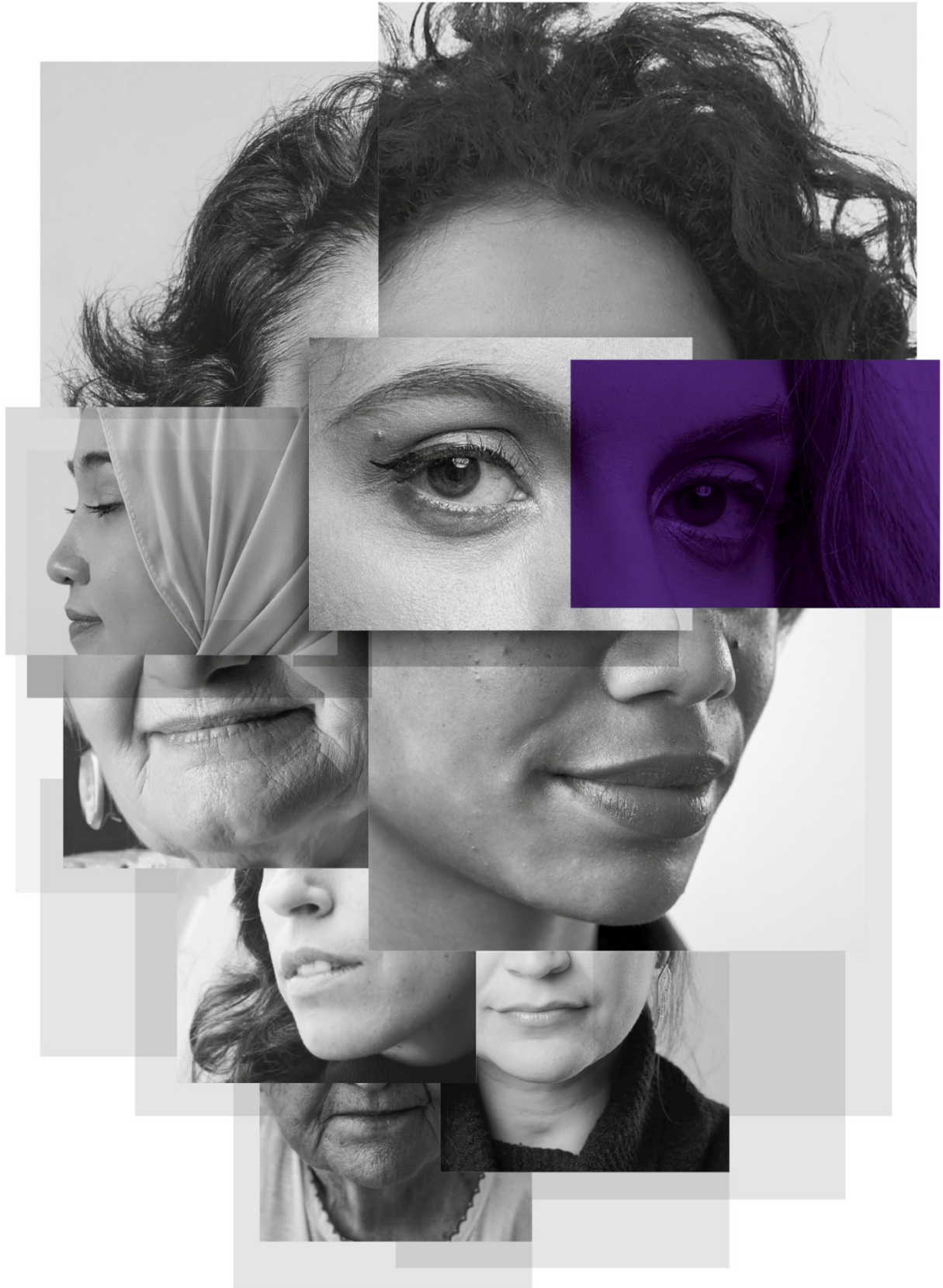


femicide census

2021



www.femicidecensus.org

Dedication

The women killed by men in 2021 to whom this report is dedicated

Agita Geslere	Emma McArthur	Lucy Clews	Ruth Dent
Agnes 'Dora' Akom	Emma Robertson	Maddie Durdant-	Sabina Nessa
Alexandra (Alex)	Coupland	Hollamby	Sally Metcalf
Morgan	Esther Brown	Malak (Katy)	Sally Poynton
Alison Stevenson	Fawziyah Javed	Adabzadeh	Samantha (Sam) Mills
Amanda Selby	Fernanda Assis	Malgorzata Lewanska	Samantha Heap
Amber Gibson	Geetika (Geetu) Goyal	Manisha Solanki	Sandra See
Ann Turner	Gracie Spinks	Maria Rafael Chavez	Sarah Ashwell
Anna Ovsyannikova	Helen Anderson	Maria Rawlings	Sarah Everard
Beatrice Cenus	Helen Joy	Marlene Coleman	Sarah Keith
Bella Nicandro	Ilona Golabek	Marta Chmielecka	Sharron Pickles
Bennylyn Burke	Imogen Bohajczuk	Mary Fell	Sherrie Teresa Milnes
Beth Aspey	Ingrid Matthew	Mary Wells	Simone Ambler
Bethany Vincent	Ishrat Ahmed	Maxine Davison	Smita Mistry
Beverley Taylor	Jacqueline Grant	Megan (Meg)	(Saunders)
Bobbi-Anne McLeod	Jade Ward	Newborough	Sophie Cartlidge
Bonnie Harwood	Jane Fitzpatrick	Michaela Hall	Sophie Moss
Bori Benko	Jennifer Chapple	Michelle Cooper	Souad Bellaha
Caoimhe Morgan	Jill Hickery	Michelle Hibbert	Stacey Clay
Carol Hart	Jomaa Jerrare	Michelle Lizanec	Stacey Knell
Carol Smith	Josephine Smith	Mildred Whitmore	Sue Addis
Catherine Stewart	Julia Howse	Natalie Shotter	Sukhjeet Uppal
Catherine	Julia James	Nicola Kirk	Sukhjot Badial
Wardleworth	June Fox-Roberts	Nicole Anderson	Susan Booth
Charmaine O'Donnell	Karen McClean	Nicole Hurley	Susan Hannaby
Chenise Gregory	Kate Shepherd	Norma Girolami	Svetlana Mihalachi
Christie Frewin	Katie (Kathleen)	N'Taya Elliott-	Tamara Padi
Christina Mary Arnold	Brankin	Cleverley	Tamby Dowling
Christina Rowe	Katrina (Trina) Rainey	Patricia (Pat) Holland	Terri Harris
Claire Inglis	Kerry Bradford	Patricia Audsley	Tiprat Argatu
Clare Gafan	Kim Dearden	Pauline Angell	Tricia Livesey
Constanta Bunea	Kirsty Ashley	Pauline Quinn	Unnamed
Dawn Walker	Klaudia Soltys	Peggy Wright	Valdemara
Diane Nichols	Lauren Wilson	Pek Ying 'Evelyn'	Zemaitiene
Dyanne Mansfield	Leah Ware	Ling	Wendy Cole
Eileen Barrott	Lily Sullivan	Peninah (Penny)	Wenjing Lin
Eileen Dean	Linda Hood	Kabeba	Wieslawa
Eileen Pearce	Linda Maggs	Phyllis Nelson	Mierzejewska
Elaine Harman	Loretta Herman	Ranjit (Nita) Gill	Yordanos Brhane
Elsie Pinder	Louise Kam	Rose Marie Tinton	Yvonne Barr

