



Issue No. 13

FIREARM INCIDENTS in the context of DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

**in South East Europe
2019-2021**

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ABOUT IN FOCUS - ARMED VIOLENCE MONITOR

In Focus - Armed Violence Monitors provide information on the specific types of firearm incidents and the related topics to illustrate the magnitude of firearms' adverse impact on civilians.

This issue addresses **firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence** in South East Europe (SEE) from **2019 to 2021**. The Monitor presents an overview of firearm-related incidents committed by intimate partners and other close family members. The Monitor sheds light on firearm misuse in the domestic context and its disproportionate effects on women, particularly in the context of intimate partner violence.

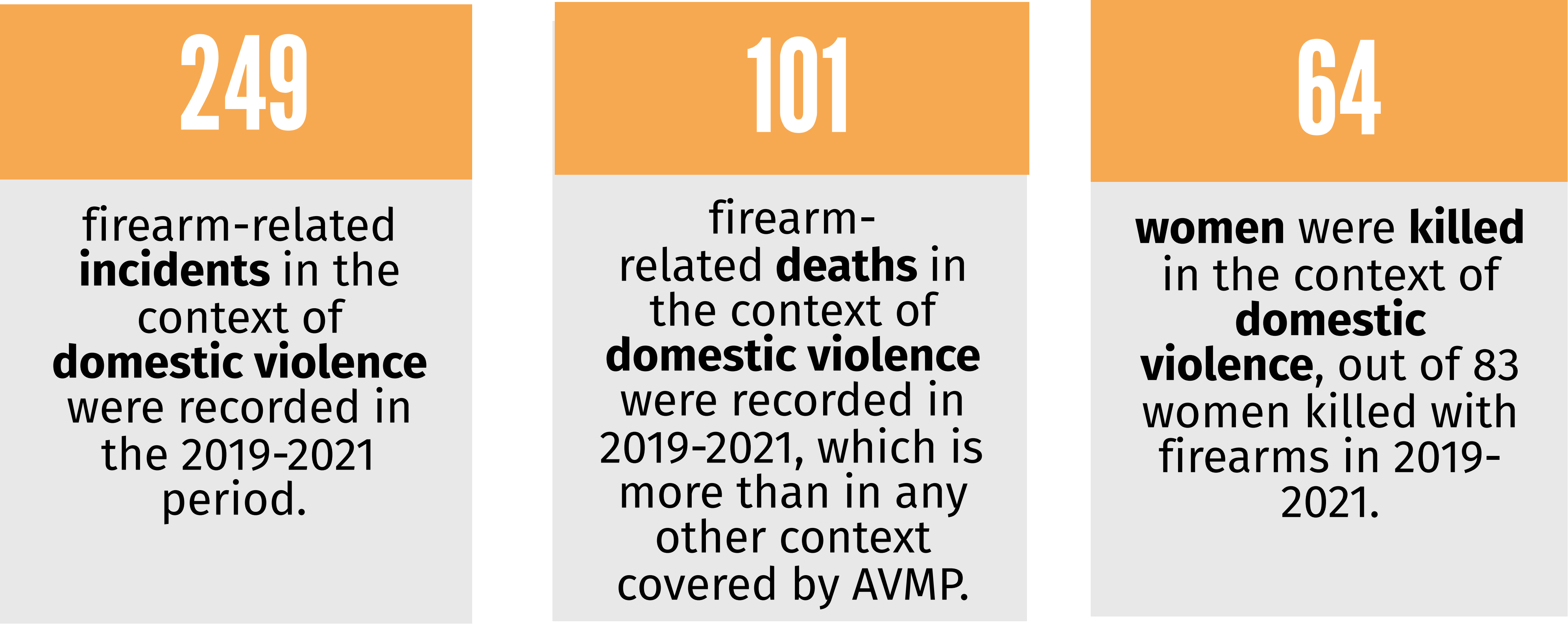
METHODOLOGY

The information provided in this report is gathered from the [Armed Violence Monitoring Platform \(AVMP\)](#), which captures data on firearm-related incidents happening in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, North Macedonia, Kosovo* and the Republic of Moldova.

The data is gathered daily from the relevant authorities' official websites, as well as print and online media. Data for Kosovo is also gathered from the police daily incident reports. Quality assurance is conducted rigorously by SEESAC. The platform has seen significant improvements in recent years in terms of data collection and categorization.

The AVMP has been established by SEESAC and funded by the European Union within the framework of the [EU Council Decision \(CFSP\) 2016/2356](#) and [EU Council Decision \(CFSP\) 2019/2111](#).

HIGHLIGHTS



*References to Kosovo shall be understood to be in the context of Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999).

1. Key definitions

Domestic violence¹ means all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.

Violence against women² is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

Gender-based violence against women³ shall mean violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately.

In its broader sense, domestic violence relates to violence against intimate partners, children, parents, and family members.⁴

Intimate partner violence refers to physical, sexual, or psychological abuse by a current or former partner or spouse that can occur among heterosexual or same-sex couples and may not imply sexual intimacy.

While domestic violence can affect everyone, regardless of race, age, sexual orientation, religion, social status or educational level, it disproportionately affects women and girls who account for the majority of victims.

Domestic violence manifests itself as a pattern of behaviour through which the abuser intends to obtain or retain power and control over a partner or other family member.

¹ [Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence](#), Article 3. p.3.

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

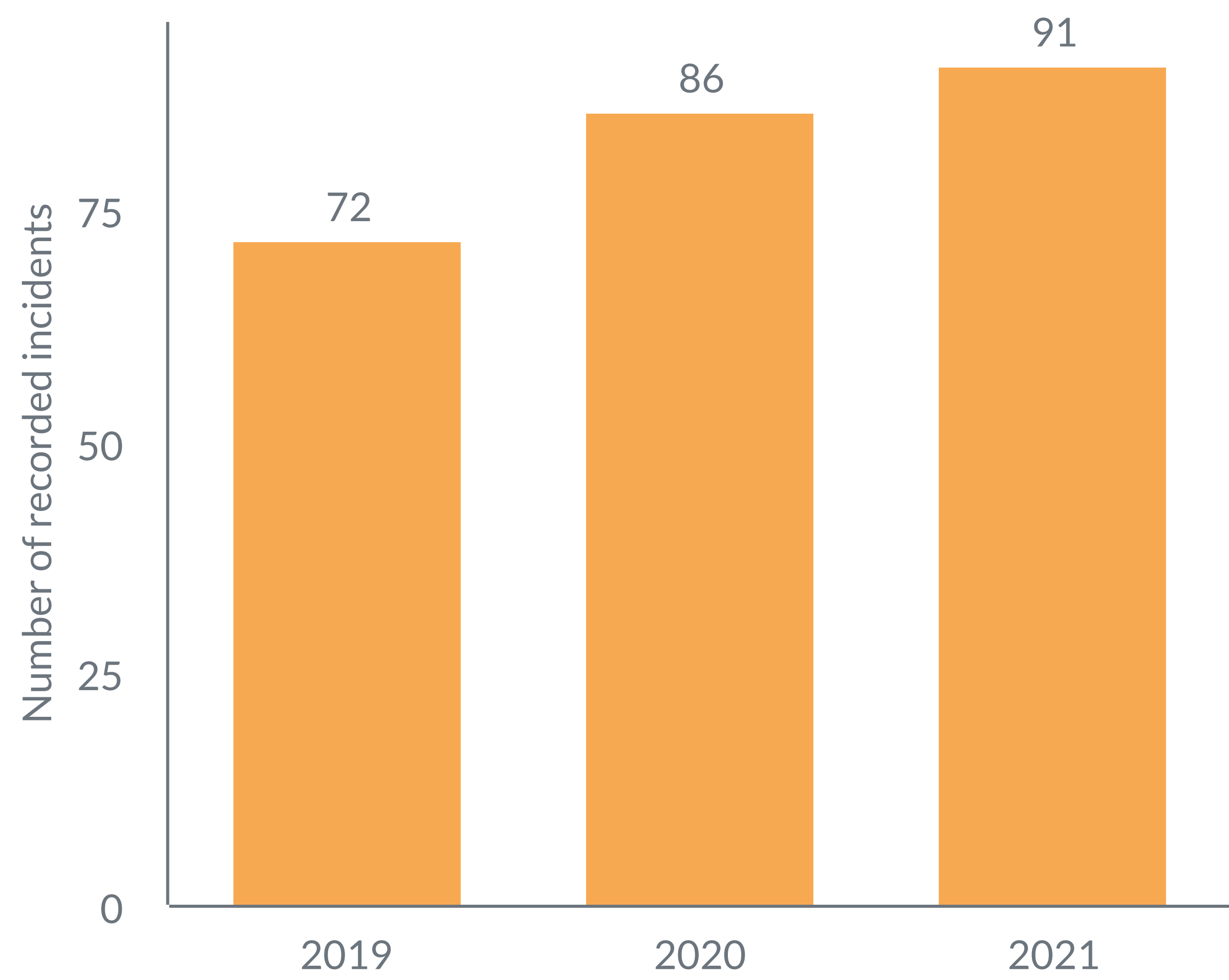
⁴ *Ibid*

⁴ Family members, in the context of this report, 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. cohabitants or former cohabitants; 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. An intimate partner can refer to: husband/wife, former husband/former wife, partner/former partner, boyfriend/girlfriend, former boyfriend/ former girlfriend.

2. Firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence

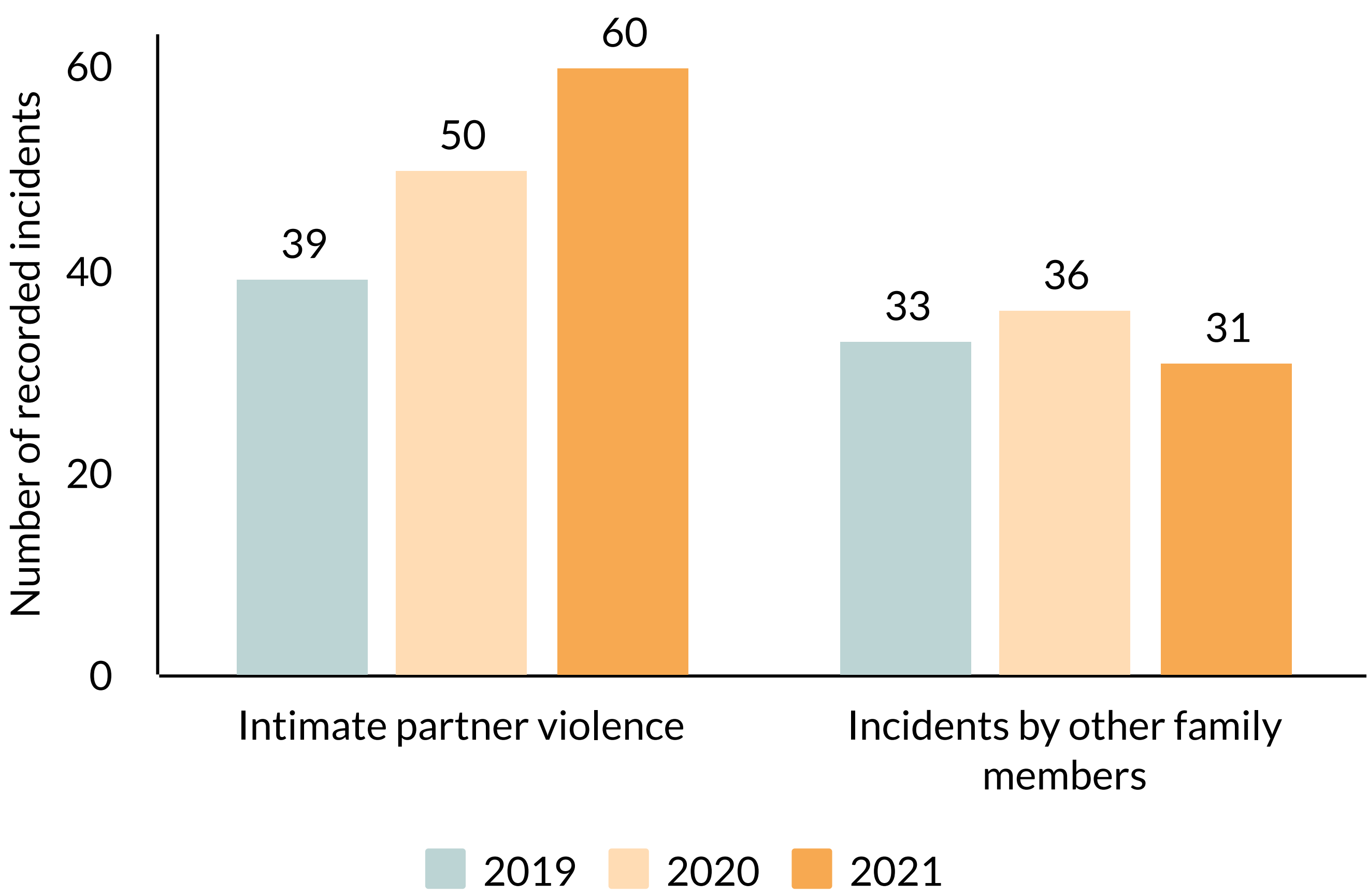
From 2019 to 2021, there was a steady increase in the reported number of firearm incidents in the domestic context, with a documented 26% rise from 2019 to 2021. This rise was more pronounced from 2019 to 2020 (19%) than that from 2020 to 2021 (6%). The notable increase seen in 2020 may suggest that specific COVID-related conditions created an environment that contributed to increased domestic violence. Furthermore, it should be noted that the number of such incidents may have been significantly higher, but the victims’ confinement with the abuser made reporting the violence difficult.

Firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence, 2019-2021



In the 2019-2021 period, the AVMP documented 249 firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence, of which 149 were committed by intimate partners and 100 by other family members. Firearm incidents committed by intimate partners documented a constant increase over the reporting years, while the number of incidents by other family members levelled off.

