



Gender-based violence

# Femicide: a classification system





# **Femicide: a classification system**

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In order to expand the data collection on femicide, EIGE commissioned various reports from GOPA Luxembourg, SARL. The aim of this report is to propose a classification system to measure femicide. The main authors of the report are Dr. Michael Jandl (independent consultant), Maria Giuseppina Muratore (Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT)) and Professor Dr. Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna).

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

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# Abbreviations

## Member State abbreviations

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

## Frequently used abbreviations

<b>EIGE</b>	European Institute for Gender Equality
<b>FGM</b>	female genital mutilation
<b>ICCS</b>	International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes
<b>OHCHR</b>	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
<b>UNODC</b>	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization

# 1. Introduction

In the past 10 years, several countries, international organisations and other actors have produced a range of protocols and declarations containing different definitions of femicide, along with different measurement and data-collection systems. These include the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and UN Women, with their Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women, in addition to the European Union. Various ‘homicide statistics’ are published, including those of Interpol (the International Criminal Police Organization); the UN, with its United Nations Crime Trend Surveys; the World Health Organization (WHO); the European Sourcebook on Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics; Eurostat; and other national and regional organisations. The issue of poor data availability has been on the agenda of these international organisations for quite some time, and all agree that sound data gathering requires, firstly, a **joint definition of femicide** and, secondly, a **common set of variables for gathering data** on the killing of women and girls. This, in turn, requires the **development of indicators** based on the same variables to study the development of femicide over time and across countries and regions <sup>(1)</sup>.

In 2017, the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) started to push for uniform data collection across the EU Member States by publishing a study on definitions and variables on gender-based violence, including femicide <sup>(2)</sup>. Its report *Measuring Femicide in the EU and Internationally: An assessment* (EIGE, 2021c) provided a

comprehensive overview of how international organisations, institutions and actors (including the 27 EU Member States (EU-27) and the United Kingdom) collect data. The study identified some progress in harmonising data collections, along with challenges to creating a joint classification system. When this study was launched, the United Kingdom was still a Member State of the EU and was therefore included. Also, the inclusion of the United Kingdom entailed taking into account all of its three different jurisdictions in the country (England and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland). As such, the study encompasses **30 different jurisdictions in 28 countries**, of which **27 are current Member States**.

Sound and comparable data on the gender-related killing of women and girls <sup>(3)</sup> is central to preventing this crime, through understanding its prevalence, based on a commonly acknowledged definition and typology of femicide, with recognised variables, units of measurement and indicators. Data-collection systems across the EU Member States remain very heterogeneous, as they are grounded in national crime statistics or other administrative data sources on homicide (from the judiciary or health system) or from non-governmental organisations’ media analysis.

This new report highlights the importance of measuring femicide based on joint definitions, starting from a classification of different types of femicide and agreed variables that help to identify them. It proposes a classification system to measure femicide that can be applied by the EU-27 and the United Kingdom, suggesting

(1) ‘Variable’ refers to the characteristics of perpetrators, victims, their relationship, locations, situations and mechanisms of the killing, as well as gendered structural conditions in which the crime is situated. An ‘indicator’ is a combination of variables that builds the basis for the measurement and comparison of femicide over time and within and across regions.

(2) See the Terminology and Indicators for data collection report: <https://eige.europa.eu/publications/terminology-and-indicators-data-collection-rape-femicide-and-intimate-partner-violence-report>

(3) This report uses the term ‘gender-based killings of women and girls’ interchangeably with the term ‘femicide’, as the literature understands ‘femicide’ as the killing of women and girls because they are women, i.e. due to their gender. The literature distinguishes direct from indirect femicide and intentional from unintentional femicide. Indirect and unintentional femicide refer to constellations of a misogynist structure of society, politics and the state which locates gendered killing not only in the individual perpetrator and motive but also in larger ‘unequal gender structures’ that might lead to the killing of women. The term ‘femicide’ points to the fact that women and girls are systematically killed because they are women and due to state neglect. While most of the literature differentiates between ‘femicide’ and ‘femicide’, according to components such as state neglect, both terms are used interchangeably in some Member States, with a preference for femicide in Spain and France.

definitions, variables and methodologies for each type of femicide identified in the abovementioned overview (EIGE, 2021c) and in *Defining and Identifying Femicide: A literature review* (EIGE, 2021d). The focus of this report is on the killing of women carried out by men, taking as a starting assumption their asymmetrical power relationship.

The methodology used for this report builds upon the findings from EIGE's assessment of measuring femicide in the EU and internationally and from EIGE's literature review on defining and identifying femicide (EIGE, 2021c; EIGE, 2021d).

- The first step was to consolidate a typology of femicide used in the Member States and the United Kingdom and then carefully reflect on overlapping definitions and the feasibility of their measurement.
- The next step was to look at theoretical frameworks and types of femicide detected by the literature review and consider the different descriptive variables suggested in the literature. Looking at which of those variables are used in the EU-27 and the United Kingdom allowed them to be assigned to different types of femicide.

This led to a classification system to measure different types of femicide by assigning different 'items' to the variables and suggesting important combinations of the items as significant for the type of femicide (e.g. female victim and male perpetrator). Finally, the classification system included information on the Member States and the United Kingdom, including whether and how they gather data on specific variables and indicators. Development of the classification relied on a 'reflexive methodology', meaning that the overlapping and/or exclusion of indicators was evaluated and reflected on for each type of femicide.

The report is structured as follows. Firstly, the conceptual framework and methodology for developing the classification system are presented in the following section ([Section 2](#)). Building on such a conceptual framework, methodological reflections are developed in order to measure different types of femicide in the Member States and the United Kingdom ([Section 3](#)). The next section presents the proposed classification of types of femicide by focusing on major types of femicide prevalent in the Member States and the United Kingdom ([Section 4](#)), together with optional (i.e. not primary) types of femicide and their classification. The conclusions ([Section 5](#)) summarise and reflect on the classification methodology.



## 2. Conceptual framework

EIGE's two recent studies on measuring femicide in the EU (2021c; 2021d) reveal a complex panorama of femicide classification. Challenges include a lack of definitions and their operationalisation in practice, the appropriateness of using the term 'femicide' itself and cautiousness about the quality of the data, data-collection systems and methodologies to measure femicide.

The second of these two studies, a literature review on evidence-based factors to identify gender dimensions of femicide and gender-related motives, sheds light on key problems in defining femicide, including poor data-collection systems, the invisibility of femicide as a result of under-reporting, biases in data gathering and poor data governance. The main types of femicide discussed in the literature are intimate partner femicide, sexual murder, femicide of women older than 65 and racist and homophobic femicide. Based on this review, major descriptive variables for identifying femicide for statistical purposes have been identified, such as characteristics of victim and perpetrator, their relationship, gender motivation for the killing, a prior history of domestic violence and former sanctions against the perpetrator and the situational context of the murder, including the modus operandi <sup>(4)</sup>. The classification suggested in this report focuses on the types of femicide discussed in the literature, along with those described by international organisations and national institutions.

EIGE (2021c) analysed the state of play of (gender-related) intentional homicide data collections at national level. The study focused on what is needed to measure gender-related killings of women and girls, asking the EU-27 and the United Kingdom about the already existing classifications, variables (useful to reveal gender motivation and contextual variables) and data sources and methods used to assess whether or

not a killing is femicide. This comparative analysis revealed the challenges faced by international organisations, the EU-27 and the United Kingdom in gathering data on gender-related killings of women and girls, chief among which is the lack of a common definition. The International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes (ICCS) (UNODC, 2015) defines femicide as the 'intentional killing of a woman for misogynous or gender-based reasons' and is the statistical frame. However, the ICCS fails to take account of important variables in order to classify the murder of a woman or girl as femicide. The comparative analysis also helps to address the commonalities and differences between data-collection systems and to distinguish methodological problems and solutions, along with the richness of measures. The report closes with a set of recommendations.

Based on these reports and other expert knowledge, a systematic classification of femicide for statistical purposes is proposed. A level of priority is assigned to the femicide types proposed within the system, i.e. primary and optional. The preliminary selection of the types of femicide was built on a bottom-up approach, with most of the categories proposed already measured by the Member States or able to be measured from the information collected or held by public institutions.

In addition, such classification can be more or less complex: the UNODC emphasises intimate partner killing because it covers most gender-related killing, while Liem and Koenraadt (2018) and Dobash et al. (2015) also consider sexual femicide and femicide of older women.

Other authors propose more complex classifications, such as the Latin American Model Protocol <sup>(5)</sup>, which differentiates between two categories of femicide, active or direct and passive or indirect, and 13 different types of femicides.

<sup>(4)</sup> Modus operandi includes the particular manner in which the crime is committed. It refers not only to the method of operation but also to the pattern of criminal behaviour that helps to identify and classify different crimes.

<sup>(5)</sup> See: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2014), *Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women (femicide/feminicide)*, Panama. Available at: <https://lac.unwomen.org/en/digiteca/publicaciones/2014/10/modelo-de-protocolo>

Lorente (2019) presents an operationalisation of the classification, introducing a scenario to approach gender-related killings that takes account of different factors at macro (i.e. cultural and societal) and micro (i.e. relational and individual) levels. The author's classifications view femicide as the outcome of those four aspects, each of which has an impact on the context that leads to femicide.

Monarrez Fragoso (2018) proposes a definition of femicide as gender-based killing that involves mainly structural factors affecting behavioural factors that determine femicide and constitute a system of violence against women. These structural factors include gendered social norms, gender roles and images of femininity and masculinity, along with the economic situation of those involved. According to the author, these structural factors become individual factors (similar to characteristics of the victim and the perpetrator, the presence of the victim's children, pregnancy or post-pregnancy, prior cases of violence, the offender's intention to establish or renew a relationship) or societal and cultural ones (e.g. misogyny of the perpetrator, unequal power relationship between victim and offender, relationship of authority and control, condition of vulnerability, oppression regarding decision-making, aggravated injury and mutilation, exposed body of the victim, context of trafficking) that can be measured.

The findings derived from the two EIGE studies previously cited (2021c; 2021d) allow for the mapping of various contexts, circumstances and types of femicide, with a proposal for a statistical classification of types of femicide developed in Section 4. Before the adoption of any proposed classification, this needs to be tested for relevance and suitability in accurately measuring different forms of femicide.

## 2.1. Conceptualising and contextualising types of femicide

The general concept of femicide can be articulated as gender-related killing (killing of a woman because she is a woman) in political, societal, criminal, sexual and interpersonal contexts. [Table 1](#) provides a **conceptual mapping** of these contexts, together with the types of femicide (intentional or unintentional) identified in the EU-27 and by international organisations (EIGE, 2021c), also taking into account the findings from the EIGE (2021d) literature review. The proposal is a hierarchical classification, where the first level is the context and the second level is the sub-articulation inside the context.

