



Gender-based violence

# **Measuring femicide in the EU and internationally: an assessment**

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This report is accompanied by further publications on data collection on violence against women. These resources can be found on EIGE's website (<https://eige.europa.eu/gender-based-violence>).

# European Institute for Gender Equality

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# Abbreviations

## Member State abbreviations

AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
CY	Cyprus
CZ	Czechia
DE	Germany
DK	Denmark
EE	Estonia
EL	Greece
ES	Spain
FI	Finland
FR	France
HR	Croatia
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
IT	Italy
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
LV	Latvia
MT	Malta
NL	Netherlands
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
SE	Sweden
SI	Slovenia
SK	Slovakia
UK EAW	United Kingdom – England and Wales
UK NI	United Kingdom – Northern Ireland
UK SC	United Kingdom – Scotland

## Frequently used abbreviations

ACUNS	Academic Council of the United Nations System
AOF	Argentina Observatory on Femicide
CCPCJ	Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CFOJA	Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability
CoE	Council of Europe
COST	European Cooperation in Science and Technology
EHM	European Homicide Monitor
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EOF	European Observatory on Femicide
ESCCJS	European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics
FGM	female genital mutilation
GEOLAC	Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean
GREVIO	Group of Experts on Action Against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence
ICCS	International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes
ICD	<i>International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems</i>
ILDA	Latin American open data initiative (Iniciativa Latinoamericana de Datos Abiertos)
LAMP	Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women
MESECVI	Follow-up Mechanism to the Inter-American Belém do Pará Convention (Mecanismo de Seguimiento de la Convención de Belém do Pará)
MFR	Minnesota femicide report
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NHMP	national homicide monitoring program
UKFC	United Kingdom Femicide Census Database
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSA	United Nations Studies Association
UNSD	United Nations Statistical Division
UNStats	United Nations Statistical Commission
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
VFM	Violence Free Minnesota
WHO	World Health Organization

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# 1. Introduction

Sound and comparable data on gender-related killings of women and girls is essential to understanding the prevalence of femicide. This data gathering must be based on a commonly acknowledged definition of femicide and recognised units of measurement and indicators, as well as a typology of femicide. Indicators are a combination of data that forms the basis for measurements and comparison of femicide over time and across regions. This task requires variables and classification systems that will help to standardise data gathering and contribute to a European Union-wide definition of femicide for statistical purposes.

Data collection systems across the EU remain very heterogeneous, as they are based on national crime statistics or other administrative data sources on homicide (from the judiciary or the health system), or on the media analyses of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which vary substantially in their definitions and variables. Variables and classifications produced at national level do not provide comparable data: 'Central problems of data collection are related to differences in definitions, missing data and missing information on the background motives of the cases as well as the victim-perpetrator relationship' (Schrottler and Meshkova, 2018, p. 44). One consequence is that EU Member States focus mainly on 'intimate partner femicide', which neglects other forms of femicide. Reconciled classification systems and variables should guide data collection on cases of femicide across the EU Member States.

Consistent collection of data that is made publicly available is an important first step towards preventing femicide and protecting victims of gender-based violence more generally. Unfortunately, the collection and public availability of data are, at present, rather fragmented.

This report gives a comprehensive overview of definitions, data collection systems, methodologies and variables in gathering data on femicide.

It outlines whether and how different global and national actors are moving towards:

- a legal definition of femicide;
- construction of indicators / measurement framework based on common (agreed) variables to identify femicide.

The aims are to establish a framework for the measurement of femicide at EU level by using variables that might lead to a common definition, and the operationalisation of variables for statistical purposes. This common battery of variables should guide methods for data collection, ensure the gathering of reliable data and result in data comparability across the EU. This report provides the broader context for definitions and variables based on an overview of definitions at both international and Member State levels.

## 1.1. The European Institute for Gender Equality's work on femicide

In 2017, the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) strengthened its work towards achieving comprehensive and uniform data collection across the EU Member States by commissioning a project to develop definitions and indicators of gender-based violence, including intimate partner violence, rape and femicide. This report thus takes EIGE's 2017 glossary and terminology reports as its starting point (EIGE, 2017a; EIGE 2017b).

EIGE defines femicide as '(t)he killing of a woman by an intimate partner and the death of a woman as a result of a practice that is harmful to women. Intimate partner is understood as a former or current spouse or partner, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim' (EIGE, 2017a, p. 28; EIGE, 2017b, p. 44).

The components of femicide in EIGE's Terminology Report (EIGE, 2017b, p. 30) are based on defining specific situations or contexts and practices leading to the killing or death of women and girls:

- intentional killings of women and girls, gender-based acts (of killing of women and girls),
- killing of partner or spouse, deaths of women resulting from intimate partner violence,
- deaths related to female genital mutilation (FGM),
- deaths related to unsafe abortion and foeticide,

- honour killings and dowry-related deaths.

Key components of EIGE's definition are **gender inequality** and **gender-related motivation for a killing**. This report highlights the challenges in data gathering and the data gaps detected in those 2017 publications. It aims to update the previous studies by giving an overview of recent developments in definitions and data collection on femicide at national and international levels.

The focus of this report is on the data collection systems of the 27 EU Member States (EU-27) and the United Kingdom; in addition, innovative and promising data collection systems and methodologies from other world regions are presented.

## 2. Research design

This report brings together current debates, international definitions, data collection systems, methodologies and indicators of femicide in order to shed light on a complex and multifaceted phenomenon.

The report first presents the historical context, particularly the political and academic debates about femicide (see [Section 3](#)). It then gives a comprehensive overview of European and global femicide data-collecting systems (see [Section 4](#)), femicide indicators and classification systems (see [Section 5](#)), national legislation and statistical definitions across European Union national levels (see [Section 6](#)) and national data collections by NGOs (see [Section 7](#)).

The report also includes good examples to illustrate the way in which national data collections are growingly taking into account the gender dimension as a necessary step in order to gather relevant and disaggregated data on femicide.

EIGE collected information from a wide variety of stakeholders through a questionnaire for national data providers and officials, and an online survey for national experts. The responses received covered all of the countries targeted by the study (EU-27 and the United Kingdom).

The questionnaire and survey gathered sufficient, although not exhaustive, information to map the situation in each country. The responses were analysed qualitatively, given the differences in the structures of the questionnaire and the online survey, the heterogeneous sample of respondents and possible inconsistencies in the information provided by the respondents.

The report concludes with recommendations for national governments and the EU on how best to collect data based on a harmonised framework and how to define femicide for statistical and legal purposes. The recommendations argue for minimum standards and best practices.



### 3. Context and background

This section provides the context for debates relating to the separate classification of the killing of women, shedding light on the historical development of the term ‘femicide’ and briefly introducing relevant political actors and academic networks.

The term ‘femicide’ was publicly introduced in 1976 by Diana Russell while testifying before the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women. She defined femicide as ‘the murders of women by men motivated by hatred, contempt, pleasure or a sense of ownership of women’ and as ‘the killing of females by males because they are females’ (Russell and Caputi, 1990). Diana Russell’s definition is not accepted by all scholars as the standard definition of femicide, and there is some debate about whether femicide should be defined in a broader or a narrower sense. Although Radford and Russell stress gender-related motivation (i.e. misogyny) as key to the categorisation of the killing of a woman as femicide (Radford and Russell, 1992), others refer to broader patriarchal and violent structures. Campbell and Runyan (1998), for instance, stress that femicide ‘refers to all killings of women, regardless of motive or perpetrator status’. Mexican anthropologist Marcela Lagarde differentiated **feminicide** from **femicide** to emphasise that women are systematically killed because they are women and because of state neglect (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2009, p. 5). Other writers are keen to include a wider range of contexts in which femicide occurs, for example in genocide (Rafter, 2016) or during wartime more generally (Brownmiller, 1975). These debates highlight the lack both of a shared conceptualisation and of related measurements for the prevalence of the crime, contributing to the impunity for and invisibility of the crime itself.

The issue of gender-related killings of women and girls has been on the agenda of international and European organisations since the 1990s. Several resolutions and declarations are built on a consensus to stop gender-related killings of women and girls, draft policies that prevent femicide and implement measures to support victims of gender-based violence. Academics across the globe

have established gender-based violence as a field of research, advancing research on femicide in order to establish the term as an important concept in preventing violence against women.

In particular, Latin America and the Caribbean have been leading the way as part of the UN’s mobilisation against endemic killings of women. Between 2007 and 2017, 18 countries in these regions introduced femicide as a criminal offence, thus introducing a legal definition of femicide (Walklate et al., 2020). In 2004, the Follow-up Mechanism to the Inter-American Belém do Pará Convention (Mecanismo de Seguimiento de la Convención de Belém do Pará, MESECVI) defined femicide as the killing of women because of their gender. Femicide might occur within the family or any other interpersonal relationship, or within a community. It can also be committed by an individual and/or tolerated by the state, either by state agents’ acts or by omission (Walklate et al., 2020; UN Women, 2020).

Notwithstanding this, various pieces of legislation show ‘key differences in the definitions as to what “counts” as femicide’ (Walklate et al., 2020, p. 40) across the Latin American region. Some countries restrict the legislation to specific targets or emphasise some aggravating circumstances, such as women killed by an intimate partner (Chile, Dominican Republic), women killed by a former partner and/or a family member (Brazil), killing of pregnant women (Bolivia, Panama, Peru), killing of a woman for the purpose of trafficking (Peru), killing of a woman subject to sexual violence (Costa Rica, Honduras, Paraguay) and killing in the presence of the woman’s child(ren) (Ecuador, Guatemala, Panama) (Walklate et al., 2020).

In the past 10 years, the establishment of definitions of femicide, of different types of measurement and of data collection systems has been at the heart of activities in several countries, international organisations and declarations. Various international organisations produce ‘homicide statistics’, for example the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol); the United Nations

Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of the Criminal Justice System, of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (ESCCJS); Eurostat; and the World Health Organization (WHO) (Smit et al., 2012, p. 6). Nevertheless, **not all the killings of women and girls that might be classified as femicides are classified as such.** This is due to (1) the lack of a common definition, (2) the lack of factors that identify the killing of women as femicide, (3) the lack of common variables for gathering data on the killing of women and (4) the problems associated with missing cases (National Inquiry into Missing Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). The contested nature of what counts as femicide adds a layer of complexity as to who and what counts, depending on how it is defined.

What is needed is the development of indicators, based on common variables that can be used to classify the killing of women as femicide. Comparable data is necessary to develop international and transnational indicators, to estimate the prevalence of femicide, to track changes in the number of femicides within and across countries over time and to inform policy makers and assist the design and implementation of effective public policies to prevent femicide, to prosecute and punish perpetrators without promoting (racist) punitive systems <sup>(1)</sup>.

The following sections present a chronology of debates on data collection. Although necessarily limited and not exhaustive, it aims to introduce main actors and key points.

### 3.1. Europe: the Istanbul Convention and growing public awareness

In 2008, the Council of Europe (CoE) published a report, *Administrative data collection on domestic violence in Council of Europe member states* (CoE, 2008). The report focused on lethal domestic violence and referred to the Finnish Homicide

Monitor as a good practice for data collection on intimate partner femicide (CoE, 2008).

The 2011 Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention) was the starting point for public awareness of a need for data collection on femicide in European countries <sup>(2)</sup>. Although the Convention has no specific definition of femicide, Article 11 requires states to collect disaggregated statistical data on all forms of violence against women. Article 46 also defines aggravating circumstances or contexts that might lead to femicide in intimate partner violence. The Istanbul Convention thus advanced the harmonisation of data collection on femicide, underlining the importance of statistical data.

### 3.2. The United Nations: designing definitions and indicators of femicide

Different organisations of the UN have contributed to the development of a joint definition of femicide and the harmonisation of data collection on femicide, here listed in a chronological progression.

- United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD) / Friends of the Chair of the United Nations Statistical Commission on Statistical Indicators on Violence against Women. During a February 2010 meeting, the Friends of the Chair of the UN Statistical Commission on Indicators on Violence against Women suggested broadening the definition of femicide, rather than restricting it 'to current or former partners as perpetrators' (UNSTATS, 2010, p. 13). The meeting concluded that 'administrative records are the most adequate sources of data' and agreed on the following variables for femicide: sex, and characteristics of the aggressor (UNSTATS, 2010, p. 14). The meeting decided that the Friends of the Chair would focus on administrative and civil society records to find data on femicide.

<sup>(1)</sup> Some researchers noted that the culturalisation of causes of femicide might lead to racist stigmatisation of certain groups (being violent against women because of their presumed traditions or religion) and neglect global patriarchal structures as causes of femicide (e.g. Schröttle and Meshkova, 2018).

<sup>(2)</sup> Council of Europe Treaty Series No. 210 (<https://rm.coe.int/168008482e>).

- At its 50th session in 2019, the UNStats noted ‘the need to improve data on gender-based violence’ and ‘the development of a statistical framework on gender-sensitive crime statistics, including gender-related homicides, based on the International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes’ (ICCS). The aim should be to provide ‘operational guidelines on the production of data on victims, perpetrators and State response’ (UNStats, 2019, p. 26).
- UN Human Rights Council. In May 2012, a report by the expert group on gender-motivated killings of women was delivered to the UN Human Rights Council, focusing on different forms of and motivations for gender-related killings (Academic Council of the United Nations System (ACUNS), 2017). In 2013, the Vienna Declaration defined femicide as ‘the killing of women and girls because of their gender’. The declaration included a rather broad definition of femicide, including female infanticide, gender-based sex selection (foeticide), femicide as a result of FGM and femicide related to witchcraft (Grzyb et al., 2018, pp. 22–23; Weil et al., 2018, p. 9).
- The 2014 UN General Assembly resolution (68/191) on taking action against the gender-related killing of women and girls called on UN member states and the UNODC ‘to address existing problems of underreporting by enhancing data collection and analysis’, that is to standardise ‘the collection and analysis of data’ (UN, 2014a, p. 4).
- In 2014, the Statistics Division of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs released *Guidelines for Producing Statistics on Violence against Women* to assist countries in assessing the scope, prevalence and incidence of violence against women (UN, 2014b). The guidelines focus on improving surveys to identify different forms of violence against women. They suggest the use of sex, age, educational attainment, economic activity status and substance abuse as descriptive variables in intimate partner violence (UN, 2014b). The guidelines mention that data collection in cases of femicide ‘is particularly challenging’ (UN, 2014b, p. 11) and stress that, in cases of femicide, administrative data ‘play[s] an important role’ and therefore needs improvement (UN, 2014b, p. 121).
- ACUNS. In November 2016, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe symposium ‘Combating Femicide’ declared that a ‘Femicide Watch’ (see below) should be established in all UN member states (ACUNS, 2017), citing the poor data on gender-related killings of women due to the lack of proper data collection mechanisms at national levels. Major challenges identified included that, although national administrations gather data on homicides (by sex of the victim), this is typically done without addressing the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, or previous incidents of gender-related intimate partner violence. It is thus impossible to identify cases of femicide, or indeed to prosecute and punish perpetrators or protect possible victims of femicide (ACUNS, 2017).

- The 'Femicide Watch' was intended as a multi-disciplinary and multilevel national mechanism, and required definitions, indicators and sound mechanisms for data collection (Brankovic, 2017). In May 2017, a prototype of the 'Femicide Watch' was presented at the 26th session of the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) in Vienna. The Femicide Watch Platform is a joint project of the ACUNS Vienna Femicide Team and the United Nations Studies Association (UNSA) (ACUNS, 2018). In November 2017, Georgia was the first country to launch a Femicide Watch (Weil et al., 2018), following the 2015 call of the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Dubravka Simonovic, for a femicide watch and/or observatories on gender-related killings of women<sup>(3)</sup>. Georgia's legislation defines femicide as:

*gender-related killing of a woman, that is, killing of a woman with the motive or in the context related to gender-based violence, discrimination or subordinate role of a woman, manifests in a sense of entitlement to or superiority over a woman, by an assumption of ownership of a woman, by a desire to control her behaviour or any other reasons related to gender, also incitement to suicide based on the above mentioned reasons.*

(Dekanosidze, 2017, p. 14).

- Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In 2017, CEDAW released its General Recommendation No 35, which suggests coordination, monitoring and data collection. The recommendation stressed the importance of consultation with civil society organisations, in particular women's organisations, on all legislation, policies and programmes (CEDAW,

2017). Although the main focus is on all types of gender-based violence, the recommendation explicitly states that data collection 'should, if necessary, include the establishment or designation of gender-based killing of women observatories to collect administrative data on gender-related killings and attempted killings of women' (CEDAW, 2017). It also stresses intersecting forms of discrimination related to gender-based violence (CEDAW, 2017).

