

Small arms problems in Belgrade

– a survey of young people's
knowledge and attitudes



SEESAC

South Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the
Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons



United Nations
Development Programme

STABILITY PACT
FOR SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE





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Small arms problems in Belgrade – a survey of young people's knowledge and attitudes, SEESAC, Belgrade 2003

This report, prepared in November 2003, summarises the findings of a research project conducted by the staff of Belgrade-based NGO Balkan Youth Union during mid-2003. Staff members Marija Joković, Nebojša Pažun, and Vladimir umić were responsible for data input, processing and report design. Assistance was also provided by Katarina Ginić, a Psychologist on BYU's staff, and external consultant Sociologist Vladimir Cvetkovic who oversaw the project for SEESAC and provided the introduction. The report was edited by Simon Rynn.

ISBN:

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Small arms problems in Belgrade

- a survey of young people's knowledge and attitudes
(2003-12-24)



Small arms problems in Belgrade – a survey of young people's knowledge and attitudes

1 Introduction

The wars in which the Republic of Serbia¹ took part during the nineties left behind a multitude of easily accessible small arms that soon appeared on the streets of all Serbian cities. The ready availability of uncontrolled firearms in any society is concern enough, but in Serbia's case this diffusion of small arms into society occurred against a backdrop of economic crisis, an unprecedented growth of criminal activity, and a nationalistic discourse of 'patriotic wars' in which violence, gun-use, militarism and machismo were mythologised to serve political ends.

In 1993 the country was hit by an economic crisis that led to high unemployment, hyper-inflation and drastic wage cuts. Traditional mechanisms of social promotion, such as education and the professions, were suddenly worthless. The population adopted a variety of different coping strategies, but it was the actions of a minority of individuals that caught the attention of the media. Criminal activities, from robberies to murders and shootouts soon filled the daily papers, and within a short time gained mythical proportions. In this new, and above all, urban mythology, the enterprising 'tough guy' who found a short-cut to prosperity was lauded. The message was that the end justified the means, even if it meant breaking the law and using firearms.

In an environment that promoted the criminal lifestyle as the dominant model, new cultural patterns soon began to emerge and an urban folklore in which personal armament was seen as part of every day life was born. While older generations had recourse to the alternative cultural narratives of their earlier life in a different type of society, for young people growing up during the nineties, guns became an integral part of life, and aggression an accepted model of behaviour. Serbia's cities became centres of intolerance, vulgarity and violence.

Violence and gun-use were also promoted in a partially separate (but functionally connected) militaristic discourse that served to explain and justify the 'patriotic' wars which Serbia was fighting at that time. The higher cause of national interest was used to mobilise public support for the wars, and to head-off opposition both to war and the regime in power. The main symbolic tool deployed was the linkage of myths about the 'glorious' Serbian warrior tradition with contemporary battles and wars in which Serbian soldiers fought. At that time the national collective identity was largely based on military history and opposition to the world powers. Aggressive nationalist themes were present in the school curricula to a significant degree, while the media frequently carried images of volunteers and paramilitaries defending the destiny of Serbia. These interlocking themes were perhaps best drawn together in the lifestyle of Serbia's iconic 'first couple' of the mid-1990s, the 'patriotic' gangster/war-hero Arkan and his folk-singer wife Ceca. The couple's mock-traditional marriage ceremony culminated in a furious barrage of gunfire from the guests, under the pretext of Serbian tradition and in full view of the media.

Although such phenomena are now in decline – with the help of widespread revulsion at the very public assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic in early 2003 – the fact remains that an entire generation of young people grew up under these negative influences. This survey, conducted by Balkan Youth Union (BYU) during mid-2003, was the first of its kind to investigate young people's attitudes towards, and experiences of, small arms. It sought to determine to what degree the above-mentioned models of gun-usage and violence still prevail among Belgrade's young people, and to find evidence for any alternative cultural models. It was conducted by asking a representative sample of young people studying in Belgrade's primary and secondary schools to complete a questionnaire (provided in Annex A) designed to elicit the following information from respondents:

- Their experience of the possession and use of small arms;
- Their assessment of the amount small arms around them in everyday life;
- Their views on security;
- Their assessment of the main motives for possession and use of firearms; and
- The degree of activist potential among respondents, in preparation for any follow-up SALW Awareness programme.

¹ As part of the Former Yugoslavia.

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Since this survey was the first of it's kind, it was of an exploratory nature. Baseline information was gathered about young people's attitudes and experiences, but no hypotheses or observations were tested. The findings do however serve those wishing to take remedial action against small arms proliferation in the Belgrade area. In the immediate future they will inform BYU's awareness raising work with young people during 2004.

2 Methodology

2.1 Questionnaire design

The BYU team designed the research plan and materials for this survey with the assistance of outside consultants. A total of 26 questions were designed so as to provide an indication of the respondents' value orientations and predispositions for anti-small arms campaigning. The main challenge was pitching the questions so that they matched the reading level of both primary and secondary school students. Professors from several schools and linguists from BYU were extremely helpful in this regard. All questions were pre-tested among students before use. The final questionnaire is provided in English in Annex A.



Preparation for the inquiry - teachers calculating the number of questionnaires they need for their classes.

2.2 Sample structure

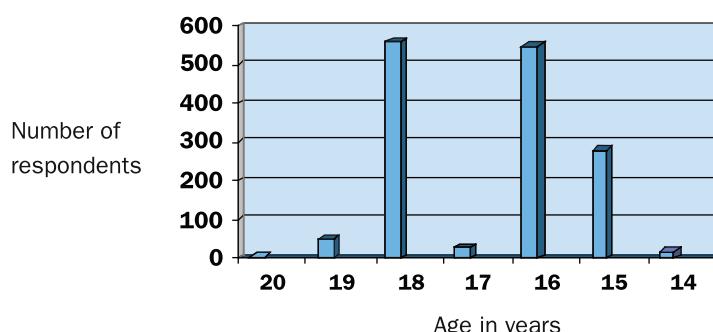
A total of six schools were surveyed, four urban (secondary schools in the centre of Belgrade) and two suburban primary schools. The sample was stratified – schools were selected so that respondents gave a representative cross-section of young people living in various municipalities. In each case access to the children was gained by first contacting teachers, headmasters or school psychologists.

The schools included in the research were: 'Ljuba Nenadović' Žarkovo and 'Mitraljetja', Batajnica (all primary schools), 1st Economy School, 8th Belgrade Gymnasium, 14th Belgrade Gymnasium, and the Trade School (secondary schools). In primary schools only eighth grade students were interviewed because the design of the questionnaire did not suit the reading level of younger students. A total of 2,200 children aged between 13 and 19 years were interviewed. Most of the respondents (1,064, or 71.8%) were female, but the sample size was adequate to give valid findings from the males surveyed – 417 or 28.2%).



Outside the 1st Economic school in Belgrade.

Diagram 1: Sample breakdown by age



Of the children surveyed, 609 of the respondents were 'of age' and 872 were minors. The primary/secondary school ratio was 297 to 1,184 – the majority of the respondents were secondary school students (79.9%).



