrendered and legalized firearms, both domestically and internationally. Conduct an assessment to determine if additional training, resources and/or equipment are needed and implement the recommendations of this assessment.

- Strengthen the capacity of law enforcement officials, particularly border authorities, to detect, confiscate and seize illicit SALW and follow the procedures required to ensure successful convictions. Conduct an assessment to determine why trafficked firearm reporting and detection rates at border crossings and along Serbia’s green borders are low and implement the recommendations of this assessment.

- Provide training to front-line officers and other relevant professionals on domestic and intimate partner violence and the specific risks the presence of firearms generates in this context.
4. GAPS IN THE SURVEY DATA

This report aimed at presenting a comprehensive picture of the distribution of SALW in Serbia, impact on their citizens and the perceptions of citizens towards firearms. The data on SALW distribution and impact is based on official data provided by the Ministry of Interior with support from other relevant institutions. Despite the efforts undertaken by the authorities to provide extensive data on the distribution and misuse of firearms, the lack of comprehensive data, the diverse data-recording practices and inconsistent sex and age data disaggregation, present major challenges in understanding the specific threats that firearms pose to citizens of Serbia. Documented inconsistencies in the data provided hampered analysis and significantly hindered the development of evidence-based recommendations.


Pavlik, Melissa. Fatalities in the Yemen Conflict, Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project.


SEESAC
‘The rifle has the devil inside’: Gun culture in South East Europe, Belgrade, 2006.


United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC).


**Agreements, Decisions, Laws, Standards and Regulations**

Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia.

- Law on export and import of ammunition and military equipment, 2014.
- Law on export and import of dual-use items, 2013.
- Law on private security 104/2013.


**Media**

Cochrane, Paul, “EU Countries Approve Arms Sales to Saudi, UAE worth 55 times aid to Yemen”, Middle East Eye, 12 November 2018.


SEESAC


ANNEX A: STRUCTURE OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS DISTRIBUTION QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a list of the questions contained in the SALW Distribution Questionnaire circulated to the Montenegrin SALW authorities.

1. CIVILIANS
   1.1 Number of firearm license holders under each category of available licenses, disaggregated by sex of license holder
   1.2 Total number of firearm license holders (natural persons) (cumulative until 31 December 2016), disaggregated by sex and age of license holder
   1.3 Number of registered firearms from natural persons under each category of available licenses/permits/authorizations
   1.4 Number of firearm license holders categorized by reason for acquiring weapons (natural persons), disaggregated by sex of license holder
   1.5 Number of firearms categorized by reason of possession (natural persons)
   1.6 Number of firearms inherited categorized by reason of possession (natural persons) – OPTIONAL
   1.7 Number of applicants for new licenses/permits/authorizations each year disaggregated by sex and age
   1.8 Number of rejected applicants disaggregated by sex
   1.9 Number of persons whose license/permit/authorization was revoked, for each year and on what grounds, disaggregated by sex
   1.10 Number of firearms per person (only categories B and C) disaggregated by sex of firearm owner
   1.11 Estimated number of firearms (if any) illicitly held by civilians

2. STATE AGENCIES
   2.1 Ministry of Internal Affairs
      2.1.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
      2.1.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry firearms disaggregated by sex
      2.1.3 Number of firearms held by MoI in active use
      2.1.4 Number of firearms held by MoI in reserve
      2.1.5 Number of surplus firearms
      2.1.6 Number of surplus firearm ammunition
      2.1.7 Number of surplus firearms destroyed
      2.1.8 Number of surplus firearm ammunition destroyed

   2.2 The Police
      2.2.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
2.2.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry firearms disaggregated by sex
2.2.3 Number of firearms held by the Police in active use
2.2.4 Number of firearms held by the Police in reserve
2.2.5 Number of surplus firearms
2.2.6 Number of surplus firearm ammunition
2.2.7 Number of surplus firearms destroyed
2.2.8 Number of surplus firearm ammunition destroyed

