

# 2000WOMEN



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# Dedication

## The 2000 women killed by men to whom this report is dedicated

Aaisha Hasasn • Abi Fisher • Abida Bi • Abida Karim • Adell Cowan • Afsana Kossar Aftaben Khanom • Agita Geslere • Agnes 'Dora' Akom • Agnes Sina-Inakoju • Agnieszka Dziegielewska • Agnieszka Szeffler • Agnieszka Szymura • Ahdieh Khayatzadeh • Aileen Bell Ailish Walsh • Aisha Alam • Akua Agyeman • Alami Gotip • Albertina Choules • Aleksandra Korkus • Aleksandra Mrozik • Alena Grlakova • Alethea Taylor • Alex Stuart • Alexandra (Alex) Morgan • Alexandra Kovacs • Alexis Durant • Alexis Flynn • Alexis Karran • Alice Adams • Alice Farquharson • Alice Gross • Alice Huyton • Alice McMeekin • Alice Morrow Alice Ruggles • Aliny Mendes (Godinho) • Alison Dodds • Alison Farr-Davies • Alison Howe Alison Hunt • Alison McBlain • Alison McKenzie • Alison Morrison • Alison Stevenson Alison Studd • Alison Turnbull • Alison Wilson • Aliza Mirza • Allison Marimon-Herrera Allison Muncaster • Alyson Bow • Alyson Nelson • Alyson Watt • Amal Abdi • Amanda Beresford • Amanda Birks • Amanda Hartley • Amanda Hunt • Amanda McAlear • Amanda Selby • Amanda Sorrell • Amandeep Kaur • Amandeep Kaur Hothi • Amani Iqbal • Amber Gibson • Amelet Francis • Amelia Arnold • Amina Adan • Amina Begum • Amina Bibi • Amoe Seline Stevens • Amrit Kaur Ubhi • Amy Appleton • Amy Barnes (Shimell) • Amy Gough Amy Parsons • Amy Smith • Amy-Leanne Stringfellow • Anastasia Voykina • Anayat Bibi Andra Hilitanu • Andraya Louise Lyons • Andrea Carr • Andrea Johnson • Andrea Lewis Andreea Cristea • Andreia Patricia Rodriguez Guilherme • Andrena Douglas • Aneta Zdun Angela Best • Angela Conoby • Angela Craddock • Angela Crompton (Phillips) • Angela Eastwood • Angela Holgate • Angela Hoyt • Angela Humphrey • Angela Mittal • Angela Rider Angela Smeaton • Angela Tarver • Angela Ward • Angela Webber • Angelika Dries-Jenkins Angelika Klis • Angie White • Ania Jedrkowiak • Anita Bawtree • Anita Downey • Anita Harris • Anita Kapoor • Anita Young • Anju Asok • Ann Coffey • Ann Furneaux • Ann Gethen Ann Maguire • Ann Marie Pomphret • Ann Mowbray • Ann Preston • Ann Rees • Ann Robinson • Ann Turner • Anna Banks • Anna Cuporiová • Anna Maria Thomas • Anna Ovsyannikova • Anna Rosenberg • Anne Alice Andrée Cluysenaar Jackson • Anne Barbour Anne Dunkley • Anne Geddes • Anne James • Anne Jones • Anne Leyland • Anne Marie Cleary • Anne Marie Cropper • Anne Morris • Anne O'Neill • Anne Scott • Anne Searle • Anne Woodbridge • Anne-Marie Birch • Anne-Marie James • Anne-Marie Nield • Anne-Marie O'Kane • Annette Creegan • Annette Sturt • Annie Beaver • Annie Besala Ekofo • Annie Temple • Antoinette Donnegan • Antonella Castelvèdere • Antonietta Guarino • Antonina Belska • Anu Kapoor • Arena Saeed • Arlene Williams • Asha Muneer • Ashleigh Hall • Ashley Dale • Ashley Wadsworth • Asia Tufail • Asiyah Harris • Asma Begum • Assia Newton • Assia Shahzad • Audrey Taylor • Ava Anthony • Avan Najmadeen • Avis Addison • Aya Hachem Ayodele Akinsiku • Aysel Djedvet • Aysha Frade • Aysha Mohammed • Aytul Serbetli • Azaria Williams • Badri Dabir • Balvinder (Bally) Gahir • Barbara Baraniecka • Barbara Davison Barbara Heywood • Barbara Hobbs • Barbara Jane Cumming • Barbara Yates • Bea Walker Beata Hausner • Beata Slomiana • Beatrice (Trixie) Bennett • Beatrice Cenusă • Beatrice Corry • Beatrice Yankson • Becci Rees-Hughes • Becky Morgan • Beena Bhatt • Bei Carter Belen Tripp • Belinda Rose • Bella Nicandro • Bennylyn Burke • Bernadeta Jakubczyk

Bernadette Fox • Bernadette Gallagher • Bernadette Green • Beryl Bez' Purdy • Beryl Hammond • Beryl Webb • Beth Aspey • Bethan Callaghan • Bethany Fields • Bethany Hill • Bethany Vincent • Betty Constable • Betty Dobbin • Betty Gallagher • Betty Lyons • Betty Yates • Beverley Bliss • Beverley Denahy • Beverley Farrow • Beverley Hudson • Beverley Shears • Beverley Taylor • Bhavini Pravin • Bianca Shepherd • Bibaa Henry • Bobbi-Anne McLeod • Bonnie Harwood • Bori Benko • Brenda Blainey • Brenda James • Buddug Jones • Camille Mathurasingh • Caoimhe Morgan • Carly Swift • Carmel Charles • Carmen Gabriela Miron-Buchacra • Carmen Stanescu • Carol Baxter • Carol Berry • Carol Cooper • Carol Dyson • Carol French • Carol Hart • Carol Jarvis • Carol Milne • Carol Ruddy • Carol Smith • Carol Weatherley • Carol-Anne Taggart • Carole Bland • Carole Forth • Carole Green • Carole Harrison • Carole Kolar • Carole Mudie • Carole Waugh • Carole Wright • Caroline Adeyelu • Caroline Andrews • Caroline Finegan • Caroline Jane Coyne • Caroline Kayll • Caroline Parry • Caroline Walker • Carolyn Ann Ellis • Carolyn Hill • Carolyn Hyatt • Carolyn Kemp • Caron Smyth • Carrie Ann Izzard • Carrie Slater • Casey Brittle • Cassie Hayes • Catarina Massaro • Catherine (Cathy) Burke • Catherine (Katie) Wynter (Briscoe) • Catherine Gowing • Catherine Granger • Catherine Kelly • Catherine Kirton • Catherine Leighton • Catherine McDonald • Catherine Pryde • Catherine Sandeman • Catherine Wardleworth • Catherine Wells-Burr • Catrina Rae • Cecilia Powell • Celia Levitt • Celine Dookhran • Cerys Marie Yemm • Cerys Reeve • Chanelle Sasha Jones • Chantelle Barnsdale-Quean • Charito Cruz • Charlene Mills • Charlotte Brown • Charlotte Hart • Charlotte Huggins • Charlotte Murray • Charlotte Piccaver • Charlotte Smith • Charlotte Teeling • Charlotte Wilcock • Charmaine Macmuiris • Charmaine O'Donnell • Chenise Gregory • Cherith Van Der Ploeg • Cheryl Gabriel-Hooper • Cheryl Martin • Cheryl Tariah • Cherylee Shennan • Chloe Miazek • Chloe Rutherford • Chloe Siokos • Chrissy Kendall • Christie Frewin • Christina Abbotts • Christina Edkins • Christina Mary Arnold • Christina Rowe • Christina Spillane (Randall) • Christine Archibald • Christine Baker • Christine Chambers • Christine Ford • Christine Haye-Levy • Christine Henderson • Christine James • Christine Lee • Christine McDonald • Christine Pearmain • Christine Peters • Christine Sargent • Christine Tunnicliffe Massey • Christine Williamson • Christy Walshe • Clair Ablewhite • Clair Armstrong • Clair Smith • Claire Atkinson • Claire Harris • Claire Hart • Claire Holland • Claire Howarth • Claire Inglis • Claire Marshall • Claire Nagle • Claire O'Connor • Claire Parrish • Claire Parry • Claire Tavener • Claire Turnball • Claire White • Claire Wilson • Claire Wright • Clara Patterson • Clare Bell • Clare Denise Ashill • Clare Gafan • Clare Munro • Clare Nash • Clare Wood • Clarissa-Charlene Faith • Colette Myers • Colleen Westlake • Collette Daffin • Concepta Leonard • Constanta Bunea • Corby Craze • Corrin Barker • Courtney Boorne • Courtney Boyle • Cristina Magda-Calancea • Cristina Ortiz-Lozano • Cynthia Barrass • Cynthia Beamond • Cynthia Turner • Czarina Baker • Da In Lee • Daisy Castell • Daiva Kucinskiene • Daksha Lad • Daneshia Arthur • Danielle (Danii) Richardson • Danielle Thomson • Danielle Van der Zyden • Danuta Damagalska • Daria Pionko • Darlene Horton • Davinia (Dink) Loynton • Dawn Backhouse • Dawn Bennett • Dawn Clinton • Dawn Fletcher • Dawn Green • Dawn McKenzie • Dawn Rhodes • Dawn Trusler • Dawn Walker • Deana Simpson • Debbie Levey • Debbie Marie Ryan • Debbie Nermerich • Debbie Starbuck • Debbie Twist • Debbie Zurick • Deborah Boulter • Deborah Gumbrell • Deborah Jones/Hendrick • Deborah Langmead • Deborah Morris • Deborah Ruse • Deborah Searle (sister asked to remove 'Simister' surname) • Deborah Wilkes • Debra Johnson • Debra Louise Walsh • Deeqa Ibrahim • Delia Hughes • Delores Smith • Delyth Vera Andrews • Demi Pearson • Denisa Silmen • Denise (Michelle) Rosser • Denise Dunlop • Denise Gossett • Denise Grieve

Denise Julie Skilbeck • Denise Keane Barnett Simmons • Denise Steeves • Denise Williamson • Derisa Trenchard • Desirie Thomas • Diana Dafter • Diana Gabaliene • Diana Garbutt • Diana Lee • Diane Douglas • Diane Dyer • Diane Fallon • Diane Harley • Diane Jones • Diane Nichols • Diane Stewart • Dimitrina Borisova • Dionne Clark • Dolet Hill Dolleh Joseph • Dolly Gregory • Donna Black • Donna Drepaul • Donna Eastwood • Donna Forrest • Donna Jane Graham • Donna St John • Donna Williamson • Dora Matthews Doreen (Dotty) Walker • Doreen Virgo • Doreen Webb • Doris Smith • Dorothy (Dot) Woolmer • Dorothy Beattie • Dorothy Bowyer • Dorothy Brown • Dorothy Cherry Groce • Dorothy Morgan • Dorothy Shepherd • Dyanne Mansfield • Dzilva Butiene • Edite Titane • Edith Gravener • Edna Berry • Edna Fisher • Edna Gadsby • Eileen Barrott • Eileen Callaghan • Eileen Dean • Eileen Glassford • Eileen Jones • Eileen Patricia Gamble • Eileen Pearce • Eilidh Macleod • Elaine Flanagan • Elaine Harman • Elaine McIver • Elaine Sandra Duncan • Elaine Shaw • Eleanor (Norah) Whitelaw • Eleftheria Demetriou • Elidona Demiraj • Elif Oruc • Elife (Eli) Beqa • Elinor O'Brien • Elisabeta Lacatusu • Elisabeth Carroll • Eliza Bibby • Elizabeth (Anne) Knott • Elizabeth (Betty) Jordan • Elizabeth (Liz) Lacey • Elizabeth (Lizzie) McShane • Elizabeth Bowe • Elizabeth Coriat • Elizabeth Dighton • Elizabeth Duncan • Elizabeth Hudson • Elizabeth Merriman • Elizabeth Muir (Mackay) • Elizabeth Nnyanzi • Elizabeth Richings • Elizabeth Thomas • Elizabeth Pecka • Elize Stevens • Ella Parker • Elle Edwards • Ellen Ash • Ellen Higginbottom • Ellia Arathoon • Ellie Gould • Eloise Parry • Elsie Ford • Elsie Hayes • Elsie Mowbray • Elsie Pinder • Elsie Smith • Elzbieta (Ela) Kinczyk • Emily Longley • Emily Munemo • Emily Rebekah Goodman • Emily Sanderson • Emma Baillie • Emma Baum • Emma Burns • Emma Day • Emma Ewart • Emma Faulds • Emma McArthur • Emma Pattison • Emma Potter • Emma Robertson • Emma Coupland • Emma Siswick • Emma Ward • Emma-Jane McParland • Eni Mevish • Ernestine Tindall • Esther Arogundade • Esther Brown • Esther Egbon • Ethel Dohoney • Eulin Hastings • Evie Adams • Eystna Blunnie • Farkhanda (Jabeen) Younis • Farnaz Ali • Fatemeh Bostani • Fatima Bibi • Fatou Saine • Fatoumatta Hydara • Fawziyah Javed • Fay Daniels • Faye Caliman • Faye Isaac • Fernanda Assis • Ffion Roberts • Fiona Bone • Fiona Fisher • Fiona Holm • Fiona McDonald • Fiona Newton • Fiona Robinson • Fiona Scourfield • Fiona Southwell • Fiza Asif • Florence Lagasca • Florence May Habesch • Florina Pastina • Fozia Ahmed • Frances Cleary-Senior • Frances Hubbard • Frances Murray • Francesca Di Dio • Francesca McFall • Francine Clark • Freda Walker • Gabi Chapman • Gabriella Rudin • Gabrielle Stanley • Gaby Kosilko • Gail Lucas • Ganimete Hoti • Gaynor Bale • Gaynor Brockwell • Gaynor McGlynn • Geeta Aulakh • Geetika (Geetu) Goyal • Gemma Finnigan • Gemma Leeming • Gemma Marjoram • Gemma McCluskie • Gemma Stevens • Genet Kidane • Georgia Williams • Georgiana (Yudha) Stuparu (Marin) • Georgina Barnett • Georgina Callander • Georgina Dowey • Georgina Hackett • Georgina Symonds • Geraldine ('Geri') Mellor • Geraldine Hazel Allen • Geraldine Newman • Gergana Prodanova • Ghada Habib • Gian Kaur Bhandal • Gillian (Gilly) Kettyle • Gillian (Nyasha) Zvomuya (Kahari) • Gillian Andrade • Gillian Knowles • Gillian Phillips • Gillian Raine • Gillian Rennie • Gillian Swinden • Gillian Woodward • Gina Ingles • Gina Lander • Giselle Marimon-Herrera • Gita Suri • Giuseppina Fazzani • Glenda Jackson • Glennis Brierley • Gloria Laguna • Gloria Perring • Glynis Bensley • Glynis Solmaz • Grace Kissell • Grace O'Malley Kumar • Grace Rusukira • Gracie Spinks • Guida Rufino • Gwendoline (Gwen) Joan Poole • Gwendoline Bound • Hannah Cohen • Hannah Dorans • Hannah Fisher • Hannah Fitzgibbon • Hannah Pearson • Hannah Windsor • Hansa Patel • Harjit Chaggar • Harleen Kaur Satpreet Gandhi • Hawa Mohamed Abdullah • Hayley Ann Jones • Hayley Burke • Hayley Dean • Hayley



Pointon • Hayley Stringer • Hayley Wall • Hazel Bailey • Hazel Reanne North • Hazel Wilson-Bryant • Heather Arthur • Heather Cooper • Heather Dyer • Heather Jordan • Heather Whitbread • Helen Almey • Helen Anderson • Helen Bailey • Helen Bannister • Helen Barlow • Helen Clarke • Helen Dawson • Helen Dillon • Helen Ding • Helen Findlay • Helen Fraser • Helen Harrison • Helen Joanne (Jo) Cox • Helen Joy • Helen Kim Buckley • Helen Lancaster • Helen Lawrie • Helen Skudder • Henriett Szucs • Hilary Round • Hilda Oakland • Hina Bashir • Hollie Gazzard • Hollie Kerrell • Hollie Thompson • Holly Alexander • Holly Bramley • Hope Barden • Howarum Begum • Humera Khan • Hyacinth Morris • Ildiko Bettison • Ildiko Dohany • Ilona Czuper • Ilona Golabek • Imelda Molina • Imogen Bohajczuk • Inayat Begum • India Eve Chipchase • Ingrid Matthew • Iram Shah • Irene Barrett • Irene Dale • Irene Edwina Lawless • Iris Owens • Isabel Trindade • Isabelle Jane Sanders • Ishrat Ahmed • Isobel (Becky) Parker • Iuliana Tudos • Ivy Hawken • Ivy Warnes • Jackie (Jacqueline) Hoadley • Jacqueline (Jackie) Abbott • Jacqueline (Jackie) Evans • Jacqueline (Jackie) Grant • Jacqueline (Jackie) Harrison • Jacqueline (Jackie) Kirk • Jacqueline (Jackie) Pattenden • Jacqueline (Jacqui) Bartlam • Jacqueline Allen • Jacqueline Barrett • Jacqueline Grant • Jacqueline Kerr • Jacqueline Oakes • Jade Hales • Jade Riley-Ward • Jade Ward • Jade Watson • Jadwiga Szczygielska • Jaki Forrest • Jan Wilson • Jane Archbold • Jane Bartholomew • Jane Caroline Tweddle • Jane Clough • Jane Collinson • Jane Edwards • Jane Elizabeth Sergeant • Jane Fitzpatrick • Jane Hings • Jane Holden • Jane Kelly • Jane McCartney • Jane McRae • Jane Parker • Jane Robinson • Jane Sherratt • Jane Wiggett • Jane Parsons • Janelle Duncan Bailey • Janet ('Jenny') Methven • Janet Graney • Janet Jordon • Janet Lewis • Janet Lockhart • Janet Mann • Janet Muller • Janet Northmore • Janet Norton • Janet Scott • Janette Dunbavand • Janette Richardson • Janice Child • Janice Griffiths • Janice Smithen • Janice Woolford • Janine Bowater • Janine Tiley • Janis Dundas • Jannette Jones • Jasbir Kaur • Jasmin Chowdhury • Jay Edmunds • Jayde Hall • Jayden Parkinson • Jayne Lewis • Jayne Toal-Reat • Jean Blakey • Jean Chapman • Jean Darbyshire • Jean Dunson • Jean Farrer • Jean Gazeley • Jean Irwin • Jean Myers • Jean Redfern • Jean Rhodes • Jean Robertson • Jean Ryan • Jeanette Goodwin • Jeanna Maher • Jenna Thomas • Jennie Banner • Jennie Bryant • Jennifer (Jennie) Leeman • Jennifer (Jenny) Claire Craigdailie • Jennifer Anne Edwards • Jennifer Chapple • Jennifer Cronin • Jennifer Dornan • Jennifer Hume • Jennifer Jackson • Jennifer Morgan • Jennifer Phelps • Jennifer Rennie • Jennifer Rogers • Jennifer Williams • Jenny Foote • Jessica (Nkechi) McGraa • Jessica King • Jessica McCagh • Jessica Patel • Jessica Watkins • Jessie Wright • Jia Ashton • Jill Ault • Jill Barclay • Jill Goldsmith • Jill Hibberd • Jill Hickery • Jill Moon • Jill Sadler • Jillian (Jill) Howell • Jillian (Jill) Louise Nevitt • Jillian Grant • Jilly Nash • Jitka Nahodilova • Joan Charlton • Joan Chopping • Joan Hoggett • Joan Mungall • Joanna Brown Simpson • Joanna Doman • Joanna Elizabeth Hall • Joanna Michael • Joanna Thompson • Joanna Trojniak • Joanna Yeates • Joanne Bishop • Joanne Gallacher • Joanne Hamer • Joanne Harrison • Joanne Kitchen • Joanne Oliver • Joanne Rand • Joanne Rennie • Jodi Miller • Jodie Betteridge • Jodie Chesney • Jodie Willsher • Jolanta Dumciuviene • Jolanta Jacobowska • Joleen Corr • Jomaa Jerrare • Josephine Gilliard • Josephine Kaye • Josephine Lamb • Josephine Smith • Josephine Steele • Josephine Williamson • Joy Billam • Joy Green • Joy Morgan • Joyce Burgess • Judith Armstrong • Judith Barbara Marion Richardson • Judith Brierley • Judith Ducker • Judith Ege • Judith Garnett • Judith Maude • Judith Nibbs • Judith Rhead • Judith Scott • Judy Constant • Julia Flynn • Julia Howse • Julia James • Julia Mubvumba • Julia Rawson • Julia Thurgarland • Julia Tshabalala • Julie Ann Gallagher • Julie Ann Semper • Julie Archer • Julie Beattie

