

# Femicide



## Introduction

Femicide is a term which refers, broadly speaking, to the gender-related killing of women by men, because they are women. It draws an important distinction between the killing of women as a fatal manifestation of violence against women (VAW), and killings where the gender of the victim is random or incidental. The word was first used publicly by feminist writer and activist Diana Russell. In 1976, at the first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, she introduced the concept to highlight the reality that in diverse global contexts, women die at the hands of men who thereby seek to preserve the unequal gender order which confers male privilege, power, dominance and control over women. 'Femicide' was invested with meaning as an awareness-raising and campaigning tool. As the term acknowledges who the victim is and why she is targeted, it enables a better understanding of approaches for intervention and prevention. In this political sense, femicide is framed as part of the continuum of VAW which connects extreme criminal acts with the everyday realities of intrusion, harassment, constraint and abuse which so many women experience. In 1992, Russell and her colleague Jill Radford drew attention to this framing by describing femicide as the 'misogynist killing of women by men'.<sup>93</sup>

The term is increasingly used by scholars, feminist NGOs and international instruments. Definitions and use of 'femicide' for research, policy and legislation are subject to debate. In practice, it is widely understood to refer to the killing of a woman by her intimate partner or ex-partner. But this limited definition fails to take account of the continuum of VAW, from before birth to death, and in all domains of human activity. Following the landmark 2012 Vienna Declaration and the UN General Assembly Resolution adopted in 2013, the gender-related killing of women has been a thematic priority for the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. This work draws on a comprehensive understanding of femicide which incorporates categories of killing, perpetrated directly and indirectly, as developed particularly in the Special Rapporteur's special thematic report (2012) on gender-based killings of women:

### Direct

- killings as a result of intimate-partner violence;
- sorcery/witchcraft-related killings;
- so-called 'honour-related' killings;
- armed conflict-related killings;
- dowry-related killings;

- gender identity- and sexual orientation-related killings;
- female infanticide and gender-biased sex selection
- ethnic- and indigenous identity-related killings.

### Indirect

- deaths due to poorly conducted or clandestine abortions;
- maternal mortality;
- deaths from harmful practices (e.g., related to female genital mutilation);
- deaths linked to human trafficking, drug dealing, organised crime and gang-related activities;
- the death of girls or women from neglect, through starvation or ill-treatment;
- deliberate acts or omissions by the State.

This list is not exhaustive. The killing or forced death of women in other contexts (e.g., fundamentalism, extremism, or mobility of displaced persons and refugees) should also be regarded as femicide. Additionally, there is also the hidden reality of indirect femicide: women who commit suicide following the trauma of domestic violence, sexualised violence, online abuse and other gender-based harms. It is interesting to note that the estimate of femicides in **Belgium** for 2022 tracked by 'Stop Femicide' includes the case of an elderly woman who sought legal euthanasia after being raped.

The related term *feminicidio* has been utilised by feminists and policymakers particularly to emphasise the role of the state in enabling these crimes and the impunity with which they are treated. This terminology originated in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America to denote the epidemics of women murdered because they were women and the related state's complicity. It has been widely adopted internationally. In some European countries, *feminicidio* is the term more commonly used for femicide.

There is no universally agreed definition of femicide, but all definitions recognise that gender-based killings of women and girls are not 'isolated, sporadic or episodic cases of violence; rather they represent a structural situation and a social and cultural phenomenon deeply rooted in customs and mindsets'.<sup>94</sup> There is now an extensive literature of evidence-based research and analysis, allied to activist movements agitating for legal and policy recognition at all levels. Femicide is a preventable pandemic, and states are

93 Radford, J., and Russell, D., *Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing*. Birmingham (1992), OUP, Preface, p. 11.

94 CEDAW, *Report on Mexico produced by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women under article 8 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention* (2005), New York: United Nations. Quoted in Dawson, Myrna, and Michelle Carrigan, *Identifying Femicide Locally and Globally: Understanding the Utility and Accessibility of Sex/gender-Related Motives and Indicators* (2021), *Current sociology* 69.5: 682–704.

called to accountability for ensuring the safety of women from this most extreme form of gender-based violence against women (GBVAW).

