

# small arms survey 2014

---

women and guns

THE GRADUATE INSTITUTE | GENEVA  
INSTITUT DE HAUTES ÉTUDES  
INTERNATIONALES ET DU DÉVELOPPEMENT  
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL  
AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107661776](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107661776)

© Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by MPG Printgroup Ltd, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

ISBN 978-1-107-04197-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-66177-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## FOREWORD

---

Last year was highly significant for conventional arms control because of the adoption of the historic Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). It is the first-ever global, legally binding regulation of the conventional arms trade negotiated within the United Nations.

The ATT sets robust standards against which arms transfer decisions must be assessed. Well over half of UN member states have already signed the ATT, but we should not rest until all states have done so.

One of the most impressive outcomes of the ATT negotiations was the successful inclusion of small arms under its scope, and the fact that the treaty also covers the trade in ammunition. It clearly prohibits exports of arms and ammunition that would violate Security Council arms embargoes or that could be used against civilians and in the commission of serious violations of international law.

Moreover, the ATT requires states to regulate arms brokering, to take measures to prevent diversion of weaponry, and to assess the risk that exports of arms and ammunition would be used in the commission of grave violations of international humanitarian law or human rights law. All these provisions are particularly relevant for the issue of small arms.

Another ‘first’ with respect to the development of global norms was last year’s Security Council Resolution 2117 on the issue of small arms. Its adoption reflects the widespread conviction that effectively dealing with conflict and post-conflict settings requires a specific focus on improving small arms control measures.

The theme of this year’s *Survey* is aptly chosen. UN arms control processes are increasingly converging with the women, peace, and security agenda established by UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and related instruments. Language on gender-based violence and on women’s participation in the promotion of peace and security can be found in the ATT, the outcome document of the UN Programme of Action’s Second Review Conference (2012), and the above-mentioned Security Council resolution.

Moreover, the two resolutions adopted by the Security Council on women, peace, and security in 2013 mention the provisions of the ATT that exporting states parties take into account the risk of conventional arms or items being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children. One of these resolutions urges member states and United Nations entities to ensure women’s full and meaningful participation in efforts to combat and eradicate the illicit transfer and misuse of small arms and light weapons.

Such convergence between previously compartmentalized topics is important because, for too long, women and girls were pictured solely as victims of armed conflict and domestic violence, not as the key actors for change that they are. It will be critical, as the 2014 *Survey* also points out, that this ‘enabling’ language actually assist women in becoming full and meaningful participants in the international peace and security agenda.

In words and images, the *Small Arms Survey 2014*, with its usual analytical rigour, helps us understand the latest developments—and future possibilities—in arms control, peace, and security. I have no hesitation recommending it to all those interested in these vital topics.

**—Angela Kane**

United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs

## CONTENTS

---

About the Small Arms Survey .....	vi
Notes to readers .....	vi
Acknowledgements .....	vii
Introduction .....	1

### **Chapter 1. In War and Peace: Violence against Women and Girls**

Introduction .....	9
VAWG in global perspective .....	10
Liberia .....	15
Nepal .....	20
Changing norms .....	27
Conclusion .....	28

### **Chapter 2. Converging Agendas: Women, Peace, Security, and Small Arms**

Introduction .....	35
Women, peace, and security overview .....	36
International policy framework on women, peace, and security and small arms .....	40
National implementation of the international policy framework on women, peace, and security and small arms .....	46
The international policy framework on small arms: making the links .....	54
Conclusion .....	57

### **Special Feature. Women behind the Gun: Aiming for Equality and Recognition**

### **Chapter 3. Breaking New Ground?: The Arms Trade Treaty**

Introduction .....	77
A short history .....	78
The nature of the treaty .....	80
Scope .....	80
Transfer criteria .....	83
Other transfer controls .....	88
Transparency .....	94
Bookends .....	96
Impact .....	97
Conclusion .....	100

### **Chapter 4. Trade Update: Transfers, Retransfers, and the ATT**

Introduction .....	109
Authorized small arms transfers .....	110
Profiling unauthorized retransfers .....	117
The 2014 Transparency Barometer .....	128
Transparency on small arms transfers under the ATT .....	131

