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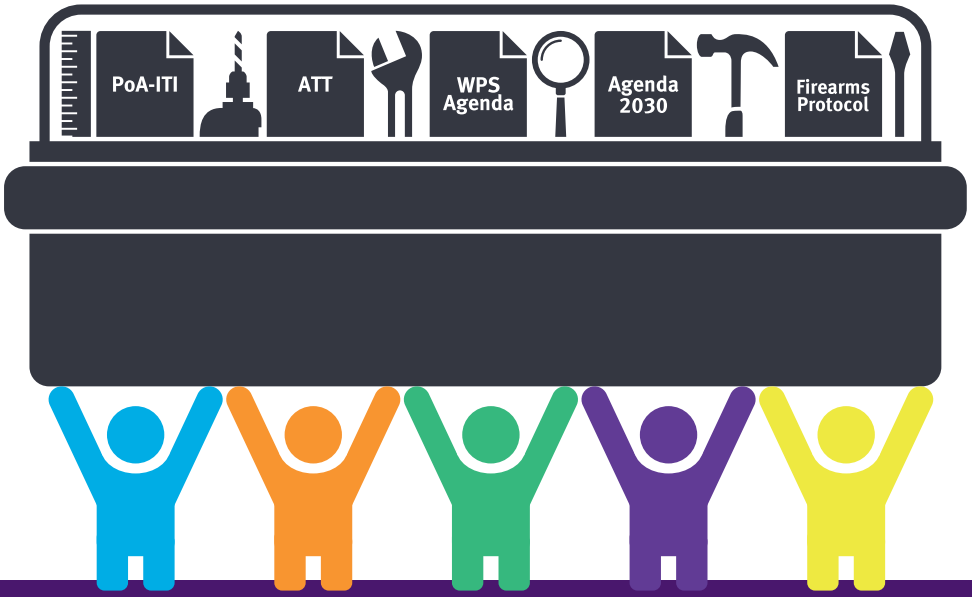

Gender-responsive Small Arms Control

A Practical Guide

Edited by Emile LeBrun

small arms survey

HANDBOOK

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Canada

A publication of the Gender Lens for Arms Control Support and Sustainability (GLASS) project, with support from the Government of Canada

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About the Small Arms Survey

The Small Arms Survey is a global centre of excellence whose mandate is to generate impartial, evidence-based, and policy-relevant knowledge on all aspects of small arms and armed violence. It is the principal international source of expertise, information, and analysis on small arms and armed violence issues, and acts as a resource for governments, policymakers, researchers, and civil society. It is located in Geneva, Switzerland, and is an associated programme of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.

The Survey has an international staff with expertise in security studies, political science, law, economics, development studies, sociology, and criminology, and collaborates with a network of researchers, partner institutions, non-governmental organizations, and governments in more than 50 countries.

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About the GLASS project

The Gender Lens for Arms Control Support and Sustainability (GLASS) project generates evidence-based, gender-responsive knowledge for addressing the negative impacts of the proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons, and for enabling the universalization and effective implementation of international arms control instruments. GLASS contributes to increasing women's participation in multilateral policymaking fora and to integrating gender perspectives in arms control policy and practice.

The project has three components:

- **Gender and Arms Control**: facilitating gender mainstreaming in international arms control decision-making processes by seeking to strengthen both women's increased and meaningful participation in multilateral policymaking fora and the effective inclusion of gender analysis in arms control policy and programming.
- **Converging Agendas**: identifying relevant points of convergence of international agendas on arms control; women, peace and security; and sustainable development, and enhancing international arms control frameworks and instruments through gender-informed and gender-responsive approaches.
- **Building the Evidence Base**: supporting effective, relevant, and efficient arms control policymaking and programming by providing accurate data, gender-informed and evidence-based tools, and resources to policy practitioners.

The GLASS project provides a forum for thematic discussion during multilateral disarmament events; evidence-based tools for policymakers to adopt gender-responsive approaches to arms control policy and practice; and access to unique data, analysis, and resources.

The project is supported by Global Affairs Canada—the Weapons of Mass Destruction Threat Reduction Program. For more information, please see:

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
BMS5	UN Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons (PoA) Fifth Biennial Meeting of States
BMS6	UN PoA Sixth Biennial Meeting of States
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIFTA	Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, and Other Related Materials
CSP	Civilian Secretariat for Police
CSP3	Third Conference of States Party to the Arms Trade Treaty
CSP4	Fourth Conference of States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty
CSP5	Fifth Conference of States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty
DFID	Department for International Development
DMEL	Design, monitoring and evaluation, and learning
DVA	Domestic Violence Act
DV/IPV	Domestic violence and intimate partner violence
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
FCA	Firearms Control Act
GBV	Gender-based violence
GCA	Gun Control Alliance
GFSA	Gun Free South Africa
GGE	Group of Governmental Experts
HLPF	High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development

IAEG-SDGs	Interagency and Expert Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IPV	Intimate partner violence
ITI	International Tracing Instrument
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender
LGBTQI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOSAIC	Modular Small-arms-control Implementation Compendium
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD–DAC	OECD Development Assistance Committee
OSAGI	Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
PoA	UN Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons
PCoP	Portfolio Committee for Police
RevCon	PoA Review Conference
RevCon1	PoA First Review Conference (2006)
RevCon2	PoA Second Review Conference (2012)
RevCon3	PoA Third Review Conference (2018)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPS	South African Police Service
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEESAC	South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons
UN	United Nations

UNDG	United Nations Sustainable Development Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNODA	United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
UNSG	United Nations Secretary-General
VAWG	Violence against women and girls
VNRs	Voluntary National Reviews
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
ZAR	South African rand

Introduction

The last two decades have seen the steady convergence of global agendas on small arms control; women, peace, and security; and sustainable development. For small arms control programmers, policymakers, and donor governments, this convergence requires a shift in thinking and a new approach to project implementation. In particular, it is now broadly accepted that significant reductions in armed violence will not be achieved without the full and equal contributions of people of all genders—and a better understanding of the gendered underpinnings of violence and insecurity.

The challenge now is to reflect these understandings in practical programming. Disarmament efforts, for example, will miss the mark if they do not take account of the gendered dynamics of arms acquisition, use, and misuse in affected areas. Similarly, community violence-reduction initiatives will lose credibility—and effectiveness—if they do not incorporate the contributions of community members of all genders in their design. Once the effort is made, the benefits are considerable. Enhancing the gender responsiveness of small arms programmes makes them more effective and furthers the aim of gender equality.

Gender-responsive programming, however, is not yet the norm. In part, this is due to a lack of comprehensive guidance enabling diplomats, relevant government ministries, and practitioners to develop, support, and evaluate small arms programmes through a gender lens. The present Handbook seeks to fill that gap.

The Handbook takes the reader from an overview of the shifts in the global policy landscape to the specifics of gender-responsive project planning and execution. It is designed to be as practical as possible, with key messages and selected examples included in each chapter to enhance its practical utility. The intended audience of this Handbook is, in fact, broad and non-expert; potential readers include diplomats with small arms portfolios, donor government agencies, and NGOs working on small arms control.

The Handbook consists of four main chapters and a case study, each written by different authors:

- **Chapter 1** explains why the incorporation of gender in small arms programming is important, and defines key terms and concepts that are crucial to gender-responsive small arms programming and used throughout the volume.
- **Chapter 2** analyses the recent convergence of the global small arms control regime; the Women, Peace and Security Agenda; and Agenda 2030, explaining where they are mutually reinforcing—while also stressing the ongoing challenge of translating gender-related guidance and commitments into practical programming.

Bridging Chapters 2 and 3 is a **case study** that offers a gendered analysis of the development of the Firearms Control Act (2000) of South Africa, focusing on the extent to which the concerns of women, in particular, were reflected in the law's development and implementation, while also exploring the gendered impacts of the law.

- **Chapter 3** outlines some of the gendered impacts of small arms, based on available data, and provides a gendered analysis of the various stages of the small arms life cycle and related interventions, including small arms manufacture; use and misuse; transfers and diversion; and stockpile management.
- **Chapter 4** indicates how to mainstream gender into design, monitoring, and evaluation processes, focusing on key decision-making points that have a significant impact on these processes.

In summary, the Handbook offers practical guidance designed to make small arms programming more effective, inclusive, and sustainable by taking account of the different experiences and perspectives of people of all genders. Gender-responsive programming can also help transform the gender dynamics that underpin violence—not only supporting gender equality but also addressing both the effects and causes of violence.

—Author: Emile LeBrun

CHAPTER 1

What and Why: Gender-responsive Small Arms Programming

Introduction

Armed violence destroys the lives of people of all genders. Whether in acts of intimate partner violence, gang- or drug-related violence, individual homicides or suicides, or during the course of armed conflict, armed violence is one of the most damaging aspects of contemporary life. It is also a highly gendered phenomenon—involving and affecting people of different genders in distinct ways that are often tied to underlying assumptions and expectations about their roles in society. Addressing such violence effectively requires *gender-responsive* programming.

These observations are not wholly new. The predecessor to today's Women's International League for Peace and Freedom highlighted the negative impacts of arms proliferation on gender relations and peacebuilding as early as the First World War (Tickner and True, 2018, p. 222). In more recent years, gender has been increasingly linked to development, conflict, and security in policy circles. Yet it took 100 years for the respective agendas to explicitly converge.

Many of the United Nations Security Council resolutions (UNSCR) that comprise the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda make explicit reference to the impact of arms, armed conflict, or sexual violence on women and development,[1] and to the key role of women's participation in small arms control (UNSCR 2242 (2015b, para. 15)). Meanwhile, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) embodied in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development have embraced the need for both full gender equality and arms control for sustainable development: SDG 5 seeks to 'achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls', while SDG 16 aims to 'promote peaceful and inclusive societies', with Target 16.4—aiming, inter alia, for a significant reduction of illicit arms flows—being of particular importance to the small arms control regime (UNGA, 2015).[2]

Similarly, UNSCR 2106 (2013a) and 2220 (2015a) on small arms encourage women's meaningful participation in combating the illicit small arms trade and emphasize the need for gender-informed data collection to better understand its

1 UNSCR 1325 (2000, paras. 10 and 16); UNSCR 1820 (2008); UNSCR 1888 (2009a); UNSCR 1960 (2010); UNSCR 2106 (2013a); UNSCR 2242 (2015b); UNSCR 2467 (2019, preamble p. 3).

2 Other targets call for a reduction of all forms of violence, including against women and girls (Targets 5.2, 16.1), for 'women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership' (Target 5.5), and for 'responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels' (Target 16.7). The latter makes gender analysis a necessary precondition for the successful achievement of SDG 16 (UNGA, 2015).

social impacts. Article 7(4) of the Arms Trade Treaty requires exporting states to evaluate the risks of misuse of small arms for serious acts of gender-based violence or violence against women and children (UNGA, 2013, art. 7(4)). The outcome document of the Third Review Conference of the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms is replete with references to the importance of reducing the illicit trade in small arms for combating gender-based violence (para. 14), increasing women's engagement in decision-making and implementation for small arms control agreements (para. 15), mainstreaming gender into small arms control policies and programmes (para. 76), and gender disaggregation of data (para. 79) (UNGA, 2018a). These convergences are described in more detail in Chapter 2.

Yet despite these increasingly intertwined agendas, national action plans for WPS and small arms controls exist largely in isolation and make few, if any, linkages to the other issue area; the gap between the international agendas and their implementation on the ground remains large. Overcoming this disconnect is critical to improving programming so that it becomes truly gender responsive (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Gender responsiveness makes programming more effective, inclusive, and sustainable by taking account of the different experiences of all genders, making sure small arms programmes do not 'forget' important groups affected by or driving armed violence. It can also contribute to transforming the gender dynamics that underpin violence, and thus support gender equality. In this way, it can address both the effects and causes of violence.

This Handbook provides guidance on how to incorporate gender concerns—not as an optional add-on or a box to tick in policies and programmes but rather as a mode of thinking and working. This implies asking and addressing the relevant questions at each stage of the programming cycle. By doing so, gender analysis becomes part of the programming process in the most cost-effective manner possible. This Handbook is designed to provide a roadmap for practitioners, diplomats, and donors to become accustomed to this way of thinking and working.

The following section introduces core concepts related to gender that define a common language for this Handbook and the application of the strategies it outlines. It draws on the concepts most widely used within international discussions around the converging agendas, focusing on what is most relevant to programming discussions. This section will allow users to engage in informed discussions

around gender and related concepts and terminology, about which there is sometimes no universal agreement.[3]

Core concepts related to gender

This Handbook understands **sex** as the physical or biological classification as male or female[4] assigned to a person at birth based on a combination of bodily characteristics, such as chromosomes, hormones, internal reproductive organs, and genitals (IASC, 2015, Annexe 2, p. 320). It is contrasted with the concept of **gender**, which gives meaning to the sex category. For the purpose of this Handbook, gender[5] refers to socially constructed ideas about the attributes and opportunities associated with a person based on their assigned sex (male, female, or other) and in the context of social, political, economic, and cultural relationships. These constructed attributes, opportunities, and relationships are learned through socialization processes, vary across contexts, and can change over time. In short: gender is socially and culturally constructed, relational, context specific, and changeable.

Gender norms are social rules that define what is desirable and possible for persons within a gender category in terms of social and economic roles, political power relations, sexual orientation, and a range of other behaviours. They establish normative ideals of what it means and entails to 'be a man' (**masculinities**) or 'be a woman' (**femininities**).[6] Such 'hegemonic' or 'dominant' norms are socially more desirable and powerful than alternative masculinities, femininities, or gender identities across a wide spectrum of **gender diversity**. In relation to armed violence, dominant masculinity norms are often linked to militarized status symbols,

3 While many UN documents refer to 'women, men, boys, and girls', terms like 'gender equality' often remain undefined in UN discourses and international regulations, including in the agendas this Handbook addresses. See also True and Parisi (2013, p. 37).

4 Common definitions of sex exclude non-binary (intersex) categories, though this is changing. Some countries now offer non-binary categories of registration at birth. Sex is the category used for male/female data disaggregation.

5 The gender definition used in this Handbook combines several widely used definitions from OSAGI (2001), UNICEF (n.d.), and UN Women Training Centre (n.d.).

6 These terms are pluralized to emphasize that there are always multiple understandings of masculinity or femininity, even though certain notions may be dominant or privileged in a particular place and time.

such as the possession, display, or use of a weapon and the use of violence to resolve conflict (see Chapter 3).[7]

Different cultures use different terms to describe people who have same-sex relationships or exhibit non-binary gender identities. Among the most resonant at the international level are **LGBT**, which stands for 'lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender'; **LGBTI**, for 'lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex'; and **LGBTQI**, for 'lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex'. Because their sexual orientation or gender identity does not correspond with social and cultural norms in many contexts, LGBTQI persons face risks of becoming subject to specific kinds of armed violence.[8]

Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of all persons irrespective of their sex or gender. To achieve gender equality, everybody—men, women, girls, boys, and persons with other gender identities—should be engaged and committed to taking into account the diversity of experiences of and between social groups, and the different needs and interests of people of all gender identities.[9]

Gender mainstreaming is a 'set of specific, strategic approaches as well as technical and institutional processes adopted' to achieve the goal of gender equality (UN Women, n.d.). Using gender analysis and other tools, gender mainstreaming assesses:

> *the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making*

7 For analyses of masculinity, see the studies of Connell and Messerschmidt (2005); Kimmel, Hearn, and Connell (2005); and Myrttinen, Khattab, and Naujoks (2017). Gender diversity acknowledges 'that many peoples' preferences and self-expression fall outside commonly understood gender norms' (UN Women Training Centre, n.d.). Different terms are used to refer to gender-diverse persons and social groups, e.g. queer (Weber, 2014, p. 598), or non-binary or gender-fluid (Hessmann Dalaqua, Egeland, and Graff Hugo, 2019, p. 10).

8 UN Free & Equal (n.d.) provides a useful summary of most of these terms.

9 This definition is based on working definitions by the UN Women Training Centre (n.d.) and its expanded version by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), which references the UN Women definition (Hessmann Dalaqua, Egeland, and Graff Hugo, 2019, p. 10). It recognizes the fluidity of gender as a category, beyond the binary notion used for collecting sex- and age-disaggregated data. It underlines that gender is not merely a question about 'women' and that it does not suffice to simply 'add women' and expect them to function like men in male-dominated domains, such as security. Only when the diversity of experiences and the different forms of knowledge and needs can be taken into account will gender equality lead to effective and sustainable programming.

women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic, and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. (UNGA, 1997b, p. 28)

This enables small arms programmes and policies to address all relevant forms of violence and to consider the different impacts of those programmes and policies on persons of all genders.[10]

Core concepts related to small arms and armed violence

The Small Arms Survey uses the term 'small arms and light weapons' to cover both military-style small arms and light weapons as well as commercial firearms (handguns and long guns). Except where noted otherwise, it follows the definition used in the *Report of the Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms* (UNGA, 1997a):

- **small arms**: revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns; and
- **light weapons**: heavy machine guns, grenade launchers, portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, recoilless rifles, portable anti-tank missile and rocket launchers, portable anti-aircraft missile launcher, mortars of less than 100 mm calibre.[11]

The term 'small arms' is used in this Handbook to refer to small arms, light weapons, and their ammunition (as in 'the small arms industry'), unless the context indicates otherwise, whereas the terms 'light weapons' and 'ammunition' refer specifically to those items. The term **firearms** (or **guns**) comprises small arms and heavy machine guns.

Armed violence is used in this Handbook to mean 'the use or threatened use of weapons to inflict injury, death or psychosocial harm' (OECD, 2011, p. ii). Crucially for small arms-related policies and programmes, this definition covers the spectrum of violence—from organized activities by a state or group in the

10 See also True and Parisi (2013, p. 37).

11 To this list, the Survey has added single-rail-launched rockets and 120 mm mortars, as long as they can be transported and operated as intended by a light vehicle (Small Arms Survey, n.d.a).

context of armed conflict or war to acts of violence where the conditions of armed conflict are absent, such as in criminal, gang, or inter-personal violence, including domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence. Small arms control programming is one important way to address armed violence.

Gender-based violence (GBV) is any harmful act perpetrated against a person based on socially ascribed gender differences (UN Women Training Center, n.d.). GBV can be sexual (such as harassment, rape, forced prostitution, genital mutilation, sexual slavery, or 'honour crimes') or involve other forms of physical violence (such as beatings, assault, or human trafficking), emotional or psychological violence (such as humiliations or confinement), or socioeconomic violence (such as unequal access to services, opportunities, or rights).[12] GBV **includes violence against women and girls (VAWG), violence against men and boys, and violence against persons with other gender identities**. It can be perpetrated in public or private spaces: **intimate partner violence** is a widespread form of GBV across societies at the global scale (Mc Evoy and Hideg, 2017, pp. 71–74).