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Foreword

At least 147 women were killed by 144 men in 2021. Data from 2021 may seem like old news if you are chasing headlines, but because we also report on criminal justice outcomes for the men accused of killing women in the year in question, there will inevitably be a delay in the production and publication of our reports.

This year, we waited until all the killings (bar two) have either concluded the criminal justice process or were excluded, for example, because the killer of a woman also killed himself.

While the majority of cases were concluded in 2021 and 2022, a number of cases extended into 2023. For one of the most-high profile murders of the year, that of Sarah Everard on 3 March, her killer Wayne Couzens pleaded guilty on 8 June 2021 and was sentenced on 30 September that same year. In contrast, Michelle Lizanec was killed on 13 February 2021, but her husband John Lizanec, charged with her murder on 16 February, was only convicted and sentenced on 24 November 2023 – some two years and nine months later. At the time of publication all but one 2021 case has gone to trial (and a second case is currently in process). The family of Catherine Stewart will have to wait until July 2024 for a conclusion, three years after her death. Delays weigh heavily on families and friends of those affected by these killings. The long wait for justice some of these families endure is painful, the uncertainty of a last-minute change of plea, the prospect of a criminal trial where the defendant protests innocence requiring re-exposure to the often distressing details of the case or where the character of the victim is called into question.

Some claimed that 2021 was going to prove to be a watershed year in the approach of our society to the killing of women by men. The high-profile murders of Sarah Everard and Sabina Nessa saw an upsurge of media reports on the killing of women, as well as vigils by the public, and platitudes from politicians and the police that more needed to be done. Yet looking back from the perspective of 2024, we see no material change in tackling men's violence against women. Once again, the rhetoric was not followed by reality. Funding cuts to front-line domestic abuse and sexual violence services and to mental health provision, mean that women continue to be put at risk of fatal harm by their partners, sons, and men whose mental health risk is being inadequately identified and managed. But the lack of evidence of a sea-change in attitudes towards fatal violence against women by the Government is at odds with the activism of family members and those who loved them. As is always the case, those affected most by men's fatal violence carry the fight to change law and policy. For example, the parents of Jade Ward killed in August 2021 have campaigned for Jade's Law which, if passed, would remove parental responsibility from fathers who kill the mother of their children.

As always, we honour the women killed by men. We mourn their loss and the hurt suffered by their families. We fight to ensure that these women – let down by the authorities, many killed by those who once purported to love them, many ignored by the media – are remembered and form the core of our work.

Clarrie O'Callaghan
Karen Ingala Smith
Executive Directors, Femicide Census

Main Findings

The Victims

The number of women and girls killed by men every year remains depressingly consistent. The average number of women and girls killed annually since 2009 is 142.

Much of the UK was subject to COVID lockdowns between January 2021 and early July. This may have had an impact on trends in femicide in the UK:

78 (53%) women killed by men in 2021 were killed by a current or former intimate partner. The average between 2009 and the end of 2021 is 60%

16 (11%) women killed by men were killed by their sons. The average between 2009 and 2021 is 12 (8.4%)

17 women and girls were aged 25 and under when killed. At 12% of all victims, this is lower than the average for the 10 years between 2009 and 2018 when the average was 17%

33 women (52% of those killed by intimate partner/former partner) were taking steps towards leaving or had left the relationship

35 (24%) women were aged 66 years and over. This is significantly higher than the average of 14% of women killed between 2009 and 2018

A smaller proportion of younger women being killed by partners/ex-partners could be due to lockdown restrictions being a barrier in relationships between young people who were less likely to be living with partners.

The Femicides

108 (74%) women were killed in their home. A further 8 women (5%) were killed in a house where ownership was not disclosed and 5 women (3%) were killed in the perpetrator's home

In most cases (72%) men used one method of violence to kill. In 22% of cases, two or more forms of violence were used

A sharp instrument was used in the killing of 76 women (52%). This has consistently been the most common method used in men's fatal violence against women. Men used the brute force of their bodies in the killings of 25 women (17%) by kicking, hitting and stamping a woman to death. 16% of woman killings (36 women) involved strangulation and 5% (7 women) involved asphyxiation

Evidence of 'overkilling' (the use of excessive, gratuitous violence beyond that necessary to cause the victim's death) was found in at least 94 (64%) deaths. There was evidence of violation of a deceased woman's body in 42 femicides (29%).

The Killers

Consistent with previous years, men who kill women have a different age profile to that of the women they kill. Only 10 men who killed women (7%) were aged over 66 years

There were indications of problematic substance use in 35 men (24%)

Eighty-eight men (62%) were known to have histories of violence against women and/or were subject to monitoring or restrictions by a statutory agency at the time they killed a woman. Two men had killed a woman before.

