Small Arms Control
– The Case for Gender Mainstreaming
Experiences from South-East Europe

by Dragan Bozanic

Small arms and gender are intrinsically linked. A rich body of research in South-East Europe has documented how gender norms and roles can, in a complex interplay with other factors, fuel demand for small arms and shape patterns of their misuse. Gender also conditions specific risks that women and men face with respect to small arms misuse, in particular the forms and extent of their exposure to armed violence. On the other hand, widespread availability and misuse of small arms exacerbate existing gender inequalities, both in conflict and non-conflict settings, and reinforce power imbalances between women and men, which is most evident in the context of violence against women. These patterns are remarkably stable and, until recently, policy and the operational response have been weak and have mostly failed to adequately address links between gender and small arms. However, institutions in the Western Balkans, with support from UNDP SEESAC, are increasingly making efforts to mainstream the gender perspective across arms control frameworks, providing a blueprint for more gender-responsive policy solutions and contributing to more resilient communities. Elaborating on such experiences, this brief provides an overview of key evidence which has shaped arms control debates in the region and facilitated making a case for mainstreaming gender in small arms control. The brief further outlines practical strategies for gender mainstreaming and highlights the importance of gender analysis in enhancing the gender responsiveness of arms control. Finally, it discusses policy implications of bringing gender perspectives into arms control policies as well as ways forward.
Context

The large-scale proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons (hereinafter SALW) have been widely recognized as serious threats to international peace and security, fueling instability and negatively affecting overall social and economic development. Furthermore, the widespread availability of illicit SALW and their ammunition is regarded as a key enabler of conflict and endemic crime.

Due to the legacy of armed conflicts or unrest in the 1990s, the Western Balkans continues to face multiple challenges related to illegal possession, misuse, and trafficking of firearms, which could have a destabilizing effect on the situation in the region. In addition, challenges related to small arms control continue to evolve and new threats are emerging, a situation that calls for a holistic and versatile policy and operational approach.

In parallel, long-standing efforts have been undertaken to address those multiple challenges. Since 2002, the United Nations Development Programme, through the South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (UNDP SEESAC, hereinafter SEESAC) and with the support of the European Union, has worked to strengthen the capacities of national and regional stakeholders to control and reduce the proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons, advance gender equality, facilitate regional cooperation and thus contribute to enhanced stability, security and development in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. Within its mandate, SEESAC provides institutions with 360-degree support ranging from weapons destruction, security upgrades of storages and stockpile management, marking, tracing and record-keeping of weapons, support for policy development, awareness-raising campaigns for reducing illicit possession and misuse of firearms, and research and data collection.

In the past decade, considerable progress has been achieved by the region in establishing legal, policy and institutional frameworks for SALW control. For instance, SALW commissions as interinstitutional bodies in charge of policymaking and overall coordination of arms control implementation were established across the region. Most recently, authorities adopted the Roadmap for a Sustainable Solution to Arms Control in the Western Balkans. The Roadmap envisages the Western Balkans as a safer region and an exporter of security where comprehensive and sustainable mechanisms, fully harmonized with the European Union and other international standards, are in place to identify, prevent, prosecute and control the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of firearms, ammunition and explosives. The Roadmap was developed with SEESAC’s technical support under the auspices of France and Germany and in consultation with the EU and all other relevant actors. The Roadmap places special importance on gender equality and calls for full integration of the gender perspective and balanced representation of women into SALW control. With respect to implementation, the Roadmap is operationalized through action plans developed and adopted in each jurisdiction in the Western Balkans.

Gendered nature of firearms

The growing body of research has provided extensive evidence of the highly gendered nature of firearms and has documented multiple manners in which gender and firearms intersect. The available data indicates that gendered aspects of firearms can be tracked in terms of ownership of firearms, including the links between masculine norms and demand for firearms, the differentiated impacts of firearms misuse on women and men, the role of firearms in gender-based violence and violence against women, differences in experiences and attitudes towards firearms, and gendered nature of policymaking process and debate.

