



FEM-UNITED

unid@s para prevenir
o femicídio na europa

**Country report on femicide research and data:
PORTUGAL**

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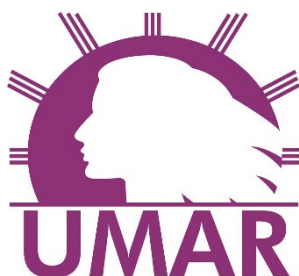


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1. The FEM-UNITED Project

Femicide – the **gender-motivated intentional killing of women** – is not only the most extreme manifestation of gender-based violence against women but also the most violent manifestation of discrimination against them and of their inequality. Despite the magnitude of the problem and calls by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, **data on femicide** was not officially and systematically collected in the EU, and there was a lack of transnational tools for the study of femicide, before the European Observatory on Femicide began to develop an internationally comparable data base. Nevertheless, femicide is a notably under-researched subject in the EU. A common definition of femicide does not exist. Furthermore, harmful attitudes, behaviours, and stereotypes, as well as a lack of understanding of the gendered dynamics of intimate partner femicides (IPF), impede prevention measures, including early and effective intervention.

The **FEM-UNITED project aims to improve responses to femicide in the context of IPV and domestic violence (DV)** in order to reduce harm to women and children and prevent femicide. The project aims for improved systems-wide responses to IPV by creating an evidence base for raised public awareness and the fostering of multi-disciplinary cooperation and capacity building, adopting a gender-specific victim-centred approach. In other words, FEM-UNITED is about creating evidence for collaborative policy change.

FEM-UNITED will reinforce and contribute to international efforts – such as the European Observatory on Femicide and the [Femicide Watch Platform](#) – by a) developing quantitative and qualitative tools dealing with transnational and applied femicide data that measures the prevalence of femicide and related risk factors, b) identifying gaps in system responses to IPV/DV across the partner countries, and c) promoting change through systematic stakeholder engagement that will result in specific commitments for action for femicide prevention based on the project's findings and results. The FEM-UNITED partnership spans five EU countries and includes the University of Malta, the Cyprus University of Technology, the Institute for Empirical Sociology (IfeS) Institute at the Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nuremberg, the University of Zaragoza, and the University of Porto. The project team is also comprised of advocacy NGOs and women's specialist services including the Mediterranean Institute of Gender studies (Cyprus), the Women's Rights Foundation (Malta), and the UMAR – União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta (Portugal). The FEM-UNITED team consists of advisory board members and country focal points of the [European Observatory of Femicide \(EOF\)](#), the first European-wide network

established with the aim of monitoring cases of femicide and contributing to the prevention of femicide.

2. Methodology and definition of Femicide

2.1 Femicide definition

In national and international contexts, the term femicide is and was used to politicise that women and girls are killed by men on the basis of patriarchal beliefs, practices and power structures. Several definitions have been used, but all of them describe femicide similarly as the murder or killing of women because of their gender. The overall motive is to express the subordination of women and girls and to gain power and control over them.

The term Femicide was first used by Diana H. Russell in 1976 at the first International Tribunal on Crimes against Women. Later, the concept of *feminicidio* was developed by the Mexican anthropologist and feminist Marcela Lagarde and used in Latin America since the 1990s in regard to the rise in extreme violence against women and killings of women in Mexico, and the failure of state authorities to prosecute and punish perpetrators. In United Nations documents Femicide/Feminicide appear since the early 2010s and are described as gender related killings of women that can take many forms (e.g. intimate partner killings, honour killings, killings as a result of sexual orientation or gender identity). In Europe the term Femicide was conceptualized first by the Cost Action on Femicide since 2014, followed by the European Observatory on Femicide (EOF) and the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) since 2017/18.¹

The FEM-UNITED project that was developed within the European research context, uses the term Femicide for intentional killings of women because they are women. Femicides are seen against the background of gender-specific power and hierarchy relations and patterns of control. As killings of women are most often committed by male partners or ex-partners, the project focuses on intimate partner killings of women. Broader definitions include all killings of women or girls, or killings of women and girls by family members and in the context of sexual violence.

For the data collection of FEM-UNITED, first all cases of women who had been killed in the country are collected and then the killings by partners or ex-partners are analysed more in-depth. In the EOF, additionally to intimate partner femicides, further forms are investigated, like killings in the context of sexual violence, hate crimes against women and killings by other male family members.

2.2 Developing and measuring tools

Within the work of the COST Action on Femicide the existing data and information on femicide across Europe was selected and analysed.² The official national data of the police and courts is not comparable between countries due to different legal definitions and/or different statistical

¹ Weil S, Corradi C. & Naudi M. (eds.), 2018, *Femicide across Europe: Theory, research and prevention*, p. 17ff.

² Ibid.

frameworks of counting the cases.³ Thus, more comparable and more in-depth-information on the cases was collected through the EOF focal points to further explore the roots and backgrounds of femicide and to get important information for effective prevention across Europe.

A priority action of the EOF since 2019, was the development of two data collection tools - one for quantitative and one for qualitative data collection. This provided a common agreed variable selection and comparable data. These tools were piloted, with the support of the EOF's focal points, initially in seven European countries, and have been further developed since then. Currently, the EOF is using the tools in 23 EU countries and plans to expand it to all European countries. The final version of the data collection tool was tested and modified and is now used within the project FEM-UNITED, where five countries are preparing awareness raising campaigns and multi-professional training, also for the media, police, social workers and other stakeholders.

In the following, the method of the quantitative and qualitative tools is described.

a) Quantitative data collection tools

The tools for the quantitative data collection are based on an excel file for the input of the data collected, together with detailed instructions for the national researchers' work. In-depth information on all cases of women killed, aged 15 years and over, is inserted, as can be found through the media or police press release or other available sources. Later (in the second and third stages), the data is verified through additional information from the police and justice system. Thus, the data base is a work-in-progress.

The quantitative data collection tools of the EOF includes the following information:

1. Basic Data

(dates and time of killing, as well as the city or region of killing)

2. Characteristics of victim(s)

(age group, marital status, occupation, employment, minority ethnic background, country of origin and possible disabilities)

3. Additional victims

(number and relationship of additional victims killed during the femicide)

4. Characteristics of perpetrator/s

(number of perpetrators, age-group, gender, marital status, occupation, minority ethnic background, country of origin, mental health problems and prior perpetration of violent crimes)

5. Victim-Perpetrator-Relationship

(current/former intimate partner, marital status, other family member, other relationship specified)

6. Situational Factors

³ Ibid.; Schröttle, M & Meshkova, K, 2018, 'Data collection: Challenges and opportunities' in S Weil, C Corradi & M Naudi (eds), 2018, *Femicide across Europe: Theory, research and prevention*, pp.33-52.

(area of femicide, crime scene, method of killing, witnesses, pregnancy of the victim, context of sexual violence/rape, suicide of the perpetrator after the murder, prior domestic violence or abuse by same perpetrator specified with description on forms/intensity of violence, context of elder/ill/suicidal victim, prior stalking, other situational factors, e.g. alcohol, revenge, jealousy or factors which are important to mention)

7. Background information on cases

(incident after/during separation and weeks after separation, perpetrator threatened to kill victim prior to femicide with threats specified, prior violence or threat known to the police, protection orders, previous convictions of perpetrators for assaults/criminal codes, case known to the support system, case known to others, outcome of the trial, type of femicide and further comments).

The quantitative data collection tools functioned quite well in the countries that have tested and used them, though a lot of in-depth information is not available or only available after the trial and further investigations. In the next steps, the project will try to get more information on the cases through the support system, the trials and other sources with support of the state and multi-professional systems. As through the EOF data collection the number of cases to be analysed is growing from year to year, a higher cases basis will be available for further in-depth statistical analyses on background, motives and institutional reactions. For FEM-UNITED, data from 2019 and 2020 was collected in five countries.

b) Qualitative tools for the analyses of femicides

Within the EOF and the FEM-UNITED project, further methods have been developed to gain qualitative information and data on the cases and the societal and political background factors of femicides within the European countries.

Therefore, the background situation on the countries was collected as per the following:

- Information on the multi-professional network on preventing gender-based violence and the social responses to women in the country
- Information on the legal framework on gender-based violence in the country
- Information on the prevention of gender-based violence
- Institutional protocols on identifying and/or reporting gender-based violence
- Information about gender values and data on gender (in)equality
- Social and cultural values around “the family” and around domestic and gender-based violence
- Published studies on the prevalence of domestic violence in the country
- Published studies on the media portrayals of femicide and gender-based violence
- Data on gender parity and differentials in politics/media/public figures in the country
- Impact of COVID-19 in legislation, service provision, measures and prevalence of femicide
- Other relevant background information.

Additionally, for a qualitative in-depth analysis, some case files have been studied in the countries to explore more about the environmental social, legal and policy backgrounds that contribute to the femicides. More in-depth information on single cases was analysed, regarding:

- Characterization of victim, perpetrator and their relationship
- Coercive control and victim's strategies to deal with perpetrator
- Previous help-seeking and reports to the authorities
- Family, formal and informal networks
- Social and economic status
- Official reports and risk assessment
- Social and cultural norms relevant to the specific cases.

The findings are presented in four levels: individual, immediate, institutional and societal levels, aiming to achieve an ecological understanding of femicide, and paving the way to make recommendations for its prevention relevant to these various levels.

Individual Level

At the Individual level the data was collected with regard to the victim, the perpetrator and their relationship, and main characteristics and risk factors were analysed (e.g. previous separation or divorce, previous history of domestic violence, coercive control, victim's strategies of survival).

Immediate Level

The Immediate level includes people (family and friends) and places (community, work, school) with which the victim and perpetrator have daily and close association. Here, it was analysed, whether the social relationships play an active or passive role regarding support to the victims. Furthermore, stereotypes and victim blaming discourses were tackled.

Institutional Level

At the Institutional level, information was collected according to what institutional responses (through police, the support system, youth protection officers and the judiciary systems) were available and how these responses and institutions were articulated in the specific case for reducing risks, ensuring the victims' safety and punishing the offender.

Societal Level

The Societal level contains those cultural, social and economic indicators that are perceptibly reflected in the specific cases. Here, different aspects of the patriarchal systems were analysed with regard to gender roles and gender equality, the social and economic situation of women, gender stereotypes and values. Furthermore, media reporting was included in the analyses as well.

