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Exploring the data on femicide across Europe

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Introduction

In recent years, the notion of femicide has expanded in social, criminological and epidemiological research to grasp the basic differences underpinning the killing of a female, as opposed to a male, victim. While femicide research in Australia and the US has been a consolidated trend in criminology and feminist studies since the 1990s (Stout, 1992; Mouzos, 1999; Campbell et al, 2003; Frye et al, 2005), its development in Europe has been much more recent and represents the outcome, primarily, of top-down social pressure. The combined effect of the recent proceedings of the ‘Femicide across Europe’ COST network (active in 30 European countries from 2013 to 2017), together with awareness-raising by the media in many countries and the Resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 11 February 2014 (United Nations, 2014), inter alia, have acted as catalysts for change, contributing significantly to

fostering femicide research in Europe. An extensive analysis of the definition of femicide is presented in Chapter 2 of this book.

Femicide is an important contributor to homicides. No systematic review exists for femicide globally, providing rates or at least accurate, country-level estimates of the killing of women ‘because they are women’. There is, however, a systematic review of intimate partner homicide – this being the closest definition to femicide we can find in the scientific literature. Leading authors have estimated that, across 66 countries between 1989 and 2011, at least 14% of all murders were committed by an intimate partner, with intimate partners committing at least 39% of female and 6% of male homicide (Stöckl et al, 2013). In European countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal or France, where female homicide rates are fairly low compared to other non-EU countries, the murder of women by former and current partners accounts for a large proportion of violent deaths among women (Corradi and Stöckl, 2014). These observations confirm the so-called ‘Verkko’s laws’, a classic reference of European homicide research. Drawing on extensive statistical research, the Finnish scholar V. Verkko observed that the proportion of female homicide victims was higher when the overall homicide rate was low, and vice versa (Verkko, 1951, cited by Kivivuori et al, 2013).

In the same way that homicide data are considered to be ‘the most valid and reliable for cross-national comparison’ (Marshall and Summers, 2013: 39), we believe that femicide data constitute a highly dependable source for comparison of levels of violence against women (VAW). It is true that rates of VAW are far higher than femicide ratios in any one country, because VAW is a very widespread phenomenon, ranging from non-physical coercion to non-lethal and lethal violence against the victim. However, femicide is the area where official statistics on gender-based violence are more robust than any other data type: even if the notion of femicide is debatable, the unit of measurement is the number of female corpses. The problem

arises in defining femicide operationally in such a manner as to make it comparable across countries. Data collection in Europe shows that entry fields recording the victim's age and the perpetrator's intention are the two parameters that may be preventing effective comparison of femicide databases.

In Chapter 3, the overall challenges and opportunities of data collection are discussed. In this chapter, we will review and explore in detail the data on femicide across Europe. In the following section, we present the data sources at European level. In a later section, we offer an overview of resources in 26 European countries. This constitutes the most recent and reliable exploration of data availability in single nation states. Finally, we will draft conclusions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of existing data and implications for the future of femicide research in Europe.

Data sources at the European level

Research on femicide resulting from intimate partner violence makes clear that, almost without exception, women are at greater risk than men and the homicides of women are most frequently perpetrated by male intimate partners. Studies by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) confirm two significant factors: first, that, in many countries, intimate partner or family-related homicide is the major cause of homicide against women and, second, that female homicide rates are much more likely to be driven by this type of violence than by the organized crime-related homicide typology that disproportionately affects men (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2015). In 2012 almost half (47%) of all women murdered worldwide were killed by a family member or intimate partner, compared with 6% of male homicide victims. Femicide is also significantly undetected and underreported, since prosecutions usually do not integrate a gender perspective. There is a clear need to focus on femicide

as a form of gender-based violence, and to observe and monitor the problem systematically at national and international levels.

While some countries have already developed national databases with more detailed information on the cases of femicide (for example, Italy, UK, Spain and Serbia), these national databases have not yet been collated or integrated at a European level. Indeed, to date only a few data resource collections have been implemented at the European level. Furthermore, existing data are often based purely on crime statistics, which provide very limited additional information on cases and the victim–offender relationship, or even on the gender of the victim and the perpetrator; nor is such data consistently available for every country.

The following international bodies are intending to, or have already commenced, collection of information that either focuses on or incorporates data on homicide, with a specific inclusion of the victims' gender:

- Eurostat data on homicides (based on official crime statistics)
- The European Homicide Monitor (EHM)
- UNODC's Femicide Watches
- The World Health Organization (WHO)

We review below the type of information that can be extracted from each database, and demonstrate the continuing absence of reliable and comparable data on femicide.

Eurostat data on homicides

Crime statistics are one of the most available administrative data sources across the EU member states (EIGE, 2014: 34). Eurostat's main activity is to merge statistics from different sectors, provided by the member states on a European level, and to work on harmonizing statistics. Eurostat provides crime statistics on homicides that allow access to gendered information

Table 6.1: Available crime statistics on intentional homicides of female victims aged 15+ disaggregated by country

Country code	Country	Data available		Country code	Country	Data available	
		2011	2014			2011	2014
AT	Austria	x	x	IE	Ireland		
BE	Belgium			IT	Italy	x	x
BG	Bulgaria	x	x	LT	Lithuania		
CY	Cyprus	x		LU	Luxembourg	x	
CZ	Czech Republic	x	x	LV	Latvia		x
DE	Germany	x	x	MT	Malta	x	x
DK	Denmark	x	x	NL	Netherlands	x	x
EE	Estonia		x	PL	Poland		
EL	Greece			PT	Portugal		
ES	Spain	x	x	RO	Romania		
FI	Finland	x	x	SE	Sweden		
FR	France			SI	Slovenia	x	x
HR	Croatia	x	x	SK	Slovakia		x
HU	Hungary	x	x	UK	United Kingdom	x	

Source: Eurostat, 2016b

on the number of both male and female victims of homicides aged 15 years and above. The number of intentional, completed homicides is available for all 28 EU member states (Eurostat, 2016a). The data have been compiled annually since 2008.

Table 6.1 shows for which countries Eurostat has collected data on the number of female victims of intentional, completed homicides up to 2014. About 60% of member states were able to provide gender-aggregated data for homicides in 2014.

As the Eurostat data on homicides are based on each country's national police data, it is crucial to note the availability (or absence) of gender-aggregated police statistics. According to the police data from a more recent analysis, EIGE (2017) found that 14 European countries hold available data on homicide, including the victim's sex and victim-perpetrator relationship; eight countries have data on victim's gender only; six countries have no such data (cf. Table 6.2). The availability of gender-aggregated and more detailed crime data on homicides is a rising trend.

Table 6.2: Availability of data on femicide through police statistics

Type of VAW	Availability of data including victim's sex and victim-perpetrator relationship	Data available, but no precise relationship breakdown	No available data, or no breakdown by sex of the victim
Femicide	14 (CZ, DE, ES, FR, HR, IT, LV, NL, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK)	8 (BE, BG, EE, IE, CY, HU, AT, SE)	6 (DK, EL, LT, LU, MT, PL)

Source: EIGE, 2017

According to the justice statistics, EIGE (2017) found that only five European countries have available data on homicide that include the victim's sex and victim-perpetrator relationship; seven countries have data on victim's gender only; 16 countries

have no such data. Thus, the police statistics will remain the central source for official statistics on femicide across Europe.

Table 6.3: Availability of data on femicide through justice statistics

Type of VAW	Availability of data including victim's sex and victim-perpetrator relationship breakdown	Data available, but no precise relationship breakdown	No available data, or no breakdown by sex of the victim
Femicide	5 (ES, FR, LT, NL, RO)	7 (EE, CY, LU, HU, PL, SE, SK)	16 (BE, BG, CZ, DK, DE, IE, EL, HR, IT, LV, MT, AT, PT, SI, FI, UK)

Source: EIGE, 2017

As crime statistics across Europe are due to be harmonized increasingly, the absence of data in the EU member states will show a tendency to improve in the coming years.

Nevertheless, it needs to be stressed that while crime statistics are a preliminary and relevant resource to measure the extent and gendered nature of crimes, they do not offer the in-depth information on the motives and background factors required to improve prevention measures or offer early intervention.

The European Homicide Monitor (EHM)

Within the European Homicide Monitor (EHM), Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands have developed a more precise and differentiated database on homicides (Granath et al, 2011: 32; Liem et al, 2013). These incorporate the legal codes for murder, manslaughter, infanticide and assault leading to death. As for the Eurostat data, attempted homicides are excluded, as are suicides, involuntary manslaughter and legally justified killings (Granath et al, 2011: 32). The database aims to include information on the gender of both victims and offenders, and

collects additional background information on the cases. The EHM data set consists of 85 variables, including victim, offender and incident characteristics (Liem et al, 2013). To access the data, various sources are used and combined, such as information from the media, death statistics, police and court statistics, and other available sources. Each country is entitled to use all sources that are valid and available. The intention is to involve other European countries systematically, in order to gain a broader case basis for in-depth investigation and comparison over time and between countries (Liem, n.d.).

The EHM is based on the network of the European Homicide Research Group, coordinated by Marieke Liem from Leiden University.¹ It stipulates both research on homicides and the exchange between researchers, and has also incorporated several members of the COST Action network on femicide. It includes researchers from 19 countries (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, UK, Austria, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Estonia, Switzerland, Romania, Malta, Turkey, Israel and Croatia²) and could offer the relevant core of researchers to be included for the new observatory on femicide across Europe.

UNODC's Femicide Watches

Various sources of data and information exist on gender-related killings. Several factors would affect the comparability of data over time. These relate primarily to the data completeness, the use of various classifications and the type of certifiers (Šimonović, 2016).

¹ See <http://escnewsletter.org/newsletter/2016-2/european-homicide-research-group-ehrg>

² See www.violenceresearchinitiative.org/members.html

There are several sources of information from which data could be collated and collected, each with its own specific limitations.

UNODC is leading global efforts to improve and compare crime and criminal justice data. Its report entitled *Global study on homicide 2013* (UNODC, 2013) contains a section on interpersonal homicide. The view adopted by UNODC is that, given the numerous challenges of comprehensive measurement of gender-related violence, exploring intimate partner and family-related homicide is one means of gaining a clearer understanding of the killing of women for gender-related reasons.

According to UNODC, a relevant resource for data on gender-related killings is the International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes, endorsed by the Statistical Commission in March 2015 and the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in May 2016. The Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice established an international statistical standard for data collection, drawn from both administrative records and survey-generated data. The classification adopted does not specify *crimes* but, rather, focuses on the *motivation* behind the crime. In other words, the crime classification framework is based on *behavioural* descriptions instead of legal codes. Femicide therefore falls under the classification of *intentional homicide*, namely, unlawful death inflicted upon a person with the intent to cause death or serious injury. According to the UNODC approach, three classification criteria are applied when a particular act of killing is to be classified, which further characterize the intentional homicide and can be used to define it in greater detail. These criteria are the *situational context*, the *relationship* between victim and perpetrator and the *mechanism* of killing. Situational context refers to whether the homicide takes place between two persons who had a prior relationship, or whether a homicide is related to other criminal activities or is sociopolitical in nature. Within

the additional disaggregation of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator, it is recorded whether the perpetrator was an intimate partner, a family member or another person known to the victim, or if the perpetrator was unknown to the victim. Lastly, within the disaggregation of mechanism of killing, the type of weapon or other means used are similarly recorded.