As documented by several research studies conducted by SEESAC, the specific situation in the region closely follows those gendered patterns.

1. **Firearms ownership is highly gendered.** In South-East Europe (hereinafter referred to as SEE), men own 97.2% of all legally owned firearms, compared to 2.8% owned by women. In 2016 alone, 81,372 men and 2,037 women (97.6% and 2.4%, respectively) acquired new licenses, which further perpetuates men’s dominance in this regard. Gender differences are, to a certain extent, also reflected in attitudes towards firearms ownership. Data from a regional survey conducted in 2017 revealed that...
men are two times more likely than women to say they would own a gun, at 35.3% and 18.7%, respectively. This particularly holds true for men from the youngest and oldest age groups, who are more inclined to own a firearm than men from other age groups. With respect to women, it should be noted that while a significant share of women said they would own a gun, they accounted for only a minor share of actual applicants for new licenses.

**Figure 1: Firearms ownership in SEE, by sex, 2016**

![Chart showing firearms ownership by sex in SEE, 2016. Men account for 97.2% ownership, while women account for 2.8%. Source: SEESAC, 2019]

Men were also more likely than women to invoke tradition as a key reason for owning a firearm, which could be, to a certain extent, connected with the traditional perception of manhood in which firearms have a special appeal or could have even played a role in rites of passage.10

Due to such distinctly gendered patterns of demand for firearms, it has been noted that it is necessary to explore both the notions of masculinity and the role of guns in male culture and to develop practical strategies to decouple them.11 Furthermore, it was argued that the extent to which firearms define the gender construct of masculinity would affect SALW control work.12

3. **Patterns of armed violence are highly gendered, and such violence is predominantly committed by men.** In 2020, men accounted for 98% of perpetrators of firearm-related incidents, confirming previously documented patterns. Armed violence committed by men is also age-related, and young men are more likely to misuse firearms than men from any other age group. In 2020 alone, men aged 19 to 35 years accounted for just under one-half (48.7%) of all perpetrators of firearm-related incidents. With regards to the context of firearms misuse, men most often misused them in criminal activities or in a public dispute or argument, at 42.7% and 26.6%, respectively.

**Figure 2: Perpetrators of firearm-related incidents in SEE, by sex, 2016**

![Chart showing perpetrators of firearm-related incidents by sex in SEE, 2016. Men account for 98.5% of perpetrators, while women account for 1.5%. Source: SEESAC, 2019]

4. **Effects of firearms on women and men are gender-differentiated.** Men are significantly more likely than women to fall victim to firearm misuse. In SEE, they account for 83.8% of victims of firearm homicide, compared to 16.2% for women.14 Apart from different distribution among victims, there is also an apparent discrepancy in patterns of women’s and men’s victimization within the context of firearm-related violence.
5. **Armed violence against men primarily happens in criminal contexts, public disputes and undetermined shootings.** A recent analysis has indicated that of all men killed with firearms in SEE, 31% were killed in shootings in which the cause was unidentified, pending further investigation; 27.2% were killed in criminal contexts related to organized crime activities, armed robberies, etc.; 25.2% were killed in public disputes; and 16.5% were killed by a male family member.