3. The national legal and policy background in Portugal

3.1 The legal framework on gender-based violence and femicide

There is **no legal definition of femicide in Portugal**. However, if the killing is determined by hate due to sex or gender identity, as well as sexual orientation, as per number 2 of article 132, paragraph f), of the Criminal Code, the homicide can be designated as qualified and therefore aggravated. Similarly, the homicide can be qualified if it was committed against a spouse or partner (including former relationships), or if it is committed with premeditation, torture, or other qualifiers. In Portugal, qualified homicide can be sentenced from 12 to 25 years of imprisonment.

Article 152 of the Criminal Code defines **domestic violence**⁴ as all forms of physical and psychological abuse, corporal punishment, deprivation of liberty and sexual offences perpetrated against a current or former partner (including dating partners) – regardless of gender and cohabitation. The article also includes violence perpetrated against a parent of common descent in the 1st degree and against a person who is particularly defenceless, namely because of age, disability, illness, pregnancy, or economic dependence, who lives with the perpetrator. **Domestic Violence has been publicly prosecuted in Portugal since 2000** (Law No. 7/2000, of 27 May). As such, anyone who knows about the crime will be able to report it to the authorities, regardless of the victim's consent. Despite being encouraged to report, civilians have no legal obligation to do it; however, the report is a duty imposed by law for public servants. There is also other specific legislation regarding prevention and victim

⁴ Article 152 (Criminal Code), available at:

http://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?ficha=101&artigo_id=&nid=109&pagina=2&tab_ela=leis&nversao=&so_miolo=

support⁵, guidelines for media coverage⁶, training for magistrates⁷, access to justice⁸, health care⁹, regulation of parental responsibilities¹⁰ and compensation for victims¹¹.

Likewise, laws regarding other forms of violence against women also exist (e.g. female genital mutilation, forced marriage¹², trafficking of human beings¹³, among others).

3.2 Former and current policies to prevent gender-based violence and femicide

Since 1999, important steps towards the prevention of gender-based violence have been taken. The National Plan Against Domestic Violence was a starting point which¹⁴ was consistently renewed, built upon, and improved, in each four-year iteration, until the V National Plan Against Domestic Violence 2014-2017¹⁵. In 2018, as an effort to build a broader and more strategic approach, promoting the collaboration and coordination of all stakeholders and sectors, the **National Strategy for Equality and Non-Discrimination 2018-2030 (ENIND)** was approved¹⁶. It forms the base for three Action Plans defining strategic and specific objectives for the: i) non-discrimination on basis of sex and equality between women and men; ii) prevention of and fight against all forms of violence against women, gender-based violence, domestic violence, and female genital mutilation; and iii) fight against discrimination due to sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and sexual characteristics. The entity

⁵ Law 112/2009 - Published in the Republic Diary number 180/2009, Series I, dated 2009-09-16 - *Judicial regime applicable to the prevention of domestic violence, to the protection and support of its victims*

⁶ Resolution of the Republic Assembly No. 62/2019, of May 6 - Published in the Republic Diary number 86, Series I, of May 6, 2019 - Recommends that the Government promotes with the media the development of a code of conduct adapted to the Istanbul Convention for adequate news coverage of cases of domestic violence

⁷ Law No. 80/2019, of September 2 - Published in the Republic Diary number 167/2019, Series I of September 2, 2019 - Ensures mandatory training for magistrates in matters of human rights and domestic violence

⁸ Law no. 34/2004, of 29 July - Published in the Republic Diary number 177, I Series-A, of 7/29/2004

⁹ Order no. 20509/2008, of August 5 - Published in the Republic Diary number 150, II Series, of August 5, 2008, applying the system of exemption from user fees to victims of domestic violence

¹⁰ Law No. 24/2017, of May 24 - Published in the Republic Diary number 100, Series I, of May 24, 2017 - Amends the Civil Code promoting the urgent regulation of parental responsibilities in situations of domestic violence

¹¹ Law No. 104/2009, of September 14 - Published in the Republic Diary number 178, I Series, of September 14, 2009 - Approves the compensation regime for victims of violent crimes and domestic violence.

¹² Law No. 83/2015, of August 5 - Published in the Republic Diary number 115, I Series, of August 5, 2015 - Modifies the crime of Female Genital Mutilation, sexual harassment and creates the crimes of Stalking and Forced Marriage.

¹³ Law No. 60/2013, of August 23 - Rectified in the Republic Diary number 192, I Series, of October 4, 2013 - on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting victims

¹⁴ Ministry Council Resolution 55/99. *Republic Diary* 137/1999, Series I-B, published 1999-06-15, p. 3426-3428.

¹⁵ Ministry Council Resolution 102/2013. *Republic Diary* 253/2013, Series I, published 2013-12-31, p. 7017-7035.

¹⁶ Ministry Council Resolution 61/2018. *Republic Diary* 97/2018, Series I, published 2018-05-21, p. 2220-2245.

responsible for coordinating the ENIND is the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG). So far, three Progress Monitoring Reports on the ENIND have been published, in 2018, 2019 and 2020.

The **aims of the Action Plan** for the prevention of and fight against all forms of violence against women, gender-based violence, and domestic violence are to: 1) eradicate the social tolerance to the manifestations of GBV/VAWG/DV, raise awareness on its impacts, and promote a culture of non-violence, human rights, equality, and non-discrimination; 2) support and protect – enlarge and consolidate intervention; 3) intervene with offenders, promoting a culture of accountability; 4) qualify professionals and services for intervention; 5) investigate, monitor, and evaluate public policies; 6) prevent and combat harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation and child marriages. Interim reports are annually published regarding the ENIND's objectives and actions performed towards those objectives¹⁷. In 2020, the State has **published several guidelines and manuals¹⁸ on the matter of prevention and intervention in domestic violence**: a) The Manual of Functional Action to be Adopted by Law Enforcement Agencies in the 72 hours after the filing of a report of domestic violence; b) The Guide on Integrated Intervention with Children or Youth Victims of Domestic Violence; c) Annual Plan of Joint Training Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence; d) Guide on Minimum Requisites for Primary Prevention Programs and Projects for the prevention of Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence.

In the same way, **intervention programs have been implemented with domestic violence offenders**. The most widely implemented program in Portugal is the Program for Domestic Violence Aggressors (PAVD)¹⁹ that was developed by the General Directorate of Reinsertion and Prison Services (DGRSP). The program can only be implemented with male perpetrators prosecuted for domestic violence (specifically, intimate partner violence) as long as they do not have a severe psychiatric illness and/or severe cognitive deficits. Participation is always conditioned to the risk of criminal recidivism. The intervention is carried out individually and through interaction in groups (through group dynamics) and involves psycho-educational support, therapeutic and social support. Therapeutic support for the offenders' families is also available during their participation in the program. During participation in the program, treatment for drug and alcohol addiction is available. According to the Director of Prison

¹⁷ See, for example: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/documentacao-de-referencia/doc/portugal-mais-igual/>

¹⁸ Available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=novos-instrumentos-de-combate-a-violencia-domestica> and <https://www.cig.gov.pt/2020/06/governo-apresenta-novos-instrumentos-combate-violencia-domestica/>

¹⁹ Detailed description is available at: <https://www.oa.pt/upl/%7Bbbe0cbaa-5794-4f2f-8a49-adf014f72d39%7D.PDF>

Services, the program has been shown to be effective and its structure has been adapted to allow its implementation also in the prison context (Program Vida)²⁰. However, there is some criticism from NGOs in Portugal regarding the lack of coordination between this program and victim support services. Thus, in certain situations, victims' safety may be at risk during the implementation of the program²¹.

When it comes to **primary prevention**, programmes and projects have also been implemented in schools namely by NGOs and research centres. As an example, UMAR has developed prevention programmes in schools since 2004. A primary prevention programme for the prevention of gender-based violence and the promotion of human rights and gender equality, ART'THEMIS+²², is the programme currently in place in many schools from kindergarten to high school. It is currently being developed in several schools in Porto, Coimbra, Braga and the autonomous region of Madeira. The programme consists of 15 sessions with the same students throughout the school year, for at least 3 years, as well as sessions with school staff and parents.

3.3 Official reporting on VAW and femicides

There is no official data published on femicide in Portugal. Nonetheless, the Government regularly publishes the Annual Report on Internal Security which contains statistics regarding domestic violence and homicides²³. Moreover, since 2019, the State has published quarterly reports on domestic violence²⁴, in which domestic violence killings are included (both with male and female victims). In 2019, the Judicial Police published a report with an analysis of Intimate Partner Homicides from 2014-2019 in Portugal. However, there are no official case-related statistics or analysis specifically on femicide. Regarding the criminal outcomes and results of trial, the Directorate General for Justice Policy publishes regular data on perpetrators sentenced for conjugal homicide. The last report available (published in November 2020) states that there were 23 people sentenced in 2019, of which 26.1% were women and 73.9% were men²⁵.

²⁰ See the interview: <https://observador.pt/2020/05/26/programa-para-agressores-de-violencia-domestica-e-eficaz/>

²¹ Report from the Portuguese NGOs to GREVIO (2019) (p. 33): <https://www.cig.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Relat%C3%B3rio-sombra.pdf>

²² Website available at: <http://artthemis.umarfeminismos.org/>

²³ Last report available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=relatorio-anual-de-seguranca-interna-2021>

²⁴ Last report available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-trimestrais-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-1-trimestre-de-2021>

²⁵ Report available at: https://estatisticas.justica.gov.pt/sites/siej/pt-pt/Destaques/20201124_D72_HomicidiosConjugais_2007-2019.pdf

Since 2004, the Observatory of Murdered Women has been collecting data on all killings of women in Portugal, including all types of femicides. The data gathered encompasses information regarding victims' and perpetrators' characteristics, their relationship, as well as variables related to the specific case and trial.

Furthermore, an essential step towards better knowing the context of killings that occurred in the domestic context is the governmental specialised Team for the Retrospective Analysis of Domestic Violence Homicides (EARHVD). Its mission and objectives are to perform the retrospective analysis of domestic violence homicides that have already finalised the judicial process and trial or been archived, in order to draw conclusions that allow for the implementation of new preventive methodologies in the procedures and protocols, and also elaborate recommendations to public or private entities that intervene in domestic violence. All the reports are available to the public²⁶ (including one in English).

To increase professionals' knowledge and ability to identify and act adequately in cases of domestic violence, the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG), the police forces (Public Security Police and National Republican Guard), the Attorney General's Office and other Government Entities signed a protocol to implement training sessions with professionals involved in supporting domestic violence victims and to create guidelines for police officers and justice officials for the 'definition of common and articulated procedures that guarantee a uniform performance in situations of domestic violence and gender violence, within the scope of their competences and attributions (p.4)²⁷.