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimated that globally there were 81,000 female victims of homicide in 2021. Of these, 47,000 (58% of the total number of women and girls) were killed by intimate partners or family members, primarily men.<sup>95</sup> Although serious challenges concerning underreporting and measuring variations persist between member states, UNODC's report suggests that, globally, one woman or girl is killed by someone close to them, on average, every 11 minutes. However, the remaining 42% of female homicides also require attention and examination. They are women and girls, also mostly killed by men, often involving sex- or gender-related motivations and factors, but gaps in data sources, whether official or unofficial, mean that accurate information about the full picture of femicide in all contexts is not available. In addition, countries which fail to report the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator – often those with higher degrees of impunity and lack of accountability – were not included in UNODC's results.

### The European Context

Although femicide is not specifically mentioned in the text of the Istanbul Convention (IC), its scope and purposes make it clear that femicide must be taken seriously. It is self-evidently the worst form of VAW, depriving women of the right to life itself. The four IC pillars (prevention, protection, prosecution, and coordinated policy) must each be addressed. Visibility and naming of gender-based killing is a prerequisite for effective action.

*The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence is based on the understanding that violence against women is a form of gender-based violence that is committed against women because they are women. It is the obligation of the state to address it fully in all its forms and to take measures to prevent violence against women, protect its victims and prosecute the perpetrators. Failure to do so would make it the responsibility of the state.*

In 2015, the Special Rapporteur called on UN Member States to establish a femicide watch or observatory which would be responsible for systematically collecting and publishing the number of femicides each year, disaggregated by the age and sex of the perpetrators, and providing information about the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. Such panels should be interdisciplinary and integrated within countries' mechanisms for

preventing violence against women. The collection of data is vital, but fraught with challenges at national and international levels. In order to compare and analyse such data meaningfully, clarity is required. 'We want our counting to count for women!'<sup>96</sup>

Transnational initiatives to this end have gathered momentum in recent years. The European Observatory on Femicide (EOF) was launched in January 2018. Its mission is the prevention of femicide through data collection, data visibility, research and awareness raising. It works through two thematic groups (quantitative and qualitative), currently has 23 country research groups as focal points, and works towards establishing a framework for sharing and analysing data. New initiatives such as the FEM-United Project 2020–22 have strengthened this process.<sup>97</sup> The EOF works closely with the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) which has developed a 'Femicide Package' to help EU countries gather solid data, and aims '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'.<sup>98</sup> The Femicide Watch Platform (FWP), established in 2019, is a joint project of the UN Studies Association (UNSA) Global Network and the UNSA Vienna's Femicide Team. FWP is a volunteer-based team of activists, advocates, practitioners, researchers and academics who curate, categorise and contextualise all kinds of global content related to the prevention of femi(ni)cide.<sup>99</sup>

### Femicide in European countries – the challenges of data collection

The WAVE Network makes its contribution to this important work by gathering data from members in 46 European countries. As specialist service providers, their perspective on the killing of women comes from the experience of being in contact with women who are survivors of VAW, for whom the risk and reality of being killed is a real threat. They have expert understanding of the risk factors, and the failures of state agencies to adequately protect women or prevent femicides. In many countries, these organisations and other NGOs pioneered and continue to engage in data collection, monitoring and campaigning to make femicide count. This is vital work, but there are significant challenges in finding and collecting data. The information reported here should be treated with caution, as it is not statistically robust. Numbers should be regarded as estimates based on the best available sources. As noted above, there is not yet a Europe-wide data collection system and the term femicide, even where it is used, means different things in different countries. The true scale of gender-based killings/deaths of women will certainly be higher.