**Table 1. Proposal for mapping contexts and types of femicide**

Context (1st level)	Types of femicide	Sub-articulation of femicide types (2nd level)
<p><b>1. Political context</b>  <b>Definition:</b> killing linked to the political and other organised groups opposed to women's empowerment, state violence or based on the complicity of the authorities or care providers.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Death of women as a result of police persecution or police harassment</li> <li>• Unsafe abortion-related death</li> <li>• Killing due to insecure/risky working conditions</li> <li>• Unnecessary surgery leading to death (hysterectomies, female genital mutilation (FGM))</li> <li>• Femicide related to witchcraft</li> <li>• Killing tolerated by the state</li> <li>• Killing during armed conflict</li> <li>• Denial of healthcare for reproductive reasons</li> </ul>	<p>1.1. Direct femicide</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Femicide committed by the police or other state authority or other political group (including lesbian homicide and racist femicide where they are committed by the police or other authority)</li> <li>• Killing during armed conflict</li> </ul> <p>1.2. Indirect femicide</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Killing tolerated by the authorities / care providers in health contexts</li> <li>• Killing tolerated by the state in social contexts (such as femicide related to witchcraft)</li> </ul>

Context (1st level)	Types of femicide	Sub-articulation of femicide types (2nd level)
<b>2. Societal (norms) and cultural context</b> <b>Definition:</b> killing linked to disobedience / transgression of norms and cultural beliefs (also killing due to discrimination, disobedience / transgression of traditional gender roles and sexual norms). It includes killings aimed at overriding the enjoyment and exercise of political rights and to prevent women's empowerment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Honour killing</li> <li>• Dowry-related killing</li> <li>• FGM-related death</li> <li>• Female infanticide</li> <li>• Female foeticide</li> <li>• Killings related to sexual orientation and gender identity</li> <li>• Racist femicide</li> <li>• Sociopolitical femicide</li> <li>• Killing as result of misogynist attitudes / social practices</li> </ul>	2.1. Femicide due to transgression of traditional rules or against tradition / cultural norms 2.2. Femicide due to transgression of traditional female roles or hatred of women as a result of misogynist beliefs 2.3. Femicide due to transgression of gender and sexuality norms (trans-femicide, lesbian femicide)
<b>3. Criminal context</b> <b>Definition:</b> killing committed in relation to other organised crimes, for instance trafficking of human beings or sexual exploitation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trafficking-related killing</li> <li>• Killing in the context of smuggling migrants</li> <li>• Organised crime</li> <li>• Drug trafficking</li> <li>• Gang killings</li> </ul>	3.1. Trafficking-related killing 3.2. Femicide in the context of smuggling migrants 3.3. Killing involving sexual exploitation 3.4. Femicide in the context of drug trafficking 3.5. Femicide as part of gang rituals
<b>4. Sexual context</b> <b>Definition:</b> killing of women due to sexual violence or linked to acts that might be defined as sexual in nature (with the exclusion of those perpetrated by a partner).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-intimate sexual killing</li> <li>• Killing of women involving sexual violence</li> </ul>	4.1. Femicide as a consequence of rape 4.2. Femicide in a sexualised context
<b>5. Interpersonal context</b> <b>Definition:</b> killing linked to an unequal power relationship with the perpetrator, within an intimate partnership, family and outside the family.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Killing of women by (ex-)partners or spouses / result of intimate partner violence</li> <li>• Killing of women by family members</li> <li>• Killing of pregnant women</li> <li>• Continuum of violence in the interpersonal context</li> <li>• Position of subordination, marginalisation and risk (including authority, control and care relationships)</li> <li>• Femicide of women aged 65 +</li> </ul>	5.1. Intimate partner femicide 5.2. Family-related femicide 5.3. Femicide happening outside intimate relationship contexts, due to a position of subordination or particular vulnerability of the victim

Although not all of these types of femicide can be measured, it is important to consider them for advocacy purposes and to plan better preventive policies. Their inclusion in the classification proposed here ensures the continued visibility of these variables.

A classification of femicide not only targets measurement, but also:

- allows recognition of all types of femicide;
- gives order to the phenomenon;
- gives a perspective on the phenomenon and its manifestation.

Each classification permits the identification and understanding of a variable.

In the case of femicide, the criteria refer to those variables that determine the context and, to some extent, frame the motivations for femicide. In other words, those variables that influence the behaviour of the perpetrator and lead him to kill a woman.

The Latin American Model Protocol underlines that the main important variables for investigating femicide are 'acts, an aggressor, a set of circumstances, and a victim' (OHCHR and UN Women, 2014, pp. 90, 310). However, the interpretation of whether or not the intentional killing is femicide depends on the combination of variables. These

vary from one case to another. While there is no single variable that explains femicide, gathering evidence improves awareness of the phenomenon at social and institutional levels and is helpful in designing prevention and protection policies.

The contextual mapping of the types of femicide (and their context) and a classification for statistical purposes is complicated by overlapping categories. Mapping should therefore allow for the identification of meaningful categories for analysis, resulting in a tool to assess legal and policy implications. Apart from the need for mutual exclusivity <sup>(6)</sup>, any statistical classification should also target complete and exhaustive categories. Here, a classification of types of femicide for statistical purposes should support the proposal and implementation of preventive and regulatory policies, including criminal legislation. The suggested variables for the classification and measurement of femicide therefore need to be tested and periodically updated, to ensure consistency and validity over time as far as possible.

## 2.2. Overlapping categories (criterion of mutual exclusivity)

The classification proposal based on the conceptual mapping of femicide is inevitably affected by the possible overlapping of the variables that characterise the different types of femicide. For

example, the femicide of a woman in a situation of sexual exploitation could fall under both the typology of sexual context (where the perpetrator sexually abuses the woman until she is killed), and the one of criminal context (where the perpetrator kills the woman in a situation of sexual exploitation, after the sexual act, to rob her). At the same time, femicide in a situation of sexual exploitation could be included in the typology of social context, where the perpetrator kills the woman with the 'moralistic intent to free society from prostitution'.

In cases of overlapping categories, statistical classifications are used to resolve ambiguities using the concept of predominance (based on relevance). This means that doubtful cases are traced back to the item considered most relevant in explaining the event. The suggested classification system to measure femicide will thus use this criterion to resolve overlapping.

Overlapping is best resolved by improving the definitions of the different types so that they are mutually exclusive. However, this can only be explored once a classification system has been accepted and consolidated at international level.

The statistical implementation of the classification system is a long process that implies the establishment of a roadmap. Some categories are easier to complete than others, depending on the availability and quality of the database and data collection system in use.

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<sup>(6)</sup> By definition, a statistical classification is: 'a set of discrete, exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories, which can be assigned to one or more variables used in the collection and presentation of data, and which describe the characteristics of a particular population.' This means that any statistical classification has to fulfil some basic principles, including mutual exclusivity, exhaustiveness and statistical feasibility (Hancock, 2013).

### 3. Proposal for a methodology to measure types of femicide in the EU Member States

EIGE (2021c) analysed the state of play of femicide data collections at national level. The study focused on what is useful in measuring gender-related killings of women and girls. This included asking the EU-27 and the United Kingdom about the types of femicide already measured, variables that are useful for revealing gender motivation, contextual variables, recording of the victim-perpetrator relationship, victim and offender characteristics, the combination of these variables, data disseminated and sources and methods used to assess whether or not a killing is femicide.

Based on that analysis, the EIGE (2021d) literature review and expert knowledge of the ICCS design, a systematic classification to measure femicide is proposed. A level of priority is assigned to the femicide types within this system, i.e. primary and optional. The preliminary selection of the types of femicide was built on a bottom-up approach, with most of the categories proposed already measured by the Member States, or able to be measured, from the information collected or held by public institutions.

**Table 2. Types of femicide: proposal for classification for statistical purposes**

Group	Type	Sub-type	Potentially measurable by Member State	Priority	Terminology report (EIGE, 2017)
Intentional killing by an intimate partner and/or family member(s) (7)	Intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner (including current or former partners, living in the same household or not)	N/A	X	Primary	X
	Intentional killing of a woman by family member(s)	Honour killing		Primary	X
		Dowry-related killing		Optional	X
	Other intentional killings of a woman by family members	N/A	X	Primary	
Other types of intentional killing	Killing of a woman by a non-family member(s) involving sexual violence	N/A	X	Primary	
	Sexual-exploitation-related killing of a woman (with the exception of trafficking-related killing)	N/A	X	Optional	
	Trafficking-related killing of a woman	N/A	X	Optional	
	Killing of a woman in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings (including the killing of a woman by an authority or when the relationship is of care), killing of women's/human rights defenders, hate killings	From authority / sociopolitical group	X	Primary	
		In care relationship	X	Primary	
	Killing of a woman older than 65 by non-family members	N/A	X	Primary	
	Other types of intentional killing of women, with a gender-related motive, not listed above (8)	N/A	X	Primary	

(7) All intentional killings by an intimate partner and/or family member(s) fall under one of the first three categories/types in the 'intentional killing by intimate partner and/or family member(s)' group.

(8) Other intentional killing can include killings related to sexual orientation and gender identity (not linked to the political context) or racist femicide (not linked to activism).

Group	Type	Sub-type	Potentially measurable by Member State	Priority	Terminology report (EIGE, 2017)
Unintentional killings of women	Death of a woman resulting from intimate partner violence	N/A	X	Primary	X
	FGM-related death	N/A	X	Optional	
	Other types of unintentional killing with a gender motive not included above <sup>(9)</sup>	N/A	X	Primary	

N/A = not applicable.

This classification to measure femicide formulates a proposal towards grouping the different types of femicide identified in the conceptual framework that are potentially measurable at national level into mutually exclusive categories. In order to make categories mutually exclusive, any particular type of femicide should be assigned to a single category only. When there is a risk that this principle will be violated, a specific rule is formulated that lists particular exceptions for a specific category. For example, all killings by intimate partners or family members are included in one of the first three categories. This means that trafficking-related killings perpetrated by family members are also included under one of the first three categories and not under trafficking-related killings.

The methodology proposed for measuring the categories/types of femicide of the proposed classification (see Table 2) is based on the information derived from the characteristics of the victim and

perpetrator, the victim–perpetrator relationship, the circumstances of the murder and the cultural and social context. The combination of these variables and their item categories will determine the specific type of femicide. Different sources of data (police, prosecutors and court cases, death registers or a combination) can be used to gather data.

The EIGE (2021d) literature review proposed descriptive variables for identifying femicide, with the aim of developing protocols to document and identify cases of killing as femicide and then to identify cases of femicide from administrative data records for statistical purposes.

Table 3 shows the minimum set of descriptive variables proposed by EIGE and also based on the work of the Global Centre of Excellence on Gender Statistics towards an operationalisation of femicide and standardised measurement (CEGS, 2020) <sup>(10)</sup>.

**Table 3. Descriptive variables to identify femicide**

Category of variables	Variables
Victim characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sociodemographic data (age / date of birth, marital status, education, occupation, employment status, income, ethnicity, migration, country of birth, citizenship/nationality, birth country of parents, country of residence, children, disability)</li> <li>• Intoxication status</li> <li>• Non-conforming sexual behaviour, sexual orientation or gender identity</li> <li>• Victim of sexual(ised) abuse/violence</li> <li>• Women in prostitution, victim of sexual exploitation</li> <li>• Pregnancy</li> <li>• Having a child who is not the offspring of the perpetrator</li> <li>• Political activism, membership of a political group, women's/human rights defenders</li> </ul>

<sup>(9)</sup> Other types of unintentional killing with a gender motive include women's deaths resulting from family member violence and women who died as a result of violence suffered in jail or during a conflict or as a consequence of other crimes.

<sup>(10)</sup> The Global Centre of Excellence on Gender Statistics (CEGS) aims to strengthen gender statistics and focuses on three thematic areas, the measurement of different forms of violence against women and girls (particularly its most extreme forms such as femicide) being one of its priorities (<https://data.unwomen.org/where-we-work/cegs> and <http://cegsunwomenrepository.com/items/show/52>).