More recently, protocols for the territorialization of the **National Support Network for Victims of Domestic Violence** have also been signed between the Government, Municipalities and NGOs in order to expand specialised responses to victims of domestic violence who do not live in large cities²⁸. Moreover, an Action Plan for the Prevention of Violence in the Health Sector was launched in 2020 by the General Directorate of Health. This document contains important information to guide health professionals to better act in cases of violence, namely domestic violence. The action plan also foresees a set of measures to be implemented to monitor violence cases and ensure the literacy and preparation of health professionals to identify and act in cases of violence²⁹. It is relevant to mention that, in

²⁶ Official website: <https://earhvd.sg.mai.gov.pt/RelatoriosRecomendacoes/Pages/default.aspx>

²⁷ Full text available at:

https://www.ministeriopublico.pt/sites/default/files/anexos/protocolos/protocolo_cig_pgr_sgmai_dgaj_psp_gnr_vdvg.pdf

²⁸ Available at: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/2020/07/assinados-protocolos-territorializacao-da-rede-nacional-apoio-as-vitimas-violencia-domestica/>

²⁹ Available at: <https://www.dgs.pt/documentos-em-discussao-publica/plano-de-acao-para-a-prevencao-da-violencia-no-setor-da-saude-pdf.aspx>

2019, the Government also signed protocols with the Attorney General's Office and NGOs for the creation of victim support offices in some of the Departments of Investigation and Criminal Action³⁰. This protocol was accompanied by the creation of **Specialised Integrated Domestic Violence Sections** which expanded measures for victims' protection and safety, namely having magistrates coordinating proceedings related to Family Law and Criminal Law. These teams can also be designated to prosecute femicide in case it happens in their regional locations.

Regarding protocols, in 2015, the Portuguese Association for Victims Support and the General Directorate of Health signed a protocol to ensure better information for victims of violence, and to establish cooperation regarding the professionals' training needs, as well as for the development of awareness raising campaigns³¹.

3.4 Research on femicides

In recent years, **homicide in intimate relationships and femicide have been the focus of a fruitful scientific production in Portugal**³².

Studies have been published on the **predictors of intimate partner homicide**³³ and symmetries between intimate partner homicide perpetrated by men and women³⁴. A forensic medical national study on fatal intimate partner violence against women has concluded that detecting **prior violence and carrying out risk assessment is fundamental for intervention**³⁵. Moreover, other important studies have been conducted related to intimate partner sentencing in Portuguese courts.

³⁰ Available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3d%3dBAAAAB%2bLCAAAAAAABAAzNzazAAAmbYvLBAAAAA%3d%3d>

³¹ Full text available at: https://www.apav.pt/apav_v3/images/pdf/Protocolo_APAV_DGS_2015.pdf

³² See, for example: Pontedeira, C. & Iglesias, C. (2019). Fear of crime and intimate femicide: theoretical considerations. *Psiquiatria, Psicologia e Justiça*, n 16:93-120. Available at: http://www.spppj.com/uploads/nue769_mero_6.pdf

³³ Cunha, O. S., & Gonçalves, R. A. (2019). Predictors of intimate partner homicide in a sample of Portuguese male domestic offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34(12), 2573-2598. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0886260516662304?casa_token=A8dGBHf9pO8AAAAA%3AcNAUN4pQ2EUjhhDzRj_ie_qSxb3RoHCIfZdWtjuyj5jwQ_mnQRI5fY-tuisM8d2saPYmq5BMpLD

³⁴ Matias, A., Gonçalves, M., Soeiro, C., & Matos, M. (2020). Intimate Partner Homicide in Portugal: What Are the (As) Symmetries Between Men and Women?. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-020-09469-w>

³⁵ Pereira, A. R., Vieira, D. N., & Magalhães, T. (2013). Fatal intimate partner violence against women in Portugal: a forensic medical national study. *Journal of forensic and legal medicine*, 20(8), 1099-1107. Available at:

https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1752928X13002540?casa_token=lvxbT9X3yF8AAA:1KbKEVRvGIAG0fNfRN-pGc1QwICid0zwA1WGRf8L4cpEawkW0p_4SxvgLZ0CaFIABApePjw6g

The first **sentencing study on conjugal homicides** was published in 2015 and analysed 197 first instance judicial decisions (including all types of homicides and attempted homicides)³⁶. Most cases of committed homicides were sentenced as qualified homicides (63.3%), followed by simple homicides (34.7%) and finally privileged homicides³⁷ (1%). In 55.8% of cases there were related crimes associated in the sentence. The reasonings for the qualification of the qualified homicides varied between having an intimate relationship with the victim (72.6%), having committed the crime in cold blood, premeditation or persistence in the intention of killing (41.9%), among others. About one-third of the crimes were premeditated, and in about 40% of the crimes, immediate precipitants related to the non-acceptance of the end of the relationship were involved. Sentences for qualified homicide had an average term of imprisonment of 18.42 years (standard deviation = 2.23 years), whilst sentences for homicides had an average term of imprisonment of 15.84 years (standard deviation = 4.40 years). Another recent study³⁸ analysed the “passionate crime” arguments in the Portuguese Supreme Court and concluded that this argument is often rejected and there is increasing concern about the prevention of intimate partner homicides.

Another relevant study has adopted a qualitative approach and **focused on female perpetrators of intimate partner homicide**, concluding that **all of them were victims of gender-based violence by their partners** and that there are gaps in the legal system regarding the sentencing of these women (with the system being harsh on them)³⁹.

3.5 The support and intervention system

Regarding the victim support and intervention system, the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality published in 2019 an infographic about the **National Support Network for Victims of Domestic Violence** which states that in Portugal there were 133 counselling

³⁶ Agra, C., Quintas, J. Sousa, P., & Leite, A. (2015). Homicídios conjugais: estudo avaliativo das decisões judiciais. CIG: Coleção estudos de género, nº11. Available at: <https://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/bitstream/10216/83304/2/125824.pdf>

³⁷ According to Article 133 of Portuguese Criminal Code, the privilege condition occurs when the homicide takes place under an understandable violent emotion, compassion, despair or other socially or morally relevant motive, such as to significantly diminished the murderer's degree of guilt.

³⁸ Pontedeira, C., Quintas, J., & Walklate, S. Intimate Partner Homicides: “Passionate Crime” Arguments in the Portuguese Supreme Court of Justice. *International Annals of Criminology*, 1-24.(1). Available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-annals-of-criminology/article/abs/intimate-partner-homicides-passionate-crime-arguments-in-the-portuguese-supreme-court-of-justice/FF5DC6024F24D0FA12461B9DE6D0A86B>

³⁹ Ferreira, M.; Neves, S.; & Gomes, S. (2018). Matar ou Morrer – Narrativas de mulheres, vítimas de violência de género, condenadas pelo homicídio dos seus companheiros [in Portuguese. Translation: ‘To kill or to be killed’- Narratives of female victims of intimate partner violence, convicted of the murder of their partners], *Configurações* [Online], 21 | 2018 <https://doi.org/10.4000/configuracoes.5171>

centres spread all over the country, with at least 1 in each district⁴⁰. Among these, 2 are specific for women victims of sexual violence, and 1 is specific for male victims of sexual violence. Since 2019 other support services were created but information about them is not systemized.

There is an **Official National Helpline available for domestic violence victims in Portugal** (800 202 148) available 24/7⁴¹. If the victim is not able to make a call, they may use the SMS service (3060) or send an email (violencia.covid@cig.gov.pt) - these services are available from 9 am to 5:30 pm on working days. These resources were created to tackle the challenges imposed by the pandemic, to ensure that all victims can access the support services. There is also a National Line for Social Emergency 144, available 24/7 for unprotected or vulnerable people in need of social support (including victims of domestic violence). Apart from these national contact services, several institutions, namely NGO's have their own contact information available for victims, namely women victims of domestic violence and sexual violence. UMAR runs 3 counselling centres: one in Porto, for women victims of violence; one in Almada, for women victims of domestic violence; and a second one in Porto, for women victims of sexual violence⁴². All of these are in densely populated urban areas.

UMAR also collaborates with the police in three victim support offices in the Departments of Investigation and Criminal Action (DIAP). APAV, the Portuguese Association for Victim Support, has 20 victim support centres (GAV) all over the country, for all victims, and 4 support centres for migrant victims⁴³. There are 3 support centres specific for LGBTI victims of domestic and gender-based violence run by NGOs: Casa Qui, a social solidarity association; Association Plan i; and ILGA - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Intervention. There is also a youth association for LGBTI support called Ex Aequo Network.

3.6 Multiprofessional networks on preventing gender-based violence and femicides

Due to the recent **protocols and national action plans**, police and judicial activity has been the target of important interventions in order to prepare these structures for the adequate reception of domestic violence victims. Many improvements have been made in recent years, as might be noted through the documents, protocols and initiatives implemented both nationally and locally. Of note is the Manual for the Functional Action to be adopted by the Police Agencies in the 72 hours after a domestic

⁴⁰ Document available at: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Rede-Nacional-de-Apoio-%C3%A0s-Vitimas-de-violencia-dom%C3%A9stica.pdf>

⁴¹Contact: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Rede-Nacional-de-Apoio-%C3%A0s-Vitimas-de-violencia-dom%C3%A9stica.pdf>

⁴² Institutional website available at: <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/index.php/centros-de-atendimento-da-umar>

violence report⁴⁴, published in 2020, outlining the principles, protocols, measures and actions recommended in domestic violence cases.

Some studies have shown the perceptions and beliefs of law enforcement and court professionals in the police and justice system action in cases of domestic violence. These studies show that, although many positive efforts have been done, there is still a need for more investment in training professionals. The 2015 CEINAV working paper demonstrates how different this action can be, as various professionals describe the necessary actions to be taken in a hypothetical situation very differently, which highlights a need for training on what the recommended actions should be⁴⁵. In fact, a 2018 study showed that there is still work to be done in deconstructing myths and beliefs about domestic violence with police officers as these will lead to a less conditioned police action⁴⁶. Moreover, a more recent study, from 2020, supported those findings, concluding that more training is necessary and highlighting professionals themselves stress the importance of the existence of intervention guidelines⁴⁷. Lastly, a recent article showed that there is still a high tolerance and acceptance of sexual violence, particularly among older police officers with lower educational levels, and that there is still some resistance to specific training in this field⁴⁸. The beliefs of blaming victims of gender-based violence need to be combatted, and agents of the Criminal Justice System cannot perpetuate such conceptions in carrying out their functional duties.