GBV reflects and magnifies unequal gendered power relations; for example, **VAWG** has been acknowledged as:

> *a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of full advancement of women*.[13]

Similarly, gender-based **violence against men and boys** has been used by male and some female perpetrators to subordinate, humiliate, and symbolically 'emasculate' or 'feminize' those considered 'other'. This reinforces perpetrators' power positions, which are often linked to heterosexual militarized masculinities.[14] Small arms form part of these masculine norms and are often used to perpetrate or enable the commission of GBV (for example, Dziewanski, LeBrun, and Racovita, 2014, p. 14). For this reason, understanding the dynamics of GBV and its links to small arms proliferation and misuse in a given context is important for gender-responsive small arms programming.

12 See Acheson (2019a, p. 6; 2019b, p. 10).

13 The definition quoted here, from the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (UNGA, 1993), is focused on violence against women, but applies equally to girls.

14 See IASC (2015).

Core concepts related to gender in small arms programming

This Handbook provides guidance for **gender-responsive** small arms policy-making and programming. Gender responsiveness means ensuring that relevant programmes and projects take into account specific gender dynamics—including dominant social and cultural expectations and roles of people based on their gender identities—in a given society, time, and place (see Chapter 3).[15]

Gender-responsive small arms control programming may be **gender sensitive** or **gender transformative** depending on whether it seeks to change underlying gender norms in order to achieve sustainable reductions in small arms violence—and to achieve gender equality.

Gender-sensitive programming considers the impact of gender inequalities on achieving programme goals. Gender sensitivity takes gender dynamics into account at all stages of programming, with a view to meeting the programme objectives, but does not necessarily seek to change or influence gender roles and relations.

Gender-transformative programming goes further by addressing underlying gender inequalities; promoting shared power, control, and decision-making; and supporting women's empowerment towards more gender-equal relationships. This can entail critical reflection of individual attitudes, institutional practices, and broader social norms that are at the core of gender inequality.

Simultaneously, gender-transformative programming goes beyond women's enhanced representation and participation, as it seeks to influence dominant gender norms that contribute to violence.[16] This Handbook advocates for gender-transformative approaches for more effective and sustainable solutions to armed violence.

These approaches contrast with 'gender-neutral' or 'gender-blind' small arms programming, which ignores or fails to take gender into account, or fails to acknowledge context-specific gender dynamics. Such approaches may passively reproduce or actively exacerbate underlying harmful gender dynamics that underpin armed violence, so may actually be 'gender negative'.

15 This definition draws on UN Women (2018, Annexe 1, p. 44).

16 The brief definitions in this section are adapted from Eckman (2002); Racovita (2018, p. 5); UNFPA, Promundo, and MenEngage (2010, p. 14); UNICEF (n.d.); UN Women (2018, Annexe 1, p. 44); and UN Women Training Centre (n.d.).

Tools for incorporating gender in small arms programming

Gender analysis is an analysis of the gender aspects of a given problem, and is the core tool to identify gender-responsive small arms programming components. Gender analysis asks questions about the differences between the positions of people of different genders relative to each other, and about their access to resources, opportunities, constraints, and power in a given context. Gender analysis identifies underlying gender norms and their relationship to weapons and armed violence.[17] Gender analysis also examines how gender intersects with other identity markers, such as age, class, ethnic caste, religion, sexual orientation, rural/urban location, disability, or marital status—an approach known as **intersectionality** (see Chapter 3, Box 2).

Collecting **sex- and age-disaggregated data** is imperative for making small arms programming gender-responsive, effective, and sustainable. This is reflected in the outcome document of the Third Review Conference of the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms (UNGA, 2018a) and in the SDGs (UNGA, 2015). Obtaining disaggregated data is a core requirement for gender analysis and a precondition for gender-responsive small arms programming. Sex-disaggregated data collection and analysis on small arms-relevant indicators (starting from those on armed violence: 16.1.1, 16.1.2, and 16.1.3) is therefore a priority for programming.[18] Whenever possible, data collection should also be disaggregated by other categories (as indicated by SDG Target 17.18) to account for other identity markers (UNGA, 2015).

This Handbook also refers to 'meaningful' and 'full and effective' representation and participation for women and girls in small arms programming.[19] **Meaningful participation** is achieved when women and men hold equal power positions and have, and make use of, the same opportunities to contribute to processes and outcomes. If conducted from the outset of small arms programming, gender analysis makes unequal representation and participation visible, and can help improve the programming process to become more inclusive (UNSG, 2018). Meaningful participation moves past superficial efforts to 'include women without genuinely extending them the opportunity to influence outcomes' (UNSG, 2018, para. 29).

17 Compiled from EIGE (2018, p. 4); Reaching Critical Will (n.d.); Save the Children (2014, p. 53); and UN Women Training Centre (n.d.).

18 See UNSD (2019) for the full list of indicators related to the SDGs.

19 Often focused on enhancing women's decision-making roles, the importance of meaningful participation extends to all gender and age groups, as detailed in the MOSAIC modules 06.10 and 06.20 (UN, 2018a; 2018b).

Conclusion

As with many global agendas, gender-responsive norms and programming approaches take turns leading one another. In the small arms control community, norms around gender have evolved relatively quickly, leaving programming to catch up. As the importance of gender gains traction with diplomats, policymakers, and donors, programmers will be asked for gender-responsive assessments and be expected to show at least incremental progress along defined indicators. The first step is to assess where each organization, project, and programme stands, and to identify steps towards increasing gender responsiveness. This Handbook offers a set of practical tools that can be used to do so—with the ultimate aim of making gender-neutral (or -negative) initiatives gender transformative.

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CHAPTER 2

Converging Agendas: Global Norms on Gender, Small Arms, and Development

Introduction

Those who experience small arms violence first-hand understand its negative impacts on individuals, communities, and societies very well. Yet holistic policy responses from the international community have been slow in the making. Historically, most of the relevant multilateral fora have been siloed in the domains of sustainable development; women, peace, and security; and small arms control.

Deliberate efforts by progressive governments and civil society have begun to integrate these domains around the edges. In particular, there is notable progress to incorporate gender perspectives into multiple areas of small arms control and other disarmament efforts. United Nations (UN) resolutions, conference outcome documents, and joint governmental statements provide a normative—and sometimes legal—basis for stopping arms transfers that perpetuate gender-based violence; call for sex- or gender-disaggregated data collection; ensure gender-sensitive arms control programmes; or advocate for women's meaningful participation in all levels of disarmament, and for cohesion with other relevant UN agendas.

These recent developments build on years of civil society advocacy, research, and testimony. In turn, the small arms control community has taken note of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and is pursuing tangible ways to build on the undeniable relationship between armed violence and sustainable development, in order to achieve mutual goals of peace and prosperity. These are undoubtedly steps in the right direction. But gaps and challenges remain—as well as pockets of political pushback against these developments.

This chapter provides an overview of how three multilateral frameworks are increasingly connected: the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda; the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; and the global small arms control regime. It introduces the core principles, key mechanisms, and implementation platforms that form the basis of those frameworks. The chapter then identifies three areas of convergence between these frameworks: their common objectives; opportunities to leverage data collection; and how they advance gender perspectives in security policy. Following an overview of trends, the chapter illustrates gaps and challenges, as well as opportunities for further action. This chapter should not only have immediate relevance for diplomatic communities but also offer insights for other government officials, small arms control practitioners, and civil society groups working across these domains.

Understanding the normative and legal landscape

This section summarizes the normative and legal mechanisms the international community has developed to respond to the challenges of gender-based violence, socioeconomic underdevelopment, and small arms violence. Table 1 summarizes the various ways in which the main instruments within each agenda promote gender perspectives.

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Core principles and approach

The WPS Agenda is perhaps best understood as a set of approaches jointly rooted in the principle that 'effective incorporation of gender perspectives and women's rights can have a meaningful and positive impact on the lives of women, men, girls, and boys on the ground' (PeaceWomen, n.d.a). While this is applicable to every facet of women's lives, the WPS Agenda focuses on how women are differently affected by violence and conflict, and the role they can play in building and sustaining peace to enhance the security of all persons. By advocating for a gender perspective in peace and security, which includes looking at whether and how men and women are affected differently by a particular circumstance or problem, the unique needs of women can be addressed and their different capabilities highlighted (George and Shepherd, 2016).

The WPS Agenda has four pillars: participation (in peacebuilding and post-conflict resolution), prevention (of violence and derogation of rights), protection (from violence), and relief and recovery (creating the structural conditions necessary for sustainable peace) (PeaceWomen, n.d.a). The first three are referred to as the 'three Ps'.

Key mechanisms

Although the importance of women's experiences and capacities has been recognized for decades or more,[20] its inclusion at the highest levels of international policymaking has been piecemeal (PeaceWomen, n.d.b). For many decades after the establishment of the UN, feminists' efforts to shape its agenda had typically focused on development, human rights, and violence against women by working

20 Important precursors to UNSCR 1325 include the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (UNGA, 1979) and the 1995 Beijing Declaration (UN Women, 1995).

within human rights bodies or specialized commissions, such as the Commissions on the Status of Women, Sustainable Development, and Social Development (Cohn, 2004, p. 3). Participation in the security sphere is something relatively new.

The adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, 'Women, Peace and Security', in 2000 is regarded as a milestone achievement in this regard (Otto, 2017). It was the first time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and their targeting by combatants, and represents the culmination of years of advocacy. Key provisions include commitments to:

- increase participation and representation of women at all levels of decision-making;
- pay attention to specific protection needs of women and girls in conflict; and
- include a gender perspective in post-conflict processes: UN programming, reporting, and Security Council missions (PeaceWomen, n.d.a).

By stressing the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security, UNSCR 1325 moves beyond framing women solely as victims or a vulnerable group (PeaceWomen, n.d.a). UNSCR 1325 has been followed by eight other resolutions (UNSCRs 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, and 2467), which together are considered the core of the WPS Agenda.

Implementation

National Action Plans (NAPs) are a primary vehicle for the implementation and localization of UNSCR commitments (Rahmanpanah and Trojanowska, 2016). These documents outline the domestic and foreign policy actions undertaken to meet the WPS objectives, and are envisioned as a critical way to ensure compliance with the provisions of the resolutions. The first NAPs were implemented around 2005. As of August 2019, 81 UN member states and 11 regions have established a NAP—although the scope of activities they describe, as well as their implementation, is uneven.[21] For example, fewer than half include an allocated budget for implementation, and many demonstrate insufficient analysis and consideration of the connection between disarmament, gender equality, and violence (PeaceWomen, 2019).

21 PeaceWomen, a programme of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), conducts regular monitoring and analysis of NAP implementation (PeaceWomen, 2019).

In considering implementation more broadly, there remains an imbalance among implementation of the 'three Ps'. Most notably, the protection of women and girls continues to be overemphasized, at the expense of the prevention of violence and conflict (Mahmoud, 2018). Some feminist scholars have expressed concern that this pattern perpetuates the perception that women are vulnerable and needing protection from men rather than recognizing their agency (Mahmoud, 2018; Puechguirbal, 2015). Others stress that the WPS Agenda has been co-opted in a way that perpetuates militarism and violence, rather than effecting change and advancing peace as originally intended.[22]

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

Core principles and approach

The 2030 Agenda is a broad and interdependent approach to sustainable socio-economic development that builds on earlier multilateral processes and agreements. The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), agreed to in 2000, were the principal global framework seeking to eradicate extreme poverty by 2015 (Aryeetey et al., 2012, p. 2). Despite widespread political support for the MDGs and negotiated targets and timelines, progress towards their achievement was uneven. As it became apparent that targets and goals would not be met, the Post-2015 Development Agenda was initiated in 2012 to define the global development framework that would succeed the MDGs.[23]

At the Rio+20 Conference in 2012, a non-binding UN resolution set out many of the basic principles that later became the foundation of the SDGs (UNGA, 2012). The 2030 Agenda and its goals represent a holistic approach to development by considering a wider range of factors than the MDGs did, as well as how they interact with one another. Significantly for this Handbook, 'the 2030 Agenda clearly connects development with peace, security, and arms control' (McDonald and De Martino, 2016, p. 1).

Key mechanisms

The 17 SDGs are the primary mechanisms of the 2030 Agenda; the UN General Assembly adopted them in resolution A/RES/70/1, 'Transforming our world: the

22 Cohn (2004), Nikoghosyan (2017), Otto (2017), and Shepherd (2016).

23 Additional information about the post-2015 process, including key documents, can be found online (UNDESA, n.d.a).

2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development' (UNGA, 2015) amid strong political support and commitment. Given the interdependent nature of the goals and the holistic approach, the whole agenda is relevant for improving and advancing small arms control and WPS. Two SDGs, however, contain elements of particular relevance to this Handbook.[24]

SDG 5 seeks to: 'Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls'. All of the SDG 5 targets are synergistic with the WPS Agenda, but Target 5.1 ('End all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere') and Target 5.2 ('Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation') represent a platform from which to approach improving women's participation in disarmament and ending small arms-related gender-based violence (GBV).

SDG 16 seeks to: 'Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels'.

Each SDG has its own set of targets, of which there are 169 in total, measured by sets of indicators. The most relevant SDG 16 target is 16.4: 'By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime'. It has two indicators: 'Total value of inward and outward illicit financial flows (in current United States dollars)' (16.4.1), and: 'Proportion of seized, found or surrendered arms whose illicit origin or context has been traced or established by a competent authority in line with international instruments' (16.4.2). A subsequent section of this chapter describes how the small arms control regime can assist in meeting this target.[25]

The annual High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF) serves as the central UN platform for follow-up; it is intended to 'facilitate sharing of experiences, including successes, challenges and lessons learned' and 'provide political leadership, guidance and recommendations for follow-up' (UNDESA, n.d.c).

Implementation

As mentioned, all targets have sets of indicators that are intended to both guide governments in their approach to SDG implementation and ensure a transparent

24 Details about the goals described in this section are taken from 'Sustainable Development Goals', available online (UNDESA, n.d.d).

25 SDGs 3, 4, 10, and 11 are not covered in depth in this Handbook, but also have relevant aspects.

and equitable platform to assess progress. The process of establishing these indicators was complex, involving input from many sectors, and included debate about fundamental questions, such as how to deal with indicators for which the most relevant kind of data was not readily available (Dunning, 2016). Ultimately, the UN Statistical Commission's Interagency and Expert Group on SDG Indicators (IAEG-SDGs) agreed to the indicators and continues to oversee the process.

An important aspect of the HLPFs is the voluntary national reviews (VNRs), which member states submit to provide updates on their progress towards implementing the 2030 Agenda and SDGs.[26] The 2018 SDG Report indicates that, in some countries, gains are being made towards reaching certain goals, while in other areas progress is poor. In many countries, data collection remains a fundamental challenge (UN, 2018c, p. 3).

Small arms control regime

Core principles and approach

The international small arms control regime is a patchwork of global and regional agreements that seek to prevent small arms proliferation, diversion, and misuse by addressing supply, demand, and transfers in the context of both legal and illegal markets. The mechanisms described below are broadly complementary, and are all rooted in a desire to reduce the human suffering caused by small arms and light weapons.

Key mechanisms

Multiple mechanisms comprise the international small arms control regime—although the word 'regime' here connotes an informal set of institutions and norms that guide behaviour rather than a formally interlocking set of legal instruments under a single umbrella. The core of the regime consists of four instruments:

- **The UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects**—also referred to as the **PoA** or **UN Programme of Action on Small Arms**—of 2001 is the foundational normative agreement for all international small arms control efforts. Its politically binding global commitments provide a basis and mandate for states to further develop and implement practical measures to curb the illicit

26 See the Voluntary National Review Database (UNDESA, n.d.b).

trade in small arms at all levels (UNODA, n.d.). These include improving and strengthening national legislation, regulations, processes, and procedures concerned with small arms controls on imports and exports, marking, tracing, stockpile management, record-keeping, and reporting (UNGA, 2001b).

- **The UN Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition**—commonly known as the **Firearms Protocol**—was adopted on 31 May 2001 and entered into force on 3 July 2005 (UNGA, 2005). It is one of three protocols of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, agreed in November 2000 (UNGA, 2001a). While it is the first legally binding global instrument to address small arms, the Protocol is more limited in scope compared to the PoA; however, it can be viewed as a law enforcement instrument that requires its states parties to criminalize illicit manufacturing and trade in firearms (UNGA, 2001a, art. 5).
- When the PoA was adopted, member states recommended the UN establish a Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) to study 'the feasibility of developing an international instrument' on identifying and tracing small arms (UNGA, 2001b, s. IV, para. 1(c), p. 17). The GGE's report led to the adoption in 2005 of the **International Tracing Instrument (ITI)**. Like the PoA, the ITI is a politically binding instrument that provides rules for cooperation on tracing. Its provisions focus on five areas of activity: marking, record-keeping, cooperation in tracing, implementation, and follow-up activities (UNGA, 2005).
- The **Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)** of 2013 is a multilateral instrument that regulates international transfers of conventional arms, including small arms (UNGA, 2013).[27] It is considered a landmark treaty for its deep integration of human rights and humanitarian concerns in a global arms control agreement. The ATT obligates states parties to assess the potential negative human and humanitarian impacts of a prospective weapons transfer—and the potential for diversion to illicit markets—prior to authorization for export. They must consider the likelihood of transferred arms being used to commit or facilitate genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and serious human rights and international humanitarian law violations, including GBV (UNGA, 2013, Arts. 6 and 7).

27 Conventional arms include much larger systems, such as tanks, combat aircraft, and warships.

Additionally, there are multiple regional and sub-regional small arms control and transfer agreements in place, most notably in Africa, Latin America, and Europe.[28]

Two UNSCRs (2117 and 2220) have been adopted on small arms, in 2013 and 2015 respectively (UNSC, 2013b; 2015a). The Human Rights Council has also adopted resolutions on firearms (UNHRC, 2015; 2018) and arms transfers (UNHRC, 2016; 2019). In 2017, the High Commissioner for Human Rights issued a report on the topic of arms transfers and human rights protection (UNHRC, 2017). The UNGA First Committee passes multiple small arms-related resolutions annually, some of which now reflect the 2030 Agenda or gender considerations.

Implementation

Implementation of the four main mechanisms listed above varies, in terms of both actual adherence to commitments and the creation of relevant infrastructure to support implementation or mobilize resources. All four have regular meeting cycles, in which states parties or member states evaluate progress towards implementation and can—at least in theory—strengthen or build on the original instruments. The ATT has a secretariat; the PoA and ITI are considered together by a shared implementation support system. In some countries and regions, national small arms focal points and commissions provide additional support and oversight for implementation and coordination, although the PoA itself does not mandate these.

Reporting, often used as a mechanism to assess compliance and foster transparency, is mandatory for ATT states parties and voluntary under the PoA (UNGA, 2013, art. 13; UNGA, 2001b, para. 33). Reporting is mandatory under the ITI. States parties to the Firearms Protocol report on progress as part of their broader reporting under the Organized Crime Convention, and in 2012 states parties established an open-ended intergovernmental Working Group on Firearms to advise and assist implementation (UNODC, 2010).