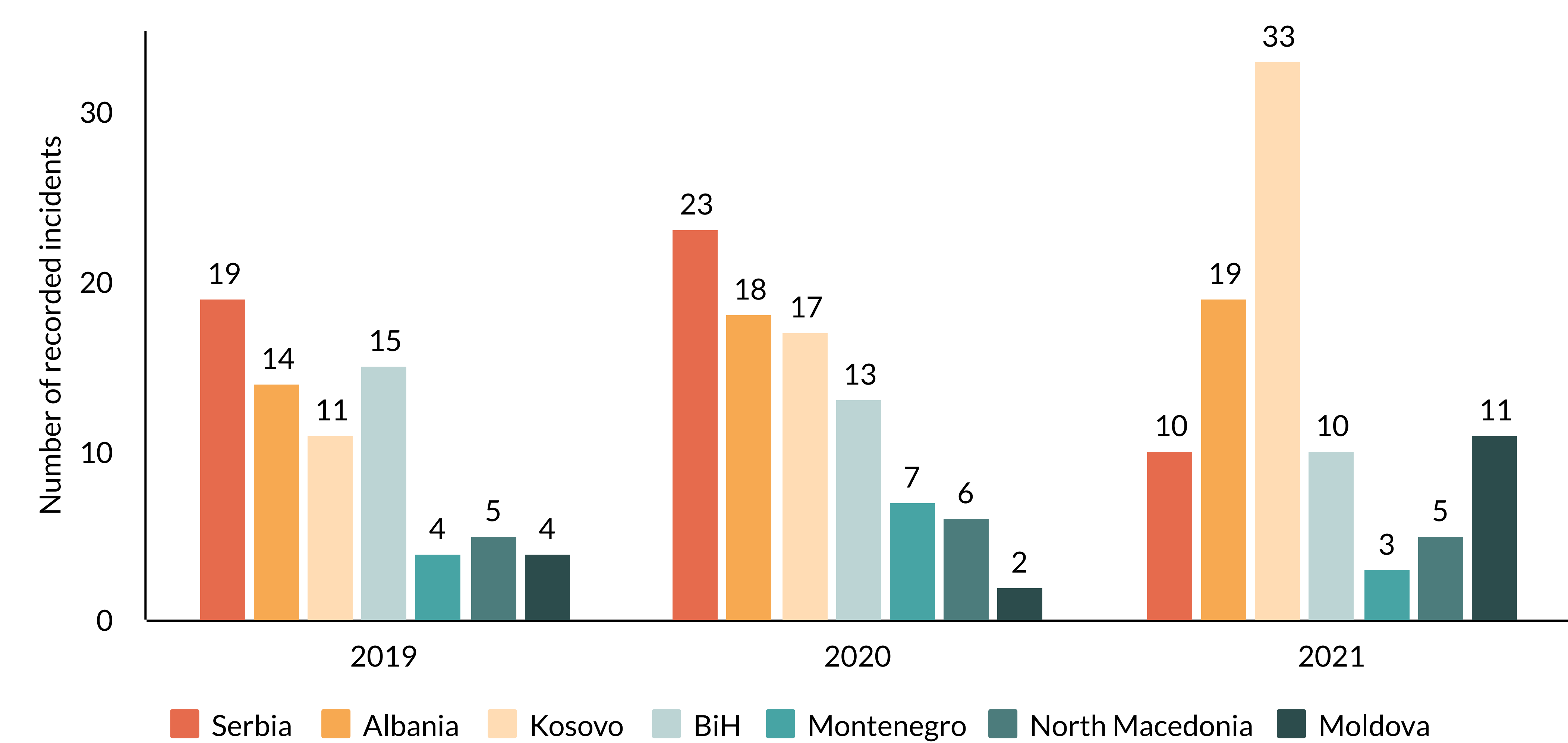
Firearm incidents in domestic setting by context and year



2.1 Firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence by jurisdiction

Between 2019 and 2021, the number of the reported firearm incidents in the domestic setting increased steadily in Albania and Kosovo, while Bosnia and Herzegovina reported the reverse pattern. The increase in Kosovo was due to a high number of domestic violence cases in which the firearm was not used but was seized by the police when responding to the reported case of domestic violence. Serbia, which accounted for almost 26% of all such incidents in 2019 and 2020, had a change in the trend in 2021 when the number of incidents more than halved. Despite a reported drop in 2020, the number of incidents in Moldova rose nearly three times in 2021 compared to 2019.

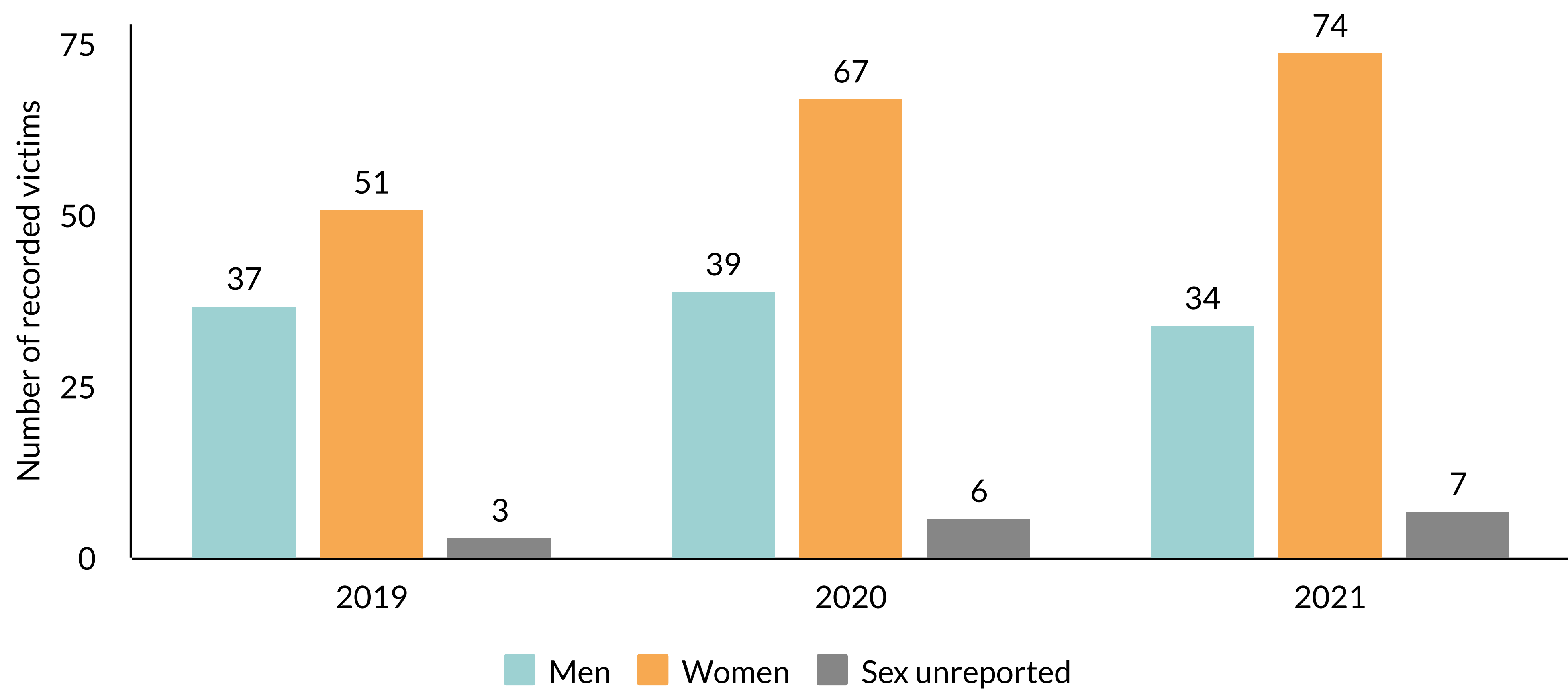
Firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence by jurisdiction and year



3. Victims⁵

Over the 2019-2021 period, the number of victims of firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence increased reflecting the overall rise in this type of incidents. In contrast to the number of men victims, which slightly increased in 2020 but declined in 2021, the number of women victims was constantly growing. As a result, in 2021 there were 45% more women who were impacted by the use of firearms in domestic settings than in 2019.

Victims by sex and year



Out of 318 victims of firearm misuse in the context of domestic violence, sex was reported for 302 victims, of whom 192 (64%) were women and 110 (36%) were men. In almost all jurisdictions, women were the predominant victims, with the exception of Montenegro, where more men than women were reported as victims. A similar trend was also observed in North Macedonia in 2019 and 2021.

Victims by sex, jurisdiction and year

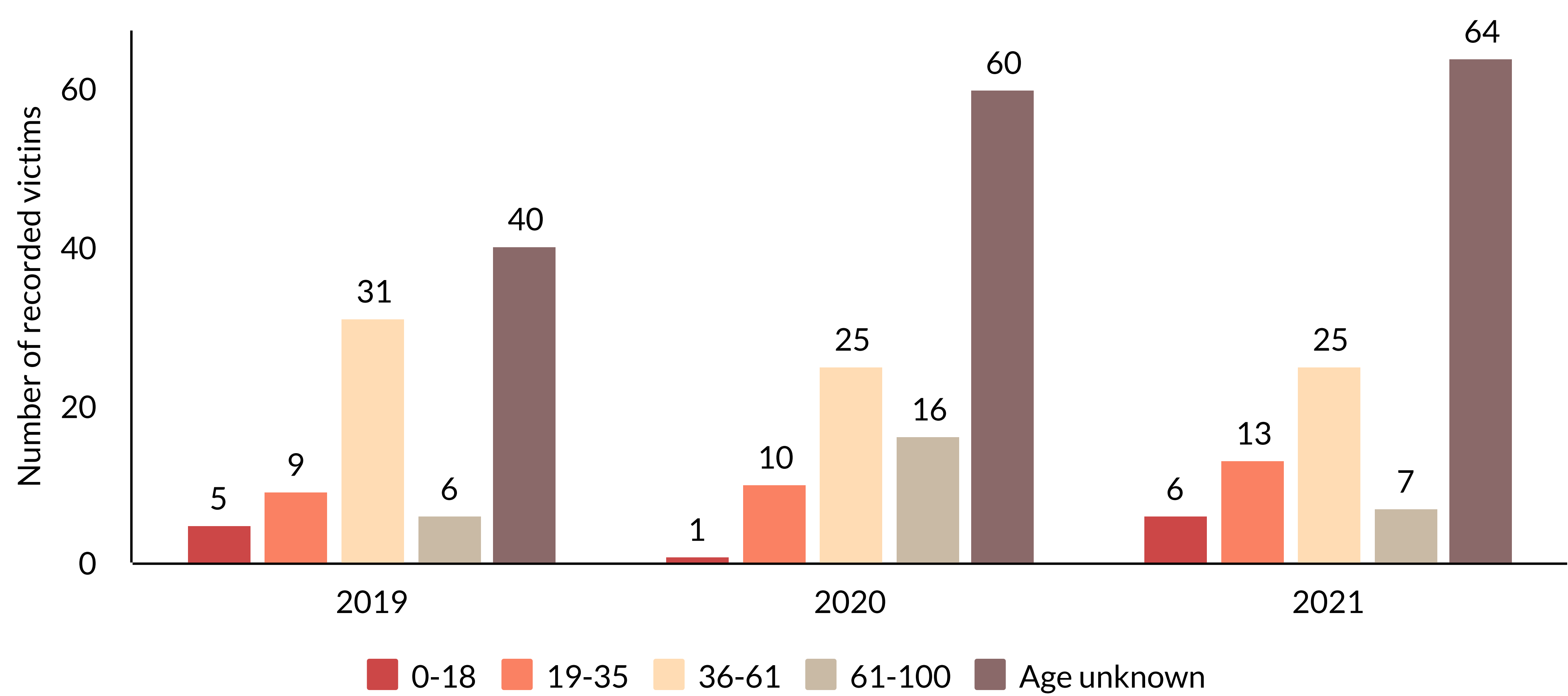
Location	2019			2020			2021		
	M	W	N/A	M	W	N/A	M	W	N/A
Albania	7	7	1	7	15	4	9	13	2
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8	12	1	8	8		2	9	
Kosovo	2	10		11	11		9	25	
Moldova	2	3		1	2		3	14	3
Montenegro	3	1		4	3		3	2	
North Macedonia	5	3		2	6		4	2	
Serbia	10	15	1	6	22	2	4	9	2
	37	51	3	39	67	6	34	74	7

⁵ The victims do not include persons who injured themselves in a suicide attempt after killing their intimate partner and/or family members, and persons who died in murder suicide pattern, i.e. they died by suicide after killing their intimate partner and/or family member.

3.1 Age of victims

From 2019 to 2021, the age was specified for 154 (48%) victims, while for 164 (52%) victims, the age was not indicated. The main age trend remained consistent throughout the reporting period. Thus, the majority of victims (81 or 53%) were aged 36-60. A total of 32 (21%) victims were in the 19-35 age range, with those aged 61 and older (29 or 19%) close behind. Victims aged 19-35 were the second most prevalent age group in 2019 and 2021 victims, in contrast to 2020, when victims aged 61 and older were the second most common age group. Twelve (8%) victims were under 19 years of age.

Victims by age and year



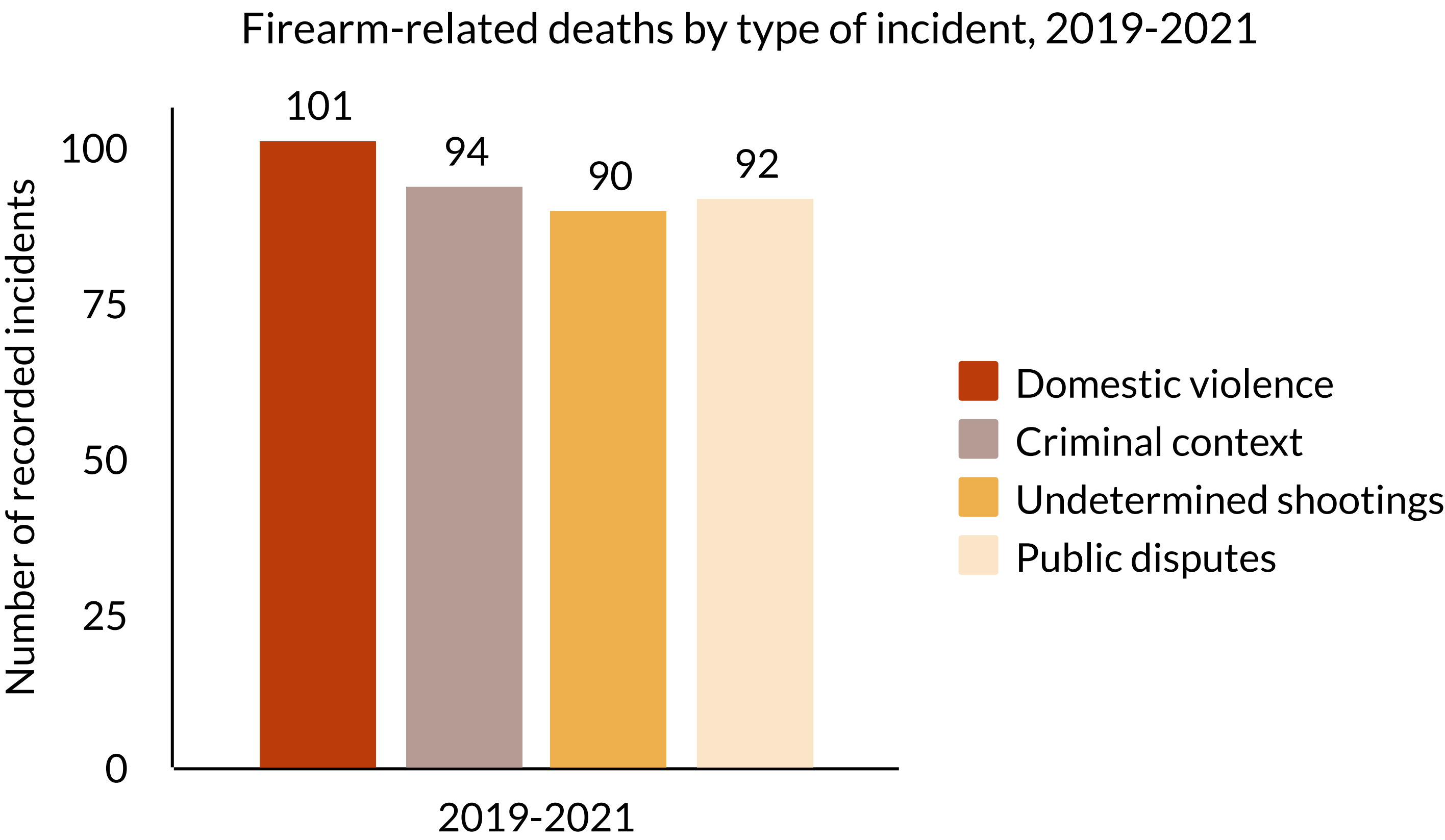
The data on both age and sex was known for 149 victims, i.e. 87 women and 62 men, suggesting that the victims were mainly found among women aged 36-60, (64%) and those aged 19-35 (59%). In contrast, more men than women were reported among victims aged 61 and older and those under 19, although the distinction was not very prominent.