Julie Burdett • Julie Bywater • Julie Clark • Julie Collier • Julie Connaughton • Julie Cook  
 Julie Davison • Julie Fenton • Julie Fox • Julie Harrison • Julie Hitch • Julie Hunt • Julie  
 McCash • Julie McKinley • Julie Mercer • Julie Owens • Julie Parker (Hill) • Julie Parkin  
 Julie Reilly • Julie Sahin • Julie Sudlow • Julie Tottle • Julie Webb • Julie Williams • Julie  
 Youel • Juliet Edwards • June (Katie) Jones • June Fox-Roberts • June Jumaily • June  
 Knight • June Wiggins • Junella Valentine • Justene Reece • Justyna Mischczyk • Kamaljeet  
 Mahey • Kanwal Azam • Kanwal Bernice William • Karen Arnold • Karen Brookes • Karen  
 Brown • Karen Buckley • Karen Catherall • Karen Dempsey • Karen Hales • Karen Jacquet  
 Karen Leonard • Karen Louise Hughes • Karen Mary Gallagher • Karen McClean • Karen  
 McGraw • Karen Peter • Karen Reid • Karen Welsh • Karen Wheeler • Karen Wild • Karen  
 Young • Karina Batista • Karina Menzies • Karolina Chwiluk • Karolina Nowikiewicz  
 Karolina Wasilewska • Karolina Zinkeviciene • Karren Martin • Katarzyna Ryba • Kate  
 (Katherine) Bevan • Kate Dixon • Kate Jaworski Green • Kate Marie McHugh • Kate Mott  
 Kate Shepherd • Katelyn Parker • Katherine (Katie) Cullen • Katherine Smith • Kathleen  
 (Gwen) Gold • Kathleen (Katy) Rourke • Kathleen Griffin • Kathleen John • Kathleen  
 Milward • Kathryn (Katie) Jenkin • Katie (Katherine) Kemp • Katie (Kathleen) Brankin  
 Katie Higon • Katie Hughes • Katie Hurmuz-Irimia • Katie Kenyon • Katie Locke • Katie  
 Simpson • Katie Walker • Katrina (Trina) Rainey • Katrina Evemy • Katrina Fletcher  
 Katrina Jones • Katrina Makunova • Katrina O'Hara • Katrina Preece • Katrina Wardle  
 Katy Harris • Katy Sprague • Katy Winchester • Kay Diamond • Kay Richardson • Kayleigh  
 Buckley • Kayleigh Hanks • Kayleigh Haywood • Kayleigh Louise Dunning • Kayleigh-Anne  
 Palmer • Keeley Bunker • Keely (McGrath) Wilson • Keisha Christodoulou • Keisha  
 McKenzie • Kelli Bothwell • Kellie Gillard • Kellie Sutton • Kelly Brewster • Kelly Fauvrelle  
 Kelly Fitzgibbons • Kelly Franklin • Kelly Machin • Kelly Marie Davies • Kelly Pearce • Kelly  
 Pitt • Kelly Price • Kelly Stewart • Kelly Worgan • Kelly-Anne Case • Kelsey Marie Shaw  
 Kerri McAuley • Kerry Ann Day • Kerry Bradford • Kerry Gascoigne • Kerry Michelle Reeves  
 Kerry Owen • Kerry Power • Kerry Smith • Kerry Sneddon • Kerry Woolley • Khabi Abrey  
 Khanokporn Satjawat • Khaola Saleem • Khloemae Loy • Khusbu Shah • Kim Dearden • Kim  
 Jeffery • Kim Michelle Campbell • Kimberley Deakin • Kimberley Frank • Kimberley  
 Mackenzie • Kinga Roskinska • Kiran Daudia • Kirby (aka Kirsty) Noden • Kirstie Ellis  
 Kirsty Ashley • Kirsty Boden • Kirsty Grabham • Kirsty Humphrey • Kirsty Treloar • Kirsty  
 Wright • Klaudia Soltys • Krishnamaya Mabo • Ksenija Vorosilina • Kulwinder Kaur • Kylie  
 Dembrey • Lala Kamara • Lana Nemceva • Lana-Jayne Owen • Laraine Rayner • Laura  
 Cecilia Navarrete De Figueira • Laura Davies • Laura Davies-Jones • Laura Harrison • Laura  
 Holden • Laura Huteson • Laura Jayne Stuart • Laura Mortimer • Laura Rakstelyte • Laura  
 Smith • Laura Wilson • Laureline Garcia-Bertaux • Lauren Griffiths • Lauren Howe • Lauren  
 Mae Bloomer • Lauren Malt • Lauren Masters • Lauren O'Neill • Lauren Scott • Lauren  
 Wilson • Layla Arezo • Lea Adri-Soejoko • Lea Holiday • Leah (Louise) Cohen • Leah  
 Croucher • Leah Fray • Leah Gabrielle Questin • Leah Ingham • Leah Reek • Leah Ware  
 Leah Whittle • Leanne Collopy • Leanne McKie • Leanne McNuff • Leanne Meecham  
 Leanne Unsworth • Leanne Wall • Lee Carol Hendry • Leeann Foley • Leighann Duffy  
 Leighann Wightman • Leighanne Cameron • Leigh-Anne Mahachi • Lenuta Haidemac  
 Leonne Weeks • Lesley Ann Caile • Lesley Davies • Lesley Eileen Chisholm-Lazere • Lesley  
 Larnier • Lesley Potter • Lesley Spearing • Lesma Jackson • Levi Davis • Levi Ogden • Leyla  
 Mtumwa • Li Qing-Wang • Li Xue • Libby Squire • Lidia Pascale • Ligita Kostiajeviene • Lija  
 Arustamovs • Lilima Akter Munny • Lillian Henderson • Lily Sullivan • Linah Keza • Linda  
 Allen • Linda Bakewell • Linda Casey • Linda Hood • Linda Lietaviete • Linda Maggs • Linda

McArity • Linda Merigo • Linda Mills • Linda Norcup • Linda Ordinans • Linda Parker  
 Linda Sheard • Linda Treeby • Linda Vilika • Lindsay Birbeck • Lindsay Hughes • Lindsey  
 Smith • Linzi Ashton • Lisa Anthony • Lisa Bennett • Lisa Beverley • Lisa Butler • Lisa  
 Chadderton • Lisa Clay • Lisa Emmitt • Lisa Fraser • Lisa Jane Banks • Lisa Jane Hoolahan  
 Lisa Leckenby • Lisa Lees • Lisa Reynolds • Lisa Skidmore • Lisa Winn • Lisa-Marie  
 Thornton • Lizzie McCann • Loreta Raupiene • Loretta Herman • Lorna McCarthy • Lorna  
 Myers • Lorna Smith • Lorna Tannahill • Lorraine Barwell • Lorraine Cox • Lorraine Cullen  
 Lorraine Matos-Sanchez • Lorraine Mills • Lorraine Williams • Louisa Denby • Louisa Jane  
 Brannan • Louise Aitchison • Louise Donnelly • Louise Evans • Louise Kam • Louise May  
 Evans • Louise O'Brien • Louise Rump • Louise Smith • Louise Webster • Lu Na McKinney  
 Luan Leigh • Luciana Olivia Maurer • Lucinda Port • Lucy Ayris • Lucy Clews • Lucy Jones  
 Lucy Landry • Lucy Lee • Lucy Powell • Lucy-Anne Rushton • Luisa Cabral Pereira Silva  
 Luz Margory Isaza Villegas • Lynda Brown • Lynda Cooper • Lynda Hankey • Lynda Jackson  
 Lynda Spence • Lynn Baker • Lynn Coburn • Lynn Forde • Lynn Howarth • Lynn McNally  
 Lynne Braund • Lynne Farquhar • Lynne Freeman • Lynne Small • Maddie Durdant-  
 Hollamby • Madina Landsberg • Madison Wright • Magda Bushara • Magdalena (Magda)  
 Welna • Magdalena Januszewska • Magdalena Pacult • Mahala Rhodes • Mahnaz Rafie  
 Mairead McCallion • Mairi Doherty • Majella Lynch • Malak Adabzadeh • Maleha Masud  
 Malgorzata Dantes • Malgorzata Lewanska • Malgorzata Lipinska • Malgorzata Marczak  
 Mambero Ghebreflafi • Mandeep Singh • Mandy Finn • Mandy Foakes • Mandy Gallear  
 Mandy Houghton • Manisha Solanki • Marelle Sturrock • Marena Shaban • Margaret  
 (Maggie) Smythe • Margaret (Meg) Robertson • Margaret Barnes • Margaret Beardon  
 Margaret Biddolph • Margaret Burke • Margaret Evans • Margaret Grant • Margaret  
 Griffiths • Margaret Harris • Margaret Hobson • Margaret Howlett • Margaret Johnson  
 Margaret Kibuuka • Margaret Knight • Margaret Lynette Krawcewicz • Margaret Mary  
 Clapperton • Margaret Mary Ford • Margaret Mayer • Margaret Mercati • Margaret Tate  
 Margaret Wathen • Margaret Wycherley • Margery Gilbey • Margot Sheehy • Mari O'Flynn  
 Maria (Mariatu) Nuni • Maria Byrne • Maria Coelho • Maria Colaco • Maria Duque-Tunjano  
 Maria Howarth • Maria Mayes • Maria Mbombo • Maria Rafael Chavez • Maria Rawlings  
 Mariam Kamara • Mariam Mohdaqi • Mariama Njie-Jallow • Marian Smith • Marian Stones  
 Mariana Popa • Marie (Milly) McGrory • Marie Brown • Marie Codreanu • Marie Florisse  
 Corette • Marie Gibson • Marie Gladders • Marie Reid • Marie Stewart • Marie Walker  
 Marina Erte • Mariola (Mika) Cudworth • Marion Millican • Marion Price (Little) • Marion  
 Vita • Marissa Aldrich • Marjorie Cawdery • Marjorie Elphick • Marlene Coleman • Marlene  
 Doyle • Marlene Hicks • Marlene McCabe • Marta Chmielecka • Marta Ligman • Marta Vento  
 Mary (May) Evans • Mary Andrews • Mary Annie Sowerby • Mary Carol McLaren • Mary  
 Craig • Mary Fell • Mary Fox • Mary Gregory • Mary Griffiths • Mary Haley • Mary Page  
 Mary Philimena Quinn • Mary Ragoobee • Mary Roberts • Mary Rose McNeil • Mary  
 Saunders • Mary Steel • Mary Thorpe • Mary Wells • Mary Woolley • Maryan Ismail  
 Maryna Zhytnyk-Kavaliauske • Mashael Albasman • Maureen Allen • Maureen Cosgrove  
 Maureen Gitau • Maureen Kidd • Maureen Postlethwaite • Maureen Tyler • Maureen  
 Watkins • Mavis Long • Maxine Davison • Maxine Showers • May Stokoe • Maya Devi  
 Maylyn Couperthwaite • Mayurathy Perinpamoorihy • Mckyla Taylor • Megan (Meg)  
 Newborough • Megan Bills • Megan Hurley • Megan Newton • Megan-Leigh Peat • Mehak  
 Sharma • Melanie Clark • Melinda Korosi • Melinda Palmer • Melissa Belshaw • Melissa  
 Crook • Melissa Liddle • Melissa Mathieson • Memunatu Warne • Meryl Parry • Mhari  
 O'Neill • Michaela Hall • Michaela Heaton • Michala Gol • Michelle Anne Jenkinson

Michelle Cooper • Michelle Creed • Michelle Francis Kiss • Michelle Giles • Michelle Hanson  
 Michelle Hibbert • Michelle Jane Grey • Michelle Lizanec • Michelle McCue • Michelle  
 O'Neill • Michelle Pearson • Michelle Samaraweera • Michelle Savage • Michelle Stonall  
 Michelle Suttle • Mihrican Mustafa • Mildred Whitmore • Milena Yuliyarov • Mingzi Yang  
 Miriam Nyazema • Moira Gilbertson • Molly McLaren • Monica O'Neill • Monika Biliniewicz  
 Monika Lasek • Monika Wasko • Monika Wlodarczyk • Morag Carmichael • Mumtahina  
 Jannat • Muriel Richards • Mushamood Asma Begum • Myrna Holman • Myrna Kirby  
 Nabihah Masud • Nadia Jones • Nadia Khan • Nadija Ondzule • Nadine Aburas • Nahid  
 Almana • Naika Inayat • Naila Mumtaz • Naimo Moalin • Najeeba Al-Ariqy • Naomi Asante  
 Naomi Hunte • Nasim Jamil • Nasima Noorzai • Nasreen Buksh • Nasreen Khan • Natalia  
 Czekaj • Natalia Strelchenko • Natalie Connolly • Natalie Esack • Natalie Harker • Natalie  
 Hastings • Natalie Hemming • Natalie James • Natalie Jarvis • Natalie O'Donoghue • Natalie  
 Saunders • Natalie Smith • Natalie Walker • Natasha Bradbury • Natasha Hill • Natasha  
 Melendez • Natasha Morais • Natasha Sadler-Ellis • Natasha Trevis • Natasha Wake  
 Natasha Wild • Natividad (Natalie) Nituan • Natsnet Tekle Nahisi • Nattalie Elizabeth Jane  
 Muir • Naudel Turner • Nazia Akhtar • Nazia Begum • Nell Jones • Nellie Geraghty • Nelly  
 Mustafa • Nelly Myers • Neomi Smith • Nhi Muoi 'Kim' Wai • Nicola (Niki) Campbell • Nicola  
 Beck • Nicola de Sousa • Nicola Haworth • Nicola Holden • Nicola Hughes • Nicola Kirk  
 Nicola Langtree • Nicola McKenzie • Nicola Roberts • Nicola Seed • Nicola Shaba • Nicola  
 Stevenson • Nicola Woodman • Nicole Anderson • Nicole Cartmell • Nicole Hurley • Nicole  
 McGregor • Nicole Selena Waterhouse • Nicole Smallman • Nijole Sventekiene • Nikitta  
 Jade Grender • Nikoleta Zdun • Nisha Lad • Niyat Berhane Teklemariam • Norma Bell  
 Norma Girolami • N'Taya Elliott-Cleverley • Olga Pleguezuelos Puixeu • Olivia Campbell-  
 Hardy • Olivia Kray • Onees Khatoon • Orina Morawiec • Ourania Lambrou • Paige Doherty  
 Paige Emily Chivers • Paige Gibson • Palmira Silva • Pamela Glen (Turner) • Pamela Hardy  
 Pamela Jackson • Pamela Mellor • Paramjit Kaur • Pardeep Kaur • Parwin Quriashi  
 Patricia (Pat) Holland • Patricia (Patti) Henry • Patricia Anne Durrant • Patricia Audsley  
 Patricia Bardon • Patricia Bitters • Patricia Cairns • Patricia Franks • Patricia Goodband  
 Patricia Gordon • Patricia Hammond • Patricia McIntosh • Patricia Philpotts • Patricia  
 Seddon • Patricia Smales • Patricia Thompson • Patrycja Wyrebek • Paula Castle • Paula  
 Clinton • Paula Harris • Paula Leather • Paula Meadows • Paula Newman • Pauline Adams  
 Pauline Angell • Pauline Butler • Pauline Carmichael • Pauline Cockburn • Pauline Gillen  
 Pauline Kilkenny • Pauline King • Pauline Quinn • Pauline Smith • Pearl Spencer • Peggy  
 Wilson • Peggy Wright • Pek Ying 'Evelyn' Ling • Peninah (Penny) Kabeba • Pennie Davis  
 Penny Ann Taylor • Pernella Forgie • Philomena Dunleavy • Phyllis Hayes • Phyllis Nelson  
 Poonam Kumar • Poorna Kaameshwari Sivaraj • Poppy Devey-Waterhouse • Pornpilai  
 Nehls • Premm Leela Monti • Quoi Chang • Quyen Ngoc Nguyen • Rachael Slack • Rachel  
 Evans • Racquel Ofori-Akuffo • Raheela Imran • Rahman (Ruksana) Begum  
 Ramatunnessa Choudhury • Ramona Stoia • Ramute Butkiene • Randa Kamblawi • Raneem  
 Oudeh • Rania Alayed • Ranjit (Nita) Gill • Ravinder Jutla • Razu Khanum • Rebecca (Becky)  
 McPhee • Rebecca (Becky) Watts • Rebecca Ann Bamber • Rebecca Aylward • Rebecca Ayres  
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 Rosemary Hill • Rosemary Shearman • Rosemary Windle • Rosie Darbyshire • Rosie Mayer



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 Zofia Sadowska • Zofija Kaczan • Zohra Amran • (*court order states victim cannot be  
 named*)

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With thanks to

Deloitte

Freshfields

Glaziers

nia

Debs Reda



# Foreword

One dead woman is one woman too many – but here we have 2,000. Two thousand women whose lives were cut short by violent, controlling, angry, sadistic, sick and/or predatory men. Two thousand women, one killed in the UK, on average, every three days.

