

Master Thesis

Gendered (in)security: a critical analysis of the ‘local turn’ through small arms control, gender and power in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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ABSTRACT

The role of gender and power dynamics in post-conflict environments is more relevant than ever, at the 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325. The thesis examines the role of gender in post-conflict environments through internationally and locally constructed policies, specifically through analyzing the recently developed small arms control initiative, fostered by the EU. Through a case study of small arms control in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the paper aims to explore how various international and local actors' power is interlinked with gender and in what way this affects the overcoming of strongly patriarchal conceptualizations of (in)security. The thesis argues the small arms control initiative successfully brings in perspectives on women's participation in security and small arms control, however it is limited to the category of 'women-and-girls', in a patriarchally organized, gendered institutional structure. Though the inclusion of women into security structures is indeed a meaningful goal, it does not question the gendered processes of marginalization and violence through small arms and thus, does not prevent the reproduction of such processes filled with insecurity. Gendered insecurity could only be tackled with initiatives focusing on post-colonial power dynamics in the so-labelled 'local turn', in security institutions and in the interplay between various involved international and local actors. The findings have extremely relevant implications for the EU's foreign and security policy not only in Bosnia, but in post-conflict environments in general, where gender aspects of insecurity and violence are present.

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INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of UN Security Resolution 1325 and the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda, a growing number of liberal and critical feminist works have emerged on the topic gender in post-conflict environments, with much attention paid to the Western Balkans. The post-conflict environment in the region has been equally characterized by the international community's strong involvement as well as the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence.¹ Though gender insecurity has received enormous attention from feminist security practitioners and scholars equally, there is no consensus on how gender dynamics are reproduced by international and local actors' interplay in post-conflict environments.

Through UN operations, peacebuilding activities, international organizations' involvement, and the wide development of the NGO sector, the dynamic interplay of international and local actors has become a decisive factor in post-conflict environments. Local agency and the diverse roles of the local and international have become flagship terms in security policy, as well as in international actors' policies in post-conflict environments. Several models emerged to grasp the essence of various international and local actors' engagement in the field, such as the liberal peace model (Tadjbakhsh 2011; Richmond 2006; Duffield 2008), the 'post-liberal peace' (Graef 2015; Millar 2017) and 'local turn' (Mac Ginty and Richmond 2013; Gordon 2015; Richmond 2006), hybridity (McLeod 2015; Anam 2018; Belloni 2012) and friction as an analytical tool (Björkdahl and Höglund 2013a; Kappler 2013; Millar 2013). However, these efforts failed to account for the gaps of binary conceptualization and essentialism in peacebuilding policy, which is filled by critical, post-colonial scholars such as

¹ The UN's definition on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV): refers to any act that is perpetrated against a person's will and is based on gender norms and unequal power relationships (UNHCR 2011). However, the concepts related to gendered violence and security will be disentangled in the paper.

Paffenholz (2015), Smith (2019), or Jabri (2013). The thesis contributes to this scholarly literature.

The thesis aims to disentangle post-colonial and feminist understandings of small arms control in Bosnia and Herzegovina,² through the recently launched small arms control initiative: ‘Regional Roadmap for a sustainable solution to the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)³ and their ammunition in the Western Balkans by 2024’.⁴ The small arms control process in Bosnia is a most suitable example for various reasons to understand how gender insecurity is produced and reproduced even in policy processes with a clear gender focus in post-conflict environments, under various actors’ influence in a dynamic power-centered sphere. Firstly, Bosnia has seen an extreme amount of international actors and received donors’ attention in gender policy as well as in security sector reforms. As part of this international engagement, the Roadmap has been negotiated in close cooperation with the UNDP’s Clearinghouse in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, SEESAC. It has been clearly suggested that the process plays a significant part in Bosnia’s EU accession, thus, it represents a priority both for various international and local actors with different power positions. Secondly, there has been a specific aim to integrate gender into the small arms control process, which provides a fruitful ground for the examination of gendered dynamics combined with an analysis of various actors’ influence in the process. Bosnia and Herzegovina proved to be the most suitable case mainly for the complex structure of power dynamics that have been in play since the emergence of the conflict between formerly Yugoslavian entities and for the essential nature of gender in these

² Further referred to as Bosnia in short, Bosnia & Herzegovina, or BiH.

³ There is no generally agreed upon definition of small arms and light weapons. For a full list of what constitutes small arms and light weapons, please see the Small Arms Survey’s definition (2008), which this paper relies on. The term ‘small arms’ may refer to small arms and light weapons and is used synonymously to the term ‘firearms’.

⁴ Further referred to as ‘the Roadmap’, ‘the small arms control initiative’ and ‘small arms control process’.

power dynamics. Two, yet uncovered areas emerged inherently from the Bosnian small arms control process. Firstly, whether initiatives launched as the Berlin Process – such as small arms control – aim to deconstruct militarized masculinity and femininity narratives, whether they point beyond ‘add women and stir’. Secondly, how the manifestation of gender security – applied in the Roadmap – interrelates with power and hierarchical, dominant structures between and within various actors’ spheres. The thesis is extremely relevant and timely at the 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, and in the EU’s continued engagement in Bosnia.

Based on these inquiries, the main research question of the thesis is: “How is gender (in)security interlinked with various forms of power in international and local actors’ interplay, and how does this affect gendered change in post-conflict environments?” through a case study of small arms control in Bosnia. By providing a critical analysis of the very gendered dynamics of postcolonial exclusion in international-local power relations, this thesis contributes to the academic – but also, policy – scholarship on gender and peacebuilding. Though academic literature exists either on small arms in security sector reforms and post-colonial international-local narratives or on gender in the security sector, the links between small arms and gender are rarely explored even despite significant advocacy work of several related organizations (IANSA, Small Arms Survey). On the other hand, the thesis reflects the significant gap in exploring small arms control in the critical scholarship on international and local actors’ power dynamics. Small arms control as a dynamic process in the ‘local turn’ literature has not been grasped up to this point, lacking also the discovery of severe gender aspects of the topic.

The main hypothesis of the thesis is that gender security is at the core of international-local dynamics mainly through the differentiated feminization and marginalization of actors, which adversely affects the main goal of overcoming the strongly patriarchal structural power

system in Bosnia. The argument is justified through a mixed methodology of document analysis and semi-structured interviews in the analysis of the case study. The thesis embraces a feminist research methodology, which emerged as opposed to androcentric, assumedly ‘objective’ knowledge produced by value-neutral scientific research, often reinforcing systemic biases and stereotypes on all types of gender (Wigginton and Lafrance 2019). Thus, the thesis aims at making marginalized groups’ gender concerns visible, by analyzing the certainly gendered and exclusionary aspects of security policy in Bosnia.

The paper proceeds following the introduction as laid out here. The literature review and conceptual background consist of two parts. Firstly, it explores the various waves of literature on global-local dynamics and the local turn on peacebuilding, as well as the concepts related to this topic. Secondly, it turns to the role of gender in security policy, followed by the methodological section describes how semi-structured interviews have been conducted, with a special emphasis on ethical and theoretical considerations, as well as the limitations of this research paper. The main part of the paper, the analysis, briefly begins with small arms control’s role in the international community’s engagement, turns to, Bosnian gender aspects of small arms and light weapons circulation are outlined, followed by the various understandings of gender security and the final discussion of the paper. The thesis concluded with the presentation of the main findings.

LITERATURE, THEORY AND CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Critical security studies

The post-cold war period has given emergence to various new approaches to the concept of security. Amidst the reconstruction of global power asymmetries embedded into the system of global accumulation, new security threats emerged and hallmarked the beginning of a new era (McCormack 2011). A gradually emerging critical approach aimed to uncover yet unknown types of insecurities, focusing on human security – manifesting in socioeconomic, environmental, gender-, community- or ethnic-based – that have become characteristic of the period often called late capitalism (Gasper 2005; Caballero-Anthony 2015; Busumtwi-Sam 2008). State-centric and problem-solving perspectives have been dominant in traditional security, strategic and military studies. Critical security studies (CSS), on the one hand, has broadened these theories in the sense that it shifted focus from the actorness of the state towards individuals' security, embracing an approach of human security (Buzan, Waever, and Wilde 2013; Hama 2017; Bilgin 2003). On the other hand, CSS abandons a strictly problem-solving perspective, directing attention to the very nature of power in politics and security, conceptualizing theory as always 'for someone for some purpose' (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2015 p.29). The investigation of politics thus can never be completely neutral but depends on various actors' associated roles in the dynamic system of power relations. The combination of these additions to the study of security has resulted in new perspectives to look at the global as a complex set of relations that resembles historical processes, primarily accumulating power and various types of capital.

On the one hand, the move away from the state-centric nature rejects the legitimization of the status quo, questioning the nature of the state in the system of global politics (Booth 2005). The state may, indeed act as a protective force of citizens' liberties, but it can also be the source of structural violence against its citizens (Galtung 1996). Security in critical studies is more of a 'principle of formation that does things' rather than a definition or a name (Dillon 2006, 16). The former state-centric nature of security studies and international interventions has been characterized of missing local perspectives. Critical considerations paved the way for a theory formation on the local that is dominated by power structures, networks, ideas and agents of change on its own, rather than the traditional understanding of it as an empty space to be filled by liberal peacebuilding (Bendix and Stanley 2008). Though processes of globalization – e.g. decentralization of global politics, followed by urbanization and delocalization – have been highly exploitative in many conflict-ridden regions, they have also enabled a process often referred to as the local turn (Mac Ginty 2015), more thoroughly explored in the next section.

The 'local turn'

The local turn has emerged as a type of response to the liberal peace agenda and has attracted scholarly attention in recent years. These were purposely driven to better comprehend the dynamic relations that characterize global and local encounters. The first wave of local turn scholars – that is, Galtung, Curle, Fisher and Kelman – critique the liberal peace model for its monolithic, one-size-fits-all approach to achieving peace in post-conflict environments through democratization, economic liberalization and the establishment of rule of law (Richmond 2006; Mac Ginty and Richmond 2013; Richmond 2011; 2014). Local ownership in the liberal agenda refers to the political agency of local elites, policy-makers, and the population to implement reform processes (Mobekk 2010). Through this agency, local actors

are often required to reflect the global community's definitions of security problems and sets of values (Richmond 2009), which often reduces the role of communities' real agency (Mac Ginty 2014). From a post-liberal perspective in the local turn, the perceived ideal-type of international initiatives in a post-conflict locality would induce local ownership of the process through making unheard voices heard through emancipation, inducing peace from below (Leonardsson and Rudd 2015).

Incorporating more critical, comprehensive understandings of the global and the local, two particular theoretical-analytical frameworks have emerged seeking to deconstruct the global-local intersections in the second wave of local turn literature. On the one hand, hybridity is highly indicative in McLeod's work, which captures the fusion of the global and local through a specific peacebuilding operation or initiative (McLeod 2015; 2016). This has been followed by other scholarship on the merging of two frameworks, notably the liberal peace model put forward by the international and the ideas of a range of local actors (Laffey and Nadarajah 2012; Belloni 2012; Anam 2018). Hybridity aims to explore local resistance and to uncover local processes responding to internationally led operations on the field (J. H. Peterson 2012), which has been a step forward in analyzing these encounters as struggles, from which a fluid hybrid emerges, moving away from former conceptualizations (Jarstad and Belloni 2012). On the other hand, friction as an analytical tool explores how global and local actors come into interplay with each other, what kind of global or local sites serve as the platform for power contestation and to what extent outcomes of global-local initiatives are inter-relational and constitutive of each other (Björkdahl and Höglund 2013b). Friction has been utilized by several scholars to capture the essence of local agency both as opposed to global power and as empowered by the international, including in Bosnia-Herzegovina and South Africa (Kappler 2013), peacebuilding in Sierra Leone (Millar 2013), in the divided cities of Mostar and Mitrovica (Björkdahl and Gusic 2013), among other notable works.