Category of variables	Variables
<b>Perpetrator characteristics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sex and gender</li> <li>• Sociodemographic data (age / date of birth, marital status, education, occupation, employment status, income, ethnicity, migration, country of birth, citizenship/nationality, birth country of parents, country of residence, children, disability)</li> <li>• Prior history of violence against women</li> <li>• Intoxication status</li> <li>• Prior violence record (in public and/or private)</li> </ul>
<b>Victim–perpetrator relationship <sup>(1)</sup></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intimate or sexual partners (cohabiting or not cohabiting, cohabiting in the past, current partner or past partner) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— (Current spouse, current cohabitating partner, current non-cohabitating partner, former spouse, former cohabitating partner, former non-cohabitating partner)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Family members or relatives (cohabiting or not cohabiting, cohabiting in the past)</li> <li>• Friends or acquaintances of the family</li> <li>• Friends or acquaintances of the victim</li> <li>• Care relationship (carer, doctor, nurse, etc.)</li> <li>• Colleague / business or work relationship</li> <li>• Authority figures (supervisor, employer, teacher, police, public official, clergy, etc.)</li> <li>• Members of paramilitary or armed groups</li> <li>• Members of armed governmental forces</li> <li>• Unknown</li> </ul>
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime scene and location of the murder</li> <li>• Prior domestic violence, protection orders, services used (by victim)</li> <li>• Sexual exploitation</li> <li>• Sexual(ised) abuse/violence</li> <li>• Degrading injuries of victim's body</li> <li>• Mutilation of victim's body</li> <li>• Harmful practices (FGM, (illegal) abortion)</li> <li>• Part of activities of organised criminal group</li> <li>• Victim in line of fire (when aggressor wanted to kill a woman)</li> </ul>
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability/use of weapons</li> <li>• Ligature, strangulation</li> <li>• Position of the victim's body</li> <li>• Disappearance / missing person</li> <li>• Sexual abuse</li> <li>• Overkilling <sup>(12)</sup></li> <li>• Incitement/pressuring the victim to commit suicide</li> </ul>

<sup>(1)</sup> Categories of victim–perpetrator relationship variables are also based on the ICCS (2015).

<sup>(12)</sup> Overkilling refers to the minimum dataset of variables considered by CEGS (2020) and is part of the modus operandi / killing situation. It means the extreme anger directed towards the corpses of women that are killed using more than one method, such as using a knife or strangulation, or are stabbed multiple times. A 2016 Italian analysis of sentences of femicide found that: in 40.2 % of cases, women were hit several times using a knife or other sharp object and then often suffocated; in 18 %, they were strangled by objects (electric cables, metal wire, belts) or with bare hands or were suffocated; other objects were used in 15.5 % of cases (for example hammers, hatchets, picks, sticks, bars); 12.8 % of cases involved firearms; in 9 % of cases, the victim was killed without the use of weapons, i.e. using only physical force (punches, kicks to the head) and subsequently strangled; and in other cases, flammable liquid was used. In line with this, the Observatory of domestic and gender-based violence of the Spanish General Council for the Judiciary has made relevant findings on the practice of 'overkilling' in its yearly analysis of judgments related to intimate-partner and family-related homicides. Whilst the practice of 'overkilling' surfaces in femicide cases, it is not observed in other homicides. An analysis of judgments rendered in 2018 found that, for women killed by stabbing, the total of blows amounted to a staggering 649, with an average of 36,1 stab wounds per case. These numbers are on the rise year after year: in one case, a woman received 164 stab-wounds and more than 20 knife blows were inflicted upon the victim in 12 out of the 18 cases analysed. Furthermore, in more than 33% of femicide cases, different methods of killing were combined (mainly stab wounds, injuries and trauma). The extent of this violence is such that judicial decisions ruled extreme cruelty as an aggravating circumstance in 29% of the cases (Observatorio contra la violencia doméstica y de género, 2020).

### 3. Proposal for a methodology to measure types of femicide in the EU Member States

Category of variables	Variables
<b>Gender motives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Background/risk factors, such as gender inequalities and dependencies, economic situation/deprivation, prior domestic violence</li><li>• Victim's intent to break up the relationship</li><li>• Pregnancy</li><li>• Conflict over custody of children</li><li>• Child who is not the offspring of the perpetrator</li><li>• Economic problems</li><li>• Jealousy</li><li>• Possessiveness</li><li>• Controlling behaviour</li><li>• Prior history of violence against women</li><li>• Hate motivated (lesbian, transgender victim)</li><li>• Alleged reasons of honour, family reputation, religious beliefs</li><li>• Other criminal activity involved</li><li>• Interfering with the enjoyment and exercise of women's/human rights</li></ul>



## 4. Classification of the proposed types of femicide

This section illustrates the first three types of femicide considered according to the proposed classification (see Table 2), covering different forms of intentional killing by an intimate partner and/or family member(s).

### 4.1. Intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner (including current or former partner, living in the same household or not)

Intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner is the most important and most frequent femicide recorded in the EU-27 and the United Kingdom, as reported in EIGE's recommendations for improving data quality, availability and comparability of intimate partner violence, rape and femicide indicators (2021b) and the comparative analysis (2021a).

#### 4.1.1. Definition: intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner

EIGE has developed a definition of femicide for statistical purposes based on components that can be measured through administrative data and surveys and meet the requirements in international standards: 'The killing of a woman by an intimate partner and death of a woman as a result of a practice that is harmful to women' (EIGE, 2017). An intimate partner is understood as a former or current spouse or partner, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence as the victim.

The key variables required to measure this type of femicide are: sex of the victim, sex of the perpetrator and victim–perpetrator relationship (i.e. that of intimate partnership). In Table 2, the items considered for the victim–perpetrator relationship are: current spouse, current cohabitating partner, current non-cohabitating partner, former spouse, former cohabitating partner and former non-cohabitating partner, as suggested by EIGE (2021b), derived from ICCS (2015).

Other variables may characterise the intentional killing of women by intimate partners (see Table 4). Some can be considered as core variables (e.g. suicide of the perpetrator, recent separation, prior domestic history of violence, protection order having been issued, possessiveness and controlling behaviour), while others are additional variables that are intelligible only in combination with others (e.g. pregnancy, conflict over custody of children, child who is not the offspring of the perpetrator, economic problems). Both core and additional variables contribute to identifying the killing of women by intimate partners as gender related. Where countries do not measure the victim–perpetrator relationship, the core variables can be considered as valid substitutions.

Their use in the analysis helps to better characterise the phenomenon and contribute to scientific and political debate on victim protection and the prevention of violence. Much of this information is used by police officers, judicial authorities and specialised services for victims (e.g. shelters) for risk assessment of intimate partner violence (Kropp and Hart, 2000; Baldry and Winkel, 2008).

**Table 4. Variables useful for measuring intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner**

Variables useful for measuring the killing of women by an intimate partner	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Pregnancy Having a child who is not the offspring of the perpetrator Intoxication status	
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Prior history of violence against women Intoxication status Prior violence record (in public and/or private)	
Victim–perpetrator relationship (also called ‘nature of the relationship’)	Current spouse Current cohabitating partner Current non-cohabitating partner Former spouse Former cohabitating partner Former non-cohabitating partner	
Gender motives	Pregnancy Conflict over custody of children Child who is not the offspring of the perpetrator Economic problems Jealousy Possessiveness Controlling behaviour Victim intention to break up Prior domestic violence	
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Prior domestic violence Protection orders Services used (by victim)	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Availability/use of weapons	

#### 4.1.2. Availability of data: killing of a woman by an intimate partner

Fourteen jurisdictions are able to provide comparable data on this type of femicide, while

another 10 collect data that is not comparable. Nevertheless, there are 24 countries that can potentially provide data for this type of femicide (see Table 5).

**Table 5. Countries able/unable to provide data for killing of a woman by an intimate partner (EIGE Indicator 9)**

Source of information	Jurisdictions with comparable data on intimate partner femicide, based on police data	Jurisdictions without comparable data, including information on sex of the victim or victim–perpetrator relationship	Member State unable to provide data	Member State potentially having data
Recommendations for improving data quality, availability and comparability of intimate partner violence, rape and femicide indicators	CZ, DE, ES, FR, IT, LV, LT, MT, NL, SI, SK, FI, SE, UK_SC (*)	BG, DK, EE, EL, HR, CY, AT, PL, UK_EAW (**), UK_NI (***)	BE, IE	LU, HU, PT, RO

(\*) UK\_SC = United Kingdom, Scotland; (\*\*) UK\_EAW = UK, England and Wales; (\*\*\*) UK\_NI = United Kingdom, Northern Ireland.

Concrete details that can be extracted from EIGE national levels are indicated in Table 6. (2021c) on the availability of key variables at

**Table 6. Variables used in national databases to measure intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner**

Variables used to measure killing of women by an intimate partner	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death <sup>(13)</sup>	Combination of sources
<b>Sex of the victim (female)</b>	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK
<b>Victim-perpetrator relationship</b>	Intimate partner	BG, DK, DE, EL, ES, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, MT, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	ES, PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Pregnancy	FR (*), UK			
	Protection order	ES, MT (*), PT, SI, UK (*)	ES, SK		ES, HR, PL
	Previous history of violence				HR
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
	Previous history of violence	ES, FR, IT, LT, SI (*), FI, UK	ES		HR, PT
	Previous treatment (support services, etc.)				HR
	Active protection order against	EE, ES, FR (*), IT, HU, MT (*), SI, FI	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
	Recidivism	DK, ES, FR (*), LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT, SI, SK	CZ, SK		ES, HR
	Intoxication status	DE, FR, LT, HU, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		HR, NL
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Prior intimate partner violence	ES, FR, IT, LT, SI (*), FI, UK	ES		HR, PT
	Prior complaints or requests for protection measures	ES, FR (*), MT, PT, SI (*), FI, UK	ES		ES, HR (*)
	Recent separation	SI, UK			ES, HR (*), PT
	Prior persecution (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / extreme anger directed at the corpse	UK	ES		
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Methods of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE
	Suicide of the perpetrator	IT, AT, PT, SI (*), UK	ES		ES, HR, PT, SE
	Children present (not killed)	BE (*), AT, SI (*), UK	ES		ES, HR, PT, SE
	Killing of children	LT, SI, UK			ES, PT, SE
	Killing of other people in the family	LT, SI, UK	ES		PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

<sup>(13)</sup> Data on cause of death refer to the underlying cause, which – according to the WHO – 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’. These data are derived from death certificates. The medical certification of death is an obligation in all Member States. Please see Eurostat glossary: [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)

### 4.1.3. Indicator design: intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner

**Description of the category.** Female victims of intimate femicide committed by a male intimate partner (EIGE, 2021a).

**Possible indicators:**

- Number of female victims of intimate femicide committed by a male intimate partner.
- Number of female victims of intimate femicide committed by a male intimate partner per 100 000 women.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected <sup>(14)</sup> of intimate femicide.
- Number of male perpetrators convicted of intimate femicide <sup>(15)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality and other information on victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location and circumstances surrounding the killing. Disaggregation by the core variables (suicide of the perpetrator, recent separation, prior domestic history of violence, protection order issued, possessiveness and controlling behaviour) are the most important.

For analysis purposes, the calculation of disaggregated indicators allows the following important indicators to be measured, which is useful in developing better preventive policies and gaining knowledge of the phenomenon:

- female victims killed by intimate partners with prior complaints or requests for protection measures;

- female victims killed by intimate partners that were recently separated;
- female victims killed by intimate partners when a protection order had been issued against the partner;
- female victims killed by intimate partners with prior persecution (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator;
- female victims killed by intimate partners where children were present;
- female victims killed by intimate partners where children were killed;
- female victims killed by intimate partners where other family members were killed.

