European Journal of Interdisciplinary Research and Development
Volume- 50 April- 2026
Website: www.ejird.journalspark.org ISSN (E): 2720-5746

TOWARDS A VIOLENCE-FREE SOCIETY: THE LEGAL MECHANISM FOR ENSURING WOMEN'S SAFETY IN UZBEKISTAN

Turg'unova Shodiya Shuhratjon qizi
Senior Consultant, Department of Justice of Namangan Region
shodiya0506@icloud.com

Abstract

Background: Building a society free from violence requires more than punishing individual offenders: it requires a coherent legal mechanism that combines prevention, protection, prosecution and support. Between 2019 and 2024 the Republic of Uzbekistan created the main elements of such a mechanism for women's safety.

Aim: The article examines the legal mechanism for ensuring women's safety in Uzbekistan as a system, identifies its normative, institutional and preventive components, and assesses how far it advances the goal of a violence-free society.

Methods: The study applies a systemic-structural approach, doctrinal analysis of legislation and by-laws, comparative analysis against international standards (CEDAW, General Recommendation No. 35, the UN Essential Services Package and the WHO RESPECT framework), and descriptive analysis of official statistics.

Results: The mechanism now rests on three components: (1) a normative component formed by the 2019 laws on protection from harassment and violence and on gender equality and by the 2023 criminalisation of domestic violence, sexual harassment and stalking; (2) an institutional component built in 2024 on the principle "family – mahalla – district and region", with Inson social service centres, regional rehabilitation centres and integrated information systems; and (3) a responsive component of protection orders, administrative and criminal liability and corrective programmes for perpetrators. In 2023 about 40,000 cases of violence and harassment against women were identified.

Conclusion: The responsive and institutional components have developed faster than primary prevention. The article proposes a national prevention strategy, stronger economic empowerment of victims, limits on reconciliation pressure, a victim-centred consent model and transparent monitoring.

Keywords: violence against women; violence-free society; women's safety; legal mechanism; prevention; domestic violence; social services; mahalla; Uzbekistan.

Introduction

Violence against women is among the most widespread human rights violations in the world. According to estimates published by the World Health Organization in 2021, about one in three women worldwide has been subjected in her lifetime to physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner or to sexual violence by a non-partner.[1] International law treats such violence

[1] World Health Organization. Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates, 2018. Geneva: WHO, 2021.

as a form of discrimination against women and as a social, not merely private, problem; it therefore requires a systemic state response rather than isolated measures.[2] The elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls in public and private spheres is also a target of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Target 5.2).[3]

The idea of a "violence-free society" expresses this systemic goal. It implies that the state does not wait for violence to occur but changes the conditions that produce it, while ensuring that every woman who experiences violence receives timely protection, justice and support. In legal terms, this goal can be achieved only through a legal mechanism: an interconnected set of legal norms, competent institutions, procedures and resources that transforms declared rights into actual safety.

Uzbekistan has made notable progress in building such a mechanism. The Constitution in its new edition, adopted by referendum on 30 April 2023, defines Uzbekistan as a social state and guarantees equal rights of women and men.[4] The country has been a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women since 1995.[5] On 2 September 2019 two framework laws were adopted: "On Protection of Women from Harassment and Violence" (No. ZRU-561) and "On Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" (No. ZRU-562).[6][7] The Law of 11 April 2023 No. ZRU-829 criminalised domestic violence and introduced liability for sexual harassment and stalking.[8] In 2024 a new three-tier system of social services for victims was established.[9]

Yet the existence of separate norms does not by itself create a working mechanism. Research based on the ecological model shows that violence against women is produced by interacting factors at the individual, relationship, community and societal levels, and that responses confined to one level have limited effect.[10] It is therefore important to assess the Uzbek framework not norm by norm, but as a system.