3.7 Femicide and VAW in the media

Femicide and violence against women have also been the focus of media portrayals. There is a rising concern regarding how the media reports those cases, namely from an ethical perspective. In this regard, the State Secretariat for Citizenship and Equality has launched in 2019 a **'Guide to good practices of the media in preventing and combatting violence against women and domestic violence'**⁴⁹. The document contains relevant and practical

⁴⁴ Available at: https://www.cig.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/172-20_MANUAL_ATUACAO_FUNCIONAL_Final.pdf

⁴⁵ Magalhães, Maria José; Lima Cruz, Angélica & De Oliveira Braga Lopez, Rita: Working Paper on Intervention Against Domestic Violence in Portugal, from the research project "Cultural Encounters in Intervention Against Violence" (CEINAV), January 2015. Available at:

https://www.londonmet.ac.uk/media/london-metropolitan-university/london-met-documents/faculties/faculty-of-social-sciences-and-humanities/research/child-and-woman-abuse-studies-unit/ceinav/DV-working-paper_PT-final_BG.pdf

⁴⁶ Sani, A. I., Coelho, A., & Manita, C. (2018). Intervenção em situações de violência doméstica: Atitudes e crenças de polícias. Available at: <https://www.psycharchives.org/handle/20.500.12034/1959>

⁴⁷ Freitas, R. (2020). Para uma formação e atuação dos Agentes da PSP no âmbito da violência doméstica (Doctoral dissertation). Available at: <https://bdigital.ufp.pt/handle/10284/8551>

⁴⁸ Fávero, M., Del Campo, A., Faria, S., Moreira, D., Ribeiro, F., & Sousa-Gomes, V. (2020). Rape myth acceptance of police officers in Portugal. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 0886260520916282. Available at: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0886260520916282>

⁴⁹ Available at (in Portuguese): <https://www.cig.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/GuiDeBoasPraticas.pdf>

information to be followed by journalists and the media to ensure that its coverage does not encourage violence (by exposing it irresponsibly), preserves the victims and highlights the positive actions and protection measures available. A relevant study on Representations of domestic violence in prime time news⁵⁰ was published by the Portuguese Regulatory Authority for the Media, and concludes that media discourse may impact the perpetuation of stereotypes regarding gender-based violence and intimate partner violence. The study presents important guidelines for professionals to report domestic violence cases, as follows:

- 'To invest in the framing and contextualization which informs about the reality of domestic violence;
- To broadcast other forms of domestic violence besides homicides;
- To avoid causality relations between the occurred crime and the characteristics of the involved parties;
- To reject the references to eventual reasons that may appear to justify the aggression and simplify the social phenomenon;
- To diversify the information sources, hence contributing to the development of an informed public opinion;
- To reject sensationalist framing in the news about domestic violence; To respect the right to the intimacy and private life of the involved parties and the presumption of innocence of the aggressors' (p. 4)⁵¹.

3.8 Gender values and gender (in)equality in the country as a background for femicides

Portugal, like other southern European countries (Italy, Spain, and Greece), is a highly familistic country, depending heavily on the support provided by the family. It has been labelled as a *Family Welfare State*⁵². In comparison with the rest of the European countries (except for Spain), Portugal is considered as the most collectivist, mainly expressed in regard to the family group⁵³. Thus, there is a strong sense of responsibility for members of the family, especially

⁵⁰ Available at (summary in English): <https://www.erc.pt/pt/estudos-e-publicacoes/representacao-de-genero/estudo-representacoes-da-violencia-domestica-nos-telejornais-de-horario-nobre>

⁵¹ Retrieved from p. 4 of the English version of the report, available at: <https://www.erc.pt/download/YToyOntzOjg6ImZpY2hlaXJvJjtzOjM5OiJtZWVpYS9lc3R1ZG9zL29iamVjZG9fb2ZmbGluZS8xMDEuNS5wZGYiO3M6NjoidGI0dWxvJjtzOjUwOiJzdW1tYXJ5LXJlcHJlc2VudGF0aW9ucy1vZi1kb21lc3RpYy12aW9sZW5jZS1pbi1wcil7fQ==/summary-representations-of-domestic-violence-in-pr>

⁵² Santos, B. S. (1999). The welfare state in Portugal: Between conflicting globalizations. *Oficina do CES*, 140. Retrieved from <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/bitstream/10316/11024/1/The%20Welfare%20State%20in%20Portugal%20Between%20Conflicting%20Globalizations.pdf>

⁵³ Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

the most vulnerable family members, to rely heavily on their relatives for support, including financial support, given that child allowances and benefits, elderly pensions, and public benefits are scarce and small. Some national laws reflect familistic values and values enshrined by the EU and most western societies. Most of these laws were designed to target the “traditional” Portuguese family of dual-earners heterosexual couples with underage children, aiming at facilitating their balance between family and career. The endorsement of gender traditional values still prevails and influences gender inequality. Most Portuguese women work fulltime outside the household, but they are still responsible for the more demanding and time-consuming family and domestic tasks⁵⁴.

3.9 Impact of COVID-19 in legislation, service provision, measures and prevalence of femicide

No specific legislation was created regarding the prevention of femicide. However, the Government adopted some **relevant measures to tackle domestic violence and provide resources for victims to seek help and support**, especially during the lockdown periods.

Awareness campaigns and support services⁵⁵:

1. “SegurançaEmIsolamento” (safety in isolation): the campaign was targeted at victims to alert them to the resources available and the ways in which they could ask for help and support. The materials were made available in different languages (including sign language)⁵⁶
2. A new SMS line was created (3060) as well as an email address for victim support (violencia.covid@cig.gov.pt).
3. The support services remained open throughout the pandemic, including during lockdown periods.
4. The capacity of emergency shelters was strengthened, and new structures were opened.

Legislative measures to tackle domestic violence and to increase victims’ protection:

⁵⁴ Matias, M, Monteiro, I. & Coimbra, S. (in press 2021). Intergenerational family solidarity in Portugal. In I. Albert, M. Emirhafizovic, C. Shpigelman, U. Trummer & C. Kelleher (Ed.). Families and Family Values in Society and Culture. Perspectives on Human Development Series. Information Age Publishing

⁵⁵ Some specific measures can be consulted at: [https://www.coe.int/en/web/genderequality/promoting-and-protecting-women-s-rights#{%2263001324%22:\[32\]}](https://www.coe.int/en/web/genderequality/promoting-and-protecting-women-s-rights#{%2263001324%22:[32]})

⁵⁶ Materials can be consulted at: <https://www.cig.gov.pt/area-portal-da-violencia/portal-violencia-domestica/covid-19-seguranca-em-isolamento/>

1. Creation of the family restructuring license and subsidy, applicable to the victim of domestic violence who, due to the domestic violence suffered, is obligated to change residence (Decree-Law No. 101/2020)⁵⁷.
2. To ensure the victims' safety, taking into account the conditions of social isolation imposed by the pandemic, offenders convicted of domestic violence were excluded from the exceptional regime of relaxation of the custodial sentences and "measures of grace" adopted by the Government during the pandemic (Law No. 9/2020)⁵⁸.
3. Within the scope of the restrictive measures provided by the State of Emergency (lockdown) decreed by the President of the Republic, the transit for the emergency reception/support of victims of domestic violence (as well as victims of human trafficking, and children and young people at risk) remained authorised (Decree No. 2-C / 2020)⁵⁹.

According to a review report focused on the socioeconomic impact of COVID-19⁶⁰:

- women represented 81% of the requests for exceptional family support (data from June 2020)
- In the second trimester of the year 2020, women's unemployment rose about 26%, whilst men's unemployment increased 12%.
- Despite the decrease in domestic violence police reports, the request for help in support centres increased sharply after lockdown - an increase of 180% between the first and second trimester 2020.
- Academics and researchers saw their productivity decrease during the pandemic while the opposite happened with men.

The State report on domestic violence in 2020⁶¹ state that, from a total of 27 women killed in a domestic violence context:

⁵⁷ Available at: <https://dre.pt/home/-/dre/149707128/details/maximized>

⁵⁸ Law can be consulted at: <https://dre.pt/pesquisa/-/search/131338919/details/maximized>

⁵⁹ Full text available at: <https://dre.pt/home/-/dre/131908499/details/maximized>

⁶⁰ Available at: <https://repositorio.iscte-iul.pt/bitstream/10071/21054/1/UmOlharSociolo%cc%81gicoSobreaCriseCovid19emLivro.pages.pdf>

⁶¹ Available at (Portuguese):
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-trimestrais-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-1-trimestre-de-2020> ;
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-trimestrais-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-2-trimestre-de-2020> ;
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-trimestrais-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-3-trimestre-de-2020> and

- a. 4 women were killed in a domestic violence context in the first quarter of 2020;
- b. 3 women (and 1 child, no gender specified) were killed in a domestic violence context in the second quarter of 2020;
- c. 8 women were killed in a domestic violence context in the third quarter of 2020;
- d. 11 women were killed in a domestic violence context in the fourth quarter of 2020.

The Observatory on Murdered Women published in August 2020 a report on femicide prevalence during the months of Portugal's first lockdown (including two weeks before and two weeks after the official lockdown as most of the population was in voluntary confinement) - March, April and May 2020⁶². During these months, there were 4 femicides and 9 attempted femicides, which is lower than the average for those months in previous years, according to OMA's data since 2004. This report suggests that this smaller number may be due to: i) the fear lived by many victims during lockdown, leading them to adopt survival strategies to protect themselves and their children, because they were unable to leave the residence (and therefore the relationship) due to fear of infection; ii) the prevention measures adopted by the government such as the creation of new support channels and quick dissemination of information regarding victim support services.

4. The extent of femicide in Portugal

4.1 Data sources and methods of data collection

4.1.1 Data Sources and methods

As previously mentioned, there is no official data regarding femicides in Portugal. For this project, a systematic quantitative data collection on femicides was conducted, building on the knowledge and tools of the European Observatory on Femicide (EOF). Based on information collected by the Observatory of Murdered Women, an additional research on cases documented was performed, including all available information from the media (local or countrywide). As in the other countries of the project, all available information on the cases was collected and filled into the data collection tool (excel table) as a first step. A few months later, additional research were conducted in order to check if any further information on the

<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-4-trimestre-e-ano-de-2020>

⁶² Available at (Portuguese):

http://www.umarfeminismos.org/images/stories/oma/Femic%C3%ADdios_em_Portugal_durante_a_pandemia_COVID-19_.pdf or in English:

http://www.umarfeminismos.org/images/stories/oma/Femicide_in_Portugal_during_the_COVID-19_pandemic.pdf

prosecution and/or outcomes of the trials were made available. If so, it was added to the data files. Finally, the number of cases identified in this research were compared with the number of cases reported in the official data statistics to check the discrepancies between both sources. In relation to Intimate Partner Femicides, the number of cases in this research and in the police statistics are nearly identical.