95 UNODC, *Gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicide)* (2022), [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide\\_brief\\_Nov2022.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/briefs/Femicide_brief_Nov2022.pdf)

96 Shalva and Consuelo, eds. *Femicide Across Europe: Theory, Research and Prevention* (2018). Bristol: Policy Press.


97 European Observatory on Femicide <http://eof.cut.ac.cy/>

98 European Institute for Gender Equality website, last retrieved 23<sup>rd</sup> Nov 2021, [https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/measuring-femicide-eu-and-internationally-assessment?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/measuring-femicide-eu-and-internationally-assessment?language_content_entity=en)

99 Femicide Watch Platform: <https://femicide-watch.org/node/920400>

According to information provided by 37 respondents, at least 2,558 women were femicide victims in 2022. The figure includes guesstimates from the Netherlands (30–45

victims). No information about femicide was forthcoming from Romania, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, Norway, Poland, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, or Belarus.



	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FEMICIDE VICTIMS
Europe (46)	2,558
EU Member States (27)	800
European countries outside the EU (19)	1,758

**Table 11: Estimated number of femicide victims in 46 European countries (2022)**

The survey asked if the term ‘femicide’ is used by the state or other authorities. Twelve replies said yes, but it is important to note what that signifies in these countries. In 2022, the governments of **Malta** and the **Republic of Cyprus** passed the terminology into law, while in **Belgium**, legislation to that effect was approved in June 2023. These are encouraging developments. The term was already enshrined in the legal codes of **France**, and in **Spain**, where official statistics have recorded killings as gender violence, if there was evidence of a relationship between the killer and his victim. Since 2022, that rubric has been expanded to include the murder of any women and children where gender is deemed to be a factor.<sup>100</sup> Records of the **Kosovo** State Prosecutor’s Office uses the term, although the NGO Kosovo Women’s Network observed, in reference to a case where a man killed his wife, ‘One more woman murdered in a country where every femicide is accompanied by institutional silence, procrastination and low sentences’.<sup>101</sup> In **Italy**, official statistics are published and discussed under the term omicidi di donne (women’s homicides). In **Albania**, the term is used but it is not a criminal offence, and nothing is provided in the Criminal Code to regulate gender-based murders, as discussed in a 2022 report.<sup>102</sup> Other countries which answered yes to the use of ‘femicide’ are referring mostly to its use by politicians, in policy discussions, media reports or public discourse. It is apparent from many country responses that this kind of unofficial usage of the term is fairly widespread. This is a positive indication of growing acknowledgement that gender-based women killing is a phenomenon which needs to be highlighted. But this trend needs to be systematised in legislation and data collection methodology.

In most countries, data relevant to femicide is collected by the police and/or other official state agencies. Most commonly, homicide statistics provide some kind of disaggregated information about gender and/or age of victim and perpetrator; sometimes also about the relationship, if any, between them. Where official attention is paid specifically to women as victims, the focus is on murder by partners or

ex-partners, or other family members. This may be under the rubric of ‘domestic homicide’ or similar. **Portugal** and **Scotland** have recently set up official reviews of domestic homicides to develop appropriate models for data collection and prevention.

Where no information about the nature of the relationship is provided, it is difficult to distinguish intimate partner or family-related femicide victims from total recorded female homicides (some of which may be femicides by acquaintances or strangers and committed in private or public settings, while others may be non-gender-based killings). Access to such information is necessary if police and other authorities are to develop effective prevention measures. The truth seems to be that in far too many cases, there is little or no commitment to stopping such killings before they happen.

Data gathered for this Country Report is based on diverse legal codes and practices in different jurisdictions.

**Spain** has already been referred to as an example of robust and innovative official practice. Since 1 January 2022, the crime of femicide is now classified under five headings:

1. Femicide by the partner or ex-partner (previously femicide due to gender violence): Murder of a woman in the terms provided for in Organic Law 1/2004, of 28 December, on Comprehensive Protection Measures against Gender Violence (scope of the partner or ex-partner).
2. Family femicide: Murder of a woman by men in her family environment (excluding partner or ex-partner). Included in this category are femicides due to so-called ‘honour-related’ killings.
3. Sexual femicide: Murder of a woman by men without a partner or family relationship linked to sexual violence included in Organic Law 10/2022, of 6 September, on

100 As reported in The Guardian newspaper on 31 December 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/31/spain-says-it-is-first-in-europe-to-officially-count-all-femicides>. See also the EIGE briefing paper, *Measuring Femicide in Spain* (2021), [https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/20211586\\_mh0221352enn.pdf](https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/20211586_mh0221352enn.pdf).