Victims by age and sex, 2019-2021

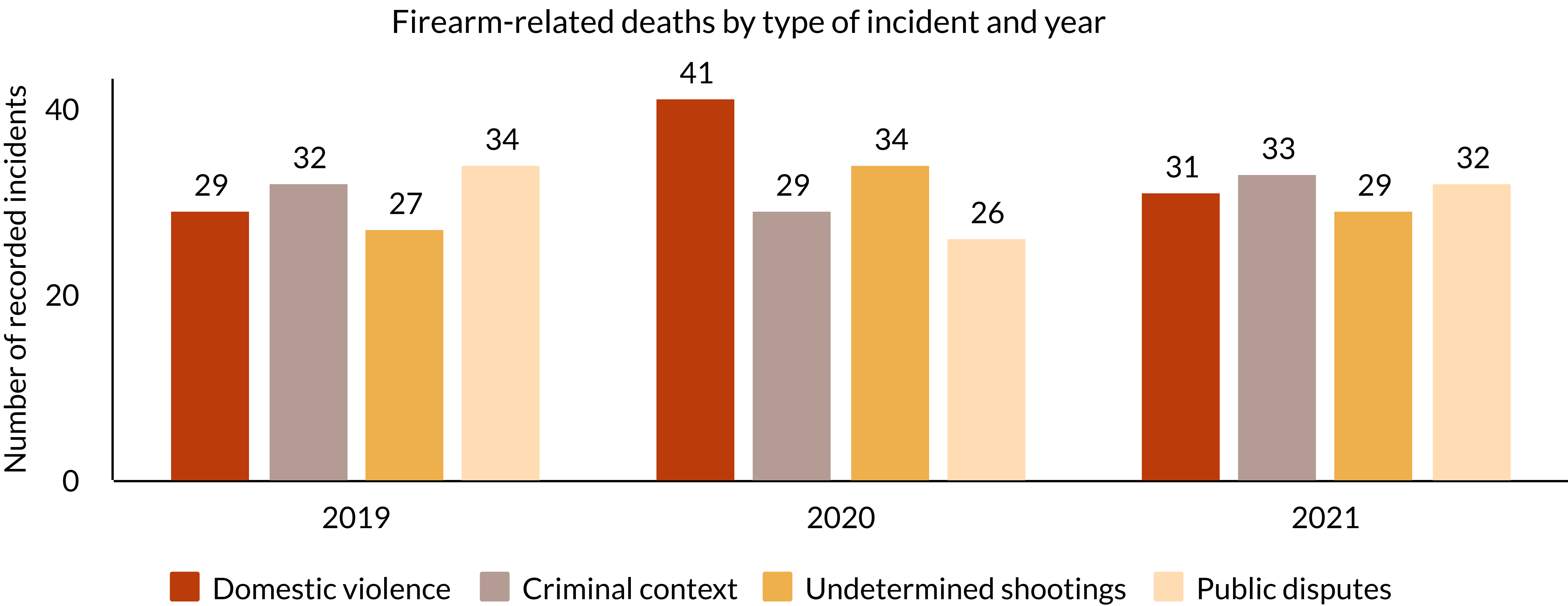
Age	Sex			Total
	Men	Women	N/A	
0-18	4	3	5	12
19-35	13	19		32
36-60	29	52		81
61+	16	13		29
Unknown	48	105	11	164
Total	110	190	16	318

4. Fatality of firearm incidents in domestic context

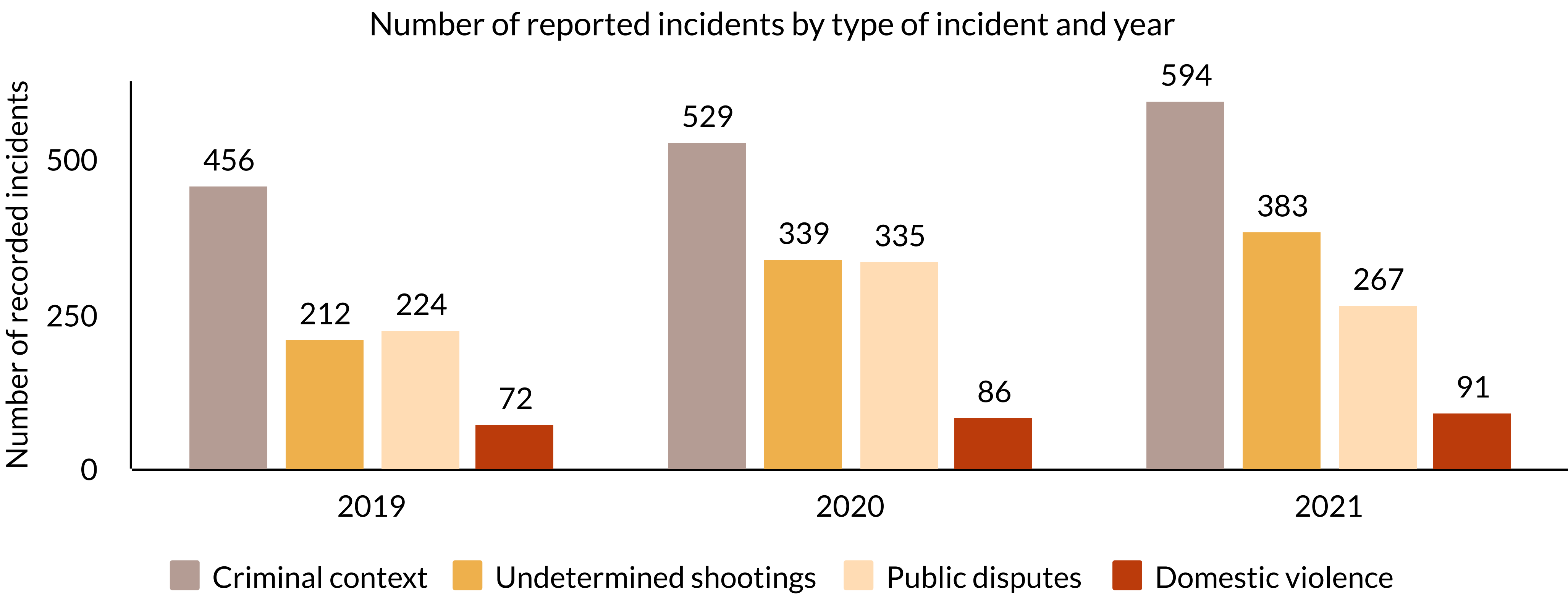
The severity of domestic violence from 2019 to 2021 is reflected in the number of firearm-related fatalities documented by the AVMP. In the 2019-2021 period, the overall number of deaths resulting from firearm incidents in domestic settings was higher than that reported in any other type of incident covered by the AVMP, including those in the criminal context, public disputes, and undetermined shootings.



In comparison to all other types of incidents, the number of fatalities resulting from the use of weapons in the context of domestic violence peaked in 2020 and ranked third in 2019 and 2021.



The high number of firearm-related deaths resulting from the use of firearms in the context of domestic violence is even more striking when the number of incidents reported in each context is compared. In other words, even though the number of recorded incidents in the domestic setting was significantly lower than in other contexts, the fatalities were either higher or equal.



Domestic violence disproportionately affects women and they were more likely to be killed in domestic violence than in other types of incidents. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to be killed in other types of incidents such as undetermined shootings, criminal context and public disputes.

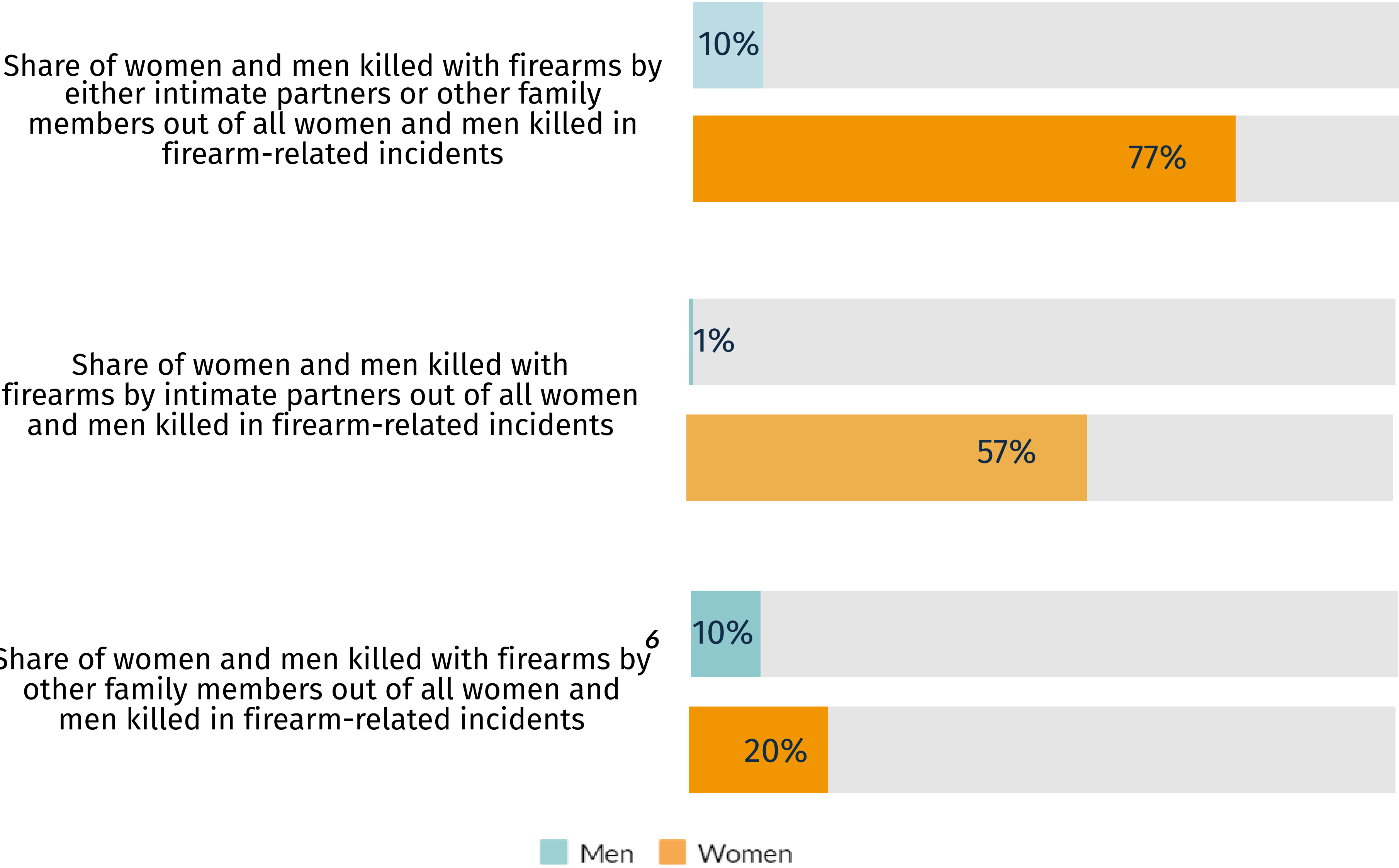
Fatalities by type of incident, sex and year

Type of incident	2019		2020		2021	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Domestic violence	11	18	17	24	9	22
Criminal context	28	4	28	0	30	3
Public disputes	33	1	26	0	33	0
Undetermined shootings	24	3	32	2	24	2

Sixty-four (77%) out of 83 of all women killed with firearms in SEE were killed in the context of domestic violence, while the same holds true for 37 (10%) men out of 361 men killed with firearms.

Within the context of domestic violence, women were most at risk of firearm use by their current or former intimate partners. Thus, 47 (57%) of all women killed with firearms were killed by their intimate partners. In the same period, two men were killed with firearms by their partners.

In addition, 17 (20%) women and 35 (10%) men killed with firearms were killed by other family members, predominantly men.

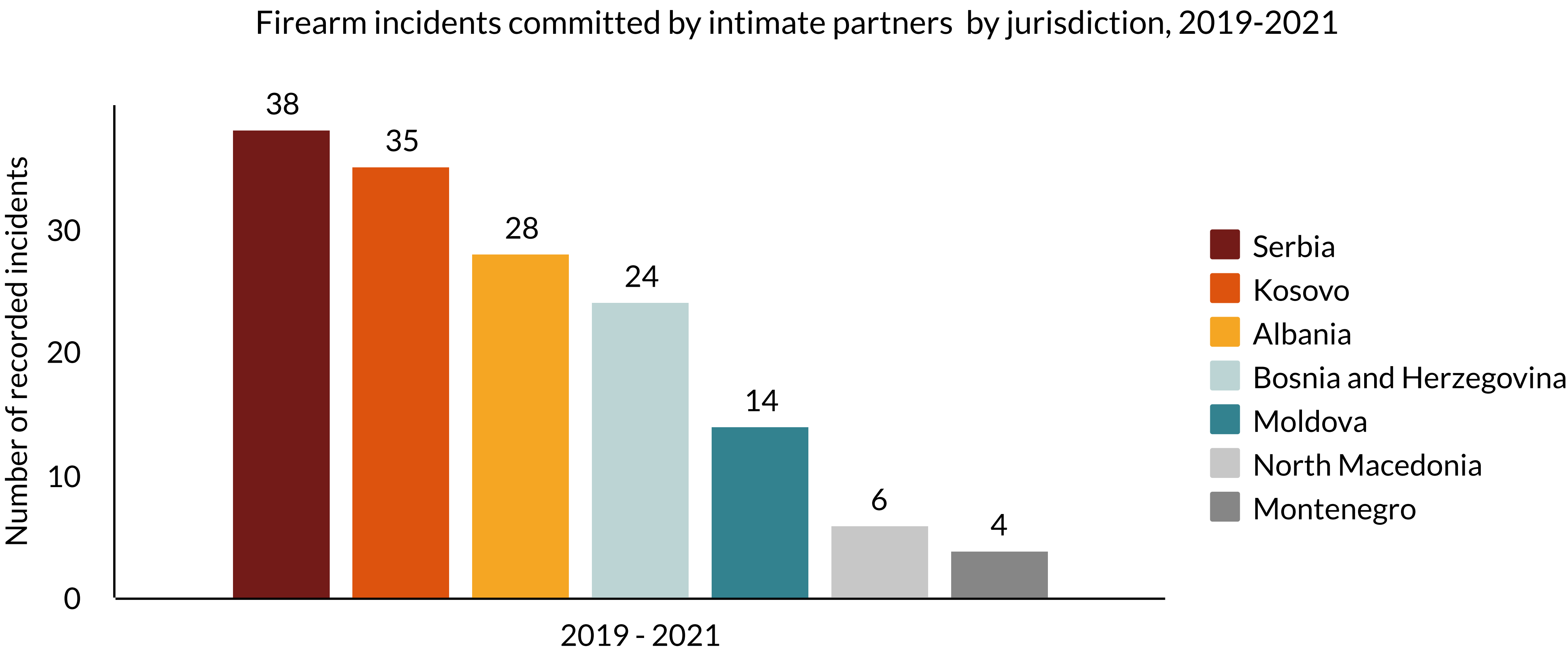


The graph shows the fatal outcomes resulting from all types of incidents covered by the AVMP in 2019-2021.