It is noteworthy that both hybridity scholarship and friction as an analytical tool aim to deconstruct the liberal, and even in some cases, the post-liberal peacebuilding agenda. However, delineating the concepts brings about questions that arise regarding the essentialist nature of understandings that regard the local and international as opposed to one another (Paffenholz 2015). The binary conceptualization is inherently blind to more nuanced approaches. This is so even if it embraces critical aspects, such as the questioning of the international's role as a core actor in the world system power relations (Wallerstein 2004). The reference of local to conflict-affected societies reinforces the view on post-conflict countries as 'the other', putting the local into the box of the homogenous unknown (Paffenholz 2010). From the binary perspective, the local – and the international – lacks underlying power structures, and political agency on its own (Fetherston 2000), similarly to the missing relevance of political systems, rendering the local essentially as apolitical subjects (Miall 2004). Thus, there has been an emerging need to deconstruct the binary understandings of the 'international' and the 'local' (Heathershaw 2013). Perhaps most importantly, postcolonial thoughts emphasized that in the binary terms, the local is only ever in relation to the international – resistance, co-option or hybridity as a response to global norms, put forward by the international community (S. J. Smith 2019b). Thus, actions of the local are legitimized by none other than the international itself (von Billerbeck 2016), a notion strongly linked to postcolonialism.

Jabri (2013) advocates for the manifestation of the international as a postcolonial actor, which is vital for a comprehensive understanding of power and contestation of those who constitute the international and the local. Examining the local as a postcolonial subject means shedding light on memories of colonial trauma, which continuously reconstructs hierarchical relations at the global and local levels through Eurocentrism and a fixed idea of the backward local (Barkawi and Laffey 2006). In this reconstruction, the acts of the international are imagined

as drivers behind the development and progress of the local, perhaps even through the mobilization of local agents, reducing the political subjecthood of local actors (Sabaratnam 2011). In contrast, the local – and the international – incorporates so much more, than a monolithic, fixed subject, placed on the developmentist agenda, discovered in the analysis of this thesis (Jones 2015). Rather, the local in this paper is considered an equally ‘thick’ set of power relations as the international, consisting of subaltern groups and gendered, political actors with various interests. Thus, the question arises: how do trajectories emerge in these spaces, and what is the role of power, as in international and local, in these processes? What kind of power do various layers of the local have when it comes to writing their own stories?

These questions are very much conflicted as in post-conflict processes, the boundaries of the international and local pose difficult challenges in terminology and understanding. Firstly, the complex understandings of the ‘international’ and the ‘local’ emerge in terms of the Bosnian small arms control initiative, as explored at a later point in this piece. Secondly, power may manifest in various other ways, often intersecting with formal and informal networks that affect the interplay between the global and local. Especially in post-conflict settings, where the ‘post’ indicates the ‘end’ of open conflict, forms of violence continue to persist in various ways through power. As Cynthia Enloe’s often-quoted idea – wars don’t simply end, and wars don’t end simply – asserts, gender is one of the most significant manifestations of power in which violence continues to persist in post-conflict settings (C. H. Enloe 2014 p. 299). The gender dimension of post-conflict peacebuilding and violence has gained significant scholarly attention in recent years.

Feminist security studies – where are the women in security?

The liberal feminist tradition has played a leading role in questioning the norms of patriarchy that run in security policy (Huber and Hudson 2019). Inspired by the substantive – and in

many ways, decisive – work of Enloe, the perspective aims at rediscovering women’s needs by adding more women to the policy-making process, therefore including their voices in political processes (C. Enloe 2004; C. H. Enloe 2007; Cockburn and Enloe 2012; C. H. Enloe 2014). Though its emergence has been decisive in the field of feminist security studies, liberal feminist conflict studies have been criticized for the ‘add women and stir’ perspective (Westendorf 2013; Tint 2004; Giles 2008). In contrast, standpoint feminism (as Williams & Peoples categorize) questions gendered identity formation and social construction of what constitutes men and women (see Beauvoir’s work and Hutchings 2009). Standpoint feminism does not only aim at including more women at the negotiation tables but to incorporate perspectives that build on distinctive experiences women experience (Tickner 1992).

Poststructuralist feminist approaches generally reject the reconstructive elements of liberal and standpoint feminism, thus, the social construction of gender in itself (Steans 2009). Poststructuralist thinkers argue that sex, categorically, is constructed socially as well, through the acts of discourse – including written manifestos and roadmaps. From this perspective, there are no particular female or male experiences that women and men experience, rather, the focus is on the gendered identity of daily acts on the micro-level as well as political acts on the macro level. Gender does not only incorporate socially constructed categories of identities, rather it is reflective of underlying power dynamics, as “a way of categorizing, ordering and symbolizing power, of hierarchically structuring relationships among different categories of people” (Cohn 2013, p. 3 quoted by Smith 2019, p. 8). This is in line with the transformative role of feminist security studies in exploring ways of knowing, e.g. gendered epistemologies and ways of being e.g. gendered ontologies. These are both driven by structural inequalities, continuously re-produced by masculinities and femininities (V. S. Peterson 1998; 2002; 2005). Critical security studies’ view on structural violence as a historical-political manifestation of the systems of hierarchies is a recurring element in

poststructuralist feminist studies (Smith 2019). At the same time, conceptualizing everyday practices as well as politics as essentially gendered processes, one must question the constitution and reconstitution of these practices. This is primarily for the reason that everyday gendered practices bear performative-productive features, reproducing gendered identities through discourse and interaction (Butler 2015). Discourse as practice, e.g. the constitution of gendered security proved to be extremely fruitful in analyzing several practical, policy-manifested elements of present-day structural inequalities (Powell and Gilbert 2007). The reiteration of specific women subjects – victims, apolitical, passive agents constantly finding themselves related to the (hegemonic) masculine – is through policy documents, international and local actions, power relations that manifest in everyday practices of structural and systemic violence (Stern and Zalewski 2009; Wilcox 2011). Framed by the work of Shepherd and Mcleod, both of whom analyzed UNSCR 1325, the groundbreaking resolution became a platform through which liberal feminists, standpoint feminists, and poststructuralist feminists could analyze security practices.

UNSCR 1325 and the Women, Peace, and Security agenda

UN Security Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security has ever since its beginning been framed as the “token” resolution on women in conflict- and post-conflict settings (Pratt 2013). The resolution has been accepted in October 2000, this year marking its 20th anniversary. Involving a wide range of civil society actors and aiming to pursue an agenda on one of the most pressing issues in security studies, the resolution has been innovative and ambitious. The resolution focuses on women in the prevention, management, and resolution of international or local conflicts, urging policymakers to include more women into their agendas (Cohn, Kinsella, and Gibbings 2004). The post-UNSCR1325 period has been characterized by the creation of National Action Plans (NAPs), as well as multiple subsequent

resolutions, which have gradually embraced more aspects of the liberal peacebuilding agenda (Heathcote 2018; Hendricks 2015). The Resolution was followed by UNSCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013). There have been two complementary resolutions: 1889 and 2122, which have been more inclusive in terms of acknowledging the various roles attributed to women in post-conflict settings as well as a form of agency in societal change (Shepherd 2011). The resolutions received attention from not only from scholars, but also from practitioners and policy-makers, both in general and in applied settings (Ellerby 2013; 2016; Kreft 2017; Willett 2010; de Jonge Oudraat 2013; Olsson and Gizelis 2013; Pratt and Richter-Devroe 2011; Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic 2015; Shepherd 2011a; Basu and Shepherd 2017 to mention only few of the substantial feminist works produced in this area)

The overall outcomes of the resolutions are multifold. Firstly, their groundbreaking nature in the UN system and the success it has achieved in some post-conflict settings are to be acknowledged. In the aftermath of the resolution, an increasing number of scholars explored feminism and gender in a post-conflict environment, strongly linked to security sector reforms (SSR), often including work analyzing specific NAPs (MacKenzie 2009; Willett 2010; Shepherd 2011; Myrntinen, Khattab, and Naujoks 2017; J. Krause, Krause, and Bränfors 2018; Gordon 2019). Secondly, the UN's WPS agenda has attracted criticism as well. Poststructuralist feminists approach the actions deriving from the resolutions from a discourse-based perspective, mainly concerning its disregard of structural power dynamics in general, as well as the reproduction of gendered subjectivities of women-and-girls. In the WPS agenda and the UNSCR resolutions, the constructed category of women-and-girls is very much present (Pratt and Richter-Devroe 2011), the documents themselves producing preferred types of masculinities and femininities through existing gendered institutional structures (Thomson 2018). As Shepherd argues, the resolutions reinforce gender as only referring to women and girls, instead of a more comprehensive notion on the construction and

reconstruction of gendered identities (Shepherd 2007). Though the resolutions promise to actively step up for women in post-conflict settings, they do in fact reproduce the exact boundaries they aim to dismantle by taking the category of women for granted, that is, not as intersections of various types of power dynamics (Cockburn 2007; 2013). Thus, it is increasingly pressing for critical feminist scholarship to acknowledge the limitations these initiatives face when implemented at the local level, as structural inequalities and marginalization may be reinforced through them by subjugating feminist goals in conflict-affected environments (Reeves 2012). Applying feminist methodology in research is one tool to face initiatives' limitations in further analyses, which makes the thesis extremely timely and relevant.

METHODOLOGY

As outlined in the introduction, this paper embraces critical perspectives and attempts to use critical feminist methodology. Feminist research methods emerged as opposed to androcentric, assumedly 'objective' knowledge produced by value-neutral scientific research, which reinforced systemic biases and stereotypes on all types of gender (Wigginton and Lafrance 2019). Thus, feminist research emerged to be committed to embracing decolonized, gender- and power-aware approaches towards the examination of certain social groups, societal practices, and actors. Its explicit aim is to deconstruct presumably scientific truths that reinforce capitalist and patriarchal social structures (Harding and Norberg 2005). Applying a feminist research methodology is the most suitable approach to the inquiry of this thesis research for various reasons. Firstly, such a methodology, through a turn to dominant discourses, provides a platform to engage voices not necessarily heard through a mainstream methodology (Nast 1994). Secondly, such a research agenda enables engagement with the

researcher's own biases rooted in narratives produced by various aspects of power dynamics, and the researcher's position in and outside of the observed field.

To choose a case most suitable for this research question, several authors on case selection have been consulted, such as George and Bennett (2005) and Gerring (2009). Bosnia and Herzegovina proved to be the most suitable case mainly for the complex structure of power dynamics that have been in play since the emergence of the conflict between formerly Yugoslavian entities, and more especially in the post-conflict period. Besides, Bosnia has seen an extreme number of international actors and received donors' attention in gender policy as well as in security sector reforms. Other aspects of case selection have been motivated by small arms control's central element in international-local processes, as outlined in the introduction. Thus, the case is justified to indeed serve as a case for critical feminist policy analysis on security processes.

Originally, the research paper was supposed to incorporate materials from interviews taking place during a field trip in Bosnia. However, due to technical limitations during the coronavirus, the planned field trip could not realize. Instead, interviews were conducted online, through Skype and Zoom, but due to the virus, the number of interviews were also limited. The interviews have taken place in the months of May-June-early July in a semi-structured format, based on academic work on various forms of interviews (Manzano 2016). Interviewees were contacted based on preliminary research on various actors' roles with a specific aim to include Bosnian local women's organizations' and CSOs' perspectives. Interviewees were also contacted through the snowballing method, e.g. through connections of the interviewees. The total set of interviews consists of 6 interviews, plus consultation with one more potential interviewee via email. Interviewees came from various backgrounds: from an international organization working in the field, from women's NGOs

from both entities of BiH, as well as a researcher consulted for relevant experiences. Thus, the research paper builds on the incorporation of feminist data methods in consulting primary sources (e.g. interviews) and secondary sources (policy documents, reports, relevant academic research).

During the entire methodology process, ethical considerations have been fully taken into account, through the incorporation of feminist research ethics (Preissle and Han 2012; Burgess-Proctor 2015) as well as the suggestions and viewpoints of the University of York ethics advisor, with whom the ethical considerations have been thoroughly discussed. The vulnerability of interviewees as well as their positions in the researched post-conflict environment have been regarded with care, especially in terms of interviewees' former potential experiences (e.g. women's NGOs experience with victims of sexual and gender-based violence). To minimize these risks, potential interviewees received a participant information sheet outlining the topic of the research and potential questions that may arise during the interview. The researcher minimized risks of conflict of interests and risks related to data protection by following the Data Protection Act 1998 and following the ethical guidelines of the University of York.

There have been several limitations during the research. Firstly, regarding my interviewees, it is worthy to note that the sample used has been to a high extent influenced by actors' capacities and their position in local power dynamics – even despite attempts to dismantle these. This has been extremely relevant as some women's NGOs who work with marginalized groups may not have linguistic competencies or capacities to answer an international researchers' inquiries in other than mother tongue (Pekkanen and Bleich 2013). Secondly, some women's organizations did not identify with the small arms control focus of my research, a fact that has been a limitation in terms of conducting a larger number of

interviews. However, this detail that is considered a limitation from a methodological perspective turned out to lead to quite significant research findings, further elaborated on in the analysis section, as we turn to it in the next section.