Importantly, this research project is also focused on prevention and therefore two cases were analysed with a more qualitative methodology for in-depth knowledge on what could have been done to prevent these femicides. This in-depth case knowledge is presented in section 5.

4.1.2 Experiences with the use of the EOF data collection tool

The EOF data collection tools were adapted at the beginning of the project and were then used to fill and conduct data analysis. All categories are highly relevant for the characterisations of killings of women and femicides. An important limitation emerges from the data source, given that the available information in the media, in some cases, is very limited. As a result, some columns of the data collection tool are filled in with the “not known” option.

It could be relevant to rethink the role that children play in the data collection tool. For example, children are often present when femicide is committed (or previous domestic violence), and a detailed category on this form of victimization could be important to explore. Similarly, it could also be helpful to consider attempted femicides. Moreover, a category for killings within the family context would be an important addition, considering its high prevalence.

To summarise, the categories of the tool proved to be adequately structured and complete for the purpose of this project. As proposal for further data collection at European level, an online tool should be designed to potentiate a quicker and better streamlined descriptive statistical analyses for all countries in the same way.

4.2 Extent of the problem and further information on cases

4.2.1 Extent of femicides on the basis of official statistics

As stated elsewhere, there are no official statistics on femicide available in Portugal. However, the Annual Report on Internal Security⁶³ mentions 89 homicides in 2019, of which 22 were women killed by intimate partners, 5 were killed by other family members – 27 female victims in total. The Judicial Police’s report on intimate partner homicide investigations conducted between 2014 and 2019⁶⁴ states that there were 22 women victims killed by intimate partners

⁶³ Report available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3D%3DBQAAAB%2BLCAAAAAAABAAzNDA0sAAAQJ%2BlAUAAAA%3D>

⁶⁴ Report available at: <https://www.policiajudiciaria.pt/homicidios-nas-relacoes-de-intimidade-estudos-inqueritos-investigados-pela-policia-judiciaria-2014-2019/>

in 2019. The Annual Report on Internal Security for 2020 reports 93 homicides in Portugal, of which 36,7% victims were women. According to the research team's calculations, 34 women were killed in 2020. The same report also mentions that 27 women and 1 girl were victims of homicides in the context of domestic violence. According to the State quarterly reports on domestic violence, 26 women were killed in a domestic violence context in 2019⁶⁵ and 27 in 2020⁶⁶.

Portugal is a small country with a relatively low number of homicides due to its small population, which means that it is very likely that news sources report on most, if not all, of homicide cases that are discovered. This is especially true for the most sensationalist newspapers, to which the team has daily access.

4.2.2 Information on the extent of femicides from studies or NGOs

Using news and press reports, the Observatory on Murdered Women gathers annual data on killings of women (including femicide) in Portugal since 2004, analysing variables/information about the victim, perpetrator, the crime, trials, protection measures for victims, among others. These annual reports are available to the public on the institution's webpage⁶⁷. The Observatory was created by Alternative and Response Women's Association (UMAR), a feminist NGO that has advocated for gender equality and women's rights in Portugal for the last decades.

A Portuguese working group is also part of the European Observatory on Femicide, which has been systematically collecting and analysing quantitative and qualitative data on femicide.

4.2.3 Extent of femicides on the basis of the EOF data collection

The Portuguese data collection tool within this project contains **68 cases of women killed in 2019 and 2020**:

- 34 women were killed in 2019
- 34 women were killed in 2020

The **annual population-based rate** for both years was **0,33** cases per 100.000 inhabitants⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ Report available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-trimestrais-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-3-e-4-trimestres-de-2019>

⁶⁶ Report available at: <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=dados-de-crimes-de-violencia-domestica-4-trimestre-e-ano-de-2020>

⁶⁷ Official website: <http://www.umarfeminismos.org/index.php/observatorio-de-mulheres-assassinadas>

⁶⁸ Population (2020): 10,305,564 (Worldbank <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=PT>)

Year / Women killed	Women killed (age 16+)	Rate per 100.000 inhabitants	Women killed by family members (including partners)	Women killed by partners
2019	34	0,33	28	22
2020	34	0,33	30	18
2019 + 2020	68	0,66	58	40

Table 1: Women killed in Portugal in 2019 and 2020

Victim-perpetrator relationship and types of killings

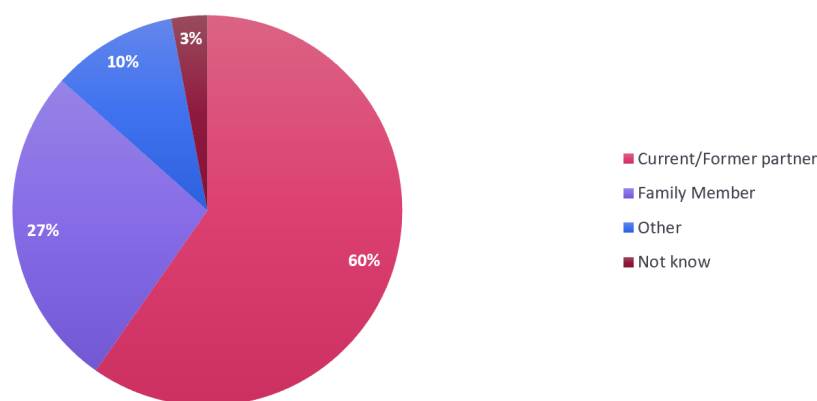
The graph displayed below (Graph 1⁶⁹) demonstrates that **60%** of the total women killed in Portugal in 2019 and 2020 were **killed by current or former intimate partners** (22 cases in 2019 and 18 cases in 2020)⁷⁰, and **27%** were killed by **other family members** (6 women in 2019 and 12 women in 2020). These crimes were almost exclusively committed by a male⁷¹ family member. Considering the total killings perpetrated within a family context, in 39% of cases, women were killed by a son or son-in-law, and in 7% by a brother or a brother-in-law. In 10% of cases, women were killed by other persons (such as colleagues and acquaintances, including men who intended to start an intimate relationship refused by the victims). Finally, in 3% of cases, it was not possible to identify the perpetrator.

⁶⁹ Only considering the relationship between the victim and main perpetrator. There were, however, 3 cases where more than one perpetrator collaborated in the crime.

⁷⁰ The only discrepancy between official police statistics and EOF data was found in data regarding the total number of women killed in 2019: the official data show more cases of killings of women, reporting 89 homicides of which 41% were women, meaning, by the team’s calculations, 37 women killed, which differs from EOF’s 34 cases found. However, regarding intimate partner femicides specifically, official sources report 22 women killed by an intimate partner, which matches the EOF data.

⁷¹ Only in two cases (in 2020) were the victims killed by another woman. In these cases, the perpetrator was a victim’s daughter and a victim’s mother.

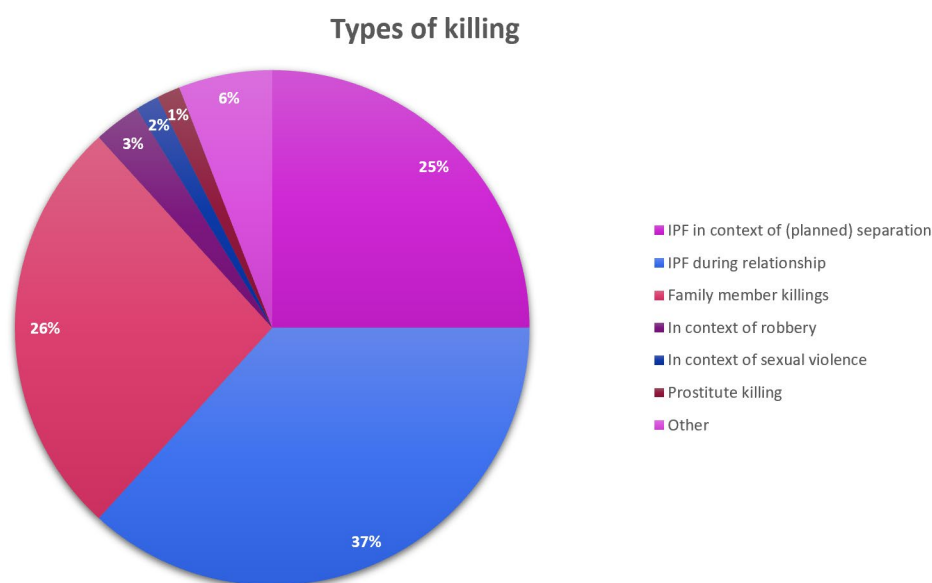
Victim-perpetrator relationship (2019 and 2020)



Graph 1: Killings of women in Portugal – relationship between victim and main perpetrator

Graph 2 refers to the **types of killings of women** considering the aggregated total in both 2019 and 2020. In 62% of cases, **women were killed by a male intimate partner in a context of intimate partner femicide (IPF)⁷²**. The higher number of cases of IPF during the relationship (37%) in comparison to IPF in the context of planned separation (25%) should be interpreted with caution, given that the lack of a clear reference, by the data source (newspapers), to the victim's intention to separate does not exclude its possibility. **Other killings** of women are **relatively rare**. These include killings such as in the context of robbery (3%), in the context of sexual violence (2%), prostitution-related (1%), and other contexts (6%). Almost in all cases, the perpetrators were males. All types of femicides have a clear gender dimension concerning men's power and patriarchal domination over women, namely in crimes related to prostitution and sexual violence. In this report, all killings in the context of sexual violence and prostitution were committed by male perpetrators. This power imbalance may also influence the incidence of killings of women within the family context, and the issue will be further explored in the next topic.

⁷² This total also includes 2 cases where the intimate relationship was intended by the perpetrators and not corresponded by the victims.