## **Chapter 5. Countdown to Catastrophe: The Mpila Ammunition Depot Explosions**

Introduction .....	145
Anatomy of an explosion .....	146
The consequences of the blasts .....	156
Stockpile management: lessons learned? .....	167
Conclusion .....	170

## **Chapter 6. Across Conflict Zones: Ammunition Profiling**

Introduction .....	179
Data collection and methodology .....	180
Ammunition in conflict: a general profile .....	187
Ammunition without borders .....	197
Conclusion .....	207

## **Chapter 7. Signs of Supply: Weapons Tracing in Sudan and South Sudan**

Introduction .....	213
'Post-conflict' Sudan and South Sudan .....	214
Weapons tracing in Sudan and South Sudan .....	219
Weapons documented among armed actors .....	225
Supply to non-state actors .....	235
Conclusion .....	238

## **Chapter 8. On the Record: Illicit Weapons in the United States**

Introduction .....	245
Analysing the data .....	246
Armed violence in the United States .....	250
Illicit small arms in the United States .....	252
Illicit light weapons in the United States .....	263
Conclusion .....	267

## **Index**

## ABOUT THE SMALL ARMS SURVEY

---

The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. Established in 1999, the project is supported by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and current or recent contributions from the Governments of Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as from the European Union. The Survey is grateful for past support received from the Governments of Canada, France, Spain, and Sweden. The Survey also wishes to acknowledge the financial assistance it has received over the years from foundations and many bodies within the UN system.

The objectives of the Small Arms Survey are: to be the principal source of public information on all aspects of small arms and armed violence; to serve as a resource centre for governments, policy-makers, researchers, and activists; to monitor national and international initiatives (governmental and non-governmental) on small arms; to support efforts to address the effects of small arms proliferation and misuse; and to act as a clearinghouse for the sharing of information and the dissemination of best practices. The Survey also sponsors field research and information-gathering efforts, especially in affected states and regions. The project 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.

## NOTES TO READERS

---

**Abbreviations:** Lists of abbreviations can be found at the end of each chapter.

**Chapter cross-referencing:** Chapter cross-references are fully capitalized in brackets throughout the book. One example appears in Chapter 6: 'In fact, the many ammunition samples that bear no correspondence with authorized trade data underline the lack of such a correlation, emphasizing the need for in-depth research to determine the origins of ammunition found in conflict environments (WEAPONS TRACING).'

**Exchange rates:** All monetary values are expressed in current US dollars (USD). When other currencies are also cited, unless otherwise indicated, they are converted to USD using the 365-day average exchange rate for the period 1 September 2012 to 31 August 2013.

**Small Arms Survey:** The plain text—Small Arms Survey—is used to indicate the overall project and its activities, while the italicized version—*Small Arms Survey*—refers to the publication. The *Survey*, appearing italicized, relates generally to past and future editions.

Small Arms Survey  
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies  
47 Avenue Blanc  
1202 Geneva, Switzerland

**t** +41 22 908 5777 **f** +41 22 732 2738

**e** [sas@smallarmssurvey.org](mailto:sas@smallarmssurvey.org) **w** [www.smallarmssurvey.org](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is the 14<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Small Arms Survey*. Like previous editions, it is a collective product of the staff of the Small Arms Survey project, based at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Switzerland, with support from partners. Numerous researchers in Geneva and around the world have contributed to this volume, and it has benefited from the input and advice of government officials, advocates, experts, and colleagues from the small arms research community and beyond.

The principal chapter authors were assisted by in-house and external contributors, who are acknowledged in the relevant chapters. In addition, chapter reviews were provided by: Naeemah Abrahams, Holger Anders, Flora Bertizzolo, James Bevan, Richard Boulter, Stuart Casey-Maslen, Neil Corney, Alex Diehl, Vanessa Farr, Charles Frisby, Dell Higgin, Philippe Houliat, Roy Isbister, Nic Jenzen-Jones, William Kull, Rahel Kunz, Mike Lewis, Chris Loughran, Sarah Masters, Cédric Poitevin, Madhumita Sarkar, Jeffrey Stirling, Rachel Stohl, Sarah Taylor, Jon Vernick, Karl Wagner, and Adrian Wilkinson.