6. **Women account for the majority of victims of firearm-related violence in the domestic violence context.** While men are more likely to misuse firearms than to fall victim to them, women are 10 times more likely to be victims than perpetrators of firearm incidents. Such disproportionate representation of women among victims of armed violence is primarily related to the use of firearms in domestic and intimate partner violence. Previous research conducted by SEESAC documented that homicide committed by a family member is the most common form of femicide in SEE and that women, unlike men, are at particular risk of intimate partner violence (Figure 4). Firearms are often weapons of choice in domestic violence contexts. In the period from 2012 to 2016, 37.7% of homicides committed by a family member were committed with firearms. 36.5% of women killed by a family member were killed with firearms, as were 43.5% of women killed by an intimate partner. According to SEESAC’s Armed Violence Monitoring Platform, 23 women were killed by their family members in 2020—four more than in 2019, indicating how the specific conditions of the pandemic likely increased the risk to women from firearm misuse in the domestic violence context and, ultimately, its lethality.
Recent analysis has also shown that firearm incidents in the context of domestic violence were the cause of the highest number of firearms deaths in 2020, outnumbering those reported in all other types of incidents, including criminal context, public disputes and undetermined shootings. In the same year, 92% of all women killed with firearms in SEE were killed in the context of domestic violence, with 65% killed by intimate partners. No men were killed with firearms by their intimate partners in the same period. Despite the apparent use of firearms in domestic violence, scarce data indicate that the misuse of firearms in domestic violence often goes unreported to the relevant institutions, and the history of domestic violence is only sporadically invoked as a ground for rejection of approval of firearm license.

7. **Firearm suicides are highly gendered.** In the period 2012–2016 in SEE, men made up 84.7% of people who died by firearm suicide, compared to 15.3% for women. Fifteen murder-suicides occurred in 2020, which, in the majority of cases, occurred in the domestic violence context, involving family members and intimate partners as victims, and were predominantly committed by men.

![Figure 5: Gender differentiated patterns related to small arms in South East Europe](image)

Starting point—Gender-blind arms control

Despite those highly gendered aspects of small arms, the dominant approach in arms control until recently tended to be gender-blind, failing to adequately respond to the highly gendered nature of firearms. The SEESAC’s research from 2016 extensively documented that gender perspectives had not been integrated into arms control and that gender considerations were rarely a part of prevailing arms control debates in the region. Consequently, gender was severely underprioritized and not considered an essential part of arms control policy development. On a practical level, relevant policies failed to recognize linkages between armed violence and gender-based violence, the differentiated impact of firearms on women and men, as well as the role of gendered factors, including specific notions of masculinity, in fuelling demand and misuse of firearms. A gender-blind approach to a highly gendered phenomenon such as firearms misuse cannot adequately address the challenges at hand and negatively affects the effectiveness of operational measures to curb and prevent armed violence. Such effect was documented by persistent trends of femicides committed with firearms and also young men’s exposure to armed violence—both as perpetrators and victims. Furthermore, the gendered risks associated with small arms become even more difficult to address due to their interaction with other risks, such as evolving forms of gender-based violence.
The same research identified the factors impeding gender mainstreaming in arms control. For instance, arms control policies have often been developed in an institutional setting dominated by men, while women, gender equality agencies and women’s organizations that could contribute to gender-responsive solutions are severely underrepresented. Furthermore, insufficient knowledge and low awareness among decision- and policymakers about the gendered aspects of small arms can further hinder the integration of the gender perspective. This was exacerbated by the lack of sex-disaggregated data and the underuse of gender analysis in policy development.

Reversing the trends—Practical strategies for mainstreaming gender in small arms control

Building on such an extensive evidence base, SEESAC, in cooperation with SALW commissions in the region, undertook a comprehensive set of activities to reverse those trends and address identified challenges by bringing the gender perspective to the core of policymaking.

The holistic approach taken to enhancing gender responsiveness of SALW control measures in SEE is based on four interconnected pillars:

1. **Building capacities of institutions in charge of arms control to mainstream gender in their work**

   To facilitate the establishment of enabling institutional environments for gender-responsive policymaking, a wide range of impactful capacity-building activities were initiated. To this end, the Gender Coach Programme (GCP) was launched to strengthen the capacities of heads of SALW commissions to integrate the gender perspective into SALW control policymaking. The GCP aims to boost the gender responsiveness of institutions by developing competencies and fostering commitment among the senior management. The implementation of the GCP in South-East Europe has demonstrated its transformative potential. Participants have initiated a wide range of gender-related activities and advocated for the integration of gender-responsive measures in SALW control strategies. In addition, bespoke training courses on gender and SALW for the representatives of SALW commissions have further facilitated gender mainstreaming.

