



United Nations  
Development Programme

## ***A Real and Persistent Danger: Assessing Armed Violence in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe***



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## I. Introduction

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Armed violence represents a threat to development in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe. Although the risks, scale and distribution of armed violence are highly variable across all three regions, its severity and duration are in many ways a legacy of war. Specifically, many countries in the South-Eastern region (particularly the Balkans) were affected by chronic violence during the 1990s.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, certain republics in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus suffered from armed conflicts between competing regions and ethnic groups following the break-up of the Soviet Union. These regions continue to experience above-average rates of violence.<sup>2</sup> Although most countries across all three regions have witnessed real and relative declines in the incidence of armed violence over the past decade, insecurity persists.

The costs of armed violence in all three regions extend well beyond lives lost. In virtually every country reviewed in this Briefing Paper, intense armed violence contributed to a decade-old legacy of population displacement, an abundance of (military- and civilian-style) firearms and unexploded ordnance, lingering political and economic uncertainty and the emergence and consolidation of transnational organized crime. These trends represent major risk factors for the onset of renewed armed violence. As such, they are serious policy and programming challenges for affected countries, development agencies and populations in all three regions.

This Briefing Paper provides a general overview of the scale and distribution of armed violence in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe and its implications for development. First, in order to highlight the **human costs of armed violence**, this paper reviews trends in non-conflict armed violence, direct and indirect conflict deaths and victimization and displacement and violence against women. Second, it evaluates the recurrent **risk factors** that can potentially escalate the outbreak of severe violence in all three regions, including the unregulated trade and trafficking in arms, organized crime, identity politics, blood feuds and localized customary practices that condone gun use and socio-economic inequalities. Finally, it offers a typology of **different types of violence prevention and reduction interventions** underway in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe.

Key findings of the Briefing Paper are:

- **Homicide rates for all three regions tend to be slightly below the global average.** The average annual homicide rate across all three regions is roughly 4.9 per 100,000 people compared to the global average of 7.6 per 100,000 in 2004. While there are some exceptions, homicide rates for most countries appear to be decreasing over time, particularly in comparison to the war years.
- **Homicide represents a greater risk to civilians than killings arising from armed conflict.** In fact, fewer than 2,000 direct conflict deaths were reported for all three regions combined in 2005, the latest year for which data are available.
- **Conflict-related violence has contributed to protracted population displacement.** After more than a decade since the major wars in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe, more than 1.1 million refugees and 2.1 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) are unable to return home, contributing to lost productivity.

- **Civilian arms possession rates—particularly in South-Eastern Europe—are comparatively high.** Although the comparatively high rates of civilian firearms possession have not been correlated to higher homicide rates for most of the countries under review, high rates of civilian possession nevertheless present a significant risk factor for armed violence in the region.
- **Improperly stored ammunition and weapons surplus pose risks to a population's health and national security.** Many South-Eastern and Eastern European countries lack trained personnel and financial resources to undertake sustained and effective stockpile management and surplus destruction. In some cases, leftover weapons leak back into civilian circulation and on to war-torn areas.
- **Many interventions have been designed to directly and indirectly prevent and reduce armed violence throughout the regions.** Direct interventions—such as law enforcement-led searches and seizures, voluntary small arms and light weapons control initiatives, awareness raising, rule of law and security sector reform, transitional justice measures and community safety initiatives—are widespread, many undertaken with support from multilateral and bilateral partners. There are fewer concrete examples of initiatives that provide for victim assistance.
- **There is a need to develop more comprehensive approaches to armed violence prevention and reduction (AVR).** There are comparatively few examples of coordinated programming within and between countries in the three regions. A number of examples of good practice are emerging—the UN Development Programme's Croatia Arms Control and Security Project is a case in point.
- **Comprehensive and integrated approaches to AVR in all three regions are feasible.** With adequate incentives—including the prospect of membership in international entities such as the European Union (EU) or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—states can be encouraged to adopt a more proactive approach. Meanwhile, regional mechanisms such as the Regional Co-operation Council in South-Eastern Europe can enhance cooperation.

## II. Reviewing armed violence trends in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe

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There is no internationally agreed definition of armed violence. For the purposes of this Briefing Paper, armed violence includes:

**the intentional use of illegitimate force (actual or threatened) with arms or explosives, against a person, group, community, or state, that undermines people-centered security and/or sustainable development.**<sup>3</sup>

In analysing armed violence, it is useful to distinguish between conflict and non-conflict contexts. Non-conflict violence includes homicide and victimization arising from criminal, gang and domestic disputes. Conflict-related violence includes deaths and injuries arising from inter-state and civil wars as well as collective political violence and civil unrest.

Both types of armed violence—non-conflict and conflict—contribute to extensive human costs in the Caucasus,<sup>4</sup> Eastern Europe<sup>5</sup> and South-Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup> While conflict violence contributed to a major burden of intentional death and injury in the 1990s, non-conflict violence is today more common. The following section outlines a range of patterns and trends associated with non-conflict and conflict armed violence.

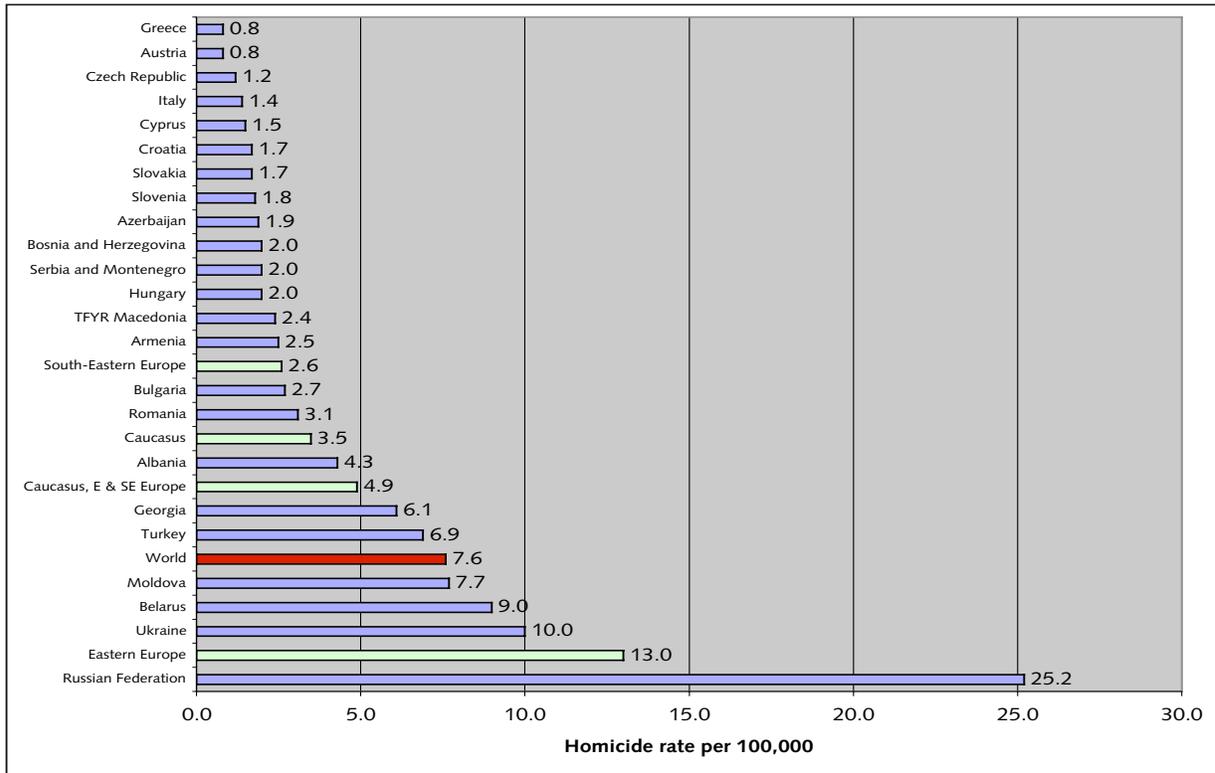
### Non-conflict armed violence

Globally, non-conflict violence accounts for the majority of the 740,000 people violently killed each year (GD Secretariat, 2008, p. 3). Most of these are homicides, or *unlawful deaths inflicted on a person by another person* (GD Secretariat, 2008, p. 67). More people die from homicide than from war. Because they are relatively simple to count, homicides are the most reliable crime indicator between and within countries. Institutions such as hospitals, police stations and the criminal justice system are likely to be involved when an individual is murdered. Even where such entities lack capacity, murder is a serious crime.

In spite of high rates of civilian firearms possession, homicide rates across all three regions are relatively low. The average homicide rate is roughly 4.9 per 100,000 people compared to the global average of 7.6 per 100,000 people. The Caucasus and South-Eastern Europe register especially low rates, 3.5 and 2.6 murders per 100,000 population, respectively. Homicide rates in all three regions are comparable to those recorded in Western Europe and East and South-East Asia.

Four Eastern European countries—Belarus, Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine—report homicide rates that are above the world average (see Figure 1). It should be noted that the Russian Federation registers a significantly higher homicide rate with 25.2 homicides per 100,000 individuals. Analysts attribute these higher homicide rates to an expanding array of risk factors in the post-cold war era, including excessive alcohol consumption, political corruption and a rise in organized crime.<sup>7</sup>

**Figure 1**  
**Homicide rates (per 100,000) for the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe, 2004**



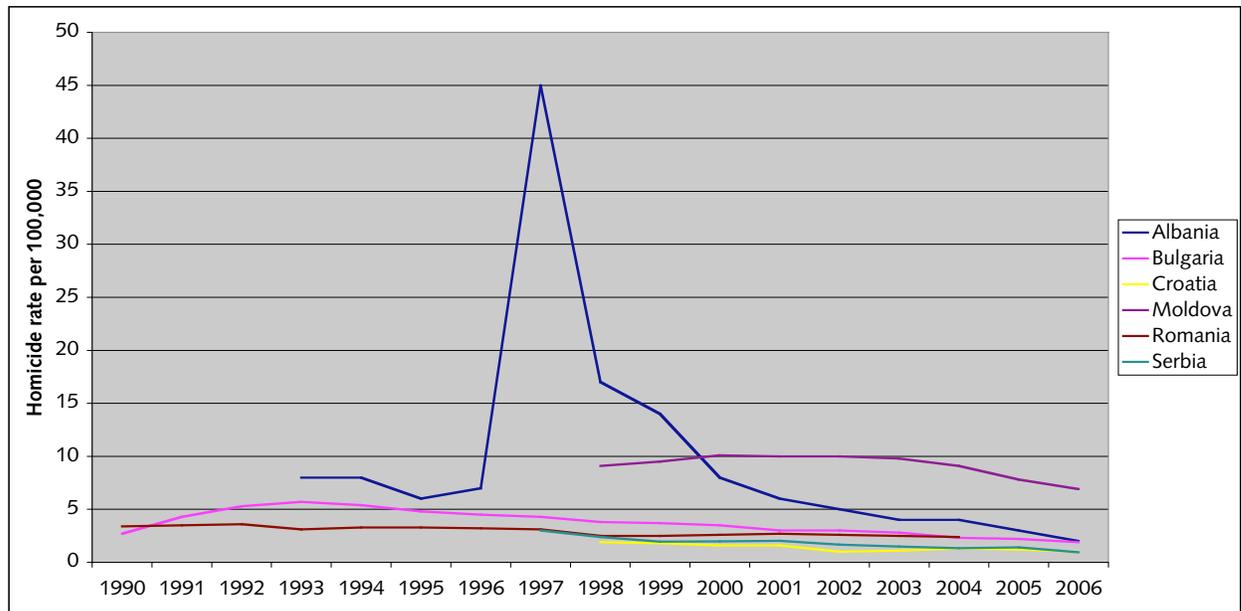
**Sources:** Armenia, Georgia: UNODC (2008b); Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro: UNODC (2008a, p. 37); Italy, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey: Eurostat (2008); territory of Kosovo: UNODC (2008a, p. 39); other areas: WHO (2008a)