Anna Alvazzi del Frate, Eric G. Berman, Keith Krause, Emile LeBrun, and Glenn McDonald were responsible for the overall planning and organization of this edition. Alessandra Allen and Estelle Jobson managed the production of the *Survey*. Tania Inowlocki copy-edited the book; Jillian Luff produced the maps;

Rick Jones provided the design and the layout; Donald Strachan proofread the *Survey*; and Margaret Binns compiled the index. Daly Design created the illustrations in Chapter 7. John Haslam and Carrie Parkinson of Cambridge University Press provided support throughout the production of the *Survey*. Imène Ajala, Hasnaa El Jamali, David Gertiser, Sarah Hoban, Elli Kytömäki, and Emilia Richard fact-checked the chapters. Olivia Denonville managed photo research, with input from Martin Field. Cédric Blattner and Elise Le Bret Agneray provided administrative support under the direction of Carole Touraine, who is responsible for the *Survey*'s financial oversight.

The project also benefited from the support of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.

We are extremely grateful to the Swiss government—especially the Department for Foreign Affairs and the Swiss Development Cooperation—for its generous financial and overall support of the Small Arms Survey project, in particular Tiziano Balmelli, Erwin Bollinger, Prasenjit Chaudhuri, Vincent Choffat, Sabrina Dallafior Matter, Alexandre Fasel, Thomas Greminger, Jasna Lazarevic, Urs Schmid, Paul Seger, Frédéric Tissot-Daguette, Tobias Vestner, and Claude Wild. The *Survey* has also benefited from financial support in recent years from the Governments of Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The project further benefits from the support of international agencies, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery of the UN Development Programme, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Mine Action Service, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs, UN-Habitat, the UN Institute for Disarmament Research, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, and the World Health Organization.

In Geneva, the project has benefited from the expertise of Anthony Andanje, Michael Biontino, Silvia Cattaneo, Silvia Mercogliano, Elsa Mouelhi-Rondeau, Namdi Payne, Kristine Pelz, Jarmo Sareva, and Makoto Tanabe.

Beyond Geneva, we also receive support from a number of colleagues. In addition to those mentioned above and in specific chapters, we would like to thank Philip Alpers, Wolfgang Bindeil, David Lokulutu Bongwele, Maria Brandstetter, C.J. Chivers, Andrew Cooper, Steve Costner, Mathew Geertsen, Thomas Goebel, Gillian Goh, Claudio Gramizzi, Natalie Jaynes, Aaron Karp, Adèle Kirsten, Aurélie Lamazière, Myriam Marcuello, Sonal Marwah, Hideki Matsuno, Frank Meeussen, Sho Morimoto, Daniël Prins, Adam Ravnkilde, Jorge Restrepo, Damien Spleeters, Zahir Tanin, and Savannah de Tessières.

Our sincere thanks go out to many other individuals (who remain unnamed) for their continuing support of the project. Our apologies to anyone we have failed to mention.

—**Keith Krause**, Programme Director  
**Eric G. Berman**, Managing Director  
**Anna Alvazzi del Frate**, Research Director

### Small Arms Survey 2014

<b>Editors</b>	Glenn McDonald, Emile LeBrun, Anna Alvazzi del Frate, Eric G. Berman, and Keith Krause
<b>Coordinator</b>	Glenn McDonald
<b>Publication Managers</b>	Alessandra Allen and Estelle Jobson
<b>Designer</b>	Rick Jones, StudioExile
<b>Cartographer</b>	Jillian Luff, MAPgrafix
<b>Copy-editor</b>	Tania Inowlocki
<b>Proofreader</b>	Donald Strachan

### Principal chapter authors

<b>Introduction</b>	Anna Alvazzi del Frate and Glenn McDonald
<b>Chapter 1</b>	Dariusz Dziewanski, Emile LeBrun, and Mihaela Racovita
<b>Chapter 2</b>	Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)
<b>Special feature</b>	Tania Inowlocki
<b>Chapter 3</b>	Sarah Parker
<b>Chapter 4</b>	Paul Holtom, Irene Pavesi, and Christelle Rigual
<b>Chapter 5</b>	Pierre Gobinet
<b>Chapter 6</b>	Nicolas Florquin and Jonah Leff
<b>Chapter 7</b>	Emile LeBrun and Jonah Leff
<b>Chapter 8</b>	Matt Schroeder



A soldier from an all-female unit of Indian UN peacekeepers  
patrols a street in Monrovia, Liberia, April 2007.  
© Aubrey Wade/Panos Pictures



# Introduction

Sustained research and analysis have confirmed that the problem of small arms violence cannot be separated from other aspects of human society and culture. Investigations into gun violence that neglect the social relations between men and women, for example, are now seen as incomplete. Gender-conscious programme design and implementation, long features of the development agenda, are increasingly reflected in efforts to promote security. As our understanding of the small arms problem expands, so too does the potential for new, more effective solutions.