- United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) expert group. In September 2019, the unpublished report of the UN Women expert group meeting on administrative data on violence against women urged sound data collection on femicide (referring to the ICCS). The group called for cross-sectoral standardised definitions, improved investigation processes, improved capacity of data collectors, enhanced legal frameworks and better coordination among various stakeholders working on violence against women data production. A background paper was subsequently released in January 2020 (UN Women, 2020).

### 3.3. Concluding remarks on mobilisation of international organisations

There has been an intense debate on the lack of data collection on femicide. The international debate on femicide and data collection points in two directions: firstly, to criminal regulation, with a necessarily limited definition of femicide (in Latin America and the Caribbean), and, secondly, to a sociopolitical definition of femicide for data gathering for statistical purposes, which will allow the prevalence of femicide to be measured. It is important to note that each of these directions defines and measures femicide differently.

<sup>(3)</sup> The ultimate goal of the Femicide Watch Initiative is to prevent femicide through the collection of comparable data on femicide rates at both national and international levels (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (n.d.)).

## 4. European and global data collection systems: an overview

This section presents existing frameworks of data collection and classification systems for femicide, ranging from encompassing definitions for femicide to international data-collecting tools with a potential to harmonise administrative data collection in the EU-27. This section identifies the similarities and differences in defining femicide and establishing and operationalising femicide-related variables. It also takes a first step towards assessing types of femicide and related motivations (i.e. gender-related motivation, gendered structure of a killing), and gives an overview of descriptive variables of femicide. This section presents the following:

- International large data sets that collect and gather primarily administrative data from countries and, in doing so, agree on statistical minimum definitions of femicide or intentional homicide, disaggregated by sex of the victim.
- Different international and national homicide/femicide monitors, together with a discussion of how they define femicide. Some of these monitors include data gathered by NGOs, in addition to administrative statistical data.
- International (scientific) expert group debates on suggested definitions of femicide and indicators that should be included in statistical data collection.
- An assessment of the different approaches by the relevant organisations and actors.

Several organisations collect data on homicide in a gender-sensitive way – Eurostat, UNODC (using the common tool, ICCS) and WHO (including its *International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems* (ICD) tool).

### 4.1. International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Eurostat

#### 4.1.1. International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes

Since 2015, the ICCS has been endorsed by the UNStats and the CCPCJ as the international statistical standard for crime-related data collection. The UNODC and Eurostat use the ICCS with a view to achieving consistency in data gathering. Although the ICCS does not have a separate category for femicide, it defines femicide through its code 0101 ‘Intentional Homicide’ (‘Unlawful death inflicted upon a person with the intent to cause death or serious injury’), as the ‘intentional killing of a woman for misogynous or gender-based reasons’ (UNODC, 2015, p. 33). The ICCS approach overcomes differences in legal definitions between countries, although some elements of crimes leading to death are missing (UNODC, 2015, Section 01).

The ICCS is based on the description of three elements of criminal offences: (1) event, (2) victim and (3) perpetrator. The descriptions of victims and perpetrators are disaggregated by sex, age, age status (minor/adult), citizenship, legal status, intoxication status, economic sector, victim–perpetrator relationship and recidivism status of the perpetrator (ICCS, 2015, p. 16). However, information on the motive for a killing is absent, as is the gendered structure of an incident or the situation of a killing (Eurostat, 2018). A challenge remains for the police or judiciary in assessing and capturing the motive for a killing. Similarly, the

translation of motive into statistical data has not been standardised and remains in the purview of national administrative data collection agencies.

The ICCS also recognises sexual murder as femicide, but only as an optional tag.

#### 4.1.2. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

The UNODC is active in establishing a classification system of femicide as a part of its role in gathering global data on homicide. This includes variables that help to identify femicide based on the ICCS. Femicide is therefore classified as 'intentional homicide'. The CCPCJ established a classification that specifies the motivation behind a crime, that is the crime classification framework 'is based on behavioural descriptions instead of legal codes'. The UNODC approach consists of three classification criteria for cases of intentional homicide: the situational context (e.g. where the killing happened, overkilling<sup>(4)</sup>), the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator (i.e. former/actual intimate partner, family member, known to the victim) and the mechanism of killing (weapon, means of killing) (Corradi et al., 2018, pp. 101–102).

The UNODC disaggregates homicide data not only by intimate partner or family member killing, but also by sex and citizenship of the victim. The database includes variables such as age of victim; mechanism of killing; situational context; region; and person(s) arrested/suspected for intentional homicide, by sex and age<sup>(5)</sup>. In its Global Study on Homicide of 2018 and 2019, the UNODC focuses on intimate partner and family member femicide as this is seen as the most prevalent form of femicide (UNODC, 2018, p. 9, 12). The indicator 'female victims of homicide perpetrated by intimate partners or family members' is used as a proxy for gender-related killings of women

and/or femicide, as this is the only standardised concept in the ICCS (UNODC, 2018, p. 25). The UNODC is aware that this definition is not exhaustive and omits some femicide cases, and thus continues to work on the definition for statistical purposes. However, it is assumed that femicide numbers beyond intimate partner/family femicide are rather low (UNODC, 2018).

#### 4.1.3. Eurostat

Eurostat statistical data is based on official crime statistics of all EU Member States and Turkey. The Eurostat sources for crime include several different types of statistics from police, prosecution, courts, and prisons<sup>(6)</sup>. The figures from 2008 onwards are based on the joint Eurostat–UNODC data collection classified by the ICCS<sup>(7)</sup> and include police-recorded offences by crime, including homicide and sexual violence. Eurostat focuses on intentional homicide only, with victim data disaggregated by age, sex and relationship to perpetrator<sup>(8)</sup>. An EU-wide database on homicide of women exists, albeit focusing exclusively on intentional homicide by intimate partners and family/relatives.

## 4.2. Council of Europe: GREVIO

The Istanbul Convention advanced the harmonisation of data collection on femicide and conviction rates, as well as the development of indicators and classification systems. The Group of Experts on Action Against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO) is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Istanbul Convention and elicits data on the deaths and attempted murder of women from the State Parties.

The 2016 GREVIO questionnaire follows Article 11 of the Istanbul Convention and the related explanatory report, which recommends that any data

<sup>(4)</sup> Overkilling refers to the minimum data set of variables considered by CEGS (2020) and is part of the modus operandi / killing situation. It means the fury, the rage, taken out on the corpses of women who are killed in more than one way.

<sup>(5)</sup> <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/homicide/Homicide%20rate%20by%20sex>  
<https://dataunodc.un.org/data/homicide/Homicide%20by%20sex%20and%20citizenship>

<sup>(6)</sup> In Eurostat, the first relevant tag to measure gender-based violence is on crime motive, which identifies gender as one of the drivers of committing a given crime (UNODC, 2017).

<sup>(7)</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/crim\\_esms.htm](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/crim_esms.htm)

<sup>(8)</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/crim\\_esms.htm](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/crim_esms.htm)  
[https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=crim\\_hom\\_vrel&lang=en](https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=crim_hom_vrel&lang=en)

collected on the various forms of gender-based violence shall be broken down by sex, age, type of violence, relationship of the perpetrator to the victim, geographical location and disability or other relevant factors (GREVIO, 2016). The GREVIO questionnaire includes administrative and judicial data on the (attempted) murder of women: prior exposure of women to violence, number of perpetrators convicted for killing women, number of types of sanctions and further measures (GREVIO, 2016).

### 4.3. European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics

The ESCCJS is published by a group of experts (most recently in 2019) and its statistics cover nearly all CoE member states. The sources are police, prosecution and conviction statistics, disaggregated by sex, age and nationality (Aebi et al., 2014). The Sourcebook group pays 'attention to the way in which national data were collected and recorded, and what operational definitions were applied' (Aebi et al., 2014, p. 18). It does not use the term femicide, however, nor does it place particular focus on the killing of women.

### 4.4. The World Health Organization and the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems

Femicide is not only framed as a crime in international debates, but also as a threat to the health of women, prompting health organisations to contribute to data gathering, definitions and classifications. WHO addresses femicide in the section of 'sexual and reproductive health' and has published a factsheet: *Understanding and Addressing Violence Against Women – Femicide* (WHO, 2012). WHO produced several reports on 'advancing global understanding of the nature and the extent of femicide worldwide' (Walklate et al., 2020), including data on homicide disaggregated by the sex of the victim, but not the sex of the perpetrator or the relationship between the two.

Furthermore, the ICD includes external causes of morbidity, including death by assault (ICD, tenth

revision). Victim sex, although not a formal characteristic/requirement of the counting unit for ICD categories, is usually reported by health authorities to WHO, as they collect data with further breakdowns of patient characteristics. National health authorities are likely to report intentional homicide victims by sex to WHO – data on 'femicide' in the broadest sense.

As mentioned, WHO data, like all health data, does not include information on perpetrators or on the victim-perpetrator relationship. This is already a fundamental weakness of public health data when it comes to counting intentional homicide, compared with data from criminal justice authorities (the police and criminal justice system), as it requires health authorities to 'guess' whether the death was caused by intentional assault (generally, many deaths counted as such in public health data are classified as non-intentional by criminal justice authorities) or accident. Data on intentional homicide (including the sex of the victim) is collected by health authorities in many countries and, although often different from (usually not as in depth as) criminal justice data, it is nevertheless very useful, particularly when criminal justice data is not available or is of poor quality.

Data based on national death statistics is criticised for being incomplete (Weil et al., 2018). When the act is committed by an (ex-)intimate partner, WHO describes it as the 'intentional murder of women because they are women':

*Most cases of femicides are committed by partners or ex-partners, and involve ongoing abuse in the home, threats or intimidation, sexual violence or situations where women have less power or fewer resources than their partner.*

(WHO, 2012, p. 1).

Based on several studies in which WHO participated, more than 35 % of all murders of women globally are committed by an intimate partner (Stöckl et al., 2013). Based on a systematic search of other databases, WHO identified types and prevalence of femicide: intimate partner femicide (WHO

stresses the fact that pregnant women are often victims), ‘murders in the name of honour’ (i.e. murders to ‘save the family honour’), ‘dowry-related femicide’ (mainly in areas of the Indian subcontinent) and ‘non-intimate partner femicide’ (particularly in Latin America; includes ‘sexual femicide’) (WHO, 2012).

## 4.5. Summary for European and international organisations

The main data collection systems and tools are satisfactory overall, given that comparative data exists on intentional homicide/femicide and is disaggregated at least by characteristics of the victim and the perpetrator, namely sex, age and citizenship (Table 1).

**Much less information is collected and available on the perpetrator or on the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, which is collected only by Eurostat/UNODC through the ICCS tool (Table 2).** These data collection

systems allow the classification of intimate partner/family femicide, but risk omitting other types of femicide.

WHO is the only organisation that collects data on the (gendered) motive for the killing of women, which allows for the classification of different types of femicide, such as intimate partner femicide, pregnant women femicide, femicide in the name of honour and dowry-related femicide (WHO, 2012) (Table 4).

The gendered structure of a killing, or the ‘gender-saturatedness’ (Walby et al., 2017, p. 59), and the gender-related motive for a killing are collected only in the UNODC and Eurostat databases (Table 3). Similarly to WHO, these organisations aim to collect data on the ‘gender-related motive’ but do not operationalise the gendered nature of the motive. The inclusion of sexual violence (i.e. the situational context) points to the gendered killing of a woman in the UNODC database / the ICCS (see Table 2 and 3).

**Table 1. Descriptive variables of killing of women**

Organisation	Characteristics of victim						Characteristics of perpetrator					
	Sex	Age	Age status	Citizenship	Legal status	Intoxication	Sex	Age	Age status	Citizenship	Legal status	Intoxication
ICCS/ Eurostat/ UNODC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GREVIO	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓			
ESCCJS							✓			✓		
WHO	✓											

**Table 2. Identification of circumstances of killing of women (incident/event)**

Organisation	Characteristics of victim (citizenship, legal status, intoxication status)	Characteristics of perpetrator (citizenship, legal status, intoxication status, repeated perpetrator)	Relation of victim/perpetrator	Situational context	Type of violence (e.g. sexual violence)	Prior exposure of woman to violence	Mechanisms of killing
ICCS/Eurostat/ UNODC	✓	✓	✓		✓		
GREVIO					✓	✓	
UNODC			✓	✓			



**Table 3. Femicide as gender based**

Organisation	Motive for killing
ICCS/Eurostat/UNODC	Gender as motive
WHO	Gender as motive

**Table 4. Classification of types of femicide**

Organisation	Intimate partner / family-related killing	Killing of pregnant woman	Honour killing	Dowry-related killing	Non-intimate partner killing (sexual)
ICCS/Eurostat/UNODC	✓		✓	✓	
WHO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

## 4.6. Femicide/homicide monitors

Although there is no best-practice model in gathering data on femicide, there is an emerging body of scholarship, as well as activism, that ‘reviews and scrutinizes the impact of [...] reports and recommendations’ (Walklate et al., 2020, p. 24; see also Dawson, 2017). Several monitoring systems record femicides and suggest indicators for data gathering. The monitors are conducted by governments and their statistical offices, scientists or civil society activists. This section presents several of these monitors, which are then clustered according to the inclusion of a gender dimension of / structure of / motivation for a killing and state responses to the killing of women and girls.

### 4.6.1. Femicide/homicide monitors in Europe

The **European Homicide Monitor** (EHM) started as a pilot project in Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden (2009–2011). It included data from the Finnish Homicide Monitor, the Dutch Homicide Monitor and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) homicide database. The EHM database consists of primarily administrative data sets: court data, police statistics, cause-of-death statistics and newspaper data (Liem et al., 2017). The EHM allows for case-based (time and space), perpetrator-based and victim-based analysis from 2003 onwards (Liem et al., 2017) <sup>(9)</sup>. This information is based on demographic data on the

victim and the perpetrator, such as gender, age, birth country, citizenship, birth country of parents, civil status (married, cohabitant, single, divorced, widowed), children of victims, alcohol or drugs consumption and violent history (EHM, 2019). Perpetrator data also includes information on whether the perpetrator has been sentenced, whether they have been sanctioned for sexual crimes or other crimes, the length of sentence and the number of previous convictions (EHM, 2019). The EHM database includes data on the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, previous unlawful threats by the perpetrator towards the victim and/or by the victim towards the perpetrator and previous violence by the perpetrator towards the victim and/or by the victim towards the perpetrator (EHM, 2019). It also includes motives for the killing: revenge, jealousy, separation, hate crime, mental illness/psychological disorder, rape or another sexual offence (EHM, 2019). It distinguishes between the following types of homicide: partner homicide, infanticide, other familial killing, criminal milieu (e.g. narcotics) killing, nightlife killing, killing by mentally disturbed person and sexually motivated killing (EHM, 2019).

The **European Observatory on Femicide (EOF)** was initiated by the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST) Action and launched on 1 March 2018 at the University of Malta in Valletta. Its mission is ‘the prevention of femicide through data collection, data visibility, research and awareness raising’ (EOF, n.d.). The EOF published two progress reports, in 2018 and 2019,

<sup>(9)</sup> The Finnish Homicide Monitor database gathers information from chief investigators of homicide. It covers 90 variables, including relationship, motives and warning signs.

and established a data collection group, coordinated by Monika Schröttle. A quantitative data collection tool started to be piloted in several countries in 2020 (EOF, 2019) and includes:

*a set of indicators/variables that measure the prevalence of femicide; provide characteristics of the victims, perpetrators, the situation, and describe background details of the case that are relevant for further prevention and intervention. One of the indicators also measures the accountability for the femicide by including information on the judicial outcome, if any, in the case.*

(EOF, 2019, p. 8).

This tool is accompanied by qualitative data collection, including data 'that can be representative of the state of patriarchy in a given society, such as the mode of production, paid work, governance institutions, male violence, sexuality, and culture' (EOF, 2019, p. 8). COST Action's 'Femicide Across Europe' gathered academics and stakeholders from 30 European countries and Georgia between 2013 and 2017, with the goal to:

*establish the first pan-European coalition on femicide with researchers who are already studying the phenomenon nationally, in order to advance research clarity, agree on definitions, improve the efficacy of policies for femicide prevention, and publish guidelines for the use of national policy-makers.*

(COST, n.d.)

The **UK Femicide Census Database (UKFC)** was launched in February 2015 and has published four reports for 2009–2015, as well as annual reports for 2017, 2018 and 2019. The data is gathered from media reports and UK police responses and criminal justice outcomes. The UKFC definition of femicide includes any killing of women or girls by men. Femicide Census collates the details of femicides, not limited to specific classifications, to observe similarities and the trends in cases of femicide.