Homicide rates in all three regions appear to be relatively static. Figure 2 shows homicide rates in five South-Eastern European countries and Moldova since the mid-1990s. It reveals that for Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Serbia, homicide rates were comparatively stable at roughly 5 per 100,000. Albanian homicide rates appear to rapidly increase in 1996 and 1997 and then sharply decrease. The peak in 1997 is likely connected to state collapse that year, although homicides have dropped dramatically since 2000. Meanwhile, while Moldova has been home to very high rates, improvements have been made since 2003.<sup>8</sup>

A high proportion of homicides across all three regions is committed with firearms, though this situation may be changing. Around the world, as much as 60 per cent of all homicidal violence is gun-related.<sup>9</sup> These trends are consistent in certain areas of South-Eastern Europe: as many as 70 per cent of homicides recorded in Albania, the territory of Kosovo and Montenegro are arms-related, on par with the United States. This high rate of gun use in homicide may be linked to the widespread availability of legal and illegal arms in the region. Importantly, in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe, the use of firearms in acts of violence appears to be declining. As described below, a number of weapons collection and destruction programmes were fielded across the region, indicating a possible decline in per capita gun availability, including in the three regions. The United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has detected a corollary reduction in firearm homicide rates (see Figure 3).<sup>10</sup>

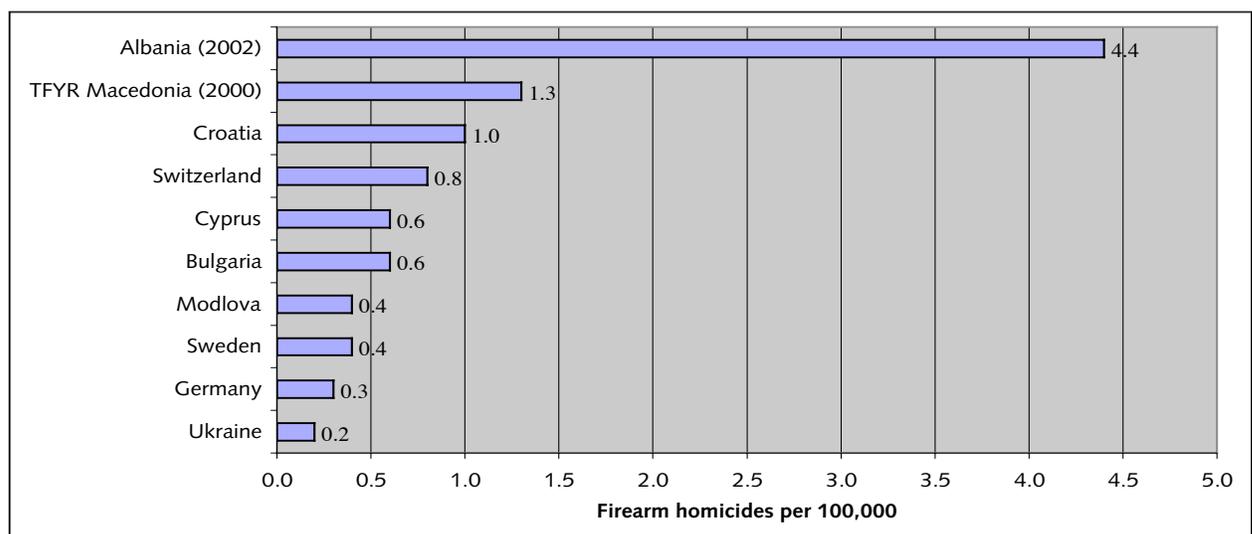
These homicide trends appear to challenge the notion that high violent death rates in the regions are due to the wide availability of small arms and light weapons. In fact, countries throughout all three regions, especially South-Eastern Europe, are under pressure to maintain stability and demonstrate convincing progress in combating crime if they are to be considered for accession to the European Union. With most countries now out of major conflict for a decade or more, low homicide rates may be a proxy for other positive changes accompanying transition.

**Figure 2**  
**Homicide rates (per 100,000) for selected South-Eastern European countries and Moldova (1990—2006)**



Source: UNODC (2008a)

**Figure 3**  
**Firearm homicides rates (per 100,000) in selected European countries, 2004**



Source: UNODC (2008a, p. 85)

While homicidal violence is concentrated overwhelmingly among young men, there are also specific impacts on women.<sup>11</sup> Many of these effects are invisible because comprehensive and reliable sex-disaggregated data on homicide rates are extremely scarce. Despite the comparatively low overall homicide rates in the regions, female homicide victims as a share of total homicides are unusually high by global standards. In fact, the proportion of women murdered is between 20.6 and 42.3 per cent for a selection of countries (see Table 1). This trend also holds for the three countries that register a (moderately) higher homicide rate than the world average: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. High male unemployment, patriarchal cultures, high alcohol consumption and firearms availability are believed to be influencing factors.

**Table 1**  
**Female homicide in selected Eastern and South-Eastern European countries, 2004**

Country	Total homicides	Female homicides	Female homicides as % of total homicides	Female homicide rate per 100,000 population	Overall homicide rate per 100,000 population
Belarus	1,118	339	30.3	6.5	9.0
Bulgaria	445	95	21.3	2.4	2.7
Croatia	88	35	39.8	1.5	1.7
Hungary	208	88	42.3	1.7	2.0
Moldova	337	138	40.9	6.8	7.7
Romania	484	184	38.0	1.7	3.1
Slovenia	92	23	25.0	2.3	1.8
Turkey	6,616	1,360	20.6	3.9	6.9
Ukraine	3,984	1,143	28.7	4.5	10.0

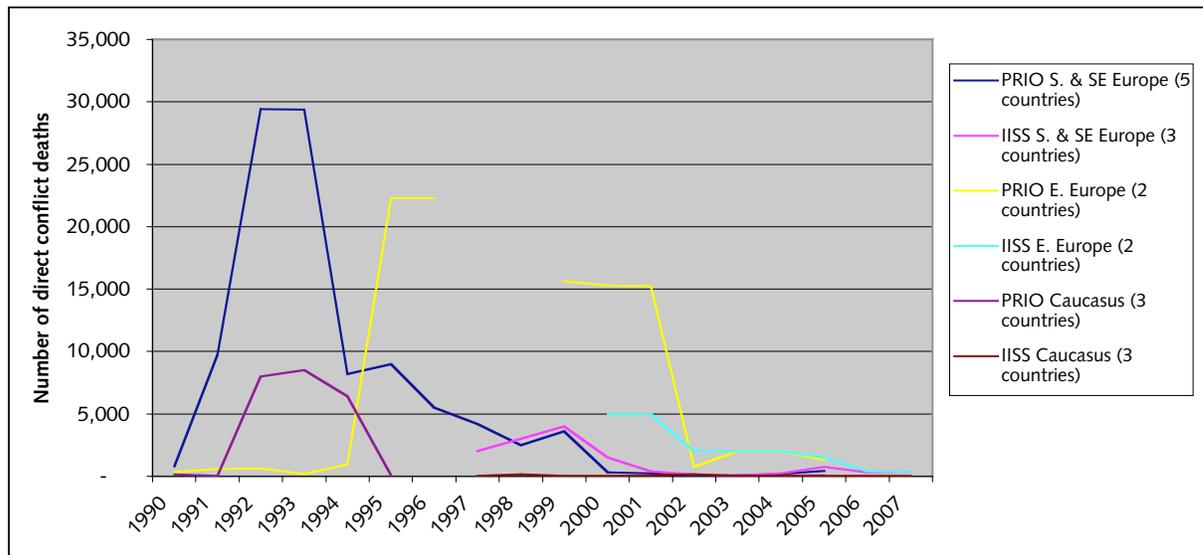
Sources: UNECE (2008); World Bank Group (2008)

## Conflict-related violence

Armed conflict violence is commonly separated into two categories: **direct** (i.e. deaths arising from direct battle or collateral damage) and **indirect** (i.e. 'excess' deaths due to conflict-related suffering and illness). Far fewer people are killed directly during war than indirectly as a result of armed conflict.<sup>12</sup> Understanding the distribution of direct and indirect deaths is nevertheless important in order to accurately measure the scale and magnitude of conflict-related violence. But generating this data is difficult: population surveys and incident-monitoring datasets are often politicized or suffer from under-reporting.

**Direct conflict deaths:** The Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe registered varying numbers of direct deaths from 1990 to 2006. Figure 4 displays data from datasets that are considered to have a high degree of reliability. Although the datasets report on varying years, a common trend emerges. Following the devastating armed conflicts of the early 1990s in the Balkans and several former Soviet Republics, all regions experienced an overall decrease in the total numbers of conflict deaths. Even when added together, all three regions reported fewer than 2,000 direct conflict deaths in 2005, the latest year for which data is available.

**Figure 4**  
Direct conflict deaths by dataset, 1990–2007



Sources: IISS Sources: IISS (2008); PRIO (2008)

While some areas are more dangerous than others, the risk of being violently killed in war appears to be declining in the three regions. Of course, tensions in Chechnya, Abkhazia and South Ossetia have generated a range of risks and human costs. Nevertheless, despite the recent flare-ups—including the Russia–Georgia conflict—civilians in the Russian Federation, Turkey and Georgia suffer three times fewer direct conflict deaths today than civilians around the world did between 2004 and 2007, when an average of 1.95 per 100,000 people died directly in conflict (see Table 2). Most people in the three regions are far more likely to die as a result of homicide than from war.

**Table 2**  
Direct conflict death rate (per 100,000) by country, 2004–2007

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	Average, 2004–2007
Russian Federation	1.14	0.75	0.28	0.19	0.59
Turkey	0.25	0.82	0.33	0.53	0.48
Georgia	0.85	0.27	0.56	0.18	0.47
<b>Average rate of 35 countries<sup>13</sup></b>	<b>1.77</b>	<b>1.59</b>	<b>2.04</b>	<b>2.38</b>	<b>1.95</b>

Source: GD Secretariat (2008)

Men tend to be more at risk of direct death from conflict than women. Even so, most studies typically over- or under-estimate the distribution of men and women killed during bouts of collective violence. For example, during the two-year war in Georgia (1992–1994) an estimated 5,000 Georgians were killed, approximately 2,000 of whom were women and children.<sup>14</sup> Another 1,200 women and children reportedly died as a result of ethnic tensions and population

displacement in the post-conflict period.<sup>15</sup> By way of contrast, the *Bosnian Book of Dead*<sup>16</sup> reports 96,895<sup>17</sup> direct conflict deaths during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995. An estimated 9,380 victims were women, accounting for less than ten per cent of all direct conflict deaths.<sup>18</sup> Yet rape was deployed as an instrument of war in Bosnia with an estimated 20,000–50,000 female victims.