2. **Research and data collection**

   Research and data collection exercises by the region are grounded in gender-sensitive methodologies, contributing, thus, to increased availability of gender statistics and greater visibility of the gender dimension of arms control. Such a wide range of knowledge products, which include SALW Surveys, Gender and Small Arms: Fast Facts series and In Focus Armed Violence Monitors, provide an extensive evidence base which serves as a basis for arms control policy development. Within the framework of a broader development agenda, such a body of research also provides insight into linkages between the gender dimension of arms control and the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly SDG 5 on gender equality and SDG 16 on peace, justice and strong institutions.

3. **Increasing participation of women in arms control policymaking**

   Continuous efforts have been made to ensure the balanced representation and active participation of women across arms control, with a specific focus on capacity-building initiatives and increasing women’s expertise in a field traditionally dominated by men. This builds on SEESAC’s long-standing efforts to increase women’s participation in the security sector. In addition, pioneering efforts have been initiated to support the establishment of the cooperation between SALW commissions, gender equality agencies and women’s NGOs.

4. **Raising awareness about links between gender and small arms**

   Targeted campaigns have contributed to increased awareness about gendered aspects of firearms misuse and their adverse effects on both women and men. A recent example includes a campaign aiming to address linkages between masculine norms and firearms and call on men to put a stop to harmful firearm-related practices. In addition, the network of women journalists is raising awareness of the pervasiveness of the use of firearms in domestic violence.
Changing policy landscape—Towards gender-responsive arms control

In 2021, SEESAC, in cooperation with SALW commissions in the region, conducted a large-scale gender analysis of small arms control legislation and policies. In five Western Balkans jurisdictions, a total of 101 laws, 113 bylaws and 39 strategies and action plans were screened to assess their gender responsiveness and inform hands-on recommendations to adequately address risks women and men face with regard to firearms. To that end, a bespoke methodology for gender analysis of relevant legislation and policies was developed. The gender responsiveness of the legislation was assessed according to the main gender concerns related to small arms:

- legislative and policy preconditions for the integration of the gender perspective in small arms control policies and legislation;
- the participation and representation of women in arms control policy/legislation development and implementation;
- links between firearms and domestic violence and violence against women;
- responses to gendered aspects of firearms demand, use and misuse—including connections between specific forms of masculinity and firearms;
- gender-sensitive data collection and record-keeping practices.

The analysis documented significant progress achieved by the institutions in the Western Balkans in integrating the gender perspective into small arms control policies as a result of the abovementioned activities. This has been particularly the case with recently adopted strategies and action plans for the implementation of the Roadmap, which foresee multiple measures to:

- address linkages between firearms and domestic violence;
- respond to gendered aspects of firearm demand, use and misuse—including linkages between socially dominant masculine norms and firearms;
- increase participation and representation of women in arms control;
- further build institutional capacities for gender mainstreaming and improve gender-sensitive data collection and record-keeping.

In addition, there have been noticeable efforts to ensure that weapons laws effectively prevent that firearms are used in the context of domestic violence, alongside the progress in establishing legislative and policy frameworks for eliminating domestic violence. The analysis also identified that these frameworks are not necessarily always coherent, and gaps in their practical operationalization were identified. The analysis extensively mapped legislative and policy preconditions for gender mainstreaming and participation of women in small arms control. In addition, existing record-keeping practices were analysed to identify entry points for gender-sensitive data collection.