Table 1: Sample breakdown by primary / secondary school

| NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Primary school | 297 |
| Secondary school | 1184 |
| Total | 1481 |
| | 100.0 |

2.3 Implementation phase

Although all the surveyors had previous research experience, they received training during the preparatory phase of work, as did some BYU desk staff. Fieldwork was carried out by four-member teams and monitored by 12 BYU staff. After field-testing and training, field-workers and BYU monitors made scheduled visits to targeted schools, distributing questionnaires to students for completion in class in the presence of their teachers. Additional informal approaches were made to students in school hallways and playgrounds to achieve greater spontaneity among respondents.

No serious difficulties were encountered during the implementation phase. The response from teachers was excellent and a lot of support was offered. The vast majority of students were also co-operative and willing to talk about the subject, so there was no difficulty finding respondents. However, several factors deserve note:

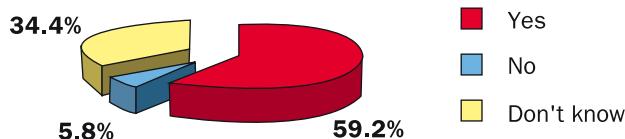
- The survey was conducted in the period following the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic. The event itself, and the national state of emergency that followed induced a general feeling of insecurity among the population. This appears to be reflected in the low level of willingness among respondents to take part in anti-gun campaigns.
- It was apparent to field-workers that male subjects, particularly in certain schools, took the research less seriously than their female counterparts.
- Despite the research team's best efforts to secure it, formal permission to conduct the study was never received from the Ministry of Education (and no explanation was provided).
- Time became a problem with the end of the school year approaching and fieldwork was consequently sped up as the deadline approached. However, this is not thought to have significantly affected the quality of the information gathered.

3 Key findings

3.1 Perceptions regarding weapon availability

The survey first sought to obtain from respondents an estimate of the amount of firearms in Belgrade. The aim was not to get a real indication of the number of firearms in the city, but to get the respondents' subjective estimate. Respondents quite clearly felt that there are too many weapons in Belgrade.

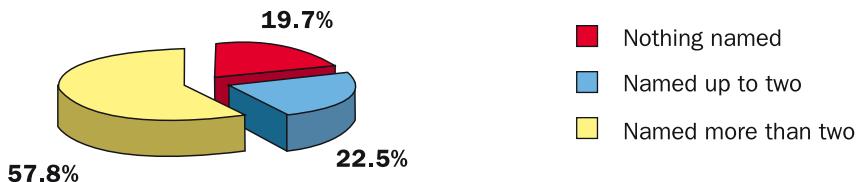
Diagram 2: Do you think there are too many guns in the city?



After completing a questionnaire, a 17 year old female student shares her views on the presence of weapons in schools.

3.2 Familiarity with types of small arms

Diagram 3: Named firearm brands



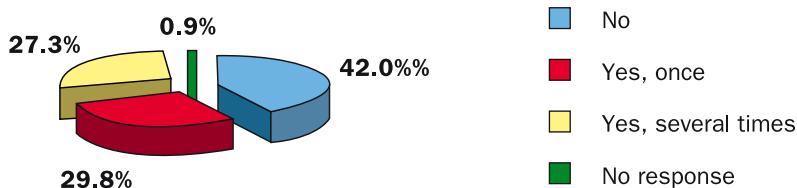
Respondents showed a surprising familiarity with different types of small arms. Table 26 in Annex B lists the nearly 90 types named (not all correctly) by respondents. More surprising still, general categories such as 'rifle' or 'pistol' were rarely mentioned (3% of answers) and mostly given by respondents who also named up to two actual brands. Nicknames also appear quite frequently in the list (e.g. 'Kalash' for Kalashnikov). Primary school students tended to name more types than secondary school students (see Table 7, Annex B).

Given the content of contemporary computer games and movies, an extensive knowledge of firearms is not necessarily an indication of real life experience with those weapons. However, as the next diagram shows, 57.1% of the respondents claim to have held a firearm, indicating that the aforementioned familiarity might be the result of actual contact with firearms.



3.3 Physical contact with small arms

Diagram 4: Have you ever held a firearm?



As expected, boys came into contact with firearms more frequently than girls:

Diagram 5: Have you ever held a firearm? - Boys

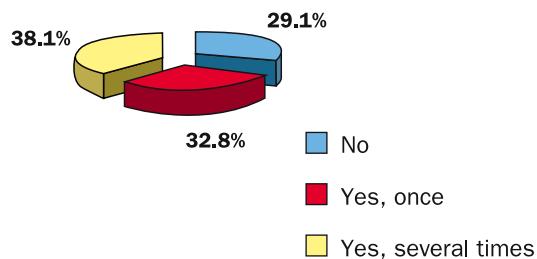
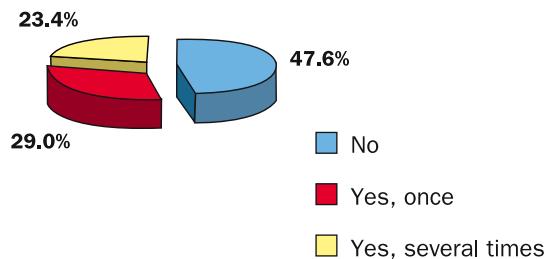


Diagram 6: Have you ever held a firearm? - Girls

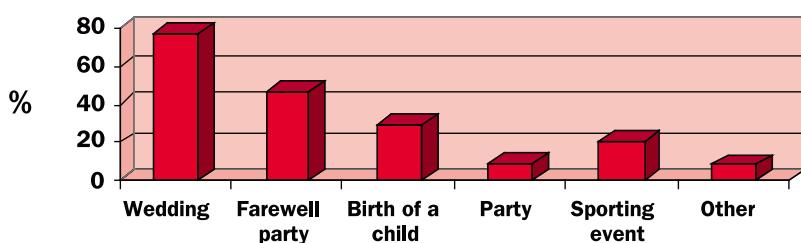


Children from two-parent families have held firearms more frequently than those from one-parent families (59.3% as opposed to 42.4%, see Table 10 in Annex B). This is easily explained since the children of one-parent families are more likely to live with their mothers, who are less likely to possess weapons than fathers.

3.4 Presence during situations where small arms were used

The graph below lists the social situations in which weapon use is common in Serbian culture, and the percentage of respondents who had been present when firing occurred at such an occasion.