Data on victims is very comprehensive and includes country of birth, ethnicity and immigration status, age, children and pregnancy, disability, health and problematic substance use, occupation and sexual orientation. Data on perpetrators comprises country of origin, age, occupation, history of violence against women, disability, health and problematic substance use, sexual orientation, pornography, use of sex industry and sadistic sexual practices, use of IT in connection to the femicide (online dating, use of social media and cyberstalking).. The following context data is gathered: contexts of violence and the perpetrator's relationship to the victim: partner/ex-partner, son, any other male family member, known (non-relative, non-partner), stranger, unknown (UKFC, 2017). Data also includes the primary context of violence, such as location of femicide (domestic – intimate partner violence), sexually motivated (domestic – extended family, domestic child–parent, intimate partner violence collateral), in the course of another crime (robbery, prostitution/pornography, domestic – parent–child, domestic – sibling–sibling) or post-separation killing. Finally, the following are reported: the method of killing, criminal justice outcomes, the police force area in which the woman was killed and children and/or pregnancy involved (UKFC, 2017). The UKFC also gathers information on femicide prosecutions and convictions and counts the unsolved cases and "hidden homicides" or cases not included in the official statistics..

**HALT, Homicide / Abuse / Learning / Together.** It is a UK project to build a comprehensive knowledge of the learning from Domestic Homicide Reviews (DHRs). It uses a multi-agency approach to reviewing and extracting lessons from DHRs to inform prevention strategies and practice. It aims to identify risks and other contextual factors for domestic homicide and to critically examine interactions between victims, perpetrators and other family members and a range of agencies and professionals. DHRs also investigate the service history of both the victim and the perpetrator and talk to family, friends and colleagues if relevant. DHRs are publicly available, and this project is to build a central repository for completed DHRs. It addresses victim and perpetrator profiles. Data on perpetrators includes previous record of violence, abuse, sexual violence, mental health, disorder, housing and financial problems (Chantler et al, 2020).

#### 4.6.2. Global homicide/femicide monitors

The **Minnesota femicide report (MFR)**, published by the NGO Violence Free Minnesota (VFM) (formerly known as the Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women) <sup>(10)</sup>, uses media reporting as its sole data source. The 2016, 2018 and 2019 MFR focused on intimate partner femicide, including homicides between lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transgender current and former intimate partners, as well as the death of other family members, especially children, friends and neighbours (Khan and Smith, 2017). The reports also include ‘sex workers, victims of sex trafficking, prostitution and exploitation’ (VFM, 2019).

The indicators used to identify femicide are as follows: the homicide victim and the perpetrator were current or former intimate partners, with both intimate partner violence and motivation for killing (i.e. rejection of romantic interest) present (Khan and Smith, 2017). The report calls for a greater focus on the murder of women and children of colour, native and indigenous people, immigrant and refugee women and children, people living in poverty and people with disabilities, all of whom are often overlooked in cases of femicide (Khan and Smith, 2017).

The **Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability (CFOJA)** was launched in 2017. Its objectives are ‘to address the need for a single location for information about justice and accountability for femicide victims’ and ‘to facilitate innovative and sustainable research agendas on femicide justice and accountability’ (Walklate et al., 2020, p. 21). The database relies on media reports. CFOJA highlights the situation of indigenous women and girls, immigrant women and girls, older women, and women and girls with disability, whose killings are statistically invisible (CFOJA, 2019). In its 2019 report, CFOJA distinguishes between intimate femicide, familial femicide and non-intimate partner femicide. The information reflects the temporal and geographic distributions and urban/rural distinctions, and includes data on victims and the accused (age, relationship and presence of children, race/ethnicity, accused suicide), on the method and location of the killing and on the case status. It introduces five gender-based motives for femicide: ‘(1)

misogyny; (2) sexual violence; (3) coercive-controlling behaviours, including jealousy and stalking; (4) separation/estrangement; and (5) overkill’ (CFOJA, 2018, p. 7). These gender-related motives or indicators for femicide were expanded to 15 in 2019: (1) committed previous physical, psychological and/or sexual violence; (2) coercive-controlling behaviours; (3) separation (or in the process of separation); (4) woman declined to establish or re-establish a relationship; (5) committed along with oppression/domination over the woman’s/girl’s life decisions or sexuality; (6) prior threats to hurt or kill the woman or girl; (7) pregnant woman/girl; (8) sexual violence; (9) mutilation; (10) use of excessive violence; (11) forcible confinement; (12) enforced disappearance; (13) disposal or abandonment of the woman/girl; (14) connected to human trafficking or group or cultural practices; and (15) misogyny (CFOJA, 2019).

The **National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP) in Australia** is managed by the Australian Institute of Criminology. It has gathered data since 1989, with a focus on domestic violence and intimate femicide. Key sources of data for the NHMP include the following.

- Offence records derived from each Australian state and territory police service, supplemented when necessary with information provided directly by investigating police officers and/or associated staff.
- State coroners’ records, such as toxicology and post-mortem reports. As of 1 July 2001, the National Coronial Information System enabled online access to coroners’ findings, including toxicology reports (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2020).

The information gathered is divided into four key areas: (1) incident file; (2) victim file, including socio-demographic information relating to the victim(s), details of the cause of death and the type of weapon used to kill the victims, and alcohol and illicit drug use; (3) offender file, focusing on people who have been charged and includes data on the sociodemographic characteristics of the offender, their previous criminal history, alcohol/illicit drug use, mental health status and relationship to the victim (at all times, the term

<sup>(10)</sup> The MFR is now called *Intimate Partner Homicide Report: Relationship abuse in Minnesota*.

offender refers to suspected offenders only, and not to convicted individuals, unless otherwise stated); and (4) a merged incident, victim and offender file (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2020).

The **Argentina Observatory on Femicide (AOF)** (run by the NGO La Asociación Civil La Casa del Encuentro and the Argentine Ombudsperson) gathers data from online news websites, police reports, newspapers and news agencies (Argentine Ombudsperson, 2017). Information on victims includes age, gender, socioeconomic status and connected femicides (female, male, trans), and information on perpetrators includes age, socioeconomic status, employment, femicide-suicide and connection to the victim. Data is also gathered on the modality of killing, place of occurrence (e.g. victim's home, open field), collateral victims and province where the killing was registered (Argentine Ombudsperson, 2017).

The **Latin American open data initiative** (Iniciativa Latinoamericana de Datos Abiertos (ILDA)) began in 2017 as 'an exploratory study to understand how changes to the production and use of data might contribute to understanding and ultimately combating femicide in Latin America' (Femicide Watch, 2019). Challenges in gathering data include (1) different concepts of femicide and different interpretations of data; (2) differences in national agencies gathering data ('[w]ell-defined governance arrangements are required to ensure that just one single, clear voice propagates and comments on official data'); (3) unclear rules of data governance within countries ('There also need to be clear rules on data governance, particularly as there are often many organisations involved. These should cover how data is obtained from these systems as well as the validation chains to be followed later, including protocols for future data updates and alterations.');

and (4) missing or unclear gender perspective (Femicide Watch, 2019).

In 2019, ILDA produced a 'Guide to create a procedure for processes of femicide identification for later registration' (ILDA, 2019). The ILDA guide notes that 'Having a unified collection/production process will improve and encourage analysis and use of data'. This process improvement must include gender-based training of those who collect data. The proposed protocol should contain four indicators

'that summarise [...] the majority of the causes that allow us to understand when we face a femicide', namely (1) previous relationship between the victim and the aggressor, (2) sexual violence, (3) cruelty/violence aggravation (and/or specific contexts such as organised crime context or trafficking) and (4) previous complaints (ILDA, 2019).

This recording process needs to be supplemented by effective registration through quarterly survey, an annual review, the subsequent unification of the databases and the annual review, and, finally, control and validation (through the inclusion of more sources such as journal articles) (ILDA, 2019). ILDA developed recording sheets with variables to register data on the perpetrator/accused and victim – gender, sexual orientation, age, place of birth, nationality, level of education, occupation, place of residence, migratory condition and ethnicity. Victim registration should include data on disability, protection measures, previous complaints and children, whereas perpetrator data should include information on legal situation, conjugal situation, weapon carrier permit, previous record and suicide. The sheet also includes information on the event (type of victim, relationship between the victim and the aggressor, modality of killing, sexual aggression, previous complaints of victim, legal process active) and information on the place of killing and on the legal process (ILDA, 2019).

The **Latin American Femicide Observatory** and the **Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean (GEOLAC)** build on the work of the pre-existing femicide register (Walklate, 2020). GEOLAC defines femicide as 'homicide of women perpetrated for gender-based reasons' (GEOLAC, n.d., p. 1). It identifies the following challenge: to understand that gender-based violence against women is connected with 'economic status, age, race, culture, religious affiliation'. Such an understanding would generate 'inter-institutional agreements to strengthen the analysis of femicide', would 'raise awareness and build capacities of public officials to improve the recording of femicide' and, finally, would generate 'reparation policies targeting minor children of women victims of femicide' (GEOLAC, 2018, p. 2).

The **Femicide Watch Platform** is a joint project of the UNSA Global Network and the UNSA Vienna

Femicide Team (see Section 3.2). The platform does not undertake data collection, but contains reports and data on regions and countries across the globe, as well as on specific topics and tags, including femicide. The platform stores reports and blogs, such as a London School of Economics blog on femicide data in Latin America and the Caribbean<sup>(11)</sup>.

The **Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women** (LAMP) defines femicide as the ‘killing of a woman related to her gender’. Hence, ‘there must be specific signs that the motive of the killing, or the context of the killing is related to gender-based violence or/and discrimination’ (Dekanosidze, 2017, p. 14). The definition is also grounded in the perception of women (by the perpetrator or society/context) and the previous history of (domestic/partner) violence. In fact, in its definitions of femicide, the protocol distinguishes between structural factors (culture of violence and discrimination, socioeconomic situation and a culture of hate and discrimination towards women (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014, p. 14). It also distinguishes between two categories of femicide: (1) **active or direct femicide** (killing as a result of domestic violence, misogynist killing of women, honour killing, dowry-related killing, female infanticide and feticide, armed conflict-related killings of women and girls, gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnic and indigenous identity-related killings); and (2) **passive or indirect femicide** (death due to unsafe abortion, maternal mortality, FGM-related death, death due to trafficking, drug dealing, organised crime and gang-related activities, death from neglect, starvation or ill-treatment and deliberate acts or omissions by public servants or state agents). Furthermore, it proposes a taxonomy of femicides, including intimate femicide, femicide because of association/connection (when another person was intended to be killed), systematic sexual femicide, femicide because of prostitution, femicide because of trafficking and smuggling, transphobic femicide, lesbophobic femicide, racist femicide and FGM-related femicide (Office of the

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014, pp. 14–16).

## 4.7. Summary of femicide/homicide monitors

The organisations and tools reviewed in this chapter focus on some gender dimensions that help to identify the homicide of a woman as femicide – the sex of the victim and the perpetrator, the gender-saturated context of intimate partner or other family member violence, sexual aspect of the murder, or, put simply, a gender-related motivation (Walby et al., 2017, p. 59). The gender-related motivation is identified by former intimate partner violence or the sexual dimension of a murder. The inclusion of sexual violence (situational context) in a database points to the **genderedness** of the killing of a woman.

The killing of a woman can be an intentional or an unintentional act, and both can be classified as femicide, depending on other variables such as the power context of an intimate partnership or the gendered structure of the context of the killing (e.g. prostitution or other insecure work). Intention alone is not a sufficient variable. The gendered structure of the situation in which the killing took place (e.g. intimate partnership, abortion, FGM) must be differentiated from a gendered motive for the killing of a woman, which might be characterised by incidents of intimate partner violence in the past.

The review of the different monitoring tools and platforms shows the divergence in the sources of data used and the data gathering processes. A variety of monitors gather data in Europe and in other countries (primarily the Americas), but apply different variables and classification systems, which makes adding them to a single database fraught with complexity, for example a European Femicide Monitor.

In the main, data is collected from administrative data sources (police, justice and health systems, or publicly accessible media) after the recording of the crime. All of these different data sources use different definitions of femicide and, within

<sup>(11)</sup> The London School of Economics and Political Science blog for Latin America and Caribbean is available on the school's website (<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/latamcaribbean/2019/08/08/standardisation-of-femicide-data-requires-a-complex-participatory-process-but-important-lessons-are-already-emerging/>).

them all, the process of crime recording is often neglected. ILDA alone focuses on advance data collection on femicide by suggesting a harmonised process of crime recording. The overview also highlights a lack of coordinated statistical capacity-building programmes.

#### 4.7.1. Clusters of femicide/homicide monitors

Several clusters of femicide/homicide monitors can be identified:

- inclusion of motive for (gendered) killing – EHM, UKFC, CFOJA, LAMP;
- gendered structure of the context of a killing – EOF, MFR, ILDA, LAMP;
- state response to previous violence and femicide – UKFC, EOF, ILDA;
- intersectionality addressed – EHM, EOF, UKFC, MFR, CFOJA, GEOLAC.

Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8 show the data that can be obtained from existing monitors.

**Table 5. Descriptive variables of killing of women**

Organisation	Characteristics of victim (*)	Characteristics of perpetrator (**)
EHM	Gender, age, country of birth, citizenship, birth country of parents, civil status, children	Gender, sanctions for crime, length of sentence, number of previous convictions
EOF	Sex, gender, further demographic information	Sex, gender, further demographic information
UKFC	Sex, age, country of birth, citizenship, birth country of parents, immigration status, civil status, children and pregnancy, disability, sexual orientation	Sex, age, age status/minor, adult, history of violence, occupation, disability, sexual orientation use of pornography and/or sex industry, sexual sadistic practices and use of IT in connection to femicide (online dating, social media).
MFR/VFM	Sex, trans, lesbian, bisexual, of colour, native, indigenous, poverty, indigenous	
CFOJA	Age/older women, race/ethnicity, immigrant status, disability, non-urban areas	Gender, age, race/ethnicity
NHMP	Sex, age, indigenous status, country of birth	Sex, age, indigenous status, intellectual or cognitive impairment, mental illness
AOF	Gender, age, socioeconomic status	Gender, age, socioeconomic status, employment
ILDA	All characteristics (*)	All characteristics (**)
GEOLAC	Gender, economic status, age, race, culture, religious affiliation	

(\*) Characteristics include sex, gender, age, country of birth, citizenship, birth country of parents, civil status, children, poverty and disability, among other variables.

(\*\*) Characteristics include sex, gender, age, sanctions for crime, length of sentence and number of previous convictions, among other variables.