122 men (85% of all killers, 97% of those men charged) were charged with murder, double or multiple murder. 6 men (3.5% of all killers, 4% of those charged) were charged with manslaughter or culpable homicide

16 men (10%) killed themselves after they killed a woman or women

79 men (68%) who had been charged with murder were found guilty of murder, 33 men (29%) who had been charged with murder were found guilty of the lesser charge of manslaughter

Men found guilty of murder were handed sentences between 11 and 37 years, with two men given whole life sentences

Five men (3%) were subject to indefinite hospital orders or detained under the mental health act

Femicide Census Data 2021

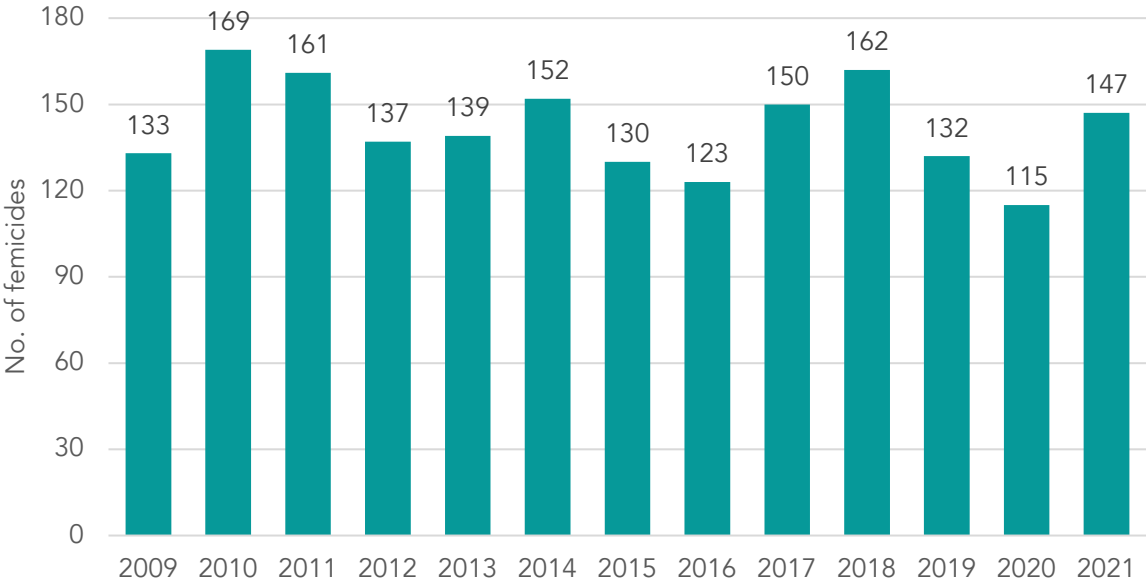
The Femicide Census collects and collates data relating to all women and girls aged 14 and over who have been killed by men in the UK, and the men who have killed them.

To date we have documented 147 women and girls killed by men in 2021.

In addition, at least six UK women were killed by men abroad. These 6 women are not included in the analysis below.

The table below shows the deaths of women that we have recorded since 2009. Any changes to numbers published in previous reports reflect newly emerging information.

Number of femicides per calendar year 2009–2021



Police Force Data

Police Force Area

Police force area	Total no. of femicides ¹
Metropolitan Police	25
Scotland	17
Devon and Cornwall	9
Greater Manchester	6
Leicestershire	6
West Yorkshire	6
Merseyside	5
Northern Ireland	5
Essex	4
Hertfordshire	4
West Midlands	4
Kent	3
Lancashire	3
Norfolk	3
North Wales	3
Nottinghamshire	3
Sussex	3
Thames Valley	3
Avon & Somerset	2
Cambridgeshire	2
Derbyshire	2
Dorset	2
Dyfed-Powys	2
Gwent	2
Hampshire	2
Humberside	2
Lincolnshire	2
North Yorkshire	2
Northamptonshire	2
South Wales	2
Staffordshire	2
West Mercia	2
Cheshire	1
Durham	1
Northumbria	1
South Yorkshire	1
Suffolk	1
Surrey	1
Warwickshire	1
Total	147

¹ The Femicide Census recorded femicides in 39 police force areas in 2021.

Rate of femicide

Police force area	Total no. of femicides ²
Devon and Cornwall Police	0.504
Leicestershire Police	0.535
North Wales Police	0.436
Dyfed-Powys Police	0.387
Merseyside Police	0.351
Gwent Police	0.339
Hertfordshire Police	0.333
Norfolk Police	0.326
Police Service of Scotland	0.310
Metropolitan Police Service	0.273
Police of Northern Ireland	0.252
Nottinghamshire Police	0.261
Lincolnshire Police	0.259
West Yorkshire Police	0.255
Dorset Police	0.255
Northamptonshire Police	0.254
North Yorkshire Police	0.243
Cambridgeshire Police	0.223
Essex Police	0.214
Humberside Police	0.213
Greater Manchester Police	0.209
Lancashire Constabulary	0.195
Derbyshire Police	0.189
Staffordshire Police	0.176
Sussex Police	0.175
Warwickshire Police	0.166
Kent Police	0.161
Durham Police	0.158
West Mercia Police	0.153
South Wales Police	0.152
West Midlands Police	0.137
Suffolk Police	0.13
Thames Valley Police	0.119
Avon and Somerset Police	0.114
Hampshire Police	0.099
Cheshire Police	0.091
Surrey Police	0.082
South Yorkshire Police	0.072
Northumbria Police	0.069

² The annual rate of 2021 femicides was calculated by dividing the number of femicides per police force area by the average population for that police force area. The result was multiplied by 100,000 to calculate the annual rate of femicide for each police force area. The average annual rate of femicide for each police force area is based on 2021 population estimates, available:

Femicides

Context of Violence

In all 147 incidences of women being killed by men, we selected one or more contexts that were relevant to the femicide. The number of contexts is therefore greater than the number of femicides.

Context of Violence	Number	%
Domestic – Intimate Partner Violence	76	52
Mental Health	27	18
Domestic – Son-Mother	16	11
Sexually Motivated	15	10
Financial Gain ³	9	6
Domestic – Extended Family	8	5
Dispute/Grudge/Revenge ⁴	7	5
Symbolic Woman	7	5
Other ⁵	6	4
IPV Collateral	3	2
Problematic Substance Misuse	3	2
Assisted Suicide or Suicide Pact	2	1
Domestic – Brother-Sister	2	1
In the Course of Other Crime – Other than Robbery or Burglary	2	1
In the Course of Other Crime – Robbery or Burglary	2	1
Mercy Killing	2	1
Prostitution/Pornography	2	1
Resulting from an Offence of Arson	2	1
Unknown	2	1
Domestic – Father-Daughter	1	1
Rejected Advance	1	1
Revenge against Victim's Family Member	1	1
Total	196	N/A

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/policeforceareadatatables> [accessed 31/03/24]. Population data for Devon and Cornwall police force area was not available. 2020 data was used instead.

