



Unsteady Ground: Gender-responsive Small Arms Control in Ukraine

Hanna Hrytsenko and Ivan Shmatko

KEY FINDINGS

- While efforts are underway, Ukraine still lacks a comprehensive regulatory framework for small arms. There is also a severe lack of reliable data on violent crime, as well as its relationship to firearms ownership and use in the country. This is particularly true when it comes to gendered dimensions of crime and small arms use in Ukraine.
- Despite the full-scale war, only a small number of civilian Ukrainians own firearms and, of those who do, only a small number stated their purpose was ‘to defend themselves from the enemy’. Among those who did, men were at least twice as likely as women to obtain firearms for those purposes.
- Available data suggests that violent crime has decreased since the beginning of the full-scale war. It remains unclear whether this decline is in any way related to the war, however. According to the official statistics of recorded crimes, firearms are rarely used when violent crime is committed, although the likelihood of crime-related firearms use has recently increased (Hideg, 2024).
- The overall risk of being threatened or assaulted with a firearm remains low in Ukraine. Whenever firearms are involved, men are more likely to be threatened or assaulted by strangers, while women are more likely to be targeted by family members.
- When it comes to the crime ‘intentional grievous bodily harm’—an available proxy for the inference on levels of violent crime in the country—women victims are more likely than men victims to receive fatal injuries when they become victims of the crime, with every second case with a women victim ending in death.
- At the facilitated workshop, some participants from women’s organizations called for equal access to small arms, highlighting how the double burden of paid work and unpaid care work acts as an obstacle in terms of time and money. Others highlighted the need for data-driven public debate on civilian firearms ownership.

Introduction

Effective, evidence-based, and gender-sensitive policies are hardly realizable without a broad and thorough public discussion. Effective policies and regulations also seem unlikely without the involvement of all relevant stakeholders, particularly women's organizations. This paper seeks to fill the gap. It aims to provide an overview of the current status of gender-responsive small arms control and violent crime in Ukraine, its gendered distribution in Ukraine during the ongoing full-scale war, and the current state of knowledge and available data on these issues. The goal of this paper is to become a stepping stone for the broader public discussion, and a launching pad for community building among women and feminist stakeholders.

This paper is based on three sources of data. First, it uses data from four surveys conducted for the Small Arms Survey in 2022–24 by IPSOS-Ukraine,¹ with a representative sample of 1,750–2,000 people.² Second, the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine provided data on some violent crimes, the existing gender distribution of offenders, and the number of seized illegal firearms.³ Reliable data on violent crime, beyond extremely limited state statistics of reported crimes, is almost non-existent in Ukraine. Victimization surveys are not currently conducted by the state or non-state actors; instead, the authors used government data, selecting one particular crime ('intentional grievous bodily harm') as the best possible approximation of not-war-related violent crime in Ukraine during the war. Third, the Small Arms Survey and the Institute of Gender Programs held a facilitated workshop on gender-responsive firearms control in June 2024. Representatives from women's rights organizations based in Ukraine, as well as from an organization working on issues related to territories under Russian Federation occupation, attended the workshop. The authors used their insights in preparing this paper. A second workshop was held in November 2024 with civil society actors and some state entities to validate the findings. The authors drew on their discussions to formulate the policy observations found at the end of this document.

Context

Currently, Ukraine does not have a well-thought-through policy or robust small arms regulation framework. Most of the regulations pertaining to matters such as buying and storing small arms can be found in subordinate legislation produced by the executive authorities of Ukraine (in particular, the Ministry of the Interior) and not in the law. On 24 August 2024, however, the Ukrainian president signed amendments to the law 'On Ensuring the Participation of Civilians in the Defense of Ukraine' (Moskalenko, 2024). The amendments allow civilians who find particular kinds of small arms during the war to keep them until the end of the state of emergency imposed due to war, and up to 90 days thereafter, providing that they report their discovery to the police in time.

The issue of firearms control and its gendered impacts has not been the subject of an informed and sustained public debate in Ukraine. The current National Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace, and Security,⁴ which runs until 2025, also omits the issues mentioned above.