The aim of this article is to analyse the legal mechanism for ensuring women's safety in Uzbekistan as an integrated system and to evaluate how far it advances the goal of a violence-

[2] Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating General Recommendation No. 19. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/GC/35, 26 July 2017.
[3] United Nations General Assembly. Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. UN Doc. A/RES/70/1, 25 September 2015, Goal 5, Target 5.2.
[4] Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan (new edition), adopted by referendum on 30 April 2023; see also: Proposals to expand social services considered // Official website of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. URL: https://president.uz/en/lists/view/7209.
[5] Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. New York, 18 December 1979 (Uzbekistan acceded in 1995).
[6] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Protection of Women from Harassment and Violence" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-561. URL: https://lex.uz/en/docs/5147718.
[7] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-562. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/5167654.
[8] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On amendments and additions to certain legislative acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan in connection with the further improvement of the system of reliable protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of women and children" of 11 April 2023, No. ZRU-829. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/6430278.
[9] Resolution of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On additional measures to improve the provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence" of 10 May 2024, No. PQ-175; see: Provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence to be improved // Kun.uz. 12 May 2024. URL: https://kun.uz/en/news/2024/05/12/provision-of-social-services-to-victims-of-harassment-and-violence-to-be-improved.
[10] Heise L.L. Violence against women: an integrated, ecological framework // Violence Against Women. 1998. Vol. 4, No. 3. P. 262–290.

free society. The objectives are: (1) to define the structure of the mechanism; (2) to analyse its normative, institutional and responsive components after the 2023–2024 reforms; (3) to compare it with international standards; and (4) to propose measures to strengthen its preventive dimension. The research question is whether the current mechanism is balanced across the four functions of prevention, protection, prosecution and support.

Methods

The research is a qualitative socio-legal study built on four methods.

Systemic-structural approach: The legal mechanism is treated as a system whose elements are legal norms, institutions, procedures and resources, connected by the common goal of women's safety. Following the international "4P" logic of prevention, protection, prosecution and provision of services, each element was classified by the function it performs. This made it possible to identify not only what exists, but also which functions are under-developed.

Doctrinal (formal-legal) analysis: The study analysed the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan (2023 edition), Laws No. ZRU-561 and No. ZRU-562 of 2 September 2019, Law No. ZRU-829 of 11 April 2023, Resolution of the President No. PQ-175 of 10 May 2024 "On additional measures to improve the provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence", Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 354 of 25 June 2024 and Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 529 of 26 August 2024. Texts were obtained from the National Database of Legislation (lex.uz) and official portals.

Comparative analysis against international standards: The national mechanism was compared with CEDAW General Recommendation No. 35,[11] the UN Essential Services Package for Women and Girls Subject to Violence,[12] and the WHO RESPECT framework for preventing violence against women.[13] The concept of a coordinated community response was used as a benchmark for inter-agency cooperation.[14]

Descriptive statistical analysis: Official figures reported by Uzbekistan to the CEDAW Committee, data of the Supreme Court and other published official data for 2023–2024 were used to characterise the scale of identified violence and of the state response.[15]

Limitations: The analysis is based on published sources. Data on prevalence (as opposed to identified cases), on the quality of services and on long-term outcomes for women are limited; the conclusions about effectiveness are therefore indicative.

[11] Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating General Recommendation No. 19. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/GC/35, 26 July 2017.

[12] UN Women, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP, UNODC. Essential Services Package for Women and Girls Subject to Violence: Core Elements and Quality Guidelines. New York, 2015.

[13] World Health Organization. RESPECT Women: Preventing Violence against Women. Geneva: WHO, 2019.

[14] Pence E., Shepard M. (eds.). Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999.

[15] Information received from Uzbekistan on follow-up to the concluding observations on its sixth periodic report. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/UZB/FCO/6. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4042804; Nearly 16,000 people sentenced for domestic violence in Uzbekistan from January to October // Gazeta.uz. 26 November 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/11/26/domestic-violence.

Results

The analysis shows that the legal mechanism for ensuring women's safety in Uzbekistan consists of three interconnected components: normative, institutional and responsive. Table 1 summarises their structure.

Table 1. Structure of the legal mechanism for ensuring women's safety in Uzbekistan

Component	Main legal acts	Key actors	Primary function
Normative	Constitution (2023); Laws No. ZRU-561 and No. ZRU-562 (2019); Law No. ZRU-829 (2023)	Oliy Majlis; Republican Commission on Enhancing the Role of Women in Society, Gender Equality and Family	Defining rights, forms of violence, liability and principles of state policy
Institutional	PQ-175 (2024); CM Resolution No. 354 (2024)	Mahalla-level social worker, prevention inspector and women's activist; Inson social service centres; regional rehabilitation centres	Detection, referral, social, psychological and legal support, shelter
Responsive	Law No. ZRU-561 (protection order); Code of Administrative Responsibility; Criminal Code; CM Resolution No. 529 (2024)	Internal affairs bodies; courts; prosecutors	Protection, prosecution, correction of perpetrators

Source: compiled by the author.