³ There is a case with additional contexts of 'Other' and 'Domestic – Extended Family'. A man attempted 'romance fraud', initiated some intimate connection, with the sole purpose to take financially. He killed her when she refused to give him any more money. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-64723023>

⁴ One perpetrator had additional contexts of 'Sexually motivated' and 'other'. He had letters in his flat where he expressed he wanted to go to prison for the notoriety. This same case also included the sexual motivation, as he sexually violated and assaulted her during the violence and murder. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-58664781>

⁵ One man was a lodger, who was abusive to the landlady, she had wanted him to move out when he killed her. One man, who knew the victim through work, had been stalking her before he killed her. One victim was killed when she discovered her carer was stealing from her, which she reported and then to "obstruct the investigation", he killed her. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-58028636>.

Post-Separation Killings

There were at least thirty-three women (52% of those killed by intimate partner/former partner) who were trying to leave or had left the relationship.

Time Since Separation	Total of separated victims	% of Victims Separated
Taken steps to Separate / <01 month	16	49
Unknown	6	18
01-03 months	3	9
06-12 months	3	9
12-36 months	3	9
03-06 months	1	3
36 months/3 years +	1	3
Total	33	100

Sex Industry

At least two women were involved in prostitution and the sex industry at the time of their deaths. They were killed by the same man who had contacted each of the women on an escorting website. The perpetrator entered into an ongoing intimate relationship with one of the women. He subjected her to domestic abuse throughout.

Location of Incident

In 74% of cases women were killed in their home, or home they shared with their partners.

Location of incident	No. of women	%
Victim/perpetrator's home	56	38
Victim's home	52	36
Outdoors: public area	14	9
House: no further information	8	5
Perpetrator's home	5	3
Caravan / holiday home	2	>1
Hotel/B&B	2	>1
Victim's vehicle	2	>1
Street/area outside victim's workplace	2	>1
Unknown	2	>1
Perpetrator's vehicle	1	<1
Perpetrator's workplace	1	<1
Other	1	<1
Victim / perpetrator's home: sheltered housing	1	<1
Total	147	100

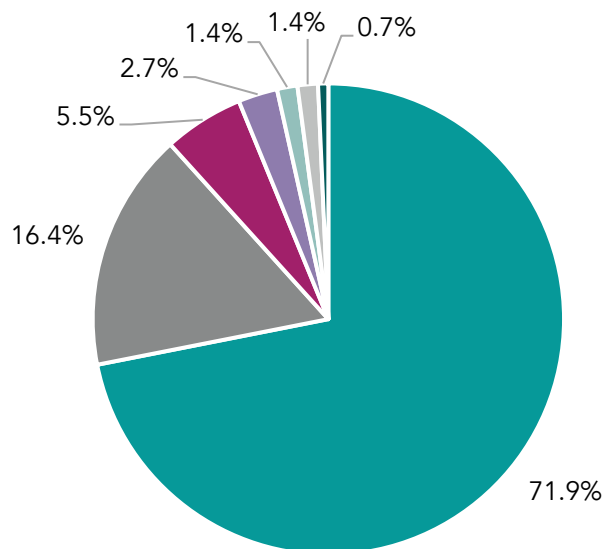
Method of Killing

Many femicides involved more than one method of killing, therefore the total number of methods used is greater than the number of femicides.

Method of killing	Number of incidences	% of total victims
Sharp instrument	76	52
Strangulation	36	16
Kicking/hitting/stamping	25	17
Blunt instrument	25	17
Unknown (method could not be established/body not found/info not publicly available ⁶)	8	5
Asphyxiation	7	5
Arson – setting fire and causing death by fire	5	3
Shooting via Firearm	5	3
Causing to fall against a hard surface / pushed or thrown from height	3	2
Other – motor vehicle	2	1
Other – head injuries	1	<1
Total	190	N/A

Number of methods used to kill victim

- 1 method
- 2 methods
- 3 methods
- Unknown – Cause of death could not be established
- 4 methods
- Unknown – Information not publically available
- Unknown – Body not found



⁶ In five femicides, the victim's body was either not found (n=1) or she was violated in such a way that cause of death/method of killing could not be established (n=3). In one femicide it was unclear if her injuries caused a cardiac arrest. Details relating to the remaining women (n=3) have not yet been made public.

Overkilling

'Overkilling' is defined as the use of excessive, gratuitous violence beyond that necessary to cause the victim's death⁷. There was evidence of overkilling in at least 94 deaths (64%). At the time of writing, this is unknown in 10 per cent of cases (n=15).

Evidence of sexual violence

There was evidence of sexual violence in at least 12 cases (8%).

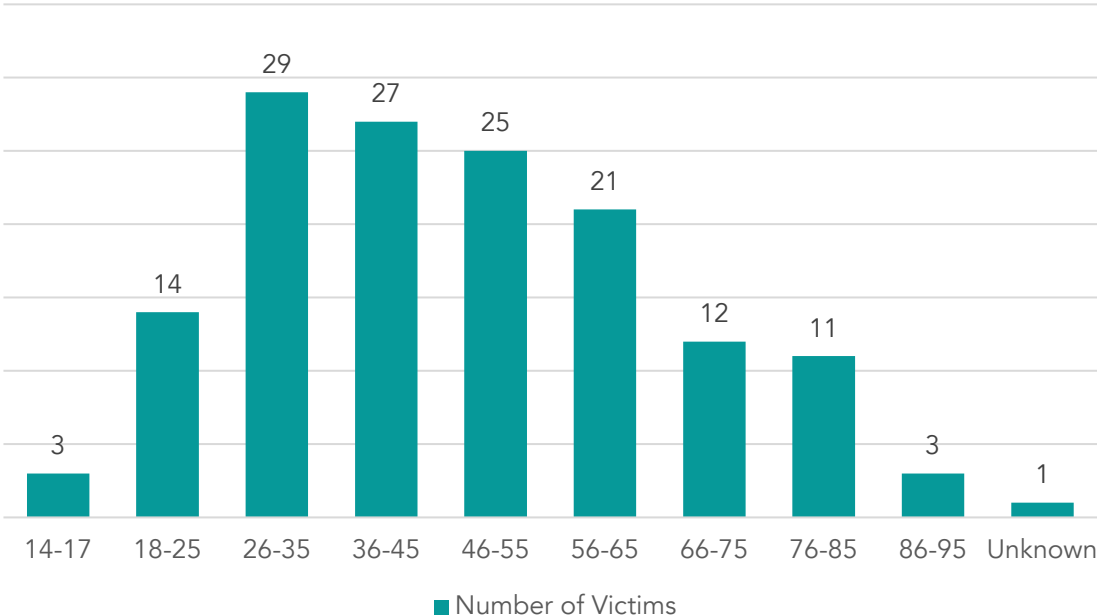
Violation of body

There was evidence of violation of a deceased victim's body in 42 femicides (29%). In 16 of these, the perpetrators employed two methods of violation. For example, 'concealment/disposing covering' and 'setting fire' or 'concealment/disposing/covering' and 'sexual violation'.