The *Small Arms Survey 2014* contributes to this evolution by seeking to unpack, in its first section, the complex, shifting relationship between women and guns. The second section presents new information and analysis under the broad rubric of ‘weapons and markets’. The chapter summaries below present some of the findings emerging from this research.

## WOMEN AND GUNS

---

The first section of this volume examines the relationship between women and guns in a wide range of settings. While women (and girls) bear a substantial part of the overall burden of firearm violence, this is only part of the story. Women are also firearm owners and users, police officers, and combatants. They are increasingly involved in peace and disarmament processes, and in the design and implementation of national gun control policies.

Both chapters in this first section, but especially Chapter 1, highlight the multiple features and consequences of armed violence for women and girls in conflict, post-conflict, and non-conflict settings. They describe that sexual violence, in particular rape, is often used as a weapon of war. Yet violence against women and girls (VAWG) is also pervasive in non-conflict settings, where it is often deeply rooted in the cultural frameworks of otherwise peaceful societies.

Firearms feature in gender-based violence as they do in most other types of violence. VAWG is common within the household; domestic disputes often escalate if a gun is at hand. Every year, approximately one-third of the 66,000 female victims of homicide die from firearm injuries. Rates of femicide—the killing of a woman because of her gender—are particularly high in countries where other forms of violence are widespread, firearms are widely available, and the investigation and prosecution of gender-based violence is weak (Alvazzi del Frate, 2011). Among the different types of firearms used to kill women in the United States, handguns are the most widely used, accounting for about 70 per cent of the victims in 2011 (FBI, n.d.).

Survivors of gun violence—an average of three for every gun fatality (Alvazzi del Frate, 2012, p. 94)—include not only those who survive firearm injuries, but also relatives of those who die or are permanently affected by gunshots. Female survivors therefore include the widows and orphans of victims, as well as the mothers, wives, and daughters of those who suffer long-term disabilities as a consequence of gun violence.

Women are also owners and users of firearms, although firearm owners worldwide are overwhelmingly male. Among gun owners in European Union countries, for example, there are eight men for every woman (EC, 2013, p. 8). The ratio is similar in the United States, where women hold significantly fewer guns than men and appear to prefer handguns to rifles and shotguns (Hepburn et al., 2007, p. 18). Surveys consistently show a much lower percentage of female firearm ownership in the United States and a decline in ownership rates of around 20 per cent for both sexes since the late 1970s (NORC, 2013).

Most of the available sex-disaggregated data on gun ownership comes from the United States and reflects its unique gun culture. Gun advertising has been targeting women since the 1980s, when many producers began to promote firearms designed for women (Winddance Twine, 2013, p. 8). Among these were guns in appealing colours and shapes, as well as ones small enough to carry in a purse.

In the United States and elsewhere, women's ownership and use of firearms tend to be rooted in strong cultural and social values. To some extent, social norms are shifting—as reflected, for example, in the steady increase in the number of all-female events and competitors in Olympic shooting sports since 1984 (ISSF, n.d.). Notwithstanding its social basis, female gun ownership can also derive from individual preferences and circumstances. While some women argue that owning a gun is 'key to female empowerment, freedom and personal security' (Cordani, 2010, p. 94), others become owners because they inherit firearms that are meant to stay in the family. Some women decide to acquire a gun for self-protection, while others practice shooting as a form of sport.

Some women join the police, now a desirable career for women in many cultures (Horne, 2006; SPECIAL FEATURE). Policing has changed over time, with women police officers increasingly carrying and using firearms as part of routine work in the same way as their male counterparts. Yet the literature also shows that female officers are significantly less likely to use 'excessive' force than men, are less frequently involved in police brutality and misconduct, and—across all types of policing work—use weapons less often than their male colleagues (Lonsway et al., 2002).