101 As reported in Balkan Insight on 6 January 2022, <https://balkaninsight.com/2022/01/06/kosovo-activists-request-maximum-sentencing-in-latest-femicide/>

102 Hysi, Anastasi, Bozo, Vora, *Murders of women (femicide) and attempts for femicide in Albania (2022)*. Report summary in English [https://www.qag-al.org/ang/publication/summary\\_femicide.pdf](https://www.qag-al.org/ang/publication/summary_femicide.pdf)

the comprehensive guarantee of sexual freedom. Included in this category are femicides due to sexual assault, those linked to trafficking for sexual exploitation, prostitution, female genital mutilation and those linked to forced marriages.

4. Social femicide: Murder of a woman by a non-sexual assault by a man with whom she did not have a relationship or was not a relative (a stranger, a co-worker, a neighbour, a friend, employer, etc.).
5. Vicarious femicide: Murder of a woman of legal age by a man as an instrument to cause harm or harm to another woman on the basis of gender.

In addition, we will count here all the minors killed by any type of violence against women.<sup>103</sup>

Based on this new comprehensive methodology, 2022 is the first year for which full statistical data is available. Eighty-three femicides were recorded in Spain.

Across Europe, direct comparability is impossible, although general patterns are evident, and the numbers provided are indicative, not definitive. In many countries, CSOs (usually feminist NGOs/WSS) are the only or main collectors of data. The **Czech Republic, Denmark and Montenegro** are examples of countries where this is the case. It is good to note that at least 18 European countries now have some kind of femicide watch, but in many cases, these are not integrated into official instruments or mechanisms for preventing VAW.

The report from **England** notes:

'Whilst the killing of women in the UK has recently generated unprecedented interest, the UK government has failed to name and identify femicide in its VAWG Strategy.<sup>104</sup> Our data since 2009 shows that while the majority of cases of femicide are committed by men within women's domestic sphere (62% by a current or former partner, 8% by a son, 7% by other male family or partner's family members), 15% of women were killed by men they knew outside of a family or partner relationship including friends, colleagues and flat-mates. One in twelve (8%) were killed by strangers. So, over a quarter of all killings of women by men are killed outside the context of domestic femicide. The Domestic Abuse Act also fails to name femicide.'

It is imperative that this kind of evidence, being gathered and monitored by similar femicide watches around Europe, is fully integrated and utilised. Collecting and

disseminating data is not an end in itself, but a powerful tool to assess the level of violence against women and girls in order to improve legislation and policy responses to all forms of violence against them. Detailed research and modelling based on both quantitative and qualitative data demonstrates how useful robust information about femicide can be in identifying risks and opportunities for effective intervention and prevention measures – especially in situations where systematic partnership working between key agencies (both public institution and NGOs) enable effective risk assessment. This work clearly has the potential to save lives and is urgently required if states are to be accountable for protecting women from preventable killing. The WAVE survey asked whether information about the relationship between victim and perpetrator was included in femicide data, and also if victims had previously reported domestic violence or stalking to police or other authorities. Where disaggregated statistics were available, they usually specified the relationship, if any. In some countries, it was not possible to say whether victims had reported previous abuse. However, elsewhere there was evidence of women repeatedly contacting police and other agencies. The use of multi-agency risk assessment conferences (MARACs) is increasingly widespread, but it is not clear how well they are working as a means of prevention. An effective strategy to prevent violence against women recognises the importance of identifying women at high risk. But crucially it also requires proper monitoring and sanctions for men whose extreme possessive, coercive or controlling behaviour and/or stalking are signs that they represent a serious threat to women's lives.<sup>105</sup> Another important point is that children are often also victims of domestic femicide, where a man murders his own children along with his ex/partner. Men also sometimes kill themselves, a woman's new partner, or other family member/s.