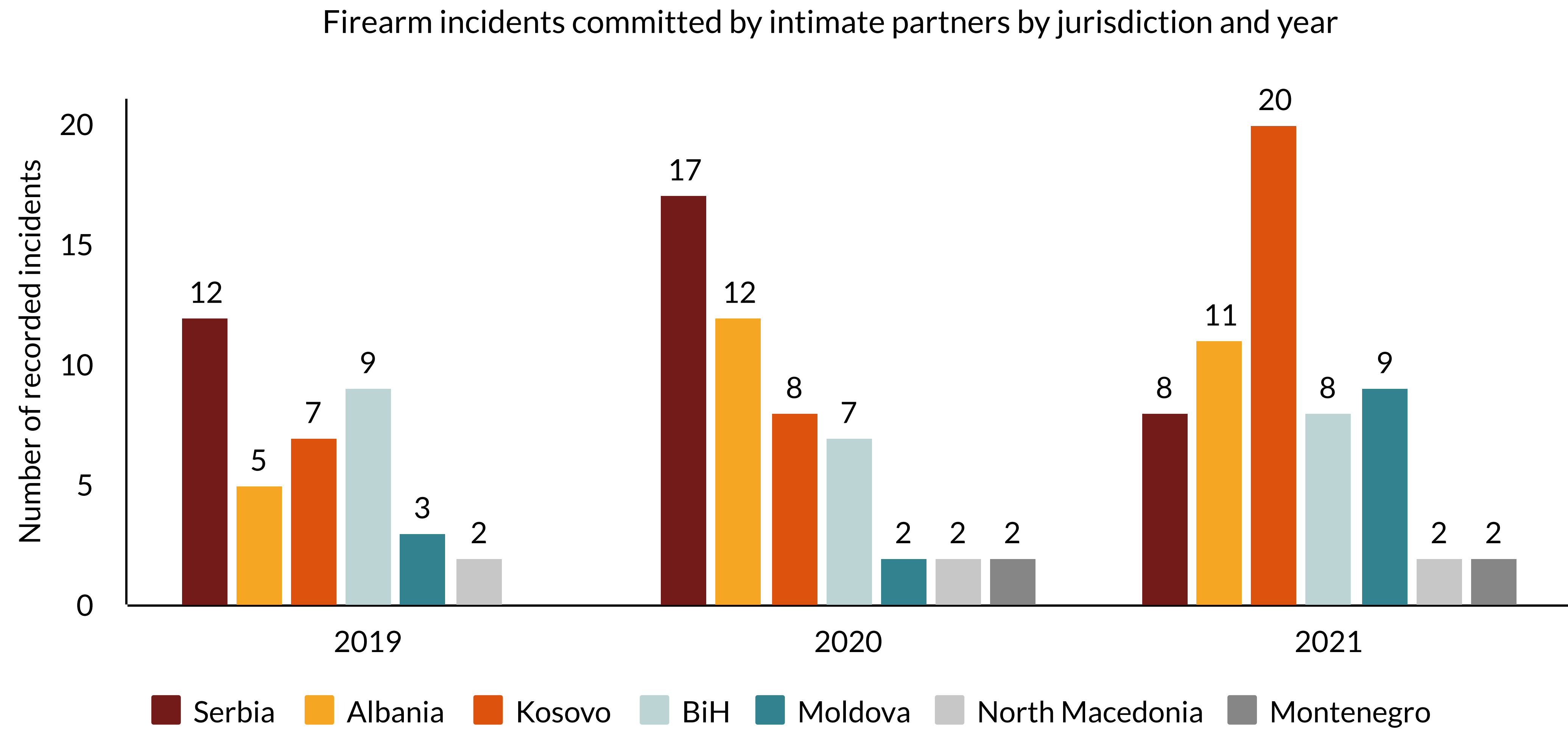
6 The share includes women and men who were killed with firearms while being present during intimate partner violence as well as those killed by other family members.

5. Firearm incidents in the context of intimate partner violence

Intimate partners committed a total of 149 firearm incidents from 2019 to 2021, according to AVMP data. Over the said period, the highest number of these incidents was reported by Serbia (38), Kosovo (35), Albania (28) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (24). Montenegro reported the lowest number of these incidents (4).



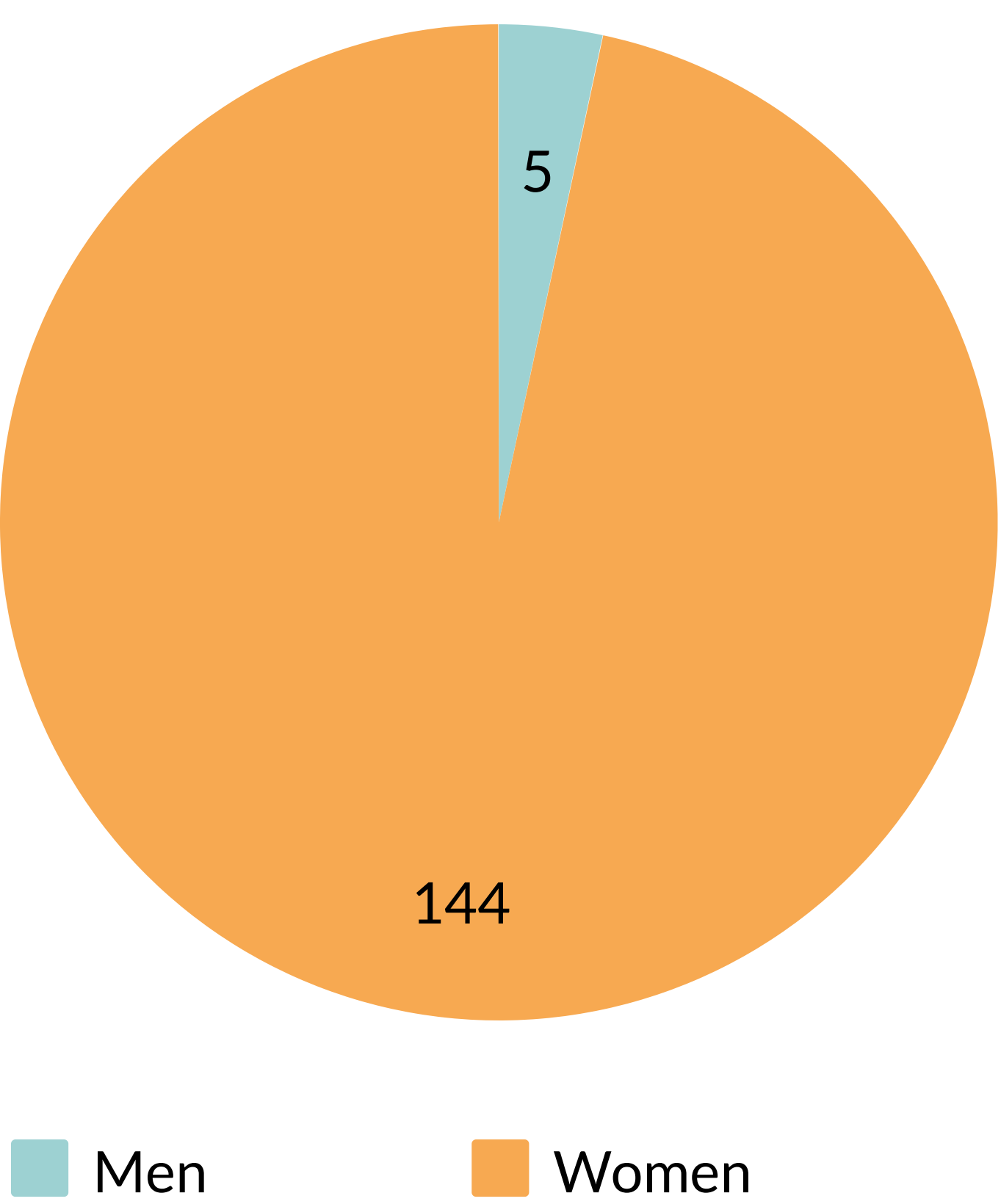
Firearm incidents committed by intimate partners grew by 54% from 2019 to 2021, i.e. approximately ten incidents per year. In the said period, an upward trend was seen in Kosovo, where the number of incidents more than doubled. However, in more than half of the cases (18) reported in Kosovo, the firearm was not used but seized by law enforcement at the scene. A rising trend was also observed in Albania and Moldova. On the other hand, Serbia, which accounted for the majority of these incidents in 2019 and 2020, reported a decline in 2021. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia and Montenegro, the reported numbers of intimate partner violence involving firearms remained constant.



5.1 Victims of intimate partner violence

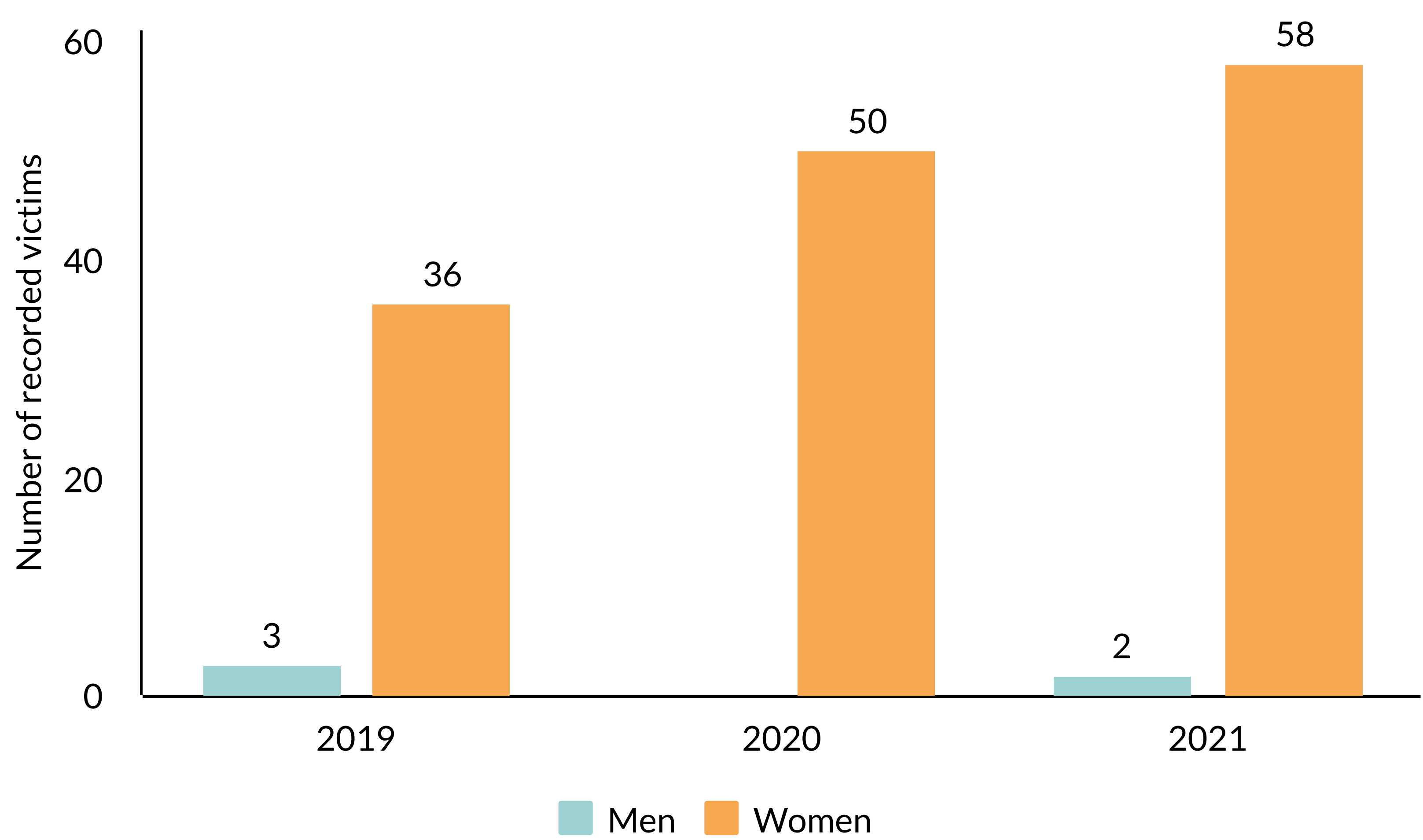
There were 149 reported victims of intimate partner violence involving firearms between 2019 and 2021. According to the AVMP data, women made up 97% of the victims of these incidents, while men accounted for 3%.

Men and women victims of firearm incidents committed by intimate partners, 2019-2021



The number of women victims increased by 54% from 2019 to 2021. On the other hand, the number of men victims decreased, while in 2020 no men victims of firearm-related intimate partner violence were reported.

Victims of firearm incidents committed by intimate partners, by sex and year



Between 2019 and 2021, 47 women were killed with firearms as a result of intimate partner violence, indicating a 31% increase in fatalities for women victims throughout that period. The jurisdictions that reported the most fatalities for women were Serbia (15), Bosnia and Herzegovina (13) and Albania (7).

In 2019–2021, 18 women were shot and injured by their intimate partners, whereas such outcomes were not reported in Albania and Montenegro.

With a total of 50 threatened women, the trend in the number of women who were threatened with firearms by their intimate partners remained largely consistent during the reporting years. The jurisdictions with the majority of women who were threatened by their partners in the 2019-2021 period were Albania (16), Kosovo (12), and Serbia (9).

Five women did not sustain any gunshot injury when their intimate partners discharged a firearm in their presence. North Macedonia, Kosovo, and Montenegro did not have any such cases reported.

The AVMP also keeps track of incidents of intimate partner violence where a weapon was present during the incident but was not used. In 2019, no such cases were reported. A weapon was present in nine cases in 2020 and fifteen in 2021. Kosovo reported the greatest number of these cases in both years.