Intimate partner and family violence is an area of particular concern regarding small arms. As previous research from outside Ukraine shows, women and men disproportionately encounter violence in different spaces and from different perpetrators. Women become victims of violence from partners, ex-partners, and family members much more frequently than men do (WHO, 2021), while men are more likely to become victims of violence from strangers (Harrell, 2012, p. 2).

1 Some survey questions were changed between polling wave three and polling wave four. As a result, this paper sometimes refers to responses from three polling waves and sometimes to responses from all four waves. See Small Arms Survey (2023a; 2023b; 2023c; 2024).

2 For more information on these surveys and their methodology, see Hideg (2023; 2024).

3 See Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine (2024).

4 See Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2020).

Men are around four times more likely than women to be the victims of intentional homicide: roughly 4 out of 5 homicides committed globally result in men victims and 1 out of 5 in women victims. At the same time, only one out of every five homicides at the global level may be perpetrated by an intimate partner or family member, yet women and girls make up the vast majority of those deaths. This means that while the majority of intentional homicide victims are men, the majority of the victims of intimate partner homicide are women (UNODC, 2018). As a result, the potential spread of weapons in Ukraine due to easier access to small arms may have varied impacts on people of different genders, depending on which weapon will be accessible, to whom, and how it will be stored and carried. The current lack of disaggregated crime data from Ukraine does not allow for proper accounting of these kinds of differences and details.

Full-scale invasion and firearms availability and control

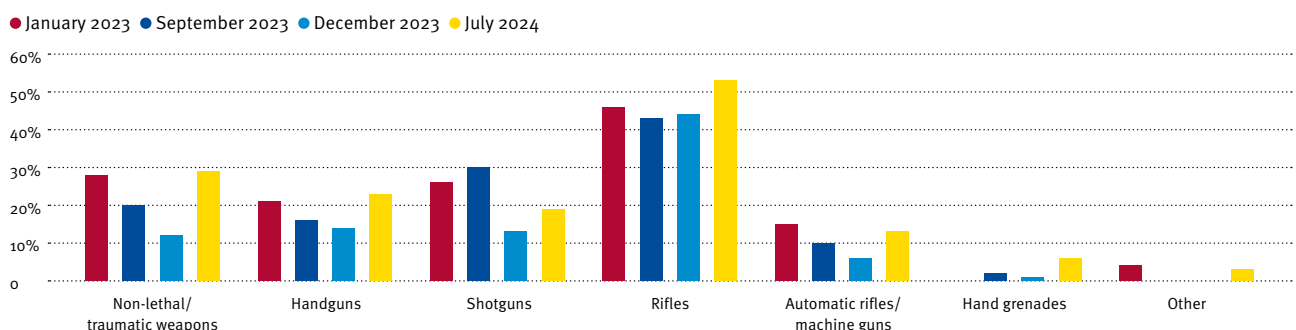
Analysis of survey data

As part of the national polls conducted, the Small Arms Survey asked participants with weapons in their household about their reasons for possessing them. Four waves of surveys have been conducted so far: December 2022–January 2023 (hereafter referred to as January 2023); August–September 2023 (referred to as September 2023); November–December 2023 (referred to as December 2023); and June–July 2024 (referred to as July 2024). The data does not allow the research team to draw conclusions on the relationship between the sources of firearms ownership and the motivation for acquiring weapons in the first place; however, there are some interesting overlaps worth noting (see Figure 1).

Between the January 2023 and July 2024 waves, 9–19% of participants said they had weapons to defend themselves against enemy troops. When broken down by gender, this equates to 9–25% of men and 3–13% of women, with significant variation among the waves. Participants also stated that they own weapons in case of future instability or war (1–7% in total, 1–5.5% men, 0–10% women), or because they are members of local defence groups or Territorial Defence Forces (2–14% in total, 1–18% men, 3–14% women). Around half of firearm-owning participants of all four survey waves said that they need it for hunting, while up to one-third claimed that they own firearms to protect themselves against armed robbery or to defend their business. Up to 7% of participants also claimed that they have firearms because of the work that they do or because of their sport hobbies (Small Arms Survey, 2023a; 2023b; 2023c; 2024).