Normative component: The Law No. ZRU-561 laid the conceptual foundation of the mechanism. It defined harassment and four forms of violence against women (physical, psychological, sexual and economic), established the main directions of state policy, the powers of state bodies and the rights of victims, and introduced the protection order.[16] The Law No. ZRU-562 complements it from the side of equality: it guarantees equal rights and opportunities for women and men, provides for temporary special measures, introduces gender-legal expertise of normative acts and their drafts, and requires state statistical bodies to collect and publish gender-disaggregated statistics.[17][18] Public administration in this field is entrusted to the Cabinet of Ministers, the Republican Commission on Enhancing the Role of Women in Society, Gender Equality and Family, and other state bodies within their competence.[19]

[16] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Protection of Women from Harassment and Violence" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-561. URL: https://lex.uz/en/docs/5147718.
[17] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-562. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/5167654.
[18] President signs the law "On guarantees of equal rights and opportunities for men and women" // Kun.uz. 3 September 2019. URL: https://live.kun.uz/en/news/2019/09/03/president-signs-the-law-on-guarantees-of-equal-rights-and-opportunities-for-men-and-women.
[19] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-562. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/5167654.

The Law No. ZRU-829 of 11 April 2023 moved the mechanism from declaration to liability. It criminalised domestic violence, established for the first time liability for stalking and for sexual harassment, toughened penalties for sexual crimes, excluded persons convicted of sexual violence against women and children from early release, and introduced a register of persons who have committed sexual crimes against children, barring them from working with children.[2021]

Institutional component: The most significant institutional innovation is the three-tier system of social services introduced by Resolution of the President No. PQ-175 of 10 May 2024 on the principle "family – mahalla – district and region".[22] At the mahalla level, a social worker, a prevention inspector and a women's activist identify cases of harassment and keep each situation under review. At the district level, Inson social service centres provide psychological, legal and other social services. At the regional level, rehabilitation centres provide in-depth assistance.[23]

Since 1 June 2024 women who have suffered or are at risk of harassment and violence can receive social, psychological and legal services without a protection order. Cases are registered on the basis of calls to the internal affairs duty line "102". Within 24 hours of detection, an interview with the perpetrator is held with the participation of a women's activist and the prevention inspector, an order is issued, victims and their minor children can be placed in emergency departments of central district (city) hospitals, and information is transmitted to Inson centres through the Unified National Social Protection information system.[24] Under Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 354 of 25 June 2024, regional centres provide temporary shelter for up to six months under an individual social rehabilitation programme; placement in a regional centre requires a protection order. Help can also be requested through the 1146 helpline and the 112 emergency number.[25] Inson centres have been empowered to request internal affairs bodies to issue protection orders and to oversee individual rehabilitation programmes.[26]

Responsive component: The responsive component combines protection and prosecution. A protection order is issued by an internal affairs official within 24 hours of the establishment of

[20] Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On amendments and additions to certain legislative acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan in connection with the further improvement of the system of reliable protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of women and children" of 11 April 2023, No. ZRU-829. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/6430278.

[21] President signs a law on protection of women and children from violence // Kun.uz. 11 April 2023. URL: https://kun.uz/en/news/2023/04/11/president-signs-a-law-on-protection-of-women-and-children-from-violence.

[22] Resolution of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On additional measures to improve the provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence" of 10 May 2024, No. PQ-175; see: Provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence to be improved // Kun.uz. 12 May 2024. URL: https://kun.uz/en/news/2024/05/12/provision-of-social-services-to-victims-of-harassment-and-violence-to-be-improved.

[23] Proposals to expand social services considered // Official website of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. URL: https://president.uz/en/lists/view/7209.

[24] Resolution of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On additional measures to improve the provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence" of 10 May 2024, No. PQ-175; see: Provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence to be improved // Kun.uz. 12 May 2024. URL: https://kun.uz/en/news/2024/05/12/provision-of-social-services-to-victims-of-harassment-and-violence-to-be-improved.

[25] Victims of harassment and violence: services under Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 354 of 25 June 2024 // Baraka.gov.uz. URL: https://baraka.gov.uz/en/welfare-category/victims-of-harassment-and-violence/page/2/.