**Indirect conflict deaths:** Although difficult to measure, the indirect deaths and effects arising from armed conflict are frequently more severe than direct deaths.<sup>19</sup> During and immediately after war, the number of people dying often escalates dramatically due to displacement, the breakdown of health and social services, the destruction of infrastructure and livelihoods, the disruption of economic activities and of community and family life and the legacy of mines and unexploded remnants of war (see Box 1). A sharp deterioration in food security and access to quality healthcare can lead to sharp increases in death rates due to disease, hunger and malnutrition. But monitoring and surveillance of indirect conflict deaths is weak and focused epidemiological research is challenging.<sup>20</sup> As a result, there is very little quantitative data on indirect conflict deaths in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe.<sup>21</sup>

**Box 1**  
**The killing fields: explosive remnants of war and landmines**

Explosive remnants of war (ERW)<sup>22</sup> and landmines are an enduring threat to the safety of civilians and communities long after the shooting stops. They are activated unwittingly, causing devastating injuries to young and old, men and women. They also impose a tremendous burden on development. Farmers and traders are often rendered immobile, while land contaminated by ERW and landmines becomes uncultivable. Not only does this depress economic productivity, but it also frustrates the return or resettlement of displaced populations.

Most countries affected by conflict in the 1990s are still infected by ERW and landmines. Albania, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Moldova, Montenegro, the Russian Federation, Serbia, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey are all affected to varying degrees (Moyes, 2005). In 2006, ERW and landmine casualties occurred in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, the territory of Kosovo, the Russian Federation, Turkey, and Ukraine (ICBL, 2007a).

Bosnia and Herzegovina is especially contaminated with ERW and landmines. Some areas are inevitably more affected than others: minefields are concentrated along the frontiers demarcating the two territorial entities. While extensive, contamination is particularly acute in the fertile agricultural area near Brcko district. As many as 1,889 km<sup>2</sup> are believed to be contaminated, representing roughly 3.7 per cent of the total territory.

Meanwhile, the Chechen Republic is also heavily contaminated with ERW and landmines. Since 1995, more than 3,060 civilians have been killed or injured. Access to subsistence agriculture, commercial farmland and pastureland is similarly restricted. Even at full capacity, it is estimated that it may take another ten years to clean contaminated areas (ICBL, 2007b).

The rehabilitation and reintegration of survivors disabled by ERW and landmines imposes a considerable burden on families as well as health care and welfare systems. Although affected governments, with support from mine action agencies and a variety of national and multi-national donors, seek to promote clearance and support to victims, the economic costs are exacting.

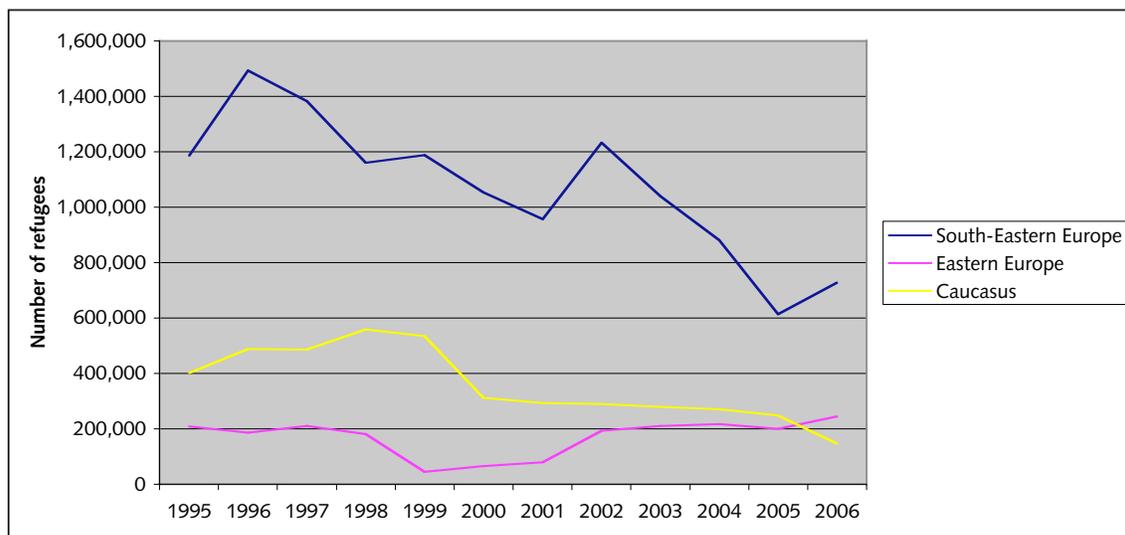
Yet victim assistance programmes are critical. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross is supporting the Azerbaijan Red Crescent Society in providing safe playgrounds for children living in communities affected by ERW and landmines. Ongoing since 2005, the programme has permitted 3,500 children living in more than 40 communities to use safe play areas without fear of being injured (ICRC, 2008).

**Victimization and displacement:** Chronic armed violence can generate widespread cross-border and internal population displacement. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) finds that Caucasian, Eastern European and South-Eastern European regions are home to almost 1.1 million refugees (UNHCR, 2007b). As memories of war subside, there appears to be a growing willingness for people to return home (see Figure 5). The fact that protracted displacement decreased over the past decade, particularly in South-Eastern Europe (with a halving of the refugee population between 1995 and 2005), suggests a degree of stabilization is taking hold.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, certain tensions remain, as evidenced by conflicts such as the one over South Ossetia in 2008 (see Box 2)

and by significant refugee populations, including 600,000 displaced people from South-Eastern Europe whose 'final' status is not secure. In some cases, these protracted displacement situations represent hot spots for future violence onset.

It is important to consider refugee populations by countries of origin and destination to develop a comprehensive understanding of victimization patterns in the regions (see Annexe 1). About 200,000 people—the greatest proportion of refugees hailing from any of the countries in the regions in 2006—originally came from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Azerbaijan, the Russian Federation and Serbia each register more than 100,000 refugees who still reside abroad, followed closely by Croatia, with approximately 94,000 persons displaced from their homes. The remaining countries exhibit smaller refugee populations abroad, ranging from more than 100 people from Montenegro to almost 15,000 refugees from Armenia. UNHCR reports that among host countries, Montenegro and Serbia are home to the largest number of refugees per capita in Europe, with 12 and 10 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants, respectively, at the end of 2006 (UNHCR, 2007b, p. 59).

**Figure 5**  
Refugees by origin, 1995–2006



Source: UNHCR (1994–2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b)

**Box 2**  
The 'new' and 'old' displaced people of Georgia

UNHCR estimates that 192,000 people were displaced as a result of the 2008 Russia–Georgia conflict. A large number of them (approximately 127,000 people) fled their homes in South Ossetia and made their way to other parts of Georgia. Around 30,000 people were (internally) displaced within South Ossetia and an additional 35,000 individuals reportedly left their homes and headed to Northern Ossetia in the Russian Federation.

In addition to these 'new' displaced populations, Georgia already has around 220,000 displaced people from previous crises, raising the total number of displaced people to about 412,000. It is estimated that within Georgia (excluding South Ossetia), approximately 68,000 individuals returned to their homes after the recent fighting (UNHCR, 2008).

It is exceedingly difficult to provide assistance to these populations, whether newly displaced or not. Private shops, households and equipment of humanitarian agencies have been looted by roving groups of armed men, thus reducing the capacity of relief and development agencies to carry out their duties (UNHCR, 2008).

Fewer refugees do not necessarily translate into fewer challenges or less armed violence. The dual burden imposed on communities of origin and host countries and communities remains high. Communities that experience displacement are deprived of some of the most economically productive members of their society. The displaced people who are hosted in a new area require security, shelter and food—adding a range of costs for donors and hosting communities. Even relatively small displaced populations remain extremely vulnerable and may require extensive protection and assistance.<sup>24</sup>

Internally displaced persons frequently flee for the same reasons as refugees, but they stay within their country's borders.<sup>25</sup> The cumulative total of IDPs in Eastern Europe<sup>26</sup> highlights the tremendous levels of insecurity many people feel in their own country of origin (see Annexe 2). During armed conflict and periods of acute political and social tension, states often fail to provide adequate public security or may adopt more repressive approaches to population and migration control. It should also be recalled that internal and cross-border displacement does not necessarily end with the signing of a ceasefire. Efforts to promote a durable solution such as resettlement, repatriation or return are extremely difficult, particularly when the displaced are minorities in their place of origin.

The long-term economic impacts of protracted displacement and uncertainty are extensive. The loss of property and the limited access to land, employment and legitimate economic opportunities reduce overall productivity. The psychological and political challenges associated with undefined legal status also increase an individual's susceptibility to engaging in acts of armed violence (or being victimized). The resulting poverty and sense of desperation can shape socio-economic inequalities and ultimately act as a contributing factor to instability in host (and neighbouring) countries.

## Violence against women

Armed violence is often deliberately targeted at women and girls in conflict and non-conflict contexts. While men are the overwhelming perpetrators and victims of arms-related violence, women also suffer. For example, in the western Balkans, men commit 99 per cent of firearms crime and account for at least 85 per cent of the victims. Women are victims of armed violence in 15 per cent of the cases, yet they are perpetrators in only one per cent of reported incidents (SEESAC, 2007, p. 9).

It is difficult to document armed violence committed against women, especially in situations where such acts remain a private matter and women are unwilling or unable to report. But awareness of inter-personal and domestic violence is growing. In particular, campaigns have targeted the so-called honour killings in Turkey. These crimes are committed by (male) relatives in reaction to a perceived violation of the community, family or individual honour.<sup>27</sup> Most honour killings are perpetrated against women and girls, based on cultural perceptions of women as bearers of the family honour. The most common reason attributed to honour killings is behaviour perceived as 'provocative', such as the refusal of an arranged marriage, extra-marital affairs, demands for a divorce, or having been a victim of sexual violence. The United Nations Population Fund estimates that worldwide 5,000 women are victims of honour killings each year (UNFPA, 2000).<sup>28</sup>

A 2006 survey finds that of approximately 1,500 women who sought help at domestic violence shelters in Montenegro, 90 per cent had been threatened with firearms by their partner.<sup>29</sup> Similar types of threats have been documented in Bosnia and Herzegovina,<sup>30</sup> Croatia, Serbia and the territory of Kosovo. The mere presence of a firearm in the household can also intimidate potential or actual victims of domestic violence, deterring them from reporting such acts.

In armed conflict and in post-conflict settings, women and girls are also frequently targeted with acts of sexual violence. During the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, for example, sexual violence

was used as a tool of warfare to attack and demoralize entire communities and ethnic groups. An estimated 20,000–50,000 women and girls were raped in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war.<sup>31</sup> Atrocities were also reported during conflicts in Azerbaijan, Georgia, the territory of Kosovo and the Russian Federation.<sup>32</sup> In post-conflict periods, refugee and internally displaced women remain at risk of sexual violence from both security personnel and displaced men; such is the case for women in Azerbaijan and Georgia.<sup>33</sup>

The targeting of women and girls with acts of armed violence does not necessarily decrease in post-conflict contexts. Although the majority of perpetrators of (sexual) violence during wartime are members of armed groups and security forces, during the post-conflict period perpetrators are intimate partners, neighbours and community members. As in the case of homicide more generally, high unemployment rates, lack of economic opportunities and the breakdown of social norms are contributing factors.

## Additional development costs

Armed violence generates a range of costs, especially on the poorest and most vulnerable. It can undermine governance and the rule of law, but also impose an economic burden on societies. Although a small minority of the population may gain from (new) informal employment opportunities and (frequently) illicit wealth transfers, it is clear that armed violence can diminish development prospects for the majority and hinder achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

Across all three regions, the risks and effects of armed violence compromise democratic governance and public service delivery. Embedded organized crime syndicates in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe compromise basic functions such as taxation and security promotion. The inability of governments to adequately collect revenue due to the informal and frequently illicit nature of service providers reduces their capacity to support basic social and economic welfare programmes.