**Table 6. Identification of circumstances of killing of women**

Organisation	Alcohol/drugs consumption by the victim	Alcohol/drugs consumption by the perpetrator	Victim–perpetrator relationship (relationship between victim and perpetrator; previous unlawful threats by perpetrator towards victim and/or by victim towards perpetrator; previous violence by perpetrator towards victim or by victim towards perpetrator)	Method/mechanism of killing
EHM	✓	✓	✓ (All variables)	✓
EOF			✓ (Prior history of violence, used services, protection orders, conviction)	✓
UKFC	✓	✓	✓ (History of violence, criminal justice charges)	✓

Organisation	Alcohol/drugs consumption by the victim	Alcohol/drugs consumption by the perpetrator	Victim–perpetrator relationship (relationship between victim and perpetrator; previous unlawful threats by perpetrator towards victim and/or by victim towards perpetrator; previous violence by perpetrator towards victim or by victim towards perpetrator)	Method/mechanism of killing
MFR/VFM		✓	✓ (Current/former intimate partner, history of violence, protection orders)	✓
CFOJA			✓ (All variables, judicial outcome)	✓ (Method, location and femicide suicide)
NHMP	✓	✓	✓ (All variables, criminal history, preceding crime: assault, sexual assault, kidnapping, theft, etc.)	✓
AOF			✓	✓ (Place, femicide suicide)
LAMP			✓ (Perpetrator's perception of women; previous history of domestic violence)	✓
ILDA			✓ (Previous complaints)	✓

**Table 7. Femicide as gender based / motives for killing**

Organisation	Motive for killing
EHM	Revenge, jealousy, separation, hate crime, mental illness/psychological disorder, rape or other sexual offence
EOF	Structural data on patriarchy (male violence, sexuality, culture, mode of occurrence)
MFR	Rejection of romantic interest
CFOJA	Misogyny, sexual violence, coercive controlling / jealousy / stalking, separation, overkill (2018) (1) Committed previous physical, psychological and/or sexual violence; (2) coercive-controlling behaviours; (3) separation (or in the process of separation); (4) woman declined to establish or re-establish a relationship; (5) committed along with oppression/domination over the woman's/girl's life decisions or sexuality; (6) prior threats to hurt or kill the woman or girl; (7) pregnant woman/girl; (8) sexual violence; (9) mutilation; (10) use of excessive violence; (11) forcible confinement, (12) enforced disappearance; (13) disposal or abandonment of the woman/girl; (14) connected to human trafficking or group or cultural practices; and (15) misogyny (2019)
NHMP	Revenge, jealousy, desertion/termination, argument of a domestic nature, alcohol-/drug-related argument, sexual and/or racial vilification, sexual gratification, drugs, mercy killing, prevent victim testifying / prevent arrest
LAMP	Including structural factors: cultures of violence and hate

**Table 8. Classification of types of femicide**

Organisation	Intimate partner femicide	Other familial killing	Killing of pregnant woman	Infanticide	Sexual exploitation, trafficking	Criminal milieu (e.g. narcotics)	Nightlife killing	Killing by mentally disturbed person	Sexual	Unsafe abortion, FGM	Honour killing	Dowry-related killing
EHM	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			
MFR					✓							
CFOJA	✓ (And Non-Intimate Femicide)	✓										
LAMP	✓ (Including effect of domestic violence)			✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
ILDA					✓				✓			

## 5. Towards defining indicators and classification systems for femicide: an overview

Femicide definitions are limited by the focus on 'intentional femicide' and on 'intimate partner homicide', which neglect several forms of systematic killing of women and girls. Scientific expert groups suggest *ex post* exploitation of administrative data for key data sets and homicide and/or femicide monitors. Administrative data is defined as 'any data generated through routine operations. They are generally drawn from service-based records or from the internal administrative processes of an organisation' (UN Women, 2020, p. 9). In the case of femicide (as in other cases of violence against women), sources of administrative data are police, prosecutors, courts or the media (UN Women, 2020, p. 9).

Experts also suggest improving *ex ante* data recording on femicide and the process of administrative data collection. Walby et al. (2017) stress the lack of accessibility of data and the need to improve the coordination of data collection, including coordinating institutions within and between countries, administrative data collection systems, processing of raw data and linkage of data from different sources.

The following section summarises the measurement frameworks for femicide at both international and EU Member State levels, including structural background knowledge and variables and indicators for data gathering.

### 5.1. Structural gendered conditions and types of femicide

Definitions distinguish between **intentional killing and unintentional killing**. Identifying the intentional killing of women as femicide requires an understanding of the motivation of the perpetrator and/or the social, economic and cultural contexts of the killing, particularly unequal gendered social norms, gender roles and images of femininity and masculinity (e.g. sexual violence/rape, traditional misogynist communities), and

the economic situation of those involved, all of which may constitute a 'system of violence' against women (Monarrez Fragoso, 2018, p. 914).

The larger social, economic, cultural and gendered contexts particular to a killing provide important data on unintentional femicide, such as poverty, precarious work, dependence at work and criminal environments (drug/weapons trafficking). There also needs to be a perspective on dependent situations of women and unregulated working conditions in feminised and insecure labour segments (Monarrez Fragoso, 2018, p. 915).

These structural factors translate into behavioural factors or circumstances that might lead to a criminal offence being qualified as femicide. The behavioural factors / individual contexts can be ascertained by gathering the following variables on the victim and the perpetrator: age, sex, gender, sexuality and relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. The behavioural factors relate to individual relationships of oppression, control and dependency, which might be a reflection of structural factors (e.g. in a society in which age differences between women and men translate into the right to control, or where marriage legitimises men exercising power over women). In order to identify **femicide as gender motivated**, the following variables need to be taken into account: misogyny of the perpetrator, unequal power relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, relationship with domestic partner, kin or family relationship, record of a history of violence, relationship with non-domestic partner, relationship of trust or authority, condition of vulnerability, presence of the victim's children, pregnancy or post pregnancy, prior case of violence, perpetrator intending to establish or renew a relationship, context of sexual violence, oppression regarding decision-making, aggravated injury and mutilation, exposed body of the victim, and trafficking (Infosegura, 2019).



**Table 9. Criteria for identification of femicide**

Elements included in the definition	EIGE	UNODC	LAMP	MESECVI	WHO/ICCS	MFR	UKFC	EHM
Intentional killing because of a woman's gender / gender-related motivation for killing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Based on (individual/structural) gender inequality	✓		✓		✓		✓	
Context of continuum of violence			✓					
Position of subordination, marginalisation and risk			✓					

The following variables should be used to classify **unintentional femicide**: the modus operandi of the killing gives information on whether the killing took place in the public or private space, in the context of intimate partner violence, sexual violence, mutilation, trafficking or unintentional homicide (e.g. criminalised unsafe abortion situations) or femicide in feminised and insecure labour conditions (e.g. working in prostitution).

The conjunction of inequality and structures of domination – such as gender, race, nationality/legal status, class, sexuality – might highlight the specific vulnerability of certain women to becoming victims of femicide.

These variables contribute to different forms of femicide as defined and understood by the organisations considered above. These different forms of femicide are classified as follows: intimate partner femicide, family femicide, sexual violence-related femicide, death related to FGM or to unsafe abortions or as a consequence of trafficking, foeticide, honour killing, dowry-related killing and misogynistic killing.

## 5.2. Data collection variables

As a starting point, EIGE suggested that femicide data could be identified as intentional homicide with the disaggregation 'sex of victim' ('female'), 'relationship with perpetrator/victim' ('partner or ex-partner') and 'motivation' ('gender-based'). Since this is often one end of a continuum of gender-based violence, it is important to go beyond the scope of the relationship and assure visibility to all areas in which women and girls suffer (EIGE, 2019, p. 20).

**Data collection systems** in the EU (Eurostat, homicide monitors) and in international organisations (e.g. UNODC) **gather a range of information on the victim**, the perpetrator, their relationship, and the context and history of the offence (see [Tables 10 and 11](#)).

- Data collections include data on killings of women and girls, disaggregated by age, age status (minor/adult), sex, sexual and/or gender identity, geographical location, socioeconomic status, employment status, nationality, birth country, citizenship, status in the country of living and disabilities of the victim (also pregnancy), and data on the perpetrators (mental health disorder, housing problems, recidivism status). Some data collection systems include the context of the murder, such as the situational context, that is relationship between the perpetrator and the victim (former/actual intimate partner, family member, known to the victim, unknown to the victim). The nature of and motive for the crime are also recorded.
- Some data reporting includes prior reports/knowledge of the woman's exposure to violence / intimate partner violence and the perpetrator's record of violent or aggressive behaviour.

Some data archives include the location of the killing (home or street / open field, nightlife killing), involvement of alcohol or other drugs and the mechanism of killing (means of killing, weapons) (UNODC; ICCS). Data should also include 'silent witnesses' of gender-based violence and femicide, such as children (Brankovic, 2017).

**Table 10. Data collection variables (individual, demographic)**

Indicators for femicide/ organisations	EIGE report 2017	EOF	CFOJA	AOF	WHO/ICCS	ILDA	GREVIO	MFR	UKFC	EHM	Eurostat	GEOLAC
Sex, gender, age, age status (victim)	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Sex, gender, age, age status (perpetrator)	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓ (Plus disability)			✓		
Country of birth, citizenship, birth country of parents, race/ethnicity (victim)		✓	✓		✓ (Plus intoxication)	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
Country of birth, citizenship, birth country of parents, race/ethnicity (perpetrator)		✓	✓ (Plus mental health status)		✓ (Plus intoxication)	✓						
Civil status, children, disability (victim)		✓				✓	✓ (Disability)		✓	✓		
Economic status, poverty (victim)				✓				✓				✓
Economic status (perpetrator)				✓		✓						
Previous complaints, convictions (perpetrator)		✓				✓				✓		

**Table 11. Circumstances/context of killing**

Circumstances or context/ organisation	EIGE report 2017	EOF	CFOJA	AOF	WHO/ICCS	UNODC	ILDA	GREVIO	MFR	UKFC	EHM	Eurostat	LAMP
Relationship between victim and perpetrator	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mechanisms, modalities of killing		✓	✓ (Drugs involved)	✓ (Femicide-suicide)		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓ (Drugs involved)		✓

### 5.3. Typologies of femicide

Table 12. Types of femicide identified in EU and international organisations<sup>12</sup>

Types of femicide/organisations	EIGE report 2017	EOF	UNODC	LAMP	MESECV	ILDA	CFOJA	ICCS/ Eurostat	WHO	MFR	UKFC	EHM	MCBW
Killing of woman by (ex-)partner or spouse / result of intimate partner violence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Killing of woman by family member(s)			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Killing of pregnant woman									✓				
Non-intimate partner killing, killing of woman involving sexual violence			✓	✓			✓		✓			✓	
Honour killing	✓	✓		✓					✓				
FGM-related death	✓	✓		✓									
Female infanticide		✓		✓			✓					✓	
Death related to unsafe abortion		✓		✓									
Dowry-related death	✓			✓					✓				
Death related to sexual orientation and gender identity (transphobic and homophobic/lesbophobic killings)		✓		✓									
Female foeticide	✓												
Trafficking-related killing		✓		✓		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓
Killing as a result of insecure/risky working conditions (women in prostitution)				✓		✓				✓	✓		✓
Killing in criminal milieu (gang ritual, narcotics)												✓	
Racist femicide		✓		✓									
Killing as result of misogynist attitudes/social practices		✓											
Death due to unnecessary lethal surgery (hysterectomies/clitoridectomies)		✓											
Killing tolerated by the state (omission)					✓								

(12) This overview of the typologies of femicide was built upon the revision of the annual reports, it does not mean that some of these organisations (e.g. UKFC) classify the killings of women and girls into pre-established types.

## 6. Femicide at national level: definitions and data collection

### 6.1. Legal definitions of femicide: an overview

Rashida Manjoo, who was UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences from 2009 to 2015, noted in a 2012 statement at the Commission on the Status of Women that the term femicide has been used since the beginning of the 19th century to describe the killing of women (Manjoo, 2012). It was proposed as an alternative to the gender-neutral term of homicide, a term which overlooks the realities of inequality, oppression and systematic violence against women. However, it was publicly introduced only in the 1970s, as part of the feminist struggle to name their own experiences and create a form of resistance to this fatal form of violence.

Diana Russell (Radford and Russell, 1992) defined femicide as ‘the murders of women by men motivated by hatred, contempt, pleasure or a sense of ownership of women’ (see Section 3). The importance of the term femicide is closely linked to the political need to recognise this social phenomenon and to look at the sociocultural reasons underpinning the killing of women.

In Latin America, an alarming escalation of extreme forms of violence against women and girls in the 1990s saw the feminist movement push to recognise the killing of women in national legislation. In her translation of the concept of femicide from English to Spanish, Lagarde (2006) <sup>(13)</sup> used the term ‘feminicide’ to refer to male violence against women in its most extreme forms, in a meaning that enhances the structural context of gender discrimination in which this violence takes place.

According to Lagarde, **feminicide** better encapsulated the gender-based reasons and the social

construction behind these deaths, as well as the impunity that surrounds them. In the international sphere, however, the two terms ‘feminicide’ and ‘femicide’ have been largely used interchangeably to name the same problem.

The concept of femicide/feminicide has not been transposed uniformly into national legislation in Latin America (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2014). Some countries have classified femicide/feminicide as a separate offence, whereas others have made changes to existing crimes in the criminal code, adding aggravating circumstances. The laws that introduce the changes are different, as are the sanctions and, indeed, the elements of the crime itself. Some laws include objective elements in the offence, such as classifying homicide ‘in the context of unequal power relationships or stipulate the punishing of a woman’s disobedience to cultural code of norms’ <sup>(14)</sup>. Others provide for criminal offences ‘because of hatred of or contempt for women’ <sup>(15)</sup> or punish ‘gender-based homicide’. Some aggravating circumstances involve alleged hatred based on gender or sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression, or homicide motivated by the victim’s being a woman.

The Latin American approach was a symbolic use of criminal law. Faced with systematic violation of women’s rights and very high degrees of impunity, the structural revision of a regulatory framework was undertaken as special measure to accelerate the cultural change in recognising the negative impact of acts of violence against women.

Authors such as Toledo Vásquez (2009) have discussed the **conceptual difficulties** in applying the offences defined in national systems. More specifically, the principles of legality and

<sup>(13)</sup> In 2003, Lagarde promoted the creation of the Special Commission for investigations into the cases of killing of women in Ciudad Juárez, at the federal senate; in 2004, she promoted the creation of the Special Commission on Femicide, at the federal chamber.

<sup>(14)</sup> See Panama law No 82 of 24 October 2013.

<sup>(15)</sup> See Decree No 520 of 2010 of El Salvador.

proportionality require that similar acts receive similar punishments, thus the punishment for killing a woman cannot be disproportionately harsher than the punishment for killing a man in similar circumstances.

It is precisely for this reason that France has avoided a specific law on femicide (Assemblée nationale, 2020). The general public, as well as NGOs and victims rights associations, have frequently advocated for the inclusion of femicide in the French legal system, namely by introducing this concept in the French Penal Code. Such a proposal has faced continuous backlash for an array of reasons, such as the fact that there was no agreement on the meaning of femicide; or the difficulty in detecting femicide, which hinders the ability to sanction it, thus leaving it unpunished.

The main reason for not including femicide in the French legal system, however, remains the principle of equality, which is one of the three main constitutional principles in France. Under the 1958 Constitution, all citizens are equal, thus differentiating a crime committed by men against women from other crimes between women and/or men would imply that men and women committing murder would be judged differently. This is seen as a breach to the equality principle and would potentially be unconstitutional<sup>(16)</sup>. Although the inclusion of femicide in the French Penal Code is unlikely at this stage, proposals have recently been put forward to generalise the use of this concept in the public debate and within French public institutions (see Assemblée nationale, 2020). The French Parliamentary Commission has underlined the importance of the institutional use of the term ‘femicide’ and proposed a resolution to underline the priority of combating violence against women and recognising the specificity of femicide.

### 6.1.1. National legislation in Europe

The EU-27 and the United Kingdom have no definitions of femicide in the legal context, but killings of women are classified in several ways, including intentional homicide, non-intentional homicide and manslaughter. In 2017, EIGE published an inventory of Member States’ legal definitions of femicide at national level, based on information collected for the reference year 2016 (EIGE, 2017b)<sup>(17)</sup>. It has been updated for the reference year 2020.

The ratification of the Istanbul Convention and EIGE recommendations for the EU and the Member States to improve data collection on intimate partner violence by the police, the justice sector and civil society both served to stimulate a new political sensibility and more productive debate, resulting in changes in national legislation. Six Member States (BE, ES, FR, LT, PT and SI) introduced hatred, contempt or hostility towards a person on the grounds of sex; the gender-based violence connotation; or sexism as aggravating circumstances (Table 13). Six Member States (BG, EL, ES, FR, IT and LU) report the homicide of an intimate partner (cohabitating or not together) as aggravating circumstances, whereas three Member States (DE, IT and PL) do so for sexual violence.

One in three Member States differentiates between ‘intentional homicide’ and ‘involuntary’ or ‘negligent’ homicide (Table 13). This information is useful in detecting other unintentional killings related to the concept of gender-related killings (see Section 4).

<sup>(16)</sup> There were a lot of attempts to disqualify the Spanish Constitutional Act 1/2004 of 28 December, on Integrated Protection Measures against Gender Violence, on the grounds that equality is equal treatment for the same actions, since the law imposes harsher penalties on men than on women in relation to intimate partner violence. As the prof. Luisa Balaguer said “This statement ignores the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court which has admitted compensatory inequality as the best way to achieve true equality” (<https://www.mujeresenred.net/spip.php?article275>). The **Constitutional Court Decision 59/2008, of 14 May**, rules on the constitutionality of the law and reaffirms that the principle of equality is not violated since the law has understood that certain acts – those committed by men – are more serious due to the “relational context in which they occur”. That is, since they are based on gender inequality in the framework of intimate partner relationships. The law seeks a valid purpose: the protection of women’s rights in intimate relationships, and the difference in penalties is not disproportionate.

<sup>(17)</sup> Intentional killing is a component of the definition in all Member States, except Denmark, and is used to form a baseline definition, demonstrating that the gender aspect of killing is largely missing from the data collection definition framework.