### 4.1.4. Quality of the data: intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner

The identification of intimate partner relations between the victim and the perpetrator is the main challenge in achieving comparability among indicators, as many jurisdictions only have data with broad definitions of domestic violence instead of intimate partner violence.

Two Member States record the relationship status between the victim and the perpetrator in an open text format (DK, LT). In two Member States, while predefined categories are provided, the recording is not mandatory or systematic (EE, LV).

Other data quality issues concern the non-systematic recording of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. This produces inconsistent and inaccurate data, greatly reducing the quality of the data and the analysis.

Most of the variables revealing the gender motivation and circumstances of the killing are not systematically collected and recorded. Very often these

<sup>(14)</sup> 'Perpetrators suspected' refers to people brought into formal contact with the police and/or criminal justice system. Following the Eurostat definition, it may include people suspected of arrested for or cautioned over a criminal offence at the national level.

<sup>(15)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

are collected only for investigation purposes and are not used or reported for statistical purposes.

The combination of victim and perpetrator information, including the sex variable, is rarely available, as victim databases are not linked to information on offenders.

#### 4.1.5. Recommendations on measuring intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner

Member States need to systematically record the victim–perpetrator relationship, the sex of the victim and the sex of the offender. They should also register the victim–perpetrator relationship according to predefined victim–perpetrator relationship categories. Crucially, these relationship categories, or fully compatible categories, must be used in day-to-day police operations, as the statistical data is generated from operational police data-recording and data-management systems.

**It is recommended that Member States have the possibility to cross-reference the information on the victim with that on the perpetrator, or at least the sex variable.** The combination of sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator is strongly recommended.

Member States should improve their collection of data on the prior history of violence, recidivism<sup>(16)</sup>, protection orders issued, modus operandi and other information on the context of femicide, such as suicide, presence of children, recent separation, pregnancy and killing of children or other family members.

EU standards should be determined for these variables, in order to have comparable data between countries.

## 4.2. Intentional killing of women by family members

Some killings of women by family members are broadly similar to intentional intimate partner

killing, with the difference being the kind of victim–perpetrator relationship. Many countries can estimate this killing as national legislation often contains aggravating circumstances for domestic violence (in the case of intentional killing by a descendant, parent, etc.).

### 4.2.1. Honour killing

Honour killings of women are linked to other types of femicide, such as other harmful-practice-related killings, FGM and dowry-related killing. These femicides are part of what Walklate et al. (2020) call the invisibility of femicide that happens outside the realm of intimate relationships (such as honour killings, dowry-related deaths and the killing of indigenous women and girls).

#### 4.2.1.1. Definition: honour killing

Honour killings happen for reasons of honour, to defend the family reputation and religious beliefs, due to the woman's alleged "disobedience". Honour is the justification for the killing. More specifically, the WHO (2012) defines honour killing as the 'unlawful killing of a person by relatives or other closely associated persons as a result of avenging a perceived dishonour brought on the family, or with the intent of restoring the honour of the family, related to an actual or assumed sexual or behavioural transgression, including adultery, sexual intercourse or pregnancy outside marriage'.

This kind of killing can affect specific target groups, such as migrant women, and racial or ethnicity minorities. Generally, this killing happens within the family or the community, and the victim and the perpetrator share the same race/ethnicity/religion.

In order to identify an honour killing, it is essential to determine the gender motivation, the modus operandi and the victims and perpetrators' characteristics (see [Table 7](#)).

<sup>(16)</sup> Recidivism is repeat offending.

**Table 7. Variables useful for measuring honour killing**

Variables useful for measuring honour killing	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age Race Ethnicity Nationality	Race/ethnicity of the victim and race/ethnicity of the male perpetrator Nationality of the victim and nationality of the perpetrator
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age Race Ethnicity Nationality	
Victim–perpetrator relationship	Family member relationship	
Gender motives	Reasons of honour Family reputation Religious belief Background/risk factors, such as gender inequality and dependence Impeding the exercise of the victim's rights	
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Crime scene Location of the murder	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Availability/use of weapons Burning of the body or other modus operandi, such as throat-cutting, use of acid or other substance Incitement / pressuring the victim to commit suicide	

#### 4.2.1.2. Availability of data: honour killing

The analysis of EIGE (2021c) shows that four Member States can potentially measure the killing of women because of 'shame or dishonour' upon the family and 'refusal to enter an arranged marriage', namely: France, Slovenia, UK-England and Wales based, on police data sources; and Croatia,

through a combination of police and court data. In all cases, this information is not systematically collected and is only for operational use. Finland also collects some data on honour-related killings.

EIGE (2021c) provides some information about the variables essential for measuring femicide involving honour killing (see Table 8).

**Table 8. Variables used in national databases to measure intentional honour-related killing**

Variables used to measure intentional honour killing	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
Sex of the victim (female)	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
Sex of the perpetrator (male)	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK

Variables used to measure intentional honour killing	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Victim-perpetrator relationship</b>	Family members	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, SK		ES, SE
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Killing of women because of 'shame or dishonour', 'refusal to enter an arranged marriage'	FR, SI (*), UK (UK_EAW)			HR
	Prior persecution (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / fury of the corpse	UK	ES		
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident'</b>	Methods of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

#### 4.2.1.3. Indicators design: honour killing

**Description of the category.** Female victims of honour killing committed by a male family member.

##### Possible indicators:

- Number of female victims of honour killing committed by a male family member, including breakdowns by type of family relationship (excluding partners).
- Number of female victims of honour killing committed by a male family member per 100 000 women <sup>(17)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected <sup>(18)</sup> of honour killing of a female family member.
- Number of male perpetrators convicted of honour killing of a female family member <sup>(19)</sup>.

<sup>(17)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, categories with very rare events could see their figures disregarded for being too low.

<sup>(18)</sup> 'Perpetrators suspected' refers to the people brought into formal contact with the police and/or criminal justice system. Following the Eurostat definition, it may include people suspected of arrested for or cautioned over a criminal offence at the national level.

<sup>(19)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, race, ethnicity and other information on the victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location and circumstances surrounding the killing.

#### 4.2.1.4. Quality of data: honour killing

With regard to the quality of the data, reasons of honour (i.e. defending the family reputation and religious belief) are rare among the variables collected. Variables such as race, ethnicity and religion of the victim are not systematically collected by any Member State.

Shame or dishonour for the family and refusal to enter an arranged marriage are recorded by three Member States, although not for statistical purposes.

Information on the victim and on the perpetrator are not often combined, and even sex is not always cross-referenced.

#### 4.2.1.5. Recommendations on measuring honour killing

It is recommended that the EU-27 and the United Kingdom have the possibility to combine the information on the victim with that of the perpetrator. Cross-referencing the sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator should be mandatory.

Countries should improve their data collection:

- with variables on reasons of honour, to defend family reputation and religious belief;

- through the collection of victim characteristics such as nationality, race, ethnicity and religion, if legally feasible, taking into account data-protection regulations and respect for the victims;
- with the modus operandi of the killing linked to overkilling, the position of the body of the victim or the incitement or other influence/pressure on the victim to commit suicide;
- with information on the victim–perpetrator relationship.

EU standards should be determined for these variables in order to have comparable data between countries.

#### 4.2.2. Dowry-related killing

Dowry-related killing is part of femicide due to traditional norms linked to reasons of honour.

##### 4.2.2.1. Definition: dowry-related killing

The UNODC (2015) has defined dowry-related killing as ‘the unlawful killing of a woman associated with the giving or receiving of a dowry at any time before, during or after the marriage’.

A dowry is any property or asset that is provided by one party to a marriage to the other party to the marriage.

This kind of killing can affect some specific target groups such as migrant women and racial or ethnic minorities. Generally, this killing happens within the family or the community, and the victim and the perpetrator tend to share the same race/ethnicity.



**Table 9. Variables useful for measuring dowry-related killing**

Variables useful for measuring dowry-related killing	Item within the variable	Cross-referencing between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age Race Ethnicity Nationality	Race/ethnicity of the victim and race/ethnicity of the male perpetrator Nationality of the victim and nationality of the perpetrator
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age Race Ethnicity Nationality Education level	
Victim-perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)	Partner and family relationship are the most important	
Gender motives	Dowry-related problems	
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Crime scene Location of the murder	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Extreme anger directed at the corpse	

#### 4.2.2.2. Availability of data: dowry-related killing

National data-collection systems have no 'dowry-related' variable, except United Kingdom - England and Wales, that would reveal a gender motivation.

No data is available for this type of femicide.

#### 4.2.2.3. Indicators design: dowry-related killing

**Description of the category.** Female killing for dowry committed by male family member.

##### Possible indicators:

- Number of female victims of dowry-related killing committed by a male family member,

including breakdown by type of family relationship (excluding partners).

- Number of female victims of dowry-related killing committed by a male family member per 100 000 women <sup>(20)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected <sup>(21)</sup> of dowry-related killing of a female family member.
- Number of male perpetrators convicted of dowry-related killing of a female family member <sup>(22)</sup>.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, race, ethnicity and perpetrator information on education level, modus operandi, location, circumstances surrounding the killing.

<sup>(20)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, figures for categories with very rare events could be disregarded because of being too low.

<sup>(21)</sup> 'Perpetrators suspected' refers to the people brought into formal contact with the police and/or criminal justice system. Following the Eurostat definition, it may include persons suspected of arrested for or cautioned over a criminal offence at the national level.

<sup>(22)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

#### 4.2.2.4. Quality of data: dowry-related killing

As the most important information (dowry) is not registered, this femicide cannot be calculated.

Information on the characteristics of the perpetrator – other than sex and age – is very poor. The race and ethnicity of the victim are not collected.

#### 4.2.2.5. Recommendations on measuring dowry-related killing

It is recommended that the EU-27 and the United Kingdom have the possibility to cross-reference victim and perpetrator information. The combination of sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator should be mandatory.

Countries should improve their data collection with regard to:

- dowry as the motive for the killing;
- the collection of victim characteristics such as nationality, race and ethnicity;
- modus operandi of the killing, linked to over-killing, being burned to death or the position of the body of the victim;
- victim–perpetrator relationship.

EU standards should be determined for these variables in order to have comparable data between countries.

#### 4.2.3. Other intentional killing of women by family members

This category includes intentional killing by family members for reasons other than honour.

##### 4.2.3.1. Definition: intentional killing of women by family members

In the intentional killing of a woman by a family member, the family member is any member of the

family or a relative, independently of cohabitation at the time or in the past. In the ICCS (2015) the category of family member is divided into blood relative and other household member or relative by marriage or adoption.

Blood relative is subdivided into:

- parent;
- child;
- other blood relative:
  - cohabitating blood relative;
  - non-cohabitating blood relative.

The key variables needed to measure this kind of killing are the sex of the victim, sex of the perpetrator and victim–perpetrator relationship: family member. Table 10 presents the items considered for the victim–perpetrator relationship as ‘blood relative and other household member or relative by marriage or adoption’, as derived from the ICCS.

Other variables characterise the intentional killing of women by a family member (see Table 10), subdivided into core and additional variables. The core variables are the victim–perpetrator relationship, overkilling, prior record, protection orders and victim in the line of fire when the aggressor wanted to kill another woman, while the additional variables are disability/illness of the perpetrator or victim, intoxication status, location and others. The additional variables are not essential to determine family-related killing. Where Member States do not measure the victim–perpetrator relationship, the other core variables, combined, can be useful to approximate the category.