It is encouraging that the new legislation in **Malta** does away with the spurious 'crime of passion' defence, which has no place in any modern criminal justice system. Unfortunately, it is still being used in some European countries. A recent and alarming trend in some femicide cases where the woman has died during sex is the so-called 'rough sex' defence, which contends that the victim had consented to rough and violent sex (most commonly choking).<sup>106</sup> While the links with pornographic and mainstream media depictions of extreme and violent sex may or may not be directly causal, the normalisation of such acts creates a conducive context.

Although in public discourse and sometimes in law, femicide is commonly equated with intimate partner or ex-partner murder, gender-based killings of women are committed

103 Government of Spain website, Methodological notes - Government Delegation against Gender Violence, [https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/victimasmortales/notas\\_metodologicas/notas\\_metodologicas.htm](https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/victimasmortales/notas_metodologicas/notas_metodologicas.htm)

104 Note that the UK Government VAWG strategy applies only to England (which does not have its own parliament). Devolved governments are responsible for VAWG strategies in the other three nations of the UK.

105 Criminologist Dr Jane Monckton Smith reviewed 372 UK domestic violence femicides. She found that they occurred in relationships which overwhelmingly conformed to an eight-stage pattern where control (not physical violence) was the key indicator. Monckton Smith, Jane, *Intimate Partner Femicide: Using Foucauldian Analysis to Track an Eight Stage Progression to Homicide* (2020), Violence against women 26.11: 1267–1285. <https://core.ac.uk/download/210991723.pdf>

106 Williamson, A., *The 'rough sex' defence: lessons from history* (2020), <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-rough-sex-defence-lessons-from-history>

in a range of circumstances. This year, the WAVE survey invited respondents to share stories of high-profile cases, and many were provided from across Europe. This chapter concludes with a few examples to stand for the thousands of lost lives. Behind the statistics there are names, stories and hopes of real women, cruelly extinguished. They must not be forgotten or hidden from view.

Feminist NGOs and grassroots campaigns are leading movements of sorrow, anger and commemoration, for example in **Hungary**: During the annual 16 Days of Activism against gender-based violence, the women's NGO NANE organises a Silent Witness march, with life-sized red silhouettes commemorating the victims who have been killed in the past year. Their names and stories are read. The march demands state action to respond properly to prevent femicides. On May 22, 2022, Julia (16) and Timea (14) were murdered by their father. He had been a controlling and abusive husband, keeping the girls and their mother in a state of terror, and had been convicted several times. After divorce, he was given unsupervised visitation rights over Timea, despite her being under a child protection order because of his violence. Julia accompanied Timea to protect her sister.

**Northern Ireland**: Natalie McNally was brutally murdered in December 2022. She was 16 weeks pregnant. Stephen McCullagh, who was the father of the baby, is currently awaiting trial. He made a fake hours-long 'live' stream to give himself an alibi at the time of the murder. He was released from custody until forensic officers were able to prove the 'live' stream was recorded days before. The case

received high profile attention due to Natalie being pregnant, the brutal way in which she was killed, her alleged killer not being in police custody for several weeks following her murder, and the alleged killer faking a live stream to give himself an alibi.<sup>107</sup>

**Spain**: In 2016, 18-year-old Dian Quer was returning home alone after attending a local festivity when she was abducted, raped and murdered by a man. Her whereabouts were unknown until her body was found 497 days after her disappearance. This case had a great media impact due to the circumstances surrounding the case, and, from a feminist point of view, due to the sexism of some media outlets that tried to link the young woman's death to the way she dressed, her behaviour with men or her parents' divorce, even blaming the young woman's mother for her death. It generated widespread public debate and outrage.

**Türkiye**: Pinar Gültekin (27), a university student was found dead on July 21, 2020, five days after she had gone missing. A forensic medical examination found that Gültekin had been burned alive. A lawsuit was filed against Cemal Metin A. on the charge of "killing with monstrous feeling or by tormenting" and against Mertcan A. for "destroying, hiding or tampering with criminal evidence." The trial process witnessed several examples of victim blaming and on June 20, 2022, the court used the provision of "unjust provocation" to reduce the jail term of Cemal Metin Avcı who brutally killed Pinar Gültekin. The higher court then appealed the decision and sentenced the man to aggravated life imprisonment.