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For anyone who has lost someone that they love to men's fatal violence against women, their loved one was one too many. A loss that will change their life and stay with them forever. So how do we live in a society where women killed at the hands of men is simply 'one of those things that happens'?

For far too long, men's violence against women has been accepted as inevitable, and even unremarkable. Rarely do the killings of women by men become front page news; on the rare occasion that they do, it is usually a young, conventionally attractive, middle class and white woman killed by a stranger. The killings of older women, by a man who had been abusing her for years, decades even, are much less likely to be seen as newsworthy, even though more than seven times as many women are killed by a current or former partner than they are by a stranger, and if she has a 'foreign sounding name' even less so.

We want to change this, to shine the spotlight on femicide, to highlight the reality of men's fatal violence against women and to help amplify the voices of those who say that we have had enough.

We demand change.

Policy makers and successive governments appear to have been equally indifferent and unambitious. In January 2025, the National Audit Office published a report that was highly critical of the previous Conservative government's progress in tackling [men's] violence against women and girls, describing their 2021 strategy as 'disjointed' and neither helping victims nor delivering long-term societal change.

Femicide is a human rights abuse. Far too often the state has failed women in its management of known violent men. We may, if we're lucky, see a strategy to tackle violence against women, but tackling something is not the same as ending it, and there is reluctance to forefront the identification of men as the perpetrators of this violence.

The Labour government elected in 2024 has pledged to halve [men's] violence against women in a decade. Femicide Census data will provide a critical measure of their success or failure. We will hold the state to account.

It is the position of the Femicide Census that with sufficient will, we can and we must end men's violence against women and girls. Two thousand women is two thousand women too many.

# Introduction

The **Femicide Census** is the most comprehensive single source of UK information about women who have been killed and the men who have killed them.

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The first conversations about the work that would become the Femicide Census took place between Clarrie O’Callaghan, (then Global Head of Pro-Bono at Freshfields) and Karen Ingala Smith (then CEO of **nia**) in June 2013.

In 2015, we launched our first report, looking at women killed by men in the UK between 2009 and 2014. Since then, each year, we have sent Freedom of Information (FOI) requests to the UK’s police forces asking for the names and basic demographic details of women killed by men in their constabulary. As detailed later in the methodology section, this is augmented with publicly available information, building a rich and unparalleled body of information on men’s fatal violence in the UK. We have released annual reports for 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021 and shortly for 2022. In 2020, we released a 10-year report on women killed by men between 2009 and 2018, where we revealed that on average, a woman is killed by a man in the UK every three days.

Relentlessly, men’s fatal violence against women continues and the Femicide Census database grows. This report is different from our previously released reports in that, rather than looking at men’s fatal violence over time, we are looking at the first 2,000 completed cases

held on the database. By this we mean where criminal justice proceedings have concluded or, if they were not commenced or concluded, (for example if the perpetrator killed himself), a statutory body has identified a man as being responsible for a woman’s death. We have examined the characteristic of these killings, the women who were the victims and the men who were the perpetrators.

When it comes to fatal violence, more men are killed than women, but they are more likely to be killed by other men. Men’s violence against women and girls is arguably the most pernicious manifestation of sex inequality and can be seen across the globe.

Femicide is not simply homicide with female victims, or even homicide with female victims and male killers. Femicide recognises what is specific and different about the killings of women in a patriarchal society where sex inequality is entrenched and systemic. Femicide also recognises that the killings of women by current or former partners, family members or predators attacking women in sexually-motivated killings share root causes that will need to be addressed if we seek to end men’s violence against women. These root causes are absent from an approach that disregarded sex differences

where, for example, killings of intimate partners are grouped together and are not disaggregated by sex. Women who kill their intimate male partners are more likely to be victims of domestic abuse themselves for example. Sex inequality, whether economic or across other spheres, socially constructed gender stereotypes, the objectification of women, male entitlement and more, all mean that the social and cultural context of woman killing is not the same as the killings of men.

Why is counting and commemorating dead women important? Naming and measuring a problem is a necessary step toward change. Understanding the reality of a problem is a platform for building solutions. The **Femicide Census** provides the clearest picture of men's fatal violence in the UK. Our data can be a foundation for building strategy, policy and changing practice.

## Key Findings

The majority of women killed by men were aged between 20 and 60 (no.=1458, 73% of the whole sample), 5% were teenagers (no.=108), 22% (no.=434) were aged 60 and over

73%

The age of a victim affects who is most likely to be her killer

61% (no.= 1,213) of women were killed by a current or former partner, 9% (no.=173) were killed by their son, 6% (no.=113) were killed by other family members, 15% (no.= 296) were killed by men that they knew who were neither current nor former partners or family members, 10% (no.=199) were killed by men with whom they had no known relationship, of which most (n=180, 9% of the total sample) were killed by a stranger

61%

The overwhelming majority of victims were killed by men in their own homes (no.=1422, 71%); most often in the home they shared with the perpetrator (no.=793, 40%)

71%

A knife or other sharp instrument was used in 49% of killings of women. Strangulation or asphyxiation was used in 27% and a blunt instrument was used in 17% (no.=339) of killings. In 16% (no.=322) of cases, a man used his body (kicking, hitting, stamping) as the weapon to kill.

49%

In almost a quarter of cases (23%, no.=464) a man used more than one form of violence to kill

23%

Evidence of overkill was present in at least 59% (no.=1,183) of femicides

59%

Thirty-seven women were killed alongside 53 children, most commonly by the father of the children (77 %, no.=41 of 53 child victims)

77%



Children witnessed at least 162 femicides – most often the killing of their mother by an intimate partner (n=128) in the home (n=114) or in the garden street outside it (n=4)

162

12%(no.=238) of men who killed women were found guilty of manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility or culpable homicide (Scotland), with a further 10%(no.=202) found guilty of manslaughter or culpable homicide using other partial defences

12%

Women killed by men in the UK who have been involved in prostitution tend to be younger and less likely to have been born in the UK than other women killed by men. Their bodies are more likely to be identified as having been subjected to sexual violence and more likely to be subjected to desecration. They are less likely to be killed by a current or former partner

Fifty five men who were convicted of murder have served their minimum terms and are eligible for release following a successful parole board application or have been released

55

12 percent (no. = 243) of men who killed women also killed themselves

12%

Two hundred and eleven men convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to prison before 2020 have been released. Only 18 remain in custody for femicides before 2020

211

Just over 60% (no.=1,211) of men who killed women were found guilty of murder, double murder or multiple murder

60%

Mental ill health was a factor in 58 percent of cases where sons killed their mother (matricides)

58%

# Methodology

## Defining ‘femicide’

The earliest known written version of the term ‘femicide’ is over two hundred years old, though the late Diana Russell is widely acknowledged as bringing the term into modern usage and its first specifically feminist application at the first Tribunal on Crimes Against Women in 1976. Together with Jill Radford in 1992, Russell co-edited a critical book, *Femicide: The politics of Woman Killing*. The text introduced what probably remain the most widely used definitions of femicide: ‘the misogynistic killing of women by men’ and ‘the killing of women because they are women’. The former emphasises the role of misogyny, the latter places femicide within ‘the context of the overall oppression of women in a patriarchal society.’<sup>1</sup>

Definitions of femicide vary, perhaps not surprising as recognition of the specificities of and research into woman-killing has increased and nowhere more so than in academia. Rather than bind our work in the details of meeting the different conditions of possible definitions, we decided that the **Femicide Census** would record ‘women and girls aged 14 and over who have been killed by men’.

We acknowledge that killings of women and girls committed by females can be misogynistic and reflect the conditions of patriarchal society. Equally, our chosen selection criteria does not mean we reject the importance of the work exploring definitions, such as that spearheaded by Myra Dawson in Canada, on sex and gender related indicators (SGRIs) of femicide.

Though we question some contributions, such as whether it is necessary to demonstrate misogynistic intent in woman killing, when in the context of patriarchal societies, the links across and different manifestations of sex inequality are all but inescapable. We also strongly reject work on femicide which is limited to intimate partner or family perpetrated killings. For us, the connections across femicide regardless of the relationship between the woman who is killed and the man who kills her is foundational. We also strongly reject the inclusion of males (with transgender or non-binary self-identities) among femicide victims. Males who reject the stereotypes associated with their sex are not women. Our focus is on female victims of men’s fatal violence.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Radford and J. Russell (1992) *Femicide: The Politics of Women Killing*

## Sample – inclusion criteria

At its most basic, the women whose deaths meant that they were included in this research were: the first 2,000 women and girls aged 14 years and above, killed in the UK since 2009, where a man or men have been identified by state bodies as being responsible for that woman's premature death. Other than in terms of chronology and the start date of **Femicide Census** records, we excluded the date of death as a variable. Our focus instead was on the first 2,000 'solved cases', in other words where the state has held, or has attempted to hold a man or men accountable through the completion of criminal justice processes. We also included cases where the criminal justice processes could not be completed, for example in circumstances where the alleged perpetrator or primary suspect killed himself or died before criminal justice processes could conclude, or where a suspect was deemed unfit to stand trial but the state has otherwise recognized the perpetrators responsibility.

Since the first 2000 women were identified there have been many other killings of women by men and other cases concluded, so our current database contains a higher number of 'solved' cases than those included in this report.

Undoubtedly, other women in the UK were killed by men since 2009. In a number of cases even where a man was arrested, there was a lack of evidence to charge a suspect or reach a guilty verdict where charged. These cases remain unsolved. We know we are also excluding killings of women known as 'hidden homicides',<sup>2</sup> where it is alleged that a man has ended a

woman's life but managed to disguise her death as accidental, natural or at her own hands with him not bearing responsibility; where a man has unintentionally ended a woman's life due to an accident, including accidents caused by reckless behaviour that are not charged as gross negligence manslaughter, or in road traffic accidents. We also exclude British women killed abroad whether living there on a long-term/permanent basis or on a shorter trip.

Where a woman died between 2009 and 2011, cases have been identified by Freedom of Information requests (FOIs) to police forces sent in 2014 and 2015. Where a woman's death was from 2012 onwards, most cases were originally initially collected by the **Femicide Census's** sister project, Counting Dead Women, which gathers data from two main sources: contemporaneous electronic media searches and direct contact to the project from people interested in the campaign via social media platforms, in particular X (formerly Twitter). Searches are conducted regularly, usually several times a week, to maximise the opportunity of identifying cases of men's fatal violence against women. This data is built upon by annual FOI requests to the 42 UK police forces. In order to maximise responses, the request is limited to the names of victim and alleged perpetrator, their relationship, their ethnicities, dates of birth, date of death and method(s) used to kill.

This data is augmented with information obtained from publicly available sources such as news reports, court records, judges' sentencing remarks, coroner's reports,

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<sup>2</sup> A term introduced by Jane Monckton Smith

reviews (including domestic homicide reviews and serious case reviews) and inquiries, creating a rich body of information.

Information gathered from each case is stored as data on the custom-built platform 'Relativity', a sophisticated, interactive software database hosted and created by multinational, professional services network, Deloitte. Data is noted as being either verified (i.e. data coming from,

or otherwise verified by, police or another public authority), or not verified (i.e. coming from publicly available sources, including newspaper articles). The information that remains unverified includes further details relating to the femicides, victims, perpetrators, criminal justice outcomes and sentencing.

The **Femicide Census** voluntarily adheres to the Code of Practice for Statistics.

## Limitations

Save for information made public for all homicides identified in 2023, the Metropolitan Police force has not responded to any of The **Femicide Census**' FOI requests. As the force covers the largest constabulary (by population) in the UK, it is possible that there is an undercount of women killed by men in London. Despite an assurance that this would be continued, later data has not been made public. Over the years a number of other police forces have not responded to our FOI requests on an ad hoc basis. Where possible we have identified victims through other means.

The **Femicide Census** does not have access to material beyond that is held in the public domain. We can only record information that has been discovered,

noted, shared and published. There are women who told no-one about what had been done or what was being done to them, those who kept women's disclosures secret, those who suspected but never said anything, police officers failing to identify and note evidence, hard drives never searched, internet search histories never discovered, potential charges dropped by the CPS, defendants lies believed and victim testimonies never heard. These and many other factors mean we will only ever know a fraction of the realities of women who have been killed by men, the men who killed them and the circumstances of the femicides. We only ever include data that we can evidence. As such, much of what we report on the circumstances surrounding the killings of women will be an undercount.



# 2,000 Women

1992 men were convicted of killing or otherwise found responsible for the death of the 2,000 women who are the focus of this report.

## Age of Victims and Perpetrators

The majority of women killed by men were aged between 20 and 60 (no.=1458, 73% of the whole sample) and 56% of women aged 20–60 were in their 30s and 40s when they were killed.

Age Bands	Total	%
14–19	108	5.40
20–29	357	17.85
30–39	413	20.65
40–49	401	20.05
50–59	287	14.35
60–69	170	8.50
70–79	143	7.15
80–89	104	5.20
90–99	13	0.65
100+	2	0.10
Information Not Publicly Available	2	0.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 1

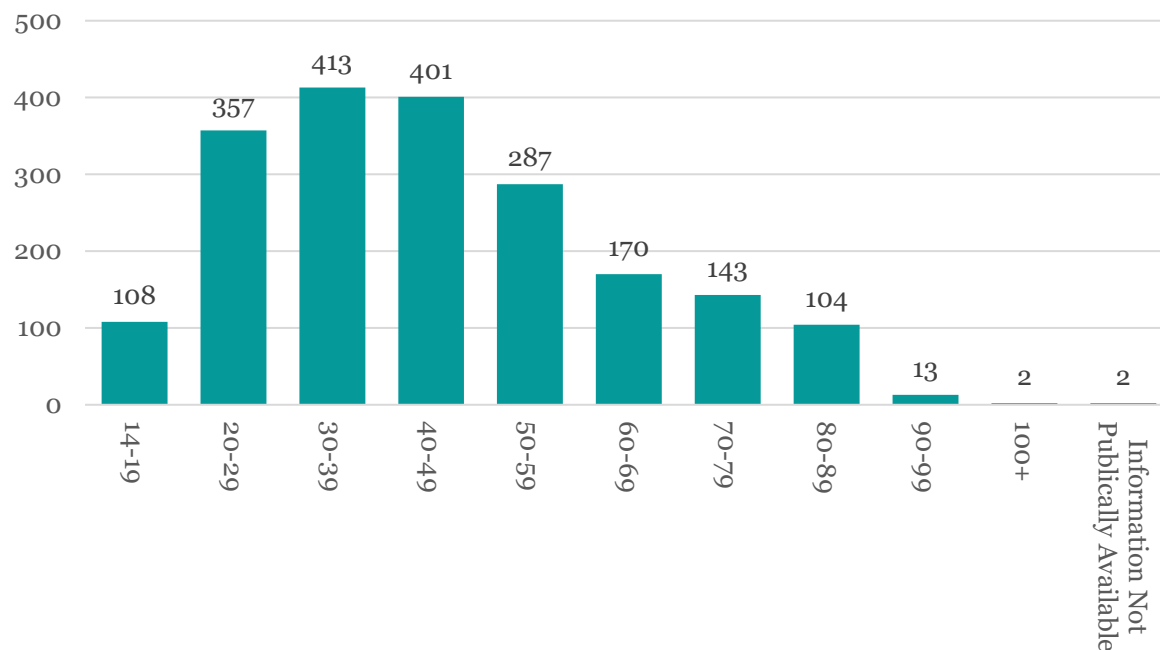


Figure 1

## Age of Perpetrators

Age Bands	Total	%
Under 14	2	0.1
14–19	92	4.62
20–29	420	21.08
30–39	478	24
40–49	440	22.09
50–59	314	15.76
60–69	129	6.48
70–79	63	3.16
80–89	44	2.21
90–99	3	0.15
Information not publicly available	7	0.35
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,992</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2

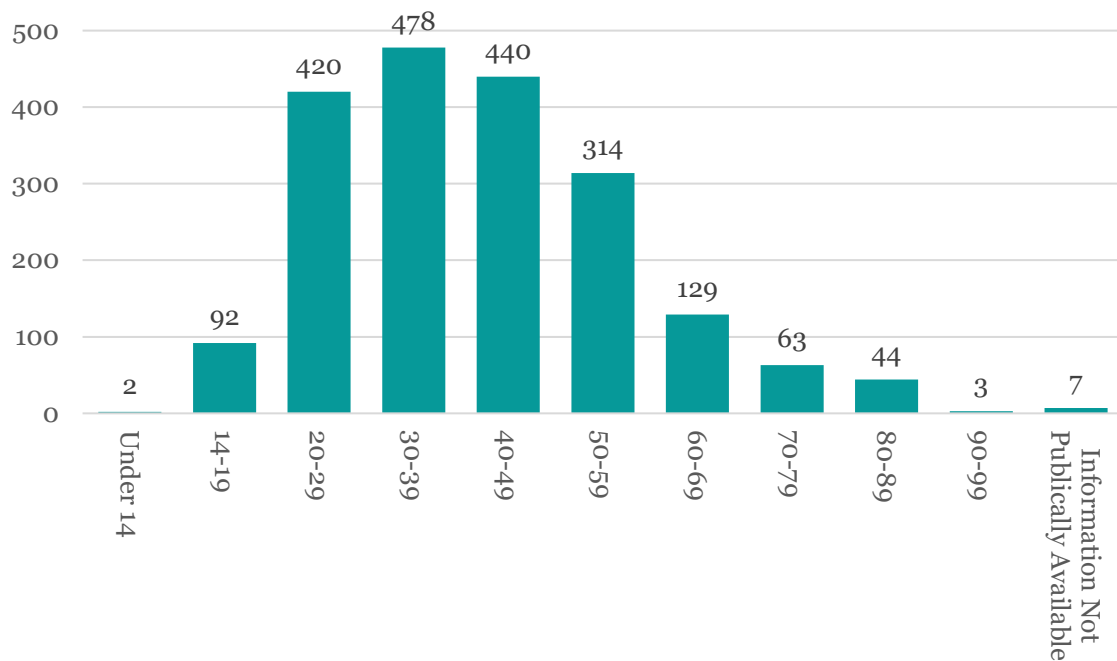


Figure 2

## Comparing Victim and Perpetrator Age Profiles

Although the ages of victims and perpetrators follow a similar pattern of distribution, there are differences. In short, there are more teenage victims than perpetrators and there are more victims aged sixty years and over than there are perpetrators. Between the ages of 20 and 59, perpetrators outnumber victims.