Their utility is primarily for the purpose of analysis, in order to better characterise the phenomenon and contribute to scientific and political debate on victim protection and prevention of violence.

**Table 10. Variables useful for measuring other intentional killing of women by family members**

Variables useful for measuring other family-related killing	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age	Disability of victim / no disability of perpetrator
	Disability	
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Intoxication status	Age of the victim and age of the perpetrator
	Age	Disability of perpetrator / no disability of victim
Prior history of violence against women		
Prior record of violence (in public and/or private)		
Intoxication status		
Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)	Disability	
	Blood relative and other household member or relative by marriage or adoption	
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Prior domestic violence	
	Recent separation	
	Protection orders	
	Services used (by victim)	
	Crime scene and location of the murder	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Victim in line of fire when aggressor wanted to kill another woman	
	Overkilling	
	Ligature	
	Strangulation	
Availability/use of weapon		

#### 4.2.3.2. Availability of data: other intentional killing of women by family members

The EIGE (2021c) analysis shows that many of the 21 jurisdictions that register the victim–perpetrator relationship could estimate family-related killing. The Eurostat database reports 18 jurisdictions that provided data about intentional killing by family members.

Some countries collect a variety of family relationship (e.g. Portugal): mother/father, son/daughter, brother/sister, grandson/granddaughter, grandmother/grandfather, uncle, cousin and other relatives. Latvia has about 15 categories to describe family relations.

EIGE (2021c) provides information on the variables that are essential to measure the killing of women by family members (see Table 11).

**Table 11. Variables used in national databases to measure intentional killing of a woman by family members**

Variables used to measure intentional killing of a woman by family member	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
Sex of the victim (female)	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
Sex of the perpetrator (male)	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK

#### 4. Classification of the proposed types of femicide

Variables used to measure intentional killing of a woman by family member	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Victim-perpetrator relationship</b>	Family member	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Health status (including disability)	UK		HR	
	Intoxication status	DE, HR, LT, HU, SI, SK, UK			HR, SE
	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SE, SK, FI
	Pregnancy	FR (*), UK			
	Protection order	ES, MT (*), PT, SI, UK (*)	ES, SK		ES, HR, PL
	Previous history of violence				ES, HR
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
	Health status (including disability)		HR		
	Disability				
	Previous history of violence	ES, FR, IT, LT, SI (*), FI, UK	ES		HR, PT
	Previous treatment (support services, etc.)				HR
	Active protection order against	EE, ES, FR (*), IT, HU, MT (*), SI, FI	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
	Recidivism	DK, ES, FR (*), LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT, SI, SK	CZ, SK		ES, HR
	Intoxication status	DE, FR, LT, HU, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		HR, NL
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Prior intimate partner violence	ES, FR, IT, LT, SI (*), FI, UK	ES		HR, PT
	Prior complaints or requests for protection measures	ES, FR (*), MT, SI (*), PT, FI, UK	ES		ES, HR*
	Recent separation	SI, UK			ES, HR (*), PT
	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / fury of the corpse	UK	ES		
	Method of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Suicide of the perpetrator	IT, AT, PT, SI (*), UK	ES		ES, HR, PT, SE
	Killing of children	LT, SI, UK			ES, PT, SE
	Killing of other persons in the family	LT, SI, UK	ES		PT, SE

(\* ) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

Countries that can potentially measure the killing of women by family members are those that measure the victim–perpetrator relationship, namely 20 Member States (BG, DK, DE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, NL, AT, PT, RO, SI, SK, FI, SE) and the United Kingdom.

#### 4.2.3.3. Indicator design: other intentional killing of women by family members

**Description of the category.** Female victims of a killing committed by a male family member (other than those committed in the context of traditional norms, i.e. honour killings or dowry-related killings).

##### Possible indicators:

- Number of female victims of other intentional killing (excluding honour killing and dowry-related killing) by a male family member, including breakdown by type of family relationship (excluding partners).
- Number of female victims of other intentional killing (excluding honour killing and dowry-related killing) committed by a male family member, per 100 000 women <sup>(23)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected <sup>(24)</sup> of other intentional killing (excluding honour killing and dowry-related killing) of a female family member.
- Number of male perpetrators convicted of other intentional killing (excluding honour killing and dowry-related killing) of a female family member <sup>(25)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, disability or health status and other information on victim

and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location, context and circumstances surrounding the killing.

The calculation of disaggregated indicators allows the measurement and analysis of the following important indicators, resulting in better preventive policies and greater knowledge of the phenomenon:

- female victims aged 65 and over, killed by type of male family member (son, brother, etc.);
- female victims, killed by disabled male family member (son, daughter, brother, sister, etc.).

#### 4.2.3.4. Quality of data: other intentional killing of women by family members

Similar data quality considerations exist here as for the indicator on the killing of women by intimate partners.

Accurate, rigorous, standardised collection of data on the victim–perpetrator relationship is the main challenge in achieving good quality, comparable data. There is also a need to combine victim and perpetrator information, such as that on sex and age.

There is an evident lack of relevant variables for purposes of analysis, such as health status, disability, intoxication status, variables related to circumstances and modus operandi (e.g. overkill-ing, prior persecutions such as stalking or threats from the perpetrator).

#### 4.2.3.5. Recommendations on measuring intentional killing of women by family members

Member States need to record the victim–perpetrator relationship, the sex of the victim and the

<sup>(23)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, categories with very rare events could see their figures disregarded for being too low.

<sup>(24)</sup> ‘Perpetrators suspected’ refers to the people brought into formal contact with the police and/or criminal justice system. Following the Eurostat definition, it may include people suspected of arrested for or cautioned over a criminal offence at the national level.

<sup>(25)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

sex of the offender, with predefined categories of victim–perpetrator relationship.

The EU-27 should cross-reference information on victim and perpetrator, in respect of at least sex and age.

Member States should also improve data collection on prior history of violence, recidivism, protection orders issued to protect the victim, modus operandi and other information on the context of femicide.

### 4.3. Intentional killing of women by non-family member(s) involving sexualised violence

Killings of women involving sexualised violence are characterised by the sexual nature or sexual motive of these killings. Sexualised killings are distinct from intimate partner killings.

#### 4.3.1. Definition: killing of women involving sexualised violence

The killing of women involving sexualised violence encompasses different situations. Dobash et al. (2015) reported that the definitions vary from ‘the very narrow that only include rape’ to ‘broad definition of acts contained within a murder that

might be defined as sexual in nature’ (p. 115). These acts include ‘the removal of clothing, positioning of clothing, sexual posing of the body, and “substitute sexual activity” such as masturbation over or near the body’ (p. 109).

By definition this kind of femicide happens outside the family and thus does not overlap with the previous femicide types (by a partner and by a family member). Even if sexual violence may also happen in the family and intimate partner context, for classification purposes, the category of killings of women involving sexualised violence are characterised by their sexual motive.

The key variables needed to measure this killing are the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator, sexual abuse or sexual violence, or degrading, disfigurement or mutilation of the body in the circumstances surrounding the killing, the modus operandi of the killing linked to sexual violence or position of the body of the victim and the victim–perpetrator relationship (different from intimate partner or family member).

Other variables characterise the intentional killing of women involving sexualised violence (see Table 12), but are not essential to determine it. For instance, EIGE (2021d) shows the importance of the age difference between the victim and the perpetrator, and his previous history of sexual and/or physical violence against women.

**Table 12. Variables useful for measuring killing of women involving sexualised violence**

Variables useful for measuring killing of women involving sexualised violence	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age of the victim of sexual(ised) abuse/violence	Age of the victim and age of the perpetrator
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age Prior history of violence against women Prior record of violence (in public and/or private)	
Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)	Exclusion of intimate current or former partner and family member Can be a known male (friend, doctor, teacher, colleague, another acquaintance) or an unknown person	

Variables useful for measuring killing of women involving sexualised violence	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Location	
	Sexual(ised) abuse/violence	
	Degrading injuries of victim's body Mutilation of victim's body (included genital)	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Position of the victim's body	
	Sexual abuse	

### 4.3.2. Availability of data: killing of women involving sexualised violence

The analysis in EIGE (2021c) shows that Slovakia already estimates sexual murders and that eight countries and two UK jurisdictions can potentially

measure killings of women involving sexualised violence<sup>(26)</sup>. The report also provides information on the availability of the key variables (Table 13) for measuring the killing of women involving sexualised violence.

**Table 13. Variables used in national databases to measure 'intentional killing involving sexualised violence'**

Variables used to measure killing of women involving sexualised violence	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
Sex of the victim (female)	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
Sex of the perpetrator (male)	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK
Victim-perpetrator relationship	Not intimate partner / family member	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
Other characteristics of the victim	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Previous treatment (support services, etc.)				HR
	Active protection order against	EE, ES, FR (*), IT, HU, MT (*), SI, FI	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
	Recidivism	DK, ES, FR (*), LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT, SI, SK	CZ, SK		ES, HR
	Intoxication status	DE, FR, LT, HU, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		HR, NL
	Prior complaints or requests for protection measures	ES, FR (*), MT, PT, SI (*), FI, UK	ES		ES, HR (*)
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	FI, PT, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / extreme anger directed at the corpse	UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
	Context of sexual violence	FR, IT, LV, LT, PL (*), SI (*), SK, UK (UK_EAW and UK_SC)	ES		HR

<sup>(26)</sup> France, Croatia, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia and the United Kingdom: England, Wales and Scotland.

#### 4. Classification of the proposed types of femicide

Variables used to measure killing of women involving sexualised violence	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Methods of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

#### 4.3.3. Indicator design: killing of women involving sexualised violence

**Description of the category.** Female victims of femicide involving sexualised violence by a male perpetrator (other than current or former partner or family member).

##### Possible indicators:

- Number of female victims of killing involving sexualised violence committed by a male (other than current or former partner or family member).
- Number of female victims of killing involving sexualised violence committed by a male (other than current or former partner or family member) per 100 000 women <sup>(27)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected <sup>(28)</sup> of killing involving sexualised violence of a female (other than current or former partner or family member).
- Number of male perpetrators convicted of killing involving sexualised violence of a female (other than current or former partner or family member) <sup>(29)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, disability or health status and other information on the victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location and circumstances surrounding the killing.

The calculation of disaggregated indicators allows analysis and measurement of the following important indicators that are useful in developing better preventive policies and gaining greater knowledge of the phenomenon. The indicators that underline the age difference between the victim and the perpetrator are particularly important, including:

- elderly female victims, killed by men younger than them;
- female victims, killed by men, whose bodies were disfigured;
- young girls allegedly victims of sexual abuse, killed by men, whose bodies were missing;
- female victims killed by a male perpetrator who was a reoffender and/or had a history of physical or sexual violence against women.

#### 4.3.4. Quality of data: killing of women involving sexualised violence

The lack of information on the sexual nature of the killing and the lack of systematic recording of

<sup>(27)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, categories with very rare events could see their figures disregarded for being too low.

<sup>(28)</sup> 'Perpetrators suspected' refers to the people brought into formal contact with the police and/or criminal justice system. Following the Eurostat definition, it may include people suspected of arrested for or cautioned over a criminal offence at the national level.

<sup>(29)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.



this information result in poor and inconsistent data, strongly affecting data quality and analysis.

Most of the variables revealing the sexual motivation and the circumstances of the killing are not systematically collected and recorded. Very often, they are collected only for investigative purposes and are not used or reported for statistical purposes.

The cross-reference between victim and perpetrator information, and even their sex, is rarely available as victim databases are not linked to information on offenders.