According to the surveys, the majority of those who have firearms in their households own one or two firearms. In almost half of the cases, the firearm is a rifle, and in 12–28% of cases, it is a traumatic (non-lethal) weapon.⁵ According to the

Figure 1 Types of weapons possessed (among households owning at least one firearm, in %), 2023–24



Source: Small Arms Survey (2023a; 2023b; 2023c; 2024)

⁵ Traumatic weapons are non-lethal handguns that fire rubber projectiles as in Hideg (2024).

results of the surveys, few people own grenades, with small increases among the waves. This is remarkable, because while hand grenades cannot be used for common purposes such as hunting or sports, media stories have reported the use of grenades in Ukrainian cities.⁶ Other cases of shootings that make the news are carried out with other lethal weapons.⁷

Between half and two-thirds of those who own a firearm say they bought it, which is roughly the same as the proportion of those who said they were hunters or claimed to need a firearm to defend their property or a business. Three to ten per cent of the participants received their firearms in the military, a figure that roughly coincides with the number of those who have weapons because they need them for work (3–13%). The numbers of those who reported receiving their weapon from another armed group or local authorities, capturing it from the enemy, finding it, or making the weapon themselves, are all extremely small. To assess whether this indicates that Ukrainians are not interested in illicit weapons, or that the Ukrainian authorities succeed in controlling the illicit flow of arms, for example from the frontlines, requires further research.

As only a small percentage of participants have indicated that they acquired firearms for protection from external threats such as foreign armies, it seems that Ukrainians tend to trust the official institutions responsible for national defence. Furthermore, the percentage of Ukrainians reporting to have firearms remains rather low (around 6%) over the course of the last two years.

Analysis of statistics from the Office of the Prosecutor General

Based on data provided by the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine, it can be inferred that while the use of firearms in violent crimes has increased, the overall number of cases of violent crime has decreased since the start of the full-scale war. It is also worth noting that the use of firearms in violent crimes remains rare (see Figure 2).

As for violent crimes, the research team used the number of registered cases of ‘intentional grievous bodily harm’ as defined in Article 121 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (Verkhovna Rada, 2017) and, in particular, such grievous bodily harm that ‘caused the death of the victim’ (Verkhovna Rada, 2017, para. 2) as indicators for the general situation with violent crime in Ukraine. It is possible to cautiously infer the level of violent crime in Ukraine from this data, as these cases are usually recorded relatively well and in full by official state agencies. Unfortunately, data on ‘intentional homicide’ (Verkhovna Rada, 2018)—another crime that is generally well recorded by the state—includes crimes directly related to the war, occupation, and violence caused by the Russian Federation’s military personnel, and therefore cannot be relied upon. Data collected by the state on many other forms of violence and property crimes is often considered to be unreliable, as those crimes remain underreported (Buil-Gil, Medina, and Shlomo, 2021; Skogan, 1977).

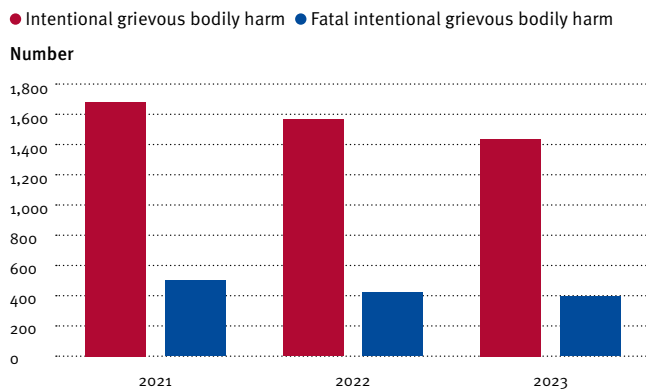
Based on official data of the Office of the Prosecutor General, it can be cautiously assumed that violent crime has decreased since the beginning of the full-scale invasion. The number of registered ‘intentional grievous bodily harm’ cases has decreased in general, as well as grievous bodily harm cases that ‘caused the death of the victim’. And while this trend cannot be directly compared to survey data—as all four waves of the surveys were conducted after the start of the full-scale invasion—it is worth noting that respondents felt relatively safe in terms of ‘regular’ violent crimes (not committed by the Russian army).