[26] Uzbekistan develops support system for victims of harassment and violence // Gazeta.uz. 14 May 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/05/14/safety.

harassment, violence or a threat thereof for up to 30 days; since 2023 a criminal court may extend it for up to one year on the victim's application.[27] Since 1 December 2024 a prevention inspector must issue an order on his or her own initiative where harassment or violence is established two or more times within one calendar year, and orders can be issued electronically.[28] From 1 October 2024 each issued order requires the approval of a corrective programme for the perpetrator, coordinated with the Inson centres.[29]

Official data illustrate the scale of the response. In 2023 a total of 40,055 cases of violence and harassment against women were identified, and 39,263 women received protection orders.[30] In 2023, 666 persons were found guilty of sexual harassment.[31] In the first ten months of 2024 courts sentenced 15,826 persons for domestic violence: 15,427 under Article 59-2 of the Code of Administrative Responsibility (9,210 fined and 6,217 placed under administrative arrest) and 399 under Article 126-1 of the Criminal Code.[32]

Discussion

Strengths of the mechanism: The findings show that within five years Uzbekistan has moved from an almost complete absence of specific legislation to a mechanism that covers all four functions of the international model. Three strengths stand out.

First, the mechanism is comprehensive in its definitions. Recognition of psychological and economic violence, stalking and sexual harassment corresponds to CEDAW General Recommendation No. 35, which requires states to address all forms of gender-based violence, including those that do not leave physical injuries.[33]

Second, the 2024 reform created a coordinated, multi-level response that resembles the coordinated community response model, in which police, courts, social services and community actors act on shared procedures rather than separately.[34] The exchange of data through the Unified National Social Protection information system, the 24-hour response standard and the presence of trained actors in every mahalla bring services physically closer to women, which is

[27] Zo'ravondan asrovchi hujjat: himoya orderi muddatini 1 yilgacha uzaytirish mumkin bo'ldi // Kun.uz. 15 April 2023. URL: https://www.kun.uz/news/2023/04/15/zoravondan-asrovchi-hujjat-himoya-orderi-muddatini-1-yilgacha-uzaytirish-mumkin-boldi.

[28] Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan of 26 August 2024, No. 529; see: Himoya orderini berish soddalashtirildi // Norma.uz. 28 August 2024. URL: https://www.norma.uz/oz/qonunchilikda_yangi/himoya_orderini_berish_soddalashtirildi.

[29] Uzbekistan develops support system for victims of harassment and violence // Gazeta.uz. 14 May 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/05/14/safety.

[30] Information received from Uzbekistan on follow-up to the concluding observations on its sixth periodic report. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/UZB/FCO/6. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4042804; Nearly 16,000 people sentenced for domestic violence in Uzbekistan from January to October // Gazeta.uz. 26 November 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/11/26/domestic-violence.

[31] 666 individuals punished for sexual harassment in 2023 in Uzbekistan // Gazeta.uz. URL: https://www.gazeta.uz/en/tag/harassment/.

[32] Information received from Uzbekistan on follow-up to the concluding observations on its sixth periodic report. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/UZB/FCO/6. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4042804; Nearly 16,000 people sentenced for domestic violence in Uzbekistan from January to October // Gazeta.uz. 26 November 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/11/26/domestic-violence.

[33] Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating General Recommendation No. 19. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/GC/35, 26 July 2017.

[34] Pence E., Shepard M. (eds.). Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999.

essential in a country with a large rural population. Access to services without a protection order also reflects the principle of the UN Essential Services Package that support should not be conditional on the victim's engagement with the justice system.[35]

Third, the mechanism now includes work with perpetrators. Mandatory corrective programmes linked to every protection order acknowledge that a violence-free society cannot be achieved by protecting victims alone; the behaviour that creates risk must change.

Weaknesses and risks: At the same time, the analysis reveals an imbalance: the responsive and institutional components have developed considerably faster than primary prevention.

(1) Insufficient primary prevention: Most of the analysed provisions are activated after violence has occurred or a threat has been identified. The WHO RESPECT framework identifies seven strategies for prevention, including relationship skills, empowerment of women, services, poverty reduction, enabling environments in schools and communities, child and adolescent abuse prevention, and transformed attitudes and norms.[36] Evidence reviews show that community mobilisation and programmes that change gender norms can reduce partner violence at the population level.[37] In Uzbekistan these measures are largely programmatic rather than legally structured, with no statutory national prevention strategy with measurable indicators.