Eighty-three percent of all men who killed women were aged between 20 and 59, while this age group accounted for 73 percent of victims. From the age of 60 upwards, the number of victims in each age band exceeds the number of perpetrators, accounting for 22 percent of victims and 12 percent of perpetrators.

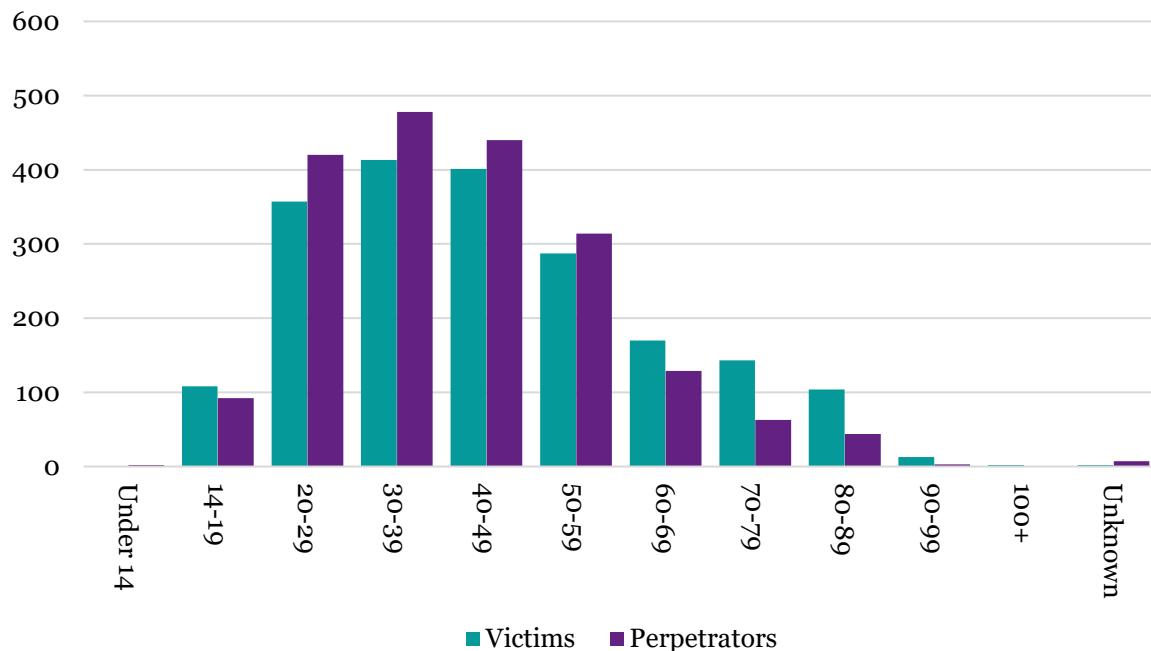


Figure 3

See appendix 1 for this information presented in a table.



## Victim's Relationship to the Perpetrator

Over 60 per cent of victims were killed by an intimate partner (no.=1213). Of these women, the overwhelming majority (96%) were killed by a spouse (no.=509), current partner (n=424) or former partner (no.=227). In the Immediate Family category, over 80% of victims were women killed by their sons (no.=172).

Relationship Category <sup>3</sup>	Total	% of All Victims	Relationship to Perpetrator	Total	% of Relationship Category	% of All Victims
<b>Intimate</b>	1213	60.65	Spouse	509	41.96	25.45
			Intimate Partner	424	34.95	21.20
			Former Intimate Partner	227	18.71	11.35
			Former Spouse	36	2.96	1.80
			Casual/On-Off/Ongoing Contact	12	0.98	0.60
			First Contact (sexual)	5	0.41	0.25
			<b>Total</b>	<b>1213</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>60.65</b>
<b>Immediate Family</b>	213	10.65	Mother	172	80.75	8.6
			Sister	17	7.98	0.85
			Daughter	15	7.04	0.75
			Step-Daughter	5	2.35	0.25
			Step-Mother	3	1.41	0.15
			Step-Sister	1	0.47	0.05
			<b>Total</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10.65</b>
<b>Extended Family</b>	72	3.6	Grandmother	24	33.33	1.2
			Mother-in-Law <sup>4</sup> or Ex-Mother-in-Law <sup>5</sup>	13	18.06	0.65
			Sister-in-Law	9	12.5	0.45
			Mother of Perpetrator's Ex-Partner	6	8.33	0.3
			Niece	6	8.33	0.3
			Aunt	4	5.56	0.2
			Mother of Perpetrator's Partner	3	4.17	0.15
			Step-Grandmother	3	4.17	0.15
			Partner of Perpetrator's Father	2	2.78	0.1
			Other Extended Family	1	1.39	0.05
			Relative of Partner/Ex-Partner	1	1.39	0.05
			<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3.6</b>

<sup>3</sup> Some victims are killed by more than one perpetrator. Sometimes the relationship between the victim and perpetrators are the same but not in every case. In this data, only one relationship is counted. For example, where a victim is killed by her intimate partner and his friend/acquaintance, 'intimate' is selected as the primary or most significant relationship between the victim and perpetrator(s).

<sup>4</sup> n=8

<sup>5</sup> n=5

Relationship Category <sup>3</sup>	Total	% of All Victims	Relationship to Perpetrator	Total	% of Relationship Category	% of All Victims			
Known to Each Other	296	14.8	Acquaintance (Including Friend or Social Acquaintance)	144	48.6	7.20			
			Neighbour	38	12.8	1.90			
			Housemate	18	6.1	0.90			
			Business associate / colleague	17	5.7	0.85			
			Landlady	16	5.4	0.80			
			Escort/Prostituted Woman	14	4.7	0.7			
			First Contact	12	4.1	0.6			
			Relative of Partner/Ex-Partner	11	3.7	0.55			
			Fellow Care Home Resident	6	2	0.3			
			Relative of Acquaintance	3	1	0.15			
			Friend of Perpetrator's Partner/ex-partner	3	1	0.15			
			Tenant / Lodger	2	0.7	0.1			
			Partner/ex-partner of Acquaintance	2	0.7	0.1			
			Partner/ex-partner of Relative	2	0.7	0.1			
			Unknown	3	1	0.15			
			Patient/Cared For	3	1	0.15			
			Foster Carer	1	0.3	0.05			
			Partner of Perpetrator's Ex-Partner	1	0.3	0.05			
						Total	296	100	14.8
			No Known Relationship	199	9.95	Stranger	180	90	9
Escort/Prostituted Woman	10	5				0.5			
Neighbour	5	3				0.25			
Relative of Acquaintance	2	1				0.1			
Fellow Care Home Resident	2	1				0.1			
			Total	199	100	9.95			
Unknown	7	0.35	Unknown	7	100	0.35			
			Total	7	100	0.35			
Total	2000	100		2000	—	100			

Table 3

Compared to femicide victims, male victims of homicide are more likely to be killed by an acquaintance or stranger. They are much less likely to be killed by a current or former partner or parent.<sup>6</sup> As we have said previously, femicide is not simply homicide with female victims, it differs in what the perpetrator does and to whom.

<sup>6</sup> Office of National Statistics (2024)

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/appendixtableshomicideinenglandandwales>

## Age of victims and relationship with perpetrator

The age of a victim affects who is most likely to be her killer.

### Ages of women killed and relationship with killer by percentage of age group of victims

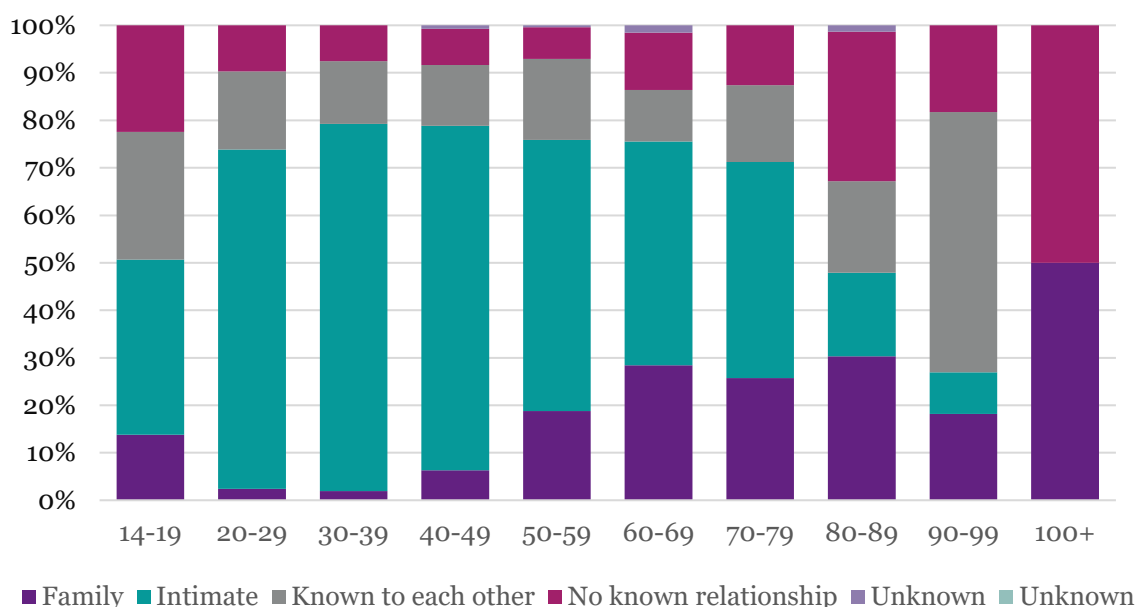


Figure 4

See appendix 2 for this information presented in a table.

Just over one third (36%, no.=39) of teenage victims were killed by a current or former intimate partner. While this was the largest relationship category for victims aged 14 to 19, the proportion of women of a given age group being killed by a current or former partner increases until women are in their thirties and then begins to decrease again with victim age. Sixty-nine percent of women in their twenties, 77 percent of women in their thirties and 71 percent of women in their forties are killed by a current or former partner. Only by the time victims are in their seventies is the ratio of those killed by current or former

partners lower than that for teenage victims. Nineteen percent of women killed by men when the victim was aged over 70 years, and 13 percent of victims killed when they were over 80 years of age, were killed by a current or former intimate partner.

Women aged 50 and over are those most likely to be killed by a family member compared to women of different ages (no.=210/719, 29% of women aged 50 and over). This largely reflects women being killed by their sons and a smaller number of older women killed by grandsons.

Younger and older women are the age groups more likely to be killed by a stranger. 22% (no.=24) of young women and girls aged under 19 were killed by stranger. The figure was ten percent (no.=34) for women in their twenties. For women aged 30 to 59, (no.=79) seven percent were killed by strangers. Eleven percent of women killed aged 60 to 79 were killed by strangers. Of women who were 80 years or older, 23 percent (no.=27) were killed by strangers.

The killings of older women in attacks carried out by strangers include women killed in the context of a burglary. Sixty-seven percent (no.=48/72) of women killed in the context of a burglary were over sixty years of age. Of these, 69 percent (no. = 33/48) were killed by a stranger. These attacks cannot be described as purely random as older women are likely selected because of the vulnerability that comes with their age: they are more likely to live alone and to be physically less strong. One might imagine that in these cases, vulnerable older women are not killed intentionally but because they interrupted a burglary as it happened, yet the killings of 48 percent (no.=16/33) of women killed over 60 years of age in the context of a robbery by a stranger involved overkill and at least four included sexual violence.

One 94-year-old woman was battered and dragged into her bathroom, where the 21-year-old perpetrator continued the attack and attempted to rape her. On the way to hospital, she pleaded with paramedics to

let her die. Once there, her condition deteriorated and she died two months later, when she was 95, from pneumonia brought on by her ordeal. A 26-year-old man raped a 74-year-old woman, he also repeatedly hit her on the head and body and compressed her throat and restricted her breathing. He was a registered-sex offender, with 33 prior convictions including but not limited to sexual assault. He was on bail at the time of the attack. Despite his history, a review into the rape and murder concluded the attack could not have been reasonably predicted. A 34-year-old-man who was released on licence, and was being monitored by police as a registered sex offender subjected a 67-year-old woman to a sustained attack during which he repeatedly punched, kicked and stamped on her head and body. He also raped her and struck her with pieces of wood from a broken chair. A 94-year-old woman suffered 80 separate injuries, including 27 to her head and face from a sustained assault with a knife and hammer. Her 23-year-old killer sexually abused her as she lay dying.

The misogynistic intent in these killings is clear. The use of sexual and sustained violence against elderly women who are unknown persons to the much younger men who kill them poses the question of why? We must be prepared to look at challenges like this if we are to address the full scourge of men's violence against women.

## Country of Birth of Victims and Perpetrators

Both victims and perpetrators were similarly and most likely to have been born in the UK, or where we could not identify this definitively, believed to have been born in the UK. That is, 82 percent of victims (no.=1649) and 83 percent of perpetrators (no.=1,664) are believed to have been born in the UK.

The UK 2021 Census recorded that 83.2 percent of 59.6 million people usually resident in England and Wales in 2021 were born in the UK. The 2022 Scottish Census recorded that 83.3 percent of Scotland's population was born in Scotland. In both cases, it is believed that the proportion of the population that was born outside the UK is increasing.<sup>7 8</sup>

In England, Wales and Scotland, the three most common non-UK countries of birth for usual residents in 2021 were India,

Poland and Pakistan, with England and Wales recording a large increase in the number of people born in Romania.

The Northern Ireland 2021 Census recorded that 6.5 percent of the population was born outside the UK and Ireland, with the largest numbers of people born outside those countries being born in Poland, Lithuania, India and Romania.<sup>9</sup>

Although the population of UK residents born in the UK is not static and the data in this report does not represent a fixed point in time, the Census data suggests that the proportion of perpetrators and victims of femicide in the UK, who were born outside the UK, broadly matches the proportion of people resident in the UK.

<sup>7</sup> Office of National Statistics. International migration, England and Wales: Census 2021. Available at <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/internationalmigrationenglandandwales/census2021>

<sup>8</sup> Scotland's Census. Scotland's Census 2022 - Demography and migration. Available at <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/2022-results/scotland-s-census-2022-demography-and-migration/>

<sup>9</sup> Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (2022) Main statistics for Northern Ireland Statistical bulletin. Available at <https://www.nisra.gov.uk/system/files/statistics/census-2021-main-statistics-for-northern-ireland-phase-1-statistical-bulletin-country-of-birth.pdf>

## Country of Birth of Victims

Country of Birth	Total	Country of Birth	Total	Country of Birth	Total
Believed to be UK	1,649	Australia	3	Barbados	1
Poland	48	Bulgaria	3	Bolivia	1
Unknown	18	Canada	3	Dominican Republic	1
India	17	Colombia	3	El Salvador	1
Pakistan	16	Cyprus	3	Fiji	1
Romania	16	Gambia	3	Greece	1
Latvia	14	Nepal	3	Israel	1
China	12	South Africa	3	Kenya	1
Lithuania	12	Uganda	3	Korea, Republic of (South Korea)	1
Zimbabwe	10	Venezuela	3	Lebanon	1
Vietnam	9	Belgium	2	Libya	1
Hungary	7	Brazil	2	Malawi	1
Italy	7	Czech Republic	2	Malaysia	1
Philippines	7	France	2	Mexico	1
Ireland	6	Germany	2	Morocco	1
Russia	6	Ghana	2	Palestine	1
Somalia	6	Iraq	2	Peru	1
United States of America	6	Kuwait	2	Republic of Congo	1
Afghanistan	5	Mauritius	2	Saudi Arabia	1
Bangladesh	5	Moldova	2	Singapore	1
Eritrea	5	New Zealand	2	Sri Lanka	1
Jamaica	5	Sierra Leone	2	Sweden	1
Portugal	5	Slovak Republic (Slovakia)	2	Tanzania	1
Albania	4	Spain	2	Timor Leste	1
Iran	4	Sudan	2	Ukraine	1
Nigeria	4	Turkey	2	Uzbekistan	1
Thailand	4	Yemen	2	Zambia	1
				<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>

Table 4



## Country of Birth of Perpetrators

Country of Birth	Total	Country of Birth	Total	Country of Birth	Total
Believed to be UK/ Scotland / Ireland	1,664	Sierra Leone	3	Ireland	1
Poland	41	Sudan	3	Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire)	1
Unknown	34	United States of America	3	Jordan	1
Pakistan	23	Argentina	2	Malawi	1
India	19	Brazil	2	Malaysia	1
Romania	18	Bulgaria	2	Mauritius	1
Lithuania	13	Gambia	2	Mexico	1
Iran	9	Germany	2	Moldova	1
Iraq	9	Kuwait	2	Montserrat	1
Bangladesh	8	Morocco	2	Nepal	1
Jamaica	8	Netherlands	2	New Zealand	1
Nigeria	8	Norway	2	Philippines	1
Afghanistan	7	Russia	2	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1
China	7	Spain	2	Singapore	1
Latvia	7	Uganda	2	Sri Lanka	1
Zimbabwe	7	Armenia	1	Syria	1
Somalia	6	Barbados	1	Tanzania	1
Turkey	6	Colombia	1	Timor Leste	1
Eritrea	5	Cyprus	1	Trinidad & Tobago	1
Portugal	5	Djibouti	1	Tunisia	1
South Africa	5	Dominican Republic	1	Uruguay	1
Albania	4	Estonia	1	Venezuela	1
Czech Republic	3	France	1	Vietnam	1
Ghana	3	Greece	1	Yemen	1
Hungary	3	Guinea-Bissau	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,992</b>
Italy	3				

Table 5

# Femicides

## Location of Incident

The overwhelming majority of victims were killed by men in the victim's own home (no=1422, 71%); most often in the home they shared with the perpetrator (n=793, 40%).