**Table 13. Legal definitions at national level**

Intentional homicide	BE, BG, CZ, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, CY, LV, LT, LU, HU, MT, NL, AT, PL, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, SE, UK	
Non-intentional homicide	BE, BG, EE, EL, IE, ES, IT, LV, LT, PL, FI	
Manslaughter	CZ, DK, EE, IE, EL, FR, HR, IT, CY, LT, HU, NL, AT, SI, FI, UK	
Aggravating circumstances	Homicide by intimate partner / domestic violence	BG (since 2019), EE, EL (not properly aggravating circumstances, but combined with law on domestic violence 2006, amended in 2018), ES, FR, HR, IT (since 2019), LU, NL, AT, PT, SK, SE
	Sexual violence	DE, IT (since 2019), PL
	Violation of equality / on the grounds of gender	ES, FR, MT, PT, SI, SE
	Hatred, contempt or hostility towards a person on the grounds of sex	BE (since 2013), ES, FR (since 2017), HR, LT (also pregnant women), PT (since 2013)

## 6.2. Statistical definitions of femicide at national levels

From a statistical point of view, EIGE operationalises the concept of femicide as:

*The killing of a woman by an intimate partner and the death of a woman as consequence of a practice that is harmful to women. Intimate partner is understood as a former or current spouse or partner, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim.*

(EIGE, 2017b).

The analysis of definitions of femicide and its components requires two types of definitions to be considered – the legal definitions of the offences (i.e. what constitutes an offence by law; see Table 13), and the statistical definitions (i.e. what the data actually measures and whether it can take the form of classifications, coding or a sum of the unit of measurements).

As assessed in the 2017 terminology and indicators report, EIGE considers **nine consolidated elements of direct or indirect femicide**: intentional killing of women, gender-based act and/or

killing of women, killing of partner/spouse, death of women resulting from intimate partner violence, FGM-related death, death related to unsafe abortion, dowry-related death, honour killing of women and female foeticide (EIGE, 2017b). These elements can be identified using the legal definition in conjunction with other variables, such as the disaggregation of ‘sex of the victim’ (‘female’), ‘relationship with perpetrator’ (‘partner or ex-partner’) and ‘motivation’ (‘gender-based’) (UN, 2014b, p. 6).

**The EIGE definition of femicide does not have a correspondent in the EU-27 and the United Kingdom, where the focus is mainly on intentional killings of women.** However, 21 Member States apply the definition of the killing of a partner/spouse (Table 14), whereas 11 are able to map at least some elements of the gender-based definition of the killing of women because they are women<sup>(18)</sup>. Seven countries can define the death of women resulting from intimate partner violence or killings of partner/spouse, and others can identify indirect femicide, such as FGM-related death (9 countries), death related to unsafe abortion (15 countries) and honour-based killings of women (2 countries). Table 14 provides an overview of femicide components in Member States’ definitions, on the basis of EIGE’s terminology and indicators report (EIGE, 2017b), updated for modifications to legal definitions.

<sup>(18)</sup> Primarily because they collect data on the context of sexual violence.

**Table 14. Overview of femicide components in Member States and UK definitions (on the basis of EIGE, 2017b)**

Intentional killing	Gender-based act and/or killing of women	Killing of partner/spouse	Death of women resulting from intimate partner violence	FGM-related death	Death related to unsafe abortion	Honour killing of women
BE, BG, CZ, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, CY, LV, LT, LU, HU, MT, NL, AT, PL, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, SE and UK	BE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, LT, PL, PT, SI and UK	BG, DK, DE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, NL, AT, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, SE and UK	BE, EE, ES, FR, HR, IT and SI	BE, DK, FR, IT, CY, LU, NL, PL and SK	BE, DE, EL, HR, IT, CY, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK and SE	FR and SI

### 6.2.1. Summary of definitions

In recent years, the ratification of the Istanbul Convention by most EU Member States and the monitoring of its implementation by GREVIO, together with the work of EIGE and several feminist movements, has seen new life in the political debate on femicide in Europe. This has been very effective in raising awareness of the specificity of femicide, compared with the intentional killing of men, and in understanding the importance of addressing violence against women because they are women.

As a consequence, many EU Member States introduced aggravating circumstances in their penal codes that are useful for identifying gender-based or intimate partner killings, whereas others improved their data collections with the aim of producing and delivering indicators that better approximate femicide or gender-based killing of women.

## 6.3. National data collection systems: an overview

Since 2014, data on crime and criminal justice in the EU has been compiled by Eurostat and the UNODC. Prior to that, data was collected by the UNODC through the Surveys on Crime Trend. Data from 2009 onwards is available on the Eurostat website. The joint Eurostat–UNODC data compilation system is an EU-wide coordinated

compilation of administrative data that covers intentional killing of women by intimate partners or by family members (or relatives), and sexual violence, specifically rape and sexual assault. Data compiled by Eurostat is derived from the intentional homicide data (available by age and sex for victims and perpetrators), as defined in ICCS code 0101, which describes intentional homicide as ‘unlawful death inflicted upon a person with the intent to cause death or serious injury’<sup>(19)</sup>. Data on intentional homicide should also include murder, honour killing, serious assault leading to death, death as a result of terrorist activities, dowry-related killings, femicide, infanticide, voluntary manslaughter, extrajudicial killings and killings caused by excessive use of force by law enforcement / state officials (ICCS, 2015).

Every 2 years since 1980, the UN Economic Commission for Europe has collected similar data for the Gender Statistics Database<sup>(20)</sup>. However, European countries have populated ‘intentional killing of women by intimate partner’ only since 1990, with Hungary being the first country to populate that time series.

More recently, EIGE has built on this integrated approach and initiated data collection to populate indicators on intimate partner femicide, based on administrative data from national police institutions.

Comparability of the data across the EU-27 remains a challenge, however, owing to the

<sup>(19)</sup> In 2017, all EU Member States delivered data, with the exception of Austria; in 2018, data was also missing for other Member States. The database is updated every year – the survey is usually launched between June and September, and countries can update data and review the previous series of data.

<sup>(20)</sup> [https://w3.unece.org/PXWeb2015/pxweb/en/STAT/STAT\\_30-GE\\_07-CV/ZZZ\\_en\\_GECr\\_VictimHomicide\\_r.px/](https://w3.unece.org/PXWeb2015/pxweb/en/STAT/STAT_30-GE_07-CV/ZZZ_en_GECr_VictimHomicide_r.px/)

different methods of data recording at national levels, as well as the differences between the sectors/authorities collecting data in the criminal justice systems (i.e. police, prosecution and courts). The police sector is the main authority collecting data on femicide and other forms of violence against women, compiling data on the reported cases of violence, investigations and their outcomes. The justice sector (prosecution offices and court data) collects data on the numbers of prosecuted individuals, proceedings, court cases filed, numbers of convictions and numbers of convicted individuals. Data collection in the justice sector generally follows the same definitions and structure as that of the police, although the data naturally reflects the perpetrator (EIGE, 2017b), given the role of those authorities.

Data on femicide is also collected by **social sector entities**, particularly NGOs raising awareness and offering support to women victims of gender violence (see below).

Administrative data on femicide is collected in 26 <sup>(21)</sup> EU Member States <sup>(22)</sup> and in the United Kingdom. Some countries have more than one data collection carried out by public institutions.

Seventy-two data collections have been analysed in the EU Member States and the United Kingdom. The institutions most frequently responsible for such data collection are the ministries of the interior and police departments (21 countries) <sup>(23)</sup>, followed by the ministries of justice (10 countries) <sup>(24)</sup> and the national statistical offices (8 countries) <sup>(25)</sup>. There are other data collections governed by the ombudsperson or the department of equal opportunity, the ministry of gender equality or the ministry of health <sup>(26)</sup>.

When asked if a definition of gender-related killing has been adopted for statistical purposes, most of the countries answered negatively. However, there were seven reported collections of data on gender-related killings (Table 15).

**Table 15. Public institutions' definitions and data collections of gender-related killings**

Type of institution	Definitions of gender-related killings of women used for statistical purposes		Data collections ('Is data on gender-related killings of women collected in your country?')	
	Yes	In process	On gender-related killings of women	On killing of women and men
Ministry of the interior	IT, ES	LV	DE, FR, IT, FI (*)	BE, BG, CZ, DK, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, RO, SI, SK, UK
Ministry of justice	ES			CZ, EE, PT, SK, SE
National statistical institute		LV		IE, NL, SK, FI
Other public institution (**)	ES	DE	EL, ES, HR	SE

(\*) In conjunction with the Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy.

(\*\*) Ombudsperson / department of equality / ministry of gender equality, etc.

<sup>(21)</sup> All Member States except Romania, and data is not available for Luxembourg.

<sup>(22)</sup> The information reported, although not exhaustive, offers a comprehensive overview of the administrative data collections at national levels (see Section 2).

<sup>(23)</sup> AT, BE, BG, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, HR, HU, IT, LT, LV, MT, PT, SE, SI, SK (National Council of Crime Prevention) and UK.

<sup>(24)</sup> CZ, DK, EE, IE, ES, HR, IT, PL, PT and SK.

<sup>(25)</sup> FI, HR, IE, IT, LV, NL, SK and UK.

<sup>(26)</sup> DE, EL, ES, HR, PT and SE (National Board of Health and Welfare).



## 6.4. Towards defining factors and classification systems for femicide in national data collection systems: institutional level

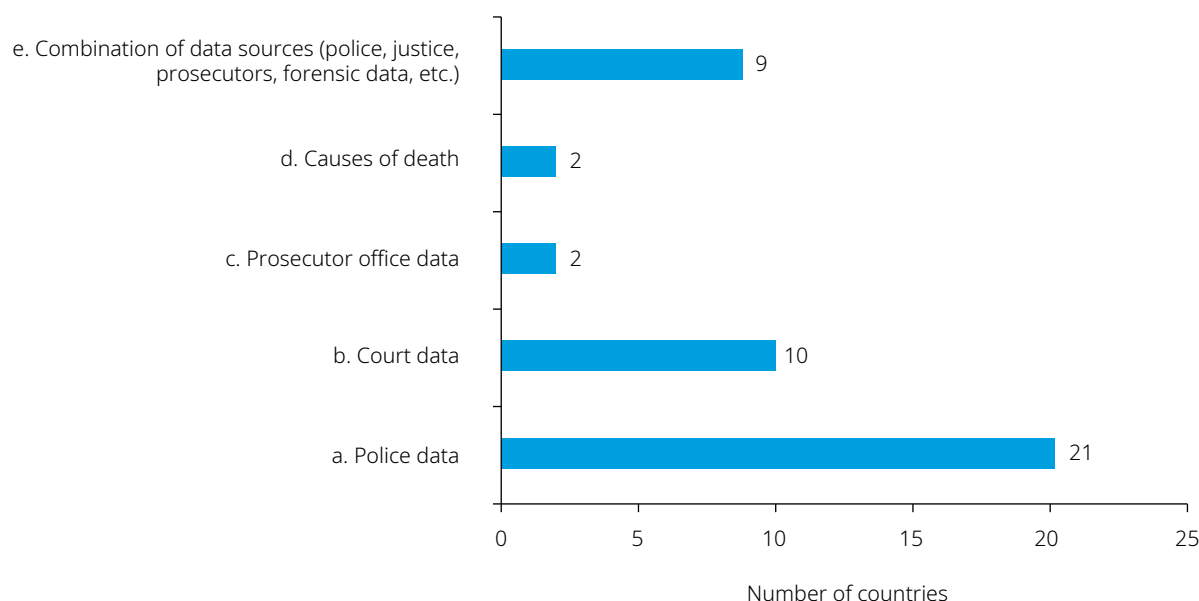
### 6.4.1. National data collection systems: sources and methodologies

#### 6.4.1.1. Sources

Police data is the most frequently used source (21 cases), with proceedings and court cases far less frequent, as are causes of death <sup>(27)</sup>. However, some data collection systems combine data sources (Figure 1).

Croatia, Estonia and the United Kingdom use police and court data; Sweden uses paper copies of police reports and other information from autopsies and court convictions; Slovakia and Spain employ police, prosecution and court data sources; and France and Finland make use of police data and the homicide monitor (see Sections 4.6. and 6.4.3.).

**Figure 1. Sources of official data collections on femicide at national level**



NB:

- (a) BE, BG, CZ, DK, DE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PT, SI, SK, SE (National Council of Crime Prevention) and UK.
- (b) CZ, DK, EE, IE, ES, HR, IT, PL, PT and SK.
- (c) ES and SK.
- (d) IT and NL.
- (e) CZ, ES, HR, IT, PT, SK, FI, SE and UK.

Source: Author's calculation based on questionnaire responses, 2020.

<sup>(27)</sup> Data on causes of death refers to the underlying cause, which is 'the disease or injury which initiated the train of morbid events leading directly to death, or the circumstances of the accident or violence which produced the fatal injury'. Data on the cause of death is derived from death certificates. The medical certification of death is an obligation in all Member States (see Eurostat website: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Cause\\_of\\_death](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Cause_of_death)).

### Finland – a good example in collecting information on EIGE’s indicator on intimate partner femicide

Finland emerged as a best-practice example in data collection on homicide. The victim is used as the counting unit, data can be produced for female homicide victims aged 18 years and over, a full mapping of the Criminal Code to the ICCS has already taken place, and data matches the UNODC definition of intentional homicide (with victims of voluntary manslaughter (*tappo*) and killing (*surma*) included), whereas involuntary manslaughter (*kuolemantuottamus*) and homicide attempts are excluded.

Finland can even specify that no intimate partner homicides between homosexual female couples occurred during the period in question; thus, all perpetrators were men aged 18 years and over. Although Statistics Finland did the ICCS mapping, the detailed information for homicide cases is a result of the work of the Finnish Homicide Monitor, maintained by the Institute of Criminology and Legal Policy of the University of Helsinki. Part of the success of this system is the use of a standard electronic form for collecting data and making data submission mandatory for all investigating police officers.

The Finnish example shows that obtaining good-quality data is possible without creating a femicide or intimate partner homicide offence, as Finnish legislation does not include a specific ‘femicide’ crime.

#### 6.4.1.2. Stage of recording of femicide

Data on gender-related killings is collected at different stages. In some Member States <sup>(28)</sup>, data is recorded by the police at the input stage but later reclassified, depending on information gleaned during the police investigation or the outcome of the criminal proceeding. In other Member States, data is recorded before and after the appeal process <sup>(29)</sup> or when conducting the data analysis <sup>(30)</sup>.

#### 6.4.1.3. Parameters used to establish femicide: victim–perpetrator relationship, gender-related motivation and contextual variables

In total, 21 Member States register the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. Fewer countries collect data on how the killing was committed, that is, gender-related

motivation or contextual variables (Tables 16 and 17). The richness of the parameters used by some Member States is evident, with some recording the relationship of dominance and control by the man with whom the victim maintains or has maintained an emotional relationship, jealousy, revenge, quarrels, the end of a violent relationship, mental illness, honour-related killings, prostitution or trafficking of women.

Nevertheless, **these kinds of circumstances are very rarely registered and may not be processed** (Tables 18 and 19). In fact, **databases often present data that has an operative rather than statistical utility**, meaning that even if the information is recorded, it can be in the form of text (a sequence of characters) that needs to be converted into quantitative variables. Another limitation is related to missing values – as variables are not mandatory, many are empty, affecting the overall quality of the data.

<sup>(28)</sup> For instance in Spain, France and Croatia.

<sup>(29)</sup> For instance in Czechia, Latvia and Lithuania.

<sup>(30)</sup> For instance in Germany, Greece and Italy.

The existence of 'prior intimate violence' acts is recorded in 9 countries, sexual violence and requests for protection measures are recorded in 7 countries and prior complaints are collected in only 8 countries. The other variables are collected even more infrequently.

France, Croatia and Slovenia have the richest databases for these variables; each underlines the absence of a systematic data collection, and one underlines the problems in data usability from a statistical point of view (Croatia).

**Table 16. Contextual variables, by source of data**

Data sources	Context of sexual violence	Prior intimate partner violence	Prior persecution (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	Prior complaints or requests for protection measures	Recent separation	'Shame or dishonour' upon family	Dowry-related problems	Refusal to enter an arranged marriage	Context of prostitution/pornography	Human trafficking context	Sexual orientation and gender identity	Disfigurement of the body	Other
<b>Police data</b>	FR, LV, PL <sup>(a)</sup> , SI <sup>(a)</sup> , SK, UK	ES, FR, IT, LT, SI <sup>(a)</sup> , FI <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	PT, FI <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	ES, FR <sup>(a)</sup> , PT, SI <sup>(a)</sup> , FI <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	SI, UK	FR <sup>(a)</sup> , SI <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	UK	FR <sup>(a)</sup> , SI <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	IT, LT, UK	IT, UK	HR, UK	UK	BG <sup>(a)</sup> , DK <sup>(a)</sup> , LV <sup>(a)</sup> , MT <sup>(a)</sup> , PT, FI <sup>(a)</sup> , (both data collections), UK
<b>Court data</b>		ES		ES					ES			ES	
<b>Prosecutor office data</b>		ES		ES								ES	
<b>Police and court data</b>	HR <sup>(c)</sup>	HR <sup>(c)</sup>		HR <sup>(c)</sup>	ES, HR <sup>(c)</sup>	HR <sup>(c)</sup>		HR <sup>(c)</sup>			HR		UK
<b>Other data sources</b>		PT	PT	ES, PT	PT								ES, PT

<sup>(a)</sup> Not systematically.

<sup>(b)</sup> SI – these are circumstances considered for the purpose of proceedings before judicial authorities; data is not statistically processed.

<sup>(c)</sup> HR – all variables are included in the scientific research undertaken by the Police Directorate. The information system has a variable for motive only, but no determined context. Only criminal offences motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity can be tracked through the information system.

<sup>(d)</sup> BG – for example jealousy.

<sup>(e)</sup> LV – the information system of the Information Centre of the Ministry of the Interior has a field that allows prosecutors to input a motivation. Several predefined categories are offered (the categories are not always connected to gender-related motivation; several of the predefined categories are obsolete); the criminal offence was committed out of a desire to acquire property, hooliganism, jealousy, conflict, revenge, etc. Another option is to define those articles of the criminal law that reveal gender-related motivation. For example, part 7 of Article 117 particularly refers to murder committed in relation to rape. Data on these cases is available upon request.

<sup>(f)</sup> FI – includes information on the motives/reasons such as mental illness, jealousy, revenge, quarrels, honour-related killings.

<sup>(g)</sup> UK\_SC – not gender-related motivation: main motives – fight or quarrel; feud or faction rivalry.

Other data sources: PT: Retrospective Analysis of Domestic Violence Homicide Team; ES: Government Office against Gender-based Violence.

**Table 17. Contextual variables, by source of data**

Data sources	Method of killing	Location	Suicide of the perpetrator	Killing of children	Killing of other individuals in the family	Children present (not killed)	Other killings in connection with the femicide	Other
Police data	BE <sup>(c)</sup> , DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PT, SI, SK, UK	BE <sup>(c)</sup> , DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	IT, AT, PT, SI <sup>(e)</sup> , UK	LT, SI, UK	LT, SI, UK	BE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(c)</sup> , AT, SI <sup>(e)</sup> , UK	FR, SI <sup>(e)</sup> , UK	DK <sup>(e)</sup> , MT <sup>(e)</sup> , SI, SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(e)</sup> , UK
Court data	IT <sup>(b)</sup>							
Prosecutor office data	ES	ES	ES	ES				ES
Police and court data	ES, HR, PT	ES, HR, PT	ES, HR	ES	ES	ES, HR	ES, HR	ES, UK <sup>(e)</sup>
Other data sources	SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(h)</sup>	SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(h)</sup>	ES <sup>(f)</sup> , SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(h)</sup>	ES <sup>(f)</sup> , PT <sup>(g)</sup> , SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(h)</sup>	PT <sup>(g)</sup> , SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(h)</sup>	PT <sup>(g)</sup> , SE <sup>(e)</sup> , <sup>(h)</sup>	PT <sup>(g)</sup>	ES <sup>(f)</sup>

<sup>(a)</sup> Not systematically.

<sup>(b)</sup> IT – based on the analysis of sentences.

<sup>(c)</sup> BE: other – modus operandi, etc.

<sup>(d)</sup> UK\_SC: other – main motive.

<sup>(e)</sup> SE: National Board of Health and Welfare.

<sup>(f)</sup> ES: Government Office against Gender-based Violence. Data also includes reaction of the suspected person, prior risk assessment and level of risk, orphaned children and body of victim missing.

<sup>(g)</sup> PT: Retrospective Analysis of Domestic Violence Homicide Team.

<sup>(h)</sup> SE – National Council for Crime Prevention data collection: the official statistics on cases of fatal violence record only whether or not the deadly violence occurred with a firearm.

The SE data collection by the National Council of Crime Prevention uses paper copies of all police reports registered during a calendar year as its data source, and other information collected through lawsuit applications, autopsy records, court convictions, etc.

Contextual variables are more often collected, although not always systematically (Table 17). ‘Method of killing’ and ‘location’ are registered more frequently in the police database, in 15 and 16 countries, respectively. Suicide of the perpetrator is recorded by 8 Member States, the killing of children, the killing of other family members or other killings in connection with the femicide are also registered by 8 Member States.

Other countries, such as Spain and France, reported the possibility of processing data on offences committed on the same occasion, which allows multiple complaints about the same perpetrator to be combined.

Twenty EU Member States and the United Kingdom gather and make data publicly available on a

regular basis, either annually <sup>(31)</sup> or as a continuous process <sup>(32)</sup>.

#### 6.4.1.4. Interim summary on sources and methodologies

The most common source of data to study femicide is police data. In some cases, these databases are very rich and helpful in detecting the gender-related motivation for the killing of women, but other databases continue to reflect solely their administrative purpose, with no systematic registration of certain variables and little immediate statistical usability.

The strategic use of the variables related to the victim–perpetrator relationship and the sex of the victim allow almost all Member States to estimate

<sup>(31)</sup> AT, BE, DE, EE, EL, ES, FI, FR, HU, LV, NL, PT, SI, SK and UK.

<sup>(32)</sup> IE, ES, IT, CY, LT, FI and SE.

intimate partner femicide. About half of the EU-27 can achieve the definition proposed by UNODC (see [Section 4.1.](#)) using 'methods of killing' and 'location'.

At the same time, the gender-related motivation is rarely registered, with sexual motivation, prior intimate partner violence and prior complaints or restraining orders (of the perpetrator) more commonly recorded. These variables could be derived from databases that contain the records of the same victim or of the same perpetrator.

#### 6.4.2. National data collection systems: data collection variables

Most Member States register the nature of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. At a minimum, this is registered in terms of broad categories such as the current or a previous intimate partner, close relationship or unknown. In some cases, the codification is much more accurate, defining concrete categories such as spouse, ex-spouse, currently dating, previously dating, mother/father, son/daughter, brother/sister, grandson/granddaughter, grandmother/grandfather, uncle, cousin, other relatives, neighbour, colleague, friend, other known person, unknown person.

The sex of the victim is the key information needed to derive data on the intentional killing of women and is the most registered variable in the databases (26 countries), followed by age (25 countries) ([Table 19](#)). Nationality of the victim is reported in 21 countries, whereas occupation, gender identity, alcohol/substance abuse, education and the order of protection are not reported in many countries. Health status and previous history of violence are reported in only 2 countries, whereas 3 record sexual orientation.

The lack of information on prior violence, sexual orientation, gender identity and health status (more specifically, disability) represents a clear limitation, as these variables are important for analysis purposes, and to identify the gender-related motive (see [Sections 4.2.](#), [4.6.](#) and [5.3.](#)) and higher-risk profiles.

Characteristics of the perpetrator are collected in the majority of EU Member States and the United Kingdom, at least sex and age (25 Member States) ([Table 18](#)). Nationality is collected in 20 countries and education level is collected in 8. Recidivism and protection orders against the perpetrator are registered in 17 countries.

#### Slovakia - a good example in data collection in the justice sector

Slovakia represents a good example in the justice sector. The General Prosecutor's Office collects data from the prosecutors' offices on the number of individuals prosecuted and charged with femicide. This data is stored in an electronic database. The Ministry of Justice collects court data on the number of individuals sentenced and convicted, which is also stored in an electronic database. The Ministry of Justice adds the relationship between the victim and the convicted as an additional variable, using the following categories: husband, ex-husband, cohabitee, ex-cohabitee, parent of common child, individuals living in the same household, parent, child, sibling, grandparent, grandchild, other relatives.

In addition, the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic produces statistics based on the data from police, the Prosecutors' Office and court data.

**Table 18. Perpetrator characteristics in national public institutions' data collection systems**

Sources	Age	Sex	Gender identity	Sexual orientation	Nationality	Education	Occupation	Active protection order against	Socioeconomic profile	Health status	Alcohol/drug abuse	Recidivism	Other
Police data	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, FI	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI	MT <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	MT <sup>(a)</sup> , UK	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, UK	LT, HU, MT, PT, UK	LT, HU, AT, PT, SK, UK	BE, EE, FR <sup>(b)</sup> , IT, HU <sup>(c)</sup> , MT <sup>(a)</sup> , SI, FI	MT <sup>(a)</sup> , UK		DE, FR, LT, HU, SI, SK, UK	DK <sup>(d)</sup> , FR <sup>(b)</sup> , LT, HU, MT <sup>(a)</sup> , AT <sup>(a)</sup> , SI, SK, UK	DK <sup>(a)</sup> , HU, SI, UK
Court data	PT	PT					PT, SK						
Prosecutor office data	SK	SK			SK	SK	SK	SK			SK	SK	
Court and prosecutor office data	CZ	CZ			CZ	CZ <sup>(e)</sup>						CZ <sup>(e)</sup>	CZ
Police and court data	ES, HR, SK, UK	ES, HR, SK, UK			ES, SK	ES, SK		ES, HR	ES	HR	HR	ES, HR	
Causes of death	NL	NL											
Other	SE <sup>(f)</sup>	SE <sup>(f)</sup>			SE <sup>(f)</sup>		SE <sup>(f)</sup>	SE <sup>(f)</sup>			SE <sup>(f)</sup>		

<sup>(a)</sup> Not systematically.

<sup>(b)</sup> FR – active protection order against and recidivist status in longitudinal data for the perpetrator (not administrative data), but not yet available for statistical purposes.

<sup>(c)</sup> HU – only in relation to the concrete case.

<sup>(d)</sup> DK – recidivist status computed by Statistics Denmark.

<sup>(e)</sup> CZ – recidivist status and education collected by the state prosecution, not by the courts.

<sup>(f)</sup> SE – National Board of Health and Welfare.

NB: Additional details:

BE – race or ethnic origin, political preferences, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership or sexual orientation are not recorded in the General National Database because the sensitivity of some data may affect privacy.

CZ – other: if the perpetrator is cooperating, if he is an employee of the armed forces (army, police, etc.), if he has some position in the public sector (e.g. senator, court employee).

UK – other: ethnicity and sadistic sexual practices.

As data collections are frequently built on the victim side only, they do not permit cross-reference with perpetrator characteristics. Accordingly, only

six Member States report being able to cross-reference victim and perpetrator characteristics (Table 19).

**Table 19. Victim characteristics and cross-referencing of victim and perpetrator in national public institutions' data collection systems**

Sources	Victim characteristics													Cross-referencing of victim and perpetrator	
	Age	Sex	Gender identity	Sexual orientation	Nationality	Education	Occupation	Protection order application	Socioeconomic profile	Health status	Alcohol/drug abuse	Previous history of violence	Other	Cross-referenced	Not cross-referenced
<b>Police data</b>	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, FI, UK	BE, BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	FR, MT (*) UK	FR, MT (*) UK	BE, BG, DK, DE, EE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	LT, MT (*)	BE, LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT (*), SK, UK	BE, ES, MT (*), SI, UK	BE, PT, UK	UK	DE, LT, HU, SI, SK, UK	DK (*), FR, IT, PT, SI, UK	DK (*), FR, EE, IE, FR, SK	EE, IE, FR, SK	BE, BG, CZ, DK, DE, IE, EL, LT, MT, SI, UK
<b>Court data</b>	SK	PT, SK			SK		SK							SK	
<b>Prosecutor office data</b>	SK	SK			ES, SK		SK	ES		SK					SK
<b>Court and prosecutor data</b>	CZ	CZ													CZ
<b>Police and court data</b>	ES, HR, SK	ES, HR, SK			ES, HR	ES, HR	ES, HR	ES, HR	ES, HR	HR	HR	ES, HR	ES, HR	ES	HR, SK
<b>Causes of death</b>	NL	NL													NL
<b>Other</b>	ES, SE	ES, SE			ES, SE	PL	PL	PL		SE		ES	ES		SE

(\*) Not systematically.

NB: Additional details:

- BE: information is recorded on victims at the time the complaint is filed (and the police report is made). However, it is currently not possible to provide reliable data on victims. This is because the General National Database is a relational database, composed of several entities. In addition to the 'fact' entity (information on the crime, place, time), there is also a 'person' entity. For the moment, the latter entity contains information (date of birth, gender, nationality, etc.) on suspects, but not on victims (except missing people). Progress has been made in integrating data on victims in the General National Database. However, race or ethnic origin, political preferences, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership or sexual orientation are not recorded in the General National Database owing to the sensitivity of some data that may affect privacy.
- FR: other: handicap, pregnancy or other vulnerable condition (if relevant for the police investigation).
- HR: other: awareness of the centre of welfare.
- PL: other sources: Institute of Justice.
- PT: occupation only when the killing is occupation related.
- SI: other: consequences (e.g. bodily harm if killing attempt).
- ES: other: information about the judicial outcome of previous complaints; if the protection order was active, how it was breached; information regarding the risk assessment (level of risk); children.
- UK: other: ethnicity and migration status, children and pregnancy, health situation and disability.



### 6.4.3. National data collection systems: data analysis method, deliverables and interinstitutional collaboration

The EU-27 and the United Kingdom were asked about the methods used to analyse gender-related killings. The most common data sources are administrative data from police <sup>(33)</sup>, analysis of court cases <sup>(34)</sup> and the homicide / domestic homicide review <sup>(35)</sup>, followed by causes of death, based on the medical certification of death, and the media.

Approaches vary between countries. In the United Kingdom, Community Safety Partnerships have been required to produce domestic homicide reviews since April 2011. These reviews aim to gather and analyse data on the victim, the perpetrator and their relationship in order to better prevent such crimes. Domestic homicide reviews are also conducted in Portugal, where victim and perpetrator characteristics are taken into account, as well as the motivation for the homicide. A substantial amount of information is collected in some countries (e.g. Finland reports 90 variables), covering victim and perpetrator information, children of victims, violent history, previous convictions, motives for the killing and context of killing.

Although there are commonalities, each country's domestic homicide review is characterised by a different focus, such as the inclusion of the motive for (gendered) killing, the gendered structure of

the context of the killing, state response to former violence and femicide (see [Section 4.7.](#)).

In some cases, there is strict collaboration and agreement between agencies aiming to investigate and study femicide, with partnerships reinforced by the signature of protocols. These protocols are valuable for policy planning and raising awareness.

Protocols have been established in eight countries <sup>(36)</sup>, chiefly by the ministries of the interior and the ombudsperson/department of equal opportunity.

Even if the analyses on gender-related killings are quantitatively poor, data is delivered to the public. Generally, information is delivered as macrodata (25 institutions in 21 Member States), with microdata provided in two countries. The reports typically relate to intimate partner violence, with the most common indicators being the number/rate of homicides by victim–perpetrator relationship and by sex and age of the victim. Countries often establish protocols and memorandums in order to share microdata between institutions while respecting privacy and data protection laws. More often, despite the fact that not all institutions operate with the same understanding of gender-related killings, aggregated indicators are shared with several institutions – in 20 cases, with statistical authorities and, in other cases, with several public and private institutions, including NGOs and the media ([Tables 20 and 21](#)).

<sup>(33)</sup> AT, BE, BG, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, HR, HU, IT, LT, LV, MT, PT, SE (National Council of Crime Prevention), SI, SK and UK.

<sup>(34)</sup> CZ, DK, EE, IE, ES, HR, IT, PL, PT and SK.

<sup>(35)</sup> FI, FR, HR, SE and UK. Ireland and Malta plan to implement homicide reviews in the future.

<sup>(36)</sup> ES, FR, HR, HU, IT, SE and UK\_EW, UK\_SC.

**Table 20. Analysis and publication of data by national public institutions' data collection systems**

Type of institution	Data on gender-related killings of women analysed	Reports published on a regular basis		Data made available to the public	
	Yes	Yes	Only occasionally	Yes, microdata	Yes, macrodata
Ministry of the interior/ police departments	FR, IT, LV, AT, UK	FR, IT, LV, UK	AT	SI	BE, CZ, DE, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, AT, SI, UK
Ministry of justice	CZ, IT	CZ, ES	IT		CZ, PT
National statistical office		ES		IE	IE, NL, SK, FI
Other: ombudsperson/ department of gender equality	ES, HR, MT (*), PT, SE	ES, PT, SE	HR, MT (*)		BE, EL, ES, HR, MT (*), PT, SE

(\*) MT – data is analysed by the Commission on Gender-based Violence and Domestic Violence. The EOF started an additional and more detailed analysis and data compilation in 2020.