ANALYSIS

The recently launched ‘Roadmap for a sustainable solution to the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and their ammunition in the Western Balkans by 2024’ (hereafter: the Roadmap) has been part of the Berlin process, under the coordination of SEESAC. SEESAC is the South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons, based in Belgrade. Small arms control is essentially part of a geopolitical dynamic of local-international power relations, which requires a critical analytical lens on global power relations in security studies. A widespread SALW (small arms and light weapons) control mechanism has been in place for decades, which consist of mechanisms such as the 2000 UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and Firearms Protocol, the 2001 Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects (POA), and the 2013 Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) among others.

Regional and local disarmament and small arms control initiatives are embedded into the set of international regulations outlined in these documents. However, the international efforts to control the means of violence have received critique from practitioners (such as Manifesto, WILPF 2015) and researchers alike, who have dubbed the initiatives as token mechanisms that do not effectively function to fulfill their primary goal, to prevent arms transfers that cause the loss of life on a large scale (Alley 2019). From a poststructuralist Foucauldian perspective, the idea of governmentality is prevalent in small arms control initiatives, which mainly focus on the control of the means of violence in the 21st century, as a control of power (K. Krause 2011). Other theoretical considerations have followed a postcolonial school of thought (Mathur 2016), according to which, if not integrating a central focus on power relations, small arms control may be a toolkit applied by the global North to impose

restrictions on the global South mainly to protect its interest, underpinned by asymmetrical power relations as a form of militarism (Stavrianakis 2019). The civilizationist narrative on weapons control is rooted in historical asymmetric power relations, driven by dualist worldview relying on dynamics between the global North and global South, in which the insecurity of the outsider is threatening the security of the civilized West (Mathur 2014). This is reflected in the initiatives' central focus on national governments' regulation in the global South, accompanied by the relative lack of problematization in the global North (Cooper 2011).

The paper does not exclusively draw on these works of critique towards small arms control as at the same time, weapons collection and small arms control in post-conflict environments are vital in terms of curbing the continued circulation of weapons and eliminating violence linked to firearms. Hence, small arms control initiatives are indeed of utmost necessity and importance and may contribute to effective change – e.g. through specific gender-transformative and critical programs – in post-war environments, mainly through the engagement of various international and local actors, examined in the next section.

The international community's engagement in Bosnia in the post-conflict period

Several actors from the international community have actively been involved in Bosnia during the war (Leurdijk 1997), on the road to Dayton (Kerr 2005), through the work of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) (Barria and Roper 2005; Meernik and Guerrero 2014) and later on, on the road 'from Dayton to Brussels' – as several authors (Tuathail 2005; Aybet and Bieber 2011; Chandler 2005) frame the country's past 25 years. The early post-conflict engagement focused on maintaining the constitutional setup created by the agreement and in a broader sense, the implementation of the liberal peace

model. Actors from the international community intervening and launching programs in Bosnia included the OSCE (OSCE 2017), several UN bodies (UNDP BiH 2015), the US (USAID 2018), the Peace Implementation Council (PIC), executed by the Office of High Representative in Bosnia (Latal 2018), as well as various other foreign countries' representatives (such as European countries, the UK, Russia, China and Japan).

Prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Bosnia has been one of the key strategic points for weapon storage and arms production. Initially, following the Dayton agreement, restrictions on small arms and light weapons were intended to balance out military powers and to prevent a potential arms race between the formerly warring parts of the country (Davis 2002). However, the Train and Equip operations, coordinated by the US and aimed at equipping the state led to an even more increased number of arms in the country, donated by countries such as Egypt, the UAE, the US and Saudi Arabia (International Crisis Group 1997). Later on, as part of NATO's Partnership for Peace program, international authorities realized that the Bosnian Serb military needed immediate intervention, mainly because both entities in Bosnia, created by the Dayton Agreement, maintained their armed forces until 2005, when they were eventually unified (Perdan 2006; Vetschera and Damian 2006). Throughout SSR and stabilization measures, problems of local disagreements started to materialize with regards to weapons destruction and the management of remaining ammunition stockpile (Carapic, Chaudhuri, and Gobinet 2016). The main point of disagreement was the divergence of preferred methods of ammunition disposal between entity level governments, the national government, and the international community, e.g. technical issues inherently linked with political ones (Carapic and Holtom 2018). With more advancements in small arms control legislation, it became clear that the country's political structure settled by the Dayton agreement and the differences between the local and national government make it harder for the country to meet its international obligations (Tolksdorf 2014). From 2004 on, EUFOR

ALTHEA replaced the NATO-led SFOR, which also managed disarmament measures (Aybet and Bieber 2011), establishing an international expert-led working group in 2006 to focus on arms control issues (EWG) (Juncos 2011). Several measures on small arms control followed, eventually, through small arms control in the Berlin process.

Small arms in the Berlin process

Following the EU's long engagement in Bosnia, the Berlin Process has been launched in 2014, with a focus on breaking with the former business-as-usual approach, as well as making "additional real progress" (Marciacq 2017, 7). The Roadmap in Bosnia has been part of the Berlin Process with Franco-German leadership, including full support from the EU. (SEESAC 2018). From the adoption of the initiative, it has been clearly indicated that the Roadmap serves as a platform for further harmonization with the EU, and if successful, as a step towards EU accession for the participating countries, identically with the central focus of the Berlin Process itself (Lilyanova 2016). At the first regional cooperation meeting, H.E. Lars-Gunnar Wigemark, EU Delegation to Bosnia and Special Representative in BiH stated that the process is "at the core of the EU accession process" (SEESAC 2019c), incorporating aspects of legal harmonization with currently existing EU legislation. Besides, the EU committed to funding to support the process and local coordination meetings that are key in the implementation of the roadmap (SEESAC 2019b). Hence, the Union as a political actor has been strongly involved in the design and throughout the implementation of the roadmap, narratively in the EU enlargement process. At the same time, the SEESAC Coordinator emphasized that "local ownership is a precondition for the sustainability of results to be achieved through the implementation of the Roadmap" (SEESAC 2019a). The local ownership reference reflects the global trend of the EU and the UN when operating in so-labeled post-conflict environments.

Local ownership as an element throughout the whole EU-SEESAC-national governments-civil society nexus has been quite controversial. The roadmap visualizes the Western Balkans region in the future as “a safer region, an exporter of security, where comprehensive and sustainable mechanisms, fully harmonized with the European Union and other international standards, are in place” (Roadmap, p.3), which places the process into a development narrative that discursively centers around progress in participating countries. This developmentist narrative is linked to former critiques linked to the EU’s actions in Bosnia. On the one hand, the missions from NATO, UN, and EU control have been decisive in fabricating a – for the most part, non-existent – ideal-type of “model” Bosnia and Herzegovina from an international perspective (Venneri 2010). Thus, the specific objectives of each mission are not only of technical significance in putting imaginary bandages on constructed illnesses in the security sector, but also of definitive nature, in line with international ideas of liberal peacebuilding (Juncos 2018). Based on this logic, reforms propagated in ‘Europe’s backyard’ is presented juxtaposed towards the destination of achieving the ideal-type of state in the “paradox of postmodern ambiguity” (Majstorović 2007, 630). The consideration of Bosnia as immature and backward also appears in the experiences outlined by my interviewees:

“We definitely have so many traditional patterns in society but we are not the only one, you know? Even many very developed countries have, and we are still considered as a third country by the EU. And when I went to Finland to talk about gender issues, an [Finnish] NGO representative told me: “yes, you all consider us champions, but you don’t know how much violence we have in rural areas, because nobody is talking about that”. Interview Nr. 5.

On the other hand, the EU’s approach towards reconstruction in Bosnia cannot be considered monolithic, rather have been invented almost equally “based on speculation as on empirics” (Merlingen and Ostrauskaite 2005, p. 312), using an approach which incorporated shallow

terminology and a lack of understanding of local power dynamics (Bojicic-Dzelilovic and Kostovicova 2013). This approach has created resentment among some local groups in forms of local agency, resistance, and emancipation (Kappler and Richmond 2011). Latter constitute some of the main goals of international liberal peacebuilding (Smangan 2020) but have resulted in opposition towards the EU in Bosnia, leading to a dynamic form of relations based on power and hierarchies in the global world order (EU approach towards Bosnia) as well as within the local structures (in Bosnia towards the EU).

The two outlined aspects originating in the local ownership discourse are embodied in the gender aspects of small arms control in the Roadmap – as well as through the actions of various actors in relation to each other on the spectrum of power. To fully comprehend the gendered aspects of SALW, a thorough analysis of its Bosnian relevance is carried out in the next section.

Small arms and gender in Bosnia

In terms of understanding the link between small arms and gender norms, as well as gendered forms of violence in Bosnia, it is necessary to consult primarily three areas. Firstly, the construction of the masculine and feminine subjects concerning militarization, firearms, and the notions of gender security present in the conflict. The analysis of this subject matter reveals the significance of understanding gender security as a specifically historical-political process. Secondly, the construction of the local as a feminized subject, which is defined in relation to the global through international engagement in Bosnia. Thirdly, the linking of small arms to gender security in current debates in Bosnia in the post-conflict period – to be discussed based on SEESAC's systematic work and data. The three points of analysis are vital for multiple reasons: for legitimizing small arms as vital in terms of deconstructing and changing gender power dynamics in post-conflict environments, for stressing the importance

of small arms related to specific forms of violence in Bosnia and setting the scene for further observations on the concept of gender security in Bosnia.

Small arms: militarized masculinity and the 'local' as feminine subjects

As the Small Arms Survey's practical guide on 'Gender-responsive Small Arms Control' reveals, small arms are inherently linked to the manifestations of gender norms – masculinities and femininities – in conflict-affected environments (LeBrun 2019). Indeed, 98.5% of firearms owners are men, men account for 77% of firearm-related homicides, 57.2% of killed men are killed with firearms (Prickett 2019). This suggests that various forms of masculinity, as manifestations of gendered systemic injustices, are central to the gendered understandings of small arms control, which has been strongly emphasized by an extensive analysis of small arms impact, control policies and weapons collection programs by Farr, Myrntinen, and Schnabel (2009). The construction and performance of masculinity through militarized acts, e.g. the protection of a – strongly feminized – societal group against the enemy or the constructed 'other' reinforces the masculine norms of violence and protection (Abrahamyan 2017). As opposed to other types of masculinities, militarized masculinity is a non-homogenous, non-fixed social process through which military and masculinity are re-constitutive of each other (Henry 2017), which are heavily intersectional and vary on a specific socio-economic and historical-political processes (Myrntinen, Khattab, and Naujoks 2017b). Militarized masculinity reinforces the hegemonic masculinity ideal, which reinforces men's dominant power over women, as one of my interviewees also reflected on it:

"After the war, many people tried to justify domestic violence because of PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder). But if you have PTSD, why don't you beat up your boss, why don't you go home and talk to your wife? (...) Because everything is about imposing power and trying to discipline women family members." Interview Nr 3.

This type of masculinity has recently gained even more publicity as exemplified by 2019 plans in Republika Srpska to establish a reservist police force emerged hand in hand with the constitution of a gendarmerie – a military-type wing Bosnian Serb police force (BIRN 2019), strongly reinforcing the militarized masculinity perspectives (Milićević 2006). On the one hand, such militarization processes completely undermine any effort to re-draw Bosnian gender contestation by putting forward the over-masculinized gender roles on all genders (Myrntinen, Khattab, and Naujoks 2017a). At the same time, masculinity in Bosnia Balkan masculinity has been cast anti-modern on the developmental slope both by Western and local actors, equating traditional backwardness and a notion of progress (Dumančić and Krolo 2017). Certainly, strongly patriarchal socio-political systems manifesting and reproducing in toxic, militarized masculinities are key to understanding, challenging and overruling gender power dynamics in the Balkans and Bosnia. However, simplifying masculinity in Bosnia – as “physical toughness and violence, sexual conquest and the subordination of women, guns, strong drink and moustaches” (Bracewell 2005, p. 88 quoted in Namy et al. 2015) – reductively assumes that there is a single Balkan culture (Todorova 2004). On the other hand, the domestic, and especially, gender themes in the domestic sphere become marginalized and go through a feminization conceptualization. Through this process, Bosnia as the ‘local’ is attributed with essentialist features – apolitical, passive compared to the ‘international’ – and especially, gender matters in the ‘local’, are extremely marginalized (Sjoberg and Via 2010; Stern and Zalewski 2009). The perspective of exploring various forms of masculinities and femininities in terms of gender-based violence is very much linked to small arms but is entirely missing from the small arms control initiative, as will be discussed below.