As part of its work to construct the evidence database, UNODC has embarked on the strengthening of United Nations data collection systems, the development of standards for comparative justice statistics and the development of the ‘global picture’ of gender-related killing (UNODC, 2013: 49 and 52; UNODC, 2015: 13 and 33). Based on the recommendation of Dubravka Šimonović, the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, all states are invited to establish a ‘femicide watch’, or a ‘gender-related killing of women’ watch.³

In Šimonović’s most recent report to the UN General Assembly (A/71/398) (Šimonović, 2016), the elaborated modalities for establishment of the femicide watch and/or observatory as an interdisciplinary panel of experts that collects and analyses data on femicides with the aim of preventing such incidents, are presented as follows:

- (a) There should be a flexible model for the establishment of a national femicide watch that should depend on the needs and national realities of each state. Where there is no such mechanism, they should be established where there are existing systems and structures for reporting violence against women and incorporated into them (§ D.83.a).
- (b) States should systematically collect relevant disaggregated data on all forms of violence against women, in particular on femicide or the gender related killing of women, which could include the killing of children in this regard. States

³ See <http://femicide-watch.org>

should disaggregate data on femicide under two broad categories, which could include subcategories in line with their national realities, namely, intimate partner femicide or family-related femicide, based on a relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and other femicides (§ D.83.b).

(c) States should establish a femicide watch or femicide review panels or observatories on violence against women at the global, national or regional level in order to analyse data on femicide and propose concrete measures to prevent such crimes (§ D.83.c).

(d) Femicide watch panels should be established as interdisciplinary bodies with the inclusion of legal professionals, ombudspersons and representatives of non-governmental organizations and be connected to or integrated with existing mechanisms on the prevention of violence against women, such as observatories on violence against women and bodies that monitor the implementation of national action plans on violence against women. If the panel is integrated into an existing mechanism, it should be high profile, for example, as a special unit or project (§ D.83.d).

(e) Non-governmental organizations or national human rights institutions could establish their own femicide watch reviews panels (§D.83.e).

(f) The mandate of femicide watch panels or observatories on violence against women would include systematic analyses of all cases of femicide, including court cases, with the aim of determining gaps in the response system to such violence, the criminal justice system and judicial procedures and of establishing risk factors to prevent such violence and to protect women and girls from femicide (§D.83.f).

(g) As far as possible, such femicide reviews should include suicide cases and the killing of children relating to gender-

based violence against their mothers (§D.83.g).

(h) In every case, the personal information that has been provided by the victims and the family members should be incorporated only into databases with their informed consent with regard to its possible use. This information should be protected in accordance with international standards on the protection of privacy (§D.83.h).

These aims for further data collection are highly relevant for the establishment of the European Observatory on Femicide, which is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

World Health Organization (WHO)

WHO collects data on multiple causes of violence and injury-related deaths, as well as statistics on different forms of violence. With regard to homicide, it reports data divided according to the gender of the victim, but no data are provided on the type of relationship or gender of the perpetrator.⁴ Thus, the data based on the national death statistics are essentially incomplete and could not serve as the central source for data collection on femicide. In addition, the data are not directly compatible with crime statistics and it is problematic to decide which source holds greater validity. This could provide incentive to focus rather on crime statistics and/or on a range of other sources.

Overview of resources in 26 European countries

One of the aims of the COST Action IS1206, ‘Femicide across Europe’, was to assess the feasibility of building a European Observatory on Femicide. What follows is a census of the resources that are available today at country level in 26 European countries according to the national experts of the

⁴ See <http://apps.who.int/violence-info/homicide>

COST Action research network.⁵ We are deeply convinced that building a European observatory is possible and that this should be undertaken in close partnership with the many institutions, NGOs, and public and private research centres that engage daily in collecting, classifying and disseminating data on femicide across Europe. We believe that there are many country-level resources that can be implemented towards this goal today. Femicide research is no longer in its infancy. Country-level resources are unconnected and extremely varied, but they provide the starting point for a European observatory.

1. Austria (by Birgitt Haller)

1.1 Definition

There is no specific term in German for the murder of women: the same expression is used for both female and male victims (the German word *Mord* is of Germanic origin and does not allow for a female suffix). The intervention centres (victim protection organizations, established by the Austrian Protection against Violence Act 1997) have pointed out the risk of being killed by a (former) partner for many years.

1.2 Resources

The first (and only) empirical research study on femicide was completed by Birgitt Haller in 2011, financed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Under the title of 'High-risk victims. Homicide in relationships', all convictions for (attempted) femicide from 2008 to 2010 were analysed: 39 legal proceedings against male perpetrators (as well as eight legal proceedings against female aggressors) (Haller, 2014).

⁵ Information from the country experts and EIGE's reports might differ due to different information sources.

Homicide data based on police reports are collected and published annually by the Austrian Police/ Ministry of the Interior. Therefore, for example, it may emerge that a person was not murdered, but died as a result of a domestic accident. Police data provide the sex of both victim and aggressor, but the categories used to define the relationship between victim and aggressor are very imprecise: they reflect whether the persons concerned had been living together or not, but do not reveal the type of relationship between them (partners, aunt and niece and so on). Therefore, precise information on femicide in the strict sense is not available.

2. Croatia (by Ivana Radacic and Irena Cajner Mraovic)

2.1 Definition

The notion of femicide has been in circulation in Croatia since the late 1990s but mainly among the research community. Although there are several studies of domestic violence in Croatia, the first paper to use the concept of femicide was published in 2014 (Asančaić, 2014). The term femicide is not widely used in Croatia; rather, most reliable sources use expressions such as ‘killing of women’. The expression ‘intimate homicide’ is also used to indicate the killing of a woman by an intimate partner as a specific form of homicide.

The term femicide is most commonly used by feminist web portals, which occasionally publish articles about the problem of intimate partner violence in Croatia and report the developments with respect to femicide within the UN or in other countries. Government bodies do not employ this term.

2.2 Resources

There are no comprehensive resources on femicide in Croatia. The Ministry of the Interior is the body that officially collects data on reported murders of women, which include information

about the victim's relationship with the perpetrator, but not necessarily the motivation or the context in which the murder occurred. Conversely, publicly available data reported in the Statistical Overview of the Basic Security Indicators and Police Work Results, published annually on the ministry's website, contain only information about the sex of the perpetrators and the victims of homicide. The annual publication *Men and women in Croatia*, published by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics does not contain any data on femicide.

3. Cyprus (by Christiana Kouta and Elena Rousou)

3.1 Definition

There is no legal definition of femicide in Cyprus. While the murder of a woman or a girl by a family member is recognized in law, it is only in relation to family violence (Violence in the Family Law), which is not gender-specific. Under section 3 of the Violence in the Family (Prevention and Protection of Victims) Laws 119(I)/2000 and 212(I)/2004, this refers to 'any act, omission or behavior, which causes physical, sexual or mental injury to any member of the family and includes violence used for the purpose of having sexual intercourse without the consent of the victim as well as of restricting its freedom'.

When a woman or a girl is murdered by a family member, it is defined by the law as 'violence in the family', and there is no differentiation between female and male perpetrators. Homicides that take place outside the family as a result of gender-based violence (for example, by a boyfriend), are not categorized as violence against women or gender-based violence, despite the fact that analysis of the data in Cyprus demonstrates that the majority of these cases can indeed be categorized as gender-based violence and acts of femicide.

3.2 Resources

No forums and limited literature related to the issue of femicide exists in Cyprus. On the other hand, there are organizations dealing with family violence, although those organizations are not gender specific:

1. **The Service for Families and Children (Social Welfare Services):** This aims to support the family unit, in order to enable family members to perform their roles and responsibilities effectively, to resolve family disputes that threaten the unity of family, to safeguard the protection and the welfare of children, to prevent delinquent behaviour and domestic violence, and to encourage the rehabilitation of people involved in antisocial behaviour and delinquency.⁶
2. **The Police Crime Combatting Department (Domestic Violence and Child Abuse Office):** This attends to all matters dealing with prevention, repression and handling of domestic violence and child abuse.⁷
3. **The Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family:** This is a national centre providing preventative services for domestic violence, supporting and protecting receivers of violence.⁸

⁶ See www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/mlsi.nsf/mlsi14_en/mlsi14_en?OpenDocument

⁷ See www.police.gov.cy/police/police.nsf/dmldept3_en/dmldept3_en?OpenDocument

⁸ See www.domviolence.org.cy/?lang=EN&cat=0
See further: Advisory Committee for the Prevention of and Combatting Violence in the Family: www.familyviolence.gov.cy; *Cyprus Mail* (2014) 'Stop violence against women, June 23: <http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/06/23/more-than-30-women-murdered-in-cyprus-in-past-nine-years>; Kapardis et al, 2017, and Kyriakidou, 2012;.Violence in the Family (Prevention and Protection of Victims) Laws 119(I)/2000 and 212(I)/2004: www.cylaw.org/nomoi/enop/ind/2000_1_119/section-scec2be7aa-7418-4ef2-ac1e-9683797b3690-ai4f3e06ce1acd5.html

4. Denmark (by Yvonne Mørck)

4.1 Definition

Until a few years ago, the term ‘wife killing’, or ‘wife homicide’, was employed in the judicial system (and was linked to marital status), but this has now changed to ‘partner killing’ (unlinked to marital status or gender), that is, it is a gender-neutral concept. The notion of femicide is not used in the official Danish system for crime registration. However, victim statistics regarding homicide are divided by gender (Statistics Denmark). The term femicide is used to some extent in the Danish media.

5. France (by Lisa Anteby-Jemini and Valérie Raffin)

5.1 Definition

The concept of femicide (in French, *fémicide* or *féminicide*) is rarely utilized in France. In this country, the media reports of femicide cases by an intimate partner generally conceal the violence and the murder, by denoting them as ‘family dramas’ or ‘separation dramas’. In many official documents the term *homicide conjugal* (marital homicide) is used instead of *fémicide conjugal* (marital femicide), for example. However, since 2014 the word *féminicide* has entered the *French Petit Robert Dictionary*, and is defined as ‘the murder of a woman or a girl because she is a woman’. The common term used to refer to these murders in the official reports is ‘victims of marital violence’, and the Ministry of the Interior’s annual national report on the number of deaths defines them as ‘violent deaths in the couple’. The last survey, called VIRAGE (violence and gender relations), begun in 2000, recently published its results, but still refers to femicide as ‘acts of violence against women’, including cases of murder (Hamel et al, 2016). An association named Osez le féminisme

(Don't be shy about feminism) has been actively advocating for the legal recognition of the term since 2014.⁹

5.2 Resources

In official reports in France, 'violence within the couple' is a term applied not only to the murder of women by their intimate partner (husband, ex-husband, lover, boyfriend or potential boyfriend, whether there have been sexual relations or not), but also to the murder of men by their female partners, murders by same-sex partners, the suicides of perpetrators (for which, given the lack of police data, one can only offer an estimate) and homicides qualified as 'collateral victims' (that is, children, family members or others who tried to interpose themselves, such as parents, neighbours, lawyers and so on). The data also includes estimates for the number of suicides resulting from marital violence, irrespective of whether this refers to the suicide of the victim or the perpetrator (Jaspard, 2005). The data also includes further criteria, such as the region of France, French or foreign nationality, possible cause of murder and so on, in relation to both the victim and the perpetrator.