⁷ Mitchell, C., Anglin, A., (2009) *Intimate Partner Violence: A Health-Based Perspective*, p. 325, Oxford University Press.

Victims

Age



Women aged 66+

At least 35 women killed were aged 66 or above (24% of all victims).

Relationship to Perpetrator	Total	% of all Victims
Spouse	11	8
Relative – Mother	6	4
Stranger	5	3
Relative – Grandmother	4	3
Neighbour	2	1
Acquaintance (incl. friend and landlady)	3 (1) (1)	2 (<1) (<1)
Fellow Care Home Resident	1	<1
Patient / cared for	1	<1
Relative – Sister-in-Law	1	<1
Unknown	1	<1
Total	35	24

Country of birth

Country of birth	Number
Believed to be UK	114
Unknown	8
Poland	4
Hungary	2
Philippines	2
Romania	2
China	1
El Salvador	1
Eritrea	1
India	1
Iran	1
Ireland	1
Italy	1
Jamaica	1
Latvia	1
Moldova	1
Singapore	1
South Africa	1
Thailand	1
Uganda	1
United States of America	1
Total	147

Ethnicity

Data on ethnicity ⁸ has been collated from police Freedom of Information requests. Police forces only provided information relating to Ethnicity for 41 per cent (n=60) of victims.

Ethnicity	Number
White	21
White British	17
Asian	8
White North European	4
Black	3
Asian or Asian British – any other Asian background	2
White – Other	2
White – Polish	2
Chinese	1
Total	60

⁸ Police use standardised classifications to capture ethnicity. These are not categories defined by the Femicide Census.

Occupation

Media reports do not always include reference to victims' employment/occupation; this is unknown in respect of 56 victims (38%).

Occupation	Number
Unknown	56
Pensioner/Retired	32
Other	10
Professional	6
Retail	6
Childcare/Social Care	5
Hospitality/Catering	5
Social Work/Healthcare/Charity	6
Student	5
Business Owner	4
Educator	3
Volunteer	3
Cleaner	2
Factory Worker	1
Other – Sex Industry	1
Police	1
Unemployed	1
Total	147

Children Under 18 Years

This indicates where the victim had children of her own under 18-years-old at the time of the femicide.

Children Under 18	Number	%
No	103	70
Yes	41	28
Unknown	3	2
Total	147	100

Substance Use

Regular use and/or problematic use was indicated in media reports and/or official documents in 14 women.

Type Health Issues	Number
Substance Use\Drugs	8
Substance Use\Alcohol	5
Substance Use\Alcohol and Drugs	1
Total	14

Health

Health issues were identified in 18 women. Some women had more than one health issue (and some women had substance and/or alcohol difficulties and other health issues).

Type Health Issues	Number
Mental health	8
Physical health	7
Alzheimer's and/or dementia	2
Pregnant	2
Arthritis	1
Total	20

Disability

Fifteen women were identified as having at least one disability.

Disability	Number
Chronic Disease	6
Physical Impairment	5
Learning Impairment	3
Sensory Impairment	1
Total	15

Sexual Orientation

One victim was identified as being a lesbian in media reports.

Additional victims

In at least 42 femicides there were additional victims during the same incident.

Additional Victims	No. of femicides	% Of all femicides
Yes – Fatal ⁹	17	12
Yes – Non-Fatal	16	11
Yes – Children witnessed	10	7
Yes – Pets	3	2
Yes – Other ¹⁰	2	1
Total	45	31

⁹ Number includes cases where victim's and/or the perpetrator's children were also killed. In one case, the best friend of the victim's 11-year-old daughter was also killed.

¹⁰ 'Other' relates to a 16-year-old who was present at the scene and performed CPR on the victim. And in another femicide, the perpetrator handed a baby to a man and proceeded to stab the victim three more times.