## Recommendations

- It is of great importance that a basic level of vital information is recorded in the official homicide statistics of all European countries. The minimum requirement is the disaggregation by sex of victims and perpetrators, and that the relationship, if any, of victim and perpetrator is recorded.
- Data on complaints and reports of violence previously raised by the victims to the authorities should be recorded, as well as information on which statutory and voluntary agencies were previously involved in supporting the victim. The aims are to identify where gaps in service provision or collaboration between agencies occurred, which likely have contributed to the failure to prevent the femicide, to ensure accountability of all involved support agencies and to guarantee the effective protection of women experiencing VAW.
- Countries are urged to comply with the recommendation of the UN Special Rapporteur that a femicide watch initiative should be established (where it does not already exist) to monitor and highlight femicides, as a resource to improve policies, and to raise awareness of gender-based women killing as fatal manifestations on the continuum of VAW. Current examples of good practice could be adapted to ensure the development of appropriate and useful models in different national contexts.
- The work of the European Observatory on Femicide should be supported to facilitate effective international collaboration.
- Femicide should be named and integrated into national strategies and policies to address VAW, with actions identified to minimise and prevent such deaths.

107 As reported on the BBC news website, *Natalie McNally: Stephen McCullagh charged with murder of pregnant woman*, 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-64494847>



**Table 12: Estimated number of femicide victims in EU Member States (2022)**

	REPORTED NUMBER OF FEMICIDE VICTIMS	DATA COLLECTED BY THE STATE (OFFICIAL SOURCES) AND/OR OTHER ENTITIES
Austria	29 <sup>108</sup>	There is no official data collection on femicide. Available data is collected by the state, the police, and the Association of Autonomous Austrian Women's Shelters (AÖF).
Belgium	25 <sup>109</sup>	Data is collected by CSOs through media reporting. <sup>110</sup>
Bulgaria	25	No systematic data is collected on femicide. Available data is collected by the police and CSOs.
Croatia	13	Data is collected by the state, CSOs, and the Ombudsman for Gender Equality. <sup>111</sup>
Republic of Cyprus	2 <sup>112</sup>	No official data on femicide. Available data is collected by the state and police.
Czech Republic	28 <sup>113</sup>	No official data on femicide. Available data is collected by CSOs.
Denmark	13	No official data on femicide. Data on the number of women killed is collected by the police. Available data on femicide is collected by the media, CSOs, and through independent research.
Estonia	6	Data is collected by the state. The Ministry of Justice collects information on all homicides, and on request, also provides information on the relationship between victim and perpetrator.
Finland	18 <sup>114</sup>	Data is collected by the state, the police, and the media.
France	118	Data on the number of killings of women by current or former intimate partners are collected by the Ministry of Interior. NGOs also collect data on femicide.
Germany	113 <sup>115</sup>	Data is collected by the police as well as NGOs and activists based on media reporting. <sup>116</sup> The police do not use the term femicide. They also do not include when children, new partners or relatives are also killed in the context of a femicide.
Greece	24 <sup>117</sup>	Data is collected by the state, police, and CSOs.
Hungary	25 <sup>118</sup>	No official state data on femicide. Available data is collected by the police, media, and CSOs. Homicide data is collected by the Unified Criminal Statistical System of the Investigation Authority and Prosecution Service (ENYÜBS).
Ireland	12	No official data on femicide. Data collected by the NGO Women's Aid Ireland under its "Femicide Watch" initiative.
Italy	120	Data is collected by CSOs and the Femicide Inquiry Commission. <sup>119</sup>
Latvia	28	Data is collected by the Ministry of Interior and police. <sup>120</sup>
Lithuania	N/A	N/A
Luxembourg	N/A	No official data on femicide.
Malta	3	Data is collected by the police and CSOs. <sup>121</sup>
Netherlands	30–45 <sup>122</sup>	No official data on femicide. Data is collected by the media and CSOs.
Poland	N/A	N/A
Portugal	26 <sup>123</sup>	Data is collected by the police, CSOs and the justice system. <sup>124</sup>
Romania	N/A	No official data on femicide.
Slovakia	23	Police collects data disaggregated by gender on the number of victims of homicide or manslaughter related crimes. The data is not publicly available and must be requested.
Slovenia	13	Data is collected by NGOs.
Spain	83	Data is collected by the state, police, and CSOs.
Sweden	23	The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention annually gathers statistics on homicide victims (including women victims of homicide as a result of VAW). In addition, the media report on the number of women murdered.
<b>TOTAL (27)</b>	<b>800<sup>125</sup></b>	