2.3 Ministry of Defense
2.3.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
2.3.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry small arms and light weapons (SALW) disaggregated by sex
2.3.3 Number of SALW held by MoD in active use
2.3.4 Number of SALW held by MoD in reserve
2.3.5 Number of surplus SALW
2.3.6 Number of surplus SALW ammunition
2.3.7 Number of surplus SALW destroyed
2.3.8 Number of surplus SALW ammunition destroyed

2.4 Forest Guards
2.4.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
2.4.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry firearms disaggregated by sex

2.5 Customs
2.5.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
2.5.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry firearms disaggregated by sex

2.6 Ministry of Justice
2.6.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
2.6.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry firearms disaggregated by sex

2.7 Correctional Services
2.7.1 Total number of personnel disaggregated by sex
2.7.2 Number of personnel authorized to carry firearms disaggregated by sex

3. PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANIES
3.1 Number of private security companies in operation
3.2 Number of personnel in private security companies authorized to carry firearms during their work duties disaggregated by sex
3.3 Number of firearms held by private security companies
4. PRIVATE SHOOTING CLUBS
4.1 Number of PSC
4.2 Number of firearms held by PSC
4.3 Number of personnel in PSC authorized to carry firearms, disaggregated by sex
4.4 Number of members of PSC, disaggregated by sex
4.5 Number of visitors to shooting clubs, disaggregated by age and sex

5. SHOOTING ASSOCIATIONS
5.1 Number of associations
5.2 Number of firearms held by shooting associations
5.3 Number of personnel in shooting associations authorized to carry firearms, disaggregated by sex
5.4 Number of members of shooting associations, disaggregated by sex

6. RANGES
6.1 Number of ranges
6.2 Number of firearms held by ranges
6.3 Number of personnel in ranges authorized to carry firearms, by sex
6.4 Number of members of ranges, by sex
6.5 Number of visitors to shooting ranges, by age and sex

7. SALES SHOPS
7.1 Number of sales shops
7.2 Number of firearms possessed by sales shops
7.3 Number of firearm ammunition possessed by sales shops
7.4 Number of firearms sold by sales shops to natural persons by category:
7.5 Number of firearms sold by sales shops to legal entities by category:
7.6 Annual turnover

8. MANUFACTURE
8.1 Legal manufacture
  8.1.1 Number of authorized firearm manufacturers
  8.1.2 Number of firearm ammunition (cartridges) produced
  8.1.3 Value of annual turnover for all manufactures in ML1
  8.1.4 Total number of persons employed by all authorized firearm manufacturers

8.2 Illegal firearm production
  8.2.1 Number of reported cases of illegal firearm production
  8.2.2 Number of firearms illegally produced and confiscated
  8.2.3 Number of illegal firearm production workshops discovered
  8.2.4 Number of illegal firearm conversion workshops discovered
  8.2.5 Locations of illegal firearm production workshops
  8.2.6 Locations of illegal firearm conversion workshops
9. INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERS

9.1 Number of registered firearm brokers
9.2 Number of brokering licenses for firearm trade agreements issued
9.3 Number of import authorizations granted
9.4 Number of import authorizations realized
9.5 Value of imports (civilian market)
9.6 Number of export authorizations granted
9.7 Number of export authorizations realized
9.8 Value of exports
9.9 Number of temporary imports
9.10 Number of temporary exports
9.11 Main destinations of exports
9.12 Main exporting companies (top 3 among producers according to the annual turnover)
9.13 Quantity and types of firearms and ammunition brokered, ML1, ML2, ML3, 2012-2016
9.14 Quantity and types of firearms and ammunition imported ML1, ML2, ML3, 2012-2016
9.15 Quantity and types of firearms and ammunition exported ML1, ML2, ML3, 2012-2016
9.16 Quantity and types of firearms and ammunition transited ML1, ML2, ML3, 2012-2016
9.17 Quantity and types of firearms and ammunition transshipped ML1, ML2, ML3, 2012-2016

10. LOST AND STOLEN FIREARMS

10.1 Lost by state agencies
10.2 Stolen from state agencies
10.3 Lost by legal entities
10.4 Stolen from legal entities
10.5 Lost by natural persons
10.6 Stolen from natural persons

11. ILLEGAL POSSESSION OF FIREARMS AND CONFISCATION

11.1 Number of cases of illegal possession of firearms
11.2 Number of confiscated firearms
11.3 Number of temporarily confiscated firearms

12. TRAFFICKING

12.1 Number of cases of firearm trafficking recorded
12.2 Number of firearms trafficked
12.3 Number of firearm ammunition trafficked
12.4 Number of border crossing points
12.5 Number of border crossing points where firearm trafficking was reported
12.6 Number of firearms trafficked on border crossing points
12.7 Number of green border crossing points
12.8 Number of green border crossings where firearm trafficking was reported
12.9 Number of firearms trafficked over green borders
12.10 Number of blue border crossing points
12.11 Number of blue border crossings where firearm trafficking was reported
12.12 Number of firearms trafficked over blue borders
12.13 Number of airports
12.14 Number of trafficking incidents at airports
12.15 Number of firearms trafficked at airports
12.16 Number of persons indicted for firearm trafficking
12.17 Number of firearms trafficked by type

13. SEIZED AND TRACED FIREARMS
13.1 Total number of seized firearms
13.2 Number of seized firearms traced domestically – trace request sent but no match/hits identified
13.3 Number of seized firearms traced domestically – trace request sent with match/hits identified
13.4 Number of seized firearms traced internationally – trace request sent but no match/hits identified
13.5 Number of seized firearms traced internationally – trace request sent with match/hits identified

14. LEGALIZED FIREARMS
14.1 Total number of legalized firearms
14.2 Number of legalized firearms traced domestically – trace request sent but no match/hits identified
14.3 Number of legalized firearms traced domestically – trace request sent with match/hits identified
14.4 Number of legalized firearms traced internationally – trace request sent but no match/hits identified
14.5 Number of legalized firearms traced internationally – trace request sent with match/hits identified

15. VOLUNTARILY SURRENDERED
15.1 Total number of voluntarily surrendered small arms
15.2 Number of voluntarily surrendered light weapons
15.3 Number of voluntarily surrendered SALW traced domestically, trace request sent but no match/hits identified
15.4 Number of voluntarily surrendered SALW traced domestically, trace request sent with match/hits identified
15.5 Number of voluntarily surrendered SALW traced internationally, trace request sent but no match/hits identified
15.6 Number of voluntarily surrendered SALW traced internationally, trace request sent with match/hits identified
ANNEX B: STRUCTURE OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS IMPACT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. INCIDENTS INFLECTED BY FIREARMS- AND THE TYPE OF OWNERSHIP
   1.1 Criminal offenses inflicted by firearm by the type of firearm ownership: Legal and/or Illegal
   1.2 Misdemeanor inflicted by firearm by year

2. FIREARM INCIDENTS
   2.1 Total number of murders (not only with firearms) disaggregated by sex of victim
   2.2 Number of murders inflicted with firearms disaggregated by sex and age of victim
   2.3 Number of injuries inflicted with firearms disaggregated by sex and age of victim
   2.4 Number of accidental deaths inflicted with firearms disaggregated by sex and age of victim
   2.5 Intimate partner murders disaggregated by sex of victim
   2.6 Misuse of firearms in the context of domestic violence and crimes against sexual freedom

3. PERPETRATORS
   3.1 Number of perpetrators disaggregated by the sex of perpetrator and the type of firearm-related criminal offense
   3.2 Number of perpetrators of firearm-related murders disaggregated by sex and age of perpetrator
   3.3 Number of criminal offenses inflicted with firearms by the members of state agencies, disaggregated by sex of perpetrator

4. SUICIDES
   4.1 Suicides disaggregated by sex and age

5. CHARACTERISTICS OF INCIDENTS
   5.1 Number of deaths by type of firearm used for each year
   5.2 Number of individuals murdered with firearms by location and disaggregated by sex of victim (for each year)
   5.3 Number of firearm-related incidents resulting in murder and injury disaggregated by month when they were committed and sex of victim
## ANNEX C: FIREARMS ONLINE PERCEPTION SURVEY INSTRUMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>SERBIAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q0</strong></td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Module A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Anchored</th>
<th>Generally, do you feel that your neighborhood is:</th>
<th>Opšte uzevši, da li mislite da je kraj u kome živite:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Very safe</td>
<td>Veoma bezbedan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>Bezbedan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat unsafe</td>
<td>Donekle nebezbedan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Very unsafe</td>
<td>Veoma nebezbedan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>Anchored</th>
<th>Over the last 4 years, has the level of safety in your community:</th>
<th>Tokom protekle četiri godine, da li se nivo bezbednosti u Vašoj društvenoj zajednici:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Improved</td>
<td>Poboljšao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stayed about the same</td>
<td>Ostao gotovo isti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Become worse</td>
<td>Pogoršao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Module B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q3a</th>
<th>Q3a+b+c randomized order</th>
<th>Are you currently employed?</th>
<th>Da li ste trenutno zaposleni?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, full-time</td>
<td>Da, puno radno vreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, part-time</td>
<td>Da, nepuno radno vreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No- I am looking for work</td>
<td>Ne- tražim posao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No- I am not looking for work</td>
<td>Ne- ne tražim posao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Student/kinja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Penzioner/ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q3b</th>
<th>Q3a+b+c randomized order</th>
<th>What is your marital status?</th>
<th>Koji je Vaš bračni status?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Single, never married</td>
<td>Neoženjen / neudata, nisam se ženio/udavala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Oženjen / udata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>Udovac / udovica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced / Separated</td>
<td>Razveden/a / Rastavljen/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q3c</th>
<th>Q3a+b+c randomized order</th>
<th>Where do you live?</th>
<th>Gde živite?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>Glavni grad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Grad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Selo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb</td>
<td>Predgrađe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Module C