Globally, the annual economic costs of armed violence run into the hundreds of billions of dollars.<sup>34</sup> The dimensions of this economic burden depend on how costs are measured. They are here referred to as the short- and long-term measurable effects that are convertible to welfare losses. In the case of the Russian Federation, for example, the costs of homicide rose as high as USD 1.3 billion in 2004. Researchers have shown that a civil war of five years can reduce the annual average growth rate of a country by more than two per cent every year (GD Secretariat, 2008, p. 102).

These economic costs are often felt most profoundly at the household level. For example, in Chechnya and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the opportunities for men and women deteriorate due to declines in access to formal and informal credit from existing social networks. During and following intense outbursts of collective armed violence, productive assets can be stripped away and labour market conditions can change. Women may assume a greater share of the formal and informal labour force, as has been observed throughout South-Eastern Europe (GD Secretariat, 2008, p. 102).

### III. The risk factors of armed violence

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Armed violence embodies literally thousands of inter-connected events that generate negative consequences across societies at multiple levels. It can result in opportunity costs and the destruction of human and physical capital.

But armed violence is also preventable. Early interventions can save lives and reduce the overall burden. Focusing on mitigating the risks that shape armed violence onset and severity is one crucial way of reducing these effects. Identifying and reinforcing 'protective' factors to enhance individual, household, community and national resilience is another. This section considers a number of key recurrent risks of armed violence in all three regions.

#### Small arms and light weapons availability

The **possession and unregulated availability** of small arms and light weapons and ammunition are critical risk factors for armed violence onset. While they do not necessarily cause chronic armed violence, they can intensify crime, exacerbate community insecurity and undermine conflict prevention and peace-building efforts. Many countries in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe register difficulties maintaining adequate controls over state stocks. Weak institutional military and police capacities, corruption and the growth of transnational organized crime can all contribute to an expansion in the illicit diffusion of arms within and outside the various regions. Although many structural and security sector reforms were launched to enhance regulatory control—particularly enhanced policy frameworks, improved border controls and inter-state intelligence sharing mechanisms—arms remain a real and present danger.

Countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe were significant weapons producers and suppliers throughout the 20th century. The **active legal trade in arms** continues in the 21st century. It not only results in weapons exports to other parts of the world, but also between countries of the regions and within the regions. This is especially the case for South-Eastern Europe, where Serbia represents one of the top weapons providers to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.<sup>35</sup> What is more, Iraq is the second export destination for Slovak and Romanian military equipment. Bulgaria and Romania are also key providers of weaponry and munitions to the nascent armed forces of Afghanistan. Annexe 4 lists countries of provenance and destination for firearms.

A number of brokers are also involved in **grey and illicit arms trafficking**, especially during times of active armed conflict inside and outside the regions. Since the end of the regional wars of the 1990s, however, the trafficking routes for small arms and light weapons have become less relevant owing to declining local demand (UNDP, 2008a). In some cases, organized shipments were made from South-Eastern European countries to areas of extreme conflict, including Africa and the Middle East. Likewise, a modest but significant 'ant trade' in weapons, drugs and narcotics continues across specific borders, including those of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Montenegro (SEESAC, 2003, p. 8).

### Box 3

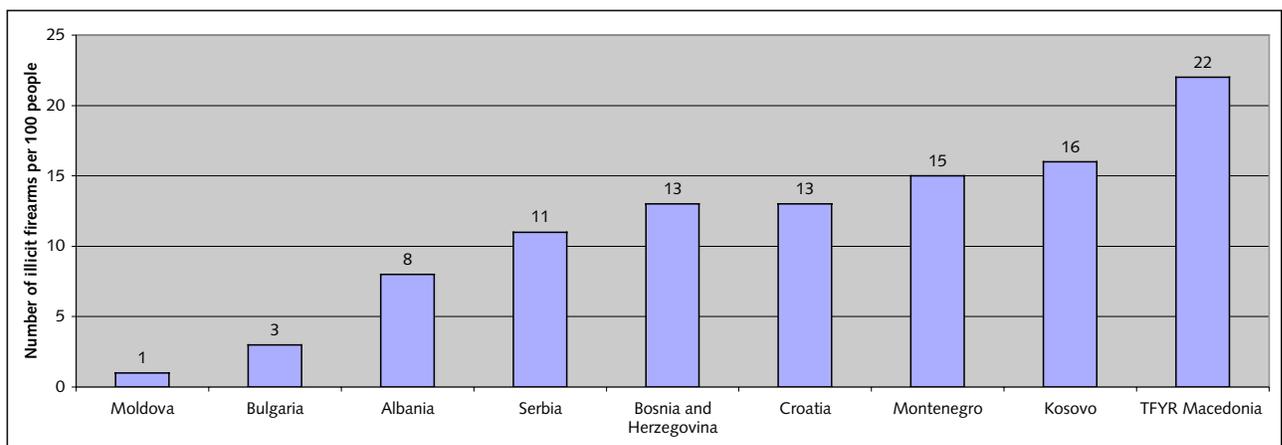
#### Illegal firearms possession in the territory of Kosovo

A considerable number of firearms and ammunition were imported into the territory of Kosovo during the late 1990s.

A baseline assessment in 2003 estimated that 330,000–460,000 guns were held by civilians in the territory of Kosovo in the wake of the 1999 conflict (Khakee and Florquin, 2003, p. 2). A survey reports that at least 317,000 small arms were still illegally possessed by civilians and various armed groups in 2006 (SEESAC, 2006b) and another survey reveals that as many as 300,000 small arms were being illegally held in the territory of Kosovo in 2008 (SEESAC, 2008g).

Arms alone did not trigger the violence in the territory of Kosovo, with factors such as political and ethnic rivalries shaping patterns and trends (SEESAC, 2006b). On a more positive note, homicide rates appear to have declined since the end of the conflict, from approximately 11.8 per 100,000 persons in 2000 to 2.9 in 2005 (UNODC, 2008a).

**Figure 6**  
Illicit firearms per 100 people in selected countries, 2007



Source: UNODC (2008a, p. 84)

South-Eastern European countries report comparatively **high rates of illicit civilian ownership** in comparison to other regions around the world. Box 3 discusses illegal ownership in the territory of Kosovo and Figure 6 shows illicit possession rates in selected countries under review.

Annexe 5 shows estimated **civilian firearms ownership** by region. It reveals that in more than half (10) of 19 countries, civilian possession of firearms surpasses 10 firearms for every 100 residents. Within the top ten rates of civilian ownership in all three regions, at least five are located in the former Yugoslav Republics (i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).<sup>36</sup> High rates of civilian weapons ownership do not always translate into high homicide rates, as appears to be the case in these countries.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the causal linkage between arms possession and misuse are difficult to demonstrate. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence that arms availability and misuse can dramatically escalate the severity and lethality of a violent exchange.

A major **source of illegal arms is state stockpiles**. While it is difficult to render precise estimates of military, police and civilian<sup>38</sup> stocks, tentative estimates are possible (see Table 3 and Annexe 5). Growing evidence suggests that a surplus of ammunition also constitutes a major risk to public safety when improperly stored and poorly monitored. The larger and more loosely guarded the stockpile, the greater the risk, as illustrated by the raiding of Albanian national stockpiles and army bases in 1997.

**Table 3**  
**Selected national ammunition stockpile estimates**

Country	Estimated stockpile (tons)
Albania	120,000
Belarus	1,000,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	30,000 <sup>39</sup>
Bulgaria	153,000
Montenegro	11,200
Serbia	200,000+
Ukraine	2,500,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,014,200</b>

**Source:** Estimates compiled by Adrian Wilkinson in Bevan (2008, p. 5)

Improperly stored and poorly monitored state stockpiles are not only vulnerable to looting, but also constitute a major risk to public safety, especially if substandard safety measures lead to **depot explosions**. In mid-2008 a series of massive explosions in an arms depot in Gërdec, close to Tirana, resulted in more than 20 deaths, 3,000 injuries and the destruction of more than 400 buildings.<sup>40</sup> Ironically, the explosion of some 3,000 tons of surplus ordnance occurred while specialists were dismantling obsolete munitions at the site.<sup>41</sup>

The destruction of surplus ammunition can enhance local security and minimize diversion. For example, NATO requires that members adapt their military forces and equipment to NATO standards and destroy surplus weapons and ammunition.<sup>42</sup> Countries also frequently rely on partners such as the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and bilateral donors to assist in surplus destruction. As noted in the next section of this paper, some important gains are being made with respect to destroying surplus arms and ammunition.

## Transnational crime and corruption

While levels of petty crime may be comparatively low across the three regions, **organized crime** represents a looming risk factor for armed violence.<sup>43</sup> Mafia-related activities have long been common in countries belonging to the European Union, including Italy and Greece. In many cases, these networks are aligned with political authorities, state structures and the formal economy. These patron–client linkages facilitate the illicit trade in narcotics, human beings (see Box 4 and Annexe 3), tobacco, vehicles and arms.

Organized criminals in the regions often resort to armed violence to protect their illicit trade networks from rivals and the police. Owing to increasing economic empowerment and the accumulation of influence, organized criminal networks are becoming stronger and more intractable in non-EU countries. Over the last two decades, South-Eastern Europe has assumed a central role for organized criminal activities in the rest of Europe. The illicit trade in arms, narcotics, tobacco and humans is growing.<sup>44</sup> Weak governance, ineffective border controls and corruption all offer favorable conditions for the spiraling growth of organized transnational crime.

**Box 4**  
**Trafficking in humans**

Trafficking in humans is a global scourge, undermining national and international security through its links to organized crime and corruption. The linkages between human trafficking and armed violence are clear: physical and psychological forms of abuse such as forced detention, rape and torture are frequently perpetrated against trafficked persons (UNGA, 2006). Trafficked women in particular are highly vulnerable, with many afraid to report on incidents because they fear arrest, imprisonment or deportation. The clandestine nature of trafficking in humans makes it extremely difficult to estimate the scale of global and regional trafficking and, as a result, undermines effective counter-trafficking measures.<sup>45</sup>

It is possible to make a number of general observations about trafficking patterns in the regions. For example, Western Europe exhibits the greatest demand for commercial sex workers and domestic labourers while former Soviet Republics are the largest source of supply of women. South-Eastern Europe was at first a transit route, but since the end of conflicts in the Balkans demand in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the territory of Kosovo, for example, has increased (Thachuk, 2007, p. 81).<sup>46</sup>

Annexe 3 illustrates dynamics for trafficking in human beings in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe. While almost each country in the regions is to varying degrees a country of origin, transit or of destination, key destination countries in Western Europe include Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom (UNODC, 2008a). Destinations outside of Western Europe seem to be countries such as Turkey, the Russian Federation and several Gulf states. Trafficking in human beings within the regions is taking place between Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation, Serbia and Ukraine.

Countries throughout the three regions are developing a variety of strategies to address trafficking in humans. These include national action plans that are frequently tied to international standards and obligations. But not all states are achieving similar returns. In many cases, implementation of anti-trafficking measures is stalling and falling behind commitments (Limanowska, 2005). Some countries that have implemented minimum standards include Croatia, the Czech Republic, Georgia and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Other states putting measures in place include Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Turkey and Ukraine.<sup>47</sup>

Most countries in the three regions are facing high rates of **corruption**, particularly in the public service and judicial sectors. The 2000 edition of the *International Crime Victim Survey* finds that in urban areas, more than half (59 per cent) of all interviewed Tirana residents were forced to pay a bribe or were asked to pay a bribe by government and public officials.<sup>48</sup> Bribery and other forms of corruption are serious challenges confronting Eastern and South-Eastern European authorities, together with members of the EU (Alvazzi del Frate and van Kesteren, 2004, p. 25). Transparency International also reveals high levels of corruption in countries under review (see Table 4).