Outcome for women victims of intimate partner violence by jurisdiction and year

	Death			Injury ⁷			No injury ⁸			Threatened		
Location	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021
Albania	1	2	4				1			3	8	5
Bosnia and Herzegovina	5	4	4	1	1	3	1			1	2	
Kosovo	1	1	1	1	1	1				5	2	5
Moldova		1	3			3			1	3	1	2
Montenegro		1	1								1	1
North Macedonia	1	2		1								2
Serbia	5	6	4	3	2	1		2		3	4	2
	13	17	17	6	4	8	2	2	1	15	18	17

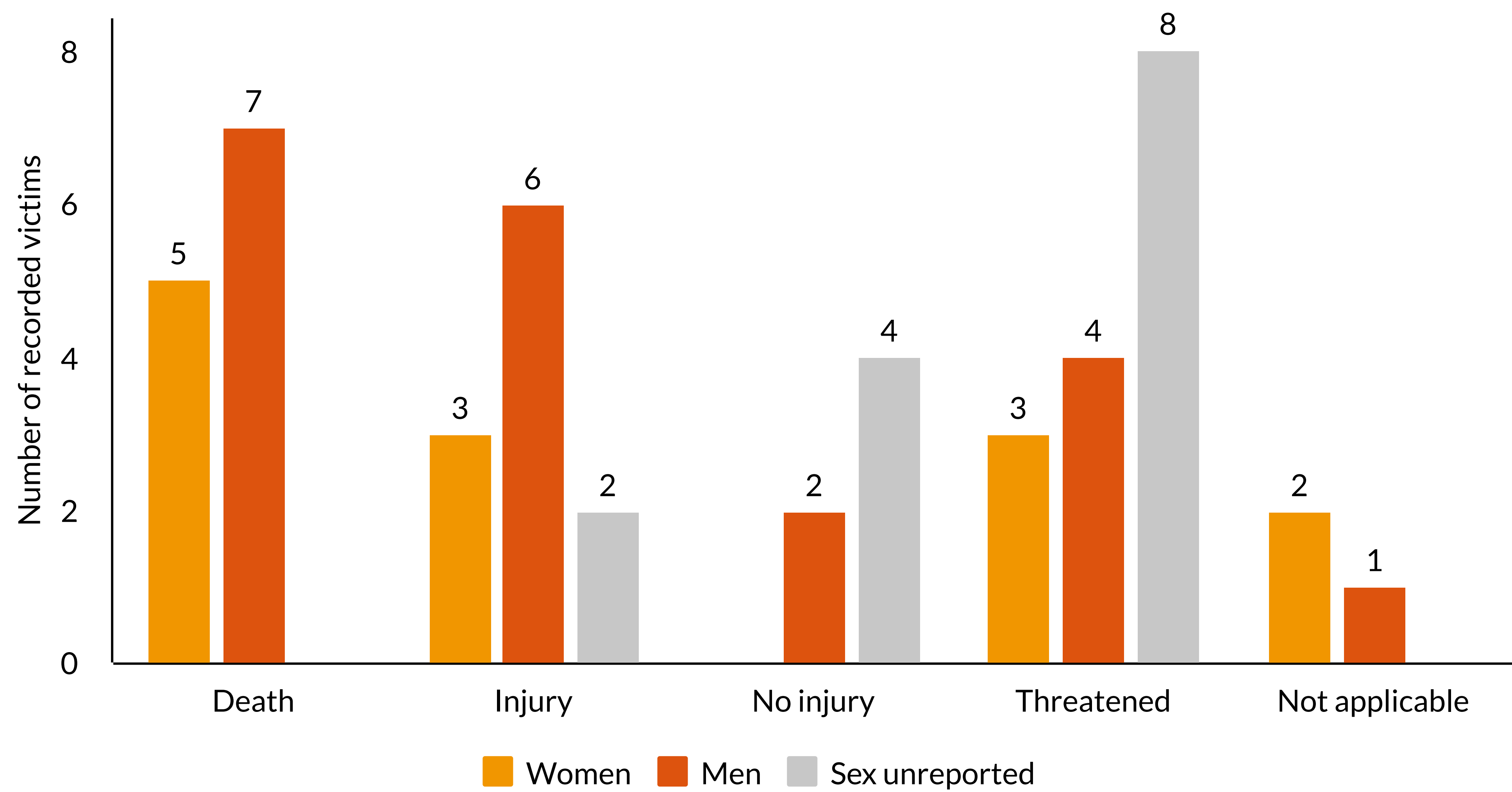
Five men were reported as victims of firearm misuse by their female intimate partners. In 2019, one man was killed (in Serbia), and two were injured (one in Bosnia and Herzegovina and one in Serbia) in the context of intimate partner violence. In 2021, one man was killed, and one was threatened in Kosovo by their female intimate partners. No such victims were reported in 2020.

⁷ Injury refers to all incidents in which an individual sustained an injury due to the use of a weapon.

⁸ No injury refers to all incidents in which a weapon was discharged, but the victim did not sustain a gunshot injury.

The use of firearms in intimate partner violence poses a risk to other family members or persons present during the incident as well, often resulting in a lethal outcome. The AVMP data for 2019-2021, indicates that apart from 144 women and five men victims of intimate partner violence, these cases involved other 47 victims (20 men, 13 women and 14 persons of unknown sex) who were present during the incident. The number of these victims increased more than four times, i.e. from five victims reported in 2019, 20 in 2020 to 22 in 2021.

Outcome for other family members and persons involved in firearm incidents committed by intimate partners, 2019-2021



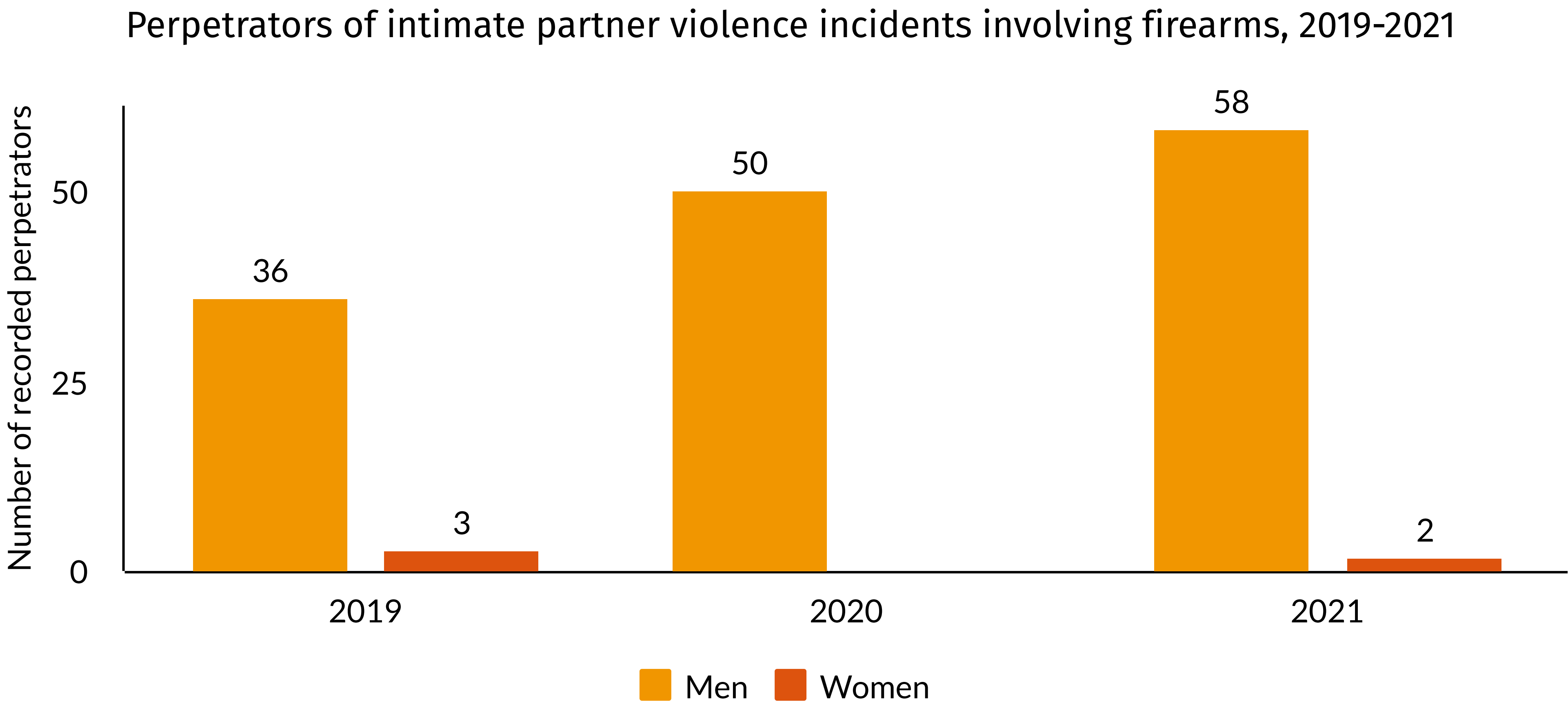
Between 2019 and 2021, Serbia (13), Albania (11) and Moldova (10) reported the highest number of these victims, while other jurisdictions reported fewer than five. The consequences of intimate partner violence were fatal for 12 family members and other persons present during the incident, primarily in 2020 and 2021, given that no fatal outcomes were reported in 2019. While Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Moldova each reported two of these victims, Serbia recorded three. In North Macedonia, one such incident was documented. During the reporting period, 14 people were threatened, mostly in Albania (6). Eleven people were injured, five of whom in Serbia. In three incidents, the weapon was present but not used.

Outcome for other family members and persons involved in firearm incidents committed by intimate partners by year

	Death			Injury			No injury			Threatened		
Location	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021
Albania		2				2					4	2
Bosnia and Herzegovina		1	1	1							1	
Kosovo		2										
Moldova			2			1		1	4	1		1
Montenegro						1						1
North Macedonia		1			1							1
Serbia		1	2	1	1	3	1	1		1	1	
		7	5	2	2	7	1	2	4	2	7	5

5.2 Perpetrators of intimate partner violence involving firearms

In the 2019-2021 period, 144 (98%) men and five (2%) women committed intimate partner incidents involving firearms. When the age was known, 64% of perpetrators were aged 36-60, 21% were 19-35 years old, while 15% were 61 or older.

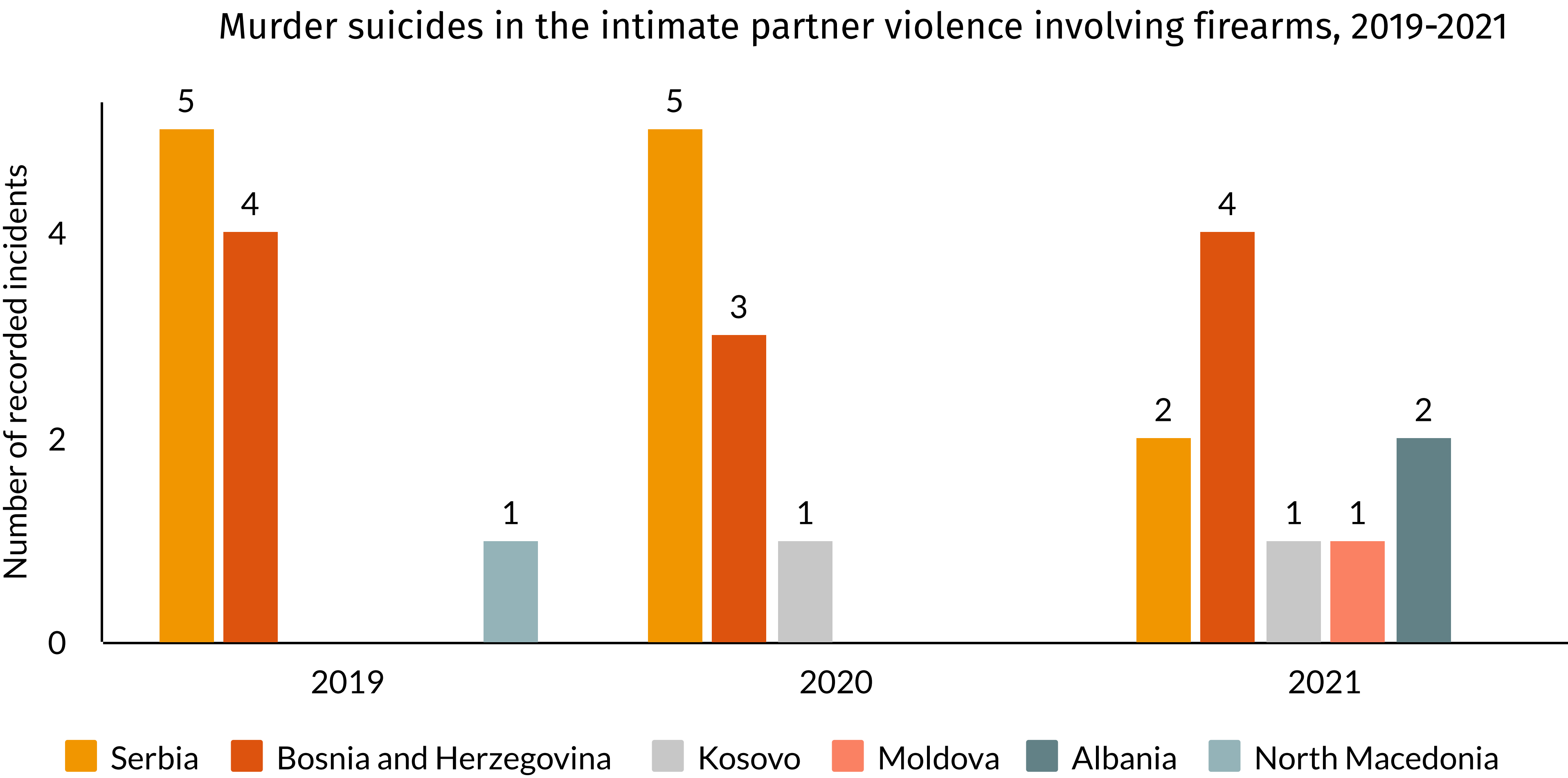


- Intimate partner violence against women was committed by 120 current and 29 former partners from 2019 to 2021.
- The history of domestic violence is rarely reported. Thus, only two men in 2019 and four in 2021 were reported to have previously committed domestic violence, three of whom had also been issued a restraining order as a result of previous domestic violence.
- Over the reporting period, in seven cases the perpetrators were law enforcement officers, six men and one woman. Two such cases were reported in 2019 and 2020, and three in 2021. Prior to the incident, one police officer was suspended from duty due to previous domestic violence.

5.3 Murder suicides in intimate partner violence involving firearms

Intimate partner homicides are often followed by the suicides of perpetrators. From 2019 to 2021, the number of these incidents dropped from 13 in 2019 to ten in 2021. In the said period, there were 32 reported cases of murder suicides, all committed by men after they had killed their female partners. Over the reporting period, Serbia (15) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (12) reported the highest number of these incidents. No such cases were reported in Montenegro.

In addition, three suicide attempts by men following a murder of a female intimate partner were reported in 2019 (one in Bosnia and Herzegovina and two in Serbia), and one in 2020 (in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

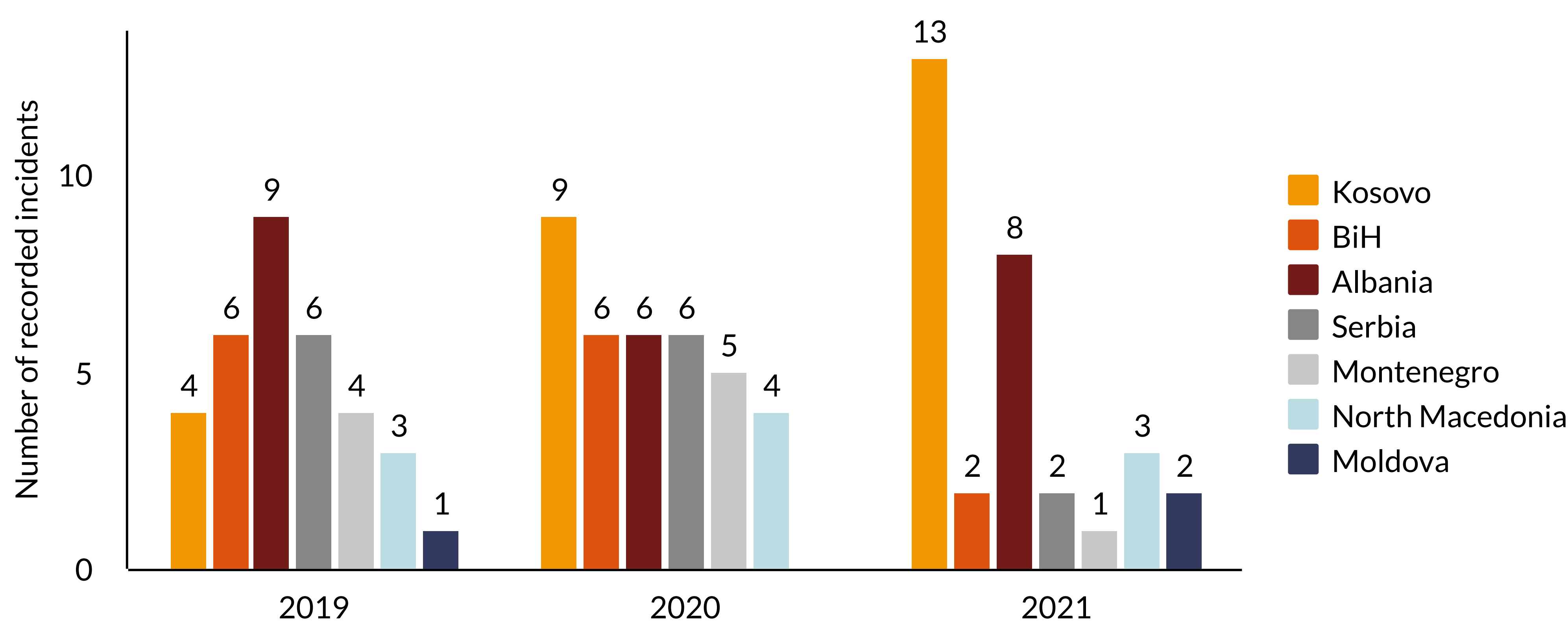


6. Firearm incidents committed by other family members

Domestic violence encompasses incidents committed by other family members in addition to intimate partner violence. Such cases cover occasions in which perpetrators used firearms against members of their nuclear or extended family.