While this decline may be connected to war, as violent crime rates are often lower during wars (Shmatko and Graham, forthcoming), it is not possible to be certain that this is the case here. The drop in the above-mentioned registered

6 See for example Kuznetsova (2024).

7 See Kasyanenko (2024) and Ukrinform (2024).

Figure 2 Number of registered incidents of intentional grievous bodily harm, 2021–23



Source: Office of the Prosecutor General (2024)

crimes could be seen before the start of the full-scale war as well. Potentially, this is part of a larger process that is not related to the Russian war of aggression.

According to the data of the Prosecutor General's Office, firearms are rarely used in violent crimes in Ukraine. Registered crimes as 'intentional grievous bodily harm' were accompanied by the use of firearms in only 1 case out of 1,680 cases in total in 2021, 18 cases in 2022 (1,566 in total), and 14 in 2023 (1,435 in total). While there is a minor increase, these remain a very small minority of cases. According to recent research by the Small Arms Survey, however, the likelihood of crime-related firearms use recently increased overall (Hideg, 2024).

Analysis of workshop data

During the workshop, participants shared their concerns on the likelihood of an increased number of available firearms after the end of the war and demobilization of the soldiers, as well as regarding a general pro-firearm attitude dominating in the future. Participants suggested that most of the new firearms owners will likely be men, although some participants also stated that they encountered more women undergoing firearms handling training than in the past. This anecdotal information cannot be confirmed from the survey data, which only measures household ownership.

According to the workshop participants, firearms control is not typically a part of public debate. Despite the wide reach of a governmental digital poll on attitudes towards firearms ownership in Ukraine that yielded more than 1.7 million participants (Fedorov, 2022), the topic is typically not part of public or political discussions, remaining a relatively low priority issue for most politicians and opinion-makers. Workshop participants highlighted the need to launch a data-driven public debate, and they expressed interest in learning more about relevant legislation in other countries and the best practices in states with more permissive firearms ownership regulations.

Workshop participants also pointed out that public debate in Ukraine is often too narrow, which is deemed insufficient to decide on the legality of firearms. Participants also agreed that regulation should be comprehensive. Should firearms be legal, discussion is needed around the conditions of ownership, including quality mental health checkups and training in firearms handling.

According to the participants, not all weapons will be acquired legally, a reflection that created a sense of insecurity.

Workshop participants also expressed concerns about a vicious cycle, whereby people arm themselves for protection in the belief that everyone around them is also armed.

There is just this feeling when you realize that there are people in the country who have weapons. Whether [their weapons are] legal, or illegal, does not matter. You realize that the only way to protect yourself is to obtain a weapon yourself (Representative of a women's organization, 2024).

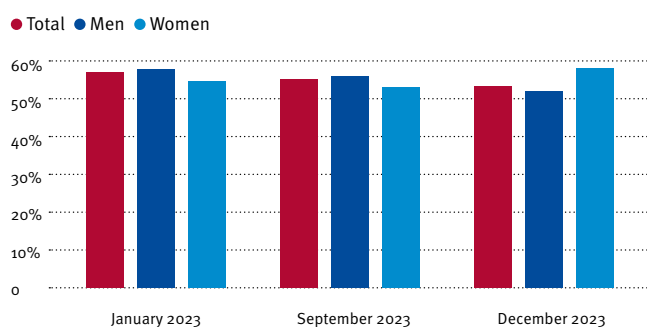
According to the participants, despite the increasing desire of women to own weapons, they continuously face difficulties with access and training because of a general lack of financial resources, as well as the double burden of both paid work and unpaid domestic care work. Additionally, obstacles lie in gendered ideas about the suitability of women owning weapons. Therefore, without significant changes in gender roles, it would be hard to expect equal engagement from women and men, according to the workshop participants.