**Table 4**  
**Caucasian, Eastern European and South-Eastern European countries ranked by level of corruption, 2008\***

Country	Rank	Country	Rank
Cyprus	31	Montenegro	85
Greece	57	Serbia	85
Turkey	58	Bosnia and Herzegovina	92
Croatia	62	Armenia	109
Georgia	67	Moldova	109
Romania	70	Ukraine	134
Bulgaria	72	Russian Federation	147
TFYR Macedonia	72	Belarus	151
Albania	85	Azerbaijan	158

**Note:** \*These countries are among 180 countries ranked in ascending degree of perceived corruption in the Corruption Perceptions Index (where 1 represents the lowest level of corruption), published in the *Global Corruption Report 2008*.  
**Source:** Transparency International (2008)

Corruption in the public sector and judicial system undermines national development and violates human rights and economic prospects for citizens. Furthermore, corruption undermines confidence in the government and national institutions, and risks replacing the rule of law with impunity and, eventually, the rule by force. As such, corrupt public officials and law enforcement agencies not only fail to prevent, but can also exacerbate, organized and petty crime, resulting in widespread community insecurity and social fragmentation. The erosion of the rule of law and the formal justice system may lead to the condoning of extra-judicial and retributive forms of settling differences based on violence and intimidation.

Unaccountable and corrupt security and justice institutions are a major risk factor for armed violence. Recognition of this has led the EU and other bilateral donors to invest considerable energy and resources into justice and security sector reform throughout South-Eastern Europe. The persistence of corruption undermines the security of property rights, of legitimate investment, trade and other formal economic activities. By consequence, the size and influence of the shadow economy is likely to grow, which will further discourage foreign investment and economic development. It has also been shown that corruption is directly linked to inequality, which is a risk factor of violence and conflict.

## Historical, cultural and socio-economic factors

Many countries within the three regions are confronted with **frozen conflicts and enduring challenges relating to minorities**. Virtually every country faces issues connected to ethnic, religious or political minorities. Against the backdrop of a quest for political and economic rights, and owing to the reluctance of states and local populations to grant them, simmering tensions can ignite into armed violence. Unresolved conflicts can exacerbate friction between different identity groups. Persistent horizontal and income inequalities and discriminatory policies against minorities, such as those experienced by the Roma in many South-Eastern European countries, are also significant contributors to grievances.

In certain areas of South-Eastern Europe, **blood feuds and inter-clan tensions** remain a significant, if hidden and unacknowledged, risk factor for escalations in armed violence. For example, the Albanian tradition of retributive justice, based on the *Kanun*, a customary code introduced in the 15th century, has experienced a renaissance since the collapse of communism in 1991. Since then, it is estimated that roughly 20,000 people were affected by blood feuds and between 6,000 and 9,500 lives have been lost through revenge killings (Bilefsky, 2008; Smith, 2008). Men and young boys face tremendous social pressure. Many are often confined to their own homes, fearing swift justice should they leave. Access to healthcare, employment and livelihoods inevitably suffers. Women in affected families often become the sole breadwinners. In certain cases, women and girls are also drawn into violence.<sup>49</sup> Recent changes in the Albanian penal code have helped diminish these practices. Yet much more remains to be done to change the mentality and convince individuals to rely on the criminal justice system and abstain from blood feuds.<sup>50</sup>

**Celebratory gunfire** routinely occurs across South-Eastern Europe. It is especially common in Albania and the former Yugoslav Republics during weddings, on New Year's Eve, after sports victories or to mark the birth of a child. Banned under the communist regime, celebratory gunfire experienced a resurgence in the 1990s. One study links the accumulation of celebratory gunfire to the increased availability of firearms after the ethnic conflicts (SEESAC, 2006a). Injuries and tragic consequences through gunshots at celebrations occur in all South-Eastern European countries. In The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, for example, dozens were either killed or wounded

in 2001 and 2002. On New Year's Eve of 2004–2005, 14 incidents involving small arms or light weapons were reported in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2006). There are a host of other **socio-economic risk factors** associated with the onset and duration of armed violence in middle-income countries throughout the three regions. These factors may be tied to sharp and unanticipated economic shocks, rising levels of income inequality, the expansion of unemployed youth populations and so-called 'youth bulges'.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, persistent social and economic exclusion, unregulated urbanization, unequal access to basic services, underemployment and living in poor and socially marginalized areas are all associated with armed violence. Indeed, rapidly expanding city spaces can contribute to the exposure of youth populations to informal labour opportunities, sometimes in organized and petty crime. With municipal institutions unable to provide adequate social infrastructure—be it schools, recreational spaces or alternative livelihoods—there are few 'pull factors' to deter young men from resorting to armed violence.

## IV. Reviewing armed violence prevention and reduction interventions

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Although armed violence is increasingly being recognized as a major constraint to development and aid effectiveness in the three regions, many states and civil society actors lack the language, tools and experience to deal with the challenges at hand. In some cases, governments rely primarily on top-down law enforcement-led interventions to crack down on would-be perpetrators. There is little evidence, however, that such operations are effective, certainly not unless they are combined with other bottom-up interventions that comprehensively deal with key risk factors.

This final section considers some basic principles associated with effective armed violence prevention and reduction, including the importance of evidence and comprehensive approaches to programming. It also highlights a range of examples of innovative armed violence prevention and reduction, or AVR<sup>52</sup>, programming from across all three regions.

Since **solid evidence** is the bedrock of effective efforts to prevent and reduce armed violence, it is essential to strengthen national capacities to collect and analyse data. Thanks to relatively good surveillance capacities in all three regions, it is possible to develop comprehensive assessments to guide interventions so that they are tailored to the specificities of each context. Instruments such as population-based surveys, armed violence baseline surveys<sup>53</sup>, crime diagnostics and incident reporting and population health surveillance<sup>54</sup> are all constructive entry points to designing and implementing AVR.

Although a **comprehensive approach to programming** on armed violence prevention and reduction is still being developed, there are examples of innovative initiatives across the regions (see Table 5). Examples of best practices are starting to emerge. A vast array of interventions directly or indirectly target armed violence risks and outcomes, involving numerous development agencies from the regional to the municipal levels.

**Direct interventions** are programmes that explicitly seek to prevent and reduce armed violence, and to enhance real and perceived security. **Indirect interventions** include programmes that do not target armed violence as their primary objective but focus rather on development objectives, such as reducing poverty or improving governance. While treated separately below for the sake of conceptual clarity, the lines between the two interventions are often blurred.

Programmatically, most armed violence prevention and reduction activities in the three regions feature direct programming. Interventions still focus primarily on the 'supply side': on weapons reduction or destruction. Fewer interventions strategically target key risk factors and promote resilience to armed violence at the community level. In a small but growing number of cases, area-based development programmes are tackling recurrent risk factors, as is the case in South Serbia.<sup>55</sup> Geographically, armed violence prevention and reduction efforts appear to be concentrated primarily in South-Eastern Europe.

**Table 5**  
**A typology of armed violence prevention and reduction interventions**

AVR intervention	Examples of projects	Implementing agencies	Year
Weapons collection	Weapons in exchange for development. Albania Small Arms and Light Weapons Control Project (SALWCP).	UNDP	2003
Surplus destruction	Destruction of surplus small arms and light weapons and ammunition in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SACBiH).	UNDP	2007–2008
Stockpile management	Belarus stockpile management programme.	OSCE	2007–2008
Border management	Transitional institutional support programme in Georgia.	OSCE	2008–2009
Security sector reform	Ukraine defence reform. Security sector reform support in Albania.	NATO–Ukraine Joint Working Group UNDP	1998–present
Transitional justice	Serbia transitional justice programme.	UNDP	2008–2009
Public health-led interventions	Russian Federation health monitoring programme.	WHO	2005
Governance and public service delivery enhancement	Tax reform under the Customs and Fiscal Assistance Office (CAFAO).	Multilateral and bilateral	1996–present
Community security/urban renewal	Croatia Safer Communities Programme.	UNDP	2007–2011

Sources: UNECE (2008); World Bank Group (2008)

## Direct interventions

**Awareness and sensitization campaigns:** Awareness campaigns are typically launched prior to an arms amnesty, intelligence- or police-led operation, weapons collection programme or disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) effort. Alternatively, they are launched to enhance understanding of and sensitivity to the risks presented by unsafe weapons handling, storage and use. Throughout all three regions, there are examples of educational campaigns focusing on specific risk factors associated with armed violence (see Box 5). One example is the campaign launched by The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's Ministry of Interior and UNDP to reduce incidents of celebratory fire in the New Year's period in late 2005. Similar initiatives were also launched in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia.

### Box 5 Learning from experience: awareness campaigns and arms buybacks

Experts increasingly appreciate the need to launch awareness campaigns before weapons collection activities. At the same time, they are less and less likely to undertake conventional buy-back operations.

Arms collection initiatives that are not preceded by effective **sensitization and awareness** raising are often less successful. For example, in the territory of Kosovo in 2003, a 'weapons for development' initiative failed to retrieve meaningful numbers of firearms because community residents were not adequately informed about the purpose and expectations of the initiative.

Related, **conventional buy-back programmes**—such as those undertaken in the Khabarovsk territory of the Russian Federation in 2001 and 2002 and in Georgia in 2004—yielded similarly low returns (Wood, 2006, p. 157). Critics contend that they can unintentionally drive up demand and are not especially cost-effective. Collection programmes are becoming increasingly community-focused through 'weapons in exchange for development' and 'weapons in competition for development'.<sup>56</sup>

**Legislative reform in relation to arms and ammunition:** Many countries in Eastern Europe have adopted new legislation regulating domestic weapons possession and use and have signed up to small arms-related initiatives, including the EU Code of Conduct, the OSCE, the UN Programme of Action and the Wassenaar Arrangement. These measures can directly enhance national legislation relating to arms control and national export and import standards. Nevertheless, policy gaps remain.<sup>57</sup> Likewise, such instruments may not be adequately enforced, particularly when it comes to end-user and border control monitoring. In 2004 and 2005, for example, many of the 300,000 weapons exported by Bosnia and Herzegovina were sent to new security forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some of these may have been diverted en route (SEESAC, 2006d, p. 24).

**Supporting victims and targeting perpetrators and 'at-risk' groups:** As is well known, young men are the primary victims and perpetrators of armed violence. Throughout the three regions, there are examples of innovative interventions designed to reduce the risks of young men and other at-risk groups from being victimized or victimizing others. Since the 1990s, a host of governments have sought to retrain and reintegrate former soldiers and combatants into civilian life. Many of these DDR programmes have effectively provided alternative livelihoods while also reducing defense expenditures. Other interventions are targeted at civilians. UNFPA administers a variety of activities to support potentially at-risk youth in Turkey and the Caucasus.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, a EuroSafe programme aims to analyse risks of injury among youth and identify pathways to prevention (EuroSafe, 2006). In Croatia, UNDP oversees a programme that seeks to reduce the likelihood of recidivism and prevent victimization among juveniles in detention centres (see Box 6).