28 Examples include the Nairobi Protocol (2004); the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials (ECOWAS, 2006); the SADC Protocol on Firearms, Ammunition and Related Materials (SADC, 2001); the European Union Common Position on Arms Export Control (Council of the EU, 2008); the Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, and Other Related Materials (OAS, 1997); and the African Union's 'Silencing the Guns' initiative (AU, 2016), among others.

Table 1 Incorporation of gender perspectives in major global instruments

Less gender transformative ← → More gender transformative				
Refers to impact of arms, armed violence, or conflict on women	**Refers to sexual violence**	**Recognizes direct connection between arms and GBV**	**Recognizes gendered or differentiated impacts of arms or arms regulation**	**Calls for or encourages sex- or gender-disaggregated data**
2030 Agenda				
	SDG Target 5.2 SDG Indicators: 16.1.3 16.2.3			SDG 16 Indicators: 16.1.1 16.1.2 16.2.2 16.2.3 16.7.1 16.7.2
WPS Agenda				
Beijing Platform SCRs: 1325 1820 1888 1960 2106 2242 2467[b]	Beijing Platform SCRs: 1325 1820 1888 1960 2106 2242 2467	Beijing Platform SCRs: 1325 2106 2122 2242 2467	Beijing Platform SCRs: 1325 2122[c] 2242 2467	Beijing Platform SCRs: 1960;[d] 2242;[e] 2467
Small arms control regime				
PoA RevCon2 Declaration and Outcome Document BMS5 Report RevCon3 Declaration ATT		RevCon3 Declaration ATT	BMS6 Outcome Document RevCon3 Declaration and Report	BMS6 Report and Outcome Document RevCon3 Report

Notes:

a. Refers to the other agendas covered in this chapter.

b. References in the WPS resolutions tend to be specific to the impact of 'armed conflict' on women, without necessarily isolating arms themselves.

c. Refers to differentiated impact of armed conflict and human rights violations.

d. Exact language refers to enhancing 'data collection and analysis of incidents, trends, and patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence' (art. 8).

e. Exact language is in reference to 'gender-sensitive research and data collection on the drivers of radicalization for women, and the impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on women's human rights and women's organizations' (art. 12).

Less gender transformative ← → More gender transformative				
Notes the importance of women's participation	**Calls to improve women's participation or equality**	**Refers to importance of gender diversity and/or equality**	**Addresses gender norms and discourse in security**	**Refers to other agendas and/or their instruments[a]**
2030 Agenda				
	SDG Target 5.5	SDG 5		
WPS Agenda				
Beijing Platform SCRs: 1325 1820 1888 2106 2242 2467	SCRs: 1325 1820 2122 2242 2467	SCRs: 1325 1820[f] 1888 2106 2122 2242 2467	WPS Agenda[g] Beijing Platform[h]	Beijing Platform[i] SCRs: 2106 2122 2242 2467
Small arms control regime				
BMS5 Report RevCon3 Declaration	RevCon2 Declaration and Outcome Document BMS5 Report BMS6 Outcome Document RevCon3 Declaration and Report	BMS6 Outcome Document RevCon3 Declaration and Report	RevCon3 Declaration and Report	RevCon2 Declaration BMS5 Report BMS6 Report RevCon3 Report ATT CSP3 Report ECOWAS Convention

f. For this, and SCR 1325, reference is solely to 'Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-first Century (A/S-23/10/Rev.1)', not to gender equality as a concept.

g. The WPS Agenda as a whole is a vehicle for gender analysis in security. Its resolutions address that in varying ways, and with varying levels of success. This does not always equal the promotion of feminist perspectives.

h. The Beijing documents describe, in many places, how gender norms and perspectives interplay with access, power, and security in all forms. They encourage analysis and data collection on the basis of gender or sex, although not necessarily in relation to armed violence or conflict.

i. While the Beijing documents predate the other agendas and their instruments, in multiple places they reinforce the relationships between development, the economy, conflict, violence, and military expenditure.

Key takeaways

- The three agendas are each comprised of multiple instruments, ranging from UN Security Council and other resolutions to politically binding action plans and legally binding instruments. All are rooted within the UN system and enjoy high levels of political support.
- Some instruments have well-developed platforms and institutions to support and measure implementation.
- For all three agendas, implementation is mixed—whether on politically or legally binding aspects of the regimes.

Bringing it all together: areas of convergence

The three frameworks described above share many areas of convergence and the potential for mutually supportive outcomes. Improving existing convergence is essential to developing more effective and coherent policies and programmes in response. None of the challenges these agendas strive to address occur in vacuums or silos; they are interconnected and complex. This section describes two areas of convergence that are particularly visible at the international level.

A human-centric view of security

At the basic normative level, these agendas all seek to improve human security and reduce suffering. In so doing, they each challenge the generally prevailing, narrow, state-centric view of security by emphasizing equality and promoting human development through holistic approaches—an approach that also broadly reflects a feminist view of peace and security.

The WPS Agenda is premised on an integrated approach to security, reflecting the needs of a specific constituency. A fundamental purpose of UNSCR 1325 was to embrace 'for the first time a truly human security perspective overcoming the strictly "hard security" focus that had been its historic domain' (Pillay, 2010).

The Declaration of the 2030 Agenda is likewise clear: 'On behalf of the peoples we serve, we have adopted a historic decision on a comprehensive, far-reaching and people-centred set of universal and transformative Goals and targets' (UNGA, 2015, para. 2). It further affirms 'that no one will be left behind. [. . .] [W]e wish to see the Goals and targets met for all nations and peoples and for all segments of society' (UNGA, 2015, para. 4).

The small arms control regime agreements are also explicit on this point. The preamble of the PoA speaks about its aim of reducing the human suffering caused by the illicit trade in small arms in order to enhance respect for human dignity. It also notes the implications of this trade on 'poverty and underdevelopment' (UNGA, 2001b, preamble, paras. 3, 4, 5). The preamble of the ATT acknowledges that 'development, peace and security and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing' (UNGA, 2013, preamble). Its core normative Articles 6 and 7 put human rights considerations squarely at the centre of arms transfer decision-making. Human rights are the basis of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its Protocols.

The three agendas also strive for improved governance, transparency, and oversight. The VNRs aim to facilitate the sharing of experiences—including successes, challenges, and lessons learned—with a view to accelerating the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. The VNRs are designed to strengthen governments' policies and institutions and to mobilize multi-stakeholder support and partnerships for implementation of the SDGs. Besides its humanitarian objectives, the lack of transparency in the arms trade, and related corruption, was a primary motivation behind the ATT. This is reflected in its Article 1 and reinforced by its reporting obligations.

Leveraging data within and between agendas

One of the immediately visible areas of convergence is the role that implementation of the small arms control instruments can play in helping states to achieve SDG Target 16.4, and Goal 16 more broadly. At the same time, application of SDG indicators on gender and violence reduction can contribute to WPS and small arms control.

All of the small arms control instruments described above have a role to play in achieving Target 16.4. Research organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have explored the potential of using data collected through the reporting requirements and practices of these instruments to verify progress towards Target 16.4 (Control Arms and Oxfam, 2017; McDonald and De Martino, 2016). Some entities encouraged the IAEG-SDG to look at information already being collected through these methods when articulating the Target's indicator. Indicator 16.4.2 measures the 'Proportion of seized, found or surrendered arms

whose illicit origin or context has been traced or established by a competent authority in line with international instruments' (UNGA, 2017). While seizure information alone is insufficient to describe the illicit trade, if detailed it can prove useful. The reporting practices of arms control agreements described in this chapter can facilitate information collection for this indicator (McDonald et al., 2017, p. 3). Such 'repurposing' of data may also stimulate reporting rates and compliance and be a means of communicating progress towards implementing Target 16.4.

More than 40 SDG indicators call for sex-disaggregated data. Not all are directly relevant to arms control or WPS, and some of the datasets they draw from have only partial coverage and suffer from information gaps (Saferworld, 2017, p. 5). In principle, however, mainstreaming data disaggregation for indicators will lead to better understandings of the sex- and gender-differentiated impacts in all three areas—although one study indicated that, when sex-disaggregated data is collected, it is often still too broad to enable quality gender analysis (UNSD, 2015).

Indicators 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 seek to measure physical, sexual, or psychological violence against women and girls caused by either a current or former partner or another person. Given the role of firearms in intimate partner violence and violence against women in many contexts, information obtained from these indicators can inform small arms control programmes and policies, or improve their gender responsiveness in very practical ways. This is reinforced by indicators within Goal 16; for example, indicator 16.1.2 can provide data on who is dying in conflict, and how, because it seeks to measure by sex, age, and cause of death. Indicator 5.c.1—'Proportion of countries with systems to track and make public allocations for gender equality and women's empowerment'—can be a way to not only monitor but also encourage resourcing for WPS programming.

At the target level, some states—such as the UK—are formalizing the relationship between the 2030 Agenda and WPS by integrating relevant SDG targets into WPS tracking to improve data collection, and sharing this across ministries and departments within their NAPs (HM Government, 2018, pp. 25–26).

There are other points of convergence in the context of Goal 16. For example, SDG Target 16.7, 'Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels', correlates with the participation pillar of the WPS Agenda. Both of its indicators rest on evaluations that are sex-disaggregated.

Target 16.b, on the enforcement of non-discriminatory laws, reinforces the Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

The potential to use data collection and indicators across agendas is a valuable opportunity to reduce reporting fatigue and redundancy. Internally, it can be useful for national and local programming (as outlined in Chapter 3) and contribute to project monitoring, evaluation, and learning (as described in Chapter 4).

Advancing gender perspectives in security and development

One of the most multifaceted areas of convergence among these agendas is how they all connect gender perspectives and analysis with security and development. The parallels in the language of the instruments form a basis for further normative progress and set a foundation for tangible actions and activity.

The ATT seeks to address the risk of arms 'being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of GBV or serious acts of violence against women and children' among the criteria that exporting states parties need to consider as part of their risk assessments, stipulated in its Article 7.4. This is a direct link to SDG Target 5.2.

The ATT can also operationalize elements of the WPS Agenda, particularly the prevention pillar (Acheson and Butler, 2018, p. 693), and further reduce the unhelpful overemphasis on the protection of women and girls. UNSCR 1325 mentions disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, but does not refer to 'small arms', the 'arms trade', or 'weapons'. The two WPS resolutions adopted in the same year as the ATT reaffirmed the Treaty's provisions, as did General Recommendation 30 of the CEDAW Committee (Acheson and Butler, 2018, pp. 693–94). UNSCR 2122 contained a first-ever operative paragraph urging women's full participation in controlling illicit small arms (UNSC, 2013c, para. 14).

When adopted in 2001, the only gendered reference in the PoA was in the preamble, which cited the disproportionate impact of small arms on women in a paragraph that unhelpfully grouped them together with children and the elderly (UNGA, 2001b, preamble, para. 6). Owing, in part, to varying cultural and societal perspectives, the term 'gender' is sometimes difficult or not easily accepted; for example, during the ATT negotiations there was a preference for including violence against women rather than GBV. Over time, however, outcome documents of PoA conferences have begun to reflect a more nuanced understanding of the multiple ways in which women are impacted by, or use, small arms. In doing so,

they have mirrored developments in other fora, including the ATT and UN Security Council (IANSA, 2017).

The outcome document of the Third Review Conference (RevCon3) of the PoA in 2018 is a significant step forward in this regard. It builds on progress from Biennial Meetings of States in 2014 and 2016, as well as the Second Review Conference (RevCon2) in 2012. Specifically, it calls for gender mainstreaming in small arms control programmes, encouraging full use of gender-disaggregated data, and the full participation of women (IANSA, 2017, p. 2).

The 2030 Agenda has its own gender-sensitive goals and targets, as already described, but other aspects of it can be supported by arms control efforts. For example, SDG Target 11.7 on Sustainable Cities and Communities—which seeks to make urban spaces safe from physical and sexual harassment—can be advanced by reducing the tools of violence.

While the agendas are broadly synergistic, certain tensions have been noted. Some of the most vocal government proponents of gender equality, GBV prevention, and the WPS Agenda are also some of the largest arms producers, exporters, or importers, and have admittedly struggled with assessing the risk of GBV in their arms transfer decision-making processes (Acheson and Butler, 2018; Gerome, 2016, p. 19). While progressive parties have made inroads into security policy development processes, this has not fundamentally transformed how states approach conflict and security. For this reason, some feminists observe that:

> *[t]he way the UNSC resolutions on WPS have been interpreted, for example, risks promoting women's participation foremost within the highly masculine militarised security structures that tend to generate rather than prevent or end armed conflict* (Acheson, 2015, p.21).

Despite the convergences described here, NAPs rarely consider small arms control; in 2019, only 24 NAPs (30 per cent) included references to disarmament, for example, or provided specific actions to reduce small arms stocks and control the illicit trade of small arms (PeaceWomen, 2019).

The absence of gender considerations in SDG 16 is also a missed opportunity to reinforce the role of women as equal stakeholders in peace talks and post-conflict recovery processes (Saferworld, 2017; IWDA, 2016). As described in the previous section, at least two Goal 16 targets can be interpreted and applied in a way that aligns with WPS, but this has not been made explicit in their formulations.

Key takeaways

- Data collected as part of implementing and reporting on small arms control can be leveraged to monitor progress on SDG Target 16.4, and data collected on gender can be leveraged to support small arms control and armed-violence reduction.
- The ATT and outcomes from recent PoA meetings are helping to advance gender perspectives in security and development at the global policy level.
- More can be done to integrate small arms control into WPS implementation, while also respecting and not co-opting the core values and aims of the WPS Agenda.

Current trends

For many years, the only voices inside UN small arms conference rooms advocating gender perspectives were those of civil society or UN agencies and entities mandated to focus on women's empowerment or gender. Through side events, advocacy and research reports, and oral testimony in formal meetings, these organizations pushed for the legally binding GBV criteria in the ATT, for example.[29] At the same time, local and national women's groups have sought for years to address the relative gender blindness of the PoA (Acheson and Butler, 2018, p. 691).

This has changed significantly in recent years. The establishment of feminist foreign and development assistance policies by Sweden (2014) and Canada (2017), and the prioritization of gender by others—such as Ireland and Trinidad and Tobago—effectively created an informal and unofficial grouping of like-minded states that are now championing these issues in the context of disarmament and arms control fora. Some of this work is done on behalf of the newly formed Disarmament Contact Group of the International Gender Champions; other efforts are independent. More non-governmental actors are also engaging in these topics.[30] The UN Secretary-General's 2018 Agenda for Disarmament calls for 'equal, full and effective participation of women in all decision-making processes relating to

29 The Make it Binding campaign was an initiative of the IANSA Women's Network, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Amnesty International, and Religions for Peace in 2012 and 2013.

30 See, for example, recent publications by the Control Arms Coalition on guidance for ATT states parties on implementing Article 7.4 (Control Arms, n.d.); the GLASS project of the Small Arms Survey; and the research on women's participation in disarmament being conducted by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR, n.d.).

disarmament and international security', as well as for gender parity in all disarmament bodies established by the UN Secretariat (UNODA, 2018, p. 67).

Within multilateral disarmament fora, there have been some tangible results. The high levels of support for acknowledging the importance of gender-responsive small arms control and women's participation during the PoA's RevCon3 culminated in strong language in the final outcome document (UNGA, 2018a). The 2018 UNGA First Committee on International Security and Disarmament adopted 17 resolutions 'that include language on women's equal representation, the gendered impact of different types of weapons, or the need for gender considerations more broadly. This is 25 per cent of all First Committee resolutions in 2018'—an increase of 10 per cent from 2017 and 13 per cent from 2015. Six of these resolutions included language on gender for the first time ever; three others made their language on gender stronger (Geyer, 2018, p. 15). In addition, a biennial resolution led by Trinidad and Tobago was passed on 'Women and disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control' (UNGA, 2018b).

Gender and GBV were the focus of the ATT's Fifth Conference of States Parties (CSP5) in August 2019, under the leadership of Latvia. At CSP5, states parties agreed to a set of recommendations relating to gender balance in representation and participation; improving understanding of the gendered impact of armed violence; and the Treaty's GBV risk assessment provision. The recommendations include a number of practical steps that set a strong foundation for future work in this area—including through using existing ATT mechanisms, such as its working-group structure and Voluntary Trust Fund—but diligent follow-up and commitment are needed to ensure these actions are implemented.

The gains described here are impressive. Certainly, the convergence between some of the key principles of the WPS Agenda and small arms control have never been highlighted so prominently. The 2030 Agenda has likewise become well recognized within the small arms control community, and there have been multiple initiatives to act on that recognition. In such instances, gender considerations in the context of Goal 5 are usually prominent.

In fact, the 2030 Agenda was the focus of the Third Conference of States Parties to the ATT (CSP3) in 2017. Socioeconomic development had not been included as a criterion for arms-export risk assessment in the ATT in 2013, despite strong efforts by some governments and civil society (Basu Ray, 2012). The CSP3 included an expert panel on the subject and an exchange of views. States parties mandated the three ATT working groups to address linkages with the SDGs in their work in the

coming year and report back on this at the Fourth Conference of States Parties to the ATT (CSP4) in August 2018 (ATT Secretariat, 2018, para. 27). Issues of gender and GBV, and the connection to Goal 5, were part of this consideration (Control Arms, 2017).

Throughout the PoA's RevCon3, member states wrestled with how and what to say about the relationship between the PoA and the 2030 Agenda. There were divergent views as to the relevance of the Agenda in its entirety versus specific goals and targets, such as Goal 5 and Target 16.4 (Kalliga, 2018a; 2018b). Those contesting the overall relevance of the 2030 Agenda highlighted that only Target 16.4 has an immediate connection to the PoA, and did not make the same case for Goal 5. The discussions did ultimately help member states unpack how and where they see convergence, facilitating a move beyond mere recognition of the existence of 'synergy', into an important dialogue about what that means in practice. The final outcome document recognized 'important and extensive' links (IANSA, 2018, p. 6) among the agendas—notably as outlined in Paragraph 13 of the Declaration section (UNGA, 2018a, p. 25) —while throughout the operative parts of the document there are references to specific goals and targets.

Interest within the small arms control community in contributing to the success of the 2030 Agenda reflects recognition of holistic responses to common challenges. It is necessary to keep this dialogue progressing, however, to further refine the practicalities of how this is done, by building on the normative connections.

Key takeaways

- There is heightened interest in and support for advancing gender perspectives in small arms control across governments, the UN, and NGOs. This is leading to improved recognition in conference documents and UN resolutions, both within and beyond small arms control.
- Convergence with the 2030 Agenda has been recognized formally within small arms control, but not without opposition.

Obstacles to future progress

As more actors begin to champion convergence between agendas, some are pushing back or voicing other views. Opposing views and dynamics complicated RevCon3, as mentioned briefly above. This section describes other challenges and gaps that require attention.