(2) Pressure to reconcile and family-centred norms: The mahalla is a strong asset for detection, but community institutions may also prioritise preserving the family over the woman's safety. Legal experts who examined court practice found cases where investigative and judicial processes were used to pressure victims into reconciliation; in response, the legislator in October 2024 limited reconciliation in domestic violence cases to the trial stage.[38] Training and clear rules for mahalla actors remain necessary so that the goal of preserving the family never overrides the duty to protect.

(3) The consent model and the protection-order link: Services may be refused where a woman does not consent or refuses a protection order, and placement in a regional shelter requires an order.[39] Respect for autonomy is essential, but making shelter dependent on a formal order may deter women who fear the perpetrator's reaction to the order itself. A victim-centred approach would separate access to shelter from the decision to obtain an order.

(4) Economic dependence: The fact that about 60 per cent of administrative sanctions for domestic violence in 2024 were fines indicates that penalties may fall on the family budget

[35] UN Women, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP, UNODC. Essential Services Package for Women and Girls Subject to Violence: Core Elements and Quality Guidelines. New York, 2015.
[36] World Health Organization. RESPECT Women: Preventing Violence against Women. Geneva: WHO, 2019.
[37] Heise L. What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview. London: STRIVE Research Consortium, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2011.
[38] Information received from Uzbekistan on follow-up to the concluding observations on its sixth periodic report. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/UZB/FCO/6. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4042804; Nearly 16,000 people sentenced for domestic violence in Uzbekistan from January to October // Gazeta.uz. 26 November 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/11/26/domestic-violence.
[39] Victims of harassment and violence: services under Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers No. 354 of 25 June 2024 // Baraka.gov.uz. URL: https://baraka.gov.uz/en/welfare-category/victims-of-harassment-and-violence/page/2/.

shared with the victim.[40] Without guaranteed housing, income support and employment assistance, many women cannot leave a violent relationship, whatever the legal remedies.

(5) Monitoring gaps: Official data focus on identified cases, orders and sanctions. Prevalence surveys, data on repeat victimisation, service outcomes and gender-related killings are needed to evaluate whether society is actually becoming safer. The CEDAW Committee has called on Uzbekistan to strengthen the collection of disaggregated data on gender-based violence.[41]

Interpretation: The answer to the research question is therefore partly negative: the mechanism is strong in protection, prosecution and the organisation of services, but weaker in prevention and in addressing the structural causes of violence. Independent assessments of Uzbekistan's reforms likewise point mainly to barriers in implementation rather than to gaps in the letter of the law.[42] The next stage, which the goal of a violence-free society requires, is to give prevention the same legal certainty, funding and accountability that protection has already received.

Conclusion and recommendations

The legal mechanism for ensuring women's safety in Uzbekistan is an integrated system of normative, institutional and responsive components that took shape between 2019 and 2024. Its normative basis recognises all major forms of violence and establishes liability for domestic violence, sexual harassment and stalking. Its institutional basis, built on the principle "family – mahalla – district and region", brings detection and support close to women and links agencies through shared information systems. Its responsive basis combines protection orders of up to one year, administrative and criminal liability and corrective programmes for perpetrators.

The study shows, however, that the mechanism is not yet balanced: prevention and the structural causes of violence receive less legal attention than protection and prosecution. To move further towards a violence-free society, the following measures are proposed:

1. Adopt a national strategy for preventing violence against women with legally fixed indicators, responsible bodies and budget lines, based on the strategies of the WHO RESPECT framework.
2. Embed prevention in education and community life: compulsory programmes on respectful relationships and gender equality in schools, lyceums and universities, and regular training for mahalla actors, prevention inspectors and judges.
3. Protect victims from reconciliation pressure by setting clear rules that a woman's safety takes precedence over preserving the family, and by excluding reconciliation in cases of repeated or aggravated violence.
4. Separate access to shelter from the protection order, so that a woman in danger can be placed in a regional centre on the basis of a risk assessment, with the order offered but not required.