**Supporting safer communities:** From The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Serbia and Georgia, national authorities, international agencies and civil society are seeking to empower communities and enhance community-level security by directly tackling the demand for arms and addressing the key risk factors associated with armed violence (see Boxes 6 and 7). Safer communities projects seek to empower communities to identify their own security challenges and promote local partnerships (Saferworld et al., 2006). By focusing on practical issues—street lighting, urban planning, transportation corridors and petty crime—these projects promote trust between the police and local communities while also facilitating the introduction of additional direct interventions, such as weapons collection. In 2006, for example, UNDP Bosnia and the Bosnian government targeted two municipalities for weapons collection following successful safer community projects. These initiatives tackled increasingly sensitive community problems, but they were also effective by encouraging neighbouring communities to adopt similar strategies.

**Box 6**  
**Croatia: towards a comprehensive AVR programme**

Armed violence is a major concern in Croatia.<sup>59</sup> On the basis of robust analysis, UNDP has developed an integrated and comprehensive approach to AVR. In collaboration with European Union and Croatian authorities, UNDP supports a multi-level programme designed to increase security and reduce armed violence according to interconnected dynamics.

First, UNDP Croatia promotes a 'people-centered' focus through the implementation of a 'community policing support/safe communities project' in four different towns. This is complemented by violence-prevention projects aimed at reducing violent recidivism among the juvenile detention population and a mine action support project designed to mitigate the effects of landmines and explosive remnants of war in communities through land clearance and rehabilitation of victims.

Second, at the institutional level, UNDP also supports Croatia's efforts to curb armed violence. Between October 2007 and June 2008, approximately 16,000 weapons, 640,000 rounds of ammunitions and 720 kg of explosives were collected without the provision of incentives. The intervention was launched with the slogan: 'less weapons, less tragedies'. UNDP also supports the Ministries of the Interior and Defence in the destruction of surplus weapons in an attempt to reduce the number of accidents and diversions. Some 25,000 weapons were destroyed during March 2008 alone (UNDP Europe and CIS, 2008).

Finally, UNDP assists law enforcement agencies to develop their capacities through, among other things, the improvement of firearms registration systems, ballistics capabilities and witness protection.

### Box 7

#### Building safer communities in the Balkans

In The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, crime rates fell by 70 per cent in nine communities that hosted Safer Community Projects (SCP). SCP, an initiative of UNDP and SEESAC, has proven its ability to achieve measurable, high-impact AVR outcomes. The project's success lies in its strong community ownership and comprehensive approach. SCPs are backed up by Safer Community Plans, which provide guidance on project design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation.<sup>60</sup> Key programming features include:

- Community **perception surveys** capture people's perceptions of security, attitudes toward arms, and opinions on possible interventions. The results are used to shape intervention strategies and programme design.
- **Local expertise** improves analysis of the sources and motivations for armed violence within communities.
- **Raising grass-roots awareness** builds buy-in. Programming seeks to change attitudes and behaviour through advocacy, risk education and public information on small arms issues and effects.
- **Community involvement** is encouraged. Community members identify the key security issues themselves and participate in programme design and implementation. Local authorities and police are encouraged to take the lead by establishing strategic partnerships involving public organizations, the private sector and voluntary bodies.
- **Quick impact projects** yield immediate safety improvements, build confidence and encourage buy-in.
- Linkages to **wider development activities** often focus on risk education and public information to improve perceptions of human security.
- Linkages to public **collection of weapons** by way of 'local amnesties' arranged by appropriate authorities. SCPs are most effective when considered during the strategic and operational planning phases of small arms and light weapons control programmes.
- Strong **monitoring and evaluation** dimensions capture positive impacts and results, while also serving as a 'village early warning system'.

**Weapons collection and weapons for development:** A common direct intervention focuses on collecting and destroying weapons in crime-affected and post-conflict contexts. A considerable number of countries in all the regions have undertaken such activities in cooperation with the EU, UNDP and the OSCE. In certain cases, targeted interventions demonstrably reduced armed violence. For example, in 2006, levels of armed violence reportedly dropped by 50 per cent in two municipalities of Sarajevo following a one-month weapons amnesty (UNDP Europe and CIS, 2008). Between September 2007 and March 2008, the Croatian authorities also collected 5,000 weapons with just USD 11 spent per collected weapon (UNDP Europe and CIS, 2008). Meanwhile, in 2003, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia implemented a 'weapons in exchange for incentives' programme: through the use of a lottery, some 7,500 weapons were collected from civilians, more than in the previous NATO initiative, which had collected as many as 3,000 arms from former insurgents in 2001 (Wilkinson, 2007).

**Destruction of surplus and stockpile management:** With support from NATO, UNDP and the OSCE, a growing number of states are supporting surplus destruction and stockpile management. Since 2005, the Bosnian Ministry of Defence, with UNDP support, has destroyed more than 95,000 small arms and light weapons from national army arsenals and 3,000 tons of unstable and surplus ammunition (UNDP Europe and CIS, 2008). In September 2008, the EU and UNDP also decided to support the Bosnia and Herzegovina Arms Control Project by signing a 2.7 million euro agreement, with a portion devoted to destroying illicit weapon stockpiles and caches.

Likewise, Albania destroyed more than 1,300 tons of military ammunition in 59 containers in the military depots of Shkozet in August 2008 (SEESAC, 2008d). In a country that houses some 7.5 kg of explosives per person, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Joint Commission for Defence and Security reports that 30,000 tons of surplus arms and ammunition should be destroyed (SEESAC, 2008f).

Since 2003, the Ministry of Defence destroyed more than 3,000 tons of unstable ammunition. Montenegro is also scheduled to destroy almost 48,000 small arms and light weapons and 6,000–7,000 tons of its munitions stockpile with support from agencies such as the OSCE and UNDP (Karp, 2008, p. 95). Table 6 lists the quantities of weapons destroyed in selected countries between 1991 and 2007.

**Table 6**  
**Military surplus small arms destroyed, by country, 1991–2007**

Country	Quantity of surplus weaponry destroyed
Russian Federation	1,110,000
Ukraine	700,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	250,000
Albania	222,918
Romania	195,510
Belarus	126,407
Serbia	117,269
Bulgaria	97,751
Croatia	18,389

Source: Karp (2008, p. 97)

### **Indirect interventions: developmental approaches to armed violence reduction**

There are a host of interventions designed explicitly to make communities safer not just by focusing on small arms, but also by focusing on high-risk groups and strengthening the institutional environment to minimize the risk of armed violence from flaring up in the first place. While nascent, some of these initiatives are already well underway. Others could be strengthened through the accession of candidate countries to the EU, which offers a potentially effective platform for regional cooperation to countries in the Caucasus and to Ukraine through its European Neighborhood Policy.<sup>61</sup> AVR can also potentially be strengthened with additional cooperation among national authorities, civil society and UNDP, the OSCE and the NATO Partnership for Peace.

A large number of mainstream sector-specific development interventions can be made more sensitive to reducing the risks associated with armed violence. By tackling structural and proximate risks that may shape patterns of armed violence—such as governance failures, persistent unemployment, extreme income inequality, corruption in the justice sector, transnational organized crime—they can also influence violence trends. Throughout the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe, a number of development initiatives focus on mitigating risks of armed violence.<sup>62</sup>

**Strengthening the rule of law and supporting security sector reform (SSR):** Strengthening the rule of law means that victims of violence and crime have access to justice and that the justice and security sectors are efficient in bringing perpetrators of violence to account. Efforts to strengthen the rule of law therefore go far beyond legal reform and include the capacity development of justice providers. They also include awareness raising of people's fundamental rights. Strengthened rule of law also depends on an efficient and responsive security sector, itself operating under the law. A security sector that operates outside the rule of law is itself a security threat and risks undermining popular confidence in the rule of law more broadly. The fundamental task of the SSR process in the context of armed violence prevention and reduction is therefore related not only to the operational capacity of the security sector (especially the police), but also the governance, oversight and accountability of such institutions.

Since the end of the cold war, many of the countries in the regions have embarked on an SSR process, aiming to put their security sectors under firm civilian control, and improving crime prevention collaboration across national borders. Several international and regional actors have been involved in assisting and facilitating rule of law and SSR processes. The EU, for example, has been very active in justice and rule of law initiatives for many countries in these regions, including conflict-affected countries in the Balkans, where large-scale justice and police programmes have been designed. Furthermore, the accession criteria for EU and NATO memberships have served to speed up the SSR process and the adoption and implementation of human rights standards. Likewise, border control and customs-strengthening programmes are also being pursued, including the Customs and Fiscal Assistance Office (CAFAO).<sup>63</sup> Together with broad-base security sector reforms, community policing initiatives are also growing in popularity. Many Caucasian and Balkan states, for example, are promoting and slowly adopting community-based policing strategies. The OSCE assists the Armenian and the Azerbaijani police in that regard (BICC, n.d.) and in 2003, the Greek police launched the 'police officer of the neighborhood' project.<sup>64</sup>

**Addressing gender-based violence and enhancing the involvement of women in promoting armed violence prevention and reduction:** While efforts to make AVR interventions increasingly gender-sensitive are underway—including safe houses, increased access to justice for female victims of violence and the assigning of women focal points in police stations—it remains difficult to encourage greater involvement of women in programming for a number of reasons. For example, in the 'safer communities' projects administered in Viti (territory of Kosovo) and Skopje (TFYR Macedonia), traditional attitudes towards gender identities persist. These can frustrate genuine improvements in safety and security. More promising, largely thanks to aggressive campaigning by women's associations and efforts to join the EU, Turkish legislators have sought to enhance penalties against perpetrators. Various other initiatives have also been established, including UNFPA's campaign, 'Stop violence against women!' (UNFPA, 2007). Despite improvements in legislation and the establishment of awareness campaigns and local initiatives, however, progress remains slow.

**Tackling organized crime:** By definition, efforts to contain and reduce organized crime require regional and regional cooperation. An example of a coordination mechanism is the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI). With assistance from Interpol, the World Customs Organization, national law enforcement agencies of the SECI members<sup>65</sup> and SECI partners<sup>66</sup>, the organization aims to enhance prevention, detection, investigation and prosecution of cross-border crime. The OSCE is also currently supporting law enforcement agencies in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to tackle trafficking in contraband. Meanwhile, Eastern European countries such as Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine are being supported by UNODC to combat drug trafficking. In cooperation with the EU, Caucasus countries established an Anti-Drug Regional Programme. Although border management activities require intensive human and capital investment, a number of activities addressing human trafficking and organized crime are underway with OSCE and EU support in Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Introducing public health approaches to AVR:** On the basis of international standards and emerging best practice, states of the three regions are beginning to consider public and population health-based approaches to AVR. In line with resolution EUR/RC55/R9 on prevention of injuries in the WHO European region, governments and the WHO placed injury and violence prevention at the top of the public health agenda. The WHO assists countries such as Belarus, Cyprus, Romania, the Russian Federation, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey in developing their national violence and injury prevention policies and frameworks. The WHO assures capacity building by improving injury surveillance and evidence-based practice and evaluation, and by providing technical assistance to improve care for victims. Finally, best practices are disseminated to the network and collaboration with other agencies (WHO, 2008b).

## V. Concluding reflections

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Armed violence can affect the ability of communities and states to achieve their development aspirations. Lingering risks such as arms availability, transnational organized crime and cultural and economic factors act as 'development disablers' for communities and households. Many countries in the Caucasus, Eastern Europe and South-Eastern Europe are taking steps to prevent and reduce armed violence. In some cases they are receiving support from a variety of multilateral organizations and bilateral partners. Some successes are being registered. But the road ahead is a long and difficult one.