Small arms-related violence and marginalizations

The illegal circulation of guns threatens any effort to permanent peace, and curbs initiatives to provide gender-responsive security. Gender-based violence, domestic violence, and femicide committed with firearms are extremely relevant in environments where the prevalence of small arms is undocumented and illegal, as well as socially accepted (IANSA 2019). SEESAC realized the need for data collection on small arms and gender to fill the gap in South-Eastern European countries by collecting data through multiple sources: the Distribution and Impact Survey (cooperating with SEE governments, focusing on the distribution and availability of weapons), the Perception Survey (online public perception survey on firearms-related security) and the Armed Violence Monitoring Platform (AVMP), an up-to-date online tool that reports incidents related to small arms usage, based on local media sources and public reports. Data reports (Prickett - SEESAC 2019; Bozanic - SEESAC 2018) indicate the severity of small arms misuse in gender-based and domestic violence. Data in this paragraph is entirely from SEESAC's two reports (Prickett - SEESAC 2019; Bozanic - SEESAC 2018). Half of the domestic violence cases that include the use of firearms end in lethal ways in Bosnia, with similar trends across the Western Balkan countries. Domestic violence committed by family members is also part of the concern related to small arms: more than two-thirds of women are killed by a family member, almost half of them using firearms. Similarly, close to half of all killed women are killed with small arms. At the same time, licenses are seldom revoked based on domestic violence (1.3pc), though as estimates suggest, firearms in illegal possession that are the remains of the wars represent the most danger to all members of society, rather than legally possessed arms.

Types of marginalizations also play a significant role in gendered violence related to small arms. Rural-urban, regional and ethnic violence may be significant factors in Bosnia in terms

of small arms control. Ethnicity is explored here as a constructed category and the conflict is referred to as one of societal identity, based on elite exploitation of a specific state of political in-betweenness or anarchy, purposely for political power during the war, (Roe 2000; 2002) e.g. not as the result of ethnic hatred (Kaplan 2005). In this understanding, gender is inherently linked with ethnicity as interrelated, (re)constructed identities that are formed along the lines of structural power systems.

A recent qualitative study from Serbia on small arms misuse emphasized the encompassing role of marginalized – ethnic, LGBTQ, socio-economically disadvantaged – communities' political personal experiences and the need for diversified understandings on how various actors are affected by small arms and gender security in more general terms (Spasic 2017). The same has been reflected by my interviewee,⁵ who found that that personal experiences, especially trauma is to a high extent embedded into Bosnian feelings of insecurity. Another interviewee emphasized marginalizations, ethnicity and socio-economic circumstances and other types of insecurities highly intersect with gender, and small arms:

“We are aware that in many cases the perpetrators were formerly prosecuted for possession of firearms, but this is not taken into account in penalties, and there are no measures to provide security for women victims (...) and sometimes they have to stay there because of economic inequality because they are poor.” Interview Nr 6.

Thus, the personal is political, as feminist scholarship often underlines (Cockburn 2010; Shepherd 2009; Stern 2006; Åhäll 2016), therefore experiences of power and broader aspects of emancipatory potential are central to feminist analyses (Hynek and Chandler 2013; Basu 2013; Nunes 2012), as is the case in t Bosnia. Part of the problem is that the misuse of

⁵ Interview Nr. 1.

firearms is only rarely reported in criminal offenses of domestic violence (1.7pc) (Prickett 2019). This suggests there is under-reporting of data which could have various reasons. Firearms possession is illegal in Bosnia and reporting of illegal weapons use could be perceived as dangerous by victims – although a 2013 UNDP campaign assured that handing over illegally held weapons to the police is free of legal repercussions (UNDP BiH 2015). According to estimates, every 1 in 5 citizens may still hold an illegal firearm. As a 2017 Serbian study found, victims of domestic violence often do not report about cases involving firearms primarily due to the mere possession of firearms in the household – as, during an intervention, firearms are typically not confiscated, which does not eliminate exposure to further violence (Spasic 2017). The small arms control initiative, which we turn to in the next section, was initiated by the EU, SEESAC and national governments building on the datasets collected by SEESAC and explained in this section.

Gender in the Roadmap

Gender as a significant element has also been emphasized throughout the official text of the Roadmap, based on a report highlighting the role of gender in SALW – from SEESAC's perspective (Bozanic 2018). As noted before, the conceptual differentiation of global and local can be particularly difficult when it comes to the field – which is especially relevant considering SEESAC. The Clearinghouse is mainly managed by local staff, under the umbrella of the UN, in cooperation with other international actors. The roadmap states that the inclusion of gender perspectives have been specifically important when drawing out the goals and indicators for implementation and evaluation ("Roadmap"). However, gender has not been included as one of the seven goals that participating countries need to address and achieve progress. Though the gender aspect is explicitly referred to in the text of the document, it is implicitly included in the key performance indicators (KPIs), as part of KPI

(1) in addressing the needs of men, women, boys, and girls; in KPI (10) in gender-disaggregated data on firearms incidents and in KPI (14), referring to citizen satisfaction and the feeling of safety by gender in the Western Balkans.⁶ Gender as part of the overall targets appears as increasing awareness on the misuse of SALW among young men and women, reducing gender-based violence and firearms incidents. The roadmap also places attention on the participation of women in SALW processes, reflecting the underrepresentation of women in the security sector. However, gender remains on the structurally limited inclusion of ‘women-and-girls’.

This is illustrative of the structural debate in feminist security studies that has been induced by UNSCR 1325 and subsequent Women, Peace and Security Agenda UN resolutions on far-reaching aspects of essentialism and gendered societal roles. Liberal feminism argues that women do have a place in security policy and can gain equal access to security institutions such as the military (Sylvester 2010). Another lens examines the structural and institutional boundaries of the manifested inclusion, only to discover that contemporary security institutions reinforce gendered dynamics, elaborated by feminist institutionalism. Sexual and gender-based violence as a continuum (Cockburn 2004) is a product of direct and indirect practices of war, both in the form of sexual violence and institutionalized, structural violence that supports those privileged in post-conflict power dynamics. While international and local organizations may provide essential assistance to survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, at the same time they also reinforce unequal power relations at their core. By relying on the institutions that operate as stakeholders in policy-making, the gendered dynamics which are embedded in post-conflict structural violence are not overcome, if underlying power dynamics are not analyzed. Even attempts to educate judges about the importance of

⁶ All references to KPIs are referring the the Roadmap.

women's support in judiciary structures and security sector places them in structures of needing protection, even though such movements and actions are of utmost importance to reach representation and justice for women, as one of my interviewees emphasized:

“When it comes to jobs and security sector, it's still predominantly male and women are not so much considered victims anymore, rather as weak, who need protection, someone who needs a guardian.” Interview Nr 3.

In these pieces of training and education forms for dominant members of institutions, there is neither place for the conceptualization of women as active agents nor the reconfiguration of gendered narratives in the security sector. A potential bridge that Helms (2003) uncovers in these dynamics through her ethnographic observations among women's NGOs in Bosnia is the realization that agents may use this form of strategic essentialism for their benefit or for reaching political goals as perceived apolitical subjects. This suggests that in such a structurally defined gendered environment, women's agency may indeed be reflected through currently existing institutions and the strategic use of gendered dynamics in tackling unequal power relations. This may be an even more puzzling and complex matter when besides gender dynamics, ethno-nationalist discourses come into play, such as the case in Bosnia.

The Roadmap on small arms control successfully brings in perspectives on women's participation in security (through security sector engagement) and small arms control (through the Small Arms Committees, SACs), however it is limited to the category of 'women-and-girls', in a patriarchally organized, gendered institutional structure. As mentioned above, though the inclusion of women into security structures is indeed a meaningful goal, it does not question the gendered processes of marginalization and violence through small arms and thus, does not prevent the reproduction of such processes filled with insecurity. Alongside, a central inquiry of this research has focused on the Roadmap's role in bringing about gendered change, which is strongly connected to the role of international and local actors with various

power positions in the process. The international actors' actions have been analyzed in the section above, while the next section looks at various local actors' comprehension of small arms control to provide answers to the research question.

Understandings of gender security

Based on the incorporation of these ideas, the roadmap generally builds on the binary definition of gender and different experiences for men and women as definitive in the small arms control process. Thus, incorporating the formerly introduced waves of gender-reflective peacebuilding scholarship, the roadmap reflects liberal and standpoint feminist ideas. The orientation of the policy agenda towards equal representation, prevention and protection reflect the role of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda as a strategic tool in liberal peacebuilding, which has received critique from feminist scholars, as outlined in a previous segment of this work (Pratt and Richter-Devroe 2011; Otto 2009; Aroussi 2011). It is thus not surprising that SEESAC – a specific UN body –, with coordination from the EU embraced gender as human security conceptualization in the small arms control initiative. It is, however interesting to see that those civil society or women's organizations that have the ability – e.g. access to power – to contribute to an understanding of gender security do not necessarily imagine the concept as resistance towards heterogeneous international actors. Most local actors I interviewed had the impression that further gender improvements in small arms control and other policy fields, such as security policy would indeed be steps in development and reflected on gender security as an aspect of human security:

“Especially human security for gender security, it is much easier to see a relation [between security and gender]. Otherwise you can see greater participation of women in armed and police forces, decision-making etc. But when you come to human security from a gender perspective, you can work on

specific and concrete activities and in touch with beneficiaries, actually with local communities” Interview Nr 5.

„It’s important that we recognize that gender policies protect vulnerable categories and women as human beings” Interview Nr 4.

Also, my interviewees expressed that the EU accession and pre-accession processes do have a positive impact on gender security. This does not necessarily mean that local actors co-opted international norms and values, rather, it may be a platform through which they exercise agency. Indeed, as one of my interviewees reflected on the EU accession:

“For us it’s [the EU accession] important – we are not part of the European Union and we are using this momentum, to bring positive things. To finally implement gender strategies and integrate it into the institutional background” Interview Nr 6.

This is strongly interlinked with these actors’ positive hopes from EU accession and their rejection of the internationally constructed identities as a ‘local’. While it may be perceived that positive gain from the accession is based on notions of ‘finally catching up to the West’, this paper argues otherwise. EU accession may instead mean finally getting rid of the constructed ‘local’ category in which they are being considered. Some local actors’ desire for their reconstruction through the EU accession process has been exemplified by their resentment towards being referred to as a locality where developmentist narratives could be outgrown. Besides, the desire to be acknowledged as members of the Union naturally are – stemming from their power position – has also explicitly been present throughout my conversations:

“So we are using this [the EU accession process] as a platform to influence EU policies to understand that the Western Balkans is not just a pool of funding for the governments, but they should be recognized for their own gender equality plans.” Interview Nr 6.

The above-outlined ideas are manifested in several women's organizations work in Bosnia. One of them, the Sarajevo Open Centre – an independent feminist civil society organization – advocates for anti-militarist understandings of feminist peace in the country. According to their report on gender security (Arsenijević and Sluiter 2013), the invited writers⁷ showcase ideas that may be associated with what has been discussed as poststructuralist feminist security studies in an earlier part of this essay. Though the authors welcome the fact that gender aspects are politically mentioned consequently to international intervention, they reflect on the missing use of gender as an analytical tool, concerned about the lack of transformative power that the [international] framing of gender carries. At the same time, the organization does seem to welcome the EU process as a tool for streamlining their ideas, which is mentioned in the achievements section on their website. As pointed out in the former section, and confirmed by my interviewees⁸, the selected pool of NGOs may also have to change their statements for donorship, in contrast to actions when they act independently. Thus, this section justified that structural power is indeed one of the definitive aspects of conceptualizing gender security, the goals of gender inclusionary practices, as presumed by the paper.

The role of local women's organizations and the concepts they use to address gendered security is often in friction with the conceptual and strategic tools that some global actors, but also some other local actors suggest. As outlined in the former section, global actors' involvement in the roadmap is built on the standpoint-liberal feminist agenda of UN peacebuilding. At the same time, some would say that local actors may perceive the question

⁷ Such as Senad Dzanovic on gender dimensions of security, Sunita Dautbegovic-Bosnjakovic on women soldiers and women's peace activism by Amila Zdrlovic & Mirela Rozajac-Zulcic.