Diagram 7: Presence at social occasions during which firearms were used

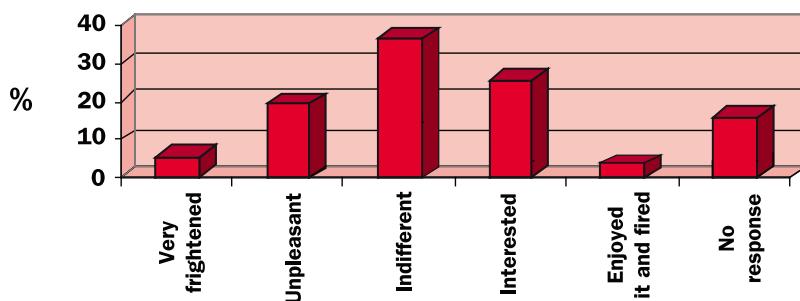


In fact, when the gathered data were analysed, it was found that only 7.2% of respondents claimed never to have been in a situation where firearms were used. This is all the more interesting considering that the population sample is entirely urban, minimising the contribution that usage during hunting might otherwise make. The most frequently cited occasions on which firearms are used are weddings, parties, the birth of a child and sporting events. These are all occasions where adults are present, and they are probably the ones using the firearms. Only 9.2% of the respondents were present in situations where we can assume that the guns were used by minors (a party). Apart from the fact that girls were rarely present at a sporting event where weapons were used there were no interesting socio-demographic variations.

3.5 Feelings towards the possession and use of small arms

Although only 2.1% of those respondents who claimed to have been present on an occasion in which firearms were used stated that they had enjoyed themselves, 61.5% had no negative emotions on witnessing the event. Out of those, the greatest number were indifferent (35.3%). The number who found the situation interesting is not negligible (24.1%):

Diagram 8: How did you feel on that occasion?



Significant gender differences were apparent on this topic: boys had more positive emotions in relation to this situation, they were less uncomfortable and less afraid than girls (Table 11 in Annex B).

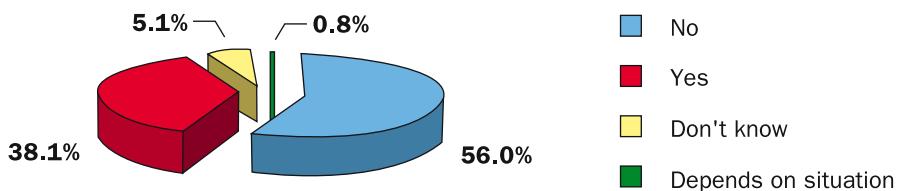
A large majority of the respondents think that the use of firearms in the aforementioned situations is a part of Serbian tradition (72.7%), and 45.5% of this number stated that they were against any change to that tradition. Only 16.1% of the respondents think that usage of firearms in such ways should be punished. Although a majority of students think there is no justification for non-official or non-sporting weapon possession and use (Diagram 9 below), the majority is a comparatively slim one (56%), with a sizeable percentage (38.1%) taking the opposite view.



Female students filling in the questionnaire.



Diagram 9: Is there a situation (apart from sports and official use) when it is justifiable to use or carry arms?

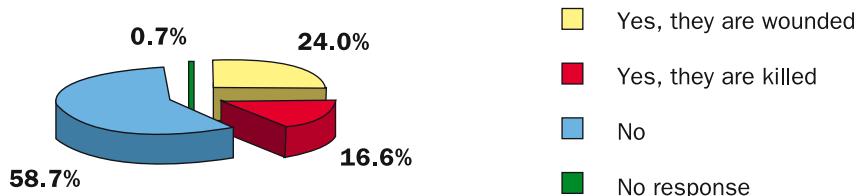


When acceptable reasons for non-sporting and non-official weapons use are probed, justifications such as self-defence and protection are overwhelmingly cited (see Table 28, Annex B).

3.6 Personal experience of firearm related incidents

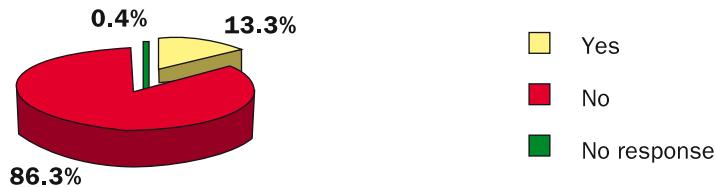
In order to assess how threatened young people feel, the questionnaire also sought information about potentially stressful gun-related events which were likely to have contributed to a feeling of insecurity.

Diagram 10: Do you know anyone who was injured by a firearm?



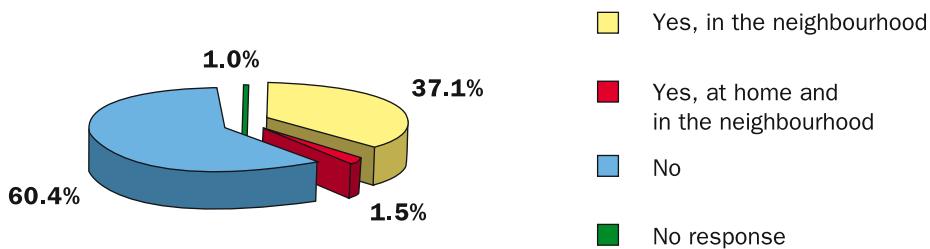
40.6% of the respondents claimed to know someone who had died at the hands of a firearm, and 16.6% of these cases were said to have been murders. A significant minority of respondents (13.3%) claimed to have been present during a wounding or murder:

Diagram 11: Have you ever witnessed a wounding or killing?



Although a small number of the respondents said they had been personally threatened using a gun (5%, see Table 20, Annex B), a significant number of respondents stated that they had been a witness to an armed threat (38.6%).

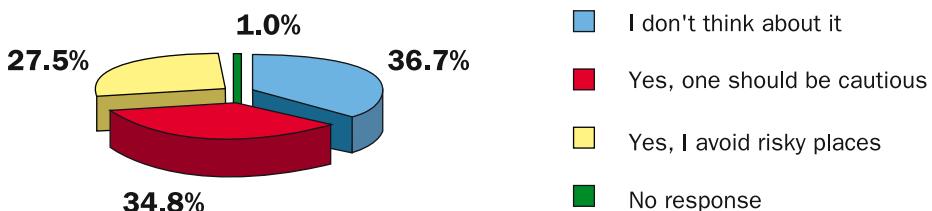
Diagram 12: Has anyone in your house or in your neighbourhood experienced a gun threat?



3.7 Attitudes towards involvement in SALW Awareness campaigns

A significant degree of anxiety clearly exists among the young people surveyed about the threat to their person from weapons, as Diagram 13 illustrates.

Diagram 13: Have you ever thought that there is a possibility of being hurt by weapons if you go to public places?

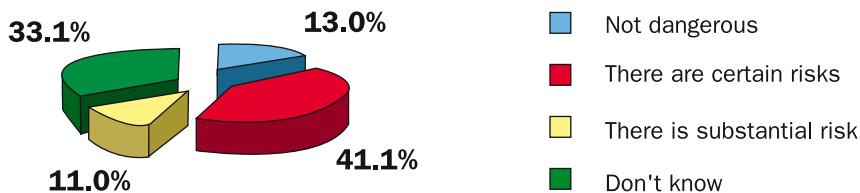


This anxiety appears to have made respondents less willing to join any campaigns against weapons due to perceived risks (see Diagram 14 below). Yet despite concerns for their personal safety, a majority of respondents were in favour of SALW Awareness presentations being conducted in Belgrade's schools (58.2% in favour, 39.5% against – see Table 24, Annex B).