The analysis resulted in a wide range of recommendations on how to strengthen the response to gendered aspects of firearms through legislative and policy actions, particularly related to the prevention of the use of firearms in domestic violence. The findings and accompanying recommendations have already been used in ongoing revisions of SALW control strategies and action plans in the Western Balkans.
Policy implications—How gender mainstreaming enhances small arms control and contributes to community resilience

Developments in SEE have documented that the integration of the gender perspective in arms control has significant policy implications, such as:

1. **It broadens the scope of the arms control agenda.** Mainstreaming gender in small arms control policies makes a strong case for the integration of issues that traditionally have not been part of small arms control debates, such as gender-based violence, masculinities or participation of women in arms control. The new generation of SALW control strategies developed across the Western Balkans is a notable example of such a trend.

2. **It exposes the highly gendered nature of armed violence, both in terms of root causes of violence, their forms, dynamics, perpetrators and victims.** Consequently, gender mainstreaming calls for action and highlights the necessity of addressing gendered aspects of armed violence as a precondition for any effective small arms control.

3. **It sheds light on the interconnectedness between violence against women and armed violence.** Bringing gender considerations into arms control debates highlights the adverse effects of firearms proliferation on the safety and well-being of women and documents how firearms reinforce power imbalances between women and men, particularly in the context of domestic violence. Additionally, it calls for greater coherence between arms control measures and efforts aimed at eliminating domestic violence.

4. **It highlights the necessity of addressing the wider context of gender norms and roles, particularly specific notions of masculinity in the context of the prevention of armed violence and reduction of demand for firearms.** In doing so, it makes a strong case for effective and targeted prevention programs, especially those focusing on young men.

5. **It calls for increased participation of women, gender equality agencies and women’s organizations in arms control policymaking and developments.** Integrating a gender perspective in small arms control recognizes that small arms control usually takes place in institutions heavily dominated by men, which could affect policy outcomes. In addition, it acknowledges the important contributions of women in SALW control efforts and underlines the balanced representation of women and men as a precondition for gender-responsive arms control. In doing so, it also contributes to wider gender equality commitments which consider women’s full and meaningful participation in all avenues of social life as a prerequisite for gender equality and overall development.

6. **It facilitates convergence between small arms control and gender equality frameworks, particularly the Women, Peace and Security agenda.** As noted, disarmament and arms control converge with the Women, Peace and Security agenda on all its four interconnected pillars, namely participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery. Furthermore, mainstreaming gender in arms control strengthens the nexus between gender, security and development, and reinforces the practical convergence between SDG 5 on gender equality (in particular, target 5.2 on the elimination of violence against women, target 5.5 on women’s full and effective participation) and SDG 16 on peace, justice and strong institutions (especially target 16.4 on significantly reducing illicit financial and arms flow).

7. **Finally, it enhances a comprehensive and holistic approach to arms control in which gender equality is not just an add-on but the essential piece which has to be fully considered for arms control efforts to be effective and contribute to sustained peace.** As previously noted, integration of the gender perspective in arms control adds a new dimension to the understanding of the problem, which usually goes unnoticed, although it significantly affects the efficiency of interventions. In doing so, it both increases the safety and well-being of women and men and provides tools and actions to make communities more resilient in the face of the devastating effects of armed violence.
Challenges and ways forward

While the abovementioned analysis has documented significant progress achieved at the legislative and policy level in gender mainstreaming in arms control in the Western Balkans, it has also revealed challenges faced in the implementation of the existing commitments. The analysis has pointed out that despite the growing importance attached to gender mainstreaming in arms control—particularly at the policy level—institutions often struggle to translate such commitments in practice and integrate a gender perspective into their daily operations. In that regard, future efforts should particularly support institutions in mainstreaming gender at the operational level and therefore convincingly demonstrate the practical value it adds to arms control efforts. Such actions have already been initiated in the Western Balkans24 and include, for instance, the development of practical tools for gender-sensitive firearm license approval and of procedures to adequately assess risks and prevent the use of firearms in domestic violence. To further enhance operational gender mainstreaming, guidelines for gender-sensitive data collection and analysis for firearm focal points25 will be prepared and accompanied by appropriate training. In addition, practical strategies for sustainable gender mainstreaming in arms control will be further explored and discussed with policymakers and decision-makers.