This Briefing Paper finds that while armed violence appears to be relatively low across most countries in the three regions, it nevertheless represents a potential flashpoint. Armed violence is highly heterogeneous—both between and within states. Certain countries—notably those in the Caucasus and South-Eastern Europe—are more affected than others. All countries continue to suffer various persistent risks and symptoms of armed violence. On the whole, however, armed violence is today lower than a decade ago. This is in part a testament to focused interventions adopted by affected governments, civil society and other partners. But additional actions can still be taken to further prevent and reduce armed violence.

If homicidal violence and victimization is going to be reduced, persistent risk factors should be addressed. These include the continued abundance of small arms and light weapons, excessive surplus and poor stockpile management, corruption and the escalation of transnational organized crime, inefficient security and justice institutions, concentrations of youth unemployment, and violence against women. Governments in all three regions can initiate simple but effective direct and indirect programmes based on evidence and good practice.

**Annexe 1**  
**Refugee population by origin in Eastern Europe, 1995–2006**

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Albania	5,803	5,785	5,785	5,353	6,288	6,802	7,626	10,761	10,385	10,470	12,722	14,080
Armenia	201,442	203,231	203,690	193,150	193,231	5,786	7,207	13,249	13,162	13,422	13,965	14,918
Azerbaijan	200,520	236,086	234,950	329,657	311,131	284,277	268,759	260,214	253,255	250,581	233,675	126,068
Belarus	84	501	303	290	1,507	2,519	3,696	6,364	7,815	8,244	n/a	9,371
Bosnia and Herzegovina	769,753	993,868	849,241	640,075	598,193	504,981	447,321	406,448	300,006	229,339	109,930	199,946
Bulgaria	4,156	3,246	3,048	3,122	2,653	2,404	2,121	2,841	2,567	2,215	n/a	3,438
Croatia	245,572	310,088	349,307	338,089	353,725	335,199	290,279	274,818	230,189	215,475	119,148	93,767
Cyprus	9	10	8	11	16	11	5	7	5	2	n/a	5
Georgia	308	48,489	47,164	35,669	29,878	21,821	17,498	16,975	12,497	6,633	n/a	6,340
Greece	222	250	178	174	164	125	97	301	270	224	n/a	91
Hungary	2,348	3,083	2,669	1,242	800	518	953	3,517	3,395	2,749	n/a	3,118
Moldova	529	5,829	5,141	2,754	2,407	2,657	3,737	10,130	11,146	11,937	12,064	11,680
Montenegro												135
Romania	16,978	11,871	8,951	10,921	8,558	7,348	6,052	8,847	8,387	5,916	11,502	7,234
Russian Federation	207,034	173,723	198,063	172,730	28,314	40,310	45,156	91,626	96,420	107,967	103,037	159,381
Serbia												174,027
Serbia and Montenegro	86,120	103,967	106,654	115,292	172,509	146,748	144,231	327,587	296,632	236,999	189,989	
Slovakia	26	57	70	143	178	220	191	595	667	619	n/a	741
Slovenia	12,860	3,368	3,414	3,302	3,295	3,284	765	858	610	582	n/a	1,760
Ukraine	1,701	6,107	6,348	4,596	12,236	19,312	26,716	85,265	94,148	89,579	84,288	63,723
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	12,883	13,041	12,747	1,939	2,089	2,176	12,197	8,107	5,982	5,106	n/a	7,940
Turkey	44,866	50,354	47,341	45,019	44,012	47,155	47,090	193,704	185,687	174,574	170,567	227,232

Source: UNHCR (1994–2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b)

**Annexe 2  
IDPs in selected countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, 2006–2007**

Country	Monitored by IDMC as of December 2007	IDPs protected / assisted by UNHCR as of end-2006
Armenia	8,400	—
Azerbaijan	572,531	686,586
Bosnia and Herzegovina	124,958	135,500
Croatia	2,900	3,975
Cyprus	210,000	—
Israel	150,000–420,000	—
Montenegro	—	16,196
Russian Federation	17,907–136,550	158,905
Serbia	247,500	227,590
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	790	—
Turkey	954,000–1,200,000	—

**Source:** IDMC (2007); UNCHR (2007a)

**Annexe 3**  
**Trafficking dynamics of human beings in Caucasian, East European and South-Eastern European countries\***

Source country		Transit country	Country of destination	Countries and territories of destination	
Albania	X				Greece, Italy, territory of Kosovo, TFYR Macedonia Internal trafficking is on the rise.
Armenia	X				Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Russian Federation, Turkey, United Arab Emirates
Azerbaijan	X	X			India, Iran, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Turkey, United Arab Emirates
Belarus	X	X			Bahrain, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Israel, Japan, Lithuania, Poland, Russian Federation, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates
Bosnia and Herzegovina	X	X	X		Western Europe Internal trafficking increased dramatically over the past years.
Bulgaria	X	X	X		Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, TFYR Macedonia, Turkey
Croatia	X	X	X		Western Europe
Czech Republic	X	X	X		Austria, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands
Georgia	X	X			Greece, Russian Federation, Turkey, United Arab Emirates Internal trafficking.
Moldova	X				Albania, Austria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Turkey, Russian Federation, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, and other Western European countries Internal trafficking.
Montenegro		X			Western Europe
Romania	X	X	X		Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey Internal trafficking.
Russian Federation	X	X	X		Armenia, Australia, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Greece, Germany, Italy, Japan, Malta, Middle East, New Zealand, South Korea, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United States, Vietnam Internal trafficking.
Serbia	X	X	X		Western Europe Internal trafficking.
TFYR Macedonia	X	X	X		Bosnia, Serbia, Western Europe Internal trafficking.
Turkey			X		
Ukraine	X	X	X		Argentina, Armenia, Austria, Bahrain, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Spain, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom Internal trafficking.

**Note:** \*The table does not represent an exhaustive list.  
**Source:** USDOS (2008)

**Annexe 4**  
**Main small arms and light weapons transfer partners per country, 2006**

Region	Country	Transfer destination 1	Transfer destination 2	Transfer provenance 1	Transfer provenance 2	Weapons type of provenance 1 and 2*
Caucasus	Armenia	Italy	—	Serbia	Russian Federation	Rocket launchers, grenade launchers and sporting and hunting guns
	Azerbaijan	Italy	—	Russian Federation	Germany	Sporting and hunting guns and rifles
	Georgia	Italy	Namibia	Croatia	Albania	Rocket launchers, grenade launchers and cartridges
Eastern Europe	Belarus	United States	Germany	Germany	Austria	Sporting and hunting rifles and cartridges
	Moldova	—	—	Russian Federation	Italy	Muzzle-loading firearms and shotgun cartridges
	Russian Federation	United States	Venezuela	Germany	Italy	Sporting and hunting guns and rifles
	Ukraine	South Korea	United States	Germany	Russian Federation	Sporting and hunting guns and rifles
	Albania	Georgia	Israel	Italy	Spain	Shotgun cartridges and sporting and hunting guns
South-Eastern Europe	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Austria	Lithuania	Serbia	Austria	Revolvers and pistols and shotgun cartridges and parts thereof
	Bulgaria	United States	Germany	Germany	Italy	Shotguns and hunting guns and parts and accessories of shotguns or rifles
	Croatia	United States	Georgia	Italy	Czech Republic	Sporting and hunting rifles and cartridges
	Cyprus	Europe	Turkey	Slovakia	Russian Federation	Sporting and hunting guns and cartridges
	Greece	Cyprus	Germany	Italy	Germany	Sporting and hunting guns and parts and accessories of revolvers and pistols
	Italy	United States	France	Turkey	Germany	Sporting and hunting rifles and parts and accessories of shotguns
	Montenegro	Serbia	Finland	Serbia	Italy	Military weapons and cartridges
	Romania	United States	Iraq	Italy	Austria	Revolvers and pistols and cartridges
	Serbia	United States	Myanmar	Slovakia	Italy	Sporting and hunting guns and cartridges
	TFYR Macedonia	Ukraine	Albania	Austria	Serbia	Revolvers and pistols and cartridges
	Turkey	United States	Italy	Italy	Germany	Shotgun cartridges and parts thereof and cartridges

**Note:** \* Unless otherwise specified, cartridges refer to UN Comtrade code 930630 (Other cartridges & thereof bombs, grenades, torpedoes, mines, missiles & similar munitions of war).  
**Source:** UN Comtrade (2007)

**Annexe 5**  
**Estimated firearm distribution by region**

Region	Country	Population	Civilian possession	Civilian firearms per 100 residents	Law enforcement firearms	Armed forces firearms
Caucasus	Armenia	3,016,400	380,000	13	17,000	400,000
	Azerbaijan	8,388,000	290,000	3	14,000	500,000
	Georgia	4,474,400	330,000	7	20,000	300,000
Eastern Europe	Belarus	9,775,600	710,000	7	36,000	700,000
	Moldova	4,205,800	300,000	7 <sup>a</sup>	15,500	165,000
	Russian Federation	143,113,700	12,750,000	9	525,000	45,000,000
	Ukraine	47,075,300	3,100,000	7	175,000	7,000,000
South-Eastern Europe	Albania	3,130,000	270,000	9	11,500	39,000
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	3,907,100	675,000 <sup>b</sup>	17 <sup>c</sup>	18,900	121,000 <sup>d</sup>
	Bulgaria	7,740,000	480,000	6 <sup>e</sup>	59,400	505,000
	Croatia	4,443,400	950,000	21	14,000	600,000
	Cyprus	757,800	275,000	36	2,800	22,000
	Greece	11,104,000	1,500,000	14	40,000	1,100,000
	Italy	58,607,100	7,000,000	12	370,000	2,700,000
	Montenegro	650,000	150,000	23 <sup>f</sup>	5,100	2,000
	Romania	21,634,400	160,000	1	81,000	1,200,000
	Serbia	8,064,300	3,050,000	38 <sup>g</sup>	53,000	780,000
	TFYR Macedonia	2,034,100	490,000	24 <sup>h</sup>	10,500	85,000
	Turkey	72,065,000	9,000,000	12	230,000	3,200,000

**Notes:** Official firearms data is given precedence. When such data is unavailable, estimates are used. Civilian totals can include both registered and unregistered firearms. Estimates do not include non-state combatant holdings.

<sup>a</sup> The UNODC estimate, based on Karp (2007) and SEESAC (2006c), is a rate of 3 firearms per 100 citizens (UNODC, 2008a, p. 83).

<sup>b</sup> A survey conducted by BICC estimates legal and illegal firearms possession at between 593,000 and 601,381 (BICC, 2004).

<sup>c</sup> The UNODC estimate, based on Karp (2007) and SEESAC (2006c), is a rate of 22 firearms per 100 citizens (UNODC, 2008a, p. 83).

<sup>d</sup> Based on written correspondence from Amna Brebic, UNDP.

<sup>e</sup> The UNODC estimate, based on Karp (2007) and SEESAC (2006c), is a rate of 9 firearms per 100 citizens (UNODC, 2008a, p. 83).

<sup>f</sup> The UNODC estimate, based on Karp (2007) and SEESAC (2006c), is a rate of 29 firearms per 100 citizens (UNODC, 2008a, p. 83).

<sup>g</sup> The UNODC estimate, based on Karp (2007) and SEESAC (2006c), is a rate of 24 firearms per 100 citizens (UNODC, 2008a, p. 83).

<sup>h</sup> The UNODC estimate, based on Karp (2007) and SEESAC (2006c), is a rate of 30 firearms per 100 citizens (UNODC, 2008a, p. 83).