Male students request help when filling in questions regarding potential involvement in campaigns against weapons.

Diagram 14: In your opinion, is it, and to what extent, dangerous to participate in campaigns that aim to reduce numbers of small arms?



3.8 Cross-tabulations

A number of other interesting findings emerge when the questionnaire data is cross tabulated. Table 3 below shows that the more often the respondents had been in physical contact with firearms, the less they perceived a need to reduce the availability of weapons in Belgrade (though this finding had a low degree of statistical significance). No difference is apparent between those who had never held a gun and those who had held it once.

Table 3.

| DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE QUANTITY OF ARMS IN POSSESSION OF PRIVATE PERSONS SHOULD BE REDUCED? | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Previously held arms | No (%) | Yes (%) | I do not know (%) | Total (%) |
| No | 43 (7.0) | 386 (62.5) | 189 (30.6) | 618 (100) |
| Yes, once | 41 (9.3) | 231 (52.4) | 169 (38.3) | 441 (100) |
| Yes, several times | 95 (24.0) | 166 (42.0) | 134 (33.9) | 395 (100) |
| Total | 179 (12.3) | 783 (53.8) | 492 (33.8) | 1455 (100) |

Interestingly, the desire to become involved in possible anti-gun campaigns did not depend on whether the interviewees had been present during a wounding or killing (see Table 14). It did however vary slightly with their familiarity with different weapon types.² Among those who named more than two types of weapon, interest in or support for anti-gun campaigns was less common. Yet interviewees who had named 'one or more' type of weapon were more supportive of possible action (see Table 5 below).

Two interpretations are possible. Firstly that some minimum level of awareness of small arms is necessary before students become concerned to take action, and that the ability to name one weapon type is an indicator of this having been achieved. The alternative explanation might be that a significant percentage of those who did not name any type of weapon did so not because of a lack of knowledge, but because of disinterest in the entire topic, including surveys and remedial actions.

² Correlation factor of 0.31.

Table 4.

| WOULD YOU, YOURSELF, SUPPORT THE ACTION? | | | | | | TOTAL |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO WAS A VICTIM OF FIREARMS? | No, such actions are not needed (%) | No, I am not interested (%) | I do not know, I am thinking about it (%) | I support such actions, but I would not take an active part (%) | I am interested in taking part (%) | (%) |
| No | 33 (3.8) | 106 (12.3) | 253 (29.3) | 399 (46.2) | 72 (8.3) | 863 (100) |
| Yes, wounding | 23 (6.5) | 49 (13.8) | 96 (27.1) | 151 (42.7) | 35 (9.99) | 354 (100) |
| Yes, killing | 21 (0.9) | 23 (9.4) | 62 (25.4) | 111 (45.5) | 27 (11.1) | 244 (100) |
| Total | 77 (5.2) | 178 (12.1) | 411 (27.9) | 661 (44.9) | 134 (9.1) | 1471 (100) |

Table 5.

| WOULD YOU, YOURSELF, SUPPORT THE ACTION? | | | | | | TOTAL |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| TYPE OF ARMS NAMED | No, such actions are not needed (%) | No, I am not interested (%) | I do not know, I am thinking about it (%) | I support such actions, but I would not take an active part (%) | I am interested in taking part (%) | (%) |
| None named | 20 (2.7) | 56 (7.4) | 234 (31.1) | 393 (52.2) | 50 (6.6) | 753 (100) |
| Named two | 14 (3.7) | 46 (12.1) | 92 (24.2) | 179 (47.1) | 49 (12.9) | 380 (100) |
| Named more than two | 43 (12.8) | 76 (22.5) | 85 (25.1) | 97 (28.7) | 37 (10.9) | 338 (100) |
| Total | 77 (5.2) | 178 (12.1) | 411 (27.9) | 669 (45.4) | 136 (9.2) | 1471 (100) |

Finally, children who live in suburban and central municipalities are equally acquainted with victims of firearms. There are however certain statistically significant differences between individual municipalities.³ According to the tables below, the municipalities with the highest number of youngsters who were present when someone was wounded or killed by firearms are Zvezdara, Zemun, Novi Beograd, Palilula and Sopot. The percentage of those who witnessed a murder is the highest in Zemun.⁴

³ Due however to a low correlation factor (0.23), and the fact that the number of interviewees in all municipalities is too small for a reliable statistical conclusion, these findings should be regarded only as trends.

⁴ According to the table the highest percentage is in the Municipality of Vraca, but this data is not reliable due to a very small number of interviewees.

Table 6.

| MUNICIPALITY – TOWN OR SUBURBAN | | TOTAL |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|
| DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO WAS A VICTIM OF FIREARMS? WHAT HAPPENED THEN? | Central municipality | Suburban municipality |
| No | 811 (94.7) | 45 (5.2) |
| Yes, wounding | 326 (92.1) | 28 (7.9) |
| Yes, killing | 234 (96.7) | 8 (3.3) |
| Total | 1371 (94.4) | 81 (5.6) |
| | | 1452 (100) |

Table 7.

| DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO WAS A VICTIM OF A FIREARM? | | | TOTAL | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| MUNICIPALITY OF RESIDENCE | No | Yes, wounding | Yes, killing | |
| Barajevo | 4 (100) | | | 4 |
| Voždovac | 43 (65.2) | 16 (24.2) | 7 (10.6) | 66 (100) |
| Vračar | 4 (33.3) | 4 (33.3) | 4 (33.3) | 12 (100) |
| Grocka | 23 (65.7) | 12 (34.3) | | 35 (100) |
| Zvezdara | 57 (54.8) | 31 (29.8) | 16 (15.4) | 104 (100) |
| Zemun | 35 (45.5) | 23 (29.9) | 19 (24.7) | 77 (100) |
| Lazarevac | 2 (22.2) | 3 (33.3) | 4 (44.4) | 9 (100) |
| Novi Beograd | 150 (56.6) | 67 (25.3) | 48 (18.1) | 265 (100) |
| Obrenovac | 6 (42.9) | 4 (28.6) | 4 (28.6) | 14 (100) |
| Palilula | 154 (57.2) | 65 (24.2) | 50 (18.6) | 269 (100) |
| Rakovica | 29 (69.4) | 9 (18.8) | 10 (20.8) | 48 (100) |
| Savski Venac | 15 (44.1) | 12 (35.3) | 7 (20.6) | 34 (100) |
| Sopot | 10 (52.6) | 9 (47.4) | | 19 (100) |
| Stari Grad | 45 (64.3) | 16 (22.9) | 9 (12.9) | 70 (100) |
| Čukarica | 279 (65.5) | 83 (19.5) | 64 (15.0) | 426 (100) |
| Total | 856 (59.0) | 354 (24.9) | 242 (16.7) | 1452 (100) |

4 Conclusions and recommendations

More than half of the young people surveyed think that there is a significant amount of firearms in the city, indicating a minimum level of awareness of the small arms proliferation problem. Many respondents showed an alarming familiarity with these firearms, which cannot be accounted for by their interest in movies and computer games alone. Yet, despite a majority of them having held a weapon, and an even greater number having witnessed their use (sometimes in tragic circumstances) support for changes to 'traditions' of weapon use is low.

This is mirrored by a reluctance to take part in anti-gun campaigns, though the lack of interest stems largely from fear, since a small majority of respondents consider such campaigns justified, but most cite a concern for their own safety as the main reason for not becoming involved. It would seem reasonable to conclude that the young people surveyed are too scared to become involved precisely because they have witnessed real-life shootings and threats, of which the televised assassination of their Prime Minister may be a particularly influential case. Most in turn consider it justifiable to possess arms for personal protection.

Primary blocks to positive change include an attachment to 'tradition', a social context in which adult role models continue to carry and use weapons (the survey shows that the children came into contact with weapons most often through adults), and feelings of insecurity. Insecurity stems in part from the availability of weapons, but also serves to legitimate weapons possession in the eyes of the young.

Many of the factors listed above can only be solved through more effective policing. However, the survey results and analysis would therefore suggest the following courses of action for would-be SALW Awareness campaigners:

- To conduct campaigns designed to change young people's attitude towards the 'tradition' of celebratory gun-fire;
- To target parents who retain weapons in the home, seeking to modify their behaviour and produce safer storage habits, or (where possible) weapons surrender;
- To conduct SALW Awareness campaigns designed to combat the belief that weapons possession is a guarantee of personal safety; and
- To conduct campaigns designed to motivate young people and engender in them a belief that they themselves can campaign effectively against the hegemony of weapons in their society without jeopardising their personal safety.

BYU is currently considering its work plan for 2004, and continues to seek donor support for actions such as these.

Annex A Questionnaire

Please, answer ALL THE QUESTIONS in the questionnaire by ENCIRCLING ONLY ONE OF THE OFFERED ANSWERS

1a. Year of birth

(Please specify)

2a. Municipality of residence

(Please specify)

3a. Qualifications of parents

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|------------|---------------|---------|----------|
| Father | a) Elementary | b) Secondary | c) College | d) University | e) M.A. | f) Ph.D. |
| Mother | a) Elementary | b) Secondary | c) College | d) University | e) M.A. | f) Ph.D. |

4a. Marital status of parents

- a) Married
- b) Divorced
- c) _____(Please specify)

5a. Marks in the previous grade

- a) Not acceptable
- b) Acceptable
- c) Good
- d) Very good
- e) Excellent

1. Do you believe that there is a large quantity of firearms in your town?

- a) Yes, there is
- b) No, there is not
- c) Don't know

2. Do you believe that people who possess arms have a licence for them?

- a) Majority have a license
- b) Majority do not have a license
- c) The number of those who have a licence and those who do not have is the same
- d) Don't know

3. If you know, please, name a type of firearm (one or more)?

(Please specify)

4. Have you ever held a firearm?

- a) No
- b) Yes, only once
- c) Yes, several times

5. Have any of your school mates brought firearms to school?

- a) No
- b) Yes

IF YES, please, answer the following 2 questions. IF NO, skip them.

6. How did you feel in that situation?

- a) I was not there
- b) I was uncomfortable and frightened
- c) I was not interested
- d) I was curious and I wanted to see

7. Has that school boy/girl been reprimanded for doing it?

- a) It was discovered, he/she was reprimanded
- b) It was discovered, he/she was not reprimanded
- c) It was not discovered

8. Have you been in a situation when firearms were used during festivities?

[You may circle more than one answer]

- a) Wedding
- b) Farewell
- c) Child birth
- d) Party/birthday party
- e) Sports victory
- f) _____

other situation

IF YOU CIRCLED AT LEAST ONE ANSWER, please answer the following question. If not, then skip the question.

9. How did you feel then?

- a) I was very frightened
- b) I was uncomfortable
- c) It did not matter
- d) It was interesting
- e) I enjoyed it and I was shooting too

10. What do you think about shooting during festivities and on similar occasions?

- a) It is part of our tradition, and it should be preserved
- b) It is part of our tradition, but punishment should be introduced
- c) It is not a part of our tradition and there should be punishment
- d) It is not part of our tradition, but we should preserve it

**11. Do you know anyone who has been injured by firearms
(at a party, while playing, fighting, or in a similar situation)?**

- a) No
- b) Yes, he/she was wounded
- c) Yes, he/she was killed

12. Have you ever thought that there is a possibility of getting hurt if you go to certain public places?

- a) I do not think about it
- b) I think one should be more careful
- c) I do think about it, and I avoid risky places

13. Are there firearms in your household? [you may circle more than one answer]

- a) No
- b) Yes, there are trophy firearms, old family arms
- c) Yes, there are hunting and sports firearms
- d) Yes, there are firearms for self protection
- e) Yes, there is other than the above
- f) Don't know

IF YES, please answer the following question

IF 'NO' OR 'I DO NOT KNOW', skip the following question

14. Do you know where it is kept?

- a) No
- b) Yes, but I have never taken it
- c) Yes, I have taken it

15. Has there ever been shooting in your household during festivities?

- a) No
- b) Yes

16. Has anyone in your household or your neighbourhood been threatened with firearms?

- a) No
- b) In your household
- c) In your neighbourhood
- d) Yes, in the household and in the neighbourhood

17. Have you personally been threatened with firearms?

- a) No
- b) Yes

18. Have you witnessed a killing or wounding?

- a) No
- b) Yes

19. In your opinion, accidents with firearms happen because:

(for example, carelessness, intoxication, boasting, trauma, games...)

20. In your opinion, why do people possess or carry arms, in the first place?

(Please specify) _____

**21. In your opinion, is there a situation in which it is justifiable to use or carry arms
(other than hunting, sports and official use [military, police]...)**

(Please specify) _____

22. Would you like to have a presentation on the dangers of the firearms possession in your school?

- a) No
- b) Yes



23. Do you believe that the following institutions should deal with this issue?

[Circle for each given institution]

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| Police | [Yes] - [No] |
| Media (TV, radio, newspapers, Internet) | [yes] - [No] |
| Judiciary | [Yes] - [No] |
| Military | [Yes] - [No] |
| School | [Yes] - [No] |
| Family | [Yes] - [No] |

24. Do you believe that the quantity of arms in the possession of private citizens should be reduced?

- a) No
- b) Yes
- c) Don't know

25. Would you support an activity which might resolve this problem?

- a) Actions such as these are not needed
- b) No, I am not interested
- c) I don't know, I haven't thought about it
- d) I support actions such as these, but I would't take an active part in them
- e) I am interested to take part in such actions

26. In your opinion, is it, and to what extent, dangerous to participate in campaigns which aim to reduce numbers of small arms?

- a) Not dangerous at all
- b) There is a certain risk
- c) There is a substantial risk
- d) It is extremely dangerous
- e) Don't know, I cannot tell



Annex B

Tabulated data

Table 1: "Do you believe there are too many firearms in your town"

| QUANTITY OF ARMS | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Yes | 877 | 59.2 |
| No | 86 | 5.8 |
| Don't know | 510 | 34.4 |
| No response | 8 | 0.5 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 2: "Do you believe that people who possess arms have a licence for them?"

| LICENCE | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Majority do | 251 | 16.9 |
| Majority don't | 667 | 45.0 |
| Equal number of both | 180 | 12.2 |
| Don't know | 372 | 25.1 |
| No response | 11 | 0.7 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 3: The quantity of arms – opinion by sex

| Sex | "THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF FIREARMS IN MY TOWN" | | | TOTAL |
|--------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Yes, there are | No, there are not | Don't know | |
| Male | 273 (65.5) | 35 (8.4) | 109 (26.1) | 417 (100) |
| Female | 604 (57.2) | 51 (4.8) | 401 (38.0) | 1056 (100) |
| Total | 877 (59.5) | 86 (5.8) | 510 (34.6) | 1473 (100) |

Table 4: The quantity of arms per municipality

| Type of municipality | "THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF FIREARMS IN MY TOWN" | | | TOTAL |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Yes, there are | No, there are not | Don't know | |
| Central Belgrade | 831 (60.5) | 67 (4.9) | 475 (34.6) | 1373 (100) |
| Suburban | 39 (48.1) | 17 (21.0) | 25 (30.9) | 81 (100) |
| Total | 870 (59.8) | 84 (5.8) | 500 (34.4) | 1454 (100) |

Table 5: Types of arms named

| TYPES OF ARMS NAMED | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Did not name any | 759 | 51.2 |
| Named up to two types | 382 | 25.8 |
| Named more than two types | 340 | 23.0 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |



Table 6: Type of arms – answers given by sex

| TYPE OF ARMS | | | | TOTAL |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Sex | None named (%) | Up to 2 named (%) | Named more than 2 (%) | |
| Male | 82(19.7) | 94(22.5) | 241 (57.8) | 417 (100) |
| Female | 677 (63.6) | 288 (27.1) | 99 (9.3) | 1064(100) |
| Total | 759 (51.2) | 382(25.8) | 340 (23.0) | 1481 (100) |

Table 7: Type of arms per elementary / secondary school

| TYPE OF ARMS | | | | TOTAL |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| School | None named (%) | Named more than 2 (%) | Named more than 2 (%) | (%) |
| Elementary | 124 (41.8) | 96 (32.3) | 77 (25.9) | 297 (100) |
| Secondary | 635 (53.5) | 286 (24.2) | 263 (22.2) | 1184 (100) |
| Total | 759 (51.2) | 382 (25.8) | 340 (23.0) | 1481 (100) |

Table 8: "Have you ever held a weapon?"

| NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------|-------------|--------------|
| No | 622 | 42.0 |
| Yes, once | 441 | 29.8 |
| Yes, several times | 404 | 27.3 |
| No response | 14 | 0.9 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 9: "Have you ever held a weapon?" – answers by sex

| PREVIOUSLY HELD ARMS | | | TOTAL | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Sex | No (%) | Yes, once (%) | Yes, several times (%) | |
| Male | 120 (29.1) | 135 (32.8) | 157 (38.1) | 412 (100) |
| Female | 502 (47.6) | 306 (29.0) | 247 (23.4) | 1055 (100) |
| Total | 622 (42.4) | 441 (30.1) | 404 (27.5) | 1467 (100) |

Table 10: "Have you ever held a weapon?" – answers by family circumstances

| PREVIOUSLY HELD ARMS | | | TOTAL | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Family type | No (%) | Yes, once (%) | Yes, several times (%) | |
| Complete | 519 (40.6) | 391 (30.6) | 367 (28.7) | 1277 (100) |
| Incomplete | 95 (57.6) | 48 (29.1) | 22 (13.3) | 165 (100) |
| Total | 614 (42.6) | 439 (30.4) | 389 (27.0) | 1442 (100) |

Table 11: "How did you feel in that situation?" – answers by sex

| “HOW DID YOU FEEL IN THAT SITUATION?” | | | | | | TOTAL | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Sex | Very frightened (%) | Uncomfortable (%) | It did not matter (%) | It was interesting (%) | I enjoyed it and I shot (%) | No response (%) | |
| Male | 2 (0.5) | 33 (7.9) | 168 (40.3) | 129 (30.9) | 29 (6.9) | 56 (13.4) | 417 (100) |
| Female | 61 (5.7) | 252 (23.7) | 355 (33.4) | 228 (21.4) | 2 (0.2) | 166 (15.6) | 1064 (100) |
| Total | 63 (4.3) | 285 (19.2) | 523 (35.3) | 357 (24.1) | 31 (2.1) | 222 (15.0) | 1481 (100) |

Table 12: The presence of firearms in households

| THE PRESENCE OF FIREARMS IN HOUSEHOLDS | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|--|---------------------|------------|
| Yes | 516 | 34.8 |
| No | 860 | 58.1 |
| I do not know | 91 | 6.1 |
| No response | 14 | 0.9 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 13: Shooting at home during festivities

| THERE WAS SHOOTING AT HOME DURING FESTIVITIES | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|---|---------------------|------------|
| Yes | 302 | 20.4 |
| No | 1144 | 77.2 |
| No response | 35 | 2.4 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 14: Presence of arms in schools

| "HAS ANYONE BROUGHT ARMS TO SCHOOL?" | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| No | 1217 | 82.2 |
| Yes | 233 | 15.7 |
| No response | 31 | 2.1 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 15: "Has that school boy/girl been reprimanded for bringing the arms to school?"

| "HAS THAT SCHOOL BOY/GIRL BEEN REPRIMANDED?" | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|---|---------------------|------------|
| It was discovered, he/she was reprimanded | 32 | 2.2 |
| It was discovered, he/she was not reprimanded | 39 | 2.6 |
| It was not discovered | 160 | 10.8 |
| No response | 1250 | 84.4 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 16: "How did you feel?"

| "HOW DID HE/SHE FEEL?" | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| I was not there | 84 | 5.7 |
| Uncomfortable and frightened | 29 | 2.0 |
| Disinterested | 97 | 6.5 |
| Curious | 43 | 2.9 |
| No response | 1228 | 82.0 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |



Table 17: Presence on the occasion of an injury occurring because of firearms

| PRESENCE ON THE OCCASION OF A FIREARM INJURY OCCURRING | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|--|---------------------|--------------|
| No | 1278 | 86.3 |
| Yes | 197 | 13.3 |
| No response | 6 | 0.4 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 18: Acquaintance with firearm victims

| ACQUAINTANCE WITH FIREARM VICTIMS | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| No | 869 | 58.7 |
| Yes, wounded | 356 | 24.0 |
| Yes, murder | 246 | 16.6 |
| No response | 10 | 0.7 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 19: Armed threats

| THREAT | NO OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| No | 895 | 60.4 |
| Yes, in the neighbourhood | 549 | 37.1 |
| Yes, at home and in the neighbourhood | 22 | 1.5 |
| No response | 15 | 1.0 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 20: Firearm threats directed at the interviewee

| PERSONAL THREAT TO INTERVIEWEE | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| No | 1405 | 94.9 |
| Yes | 74 | 5.0 |
| No response | 2 | 0.1 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 21: Attitude towards the possibility of being hurt in public

| POSSIBILITY OF BEING HURT | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| I do not think about it | 543 | 36.7 |
| Yes, one should be cautious | 516 | 34.8 |
| Yes, I avoid risky places | 407 | 27.5 |
| No response | 15 | 1.0 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 22: "In your opinion, is there a situation in which it is justifiable to carry arms (other than hunting, sports and official use)?"

| JUSTIFICATION FOR CARRYING ARMS | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|--|---------------------|------------|
| No | 783 | 56.0 |
| Yes | 533 | 38.1 |
| Don't know | 71 | 5.1 |
| Depending on circumstances and situation | 11 | 0.8 |
| Total | 1398 | 100 |

Table 23: Attitude towards the reduction of arms in possession of private persons

| REDUCTION OF ARMS | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| No | 179 | 12.1 |
| Yes | 795 | 53.7 |
| Don't know | 494 | 33.4 |
| No response | 13 | 0.8 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 24: Desirability of presentations at schools on the dangers incurred by the possession of firearms

| PRESENTATIONS AT SCHOOLS ON THE REDUCTION OF FIRE ARMS | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|--|---------------------|--------------|
| No | 585 | 39.5 |
| Yes | 862 | 58.2 |
| No response | 34 | 2.3 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |

Table 25: Perceived level of risk for those participating in campaigns for arms reduction

| THE LEVEL OF RISK | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| It is not dangerous | 193 | 13.0 |
| There are certain risks | 608 | 41.1 |
| There is substantial risk | 163 | 11.0 |
| Don't know | 490 | 33.1 |
| No response | 27 | 1.8 |
| Total | 1481 | 100.0 |



Table 26: Types of arms

| WEAPON TYPE | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | LIKELY SOURCE OF INFORMATION ⁵ | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|---------------|------------------------|
| | | LOCALLY AVAILABLE | VIDEOS/MOVIES | UNKNOWN / NON-EXISTENT |
| Magnum | 213 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Scorpion | 197 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Kalas - Kalashnikov | 144 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| CZ | 136 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Heckler | 134 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| AK47 | 90 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Desert Eagle | 85 | | ▲ | |
| Glock | 83 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Beretta | 67 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Colt | 60 | | ▲ | |
| 9mm long barrel | 59 | | ▲ | |
| Revolver | 53 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| M4 | 52 | | ▲ | |
| Uzi | 49 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| M16 | 39 | | ▲ | |
| TT | 36 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Sniper | 35 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Zastava | 32 | ▲ | | |
| Machinogun | 26 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Bazooka | 20 | | ▲ | |
| USP | 20 | | ▲ | |
| Light Anti-Tank Weapon | 18 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Smith & Wesson | 17 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Calibre | 16 | | | ▲ |
| Automatic rifle | 15 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Hunting rifle | 14 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| 7.65mm | 14 | ▲ | | |
| Pump action gun | 14 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Carbine | 13 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Commando | 12 | | ▲ | |
| Browning | 12 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| H&K | 20 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Shotgun | 10 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Semi-automatic rifle | 9 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Silencer | 8 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| M70 | 8 | ▲ | | |
| Boker | 7 | ▲ | | |
| 7.62mm | 7 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Air-rifle | 6 | ▲ | | |
| Pistol | 6 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| M4A1 | 6 | | ▲ | |

⁵ Categorisation provided by SEESAC. Weapon types unknown to SEESAC staff either from regional stocks, movies or computer games are categorised as 'unknown / non-existent'. They may be the result of a spelling error, misnaming, invention, or they may perhaps feature in less well-known computer games.

| WEAPON TYPE | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES | LIKELY SOURCE OF INFORMATION ⁵ | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---|---------------|------------------------|
| | | LOCALLY AVAILABLE | VIDEOS/MOVIES | UNKNOWN / NON-EXISTENT |
| MK2 | 6 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| MP5 Heckler | 6 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Famas | 6 | | ▲ | |
| 7mm | 6 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| 65mm | 5 | | | ▲ |
| Steyr | 5 | | ▲ | |
| Israeli | 5 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Military industry | 5 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| SPAS | 5 | | ▲ | |
| Andrey | 5 | | | ▲ |
| Winchester | 5 | | ▲ | |
| Nikita | 5 | ▲ | | |
| MAC | 5 | | ▲ | |
| Rifle | 4 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| RPG 7 | 4 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Double-barrelled shotgun | 4 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| M35 | 4 | ▲ | | |
| M48 | 4 | ▲ | | |
| MP-s | 4 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Fire shooting German | 4 | | | ▲ |
| 45 | 4 | | ▲ | |
| Steyr AUG | 4 | | ▲ | |
| GR758 | 3 | | | ▲ |
| Pap | 3 | ▲ | | |
| Black Arrow | 3 | ▲ | | |
| M14 | 3 | | ▲ | |
| Gun | 2 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Small calibre rifle | 2 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| 62 | 2 | | | ▲ |
| M14 | 2 | | ▲ | |
| Steyer SSG | 2 | | ▲ | |
| Tosca | 2 | ▲ | | |
| PP7 | 2 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Luger | 2 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| Black Lady | 2 | ▲ | | |
| Uzi-SMG | 2 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| HK MP5 | 2 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| 9 mm | 1 | ▲ | ▲ | |
| 8mm | 1 | ▲ | ▲ | |



Table 27: “In your opinion, why do people possess or carry arms?”

| REASONS FOR POSSESSING ARMS | | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| The feeling of being threatened | Protection | 467 |
| | Self protection | 228 |
| | (Self) defence | 118 |
| | Security | 82 |
| | Total | 795 |
| Safety and self-confidence | Safety | 222 |
| | Self-confidence | 2 |
| | Total | 224 |
| Fear and threat | Fear | 34 |
| | Because of a danger | 8 |
| | Because of insecurity | 8 |
| | Threat | 3 |
| | They have enemies | 1 |
| | Total | 54 |
| Precaution | Precaution | 1 |
| | Just in case | 1 |
| | Total | 2 |
| To stand out | To prove oneself | 168 |
| | To brag | 11 |
| | To play around | 5 |
| | To draw attention | 4 |
| | To be talked about | 3 |
| | To be seen as an important person | 3 |
| | To feel proud | 2 |
| | To show off | 2 |
| | To be noticed | 2 |
| | To be important in the neighbourhood | 1 |
| | To boast amongst friends | 1 |
| | To gain authority | 1 |
| Total | | 203 |