With a total of 100 incidents reported in SEE from 2019 to 2021, the patterns surrounding cases of domestic violence committed by other family members remained largely unchanged. Overall, the highest number of incidents were reported by Kosovo (26), Albania (23), Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, with 14 such cases each. The increase was observed in Kosovo, where the number of incidents more than tripled between 2019 and 2021. While Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia reported declining trends, Albania and North Macedonia reported relatively constant trends.

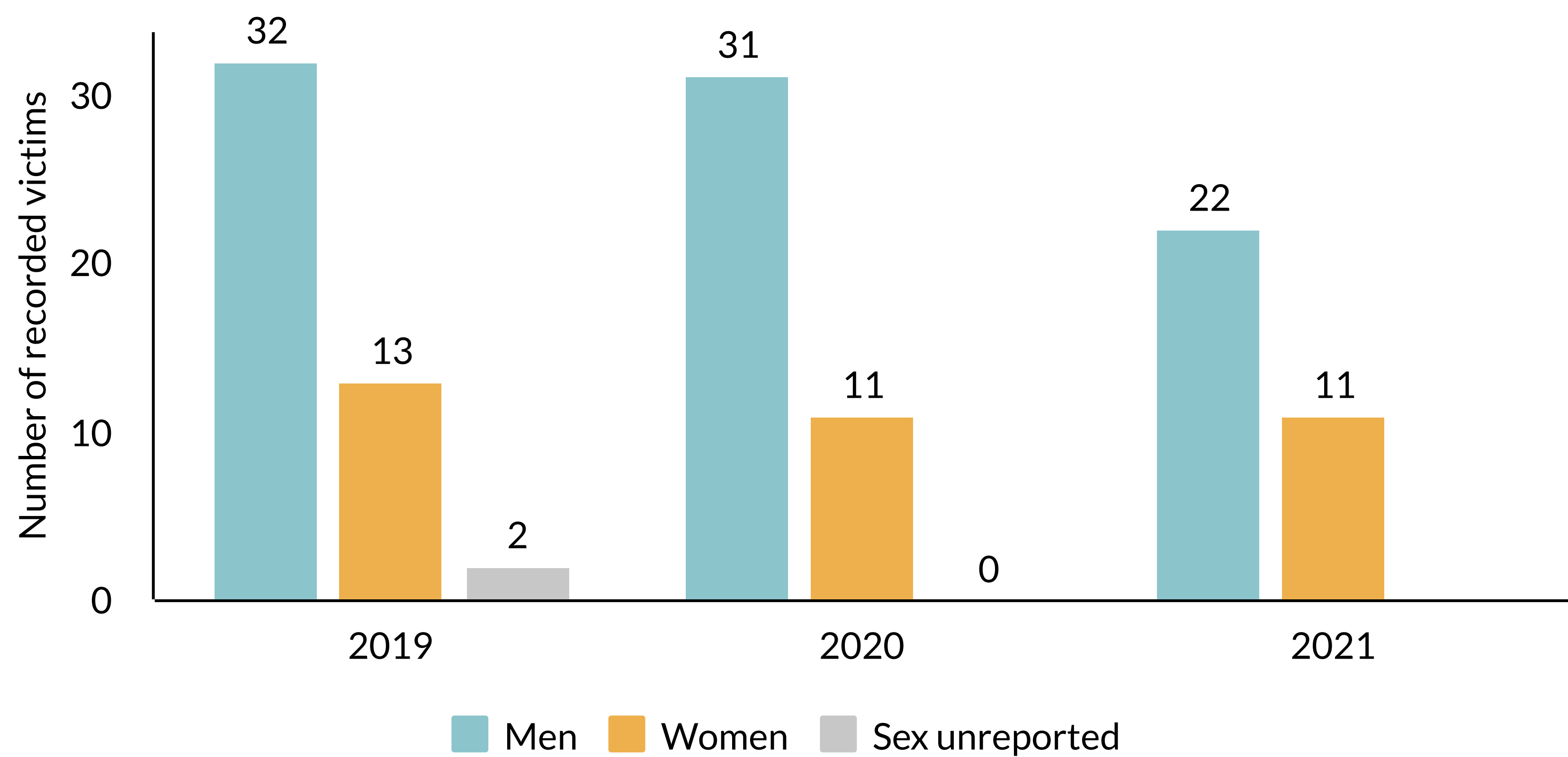
Firearm incidents committed by other family members by jurisdiction and year



6.1 Victims⁹ of firearm incidents by other family members

When it comes to domestic violence committed by other family members, the overall number of men victims clearly outnumbered women victims. As a result, 122 victims were recorded between 2019 and 2021, of whom 85 were men and 35 were women when the sex was known. With 22 men victims reported, the number of men victims fell by 31% in 2021 compared to 2019 and 2020, when it was nearly comparable (32 in 2019 and 31 in 2020). On the other hand, the proportion of women victims remained essentially steady.

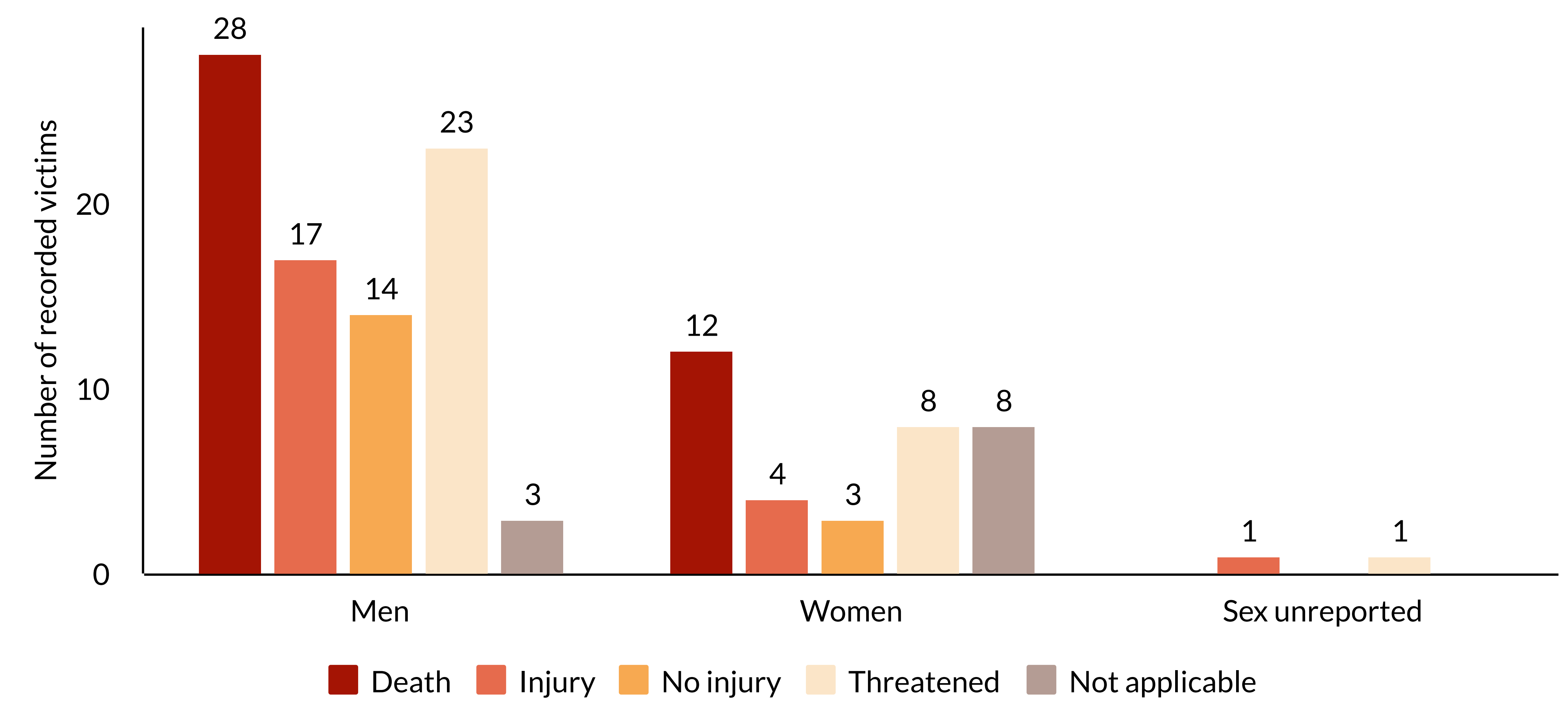
Victims of firearm incidents committed by other family members, 2019-2021



⁸ Victims do not include persons who injured themselves in a suicide attempt after killing their family member, as well as persons who died in murder suicide pattern, i.e. they died by suicide after killing their family member.

In SEE, during 2019-2021, 28 men and 12 women were killed by their family members. Among the injured victims were 17 men, four women and one person of unknown sex. Thirty-two people were threatened, of whom 23 men and eight women when the sex was known. In cases when the perpetrators discharged a firearm in the presence of their family members, 14 men and three women were not injured.

Outcome for victims of firearm incidents committed by other family members, 2019-2021



The number of firearm-related fatalities caused by other family members that were reported in 2019 (15) and 2020 (17) halved in 2021 (8), demonstrating a positive trend. Overall, the highest number of fatalities was reported in Serbia (9), closely followed by Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with eight victims each. Starting in 2020 (3), the number of injured persons was on the decline as well; in 2021, it dropped almost four times (4) compared to 2019 (15). The majority of injured victims were reported by Serbia (6), again closely followed by Albania (5) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (5). However, the number of threatened victims more than doubled from 2019 (6) to 2020 (14). Kosovo reported the highest number of threatened victims (12). In eleven cases, the weapon was present during the incident but was not used or discharged.

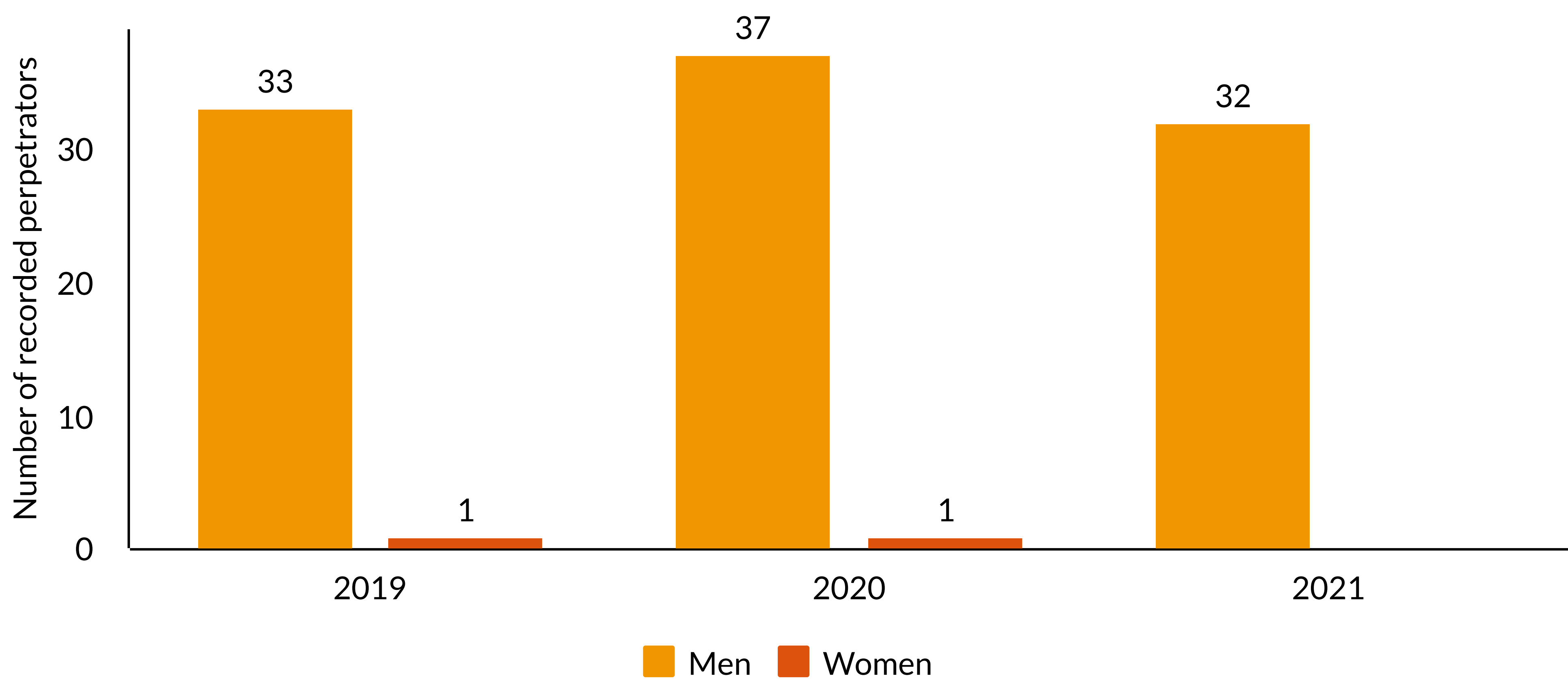
Outcome for victims of firearm incidents committed by other family members, by jurisdiction and year

	Death			Injury			No injury			Threatened		
Location	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021
Albania	3	2	3	1		4	2	2	1	3	3	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4	3	1	5			2	3			1	1
Kosovo		5		1	1				1	1	4	7
Moldova	1		1						2			
Montenegro	2	3	1	2							2	
North Macedonia	1		1	1	1		2	2		2	1	2
Serbia	4	4	1	5	1						3	1
	15	17	8	15	3	4	6	7	4	6	14	12

6.2 Perpetrators of firearm incidents against other family members

In the 2019-2021 period, men (102) accounted for 98% of perpetrators of firearm incidents against their family members compared to 2% of women (2) perpetrators. The age was indicated for 69 perpetrators, nearly 50% of whom were aged 36-60, while almost 30% were 61 or older, and 19% were 19-35 years old. Two perpetrators were under 19 years of age. Out of 100 cases of domestic violence by other family members reported in 2019-2021, 53% were committed by members of the nuclear family, while 40% of cases were committed by members of the extended family. In 7% of cases, the specific information about the relationship between the victim and the perpetrators was unknown.