Relationship between victim and perpetrator

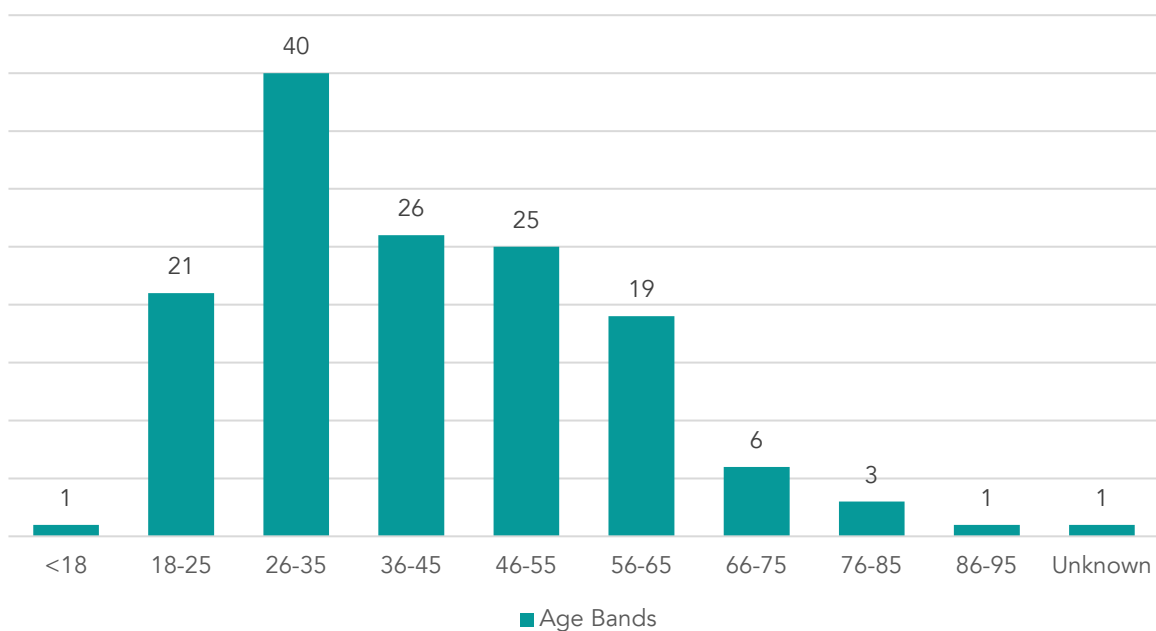
Relationship Category	Total	% of All Victims	Relationship to Perpetrator	Number	% of Relationship Category
Current or former partner	78	53	Spouse	33	42
			Intimate Partner	31	40
			Former Intimate Partner	11	14
			Casual / On-Off / Ongoing Contact	2	3
			Former Spouse	1	1
			Total	78	100
Immediate Family	19	13	Relative – Mother	16	84
			Relative – Sister	2	11
			Relative – Step-Daughter	1	5
			Total	19	100
Extended Family	8	5	Grandmother	5	<63
			Sister-in-Law	2	24
			Other Extended Family	1	<13
			Total	8	100
Known to Each Other	23	16	Acquaintance (Including Friend or Social Acquaintance)	11	48
			Neighbour	4	17
			Landlady	2	9
			Business associate / colleague	1	>4
			Escort/Prostituted Woman	1	>4
			Fellow Care Home Resident	1	>4
			Housemate	1	>4
			Mother of Perpetrator's Ex-Partner	1	>4
			Patient / cared for	1	>4
			Total	23	100
No known relationship	17	11	Stranger	16	94
			First Sexual/contact	1	6
			Total	17	100
Unknown	2	1	Unknown	2	100
			Total	2	100
Total	147	100		147	N/A

Perpetrators

This data relates to 144 men who have been found or have pleaded guilty to the killing of a woman/women, are the principle suspect¹¹ in the killing of a woman or who have otherwise been found responsible for the killing in cases where the perpetrator died by suicide at the time/after the killing, or where a trial of facts has taken place in lieu of a criminal trial.

Age

Age Bands	No. of perpetrators	%
<18	1	<1
18-25	21	15
26-35	41	28
36-45	26	18
46-55	25	17
56-65	19	13
66-75	6	4
76-85	3	2
Unknown	1	<1
Total	144	100



¹¹ This includes one man who, at the time of writing, is awaiting trial. He is set to stand trial in July 2024 for the murder of his partner in July 2021.

Country of Birth

Country of birth	No. of perpetrators
UK/Believed to be UK	106
Unknown	11
Poland	6
Romania	4
India	2
Jamaica	2
Lithuania	2
Albania	1
China	1
Cyprus	1
Eritrea	1
Germany	1
Iran	1
Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire)	1
Moldova	1
Singapore	1
Somalia	1
South Africa	1
Total	144

Ethnicity

Data on ethnicity has been collated from police Freedom of Information requests. Police only provided information relating to ethnicity for 36% of perpetrators.

Ethnicity	Number
White British	18
White	17
Asian	5
White North European	5
Black	2
White – Polish	2
Asian or Asian British – Any other Asian background	1
Chinese	1
White European	1
Total	52

Occupation

Occupation	Number
Unknown	64
Trade (incl. manual trades)	11
Unemployed	10
Pensioner/Retired	8
Military/ex-military/retired military	7
Other	7
Student	6
Royal Mail/Delivery/Lorry Driver	5
Business owner / Company Director	4
Professional	4
Farmer	2
Police/ex police /retired police	2
Social Work/Healthcare/Charity	2
Arts/Literature/Music	1
Bus/Tube/Rail Driver	1
Care Worker	1
Factory Worker	1
Handyman	1
Hospitality/Catering	1
IT	1
Retail	1
Security	1
Taxi Driver	1
Unskilled	1
Volunteer	1
Total	144

Substance Use

Regular use and/or problematic use was indicated in media reports and/or official documents in 35 cases.

Substance use	Number
Substance use	35
Total	35

At least 18 perpetrators had used drugs and/or alcohol before the femicide.

Use of Alcohol/Drugs at Time of Femicide	Number
Alcohol	8
Drugs	7
Drugs & Alcohol	3
Total	18

Health

Health needs were identified in 37 cases. Some men had more than one health issue (and some men had substance and/or alcohol difficulties and other health needs).

Health issue	Number
Mental Health	30
Gambling/Debt	4
Alzheimer's and/or dementia	2
Physical Health	2
Total	38

Disability

Thirty-six men were identified as having at least one disability.

Disability	Number
Mental Illness	26
Aspergers / Autism	4
Learning Impairment	4
Chronic Disease	1
Other	1
Physical Impairment	1
Sensory Impairment	1
Total	38

Sexual Orientation

Evidence presented at a murder trial suggested that one perpetrator was gay or bisexual and had been searching the internet for 'gay porn'. He was convicted of murdering his wife.

History of Violence Against Women and Girls and Offending

Eighty-eight perpetrators (62%) were known to have histories of violence against women (including or in addition to the victim) and/or were subject to monitoring or restrictions by a statutory agency at the time of the femicide. Fewer or more than one of these could apply to each perpetrator, therefore the total is not the same as the total number of perpetrators.

History of abuse/violence against women	Number	% of all perpetrators
Yes – not reported	42	29
Yes – convicted	22	15
Yes – no action taken	10	7
Yes – ineffective response	8	6
Yes – subject to bail conditions at time of femicide ¹²	8	6
Yes – police outcome unknown	5	3
Yes – restraining order/injunction	3	2
Yes – subject to licence at time of femicide	3 ¹³	2
Yes – not convicted / case dropped	2	1
History of Violence/Offending – Sex of victim(s) unknown	2 ¹⁴	1
Registered Sex Offender at time of Femicide	1	1
Sexual Harm Prevention Order Imposed at time of Femicide	1	1
Yes – subject to DVPO at time of femicide	1	1
Yes – subject to life licence at time of femicide	1	1
Total	110	n/a

¹² Four perpetrators were subject to bail conditions while under investigation for violent offences against the femicide victim (n=3) or other women (n=1). Four perpetrators were subject to bail conditions at the time of the femicide for an assault against a male (n=1) or for reasons unknown to the Femicide Census (n=3).