Graph 2: Killing of women in Portugal – types of killing

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
IPF in context of (planned) separation	17	25,0	25,0	25,0
IPF during relationship	25	36,8	36,8	61,8
Family member killings	18	26,5	26,5	88,2
In context of robbery	2	2,9	2,9	91,2
In context of sexual violence	1	1,5	1,5	92,6
Prostitute killing	1	1,5	1,5	94,1
Other	4	5,9	5,9	100,0
Total	68	100,0	100,0	

Table 2: Types of femicide – Frequency table

4.3 Background information on the cases

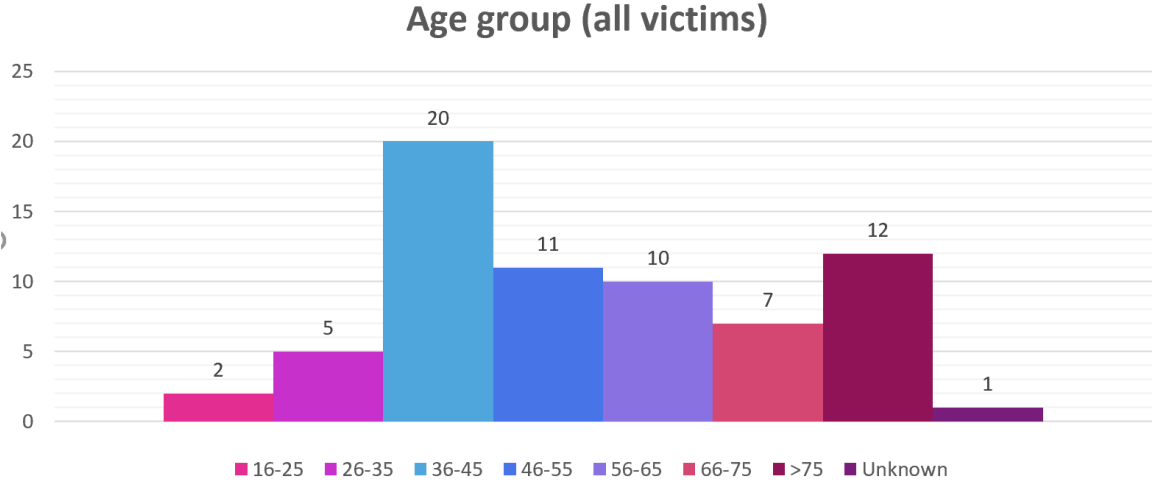
4.3.1 Characteristics of the victims

In addition to the 68 women killed in Portugal in 2019 and 2020, additional victims were also killed in 15% of all cases. Of the 10 additional victims, 4 were other family members, 3 were young or adult children, and 1 was a victim's friend. In 2 cases, the relationship between the women killed and the additional victim was not identified.

4.3.1.1 Age of women

Although women of all ages were killed, almost a third of the victims (30%) were 36 to 45 years old, and 28% were 66 or older. Women over 36 is currently at higher risk of homicide/femicide, as well as older women and special attention to these vulnerable groups is urgent.

In one case, it was not possible to identify the victims' age.



	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
16-25	2	2,9	2,9	2,9
26-35	5	7,4	7,4	10,3
36-45	20	29,4	29,4	39,7
46-55	11	16,2	16,2	55,8
56-65	10	14,7	14,7	70,5
66-75	7	10,3	10,3	80,8
>75	12	17,6	17,6	98,5
Unknown	1	1,5	1,5	100,0
Total	68	100,0	100,0	

Table 3: Total victims' age group – Frequency table

Victims of IPF (see Table 4) were generally younger and **victims of killings by family members** were significantly older than the median average of all women killed (67% of the women killed by family members were 56 years and older, see Table 5). Also, for **victims of killings outside of intimate partner and family contexts** (see Table 6), the relatively older age (75% of victims being 56 years and older) is significant.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
16-25	1	2,4	2,4	2,4
26-35	5	11,9	11,9	14,3
36-45	16	38,1	38,1	52,4
46-55	8	19,0	19,0	71,4
56-65	4	9,5	9,5	81,0
66-75	5	11,9	11,9	92,9
>75	3	7,1	7,1	100,0
Unknown	0	0,0	0,0	100,0
Total	42	100,0	100,0	

Table 4: IPF victim's age group – Frequency table

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
16-25	0	0,0	0,0	0,0
26-35	1	5,6	5,6	5,6
36-45	4	22,2	22,2	27,8
46-55	1	5,6	5,6	33,3
56-65	4	22,2	22,2	55,6
66-75	1	5,6	5,6	61,1
>75	7	38,9	38,9	100,0
Unknown	0	0,0	0,0	100,0
Total	18	100,0	100,0	

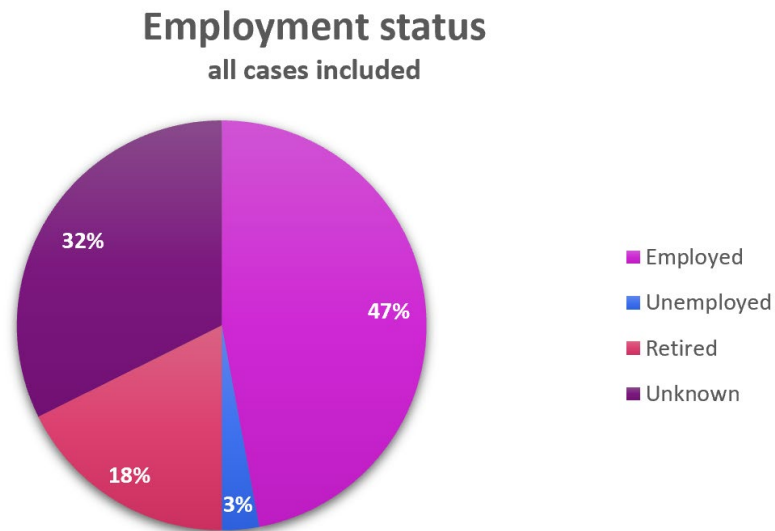
Table 5: Family killing (Victim's age group) Frequency table

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
16-25	0	0,0	0,0	0,0
26-35	0	0,0	0,0	0,0
36-45	0	0,0	0,0	0,0
46-55	2	25,0	25,0	25,0
56-65	2	25,0	25,0	50,0
66-75	1	12,5	12,5	62,5
>75	3	37,5	37,5	100,0
Unknown	0	0,0	0,0	100,0
Total	8	100,0	100,0	

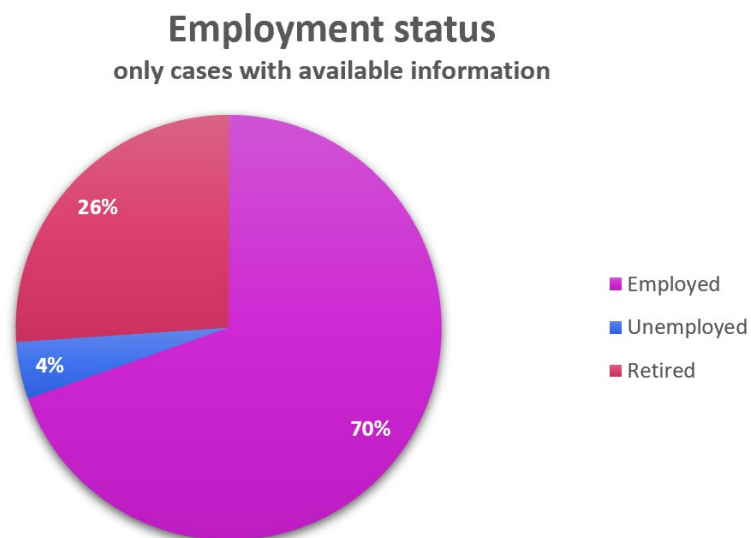
Table 6: Other and Unknown killings (Victims' age group) Frequency table

4.3.1.2 Further characteristics of the victims

Further characteristics of victims show a great variety in employment and profession of the victims. In 32% of cases, information regarding the employment status of victims is not known, and in the remaining cases, most victims were employed (47%) or retired (18%) when they were killed (see Graph 4). Considering only cases where the information on employment status is available (N=46), employed women are the majority of cases (70%, see Graph 5).



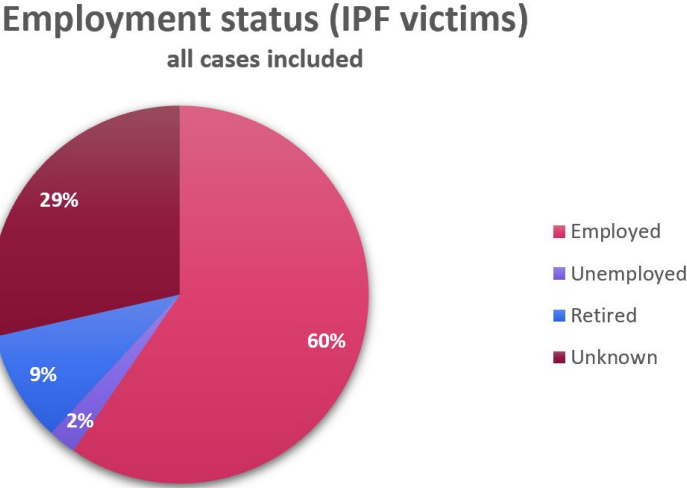
Graph 4: Victims' employment status – all cases included



Graph 5: Victims' employment status – only available data

Information regarding victims' occupation is scarce. Considering only cases where this data is available (N=15), it is possible to observe various professions and backgrounds⁷³. Only in 10% of cases was the information regarding the minority background of victims found and only in terms of nationality (namely victims from Brazil, Thailand, Sweden, Brazil, Ukraine, Netherlands and Iran). However, this information should be interpreted cautiously as, for the overwhelming majority of cases, information regarding minority background is not available on the data source used for this research. Furthermore, 2 cases involving victims with disabilities were documented.

Considering **only characteristics of IPF victims**⁷⁴, 60% were currently employed when the femicide happened, 9% were retired, and 2% were unemployed (see Graph 6). However, in 29% of cases, information regarding IPF victim employment status is not available.



Graph 6: IPF victims' employment status – all cases included

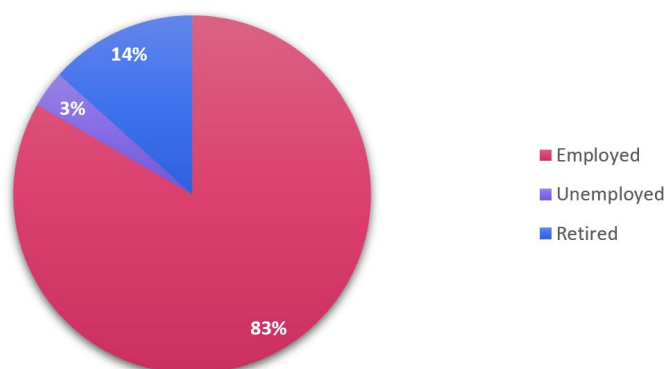
Considering only the IPF cases where this information is available (N=30), women's employment status rises to 83%, and the retirement percentage represents 14% of cases.

⁷³ Victims' professional background (considering only available data): nun; prostitute; masseuse; restaurant cook; administrative; fruit vendor; customer service; supermarket worker; factory worker; restaurant employee; university social services officer; engineer; sewing shop and machine repair; part-time worker; employee of an institution.