⁸ My interviewee (Aleksandra) disappointedly reported that some of the organizations explicitly had to change their statements to still function and survive.

of small arms and gender in other ways. However, the divide between international and local actors may not be the decisive point when it comes to the conceptualization of gender security in the field. Power relations – perhaps independently of whether global or local – do define circumstances more comprehensively, pointing towards a worthy point of intersections between what kind of local organizations are successful in cooperation with the international, or even without them, as indicated by one of my interviewees:

“I think international organizations do have the power because they have the money. They are trying to be very politically correct, but it’s really not effective” Interview Nr 3.

The section indicates that only a selected pool of organizations get access to funding on gender security matters, and their selection is based primarily on their privileged positions as well as their statements on gender. At the same time, some local actors desire to formulate their own understandings of gender security, not in response to or depending on the international community’s norms. In this perspective, they may perceive EU accession as a platform to engage with this goal, e.g. as a way of gaining agency – however on an entirely different level than perceived by former scholarship. To effectively link the disentangled understandings of power in gender security, exploring small arms control as an internationally negotiated, locally pursued process in the next section is a key element.

Linking small arms and gender on the ground

Interestingly enough, at a first glance, small arms control is not explicitly linked to forms of insecurity by most non-governmental or civil society organizations working with a gender focus. Firstly, analyses about domestic and sexual violence, as well as femininities and masculinities do not tend to mention small arms control in Bosnia. Secondly, as stated in the methodological part of this paper, some potential interviewees refused to participate in the

interview claiming they did not have small arms and gender expertise. How is it that gendered insecurity is intrinsically linked to small arms in post-conflict environments, but organizations do not tend to embrace this perspective? In other words: how are small arms aspects present in gender security, if not explicitly present in their agendas?

One of the contributors⁹ to my research drew my attention to the fact that small arms have not been directly framed in terms of gender security yet, nor have they heard of internationally negotiated, Bosnian initiatives that have been inclusive of this aspect. This has been confirmed by an interviewee from SEESAC¹⁰, who suggested women's NGOs would perhaps recall the link between small arms and gender security if reminded of the roundtable organized by the coordination of SEESAC, the Ministry of Security (SALW Coordination Board), the Agency for Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Women for Women Association from Sarajevo. The roundtable was organized in 2018 as part of the thematic campaign week against gun violence, an internationally broad phenomenon, in which SEESAC aimed to frame the association.¹¹ According to my SEESAC interviewee, even though violence related to small arms has been incorporated into the Bosnian NAP 1325, the main achievement of the roundtable has manifested in bringing a wide range of actors into the same room to discuss armed violence and gender. However, the inclusion of specific NGOs¹² in the process while the exclusion of others is a decision that is highly motivated by local power dynamics – thus, while some local organizations may perceive it as a success, it is definitely not representative of what might be conceived of as the 'local'. Hence, examining

⁹ The contributor did not feel that small arms control was part of their work, so they did not agree to an interview related to my topic. However, they have been kind enough to elaborate on the lacking aspects and links of small arms in their perception via email.

¹⁰ Interview nr

¹¹ Could not find any online reference to this, hence the lack of source – the information is entirely from interview with SEESAC Officer, e.g. Interview Nr. 2.

¹² Unfortunately, the author faced technical limitations in acquiring the list of NGOs invited.

the actions of these organizations as a unified ‘local’ resistance, engagement or co-option of ‘international’ norms is at least mistaken.

Indeed, the inclusion of small arms into NAP 1325 is a strategically-formally considered success in terms of making small arms control as a necessity visible (UNSCR 1325 Action Plan, Bosnia, 2017, p 26.). At least, this is how an expert from the BiH Agency for Gender Equality sees it¹³. In terms of national engagement on small arms control, Bosnia and Herzegovina has ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2002 and acceded to the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking of Firearms, their Parts and Ammunition in 2008. Bosnia is also part of the Arms Trade Treaty. Besides these legal documents, the European Strategy for Combating Illicit Accumulation and Trafficking of SALW and Accompanying Ammunition, a key European legal instrument serves as the basis of national small arms control policies. Bosnia has accepted its first SALW Control Strategy for the period 2006-2012, followed by its strategy for the period 2013-2016. Bosnia has also prepared a strategy for years 2016-2020. The strategies are continuous and expansive in a sense that they all aim at continued harmonization with international small arms standards as well as the Women, Peace and Security Agenda through the adoption of NAP 1325 in which both governmental – at the level of the Ministry of Security and Agency for Gender Equality – and CSO actors participated to a high extent. Ever since NAP 1325 and through the SEESAC- regional small arms control initiative, the Bosnian example has been circulated and framed as a success by international actors. This is well exemplified by the invitation of the Ministry of Security to a GENSAC conference on gender perspectives in small arms control (GENSAC 2020), where a Bosnian

¹³ Interview Nr 2.

officer had the chance to elaborate on the many steps taken by the government to integrate gender-responsive aspects into policy-making.¹⁴

At the same time, this success has not been much grasped on the level of communities – and women’s NGOs even despite their participation in the procedure – which has been, due to structural power and institutional factors, quite limited. Come of my interviewees confirmed that politically performative links have not been made at the grassroots- or civil society level.¹⁵ Even though the linkages between small arms and gender violence have been made on a draft data collection level, institutional boundaries did not enable more thorough analyses of occurred cases of gender violence involving small arms. As one of my interviewees from an established NGO in Republika Srpska reflected on this¹⁶, there have been discussions, roundtables and talks about the relevance of small arms in sexual and domestic violence on the non-governmental level. However, the results of these discussions did not point further than reflections on the need to assess the practical impact of small arms through data collection. The desire to obtain institutional data on small arms control possession and use in domestic and gendered environments has indeed not received either the international community’s or the government’s attention. From an institutional perspective, women’s NGOs struggle to provide answers to the gendered nature of small arms. This indicates that the link has been made by some organizations, but these in fact did not have a chance to explicitly pursue their concern and experiences on insecurity in small arms control further. It would be simplistic to argue that constructed global-local boundaries solely in themselves were responsible for this, rather the various institutionalized, gendered power structures

¹⁴ Scarce available reference online, as one of my interviewees was kind enough to forward me the speech note which was performed at the Conference by the Officer from the Bosnian Ministry of Security.

¹⁵ Interview Nr 2., Interview Nr. 5, Interview Nr. 6.

¹⁶ Interview Nr. 6.

should be examined. It seems, that to a high extent, gender is marginalized among institutions and among various actors in Bosnia, also at the governmental level:

“But if you want real data, I don’t know, because it’s so hard, there is no unified strategy for data collection because everything is politics and there are so many aspects (...) We have many security threats under human security, there is migration, terrorism, and other things, and there is gender.” Interview Nr. 5.

Another aspect of the femininization – and thus, marginalization – of gender in small arms control, and the political sphere more generally is most apparent in the femininization of the Agency for Gender Equality and the entity-level Centers for Gender Equality in the Federation and Republika Srpska. Though the Gender Agency is invited to comment on policy proposals, the implementation of these is not widespread.¹⁷ Small arms control is perceived as part of formal – recently high-level, international – politics in Bosnia, a patriarchal scene of policy-making. As an interviewee pointed out, the extent to which inclusion of the Agency for Gender Equality is taking place, can be attributed to informal aspects rather than institutional change. This implies that should without these personal relations, advancements would be extremely hard (if not impossible) to reach:

“We have great connections with the Ministry of Security, especially that there is a great person there who has that personal engagement, who wishes to initiate change and she has achieved a lot because of this in the Ministry [of Security] in terms of gender.” Interview Nr. 4.

Gender aspects are often sidelined in security policy specifically and are not inclusive of gender-transformative elements – even despite continuous personal advocacy, from the hard work of the Agency or specific people in the Ministry. As explained in a former part of the

¹⁷ Interview Nr 5.

analysis, the existing gender understandings often lack transformative aspects in general, and when included, they take the form of indicators and quantitative tools. These tools are significant aspects of gender mainstreaming, and the inclusion of women in security policy – and in the case of small arms control, into Small Arms Committees – has been broadly referred to as a meaningful and significant element of gendering insecurity. Nonetheless, as most of my interviewees discovered: the inclusion is only an empty tool unless patriarchal institutional systems improve the lives of marginalized groups:

“There is no state control over small arms, over domestic or gender-based violence (...) it is not addressed by the institutions, (...) because gender is marginalized within the institutions, public government institutions.” Interview Nr. 6.

“There are two different tasks in gender equality: one is related to the private sphere, our homes and families, but also there is violence related to institutions.” Interview Nr 3.

The tools have been, however, generally agreed and suggested just as much by local actors – at the top of the patriarchal decision-making process – as by internationals, again suggesting that the construction of binary categories is systematically flawed and reinforces the hierarchical relations between groups with different power. Gendered power dynamics work on various levels, not only in between the ‘international’ and the ‘local’, as further reiterated in the Discussion section below.

Discussion

Small arms control serves as especially good terrain for examining gendered power dynamics for various reasons. Firstly, the nature of small arms is inherently gendered, which calls for an understanding of underlying reasons behind this phenomenon and for small arms control processes that integrate gender into their programs. Secondly, similarly to security sector

reforms, there is a wide range of international and local actors present in the negotiation and implementation process – while significant others’, such as marginalized groups’ perspectives may be left out of it. Hence, the international community’s engagement in the field of (in)security in Bosnia – the theme of the next section – is especially important in exploring gendered power and small arms in the field. The thesis has set out to investigate the role of power in gender in post-conflict environments, more specifically the diverse ways in which gendered power is present both at the international and the local levels. Results have shown that power is present in gender policy, and gender is present in power. The findings of this paper are extremely relevant in terms of gender in post-conflict environments, as well as gender in small arms control. The relevance of this paper is also from the EU’s foreign and security perspective.

Firstly, as it has been explained, gender-based and sexual violence is still considered apolitical in the sense that it is not perceived as part of real politics. Hence, gender aspects of policy-making are feminized subjects of politics, in that they are not intrinsically imagined as part of what constitutes politics, remaining invisible, structureless, and silent, such as women are perceived as in patriarchal social structures. This functioning leads to the legitimization of certain forms of violence, forms of victims and perpetrators, but does not leave space for others, legitimizing some needs but not others. There has been general agreement among my interviewees that the donor community has been extremely active in the immediate post-conflict period, which lead to a flourishing NGO sector – however, priorities have changed and thus, available public calls for tenders and grants by foreign donors land in the same circle of NGOs that have the capacities to respond to international consultation, more often than not strictly involving apolitical terms (Farnsworth et al. 2020). Contrasted with

governmental bodies, who were directly in contact with UN Women and SEESAC¹⁸, women's NGOs are considered to apolitical actors that they don't have this type of communication with international donors.¹⁹

On power relations among local actors - there has been a general common understanding between my interviewees – independently of whether they have been part of an international or local organization – that international funding does have a definitive role in local civil society's success and survival. Dependency does not necessarily and solely mean that organizations cannot survive without external funding, but it also means that those organizations that are more successful – at the top of the power tips do remain active, while others on the periphery – without sufficient means to mobilize or conceptualize – may cease to exist due to these structural limitations. Based on this, while ideas of gender that conform the international communities' ideas do survive, while others do not have a chance for funding. Nearly all my interviewees agreed that the post-conflict Dayton structure and the international community's reluctance to view Bosnia as anything else than a unified state – even though it is very much fragmented. The consideration of “one Bosnia” from the international community's perspective is linked to the relevance of postcolonial ideas brought about at the conceptual background of this paper.

Gender in these circumstances remains to be included to a limited extent. Gender in the small arms control initiative is embedded into the discussed patterns of feminization of Bosnia as the ‘local’, marginalization of several local actors due to non-compliance with mainstream norms. The gender mainstreaming aims of including more women at the negotiation tables, increasing their participation in the security sector are essential and valid goals of gender

¹⁸ Interview Nr. 5.

¹⁹ Interview Nr. 4.

policy. However, due to the complex power relations through which gender is extremely marginalized in Bosnia, and mainly the institutional factors that have been thoroughly explained, the small arms control initiative is not efficiently tackling the root causes of gender-based violence and the patriarchal system that is very much linked to the prevalence of illegal arms.