¹³ One perpetrator was on licence for raping an older woman in 2013. He went on to rape and murder a woman of 67 years. The second was on licence for arson and was considered by police to pose a serious risk of causing sexual harm to young women and girls. The third was on licence for burglary. A fourth had just been released on licence though for what offence is unspecified.

¹⁴ In one case the perpetrator was reported to have a known history of violent and threatening behaviour. The sex of the victim(s) is not available to the Femicide Census. In a second, the perpetrator had been convicted of an offence in which he struck a male pensioner over the head with the handle of an axe. This assault took place in the months prior to beating and strangling to death a woman of 84 years. He was also subject to two suspended sentences and on bail for another at the time of the femicide. He was convicted of manslaughter with diminished responsibility and sentenced to life imprisonment with a minimum of nine years.

¹⁵ SHPO imposed for engaging in activities which put women and girls at risk of sexual harm.

¹⁶ For the double murder of two sisters in 1995 during a burglary. He was released on licence in May 2020. During another burglary in November 2021, he beat his 73-year-old neighbour to death with a coffee table.

Perpetrators Who Had Killed Before

Two perpetrators included in this data were known to have killed women before. As already noted (see footnote 16), one man had killed two sisters in 1995; he had been released on licence 18 months prior to killing his neighbour in June 2021. In 2009 another perpetrator was convicted in Moldova for strangling his wife to death. In April 2021, he attacked his sister-in-law by striking her repeatedly with a hatchet. Prior to the femicide, the victim had reported to police that the perpetrator had made threats to kill her and that she was frightened.

Killed Before	Number
Yes – femicide	2
Total	2

Use of Sex Industry

Ten perpetrators were known to use prostitution and/or pornography. Three of these went on to kill women in sexually-motivated femicides. In one of these femicides the victim’s two-year-old daughter was sexually assaulted by the perpetrator before he smothered her to death in an attack that was witnessed by a 7-year-old girl. He was also convicted of several charges relating to the sexual abuse of this child. Another perpetrator killed two women who he gained access to through escorting websites. He was in an intimate relationship with one of the women at the time of the femicide.

Online Dating, Social Media, Cyber-Stalking & IT¹⁷

Online dating/social media/IT/cyberstalking	Number
Yes	23
Total	23

¹⁷ Whilst only Cyber-stalking here is an offence, this section is broader to capture where the internet appears to have played a more than background role in the context of the killing.

Criminal Justice Outcomes

Charges

Homicide charges were brought against 127 men. Charges were not brought against one suspect arrested on suspicion of murder because he was deemed unfit to be interviewed by police. He was detained under the Mental Health Act and the police are not looking for anyone else in connection with the death of the 82-year-old woman. Sixteen perpetrators killed themselves at the time of the femicide and were therefore not charged with an offence.

Criminal Justice Charge (Homicide only)	Number	% of perpetrators charged
Charged with Murder	110	87
Charged with Double Murder	11	9
Charged with Manslaughter (n=5 or Culpable Homicide (n=1))	6	5
Charged with Multiple Murder	1	1
Total	128¹⁸	N/A

Thirty-four perpetrators faced at least one additional charge. Most frequently, this was rape (n=6) or sexual assault (n=3).

Criminal Justice Charge	Number	% of Perpetrators charged with additional offence(s) (n=34)
Charged with Rape or Sexual Assault	9	26
Charged with Attempted Murder	7	21
Charged with Perverting the Course of Justice	7	21
Charged with Arson with Intent to Endanger Life	4	12
Charged with Assault	4	12
Charged with Abduction/Kidnapping	2	6
Charged with Burglary	2	6
Charged with Possessing an Offensive Weapon	2	6
Charged with Wounding with Intent	2	6
Charged with Arson	1	3
Charged with Child Destruction	1	3
Charged with Coercive or Controlling Behaviour	1	3
Charged with Fraud	1	3
Charged with Prevention of lawful burial	1	3
Charged with Sexually Penetrating a Corpse	1	3
Total	34	N/A

¹⁸ The number of charges is higher than the number of perpetrators charged with a homicide offence because one perpetrator was charged with murder and an alternative count of manslaughter. He was found guilty of manslaughter after trial.

Pleas

Four¹⁹ perpetrators charged with murder were found unfit to plea. Another four²⁰ men died after they were charged with murder and did not enter pleas. Of the remaining perpetrators charged with murder (n=114), the majority pleaded not guilty to murder (n=45) or pleaded guilty to a less serious charge (n=37). One perpetrator pleaded not guilty to murder by reason of insanity. This was accepted by the court.

Plea (Charge of Murder Only)	Number	% charged with murder
Not Guilty to Murder	45	39
Guilty to Murder	28	25
Guilty to Manslaughter on Grounds of Diminished Responsibility	26	23
Guilty to Manslaughter	12	11
Guilty to Culpable Homicide on Grounds of Diminished Responsibility	1	<1
Not Guilty to Manslaughter	1 ²¹	<1
Not Guilty to Murder by Reason of Insanity	1	<1
Total	114	100

Five perpetrators were charged with manslaughter or culpable homicide.

Plea	Number	% charged with manslaughter/ culpable homicide
Not Guilty to Manslaughter	3	60
Guilty to Culpable Homicide	1	20
Guilty to Manslaughter	1	20
Total	5	100

¹⁹ In each case, the perpetrator was found responsible for the killing at a Trial of Fact hearings.

²⁰ The coroner returned a verdict of suicide in respect of two men.

²¹ In reference to perpetrator charged with murder and an alternative count of manslaughter.

Legal defences and narratives surrounding killings

The Femicide Census notes the narratives that are raised in the course of a trial as well as the actual legal defences put forward by the perpetrators.

Perpetrator Narratives	Number
Accident	14
Blaming third party/ies	14
Blaming the victim	12
Other	9
Memory loss (re crime)	4
Unknown	3
'Rough sex' – consensual	1
Couldn't cope	1
Injuries self-inflicted by victim	1
Total	59

Legal defences	Number
Mental health / diminished responsibility	17
Loss of control (as partial defence)	9
Self defence	5
Total	31

Criminal Justice Outcomes

Of the 117²² perpetrators charged with murder (including double murder and multiple murders), 79 were convicted of murder, 10 of manslaughter (including double manslaughter) or culpable homicide and 23 of manslaughter or culpable homicide with diminished responsibility. One perpetrator was found not guilty of murder by reason of insanity. A further four perpetrators were found responsible for the deaths in a trial of facts.