#### Q4a
anchored at beginning of Module C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you ever experienced the use of a gun?</th>
<th>Da li ste ikada imali iskustvo sa upotrebom oružja?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I have had a gun directed at me</td>
<td>Da, oružje je bilo upereno u mene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I have used a gun</td>
<td>Da, koristio/la sam oružje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I have both used a gun and had one directed at me</td>
<td>Da, koristio/la sam oružje i oružje je bilo upereno u mene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but indirectly (witnessed)</td>
<td>Da, ali indirektno (očevidac)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, but someone close to me has</td>
<td>Ne, ali osoba bliska meni je imala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, not at all</td>
<td>Ne, nikakvo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Q4b
only if experienced (first 3 options in 4a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which of the following best describes the situation in which you have MOST FREQUENTLY experienced gun use?</th>
<th>Šta od navedenog najbolje opisuje situaciju u kojoj ste NAJČEŠĆE imali iskustvo sa upotrebom oružja?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armed robbery</td>
<td>Oružana pljačka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riot or protest</td>
<td>Neredi ili protesti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnically motivated</td>
<td>Etnički motivisan kontekst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidation and threats</td>
<td>Zastršavanje i pretnje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Violence</td>
<td>Nasilje u porodici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence</td>
<td>Seksualno nasilje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidental shot</td>
<td>Nehotično pucanje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration shooting</td>
<td>Pucanje na proslavama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Napad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Issues</td>
<td>Imovinski sporovi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Conflict</td>
<td>Oružani konflikt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting or Sport</td>
<td>Lov ili sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s part of my job</td>
<td>Deo mog posla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Ostalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4bb</td>
<td>Who committed the gun violence?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4b partner</td>
<td>Husband or Boyfriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4b partner</td>
<td>Wife or Girlfriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4d</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4d</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4d</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4d</td>
<td>Sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4d</td>
<td>Female Relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4d</td>
<td>Male Relative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q4b partner</th>
<th>Which best describes what the gun was used for:</th>
<th>Možete li nam reći da li je oružje upotrebljeno za:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Napad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence</td>
<td>Zastrašivanje i pretnje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impose financial control</td>
<td>Finansijsku kontrolu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limit movement and contacts</td>
<td>Ograničavanje kretanja i komunikacije</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidate and threaten</td>
<td>Seksualno nasilje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Ostalo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q4c</th>
<th>Who committed the MOST RECENT act of gun violence?</th>
<th>Ko je, u najskorijoj prošlosti, izvršio nasilje uz upotrebu oružja?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close family/relative</td>
<td>Blizak član/ica porodice / rođak/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbor</td>
<td>Komšija/komšinica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thief</td>
<td>Lopov</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police or military</td>
<td>Policija ili vojska</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
<td>Drugi kriminalac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>Partner/ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-partner</td>
<td>Bivši partner/ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend / Acquaintance</td>
<td>Prijatelj/ica / Poznanik/ica</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown / Don’t know</td>
<td>Nepoznata osoba / Ne znam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q4d</th>
<th>When was it?</th>
<th>Kada se to dogodilo?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within this year</td>
<td>Tokom ove godine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 5 years ago</td>
<td>Pre jedne do pet godina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 15 years ago</td>
<td>Pre šest do petnaest godina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 15 years ago</td>
<td>Pre više od petnaest godina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know / can’t remember</td>
<td>Ne znam / Ne mogu da se setim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q4e</th>
<th>Who do you feel is committing more gun crimes in your community?</th>
<th>Po Vašem mišljenju, ko unutar Vaše društvene zajednice vrši veći broj krivičnih dela uz upotrebu oružja?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles</td>
<td>Maloletne osobe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>Punoletne osobe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both equally</td>
<td>I jedni i drugi podjednako</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Module D

#### Q5a

**Which of the following would be most effective to making your community safer?**

- More police or authorities present
- Violence awareness campaigns
- Stricter gun control regulations
- More people owning guns so that they can protect themselves
- Weapons risk education
- People giving up their guns

#### Q5b

**Would having a gun at home make you feel:**

- Safer
- Less safe

#### Q5c

**Would you personally own a gun?**

- Yes
- No

**What would be the main reason for owning a gun?**

- For protection/safety
- Everyone has one
- A man should carry a gun
- A woman should carry a gun
- It inspires fear in others
- Hunting and sport
- Tradition
- Other

**What is the main reason you would not own a gun?**

- Not legal in my country
- Don’t need one
- It’s unsafe to have a gun
- Can’t afford one
- Don’t know how to get one
- Don’t know how to use one
- Other
### Module F

**Q7a** Randomize Q7a+b+c  
**What is the highest level of education you have completed?**  
Koji je najviši stepen obrazovanja koje ste stekli?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Serbian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Osnovno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Srednja školska sprema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-secondary vocational training</td>
<td>Strukovno obrazovanje nakon završene srednje škole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>Fakultetsko obrazovanje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree or higher</td>
<td>Master studije ili više</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Q7b** Randomize Q7a+b+c  
**Including yourself, how many people live in your home?**  
Koliko osoba živi u Vašoj kući uključujući i Vas?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Serbian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6+</td>
<td>6+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Q7c** Randomize Q7a+b+c  
**In Euros, what is your monthly household income?**  
Koliki je mesečni prihod Vašeg domaćinstva izražen u evrima?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Serbian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No income</td>
<td>Bez prihoda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 200 EUR</td>
<td>Manje od 200 evra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-500 EUR</td>
<td>200-500 evra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 500 EUR</td>
<td>Više od 500 evra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thank you</td>
<td>Hvala Vam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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а) Оружје -- Србија -- 2012-2016 -- Статистика
б) Ватрено оружје -- Србија -- 2012-2016 -- Статистика

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