#### 4.3.5. Recommendations on measuring killing of women involving sexualised violence

It is recommended that Member States cross-reference the information on victims and perpetrators, in respect of at least their sex and age. The combination of sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator should be mandatory.

It is recommended that countries improve their data collection in relation to:

- circumstances surrounding the killing, concerning the sexual abuse or sexual violence motive or the degrading, disfigurement or mutilation of the body;
- modus operandi of the killing, linked to sexual violence or position of the body of the victim;

- victim–perpetrator relationship, other than intimate partner or family member.

EU standards could be determined for these variables in order to have comparable data between countries.

## 4.4. Sexual-exploitation-related killing (with the exception of trafficking-related killing)

Sexual-exploitation-related killing is the killing of women engaging in prostitution and is part of the category of femicide of women in the criminal context.

### 4.4.1. Definition: sexual-exploitation-related killing

Skott et al. (2018) note that ‘individuals engaged in prostitution have an increased risk for becoming victims of homicide’ (p. 14). The importance of studying femicide in prostitution is also underlined by CEGS, which recommends collecting data on the situation of ‘sex work, sexual exploitation or trafficking for sexual exploitation’.

Measuring sexual-exploitation-related killing requires the collection of data on the gender motive and the circumstances of the killing, as well as the sex of the victim and the perpetrator. Information on the context of sexual exploitation and pornography is collected in Italy and the United Kingdom.

**Table 14. Variables useful for measuring sexual-exploitation-related killing**

Variables useful for measuring sex-work-related killing	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age	
	Occupation	
	Education	
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age	
	Prior history of violence against women	
	Prior record of violence (in public and/or private)	
	Intoxication status	
	Occupation	
	Education	

#### 4. Classification of the proposed types of femicide

Variables useful for measuring sex-work-related killing	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
<b>Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)</b>	Friends or acquaintances of the family, friends or acquaintances of the victim, care relationship (doctor, nurse, etc.) Colleague / business or work relationship Other acquaintances (authority figures, members of paramilitary or armed groups, members of armed governmental force) Unknown	
<b>Gender motives</b>	Other criminal activity involved	
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Prostitution setting Sexual exploitation Sexual(ised) abuse/violence Degrading injuries to the victim's body Crime scene and location of the murder	
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Availability/use of weapon	

#### 4.4.2. Data availability: sexual-exploitation-related killing

is no data about other criminal activity involved in the killing.

Only two countries collect data on the context of prostitution and pornography (IT, UK\_EAW). There

Available information is reported in [Table 15](#).

**Table 15. Variables used in national databases to measure sexual-exploitation-related killing**

Variables used to measure sexual-exploitation-related killing	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Sex of the victim (female)</b>	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
<b>Sex of the perpetrator (male)</b>	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK
<b>Victim–perpetrator relationship</b>	Not intimate partner / family member	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Occupation	BE, LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT (*), SK, UK	ES, HR, SK		HR, PL
	Education	LT, MT (*)	HR		HR, PL
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
	Occupation	LT, HU, PT, AT, SK, UK	PT, SK		SE
	Education	LT, HU, MT, PT, UK	SK, CZ		
	Recidivism	DK, ES, FR (*), LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT, SI, SK	CZ, SK		ES, HR

Variables used to measure sexual-exploitation-related killing	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Context of sexual violence	FR, IT, LV, LT, PL (*), SI (*), SK, UK (UK_EAW, UK_SC)		ES	
	Context of prostitution and/or pornography	IT, UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
	Disfigurement of the body / fury of the corpse	UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Method of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

#### 4.4.3. Indicator design: sexual-exploitation-related killing

**Proposed indicator.** Female victims of femicide involving sexual exploitation by male perpetrator.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, disability or health status, occupation and other information on the victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location, context and circumstances surrounding the killing.

For analytical purposes, the following disaggregation can be useful in improving prevention policies and gaining a better knowledge of the phenomenon:

- Female victims of killing whose bodies were disfigured.
- Female victims of killing who were also sexually abused.

- Female victims of killing by a male perpetrator who was a reoffender and/or had a history of physical or sexual violence against women.
- Female victims killed by a male perpetrator in the context of organised crime.

#### 4.4.4. Quality of data: sexual-exploitation-related killing

The essential information on the context of sexual exploitation and pornography is missing. The circumstances of the killing are not systematically collected and recorded, often being solely for investigative rather than statistical purposes. The combination of the information on the victim and the perpetrator, and even their sex, is rarely available, as victim databases are not linked to offender information.

#### 4.4.5. Recommendations on measuring sexual-exploitation-related killing

It is recommended that Member States improve their data collection on:

- the killing of women in prostitution;

- circumstances surrounding the killing and the modus operandi of the perpetrator;
- the victim–perpetrator relationship (other than intimate partner or family member).

sex trafficking'. In order to measure trafficking-related killing, data is needed on the gender motive, the status of women as victims of trafficking in human beings, the circumstances of the killing and the sex of the victim and the perpetrator.

## 4.5. Trafficking-related killing

### 4.5.1. Definition: trafficking-related killing

CEGS (2020) recommends collecting data on situations of 'sex work, sexual exploitation or

In order to avoid overlaps between types of femicide, killings by family members are excluded from the counting of trafficking-related killing. It is not rare, however, for family members of the victim to be involved.

**Table 16. Variables useful for measuring trafficking-related killing**

Variables useful for measuring trafficking-related killing	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age Nationality Ethnicity/migration status Occupation	Nationality/race/ethnicity of the female victim and nationality/race/ethnicity of the male perpetrator
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age Nationality Ethnicity Occupation Prior history of violence against women Prior record of violence (in public and/or private)	
Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)	Friends or acquaintances of the family Friends or acquaintances of the victim Care relationship Colleague / business or work relationship Other acquaintances (authority figures, members of organised crime, gangs) Unknown	
Gender motives	Other criminal activity involved (trafficking in human beings)	
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Sexual exploitation, Prostitution and pornography, Sexual(ised) abuse/violence Degrading injuries to the victim's body Crime scene and location of the murder	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Availability/use of weapon	

#### 4.5.2. Data availability: trafficking-related killing

Information on killing in the context of human trafficking is collected by Italy and the United Kingdom: England and Wales only (EIGE (2021c).

In general, data about other criminal activity involved in the killing is not collected (see Table 17 for other information).

**Table 17. Variables used in national databases to measure trafficking-related killing**

Variables used to measure trafficking-related killing	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Sex of the victim (female)</b>	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
<b>Sex of the perpetrator (male)</b>	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK
<b>Victim-perpetrator relationship</b>	Not intimate partner / family member	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Occupation	BE, LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT (*), SK, UK	ES, HR, SK		HR, PL
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
	Occupation	LT, HU, PT, AT, SK, UK	PT, SK		SE
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, SK		ES, SE
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Context of sexual violence	IT, FR, LV, LT, PL (*), SI (*), SK, UK (UK_EAW, UK_SC)	ES		
	Context of prostitution and/or pornography	IT, UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / degrading injuries	UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Methods of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

### 4.5.3. Indicator design: trafficking-related killing

**Description of the category.** Female victims of killings by male perpetrators, who are victims of human trafficking.

**Possible indicators:**

- Number of female victims of killing as a consequence of human trafficking committed by male perpetrators.
- Number of female victims of killing as a consequence of human trafficking by male perpetrators per 100 000 women <sup>(30)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected <sup>(31)</sup> of killing a female in the context of human trafficking.
- Number of male perpetrators convicted of killing a female in the context of human trafficking <sup>(32)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, occupation, ethnicity, migration status and other information on victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location, gender motive and circumstances surrounding the killing.

For analytical purposes, the following disaggregation can be useful in improving prevention policies and gaining better knowledge of the phenomenon:

- Female victims whose bodies were disfigured.
- Female victims who were previously missing.
- Female victims who were also sexually abused.

<sup>(30)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, categories with very rare events could see their figures disregarded for being too low.

<sup>(31)</sup> ‘Perpetrators suspected’ refers to the people brought into formal contact with the police and/or criminal justice system. Following the Eurostat definition, it may include people suspected of arrested for or cautioned over a criminal offence at the national level.

<sup>(32)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

- Female victims killed by a perpetrator who was a reoffender and/or had a history of physical or sexual violence against women.

### 4.5.4. Quality of data: trafficking-related killing

Essential information on the context of trafficking is missing. The circumstances of the killing are not systematically collected and recorded, often being solely for investigative rather than statistical purposes. The combination of victim and perpetrator information, and even information on sex, is rarely available, as victim databases are not linked to information on offenders.

### 4.5.5. Recommendations on measuring trafficking-related killing

It is recommended that the EU-27 improve their data collection on:

- the status of the women as victims of trafficking in human beings;
- circumstances surrounding the killing and the modus operandi of the perpetrator;
- the victim–perpetrator relationship (other than intimate partner or family member).

## 4.6. Intentional killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings

The killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence was discussed by the Parliamentary Assembly (Council of Europe), the WHO and the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (UN) (EIGE, 2017). This sort of killing acquires its specificity when considered outside of intimate partner and family-related killings. The

continuum of violence<sup>(33)</sup>, grounded in gendered phenomena running through all social, economic and political aspects of a society, is used here to refer to the gender motivation in intentional killings, often involving unequal power relations and power abuse.

#### 4.6.1. Definition: intentional killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings

The killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence refers to those situations where the perpetrator is an authority figure, has a care

relationship with the victim or is a member of paramilitary or armed group or armed government forces.

This kind of killing can affect some specific targets, such as lesbians, politically active women, female defenders of women's and human rights, migrant women and women from racial or ethnic minorities.

In order to identify the context of a continuum of violence, the circumstances of the killing, gender motivation and modus operandi are essential, as are victims' and perpetrators' characteristics.

**Table 18. Variables useful for measuring killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence**

Variables useful for measuring killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age Gender identity Sexual orientation Ethnicity Nationality Political activism Membership of political group Women's/human rights defender Health status and pregnancy	Gender identity of woman and gender identity of perpetrator Sexual orientation of the victim and sexual orientation of male perpetrator Race/ethnicity of the victim and race/ethnicity of the male perpetrator Nationality of the victim and nationality of the perpetrator Sociopolitical beliefs/activism of victim/perpetrator
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age Prior history of violence against women Prior violence record (in public and/or private) Intoxication status Gender identity Sexual orientation Race Ethnicity Nationality	

<sup>(33)</sup> Grounded in Cockburn's (2013) work on women's life experiences in conflict zones and her gender perspectives on war and peace, the concept of 'gendered continuum of violence' considers human interactions as fundamentally shaped by gender power relations and characterised by the incidence and abuse of power. However, Cockburn maintains that gendered violence and power abuse are not limited to war zones: many incidences are the violent instantiations that can be encountered in one's own household, such as 'the catastrophic disruption of everyday life' and the 'brutalisation of the body', to the point that the very distinction between 'peace' and 'war' becomes preposterous. Cockburn writes: 'For instance, a continuum of scale of force: so many pounds per square inch when a fist hits a jaw; so many more when a bomb hits a military target. A continuum on a social scale: violence in a couple, in a street riot, violence between nations. And place: a bedroom, a street, a police cell, a continent. Time: during a long peace, pre-war, in armed conflict, in periods we call "postconflict". And then type of weapon: hand, boot, machete, gun, missile' (Fitz-Gibbon and Walklate (2018)).