Criminal Justice Outcome (murder charged only)	Number	%
Guilty of Murder (including double murder n=8 & multiple murder n=1)	79	68
Guilty of Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide on the Grounds of Diminished Responsibility	23	20
Guilty of Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide (including double manslaughter n=2)	10	8
Other – Trial of facts\Responsible for the act	4	3
Not Guilty of Murder by Reason of Insanity	1	<1
Total	117	100

Of the six perpetrators charged with manslaughter/culpable homicide, five were convicted of manslaughter/culpable homicide and the trial is ongoing in the sixth.

Criminal Justice Outcome (Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide Charge Only)	Number	% of Perpetrators Charged with Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide
Guilty of Manslaughter	4	80
Guilty of Culpable Homicide	1	20
Total	5	100

²² One suspect awaits trial and four cases were discontinued due to the death of the primary suspect. These are not included in this number.

A detailed breakdown of all criminal justice/other outcomes are listed below.

Criminal Justice Outcome	Number	% of all Perpetrators
Guilty of Murder (n=70), Double Murder (n=8), Multiple Murder (n=1)	79	55
Guilty of Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide on the Grounds of Diminished Responsibility	23	16
Killed Himself at Time of Offence	16	11
Guilty of Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide (n=12), Double Manslaughter (n=2)	14	10
Guilty of Perverting the Course of Justice	5	3
Guilty of Arson with Intent to Endanger Life	4	3
Guilty of Attempted Murder	4	3
Guilty of Rape (n=5) or Sexual Assault (n=3)	8	6
Other – Trial of facts\Responsible for the act	4	3
Guilty of Assault	3	2
Guilty of Wounding with Intent	3	2
Died in Prison on Remand	2	1
Killed Himself after Offence	2	1
Awaiting trial / Trial ongoing	1	1
Guilty of Abduction / Kidnapping	1	1
Guilty of Arson	1	1
Guilty of Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm	1	1
Guilty of Burglary	1	1
Guilty of Child Destruction	1	1
Guilty of Coercive or Controlling Behaviour	1	1
Guilty of False Imprisonment	1	1
Guilty of Fraud	1	1
Guilty of GBH / attempted GBH	1	1
Guilty of Possessing an Offensive Weapon	1	1
Guilty of Preventing Lawful Burial	1	1
Guilty of Sexually Penetrating a Corpse	1	1
Not Guilty of Murder by Reason of Insanity	1	1
Other – Detained under Mental Health Act	1	1
Total	182	N/A

Sentencing

Forty-seven of 48 perpetrators found guilty of murder (n=41) or double murder (n=6) have been sentenced. Sentencing in one case is outstanding. Minimum terms for murder range from 11 to 36 years. For Manslaughter 4.5 to 16 years.

Double Murder and Multiple Murder

Life sentence: Minimum term	Number of perpetrators
27 Years	1
30 Years	1
34 Years	1
36 Years	1
38 Years	1
39 Years	1
40 Years	1
> 40 Years	1 ²³
Whole Life Term	1 ²⁴
Total	9

²³ The perpetrator killed two women he first met as a sex-buyer on an escorting site. The remains of the first woman he killed have never been found. The judge considered a whole life order but felt the case did not meet the necessary standard. This man, aged 40, was convicted of double murder and sentenced to 49 years for each count, to be served concurrently.

²⁴ This man is responsible for the murders of his partner, her two children and her daughter’s best friend. He also raped her daughter, aged 11 years. He was known to the authorities as a sexual predator and serial domestic abuser. The local sexual exploitation unit had contacted probation services about his risk of harm to girls in local authority care. Despite this knowledge, he was categorised as low risk of harm to partners and children and was curfewed to the victims’ address.

Murder

Life sentence: Minimum term	Number of perpetrators
11 Years	1
12.5 Years	1
15 Years	1
15.5 Years	1
16 Years	2
17 Years	2
17.5 Years	1
18 Years	5
18.5 Years	1
19 Years	4
20 Years	4
20.5 Years	1
21 Years	7
22 Years	6
22.5 Years	1
23 Years	5
23.5 Years	2
24 Years	2
25 Years	3
26 Years	1
27 Years	3
28 Years	1
29 Years	1
30 Years	3
30.5 Years	1
31 Years	1
35 Years	4
36 Years	1
37 Years	1
Whole Life Term	2 ²⁵
Awaiting Sentence	1
Total	70

²⁵ This includes a case of a serving police officer convicted of abducting, raping and killing a woman whilst he was in police uniform. In a separate trial, this man was also convicted of indecent exposure in the years and months leading up to the victim's murder.

Guilty of Double Manslaughter

Two perpetrators charged with double murder were convicted of two counts of manslaughter each. Guilty pleas to manslaughter were accepted in both cases.

Prison sentence	No. of perpetrators
Indefinite Hospital Order/Hybrid Order ²⁶	1
Indefinite Hospital Order	1
Total	2

Guilty of Manslaughter or Culpable Homicide

Prison Sentence/ Orders under Mental Health Act	Number
4.5 Years	1
6.5 Years	1
7 Years	1
8 Years	1
9 Years	1
10 Years	1
12 Years	2
13 Years	1
14 Years (Life Sentence)	1
Hospital Order (subject to review)	1
Suspended Sentence	1
Total	12

²⁶ The perpetrator was sentenced to a hybrid order which involves treatment in a secure hospital until he is considered fit to be transferred to prison. The minimum term he must serve in prison is eight years. The perpetrator killed both of his parents.

Guilty of Manslaughter or Culpable Homicide on the Grounds of Diminished Responsibility

Prison Sentence/Orders under Mental Health Act	Number	Life Sentence
Suspended sentence (2.5 years)	1	1
5 Years	1	1
6.5 Years	1	1
9.5 Years	1	1
10 Years	2	1
12 Years	2	2
14 Years	1	1
16 Years	1	1
Indefinite Hospital Order	11	n/a
Detained Under the Mental Health Act	1	n/a
Awaiting Sentence	1	n/a
Total	23	9

Hospital Orders

Order Imposed	Number
Indefinite Hospital Order	4 ²⁷
Detained Under the Mental Health Act	1 ²⁸
Total	5

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²⁷ Imposed following Trial of Facts hearing.

²⁸ Suspect unfit for trial. To our knowledge, a Trial of Facts hearing has not been held.