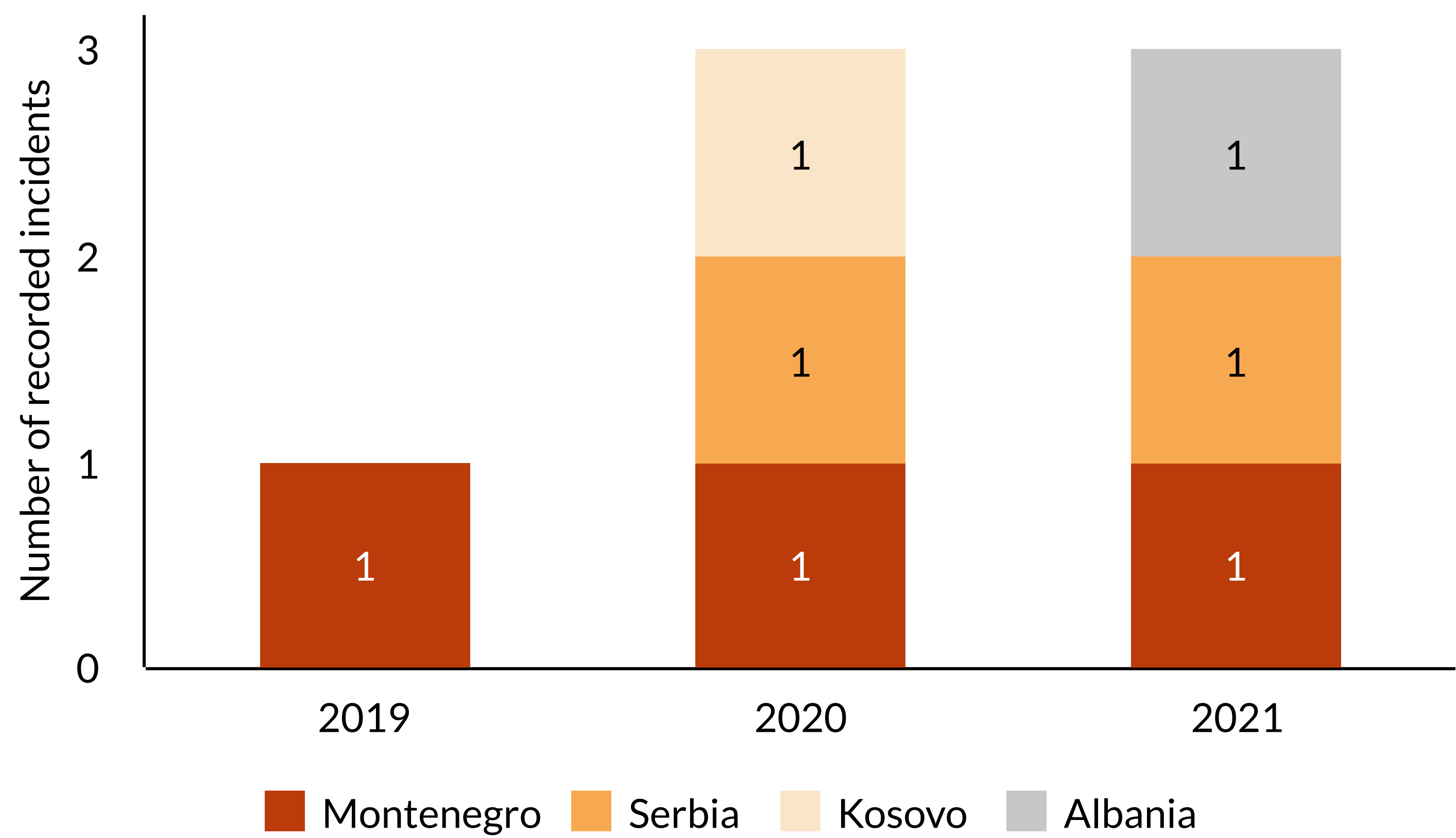
Perpetrators of firearm incidents against family members, 2019-2021



6.3 Murder suicides in firearm incidents against other family members

From 2019 to 2021, a total of seven murder suicides were committed by people who had previously killed one or more members of their families. The number of these incidents rose from one in 2019 to three in 2020 and 2021. The perpetrators of these incidents were six men and one woman. In two cases, the perpetrators were law enforcement officers (a man and a woman). Three perpetrators, all men, were injured in a suicide attempt after killing their family members.

Murder suicides in firearm incidents committed against family members, by year

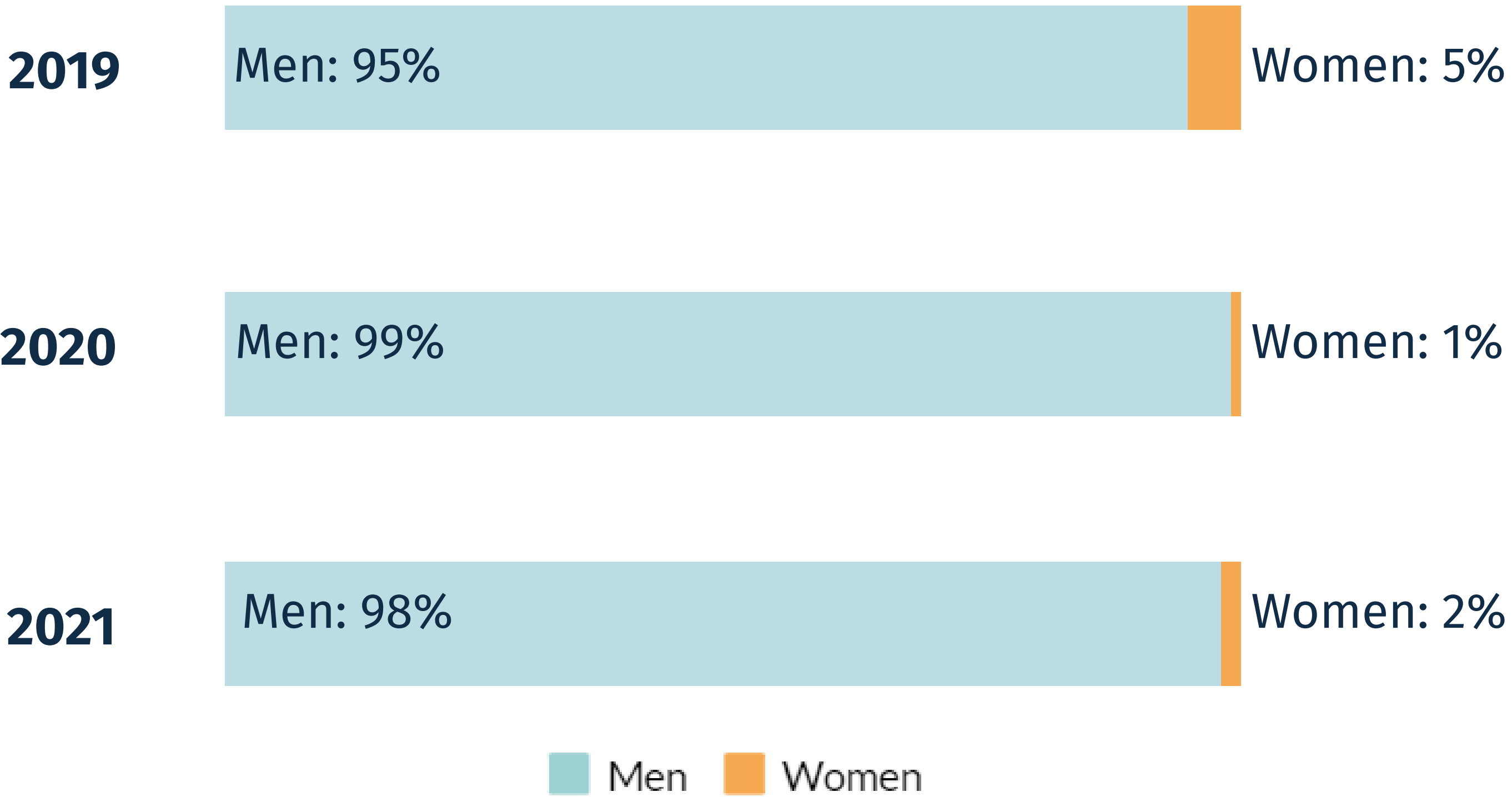


7. Perpetrators

7.1 Sex of perpetrators

Throughout the three-year period observed, men continued to be the predominant perpetrators of domestic violence involving firearms, clearly indicating highly gendered patterns of firearm misuse in the domestic violence setting. Overall, men accounted for 97% of perpetrators compared to 3% of women.

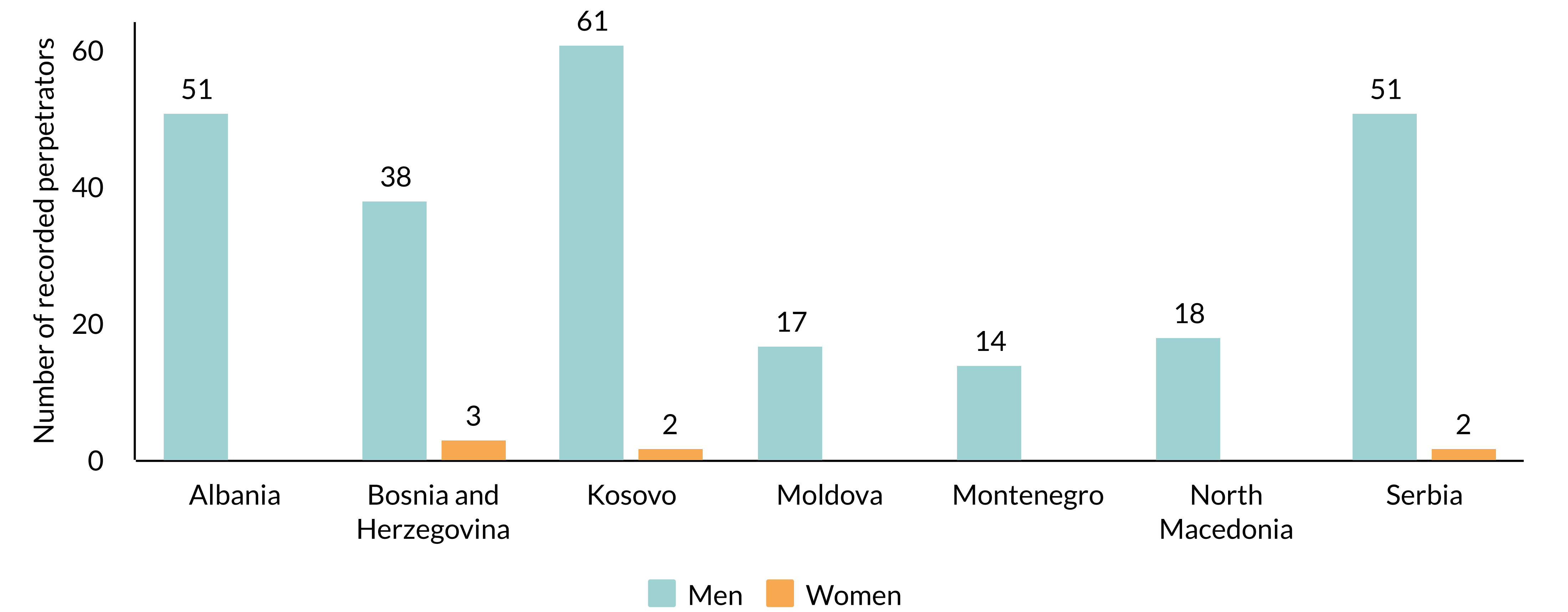
Share of men and women perpetrators, 2019-2021



7.2 Perpetrators in jurisdictions

The gendered pattern of the misuse of firearms in domestic violence incidents was evident in all jurisdictions, with men accounting for most perpetrators. From 2019 to 2021, 249 (97%) men and seven (3%) women committed firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence. Men made up the overwhelming majority of perpetrators both against their intimate partners and other family members. Women perpetrators were reported in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia.

Perpetrators by sex and jurisdiction, 2019-2021



7.3 Age of perpetrators

Out of 256 perpetrators of domestic violence involving firearms reported from 2019 to 2021, the age was specified for 174 (68%) perpetrators indicating that men aged 36-60 (100) most frequently committed domestic violence with firearms. Thirty-five perpetrators were reported among those aged 19 to 35 and those aged 61 and older, while two perpetrators were under 19 years of age. The data shows that a tendency towards misuse of firearms in domestic setting peaks in mature age, especially among men.

Age of perpetrators, 2019-2021

Age	Sex		Total
	Men	Woman	
0-18	2		2
19-35	33	2	35
36-60	100	2	102
61+	35		35
Unknown	79	3	82
Total	249	7	256

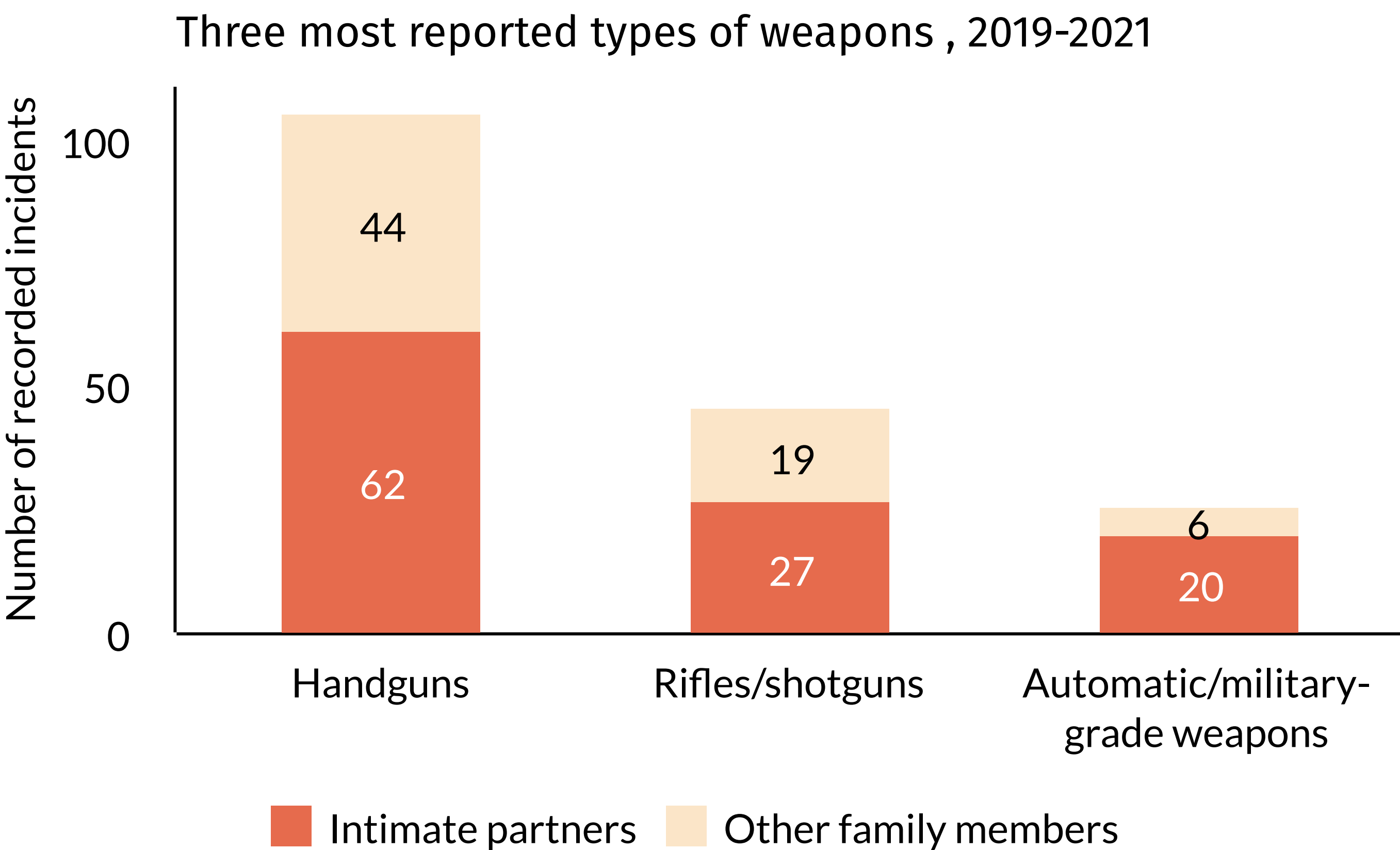
8. Type of weapon

According to the available data for the 2019-2021 period, handguns were the most commonly reported type of weapon, being used in 106 (49%) cases of domestic violence in SEE. In particular, handguns were used in 62 incidents committed by intimate partners and 44 incidents committed by other family members.