## Endnotes

1. In the early 1990s, armed conflict violence in South-Eastern Europe was predominantly intra-state in nature. After the wars ended in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, the Balkans witnessed fighting over the province of Kosovo, resulting in a NATO intervention in 1999. Fighting erupted in South Serbia in 2000. In 2001 ethnic clashes led to a short period of civil unrest in The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in early 2008, after the territory of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, the area around northern Mitrovica became the centre of civil unrest, causing political instability and insecurity.
2. These include conflicts in Chechnya; fighting over the breakaway republic of Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan; and fighting in Georgia over the breakaway regions of Abkhazia (1992–1994 and 1998) and South Ossetia, which resulted in a short war between Georgia and the Russian Federation in August 2008.
3. See GD Secretariat (2008) and <www.genevadeclaration.org>
4. Including Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.
5. Including Belarus, Moldova, the Russian Federation (including Chechnya) and Ukraine.
6. Including Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey.
7. See, for example, Pridemore (2003).
8. National statistics show that homicides declined from 413 in 2000 to 268 in 2005 (UNODC, 2008a, p. 37).
9. This estimate excludes Africa, Oceania, East and South-East Asia and South Asia, where data is insufficient. See GD Secretariat (2008, p. 75).
10. Albania's firearm homicide rate, which is the highest in the region, is low compared to global standards (UNODC, 2008a, p. 84).
11. On a global scale, male homicides outnumber female homicides by a multiplier of four or five. Research for the *Global Burden of Armed Violence* shows that countries experiencing a high homicide level have lower female homicides, representing between 8 and 10 per cent of the total homicides. On the other hand, countries with a low homicide level experience a higher proportion of female homicides, representing roughly 25 to 45 per cent of the total homicides (GD Secretariat, 2008, pp. 80–81).
12. The *Global Burden of Armed Violence* records at least 52,000 direct conflict deaths each year between 2004 and 2007, showing an increase of direct conflict deaths between 2005 and 2007 (GD Secretariat, 2008, pp. 9, 15).
13. Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Georgia, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel (and Palestinian Territories), Kenya, Myanmar, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, TFYR Macedonia, Thailand, Turkey, and Uganda.
14. When compared to the global average, however, the proportion of female and child fatalities in Georgia was disproportionately high. World Health Organization estimates in the *Global Burden of Disease* dataset show that the share of female direct conflict deaths for 2004 represents 15.6 per cent for the global estimate and 11.5 per cent of those for the European continent (WHO, 2008d).
15. See, for example, Zurikashvili (1998, p. 5).
16. See, for example, <www.norveska.ba/press/rdc-bbd.htm>
17. This figures includes complete and incomplete records from the *Bosnian Book of Dead*. Complete records account for 82,257 total direct conflict deaths of which 6,632 fatalities are female, representing 8.1 per cent of all fatalities.
18. See Ball, Tabeau and Verwimp (2007, p. 29).
19. More than 200,000 people are killed 'indirectly' in war zones each year. See GD Secretariat (2008).
20. Even for well-covered war zones such as Sudan, DRC, and Iraq, epidemiological surveys are partial and controversial.
21. For example, the Sarajevo-based Research and Documentation Center expanded its Human Losses project to cover indirect victims of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1991–1995. The project is to cover civilian and military personnel dying from hunger, lack of medical care and of freezing, among other categories. The project outline announces that first results are expected in early 2010 (RDC, 2008).
22. ERW refers to unexploded ordnance and abandoned explosive ordnance (conventional munitions containing explosives) left behind after the end of an armed conflict. See ICRC (2003, Art. 2).
23. It may also signal a tightening of Western European, North American and Australian immigration procedures during the past decade.
24. For instance, most of the refugees in The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are ethnic minorities such as Roma from the territory of Kosovo.
25. According to UNHCR, IDPs outnumber refugees by a ratio of two to one (UNHCR, 2006, p. 153).
26. For countries with a range of estimates, the lower estimates are used.
27. See, for example, Vlachová and Biason (2005, p. 27) and UNIFEM (2007).
28. Honour killings occur in some parts of Turkey (BBC, 2005a). While there are no reliable statistics, it is estimated that some 60 women are killed due to honour killings every year in Turkey (BBC, 2005b). Some reports indicate that the number of female victims of honour killings increased since 2003 (Benmayor, 2008). Turkey has reformed its penal code as part of the country's efforts to enter the European Union. Life sentences have also been introduced for committing honour killing crimes, which is an important deterrent. But much more remains to be done to protect women. More shelters are needed to offer refuge to women seeking protection. Women (and men) should also be informed about their rights as citizens, while communities must be encouraged to adapt their behaviour (Kardam, 2005).
29. See Krkeljic (2007, p. 27). These figures must be treated with caution. The spread and impact of domestic violence has not been adequately documented in the region, including by institutions dealing with perpetrators and victims. More systematic reporting of the use of firearms in domestic violence is also required.
30. A shelter house in Modrica, for example, recorded that in 2006, 70 per cent of 206 victims of domestic violence were threatened with murder, including with firearms (SEESAC, 2007, p. 9). See also Walsh (1997).
31. Estimates vary from 14,000 to 50,000. See, for example, UN OCHA/IRIN (2005).
32. See Bastick, Grimm and Kunz (2007).
33. See Ward (2002, p. 73) and OMCT (2006, p. 27).
34. The Geneva Declaration Secretariat reports that non-conflict armed violence generates direct and indirect economic effects exceeding the costs of armed conflicts. The economic costs of non-conflict armed violence in just 90 countries—measured in terms of lost productivity—is USD 95 billion and may reach as high as USD 163 billion per year. See GD Secretariat (2008).
35. In contrast, most other Eastern European countries import weapons from Italy or Germany. The Caucasus countries export weapons primarily to Italy. Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia also import weapons, principally from South-Eastern Europe and the Russian Federation.
36. Worldwide, Serbia and Cyprus rank fifth and sixth, respectively.
37. There does not appear to be a direct correlation between civilian possession of firearms and homicide rates. It is arguable that high rates of firearms possession are reflected in the cultural and historic practices of specific regions.

- Indeed, a SEESAC survey undertaken in 2005 and 2006 identified the major reasons attributed to gun ownership as personal protection and protection of personal property from theft or robbery (SEESAC, 2006a).
38. The estimates for civilian holdings can but do not necessarily include illegal firearms possessions.
  39. Information from the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, received through written correspondence from Amna Brebic, UNDP.
  40. Civilian casualties or damages to civilian infrastructure were also caused by explosions on a military base near the airport of Sofia in July 2008, in Vir (Montenegro) and Paracin (Serbia) in 2006 and at an ammunition storage site in Ukraine in 2004.
  41. The Albanian Ministry of Defence has reported that about 100,000 tons of ammunition is stored in former army depots across the country and more than 14,000 tons of ammunition is stored around Tirana, representing five times the munitions that caused the Gërdec tragedy. These depots can pose a serious threat to citizens and inhabitants. While most firearms are stored in strictly guarded underground depots, about a dozen tons of munitions are not properly stored or guarded (SEESAC, 2008a; 2008b).
  42. Many countries adhere to low standards for surplus management and storage due to a lack of staff, finances and guidance. NATO membership offers a straightforward route to enhancing surplus destruction. Support from military and development partners is another means to improve surplus management and destruction.
  43. For most of the countries under review, organized crime is not necessarily linked to a high level of violence (UNODC, 2008a, p. 47). Nevertheless, killings that are politically motivated or linked to the 'underworld' do occur, as demonstrated by incidents in Croatia and other countries in the three regions (BBC, 2008).
  44. It is estimated that about 100 tons of heroin are smuggled through South-Eastern Europe for Western markets (UNODC, 2008a, p. 58).
  45. There are large disparities between estimated figures of trafficking in persons. The US Department of State's *Trafficking of Persons Report 2008* states that out of 800,000 people who are trafficked across national borders, approximately 80 per cent are women and girls and up to 50 per cent are minors (USDoS, 2008, p. 7). The International Labour Organization estimates in its 2005 report that 2.45 million people are trafficked into forced labour annually worldwide. Forty-three per cent are trafficked into forced commercial sexual exploitation in the forms of forced prostitution or forced pornography; of these, 98 per cent are women and girls (ILO, 2005, p. 6).
  46. The extent of trafficking in human beings in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe is difficult to measure. A limited judicial system and widespread corruption makes detection hard and regional estimated unavailable (UNODC, 2008).
  47. Moldova has been criticized for not implementing even minimum standards (USDoS, 2008, pp. 53–252).
  48. The findings from 2000 may differ from the situation at the time of writing. The rates were 21 per cent in Minsk, 17 per cent in Tbilisi and Moscow, 16 per cent in Sofia and Kiev, 10 per cent in Budapest and Zagreb, 6 per cent in Prague and 2 per cent in Ljubljana.
  49. According to the *Kanun*, women and children are excluded from blood feuds, but Albania's Committee of Nationwide Reconciliation observed that in recent years the rule protecting children from blood feuds was broken (Marku, 2007). As a consequence, it is believed that between 1,000 and 1,200 children are locked indoors and remain without schooling (Smith, 2008; Bilefsky, 2008).
  50. The Committee of Nationwide Reconciliation succeeded in reconciling 652 families during 2002 and 2003 (CNR, 2004). But in 2004, 1,600 conflicts were identified as likely to produce a victim.
  51. See, for example, Muggah and Krause (2008).
  52. AVR refers to armed violence prevention and reduction throughout this Briefing Paper.
  53. Baseline studies have been undertaken by Saferworld, SEESAC and the Small Arms Survey. Police and judicial data are more seldom analysed and more difficult to obtain. See, for example, SEESAC (2006d).
  54. The World Health Organization has supported such efforts in selected Russian hospitals (WHO, 2008c, p. 29).
  55. See, for example, <[www.developmentandtransition.net/index.cfm?module=ActiveWeb&page=WebPage&DocumentID=639](http://www.developmentandtransition.net/index.cfm?module=ActiveWeb&page=WebPage&DocumentID=639)>
  56. These types of activities appear to be most effective in resource-poor environments but do not seem to thrive in contexts where considerable official development aid is available.
  57. Recent fighting between Georgia and Russia revealed that Georgia strengthened its military capabilities with support from the United States, different EU members, Ukraine and other states despite existing standards restricting such activities. This underscores the fact that politically binding instruments can be circumvented (Mampaey, 2008).
  58. One activity is awareness raising on widely accepted violence against women. For more information, see UNFPA (n.d.).
  59. A recent survey reveals that approximately three-quarters of all reported homicides in Croatia were committed with unlicensed handguns (SEESAC, 2006e, p. ii).
  60. The SCP toolkit can be found at <[www.seesac.org/resources/RMDS%2005.90%20Safer%20Community%20Plans%20\(Edition%204\).pdf](http://www.seesac.org/resources/RMDS%2005.90%20Safer%20Community%20Plans%20(Edition%204).pdf)>
  61. See <[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm)>
  62. UNDP is leading different recovery and development projects in crisis areas: Abkhazia, in territories affected by the Russia–Georgia conflict and in the North Caucasus.
  63. CAFAO was established in 1996 and has since grown to address assistance in indirect taxation collection (e.g. sales tax and excise duties) in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.
  64. For more information, see <[www.astynomia.gr/index.php?option=ozo\\_content&perform=view&id=1415&Itemid=60&lang=EN](http://www.astynomia.gr/index.php?option=ozo_content&perform=view&id=1415&Itemid=60&lang=EN)>
  65. SECI members include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey.
  66. SECI partners include Austria, the Czech Republic and Italy.

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