In doing so, it is also necessary to further enhance the implementation of practical gender mainstreaming strategies and the exchange of good practices26 that have already proven their worth and facilitated positive developments. This particularly relates to capacity building of senior leadership and representatives of relevant institutions through training, enhancing data collection and research to ensure that an evidence base for policymaking is in place. Furthermore, persistent efforts must be made so that women’s voices are adequately heard when policy options are developed.

Existing tools for gender analysis of relevant legislation and policies provide valuable guidance for monitoring and evaluation of progress. Last but not least, it is necessary to ensure continuous cooperation and exchange between gender equality and arms control communities, particularly enhancing synergy with the Women, Peace and Security agenda, which should practically facilitate the integration of a gender perspective into small arms control.
Endnotes

1 Dragan Bozanic is a Gender and Research Project Officer with UNDP SEESAC, email: dragan.bozanic@undp.org. Acknowledgments: The author would like to thank Diego Antonio Policy Specialist Gender, Governance and Recovery, UNDP Bureau for Policy and Programme Support, Leanne McKay, Senior Justice Advisor, UNDP Crisis Bureau, Juliana Buzi, Regional Cooperation Specialist, UNDP SEESAC, and Vesna Cyrus, Senior Gender Adviser, UNDP SEESAC, for their review and helpful comments to this brief.

2 A small arm refers to any man-portable lethal weapon designed for individual use that expels or launches, is designed to expel or launch, or may be readily converted to expel or launch a shot, bullet, or projectile by the action of an explosive. Includes, inter alia, revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns, as well as their parts, components, and ammunition. Modular Small-arms-control Compendium, Mosaic 01.20, Version 1.5, 2018-04-30. p.23.

In this brief, the terms small arms and firearms are used interchangeably.


6 A National SALW Commission is a national inter-agency body that is responsible for policy development, coordination, implementation and monitoring of efforts to address all SALW-related issues within a national territory. Depending on the region and process, National SALW Commissions are also called National Focal Points (NFP), National SALW Coordination Committees and/or SALW Coordination Agencies. UNDP, 2008, How to guide—The establishment and functioning of national small arms and light weapons commissions, p. 2.


9 This section is based on UNDP SEESAC, 2019, Men and firearms in South East Europe.

10 UNDP SEESAC, 2006, The rifle has the devil inside—Gun culture in South Eastern Europe, Belgrade, p. 25.

11 Cuikier, Wendy and James Cairns, 2009, p. 29.

12 UNDP SEESAC, 2006, The rifle has the devil inside—Gun culture in South Eastern Europe, Belgrade, p 23.

13 UNDP SEESAC, 2021, Perpetrators of firearms incidents in South East Europe in 2020, In Focus Armed Violence Monitor (Issue No. 4).

14 Men and firearms in South East Europe, p. 31


17 UNDP SEESAC, Firearms incidents in the context of domestic violence in South East Europe in 2020, p. 6.

18 Men and firearms in South East Europe, p. 37.

19 UNDP SEESAC, 2016, Gender and SALW in South East Europe—Main concerns and policy response.


21 More details available at Strengthening of Regional Cooperation on Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans and Gender Equality in Policing.

22 UNODA, Training manual on gender-mainstreaming small arms control (upcoming).

23 UNODA, Gender and SALW Control—Legislative and policy frameworks in SEE.


25 For more details on firearms focal points, please see UNDP SEESAC, 2020, Guidelines on establishing a firearms focal point.

26 In 2020, SEESAC partnered with United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) and delivered a comprehensive coaching programme on mainstreaming gender in small arms control to the staff of the United Nations Regional Disarmament Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and Pacific (UNRCPD), United Nations Regional Disarmament Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC), and United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNLIREC).