



# PROJECT INSIGHT

## Types of Firearms Used in Violence in the European Union

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### KEY FINDINGS

- The types of firearms most frequently used in violence vary across European Union (EU) countries (for example, the use of short firearms, such as handguns, or long firearms, such as rifles).
- In some cases, national authorities were able to record data on “other types” of firearms (such as craft-produced and rudimentary firearms, 3D-printed firearms, unlicensed copies, replica and imitation firearms, deactivated and converted firearms, modular firearms, concealable firearms, and firearms kits). In these cases, these firearms constituted a significant percentage of the total number of firearms recorded.
- Not all EU countries shared data on the types of firearms used in violence. Data provided showed differences in the amount of detail available, and differences in categorization of types of firearms.
- Open sources and media articles can provide complementary data sources to improve understanding of the different types of firearms used in violence, and to enable a better intelligence picture when data cannot be collected or is not available through official channels.

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## Abbreviations

AVMP	Armed Violence Monitoring Platform
EU	European Union
SEESAC	South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime

## Introduction

One of the four main priorities of the 2020–25 EU action plan on firearms trafficking is to build a better intelligence picture on firearm-related incidents and seizures.<sup>1</sup> In this regard, a thorough knowledge of the types of firearms used in violence is crucial to improving the strategic intelligence picture of law enforcement agencies and policy-makers across Europe.<sup>a</sup>

This information provides insights into the availability of different types of firearms, their origins, and trends in their use. It also serves as an analytical baseline upon which to build, and subsequently monitor and evaluate, policy measures to regulate particular types of firearms at national or regional levels.

Despite its high policy relevance, data on the types of firearms used in firearm-related violence across the EU is not always easy to find. In 2021, the Flemish Peace Institute’s Project TARGET, found that “little information is generally available on the types of firearm that are used in gun violence”.<sup>2</sup> Ballistic and police agencies sometimes provide such data at national level, however, and more information is usually available on the types of firearms used in mass shootings.<sup>3</sup> The level of detail available on the types of firearms used in violent incidents may therefore depend on the context in which this violence is perpetrated. Cases of criminal or terrorist violence sometimes involve international trafficking, whereas cases of domestic violence usually involve firearms available locally—whether legally or illegally—although some cases of domestic non-lethal violence (such as threats) are believed to be under-reported.<sup>4</sup>

The media serves as another source of data, but the quality and reliability of information varies, since media outlets do not always have (or record)

a Firearm violence can be divided into two categories: lethal (discarding a firearm that produces a lethal outcome, such as homicide, accidental death, self-defence, and suicide) and non-lethal (such as injury, threat, shootings, breach of public order, physical abuse, and no injury). See Duquet, N. & Vanden Auweele, D. (2021), *Project TARGET: Targeting gun violence & trafficking in Europe*, Brussels: Flemish Peace Institute, p. 24, <https://vlaamsvredeinstituut.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/TARGET-On-lineVersion.pdf>.

sufficient data on the types of firearms used in violence. Nonetheless, the Armed Violence Monitoring Platform (AVMP), developed by the South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC), has monitored firearm-related incidents that occur in South-east Europe since 2014, mostly based on media reports, police incident reports published on official websites, and—in the case of Kosovo—internal daily reports from the police. The AVMP has been able to aggregate data and generate information on different aspects of these incidents, including the types of firearms.<sup>a</sup>

This paper addresses the need for detailed, reliable data on the types of firearms used in violence in Europe. Following a brief overview of the methodology used in the study, the paper summarizes the main findings related to this topic. It uses the simplified classifications of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). The second section explores the use of “common” firearms types, namely revolvers, pistols, shotguns, rifles or carbines, assault rifles, sub-machine guns, and machine guns.<sup>5</sup> It goes on to examine possible trends and the use of “other types” of firearms—such as 3D printed weapons, replica firearms, converted firearms, and modular firearms—using information shared by the national law enforcement authorities that participated in Project

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INSIGHT.<sup>6</sup> The third section presents the case study of the Stockholm region in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the firearms used in violence in this region. The fourth section focuses on the types of firearms used in violence in South-east Europe, an area of strategic security importance for the EU that has been the focus of several EU policies and EU-funded assistance initiatives to tackle firearm-related threats. Finally, the final section concludes the paper.

## Methodology

This paper uses four main sources of data: (1) previous studies on the use of firearms in violence in Europe; (2) data received from law enforcement operational partners of Project INSIGHT;<sup>b</sup> (3) data collected from the Gunviolence.eu – Incident Monitor (hereafter referred to as “the Incident Monitor”);<sup>cd</sup> and (4) data from South-east Europe collected by the AVMP. Each of these sources of data has its advantages and disadvantages. For instance, media articles collected by the Incident Monitor do not always provide detailed and reliable information on the types of firearms used in violence. Since journalists tend to focus on the “five Ws”—who, what, when, where, and why—they do not always examine or report detailed information on another important set of “Ws”—with which weapon? As a result, media articles

- <sup>a</sup> SEESAC, Armed violence monitoring platform, [www.seesac.org/AVMP/](http://www.seesac.org/AVMP/). The AVMP gathers data from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo (references to Kosovo shall be understood to be in the context of the Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999)), Moldova, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia.
- <sup>b</sup> During the course of the project, the Project INSIGHT team requested data on various aspects of firearm-related violence from all EU countries.
- <sup>c</sup> The Incident Monitor ([www.gunviolence.eu/incident-monitor](http://www.gunviolence.eu/incident-monitor)) aims to collect media articles on firearm-related violence in all EU member states. It processes data in real time through an automated system that uses artificial intelligence. For more detailed information on the development and functioning of the Monitor, consult the methodological report: Cops, D., De Schutter, A. & De Smedt, T. (2023), *Gunviolence.eu – Incident Monitor: Methodological report*, Brussels: Flemish Peace Institute, <https://vlaamsvredesinstituut.eu/en/project-insight/#methodologicalreport>.
- <sup>d</sup> Data from the Incident Monitor covers the period 2019–22. In some circumstances, data shared by states also covers earlier years. When presenting data, the paper indicates the period covered.

may contain little or no comprehensive and technically accurate information about the types of firearms used in violence.

By combining different data sources, the paper aims to strengthen the strategic intelligence picture of EU member states' law enforcement agencies and policymakers to enable them to devise targeted and well-informed policy responses, as well as to increase public knowledge of the topic. Furthermore, by triangulating and using different sources, the paper aims to improve understanding of the comprehensiveness, accuracy, and quality of information collected from and reported by the media and other sources, as well as the possibilities and limitations of the Incident Monitor.

## Types of firearms used in violence across the EU

### "Common" firearms

Firearms used in violence across the EU originate from intra- and extra-EU sources. The Small Arms Survey estimates that there are more than 61 million firearms in civilian hands in the EU, representing an average of around 14.8 firearms per 100 persons.<sup>a</sup> Not all firearms used in violence in the EU originate from EU countries: weapons from neighbouring countries and regions are also legally transferred (and subsequently misused

and/or diverted) or illegally trafficked into the EU, thus fuelling firearm-related violence.

Project TARGET has conducted the most comprehensive and recent research on the types of firearms used in violence across the EU.<sup>7</sup> One of the project's findings, based on 2000–16 data from the World Health Organization (WHO) Detailed Mortality database, is that in a high percentage of cases—more than 75 per cent for countries such as the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Latvia, Austria,

Cyprus, Italy, Portugal, and Poland—the firearm used in homicides was unspecified.<sup>b8</sup> In the cases where information was available, handguns were the most common type of firearm used in homicides in 16 EU countries: Luxembourg, Czechia, Bulgaria, Germany, Sweden, Slovakia, Estonia, Netherlands, Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, Romania, Croatia, Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania.<sup>c9</sup> Long firearms such as rifles and shotguns were used in the majority of homicide cases in seven countries: Cyprus, France, Portugal, Belgium, Malta, Finland, and Ireland.<sup>d10</sup> In three EU countries—Denmark, Italy, and Spain—long and short firearms were used in roughly the same percentage of homicides.<sup>e11</sup>

Not all EU countries provided data on the types of firearms used in firearm-related violence at the national level. Of the 27 countries contacted as part of Project INSIGHT, Croatia, Estonia, Germany, Greece, France, Hungary, Lithuania, Portugal, Romania, and Spain responded to the request for data. The level of detail provided varied, since states collect and/or report different types of data and do not use the same firearm

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- a Of these civilian firearms, more than 26 million are registered, while more than 34 million are unregistered. The Survey also estimated that more than 2.7 million firearms were owned by law enforcement agencies, and more than 5.5 million by the military. See Small Arms Survey, Global firearms holdings, [www.smallarmssurvey.org/database/global-firearms-holdings](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/database/global-firearms-holdings). Calculations made by the author, based on national data from the Small Arms Survey website.
- b The countries are listed in descending order (higher to smaller percentage) according to the percentage of unspecified/other firearm type used in homicides.
- c The countries are listed in descending order, according to the number of handguns and rifles/shotguns used in homicides.
- d The countries are listed in descending order, according to the number of rifles/shotguns and handguns used in homicides.
- e Data from Greece was not available.

categorizations.<sup>a</sup> Some countries such as Croatia, France, and Spain provided data on firearms used in firearm-related violence and on seizures. Others such as Germany and Greece were only able to provide seizure data. This section presents data from select EU law enforcement agencies that responded to the request for data from Project INSIGHT. The data shared by national authorities provides new information on, and in some cases seem to confirm, the findings of Project TARGET.<sup>b</sup>

In Croatia, the police recorded a total of 98 violent incidents (murders and attempted murders) involving firearms in 2018–22.<sup>c</sup> The number of annual firearm-related violent incidents decreased by half during this period, from 26 in 2018 to 13 in 2022, and resulted in between 5 and 10 deaths per year (with a peak of 10 deaths in 2020). The firearms used to commit this violence were unknown on only three occasions. In all other cases, handguns were used more frequently—in 71 per cent of incidents where the firearm was known—than rifles. This finding is consistent with previous findings from Project TARGET, which estimated that handguns were used in 71 per cent of firearm homicides in Croatia. The prevalence of the use of handguns decreased over time, however. While in 2018 handguns were used in 19 incidents (83 per cent of cases where the firearm was known) and rifles in only 4, this

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gap gradually narrowed over the years, with handguns used in 8 of the 13 violent incidents involving firearms in 2022 (62 per cent) and rifles used in the remaining 5 cases. As the number of violent incidents involving firearms decreased, the proportion of incidents committed with handguns therefore also decreased.<sup>d</sup>

In France, the use of short and long firearms in violence seems to be almost the same. According to data shared by the Cellule de recherche et d'analyse criminologiques de la sous-direction de la lutte contre la criminalité organisée, direction centrale de la police judiciaire (the cell of research and criminological analysis of the sub-direction of the fight against organised crime, central direction of the judiciary police), firearms homicides in the country in 2020 caused 220 victims, equal to 26 per cent of the total. Handguns were used in 38 per cent of these cases, and “long guns” in 41 per cent of cases. In the remaining 22 per cent of cases, the firearm was not documented.<sup>e</sup> In the “long guns” category, rifles represented the vast majority of weapons compared to “weapons of war”. Data on weapons

seized by the French national police between 2016 and 2021 gives a similar picture in terms of firearm types (see Table 1).<sup>f</sup> Long guns, other than “weapons of war”, are slightly more numerous than handguns. “Other firearms” constitute around 20 per cent of the sample (see also next

a While trying to maintain consistency in the categorization of firearms, the paper uses the categories of types of firearms used by national authorities.

b Public data from the Stockholm region is presented as a separate case study.

c Data shared with Project INSIGHT by the Croatian police.

d The total number of firearms seized in administrative and criminal proceedings or found and voluntarily surrendered by citizens also decreased from 6,266 in 2018 to 5,162 in 2022.

e Totals may not add up due to rounding. Data shared with Project INSIGHT by the cellule de recherche et d'analyse criminologiques de la sous-direction de la lutte contre la criminalité organisée, direction centrale de la police judiciaire.

f The circumstances of the seizure are not necessarily linked to, and therefore do not always imply, the use of the firearm in violence.



**Table 1 Weapons seized by French national police, 2016-21**

	Weapons of war	Other long weapons	Handguns	Other firearms	Total
2016	383	2,750	2,197	1,307	6,637
2017	194	2,688	1,865	1,263	6,010
2018	211	2,373	2,192	1,269	6,045
2019	217	2,394	2,125	1,251	5,987
2020	209	2,414	2,081	975	5,679
2021	316	3,016	2,748	1,250	7,330
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,530</b>	<b>15,635</b>	<b>13,208</b>	<b>7,315</b>	<b>37,688</b>

Source: French national police

section), whereas “weapons of war” constitute a small percentage of the total.<sup>a</sup>

In Spain, short firearms were used in around 50 per cent of criminal acts committed in 2021, and long firearms in only 12 per cent.<sup>bc12</sup> The percentages are different for firearms used in 197 incidents of domestic violence during the same period. In these cases, short firearms were used in 35 per cent of cases, compared with long firearms in 23 per cent, suggesting that long weapons are used more frequently in cases of domestic violence.<sup>13d</sup> This finding seems to confirm previous research undertaken by Project TARGET, which found that “when long rifles are used in non-lethal violence, the Spanish police report that this occurs mostly in cases of domestic violence”.<sup>14</sup>

Germany provided data related to firearm seizures, which indicated that short firearms, and particularly pistols, were the most seized type of firearm in 2018–22 (see Table 2).<sup>15</sup> German-manufactured firearms represented around 30 per cent of the seized sample. Firearms from Türkiye constituted the second-largest country sample (14%) and included a large number of Zoraki Mod. 906, converted to 7.65mm Browning calibre and manufactured by Atak Arms. US firearms made up 10 per cent of the sample, while firearms manufactured in neighbouring Austria and Czechia constituted 6 percent of the seized sample each.<sup>e</sup>

- a The French national police define weapons of war as lethal firearms that can fire in bursts; other long weapons are long lethal firearms that do not have the ability to fire in bursts; handguns are lethal firearms that do not have the ability to fire in bursts; and other firearms include, among others, shotguns, blanks, and firearms shooting rubber bullets.
- b The criminal acts include robberies, threats, injuries, homicides, illegal detention/seizure, and organized crime- or drug trafficking-related incidents, among others.
- c Data for Spain does not include the Basque country and Catalonia. The numbers of incidents exclude cases of domestic and gender violence, which are analysed separately.
- d The data does not include the Basque country, Navarre, and Catalonia.
- e Country data and percentages elaborated by the author based on data obtained through written correspondence between Project INSIGHT partners and an official from the German Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt), 24 March 2023. For more information on Turkish converted weapons, see the next sections of this paper and Fabre, A.-S. et al. (2023), *Privately made firearms in the European Union*, Project INSIGHT Research Paper, Brussels: Flemish Peace Institute.

**Table 2** Number and types of firearms seized in Germany

Type of firearm	Year not available	Pre-2018	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Revolvers	3	0	5	10	20	10	1
Pistols	16	25	68	43	104	34	34
Rifles	14	7	14	39	15	16	8
Others	0	1	5	1	2	4	1
<b>Total seizures</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>44</b>

Source: German Federal Criminal Police Office

The data was also disaggregated according to more than 30 different types of crime. Short firearms were the most frequently seized firearms in cases linked to threats, serious bodily harm, murders, and homicides—with pistols representing the majority of the sample (around 70%), followed by revolvers (around 15%) and rifles (around 13%). For seizures linked to homicides, pistols were seized in 61 per cent of cases, rifles in around 25 per cent of cases, and revolvers in approximately 13 per cent of cases. The prevalent use of short firearms in homicides aligns with previous findings from Project TARGET, which found that handguns constituted more than 85 per cent of the firearms used in homicides, when the type of firearm was known. The percentages of short firearms (pistols and revolvers) are also higher for seizures linked to murders, as only one of 26 seizures linked to murder cases involved a rifle.

In Greece, revolvers and pistols combined constituted more than 40 per cent of the types of firearms examined in ballistic laboratories from July

2018 to December 2022.<sup>a</sup> Greece was also able to share data on seizures. Table 3 provides information on the types of seized weapons involved in criminal cases in the country.<sup>16</sup> The data indicates that shotguns were by far the most seized firearms involved in criminal cases from 2018 to 2022. The number of shotguns seized annually was consistently three times higher than the number of seized pistols. “Gas – alarm” weapons, revolvers, and rifles were also seized in notable quantities. Greece also shared information on the different legal justifications for seizures.<sup>b</sup> The vast majority of criminal cases were related to illegal possession. Only five seizures were linked to terrorism (three in 2020, and two in 2022); less than 50 per year were linked to violent crimes—a small fraction of the total number of seizures; and those linked to other offences ranged from 116 (in 2019) to 193 (in 2021) per year. Since data on seizures linked to violent crimes is not disaggregated by firearm type, it is not possible to establish the types of firearms that were most used in violence.

a Ballistic data shared with Project INSIGHT by Greece on the types of illegal firearms examined in F.S.D. labs (from 2018 to 2022). For data on blank, modified, and converted firearms, see the next section of this paper.

b These justifications were illegal possession; illegal use; illegal trafficking; illegal manufacturing; false marking indications; other offences (according to national weapons law); drugs trafficking; other types of trafficking; other forms of organized crime; terrorism; violent crimes; and other offences. The data is not reported in this paper.

**Table 3** Types of seized firearms involved in criminal cases in Greece<sup>37</sup>

Year	Revolvers	Pistols	Rifles	Shotguns (hunting)	Machine guns	Sub-machine guns	Gas-alarm	Unknown - improvised	Essential components	Other (devices etc.)*
2018	181	438	182	1,564	47	2	508	7	40	118
2019	112	348	104	1,122	3	9	226	47	87	163
2020	102	332	67	979	7	15	346	31	78	210
2021	145	359	71	1,088	25	11	279	31	95	212
2022	127	411	125	1,536	12	18	284	19	50	193

Note: \* The names of the types of firearms are taken verbatim from the source.

Romania was not able to provide disaggregated data on the firearms used in violent incidents; however, the General Inspectorate of the Romanian Police provided disaggregated data on firearms held in police evidence rooms and on seizures for the period 2018–22.<sup>a</sup> The data on firearms held in police evidence rooms reveals a high number of hunting weapons and other patterns related to “other types” of firearms. These will be presented in the next section.

The Incident Monitor, although based on media sources rather than official statistics, can provide alternative data on the different types of firearms used in firearm-related violence across the EU. The articles collected by the Monitor on violent incidents from 2019 to 2022 indicate that in 15 EU countries short firearms—such as handguns, revolvers, and pistols—were the most frequently used firearms in violence. These countries were Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain.<sup>b</sup> Other weapons mentioned in

articles from the Monitor were usually long firearms, explosives, and other types of firearms. The use of the latter in firearm-related violence is analysed in the next section of the paper

### “Other types” of firearms

According to UNODC, “other types” of firearms indicate firearms that “may borrow characteristics from the commonly accepted category, but their modality of production and/or modification makes them very difficult to be identified and traced”.<sup>18</sup> These types of firearms include craft-produced and rudimentary firearms, 3D-printed firearms, unlicensed copies, replica and imitation firearms, deactivated and converted firearms, modular firearms, concealable firearms, and firearms kits.<sup>19</sup> These firearms sometimes represent a legal challenge for states. Their use, transfer, and possession are not always regulated and can be facilitated by loopholes in the law, particularly in

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a Data on firearms held in police evidence rooms indicates the number of seized firearms that can be found in police evidence rooms at the end of a given year. Data on firearm seizures indicates the total number of weapons seized in a given year. Some of these weapons are returned to their owners, destroyed, or sold (author exchange with the Romanian Police).

b Data was retrieved on 28 April 2023 from the ‘analytics’ section of the Incident Monitor. The list includes only states with at least 100 mentions of types of firearms in articles in the Monitor (column ‘#’ in the table of the Monitor), and where the combined percentage of pistols, handguns, and revolvers accounted for at least 50 per cent of cases that mentioned the firearm. The percentages range from 78 per cent for Slovakia, the country with the highest percentages of short firearms, to 50 per cent for Portugal.



the case of firearms produced with new technologies. For this reason, it is vital that law enforcement agencies constantly document and monitor the distribution and use of these types of firearms to be able to strengthen their intelligence picture and devise appropriate policy responses.

Recent research has documented different trends related to the use and trafficking of these types of firearms in Europe.<sup>a</sup> For instance, deactivated firearms are in wide circulation in Europe and, after being reactivated, have been used to commit serious crimes and terrorist attacks.<sup>20</sup> As a consequence, the EU adapted its Firearms Directive in 2017 and took subsequent steps to further regulate converted firearms.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, 3D-printed firearms were documented in several European countries.<sup>22</sup>

While the number of incidents involving other types of firearms—particularly reactivated firearms, modified Flobert weapons, and converted gas (alarm) weapons—seems to have increased in recent years, it is difficult to establish the scale of the problem based on official national data. In particular, the categorization of these firearms varies from country to country. While some countries categorize them as “other firearms”, others use existing firearm categories (also depending on the state of the firearm when seized), and not all countries record converted or modified firearms. In 2018, a major study on firearms conversion by the Small Arms Survey

concluded that “current record-keeping systems and statistics in Europe often do not allow meaningful analysis of firearms conversion trends and early warning of new threats”.<sup>23</sup> This seems to be confirmed by the data on “other types” of firearms gathered from Project INSIGHT partners.<sup>b</sup>

Not all countries included information on “other types” of firearms in their data on firearm-related violence. In Spain, out of a total of 2,589 incidents involving firearms in 2021, replica and imitation firearms were used in 15 per cent (n=378) of cases, and 9 per cent (n=231) of cases involved a firearm using gas or compressed air.<sup>c24</sup> The percentages of these types of firearms used in domestic and gender based violence incidents are slightly higher, with imitation firearms used in 18 per cent of a total of 197 incidents, and gas or compressed air firearms used in 12 per cent of these incidents.<sup>25d</sup>

In Portugal, the few firearms recorded as having been used in violent incidents include one firearm reproduction, some acoustic firearms, airsoft firearms, and “other weapons”. These types of firearms were mostly used in cases involving threats and robberies.<sup>26</sup>

Several other countries were able to provide seizure information that included data on “other types” of firearms. Public data from Finland divides firearm offences into aggravated firearm offences, firearm offences, petty firearm offences, and firearm violations.

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The use, transfer and possession of "other types" of firearms is not always regulated and can be facilitated by loopholes in the law, particularly in the case of firearms produced with new technologies.

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It is difficult to establish the scale of the problem based on official national data.

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a A paper in this series will define these types of firearms and analyse and present in detail issues related to “other types” of firearm. See Fabre, A.-S. et al. (2023), *Privately made firearms in the European Union*, Project INSIGHT Research Paper, Brussels and Geneva: Flemish Peace Institute and Small Arms Survey.

b The paper uses the categories of types of firearms used by national authorities, while seeking to maintain consistency with the “other types” of firearms listed by the UNODC.

c The data for Spain does not include the Basque country and Catalonia. The numbers of incidents exclude cases of domestic and gender violence, which are analysed separately.

d The data does not include the Basque country, Navarre, and Catalonia.

Since 2020–21, the number of firearm offences has been higher than petty firearm offences, making them the most common type of offence.<sup>27</sup>

The types of firearms used to commit these offences is not specified. Seizure data indicates, however, that “gas weapons” constituted at least 80 per cent of the yearly customs seizures in Finland between 2017 and 2021. This percentage increased in 2020 and 2021 (rising to almost 95 per cent in 2020), with 506 and 435 seized “gas weapons”, respectively.<sup>28</sup> The high number of “gas weapons” is also due to the fact that the country regulated handguns more thoroughly after two school shootings in the 2000s.<sup>29</sup>

In Greece, the percentages of blank, modified, and converted firearms examined in the ballistic laboratories of the country between July 2018 and June 2022 were 25 per cent, 6 per cent, and around 3 per cent, respectively.<sup>30</sup> Data on the types of seized firearms involved in criminal cases from 2018 to 2022 (see Table 3) indicates that gas-alarm weapons were consistently the second or third most seized type of firearm per year, outnumbering seizures of pistols in 2018—when over 500 gas-alarm weapons were seized—and 2020. Data on unknown and improvised weapons are aggregated together, and the annual number of seizures of this type of firearm was always lower than 50. Essential components were also seized.<sup>31</sup> As underlined, it is not possible to establish how many of these seized firearms were used in violent crimes.

French police divide seized firearms into the following categories: weapons of war, other long

weapons, handguns, and other firearms. The latter category includes different types of firearms such as shotguns, blanks, and firearms shooting rubber bullets, among others. As shown in Table 1, from 2016 to 2019 this type of firearms constituted around or more than 20 per cent of the whole sample, with a small decrease to around 17 per cent in 2020–21.<sup>32</sup>

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The high number of “gas weapons” in Finland is also due to the fact that the country regulated handguns more thoroughly after two school shootings in the 2000s.

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In Romania, data from the General Inspectorate of the Romanian Police on firearms held in police evidence rooms reveals: (1) a high number of gas pistols, pistols with rubber projectiles, and air guns; (2) a high number of hunting weapons; (3) a low number of artisanal weapons, and an even lower number of military weapons; and (4) an increase over the years in not only “other weapons”, but also components for weapons.<sup>33</sup> The number of seized firearms decreased continuously from 2018 (when 7,394 firearms were seized) to 2021 and 2022 (with the seizure of 2,955 and 2,963 firearms per year, respectively).<sup>34</sup> Blank-firing weapons, such as gas pistols, account for a significant percentage of the firearms held in Romanian police evidence rooms. This is in line with findings from the 2016 Operation Bosphorus, which concluded that most of these firearms were manufactured in Türkiye and brought into the country from Bulgaria.<sup>a</sup> Information from the Incident Monitor also corroborate these findings. At least 17 per cent of media articles from 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2022 pertaining to Romania identified air/airsoft firearms as the type of firearms used in violent incidents. The articles included major seizure incidents.<sup>35</sup> These types of firearms were also frequently used in incidents

a Operation Bosphorus led to the arrest across the EU of 245 persons and the seizure of 556 gas and alarm pistols (of which 131 were converted), 108 other firearms, 33,748 rounds of ammunition, and numerous tools for converting blank-firing to lethal-purpose firearms. See Albisteanu, R., Dena, A. and Lewis, M. (2018), Romania: Firearms and Security at the EU Eastern Border, in: Duquet, N. (ed.), *Triggering terror: Illicit gun markets and firearms acquisition of terrorist networks in Europe*, Brussels: Flemish Peace Institute, pp. 348–349, [https://vlaamsvredesinstituut.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/boek\\_safte\\_bw\\_lowres.pdf](https://vlaamsvredesinstituut.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/boek_safte_bw_lowres.pdf); Duquet, N. & Vanden Auweele, D., *Project TARGET: Targeting gun violence & trafficking in Europe*, p. 151; and Europol, Operation Bosphorus against firearms trafficking results in nearly 250 arrests in 2016 (23 January 2017), [www.europol.europa.eu/media-press/newsroom/news/operation-bosphorus-against-firearms-trafficking-results-in-nearly-250-arrests-in-2016](http://www.europol.europa.eu/media-press/newsroom/news/operation-bosphorus-against-firearms-trafficking-results-in-nearly-250-arrests-in-2016), consulted on 27 February 2023.

involving threats, crimes, and altercations and shootings, sometimes perpetrated by young citizens.<sup>36</sup>

Finally, Croatia was able to share ballistics data with Project INSIGHT that showed an increase in the number of “privately made or modified firearms that were subject to ballistic expertise” from 17 in 2018 to between 40 and 55 per year in 2019–22.<sup>a</sup>

In summary, in some cases national authorities are able to record data on “other types” of firearms used in violence, seized, or analysed in ballistic laboratories. These types of firearms in these cases always represented a significant percentage of the total number of firearms recorded (with peaks in some countries such as Finland, as highlighted above). When national data is available and disaggregated by these types of firearms, it appears to confirm this observation.

The Incident Monitor offers more information on the use of these types of firearms in violence across the EU. The Monitor allows data to be

filtered to show firearm incidents perpetrated with non-lethal firearms in each European country and in selected time periods. It provides not only information about the types of firearms used in cases of violence, including alarm pistols, air guns, and 3D-printed firearms, but also links to the original news articles from which this information is derived.<sup>37</sup>

## Case study: Stockholm region

In Sweden, the number of confirmed shootings increased from 2017 (n=281) to 2022 (n=391) (see Table 4).

In the Stockholm region, which has the highest number of shootings in the country, more than 100 such incidents were recorded annually since 2018. Data from the Swedish police provides more information on the types of firearms used: a total of 444 unique firearms were used in 449 of the 563 shootings that took place in the Stockholm region in the years 2015–2019.

**Table 4** Number of confirmed shootings in Sweden, by region, 2017–22

Region	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Bergslagen	2	8	15	13	21	21
Mitt	38	31	55	39	39	41
Nord	2	13	34	17	18	10
Öst	25	24	34	37	24	57
Stockholm	78	105	100	164	136	128
Syd	98	86	76	56	65	86
Väst	38	58	46	53	41	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>391</b>

Source: Swedish police<sup>38</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Data shared with Project INSIGHT by the Croatian police. The number of these firearms is higher than the number of firearms pertaining to violent incidents (murders and attempted murders) with firearms (presented in the previous section). It is therefore not clear whether and how many of these firearms were used in violence.

Semi-automatic pistols, often originating from the Balkans, were the most common (59 per cent) type of firearm seized after a shooting. Automatic weapons accounted for approximately 19 per cent. In both cases, the Serbian manufacturer Zastava was the most common producer of these types of firearms (handguns and Zastava M70). Converted starter or gas weapons (modified to fire live ammunition) made up around 8 per cent of the firearms seized after a shooting, although this could be an underestimate since these types of firearms were often reused. These weapons were almost exclusively manufactured by the Turkish manufacturer Zoraki. The majority of firearms used in shootings were manufactured before 1989.<sup>39</sup>

More recent police data for 2020 from the Stockholm region provides information on 42 firearms that were seized after being used in 55 out of a total of 166 shootings. In 71 per cent of these incidents, these firearms were conventional weapons, while converted starter and tear gas weapons were linked to ten shootings (18 per cent). In the remaining incidents, “other modified weapons” were used.<sup>40</sup> An analysis of the calibre of firearms used in shootings indicates that the 7.62 x 39 mm calibre typical of AK-type weapons capable of automatic fire was used in 8 per cent of the cases. While this percentage is lower than that of 2015–19 (11 per cent), the use of this type of firearm is particularly dangerous as it could pose a greater risk to third parties.<sup>41</sup>

The same report also provides data on 269 firearms seized in relation to criminal incidents in 2020 in the Stockholm region in a total of 195 cases.<sup>42</sup> The data indicates that the majority of the firearms were conventional weapons (65 per cent), with a relatively large number of modified

weapons (33 per cent) and a small number of homemade weapons (2 per cent).<sup>43</sup> A sizable proportion of these seized weapons (n. 221) were pistols. Over a third of them were converted starter and tear gas pistols; 28 sub-machine guns and 20 automatic rifles were also seized.<sup>44</sup> The main manufacturers were the Serbian arms producer Zastava (for conventional arms) and the Turkish Atak Arms (which produces starter and gas weapons such as the Zoraki). Other manufacturers included Glock, Ceska Zbrojovka, and Walther (for conventional weapons), and the Turkish Voltran (for gas weapons).<sup>45</sup> Of the 90 modified weapons, 80 were converted starter and tear gas weapons. In addition, 67 non-converted weapons were also seized, some of which showed signs of attempts to convert them. Of the converted weapons, 83 per cent were of Turkish origin, whereas

the origin of non-converted weapons was more evenly distributed.<sup>46</sup>

Data from 2020 shows how traditional and relatively old firearms originating from the former Yugoslavia, as well as from other firearm-producing countries such as the Russian Federation and former Czechoslovakia, constitute a significant percentage of the weapons seized. Converted starter and tear gas weapons are the second most common type of weapon; used in around 20 per cent of the shootings in 2020—a significant increase compared to 8 per cent in 2015–19—they constituted a third of the seizures. A large majority of starter and tear gas pistols that came to the attention of the police were converted, showed attempts of conversion, or were likely intended for conversion.<sup>47</sup> Their firepower has also increased.<sup>48</sup> The Swedish police was unable to estimate the proportion of these firearms converted in Sweden. The third most common

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a The report highlights a correlation between the number of shootings and the number of seizures: “ju fler skjutningar desto högre antal vapenbeslag” / “the more shootings the higher the number of weapon seizures”.

weapon types are Glock, Walther, and Sig Sauer pistols, as well as Steyr MP40 and Heckler & Koch MP5 sub-machine guns, that have recently entered the illegal market in Sweden or in other countries (before being smuggled to Sweden). Finally, the number of homemade and 3D-printed firearms was modest.<sup>49</sup>

## South-east Europe

The region of South-east Europe is of strategic importance for security in the EU. It has been identified as a supplying region for firearms within the EU.<sup>50</sup> In particular, conflict legacy military-grade firearms, and surplus weapons that remained unaccounted for following the Yugoslav wars have been trafficked into Europe, fuelling criminality in the EU.<sup>51</sup> As a result, the EU has supported several policy initiatives to tackle problems related to firearms in the region and possible proliferation in the EU.<sup>52</sup> Since 2002, the region has also been the focus of several EU-funded assistance initiatives to tackle firearm-related threats, strengthen the security of firearms, and curb their proliferation from the region to the EU. For instance, through successive Council decisions, the EU has supported the work of the UN Development Programme's SEESAC, aimed at combating the threat posed by illicit small arms and light weapons and their ammunition and at reducing their proliferation and misuse.<sup>53</sup>

In 2014, SEESAC established the AVMP for South-east Europe as part of its activities.<sup>54</sup> Since then, the web platform has collected information on firearm-related incidents in South-east Europe, primarily from media reports and official sources—both public (that is, daily reports published on police websites) and, in the case of Kosovo, internal reports.<sup>a</sup> The AVMP also aggregates the data to allow for basic analysis and identify major regional and

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national trends on firearm-related incidents, including the types of incidents (divided into seven sub-categories), the outcome for the victim, and the types of firearm (divided into ten sub-categories). Based on this data, the AVMP provides incident, quarterly, monthly, and thematic reports. The AVMP data therefore offers vital information on the types of firearms used in firearm-related incidents in South-east Europe. It also allows for an indirect comparison with the Incident Monitor to understand potential future developments of the latter and explore opportunities for sharing information and conducting joint future research.

Table 5 provides information derived from the AVMP on the types of firearms involved in firearm-related incidents from 2019 to 2022.<sup>b</sup>

a The number of incidents reported daily by Kosovo is higher because it is the only jurisdiction that has provided access to their internal reports. For other jurisdictions, only data that is made available for the public is recorded.

b The figures presented in Table 5 refer to the number of incidents, including weapon seizures, in which these types of firearms were reported.



**Table 5** Types of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in South-east Europe, 2019-22<sup>a</sup>

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	912	1,035	1,124	1,083	4154
Rifle/shotgun	203	292	345	363	1203
Automatic/military grade	144	201	216	214	775
Explosive device	38	343	398	370	1149
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	226	247	288	303	1064
Air gun	29	37	60	66	192
Gas pistol	91	103	161	179	534
Fake/toy	9	28	29	15	81
Unknown	341	516	589	575	2021
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>1,993</b>	<b>2,802</b>	<b>3,210</b>	<b>3,168</b>	<b>11173</b>

Source: AVMP

The number of firearm-related incidents increased steadily from around 2,000 in 2019 to more than 3,000 in 2021 and 2022. During these years, firearm seizures have always been the most common incident. The type of firearm was unknown in around 17-18 per cent of incidents per year. Handguns were involved in at least one-third of incidents, and both explosive devices and long firearms, such as rifles and shotguns, in more than 10 per cent of incidents. Although the number of automatic/military-grade firearms increased over the years, their percentage of the

While air guns and gas pistols accounted for a small percentage of incidents, the number of incidents involving these types of firearms constantly increased.

total decreased slightly. While air guns and gas pistols accounted for a small percentage of incidents, the number of incidents involving these types of firearms constantly increased: “compared to 2020, the number of reported gas pistol seizures rose by 45% in 2021. The increase was most notable in Kosovo [and] the number of reported air guns seizures more than doubled in 2021.”<sup>55</sup>

Tables 6-12 disaggregate regional data at the national level and report data for each country monitored by the AVMP.

<sup>a</sup> Tables 5-12 were elaborated by the author on 10 September 2023, based on annual and regional statistics published by the AVMP. Under the AVMP, the data on explosives is available starting from 2020, with the exception of 38 cases reported in 2019.

**Table 6** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in Albania, 2019-22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	90	82	104	120	396
Rifle/shotgun	25	17	37	63	142
Automatic/military grade	38	50	70	63	221
Explosive device	6	13	32	54	105
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	15	31	38	48	132
Air gun	0	0	2	4	6
Gas pistol	1	1	0	0	2
Fake/toy	1	0	2	0	3
Unknown	42	67	70	56	235
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>1,242</b>

Source: AVMP

**Table 7** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2019-22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	226	207	225	161	819
Rifle/shotgun	29	36	46	56	167
Automatic/military grade	34	39	31	42	146
Explosive device	7	45	63	48	163
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	30	56	66	69	221
Air gun	2	1	7	4	14
Gas pistol	13	12	27	31	83
Fake/toy	1	4	1	0	6
Unknown	91	87	96	80	354
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>433</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>562</b>	<b>491</b>	<b>1,973</b>

Source: AVMP

**Table 8** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in Kosovo, 2019-22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	282	379	473	471	1,605
Rifle/shotgun	55	119	122	112	408
Automatic/military grade	47	77	77	85	286
Explosive device	4	118	125	90	337
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	47	66	82	85	280
Air gun	3	4	14	8	29
Gas pistol	58	56	108	120	342
Fake/toy	1	12	12	5	30
Unknown	79	234	277	271	861
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>576</b>	<b>1,065</b>	<b>1,290</b>	<b>1,247</b>	<b>4,178</b>

Source: AVMP

**Table 9** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in Moldova, 2019-22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	22	23	32	28	105
Rifle/shotgun	21	39	42	37	139
Automatic/military grade	0	7	1	2	10
Explosive device	1	36	18	22	77
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	9	11	17	17	54
Air gun	15	18	20	23	76
Gas pistol	3	4	4	1	12
Fake/toy	1	3	2	0	6
Unknown	19	14	23	11	67
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>546</b>

Source: AVMP

**Table 10** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in Montenegro, 2019-22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	72	63	62	55	252
Rifle/shotgun	19	17	25	21	82
Automatic/military grade	8	8	9	3	28
Explosive device	7	12	23	22	64
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	55	27	22	30	134
Air gun	1	4	4	3	12
Gas pistol	4	2	3	2	11
Fake/toy	0	0	0	1	1
Unknown	19	14	17	20	70
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>654</b>

Source: AVMP

**Table 11** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in North Macedonia, 2019-22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	84	119	75	113	391
Rifle/shotgun	23	38	41	45	147
Automatic/military grade	5	7	10	5	27
Explosive device	9	79	85	95	268
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	20	17	23	19	79
Air gun	4	7	4	15	30
Gas pistol	4	15	11	14	44
Fake/toy	0	0	1	0	1
Unknown	36	57	64	93	250
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>1,237</b>

Source: AVMP

**Table 12** Type of firearms reported in incidents, including weapon seizures, in Serbia, 2019–22

Firearm type	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
Handgun	136	162	153	135	586
Rifle/shotgun	31	26	32	29	118
Automatic/military grade	12	13	18	14	57
Explosive device	4	40	52	39	135
Multiple types of small arms and light weapons	50	39	40	35	164
Air gun	4	3	9	9	25
Gas pistol	8	13	8	11	40
Fake/toy	5	9	11	9	34
Unknown	55	43	42	44	184
<b>Total incidents</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>1343</b>

Source: AVMP

From the tables, a few main trends can be discerned. Almost all countries in the region have seen an increase in the number of firearm-related incidents between 2019 and 2022. In some countries, such as Kosovo and North Macedonia, the number of incidents has doubled. In the case of Kosovo, the high number of incidents is primarily due to a different method of collecting data, which allows access to internal reports and therefore makes a larger amount of data available. The country also has the highest number of reported firearm seizures among all jurisdictions, which contributes to the high number of incidents.<sup>56</sup> No country in the region has seen a significant decrease in incidents, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia the number of incidents has remained more or less constant during the period 2019–22.

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Almost all countries in the region have seen an increase in the number of firearm-related incidents between 2019 and 2022.

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The percentages of incidents involving gas pistols, air guns, and fake/toy firearms remain quite low.

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In line with regional data, handguns were the main type of firearm in all countries except for Moldova (see below). While the types of firearms involved in firearm-related incidents vary from country to country, in most Western Balkan countries, conventional firearms—such as multiple types of small arms and light weapons (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia), rifle/shotguns (Kosovo), and automatic/military-grade weapons (Albania)—constitute a sizable percentage of firearms. Some Western Balkans countries such as North Macedonia also have a high number of explosive devices.

Conversely, the percentages of incidents involving gas pistols, air guns, and fake/toy firearms remain quite low. One of the exceptions is Kosovo, where the number of gas pistols continues to increase. In



North Macedonia, more incidents involve gas pistols and air guns than automatic and military-grade firearms. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the number of incidents involving gas pistols remains low, but increased between 2019 and 2022—a trend that could be worth monitoring.

Moldova is the only country in the AVMP data that is not in the Western Balkans region, and its data on types of firearms shows different patterns to the other countries (see Table 11). Moldova has the lowest total number of incidents and is the only country monitored by the AVMP where handguns are the second most common type of firearm, after rifles/shotguns, rather than the first. Incidents involving explosive devices and air guns are also frequent, and increasing in the latter case. Multiple types of small arms and light weapons, gas pistols, and automatic/military-grade firearms are less common. The different patterns of types of firearms in Moldova, compared to Western Balkans countries, may be because the country has fewer legacy weapons from the 1990s Balkan wars than other countries monitored by the AVMP. It will be important to continue monitoring the types of firearms involved in firearm-related incidents in Moldova in order to detect possible variations in the types and number of firearms in incidents, particularly given the conflict in neighbouring Ukraine.

Examining national data from the countries monitored by the AVMP allowed the possibility to explore national dynamics and identify trends in the types of firearm involved in firearm-related incidents. It also demonstrated how the AVMP can serve as a useful tool for extrapolating and analysing these trends, since it uses a common methodology for cataloguing information on firearm-related incidents and allows data to be aggregated or disaggregated according to different

variables, including the types of firearms, and over time. Continuous data collection and analysis can therefore help to strengthen the intelligence picture of incidents involving firearms at the regional and national levels and shed light on important new trends and evolving risks that need to be monitored.

## Conclusion and implications

The paper has tried to shed some light on the types of firearms used in violence across the EU.

By using four main sources of data—from previous literature, operational partners of Project INSIGHT, the Incident Monitor, and the AVMP—it has sought to build a better intelligence picture, in line with one of the main priorities of the 2020–25 EU action plan on

firearms trafficking.

While information on the types of firearms that are used in violent incidents was not available in a large number of cases, this paper has highlighted some important differences between countries. It has provided additional information on the use of short and long firearms in violence in selected countries, either corroborating findings from Project TARGET or providing new and more recent data on the use of “common” firearms in various countries. Drawing on recent data, the paper has provided more information on common challenges, such as deactivated and converted firearms, and highlighted the need of monitoring evolving threats, such as privately made firearms.

Not all EU countries shared data and information on the types of firearms used in violent incidents. When they did, the level of detail and disaggregation varied, as did the type of information recorded and shared by law enforcement authorities. The

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Moldova is the only country in the AVMP data that is not in the Western Balkans region, and its data on types of firearms shows different patterns to the other countries.

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systematic collection and exchange of harmonized data (including detailed, disaggregated data on the make, model, calibre, serial number, and conversion of firearms, as well as on incidents involving firearms and their date and location) serves as the foundation for building a better intelligence picture. By providing continuous information on the availability and use of certain firearms—and identifying related patterns and trends—it can help to reinforce cooperation between law enforcement and customs or national law enforcement agencies from other EU and non-EU states, particularly for cases where firearms used in violent incidents originate from another country. It can also help to identify potential challenges, including their scale, and constitute an analytical baseline upon which to build appropriate and tailored policy responses. Finally, it allows the results and effectiveness of such policy solutions, as well as trends in the use of firearms in violent incidents, to be assessed over time. Measures to improve data collection—some of which have already been implemented, such as the establishment of firearms focal points within law enforcement agencies in the Western Balkans—and to

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The Incident Monitor will help to improve the intelligence picture on firearm-related incidents at the EU level.

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monitor developments and existing problems will also allow new threats to be identified early on.

Open sources and media articles can provide complementary data sources to monitor the use of different types of firearms in violent incidents, to build a more complete intelligence picture, and to provide valuable information for readers. Media articles may not provide all the details needed to identify the types of firearms used in violence. In order to overcome this problem, the Small Arms Survey has provided training for journalists for several years to improve their ability to accurately report on small arms and light weapons and violence.<sup>57</sup> This paper has used data from the Incident Monitor and has presented data derived from the AVMP. As the largest repository of media articles on firearms and violence at the EU level, the Incident Monitor will continue to develop to complement the AVMP, to further aggregate data and information, and to contribute to the examination of regional and national trends. In this way, the Incident Monitor will help to improve the intelligence picture on firearm-related incidents at the EU level.

## Endnotes

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## Project INSIGHT

Project INSIGHT is an initiative that aims to prevent violence by enhancing the visibility of firearm violence in the European Union. With an online knowledge platform ([www.gunviolence.eu](http://www.gunviolence.eu)) as its primary tool, the project also entails the creation of eight research reports on various themes of firearms violence. Project INSIGHT is funded by the European Union's Internal Security Fund - Police.

Project INSIGHT is coordinated by the Flemish Peace Institute. The Flemish Peace Institute was established in 2004 as a para-parliamentary institution within the Flemish Parliament. It provides thorough analyses, informs and organizes the debate and promotes peace and the prevention of violence. In the past the institute has coordinated other EU-funded projects on firearms such as SAFTE, DIVERT and TARGET.

The publication process of the Project INSIGHT research reports was supervised by the Small Arms Survey. The Small Arms Survey strengthens the capacity of governments and practitioners to reduce illicit arms flows and armed violence through three mutually reinforcing activities: the generation of policy relevant knowledge, the development of authoritative resources and tools, and the provision of training and other services.

Other partners in the Project INSIGHT-network include Textgain, SIPRI, and the Institute of Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University. The project also receives support from the Belgian Federal Police, Europol, European Firearms Experts, Dutch National Police and SEESAC.

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