'Add women and stir'

For all the heightened interest in advancing gender perspectives in small arms control, knowledge gaps remain that can potentially undermine achieving meaningful results. For example, key concepts are often conflated in such a way that 'gender' or a 'gender perspective' is equated with either increasing women's participation or reinforcing the need to protect women. This is problematic in various ways. First, 'gender' encompasses more than just women, as outlined in Chapter 1. A true gender analysis, in this context, requires considering the impact of weapons and the causes of violence (among other things) from the perspective of everyone in a community or place, and in relation to the roles played and experiences had as a result of her, his, or their gender or sex. To achieve small arms programming that is ultimately gender transformative, or at least gender responsive, states will need to become open to engaging with this in a more substantive way—as well as employing more precision and clarity in documents and policies.

Second, the focus on increasing women's participation—while important and a point around which almost all constituencies can rally (see Table 1)—is not an end in itself. If women's participation is not full and meaningful, it will not have the intended effect of ultimately transforming the way security and development policy is formed. Care is also needed to avoid unintended effects of boosting women's participation, notably the sidelining of other affected groups along lines of—for example—class, race, gender, or disability. Ensuring diversity at multiple levels and in multiple forms is a core concept of gender responsiveness (see the case study on South Africa, which describes the impact gender diversity had on decision- and policymaking roles on gun violence there). As discussed above, many states still view women as a vulnerable group in need of protection, rather than—like men—active interlocutors on all sides of the discussion about armed violence.

Not yet a two-way street

Another observation is that the convergence the small arms control community encourages is not fully reciprocated by those working exclusively in development or WPS. In fact, it appears that small arms control-related work in WPS-focused civil society networks is often the result of having a network member who also works on arms control. At the same time, cooperative work across agendas—in terms of not only recognizing but also operationalizing convergence—seems to

be stronger at the national and regional levels than at the multilateral level.[31] This may be due to how governments deal with these agendas, both internally and when participating in multilateral fora, which are equally siloed.[32] It does not appear that the knowledge and experiences of the WPS community are being fully integrated and taken on board by those working in small arms control, for example, or that some key implementation vehicles—such as NAPs—are being utilized to reach mutually reinforcing goals. Few small arms control groups are integrated into the review process of Goal 16 at the 2019 HLPF. There are some positive developments, however; small arms control and disarmament figured prominently on the agenda in the 2019 meeting of the Network of Women, Peace and Security focal points in Namibia, for example, and it is likely that this will continue to be prioritized (UN Women, 2019).

Local to global and back again

A common challenge in all multilateral frameworks is the disconnect between local and global perspectives. The lived experiences of GBV, gender discrimination, or poverty are rarely heard in UN conference rooms. At the same time, decisions taken at the UN and other institutions require time and political commitment to be properly translated into national legislation, policy, and public awareness. ATT working group discussions clearly indicate a wide gap between the diplomatic community's knowledge of the Treaty's requirements, with respect to GBV, and that of licensing officials in capitals (Geyer, 2019); neither has there been significant input from WPS or gender experts (Pytlak, 2019). This is where civil society often plays a critical role—in disseminating information, reminding states of their commitments, and bridging gaps. Women-led grassroots civil society groups have used UNSCR 1325 in a variety of ways that help to operationalize it beyond and apart from the actions of governments, for example.[33]

Yet it is not always possible for such organizations, working across the issues discussed here, to meaningfully influence UN discussions within security fora (Cohn, 2004). Resource constraints remain an obstacle to participation, and certain

31 Author interview with Kristina Mader, Senior Program and Research Officer at NGO Working Group on WPS, 1 March 2019.

32 Author interview with Josephine Roele, Policy, Advocacy and Communications Officer at Gender Action for Peace and Security, 26 February 2019.

33 The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders supports and highlights local and national actions that operationalize WPS commitments. See GNWP (n.d.) for examples.

meeting formats allow only limited opportunities for civil society to make statements or contribute officially.

A related challenge is the gaps within government, between ministries and departments, in which commitments made in multilateral fora are not necessarily implemented, applied, or even understood by officials elsewhere. For example, many ATT states experience challenges with making GBV risk assessments (Gerome, 2016, p. 17; Geyer, 2019), and some licensing officials have said they are not very aware of the ATT's requirements in general—much less those on GBV. Research presented by the IANSA Women's Network at RevCon3 showed that, based on PoA national reports, only 50 per cent of states account for gender in their small arms control processes; of these countries, only 18.8 per cent reported having female members in national small arms commissions, while less than 10 per cent collect disaggregated data (Renois, 2018). This demonstrates that the language of UN resolutions and documentation is not yet being translated into practice.

Key takeaways

- Knowledge gaps remain, including around key concepts and approaches; as yet, there is neither equal nor meaningful gender diversity, nor understanding about gender diversity versus women's participation.
- Awareness within the small arms control community about convergence with other agendas may not be mirrored by groups or networks working exclusively on WPS or development.
- A gap exists between agreements and statements made in UN fora and their application at national levels or by other government officials and departments.
- Local perspectives and lived experiences of GBV are not always well represented or integrated into diplomatic or UN-based discussions.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the key mechanisms that comprise the WPS, 2030, and global small arms control agendas, which jointly share a human-centric approach to security. It has outlined in greater depth two areas of convergence: how to leverage data collection within and between agendas, and opportunities to promote gender perspectives in development and security. The chapter spotlighted how gender perspectives and the 2030 Agenda are being better integrated into

small arms control at the global level. This includes their recognition as areas of thematic focus within the ATT formal meeting structures; inclusion in negotiated documents, such as at the PoA's Third Review Conference and the UN First Committee; and ongoing consideration via informal mechanisms, research, and training.

It also identified tensions and challenges. Knowledge gaps remain with respect to how well information discussed and shared in the UN context is being disseminated to other parts of government, as well as integrating survivor or local perspectives into multilateral discussion fora. The WPS and development community may be less engaged in arms control issues than the arms control community is in gender or the SDGs. There continues to be political opposition.

Yet, momentum to recognize and act on areas of convergence is strong. The Human Rights Council resolution on arms transfers, adopted in July 2019, calls on the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights 'to prepare a report on the impact of the diversion of arms and unregulated or illicit arms transfers on the human rights of women and girls' (UNHRC, 2019). A WPS resolution presented in the Security Council in April 2019 focused on conflict-related sexual violence and reinforced the ATT's GBV-prevention commitments (UNSC, 2019). Goal 16 was among the SDGs reviewed during the 2019 HLPF in July 2019, prompting side events and new resource material on the linkages between agendas. The ATT's focus on GBV is pushing states parties to more thoroughly examine their approaches to this part of risk assessment, as well as how to mainstream gender into all aspects of treaty implementation. The PoA meeting cycle presents ongoing opportunities to solidify and deepen recent gains. The Beijing Platform and UNSCR 1325 have significant upcoming anniversaries. In all these contexts, it will be important not to reverse recent gains, as well as to move towards transforming political commitments into programmes and policies, in order to build on convergences. The remaining chapters in this Handbook describe how to ensure these initiatives are gender responsive, practical, and effective.

—Author: Allison Pytlak

CASE STUDY

Gender and Small Arms Policymaking in South Africa

Introduction

In June 2000, a few months before South Africa's parliament adopted the Firearms Control Act (FCA), police inspector Jeffery Sampson shot and killed his wife, lover, and two young children before turning the gun on himself. He was a registered gun owner (Kirsten, 2008, p. 2). More than 15 years later, in 2016, the national NGO Gun Free South Africa (GFSA) assisted a young woman, Lucille,[34] to make a statement to the police describing her husband's history of violent and abusive behaviour, making the case that he was not 'fit and proper' to be licensed to possess a firearm (South Africa, 2000b, s. 102).[35] As a result, her husband was not issued a competency certificate, which is the first step to applying for a firearm licence. Lucille's case is just one of many that illustrate how laws such as the FCA, if properly implemented and defended, have real-world impacts on the lives of women and men.

The FCA was passed into law at a time of enormous social and political change in South Africa. The collapse of the apartheid era led to the adoption of a wide range of progressive laws, including the new constitution (1996). A new parliament was sworn in with an unprecedented focus on addressing issues pertinent to women and their wellbeing in society, leading to the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996 and the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) of 1998, among others (South Africa, 1996; 1998).

This gender focus is also reflected in sections of the FCA: in the *Application for Competency Certificate* (ss. 9(2) (h) and (l)),[36] which takes domestic violence incidents into account as grounds for refusal, and the *Declaration of Persons as Unfit to Possess Firearm* (ss. 102 and 103), which require the courts, the police, or both to remove guns from owners who misuse their firearms, including in domestic violence. These sections also give the registrar and the courts the power to declare a person unfit to possess a gun if convicted of any offence involving violence or sexual abuse—for which the accused is sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine—

34 Not her real name.

35 Email correspondence with Lucille in 2016. The FCA Regulations note that spousal interviews are required as part of the background check.

36 The full relevant text is as follows: 'Section 9(2) (h): has not been convicted, whether in or outside South Africa, of an offence involving—(ii) physical or sexual abuse which occurred within a domestic relationship as defined in section 1 of the DVA, 1998; section 9(2) (l): has not been convicted of an offence in terms of the DVA, 1998 and sentenced to a period of imprisonment without the option of a fine' (South Africa, 2000b).

and any offence involving physical or sexual abuse occurring in a domestic relationship, as defined in the DVA (South Africa, 2000b). The DVA recognizes that domestic violence includes intimate partner violence, and makes provision for women to report the presence of a firearm in domestic violence incidents, or when applying for a domestic violence protection order (interim or permanent) at the magistrates' courts (South Africa, 1998, s. 4(1)).

Gender, violence, and guns

South Africa is among a small group of non-conflict-affected countries that suffer a great concentration of lethal violence against women and girls (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2015). This includes a female homicide rate of 9.7 per 100,000 population, with high levels of sexual and gender-based violence (GBV) (Small Arms Survey, n.d.d). The *Crime Against Women in South Africa* survey shows that 68.5 per cent of sexual offence victims are women (Stats SA, 2018, p. 19). The cost of GBV is estimated to be ZAR 28.4–48.2 billion,[37] and this is deemed an underestimate, as it does not include the cost of support services or the burden of trauma from experiencing or witnessing violence (Gould et al., 2017, p. 9).

South Africa's high levels of overall violence are influenced by high socioeconomic inequality; social norms that support and legitimize the use of violence, in particular male-on-male violence; weak law enforcement; and wide exposure of children to violence, resulting in the 'intergenerational cycling' of violence (Jewkes et al., 2009).

The gendered nature of gun use and gun violence is complex and multi-faceted in South Africa, as are issues of patriarchy and gender inequality. Patriarchy and gun violence affect men and women in different ways. In South Africa, 81 per cent of legal gun owners are men, of whom 64 per cent are over the age of 50, with the majority of firearms licensed for self-defence purposes (Wits School of Governance, 2015, p. 70). Given the history of firearm ownership in South Africa, in which black South Africans were prohibited from legal firearm ownership, it can be assumed that legal gun ownership is concentrated among white men.[38] While men are also the primary victims of gun violence—accounting for 89 per cent of

37 This was based on calculations for the 2012–13 financial year.

38 Although the central registry keeps disaggregated gun-ownership data, including by race, this information is not publicly available.

total homicides in the country—the majority are young black men, aged 15–29 years, who live in urban areas and are victimized by other young black men with illegal guns (Taylor, 2018, p. 12). Although it is difficult to estimate the number of illegal guns in circulation, the primary diversion point for legal guns is loss and theft of licensed firearms from civilians: on average, 24 guns a day. Police forces lose one gun a day (Taylor, 2018, p. 14).

Although women make up just 11 per cent of all gun-related murder victims (Matzopoulos et al., 2015, p. 305), firearms play a significant role in violence against women (VAW), most notably in the killing of intimate female partners (Abrahams, Jewkes, and Mathews, 2010, p. 586). This is not unique to South Africa; research shows that, in regions with high femicide rates, there are correspondingly high levels of tolerance for VAW and high rates of firearm-related lethal violence (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2015, p. 95). In cases of intimate partner femicide-suicide, perpetrators are more likely to be white; to be employed in the police, army, or private security industry; and to own a legal gun (Mathews et al., 2008, p. 553).

Both black and white South Africans share strongly patriarchal cultures—albeit with different inflections—which endorse their respective gun cultures and gender hierarchies, positioning women as subordinate. These norms convey the idea that men need to protect women from other men's violence, supporting male gun ownership while making women potentially legitimate targets (Langa et al., 2018, pp. 5–6). Some researchers argue that South Africa's high levels of violence are indicative of a crisis of masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa, with many young black men struggling to assert their masculinity 'by securing jobs, marrying, fathering children or establishing their own households' in an environment where women are perceived to be usurping roles previously held by men (Langa, 2014, pp. 166–67).

Although there is no disaggregated data on gun violence by sexual orientation and gender identity, hate violence claims the lives of those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI) at a disproportionate rate. Four out of ten LGBTQI South Africans claim to know someone who has been murdered, with black respondents being twice as likely (49 per cent) as white respondents (26 per cent) to know of someone who was murdered because of their sexual orientation or gender identity (OUT LGBT Well-being, 2016, p. 12).

Law-making in South Africa post-1994: the early days

South Africa's firearms legislation was part of the post-apartheid new democratic era, in which several hundred pieces of legislation were promulgated (South Africa, 2017). In this rich law-making period, South Africa took a dramatic turn, relying on substantial input from civil society organizations and the research and academic community as well as encouraging grassroots participation. Most bills were therefore subject to public scrutiny, including the Firearms Control Bill (South Africa, 2000a), which became the FCA.

Several years before the FCA was passed, the government signalled its intention to address the proliferation of firearms by setting up a number of committees, one of which was to review national firearms legislation (Kirsten, 2008).[39] Appointed by the minister for safety and security in 1997, this committee's brief was to 'produce progressive policy proposals aimed at bringing about a drastic reduction in the number of legal firearms in circulation in South Africa' (Minister for Safety and Security, 1997, p. 1). At the same time, the minister appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the Central Firearms Register.

As in other policy processes in South Africa at the time, civil society organizations and women played a leading role in these two committees; Sheena Duncan[40] chaired the latter, while four of the six members of the policy committee represented civil society, of which GFSA was one.[41] Those who shaped how the issue was framed had a significant impact on both the discourse and the policy solutions adopted; the involvement of women and civil society partners disrupted the traditional discourse, in which men dominated the policy arena based on the assumption they knew more about firearm use and efforts to control their use. The new voices resulted in a more collaborative approach, as well as an emphasis on the public good rather than individual rights.

39 The National Crime Prevention Strategy, approved by cabinet in 1996, was South Africa's road map to address crime; with an emphasis on social crime prevention, multi-sectoral engagement, and partnership building between the police and communities, it proposed a comprehensive firearms control strategy. See Secretariat for Safety and Security (1999).

40 President of the Black Sash, a well-known anti-apartheid human rights organization, as well as chairperson of GFSA.

41 Two representatives from the South African Police Service (SAPS) ; the other four included the South African Communist Party; the South African Gun Owners Association, the South African Institute for International Relations, and the author of this case study from GFSA.

Box 1

Global, regional, and national developments before and after the FCA

A number of developments at the global, regional, and national levels influenced the direction of South Africa's firearms legislation. At the global level, the UN Firearms Protocol, which was the first global instrument to apply a law-enforcement approach to control guns, was negotiated at the same time as the FCA. Within Africa, the Southern Africa Development Community's (SADC) Firearms Protocol, promulgated in August 2001,[42] further reinforced South Africa's efforts to ensure the FCA was rigorously implemented, thereby bringing it in line with most of its neighbours in the Southern Africa region, which had more restrictive legislation—especially regarding civilian firearm possession. Unfortunately, neither the Firearms Protocol nor the SADC Protocol contained gender-specific provisions, and both processes were male-dominated.

Several national gun control movements also influenced the South African experience. The policy response to the targeting and killing of 14 female students in Montreal in 1989, committed with a legally acquired semi-automatic rifle, galvanized the Coalition for Gun Control—led by Wendy Cukier—to overhaul Canada's national firearms legislation (Coalition for Gun Control, 2018; Sevunts, 2019). A cornerstone of this was new background check requirements in the licence application process, including spousal interviews, to reduce the risk of women being killed by a male partner (Canada, 1995, s. 5(2)). The UK and Australia responded similarly to two large-scale massacres in 1996.[43]

These changes did not occur in isolation; there had been years of lobbying—including from women's groups—for policy change, with Rebecca Peters of the Gun Control Coalition playing a leading role in spearheading legislative reform in Australia (Kirsten, 2008). Similarly, the gun control movement in South Africa relied on an alliance of diverse, mainly women-led partners—including the children's sector and community-based organizations—in its successful advocacy efforts to put in place an entirely new firearms control regime. So although the 'internal stimulus' that catalysed action was very specific to the local context at the time, in all instances, the ability of activist women leaders to respond to the specific moment created the momentum for a campaign to influence public policy (Kirsten, 2014).

When the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects (PoA) was adopted in July of 2001, it placed small arms-related violence, and the need to reduce the supply, demand, and availability of illicit guns, at the centre of global policies on small arms and light weapons controls. As part of the PoA process, the UN also finally recognized that civil society has an important role to play in small arms and light weapons policy development, which opened the door to begin the conversation on the gendered nature and impacts of firearm-related violence. Almost 20 years later, at the Third Review Conference of the PoA in June 2018, gender was far more integrated into discussions (see Chapter 2).

Crafting, passing, and implementing the FCA

In South Africa, policy is developed by the executive arm of government within a relevant department. The impetus for a new law usually emerges because an issue has been identified that can best be solved or regulated through new policy or legislation. Firearms control policy is located in the Ministry of Police,[44] and the

42 See SADC (2001).

43 In both these cases, each government had recently been voted into power (in 1995 and 1996 respectively), and both responded swiftly by bringing sweeping changes to national gun laws.

44 At the time the FCA was promulgated, it was called the Ministry for Safety and Security.

Civilian Secretariat for Police (CSP) drives the policy process, adopting a human-centric view of security. It was the CSP that provided the baseline data on firearm-related crime in 2000—while the Firearms Control Bill was being debated in parliament—and it remains one of the most important records on firearm facts and figures, including gun deaths (Chetty, 2000).[45]

There are typically two major steps in developing a new policy framework in South Africa: the Green Paper, a draft policy document in which government presents its thinking to the public and asks for input; and the White Paper, which is the final policy position—in effect, its statement of intent (Kirsten, 2008, pp. 201–02). Although neither of these processes was followed to the letter, in effect, the policy committee report—as well as the CSP baseline data—formed the basis for government's final policy position on firearms control, fulfilling the function of a White Paper. The Bill, approved by cabinet, was gazetted in late 1999 and tabled in parliament in May 2000. During this time, the public was invited to make written submissions; the Portfolio Committee for Police (PCoP) received more than 3,000 submissions—a sign of significant interest in the matter. Some 93 oral submissions were made during the public hearings held in mid-2000. Although the hearings were dominated by the firearm-owning community—the overwhelming majority of whom are white men—significant and diverse inputs were made by members of the Gun Control Alliance (GCA), including public health professionals, researchers, the faith community, and young people living in communities affected by high levels of gun violence (Kirsten, 2008, pp. 127–50).