The impact of firearms proliferation on women and men

Analysis of survey data

The surveys asked two questions regarding whether participants had been attacked or threatened with a weapon in the last 12 months or since they were 15 years old, respectively. More than 80% responded that they had never experienced such attacks or threats. An additional question inquired whether participants or their family members had been victims of crime. Slightly more than half of the participants felt fairly safe in their community, and another 13–17% felt very safe. Overall, men felt slightly safer than women, and no more than 10% of the participants of the first three waves of surveys had been threatened or assaulted (Small Arms Survey, 2023a; 2023b; 2023c).⁸

Figure 3 Victims of threat and assault committed with a firearm by a stranger



Note: Percentage of those who have answered 'yes' when asked if they had been personally assaulted or threatened with a firearm since they were 15 years old.

Source: Small Arms Survey (2023a; 2023b; 2023c)

Among those participants who had been attacked or threatened with a weapon, they stated that this occurred 'not at all frequently' or 'not frequently'. The number of women and men who have been attacked or threatened with weapons by strangers, which accounts for about half of the cases of victimization, was almost equal between the genders (see Figure 3). Women, however, were more likely to be attacked or threatened by people they know, including family members. Among those who were attacked with firearms, about 22–27% (slightly more often for men) said that they had been attacked or threatened by members of the Russian Federation or Ukrainian armed forces, or by the people accompanying these forces. There is no pronounced upward or downward trend within the first three rounds of surveys.

Analysis of statistics from the Office of the Prosecutor General

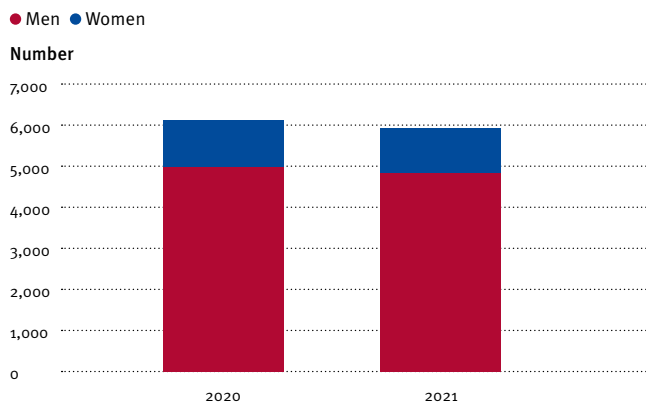
The proportion of women perpetrators in 2021–23 fluctuated between 12% and 13%. The share of women victims was quite close and ranged between 14% and 15%. Additionally, women victims are more likely than men victims to receive fatal injuries when they are victimized. More than one in two cases with women victims end in death (for example, 130 cases out of 232 in 2021). The opposite is also true: significantly fewer cases with women perpetrators end in death than those with men perpetrators. For instance, from January to June 2024, 676 intentional grievous bodily harm incidents took place. Of these, 146 led to the death of the victim, with women being perpetrators in 53 instances that led to 4 deaths (Office of the Prosecutor General, 2024).

Analysis of workshop data

Some of the workshop participants were concerned about the negative impact on women and vulnerable groups due to the potential proliferation of firearms. They argued that firearms would remain mostly in the hands of men and were wary of a potential increase of power imbalances between perpetrators and victims, since perpetrators may gain additional leverage. This applies to situations of both intimate partner violence and street crime. Regarding the victims, the above-mentioned survey data indicates that women and men in Ukraine experienced street violence

⁸ Data from the fourth survey wave is not available for this indicator.

Figure 4 Number of suicides recorded in Ukraine, 2020–21



Source: State Statistics Committee of Ukraine (2023)

in nearly equal numbers, while women were the target of family and intimate partner violence more often than men (Small Arms Survey, 2023a; 2023b; 2023c; 2024).

Participants also pointed out that higher firearms possession among men could lead to greater victimization of women in street crime.

Because if I'm a criminal, let's say, and there are two potential victims, who is more likely to have a gun? That man will, not this grandmother or that group of young girls (Representative of a women's organization, 2024).