[40] Information received from Uzbekistan on follow-up to the concluding observations on its sixth periodic report. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/UZB/FCO/6. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4042804; Nearly 16,000 people sentenced for domestic violence in Uzbekistan from January to October // Gazeta.uz. 26 November 2024. URL: https://gazeta.uz/en/2024/11/26/domestic-violence.

[41] Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Concluding observations on the sixth periodic report of Uzbekistan. UN Doc. CEDAW/C/UZB/CO/6, 1 March 2022.

[42] International Commission of Jurists. Protection of Women and Children from Violence in Uzbekistan: Briefing Paper. Geneva: ICJ, April 2024.

5. Strengthen economic empowerment: priority access to employment programmes, temporary housing support and legal aid for victims, and a gradual shift from fines to sanctions that do not burden the victim's household.
6. Introduce regular national prevalence surveys and open monitoring of repeat victimisation, service outcomes and gender-related killings, with independent evaluation of the corrective programmes for perpetrators.

The goal of a violence-free society is long-term. Its achievement will depend less on adopting new norms than on consistent implementation, adequate resources and the gradual transformation of social attitudes that tolerate violence. Further research should evaluate the effectiveness of the three-tier service system and of corrective programmes on the basis of empirical data.

References

Legal acts and international instruments
1. Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan (new edition). Adopted by referendum on 30 April 2023.
2. Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Protection of Women from Harassment and Violence" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-561. URL: https://lex.uz/en/docs/5147718
3. Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" of 2 September 2019, No. ZRU-562. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/5167654
4. Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On amendments and additions to certain legislative acts of the Republic of Uzbekistan in connection with the further improvement of the system of reliable protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of women and children" of 11 April 2023, No. ZRU-829. URL: https://lex.uz/docs/6430278
5. Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Administrative Responsibility (Art. 59-2).
6. Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Art. 126-1).
7. Resolution of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On additional measures to improve the provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence" of 10 May 2024, No. PQ-175.
8. Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan of 25 June 2024, No. 354.
9. Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan of 26 August 2024, No. 529.
10. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. New York, 18 December 1979.
11. United Nations General Assembly. Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. A/RES/70/1, 25 September 2015.

UN treaty-body documents and international guidance
12. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating General Recommendation No. 19. CEDAW/C/GC/35, 26 July 2017.

13. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Concluding observations on the sixth periodic report of Uzbekistan. CEDAW/C/UZB/CO/6, 1 March 2022.
14. Information received from Uzbekistan on follow-up to the concluding observations on its sixth periodic report. CEDAW/C/UZB/FCO/6. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4042804
15. UN Women, UNFPA, WHO, UNDP, UNODC. Essential Services Package for Women and Girls Subject to Violence: Core Elements and Quality Guidelines. New York, 2015.
16. World Health Organization. RESPECT Women: Preventing Violence against Women. Geneva: WHO, 2019.
17. World Health Organization. Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates, 2018. Geneva: WHO, 2021.
18. International Commission of Jurists. Protection of Women and Children from Violence in Uzbekistan: Briefing Paper. Geneva: ICJ, April 2024.
Scholarly literature
19. Heise L.L. Violence against women: an integrated, ecological framework // Violence Against Women. 1998. Vol. 4, No. 3. P. 262–290.
20. Heise L. What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview. London: STRIVE Research Consortium, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2011.
21. Pence E., Shepard M. (eds.). Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1999.
Official portals and media sources
22. Proposals to expand social services considered // Official website of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. URL: https://president.uz/en/lists/view/7209
23. Victims of harassment and violence // Baraka.gov.uz. URL: https://baraka.gov.uz/en/welfare-category/victims-of-harassment-and-violence/page/2/
24. Provision of social services to victims of harassment and violence to be improved // Kun.uz. 12 May 2024.
25. Uzbekistan develops support system for victims of harassment and violence // Gazeta.uz. 14 May 2024.
26. Nearly 16,000 people sentenced for domestic violence in Uzbekistan from January to October // Gazeta.uz. 26 November 2024.
27. President signs a law on protection of women and children from violence // Kun.uz. 11 April 2023.
28. President signs the law “On guarantees of equal rights and opportunities for men and women” // Kun.uz. 3 September 2019.
29. Zo‘ravondan asrovchi hujjat: himoya orderi muddatini 1 yilgacha uzaytirish mumkin bo‘ldi // Kun.uz. 15 April 2023.
30. Himoya orderini berish soddalashtirildi // Norma.uz. 28 August 2024.