The proportion of women in national armed forces is still rather small, varying between 0.4 per cent in Bolivia and 14–15 per cent in countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Uruguay (Donadio et al., 2010, p. 56; Schjølset, 2013, pp. 578–79). Nevertheless, the proportion of female military recruits is increasing in NATO countries (Schjølset, 2013). NATO member Norway recently became the first to make military service compulsory for both women and men (Reuters, 2013). In 2013, the US military lifted a 20-year-old ban on women in combat roles (Bowen, 2013). By the end of 2013, some US servicewomen had successfully completed specialized military training as part of broader research designed to help the Marine Corps and other branches of the US armed forces determine how to integrate female soldiers into front line work (Cox and Hoffman, 2013). Whatever the specific outcomes of this initiative, the increased participation of women in the armed and security forces of many countries is one of the most visible signs of a shift towards greater gender equality.

Although there are calls to increase the participation of women in peacekeeping missions (WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY), the female presence in peacekeeping, especially the military component, remains low. As of September 2013, women made up only 5 per cent of military experts and 3 per cent of troops (UN, 2013). Approximately 10 per cent of police peacekeepers were women, a proportion that has remained stable over the past few years (UN, 2013).

Very few of the women and girls who use guns use them to commit crime. The overall proportion of female offenders is quite small, and female perpetration of firearm crime is rare. In the United States, only about 4 per cent of all identified perpetrators of firearm homicide from 2000 to 2010 were female, with this figure varying only slightly from year to year. A few of these homicides were deemed 'justifiable' as they resulted from the use of a firearm in self-

defence. In fact, the proportion of ‘justifiable’ homicides, as a share of total firearm homicides committed by women, doubled between 2000 and 2010 (from 2.3 to 5 per cent) (FBI, n.d.).

The lone, gun-toting criminal is a rarity among women. More often, female ‘outlaws’ carry and use firearms as members of gangs and non-state armed groups (NSAGs). All-female or mixed male–female gangs are relatively common in many parts of the world, although female gang members tend to use weapons, especially firearms, less often and ‘with lesser intensity’ than male gang members (Moestue and Lazarevic, 2010, p. 185). There are exceptions, however. In Guatemala, women gang members are increasingly involved in serious crime, reflected in the sharp increase in the number of women arrested in the country and in the size of its female prison population (Rossi, 2012; Tatone, 2013).

Women and girls sometimes furnish much of the ‘manpower’ of NSAGs: nearly one-third of Sandinista troops in Nicaragua, around 30–40 per cent of the FARC in Colombia, and at least one-third of Tamil Tiger combatants in Sri Lanka (Goldstein, 2003, pp. 81–83). While many women join NSAGs freely, others are either forced to join or to fulfil roles at odds with their cultural values, including the use of armed violence. They frequently perform relatively unimportant, even humiliating tasks and may face scepticism, ridicule, outright opposition, or even violence from male combatants. Many women combatants also face greater difficulty reintegrating into society following the end of armed conflict. While experiences vary from group to group, those of women in NSAGs are often very similar to those of women serving in national armed forces (SPECIAL FEATURE).

As acknowledged in UN Security Council Resolution 1325—which fuses the women and security agendas—women also have a role to play in the development and implementation of post-conflict peace processes, and in the promotion of peace generally. Until recently, the Resolution 1325 process was relatively distinct from the UN small arms process, yet the UN Programme of Action’s 2012 Review Conference and the Arms Trade Treaty of 2013 (ATT) have introduced some measure of convergence (WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY).

## WEAPONS AND MARKETS

---

The second section of the *Small Arms Survey 2014* comprises six chapters that involve hardware questions (weapons and ammunition) or examine small arms markets, both legal and illicit. The first chapter in this section, Chapter 3, reviews the main provisions of the ATT and considers its likely future impact. Chapters 4 (Trade update) and 7 (Weapons tracing) in this section—as well as Chapter 2 (Women, peace, and security)—also consider the ATT in relation to issues such as trade transparency, the potential convergence of national arms export decisions, and the evolution of the women, peace, and security agenda.

As noted in Chapter 3, the Treaty’s influence will depend on the extent to which ATT states parties translate their commitments into concrete action. This is equally true of established control instruments, such as the UN Programme of Action and the International Tracing Instrument. Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate how basic tracing methods—for both weapons and ammunition—can assist in mapping sources of illicit supply to NSAGs in conflict and post-conflict countries.