CONCLUSION

Problematization of potential tensions in the relations between international and local actors has been well-theorized by several waves of scholars. Though feminist scholarship has been to some extent involved in security studies more generally, and the gendered construction of global-local dynamics, these works mainly relied on the essentialist binary notions of local and global. This thesis set out to disentangle the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ to shed light on more nuanced understandings by focusing on the central role of power. Gender as a critical tool has been applied to explain gendered ways in which both international and local actors are fragmented. The paper investigated how power intersects with gender through the recently adopted small arms control policy in Bosnia, as well as gendered societal processes linked to the continued prevalence of illegal small arms in the country.

This research paper aimed to answer the research question “*how is gender insecurity interlinked with various forms of power in international and local actors’ interplay, and how does this affect gendered change in post-conflict environments?*” through the analysis of the case study of Bosnia. Throughout the thesis, it has been clearly justified that power does manifest in various forms on the nexus of different actors’ involvement, and is strongly interlinked with the emergence of gendered change, as it often poses a difficult challenge for those actors marginalized – or feminized – by power relations. Thus, the thesis found that the current form of gender inclusion in the small arms control initiative in Bosnia does not tackle the structural and institutional roots of overcoming patriarchy and reaching gendered change.

One of the main findings of this paper is its reflection of the general tendency that NGOs with more capacity and more accessed funds and projects are the same circle of privileged groups who tend to have access to further funds. This is also demonstrative of a central assumption of this thesis that underlying power dynamics are a much better indicator of the success of

various initiatives than the global-local boundaries proposed by ‘critical’ scholarship on the matter. Even when generally in agreement with the liberal peacebuilding agenda’s main principles and regarding EU accession as a positive theme in terms of Bosnia, my interviewees expressed strong feelings about the consideration of Bosnia as a “third world” or “post-conflict” country. The lived experiences of the war still define the political and socio-economic environment, in which marginalized groups tend to lose – referring to the assumption that the personal is political. However, the role of various local actors’ agency could also manifest through the EU accession, which some actors defined as transformative in the country’s consideration as the ‘local’.

Another significant finding is the manifestation of power in the small arms control process, which has been made visible in the thesis. As has been emphasized, small arms represent significant challenges in terms of gender: their prevalence and use are highly gendered, continuously reproducing subordinate femininities and hegemonic, militarized masculinities through violence. At the same time, there have not been comprehensive attempts to include gender into small arms control so far. With the coordinated EU-SEESAC-Western Balkan initiative, gender has come to the fore, but as the analysis revealed, not quite successfully. Though the inclusion of women in the security sector through quantitative means and the gender-disaggregated data are both elements that are central to small arms in Bosnia, their inclusion without respect to power dynamics does not prove to tackle gendered dynamics or brings about gendered change. This is mainly for two reasons. Firstly, that women’s quantitative-type inclusion in the security sector does not challenge the structurally patriarchal nature of these institutions. Secondly, as gender institutions and actors throughout all entities are marginalized among other public government bodies, gender transformative efforts are not gaining much ground.

Further analysis of this area is indeed needed and there are several questions in terms of this very specific topic as well, which my thesis could not aim to grasp due to technical limitations. A larger sample and more extensive project could explore how certain trajectories emerge, e.g. how communities and several groups of women organize themselves as a response to power dynamics outlined in this paper, and what challenges they face. Also in terms of small arms control, further work would be needed on various marginalized groups are being – either consciously or unconsciously – forgotten by a group of dominant international and local actors. Specifically, the role of ethnicity and race could be investigated in Bosnia. Besides, the political contestations and the constitutional structure that has been a recurring theme throughout the interviews. It would be interesting to research the role of post-socialist past in the formation of gender roles and whether NGOs and women's communities reach back to achievements and gender conceptualizations then.

The implications of the findings are multifold. On the one hand, the work has enabled further contribution to feminist post-structuralist analysis on small arms control and added to the rather limited scope of scholarly work on critical, power-centered thinking on international-local encounters. On the other hand, the paper has significant policy implications as well, specifically from the perspective of the EU's foreign and security policy, and in a broader agenda, gender in post-conflict environments. Informed by the findings of this analysis, the deconstruction of power dynamics and the consideration of the EU's own power position could only be beneficial in terms of European public policy.

At the 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, perhaps the most important finding of the paper is the following: the fact that all relevant actors could only benefit from the rejection of the binary representations of the 'global' and the 'local', and a more specific focus on gendered aspects of structural power, which manifests among and in-between all actors.

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ANNEX A. List of interviews

Interview Nr. 1. 23 June 2020. Researcher

Interview Nr 2. 24 June 2020. SEESAC. Gender Officer

Interview Nr. 3 1 July 2020. Bosnian NGO

Interview Nr. 4. 2 July 2020. Long-standing Bosnian women's NGO

Interview Nr 5. 14 July 2020. Public government body.

Interview Nr 6. 15 July 2020. Women's NGO in Republika Srpska.

ANNEX B. Thesis report

Thesis report

Central European University / University of York

**Gendered (in)security: small arms control,
security sector reform and gender in the
Western Balkans**

Supervisors:

Central European University - Prof. Violetta Zentai

University of York – Prof. Susan Forde

Word count: 6,630 (including Appendix)

Submitted on 31 August 2019

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Introduction

Small arms²⁰ play an undeniably significant role in conflict and post-conflict environment and small arms and light weapons (SALW) control has become a policy focus that inevitably needs to be addressed both by international and local security and defence actors. There have been several calls for the timely integration of SALW policy into SSR efforts. As Sedra and Burt (2016) reflect on these, they effectively point out that SALW programming and SSR in fragile, failed and conflict-affected states are mutually dependent on each other. SALW regulation is not only about the high prevalence of weapons in a society, but also about the political environment in which the state functions. However, without the necessary foundation provided by SSR efforts, government capacity to create and enforce SALW policy would not be provided. Though linkages have been made in terms of advancements on the incorporation of both SALW and SSR processes into the same agenda, in practice they have mostly been developed autonomously from each other. Small arms control is not only about the control of illicit flows of weapon or good governance structures in the security sector, but also about the provision of security throughout various levels of society, which is often disregarded by international actors who are frequently the primary agents of change in post-conflict environments. In these environments, most often than not several layers of society – including women - get excluded from political processes. Local ownership is significant from this perspective as it opens possibilities for a more inclusive, gendered policy-making, if applied well. Local ownership has also been part of international reform attempts in the Western Balkans, many of which aimed at addressing gendered security concerns that are still prevailing in the region.

²⁰ There is no generally agreed upon definition of small arms and light weapons. The hereby used understanding of SALW relies therefore on the Small Arms Survey's definition (2008). Small arms include revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, assault rifles, sub-machine guns and light-machine guns. Light weapons refer to heavy machine guns, hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable launchers of anti-tank missile and rocket systems; portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems and mortars of calibres of less than 100 mm. Throughout the paper, the term 'small arms' may refer to small arms and light weapons and is used synonymously to the term 'firearms' (though the latter usually comprises small arms and heavy machine guns).

Rape as a weapon of war, sexual slavery and forced sexual acts that were part of dominant societal structures during war did not disappear in the post-conflict Western Balkans. The aftermath of the war has been characterized by the continued prevalence of these incidents in all six of the Western Balkan countries – a significant part of which is committed using small arms and light weapons. However, it is not only gender based violence that is affecting women in the post-conflict Western Balkans in terms of small arms. It is also about local ownership of reform processes and new regulations in the security sector, about marginalized parts of the society feeling “safe” – physically, economically, ethnically and in many other often disregarded ways.

Research question

The research aims at discovering gender dynamics in the Western Balkans in connection to post-conflict SSR and small arms control, an issue that has re-gained international attention mainly in light of past years’ terrorist attacks – often committed by illegal small arms and firearms circulated from the Western Balkans. International attempts – coordinated by SEESAC, UNODC and OSCE – have explicitly pronounced their focus in advancing gendered security issues, however, these attempts did not so far clearly improve the situation. My research question is related to the failed attempts of small arms control aspects of the security sector reform in the Western Balkans. Do past and current initiatives challenge or reinforce existing gender hierarchies, and if the latter, why did the expressed policy goals of gender mainstreaming in small arms control efforts fail to have significant effects on society in the Western Balkans, specifically in Kosovo? Does Kosovo have a local pattern in the failure of small arms control & gender in SSR attempts, or does it reflect regional policy failures? What kind of policy implications do the findings hold for other post-conflict environments?

This thesis report serves as a preliminary conceptual and literary background for further phases of the research – providing a solid base to evaluate and integrate later findings into. The aims of the report are multi-fold. Firstly, it provides an overview of the main concepts and scholarly literature, pointing to a gap that existing work does not yet cover. Secondly, it explains and emphasizes the relevance of the research project, features that make it timely and important to focus on. Thirdly, it introduces the state of the art through a preliminary document and literature analysis. Fourthly, it sets forth a work plan that will serve as guidance throughout the research project.

Conceptual background

As concepts may carry different meanings even in the same academic circles, it is necessary to outline what is meant by ‘gender’, ‘women’ and ‘SSR’. The security and defence sector mainly consist of traditional security actors, such as policymakers, border guards and justice institutions. SSR’s main aim is to transform this security sector into a politically accountable, stable and transparent democratic security system²¹ (OECD, 2008).

More often than not, external international actors who engage in post-conflict reconfiguration have interests significantly different from those of the local political elite that in turn may not represent the needs of the local population (Mobekk 2010). Following this line of thought, most SSR practitioners agree that security sector reform is most efficient and sustainable if local political actors and authorities take full ownership of the process. However, the concept of local ownership presents major challenges (Gordon 2014; 2015; Skendaj et al. 2019).

Embracing the gender aspect has regained attention in the early 21st century. Following the UN Secretary-General’s definition, gender in this paper refers to the socially constructed roles that vary according to socio-economic and cultural-political context – masculinities, femininities and social ideas of what makes one a victim or a perpetrator – that gain an especially significant meaning in post-conflict reconstructions. Thus, when writing gender, a broad definition of understanding is to be considered instead of referring simply to ‘women’.

Literature review – Gender, SSR and small arms

In the aftermath of UN Security Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security – frequently referred to as ‘the’ resolution on the role of gender in post-conflict settings – a growing number of liberal and critical feminist works have emerged on the topic gender and SSR in post-conflict environments (Willett 2010; Shepherd 2011; Porter 2003;

²¹ In the OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform (2008), SSR is defined as “transforming the security sector/system, which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions, so that they work together to manage and operate the system in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework.”

Myrtilinen, Khattab, and Naujoks 2017a; Mobekk 2010; MacKenzie 2009; J. Krause, Krause, and Bränfors 2018; Jenichen, Joachim, and Schneiker 2018; Huber and Hudson 2019; Holvikivi 2015; Gibbings 2011; Ellerby 2013; Gordon 2019). Recently, a number of scholars have focused on linking gender and SSR in the Western Balkan context by directing attention to the relationship between local ownership and gender (Gordon 2014; Ansorg and Gordon 2019; Gordon 2015; McLeod 2015), to international gender policies (Pupavac 2010) and masculinities (Munn 2008; Baliqi 2018; Farquet 2018). However, researchers' central inquiries are usually based on approaches to internationally supported SSR missions which do not mainstream gender in their approach (Triantafyllou 2018; Skendaj et al. 2019; Simangan 2018; Heinemann-Grüder and Grebenshikov 2006; Greiçevci 2011; Gajić 2017; Dursun-Ozkanca and Crossley-Frolick 2012). Authors such as Björkdahl (2012), Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2015) as well as Ghosh and Stavrevska (2016) highlight the need for critical analysis in the creation of policy documents to assert women as fully agential subjects. However, there is a significant gap in examining gendered aspects of small arms in the post-war reconstructions in the Balkan region.²²

Lately, international and local efforts have been made to devote more attention to gender security. Although no clear definition of gender security exists, key policy documents have aimed at integrating gender, SSR and SALW. One of the most prominent examples is the OECD's SSR Handbook (2009), which, together with the Gender and SSR Handbook published by DCAF (the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Reform), has made commitments to incorporate UNSCR 1325 into policy implementation. Gender aspects are manifested in the EU's Toolkit on Mainstreaming Gender, while organizations such as the OSCE and PeaceWomen have produced materials aimed almost exclusively at policymakers. Others have called attention to the necessity of simultaneously, rather than sequentially, involving SALW control in SSR missions as early as possible (DCAF). Organizations such as the Small Arms Survey (SAS) and DCAF draw attention to the problematic aspects of SALW control in the Western Balkans, with increased European engagement in the area.