Location of incident	Total	%
Victim/perpetrator's home <sup>10</sup>	793	39.65
Victim's home <sup>11</sup>	629	31.45
Outdoors: public area	177	8.85
Perpetrator's home <sup>12</sup>	155	7.75
Garden/street outside victim's home	37	1.85
Victim's workplace	28	1.4
House: no further information	27	1.35
Perpetrator's vehicle	25	1.25
Unknown	18	0.9
Other	17	0.85
Care home	14	0.7
Relative's home	14	0.7
Other victim's home	11	0.55
Garden/street outside victim/perpetrator's home	10	0.5
Friend's home	9	0.45
Street/area outside victim's workplace	9	0.45
Caravan / holiday home	8	0.4
Hotel/B&B	8	0.4
Perpetrator's workplace	6	0.3
Victim's vehicle	6	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6

<sup>10</sup> Including sheltered housing n=9

<sup>11</sup> Including sheltered housing n=6

<sup>12</sup> Including sheltered housing n=1

## Context of Violence

The most frequently selected context of violence was ‘Domestic-Intimate Partner Violence’ (no.=1202, 60%), followed by ‘Mental Health’ (no.=242, 12%) and ‘Domestic-Son-Mother’ (no.=174, 9%). Grouped by the victim’s relationship to the perpetrator, Table gives a breakdown of all contexts of violence relevant to the femicide. (%). In many cases there were a number of different contexts hence the number of contexts is greater than the total femicides.

Context of Violence	Extended family	Family	Intimate	Known to each other	No known relationship	Unknown	Total	% of All Victims
Domestic – Intimate Partner Violence	–	–	1,202	–	–	–	1,202	60.10
Mental Health	13	110	59	33	25	2	242	12.10
Domestic – Son-Mother	–	174	–	–	–	–	174	8.70
Sexually Motivated	6	3	14	55	34	–	113	5.60
Dispute/Grudge/Revenge	2	2	7	76	10	–	97	4.85
In the Course of Other Crime – Robbery or Burglary	–	–	–	24	47	1	72	3.60
Financial Gain	2	6	19	34	4	–	65	3.25
Domestic – Extended Family	56	1	–	–	–	–	57	2.85
IPV Collateral	18	4	–	16	2	–	40	2.00
Mercy Killing	–	8	31	–	–	–	39	1.95
Rejected Advance	–	–	2	26	–	–	28	1.40
Prostitution/Pornography	–	–	1	14	12	–	27	1.35
Unknown	–	–	1	17	3	4	25	1.25
Symbolic Woman	–	1	–	4	18	–	23	1.15
Terrorism	–	–	–	–	23	–	23	1.15
Problematic Substance Misuse	1	5	4	8	3	–	21	1.05
Domestic – Brother–Sister	–	18	–	–	–	–	18	0.90
Domestic – Father-Daughter	–	18	–	–	–	–	18	0.90
Other	–	2	4	10	2	–	18	0.90
Domestic – Child-Parent	–	15	–	–	–	–	15	0.75
Revenge against Victim's Family Member	–	–	–	10	5	–	15	0.75

Context of Violence	Extended family	Family	Intimate	Known to each other	No known relationship	Unknown	Total	% of All Victims
Mistaken Victim	–	1	–	1	12	–	14	0.70
Resulting from an Offence of Arson	1	–	–	5	7	–	13	0.65
In the Course of Other Crime – Other than Robbery or Burglary	–	1	–	2	6	–	9	0.45
Assisted Suicide or Suicide Pact	–	–	8	–	–	–	8	0.40
Human Trafficking	–	–	–	–	8	–	8	0.40
Honour Killing	2	–	4	–	–	–	6	0.30
Authority Figure – Known	–	–	–	4	–	–	4	0.20
Reckless Act – Motor Vehicle	–	–	–	1	2	–	3	0.15
Authority Figure – Unknown	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	0.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>1,356</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2,398</b>	<b>N/A</b>

Table 6

## Multi-Contexts of Violence

In 364 femicides more than one context was relevant to the killing. The most frequently selected multi-context was ‘Domestic-Son-Mother’ *and* ‘Mental Health’ followed by ‘Domestic-Intimate Partner-Violence’ *and* ‘Mental Health’. In this sample, the mental health of the perpetrator was a context of violence in 102 cases of mothers killed by sons<sup>13</sup> (57.95% of 176 women killed by sons) and in 58 cases of women killed by an (ex) intimate partner (5% of 1202<sup>14</sup> women killed in a context of intimate partner violence). Significantly, the killings of mothers by sons make up the most significant proportion of all relationship categories where mental health was a context of violence (no.=241 42%).

Relationship to Perpetrator	Context of Violence	Frequency	% of Total Relationship Category
Mother	Domestic – Son-Mother + Mental Health	96	54.54
	Domestic – Son-Mother + Mental Health + Problematic Substance Misuse	4	2.27
	Domestic – Son-Mother + Mental Health + Mercy Killing <sup>15</sup>	2	1.13
	<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>57.95</b>
Intimate/ ex-intimate	Domestic – Intimate Partner Violence + Mental Health	52	4.33
	Domestic – Intimate Partner Violence + Mental Health + Mercy Killing	4	0.33
	Domestic – Intimate Partner Violence + Mental Health + Dispute Grudge Revenge	1	0.08
	Domestic – Intimate Partner Violence + Mental Health + Problematic Substance Misuse	1	0.08
	<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>4.83</b>

Table 7

<sup>13</sup> Includes step-son n=1

<sup>14</sup> The number of victims killed in a context of intimate partner violence (n=1202) is different to the number of victims killed by an ‘intimate’ (n=1213). The ‘Relationship category: Intimate’ includes six victims where the relationship to the perpetrator was categorised as ‘Casual/On-Off/Ongoing Contact’ (n=1) and ‘First Contact: Sexual’ (n=5). The contexts of violence in these femicides were ‘Sexually Motivated’ n=3; ‘Sexually Motivated’ *and* ‘Rejected Advance’ (n=1); ‘Dispute/Grudge/Revenge’ n=1 and ‘Other’ n=1). Four other victims were killed by an intimate partner in contexts other than intimate partner violence. These were ‘Financial Gain’ n=2 and ‘Other’ n=2).

<sup>15</sup> Contexts of ‘Mercy Killing’ (n=39) and/or ‘Assisted Suicide or Suicide Pact’ (n=8) are identified 47 times in respect of 42 victims. All are counted as a multi-context of violence, either of ‘Domestic-Intimate Partner Violence’ (n=34, 3% of all women killed by an intimate) or ‘Domestic-Son Mother’ (n=8, 5% of all women killed by a son/step son). A context of ‘Mental Health’ is also counted in six cases (see Table 7).

## Method of Killing

Method of Killing	Total	% of Femicides
Sharp instrument	935	46.75
Strangulation/Asphyxiation <sup>16</sup>	550	27.50
Blunt instrument	339	16.95
Kicking / hitting / stamping	322	16.10
Shooting	75	3.75
Firearm (73)		
Crossbow (2)		
Arson – setting fire and causing death by fire	46	2.30
Unknown	43	2.15
Cause of Death Could Not Be Established (22)		
Body Not Found (16)		
Information Not Publicly Available (5)		
Causing to fall against a hard surface / pushed or thrown from height	42	2.10
Other – head injuries	38	1.90
Other – motor vehicle	27	1.35
Burning, scalding <sup>17</sup>	27	1.35
Explosion	20	1.00
Drowning	17	0.85
Poisoning – alcohol or drugs	15	0.75
Secondary cause resulting from assault	14	0.70
Other	12	0.60
Hyperthermia	9	0.45
Other – neglect	7	0.35
Other poisoning (incl. carbon monoxide poisoning)	5	0.25
Contributed to victim killing herself <sup>18</sup>	3	0.15
Acid / Ammonia / Corrosive Liquid	2	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,548</b>	<b>N/A</b>

Table 8

<sup>16</sup> In at least 26 femicides, women were both strangled and asphyxiated. Strangulation or asphyxiation could not be determined in respect of one woman. Multiple methods were used to kill her, including breathing obstruction.

<sup>17</sup> Twenty women were doused in an accelerant and set alight. Two women were burnt by scalding with water. Three women were locked or trapped inside a burning car. One woman was beaten and burnt with a hot iron. One woman suffered 68 per cent burns in an arson attack which also killed her four children. She died in hospital 20 months later.

<sup>18</sup> Three victims took their own lives following coercive control. In two cases, it was found that the respective police forces could have done more to prevent their deaths. In one case, 34 incident records were recorded by police (Few, 2020). The victim endured a sustained campaign of stalking and harassment over months. The perpetrator was convicted of manslaughter, coercive control and stalking. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and five on licence. An inquest recorded a verdict of unlawful killing in a second case, noting that the victim was subjected to months of controlling and coercive behaviour and abuse by her then partner. He was sentenced to four years and three months for controlling and coercive behaviour, assault occasioning actual bodily harm and assault by beating. He was also made subject of Criminal Behaviour Order. In the third case, an inquest outcome was amended following judicial review. The victim's death followed a coercive and controlling relationship which escalated after separation. The Record of Inquest now states that the victim took her own life 'due to an emotionally abusive relationship'.



## Number of Methods Used to Kill Victim

Number of Methods	Total	%
1	1,487	74.35
2	385	19.25
3	69	3.45
Unknown – Cause of death could not be established	22	1.09
Unknown – Body not found	19 <sup>19</sup>	0.95
4	7	0.35
Unknown – Information not publicly available	5	0.25
>4	3	0.15
Other – Suicide due to domestic violence and abuse	3	0.15
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 9

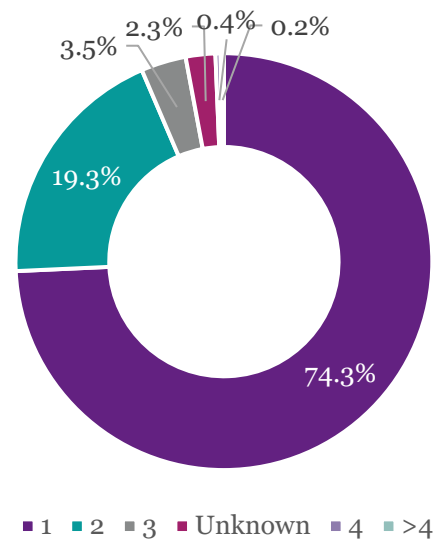


Figure 5

## Overkill

“Overkilling” is defined as the use of excessive, gratuitous violence beyond that necessary to cause the victim’s death.<sup>20</sup> Overkilling is considered when more than one method of killing was recorded, as well as excessive or gratuitous levels of violence within one method.

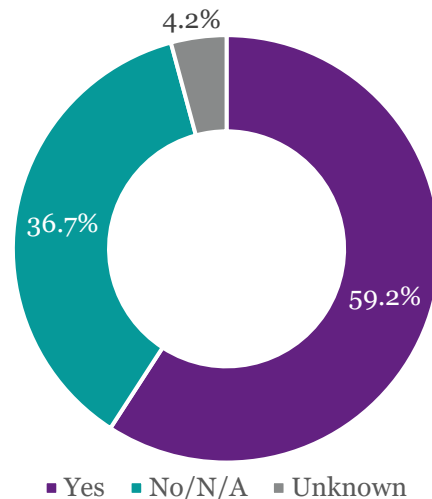


Figure 6

<sup>19</sup> Method of killing was established/recorded by means other than postmortem in three cases where the victim’s remains have not been found. Blood stain pattern analysis indicated a sharp instrument was used to kill one victim. It was accepted by the court (based on perpetrator testimony) that another victim was bludgeoned to death with a hammer. The coroner recorded the cause of death as head injuries for the third victim.

<sup>20</sup> Mitchell, C., Anglin, A., (2009) *Intimate Partner Violence: A Health-Based Perspective*, p. 325, Oxford University Press.

## Does the relationship between the victim and perpetrator affect how he chooses to kill her?

The short answer to this is yes, but perhaps not as much as we might expect.

### Methods of killing

The table and graph below look at variations in methods used to kill across relationship categories.

There are a greater number of methods (2,548) than victims (2,000) because of femicides where men used more than one method of fatal or potentially fatal violence. This is not the same of the numbers of methods used as additional methods which in themselves were not used to lethal extents are not included in this data.

### Relationship and methods used to kill (numbers)

Relationship Category	Intimate (n=1,553)	Known to each other (n=378)	Family (n=285)	No known relationship (n=254)	Unknown (n=8)	Total – Methods of Killing (n=2,548)
Sharp instrument	610	123	152	47	3	935
Strangulation/Asphyxiation	372	80	58	40	0	550
Blunt instrument	204	58	52	25	0	339
Kicking / hitting / stamping	190	52	42	38	0	322
Other <sup>21</sup>	65	23	22	36	3	149
Shooting	45	9	9	12	0	75
Arson – setting fire and causing death by fire	9	11	10	16	0	46
Unknown	20	15	1	5	2	43
Causing to fall against a hard surface / pushed or thrown from height	19	4	4	15	0	42
Burning or scalding	18	3	5	1	0	27
Explosion	1	0	0	19	0	20
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1,553</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2,548</b>

Table 10

<sup>21</sup> The category 'Other' is made up of 149 incidences. The methods and their frequency are as follows: Other – head injuries (38); Other – motor vehicle (27); Drowning (17); Poisoning, alcohol or drugs (15); Secondary cause resulting from assault (14); Other – different from the categories mentioned (12); Hyperthermia (9); Other – neglect (7); Other – poisoning (including carbon monoxide poisoning) (5); Contributed to victim killing herself (3); and Acid / Ammonia / Corrosive Liquid (2).

## Distribution (percentage) of methods used to kill across relationship categories <sup>22</sup>

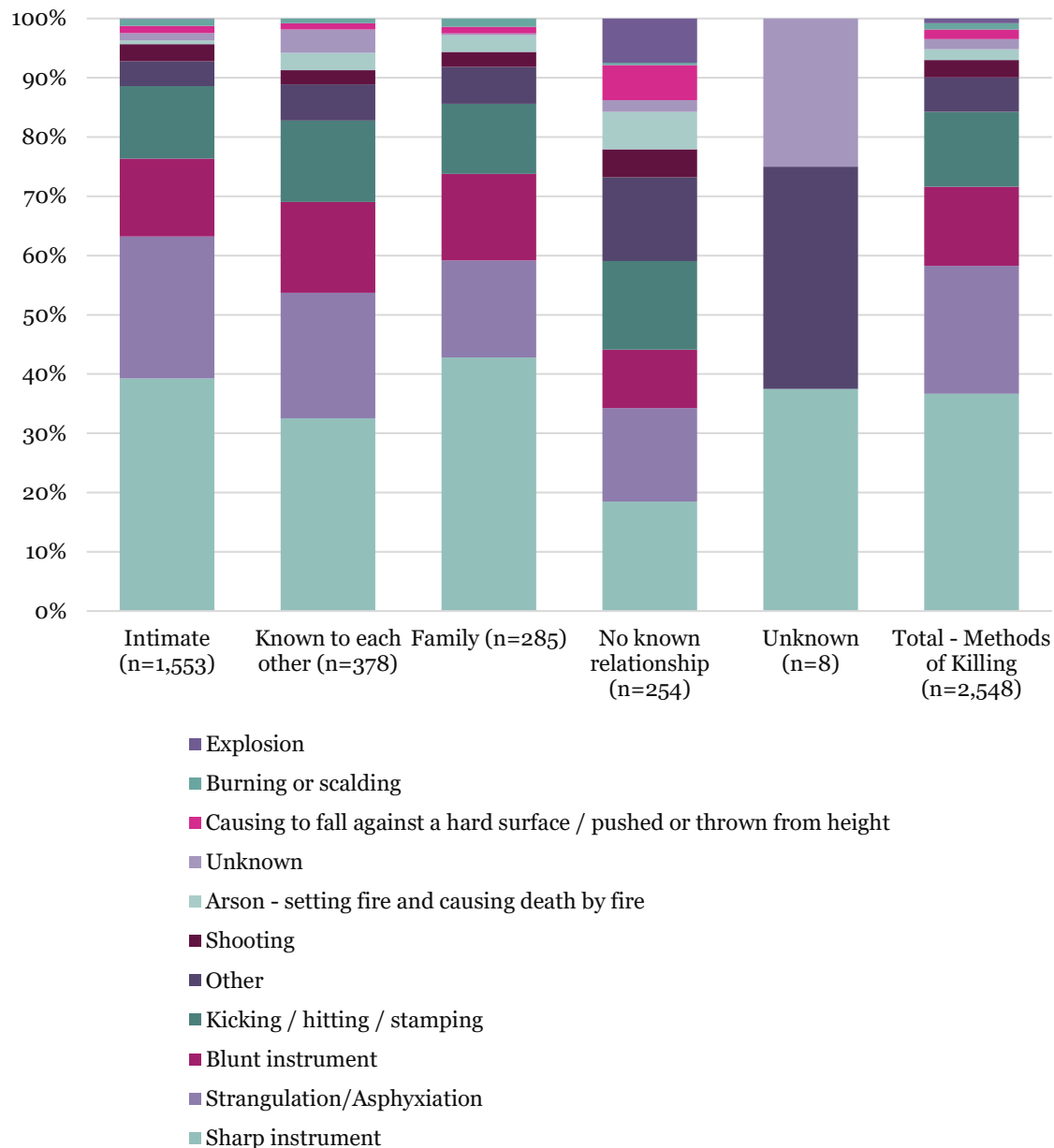


Figure 7

The table for the above chart can be found at Appendix Three, page 71.