Variables useful for measuring killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
<b>Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)</b>	Friends or acquaintances of the family Friends or acquaintances of the victim Care relationship (doctor, nurse, etc.) Colleague / business or work relationship Other acquaintances (authority figures, members of paramilitary or armed groups, members of armed governmental forces) Unknown	
<b>Gender motives</b>	Background/risk factors such as gender inequality and dependency Impeding the enjoyment and exercise of human rights and women’s empowerment Hate-motivated (lesbian, transgender victim)	
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Crime scene and location of the murder	
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Availability/use of weapon	

#### 4.6.2. Availability of data: intentional killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings

The analysis from EIGE (2021c) shows that 15 countries can potentially measure the killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence, as their data-collection systems have information on prior violence, prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator, prior complaints or requests for protection measures, victims’ characteristics and offenders’ characteristics and recidivism of the offender (CZ, DK, EE, ES, FR, HR, IT, LT, HU, MT, AT, SI, SK, FI, UK).

Information on the continuum context of violence needs to be linked to the victim–perpetrator

relationship, which will be different to that of intimate partner and family context.

Very few countries report data on perpetrators as authority figures, members of a paramilitary or armed group or members of armed government forces, while more countries record whether or not a relationship can be established between the victim and perpetrator.

Croatia measures sexual orientation and gender identity to detect gender motivation.

EIGE (2021a) provides information on the variables essential for measuring the killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence (see Table 19).

**Table 19. Variables used in national databases to measure intentional killing in the context of a continuum of violence**

Variables used to measure Intentional killing in the context of a continuum of violence	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Sex of the victim (female)</b>	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK
<b>Sex of the perpetrator (male)</b>	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK



Variables used to measure Intentional killing in the context of a continuum of violence	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/ court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Victim-perpetrator relationship</b>	Not intimate partner / family member (authority figures, members of paramilitary or armed groups, members of armed government forces, unknown)	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
	Sexual orientation	FR, MT (*), AT (*), UK			
	Gender identity	FR, MT (*), AT (*), UK			
	Occupation	BE, LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT (*), SK, UK	ES, HR, SK		HR, PL
	Health status	FR (**), UK			HR
	Pregnancy	FR (**), UK			
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age	BE, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, NL, SK, UK
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, SK		ES, SE
	Sexual orientation	MT (*), AT, UK (*)			
	Gender identity	MT (*), AT, UK (*)			
	Occupation	LT, HU, PT, AT, SK, UK	PT, SK		SE
	Previous treatment (support services, etc.)				HR
	Recidivism	DK, ES, FR (*), LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT, SI, SK	CZ, SK		ES, HR
Prior complaints or requests for protection measures	FI, ES, FR (*), MT, PT, SI (*), UK	ES		ES, HR (*)	
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Other killings in connection with the femicide	FR, SI (*), UK			ES, HR, PT
	Sexual orientation and gender identity				HR
	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / fury of the corpse	UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Method of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes; (\*\*) Registers handicap, pregnancy or other vulnerable condition, if relevant for the police investigation.

### 4.6.3. Indicator design for intentional killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence

**Description of the category.** Female victims of femicide in the context of a continuum of violence by a male authority figure, by male members of a paramilitary or armed group or armed government forces, or by unknown perpetrators.

**Possible indicators:**

- Number of female victims in the context of a continuum of violence, committed by male authority figures and care providers, members of paramilitary or armed groups or armed government forces, or by unknown perpetrators.
- Number of female victims in the context of a continuum of violence, committed by male authority figures and care providers, members of paramilitary or armed groups or armed government forces, or by unknown perpetrators, per 100 000 women <sup>(34)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators (male authority figures, care providers, members of paramilitary or armed groups or armed government forces, or by unknown perpetrators) suspected of killing a woman in the context of a continuum of violence.
- Number of male perpetrators (male authority figures, care providers, members of paramilitary or armed groups or armed government forces, or by unknown perpetrators) convicted of killing a woman in the context of a continuum of violence <sup>(35)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, ethnicity, occupation, gender identity and sexual orientation

and other information on the victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location, gender motive, circumstances surrounding the killing.

For analytical purposes the following disaggregation can be useful in improving policies aimed at prevention and gaining better knowledge of the phenomenon:

- Female victims of femicide in the context of a continuum of violence, by gender identity / sexual orientation of the victim.
- Female victims of femicide in the context of a continuum of violence, by ethnicity or nationality (national/foreigner with respect to the nationality of the perpetrator).
- Female victims of femicide who were part of an activist group and women's/human rights defenders.

### 4.6.4. Quality of data: intentional killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence

Most of the variables revealing the continuum of violence are not systematically collected and recorded, and the victim–perpetrator relationship rarely indicates whether the killer is an authority figure or a member of a paramilitary or armed group or of armed government forces and care providers. The near absence of information on gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality and ethnicity of the victim and the perpetrator, coupled with the lack of systematic recording practices, hinders the measurement of this type of killing.

No combined information is available for the victim and the offender, even on sex, as victim databases are not linked to information on offenders.

<sup>(34)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, categories with very rare events could see their figures disregarded for being too low.

<sup>(35)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

#### 4.6.5. Recommendations on measuring intentional killing of women in the context of a continuum of violence

It is recommended that the EU-27 + UK cross-reference victim and perpetrator information. Such cross-referencing of the sex of the victim and the perpetrator should be mandatory.

It is recommended that Member States improve their data collection on:

- circumstances surrounding killing on a continuum of violence, degrading, disfigurement and mutilation of the body;
- gender motivation as background/risk factors, such as gender inequalities, impeding the exercise of women's/human rights and women's empowerment and hate-motivated actions (lesbian, transgender victim);
- modus operandi of the killing, linked to over-killing or position of victim's body;
- collection of victim characteristics such as nationality, ethnicity, gender identity and sexual orientation;
- victim-perpetrator relationship, other than intimate partner or family member, and inclusion of specific information on authority figures, members of paramilitary or armed groups or of armed government forces and care providers.

EU standards for these variables could be determined in order to have comparable data between countries.

#### 4.7. Killing of women older than 65, outside the family context

EIGE (2021d, p. 10) notes that authors have recently begun to focus their attention on the murder of women over 65. Elderly women killed outside an intimate relationship 'appear to have been selected because of their "extra" vulnerability of being both older and a woman'. They can be killed by neighbours or by unknown people, and this can have an economic motivation, such as robbery, fraud or another crime. While it is often regarded that it is not possible to identify a priori motivation or intent for criminal acts (e.g. Campbell and Runyan, 1998), some research has shown that femicide-suicides among older couples are more often premeditated, and motivated by ill health, compared to cases involving younger couples, in which the perpetrators may more often be motivated by jealousy, leading to a loss of control (Dawson, 2005).

##### 4.7.1. Definition: killing of women older than 65 outside the family context

This can be defined as the intentional or unintentional killing of women because of their vulnerability, outside an intimate relationship. This killing can happen during other crimes, like robbery, or in other contexts. This femicide is characterised by the combination of the sex and age of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator. Significantly, the victim-perpetrator relationship is something other than intimate partner or family member, thereby avoiding overlap with intimate partner femicide and family-related femicide.

**Table 20. Variables useful for measuring killing of women aged 65 and over**

Variables useful for measuring killing of women aged 65 and over	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	65 + female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age	

#### 4. Classification of the proposed types of femicide

Variables useful for measuring killing of women aged 65 and over	Item within the variable	Cross-reference between variables
<b>Other characteristics of the perpetrator</b>	Age Prior history of violence against women Prior violence record (in public and/or private) Intoxication status Recidivism (prior record of robbery, fraud, other offences against property) Health status	
<b>Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)</b>	Friends or acquaintances of the family Friends or acquaintances of the victim Care relationship (doctor, nurse, etc.) Neighbour, colleague / business or work relationship Other acquaintances Unknown	
<b>Gender motives</b>	Background/risk factors, such as gender inequalities and dependencies Vulnerability Other criminal activity involved	
<b>Circumstances surrounding the killing</b>	Crime scene and location of the murder	
<b>Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident</b>	Overkilling Ligature Strangulation Availability/use of weapon	

#### 4.7.2. Data availability: killing of women older than 65 outside the family context

Italy and Slovakia provide data about robbery-related femicide, thus it is already possible to measure the numbers of women aged 65 and over-killed in the context of robbery. Although

the context of robbery is the most feasible to be measured, research shows that the primary contexts of violence (for women aged 65 +) are intimate partner and domestic violence, in relation to ‘so-called mercy killings’, financial gain and sexual motivation (ACUNS, 2017).

The information available is presented in [Table 21](#).

**Table 21. Variables used in national databases to measure killing of women older than 65**

Variables used to measure killing of women older than 65	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
<b>Sex of the victim (female)</b>	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
<b>Sex of the perpetrator (male)</b>	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK
<b>Victim–perpetrator relationship</b>	Not intimate partner / family member	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
<b>Other characteristics of the victim</b>	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE

Variables used to measure killing of women older than 65	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Health status				HR
	Recidivism	DK, ES, FR (*), LT, HU, MT (*), AT (*), PT, SI, SK	CZ, SK		ES, HR
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	FI, PT, UK			
	Context of sexual violence	FR, IT, LV, LT, PL (*), SI (*), SK, UK (UK_EAW, UK_SC)	ES		
	Disfigurement of the body / fury of the corpse	UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Method of killing	BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.

#### 4.7.3. Indicator design: killing of women older than 65 outside the family context

**Description of the category.** Women aged 65 and over intentionally killed by male perpetrators (other than family members).

##### Possible indicators:

- Number of female victims older than 65 killed by male perpetrators (by context: robbery or sexual violence context).
- Number of female victims older than 65 killed by male perpetrators (by context: robbery or sexual violence context), per 100 000 women <sup>(36)</sup>.
- Number of male perpetrators suspected of the killing of females older than 65 (by context: robbery or sexual violence context).

- Number of male perpetrators convicted of the killing of females older than 65 (by context: robbery or sexual violence context) <sup>(37)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Age, nationality, disability or health status and other information on the victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location, circumstances surrounding the killing; context such as robbery and sexual motivation.

For analytical purposes the following disaggregation can be useful in improving policies aimed at prevention and gaining better knowledge of the phenomenon:

- Women aged 65 and over, killed by men younger than them.

<sup>(36)</sup> While such an indicator could be derived for all categories of femicide, categories with very rare events could see their figures disregarded for being too low.

<sup>(37)</sup> Data required from the justice sector.

- Women aged 65 and over, killed by intoxicated men.
- Women aged 65 and over, killed by men with mental health problems.
- Women aged 65 and over, killed by men, and whose bodies were disfigured.
- Women aged 65 and over, killed by men who were reoffenders and/or had a history of physical violence against women.

#### 4.7.4. Quality of data: killing of women older than 65 outside the family context

There is a lack of information on the context of killing and vulnerability of the victim, with no systematic recording of that information. Combined victim–perpetrator information is rarely available, as victim databases are not linked to information on offenders.

#### 4.7.5. Recommendations on measuring killing of women older than 65 outside the family context

It is recommended that the EU-27 and the United Kingdom have the option to combine the information on victims with that on perpetrators, at least with respect to sex and age. Cross-referencing between sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator should be mandatory.

It is recommended that countries improve their data collection on:

- circumstances surrounding the killing;
- gender motives, in this case vulnerability, and contexts involving criminal activity (e.g. robbery);
- modus operandi of the killing;

- victim–perpetrator relationship, other than intimate partner or family member.

EU standards should be determined for these variables in order to have comparable data between countries.