During the final stage, when the PCoP reviewed the Bill clause by clause, there was resistance across most political parties—including the African National Congress (ANC)—to the inclusion of language that would strengthen the protection of women in their homes, such as reluctance to legislate the issuing of an interim protection order as sufficient grounds for refusal of a gun certificate application. The GCA supported women in important positions in the ANC women's caucus, as well as the sole member of parliament from a minority party in the PCoP, to champion these changes, providing them with examples of good global and regional practice—including the recently passed DVA—and using national data to show the risks women face in the home. This resulted in the inclusion of some measures to protect women, but not the entire set of proposals. Despite the

45 This is, in part, because the SAPS stopped providing data on weapon type for murder; since 2016, however, this data has been included in the annual crime report (see, for example, SAPS (2018)).

increased participation of women in policy and legislative processes, the shared patriarchal culture within the legislative arena was sufficiently strong to remove language on the need to protect women in their homes. The explicit norm asserted was the private domain should not be legislated.[46]

Effects on firearm-related deaths and firearm ownership

The development of a small arms control policy and its implementation over nearly two decades in South Africa shows a discernible pattern of high levels of gun homicide during apartheid and the first years of democracy, followed by a steady decline over a ten-year period, in which the FCA was fully implemented. This seemingly robust trend began to reverse in 2011, closely linked to the waning of state accountability, good governance, effective administration, and capacity of the state to enforce the new law, thereby increasing gun availability (Matzopoulos et al., 2018; Taylor, 2018).

Looking at gendered impacts specifically, the implementation of the FCA contributed to a significant decrease in firearm-related intimate femicide between 1999 and 2009 (Abrahams et al., 2013). A ten-year retrospective study on femicide in South Africa shows that the number of women killed by their intimate partner dropped from four women per day in 1999 to three women per day in 2009, largely due to the decrease in the number of women shot and killed. In 1999, 1,147 women died from gunshot injuries; in 2009, this dropped by more than half to 462 (while deaths from stab and blunt injuries did not reduce significantly over the same period) (Abrahams et al., 2012, p. 3). This significant reduction in firearm-related femicide is consistent with an overall decrease in firearm-related deaths over the same period: gun deaths almost halved from 1998 (34 deaths per day) to 2009 (18 deaths per day) (Chetty, 2000, p. 20; Matzopoulos et al., 2015). Homicides also dropped significantly over a similar period: from a high of 71 murders per day in 1994 to a low of 44 murders per day in 2011 (CrimeStats SA, n.d.; Lamb, 2008).

Yet, since 2011, murders have increased every year; 56 per day were recorded in 2017–18, a rate of 35 per 100,000 population. This upward trend is reflected in firearm-related homicides, with an average of 23 gun deaths per day (SAPS, 2018).[47]

46 Interview with Pregs Govender, April 2019 (then a leading figure in the ANC women's caucus).

47 The SAPS reported that 41.3 per cent of all murders (20,336) were gun-related in 2017–18 (SAPS, 2018). This 'up–down–up' of firearm-related homicides is confirmed by the CSP-commissioned report undertaken by the Wits Schools of Governance.

The steady increase in firearm-related violence can be linked to a breakdown in the national firearms control regime. Poor enforcement and compliance has created a vacuum leading to the increased availability of weapons; for example, 33 per cent of licensed firearm owners failed to renew their licence in 2015–16, though these firearms are still in their possession. The control regime has suffered from both fraud and corruption within the firearms management system, as well as poor stockpile management and under-resourcing (Taylor, 2018, pp. 30–34). In one of the most egregious examples of official failure to enforce the FCA that typifies the recent environment, an ex-police colonel responsible for managing the stockpiles earmarked for destruction stole 2,000 firearms and sold them to gang leaders in the Western Cape, resulting in the death of 89 children (de Wee, 2016; Jacobs, 2016).

Another representative case is Lucille, whose success story opened this study. Some 18 months after her (now estranged) husband was denied a gun certificate due to her testimony, he appealed the South African Police Service decision and was granted a licence.[48] This was most likely a result of poor record-keeping and part of a much bigger criminal justice system failure, including delays in securing domestic protection orders, with local courts seldom ordering the police to remove guns (Vetten and Schneider, 2006).

Conclusion

The features of small arms violence and efforts to control it in South Africa are context-specific but hold lessons for other national efforts to address gun violence and GBV. In South Africa, policymakers and advocates took advantage of a 'defining moment'—the collapse of the apartheid era—to push the envelope in the most progressive direction possible, particularly with regard to civilian firearm possession. This effort had to overcome organized opposition, flowing from the strong historical and cultural ties with firearm ownership, especially for white men. The change in political power meant, however, that this group was no longer privileged; white men needed to engage with the policymaking process with all the other interest groups on a more levelled playing field.

Over almost 20 years, the discernible pattern in firearm-related homicides is strongly linked to the robust initial enforcement of the FCA—and then a slacking

48 Email correspondence, October 2018.

off. The recent increase is a result of a breakdown in the firearms control management system, including poor enforcement, poor compliance by firearm owners, fraud and corruption, poor stockpile management, and under-resourcing and capacity of the police (Taylor, 2018). For other advocates of strong gun laws, the lesson is clear: policymaking is only the first step in the process. Sustained political engagement is needed to fully implement and enforce new laws, because they will continue to face opposition from special interest groups. A final lesson is a more positive one: women's meaningful participation and leadership is becoming felt in an area that, until recently, was limited to male influence and power. Today, South Africa is closer to a situation in which all those affected can help shape policies that affect their own safety and security.

—Author: Adèle Kirsten

CHAPTER 3

Gender and the Gun: Gender-responsive Small Arms Programming

Introduction

Chapter 2 described how the salience of gender to small arms control efforts is increasingly reflected at the global policy level. The impact of these policies on the lives of affected communities and individuals hinges on their implementation at the global, regional, national, and sub-national levels. But because 'gender' is often left unspecified in agreements and normative statements, creative thinking is needed to identify the gender relevance in different kinds of small arms use, and in control programmes designed to make a difference on the ground. Such thinking—involving the application of gender analysis—can be learned and made routine. Instilling this approach into all aspects of small arms programming is the goal of this chapter.

Specifically, this chapter begins by summarizing some of the gendered impacts of armed violence committed with firearms. It then turns to considering how gender dynamics are present at each stage of the small arms 'life cycle', and how those considerations can be unpacked and addressed in the design of gender-responsive interventions. The chapter will be of particular use to organizations and authorities developing, evaluating, or funding such programmes.

Box 2

Taking a systematic approach to gender and other markers

Gender is central to understanding the impacts of small arms and designing effective programming. Gender is sometimes misunderstood as pertaining only to women, or being a stand-alone category (see Chapter 1). To successfully integrate gender into policy and programming, it needs to be approached in a way that is:

- **comprehensive**: examining femininities, masculinities, and other gender identities (and not assuming that 'gender' refers to women and girls only);
- **intersectional**: examining how gender interacts with other social identity markers—such as age, class, ethnic caste, sexual orientation, religion, rural/urban location, disability, or marital status—to affect not only power and agency but also needs and vulnerability;
- **relational**: examining how the relations between gender identities are co-constructed in society (for example, expectations of what it means to 'be a man' come from not only men but also women), and how these define power relations and dynamics; and
- **highly context-specific**: examining how the gendered dynamics and expectations that have a bearing on small arms vary within an area (for example, between an informal settlement and a middle-class suburb in a given city) or between sub-groups of a given broader population (for example, young men with a specific sub-group identity, such as gang membership, compared to the rest of the population).

As this chapter makes clear, gender is of fundamental importance when addressing small arms, whether in terms of acquisition, use, transfer, storage, or other phases of a gun's life cycle. The role of gender, however, needs to be assessed in conjunction with other factors as well, such as class, age, location, or disability (see Box 2).

The gendered impacts of armed violence

Small arms-control projects typically aim to reduce armed violence committed with firearms. It is first important to understand the extent to which armed violence is a highly gendered phenomenon. Of the 589,000 people whose lives were claimed by armed violence in 2017, 84 per cent (493,000) were men and boys and 16 per cent (96,000) were women and girls (Hideg and Alvazzi del Frate, 2019, p. 3). According to earlier research, small arms are used in almost half of all violent deaths globally and in approximately one-third of all killings of women and girls (UN, 2018a, p. 5).

Given that the majority of direct combatants in state and non-state militaries and other armed groups are men—and, to a lesser extent, boys—and that the majority of civilian owners of legal and illicit small arms are men, the majority of perpetrators of armed violence are male. Equally, the majority of casualties in armed conflict are male (Mc Evoy and Hideg, 2017, p. 62).

In many countries considered to be at peace, small arms violence is a leading cause of death for men, though particular male populations are at higher risk than others. If armed violence in non-conflict settings is mainly related to gangs and criminal activity, men and boys—especially young, urban, and socioeconomically marginalized men—tend to predominate as both victims and perpetrators, sometimes by very large margins (Hideg and Alvazzi del Frate, 2019; UNODC, 2018). In some countries, armed violence is also a rural phenomenon; for example, in cattle-raiding in parts of eastern Africa, or in parts of the Sahel, where there is rural armed conflict between civilian herders and pastoralists. In these cases, too, young men tend to be central actors as both perpetrators and casualties, though women and girls may be abducted or become victims of gender-based violence (GBV).[49]

Women and girls are globally more likely to be exposed to domestic violence and intimate partner violence (DV/IPV) and other forms of GBV, including cases

49 See, for example, Lacey (2013), Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016), and Wepundi et al. (2014).

in which small arms play a role.[50] Guns may be used to threaten, coerce, wound, or kill DV/IPV and GBV victims. Data on DV/IPV and GBV is often incomplete or collected using a variety of methods that make comparisons difficult, and work between those focusing on small arms violence and those working on GBV is too often siloed. Nonetheless, emerging findings from both conflict and non-conflict contexts show patterns of increased risks for women when a gun is in the home; data from Europe, Israel, and the United States shows that keeping a gun in the house can increase the risk of the woman living there being killed—even though these guns are often purchased with the intention of making domestic spaces safer from outside intruders.[51] Even in conflict zones with high levels of conflict-related GBV, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo or South Sudan, the home still tends to be the most dangerous place for a woman.[52]

While gender, age, class, location, and ethnicity are reflected in the likelihood of being a victim or perpetrator of armed violence, gender can also be a central cause of armed violence. Misogyny, homophobia, and transphobia—and, more broadly speaking, attempts to punish perceived transgressions of gender norms—are driving forces of femicides; targeted attacks against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex persons; directed killings of female, male, or trans commercial sex workers; and so-called 'honour killings'[53] (UNODC, 2018, pp. 30–37). Firearms are used in a large proportion of targeted killings of women in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America (UN, 2018a, pp. 2–3; UNODC, 2018). In countries with comparatively low overall homicide rates, the proportion of female victims rises—often at the hands of intimate partners—and small arms can play a disproportionately large role (Mc Evoy and Hideg, 2017, p. 65).

Keeping a gun in the home or otherwise accessible also poses risks for men and boys. Where disaggregated statistics are available, men tend to be more likely than women and girls to use guns when attempting suicide—and are often at a higher risk of committing suicide in the first place.[54] Correlating with ownership and the use of guns in male-dominated activities (for example, hunting), men are

50 See, for example, Mazali (2009), Shaw (2013), and Small Arms Survey (2016).

51 See Bailey et al. (1997), Mazali (2009), SEESAC (2016), Stroud (2016), UN (2018a, p. 7), and UNODC (2018).

52 See IRC (2017).

53 This term is problematic because it can be seen as legitimizing violent crimes rooted in misogyny or trans-, bi-, or homophobia against people seen as having brought 'shame' upon their families or communities for allegedly transgressing gender norms.

54 Globally, according to WHO statistics for 2016, male suicide rates (13.5 per 100,000) are almost twice those of women (7.7 per 100,000) (WHO, 2018). See also Alvazzi del Frate and Pavesi (2014).

also more likely to be victims of gun-related accidents, whether caused by themselves or others (Bestetti et al., 2015).

In 2012, at least two million people were estimated to be living with non-conflict-related gun injuries sustained over the course of the previous decade (Alvazzi del Frate, 2012). The degree of medical and psycho-social care received by survivors of armed violence varies greatly between and within countries, and unequal access is often exacerbated by gender, socioeconomic status, or location (Widmer, 2014).

The experience of living with armed violence-related injuries and trauma is also, in part, mediated by gender expectations. For example, men are often socialized in ways that make them less likely to seek care; often face gendered stigma associated with victimhood; or struggle with the difficulties of achieving dominant gendered expectations—such as physical strength, being an economic provider, or agency—due to their injuries or trauma. For women, injuries and trauma caused by armed violence can negatively affect gendered expectations of them fulfilling caregiver roles, or their perceived marriageability (Buchanan, 2014; Widmer, 2014). In many societies, caring for the wounded and disabled is overwhelmingly left to women, especially the unpaid work of caring within the family. Thus, in the case of serious injuries caused by small arms, women and girls—in addition to the emotional burden of having a loved one being a casualty of violence—are often expected to undertake much of the work of attending to the survivors (Widmer, 2014).

Key takeaways

- Gender, together with other social identity markers (age, location, class, sexual orientation, religion, disability), is key to understanding the dynamics and impacts of violence involving small arms—and responding to it.
- Globally, men—especially particular sub-groups of men—are disproportionately the perpetrators of small arms violence. Men are also often the direct victims of armed violence, but women and girls are disproportionately affected by DV/IPV and other forms of GBV, especially involving small arms. Small arms are also used to inflict violence upon people the perpetrators consider to have transgressed gender norms (for example, 'honour killings'; femicide; and trans-, bi-, and homophobic violence).
- The management of the effects of armed violence has highly gendered dimensions (for example, women are often expected to act as caregivers to male victims), with consequences for women's other social roles and opportunities.

Gender-responsive interventions across the small arms life cycle

The small arms life cycle

Guns, like people, have lifespans: they are manufactured; purchased or otherwise acquired; used; stored, re-sold, lost, or stolen; and eventually either cease to function or are deliberately destroyed. The 'small arms life cycle' describes these different stages, from **production**; to **acquisition, ownership, and use**; to **transfers and illicit trafficking**; and, lastly, to **storage and final disposal** (see Figure 1). Small arms control projects can focus on any of these stages, and gender dimensions are relevant at each of them. This is true whether the target population of users or victims is made up of state forces, non-state groups (for example, rebels, self-defence groups, or criminal gangs), or individual civilians (Karp, 2009). Although men form the majority of these actors, women often play important—sometimes unseen—roles.

While gender plays a role at all stages of the small arms life cycle, its salience differs between the stages. While gender roles and expectations are central to addressing the use of guns in DV/IPV, for example, they are more nuanced in the collection of small arms in post-conflict contexts. Even there, however, gender plays a role. In societies where cultural and gender norms are deeply embedded, the ethnicity, seniority (age), and gender of those tasked with collection can influence the dynamics of the entire operation, and may contribute to its success or failure.

Figure 1 Small arms life cycle

Gender dimensions at each stage of the small arms life cycle

Production, acquisition, ownership, and use

The design and manufacture of small arms occurs both in a large-scale industrialized manner and through small-scale artisanal ('craft') producers (Small Arms Survey, n.d.b). The vast majority of the 700,000–900,000 small arms produced annually are made by large-scale arms-manufacturing companies, which

cater to both state security institutions (military, police, border guards) and private (civilian) customers (Small Arms Survey, n.d.c). Individually craft-produced small arms are mainly sold to private users rather than state security institutions, although non-state armed groups might also procure or produce artisanal weapons themselves (Hays and Jenzen-Jones, 2018). There are no publicly available sex-disaggregated global statistics on the workforce designing and producing small arms, but if the industry follows broader employment trends, the majority of its employees are likely men, especially in countries with low female workforce participation. Traditionally, gunsmiths have been men, and in settings in which artisanal production is institutionalized (for example, Ghana, Pakistan, and the Philippines), the production tends to be male-dominated (Hays and Jenzen-Jones, 2018).

Programmes seeking to reduce small arms production (such as craft production), be it formal or informal production, need to ensure men and women involved in the production chain are able to access alternative forms of employment and livelihoods. This is necessary not only to ensure they can support themselves and live up to gendered obligations of providing for their dependents economically but also to avoid them having to resort to illicit means of income generation.

The marketing of guns is highly gendered, and is often very revealing about cultural norms of masculinity and femininity. Guns advertised to (male) civilians are frequently presented with particular masculine-coded attributes and connotations, such as toughness, robustness, or accuracy (Myrttinen, 2003). Prospective buyers are invited to see themselves as special forces team members, cowboys, or aristocratic European hunters of the landed gentry. These are constructed visions of masculinity that may influence individuals' acquisition and use of guns—including in violence.

By the same token, gun makers have frequently marketed easily concealable handguns to women; such guns remain the most popular firearms among women in the United States, for example.[55] Advertising campaigns play on women's fears of being attacked by strangers in public—another cultural vision that is at odds with research, which shows women are far more at risk of attack by their current and former intimate partners in the home (Stroud, 2016).

The limited available data suggests men make up the vast majority of civilian and state owners and users of guns, and, in police and military contexts, men

55 See, for example, Lightfoot (2019) and McAdams (2019).

predominate in roles that involve bearing arms. As women join state armed forces, police, and other official positions where arms carrying is required, this is changing (Small Arms Survey, 2014, p. 64); yet there is no evidence of a notable shift in female civilian ownership rates. Data from nine European countries collated by the Small Arms Survey shows that 96 per cent of licensed gun owners are men, and, while the gap is smaller, men are also the majority of small arms owners in the United States (Dönges and Karp, 2014). Studies in South-east Europe reflect similar trends in attitudes towards small arms ownership, with women being less supportive of ownership than men (SEESAC, 2006, p. 24).

Men and women do not have uniform attitudes towards guns, of course. An individual's opinions are influenced by not only gender but also ethnic, religious, geographic, economic, and personal backgrounds, and relationships with other groups with other backgrounds.[56] This is why armed violence reduction calls for an *intersectional* and *relational* approach. For example, the demand for guns is frequently framed in terms of ensuring 'safety and security' from perceived threats from other groups. But, when probed, this general statement can reveal concerns about livelihoods. In some African contexts, this concern centres on the protection or acquisition of cattle, which is deeply linked to marriage and sexual opportunities—as well as to long histories of inter-tribal retributory violence.[57] Developing and evaluating interventions that target the demand for guns requires an understanding of these underlying localized dynamics, which are often gendered.

An assessment of small arms buyback programmes in Rio de Janeiro, on the other hand, found that older and middle-class gun owners participated in the programme because they feared firearm-related accidents at home, while younger and poorer owners, who lived in more violent conditions or were reliant on guns for illicit economic activities, did not give up their guns (Dreyfus et al., 2008). These findings point to the need for different measures, structural changes, or both.