108 This is the number from the crime statistics provided by the state police. However, the state does not consider the relationship between victim and perpetrator and the gender-based nature of the crime. The women's NGO AÖF counted 28 femicides, which is based on information retrieved from media coverage. More information available at: <https://www.aof.at/index.php/zahlen-und-daten/femizide-in-oesterreich>.

109 This number includes one indirect femicide. Thirteen femicides occurred in Flanders, and two in the Brussels-Capital Region.

110 The federal government approved a bill in 2023 which will put in place annual statistical data collection on femicide. Currently, data on femicide comes from StopFemicide, a nonprofit blog created by the Feminist Platform against Violence Against Women, available at: <https://stopfemicide.blogspot.com/>.

111 Femicides are not a separate criminal offence and are not used in judicial practices.

112 Data from the Republic of Cyprus comes from the Advisory Committee for the Prevention and Combating of Violence in the Family. This number does not include suspicious suicides or deaths.

113 This data is collected by the NGO ROSA Center for Women from media reports.

114 Latest available data from Statistics Finland (*Tilastokeskus*) is for 2021. Data for 2022 is not yet available.

115 Latest available police data is for 2021. There were also 301 attempted femicides in 2021. Data for 2022 is not yet available.

116 The movement "One Billion Rising" is counting the number of attempted and completed femicides based on media reporting, available at: <https://www.onebillionrising.de/femizid-opfer-meldungen-2022/>.

117 This number is an estimate based on unofficial data.

118 This data is collected from the NGO NANE based on media reporting. It only includes killings related to domestic violence.

119 The National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) also collect statistics on killings of women, available at: <https://www.istat.it/it/violenza-sulle-donne/il-fenomeno/omicidi-di-donne>.

120 The Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia provides any interested party with statistics about female victims of crime, available at: <https://data.stat.gov.lv/443/sq/17445>.

121 Research has been conducted by the NGO Women's Rights Foundation (WRF) and the University of Malta, Department of Sexuality and Gender Studies as part of an EU-funded project. In 2021, WRF has also launched the Malta Observatory on Femicide and also forms part of the European Observatory on Femicide and collects qualitative and quantitative data. More information available at: <https://www.wrf.org.mt/publications>.

122 This number is based on various sources and definitions (commonly derived from media reporting). It is estimated that 30–45 women are murdered by a partner or ex-partner per year.

123 This number includes 24 women and two children.

124 The data is collected by state authorities under female homicide victims in the context of intimate relationships and/or family.

125 Total estimated number of femicides includes 30 femicides in the Netherlands, as only an estimate of 30–45 was provided.