Additionally, participants indicated that, for men, owning a weapon might often serve as a means of affirming their masculinity rather than for self-protection.

Apart from street crime and situations of family and intimate partner violence, firearms also increase the likelihood of fatalities due to attempted suicide. Ukraine, notably, has one of the highest suicide rates in the world, with 21.6 suicides per 100,000 people in 2019, according to the World Bank data (World Bank, n.d.). Aligning with global trends, men in Ukraine tend to commit suicide more frequently than women (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2023). Since more recent statistics are unavailable due to the war and the Ukrainian government's decision to not make this data public (Verkhovna Rada, 2022), the authors have relied on the official national statistics for 2020 and 2021 (see Figure 4).

Conclusions

Discussions on gender-responsive firearms control and the public debate on firearms are new to Ukraine. They are long overdue, however, and may soon erupt with a new force. The debate may be influenced by the shadow of the full-scale war with the Russian Federation and will likely be shaped by perceptions of crime and safety in the country.

This paper shows that Ukrainians feel very or fairly safe in their own communities and have not, for the most part, been victimized in crimes involving firearms. Among the survey participants who were victims of crimes with the use of firearms, perpetrators were predominantly civilian strangers in street crime settings. Due to the higher likelihood of men being armed, workshop participants expressed concerns about civilian strangers potentially increasingly targeting vulnerable groups such as (older) women in public crimes. This is especially relevant given the finding that women victims are more likely than men victims to receive fatal injuries when they become victims of 'intentional grievous bodily harm'.

According to survey participants, the majority of weapons in households are kept for 'ordinary' non-military reasons: hunting, protecting a home or business from robbery, non-military work requirements, or sports hobbies. The majority of those who have firearms in their households own one or two, mostly rifles or traumatic weapons. Most people have bought them, some obtained them for work purposes, and almost none reported having found or crafted their weapons. At the same time, the number of firearms seized increased during the full-scale war, while the number of violent crimes decreased.

Workshop participants highlighted that knowledge of the impact of firearms on Ukrainian society is limited, and evidence-based public debate is largely absent. They suggested that access to firearms is unequal, as women face increased difficulties due to gendered stereotypes and the unequal distribution of care responsibilities, both of which prevent them from learning how to use firearms.

There is a dire need for more detailed data that would allow for a more nuanced analysis, the result of which would be more evidence-based policy. As part of the Comprehensive Strategic Plan for Reforms of Law Enforcement Agencies that was approved by a decree of the Ukrainian president on 11 May 2023 (President of Ukraine, 2023), the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine began preparations for the launch of the national crime victimization survey.⁹ While this survey may not provide comprehensive data on crime-related gendered dynamics, it is a step in the right direction and may prove useful to better understand the gendered impact of small arms on the Ukrainian population. Additionally, separate studies designed to inform gender-responsive small arms control in Ukraine are needed, as suggested in the policy observations.

Policy observations

This section reflects the views of the authors, the Institute of Gender Programs and the Ukrainian participants at the two workshops. It does not necessarily reflect the position of the Small Arms Survey.

Observations for the government

- The State Statistics Service should work with the Office of the Prosecutor General, the National Police of Ukraine, and the Ministry of the Interior to consider disaggregating data on violent crime by factors such as:
 - the relationship to war (committed by Russian military personnel or not);
 - the gender of the victim and of the perpetrator;
 - the nature of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator;
 - the age of the victim and of the perpetrator;
 - the location of the crime (on the street, inside a commercial or institutional building etc.);
 - the time of day;
 - the region and locality (big city, town, village, region/oblast);
 - the day (workday, weekend, holiday, birthday or other personal celebration of the victim);
 - whether a firearm or another weapon was used;
 - the legal status of the firearm (unregistered, registered to a family member, registered to a person unrelated to perpetrator, registered as a civilian weapon, registered to a private security company, registered to the national stockpile); and
 - the motive of the crime, including whether it is related to gender-based violence, including conflict-related sexual violence.

⁹ According to the authors' personal communication with one of the developers of the Comprehensive Strategic Plan for Reforming Law Enforcement Agencies.