In considering the potential of new instruments and applications, the existing toolkit should not be overlooked. That includes international standards for the management of ammunition stockpiles, the neglect of which can prove devastating—both to the people living next to ammunition depots and to entire countries, as discussed in Chapter 5. It is equally important to make full use of available information, including police data, which, as Chapter 8 demonstrates, can dispel popular myths about crime guns in the United States and help point policy-makers in new directions.

## Definitions

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 UN Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms (UNGA, 1997):

**Small arms:** revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, and light machine guns.

**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 launchers, and mortars of less than 100 mm calibre.

The term 'small arms' is used in this volume 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.

'Armed violence' is defined as 'the use or threatened use of weapons to inflict injury, death or psychosocial harm' (OECD, 2011, p. ii).

## CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

### Women and guns

**Chapter 1 (Violence against women and girls):** Violence against women and girls is a global concern, although its prevalence varies across regions and countries. This chapter examines sexual and domestic violence—two pervasive forms of VAWG—both internationally and through the experiences of two countries emerging from conflict: Liberia and Nepal. It reviews gendered perceptions of guns and pays special attention to the role of social norms as risk factors. By condoning violent behaviour, such as wife beating or rape within intimate relationships, social norms can perpetuate a cycle of violence. Alongside legislative and policy measures, both Liberia and Nepal have launched initiatives to change social attitudes towards VAWG. There and elsewhere, however, more concerted action is needed.

**Chapter 2 (Women, peace, and security):** A strong international normative framework addressing the impacts of armed conflict on women, and women's participation in peacemaking and post-conflict reform and development, has evolved since the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. This chapter explores how this framework has addressed small arms control and traces the recent convergence of the two agendas. In some countries, the different perceptions and impacts of small arms on women and men are reflected in gun control policy, but rarely in concrete action. Women's networks have played an essential role in identifying the linkages between gender and small arms, and in advocating for appropriate policy and legal responses.

**Special feature:** The women and girls presented in this collection of illustrated original interviews and group portraits have something in common: at some point in their lives, whether as adults or as children, legally or illicitly, they all became intimately familiar with small arms. The section provides first-hand testimony and impressions from women soldiers who served in Afghanistan and Iraq; rebel fighters from Colombia, Iran, and Syria; a South African prison guard; a Kenyan policewoman; UN peacekeepers in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia; former child soldiers of the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda; and an Irish bodyguard. They speak to issues ranging from sexism and the pursuit of gender equality to the practical application of UN Resolution 1325 and slow shifts in the dynamic between men and women.

## Weapons and markets

**Chapter 3 (Arms Trade Treaty):** Negotiation of the Arms Trade Treaty was a complex and ambitious undertaking. The text of the treaty, adopted by UN member states on 2 April 2013, reflects the compromises necessary to achieve agreement, but the broad support the UN membership has demonstrated for the ATT suggests that many states see it as a game changer. As the excitement following its adoption subsides, the question becomes: what does the ATT do and what will it change? This chapter reviews the ATT's provisions, situates the treaty within the existing arms transfer control framework, and assesses its potential impact on existing state practice—in particular, its promises of greater scrutiny of arms transfer decisions and of more responsible decision-making.

**Chapter 4 (Trade update):** This chapter presents updated information on the authorized small arms trade, with sections that identify main actors (top and major exporters and importers), new developments in transparency (the Small Arms Trade Transparency Barometer 2014), and global trends from 2001 to 2011 (including the near doubling in the value of the trade). The chapter also considers some of the possibilities—and opportunities—the ATT presents in two specific areas: unauthorized retransfer and trade transparency. Unauthorized retransfer is something of a blind spot for the ATT, although other instruments and good practice guidelines offer useful guidance in addressing it. While the ATT may prove more effective in increasing global trade transparency, this will depend on the extent to which ATT reporting draws on other transparency instruments.

**Chapter 5 (Mpila explosions):** On 4 March 2012, a series of explosions destroyed several military barracks in the Mpila area of Brazzaville, in the Republic of the Congo (RoC), affecting two densely populated districts of the city. The explosions claimed at least 300 lives, injured more than 2,500, and displaced more than 120,000 people. The broader economic impacts of the blasts were important, long-lasting, and country-wide. The tragedy was preventable yet, two years on, the root cause of the explosions—poor ammunition stockpile management—has not been properly addressed, nor have their broad socio-economic consequences been fully remedied. This chapter unpacks the direct and indirect consequences of the blasts and probes the long-term ammunition procurement and stockpiling practices that led to the Mpila tragedy.