Rifles/shotguns ranked second, being used in 46 (21%) cases. Automatic/military-grade weapons were reported in 26 (12%) incidents in domestic settings. All three types of weapons were more frequently used by intimate partners than by other family members.

Explosives were reported in five incidents, while gas pistols were reported in eight cases. Multiple types of SALW were documented in 21 incidents.

In 126 (51%) incidents, law enforcement officers seized the weapon from the perpetrators following the incident.



With 28 reported cases each, Kosovo and Serbia reported the most cases involving handguns over the 2019-2021 period. Rifles/shotguns were mainly reported in Serbia (12 cases) and Albania (11 cases), followed by Moldova (9 cases). With 13 cases, Albania reported the most incidents involving automatic/military-grade weapons, followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina (9 cases).

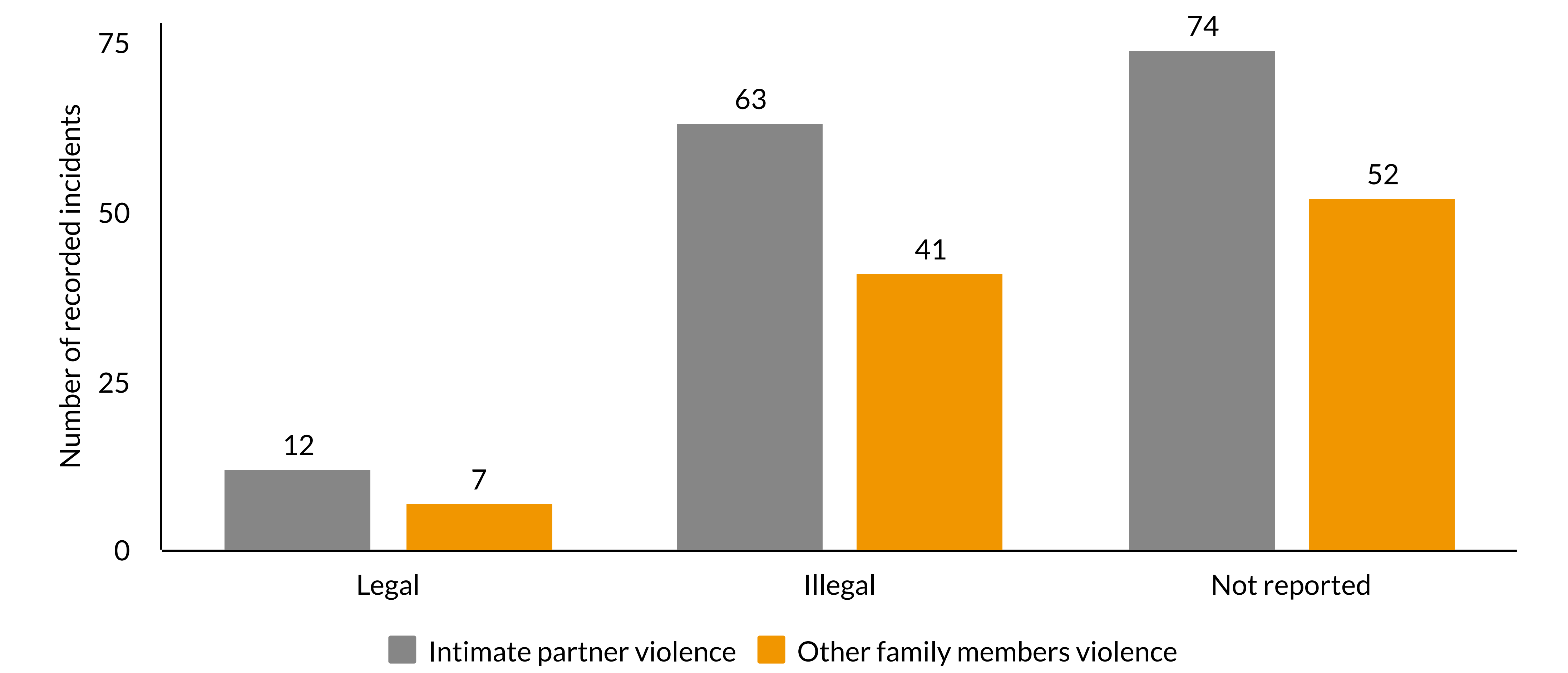
Three most reported types of weapons by jurisdiction and year

Location	Handguns			Rifles / shotguns			Automatic / Military-grade weapons		
	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021
Albania	4	5	4	4	3	4	3	7	3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8	5	4	2	2	2	2	3	2
Kosovo	6	8	14	1	2	2		1	2
Moldova			2	2	1	6			
Montenegro	2	5		1	1				
North Macedonia	5	3	3			1			
Serbia	12	12	4	3	6	3	1	1	1
	37	38	31	13	15	18	6	12	8

8.1 Legal status of weapon possession

In the 2019-2021 period, the status of legal possession of weapons was indicated for 123 (49%) cases. Nineteen cases (15%) involved weapons in legal possession, the majority of which were used in incidents committed by intimate partners. A total of 104 (85%) cases were committed with weapons in illegal possession.

Legal status of weapon possession, 2019-2021



The trend regarding weapons in legal possession was stable from 2019 to 2021, with a modest increase in 2021 (from six cases in 2019 and 2020 to seven in 2021). The weapons in legal possession were mainly handguns (9 cases) and rifles (7 cases). Cases involving weapons in legal possession were primarily reported in Moldova (6 cases), Albania (4 cases), while Kosovo and Serbia reported three each. In the said period, weapons in legal possession were used by five perpetrators who were members of law enforcement agencies.

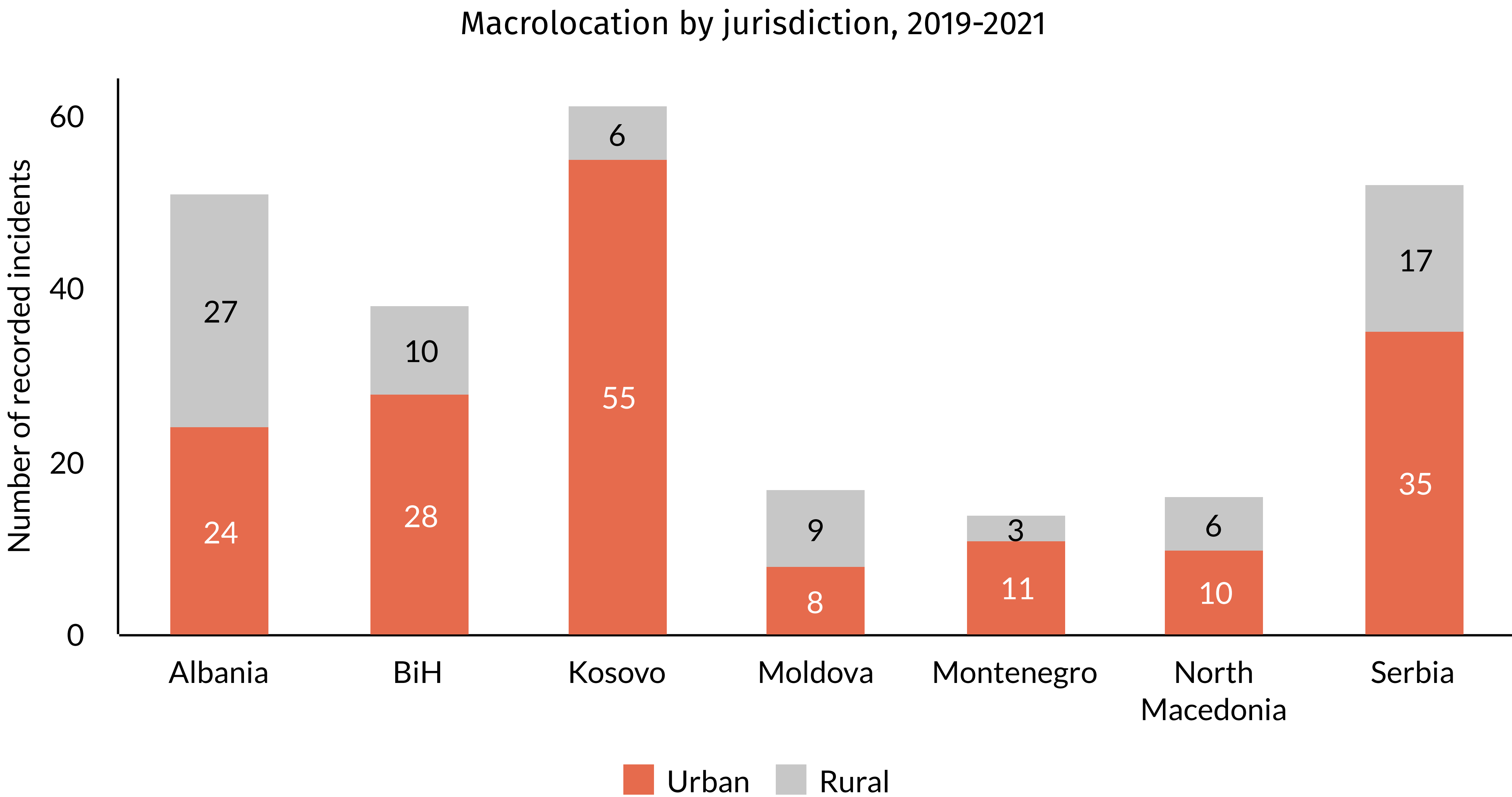
From 2019 to 2021, the number of cases involving illegal weapons rose by 61%. The most reported weapons in illegal possession were handguns (33 cases), and automatic/military-grade weapons (24 cases).

Legal status of weapon possession by jurisdictions and year

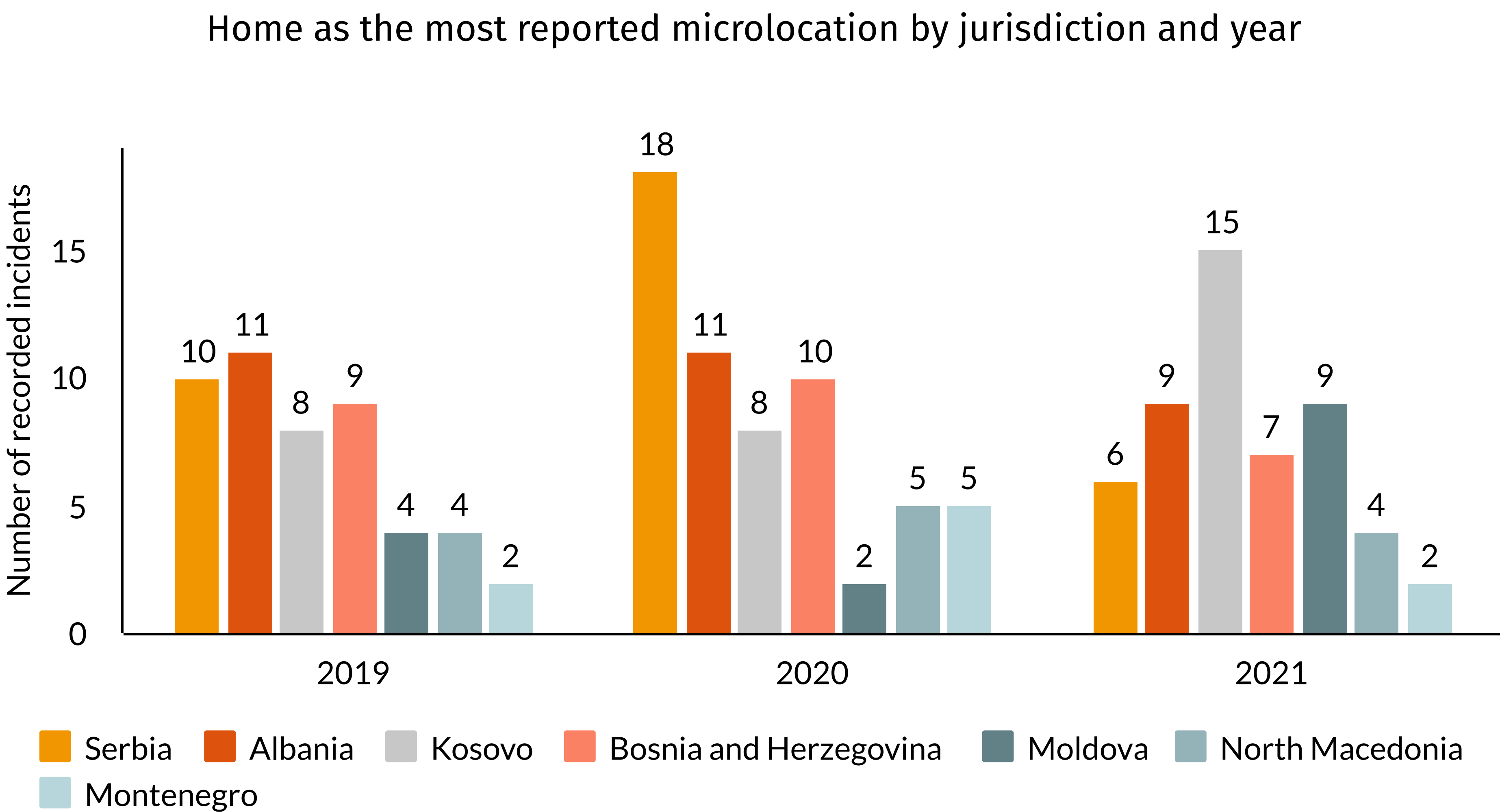
Location	Legal			Illegal			Not reported		
	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021	2019	2020	2021
Albania	2	1	1	10	10	9	2	7	9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1			3	3	3	11	10	3
Kosovo		2	1	8	4	20	3	11	12
Moldova	1	1	4	1	1	7	2		
Montenegro		1	1		1		4	5	2
North Macedonia				1		1	4	6	4
Serbia	2	1		5	12	5	12	10	5
	6	6	7	28	31	45	38	49	39

9. Macro- and micro- location

The AVMP data for the 2019-2021 period indicates that firearm incidents in domestic settings in urban areas (171 or 69%) were more frequently reported than those in rural areas (78 or 31%). The share of incidents in urban area increased over the three-year period, rising from 58% in 2019 to 70% in 2020 to 74% in 2021. This pattern was seen throughout the region, with the exception of Albania and Moldova, where the share of incidents in rural areas somewhat prevailed.



In the 2019-2021 period, the data on microlocation was known for 191 (77%) incidents, of which 159 incidents (83%) occurred at homes. This pattern persisted in all jurisdictions. Over the mentioned period, 13 (7%) incidents took place on the streets, eight (4%) in forest/fields and seven (3%) in public buildings.





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