Guns are often associated with status, and men and women can co-create this association. For example, men may feel that women are more attracted to men with guns, and that men are intimidated by, impressed by, or more accepting of other men with guns. Women may place expectations on men to be armed

56 See also Cukier and Cairns (2009); Moestue and Lazarevic (2010); Stroud (2016).

57 See, for example, UNDP (2016a, pp. 25–27, 35–36), which reports on motivations of South Sudanese civilian men for acquiring small arms.

protectors.[58] These norms may persist despite high levels of risk and violence for men and women. Conversely, women may pressure men to disarm, or seek to upend dominant norms by joining armed groups or gangs themselves, despite the risks.[59]

While these reflections make it clear that gun laws alone can only address some of the dynamics underlying gun violence, they also point to specific possible regulatory measures. One is the establishment of criteria for denying legal gun acquisition by those at high risk for committing DV/IPV, GBV, violent intimidation, and stalking. Australia (New South Wales Police, n.d.), Colombia (Colombia, 2008), South Africa, and the United States (DOJ, 2013)—among others—do this, based on personal witness testimony or a criminal record of DV/IPV. Nevertheless, these laws are rarely fully enforced (see South Africa case study), may suffer from loopholes (Giffords Law Center, n.d.), can be undermined by the free availability of illicit guns, and suffer from poor reporting of or responsiveness to DV/IPV and GBV.

Transfers and illicit trafficking

The change in possession of a gun (or guns) from one person or group to another is an important stage in the small arms life cycle, and encompasses a number of different types of cases: individual person-to-person (re-)sales, donations, or trades; larger-scale re-transfers from a government to non-government elements; illicit cross-border trafficking; arms diversions due to attacks on a military, police, or peacekeeping force or transit operation; and other changes in possession or ownership.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Arms Trade Treaty (art. 7.4) calls for exporting states to assess the possibility of proposed small arms transfers being 'used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children' (UNGA, 2013) prior to export authorization. Local and national women's rights organizations, and human rights defenders more broadly, are often an invaluable source of information about GBV and links to small arms ownership and use, including on GBV against men or those of other gender identities.

Distinguishing a legal from an illicit transfer depends on applicable norms or regulations.[60] Illicit transfers from one area to another, known as *trafficking*, may

58 On women's real or assumed attraction to men with guns, see, for example, Baird (2015, p. 12) for Colombia; Lessing (2008, p. 117) for Brazil; and Alison (2009) for Northern Ireland. For a gendered analysis of a range of experiences of small arms collection programmes, see Kinzelbach and Hassan (2009) and Koyama (2009).

59 See also Moestue and Lazarevic (2010).

60 For a review of transfer-control approaches, see Greene and Kirkham (2009).

involve different kinds of illicit products trafficked together (it is common in many regions for drugs and guns to be shipped together, or along similar routes, and using the same parties). One or more third-party intermediaries—such as brokers—may be involved, especially for larger-scale transfers, and their activities are subject to some degree of regulation at the global level. The underlying motivations for transferring arms may involve similar demand factors to those described above—such as a perceived need for safety and security, improved economic livelihoods, status, and so on—and these motivations can have gender dimensions.

For small arms policymaking, the transfer stage presents an important opportunity for intervention and interdiction. Examples include brokering regulations, border controls, regulation of person-to-person sales (so-called 'secondary sales' laws), and other strategies. But in environments where there are significant pools of illicit guns in circulation, preventing transfers to prohibited parties is challenging. For example, persons unable to purchase guns from an authorized seller because of a disqualifying conviction (such as for DV/IPV or another crime) may turn to the illicit market if guns are plentiful there and the reach of regulators is weak or non-existent.

Taking a gendered perspective on transfers controls means investigating the actors and networks involved in different settings and asking how specific transfer activities may be motivated by gendered expectations. For example, illicit trafficking networks may be mostly male-dominated or -controlled, but women have also engaged in smuggling, either voluntarily or under duress. The recruitment of women in transferring or smuggling small arms may seek to exploit gendered expectations that women are less likely to engage in such activities, or cultural norms that prevent male security personnel from inspecting women. These are tactics that criminal gangs, as well as insurgent and terrorist groups, have used.

Storage and final disposal

As with small arms transfers, storing and securing small arms—and associated activities of collection, marking, record-keeping, tracing, and destruction—involves a wide range of actors and contexts, from civilian (the safe storage of personal firearms at home to prevent unintended injuries) to conflict (armed forces protecting their weapons from diversion) to post-conflict areas (the collection and securing, or destruction, of armed groups' weapons following the signing of a peace agreement). These efforts tend to be treated as purely technical issues, with little analysis of the gender dimensions.

But gender does play a role, for example, in who is involved in carrying out these tasks. While reliable figures for staff are not available, this is a largely male-dominated sector; the work is often carried out by national law enforcement services, armed forces, or private security companies, all of which globally employ many more men than women (although women's participation rates are steadily rising, especially in police forces). Depending on the context, some elements of the work may be more heavily male-dominated than others (for example, guard duties as compared to administrative duties), and small arms storage and security activity can have positive direct and indirect socioeconomic benefits for surrounding communities, with different impacts on men and women.

Poor stockpile security can also have gendered impacts. As discussed above, poorly secured handguns in civilian homes may be used in incidents of DV/IPV or suicide. Improperly stockpiled ammunition depots in urban areas are a grave threat to the men and women living in the surrounding areas, but sex- and gender-disaggregated data is often not collected or available, and this is an area ripe for exploration (Carapic and Gassman, 2019). The diversion of arms and ammunition from peacekeeping forces in post-conflict areas may make them susceptible to use in the coercion or abduction of women and girls.

Gender has been integrated in post-conflict small arms collection and storage programmes.[61] Given that men—and, to a lesser extent, adolescent boys—are the main owners and users, convincing them to relinquish weapons may call for changing attitudes to, and expectations of, masculinities.[62] This requires working with not only the men and boys themselves but also the wider community; ownership is often linked to specific ideals of manhood, and these expectations come from not only the men themselves but also their male and female peers, family, and community members. In some cases, this also requires ensuring that alternative livelihoods exist, or are created, which are not reliant on the use of small arms, and that handing over weapons does not lead to a security vacuum.[63]

The importance of gender responsiveness in effective gender- and conflict-sensitive small arms disarmament programming has been established (de Tessières, 2018; Faltas, 2018; UNDDR, 2006). In practice, this has included centrally involving

61 See Dreyfus et al. (2008), Kinzelbach and Hassan (2009), Koyama (2009), and Faltas (2018).

62 See, for example, Stites et al. (2014) and Onon and Welbourn (2018).

63 This has been an issue in the past; for example, in northern Uganda. See, for example, Bevan (2008) and Yeung (2009).

women and women's groups in efforts to convince men in communities to give up weapons and participate in schemes, such as 'weapons for development' in Albania, Cambodia, and Mali (Faltas, 2018; Koyama, 2009), using both traditional (in Somalia; see Kinzelbach and Hassan, 2009) and non-traditional (in Brazil; see Bandeira, 2013) community-mobilization techniques to promote disarmament. Women have also been approached, as part of arms-collection programmes, as a source of information on small arms in a given community (Koyama, 2009).

While women and women's groups do need to be involved in such efforts, their engagement has sometimes remained superficial and been limited to one-off sensitization, or 'women's participation' workshops, rather than fully integrating them into the design of interventions and empowering them as political actors in their own right. Yet full and meaningful participation not only fulfils obligations to promote gender equality but also reduces the risk of backlash against women and others supporting small arms programming pre-emptively, so as not to place them at the risk of harm. Incorporating the meaningful participation of women (as well as less-powerful men and those negatively affected by armed violence) into programming also requires actively working on shifting the gendered norms, which more-powerful men enforce, regarding who is allowed to actively partake in discussions around security and small arms (OECD, 2019).

Key takeaways

- Gender is a salient factor, to differing degrees, across the whole of the small arms life cycle. In some areas, such as marketing, ownership, or use, gender is more integral and visible than in others, such as transfers and stockpile management. Especially in these latter focus areas for small arms programming, the integration of a gender perspective has only advanced slowly—if at all—and there is little to no information available that integrates a gender perspective. These are research, policy, and programming gaps that need to be addressed (SEESAC, 2016).
- More needs to be done to break down research, data, policy, and programming siloes to address the nexus between small arms and various forms of GBV (including not only DV/IPV but also trans-, bi-, and homophobic violence) in both conflict- and non-conflict-affected societies.
- Gender pertains to all persons affected by small arms, not only women. Given the links between notions of masculinity, small arms, and the preponderance

of men in many of the institutions linked with small arms, taking masculinities into account is often critical for programming.

- While gender is key to understanding how small arms and small arms programming affect different people, it needs to be approached intersectionally (examining how it interacts with class, age, location, and other factors) and relationally (examining how gender expectations are defined in relation to each other).

Towards gender-responsive small arms programming

What is meant by gender-responsive small arms programming?

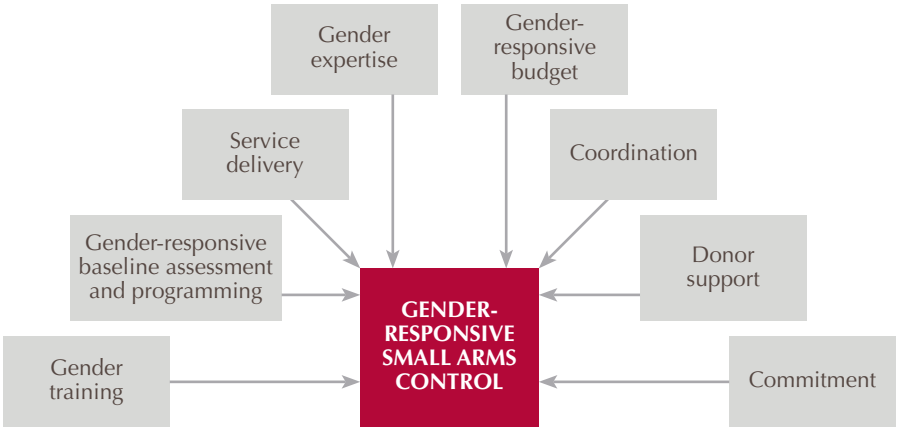
This chapter first outlined the ways in which gender often determines how different people and communities are differently affected by small arms violence based on gender and its interplay with other factors, such as class, age, and location. It then examined how gender is a factor at different stages of the small arms life cycle. This section outlines what elements are needed to develop gender-responsive small arms programming to address these issues.

Gender-responsive programming is responsive to specific gender dynamics—as well as the dominant social and cultural expectations and roles—of men, women, and those of other gender identities in a society at a particular time and place. Developing this kind of programming first requires assessing the gendered dynamics, expectations, and norms in a particular setting, and then incorporating this assessment into programme design and implementation. This calls for a gender analysis—whether as part of an armed-violence assessment or as a stand-alone assessment. These steps are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

But to reap the most benefits, gender needs to be integrated through the whole implementation cycle. This requires thinking through and building gender perspectives into the programme or project's design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (M&E), outreach, and advocacy.[64] It includes employing a gender perspective in initial research and baseline studies, ensuring gender and other factors (such as age, class, and ethnicity) are taken into account when recruiting researchers and staff, working with communities and individuals affected by armed violence, and developing the M&E framework. Systems must therefore be put in place to monitor how the intervention itself is affecting these dynamics, and to ensure it can and does respond to them, when and where necessary.

64 These reflections hold for both programmes and projects within them.

Figure 2 Key elements of gender-responsive small arms control



Source: UN (2018a)

The Modular Small-arms-control Implementation Compendium (MOSAIC, formerly the International Small Arms Control Standards) provides key elements for gender-responsive small arms control in the 2018 'Women, men and the gendered nature of small arms and light weapons' document (see Figure 2). It also sets out guiding principles for mainstreaming gender in small arms control, notably engaging early, building consensus, collecting and using sex- and age-disaggregated data, conducting a gender analysis, addressing identified gender patterns, supporting the meaningful participation of women, and tracking progress using gender-sensitive patterns (UN, 2018a).

The Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF) and the South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC) are two organizations working on issues of security or small arms that incorporate a gender focus. DCAF provides an overview of starting points for gender mainstreaming at every stage of the security sector reform process, which are also relevant for small arms programming (DCAF, 2015). SEESAC works through a phased 'practical tool' to incorporate gender into various frameworks (see Figure 3). While SEESAC's work has explored the gender patterns and impacts of small arms violence, and highlighted the role of gender in small arms ownership patterns in the region, the comprehensive integration of gender perspectives into some of the more technical aspects of small arms control policy remains a challenge (SEESAC, 2016).

Gender-responsive programming: the state of play

In fact, to date gender perspectives have been integrated unevenly into small arms programming, especially in areas seen as more 'technical' or administrative (such as stockpile management and security or marking), while in other areas (such as grassroots work on preventing gun-related DV/IPV), gender has been integrated more systematically. As with gender work more broadly, many of the interventions to date have focused on women and girls, neglecting to critically engage with the role of masculinities. The increased, meaningful involvement of women and girls and their empowerment in this sector are also highly important, and require working with key power-holders and gatekeepers. How femininities play a role in issues relevant to small arms programming, both directly and indirectly, has yet to be sufficiently explored. More research is also needed on impacts of small arms and small arms programming on persons of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities.

At the same time, given the close links between small arms and particular masculinities, more work is needed with men and boys—with a particular emphasis on the gendered expectations and norms that they embody, and that other men and women place on them (Barr, 2011; OECD, 2019, p. 29). A key

Figure 3 SEESAC practical tool for integrating gender into small arms-related legislative and policy frameworks

Source: SEESAC (2018, p. 19)

entry point is to understand the reasons why men, especially, feel the need to obtain arms (demand factors), and the gendered values associated with this. As the population with the highest likelihood of acquiring or using guns, of being involved at any of the stages of the small arms life cycle, and of not only committing armed violence but also being direct victims of it, men and their gender norms need to be critically examined for small arms programming to be successful—and this work will also require the equal involvement of women and girls.

Key takeaways

- Ensuring that programming is gender-responsive requires considering the role gender plays, and the potential intended and unintended gendered impacts, at all programme development and implementation phases (see also Chapter 4).
- Gender-responsive programming also involves ensuring women and girls are able to meaningfully participate in processes, institutions, and issues they have previously been excluded from. Especially with an issue such as small arms, which is closely linked to concepts of manhood and is a male-dominated sphere, programming also needs to critically examine the role of masculinities.
- Numerous tools, guidance notes, good practices, and practical examples exist globally that can be drawn on when designing, implementing, and assessing gender-responsive small arms programming.

Conclusion

Thinking about small arms and small arms-related violence in terms of gender should not be considered a burden but an enormous opportunity to open up promising new avenues to understand and address the ruinous consequences of armed violence on people worldwide. Developing gender-responsive small arms programming is feasible and practical but requires new creative thinking and analysis.

Despite the gaps in research and data, innovative practices are emerging and practical guidance tools already exist. The important step is to implement these tools and ideas in effective ways that do not harm intended beneficiaries or others. This requires gender-responsive efforts across the project cycle, as sketched above and elaborated in more detail in the following chapter.

—Author: Henri Myrttinen

CHAPTER 4

A Matter of Practice: Gender-responsive Design, Monitoring, and Evaluation for Small Arms Programmes

Introduction

Small arms control programmes include a wide range of initiatives that aim to prevent or reduce the negative impacts of armed violence on societies or communities. As Chapter 3 highlighted, understanding the different roles, experiences, and needs of individuals of different gender identities is central to making programming gender responsive. This implies asking questions about how those different groups relate to, and are affected by, guns and gun violence and societal norms of masculinity and femininity, and how these societal norms may interact with other markers such as race, education, sexuality, class, language, age, culture, and ethnicity.

For small arms programme designers, implementers, evaluators, and funders concerned with improving their gender responsiveness, initial attempts to implement this approach are often ad hoc and reactive. For example, a government agency may issue a new requirement that all small arms control and armed violence reduction project applications must include a gender analysis, without providing robust guidance on how this should be done in practice. Application materials may reference a global policy document, but a perusal of the agreement in question may indicate that it, too, is vague on implementation modalities with regard to gender. With limited in-house gender expertise, this situation can result in a scramble to get up to speed on the relevant concepts and processes.

The good news is that organizations can easily develop structures, practices, and cultures that support the integration of gender throughout all organizational processes, including programme design, monitoring, and evaluation. In the short term, organizations may partner with gender and feminist organizations to develop in-house expertise and capacity. In the medium term, organizations can modify their practices of analysis, training, engagement, ownership, and partnership in project elements—as outlined in this chapter—without incurring significant additional costs.

This chapter expands on the discussions in Chapter 3 to provide a blueprint for mainstreaming gender into design, monitoring and evaluation, and learning (DMEL) processes for small arms programmes. It assumes some understanding of DMEL principles and definitions, and familiarity with armed violence analyses, theories of change, and evaluation terms of reference, focusing on how to effectively integrate gender into existing processes. In doing so, it highlights key decision-making points that have a significant impact on programme DMEL. Programme

or project staff responsible for writing or responding to calls for proposals, programme managers, monitoring and evaluation staff, and civil society organizations supporting the implementation of global policies should all find this chapter helpful. The sections on project implementation, organizational culture, and evaluation should also be useful to programme directors. While this chapter focuses on developing gender-responsive programmes that address armed violence, it is also relevant to policy-development processes.

Because of their centrality to this chapter, it is important to briefly repeat the following definitions—touched on in Chapter 1—of two types of gender-responsive programming. ***Gender-sensitive*** small arms programming considers the impact of gender inequalities on achieving programme goals. Gender sensitivity takes gender dynamics into account at all stages of programming with a view to meeting the programme objectives, but does not necessarily seek to change or influence gender roles and relations. ***Gender-transformative*** programming goes further by addressing underlying gender inequalities; promoting shared power, control, and decision-making; and supporting women's empowerment towards more gender-equal relationships. This chapter—and this Handbook as a whole—promotes gender-transformational efforts because they will have the deepest and most sustainable effects on armed violence.

Design

Designing a project is an opportunity for an organization to work in partnership with a targeted population to chart a path towards a more secure, equal, and just future. Many organizations working to reduce armed violence do not effectively integrate gender into their project designs (Racovita, 2018, p. 10). Instead, they frequently conceive of their projects as 'gender neutral', disregard the roles gender may play—and therefore risk further embedding harmful norms. But practitioners will increasingly be asked to ensure small arms programmes account for important gender differences, if not to expressly address the underlying gender norms that contribute to or perpetuate some forms of armed violence. Whether the goal is gender-sensitive or gender-transformative programming, a systematic approach is called for.

This section provides guidance for how to analyse and integrate gender into key design processes—project goals, theories of change, objectives, and indicators—for small arms programmes.

Gender and armed violence analyses

Understanding the dynamics of the context in which armed violence takes place is a solid basis for designing effective small arms programmes or projects. The underlying political, economic, military, and social factors, as well as actors' interests and capacities, are all relevant, as are triggers that can lead to violence.[65] A comprehensive account of these dynamics is rarely immediately available to programme planners, however, so some work needs to be done to generate one. An armed violence analysis[66] is designed to delineate the drivers of violence and how they interact with one another. It should also suggest opportunities for intervening to address the threats of armed violence—that is, where interventions might make a lasting difference, to whom, and why.