**Chapter 6 (Ammunition profiling):** This chapter examines the characteristics of small-calibre ammunition circulating in seven countries and territories affected by conflict or post-conflict instability in Africa and the Middle East. It highlights the role that stockpiles of ammunition produced during the cold war continue to play in fuelling armed conflict, underlining the importance of efforts to reduce surpluses. The chapter also reveals the presence of newly produced cartridges in most of the countries and territories under review. While ammunition produced in China and the former Eastern Bloc remains dominant overall, the prevalence of cartridges of Sudanese and Iranian manufacture is noteworthy. The chapter also highlights the circulation in these areas of unmarked cartridges, whose origin is often unknown, raising new hurdles for arms monitors.

**Chapter 7 (Weapons tracing):** What arms and ammunition do rebel groups and tribal militias in Sudan and South Sudan have, and how have they obtained them? Following more than two years of investigation, the Small Arms Survey finds that Khartoum government stockpiles are the primary source of weapons to non-state armed groups of all allegiances in Sudan and South Sudan, primarily through deliberate arming, but also through battlefield capture. Among the newer weapons documented, Chinese- and Iranian-manufactured small arms and ammunition are prominent, as is Sudanese-made ammunition. Information supplied by exporting government agencies, weapons manufacturers, and

other private companies have assisted in these investigations, whose results show the potential of independent, expert-led, and donor-supported conflict tracing.

**Chapter 8 (Illicit small arms):** US cities are changing. Crime and poverty persist in some areas, but the vibrancy and prosperity of previous eras has returned to others. Despite these changes, decades-old images of street gangs conducting urban warfare with automatic rifles and machine pistols continue to shape public perceptions of urban violence and criminal guns. This chapter assesses the accuracy of these and other assumptions about illicit weapons in the United States. It analyses records of more than 140,000 small arms and light weapons taken into custody by police in eight US cities and towns, presenting important new information on the weapons acquired by US criminals, in particular felons, drug dealers, and gang members.

## CONCLUSION

Full implementation of the women, peace, and security agenda is still some way off, especially where small arms are concerned. In many parts of the world, women (and girls) continue to be killed, maimed, and injured for social and cultural reasons. At the same time, their complete and equal involvement in security promotion often seems more of an aspiration than a reality.

Meanwhile, the effect of the ATT remains to be determined. The treaty's very existence—something many thought unlikely, even impossible, a few years ago—represents an important achievement. But, if it is to have any real impact on arms transfer practices, the ATT will have to jump over the same hurdle that has prevented many established small arms instruments from having full effect—namely, the translation of commitments on paper into concrete action. While the effective implementation of small arms control standards may have significant costs and require sustained political attention, the neglect of such standards can impose human and financial costs that are many times greater—as the Mpila ammunition depot explosions illustrate.

This edition of the *Small Arms Survey* has also demonstrated the value of available, but untapped information, including police data and weapons and ammunition markings in conflict-ridden areas. In aggregate, this data serves to map the types of firearms used by criminals in the United States, as well as insurgent arms supply in Africa and the Middle East.

In short, the 2014 *Survey* casts a light on specific, often persistent threats to the security of women, girls, men, and boys around the world—presenting several tools, methods, and information sources, both old and new, that can improve our understanding of these threats and help us overcome them. ■

—Anna Alvazzi del Frate and Glenn McDonald

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
NSAG	Non-state armed group
VAWG	Violence against women and girls