<sup>22</sup> Percentages were calculated by dividing the number of instances of each method of killing within a given relationship category by the total number of women in that category (n=2,000), rather than the total number of recorded methods (n=2,548). This approach ensures that the distribution reflects the proportion of women affected, acknowledging that multiple methods may have been recorded for individual cases. Consequently, percentages in some categories may exceed 100%; however, they were standardised to a total of 100% to facilitate clearer visual interpretation of the data

In most cases, the variation between the average distribution of methods men used to kill women does not differ from the average for the whole sample by more than three percentage points.

The greatest variations can be seen where we could find no identifiable relationship between victim and perpetrator – that is, as far as we know, they were strangers and used strangulation/asphyxiation or a knife or other sharp instrument was used to stab or slash.

Where the victim and perpetrators were believed to be strangers, the victims were significantly less likely to be killed by a man using a sharp instrument (almost half as likely), by strangulation/asphyxiation (just under a third less likely) or by a man using a blunt instrument, (just under a third less likely). On the other hand, compared to the average across the whole sample, victims were over three times

more likely to be killed by arson and three times more likely to be killed by a fall from height or push against a hard surface. There were four times as many victims killed by men who were strangers using other means as the average across the sample. This category includes the victims of the Manchester Arena bombing of 2017, an event where women and girls were targeted, the victims of the 2019 Essex people smuggling case who died from hyperthermia and asphyxia who were not known to the perpetrators, as well as women killed by acid/ammonia, poisoning, neglect or suicide.

The variations here are less significant than the variations when men kill men compared to when they kill women, further illustrating that femicide is inherently different to homicide of males.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Office for National Statistics (2024)  
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/appendixtableshomicideineEnglandandWales>

## Overkill, violation of the body and sexual violence

### Overkill

Relationship Category	Evidence of overkill (number)	Evidence of overkill (percentage of relationship category)
Intimate	734	60.5
Family	135	63.4
(Of whom mothers killed by sons)	113	65.7
Extended family	47	65.3
Known to each other	176	59.5
No known relationship	89	44.7
Unknown	2	28.6
<b>All</b>	<b>1,183</b>	<b>59.2</b>

Table 11

As shown on page 36, across the sample of 2,000 women, at least 1,183 women, (59%), had been subjected to overkill. The figure is slightly higher, though not significantly so, for women killed by current or former partners, at 60.5 percent. It is higher for women killed by family members, 63.4 percent for those killed by close family

members, 65.3 percent for those killed by members of their extended family (average 63.9 percent). We found evidence of overkill in 65.7 percent of women killed by their sons. Where women were killed by a stranger, the prevalence of overkill identified was significantly lower at 44.7 percent.

## Violation of the body

Across the sample of 2,000 women, the bodies of at least 447 women (22.4 percent) had been subjected to at least one form of violation post death.

Relationship Category	Chemicals / Acid	Concealment / Disposal / Covering	Dismemberment	Mutilation	Other	Setting fire	Sexual Violation	Total	No of Victims	Percentage of victim group
Intimate	1	176	21	12	50	28	10	298	248	20.4
Family	0	31	7	7	14	13	4	76	63	22.2
(Of whom mothers killed by sons)	0	15	5	6	6	4	1	37	32	18.6
Known to each other	0	68	8	4	16	18	14	128	95	32.1
No known relationship	1	31	5	2	3	6	8	56	41	20.6
<b>All</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>558</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>22.4</b>

Table 12

The table above shows the forms of violation committed against women's bodies according to relationship category. The number of violations is greater than the number of victims whose bodies were violated as some women's bodies were subjected to more than one form of violation. The total number of victims per relationship category is shown in the second column from the right. The percentage of victims whose bodies were violated as a percentage of the number of

victims in the given relationship category is the final column.

There was little variation from the average across the different relationship categories, though women killed by men they knew and with whom they had not been in a relationship with nor were related to, were more likely to have their bodies violated. If women killed by their sons are looked at in isolation, their bodies were less likely to be violated.

## Sexual violence

Across the sample of 2,000 women, we found evidence that 113 women (5.7 percent of the total sample) were subjected to sexual or sexualized violence as or immediately after they were killed.<sup>24</sup> We believe this is a significant undercount for the reasons described. Women killed by strangers or by men they knew but with whom they had not been in a relationship with nor were related, were much more

likely to be subjected to sexual violence than the sample average. Evidence of sexual violence was less likely to be identified in women killed by current or former partners. This may reflect perpetrator motivations but it also could, in part, be because identification of perpetrator DNA or body fluids could be more easily explained away.

Relationship category	Number	Percentage of relationship group
Intimate	25	2.1
Family	6	2.8
Extended family	6	8.3
Known to each other	43	14.5
No known relationship	33	16.6
Unknown	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>5.7</b>

Table 13\

<sup>24</sup> The Femicide Census records both sexual violence as a context of femicide and separately records use of sexual violence therefore these figures may differ.



## Multiple homicides & additional fatal victims

For the first time, the **Femicide Census** has gathered data on the number of multiple femicides/homicides, as well as data on fatal child and adult victims killed alongside femicide victims.

A total of 96<sup>25</sup> victims (including young women girls of at least 14 years) were killed by 58 men in the same incident.

Type	Number of Femicide Victims	% of Victims
Double Femicide	84	87.5
Triple Femicide	12	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 14

Of these 96 victims, 29 were killed by an intimate partner in a context of intimate partner violence in which an additional 30 victims were killed by the same man or men.

A total of 15 women were killed by men in separate incidents of violence. Six of these women were involved in prostitution at the

time of the killing and/or met the perpetrator in this context. In another case, the killing of a woman by her husband in 2010 did not come to the attention of authorities until after he was convicted of murdering his partner in 2016. In 2023, a perpetrator killed his partner whilst on bail and under investigation for the murder of a partner in 2022.

Number of Perpetrators	Number of Femicide Victims
7	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>

Table 15

A total of 125 men were also killed. The data below is for the 72 male victims killed alongside female victims in double, triple and multiple homicides (see Table 6 for data on male and female victims killed in

terror contexts and during other incidents involving mass deaths).

Nine per cent of perpetrators who killed their mother also killed her partner (n=16).

<sup>25</sup> The Cumbria mass shooting (2010), Westminster, Manchester Arena and London Bridge (2017) terrorist attacks and the Essex lorry deaths (2019) are excluded from this number. Data for the victims in these cases are given separately (see table 6).

Male Victim's Relationship to Perpetrator	Number of Male Victims
Father	13
Stepfather	2
Partner of perpetrator's mother	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>

Table 16

Fifty-six male victims 18-years and above were killed in double homicides (n=47), triple homicides (n=4) or in incidents where more than three victims were killed<sup>26</sup>.

Type	Number of Male Victims 18+	Number of Female Victims 14+
Double homicide	47	47
Triple homicide	4	5
Multiple homicide (four or more victims)	5	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>60<sup>27</sup></b>

Table 17

A total of 89 people were killed in the Cumbria mass shootings, the Westminster terror attack, the London Bridge terror attack, the Manchester Arena bombing and in the Essex lorry people smuggling conspiracy.

In Cumbria, three female victims aged over 14-years were killed by a man are included in the sample of 2000 women. In the

Westminster, London Bridge, Manchester Arena and Fishmonger's Hall terrorist attacks, a total of 22 female victims aged over 14-years old were killed by men and are included in the sample. Finally, eight female victims aged over 14-years were killed in the Essex lorry conspiracy and are included in the sample. Separated by sex and age, the table below gives the total number of victims killed in these incidents.

<sup>26</sup> Boys under 18-years and girls under 14-years are not included in these figures (see table 17)

<sup>27</sup> The contexts/multi-contexts in which men were killed alongside these female victims vary. Intimate partner violence (n=14, seven of the male victims were a new/recent partner of the femicide victim), revenge (n=14), mental health (n=9) and financial gain (n=8) feature most predominately.

Year	Incident	Female Victims 14+	Male Victims 18+	Female Victims <14	Male Victims <18	Total
2010	Cumbria Mass Shooting	3	9	—	—	12
2017	Westminster Attack	2	4	—	—	6
	Manchester Arena Bombing	16	5	1	—	22
	London Bridge Attack	3	5	—	—	8
2019	Essex Lorry Deaths	8	29	—	2	39
2019	Fishmonger's Hall Attack	1	1	—	—	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>89</b>

Table 18

A total of 86<sup>28</sup> children were also killed. Overwhelmingly, child victims were the child or children of the femicide victim (no.=52 femicide victims & 70 child victims). The table below provides a breakdown of the child's sex and the child's relationship<sup>29</sup> to the femicide victim.

Relationship to Victim	Female Child Victim	Male Child Victim	Total	% of child victims
Children of Femicide Victim	39	31	70	81.4
Other Familial Relationship to Femicide Victim	2 <sup>30</sup>	2	4	4.65
Other Relationship to Femicide Victim	1 <sup>31</sup>	1	2	2.33
No Relationship to Femicide Victim	8	2	10	11.63
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 19

<sup>28</sup> Number includes female victims 14-17-years killed in double, triple and mass homicides who are also included in the 2000 sample as victims (no.=13); this includes the seven girls killed in the Manchester Arena bombing in 2017 and the two boys killed in the Essex people smuggling conspiracy in 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Some child victims had multiple relationships to femicide victims included in the sample (e.g., grandmother, mother, sister). The primary relationship is counted, in most cases this is mother-child.

<sup>30</sup> Includes a 15-year-old girl who was killed in a housefire alongside her adult sister. The fire was started by the girl's ex-boyfriend and his friend. He had previously threatened to hurt her and her family if she ended the relationship.

<sup>31</sup> An 11-year-old girl was killed by the femicide victim's intimate partner during a sleep-over with her daughter. The victim's daughter, also 11-years old, and her son, 13-years old, were killed in the same incident. The perpetrator also raped the victim's daughter.

The majority of child killings were linked to intimate partner violence<sup>32 33</sup> (no.=37 femicide victims<sup>34</sup> who were partner/ex-partner to the perpetrator). A total of 53<sup>35</sup> children (27 female and 26 male children) were killed in domestic violence contexts,

in most cases by their father. One 19-year-old victim was killed alongside her two brothers by her step-father (see footnote 14) and another victim of the same age was killed alongside her daughter (15 months), her brother (15 years) and her mother by her mother's intimate partner.

## Child killings in the context of intimate partner violence

Thirty-seven<sup>36</sup> femicide victims were killed alongside their child or children by a partner or ex-partner.

Overwhelmingly, children were killed by men that through the media depiction were in all likelihood their father (no.=41 children, 77%). The table below gives a breakdown of the number of children killed by their sex and their assumed relationship to the perpetrator.

Relationship to Child <sup>37</sup>	Female Children Killed	Male Children Killed	Total Children Killed	% of child victims
Father	21	20	41	77.36
Step-father	1	2	3	5.66
Ex-partner of mother	3	4	7	13.21
No relationship	2 <sup>38</sup>	–	2	3.77
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 20

<sup>32</sup> Exceptions are domestic-son-mother (the perpetrator also killed his sister) and domestic-father-daughter (the perpetrator also killed her brothers). In the latter, the perpetrator's partner/the victim's mother was the primary target of a housefire he started. She had been assaulted by him before he started the fire. She survived the attack, along with seven other children.

<sup>33</sup> See footnote 12. These victims are not counted in this number because although the killings were domestic-IPV related the 15-year-old girl was the primary target of the attack.

<sup>34</sup> Number includes victim who was 17-years-old and also counted in the total number of fatal child victims; see footnote 17.

<sup>35</sup> Though legally a child, to avoid double counting, this number excludes a case of a girl of 17-years who was killed by a perpetrator who had groomed her online since she was 15 before moving to her hometown to further pursue a sexually exploitative relationship with her. Her mother (against whom, the 17-year-old girl is counted as a fatal child victim) and the girl's six-month-old daughter were killed in a house fire by the perpetrator/father of baby girl. A Serious Case Review found that the risks surrounding the perpetrator were not properly assessed by services. Had they been, it would have been known that the perpetrator had committed 45 acts of violence, including setting fire to his mother's bed believing that she was in it at the time and threatening her with knives (Spicer, 2015).

<sup>36</sup> The actual number of women killed by these men is higher because some killed their (ex)partner and other women e.g., the victim's mother.

<sup>37</sup> Data on perpetrator's relationship to the child have been collated using official documents such as Serious Case Reviews/Practice Reviews, Domestic Homicide Reviews and media reports.

<sup>38</sup> Includes a friend of a female child victim killed by her mother's ex-partner (n=1) and an infant of 15 months who was killed in a fire started by her grandmother's partner.

Of the 37 femicide victims killed by an intimate partner, 59 per cent (no.=22) were killed by their spouse, 27 per cent (no.=10) by their former intimate partner and 14 per cent (no.=5) were killed by a current partner. There was evidence of a history of intimate partner violence in 28 cases and there was evidence that the

victim had separated from the perpetrator or had taken steps to do so in 18 cases.

Of the 38<sup>39</sup> perpetrators, there was evidence of a history of violence against women and/or offending in 28<sup>40</sup> cases. Health issues and/or financial difficulties were recorded for 23 men.

Type Health Issue	Number of Perpetrators
Mental Health	8
Mental Health + Substance Use	5
Substance Use	5
Mental Illness + Debt	2
Autistic Spectrum Disorder	1
Chronic Disease	1
Debt	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>

Table 21

The rate of suicide amongst this subset of men is high; 45 percent (no.=17) of perpetrators killed themselves during/after the femicide. This compares to 10 percent of the remaining perpetrator sample (no.=1954) who killed themselves during or after the femicide.

Relationship to Femicide Victim	Guilty of homicide offences	Killed Himself at Time of Offences	Killed Himself After Offences	Died of injuries sustained during offence	Total
Spouse (inc. Civil Partner)	8	8	5	1	22
Former Intimate Partner	6	4	—	—	10
Intimate Partner	5	—	—	—	5
Relative of Partner/Ex-partner	1	—	—	—	1
Number of Perpetrators	20	12	5	1	38
% of Perpetrators	52.63	31.57	13.15	2.63	100

Table 22

<sup>39</sup> Includes one case involving two perpetrators – the victim's spouse and his acquaintance.

<sup>40</sup> In nine cases, we found no evidence that this was reported to any authority.

Most of the men who killed themselves were the fathers (no.=15) of the children they killed. Thirteen of these men were married to the femicide victim and two were former intimate partners.

## Pets

Three of the perpetrators who killed their partner and children also killed their pets. In total, pets were killed during 29 femicides.

## Non-fatal victims

Children witnessed at least 163 femicides, most often the killing of their mother by an intimate partner (no.=130) in the home (no.=116) or in the garden street outside it (no.=4).

Additional non-fatal victims were hurt during 223 femicides. Some involved both male, female and child victims. Children

were physically injured during 59 femicides. Convictions of attempted murder against a child or children were secured against nine perpetrators. Female victims were injured during 107 femicides and male victims were injured during 113 femicides. The sex of additional victims injured during 12 femicides is unknown.

Non-Fatal Victims	Number of Femicides
Yes – Children Witnessed	163
Yes – Non-Fatal\Male Victim(s)	113
Yes – Non-Fatal\Female Victim(s)	107
Yes – Non-Fatal\Child Victim(s)	59
Yes – Non-Fatal\Sex Unknown	12
Total	n/a

Table 23

## Women involved in prostitution

It is not fully known how many women in the UK are currently, or have, at some time in their life been, involved in prostitution or the production of pornography. It is estimated that approximately 72,800 people are involved in prostitution in the UK, of whom 88 percent are female (approximately 64,064 women).<sup>41</sup> Women

in prostitution, particularly street-based prostitution can be easy targets for men who plan to use violence, to rape or kill as women are required to go to isolated places with men that they do not know. The **Femicide Census** views prostitution as a form of violence against women which is rooted in and reinforces sex inequality.

<sup>41</sup> Brooks-Gordon et al., 2015

The sample of 2,000 women killed by men included 45 women for whom we have identified who were or had been involved in prostitution. This is likely to be an undercount. We only included women where involvement in prostitution had been explicitly mentioned in either official documents or the media. There were a number of other women whose details of their lives or the circumstances in which

they were killed, suggested the possibility of involvement in prostitution. These women were not included in this cohort.

The women were aged between 21 and 73 years of age. The 73-year-old woman was the owner of a 'massage parlour' who was killed in the context of a robbery at her home.