- The Office of the Prosecutor General should expedite the introduction of the national crime victimization survey to better understand the gender dynamics of firearms use.
- Policymakers regulating civilian ownership of small arms should engage with civil society, especially women's and feminist organizations, to identify measures that mitigate the risk of sexual and gender-based violence being committed by civilian-held firearms, and they should engage them in discussions on any legislation related to firearms ownership. This could be done within the framework of the next Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) National Action Plan (NAP) for 2026–28.
- Policymakers should strengthen the necessary legislation, as well as other measures to suspend licences and confiscate firearms from owners deemed to be at risk of, or with a history of, committing sexual and gender-based violence, including domestic violence. Judges and police should receive the necessary training to enforce these.
- The Ministry of Health and health care workers, as well as other relevant ministries such as the Ministry of Veteran Affairs, should take into account the risks that firearms ownership creates in regard to suicide, and implement appropriate mitigation measures.
- The Ministry of the Interior, firearms owners' associations, and other relevant institutions should identify and work on eliminating barriers that prevent women and other disadvantaged groups from accessing information and training opportunities on firearms safety, storage, and handling.
- The relevant authorities should take measures to reduce the risk of children gaining access to weapons.

Observations for civil society organizations

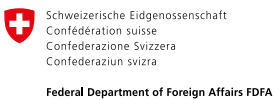
- Relevant civil society organizations (CSOs) should support efforts to address gender-related barriers to accessing information and training related to the responsible ownership and safe handling of weapons, including thorough information campaigns on the gender-differentiated risks of weapons ownership, facilitating women's participation in local and national sport shooting competitions, and creating networks interested in promoting gender-sensitive firearms legislation.
- In discussions related to the next WPS NAP (2026–28), CSOs should identify and suggest measures to address barriers to women's meaningful participation in public discussions and debates on firearms regulation. This could include efforts to ensure that women have the knowledge, confidence, networking opportunities, and resources to engage on these topics. CSOs could also propose measures to improve data collection and analysis on firearms-related sexual and gender-based violence in the NAP. ●

References

- Buil-Gil, David, Juanjo Medina, and Natalie Shlomo. 2021. 'Measuring the Dark Figure of Crime in Geographic Areas. Small Area Estimation from the Crime Survey for England and Wales.' *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 61, No. 2, pp. 364–88.
- Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. 2020. On Approval of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 'Women, Peace, Security' until 2025. Regulation No. 1544-p of 28 October.
- Fedorov, Mykhailo. 2022. 'Survey of Diia users regarding gun ownership in Ukraine has been completed' [in Ukrainian]. Telegram. 1 June.
- Harrell, Erika. 2012. *Violent Victimization Committed by Strangers, 1993–2010*. Special Report. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. December.
- Hideg, Gergely. 2023. *From Conflict to Consequence: Nearly Half of Ukrainian Men Would Like to Own a Firearm, Or Already Have One*. Situation Update. Geneva: Small Arms Survey. December.
- . 2024. *Locked but Loaded: Firearms Possession Dynamics in Ukraine*. Situation Update. Geneva: Small Arms Survey. September.
- Kasyanenko, Iryna. 2024. 'Resident of Sumy Region is Tried for Making Weapons' [in Ukrainian]. *Suspilne Sumy*. 27 June.
- Kuznetsova, Kateryna. 2024. "'The Soldier Did Not Stand It': What Witnesses and Police Say About the Grenade Explosion in Lutsk – Details' [in Ukrainian]. TSN. 9 July.
- Moskalenko, Yulia. 2024. 'Zelensky Signed a Law on Found Firearms and Their Use Against the Aggressor' [in Ukrainian]. *Zerkalo Nedeli*. 24 August.
- Office of the Prosecutor General (Ukraine). 2024. 'Response to the Request for Public Information' [in Ukrainian]. 17 July.
- President of Ukraine. 2023. Decree of the President of Ukraine About the Comprehensive Strategic Plan for Reforming Law Enforcement Agencies as Part of the Security and Defence Sector of Ukraine for 2023–2027 [in Ukrainian]. Decree No. 273/2023 of 11 May.
- Shmatko, Ivan and Cameron Graham. Forthcoming. 'Theorizing War.' In *Oxford University Handbook of Critical and Cultural Criminological Theory*, Oxford Handbooks. Oxford University Press.
- Skogan, Wesley G. 1977. 'Dimensions of the Dark Figure of Unreported Crime.' *Crime & Delinquency*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 41–50.
- Small Arms Survey. 2023a. Ukraine General Population Survey Data Set, December 2022–January 2023. Unpublished database. January.
- . 2023b. Ukraine General Population Survey Data Set, August–September 2023. Unpublished database. September.
- . 2023c. Ukraine General Population Survey Data Set, November–December 2023. Unpublished database. December.
- . 2024. Ukraine General Population Survey Data Set, June–July 2024. Unpublished database. July.
- State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. 2023. 'Response to the Request for Public Information' [in Ukrainian]. 22 November.
- Ukrinform. 2024. 'Shooting in a Car Park in Kyiv, One Wounded' [in Ukrainian]. 2 September.
- UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime). 2018. *Global Study on Homicide: Gender-related Killing of Women and Girls*. Vienna: UNODC.
- Verkhovna Rada (Ukraine Parliament). 2017. Ukraine Criminal Code, Article 121 (as amended by Laws No. 1707-VI of 5 November 2009, No. 2227-VIII of 6 December 2017) [in Ukrainian].