Simply put, the better the initial analysis, the more targeted the design of a planned intervention and a theory of change can be. By laying out what is known and verifiable, an armed violence analysis also helps weed out unsubstantiated assumptions that could lead programme initiatives down dead ends.

When it comes to small arms programming, the analysis may also explore factors that lead to an increase in the demand for weapons, barriers to safety and security, attitudes towards and the performance of the judicial sector, and existing efforts to improve accountability and good governance, as Saferworld (2009) highlight in their analysis of small arms in Kosovo.[67] The analysis can also take advantage of arms-flow data from research sources and consider the life cycle of small arms, discussed in Chapter 3.

How can gender considerations be addressed in the design phase of armed violence programme planning? Programmers have a choice: they may integrate gender into their armed violence analysis, or they may conduct a separate

65 The conflict, violence, and crime analysis described here draws on the UK Department for International Development (DFID) conflict-analysis framework, which primarily focuses on structures, actors, and dynamics (see DFID, 2002). Other donors and international organizations have created their own conflict-assessment frameworks and methodologies, including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2012).

66 An 'armed violence analysis' can be thought of as a conflict analysis broad enough to encompass both conflict and crime (non-conflict) contexts, and tailored to the needs of the arms control sector. The armed violence analysis shares some elements with baseline assessments (see 'Gender-responsive programme implementation' further in this chapter).

67 The designation of Kosovo is without prejudice to positions on status and is in line with UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and the International Court of Justice Opinion on the Kosovo declaration of independence.

Box 3

Examples of gender-informed armed violence analysis questions[67]

- How do all people experience and participate in armed violence?
- How do the roles and behaviours of people of different gender identities evolve or change during the conflict and post-conflict, in both private and public spheres?
- How do gender norms (including norms of masculinity and femininity) influence crime or violence? How is violence used, and by whom?
- What is the overall impact of crime, violence, and armed conflict on all people?
- Who has access to and control of benefits, assets, resources, or opportunities—including related to small arms? Who benefits more and who benefits less?
- What are the primary reasons (demand factors) for acquiring firearms?
- What are the perceptions of women and men about the impacts of illicit firearm ownership by women and men?
- How does gender intersect with other identities (age, social class, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, religion, urban/rural setting, etc.) and attitudes towards safety and security?
- What are the gender norms that may support peace and improved individual or community safety?
- What are the interplays between institutional dynamics and gender norms, particularly within the police, military, and judicial institutions?

comprehensive gender analysis. The first option focuses on the specific differences between the experiences of people of different genders in the armed violence context; the second goes beyond to explore men's and women's activities across the society, as well as their access to resources; ownership of resources; roles and responsibilities; rights; income and spending power; power; distribution; redistribution; and relevant rules, laws, norms, and customs (Save the Children, 2014, pp. 68–69).

Boxes 3 and 4 provide some sample questions that each of these approaches might include. Once the questions have been identified, data-collection processes, analysis, and reporting can be planned.[68]

An organization's strategic orientation and gender policies, among other factors, will drive the decision about which of these approaches to take. If an organization's team has not yet conducted a full gender analysis for the context in question, this would be the foundational step to understand relevant gender dynamics and factors (see Box 4). If a gender analysis already exists, the armed violence analysis—including some gender components—will complement it.

68 In this chapter, examples draw on both conflict and non-conflict (e.g. crime) contexts of armed violence.

Box 4

Examples of stand-alone gender analysis questions

- What are the key responsibilities or activities (formal and informal) of different members of society? Why are these individuals tasked with these responsibilities?
- How do the different members of society accomplish their responsibilities? What resources are available to them?
- Who has ownership of key resources or assets?
- Who is entitled to which rights or assets?
- Who controls income and spending power?
- Who makes key decisions? Which decisions do they make?
- Who distributes which resources? What resources are distributed, and when?
- Who gains and who loses from the redistribution of resources or assets?
- What are the rules, laws, norms, or customs that drive key dynamics between people of different gender identities?

Whichever route is taken, the process by which a thorough analysis is conducted, as well as who participates, will determine whether gender is adequately integrated into programme design. Of course, if the organization has a gender focal point, that individual should have a meaningful role in the analysis and programme-development process; but diverse voices must also be consulted at numerous points in the analysis and design process. For example, researchers may engage with women's and other interest groups, both when conducting the initial analysis and later—when the programme interventions are developed—as a kind of validation exercise.

Not every relevant contextual question in the analysis will be answerable within the time and resource constraints under which an organization operates. But the value of the initial gender-relevant analysis is undeniable: a programme that does not understand the roles, behaviours, capacities, and needs of all people will miss opportunities to zero in on specific areas where interventions can effect change.

A number of useful toolkits are available to assist with conducting and integrating gender analysis into programme design, such as the UNDP note on how to develop a gender analysis (UNDP, 2016b); Conciliation Resources' toolkits on inclusive gender analysis (Conciliation Resources, 2015; 2019); and Saferworld's toolkit, which focuses specifically on gender analysis of conflict (Saferworld, 2016). The analysis process does not end with collecting information based on the questions

posed. Once data has been collected, it can be analysed using a gender-analytical framework, such as the Harvard Analytical Framework—one of the earliest gender analysis and planning frameworks (ILO and SEAPAT, 1998)—and other tools included in the UNDP Handbook (UNDP, 2013, pp. 18–22). Targeted populations or stakeholder groups can also help analyse findings to ensure they are both representative and culturally and context specific.

Finally, it should go without saying that the gender-relevant findings of the analysis, if deemed sound, should actually inform programme design. Ignoring analytical findings in the programme-design stage is indicative of the lasting power of unsubstantiated assumptions, a lack of commitment to gender equity, or potential bias within the organization.

Identifying the problem to be addressed and potential interventions

The gender and armed violence analyses will identify a range of problems and solutions, potential contributing and hindering factors, and possible interventions to address them. Box 5 provides an example of some relevant facts that a gender-informed armed violence analysis of gun violence in an urban neighbourhood might reveal, along with a number of potential interventions to respond to different aspects of the problem.

Box 5

Taking a systematic approach to gender and other markers

In this hypothetical example, a gun violence prevention NGO, with support from a local philantropic organization, wishes to plan an intervention to address gun violence in the Latin American city in which it operates. Both the organization and the donor are keen to ensure the project and specific intervention are gender responsive. Their first step is to conduct a gender-informed armed violence analysis, involving a review of publicly available police, health, and judicial records; reports of research NGOs working in the area; and key informant interviews—including with stakeholders specifically focused on and concerned with gender-based violence, for example. The findings of their analysis may result in the following considerations (in summary):[69]

Armed violence dynamics

- Steadily increasing gun homicides among young men in gang competition over drug sales.
- Significant numbers of other shootings linked to issues of 'respect' (crossing gang lines, treatment of gang-affiliated women).

69 A full analysis would include specific numbers, rates of violence, and other data points.

- Large quantities of high-powered handguns available to gang members via private (unregulated) markets and interstate trafficking.
- Strong gang-member preference for new, unused guns (with 'no bodies' on them).

Social and economic factors

- Young boys from families with delinquent siblings or histories of family violence at high risk for gang membership.
- Strong social hierarchies within gangs, enforced by violence from above.
- Negative community perception of police capacities and gang-suppression tactics, which are felt to be predatory and discriminatory.
- High levels of teen pregnancies compared to average city rates.

Gender considerations

- Young men overwhelmingly responsible for, and victims of, all types of violence.
- Routine use of gang-affiliated women and girls as drug couriers.
- Dominant norm of masculinity within gang associated with 'hardness', lack of compassion, and mercilessness.
- Gang-associated girls viewed as property of male members.
- Violently enforced norms against homosexuality within gangs.

Clearly, armed violence in this scenario is a complex phenomenon—as it is everywhere—and no single intervention can be expected to resolve all aspects of the problem. A number of general approaches might be proposed and validated with key stakeholders, including:

Small arms focused interventions

- Increased penalties for illicit gun possession.
- Door-to-door house searches in high-violence areas.

Community security interventions

- Law enforcement–community pressure on most active and violent gang members.
- Community policing to pacify high-violence areas.
- Promotion of non-violence dispute resolution within gangs (peer-to-peer consultation).

Social-focused interventions

- Efforts to understand and reduce gang affiliation among high-risk boys.
- Stimulation of employment opportunities, in cooperation with local business.

In each of these areas, a strong gender component can be identified. For example, women and girls are key interlocutors in unpacking boys' motivations for joining gangs and acquiring guns, as well as their own motivations for associating with male gang members. Going deeper, understanding male–female gender relations within gangs, and the violent taboo against homosexuality, will undoubtedly lead to a more nuanced understanding of the meanings of some external gang-related violence. This could, in turn, lead to interventions for addressing and transforming those underlying gender norms, as well as the violence itself—that is, a fully gender-transformational approach.

Decisions about which interventions to field will require a programme team to reflect on its capacities, strategic orientation, gender policies, and donor support and guidelines. At a minimum, all interventions should aim to do no harm to individuals or communities. Interventions should also be conflict sensitive; that is, they should not exacerbate—or unintentionally lead to—further divisions. To be truly conflict sensitive, programmes should contribute to both social cohesion and peace.

Setting a gender-responsive goal

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines a project goal as a 'higher-level objective that development interventions contribute towards' (OECD, 2002, p. 24). While the goal of an armed violence reduction initiative may explicitly relate to small arms (for example, control components), this is not always the case; as the examples in Box 5 noted, interventions to reduce gun violence may focus on strengthening community security or promoting non-violent conflict resolution, among other approaches.

A gender-transformative approach not only takes account of gender dynamics but also seeks to transform them, with the dual goal of decreasing both gender inequality and armed violence impacts. Even if a particular small arms programme is not gender transformative, it may identify achievable and realistic intermediate- or long-term objectives that include gender-specific changes.

Table 2 provides examples of how to articulate small arms programme goals using a gender lens, from gender neutral to gender sensitive to gender transformative. As highlighted earlier, a 'gender-neutral' approach should be avoided.

Gender and theory of change

The theory of change is a tool that programme staff may want—or be required—to use to describe how the programme intends to effect change, and any assumptions underlying the theory's logic. The theory of change helps to identify the programme's goal, outcomes, outputs, and activities. To ensure a theory of change has incorporated a gender lens, consider the extent to which it describes the following, adapted from the UN Sustainable Development Group's (UNDG) quality-assurance checklist (UNDG, 2017):

- Does the programme take account of gender in the specific changes it is seeking to effect?

Table 2 Levels of gender inclusion at goal setting

Level of gender inclusion	Definition of gender inclusion	Example of goal	Assessment
Gender neutral	Ignores the role of gender but does not necessarily exacerbate existing gender inequalities.	To reduce the number of illicit weapons in civilian possession.	**Weak goal**: The goal needs to be better defined to ensure it either determines the gender dynamics or explicitly addresses how it will increase gender equality.
Gender sensitive	Considers the impact of gender inequalities in achieving project goal.	To reduce the harmful impact of illicit weapons in civilian possession on the overall community, including people of different gender identities.	**Acceptable goal**: This goal articulates the purpose and long-term effect of the project, which has a gender dynamic.
Gender transformative	Addresses some of the core gender inequalities to promote shared power, control, and decision-making.	To include women and men in inclusive decision-making processes to identify means to reduce the number of illicit weapons and effectively reduce the harmful impact of illicit weapons in civilian possession.	**Preferable goal**: This goal articulates the purpose and long-term effect of the project, as well as seeking to build inclusive processes to create meaningful, community-based solutions to reduce illicit weapons. By bringing men and women together to create community-based solutions, it can change the gender dynamics and provide women an opportunity to voice their opinions in a subject area from which they are frequently excluded. The project provides a platform for women to voice their perspectives and ideas.

Note: Definitions are taken from Racovita (2018, p. 5).

- Will any data-collection efforts—as part of the programme or its monitoring—be sex-disaggregated?
- Does the programme seek to tackle root and underlying causes, as well as immediate causes, of the problem? Were the root causes identified by both women and men? Which were prioritized?
- Will the planned activities specifically aim to address gender norms linked to small arms, such as hegemonic masculinities or femininities?
- Will the planned activities shape issues that affect inequality, injustice, and discrimination?
- Does the theory of change take into account attitudes towards the security and safety of all people?

Because the theory of change explicitly calls for identifying assumptions that must be true if change is to be effective, it is important that assumptions are validated by research, and, ideally, stakeholders and programming targets—especially those most relevant to the theory of change. For example, programme staff may assume that no women in the programme area own guns, or know where the guns are that their husbands might have hidden; or that women typically oppose fathers teaching their children how to shoot guns—all of which may turn out to be false assumptions.

Gender-responsive objectives

The objectives of a programme describe the specific change it is expected to achieve during the life of the project; in other words, 'the intended physical, financial, institutional, social, environmental, or other development results to which a project or program is expected to contribute' (OECD, 2002, p. 31). For the project to be gender responsive, objectives need to be explicit about the change in gender dynamics that will be aimed for.

To take a post-conflict example, the objective of a 'gender-neutral' small arms collection programme might be 'to reduce the number of small arms available to former combatants' in a specific area. By taking no account of gender dynamics, this statement fails to identify ways in which gender considerations contribute to violence committed by ex-combatants. A gender-transformative objective would be to weaken former combatants' deep association of small arms with manliness, economic freedom, and marriageability. Here, the gender aspects of the problem

are identified as central and become the focus of the intervention. This formulation makes it clear that the intervention will attempt to address small arms violence and the underlying gender dimensions together.

Gender-responsive indicators

Indicators are quantitative or qualitative factors or variables 'to measure achievements, reflect changes connected to an intervention, or to help assess the performance of a development actor' (OECD, 2002, p. 25). A programme may include indicators that measure changes in the context, conflict, or assumptions. Most indicators measure changes associated with activities, outcomes, and objectives.

In small arms programmes, a common indicator of success is the number and type of weapons and ammunition identified, collected, stored, or secured. Programmes may also collect data on the impacts and characteristics of firearm violence, such as intentional homicide victims and the number of persons killed by an intimate partner using firearms (SEESAC, 2018, p. 31). Where appropriate, small arms projects should collect indicators outlined as part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). As described in Chapter 2, two indicators that relate to weapons are 16.4.1 ('Total value of inward and outward illicit financial flows (in current United States dollars)') and 16.4.2 ('Proportion of seized, found or surrendered arms whose illicit origin or context has been traced or established by a competent authority in line with international instruments').[70] Other SDG indicators may also be relevant to your project.

But indicators may also include measures of processes and changes in the attitude, behaviour, and response of individuals or institutions (Saferworld, 2009, p. 34), such as:

- changes in awareness of the consequences of illegal arms possession;
- changes in awareness of risks of injury associated with handling arms; and
- changes in trust in state security providers.

To ensure the integration of gender into indicators, data should at least be sex- and age-disaggregated, particularly as it related to changes in skills, attitudes, or behaviours (for example, increased awareness among people of different gender identities of the consequences of illegal arms possession).

70 Please see Chapter 2 for more information on SDG indicators.

The indicators will align with the theory of change, objectives, and activities—all of which should be gender specific, and which will measure changes to gender dynamics, norms, and levels of equality. Many of these are likely to be qualitative indicators, and may include, for example:

- changes in individual, group, and community understandings of their own and others' masculinity or femininity, and their respective connections to violence and arms; and
- changes in expectations of roles and responsibilities of people of different gender identities, particularly in police and military institutions.

In short, to understand whether the programme has had an impact on women and men, for example, projects need to not only capture the *quantity* of women and men who participated in the programme (through disaggregated data) but also measure the *quality* of their participation, as well as potential attitudinal changes. Indicators that measure quality of participation may measure satisfaction with services, inclusive decision-making processes, the number of times a target group—such as women—voiced their opinions, and proposals the target group suggested.

Gender-responsive programme implementation

From theory to practice

Once a small arms programme has been designed to be gender-responsive, the implementation phase should flow from the objectives, outcomes, outputs, and indicators identified in the project documents and theory of change. Project teams will be required to report to their donors along these indicators, so the project must take them seriously; donor government agencies certainly will when evaluating whether a project staff has made a good-faith effort to meet its objectives.

While the process of adapting project documents into implementation strategies may seem automatic in theory, in practice it is often not. To ensure the gender aspects of a project plan are not lost or overlooked in the implementation phase, a few suggestions are provided below. Consulting a gender expert will generate additional ideas, and can lead the team to brainstorm their own.

- **Integrate gender into baseline studies.** Baselines focus on providing a snapshot of the current situation at the beginning of the project, as it pertains to

target groups, indicators, and expected outcomes. Given its scope, the baseline is an opportunity to understand gender norms and dynamics within the sphere of influence of the project and target sector. For example, if a project works with the police, the baseline study is an opportunity to unpack female and male police members' concerns, expectations, decision-making authority, and varying degrees of overall access. As a result—much like the armed violence analysis guidance—a baseline study must be planned, implemented, analysed, and reported, while keeping in mind the potential impact on gender, gender norms, and gender inequality. Given the findings, the programme staff may need to make project adjustments to the log frame or results framework. The work plan may also have to be altered to integrate the baseline results.

- **Engage partners with a specific gender focus**. When identifying implementing partners, it is important to choose those that can reach or represent target groups. Depending on the programme, new partnerships may be needed with local women's NGOs or groups that advocate for the elderly; disabled; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex; or youth. These groups can also be engaged to review implementation plans and results frameworks, as well as to provide external evaluations of gendered components of a work plan. All partners must also have the skill set to effectively integrate gender into decision-making processes that affect activity implementation. During the design process, it is important to budget for gender capacity-building activities.
- **Designate gender as an agenda item in all programme meetings**. Important internal and external conversations are often cut short due to lack of time, resources, and competing priorities. Without a sustained and serious focus on gender, it may end up being cut from the meeting. Baseline meetings, planning and logistics meetings, implementation meetings, mid-term reviews, and evaluation meetings should all, ideally, include a gender focus on the agenda—and be meaningfully inclusive. Allocate sufficient time to discussing how the project impacts on all stakeholders and affects whether their needs are being met (Save the Children, 2014, p. 67).
- **Ensure a safe and conducive environment to engage meaningfully with all participants, at all levels.** Meaningful participation requires that all participants feel safe and open to engaging in dialogue and discussion. Consider working with a gender specialist, or referring back to the gender analysis, to ensure all spaces are safe and welcoming. Target or marginalized populations are best placed to share the spaces, times, and locations they consider safe.