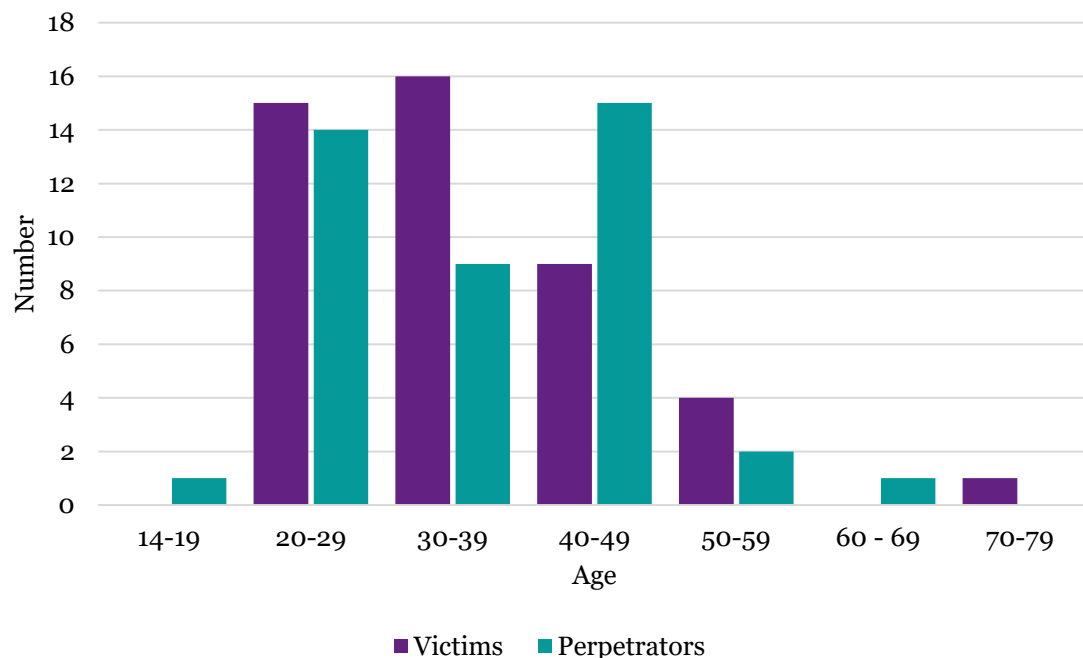


Figure 8

### Ages of women involved in prostitution and the men who killed them

Fifteen women, a third of the cohort, were aged between 21 and 29 years of age. 16 (35.5 percent) women were aged between 30 and 39. Just over two-thirds (no. = 31, 69 percent) were aged 38 years or younger. Nine women (20 percent) were aged between 40 and 49 years of age. Four women (9 percent) were aged 50 – 59 (all

were under 55 years old). One woman was aged 73 years.

The women were killed by 42 men, one man killed three women, one killed two women.

The men who killed women who had been involved in prostitution were aged between 18 and 61.



## Country of birth of women killed who had been involved in prostitution

Twenty-eight women (62.2%) of the cohort are believed to have been born in the UK. This is lower than the estimate for the entire sample of 2,000 women, which is 82.5 percent (no.=1,643) We believe this reflects that involvement in prostitution is rarely a choice made when there are other choices and the lack of options for immigrant women.

Country of Birth	Total
UK/believed to be UK	28
Romania	5
China	2
Hungary	2
Poland	2
Albania	1
Bulgaria	1
Colombia	1
Israel	1
Nigeria	1
Slovak Republic (Slovakia)	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>45</b>

Table 24

## County of birth of women killed who were or had been involved in prostitution

Seventeen women are believed to have been born outside the UK. 12 women (26.6%) came from countries which were formerly communist countries in Central, Eastern and South East Europe: Romania five women, Hungary two women, Poland two women, Albania one woman, Bulgaria one woman, Slovakia one woman). Two women were believed to have been born in China, one in Colombia, one in Israel and one in Nigeria.

The women who were not born in the UK were aged between 21 and 55 years of age

when they were killed. Eight (47 percent) were in their twenties, a further five (29.4 percent) were in their thirties. This gives them a younger age profile than the broader cohort of all women killed who had been involved in prostitution, with 76.4 percent aged 39 or under, compared to 69 percent. When compared to the entire sample of 2,000 women the age difference is stark, with 23.3 percent of the 2,000 women aged 29 or below, and 44% percent aged 39 or below. This is an indicator of the harms of prostitution.

## Relationship between victim and perpetrator

Relationship category	Acquaintance – business associate / colleague	Acquaintance – friend or social acquaintance	Acquaintance – housemate	Escort/ prostituted woman	First contact	Former intimate partner	Intimate partner	Spouse	Stranger	Grand Total
Intimate	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	3	0	13
Known to each other	1	3	1	14	1	0	0	0	0	20
No known relationship	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	3	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>45</b>

Table 25

## Women involved in prostitution: relationship between victim and perpetrator

Thirteen of the women (29 percent) were killed by a current or former partner: three by a husband, eight by a partner and two by a former intimate partner. Nineteen women (42.2%) were killed by men that they knew, of these, one was a business associate, three were friends/social acquaintances, one was a housemate and 14 women (31.0 %of all women killed who have been involved in prostitution) were killed by men that they knew in the context of prostitution as sex-buyers. One woman was killed by a man she had met that day.

It is not clear whether this meeting was or was not in relation to prostitution. Three women (6.7 percent) were killed by strangers, one in the context of a robbery at her home, and two were stabbed in the street in separate incidents committed by men who had chosen to search for a woman who was vulnerable and out alone because of prostitution. This varies greatly from the distribution of relationships between women and the men who killed them in the overall sample.

## Women who had been involved in prostitution: method of killing, overkill, violation of the body and sexual violence

Women who had been involved in prostitution were more likely to be killed with a blunt instrument than women in the broader sample (found in 22.2 percent of killings of women who had been in prostitution, compared to 17 percent of the 2,000 women) or were also more likely to be killed by a man using a sharp instrument (found in 33.3 percent of killings of women who had been in prostitution, compared to 27.3 percent of the 2,000 women).

The number of methods used to kill women who had been involved in prostitution did not vary greatly from those in the killings of the 2,000 women. In 73 percent of killings of women in prostitution (no.=33) one method was used, compared to 74.3 percent in the full sample, in 16 percent (no.=7) two methods were used (compared to 19.3 percent of the full sample) and the killer of one woman who had been involved in prostitution used three methods (2% compared to 4% of the full sample). The number of methods used to kill women who have been involved prostitution could not be ascertained in the deaths of four women, (8%), two because the causes of death could not be established and two because their bodies have not been found, compared to two percent of the 2,000 women sample.

As stated previously, evidence of overkill was present in at least 59 percent

(no.=1,183) of femicides. This was marginally higher for women who had been involved in prostitution at 60 percent. However, if the relationship between victim and perpetrator is broken down for women who had been involved in prostitution, the prevalence of overkill in women who had been involved in prostitution killed by a current or former partner was 76.9 percent, compared to 60.5 percent for the whole sample of 2,000 women; and of women killed by strangers, the prevalence of overkill in women who had been involved in prostitution was 66.7 percent, compared to 44.7 percent of the whole sample.

The prevalence of violation of the body was over two and a half times higher among women who had been involved in prostitution compared to the full sample, at 57.8 percent of victims compared to 22.4 percent.

As stated previously, we believe that recorded evidence of sexual and sexualised violence performed upon the bodies of women killed by men is significantly under-recorded and was found in six percent of the killings of women. However, the prevalence of evidence of sexual violence in the killings of women who had been involved in prostitution, was almost four times higher than that across the 2,000 women (22.2% no.=10) compared to 6 percent (no.=113).

## Perpetrator's use of sex industry

There is evidence that 95 perpetrators were partaking in the sex industry. Some of them used more than one aspect of the industry.

We believe this to be a significant undercount as men suspected of killing women are not routinely questioned regarding their use of the sex industry and abuse of women therein. Furthermore, evidence that suggests men's use of the sex industry is not routinely sought, few suspects questioned regarding violence against women would volunteer information or give honest answers, and that even if this happened, findings may not be recorded or reported.

Use of sex industry	Total
Pornography	53
Prostitution	51
Images of child sexual abuse	4
Lap dancing/strip clubs	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>109</b>

Table 26

Prostitution is neither work nor the oldest profession. It is more accurate to describe it as the oldest form of sexual exploitation. Prostitution depends on sex inequality and far from being a choice, the overrepresentation of women from migrant communities reflects that it is a route taken when there is a lack of a viable choice. This lack of choice and financial coercion highlights prostitution as financially compensated rape. Both prostitution and pornography are eroticised inequality.

Positioning overwhelmingly one sex as a commodity or object, and the other as the consumer depends on and reinforces sex inequality whilst feeding male sexual entitlement, both in terms of possession and a vessel for male sexual pleasure. That women involved in prostitution are disproportionately victims of violence, including fatal violence, that in their death they are more likely to be subjected to sexual violence and after death their bodies are more likely to be desecrated is yet another manifestation of the roles of misogyny and sexual hierarchy in femicide.

# Police force area data

## Number of femicides by police force area

The table below gives the number of women killed in each police force area.

Police force area	Total number of femicides	Police force area	Total number of femicides
Metropolitan Police	317 <sup>42</sup>	Derbyshire	30
Scotland	160	Hampshire	28
West Midlands	117	Norfolk	28
Greater Manchester	111	Dorset	25
West Yorkshire	87	North Wales	25
Essex	59	Humberside	24
Merseyside	59	Cambridgeshire	23
Thames Valley	55	Lincolnshire	23
Devon and Cornwall	52	Surrey	22
Lancashire	52	Cleveland	21
South Yorkshire	48	Cheshire	20
Leicestershire	46	Durham	20
Northern Ireland	46	Dyfed-Powys	19
Sussex	46	Gwent	19
Kent	43	Suffolk	19
South Wales	41	Cumbria	17
Avon & Somerset	40	Northamptonshire	16
Nottinghamshire	39	Warwickshire	16
West Mercia	37	Bedfordshire	13
Staffordshire	36	Wiltshire	13
Northumbria	33	North Yorkshire	12
Hertfordshire	32	Gloucestershire	11
Derbyshire	30	<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>

Table 27

<sup>42</sup> Includes City of London (no.=1 femicide); investigated by Metropolitan Police.

## Rate of femicide

The rate of femicide is calculated per 100,000 of the general population<sup>43</sup>. The table below shows the 10 police force areas with the highest rates of femicide per population.

	Police force area	Total	Rate of femicide
1	Leicestershire	46	0.32
2	Merseyside	59	0.312
3	West Midlands	117	0.309
4	Greater Manchester	111	0.298
5	Metropolitan Police	317	0.282
6	West Yorkshire	87	0.279
7	Dyfed-Powys	19	0.274
8	Cleveland	21	0.273
9	North Wales	25	0.27
10	South Yorkshire	48	0.262

Table 28

<sup>43</sup> The average rates of femicide rate were calculated by dividing the total number of femicides per police force area by the average population in the police force area. This result was then multiplied by 100,000. This was then divided by 13.5 (as the approximate timeframe of the 2000 victim sample). The average population was calculated by finding the average between 2009 population data and 2022 population data. See:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/policeforceareadatatables> [accessed 09/09/2024]

## Criminal justice proceedings

As has previously been stated, 1992 men killed or caused the death of the 2000 women documented in this report. A number of men acting on their own killed two or more women included in this data or killed others (young children or men) outside the data set. In addition, in a number of cases, multiple men were found guilty of the murder of one woman, or the manslaughter of multiple women.

Two men were included in the report because they were held responsible for or contributed to their ex-partners suicide after an Inquest. One man has not been charged with a criminal offence thus far, the other was convicted of coercive and controlling behaviour.

We have also included five men where a criminal case was not pursued: three men were included even though they relied on the defence of self-defence. Two faced no further action because it was accepted by the prosecution after arrest that they had used 'reasonable force'. One was acquitted of murder after trial. We included them because notwithstanding their defence in law, they were technically responsible for the killing of the woman in question. There were a further two cases where a coroner ruled that the perpetrator bore responsibility for the death, notwithstanding the fact that the case was dismissed and in the other no charges were brought.

### Deaths of perpetrators before conviction – holding men to account

There are 264 (13%) men who were never convicted of the homicide of the victims included in the sample of 2000 women because they died. Of those 185 (9%) men killed themselves at the time of the offence, and 58 (3%) men killed themselves after the offence, of which 29 did so before being charged and 29 after being charged. Four men died, of reported natural causes, while in police custody – one after being arrested for murder, and three after being charged with murder, and a further 12 died in prison while on remand after charge. A further five men, all linked to London terrorist killings in 2017 and 2019, were shot dead by the police.

In the case of the 264 men who died before conviction, it is only through an Inquest that their responsibility for the homicide could be explored by the state, and when the police confirmed they were not looking for anyone else in connection with the killing. Domestic Homicide Reviews (now called Domestic Abuse Related Death Reviews) are anonymous, with the victim and perpetrator given a pseudonym. In such cases it is critical that Inquests are thorough, and that in the case of domestic homicides that a review is carried out in order to understand the circumstances leading up to the killing. The media also has a crucial part to play by exposing these men for the perpetrators they are.

## Criminal justice outcomes – homicide

Criminal justice outcome (homicide only)	Total	% of perpetrators
Guilty of Murder	1,211	60.84
Double Murder (79)		
Multiple Murder (21)		
Guilty of Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide by means of Diminished Responsibility	240	12.04
Manslaughter (216)		
Culpable Homicide (15)		
Double Manslaughter (9)		
Guilty of Manslaughter/Culpable Homicide	201	10.09
Manslaughter (169)		
Gross Negligence Manslaughter (14)		
Culpable Homicide (15)		
Double Manslaughter(3)		
Other – Detained under Mental Health Act/Hospital Order	48	2.4
Trial of Facts\Responsible for the Act (29)		
Not Guilty by Reason of Insanity (11)		
Detained Under Mental Health Act (4)		
Not Guilty of Murder (Mental Disorder – Scotland) (3)		
Not Guilty of Murder (self-defence accepted) (1)		
Guilty of Causing Death by Dangerous Driving	3 <sup>44</sup>	0.15
Not fit for Trial	2	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1705</b>	<b>n/a</b>

Table 29

<sup>44</sup> The majority of cases where a man is convicted of causing the death of a women by dangerous driving are not included in the **Femicide Census**. However, three such cases are included. Two of the victims were killed in the context of domestic violence. One victim was crushed by the perpetrator's lorry during an 'argument'. In another case, the court heard the perpetrator chose to chase the victim in his car to 'teach her lesson'. The third victim was killed when she was dragged along the road as she tried to retrieve her belongings from a sex-buyer's van. She collided with a parked vehicle before being driven over by the perpetrator's van.



## The journey from charge to murder conviction

The prosecution initially charged 1,651 men with murder, double murder, or multiple murder. Twenty-nine men charged with murder then killed themselves before they were convicted and a further 15 died in custody after charge. One man who was charged only with arson with intent to endanger life as a single offence who died on remand before trial.

The prosecutorial authorities decided seven men could not be charged because they were unfit to stand trial. Out of the remaining 1,600 men, 1,211 men were convicted of murder.

Saving the victim's family the ordeal of a trial and the state the cost, 414 of those men had pleaded guilty to murder and were subsequently convicted of murder without a trial.

The number of men who refused to admit any responsibility was staggering: 643 men pleaded not guilty to murder, not guilty to manslaughter in every form or not guilty to conspiracy to murder. Of these 551 were convicted of murder, double murder or multiple murder. Of those 46 men charged with murder, who had pleaded not guilty to murder were found guilty of manslaughter either by the jury after a trial or where the prosecution had accepted a lesser plea prior to or during the trial. Six men had died or killed themselves before trial, but after charge and plea while nine were found not guilty of murder by reason of insanity. Two were found not guilty of murder but were given a hospital order or detained under the mental health act. Included is one man who slit his wife's throat but was found not guilty of murder

after claiming self-defence at trial even though a pathologist had testified that it was more likely the attack was carried out from behind. It was accepted that he killed her, although our justice system provided him with an absolute defence and he walked free. A murder conviction attracts a life sentence, with a minimum term set. The minimum term for murder found in this report was set between 9 years and 47 years. Alan Foster must serve a minimum term of 9 years for the murder of Pauline Carmichael. Niall Barry was sentenced to 47 years for the murder of Ashley Dale (alongside 3 other men).

Seventy-nine men were found guilty of double murder. These convictions were for other women included in this report, or other male victims or children. The range of minimum terms for a life sentence for double murder ranged between 21 years and 40 years in England, Scotland and Wales. In Northern Ireland only two men were convicted of double murder receiving a minimum term of 14 years and 18 years respectively. Twenty-one men were convicted of multiple murder involving either women also included in this report or other male or child victims. The lowest minimum term for a multiple murder by a perpetrator over 18 was 23 years for the murder of Amy Smith, her daughter Ruby Grace and friend Edward Green by Anthony Eyre. However, for the same incident, Anthony Eyre's father received 32 years and his brother 26 years. The victims were killed in a fire deliberately started by the three perpetrators.

Twenty men were convicted of murder or multiple murders received whole life terms.

## Manslaughter convictions – getting away with murder?

Manslaughter is a homicide offence which reflects reduced culpability for a killing than murder. Within the category of manslaughter offences, there is involuntary manslaughter, where there is no intention to kill or cause really serious harm and include unlawful act manslaughter and gross negligence manslaughter. Voluntary manslaughter arises where there is an intention to kill or cause really serious harm, but that intention is mitigated either by reason of diminished responsibility or as a result of a loss of control. In Scotland it is named culpable homicide or culpable homicide on the grounds of diminished responsibility.

Only 92 men were charged by the prosecution with either manslaughter, manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility, culpable homicide or gross negligence manslaughter. However, in total, 441 men were eventually convicted of manslaughter, manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility or gross negligence manslaughter. Of those 12 men

were found guilty of double manslaughter, or double manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility. All but two men convicted of double manslaughter were given an Indefinite Hospital Order

All of the remaining 357 men out of the 441 who were eventually convicted of manslaughter had been initially charged with murder by the prosecution.

Separately, 578 men had initially pleaded guilty to manslaughter, manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility or guilty to culpable homicide. Of these 578 men, 359 were convicted of manslaughter, manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility or culpable homicide. Three killed themselves after the offence and one died in prison on remand.

The remaining 215 men who had initially pleaded guilty to manslaughter either went on to trial or they changed their plea to guilty of murder and were all convicted of murder.