⁷⁴ Including victims killed by former or current intimate partners and victims which were killed due to refusal of an intimate relationship with perpetrator.

Employment status (IPF victims)

only cases with available information

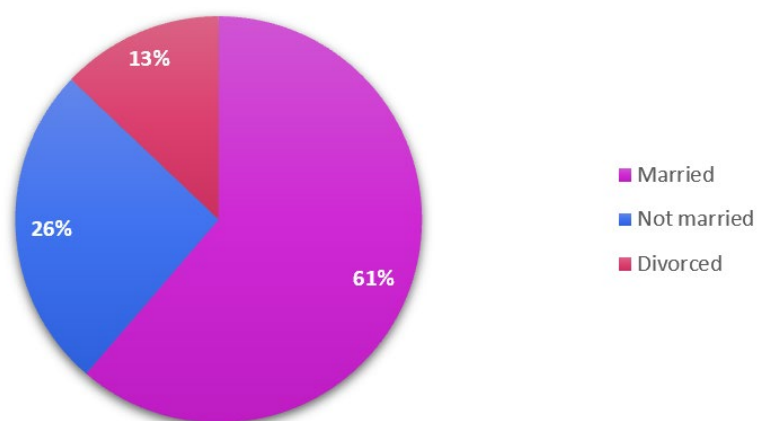


Graph 7: IPF victims' employment status – only available data

Still **regarding IPF victims**, considering cases in which the information on marital status is available (N=31), most of the femicide victims were married at the time of the crime (61%), 26% were not married, and 13% were divorced (see Graph 8). Finally, it is relevant to mention that considering IPF, in 28 cases, the victims have one or more children who became orphaned due to femicide.

Marital status (IPF victims)

only cases with available information



Graph 8: IPF victims' marital status – only available data

4.3.2 Characteristics of the perpetrators

4.3.2.1 Number of perpetrators

Despite 68 documented killings of women in Portugal in 2019 and 2020, there are 71 perpetrators in total – meaning that, in 3 cases, the main perpetrator committed the crime with another person. From the total number of perpetrators, 60% (n=42) committed intimate partner femicide.

4.3.2.2 Gender of the perpetrators

The killing of women is clearly gendered in relation to both victims and perpetrators. Only in 2 cases (3%) was the main perpetrator a woman, and in 1 other case, a woman, also in a relationship with the perpetrator, helped her partner to kill the IPF victim.

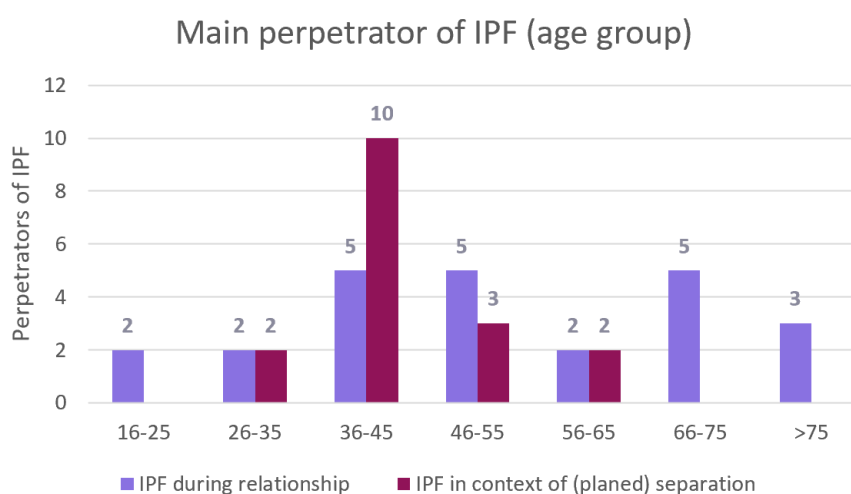
4.3.2.3 Age of the perpetrators

Table 7 shows the frequency of perpetrators' ages. This information was available in almost all cases (94%), making it possible to conclude that the most common age group of perpetrators is between 36 to 55 years (47%).

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
16-25	5	7,0	7,0	7,0
26-35	8	11,3	11,3	18,3
36-45	17	23,9	23,9	42,2
46-55	16	22,5	22,5	64,7
56-65	9	12,7	12,7	77,4
66-75	4	5,6	5,6	83,1
>75	8	11,3	11,3	94,3
Unknown	4	5,6	5,6	100,0
Total	71	100,0	100,0	

Table 7: Perpetrators' age group - Frequency table

Considering **only the main perpetrators of IPF**, the age group distribution is less uniform in the context of (planned) separation than during a relationship. Men between 36 and 45 years old represent the majority of cases analysed (37%; n=15), followed by men between 46 and 55 years old (20%; n=8).



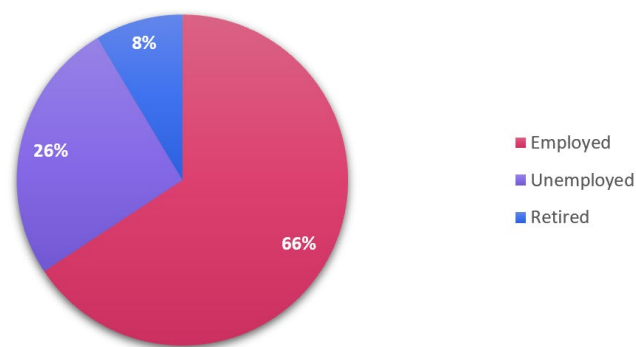
Graph 9: IPF main perpetrators' age group – only cases with available data

4.3.2.4 Further characteristics of the perpetrators

Considering the 71 perpetrators identified, only in 35 (49%) cases is information regarding the perpetrator's employment status available. Considering the cases where information is available, 66% of the perpetrators were employed and 26% were unemployed when they committed the crime. Another 8% were retired. There are various professional backgrounds⁷⁵, although for most cases (61%) this information is not available.

Employment status (Perpetrators)

only cases with available information



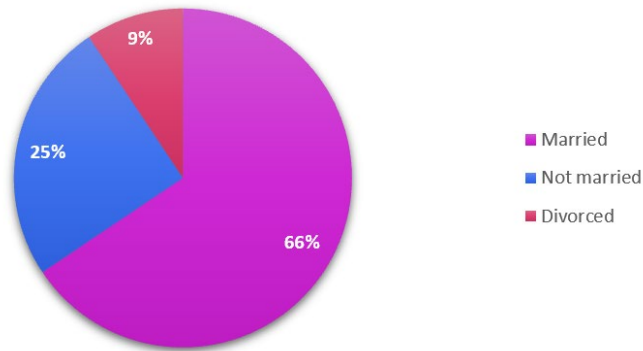
Graph 10: Perpetrators' employment status – only cases with available data included

According to the data available, in 11% of perpetrators there was an indication of their **ethnic-racial diversity** and only regarding nationality (namely from Brazil, Pakistan, Thailand, Sweden, Italy, Bulgaria and Iran). The mental state of the majority of the perpetrators was unknown. Perpetrators' mental health issues were only referred in 4 cases (6%).

Considering **only the characteristics of IPF perpetrators**, information regarding marital status is available in 32 cases, of which 66% were married, 25% were not married, and 9% were divorced.

⁷⁵ Perpetrators' professional background (considering only available data): IT; manager of masseuse house; fisherman; fruit vendor; worked at a winery; whitesmith; construction businessman; baker; self-employed plumber; truck driver; tour technician.

Marital status (IPF perpetrators) only cases with available information



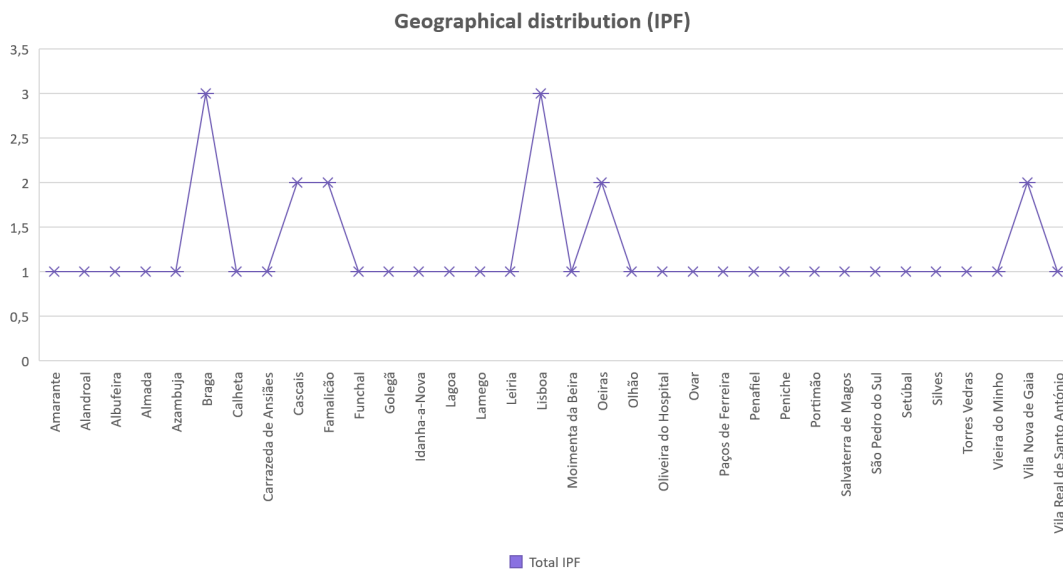
Graph 11: IPF perpetrators’ marital status – only cases with available data included

An important aspect to emphasise regarding perpetrators is the high percentage of suicide. After the crime, **28% of IPF perpetrators committed suicide.**

4.3.3 Further background information on cases of intimate partner femicides

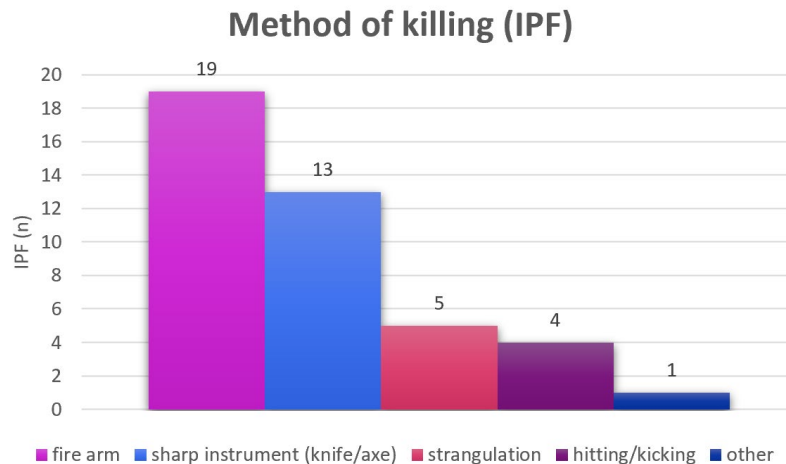
Intimate partner femicide (IPF) represents the majority of cases analysed in Portugal. From the 68 killings of women, 40 women were killed by current or former partners, and another 2 victims were killed because they refused an intimate relationship with the perpetrators. Moreover, 40% of IPF victims were separated or in the process of separation from the perpetrator at the time of the femicide.