Gender-responsive management processes

Every organization has competing priorities and limited staff and budgets. Management or implementation staff may not be on the same page about the wisdom of certain objectives and outcomes. Within project teams, gender concerns may be a particular interest for some staff and not for others. Mainstreaming gender into organizational management processes and culture can help to prevent internal disagreement or lack of coherence about implementing gender aspects of a small arms control project. Here are some suggestions and targets for ensuring an organization is empowered to implement gender responsiveness from both the bottom up and the top down:

- **Senior management integrates gender into programmatic decision-making processes, discussions, and final decisions.** Ideally, senior management should engage with discussions about the potential impact and harm of the project activities on women and men, and take action to set up reflective processes and identify the right stakeholders to bring into activities and decision-making. Staff should expect senior management to hold them and the implementing partners accountable for integrating gender into programming by celebrating successes and acknowledging when programmes have fallen short of meeting gender-relevant results.
- **Establish and uphold relevant organizational policies.** Policies that prohibit sexual harassment and gender-based violence, bullying, and discrimination in the workplace are important to establish norms within the organization. To make them real rather than aspirational, they should be used to hold people accountable when they use abusive or discriminatory behaviour, including at the highest levels of the organization.
- **Institute equitable advancement opportunities.** Pay equity and equal career opportunities for both men and women are important signals that an organization is committed to addressing gender inequalities.
- **Allocate sufficient resources for the meaningful inclusion of gender.** Often, resources for critical activities that support gender mainstreaming—such as training of staff and partners—are limited or reduced due to competing priorities. Senior management and senior officials can work towards protecting resources throughout the life of the programme by not cutting gender training, or by fully empowering and resourcing a gender specialist or focal point (who

may not have the power, authority, support, or budget to make a significant impact across an organization).

- **Involve women and men at all levels of the organization in consultations and decision-making processes.** Decisions are often made in silos or without adequate consultation. Build an organizational culture of inclusivity that engages with all staff—including junior staff—in key programmatic decisions. Report decisions in a way that is transparent, and highlight findings. Include the gender specialist in strategic programme-level decisions that impact on the programme model. Where possible, engage with community members to ensure they are also part of key programmatic decisions.
- **Increase staff's understanding of the different roles, responsibilities, experiences, needs, and power hierarchies of women and men in relation to the programme and the organizational culture.** Staff may not be aware of key nuances and how people of different genders may be experiencing the organizational culture. For example, hosting team-building events after work hours may not be conducive to employees who are also responsible for day-care or school pick up. Moreover, staff may not have the knowledge, tools, or skills to effectively recognize gender-relevant differences. They may not be aware of the various roles and responsibilities that both female and male staff maintain, within both the organization and the private sphere. The lack of understanding of the gender dynamics may affect the overall organization, in addition to the programme results.

Gender-responsive monitoring

Supporting donors typically require small arms programmes to monitor and report on their progress towards outcomes and outputs. Like the processes described above, monitoring is driven by, and conforms to, the specific project plan and theory of change. In general, however, a robust monitoring and evaluation plan can help a programme team integrate gender into key products, such as the baseline, data-collection process, reflection sessions, and evaluation. Monitoring components will cover the effects of the project on its gender aspects, as well as take into account the different priorities, concerns, and needs of all people affected by the programme. They will also seek to assess the impact of the programme on all people, as well as on gender relations and gender norms. To integrate gender into monitoring processes for small arms programmes, consider the following:

- **Always disaggregate data**. Ensuring the monitoring data collected is disaggregated, based on sex and age, is essential to assessing the impact the programme has on different stakeholders. In some cases, it may be important to collect data based on an individual's gender identity as well as sex. If feasible and appropriate, data can also be disaggregated based on other key identity markers, such as age, religion, ethnicity, tribal affiliation, and race.
- **Use appropriate data-collection approaches and methodologies.** Some data-collection tools may not be appropriate for all individuals, given their background, power, needs, role, and expected behaviour. For this reason, ensure the data-collection tools are appropriately selected. Written questionnaires may not be appropriate for low-literacy communities, for example, who may be more responsive to participatory methodologies. Data-collection approaches should also include identifying safe spaces to collect data, as well as optimal time and location. This is particularly important when working with vulnerable populations, such as adolescent female and male youth and at-risk girls or boys.
- **Reflect on gaps of access, participation, benefits, and performance between programme participants, including women and men, girls and boys.** A key function of monitoring is identifying whether there are gaps between the programme model and programme performance, and how to resolve them in real time. Gaps may exist due to low participation (inability to commit time or move freely) or poorly designed activities. Encourage staff, facilitators, and partners to report their observations, impressions, and feelings on gender norms regularly, including what surprised them and what is not working. Encourage participants to share anecdotes and report back on gender considerations.
- **Measure the long-term impacts and incremental changes related to gender inequality.** Being gender sensitive means being aware of gender norms, which may shift during your programme. Consider measuring whether your programme is shifting attitudes, beliefs, or gender norms throughout the project, not just during the evaluation. The most prominent shifts are likely to occur among project participants. Perceptions of safety and security among women and men, as well as the relationship between citizens, police, and the judicial system, are typically key areas to monitor. Moreover, it is important to monitor gender norms because it is possible the project may be doing harm. Expectations

of behavioural change by women and men—including returning weapons and improving security or storage—can create new tensions and cause harm (see, for example, the Saferworld (2009) report on Kosovo). Finally, there may be new exogenous factors that affect attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, and gender norms.

- **Report on gender issues affecting the programme, and key gender achievements, during monthly, quarterly, or biannual reports.** Regular feedback and reporting mechanisms can include results on the achievements of small arms programming. By including gender-related information in the reports, there is documentation of the progress towards results, as well as an opportunity to share and celebrate any achievements. The evaluation will be an opportunity to validate data collected through the monitoring system.

Gender-responsive learning

Learning is a continuous and systematic process that happens at many levels and processes throughout the life of the programme, designed to reflect on how and why activities and particular approaches are being undertaken. To mainstream gender into small arms programme learning processes, staff can not only continuously reflect—with programme participants—on key questions relating to the programme's achievements but also identify the factors and causes that contribute to those achievements (or non-achievements). Key learning questions that mainstream gender may include:

- Why did the programme choose to engage with some stakeholders and not others? Were all key stakeholders present in the programme activity? Why (not)?
- Did all groups of people have the opportunity to meaningfully participate in decision-making processes throughout the programme implementation? What type of support did they need to engage meaningfully?
- Did having people of different gender identities in the same activity hinder or contribute to the discussion and participation?
- What factors led to the achievement of the activity? What role did certain target groups (for example, women and men, girls and boys) play in achieving the result?
- Did the programme unintentionally exacerbate gender inequalities? How and when? What actions were taken to correct these inequalities?

- Did the programme participants experience the activity differently? If so, how?
- Are there additional opportunities to address or challenge gender stereotypes and increase positive gender relations?
- Were there gaps in performance? What are the causes of the gaps? How does the programme have to shift to close these gaps?
- Were changes to gender norms or gender dynamics observed during the activity? How significant are these changes to the overall issue the small arms programme is tackling?

Learning is a process that is often unstructured and undocumented. By being explicit about learning collaboratively, organizations can set up processes that encourage reflection, innovation, and adaptation.

Gender-responsive evaluation

Evaluation is a systematic and objective assessment of an ongoing or completed project, programme, or policy—its design, implementation, and result. The evaluation may seek to explore a programme's relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, or sustainability. An evaluation can be conducted internally or externally, in the middle of project implementation or at the end of the project (OECD, 2002, pp. 21–22). Below are some ways that gender can be mainstreamed during the evaluation planning, execution, and dissemination of small arms programmes—whether the intervention is gender sensitive or gender transformative. Additional suggestions for planning evaluation for gender-transformative efforts are provided in Box 6.

Evaluation planning

A number of steps can be taken in the planning stage to ensure gender components can be properly assessed. These include the following:

- **Include gender-specific questions in the evaluation's terms of references, to explicitly measure the programme's gender components.**
- **Create inclusive processes to select evaluation criteria and questions with key partners and programme participants to ensure the evaluation meets their priorities.** Consider establishing a manageable number of evaluation criteria and questions to ensure sufficient data is collected to form evidence-based conclusions.

Box 6

Gender-transformative evaluation planning

For gender-transformative efforts—which seek to address gender norms that underlie armed violence dynamics—programmers should ensure the evaluation measures the programme's contribution towards improving gender relations, gender norms, or gender inequality. The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) has developed illustrative evaluation questions, along the OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD–DAC) evaluation criteria, that can be included in terms of references related to gender (see also EIGE, 2019). Some of the key questions are listed in Table 3.

Note that it is not feasible for a single evaluation to address all five of the OECD–DAC criteria; it is likely that budgetary and time limitations will require the selection of one to three of these criteria, based on the specific learning objectives. Relevance, impact, and effectiveness may be among the most relevant criteria for small arms programmes, though each programme will be different.

Table 3 Key evaluation questions for gender-transformative programmes

OECD–DAC criteria	EIGE evaluation questions
Relevance	■ To what extent has the project effectively contributed to the creation of favourable conditions of gender equality? ■ Was the treatment of gender-equality issues throughout the implementation phase logical and coherent? ■ Were adjustments made to respond to external factors of the project, programme, or policy that influenced gender relationships?
Effectiveness	■ To what extent was the project effective in achieving gender equality or shifting gender norms? ■ To what extent did women's and men's different needs, access, and control over resources, as well as stereotypes and discrimination, affect project results? Did the benefits of the project favour male target groups, female target groups, or both? ■ Did stakeholders (organizations, institutions, or direct target groups) benefit from the interventions, in terms of institutional capacity building in the area of gender mainstreaming, or development of gender competences?
Efficiency	■ To what extent were means and resources used efficiently to achieve results, in terms of improved benefits for both women and men? Have the results for women and men been achieved at reasonable costs, and have costs and benefits been allocated and received equitably?
Impact	■ To what extent did the project impact on people of different gender identities differently—and how? Were there any positive or negative, expected or unexpected, results pertaining to women and men, girls and boys? ■ What are the perceptions of people of different gender identities of the programme's impact on gender relations?
Sustainable	■ To what extent did the project set up mechanisms to ensure its results will continue, particularly regarding shifting gender norms? To what extent has the capacity for gender mainstreaming been built and institutionalized through the project?

Source: EIGE (2019)

- **Request that the evaluator disaggregate data and findings based on sex and age (and other identity markers, if possible).** Often, evaluators will only disaggregate indicators if requested. Being intentional when drafting key evaluation questions, and working with the evaluation team to identify key areas of inquiry, will help prioritize which information is disaggregated.
- **Establish evaluation teams with locally specific sector and gender expertise.**
- **Implement evaluation processes that adhere to fair power relations, as well as independence and impartiality.**

Evaluation execution

The evaluation should also be carried out in a sensitive way:

- **Conduct evaluations to ensure meaningful participation from all stakeholders.** This entails being intentional about the creation of knowledge about the programme and its results, as well as designing processes to analyse and share results strategically with all stakeholders.
- **Ensure the inception report[71] is explicit about how the evaluation execution will be gender sensitive and conflict sensitive.** In this report, the evaluators should specify how the evaluation will be gender sensitive, particularly in areas related to data-collection approaches, tools, and methodologies. The inception report should also include the approach the evaluation team took when hiring gender-balanced data-collection teams.
- **Measure the potential unexpected positive and negative impacts of a programme on direct and indirect participants, including women and men, girls and boys.**
- **Design evaluation-analysis processes to ensure findings and learning are reflective and included in future programming.**

Evaluation use and dissemination

Completing the evaluation should not be the end of the process. Lessons can only be learned if the findings are shared effectively and equitably with all relevant parties.

71 An inception report is the first deliverable an evaluator submits to the client. It outlines the evaluation plan, including how the evaluation team will implement the evaluation approach, answer the evaluation questions, and complete the final deliverable.

- **Share evaluation findings internally and externally.** Share evaluation findings with local partners and all stakeholders involved in the programme. When determining which results to share, and with whom, be mindful of the safety implications and repercussions that sharing findings may have on all programme participants.
- **Communicate evaluation findings through mechanisms accessible to all programme participants.**
- **Use evaluation findings as a means to engage in dialogue with all programme stakeholders, including donors.** Intentionally discuss findings related to gender relations, dynamics, and equality.

Conclusion

Small arms projects will only contribute to gender equality is if this is an explicit goal and objective, and if there are deliberate processes in place—at all levels of the programme and organization—to work towards those ends. Of course, organizations working on small arms control and armed violence reduction are at different stages of readiness to adopt and commit to gender-responsive processes. Institutions can be bureaucratic and slow to change, even when there is little entrenched resistance. For these reasons, becoming gender transformative may require an incremental approach. But success breeds success; if done with attention and commitment, integrating gender can improve programme effectiveness and impacts. Doing so is ultimately not a complex process: by simply shifting existing practices and investing thoughtfully in gender training, management, and learning, organizations can be more effective in their goal of reducing the harmful effects of small arms, while also contributing towards more equal and just societies.

—Author: Vanessa Corlazzoli

CONCLUSION

Gender is a fundamental aspect of armed violence. Because of this, the drive to reduce armed violence and the drive to increase gender equality are mutually supporting. Combining these two aims into gender-responsive small arms programming has been the subject of this Handbook.

The preceding chapters have described how much has been achieved in developing the concepts and tools needed to make small arms programming gender responsive. Chapter 2 described how the normative foundation for gender-relevant arms control has been firmly established at the global level. As outlined in Chapter 3, gender analysis is often instrumental in unpacking the effects of—as well as the underlying factors contributing to—armed violence.

Translating these concepts and tools into policies and programming that will help save lives is now primarily a matter of implementation. As Chapter 4 highlighted, this starts with shifts in individual and organizational thinking and a commitment to ask new questions at each phase in the policy/programming cycle—as well as a willingness to follow up on the answers to those questions, wherever they lead. Effective implementation also requires sustained effort over the long term, given that the policy sphere, especially, is a forum for competing perspectives, and that many leaders and interests still oppose gender considerations. As the South Africa case study in this volume makes clear, initial policy victories must be continuously reinforced to prevent backsliding.

Sometime in the future, we may look back on the first 20 years of implementing the United Nations Programme of Action—and associated small arms control programming—as a period in which we chipped away at the edges of the problem of armed violence. Efforts to limit illicit arms flows and reduce the violent misuse of arms clearly remain essential. But gender is no longer the unacknowledged elephant in the room. The sustained work of feminists, activists, researchers, and enlightened governments have put it firmly on the small arms control agenda, where it is recognized as crucial to understanding and addressing armed violence.

For many organizations, turning the new understandings into policies, programmes, and other initiatives will be an incremental process. At a minimum, efforts to address armed violence should incorporate a sound gender analysis, so that underlying dynamics of violence are not overlooked and harmful gender norms that underpin some forms of armed violence are not perpetuated. But much more can be done to increase the gender responsiveness of programming. This Handbook outlines many of the steps that can be taken to ensure that gender is

mainstreamed—not only in the design, implementation, and evaluation of small arms programmes but also in organizational structures that help ensure the gender focus is sustained—and applied.

—Author: Emile LeBrun

ANNEXE

Table A1 How to mainstream gender into design, monitoring, and evaluation processes

Design processes	
Partnerships	✓ Work in partnership with a targeted population to chart a path towards a more secure, equal, and just future. ✓ Partner with organizations that have expertise on gender.
Research prior to programme design	✓ Conduct a gender-informed armed violence analysis or a stand-alone gender analysis before designing your programme. ✓ In research or analyses, consider: Who participates? Who provides information? Who validates findings? ✓ Consult diverse voices at numerous points in the analysis and design processes. ✓ Ensure the intervention is conflict sensitive and will, at minimum, do no harm to individuals or communities.
Goal of the programme	✓ Identify achievable and realistic intermediate- or long-term objectives that include gender-specific changes. ✓ Include language in the programme goal that describes the programme's contribution towards addressing gender inequality, whether the goal is gender sensitive or gender transformative. ✓ Avoid gender-neutral programme goals.
Theory of change	✓ Ensure the theory of change describes specific pathways of change as they relate to women and men, girls and boys. ✓ Unpack implicit and explicit assumptions about all people's needs and roles, and the pre-existing conditions necessary to facilitate change.
Objectives	✓ Within the objectives, explicitly indicate the change in gender inequality the programme will achieve.
Indicators	✓ Disaggregate all indicators by sex and age (and gender identities where possible). ✓ Ensure the indicators measure skills, attitudes, and behaviours as they relate to the programme. ✓ Align the indicators with the theory of change, objectives, and activities—all of which should be gender specific, and which will measure changes to gender dynamics, norms, and levels of equality. ✓ Establish whether participation was meaningful by measuring the quality of participation.

Programme implementation	
Implementation	✓ Integrate gender into baseline studies. ✓ Engage new partners with specific gender expertise, or strengthen the gender-related capacities of existing partners. ✓ Designate gender as an agenda item in all programme meetings. ✓ Ensure a safe and conducive environment to engage meaningfully with all participants, at all levels.
Organizational management and culture	✓ Ensure that senior management meaningfully integrates gender into programmatic decision-making processes, discussions, and final decisions, and allocates sufficient resources to do so. ✓ Establish and uphold relevant organizational processes, including policies that prohibit sexual harassment and gender-based violence, bullying, and discrimination in the workplace. ✓ Address pay inequality, and provide equal opportunity for advancement of both female and male staff. ✓ Involve women and men at all levels of the organization in consultations and decision-making processes. ✓ Allocate sufficient resources and power to technical support teams, such as gender specialists. ✓ Increase staff's understanding of the different roles, responsibilities, experiences, needs, and power hierarchies of women and men in relation to the programme and the organizational culture. ✓ Define and create space to discuss gender issues related to the programme and the organizational culture.
Monitoring	✓ Ensure the monitoring and evaluation plan integrates gender. ✓ Disaggregate data based on sex and age. ✓ Use appropriate and gender-sensitive data-collection approaches and methodologies. ✓ Reflect on gaps of access, participation, benefits, and performance between programme participants, including women and men, girls and boys. ✓ Measure long-term impacts and incremental changes related to gender inequality. ✓ Report on gender-related issues and achievements during regular (monthly, quarterly, biannual) reports.
Learning	✓ Create programmatic and organizational learning questions that move beyond identifying what is working and not working to focus on how and why certain approaches were undertaken. ✓ Identify key factors that contributed to the achievement or non-achievement of the programme. ✓ Create structured time to reflect and learn collaboratively. ✓ Adapt programmes in real time. ✓ Encourage evidence-based innovation.

Programme evaluation	
Evaluation	✓ Include gender-specific questions in the evaluation's terms of references to explicitly measure the programme's contribution to gender equality. ✓ Create inclusive processes to select evaluation criteria and questions with key partners and programme participants to ensure the evaluation meets their priorities. ✓ Request that the evaluator disaggregates data and findings based on sex and age (and gender identities where possible). ✓ Establish evaluation teams with locally specific sector and gender expertise. ✓ Implement evaluation processes that adhere to fair power relations, as well as independence and impartiality. ✓ Conduct evaluations that ensure meaningful participation from all stakeholders. ✓ Ensure the inception report is explicit about how the evaluation execution will be gender sensitive and conflict sensitive. ✓ Measure unexpected positive and negative impacts of the programme on direct and indirect participants, including women and men, girls and boys. ✓ Design evaluation-analysis processes to ensure findings and learning are reflective and included in future programming. ✓ Share evaluation findings internally and externally. ✓ Communicate evaluation findings through mechanisms that are accessible to all programme participants. ✓ Use evaluation findings as a means to engage in dialogue with all programme stakeholders—including donors—on findings related to gender relations, dynamics, and gender equality.

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