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alvazzi del Frate, Anna. 2011. 'When the Victim Is a Woman.' In Geneva Declaration Secretariat. *Global Burden of Armed Violence 2011: Lethal Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2012. 'A Matter of Survival: Non-lethal Armed Violence.' In Small Arms Survey. *Small Arms Survey 2012: Moving Targets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 79–105.
- Bowen, Robert. 2013. 'Pentagon Lifts Ban on Women in Combat; Some Men Can't Handle It.' *Examiner.com* (United States). 24 January. <<http://www.examiner.com/article/pentagon-lifts-ban-on-women-combat-some-men-can-t-handle-it>>
- Cordani, Andreina. 2010. 'Girls with Guns.' *Marie Claire*. July, pp. 94–100.
- Cox, Matthew and Michael Hoffman. 2013. 'Female Marines Make History at Infantry Training.' *Military.com* (United States). 21 November. <<http://www.military.com/daily-news/2013/11/21/female-marines-make-history-at-infantry-training.html>>
- Donadio, Marcela, et al. 2010. *Women in the Armed and Police Forces: Resolution 1325 and Peace Operations in Latin America*. Buenos Aires: RESDAL. <<http://www.resdal.org/genero-y-paz/women-in-the-armed-and-police-forces.pdf>>
- EC (European Commission). 2013. *Firearms in the European Union*. Flash Eurobarometer 383. Brussels: European Commission. <[http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/flash/fl\\_383\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_383_en.pdf)>
- FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation). n.d. *Supplementary Homicide Report: File Listings for 2000–2011*. Correspondence from the Criminal Justice Information Services Division, 3 December 2013.
- Goldstein, Joshua. 2003. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hepburn, Lisa, et al. 2007. 'The US Gun Stock: Results from the 2004 National Firearms Survey.' *Injury Prevention*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 15–19. <<http://injuryprevention.bmj.com/content/13/1/15.abstract>>
- Horne, Peter. 2006. 'Policewomen: Their First Century and the New Era.' *Police Chief*, Vol. 73, No. 9. September. <[http://www.policemagazine.org/magazine/index.cfm?fuseaction=display&article\\_id=1000](http://www.policemagazine.org/magazine/index.cfm?fuseaction=display&article_id=1000)>
- ISSF (International Shooting Sport Federation) n.d. 'The Shooting Sports at the Olympic Games.' <[https://www.issf-sports.org/theissf/championships/olympic\\_games.ashx](https://www.issf-sports.org/theissf/championships/olympic_games.ashx)>
- Lonsway, Kim, et al. 2002. *Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force: A Tale of Two Genders—A Content Analysis of Civil Liability Cases, Sustained Allegations, and Citizen Complaints*. Arlington, VA: National Center for Women and Policing. <[http://www.womenandpolicing.org/PDF/2002\\_Excessive\\_Force.pdf](http://www.womenandpolicing.org/PDF/2002_Excessive_Force.pdf)>
- Moestue, Helen and Jasna Lazarevic. 2010. 'The Other Half: Girls in Gangs.' In Small Arms Survey. *Small Arms Survey 2010: Gangs, Groups, and Guns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 185–207.
- NORC (United States National Opinion Research Center). 2013. 'GSS (General Social Survey): Data Analysis Using SDA.' Accessed 24 October 2013. <<http://www3.norc.org/gss+website/>>
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2011. 'Breaking Cycles of Violence: Key Issues in Armed Violence Reduction.' Paris: OECD. <<http://www.oecd.org/dac/incf/48913388.pdf>>
- Reuters. 2013. 'Norway Becomes First NATO Country to Draft Women Into Military.' 14 June. <<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/06/14/us-norway-women-conscription-idUSBRE95D0NB20130614>>
- Rossi, Victoria. 2012. 'The Role of Women in Guatemalan Extortion Gangs.' *InSight Crime*. 18 October. <<http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/women-role-guatemala-extortion>>
- Schjølset, Anita. 2013. 'Data on Women's Participation in NATO Forces and Operations.' *International Interactions*, Vol. 39, No. 4. September–October, pp. 757–87. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03050629.2013.805326>>
- Tatone, Michael. 2013. 'Women in Guatemala Jails Doubled in 8 Years.' *InSight Crime*. 19 March. <<http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/number-of-women-in-guatemalan-jails-has-doubled-in-8-years>>
- UN (United Nations). 2013. 'United Nations Peacekeeping: Gender Statistics.' <<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/gender.shtml>>
- UNGA (United Nations General Assembly). 1997. *Report of the Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms*. A/52/298 of 27 August (annexe). <<http://www.un.org/depts/ddar/Firstcom/SGreport52/a52298.html>>
- Winddance Twine, France. 2013. *Girls with Guns: Firearms, Feminism, and Militarism*. New York: Routledge.