²² In this research paper, the terms 'Balkans', 'Western Balkans' and 'South-East Europe (SEE)' are used with reference to the countries and entities emerging after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The term 'Balkans' carries negative connotations in some contexts, but here it is used in a neutral descriptive sense. It may also be noted that the above-mentioned terms are at times used to cover, beyond the former Yugoslavia, also Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Croatia, Kosovo and North Macedonia, reference to Kosovo here being understood with reference to Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

Strategies of gendering operations

Questioning forms and norms of masculinity as well as hidden power dynamics in institutions is essential for identifying key challenges for security sector reform. As Gordon, Welch and Roos (2015) illustrate, the reason behind this rationale is the false assumption that “gendering” operations may risk the failure of the entire operation with power relations and hierarchies in flux. Still, the application of gendered norms in areas that are essentially patriarchal bears the danger of undermining the concept of local ownership. This risk is even more acute when it comes to environments that almost fully consist of a male ruling elite in the political driving seat. Therefore, local ownership of the process may be considered to be in conflict with certain notions of bringing about new, gendered security realities. However, as Gordon (2015) argues, these realities play an inherent role in post-conflict reconstruction and a gendered lens contributes in ways more meaningful than any approach that came to materialization in the Western Balkans. In successfully achieving the goals of local ownership and embracing the inclusion of women in decision-making positions the local socio-cultural background plays an inevitably decisive role. The experience of double oppression, closely linked to the intersectionality of ethnicity and gender, creates barriers that are not accounted for in policy-planning and implementation. Besides, broader intersections such as social class and rural-urban antagonisms are considered completely distinct and as issues entirely independent of gender mainstreaming and the transformation of gender roles.

The structural barriers that are posed in terms of women’s participation in security processes include the extreme masculinity of the security sphere, women’s experiences and socio-cultural mechanisms from the war (as those of a marginalized group), their experiences as victims of small arms violence or as agents of the war, as well as a mixture of these all. Critical examination of existing power positions enables a thorough analysis of so far hidden underlying processes, such as cultural patterns that reinforce certain types of masculinities (McLeod 2015). Discovering the hidden factors of small arms circulation is only made possible through exploring realities other than the masculine perceptions reflected in current security and SALW processes.

Nevertheless, most organizations have up to this point failed to problematize the intertwined nature of small arms, SSR and gender, instead focusing on each one separately. The circulation of large quantities of small arms disable any effort to stabilize the security sector and reach the desired level of community security. Small arms control and the socio-

cultural background behind the extremely high levels of illicit weapons possession and use are crucial elements of civilian security. Therefore, particular stress should be given in reform attempts that can only succeed if gendered aspects of the related challenges are fully taken into account. This thesis report will offer a discussion of the latter in a section on “Gender and SALW.” First, however, a brief presentation of the origins and dynamics of SALW circulation in the Western Balkan region follows.

Spatial context - SALW circulation in the post-conflict Western Balkans and Kosovo

Regional post-conflict instabilities – political, economic and social insecurity, multi-ethnic conflicts and crises – have had a profound impact on firearms ownership throughout the six Western Balkan entities. The firearms that formerly belonged to Yugoslavia were seized by para-military and sub-state military groups during the war, and eventually spread to organized criminal groups following the Dayton Agreement in 1995. As former Yugoslav states – especially Croatia and Bosnia – were effectively cut off from arms supplies in Serbia and in areas inhabited by Serbs, smuggling networks arose and became significant in these areas in providing the parties with weapons (Carapic 2014).

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have signed the Dayton Agreement to end the conflicts that have taken place in the region. The Agreement was not only aimed at putting an end to the wars, but also to “heal the wounds of ethnic division” (Borger 2015). Even though the wars and open conflicts ended years ago, ethnic conflicts still persist, and the illicit possession of small arms remains a challenge not only for the Western Balkans, but also from a broader geopolitical standpoint as the region is a major source of cross-border illicit firearms trade beyond the Balkans. Thus, the main underlying objective behind international donors’ efforts has been to reduce the amount of illegal circulation and control the whole lifecycle of firearms. However, missions carried out by UNDP and several European governments²³ have failed to meaningfully reduce the circulation and civilian possession of small arms. As of 2017, according to the Small Arms Survey’s (SAS) report, the estimated rate of firearms held

²³ For details see SEESAC’s South Eastern Europe SALW Monitor (2006).

were 23.8 small arms per 100 residents, with approximately 436,000 firearms in the hands of a population of 1,831,000 residents in Kosovo (Small Arms Survey, 2018). Survey-based estimates conducted by SAS rely on household surveys, proxies and seizure reports to gather information about the circulation of unregistered, illegally possessed weapons. These numbers are especially worrying considering that the Small Arms Survey's baseline assessment estimated there to be approximately 330,000-460,000 civilian small arms in circulation in 2003, overwhelmingly held by the civilian population (Small Arms Survey, 2003).

Similarly to other entities that were formerly part of Yugoslavia, Kosovo has also undergone large-scale security sector reform in the post-conflict period. In the aftermath of the NATO bombing campaign, which ended the conflict between the Kosovar-Albanians and Milosevic's Serbian regime, Kosovo has been placed under United Nations administration. In the post-war period, Kosovo has undergone a number of SSR processes coordinated by various, mainly international actors: primarily by the United Nations Missions in Kosovo (UNMIK) in the early period, and the European Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) in the post-2004-riot phase (Phillipps 2018). In general, the donors and implementers did not incorporate SALW control into reform operations in the Western Balkans. It holds true that without meeting the basic prerequisites of state-building and political structures in SSR, small arms control programs are likely to have unviable results. However, the circulation of large quantities of small arms disable any effort to maintain community security. Small arms control and the socio-cultural background behind the extremely high levels of illicit SALW possession and usage is a crucial element in the maintenance of civilian security and therefore, should be given particular stress in reform attempts.

Trends of small arms ownership and attitudes towards regulation, as well as to security providers are tremendously complex and vary significantly across the rural-urban divide as well as across different ethnic and age-groups. A looming concern has for long been the ownership of guns and the prevalence of criminality, which is deeply connected to gender-related aspects of community security.

Gendered small arms: key problematics in the Western Balkans

Firstly, in order to place the research inquiry, let us discover the existing social structures and hierarchies that dominate the Western Balkans in terms of gender and small arms. This enables to understand the background for the research question whether current

initiatives reinforce or challenge the underlying mechanisms that persist in these countries. The aftermath of the war has been characterized by the continued prevalence of these incidents in all six of the Western Balkan countries – a significant part of which is committed using small arms and light weapons. However, it is not only gender-based violence that is affecting women in the post-conflict Western Balkans in terms of small arms. It is also about local ownership of reform processes and new regulations in the security sector, about marginalized parts of the society feeling “safe” – physically, economically, ethnically and in many other often disregarded ways. On the one hand, gendered lenses on firearms control help prevent further violence against women and understand the complexity of various ways in which men and women are affected by firearm violence. On the other hand, a gendered approach does not only come down strictly to firearm usage trends: low participation and marginalization of women in the security sector, lack of gender-separate aggregate data and unified data collection, societal narratives about men and women as perpetrators and victims are aspects that compile the small arms problem. It is abundantly clear that a gendered approach does not only mean women per se – it also includes critically questioning roles attributed to both men and women in society. More broadly, a gendered approach to small arms embodies “human security” more than “women’s security”, as it not only aims at adding more women to the security sector, but also at questioning the very basics of societal structures and hierarchies.

The following concerns have been raised by practitioners and researchers alike in terms of the small arms problem in the Western Balkans:

1. Root causes

As McLeod (2016) asserts, the root mechanisms that shape patterns of gender violence can be directly linked to the ‘criminal-warrior type of masculinity’ (p. 119) as an immediate and direct consequence of the wars that resulted in domestic violence amongst returning soldiers. This type of masculinity may be well-embedded in the highly intertwined nature of gender and nationalism at the time of the Yugoslav wars, especially in Serbia, which condemned all men to be part of militias (e.g. to protect their homes) and women to fall victims of the perpetrated attacks (e.g. to suffer and bear consequences). This has been exemplified by the pattern of the genocidal rape of impregnated women in multi-ethnic Bosnia not only to affirm the subordinate, victimized nature of women but also to reinforce the prevalence of the majority ethnic group (Kaufman and Williams 2004). As war ended,

guns continued to be the dominant form of domestic violence and insecurity from a gendered point of view.

2. Violence and social norms about masculinities and femininities, gun culture

Gender-based violence, often committed by small arms is one of the crucial problematics linked to small arms in the Western Balkans. Based on UNODC and SEESAC studies on firearms ownership in the Western Balkans, it is certain to claim that men account for most of homicide victims (79 pc) and those convicted of homicide (95 pc) – this makes men more likely to be perpetrators than victims. At the same time, women are more likely to be victims of homicide (21 pc) than perpetrators of it. Trends in the Western Balkans reflect those on the global level: ranging from 64.9 pc (Serbia) to 92.6 pc (Kosovo), intentional homicides are significantly more frequently committed by men than women, putting women into the victims' shoes in terms of experiences and security as well as societal perceptions. At the same time, following Galtung's theory of violence, latent violence and the threat of violence are also forms of violence, both reinforced by small arms in households, even though not all incidents end in physical atrocities (Confortini 2006).

According to data provided by SEESAC (2016), perpetrators of firearm-related incidents were exclusively (100 pc) male in Montenegro, this number being around 97-98 pc in other Western Balkan countries (Kosovo, BiH, Albania). However, victims are also most frequently men, and almost rarely women, signaling the societal image of men as active agents of firearms and (in)security, with women excluded from the security and defence sector, mirrored by actual numbers from these sectors. This leads to the false and harmful perception that women cannot bear arms or cannot function in the security and defence sector. Professions closely linked to provision of security (mostly police and military) are dominated by men. Thus, men are more likely to have direct, easier access to weapons and firearms, trained in a strongly masculine sphere where only men appear to have information and familiarity with small arms and light weapons. Several collections of global SALW and gender trends (Myrntinen, Khattab, and Naujoks 2017a) point out and emphasize how the conceptualization of masculinities and femininities play a significant role in (mis)use of small arms and firearms. This means that the societal idea of men as security providers, defenders and perpetrators (e.g. those with active roles) and the idea of women as victims (e.g. those with passive roles) constantly reproduce and reinforce existing violence trends of domestic and other types by institutionalizing masculinity in the security sector. According to a study

conducted by the Geneva Declaration, high levels of male violence comes hand in hand with high levels of domestic femicide²⁴ as well as high level of tolerance for violence against women and the overall trend of victimization of women. Without changing the perception of gender roles in society, any type of policy attempt fails to bring about change in terms of gendered security.

3. Female participation in the security and defence sector

Based on data published by the Civil Society Monitoring report (2014), participation of women in the Serbian security sector is extremely low: while 22.1pc of police forces in the Ministry of Interior are women, female uniformed police officers make up to only 8.6pc of total, while only 3.7pc of peacekeepers are women as of 2014. A common fallacy in tackling gender issues related to small arms is the fragmented, periodic attempts that focus on quantitatively increasing female participation in security bodies and on making a strong effort focused solely on issues of domestic violence. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that a gendered approach does not only mean women *per se* – it also includes critically questioning roles attributed to both men and women in society.

Document analysis - State of the art

Regional initiatives

The document analysis is a preliminary analysis of existing frameworks in terms of gender and small arms in the Western Balkans. At the same time, it serves a significant role in answering the research question and building up the argument of the final thesis. To discover possible answers to the question whether past and current initiatives reinforce or challenge the status quo of power relations in the Western Balkans, it is necessary to unfold how gender has been included in political frameworks. As SEESAC has been one of the primary agents advocating for change, the organization plays a crucial role in the reinforcement or challenge of existing socio-cultural gendered aspects of small arms. SEESAC, the UNDP's South

²⁴ Femicide is a term coined in the late 1970s' feminist movements, referring to the female deaths occurring solely on the basis of gender: e.g. the killing of women, just because they are women.

Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC, or ‘the Clearinghouse’), is one of the main organizations involved in security sector reform and small arms control policymaking in the Western Balkans. With their support, grassroots organizations such as Women in Black (a feminist anti-military organization with an extensive network throughout the Western Balkans) have been able to receive support, which contributes to a bottom-up approach to gender security.