| REASONS FOR POSSESSING ARMS | | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------|
| Inflicting damage on others | An intention to kill or wound | 11 |
| | Because of criminal activities (atrocities) | 9 |
| | Because of negative things | 6 |
| | Because they are mobsters | 5 |
| | To force (threaten) | 4 |
| | To inflict damage on others | 2 |
| | To abuse others | 2 |
| | To assault | 2 |
| | Out of bad intentions | 1 |
| Total | | 42 |
| To feel powerful and important | To feel powerful | 23 |
| | To feel important (to boast) | 11 |
| | Total | 34 |
| Image | To fool around | 18 |
| | It is trendy | 7 |
| | To look dangerous | 4 |
| | Because of image | 3 |
| | Total | 32 |
| Personal preferences | Because they like arms | 17 |
| | Because of love | 6 |
| | Total | 23 |
| Because of stupidity, madness | Because they are idiots (fools, morons...) | 5 |
| | Because they are scum bags | 4 |
| | Because they are stupid | 4 |
| | Some individuals are mad | 4 |
| | Total | 17 |
| Personal motives | Personal wish | 4 |
| | Personal use | 3 |
| | Self control | 2 |
| | Personal opinion | 2 |
| | Total | 11 |
| Vanity | They believe they are important | 5 |
| | Consider themselves better than others | 2 |
| | Consider themselves more dangerous than the others | 2 |
| | Feel untouchable | 1 |
| | Total | 10 |



| REASONS FOR POSSESSING ARMS | | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Living conditions | They live in chaotic conditions | 4 |
| | The situation in the country | 3 |
| | Because of violence | 2 |
| | Current living conditions | 1 |
| | Total | 10 |
| Conflicts | Misunderstandings (quarrels) | 4 |
| | Fights | 2 |
| | Total | 6 |
| Psychological conditions | Trauma | 2 |
| | Obsession | 2 |
| | Intoxication | 1 |
| | Total | 5 |
| Ignorance and incompetence | Ignorance | 2 |
| | Incompetence | 2 |
| | Total | 4 |
| Legitimate reasons | Job (duty, service...) | 51 |
| | Hunting | 34 |
| | Sports | 11 |
| | Hobby | 9 |
| | Trophies | 3 |
| | Total | 108 |
| Other | Festivities | 8 |
| | Parties | 6 |
| | Don't like a quiet life | 4 |
| | Out of necessity | 4 |
| | To scare people | 3 |
| | To compete | 2 |
| | Because they are dangerous people | 2 |
| | Curiosity | 2 |
| | Cowardice | 1 |
| | For fun | 1 |
| Total | | 33 |



Table 28: "In your opinion, is there a situation in which the use of firearms is justified (other than hunting, sports and official use)?"

| SITUATIONS IN WHICH THE USE OF FIREARMS IS DEEMED JUSTIFIABLE | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|---|---------------------|
| (Self) defence | 155 |
| (Self) protection | 120 |
| In case of burglary, robbery and assault | 26 |
| Personal safety | 19 |
| A threat to life | 19 |
| Festivities | 18 |
| When in danger | 9 |
| Rape | 8 |
| When travelling alone | 7 |
| Fear for one's life | 6 |
| When someone carries arms for love | 6 |
| When one goes out late at night | 6 |
| On special occasions (specific situations) | 5 |
| Existence of a threat | 5 |
| There are so many thieves and maniacs... | 5 |
| If you are threatened | 5 |
| Abuse | 5 |
| For safety | 5 |
| If there is a risk | 4 |
| War | 4 |
| Going to a dangerous area | 2 |
| At the 'Exit' music festival or in the Dorćol area of Belgrad | 2 |
| For revenge | 2 |
| For money | 1 |
| Job | 6 |
| Police | 4 |
| Hunting | 2 |
| For justifiable reasons | 3 |
| Only a knife should be carried | 4 |
| I believe nobody should carry a gun | 3 |
| If tear-gas is a weapon then it is justified | 2 |



Table 29: "In your opinion, accidents happen because...?"

| REASONS FOR ACCIDENTS | | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Carelessness | Carelessness | 776 |
| | Recklessness, thoughtlessness | 26 |
| | Lack of caution | 5 |
| | Careless person | 2 |
| | Total | 809 |
| Alcohol and drugs | Intoxication with alcohol | 626 |
| | Drugs | 82 |
| | Total | 708 |
| Attention seeking | (Self) promotion | 547 |
| | Total | 547 |
| Playing games | Playing games | 235 |
| | Total | 235 |
| Psychological conditions | Trauma | 103 |
| | Mental disturbance | 14 |
| | Personal problems | 12 |
| | Rage | 7 |
| | Disturbed personality | 5 |
| | Too much blood in the brain | 5 |
| | Street fight over territory | 5 |
| | Psychological condition of a person | 4 |
| | Inferiority/superiority complex | 4 |
| | Unconsciousness | 3 |
| | Trance | 3 |
| | Tension | 2 |
| | Excitement | 2 |
| | Hatred | 2 |
| | Adolescence | 2 |
| | Love | 2 |
| | Total | 175 |
| Conflicts | Quarrel | 43 |
| | Revenge | 40 |
| | Clash | 7 |
| | Misunderstandings | 5 |
| | Fights | 4 |
| | Unresolved disputes | 2 |
| | Total | 101 |

| REASONS FOR ACCIDENTS | | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Ignorance | Incorrect handling | 22 |
| | Ignorance | 12 |
| | Lack of competence to resolve a problem | 6 |
| | Lack of training | 6 |
| | Total | 46 |
| Personal characteristics | Irresponsibility | 14 |
| | Stubbornness | 6 |
| | Curiosity | 5 |
| | Recklessness | 4 |
| | Cowardice | 2 |
| | Total | 31 |
| Money | Debts | 15 |
| | Money | 8 |
| | Total | 23 |
| External factors | Coincidence | 6 |
| | Triviality | 6 |
| | Faith | 3 |
| | Political problems | 2 |
| | A woman | 2 |
| | Circumstances | 1 |
| | Total | 20 |
| Inflicting damage on others | Blackmail | 6 |
| | Criminals | 4 |
| | Robberies | 3 |
| | Torture | 2 |
| | Violence | 2 |
| | Total | 17 |



| REASONS FOR ACCIDENTS | | NO. OF INTERVIEWEES |
|-----------------------|--|---------------------|
| Other | Stupidity | 21 |
| | Not specified (various) | 19 |
| | Job | 6 |
| | Attention seeking | 5 |
| | Danger | 5 |
| | Wrong attitude | 4 |
| | Reputation | 4 |
| | A weapon ends up in the wrong hands | 4 |
| | Intentionally | 3 |
| | Pain in the neck | 3 |
| | Depends on the person | 3 |
| | Festivities | 2 |
| | Personal reasons | 2 |
| | The person believed they could impose control using arms | 2 |
| | Self defence | 2 |
| | Caprice | 1 |
| Total | | 86 |

Balkansko udruženje mladih

Balkan Youth Union



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