## 4.8. Unintentional killing of women

### 4.8.1. Death of a woman resulting from intimate partner violence

In addition to killings of women by intimate partners, deaths of women resulting from intimate partner violence should also be considered in the sphere of violence by an intimate partner. The ultimate aim is that the, unintentional, death of a woman resulting from intimate partner violence (or in the context of coercive control or abusive relationship) that remains "hidden"<sup>(38)</sup> becomes visible.

EIGE (2017) reports that only five Member States include this component in their definition of homicide, in the form of an aggravating circumstance (BE, EE, ES, HR, IT), 'while 25 Member States [(39)] provide homicide data disaggregated by victim–perpetrator relationship, which can indicate the potential presence of intimate partner violence, despite the fact that such data also includes homicide unrelated to intimate partner violence acts' (EIGE, 2017, p. 34).

EIGE (2021a) shows that seven Member States<sup>(40)</sup> can potentially measure this type of femicide.

All of the considerations with respect to the definition, data availability, indicators, quality of data and recommendations for 'killing of women by intimate partners' apply similarly here. The unique difference is that this femicide is classified as accidental or unintentional.

As the death of the woman is an indirect consequence of intimate partner violence, the main indicator will be: female victims of unintentional killing committed by a male intimate partner.

<sup>(38)</sup> <https://janemsblog.wordpress.com/2017/09/22/hidden-homicide/>

<sup>(39)</sup> Belgium, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom.

<sup>(40)</sup> Belgium, Estonia, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Slovenia.

### 4.8.2. FGM-related death

FGM-related death refers to unintentional killing in specific global contexts where certain traditions, norms and beliefs can be used as a justification for violence against women. When the harmful practice of FGM leads to the death of women and girls, it represents a form of gender-related killing which is usually committed by female perpetrators (UNODC 2019, p. 35).

EIGE (2017) reports that ‘while death relating to female genital mutilation does not fall under the homicide definition in any Member State, or as an aggravating circumstance, nine Member

States <sup>(41)</sup> include it as a distinct and separate offence’.

#### 4.8.2.1. Definition: FGM-related death

FGM-related deaths refer to the unintentional killing of women as a result of traditional harmful practices. Nine Member States can potentially estimate this femicide.

EIGE (2021a) does not provide information on this harmful practice. Essential variables that contribute to the measurement of this femicide are shown in [Table 22](#).

**Table 22. Variables useful for measuring FGM-related death**

Variables useful for measuring FGM-related death	Item within the variable	Cross-referencing between variables
Sex of the victim	Female	Female victim and male perpetrator
Sex of the perpetrator	Male	
Other characteristics of the victim	Age Ethnicity Nationality	Race/ethnicity of the victim and race/ethnicity of the male perpetrator Nationality of the victim and nationality of the perpetrator
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age Ethnicity Nationality	
Victim–perpetrator relationship (nature of the relationship)	Care relationships, blood relatives and other household members or relatives by marriage or adoption All other relationships	
Gender motives	Harmful practices (FGM)	
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Crime scene and location of the murder	
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Method of killing	

<sup>(41)</sup> Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia.

#### 4.8.2.2. Availability of the data: FGM-related death

The information that is available is shown in Table 23.

None of the national data-collection systems have information on FGM and gender motivation.

**Table 23. Variables used in national databases to measure FGM-related death**

Variables used to measure FGM-related death	Item within the variable	Police data	Prosecutor/court data	Cause of death	Combination of sources
Sex of the victim (female)	Female	BG, DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
Sex of the perpetrator (male)	Male	BE, DK, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, FI, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, UK
Victim-perpetrator relationship	With specific focus on care relationships, blood relatives and other household members or relatives by marriage or adoption	BG, DK, DE, EL, FR, IT, LV, LT, LU, HU, AT, RO, SI, SK, FI, UK	PT	NL	ES, HR, SE
Other characteristics of the victim	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
Other characteristics of the perpetrator	Age	DK, DE, EE, IE, EL, FR, IT, CY, LV, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	CZ, ES, PT, SK	NL	ES, HR, SK, FI, SE
	Nationality	BE, DK, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, MT, AT, PL, PT, SI, SK, UK	ES, SK		ES, HR, SE
Circumstances surrounding the killing	Location	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, AT, PL, SI, SK, UK	ES, HR, PT		ES, HR, SE
	Prior persecutions (stalking) or threats from the perpetrator	PT, FI, UK			
	Disfigurement of the body / extreme anger directed at the corpse	UK (UK_EAW)	ES		
Modus operandi / killing situation characteristics / incident	Method of killing	BE, DE, FR, IT, CY, LT, HU, PL, PT, ES, SI, SK, UK	ES, IT		ES, HR, PT, SE

(\*) Not systematically collected / not for statistical purposes.



#### 4.8.2.3. Indicator design: FGM-related death

##### Description of the category:

- Victims of FGM-related death.
- Victims of FGM-related death committed by a family member or commissioned by a family member.
- Victims of FGM-related death committed by a person with whom the victim has a care relationship.

##### Possible indicators:

- Number of female victims of FGM-related death.
- Number of female victims of FGM-related death, per 100 000 women.
- Number of perpetrators suspected of FGM-related death, by sex.
- Number of perpetrators convicted of FGM-related death, by sex <sup>(42)</sup>.

**Clarifications.** Data on femicide should exclude attempts.

**Counting unit.** Victim.

**Disaggregation.** Sex, age, nationality, ethnicity and other information on the victim and perpetrator characteristics, modus operandi, location, gender motive, circumstances surrounding the killing.

#### 4.8.2.4. Quality of data: FGM-related death

The most important information about harmful FGM practices is not registered, thus this type of femicide cannot be identified through administrative data. The only way is to use data from the legislative body of the country, where FGM-related death exists as a distinct and separate offence or as an aggravating circumstance.

Information about the characteristics of the perpetrator is very poor, with the exception of that on sex and age. The race and ethnicity of the victim are not collected.

#### 4.8.2.5. Recommendations on measuring FGM-related death

It is recommended that the EU-27 and the United Kingdom have the option to cross-reference the information about the victim with that of the perpetrator. The combination of sex of the victim and sex of the perpetrator should be mandatory.

It is recommended that countries improve their data collection on:

- FGM as the motive of the killing/death;
- collection of victim characteristics such as nationality and ethnicity;
- modus operandi of the killing/death;
- victim–perpetrator relationship.

<sup>(42)</sup> Data would be required from the justice sector.

## 5. Conclusions

Gathering sound and comparable data on the prevalence of femicide and on the different typologies of femicide is the first step in designing good preventive and protective policies.

Effective and efficient policies rely on knowledge, monitoring and evaluation. Good policies need high-quality data that is based on agreed and clear definitions, recognised variables and common units of measurement and indicators. Systems for collecting data on femicide across the EU-27 remain very heterogeneous, as they are grounded in national crime statistics or other administrative data sources on homicide (from the judiciary or the health system) or from non-governmental organisations' media analysis. It is important to point out that, while official criminal justice data sources may be very detailed, they are not collected with research in mind. In this respect, data-collection efforts require further attention and innovation, aimed at gathering information that is more reliable and valid (ACUNS, 2017, p. 23) in order to better inform policies.

This report analysed international and national data-collection systems on femicide in order to identify typologies and definitions of femicide. Although some data-collection systems are rich, the overall picture is one of heterogeneity, with different definitions, interpretations, key variables and units of measurement.

EIGE has proposed a conceptual mapping of femicide, understood as gender-related killing (killing of a woman because she is a woman) in political, societal, criminal, sexual and interpersonal contexts (see [Section 2](#)).

The political context refers to killings linked to state opposition or to other political groups that are against women's empowerment, the societal context considers killings linked to disobedience / transgression of norms and cultural beliefs and the criminal context refers to killing committed in

relation to other organised crimes (e.g. trafficking or sexual exploitation). The sexual context concerns the killing of women due to sexual violence, or linked to acts that might be defined as sexual in nature (excluding those perpetrated by a partner), while the interpersonal context refers to killings linked to an unequal power relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, within an intimate partnership or family, but also outside the family.

These contexts (see [Table 1](#)) represent the first hierarchical level of a broad conceptual mapping of types of femicide, as articulated in the second level. This conceptual mapping is further fine-tuned for statistical purposes, where each category has a clear definition, and the categories are mutually exclusive.

All classifications consider a series of principles, such as completeness, exhaustiveness, mutual exclusivity of categories and statistical feasibility. The categories must be meaningful and represent the femicide framework if they are to improve knowledge on femicide and result in better-designed preventive and protection measures.

The classifications will take time, from definition to testing and review, up until implementation, and will require a substantial investment in quality data. The analysis of EU-27 and United Kingdom data-collection systems shows the need to invest heavily in data collection, in the systematisation of the process and in harmonisation, as a precursor to a complete and exhaustive classification of femicide. Some databases gather extensive information on femicide and have proven methodological processes, but these are the exception rather than the norm.

EIGE has therefore decided to begin with a shorter and more feasible classification (see [Section 3](#)), with 12 types of intentional and unintentional femicide.

1. **Intentional** killings of women by an intimate partner and/or family member(s)
  - a. Intentional killing of a woman by an intimate partner (including current or former partners, living in the same household or not)
  - b. Intentional killing of a woman by family member(s)
    - i. Honour killing
    - ii. Dowry-related killing
  - c. Other intentional killing of a woman by family member(s)
2. Other types of **intentional** killings
  - a. Killing of a woman by non-family member(s) involving sexualised violence
  - b. Sexual-exploitation-related killing of a woman (with the exception of trafficking-related killing)
  - c. Trafficking-related killing of a woman
  - d. Killing of a woman in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings (including the killing of a woman by carers or persons in authority, killing of political activists, hate killing)
    - i. From an authority/political group
    - ii. In a care relationship
  - e. Killing of a woman older than 65 by non-family members
  - f. Other types of intentional killing of a woman not listed above
3. **Unintentional** killings of women
  - a. Death of a woman resulting from intimate partner violence
  - b. FGM-related death
  - c. Other types of unintentional killing of a woman not included above

EIGE provides, for each type of femicide, the definition, identifies the core and additional variables to measure femicide, analyses data availability in the EU-27 and the United Kingdom, proposes indicators and, in light of data quality, recommends best practices for the Member States (see [Section 4](#)).

EIGE suggests ways to invest in data collections so as to systematise the process and move towards uniformity. Good policies need regular, high-quality, standardised, informative, multi-source, coordinated and timely data.

Regular data is periodically collected and updated in order to monitor the phenomenon; high-quality data is collected using a sound methodology

according to the specific sources; standardised data is comparable across countries and over time; informative data is meaningful data that appropriately describes the phenomenon, using core variables and indicators; and coordinated data is comprehensible and comprehensive and the result of good cooperation between data producers. Coordination between institutions is strongly recommended as a good and productive way to approach measurement.

EIGE's research (EIGE 2019a) shows that a dedicated body that coordinates the collection of administrative data on violence against women exists in at least nine Member States <sup>(43)</sup>. In the remaining Member States, different authorities are in charge of the collection and publication of

<sup>(43)</sup> Ireland, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Austria, Portugal.

data with different classifications and disaggregation. As repeatedly highlighted, the apparent lack of coordination between police, prosecutors, courts and prisons limits the traceability of cases throughout the stages of a proceeding.

Some Member States have taken steps to improve coherence between the different databases used

to record criminal data and to improve the traceability of cases. Such improvements provide further insights into how law enforcement authorities handle violence against women. Therefore, building capacity in statistical coordination may support the improvement and use of administrative data about violence against women whilst ensuring quality and confidentiality standards.

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