## 187 men were found guilty of manslaughter/culpable homicide/double or multiple manslaughter

Relationship	No. of women killed	Sentence range
Intimate	91	91 men Indefinite Hospital order – 3 Prison sentence 1-25 years – 83 Prison sentence 29–35 years – 2 Suspended sentence – 2 Freed on Appeal 1
Son	16	16 men Indefinite Hospital order – 4 2.5–19 years – 11 Suspended sentence – 1
Relative	8	8 men Indefinite Hospital Order – 1 Prison sentence 2.5–13yrs – 7
Stranger	42	46 men Hospital Order – 0 Prison sentence 6.5–27 years – 45 Unknown sentence – 1
Acquaintance	25	27 men Hospital Order 2 Prison sentence 4–29 years – 25
	182	187

Table 30

## 240 men guilty of manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility/culpable homicide with DR/guilty of double manslaughter with DR

Relationship	No. of women killed	Sentence Range
Intimate	101	101 men Indefinite Hospital order – 40 Hospital Order – 2 Suspended sentence – 11 Prison sentence 1–26 yrs – 49
Son	81	81 men Indefinite Hospital order – 60 Hospital Order – 1 Suspended sentence 0 Prison sentence 2–15 yrs – 19 Detained under the mental health act – 1
Relative	26	25 men Indefinite Hospital order – 15 Prison sentence 5–17 yrs – 10 Detained under the mental health act – 1
Stranger	16	16 men Indefinite Hospital order – 11 Prison sentence 9–14yrs – 5 Awaiting sentence – 1
Acquaintance	23	22 men Indefinite Hospital order – 14 Hospital Order – 1 Prison sentence 4–12.5yrs – 7
	247	[245]

Of the 14 men found guilty of gross negligence manslaughter, 11 men were charged with gross negligence manslaughter and three were charged with murder. Those three had pleaded guilty to gross negligence manslaughter which was later accepted. Nine had pleaded not guilty to gross negligence manslaughter, and two had pleaded guilty.

For the **Femicide Census**, an organisation campaigning for the recognition of femicide and the horrific impact of men's fatal violence against women, manslaughter is a controversial crime. It reduces criminal liability on the basis of a mental disorder - which in some cases was only identified after the event, or because the perpetrator 'lost control'. It is a crime which attracts a lesser time in prison, and where violent perpetrators were and will continue to be automatically released after serving 50 percent of their sentence if they were convicted and sentenced up to April 2020, and for 2/3rds of their sentence after 2020 if they were sentenced to over 7 years. Even with the changes after 2022 such perpetrators only serve 2/3rds of their sentence if they were sentenced to 4 years or more. These automatic releases happen without any scrutiny of their risk to the community and to other women. It is only with significant campaigning by families such as in the case of the family of Joanna Simpson that the then Justice Secretary used his discretion to refer the release of Robert Brown back to the Parole Board.

In the case of manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility it is understood that some perpetrators of homicide cannot be held as responsible for their crimes

because they are suffering from a mental illness. The assessment of mental health professionals is critical to assess the mental disorder, particularly if it had not previously been diagnosed. If convicted of manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility, perpetrators are either subject to detention and treatment under a hospital order. Or face no treatment detention and are imprisoned. However, our data appears to show that the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim creates a difference in the sentence imposed for the same crime and therefore a difference in the treatment of the illness the perpetrator was experiencing. In the cases of sons who killed their mothers and were convicted of manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility we found that 76% of perpetrators were sentenced to an indefinite hospital order or other mental health detention and treatment. In the case of men who killed their partners and were convicted of manslaughter by reason of diminished responsibility – a crime that necessitates them suffering from a mental disorder at the time of the offence only 41.5% of men were subject to an indefinite hospital order or other mental health detention and treatment. While we recognise there is a range of mental health disorders ranging in severity it was interesting to note that at the time of conviction and sentence, 59% of men were well enough to not need the specialist services of a mental health hospital and were able to serve their sentence in prison or got a suspended sentence.

Similarly, the offence of manslaughter by reason of loss of control that replaced provocation in 2010 appears to provide a

state sanctioned means by which previously violent men can limit their liability for fatal violent acts. In order to apply the defence, there has to be a loss of control, a qualifying trigger and an objective test that a person of the defendant's sex and age with a normal degree of tolerance and self-restraint might have reacted in a similar way. In many of the cases we have reviewed the 'trigger' was the victim leaving an abusive, controlling and/or violent relationship, or entering a new relationship. Such an offence effectively provides an element of toleration of men who commit gross violence against women in exercising their control and entitlement.

We are also concerned about the cases where it was difficult to prove which act of violence caused the 'fatal blow' in a period of severe and prolonged violence against the victim and which ultimately led to a reduced charge of manslaughter being accepted. A number of men will spend a relatively short time in prison convicted of manslaughter with an automatic release after attacking their partners over a prolonged period of time because it could not be proved which violent act was fatal. Yet at the same time men have been imprisoned for murder under joint enterprise even when it is recognised that they did not inflict the lethal injury. Again, we believe this reflects a level of acceptance of domestic violence and abuse and penalises women after death who, for whatever reason, endured a relationship with an abusive man, by affording their killer a more lenient sentence.

In the case of the 59 men convicted of manslaughter by means of diminished

responsibility of their partner and not subject to a hospital order, 27 were known to have been violent previously either against the victim or others. Of the remaining 91 men convicted of the manslaughter of their partner (from Table 30), at least 59 (65%) had an identified history of abuse/violence against their partner and at least 15 men had even been convicted of previous abuse either against their partner or another victim. We know that our data on history of abuse and violence is an undercount because it is dependent on the information that is publicly available. All but 13 of these 91 men convicted of the manslaughter of their partner had been initially charged with murder. All but seven of the men convicted of manslaughter by means of diminished responsibility and subject to a prison sentence were also initially charged with murder.

One of the questions in these cases is what happened between the charge of murder being considered acceptable on the evidence before the police and prosecution at the time of charging the perpetrator and the manslaughter conviction. Was the originally evidence obtained not robust enough? Did the forensics not stack up? Was there not the confidence in the jury returning the 'right' verdict? Critically, was the medical evidence presented of a mental disorder that was severe enough to reduce a murder charge to manslaughter so persuasive even though the perpetrator did not need ongoing treatment? Or does the criminal justice system offer male killers of woman a degree of leniency that reflects institutional misogyny and sexism.

The question should be asked whether in 2025, manslaughter by way of loss of control, with vestiges of a 17th century defence of provocation, which depends upon a 'trigger' and a subjective opinion about whether another person may or may not have done the same in similar circumstances is an acceptable standard of law when the vast majority of the male population who have been left or their partners have started other relationships do not kill.

We recognise that the situation of women who have suffered violence and go on to

kill their partners would need protection from any changes to the law that impacts on their particular situation, but the fact that violent men have been partially absolved of culpability – and as a result spend less time in prison for the act of killing – is an anachronism that needs to be stopped. A response to sustained abuse is not the same as a response to perceived proprietorial injury. The Centre for Women's Justice research on Women who Kill <sup>45</sup> found that of the 84% of women who had killed their partner or ex-partner, there was evidence to suggest abuse from the deceased in 77% of the cases.

## Criminal justice additional charges – sexual offences

Fifty-three men were also convicted of a sexual offence. Most of these men were in their twenties or thirties at the time of the offence(s) (no.=34). At least 11 of the 53 men had convictions for sexual offences prior to the femicide. A number were convicted of offences against additional victims in the context of the femicide. In some cases, rape and sexual assault victims came forward following the perpetrator's arrest in relation to the femicide victim. Forty-one men were convicted of rape.

We believe this is an area where there is an element of undercharge by the prosecution. While charging rape and sexual assault may not be a priority compared with the need to secure a conviction for murder at the time of initial prosecution, ensuring there is an additional conviction for sexual

assault or rape has important consequences. It recognises the additional violence the woman endured and has an impact on sentencing and has implications on release once the perpetrator is deemed eligible for parole.

Although the offence in the following case predates the timeframe of our study it is illustrative of the problem of failing to follow charges for sexual violence to conclusion. On 22 January 2025 it was reported that Stephen Ling was released following his conviction in December 1998 of the murder of Joanne Tulip. While he admitted rape, the charge was left to lie on the file so although he now faces conditions on licence relating to the murder, he has not been classed as a sex offender, which has additional restrictions relating to the specific offence in the

<sup>45</sup> Centre for Women's Justice Women Who Kill – how the state criminalises women we might otherwise burying [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5aa98420f2e6b1ba0c874e42/t/602a9a87e96acc025de5de67/1613404821139/CWJ\\_WomenWhoKill\\_Rpt\\_WEB-3+small.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5aa98420f2e6b1ba0c874e42/t/602a9a87e96acc025de5de67/1613404821139/CWJ_WomenWhoKill_Rpt_WEB-3+small.pdf)



licence conditions. Ling was a 23-year-old when he raped and murdered Joanne Tulip on Christmas Day in 1997 meaning he was around fifty years old upon his release after 27 years. Doreen Soulsby, Joanne Tulip's mother, said:

"I am now filled with fear for the safety of all women, especially young women, knowing that Ling, who committed the most horrific and sadistic crimes against my daughter, is no longer behind bars. I firmly believe he poses a significant risk and will reoffend."

Finally, the prevalence of the use of sexual violence is one of the features which differentiates femicide from homicide. Addressing this and the root causes of this difference is critical if we are looking at what needs to be done to end men's violence against women. When we cannot even adequately measure the level of sexual violence perpetrated by men who kill women, because the criminal justice system fails to recognise and act upon what is specific and important about the crime, we see another example of women being systematically failed.

### Additional charges – child destruction and pregnancy

Five men were found guilty of child destruction as well as the murder of a woman although 33 women were pregnant at the time of their killing. Twenty-five men who killed those pregnant women were in or had been in an intimate relationship with the woman and so it could be assumed that a number of them had a role in conception. For the offence of child destruction to be proved there must be an intent to kill the foetus, which is

capable of being born alive. **Femicide Census** data on the length of pregnancy of those 33 women is reliant on media reports or DHRs where available. However, we are aware of a number of cases where a woman was at least eight months pregnant when killed and there is no evidence that the man was also charged with the offence of child destruction. In law across the UK there is no equivalent to manslaughter for child destruction.

### What happens after sentence?

The Femicide Census began as a project in 2013 and published its first report in 2015 covering the years 2009-2014. At that point the shortest minimum term for murder imposed in the data we had collected was 10.5 years. Ten years after that first report, there are 55 men who were convicted of murder between 2009 and 2015 who have served their minimum

term of between nine and 16.5 years for murder and have either been released or are eligible for release subject to a successful Parole Board hearing. These men were sentenced to minimum terms at the lower scale of the average minimum sentence for murder which is now 21 years according to recent research<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> <https://www.sentencingacademy.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Sentencing-for-Murder-A-Review-of-Policy-and-Practice.pdf>



Since July 2022, Parole Board hearings can be held in public upon application, and summaries of the Parole Board's rulings are available online. It is notable that high profile cases reported in the press appear to give the impression that bids for release of men who committed murders of women in the 1990s are being rejected for parole in 2023<sup>47</sup>. However, Cathal Comerford who was sentenced to a minimum term of just 10.5 years for murder after strangling his partner Sara Williams was released in early 2024 after his conviction in September 2012, having served 11.5 years including time on remand. He was released without fanfare or press coverage. This left the family of Sara Williams wondering why his sentence was so short, and what his risk he poses to other women in the future, as it was only through the Domestic Homicide Review process that violence towards his first wife, as well as Sara, was uncovered as he had no convictions of violence that could have been raised at trial.

For those men convicted of manslaughter and who served a prison sentence not a hospital order only 18 men out of 229 sentenced before 2020 remain in custody. 211 men convicted of killing have been released into the community after serving only 50% of their sentence with the rest on licence. Most of these men have also completed their period on licence.

We recognise that the justice system is a mix of punishment and rehabilitation – only 20 men have received whole life

orders for the femicides examined in the report – so the long-term expectation for the men who will have been or will ultimately be released (unless they die in prison given age at the time of sentence and length of sentence or other factors), must be that they are managed in the community on a life-time licence if they have been convicted of murder, and a determinate licence period if convicted of manslaughter. It has been well reported that the Probation Service – tasked with managing offenders on licence in the community – is overstretched and under-resourced. The most recent Justice Inspectorate report on the Probation Service published in January 2025, found:

*‘Probation practitioners have often been operating with high and in some cases excessively high workloads which has undoubtedly had an impact on the quality of work. The success of community supervision depends on killed practitioners who can build rapport, assess risks and rehabilitate people on probation. However, we have found that practitioners are not always sufficiently equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to work with the cases they are allocated.’*<sup>48</sup>

Moreover, it cannot be assumed that men's older age will be a barrier to abusive, including homicidal, intent or action. 110 men (5.5%) included in this report were aged between 70 and 99 years when they killed a woman or women.

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.itv.com/news/calendar/2023-04-03/notorious-murderer-and-kidnapper-denied-parole>

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprobation/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2025/01/Recruitment-training-and-retention-thematic-final.pdf>

# Recommendations

1. Government policy and strategy to name and address femicide. All forms of men's fatal violence against women and girls should be included and not restricted to intimate partner or family femicide
2. Government policy and strategy to address men's violence against women and girls to be comprehensively cross departmental
3. Government data on sex, race and ethnicity of homicide victims and suspects to be collected and published in disaggregated formats to allow analysis and interrogation
4. Central and accessible repository for inquests
5. Charges must not be dropped for offences in addition to homicide, particularly for sexual violence committed before, during or after the homicide given the impact on licence conditions after release.
6. Improved and expanded risk assessment and monitoring of men with a history of violence against women, including in mental health and substance use services, and for those men known to be repeat perpetrators, exhibit controlling behaviours and/or to have multiple victims
7. Coroners to make explicit link to role of men's violence against women and girls in contributing to death, including in suicides
8. Long term sustainable funding for independent single-sex specialist services responding to all forms of men's violence against women and girls, including the specialist by-and-for sector for women from minoritised groups
9. Support services and legal remedies to be accessible to all women, including those with no recourse to public funds by extending the Migrant Victims of Domestic Abuse Concession – Domestic Violence Indefinite Leave to Remain Model and implementation of firewall to prohibit data sharing between the police and immigration enforcement
10. Specific government action to address/raise awareness of matricide, and the risk of sons to their mothers, to include routine risk assessment specifically addressing risk of harm to mothers in mental health and problematic substance use services where male service users live with their mother; and independent single-sex specialist services funded to support women abused by their sons and grandsons.
11. Domestic Homicide Reviews and other statutory reviews should be made available to the Parole Board when deciding on release on licence once eligible of perpetrators convicted of murder. This will provide a more comprehensive picture of risk and behaviours given that most cases of abuse and violence do not result in a criminal record
12. Women leaving relationships with coercively controlling men are known to be at risk. All potential points of contact for women seeking advice to leave, including domestic abuse organisations, solicitors and advice centres, should be advising on how to leave safely even if domestic abuse is not disclosed.

The image features a solid teal background. Overlaid on this background are several thin, white-outlined rectangles of various sizes and orientations. These rectangles are arranged in a way that they overlap each other, creating a complex, layered geometric pattern. The word "Appendices" is written in a white, serif font, positioned in the upper-left quadrant of the image. The text is centered within the space defined by the overlapping rectangles in that area.

# Appendices

# Appendix 1

## Ages of victims and perpetrators (*numbers*)

Age	Victims	Perpetrators
Under 14	0	2
14–19	108	92
20–29	357	420
30–39	413	478
40–49	401	440
50–59	287	314
60–69	170	129
70–79	143	63
80–89	104	44
90–99	13	3
100+	2	0
Unknown	2	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,000</b>	<b>1992</b>

## Ages of victims and perpetrators (*percentage of victim/perpetrator cohort*)

Age	Victims	Perpetrators
Under 14	0	0.1
14–19	5	4.6
20–29	18	21.1
30–39	21	24.0
40–49	20	22.1
50–59	14	15.8
60–69	9	6.5
70–79	7	3.2
80–89	5	2.2
90–99	1	0.2
100+	0	0.0
Unknown	0	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Appendix 2

### Age of victims and relationships with perpetrator (numbers)

Age	Extended family	Family	Intimate partner	Known to each other	No known relationship	Unknown	Total
14–19	2	15	39	28	24	0	108
20–29	7	9	248	59	34	0	357
30–39	3	8	318	53	31	0	413
40–49	6	25	286	51	30	3	401
50–59	12	52	157	47	18	1	287
60–69	13	45	74	17	19	2	170
70–79	17	33	57	20	16	0	143
80–89	10	23	31	15	24	1	104
90–99	2	2	1	6	2	0	13
100+	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Unknown	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>1,213</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2,000</b>

### Age of victims and relationship with perpetrator (by percentage of age cohort)

Age	Extended family	Family	Intimate partner	Known to each other	No known relationship	Unknown	Grand Total
14–19	2	14	36	26	22	0	100
20–29	2	3	69	17	10	0	100
30–39	1	2	77	13	8	0	100
40–49	1	6	71	13	7	1	100
50–59	4	18	55	16	6	0	100
60–69	8	26	44	10	11	1	100
70–79	12	23	40	14	11	0	100
80–89	10	22	13	14	23	1	100
90–99	15	15	8	46	15	0	100
100+	0	50	0	0	50	0	100
Unknown	0	0	100	0	0	0	100

## Appendix 3

### Methods used to kill across relationship categories

Relationship Category	Unknown	No known relationship	Known to each other	Intimate	Family	Extended family	Grand Total
Arson - setting fire and causing death by fire	0	16	11	9	3	7	46
Blunt instrument	0	25	58	204	40	12	339
Burning or scalding	0	1	3	18	4	1	27
Causing to fall against a hard surface / pushed or thrown from height	0	15	4	19	3	1	42
Kicking / hitting / stamping	0	38	52	190	32	10	322
Other	1	51	15	36	9	2	111
Head injuries	1	3	5	20	6	3	38
Sharp instrument	3	47	123	610	112	40	935
Shooting	0	12	9	45	8	1	75
Strangulation/Asphyxiation	0	40	80	372	44	14	550
Unknown	2	5	15	20	1	0	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>1,543</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>2,528</b>



femicide census.org