- 2018. Ukraine Criminal Code, Article 115 (as amended by Laws No. 270-VI of 15 April 2008, No. 1707-VI of 5 November 2009, No. 2227-VIII of 6 December 2017, No. 2617-VIII of 22 November 2018) [in Ukrainian].
 - 2022. ‘Some Issues of Ensuring the Functioning of Information and Communication Systems, Electronic Communication Systems, Public Electronic Registers in Wartime Conditions’ [in Ukrainian]. Council of Ukraine. No. 263. Published 12 March. Edited 23 May 2023.
- WHO (World Health Organization). 2021. *Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates, 2018*. Geneva: WHO.
- World Bank. n.d. ‘Suicide Mortality Rate (per 100,000 population).’ Accessed 26 September 2024.

This paper was funded by the German Federal Foreign Office and the Swiss Federal Department for Foreign Affairs. The opinions, findings, and conclusions stated herein are the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the German Federal Foreign Office or the Swiss Federal Department for Foreign Affairs.



Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA

About the Small Arms Survey

The Small Arms Survey is a centre for applied knowledge dedicated to preventing and reducing illicit small arms proliferation and armed violence. The Survey informs policy and practice through a combination of data, evidence-based knowledge, authoritative resources and tools, and tailored expert advice and training, and by bringing together practitioners and policymakers.

The Survey is an associated programme of the Geneva Graduate Institute, located in Switzerland, and has an international staff with expertise in security studies, political science, law, economics, development studies, sociology, criminology, and database and programme management. It collaborates with a network of researchers, practitioners, partner institutions, non-governmental organizations, and governments in more than 50 countries.

The Survey's activities and outputs are made possible through core support as well as project funding. A full list of current donors and projects can be accessed via the Small Arms Survey website. For more information, please visit: www.smallarmssurvey.org.

About the 'Institute of Gender Programs'

The mission of the Institute of Gender Programs is to develop democratic values, ensure the achievement of gender equality in Ukraine, strengthen the position of women in modern Ukrainian society, and assist women veterans in their social adjustment to engage them in the restoration processes in Ukraine. For more information, please visit: <https://invisiblebattalion.org/en/home-2/>

Credits

Project coordinator: Callum Watson

Production coordinators: Olivia Denonville, Lionel Kosirnik, and Katie Lazaro

Editor: Mira Fey

Copy-editor: Laura Moore

Layout: Rick Jones

Proofreader: Stephanie Huitson



Contact details

Small Arms Survey, Maison de la Paix, Chemin Eugène-Rigot 2E, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland

t +41 22 908 5777, **e** info@smallarmssurvey.org

www.smallarmssurvey.org