The data for the number of suicides of women victims of domestic violence is still absent in statistics for Europe. In France, for example, a rate of 13% has been applied to the national rate for suicides in order to estimate the number of real suicides resulting from violence within the couple. This rate was derived from the National Survey on Violence against Women.

The annual report on data for violent partner deaths appears on both the website of the French Ministry of the Interior – through its Delegation for Victims (DAV) – and the website of the French Ministry for Families, Childhood and Women's

⁹ See <https://reconnaissonslefemicide.olf.site>

Rights.¹⁰ Official action and responses are conducted through MIPROF (the Inter-ministerial Mission for the Protection of Women against Violence and the Fight against the Trafficking of Human Beings).

There is a National Observatory of Violence against Women, which also publishes statistical reports on VAW drawn from the results of INSEE surveys on 'Life Framework and Security' (CVS).¹¹

In addition, there are a number of local observatories, for example, in the Greater Paris region and in the region of Seine-Saint-Denis.¹² Data is available on homicides and violence leading to a death in a couple (including the murder of children and collaterals). The average figure for deaths in couples in France between 2006 and 2013 is 205 deaths (Attané et al, 2015), including:

- 159 femicides in heterosexual couples;
- 29 husband deaths in heterosexual couples;
- 2 husband deaths in gay couples;
- 1 femicide in a lesbian couple;
- 9 murders of children;
- 5 collateral murders;
- 54 suicides of male perpetrators.

There have been only very slight variations in these figures over the last 10 years in France, and these represent 30% of the total number of homicides and violence that led to death in

¹⁰ The most recent report can be found at www.familles-enfance-droitsdesfemmes.gouv.fr/parution-du-rapport-annuel-concernant-les-morts-violentes-au-sein-du-couple

¹¹ See http://stop-violences-femmes.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/Lettre_ONVF_8_-_Violences_faites_aux_femmes_principales_donnees_-_nov15.pdf

¹² See www.centre-hubertine-auclert.fr/observatoire-regional-des-violences-faites-aux-femmes and <https://www.seine-saint-denis.fr/Observatoire-des-violences-envers-les-femmes-.html>

2013, whereas the proportion of violent deaths related to other circumstances has fallen.

6. Georgia (by Tiko Tsomaia)

According to a global study on homicide conducted in 2013, the intentional homicide rate per 100,000 population is 3.4, which puts Georgia in the group of low homicide rate countries. The percentage of male and female intentional homicide victims is 75.7% and 24.3%, respectively.

According to the analysis provided by the Chief Prosecutor's Office of Georgia, 53 women were killed in 2014/15, of whom 27 cases were denoted as 'domestic violence murders' and 18 were killed by their intimate partners.

6.1 Definition

The term femicide has been used regularly by the media, activists and the general public since 2014. This term entered public discourse after a murder that occurred on 17 October 2014, when a man recently released from prison killed his ex-wife and then committed suicide in front of students and professors at Ilia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia. The broad media coverage of this particular murder and other killings of women in 2014 brought femicide to the foreground and caused a public outcry. Different organizations (NGOs, media, academia and state institutions) define femicide as the gender-related killing of women, related to gender-based violence by an intimate partner.

6.2 Resources

Legislation in the Republic of Georgia does not recognize femicide as a separate crime; all cases of killings of women are investigated and punished as crimes against human beings.

Therefore, no separate statistics are collected on the killings of women based on gender.

Currently, femicide cases are investigated under penal code articles, including murder, murder in aggravating circumstances, intentional murder in a state of sudden strong emotional excitement, intentional infliction of grave injury that caused death, incitement to suicide, an article specifying domestic crimes and articles that describe the commission of a crime related to sex.

Journalists and civil society can only speculate about the veracity of the data, since government institutions and legislation have not responded to requests for detailed crime data, which would help shed light on the actual trends. Government institutions (the Ministry of the Interior, the Prosecutor's Office and the courts) remain the source for the collection and dissemination of data. No organization exists to collect and collate data from alternative sources and double-check the information.

There are a number of groups following the topic:

1. The Georgian Institute of Public Affairs (GIPA) has received a grant from the European Commission to track violent crime against women.¹³
2. In 2015 the Public Prosecutor's Office published an analysis of intimate and family homicide.¹⁴
3. On 4 April 2016 the Georgian Young Lawyers Association released a study entitled 'Judgments in cases of femicide – 2014'.¹⁵
4. The Public Defender of Georgia publishes special reports.¹⁶

¹³ See http://newscafe.ge/homicide/Honor_killing.html

¹⁴ See http://pog.gov.ge/geo/news?info_id=890

¹⁵ See <https://gyla.ge/en/post/kvlevis-prezentacia-femicidis-saqmeebis-ganachenebi-2014>

¹⁶ See www.ombudsman.ge/en/reports/specialuri-angarishebi

5. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is paying attention to one particular type of femicide: sex-selective abortions.¹⁷
6. The Georgian Center for Psychosocial and Medical Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (GCRT) works with victims of gender-based violence.¹⁸

7. Germany (by Monika Schröttle and Ksenia Meshkova)

7.1 Definition

The term femicide is not widely used in Germany. One possible reason might be its similarity to ‘genocide’ and its connotations for German history. Nevertheless, the killings of women are recognized as an extreme form of VAW and are included in criminological data and murder statistics; they are also recognized in research and policies on VAW. There are few publications and studies focusing on femicide. The most recent systematic work was a research study carried out by Luise Greuel (Greuel, 2009) on the escalation of violence in intimate partner relationships. In addition, Heynen and Zahradnik (2017) have conducted a research project on homicide within families in the context of intimate partner violence, where relatives were interviewed about the circumstances and consequences of the homicides in a systematic manner.

In order to facilitate the collection of data on femicide, it is first crucial to include all cases related to the killing of women. Gender-based cases can then be filtered out according to the victim–perpetrator relationship (for example, the killing of a woman by an intimate partner). The term ‘partner’ can be defined in broad terms to include those who are married and

¹⁷ See www.unfpa.org/gender-biased-sex-selection

¹⁸ See <http://gcrt.ge/en>

unmarried, cohabiting/non-cohabiting relationships, and dating partners.

7.2 Resources

There are three bodies that collect femicide data in Germany on a regular basis. However, two of them (that is, with the exception of the police) are neither financed nor institutionalized:

- The German Police Criminological Statistics (PKS) collects all cases of killings (including additional data on the gender of the victims and victim–perpetrator relationship). Thus, the number of women killed and – to some extent – the relationship to the perpetrator can be accessed. Another available source is the court statistics on convicted perpetrators. One remaining problem is that court statistics are not integrated with police statistics.¹⁹
- Over the past few years, The Network of Autonomous Shelters (ZIF) has collected reports about cases of femicide via internet searches alongside the published data from the police and the media. This information is collected for internal purposes and has not been published regularly to date.
- In 2016 two researchers from the Institute for Empirical Sociological Research at the University of Nuremberg (Monika Schröttle and Julia Habermann) began systematically collecting information and data on femicides and building a national database. They also joined the European Homicide Monitor (Granath et al, 2011) and are planning to institutionalize this project within the framework of a national scientific monitor under the Istanbul Convention and VAW, in cooperation with the German Ministry for Women and Family Affairs.

¹⁹ See www.bka.de/DE/AktuelleInformationen/StatistikenLagebilder/PolizeilicheKriminalstatistik/PKS2015/pks2015_node.html

8. Greece (by Athena Peglidou)

8.1 Definition

The term femicide (γυναικοκτονία-*gynaikoktonia*) is not in use, even in media discourse, where these murders are described mostly as a ‘family tragedy’, ‘crime of passion’, ‘love crime’ or even ‘unexpected crime’, in which the ‘unfortunate woman’ lost her life.

8.2 Resources

There is no statistical data in Greece concerning the female death rate as a result of assault, because data on homicides are not sex-disaggregated. According to the Greek Police Statistical Service, the only available quantitative data concern the sex of the perpetrator or the victim and the locus of murder. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show the figures for 2013 according to the victims’ sex and murder loci and according to the perpetrators’ sex and murder loci.

Table 6.4: Number of murders in Greece in 2013 according to the victim’s sex and murder loci

Locs	Men	Women
Other spaces	54	9
Home	49	42
Total	103	51

Table 6.5: Number of murders in Greece in 2013 according to the perpetrator’s sex and murder loci

Locs	Men	Women
Other spaces	80	2
Home	76	14
Total	156	16

The dominant femicide pattern is that of intimate partner murder. A representative case study might be a young man

who has killed his girlfriend or wife because of his own excessive jealousy, perhaps after she attempted to break up their relationship. After reviewing journalistic records of the last ten years, two particular characteristics are worth mentioning: the cruelty and, in some cases, dismemberment and disappearance of the female body, as well as the suicide or attempted suicide of the perpetrator after the murder.

9. Iceland (by Freidis Freysteinsdóttir and Halldora Gunnarsdóttir)

9.1 Definition

Femicide as a concept has hardly gained any ground in Iceland. The term has only recently come into public use by the Icelandic members of the COST project on femicide. There has been a debate by professionals in Iceland about what the proper translation of the word should be. In reliable sources, femicide is defined as ‘the killing of a woman because she is a woman by an intimate partner’. ‘Partner’ is defined in a broad manner, to include a husband, living and dating partner or lover; a former husband, former partner and former lovers are also included under the definition. The expression ‘family femicide’ is also used to designate killing by a relative, such as a father, son or other. Other cases might be included, such as so-called crimes of passion, where the perpetrator kills someone other than his partner, former partner or lover, but the victim is a woman and the motive is related to his relationship with a woman (see Freysteinsdóttir, 2017).

9.2 Resources

Data on femicide, as such, are not collected in Iceland. However, three databases with information on murders provide the possibility to generate data on femicide in Iceland:

- Police data: The police keep a closed database on all crimes, including murders. This database may be consulted on request, but there is no guarantee of provision of access to the data for research use.
- Open source data: On Icelandic Wikipedia, a list of murders going back centuries can be accessed. The list was created according to word of mouth information and is maintained by a lawyer. However, not all murder cases, including cases of femicide, appear on that list and the term ‘femicide’ is not used.
- A database called Fons juris:²⁰ This is not public, but private; people are required to pay for access to data therein. This database includes all verdicts issued in Iceland from 1920 and has been published electronically. Cases of femicide are retrievable from the database, under a legal definition of the crime of murder in the General Criminal Law [Almenn hegningarlög] No. 19/1940 (§ 211) and severe physical assault (para. 218), which could include assaults that result in death. This database does not include cases dismissed for lack of evidence, although there might be a suspicion that a murder or femicide has occurred. Those types of cases are not included in verdicts.

Ireland (by Siobán O’Brien Green)

10.1 Definition

The word femicide is rarely used in Ireland and does not appear in recent and relevant statutory national policy or guideline documents, or in the Irish Statute Book (a collection of Irish legislation). The terms ‘female homicide’, ‘intimate partner homicide’ or ‘homicide/murder’ are used. Holt defines femicide as ‘the killing of a woman by her intimate partner or ex-partner’ (Holt, 2007).

²⁰ <http://fonsjuris.is>

10.2 Resources

Data on femicide in Ireland are, or could potentially be, available from the following sources:

- 1. Central Statistics Office – An Garda Síochána (Irish police force):** Crime statistics are collected via the PULSE (Police Using Leading Systems Effectively) system and are collated and published by the Central Statistics Office (CSO), Crime and Justice section, on a regular basis. Data from annual homicide offences can be disaggregated by sex of victim. At the time of writing (November 2017), homicide data cannot be disaggregated by sex of perpetrator and relationship of homicide victim to perpetrator; however, it is anticipated that this will change in the near future. Currently there is a review of all homicide cases in Ireland from 2003 to 2017 occurring by a team in An Garda Síochána.
- 2. Coroners’ Courts:** In all cases of homicide an inquest is held by the relevant coroner. Data on number of deaths reported, post mortems and inquests held are reported on an annual basis by each Coroner’s Office in Ireland; these are then collated into nationwide statistics by the Coroner Service Implementation Team (CSIT). At the time of writing (November 2017), these statistics are not disaggregated by sex of the deceased or relationship of the deceased to anyone involved in the homicide. As a result, data in relation to femicide are not yet available through national CSIT statistics.
- 3. Courts Service:** Murder court cases in Ireland are held in the Central Criminal Court. It is possible to conduct a review of relevant murder trial proceedings and sentencing through information on the Courts Service website in order to determine cases of femicide. However, this data is not being collated as femicide statistics.
- 4. Maternal Death Enquiry:** Data on all maternal deaths (deaths during pregnancy and up to one year post-partum)

are collected and analysed by the Confidential Maternal Death Enquiry, Ireland Office (MDE). Deaths as a result of femicide during this time period are included in this data analysis and classified as ‘indirect deaths’. Data from Ireland are collated with data from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and published as triennial reports by MBRRACE-UK. Where known, the perpetrator of the homicide is documented as family member, stranger or (ex) partner in the MBRRACE reports (Knight et al, 2015).

- 5. Women’s Aid Femicide Monitoring Project:** Women’s Aid is an Irish domestic violence nongovernmental organisation (NGO) which has been collating media-reported cases of femicide in Ireland since 1996.²¹ The project reports on the number of women murdered, location of murder, sex of perpetrator and relationship of the victim to the perpetrator, where known. Additional data, such as the victim’s age, method of killing, case status (awaiting trial, case resolved and so on) and whether the case was a murder-suicide, are also collected, where known.

Israel (by Yifat Bitton and Shalva Weil)

11.1 Definition

The notion of femicide, as such, is practically absent from Israel. In recent years, however, an awareness of ‘the murder of women’, or ‘women’s murder’, by their (generally) male family members is well evident in public discourse. Overall, the media in Israel plays a key role in disseminating the notion of ‘women’s murder’ as a social phenomenon that should be condemned. In addition, Israeli academics are among the leading scholars in the field of femicide. Nowadays, it is widely accepted that the murder of women by their family members warrants special attention.

²¹ See <https://www.womensaid.ie/about/policy/natintstats.html>

The criminal code assigns no specific clause to femicide, and femicide murderers are charged with the general offence of murder. In other reliable sources, femicide is mainly associated with the killing of a woman by an intimate partner, broadly defined. Highly prevalent, too, is the expression ‘family honour killing’, used to indicate murder by a partner or a relative on the grounds that a woman has manifested disrespect of her family by her unacceptable behaviour. This type of femicide is perceived as a category on its own and is ultimately associated with killing a woman ‘due to her gender’.

11.2 Resources

Until 2012, apart from sporadic media-initiated projects, there had been no data collection available for femicide in Israel. At that time, the Parliamentary Committee on Women’s Rights initiated a special report on VAW, which determined that femicide would be reported annually (Mizrahi-Simon, 2016). Despite being accessible to the public, only meagre efforts were made to disseminate this report outside the Israeli parliament, the Knesset. Since 2015, there have been no systematic, formal data on femicide in Israel – only a statement issued by the Knesset, collating statistics it claims as sourced from the Israel Police,²² although they differed from those actually reported by the police.

In addition, in its annual report on violence, the Israel Ministry for Internal Security currently features a specific and distinct section on female victims of murder. However, no special attention is allocated to the motives underlying the murder of these women, while the report itself is laconic in tone and de-contextualized in relation to the topic. Another example of this disregard occurs in the Israel Police’s official Report on Violence for 2014. The report introduces no less than nine different types

²² www.knesset.gov.il/mmm/data/pdf/m03849.pdf

and definitions for murder, none of which relates specifically to the murder of women.

Academic articles on femicide in Israel have identified killings among particular ethnic groups, such as Ethiopian immigrants (Weil, 2016), Russian immigrants under the influence of alcohol (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010a) or Arab/Palestinian populations (Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Daher-Nashif, 2013) among whom the authors attribute ‘honour killings’ to the Occupation; intimate partner femicide, often committed with a firearm, significantly increased among immigrants during the Second Intifada (Sela-Shayovitz, 2010b). In addition, 10% of all femicides have been perpetrated among elderly women over the age of 60 in the past decade (Weil, 2017).

12. Italy (by Anna C. Baldry, Consuelo Corradi and Augusto Gnisci)

12.1 Definition

The notion of femicide has circulated in Italy since 2004, when the European SARA project and subsequently the FEAR project (both funded by the Daphne Framework) were implemented, with both addressing the killing of women due to their gender and assessment of the risk of escalation of lethal violence. As a result of these projects, publications (Baldry and Ferraro, 2008; Baldry, 2016) and conferences have disseminated the term since 2005. In 2008 B. Spinelli authored a book titled *Femminicidio* (Spinelli, 2008).

For the past decade, due to social, political and NGO movements, the term has been employed intensively, and even exploited by the media, with the aim of raising awareness on the topic. In 2012, due to the high number of femicides, there was also a political and media debate about the opportunity to have a specific category of homicide called ‘femicide’, which was soon deemed as raising anticonstitutional issues. Debates are still ongoing as to whether the term should be used, or if there should even be a ‘dedicated’ legal term identifying these

crimes. Attention peaks on specific dates in the year (8 March, International Women's Day, and 25 November, International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women), when most of the media address the issue and conferences are organized. Since, in Italy one femicide occurs on average every three or four days, news media coverage of the crime responds cyclically. Social perceptions of the rates of VAW have been shaped by these waves of media response, together with social and political attention.

In actual fact, for the past five to ten years, the number of women killed due to femicide has remained constant (at approximately 100 per year), while the trend for overall homicides has fallen: this is despite the fact that policies and strategies for prevention have supposedly been put in place.

In 2013, Law No. 119, referred to also as the 'Law on Femicide', although it is not technically such, was passed. It introduced a set of criminal interventions into the Italian criminal justice system, focusing on additional suppressive powers for the police and legal authorities for intervention in protection of victims and to decrease the risk of recidivism. Several provisions were brought to reduce the number of cases of femicide and address domestic violence in general; others were introduced in accordance with proposals set out under the so-called Istanbul Convention, which was also ratified by Italy and put in place in August 2014, as an abiding law. The provisions set out in the 119/2013 law, which also introduces a biennial National Plan to prevent and combat VAW, do not specifically address femicide, but establish the foundations for its prevention. Through an extensive set of procedures, including financial support, it is producing a visible reduction in the numbers of women killed annually in Italy; however, there are clear indications that these changes are considered to be 'emergency' responses and not structured measures leading to more effective and long-term impact.

In January 2017, the Senate of the Italian Republic set up the parliamentary committee on femicide, formed by 20 senators from all parties, with the aim of identifying what is needed to stop and prevent femicide. In addition, a special law was also enacted addressing assistance to the orphans of these crimes, providing specific and dedicated support to reduce the consequences of trauma.

Femicide, although not used in the legal framework, is best defined as the killing of a woman because of her gender. Most cases relate to killing by an intimate partner. However, other killings of women might also fall under this category (for example, a woman who is raped and then killed, an exploited woman or prostitute who is killed, other family-related murders). The term ‘partner’ or ‘ex-partner’ includes the current or a previous husband, living and dating partner, lover or occasional partner. The expression ‘family femicide’ is also utilized to indicate killing by a relative, such as a father, son or other (Baldry et al, 2011; Corradi and Piacenti, 2016).

12.2 Resources

In view of the fact that the definition of femicide is not always consistent between agencies and social contexts in relation to calculating the number of victims, differences could also emerge. With this limit in mind, we can identify four bodies in Italy that collect data on the gender-related killing of women in the country:

1. The most accurate and longest-standing database on femicide is gathered by EURES (Economic and Social Research Centre). Since 1990, this private research centre has been collecting data from media sources on voluntary homicide and validating this information against the Ministry of the Interior source that releases official data at the end of each year. Since 2000, EURES has also focused on femicide through the

- systematic collection of an extensive number of variables (inter alia: age, marital status, education, employment and so on) related to both the victim and the perpetrator (Piacenti and Pasquali, 2014).
2. Casa delle donne per non subire violenza (a women's shelter) in Bologna is one of the National Networks of DiRe shelters. This is an independent, women's only NGO, established in the 1980s and aimed at preventing and eliminating all forms of VAW. It publishes and annotates data, but this activity does not appear to be a continuous endeavour.²³
 3. Since 2014, the Ministry of the Interior has published annually a short report on intimate and family homicide.
 4. The National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) gathers data on homicide, based on data from the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior. On 25 November 2016, ISTAT and the Department of Equal Opportunities signed an agreement to set aims for systematic data collection according to the provisions of the Istanbul Convention, including joint action with other relevant ministries (Interior and Justice) to gather data on femicide.
 5. The national newspaper *Corriere della Sera* in the section '27ora' has a special online census, providing a constant update of the women killed in Italy.²⁴

13. Lithuania (by Vilana Pilinkaitė)

13.1 Definition

Femicide as a consequence of intimate partner violence has been mainly utilized by women's NGOs, which advocate for legal reform and policy changes in Lithuania. The term 'femicide' is rarely used in academic research. However, femicide might be retrievable under Art. 129 of the Penal Code, which identifies

²³ See www.casadonne.it

²⁴ <https://27esimaora.corriere.it/la-strage-delle-donne/>

sentences in cases of homicide. The same article defines the relationships between an offender and victim, in terms of close relative or family member.

13.2 Resources

Data on femicide are generally collected under statistics for homicide. The most reliable source on femicide is the register of crime statistics collected by the Ministry of the Interior. The Department of Information Technology and Communications (DITC), within the Ministry of the Interior, collects data nationally and manages its collection and systematization. Data includes cases of crimes, victims and offenders, as well as the inception of pre-trial investigation under the Penal Code. Records from police, prosecutors and judges of private prosecution cases are supposed to appear in this register. The national standard for recording administrative data is the Order of the Minister of the Interior on Regulations of the Institutional Register of Criminal Acts (*LR Vidaus reikalų ministro įsakymas 'Nusiklatimo veikų žinybinio registro nuostatai'*). The DITC refers to the collected administrative data to generate the statistics for crimes. It is possible to identify the numbers of victims and offenders according to gender and family relations from these crime statistics. The DITC manages the database on all pre-trial investigations, in accordance with the Penal Code. Crimes reported by the police to the judicial system include data on homicides by sex of the victim and family relations. Thus, statistics on femicide are identifiable. The DITC publishes these statistics on a specially designated website for VAW, operated by the Ministry of the Interior.²⁵

²⁵ See www.bukstipri.lt/en/index.html

14. Republic of Macedonia (by Biljana Chavkoska and Viktorija Chavkoska)

14.1 Definition

In the Republic of Macedonia, there is no legally binding definition of femicide in the legal acts. The definition of homicide is covered under criminal law. Criminal law provides for a more severe sentence if the act of murder is perpetrated as family violence, so that the minimum sentence in this instance would be 10 years up to life imprisonment.²⁶ A new law was adopted as a *lex specialis* law, for the prevention and elimination of and protection from domestic violence, and came into force on 1 January 2015.²⁷ This law regulates the legal procedure for the protection and elimination of family violence, such as the legal protection of the victims of domestic violence and the obligatory activities of state institutions and civil society. The law provides definitions of family violence but does not define family violence as gender-based violence, while women and girls are not recognized as a vulnerable group. The Republic of Macedonia has a legal obligation to improve the data system for collecting information on family violence since adopting the law. Unfortunately, this is not the case in practice. Furthermore, there is no official oversight of the implementation of the law. It is expected that data resources on femicide and family violence will be improved in relation to implementation of Article 11 of the Istanbul Convention (signed in 2011) after it is ratified by parliament.

14.2 Resources

The statistical data for femicide can be obtained as follows:

²⁶ See the Criminal Code of the Republic of Macedonia, Official Gazette, No. 19/2004

²⁷ See the Law on Protection from and Prevention of Family Violence, Official Gazette, No. 138/2014

1. Through the Ministry of Internal Affairs' general report on homicide data statistics. This report renders the issue of femicide invisible, although it is reported that men are perpetrators of the murder of women. In terms of the motives for committing the murders, most are reported as occurring within the family circle and being caused by disrupted family relationships, with mostly women as victims. Due to the percentage of the female victims, it can be conclusively deduced that family violence is gender-based violence.
2. Some statistical data on femicide can be obtained from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs through the National Strategy for Preventing Family Violence and Homicide, as the most extreme form of family violence. However, the data for femicide is not visibly delineated, despite the fact that the statistics clearly show most of the victims to be female partners. The existing IT monitoring system for LIRICUS social services is not updated regularly, due mainly to the lack of qualified workers and equipment. By law, every citizen is legally obligated to report family violence to police officers, the centre for social work or the national SOS call line. A penalty fine of up to 1,000 euros is stipulated for citizens who fail to report incidents of family violence.
3. Unfortunately, at the present time, femicide statistics are also not covered by the National Statistics Authority, due to lack of research and official information. According to the non-official data collected by civic associations in the period from 2001 to 2016, 32 femicides were registered in the Republic of Macedonia, with 15 of these occurring in the period from 2013 to 2016.

15. Malta (by Marceline Naudi and Katya Unah)

15.1 Definition

There is no official definition of femicide in the Criminal Code.

15.2 Resources

To date, Malta does not have an official body/entity which collects femicide data, other than the police, who classify it as homicide. On request, the police can provide brief statistical information on all intentional homicides of women. The Commission on Domestic Violence collects newspaper articles following the murder of a woman. For example, in the year 2016, there were two such deaths in Malta: one in July and another in September.

Malta ratified the Istanbul Convention in 2014 and a law to ensure proper implementation was finally enacted in April 2018. The law includes the setting up of a body that is now responsible for collecting and collating all relevant data, which should include data on femicide.

16. The Netherlands (by Marieke Liem)

16.1 Definition

Femicides are not classified separately, as such, in the Netherlands. The available data allow for the extraction of female victims among sexual homicides, intimate partner homicides and other types of homicides.

16.2 Resources

In recent years (from 2003 onwards), in the Netherlands, homicides have been classified according to the Dutch Homicide Monitor (Granath et al, 2011).²⁸ This monitor is based on various partially overlapping sources, which also complement one another:

²⁸ For details on the construction of the dataset and the available variables, see Granath et al (2011).

1. All homicide-related newspaper articles generated by the Netherlands National News Agency (ANP): These articles contain a great deal of information on the characteristics of the homicides, perpetrators and victims.
2. The Elsevier Annual Report: *Elsevier* is a weekly magazine that publishes an annual report on all occurring homicides. This report is based on both ANP articles and police files.
3. Data stemming from police records in the Netherlands' 10 police districts: Several police districts supply (additional) data from their own documentation, which is then incorporated into the database.
4. Files from the Public Prosecution Service of the Ministry of Justice: This database includes the judicial procedures for prosecuted homicide perpetrators.

Norway (by Anne Ryen)

17.1 Definition

The Norwegian term used in official documents is *partnerdrap* ('partner murder' or 'partner killing') as well as *kvinnedrap* ('woman killing'), which is a wider and, in this context, less precise concept. 'Femicide' is an unfamiliar term in Norwegian. *Partnerdrap* implies that the victim and the partner were married, cohabitant or had a registered partnership at the time of, or prior to, the killing. The data show the victim (women-dominated) and murderer (male-dominated) by gender. Norwegian statistics include separated and divorced partners, former cohabitants and former partners, but excludes lovers who have never lived together.

17.2 Resources

Partnerdrap has been reported since 1990, and in 1998 the Norwegian government initiated research on the topic. The Kompetansesenteret for sikkerhets-, fengsels-, og rettspsykiatri,

the Statutory Centre for Security, Prisons and Forensic Psychiatry at Ullevål University Hospital, was appointed as the institution responsible for research. As part of the governmental Plan of Action, a doctoral study on intimate partner violence entitled ‘Vendepunkt’ (‘Turning Point’) mapped all partner killings in the period 1980–2008, with subsequent follow-up studies and practical manuals (Vatnar, 2009 and 2015).²⁹ Norway issues annual national statistics on murder, including *partnerdrap*, drawn from Kripes (Norway’s National Criminal Investigation Service) and police crime records in conjunction with the SSP (Central Criminal and Police Enlightenment Information Register). These statistics offer a detailed overview and are similarly reflective of trends from international studies, in that they incorporate details about previous violence and repetitive violence prior to the murder. This work has sparked a concerted endeavour to develop and formulate a policy to help prevent partner killings.³⁰

Media reports have helped place the topic on the public and political agenda, alerting stakeholders, such as politicians, NGOs, police, citizens and the press, to the disquieting state of the situation, and spurring them to develop both a policy and institutions to foster stakeholder collaboration. This includes related areas, such as rape, human trafficking and sexual violence that exacerbate intimate partner violence and femicide. Women’s and other shelters (*krisesentre*) are reporting

²⁹ See *Dinutvei.no - nasjonal veiviser ved vold og overgrep håndbok for helsepersonell ved mistanke om fysisk mishandling (NKVTS)*: <https://dinutvei.no>

³⁰ See Justis- og politidepartementet (2000) *Handlingsplan om vold mot kvinner* (2000–2003); Justis- og politidepartementet (2007) *Handlingsplan mot vold i nære relasjoner «Vendepunkt» (2007–2011)*; Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet (2012) *Handlingsplan mot vold i nære relasjoner 2012, Meld. St. 15 (2012–2013)*; Melding til Stortinget, *Forebygging og bekjempelse av vold i nære relasjoner. Det handler om å leve. Regjeringens handlingsplan mot vold i nære relasjoner, Vendepunkt 2008–2011*.

an increased demand and a greater mixture of clients.³¹ In relation to human trafficking, Norway reports to the European organization GRETA.³² It calls for improved coordination; the training of relevant professionals; annual meetings between relevant authorities and NGOs; a new curriculum and special training for the police; the continued, regular updating of the knowledge base for the police; data collection and research; as well as assistance measures for child and adult victims of trafficking.

18. Poland (by Magdalena Grzyb)

18.1 Definition

The notion of femicide has lately been introduced into academic discourse in Poland (Grzyb, 2014), although its circulation is rather scarce.³³ The only context where the term is currently used is in media coverage of femicide in Latin American countries, especially in Central America and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

18.2 Resources

There is no institution, public or nongovernmental body that collects data on femicide. The official criminal statistics collected by the police on homicides have disaggregated data according to the victim's sex since 2016, although these statistics are not published, and it is therefore impossible to establish whether

³¹ See Amnesty International Norge (2008) *Rapport om vold mot kvinner i asylmottak i Norge*, Oslo: Amnesty International, Norge; *Krisesentersekretariatets innspill (2012) Innspill til St. meld om menns vold mot kvinner og vold i nære relasjoner. Det handler om å leve.*

³² See *Action against Trafficking in Human Beings*, 2005, www.coe.int/en/web/anti-human-trafficking/home

³³ Grzyb (2014) proposed a broader definition of femicide as the killing of a woman because of her gender (not necessarily by a man).

a female victim was killed by a male or female perpetrator, or the nature of the relationship between them. Therefore, these cannot serve as a source of precise information on femicide. It can be averred that there are no reliable empirical research studies on femicide in Poland.

19. Portugal (by Sofia Neves)

19.1 Definition

Intimate partner violence is addressed as part of the autonomous crime of domestic violence, under Article 152 of the Portuguese Penal Code:

Whoever, in a repetitive manner or not, imposes physical or mental abuse, including bodily punishment, deprivation of liberty and sexual offences upon the spouse or ex-spouse; upon a person of another or of the same sex with whom the perpetrator maintains or has maintained a relationship equivalent to a spousal relationship, even if without cohabitation; upon a progenitor of a common descendant in the first degree; or upon a person particularly undefended, due to age, deficiency, disease, pregnancy, or economic dependency, who cohabits with him, shall be punishable by sentence of imprisonment from one to five years. If the agent commits the act against a minor, in the presence of a minor, in the common domicile, or in the victim's domicile, he shall be punishable by sentence of imprisonment from two to five years. If death results from the acts referred to above, the perpetrator shall be punishable by sentence of imprisonment from three to ten years and in the cases where it results in grievous bodily injury, the agent is punished with sentence of imprisonment from two to eight years.

Portugal remains embedded in conservative and patriarchal cultural values about family and intimacy, which favour the social acceptance of gender inequality, particularly in the family context. The designation of femicide has not been adopted by the current Portuguese administration and is relatively unused in general. The terms most used are ‘homicide’ or ‘marital homicide’.

19.2 Resources

Despite the extensive nature of the phenomena and the legal advances made in the last decades (Lourenço et al, 1997), Portugal does not have a specific national legal and regulatory framework concerning data collection on VAW. Both the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Internal Administration collect data on marital homicide. Beyond criminal statistics, provided by official administrative sources, data collection on marital violence is conducted mainly by academics and civil society organizations, particularly women’s associations, with each entity adopting different approaches and methods.

Since 2008, the Ministry of Internal Administration has issued a report on domestic violence annually, entitled *Domestic violence: Annual report of monitoring*, which integrates information concerning crime registrations, based on complaints reported to the policing authorities – the Republican National Guard (GNR) and the Public Security Police (PSP).

The Portuguese Observatory of Murdered Women – a mechanism created in 2004 by the Women’s Collective Alternative and Answer (UMAR) – produces periodical reports on femicide. The Portuguese Association for Victim Support (APAV) recently created a Homicide Crimes Observatory, where marital homicide crimes are also analysed.

In 2016 the Portuguese government created the Team for Retrospective Analysis on Domestic Violence Homicides (Ordinance No. 280/2016, October 26), whose mission is

to conduct a retrospective analysis of homicide situations that occurred in the context of domestic violence, with a view to developing preventative measures (Lisboa et al, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009; Neves and Nogueira, 2010; Pais, 2010; Almeida, 2012; Matos, 2013; Pereira et al, 2013; Neves, 2016; Neves et al, 2016; UMAR, 2016).

20. Romania (by Ecaterina Balica)

20.1 Definition

In Romania, the concept of femicide first appeared in 2014 (Balica et al., 2014). From then onwards, there have been a number of studies focused on femicide-suicides (Balica, 2016), femicide (Balica, 2017), femicide between Romanian immigrant communities (Balica, 2018b) and young intimate femicide (Balica, 2018a). This term is utilized only in academic papers. In these studies, femicide is defined by the Romanian researcher as “the killing of a woman by an intimate partner”. Partner is defined in a broad sense, to include a husband, living and dating partner, or lover; a former husband, former partner and former lover are also included in the definition.

20.2 Resources

Only one institution that has collected femicide data in Romania: the Laboratory Violence and Crime, Mediation and Prevention of the Institute of Sociology of the Romanian Academy (whose coordinator is C. Balica). Since 2015, Balica has initiated a pilot project to collect information about femicide committed in Romania between 2011 and 2015. To date, the database contains information from online media for about 298 cases of femicide committed in Romania. The definition of femicide used for this database was as follows: “femicide is best defined as the intentional killing of a woman by an intimate

partner”. The femicide in Romania database (n=298 cases) includes information about victims, aggressors and violence.

21. Serbia (by Ljiljana Stevkovic and Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic)

21.1 Definition

In Serbia, femicide as form of gender-based homicide has been introduced as a concept over the course of the past decade by feminist academics and activists. The general definition of this term is relatively narrow, and it is only applied to killings of women in the family and partner context (Jaric, 2015). However, it has not been yet recognized as a term in official documents (such as the Criminal Code), or in official communications concerning gender-based violence. The term ‘killing of women’, which is in use, includes intimate partner homicide, usually following a period of continuous violence.

Although the term femicide is not in official use, the killing of women in the family/partner context has been recognized in several articles of the Criminal Code:³⁴

1. Article 114: ‘the killing of a family member whom the perpetrator had previously abused’ as aggravated homicide. Although it is not specified, this type of homicide includes the killing of a woman by her intimate partner.
2. Article 121a: the death of women as consequence of genital mutilation.
3. Article 194, para. 4: the death of a family member (including a current or former intimate female partner, although not specified), as a consequence of family violence. The difference between this type of homicide and the act incriminated under

³⁴ See Criminal Code, Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia no. 85/2005, 88/2005, 107/2005, 72/2009, 111/2009, 121/2012, 104/2013, 108/2014, 94/2016.

Article 114 arises from the fact that the death of the family member is a consequence of the perpetrator's negligence.

In the past year, femicide has been covered extensively by the media, in order to raise awareness of the problem.

21.2 Resources

Two bodies currently collect data on femicide in Serbia:

1. Since 2010, the Women Against Violence Network (WAV Network) has collected and published statements and quantitative narrative reports on femicide, including data on victims, perpetrators, their relationship, what preceded the murder and the modus operandi of homicide (use of a weapon, whether the woman was beaten to death, strangled and so on), as well as analysis of media reports on femicide. The most recently published quantitative narrative report and statement on femicide in Serbia cover the period from January to June 2017.³⁵ Both reports and statements are based on media coverage of femicide, since no official data exist for this type of homicide. During 2016, the WAV Network began monitoring femicide trials. It also launched a petition to declare 18 May as the day of remembrance for women killed by male members of their family and women victims of femicide.³⁶ The Serbian government approved the petition and declared 18 May as National Remembrance Day for

³⁵ See 'Femicid u Srbiji: 01. Januar – 30. jun 2017', www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/images/pdf/FEMICID_Saopstenje_01.januar-30.jun_2017.pdf; *Femicid: Ubistva žena u Srbiji, Kvantitativno-narativni izveštaj za 2017. godinu*, www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/images/pdf/FEMICID_Kvantitativno-narativni_izvestaj_01.januar-30.jun_2017.pdf; www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/en/femicide-in-serbia

³⁶ The date was chosen in memory of seven women killed by their partners and male family members in 72 hours, on 15, 16 and 17 May in 2015.

- all the victims of femicide. In 2017, the WAV Network organized an international conference entitled ‘Femicide: Every murder of a woman is the responsibility and shame of the perpetrator, state and society’, at which representatives of the Victimology Society of Serbia participated, as well as representatives of other national and international women’s organizations.³⁷
2. The Counselling Office Against Family Violence (COAFV) (Safe House) is an NGO, established in Belgrade in 1996, with the aim of helping women and children who are victims of family violence. COAFV holds records about women who have been murdered, with their photographs and basic information about the perpetrator, details of what preceded the murder and its modus operandi (use of a weapon in the killing, strangulation and so on) for 2011–14 (available only in Serbian).³⁸
 3. After a case of mass homicide, in which the primary victim was a woman killed by her former husband, the Ombudsman for Serbia carried out an inspection of the legality of the work of 45 centres for social work (CSW) operating in Serbia under the auspices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Issues.³⁹ The inspection revealed shortcomings in the work of official services and institutions, and resulted in recommendations for the improvement of work within the police, CSWs and health institutions, as well as recommendations for the improved implementation of international agreements.
 4. A number of academic articles on femicide have been published in Serbian journals (see, for example, Mršević, 2013a, 2013b, 2014a, 2014b), and the journal *Temida*

³⁷ See www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/en

³⁸ See www.sigurnakuca.net/nasilje_nad_zenama/femicid/femicid_price_o_ubijenim_zenama.318.html?page=0&year

³⁹ See www.ombudsman.org.rs

published a special issue on femicide in 2016 (Batričević, 2016; Pavičević et al, 2016).

22. Slovenia (by Milica Antić Gaber and Jasna Podreka)

22.1 Definition

In Slovenia the concept of femicide is not in common use and is not recognized as an expression denoting the homicide of women. Moreover, it is not even currently employed in academic circles; nor does it appear in the media and, consequently, is not heard among the general population. The concept of femicide is utilized by only a few feminist scholars and researchers, and a number of NGOs working with women victims of violence. The problem of femicide is still underestimated and underresearched in Slovenia.

Is difficult to predict what the definition of femicide in Slovenia might be, because there is no public debate on the issue. In general, when someone uses the concept of femicide, he/she is referring to the killing of women by an intimate partner. However, in the academic field, we employ Russell's definition: 'the killing of females by males because they are females' (Radford and Russell, 1992). This definition is used to emphasize the term's political significance.

22.2 Resources

In Slovenia there is only one official body that can provide data on femicides, namely, the Ministry of the Interior. The ministry systematically collects statistical data about homicides of women, and considers the relationship between the victim and the offender to be key information.

Another important source on femicide in Slovenia is the first and only study on intimate partner femicide, conducted for PhD research at the Faculty of Arts and Science in Ljubljana, entitled 'Violence against women and intimate partner homicides of

women in Slovenia' (Podreka, 2013). The report is based on the review and qualitative analysis of 24 criminal records from all the district courts in Slovenia, for the period 2000–11.

23. Spain (by Santiago Boira Sarto, Chaime Marcuello, Yolanda Rodriguez Castro, María Lameiras Fernandez, Laura Otero Garcia, Belén Sanz Barbero, Carmen Vives Cases and Isabel Goicolea Julian)

23.1. Definition

The 2004 Organic Law for Integral Protection against Gender-based Violence (GBV) (Law 1/2004) applies only to 'violence that men exert against women who are or have been their intimate partners, or who are or have been in an intimate relationship with them, with or without cohabitation'. The Spanish Penal Code specifies several crimes related to violence against women in the case of sexual crimes. The Penal Code increases penalties when the crime is committed under conditions that are specified as GBV. Article 153 of the Penal Code specifies the crime of injury in relation to GBV. However, Spanish legislation does not specifically stipulate femicide as a crime, and homicides and murders of women are included within Title 1 of the Penal Code, which deals with homicide in all its forms.

The restrictive approach to GBV in Spain, as framed in Law 1/2004, does not align with the definitions adopted by international organizations, such as the UN or the European Union. The restrictive approach to GBV under Spanish law prevents the affordance of visibility and development of intervention for other forms of GBV to which women in Spain are exposed, for example, murders of women in the context of prostitution, or murders of women when the perpetrator is not her current or former intimate partner. Official registers for such crimes do not exist in Spain.

The Spanish ratification of the Istanbul Convention implies that Spanish legislation needs to be amended accordingly.

However, to date, the official response – namely, the reform incorporated in the Organic Law 1/2015, 30 March, which modifies Organic Law 1/1995, 23 November, of the Penal Code – has been inadequate.

This reform includes the following amendments:

1. The addition of gender-based discrimination as an aggravating factor (Art. 22.4 of the Penal Code). Crimes against human life were modified to be considered aggravated crime in cases where homicide is committed after sexual aggression (Art. 172 bis).
2. The harassment (Art. 172 ter) and sharing, without the consent of the victim, of images taken in private locations with the victim's consent (Art. 197.7 of the Penal Code). Spanish legislation fails, as yet, to incorporate into the definition of GBV those cases where the aggressor is not a current or former intimate partner. This limitation was highlighted in the CEDAW report of 24 July 2015, which emphasized the need to include other types of GBV, such as: caretaker violence, police violence, or violence in public spaces, workplaces and schools . Although the term femicide is employed by certain social and academic institutions, its use is not generalized and it is utilized mainly in relation to the murder of women occurring within intimate relationships. In 2014, the 23rd edition of the Real Academia Española Spanish Language Dictionary incorporated the word *feminicidio*, defined as ‘the murder of a woman due to her sex’.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See <http://dle.rae.es/?id=Hjt6Vqr>

23.2 Resources⁴¹

Since 2003, the statistical web of the Government Delegation for GBV at the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality has incorporated information on deaths due to GBV. In addition, the following information is available about deaths of women over the age of 15, aggregated by year:

- in relation to the victim: the complainant's characteristics, protective orders issued, violations of restrictive orders, country of birth, age, cohabitation with the aggressor, geographical location;
- in relation to the aggressor: country of birth, age, whether suicide was committed.⁴²

Data compiled for the period 2003–05 emanated from Spanish media sources. Since 2005, the data have come from state law enforcement and security forces or from local police, and are corroborated by information provided by the judiciary. The statistics provide information on the sociodemographic characteristics of the victims (age, country of birth, relationship to the aggressor, cohabitation, geographic area, protection measures, police complaints and status of protection orders) as well as the characteristics of aggressors (country of birth, age and suicide). Recently, a statistical database that facilitates access to this information has been made available to the public (although access to individual data on homicides is not made public) under the title Portal Estadístico de la Delegación del Gobierno para la Violencia de Género (Statistical Portal of the Government Delegation for Gender Violence).⁴³

⁴¹ The following information is taken from Vives-Cases and Sanz-Barbero (2017).

⁴² See www.violenciagenero.msssi.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/victimasmortales/home.htm

⁴³ See <http://estadisticasviolenciagenero.msssi.gob.es>

Since 2007, the State Observatory on Violence Against Women, under the auspices of the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality, has published an annual report including information about all fatality victims of GBV. The latest report published includes information about murders committed in 2013 of women above the age of 15.

The General Council of Judicial Power (CGPJ) publishes data annually on VAW as part of judicial statistics where homicide crimes are reported.⁴⁴ Since 2007, the Observatory on Domestic and Gender-based Violence of the CGPJ, created in 2007, has published an annual report on death of victims due to domestic violence and GBV within intimate relationships. The latest report includes information about murders of women over the age of 15 committed in 2013.⁴⁵ It is important to note that these reports have been employing the term femicide since 2009, when referring to ‘the violent death of a woman by her current or former partner, or a person who is or has been related to her by a similar affective relationship, and where the aggressor is a man’.

Some nongovernmental organizations also gather statistics on the number of women murdered, mainly by their intimate partners or ex-partners. It is important to mention in this context the Federation of Associations of Divorced and Separated Women, which facilitates access to media news published by the Spanish press in relation to femicide cases, from 1999 to today.⁴⁶ Additionally, the Fundación Mujeres feminicidio.net offers information on femicides committed in Spain, in any form, not limited to intimate partner femicide.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See www.poderjudicial.es/cgpj/es/Temas/Violencia-domestica-y-de-genero/Actividad-del-Observatorio/Datos-estadisticos/?filtroAnio=2015

⁴⁵ See www.poderjudicial.es/cgpj/es/Temas/Violencia-domestica-y-de-genero/Actividad-del-Observatorio/Informes-de-violencia-domestica

⁴⁶ See www.separadasydivorciadas.org/wordpress/estadisticas

⁴⁷ See www.feminicidio.net/menu-feminicidio-informes-y-cifras

The National Statistics Institute collects data related to mortality according to cause of death that is disaggregated by gender: the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) *Estadística de defunciones según la causa de muerte*. Using these, it is possible to distinguish the most frequent causes of death among men and women.⁴⁸

Cause of death is specified under the Index of International Classifications of Diseases (ICD), in which the classifications closest to the concept of femicide include 099 – aggressions (homicide, including a specific code for death related to abuse by a husband or partner); 100 – events of undetermined intention; and 102 – other external causes and later effects.

The INE also publishes statistics on homicides of women by their partner or ex-partner, based on information from the Government Delegation for Gender Violence.⁴⁹

The General Council of the Judiciary, through the Observatory on Domestic and Gender-based Violence (created in 2002), compiles and analyses data obtained from legal statistics. This public institution produces an annual report on fatal injuries due to domestic violence.⁵⁰ Since 2004, this institution has used the term *feminicidio* and is the only public institution that currently does so. Since 2015, after the approval of Organic Law 8/2015, the deaths of minors at the hands of a father have also been considered direct victims of gender violence.

Another information source that compiles cases of femicide using a broader definition is the statistics webpage of the Federación de Asociaciones de Mujeres Separadas y Divorciadas (Federation of Associations of Separated and Divorced

⁴⁸ See http://ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736177008&menu=resultados&idp=1254735573002

⁴⁹ www.ine.es/ss/Satellite?L=es_ES&c=INESeccion_C&cid=1259926144037&p=1254735110672&pagename=ProductosYServicios%2FPYSLayout

⁵⁰ See www.poderjudicial.es/cgpi/es/Temas/Violencia-domestica-y-de-genero/Actividad-del-Observatorio/Informes-de-violencia-domestica

Women).⁵¹ Information used to compile case files is sourced from notices published in the Spanish media. For each case registered, information is collected on the date of the event, the media outlet that obtained the information, the name and age of the victim, city and province, the relationship of the victim to the aggressor, and the notice published.

A newer initiative, *femicidio.net*, publishes reports and statistics on femicide in Spain and Latin America. This is an initiative promoted by a feminist association that aims to afford visibility to cases not included in official.⁵² Once again, media outlets provide the reference sources for information. Network reports provide data classified by the following parameters: year, location (autonomous community and province where the act occurred); age, occupation and country of origin of the victim; relationship to the aggressor; type of femicide (intimate or other types perpetrated by family members, death by robbery, prostitution, transphobia, inter alia); the existence of prior protective measures; and the available characteristics of the aggressor or about the act of violence.

Since 2003, the *Portal Estadístico de la Delegación del Gobierno para la Violencia de Género* (Statistical Portal of the Government Delegation for Gender Violence) of the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality of the Spanish Government has compiled the number of deaths due to violence perpetrated by a partner or ex-partner.⁵³ Using this information and data available via the National Statistics Institute on Female Homicide (CIE code 099), it can be shown that more than half of the cases of homicides of women are femicides due to gender violence.

⁵¹ See www.separadasydivorciadas.org/wordpress/estadisticas

⁵² See www.femicidio.net/menu-femicidio-informes-y-cifras

⁵³ See <http://estadisticasviolenciagenero.msssi.gob.es>

24. Sweden (by Lucas Gottzén and Sofia Strid)

24.1 Definition

The term femicide is not widely employed in Sweden. Swedish research on the matter is sparse, and the most common terms found are ‘deadly violence’, ‘women killed by men’, ‘deadly intimate partner violence against women’ and the gender-neutral ‘deadly intimate partner violence’ (Nybergh, 2016; Enander et al, 2017), which is also often used by government agencies (Brå, 2007; Kriminalvården, 2009; Polismyndigheten i Västra Götaland, 2013; Socialstyrelsen, 2014; SOU, 2015). Crime statistics and laws refer to ‘deadly violence’, which includes murder, manslaughter, child-slaughter and assault with deadly outcome (these are literal translations from Brå, 2016a), collectively termed ‘deadly violence’ (Brå, 2016a, 2016b). Common terms used by government agencies are ‘deadly intimate partner violence against women’ and ‘deadly intimate partner violence’ (see, for example, Brå, 2007; Socialstyrelsen, 2016), which refer primarily to the murder of a woman by an intimate partner. An intimate partner is commonly defined as a current or former husband, partner, boyfriend, girlfriend or lover, regardless of whether they were cohabiting at the time of the murder or had previously cohabited.

24.2 Resources

The main body that collects data on violent crime (including the murder of women and men) is the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet – Brå), an agency established in 1974, under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice. Brå is a centre for research and development within the judicial system, working primarily to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society by producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention work. Brå produces Sweden’s official crime statistics, evaluates reforms, conducts research to

develop new knowledge and provides support to local crime prevention work. Brå's results form a basis for decision makers within the judicial system, parliament and the government. Brå often works in collaboration with other organizations and agencies in the public sector. It collects data on reported crime from the police, the customs authority, the public prosecutor and the courts. Other sources include Statistics Sweden (SCB), but the SCB statistics themselves draw on data from Brå.

Another, more qualitative, source is the National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen), a government agency under the auspices of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. This agency is required by law to conduct special investigations in cases where the cause of death is related to 'a crime conducted by a close, or formerly close person' (Socialstyrelsen, 2016). The aim of these investigations is to provide information that could be used in developing prevention measures in matters of intimate partner or family violence, as well as to enable long-term knowledge production. The National Board of Health and Welfare has been critical of its own investigations and has argued that it is impossible to draw any general conclusions, or make any systematic analyses, due to the sample being too small and too narrowly defined, and the fact that the board is not permitted to obtain information about the perpetrators.

25. Turkey (by Sümeyra Buran and Sadik Toprak)

25.1 Definition

There is insufficient concrete legal definition of femicide in Turkey. There has not yet been agreement as to the definition of femicide, as it can be confused with so-called 'honour killing' and 'revolt killing' in Turkey, but there are some related definitions around violence against women in Turkey (Yilmaz et al, 2015):

- 1. Law No. 6284 on the Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women:** The purpose of the law is identified as ‘regulating the principles and procedures as to the measures to be taken to protect and prevent violence against women and family members victimized by or under the risk of being subjected to violence, as well as the victims of stalking’. The law provides a definition of violence against women as follows: ‘gender-based discrimination directed against a woman precisely because she is a woman, or that affects women disproportionately, and any attitude and behavior violating the human rights of women and defined as violence in this Law’. The Turkish Penal Code is the law that defines crime and punishment; and acts such as injury, killing, sexual assault and harassment, marital rape, menace and coercion are set forth as crimes within the Penal Code. Moreover, Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centres (VPMC) are being established under the provisions of this law.⁵⁴
- 2. Working Group Committee on Femicide:** Since 2009, the Ministry of Internal Affairs General Directorate of Security and the General Commandership of the Gendarmerie (Rural Police) have been using a ‘Registration Form for Domestic Violence’ and have therefore been recording data on femicide as a result of domestic violence committed against women expressly because they are women.⁵⁵ In 2017 a working group committee on femicide was established by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, with the participation of representatives from the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

⁵⁴ See www.evicisiddet.adalet.gov.tr/en/dosya/up/icerik/1-6284-sayili-kanun.pdf

⁵⁵ See https://app1.jandarma.tsk.tr/KYSOP/uzaktan_egitim/Documents/4%20Jandarma.pdf

- 3. The National Action Plan on Combating Violence Against Women (2016–20):** Violence against women is classified under four categories: physical, sexual, psychological and economic. Under Action 5.6, there is an action call defined as: ‘analyzing incidents of violence against women resulting in death’.⁵⁶

25.2 Resources

1. Turkey was one of the first signatories to the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) on 11 May 2011. It was also the first country to ratify the convention, under Law No. 6284 on the Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women, prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Istanbul Convention, which entered into force on 20 March 2012.⁵⁷
2. The Regulation on Opening and Operating Women’s Shelters entered into force on 5 January 2013. As a result, 137 women’s shelters were established with a total capacity of 3,433.
3. The Regulation on Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centres (ŞÖNİMs) entered into force following its publication in the *Official Gazette* on 17 March 2016. ŞÖNİMs provide consultancy, guidance and counselling services, and strengthening and supportive services, as well as monitoring services on a 24/7 basis and employing preferably

⁵⁶ See the definition of physical violence against women closely related to femicide: www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/ING_SUMMARY_REPORT_VAW_2014.pdf

⁵⁷ See Law on the Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence Against Women: www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_235174.pdf

female personnel.⁵⁸ First Step Stations were established in July 2011 and applied to ŞÖNİMs or to Family and Social Policies Provincial Directorates. These ‘First Step Stations’ service units function under the women’s shelters which observe women victims of violence seeking shelter, examine their psychological and economic states and provide them with a place to stay for up to two weeks after their provisional acceptance.

4. Prime Ministerial Circular No. 2006/17 on ‘Measures to be Taken towards Preventing Acts of Violence against Children and Women and Custom and Honour Killings’ was published in 2006.
5. The ALO 183 Social Support Hotline operates 24/7 free of charge. It offers psychological, legal and financial counselling services for victims of violence or those at risk who need support.
6. The Pilot Scheme for the Electronic Support System was launched in 2012, whereby panic button devices (safety buttons) are given to women by the Violence Prevention and Watch Centres within the framework of a pilot scheme.
7. The General Directorate of Criminal Registration and Statistics, under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice, can collect data about female victims, women killings and honour killings, from the National Judiciary Informatics System (UYAP). However, specific femicide statistics cannot be downloaded from UYAP because of the lack of an article about femicide in 5237 Turkish Criminal Code, Article 82 (Qualified form of felonious homicide). The Ministry of Justice has started a new project about femicide, called ‘offense–victim match’, for UYAP, and this new data entry system is currently under construction.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See <https://kadininstatusu.aile.gov.tr/uploads/pages/dagitimda-olan-yayinlar/the-violence-prevention-and-monitoring-centers-sonim-ingilizce.pdf>

⁵⁹ See www.adlisicil.adalet.gov.tr/istatistik_2015/adalet2015/index.html#/0

8. The public institutions which provide active and direct data about femicide in provincial centers of Turkey are: The Domestic Violence Crimes Inquiry Offices (under the Office for Public Prosecution); The Departments of Combatting Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women at the Branch Offices of Public Security in 81 Provincial Directories of Security Child and Women's Section; and The Chief's Office at Provincial Gendarmerie Command.⁶⁰
9. There are several studies on femicide originating from the Turkish medical community, focused mainly on pregnant or infertile women (Ergöner et al, 2008: 125–129; Yildizhan et al, 2009). However, the majority of studies were conducted by forensic pathologists who exposed femicide as part of their daily practice. One such study showed that the most common perpetrator was the husband or ex-husband (Karbeyaz et al, 2013). Another study pointed out that victims were mostly between the ages of 21 and 40 years, that firearms and strangulation were the most common causes of death, and that more than half of femicide cases can be classified as intimate partner violence (Unal et al, 2016). One study analysing domestic violence throughout Turkey demonstrated that domestic violence has a high prevalence and that reporting rates were lower in less developed regions (Toprak, 2016).

26. United Kingdom (by Hilary Fisher, Aisha K. Gill and Heidi Stöckl)

26.1 Definition

There is no agreed-upon UK government definition of femicide, and the term is not employed in official statistics.

⁶⁰ See Ministry of Internal Affairs General Directorate of Security and the General Commandership of the Gendarmerie (Rural Police): https://app1.jandarma.tsk.tr/KYSOP/uzaktan_egitim/Documents/4%20Jandarma.pdf; Turkish National Police Academy: <https://www.pa.edu.tr/Default.aspx?page=Main&lang=En>

26.2 Resources

The UK Home Office collects data on all homicides on the England and Wales Homicide Index, a computer-based system where all homicides are initially recorded by the police.⁶¹ These data are categorized according to the sex of the victim. The motive in these statistics is not given based on the gender of the victim, but on the victim's relationship to the perpetrator. In Scotland, similar information is collected by the Scottish Government.

In the UK, the Femicide Census was developed by Karen Ingala Smith, CEO of Nia, in partnership with Women's Aid Federation England, and with support from Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer and Deloitte LLP. For the work of the Femicide Census, femicide is defined as the killing of women by men, and is aligned to the earlier work of Diana Russell and Jill Radford, who defined femicide as 'the misogynistic killing of women by men' (Radford and Russell, 1992). The Femicide Census aims to provide a clear picture of femicide in the UK, in order to understand and address this phenomenon and, most importantly, to give a voice to the victims who have lost their lives to the most extreme manifestation of men's violence against women. It currently contains details on over 1,000 women killed by men in England, Wales and Northern Ireland since 2009. The Femicide Census database records the names of the women killed and their perpetrators, and it collects quantitative data disaggregated across age, occupation and health status, the elements of the killing itself – including the date, police area, weapon and recorded motive – as well as other available details for each case, relating to children, ethnicity and country of birth. The collection of this data demonstrates that these killings are not

⁶¹ See www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/compendium/focusonviolentcrimeandsexualoffences/yearendingmarch2015/chapter2homicide

isolated incidents and enables the analysis of trends and patterns in more depth, significantly furthering the understanding of the phenomenon of femicide. In her recent report to the General Assembly (A/71/398), the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women specifically cites the UK's Femicide Census as an outstanding example of data collection practice.⁶²

The underlying data for the Femicide Census was taken from Karen Ingala Smith's blog *Counting Dead Women*.⁶³ This information, as well as other publicly available information obtained primarily through online news articles, is verified and supplemented with information acquired from the police and other sources through Freedom of Information Act requests.

The first report from the Femicide Census was published in December 2016, drawing on findings from the 2009–15 cases (Femicide Census, 2016). This report received wide media coverage.⁶⁴ The report and the findings have been cited several times in the British Parliament, including during Prime Minister's Questions. Karen Ingala Smith and Women's Aid have showcased the census database and presented its findings to a wide range of audiences, including the OSCE Gender Section in Vienna, the Crown Prosecution Service and the College of

⁶² See <https://www.womensaid.org.uk/what-we-do/campaigning-and-influencing/femicide-census>

⁶³ <https://kareningalasmith.com/counting-dead-women/>

⁶⁴ Media coverage of the first report included:

- *ITV*: www.itv.com/news/wales/2016-12-09/significant-rise-in-violence-against-women-in-2016-says-report
- *Telegraph*: www.telegraph.co.uk/women/life/900-women-have-killed-men-england-wales-past-6-years
- *New Statesman*: www.newstatesman.com/politics/feminism/2016/12/femicide-census-honours-victims-gender-violence
- *Reuters*: <http://news.trust.org/item/20161207130106-19elh>
- *Daily Mail*: www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-4009380/Male-partners-responsible-deaths-UK-women-killed-men-charities.html
- *Guardian*: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/dec/07/men-killed-900-women-six-years-england-wales-figures-show>

Policing. A shorter report based on findings from data collated in 2016 was published in December 2017 (Femicide Census, 2017).

Conclusions

The main aim of this chapter was to present an overview of current femicide research across Europe, at both the global European and country level. To conclude, it is necessary to summarize weaknesses and strengths for the future.

Weaknesses

In most European countries, official statistics on femicide do not exist:

Annual crime reports issued by the police or national statistics agencies count annual cases of homicide or manslaughter; in many cases, but not all, they differentiate the gender of the victim and perpetrator. In some countries the statistics provide information on the victim–offender relationship; for the others, femicide is undetectable using the statistics. In countries where femicide or, at least, intimate partner homicide numbers or rates are available, many incidents lack complete information and data collection is discontinuous. The differences in national legal and reporting systems severely limit comparability across space and time. They also hinder appreciation of increases and decreases in femicide rates over time.

Data sources are extremely varied:

As the overview of resources in European countries shows, national or police statistics reports, court data, mortuary statistics and newspaper searches are the main sources of information. Each of these sources has advantages and disadvantages and should be carefully assessed before use. They work very well when used in combination: for example, newspaper searches provide detailed information (such as type and duration of

victim–perpetrator relationship, weapon, location and more) and national statistics provide general quantitative information (rates, age cohorts, proportions across space, citizenship and so on) on the femicides. However, blending data while avoiding duplication of cases can be achieved only if the data can be matched, and this is usually not done, due to lack of coordination among the various institutional actors.

A common definition of femicide is lacking, as well as a legal definition:

The most common definition is of a ‘woman intentionally killed by her former or current intimate partner’. However, this definition, which abounds in the media coverage of femicide, is rather narrow. It excludes the two ends of the age cohort: at one end, both unborn foetuses who are aborted because they are female and girls below the age of 16; at the other, older women who are killed by male relatives. Intimate partner femicide is a clearcut category, always including a sexual or gender-based dimension (Walby et al, 2017), yet femicide also occurs for other reasons.

Strengths

The most persuasive strength of femicide research in Europe is the abundance of initiatives, from grassroots data collection to official statistics:

The overview of resources for femicide research in European countries illustrates the multitude of ongoing small- and large-scale programmes in the different countries of Europe. Even if they are fragmented and sometimes disconnected, they constitute a very productive starting point for a European Observatory on Femicide, since interest, commitment, motivation and skill for femicide research abound in Europe.

There is dense interconnection between different actors that all play a part in analysing, preventing and combating femicide, or in protecting women's lives:

Government bodies, public and private research centres, NGOs, shelters, and activists have different tasks, but in order to collect robust and reliable data they need to relate to each other. The connection between governmental institutions and nongovernmental feminist actors working in the field of violence against women is still not an easy one in many countries; the power of the state has been both invoked and criticized by sociologists (Abraham and Tastsoglou, 2016; Corradi and Stöckl, 2016). Nevertheless, governments play an important role in intervention and prevention. An extensive analysis of femicide prevention, and how it is culturally shaped, is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. However contested, this represents a necessary and very fruitful arena of cooperation between collective actors addressing violence against women. A renewed subjectivity has emerged for women's movements that will continue to develop through the engagement of open debate on the role and responsibility of the state to put an end to femicide and domestic violence.

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