**Table 13: Estimated number of femicide victims in European countries outside the EU (2022)**

	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF FEMICIDE VICTIMS	DATA COLLECTED BY THE STATE (OFFICIAL SOURCES) AND/OR OTHER ENTITIES
Albania	9 <sup>126</sup>	Data is collected by the state, the police, the media, CSOs and groups of activists.
Armenia	16	Data is collected by the media and CSOs. <sup>127</sup>
Azerbaijan	N/A	No official data on femicide.
Belarus	N/A	No official data on femicide.
Bosnia & Herzegovina	10	In the Federation of BiH, data is collected by the media, CSOs and researchers. <sup>128</sup> Data in Republika Srpska is collected by the NGO United Women Foundation Banja Luka based on media reports.
Georgia	12	Data is collected by the state and the police.
Iceland	1	Data is collected by the police.
Kosovo	3	Data is collected by the state prosecutor's office, the police, the media and CSOs.
Liechtenstein	N/A	No official data on femicide.
North Macedonia	2	No official data on femicide. Available data is collected by the police and CSOs, including the NGO National Network to end VAW and DV. Courts and public prosecution offices are not collecting data by victim, but by perpetrator and criminal offence.
Republic of Moldova	45	Data is collected by the police and the prosecutor's office.
Montenegro	6	There is no reliable statistical data on femicide. The available data is collected by CSOs. <sup>129</sup>
Norway	N/A	N/A
Russia	1,174 <sup>130</sup>	No official data on femicide is collected by the state. There are only general statistics provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the number of killed women annually. Available data is collected by CSOs and informal grassroots organisations.
Serbia	27 <sup>131</sup>	Data is collected by the media and CSOs. <sup>132</sup>
Switzerland	16 <sup>133</sup>	No official data on femicide is collected by the Federal Statistical Office. Available data is collected by the police and CSOs. <sup>134</sup>
Türkiye	327 <sup>135</sup>	Data is collected by the state, the media and CSOs. <sup>136</sup>
Ukraine	N/A <sup>137</sup>	Data is collected by the state, the police and CSOs.
United Kingdom	110 <sup>138</sup>	Data is collected by the police and state and is reported on by the organisation Femicide Census.
<b>TOTAL (19)</b>	<b>1,758</b>	

126 This number includes three Albanian women who were living abroad at the time of the crime.

127 The state of Armenia does not recognise the term femicide and does not collect data on it. However, women's support NGOs carry out research within their capacities.

128 However, there is no systematic data collection in the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina. NGOs collect their own data, and there is an analysis of court practice in prosecuting femicide and attempted femicide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, available at: <https://vsud-fbih.pravosudje.ba/vstvfo/S/142/article/124609>

129 In 2022, the NGO SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence Nikšić conducted comprehensive research on femicide. The research titled "Social and institutional response to femicide in Montenegro" is available at: <https://sosnk.org/en/drustveni-i-institucionalni-odgovor-na-femicid-u-crnog-gori/>

130 According to Femicid.net (independent anti-femicide project) which provides data based on publications in open sources. More information available at: <https://www.wmmsk.com/femicid/>.

131 This number includes 26 women and one girl.

132 Several CSOs collect statistics on femicide, including the number of cases, basic data about the victims, the relationship between the perpetrator and victim, whether the victim reported violence or not, and other relevant information. The NGO Autonomous Women's Centre (AWC) reports on the issue of femicide annually, data available at: <https://www.womenngo.org.rs/publikacije/izvestaji-o-femicidu-u-srbiji>.

133 According to the Stop Femicide website, which is not operated by the state, there were 16 femicides and five attempted femicides in 2022. According to the Police Crime Statistics, there were 25 homicides and 61 attempted homicides in the field of domestic violence in 2022.

134 The police record offences (homicide and attempted homicide) but not specifically femicide.

135 This number is based on information provided by independent media outlets, as state data is not considered reliable. According to state authorities, there were 273 cases of femicide in 2022.

136 The state collects and shares quantitative data on femicide. However, numbers are not reliable considering that the official data is lower than the data collected and shared by independent media outlets and women's NGOs through media monitoring. The data shared by an independent media outlet is available at: <https://bianet.org/english/tgbit/274142-men-kill-at-least-327-women-in-2022>.

137 According to the statistics of the General Prosecutor's Office on registered criminal offenses and the results of their pre-trial investigation in 2022, there were 376 women victims of intentional murders and attempted murders. The data does not include information on the number of prosecutions where the femicide was the result of domestic violence or other forms of VAW. The General Prosecutor's Office also provides data on victims who died in cases related to domestic violence, but the number of women among them is unknown.

138 Latest available data is for 2020. It includes the number of victims in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. All reports available at: <https://www.femicidecensus.org/reports/>.