It was not until 2007 that SALW concerns were raised by SEESAC in a report connecting the dots between domestic violence and small arms. The report has started discussions so far missing from agendas of local NGOs and Serbian institutions. It was not only civil society that slowly activated efforts, but a gender aspect also emerged at the governmental level, starting consultations on National Action Plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia both adopted the NAPs in 2010, North Macedonia in 2012 followed by Kosovo in 2014 and finally Montenegro in 2017. Albania has so far not accepted a National Action Plan, but is in the drafting stage, however, without any financial commitments to implement the Resolution.²⁵ Though the NAPs reflect prospects and initiatives for change, the implementing governments, especially Serbia, have also received great amount of critical reflections. Civil society actors have pointed out the lack of resources and necessary political will both with regards to Serbia and Kosovo (Ramsak 2015, p 31). Besides, the role of the NAPs is questionable from a SALW perspective: linkages between gender-based sexual and domestic violence, femicide are not made, leaving a significant gap in gendered policy design and implementation. Some of the NAPs make mention of gender-based violence and most of them outline the under-representation of women in the security sector as a problem originating from tradition and culture. Nonetheless, connections with the dominance of firearms and gender are not made.

A recent initiative has been brought to life as part of the Berlin Process, with the regional coordination of SEESAC, the result of which has been the creation of the Roadmap for a sustainable solution to the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of small arms light weapons (SALW) and their ammunition in the Western Balkans by 2024 (Roadmap). The initiative has emerged under the auspices of Franco-German cooperation, with the support of

²⁵ Relevant information from UN Women website and reports.

the European Union (EU). The Roadmap is the latest step towards the overarching objective of countering the illicit possession and trafficking of small arms in the region. According to the Roadmap, the cooperating partners give special attention to gender-related aspects of SALW, based on a gender analysis that has preceded and been incorporated into the Roadmap. However, the exact incorporation of the gender perspective remains unclear as neither of the seven clearly defined goals of the Roadmap contain objectives with regards to gender. Besides, the key performance indicators, based on which the implementation of the process will be monitored and evaluated do not contain oversight measures on gender mainstreaming.

Local – governmental SALW initiatives and gender in Kosovo

To answer the second part of the research question, whether Kosovo as a case is representative of the whole region – and perhaps of post-conflict environments in general, where gendered realities of small arms are crucial -, it is inevitable to overview the background of small arms control and gender in Kosovo. Kosovo, similarly to other Western Balkan governments, has been unable to create sufficient conditions for the reduction of small arms circulation. The government has started initiatives that aim for the accountable and transparent control of small arms and light weapons, but these have neither been effective nor included a comprehensive understanding of the gendered nature of small arms.

Progress in terms of legislation started in 2009, when the Department of Public Safety (DPA) became operational and the Division for Weapons, Ammunition and Explosives (DWAE) was established within it. At the same time, the Kosovo Small Arms Control Initiative (KOSSAC), a project coordinated by UNDP has received generous support from the EU and Germany. The National Commission on SALW was created in order to follow up on the work of the Strategy on Weapon Control and Collection of SALW, however, no leadership for monitoring and oversight has been centralized. Other deficiencies included problematic data gathering that disregarded aspects of gender, age and socio-economic status, as well as lack of categorization of various small arms incidents.

Gender mainstreaming has not become a primary focus in small arms and light weapons control but has to a limited extent been incorporated into the policy documents and plans. Even though the strong prevalence of small arms has highly gendered aspects and consequences in the region, gender has not been strongly incorporated in the SSR programs

coordinated and implemented by the UNMIK and later, the EULEX missions. However, developments have taken place in the form of National Action Plans throughout the Western Balkan region. The government of Kosovo has adopted its first action plan, the ‘Working Plan to implement Resolution 1325, and ‘Women, Peace and Security’’ for the period 2013-2015, was launched by its Agency for Gender Equality (AGE). The National Action Plan and specifically those about gender mainstreaming and about the implementation of small arms control undoubtedly embrace most aspects of a rights-based approach to gender equality. The approach of the plan rests on internationally accepted norms and aspects, such as gender sensitivity trainings and education, as well as planned increase in the number of women who actively participate in policymaking. However, a key factor that is not taken into consideration are the local specificities that may significantly influence the outcome of the gender mainstreaming and gender-sensitive policy processes.

Preliminary findings

One of the main research questions is whether existing initiatives reinforce or challenge gender relations in terms of small arms and security sector in the Western Balkans. From a feminist institutionalist understanding, the above outlined approaches do not critically examine the socio-cultural structures behind the low participation of women in the security sphere and suggests that mechanically increasing the number of female staff and commissioners results in gender-balanced policies. The approaches also assume that by including more women into policy-making processes, these processes will result in gender-sensitive policies and proposals. Understanding the underlying notion that there is no such existing category as ‘women’ in general, and that femininities are produced on a wide scale of variety and are informed also by various intersections of socio-economic and socio-cultural circumstances, is critical. As McLeod (2011, p. 600) asserts, the focus on the victimized woman subject stems from the reluctance to include gender in “hard” security qualities. The distinction between “hard” and “soft” security measures in terms of gender has been in the center of works discussing international gender mainstreaming policy: women are more frequently involved in operations related to peace and less with the militarized aspects of security. They tend to remain left out of the politico-military processes and decision-making – as a case study of the OSCE demonstrates (Farr, Myrntinen, and Schnabel 2009; Engberg-Pedersen, Fejerskov, and Cold-Ravnkilde 2020). Thus, numerous critical feminist scholars argue that increasing the number of urban, middle-class women in the decision-making

processes does not mean that the interests of rural and/or working class women will be comprehended and incorporated into actual policies.

Research Design and Methodology

As outlined in the introduction, my research question consists of two parts. Firstly, it is an inquiry whether past and emerging initiatives have reinforced or challenged existing gender relations in the small arms field in the Western Balkans, and why so. Secondly, through the case study of small arms control in Kosovo, it examines whether there is one regional pattern in work (which would impose that a regional initiative can succeed) or there are several very localized patterns (that need to be tackled independently). The preliminary argument of this thesis report is that initiatives and programs that have existed so far do not challenge gender relations in the security sector and small arms control sphere neither on a regional or a local level.

Secondly, for a case selection to best fit my research inquiry, I followed the line of thought and consulted writers on methodology such as George and Bennett (2005) and Gerring (2009) who confirm that a single case study can be just as proper in confirming or declining a certain pattern or theory. For my case, I aimed at finding a representative, typical case that represents the central tendency. On the one hand, choosing a case such as Bosnia and Herzegovina would be an extreme case due to the multi-ethnic tensions that persist, as well as the difficulties stemming from the double political system of cantonal and governmental layers. On the other hand, a case like Serbia would have the chance to be a deviant case that goes contrary to all expectations as domestic violence committed by small arms is extremely high, and the country can be considered a “leader” in regional processes – thus, would not be ideal for examining local tendencies.

My final research is to be built upon mainly qualitative research, consisting of document analysis and interviews. In the document analysis, I will review primary and secondary sources. As primary sources, policy documents from Kosovo as well as regional policy documents will serve as the basis of my analysis. Mainly, the ‘Roadmap for a sustainable solution to the illegal possession, misuse and trafficking of Small Arms and

Light Weapons(SALW) and their ammunition in the Western Balkans by 2024'²⁶ will be examined as well as the Kosovar National Action Plan (NAP) developed based on the Roadmap. Besides, international actors' former policy projects will be regarded under scrutiny in terms of gender – for which policy documents, press statements and interviews will be used.

As Manzano (2016) points out, interviews are one of the most frequently applied methods in policy analysis and evaluation. Interviews are usually used as part of an ethnographic fieldwork or document analysis, complementary to qualitative or quantitative research methods. One of the main purposes of the application of the method is to confirm information that the researcher already got familiar with from other sources. They are also often used as a set-off of the analysis and for the reconstruction of expert knowledge. At the same time, interviewing is not a method without challenges: as researchers often point out, the representativeness of the sample and the quality of the data, as well as the final reporting of findings can be controversial (Pekkanen and Bleich 2013). One of the most commonly applied techniques is the “snowball” technique in order to expand the network the researcher uses for a more representative sample of interviews. In what follows in my research, I plan to conduct semi-structured interviews that are applied to confirm the researcher's theory formerly formulated based on the underlying concepts and mechanisms. Therefore, part of my research will compound of ‘expert’ interviews and ‘elite’ interviews. I plan to interview officials from OSCE, UNODC, UNDP's regional Clearinghouse – SEESAC. The main aim of the semi-structured interviews is to get an understanding of how gender mainstreaming has been incorporated to the programs conducted in the Western Balkans and specifically, in Kosovo. I am also going to consult independent experts and journalists (details listed in the workplan). Conducting interviews will serve as a significant part of my analysis, especially considering my topic and research questions, which aim to reveal underlying dynamics and mechanisms that may influence the policy outcomes and the supposed difference between what is defined in policy documents and what kind of processes take place in reality.

²⁶ In the followings referred to as the Roadmap.

Conclusion

There has not been a fully integrated approach to gender in the framework of state-building efforts initiated and implemented by donors such as the UN, the US or the EU. In spite of the pervasive nature of the problem, when it comes to small arms in the Balkans, only a few organizations and donors seem to keep in mind the gender aspects of the problem. This is problematic because the approach to the gender(ed) implications of security in DDR and SSR missions in the Balkans may determine the future sustainability of peace in the region. Kosovo has been one of the most important sites of SSR in the Western Balkans, a country undergoing significant political and institutional changes in the early 2000s. My final thesis revolves around international and local attempts to include gendered aspects of security into small arms control. The research question examines whether initiatives that have been or are currently in place reinforce or challenge gender relations in the security sector in the Western Balkans, through the case study of Kosovo. Interlinked is the question: can a regional pattern be settled or do local aspects matter most in gendering small arms control in post-conflict environments?

Firstly, I have outlined the theoretical background and pointed out that there is a significant gap in addressing gender aspects of small arms control in post-conflict environments, especially in the Western Balkans. Secondly, I have provided a brief overview of the gendered aspects of (in)security, a source of which can directly be linked to small arms and light weapons. This was followed by an analysis of the root causes of the outlined problems. Thirdly, I have turned my attention to the existing regional and local initiatives in the Western Balkans and Kosovo, which serve as the cornerstone of my research in answering the main research question of whether these initiatives have successfully achieved their goal: challenging the status quo of gendered security and gender relations. In the followings, I provided a brief preliminary argument that will serve as the backbone of my final thesis, claiming that these initiatives do not challenge but reinforce the examined hierarchies. As outlined in the last, methodological section of this report, it is going to be the main aim of the interviews and later stages of my research to understand why these regional and local attempts have failed, and whether the underlying factors and patterns can be understood from a regional or very localized perspectives.

The main aim of the final thesis is to fill a gap in focusing on gendered realities of small arms and light weapons in the Western Balkans. It embraces a critical, feminist

institutionalist perspective in the inquiry of gender relations in post-conflict environments. It intends to discover how best to engage for policy-makers in these environments, where both small arms and gender roles play significant role in the post-conflict resettling of the security and defence sectors and contribute to the scholarly literature in this area. Listening to marginalized voices – voices of women throughout the age–ethnicity nexus or the voices of young men – enables policymaking that realistically builds on the local ownership of processes. It is time policymakers embrace an agenda in which women and a critical, feminist institutionalist, gendered lens do have meaningful and practical things to say about security.

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Appendix

Workplan

October 15, 2019	Document collection and preliminary document analysis
January 15, 2019	<p>Interviews with government officials, experts and local NGO members, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Bojana Balon, SEESAC;- Project leaders of regional OSCE initiatives, as well as country-level offices;- Representatives from the HALO Trust, a funding mechanism providing support for small arms projects;- Members of the UNODC Team;- Jeta Krasniqi, former Political Advisor to the President of Kosovo on gender equality and foreign policy;- Mia Schöb, Associate Researcher on gender issues at Small Arms Survey, one of the most relevant Institute's on small arms control;- Henri Myrtilinen, a well-known expert with high understanding of the gendered nature of small arms.- Local journalists such as Agon Maliqi, a policy analyst and activist in Kosovo
March 15, 2020	Preliminary findings of interviews
April 30, 2020	Combination of findings via document analysis and interviews
June 15, 2020	First full draft of thesis
July 8, 2020	Final thesis