**Table 21. Administrative/official data shared with other institutions, by type of institution/ entity**

Type of institution	Law enforcement institutions	Judicial authority	Ministries	Department of equal opportunities or other gender equality body	Statistical authority/ authorities	NGOs	Media
Ministry of the interior/ police departments	BE (*), FR (*), IT, LV (*), LT, MT (*), AT (*), PL (*), SI (*), SK (*), UK	BE (*), FR (*), LV (*), LT, MT (*), AT (*), PL (*), SI (*), SK (*), UK	BE (*), DE, FR (*), IT, LV (*), MT (*), AT (*), PL (*), SI (*), SK (*), UK	BE (*), DE, EL, FR (*), IT, LV (*), MT (*), AT (*), PL (*), SI (*), SK (*), UK	BE (*), DK, DE, FR (*), IT, CY, LV (*), LT, MT (*), AT (*), PL, SI (*), SK (*), UK	BE (*), DE, FR (*), IT, LV (*), MT (*), AT (*), PL (*), SI (*), SK (*), UK	BE (*), DE, FR (*), IT, LV (*), MT (*), AT (*), PL (*), SI (*), SK (*), UK
Ministry of justice	CZ (*)	CZ (*)	CZ (*)	CZ (*)	CZ (*)	CZ (*)	CZ (*)
National statistical office	IE, SI, SK	IE, SK, FI	IE, SK, FI	IE, SK, FI	IE, SK, FI	IE, SK, FI	IE, SK, FI
Other: ombudsperson/ department of gender equality	ES, PT, SE	ES, PT, SK, SE	ES, HR (*), PT	ES	ES, HR (*)	ES, SE (*)	ES

(\*) On request.

#### 6.4.3.1. Summary of data analysis

Administrative police data is the most common source to study femicide. Some countries use multiple sources, as in the case of the homicide / domestic homicide review, for which data is typically collected as part of a partnership between institutions (ratified by protocols), NGOs and academic groups.

As already noted by Dawson (2017), the analysis of current domestic homicide and death reviews may have a potential impact on future policies, especially if comparing and highlighting the

current state of the reviews, their similarities and differences, the review process used, the outcomes in each jurisdiction, and the functioning, benefits and challenges of the reviews.

This method of using multiple sources and data from many institutions allows for richer and more exhaustive information that helps develop an understanding of gender-related killing.

However, many countries do not analyse the data aiming to address femicide.

### Croatia as a good example – Femicide Watch

Several public institutions in Croatia are engaged in collecting data on crimes, including the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Justice, the Croatian Bureau of Statistics and the Ombudsperson for Gender Equality.

The Ministry of the Interior collects data and makes it available through its own information system, which records all cases after the detection of a criminal offence. Data from the police sector is analysed by the Police Directorate and Ombudsperson for Gender Equality. The data collected refers not only to femicide but also to misdemeanours and criminal offences of violence against women, whether or not they are part of intimate partner violence. The data is updated regularly and continuously, and contains information about the victim, measures undertaken, interventions, etc. Since 2016, in each case of a woman being killed, the investigating police officer has completed a detailed questionnaire.

The Ministry of Justice keeps records of all data related to court proceedings, including the details of associated criminal offences and misdemeanours of violence against women. This data deals exclusively with the perpetrator and the type of crime. However, it plans to upgrade the case management system to record the sex/gender of the victim and their relationship with the perpetrator. The Croatian Bureau of Statistics produces statistics based on the case management system of the courts and State Attorney's Office.

The Ombudsperson for Gender Equality collects data on violence against women and intimate partner violence from gender equality coordinators in state administration, and data on women victims from the Ministry of the Interior. In 2017, the Ombudsperson for Gender Equality established a monitoring body for comprehensive supervision, data collection and analysis and reporting of cases of killings of women – Femicide Watch. This body consists of several members from the Ministry of the Interior; the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Demographics, Family, Youth and Social Policy; the State Attorney's Office; the High Misdemeanour Court; and the NGO Women's Room.

## 6.5. National data collection systems: typologies of femicide

The responses to the EIGE questionnaire are used to establish femicide components and to work towards their operationalisation: type of femicide measured by Member State, variables useful for unveiling the gender-related motivation, contextual variables, nature of the relationship between victims and perpetrators, and victims' and perpetrators' characteristics.

Table 22 updates the information in Table 14 on the components of femicide (EIGE, 2017b), with the addition of some categories taken from elements of the main European and international definitions of femicide (EIGE, 2017b; Table 4).

In some cases, the information from the questionnaires on the components/elements of femicide was complemented in order to complete the table.

- **Gender-based act and/or killing of women.** Sexual orientation and gender identity, and desire to acquire property, were added.
- **Honour killing of women.** Refusal to enter an arranged marriage was added.
- **Context of continuum of violence.** Prior violence, prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator, prior complaints or requests for protection measures, protection order (victims' characteristics and perpetrators' characteristics) and recidivism were added.

- **Position of subordination, marginalisation and risk.** Human trafficking measures, murder motivated by personal relationship, mental illness and disability (victims' characteristics) were added.
- **Killing of women involving sexual violence.** Context of prostitution/pornography and sexual violence were added.

Other categories derived from the national data collection systems were assigned, such as 'disfigurement of the body/overkilling' and the 'method of killing'.

**Table 22. Overview of femicide components and types of femicide in Member States, based on national data collection systems**

Intentional killing	Gender-based act and/or killing of women	Killing of partner/spouse	Death of women resulting from intimate partner violence	FGM-related death	Death related to unsafe abortion	Dowry-related death	Honour killing of women	Female foeticide	Context of continuum of violence	Position of subordination, marginalisation and risk	Killing of women involving sexual violence
BE, BG, CZ, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, CY, LV, LT, LU, HU, MT, NL, AT, PL, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, SE, UK	BE, EE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, LV, LT, LU, PL, PT, SI, UK	BG, DK, DE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, NL, AT, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, SE, UK	BE, EE, ES, FR, HR, IT, SI	BE, DK, FR, IT, CY, LU, NL, PL, SK	BE, DE, EL, HR, IT, CY, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, SE		FR, HR, SI, FI		CZ, DK, EE, ES, FR, HR, IT, LT, HU, MT, AT, SI, SK, FI and UK_EW	FR, HR, IT, SK (*)	FR, HR, IT, LV, LT, PL, SI, SK

(\*) Murder motivated by personal relationship.

### Italy – a good example in collecting information

Since 2002, the Italian Ministry of the Interior has created a dedicated database on homicide. Data is gathered from police reports, investigations and open sources. It covers the victim–perpetrator relationship, characteristics of victims and of perpetrators, prior violence, method of killing and location. The National Institute of Statistics (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica) publishes yearly indicators on intimate partner killing and family-related killing. Data on the killing of women in prostitution and trafficked women is also available, as is data on sexual violence-related killings\*. The Law No 69 of 19 July 2019, the so-called Red Code, on the protection of victims of domestic and gender-based violence, has introduced more aggravating circumstances for homicide in the context of sexual violence, stalking and homicide by partner.

(\*) Data on sexual violence related-killings is not yet considered in the official definition and thus is not disseminated, due to data quality concerns.

## 6.6. National data collection systems: quality of data

In 2012, the UN Special Rapporteur underlined that the ‘weaknesses in information systems and the poor quality of data are major barriers in investigating femicides, developing meaningful prevention strategies and advocating for improved policies’ (Manjoo, 2012, p. 105).

Information collected by official or state sources is frequently not harmonised or coordinated. Often there are incongruities between the data collated by the different facilities, including inconsistencies in the categories used to document the circumstances surrounding the crime, the victim–perpetrator relationship and the fact of pre-existing violence. (Manjoo, 2012).

There are many differences in data collection across the EU-27 and the United Kingdom. Gender-related killing and femicide are themselves rarely addressed as topics, whereas definitions and data methodologies vary substantially between countries. Even if many countries collect a variety of information, this data is not systematised or collected for statistical purposes, preventing its use in the study and prevention of femicide. Few data collections are collected regularly and many are not harmonised, similarly rendering them scarcely usable. The classification of variables collected varies considerably between countries, making comparability rather difficult.

Few countries have obtained cross-referencing information between the victim and the perpetrator, which is important in assessing basic

indicators (e.g. number of women killed by men) or for analysing the intersecting inequalities and structures of domination (gender, race, nationality / legal status, class).

However, the main problem is the inability to address the motivation for a killing. Even if data collection is sufficient to investigate intentional killing from an operative point of view, the link between intentional killing and gender-related killing is weak. Many countries do not analyse data to establish if the intentional killing of a woman is femicide.

Addressing data gaps and/or lack of cross-referencing is a challenge, but it can be tackled simultaneously at different levels to result in more complete and better-quality data in all Member States. To this end, common frameworks, such as the Istanbul Convention, the UN call to establish femicide observatories and other EU practices, are supporting the advancement of administrative statistical data collection on gender-based violence and femicide. Many Member States have established or improved their data collections and planned data analysis and other initiatives, in part because of the advocacy work carried out by civil society and academia.

An improvement is evident in the awareness of the usefulness of statistics and their importance in supporting the planning and monitoring of policies in the EU-27 and the United Kingdom. Concrete improvements have also been observed in the completeness of data, since more Member States register the victim–perpetrator relationship and publish macrodata indicators.

### Spain – a promising example on data governance

In Spain, data on femicide is collected through the Spanish Government Office against Gender-based Violence, under the Ministry of Equality. Data on women killed by an intimate partner is collected from different autonomous communities and from the VioGén database of the Ministry of the Interior. This data is available for 2003–2021. Since 2018, data is also broken down by age group.

A protocol is in place between Spain's Ministry of the Interior and the Prosecutor's Office to investigate gender-based killings of women.

Data is analysed and published by the National Statistics Institute of Spain and by the Observatory against Domestic and Gender-based Violence (a national institution under the presidency of the General Council of the Judiciary, with the participation of other relevant institutions, including the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Interior, the Prosecutor's Office, the Spanish Bar Association and the Government Office against Gender-based Violence).

The institutional framework for investigating gender-based killings of women allows for the identification of femicide cases, based on the assignment of cases to the specialised courts focused on gender-based violence.

The collaboration between different institutions in Spain, as well as the long tradition of collecting, analysing and publishing data on femicide, means that Spain offers one of the richest data collections in the EU.

Data can be accessed on the website of the Spanish Government Office against gender-based violence (<https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/victimasMortales/home.htm>) and of the National Statistics Institute of Spain (<https://www.ine.es/up/Lut3I3FW>).

## 7. National data collections on femicide by non-governmental organisations

In addition to data collection by public institutions, the national experts reported a series of data collections undertaken and statistical reports produced by NGOs. These are particularly enriching given the wealth of approaches taken by different NGOs.

At least 23 data collections or analyses of femicide are available through NGOs, media outlets and research institutes <sup>(37)</sup> across the EU Member States and the United Kingdom (Table 23). Of these, four are the domestic homicide / homicide monitor carried out by academic groups / NGOs (the EOF, NL, PT and UK).

There are different approaches to analysing and documenting femicide cases across NGOs. From

broad classification (Femicidio.net) <sup>(38)</sup> to the analysis of each killing of a woman using typologies and definitions that have not been previously established (the UK Femicide Census) <sup>(39)</sup>. Intimate femicide is the most common typology of femicide identified or analysed by NGOs. Family-related femicide is estimated in eight cases, prostitution-related femicide and child femicide in five cases, non-intimate partner femicide in six cases, and robbery-related femicide and organised crime murders in two cases. Most NGOs did not report any classification, which shows a lack of a common working definition of femicide and a lack of a common approach to document the cases.

**Table 23. Types of femicide measured by NGOs' data collection systems**

Type of femicide	Type of data collection	
	NGO	Homicide monitor / observatory / academia
Intimate femicide (official)		MT (EOF), NL, UK
Intimate femicide (unofficial)	AT, BE, BG, CZ, DE, IE, ES, FR, IT (two data collections), HU, RO	PT
Non-intimate partner femicide	DE, ES	MT (EOF), NL, PT, UK
Family-related femicide	AT, BG, DE, ES, IT (two data collections), RO	MT, PT, UK
Prostitution-related femicide	BE, DE, ES, IT	MT (EOF), UK
Robbery-related femicide	DE, ES	MT (EOF), UK
Other:		
Organised crime murder	ES, IT	
Killing of a pregnant woman		
Sexual murder	BE, ES	
Murder motivated by personal relations		
Child femicide	DE, IE, ES, IT, RO	
Other (not specified)	ES, RO	MT (EOF)
No specific classification	AT, BG, SK	FI

NB: Other notes: NL: the Dutch Homicide Monitor is a general homicide monitor of all types of victims and incidents. It is part of the EHM, the rest of which comprises Finland and Sweden.

MT is the country where the EOF was established and it forms a network of 22 country research groups in Europe and Israel.

<sup>(37)</sup> AT, BE, BG, CZ, DE, DK, ES, FI, FR, HU, IE, IT, MT (EOF), NL, PT, RO, SK and UK.

<sup>(38)</sup> Femicidio.net launched a campaign with a broader classification of feminicide types to raise awareness and disseminate the term (intimate feminicide, child feminicide, feminicide as a result of prostitution and trafficking, non-intimate feminicide, lesbophobic feminicide, transphobic feminicide, racist/xenophobic feminicide and feminicide due to FGM; <https://femicidio.net/campana-tipos-de-femicidio/>). Its database differentiates between feminicide cases and female murders. Feminicide cases comprise five types: intimate, familial, non-intimate, as a result of prostitution, and child feminicide. Two contexts of murders are also included: as a result of robbery and communal violence.

<sup>(39)</sup> The UK Femicide Census analyses the numbers of women killed per year, the methods used, the contexts in which women are killed and their relationships with the perpetrators, extracting data from publicly verified material on the killings of women in all forms of male violence, rather than limiting it to domestic violence only (<https://www.femicidecensus.org>).

The main data source for these data collections is the media <sup>(40)</sup>, complemented by police reports <sup>(41)</sup>, courts' or prosecutors' cases <sup>(42)</sup>, forensic investigations <sup>(43)</sup> and checks with family members of the victims (the latter in the case of the Agence France-Presse study). Domestic homicide / homicide monitors most frequently use a multisource approach.

It is evident that NGOs' databases suffer from a lack of systematic data collection, mainly because they rely on media sources, which adds a limitation to the data availability and quality.

Similarly to public institutions, the contextual variables are more frequently collected. Methods of killing, location and suicide of the perpetrator are registered in 11 and 9 countries respectively, whereas the killings of children are recorded by 8 countries (Table 24). Romania collects all of the contextual variables, as do France, the Netherlands and Portugal. Data limitations showed in these tables are due to the limited publicly accessible data and the limited data sharing and coordination between official and non-official data sources.

**Table 24. Contextual variables collected by NGOs' data collection systems**

Contextual variables	NGOs	Homicide monitors
Method of killing	BE, IE, ES, FR (two collections), IT, HU, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF), NL, PT, UK
Location	BE, BG, IE, ES, FR (two collections), IT, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF), NL, PT, UK
Suicide of the perpetrator	IE, ES, FR (two collections), IT, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF), NL, PT, UK
Killing of children	BG, IE, ES, FR, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF), NL, PT
Killing of other individuals in the family	IE, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF), NL
Children present (not killed)	BE, FR, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF), PT
Other killings in connection with the femicide	IE, FR, IT, RO (two collections)	MT (EOF)
Other		MT (EOF), UK
Variables to unveil gender-related motivation	NGOs	Homicide monitors
Context of sexual violence	BE, IE, ES, IT	PT and UK
Prior intimate partner violence	BE, BG, IE, ES, IT	PT and UK
Prior persecution (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	BE	PT and UK
Prior complaints or requests for protection measures	BE, ES	PT and UK
Recent separation	BE	PT, UK
Context of prostitution / pornography / sex workers	IT	UK
Human trafficking context	IT	UK
Sexual orientation and gender identity		NL, UK
Disfigurement of the body / fury taken out on the corpse	ES	UK
Other	BG	MT (EOF), NL and UK

NB: Other:

- MT (EOF) collects data on all motives relevant to femicide, and data on the witnesses.
- UK gathers a broad range of contextual variables to unveil the gender-related motivation. It also includes data on mercy killings, financial gains, women killed abroad, etc.
- BG: jealousy.

<sup>(40)</sup> AT, BE, BG, DE, ES, FR (three data collections), HU, IE, IT (two data collections), NL, PT, RO (two data collections) and UK.

<sup>(41)</sup> DE, IE, NL, RO and UK.

<sup>(42)</sup> BG, ES, FR, IE, NL, RO and UK.

<sup>(43)</sup> NL.



## 7.1. Summary of non-governmental organisations' data collection systems

Data collections carried out by NGOs and those carried out by research institutes are very different from one another. Some NGOs' data collection systems are very accurate and comprehensive, whereas others are not very informative. It is possible to argue that the latter ones produce secondary analysis reports, rather than being real data collection systems.

NGOs and research institutes aim to detect and analyse gender-related killings. Nevertheless, their data collection processes are informed by targeted goals and, as in public institutions' data collections, the descriptive variables collected for victims and perpetrators are poor and omit many values in both the contextual variables and in the variables assessing gender-related motivation due to the limitations to access data.

The conceptualisation of gender-related killing is pervasive in national data collections generally, across national institutions as well as NGOs and research institutes.

## 8. Recommendations

These recommendations are based on the reported experiences of international and EU organisations gathering data on femicide and establishing classification systems, as well as EU Member States' practices in collecting data on femicide. The recommendations suggested here aim to enable Member States' law enforcement institutions, judiciary and health organisations to gather sound and comparable data that can be translated into statistical data in a standardised way. Data collection systems should enable administrations to distinguish between intentional and unintentional killing of women in terms of femicide, as well as measuring the gender dimension of the killing of women and girls.

### 8.1. Recommendations for European Union Member States and the United Kingdom

#### 8.1.1. Recommendation 1: comparable working definition of femicide

Develop and implement a comparable, working definition of femicide to denote the killing of a woman or girl in a gender-saturated situation<sup>(44)</sup> and/or in a gendered structure of inequality and domination.

The definition should regard the gender of the victim as a crucial element of the crime<sup>(45)</sup> and should also take into account homicides taking place both within and outside the sphere of intimate relationships.

The acknowledgement of the structural gender component in the definition of femicide broadens the restriction of the definition beyond intentional femicide and is also crucial to downplaying any mitigating factors based on the emotions, passion or similar state of the perpetrator.

<sup>(44)</sup> See Walby et al. (2017).

<sup>(45)</sup> This recommendation is in line with the recommendation made by the European Commission to Member States; see the European Commission's forthcoming report (2021), *Criminalisation of gender-based violence against women in the European States, including ICT-facilitated violence*.

The implementation of a comparable working definition of femicide should be prioritised as a pivotal step towards the collection of comparative data, and the ascertainment of the prevalence of gender-based killings of women in Europe.

#### 8.1.2. Recommendation 2: minimum disaggregation of data

Implement comparable and disaggregated data in administrative data collection systems, differentiating between three units of measurement, in accordance with the ICCS: victim, perpetrator, and event or incident.

The following **minimum variables of measurement** should be recorded in cases of killing of women and girls. These variables would inform the administrative data collection and might address the legal definition of femicide in EU Member States:

- sociodemographic data on the victim and the perpetrator (sex, sexual orientation, gender, age, place of birth, nationality, level of education, occupation, place of residence, migratory status, ethnicity; in terms of the victim, also: pregnancy, children, disability);
- relationship between the victim and the perpetrator;
- context/event of the killing (location, information on the nature of the case, means/mechanism/modality of killing, child witnesses, children killed during the mother's homicide) (a gender structure of situation);
- gendered background / risk factors: gender inequalities and dependencies, information on economic situation/deprivation, dowry-related issue, information on prior domestic

violence, protection orders and services used, prior convictions of perpetrator (a gender-related motive for killing); availability of weapons, alcohol abuse;

- sexual context/violence involved, FGM involved (a gender-related motive for / structure of killing).

### 8.1.3. Recommendation 3: further variables useful for analysis and femicide identification

- Be aware of intersectional contexts and related identity variables (age, race/ethnicity, nationality / legal status, religion, sexuality) <sup>(46)</sup>. Data collection on femicide must be context sensitive so as to avoid Western-centric or racist perspectives on femicide, and must also pay attention to social, economic and cultural factors (culture of violence and discrimination; culture of hate and discrimination towards women) that may result in gender-related killings, and the role played by gender identity and gender orientation, that is, reference to killings of lesbian and bisexual or transgender people.
- Be aware of structural factors/conditions (gender relations, gender roles, norms and images of femininity and masculinity, political identity of the victim).
- For perpetrators' accountability, the reaction of the police and the judiciary should also be recorded, namely whether the perpetrator was prosecuted, punished, fined/convicted, imprisoned or treated for previous violent behaviour.

### 8.1.4. Recommendation 4: creation of a protocol for femicide

Following the ILDA guide (ILDA, 2019) on creating a procedure for processes of femicide identification for later registration, processes to create a protocol for femicide should be improved. The proposed protocol should contain at least four

variables: 1. relationship between the victim and the aggressor, 2. sexual violence, 3. extreme violence (cruelty) and contexts of aggravated violence (e.g. organised crime, trafficking) and 4. previous complaints. This process improvement should include gender-based training for those who collect the data.

### 8.1.5. Recommendation 5: coordination of data collection and availability of data

Administrative data is collected by the police, the courts and the health system. Greater alignment of different measurement practices within and between countries and systems is urgently needed. It is advisable to link one source of data to the others and follow a femicide case from the police report to the end of the judiciary process.

Police records and crime statistics across the EU should use the same variables when gathering data on the killing of women. In addition, court statistics need to be synchronised and include defendants as well as sentenced homicide perpetrators.

In order for the analysis of the national data collections to address gender-related killing and femicide specifically, it is important to:

- develop a definition of femicide for statistical purposes that reflects the specificities of the killings of women, including specific aggravating circumstances;
- implement a process of continuous data collection;
- establish comprehensive data collection, adding variables that are important for detecting key aspects of femicide, such as those describing the context and the circumstances of the killing, the gender-related motivation, and the victim and perpetrator characteristics, in order to systematise and harmonise the collection of data for statistical use;

<sup>(46)</sup> Intersectionality is the critical tool to study femicide cases, in order to analyse the intersecting inequalities that makes the victims more vulnerable to the extreme violence. See Atencio (2015, page 31).

- cross-reference the variables of the victim and those of the perpetrator, and analyse them using an intersectional approach;
- measure unintentional gender-related killings;
- analyse data from a gendered perspective.

### 8.1.6. Recommendation 6: data governance

Finding effective solutions to gender-based violence requires accurate, disaggregated data, which must come from administrative sources. However, in spite of the importance of administrative data for improving policies to effectively tackle violence against women and girls, the availability, accuracy and coherence of such data still raise issues. Owing to key problems in defining femicide (EIGE, 2021a), and in operationalising the gender-related motivation, establishing a reliable and accurate system of data governance requires further action at EU and Member State levels.

There are a lot of challenges in relation to data governance; to overcome them, it is necessary to foster national initiatives aimed at improving data collections, to appoint a coordination body for VAW and femicide administrative data, to increase data literacy, to establish training and a roadmap to ensure the statistical implementation of the classification system, and to avoid overlapping categories. Governance mechanisms to advance the administrative data collection should incorporate the knowledge of non-governmental organisations and engage with them and with experts from the academia.

### 8.1.7. Recommendation 7: quarterly and annual reporting on femicide-related developments

Rigorous reporting on ongoing developments over time should be a priority. Both quarterly and annual reports are necessary in order to monitor trends in both the incidence of the phenomenon and the legal provisions against it, allowing for readjustments as one goes along. In the same vein, reporting on data collection methods allows

for fine-tuning of existing practices and the implementation of new ones if necessary. In particular, reporting should focus on:

- steady improvement and publication of data collection methods;
- estimates of prevalence of femicide based on common indicators;
- state reaction/laws/convictions, number of protection order applications granted in cases of intimate partner violence against women, numbers of men (aged 18 years and over) prosecuted and sentenced for intimate partner violence against women, annual numbers of men (aged 18 years and over) sentenced for intimate partner violence against women held in prison or with a sanction involving a form of deprivation of liberty (EIGE, 2020);
- control and validation of reports by including other sources (e.g. NGOs).

## 8.2. Recommendations for the European Commission

The European Commission, together with the EU agencies on data collection and gender equality, should work closely with other international organisations to establish a common conceptual framework that will contribute to a comparative measurement framework. This requires collaborative work to operationalise the gender-related motivation for a killing.

EIGE identified two main, interrelated areas of recommendations regarding the creation of a working definition of femicide and the improvement of data collection.

Regarding the creation of a working definition of femicide, a comparable definition should acknowledge the gender-saturated social structures and relationships in which a killing is embedded. Such a definition is a stepping stone for the collection of comparable and disaggregated data on gender-based killings of women across Europe.

Regarding existing practices of data collection, EIGE provides four recommendations: 1. improve the overall quality and reliability of data; 2. improve data availability; 3. increase the comparability of data; and 4. improve data accessibility (EIGE, 2018). In order to comply with these EIGE recommendations on data collection, this report suggests the following:

- Eurostat/ICCS should apply the minimum variables in collecting data on killings of women/femicide;
- synchronise data gathering in Member States (agree on a joint schedule for data publication);
- establish a femicide framework for all EU Member States, based on the variables above, promoted by the European Commission;
- promote the establishment of national observatories on femicide and support the existing initiatives at EU level.

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- WHO (World Health Organization) (2012), *Understanding and Addressing Violence Against Women: Femicide*, WHO, Geneva.

# Annexes

## Annex 1. Locations of data collections for NGOs – media reports

	Data collection (entity and web page)
AT	Verein Autonome Österreichische Frauenhäuser <a href="https://www.aofef.at/">https://www.aofef.at/</a>
BE	Stop Femicide <a href="http://stopfemicide.blogspot.com/p/violences-machistes.html">http://stopfemicide.blogspot.com/p/violences-machistes.html</a>
BG	Alliance for Protection Against Gender-based Violence, report 2018–2019 Алианс ( <a href="http://alliancedv.org">alliancedv.org</a> )
	Bulgarian Helsinki Committee <a href="https://ubita.org">https://ubita.org</a>
CY	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
CZ	ROSA -Center for women victims of domestic violence <a href="https://www.rosacentrum.cz/">https://www.rosacentrum.cz/</a>
DE	One Billion Rising <a href="http://www.onebillionrising.de/">http://www.onebillionrising.de/</a>
	Femicide Observation Center <a href="https://kristina-wolff.de/science/">https://kristina-wolff.de/science/</a> <a href="https://feminizidmap.org/">https://feminizidmap.org/</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
DK	Danner (focusing on intimate partner violence) <a href="https://danner.dk/en">https://danner.dk/en</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
EE	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
EL	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
ES	Femicidio.Net <a href="https://femicidio.net/">https://femicidio.net/</a>
	Federación de Asociaciones de Mujeres Separadas y Divorciadas <a href="https://www.separadasydivorciadas.org/2020-mujeres-parejas/">https://www.separadasydivorciadas.org/2020-mujeres-parejas/</a>
	Ibasque <a href="https://ibasque.com/mujeres-muertas-en-espana-por-violencia-machista/">https://ibasque.com/mujeres-muertas-en-espana-por-violencia-machista/</a>
	65 Y Más <a href="https://www.65ymas.com/sociedad/mujeres-mayores-60-anos-asesinadas-por-violencia-genero-2020_21577_102.html">https://www.65ymas.com/sociedad/mujeres-mayores-60-anos-asesinadas-por-violencia-genero-2020_21577_102.html</a>
	El País <a href="https://elpais.com/sociedad/2020-03-27/cronologia-de-victimas-mortales-de-violencia-de-genero-de-2020.html#:~:text=Cuarenta%20y%20tres%20mujeres%20han,se%20empezaron%20a%20contabilizar%20oficialmente">https://elpais.com/sociedad/2020-03-27/cronologia-de-victimas-mortales-de-violencia-de-genero-de-2020.html#:~:text=Cuarenta %20y %20tres %20mujeres %20han,se %20empezaron %20a %20contabilizar %20oficialmente</a>
20 minutos <a href="https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/4134452/0/enero-termina-con-siete-asesinadas-por-violencia-de-genero-y-ninguna-habia-denunciado-previamente-su-maltrato/?autoref=true">https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/4134452/0/enero-termina-con-siete-asesinadas-por-violencia-de-genero-y-ninguna-habia-denunciado-previamente-su-maltrato/?autoref=true</a>	
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>

Data collection (entity and web page)	
FI	Nollalinja (NGO) <a href="https://www.nollalinja.fi/in-english/">https://www.nollalinja.fi/in-english/</a>
	Finnish Homicide Monitor <a href="https://www.helsinki.fi/en/institute-of-criminology-and-legal-policy/research/research-projects/finnish-homicide-monitor">https://www.helsinki.fi/en/institute-of-criminology-and-legal-policy/research/research-projects/finnish-homicide-monitor</a>
FR	Féminicides par compagnons ou ex <a href="https://fr-fr.facebook.com/feminicide/">https://fr-fr.facebook.com/feminicide/</a>
	Agence France-Presse <a href="https://www.afp.com/sites/default/files/afpcommuniqu/201911/pdf/cpafpfeminicides19112019.pdf">https://www.afp.com/sites/default/files/afpcommuniqu/201911/pdf/cpafpfeminicides19112019.pdf</a>
	Libération <a href="https://www.liberation.fr/apps/2018/02/meurtres-conjugaux-derriere-les-chiffres/">https://www.liberation.fr/apps/2018/02/meurtres-conjugaux-derriere-les-chiffres/</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
HR	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
HU	NANE Women's Rights Association and Patent Association <a href="https://nokjoga.hu/alapinformaciok-a-nok-elleni-eroszakrol/nema-tanuk-a-nok-elleni-eroszak-halalos-aldozatai/">https://nokjoga.hu/alapinformaciok-a-nok-elleni-eroszakrol/nema-tanuk-a-nok-elleni-eroszak-halalos-aldozatai/</a>
IE	Women's Aid – Femicide Watch <a href="https://www.womensaid.ie">https://www.womensaid.ie</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
IT	Casa delle donne per non subire violenza (NGO and shelter in Bologna) Studies: <a href="https://femicidiocasadonne.wordpress.com">https://femicidiocasadonne.wordpress.com</a> <a href="https://femicidiocasadonne.wordpress.com/ricerche-pubblicazioni/">https://femicidiocasadonne.wordpress.com/ricerche-pubblicazioni/</a>
	Observatory on Violence Against Women (Regione Toscana) <a href="https://www.regione.toscana.it/documents/10180/13865702/Ottavo+rapporto+violenza+di+genere/4d804529-3c1a-4abb-9a48-b37bd49b1d1c">https://www.regione.toscana.it/documents/10180/13865702/Ottavo+rapporto+violenza+di+genere/4d804529-3c1a-4abb-9a48-b37bd49b1d1c</a>
	EU Ricerche Economiche e Sociali (EU.R.E.S.) (NGO private research institute) <a href="https://www.eures.it/">https://www.eures.it/</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
LT	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
MT	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
NL	Dutch Homicide Monitor, as part of the EHM <a href="https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/governance-and-global-affairs/european-homicide-monitor#tab-1">https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/governance-and-global-affairs/european-homicide-monitor#tab-1</a>
PT	UMAR / Observatório de Mulheres Assassinadas <a href="http://www.umarfeminismos.org/">http://www.umarfeminismos.org/</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
RO	Romanian Observatory on Homicide Studies and Prevention (Institute of Sociology) – database Homicide–Suicides in Romania (2002–2013) – femicide–suicides
	Romanian Observatory on Homicide Studies and Prevention (Institute of Sociology) – database Femicide in Romania (2011–2015)
	Romanian Observatory on Homicide Studies and Prevention (ORAPO) (Institute of Sociology) <a href="https://homicideobservatory.wordpress.com/">https://homicideobservatory.wordpress.com/</a>
	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>
SE	Swedish Homicide Monitor – EHM
SI	European Observatory on Femicide <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>

Data collection (entity and web page)	
SK	<b>Fenestra</b> <a href="https://fenestra.sk/">https://fenestra.sk/</a>
UK	<b>Femicide Census</b> <a href="https://www.femicidecensus.org/">https://www.femicidecensus.org/</a>
	<b>Homicide Abuse Learning Together (HALT)</b> <a href="https://domestichomicide-halt.co.uk/">https://domestichomicide-halt.co.uk/</a>
	<b>European Observatory on Femicide</b> <a href="http://eof.cut.ac.cy/">http://eof.cut.ac.cy/</a>



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