Regarding the **geographical distribution of IPF**, the higher number was registered in Braga (North Portugal) and Lisboa (capital) with 3 IPF each, followed by Cascais (capital metropolitan area), Oeiras (capital metropolitan area), Vila Nova de Gaia and Famalicão (both north).



Graph 12: Geographical distribution of IPF

In all IPF cases, there is available information on the **method of killing**, which varied significantly. The most prevalent method was the use of a firearm (n=19) followed by sharp instruments (n=13). In one case, labelled “other,” the victim died from being pushed.



Graph 13: Method of killing (IPF)

In 26% of IPF cases, the crime occurred in the presence of witnesses, namely family members and children. In one case, the IPF victim was pregnant at the time of the crime.

Considering only cases for which this information is available, **prior violence against victims was also noted, namely domestic violence** (84%; n=26), **stalking** (12%; n=2) and **death threats** (62%; n=5). Important situational factors that motivated the femicides also emerged from the data analysis, such as jealousy, the perpetrator's refusal to accept the separation, and the victim's refusal to start an intimate relationship with the perpetrator.

4.3.4 Prior institutional knowledge of domestic violence and reactions

4.3.4.1 Prior institutional knowledge of domestic violence

Prior risk factors should always be considered serious warning signs, namely for femicide prevention. From the analysis of the 68 killings of women, it is possible to note some important topics:

- In 38% of the cases on which information is available⁷⁶, **prior violence** (namely domestic violence) against the victim was known to the police;

⁷⁶ Total N=34

- 3 perpetrators were convicted prior to the crimes (for 94% of cases, this information is missing); these perpetrators had been convicted of rape, drug trafficking, kidnapping, domestic violence and a previous homicide.

The following topics highlighted refer to all 42 Intimate Partner Femicides recorded:

- In 84% of cases on which information is available⁷⁷, there was **prior domestic violence**;
- In 45% of the cases on which information is available⁷⁸, **prior domestic violence** against the victim was **known to the police**;
- In 11% of the cases on which information is available⁷⁹, **protection orders** had been given;
- 33% of the cases on which information is available⁸⁰ were known to the **support systems**;
- 30% of the cases on which information is available⁸¹ were **known to others** (family members, neighbours, friends).

4.3.4.2 Trial and sentencing

Considering the systematic data collection, the outcomes demonstrated in Table 8 were identified. It is relevant to mention, however, that for some cases (namely those classified as 'no outcome yet') due to the duration of the process, the sentence might not have been passed or the results/outcomes may not yet have been released by the media. The data collection on trials will be maintained during the project.

Results of the Trials	All Cases	IPF	Family Members	Other
No outcome yet	26% (n=18)	19% (n=8)	50% (n=9)	12% (n=1)
No Trial (suicide)	25% (n=17)	29% (n=12)	11% (n=2)	38% (n=3)
Guilty of homicide	28% (n=19)	33% (n=14)	11% (n=2)	38% (n=3)
Mental health institution	4% (n=3)	0%	18% (n=3)	0%

⁷⁷ Total N=31

⁷⁸ Total N=22

⁷⁹ Total N=10

⁸⁰ Total N=4

⁸¹ Total N=23

Killed by the police	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Not guilty	2% (n=1)	2% (n=1)	0%	0%
Outcome not known	12% (n=8)	14% (n=6)	5% (n=1)	12% (n=1)
Other	3% (n=2)	3% (n=1)	5% (n=1)	0%

Table 8: Outcome and result of trials regarding killings of women in 2019 and 2020 (as of May 2021).

4.3.5 Summary

In Portugal, intimate partner femicide is the most common type of killing of women, followed by killings by family members. Also in family killings but especially in intimate partner femicides, it is extremely important to note the staggering number of cases in which prior violence was known, either by the police, by victim support institutions or by others in the victim’s life.

The fact that women who were killed by male family members are mostly of older age and the perpetrators were often their sons and grandsons, sheds a new light on the analyses of women killings in domestic violence contexts.

5. In-depth case knowledge as an example for cases that can be informative for prevention

Two cases were analysed with a qualitative methodology for a more in-depth knowledge on what could have been done to prevent these femicides. These cases were selected to represent typical femicide cases that are can be informative for prevention. One of the femicides was committed in 2019 and the other in 2020.

5.1 Case One

5.1.1 Characterization of victim, perpetrator and their relationship

Victim: 53 years old. No information on education. She had been married (not with the perpetrator) and divorced before meeting the perpetrator. She had been a potter and owned a pottery shop in her hometown. After moving to another town, she started working at a meat treatment factory, a job which she held at the time of the murder.

Perpetrator: 62 years old. No information about education or previous marriages. He was a factory worker at a tannery.

Relationship: They had been in a long-term relationship for 8 years and had even lived together, and with the victim’s three adult sons. She ended the relationship 2 years before the

murder, after a severe episode of violence in which her sons intervened and assaulted the perpetrator to stop the violence. Neighbours also reported witnessing a few violent episodes in the street. After the relationship ended, he would still try to contact her and visit her house, even though she told him not to contact her. Her sons would often have to be the ones to prevent him from reaching the victim. When he was able to reach her and she would send him away, he would insult and berate her. He sent her several text messages with death threats over several months, saying “either you come back to me or I will kill you”. In court he admitted to stalking, insulting, and even assaulting her after the relationship had ended.

5.1.2 Coercive control and victim’s strategies to deal with perpetrator

No information regarding perpetrator’s coercive control strategies during their relationship was found. Victim’s neighbours from her hometown believe that she abandoned her hometown and pottery shop and moved to another town to get away from the perpetrator, due to his constant threats and stalking.

5.1.3 Previous help-seeking and reports to the authorities

The victim reported the case to the authorities. Five months before the murder, the victim went to the police to file a domestic violence complaint and showed them the text messages he had sent with the death threats. This complaint started a police investigation and the Public Prosecution defined a safety plan for the victim, although it seems that it was not put in action.

5.1.4 Family, formal and informal networks

The victim had three adult sons who had lived with her and the perpetrator in the victim’s hometown. These sons are not the perpetrator’s sons. The victim also had a cousin who lived nearby in their hometown who spoke with the media and reported seeing the perpetrator’s texts messages with death threats. The perpetrator has a sister, in whose house he hid after the murder and where he was found by the police and arrested. There is no information regarding if he has children of his own.

The victim and perpetrator’s neighbours mention witnessing previous violent episodes. One of the perpetrator’s neighbours said that he had told her (neighbour) that he was going to kill the victim on Valentine’s Day. The victim was killed when accompanied by a male acquaintance, although it is not clear if he was a friend or a new intimate partner. He was also shot by the perpetrator but only suffered light injuries.

5.1.5 Social and economic status

There is no specific information regarding social and economic status of victim and perpetrator. The victim’s hometown, where she had lived with the perpetrator, is a rural town, with a small

population. The victim's new town, to which she moved to get away from the perpetrator, is considerably bigger. The victim is Caucasian.

5.1.6 Official reports and risk assessment

The victim's domestic violence complaint, five months before the murder, started a police investigation process. The victim showed the police the text messages he was sending her with **death threats**. The Public Prosecution ordered additional diligences to complement those performed by the police that received the complaint. The investigation process was not concluded at the time of the murder. The Public Prosecution defined a safety plan for the victim. No information found on the risk assessment, although a safety plan was designed by the Public Prosecution, which assumes that one was performed. The safety plan's protective measures were regular police contact with the victim and reinforcement in patrols in the areas of the victim's residence. The media highlight that the Public Prosecution did not explain which police agency (and from which town) was placed in charge of executing this safety plan or even if it was actually set in motion. Moreover, different police agencies claim not to know about the plan's measures. The police from her hometown claim they did not know about this safety plan. The Republican National Guard (GNR) also claim they did not know about the safety plan but that enforcing it would be the responsibility of the Public Safety Police (PSP) in the victim's new town.

5.1.7 Social and cultural norms relevant to the specific case

The perpetrator's refusal to accept the end of the relationship, and the exercise of his power over the victim led to the femicide.

5.2 Case two

5.2.1 Characterization of victim, perpetrator and their relationship

Victim: 22 years old, psychology student (MSc), passionate about music and cinema. Worked in a shopping mall, and had a brother. Was described as a brilliant student by teachers and friends. Was originally from a smaller town but was studying in the capital (Lisboa). She was living alone.

Perpetrator: 25 years old, psychology student (MSc). Lived with his parents. Had been a volunteer in Mozambique and wrote personal chronicles on violence against animals in a newspaper. He was described by friends and teachers as a popular, sensitive and intelligent person. He is also described by the media as a good-looking and charming person. Did not have any criminal record. When pressured by the police he confessed the crime but described himself as the boyfriend of the victim (which was denied by family and friends, as they both had different partners). Refused psychiatric treatment in prison. Perpetrator tried to commit

suicide once in the prison cell and was successful the second time (although there is still currently an investigation to rule out other possibilities - crime).

Relationship: The perpetrator wanted an intimate relationship with the victim. When perceiving her refusal, he attacked her. Both had other intimate partners. Some friends reported to the media that he was obsessed with her and lost his mind due to obsessive jealousy.

5.2.2 Coercive control and victim's strategies to deal with perpetrator

Perpetrator's strategies of **coercive control** during life were **not known** (no intimate relationship). However, after death, the perpetrator tried to manipulate the whole investigation (which started as a disappearance investigation). The perpetrator went with the victim's parents to the crime scene and to the police reporting her disappearance after manipulating the crime scene to disguise evidence and dispose of the body in the river.

5.2.3 Previous help-seeking and reports to the authorities

Regarding this case, this topic does not apply, there were no references to prior violence between victim and perpetrator.

5.2.4 Family, formal and informal networks

A lot of information was disseminated in the media regarding the victim's family but not the perpetrator's family. The victim's family was described as very close to the victim. The media were highly focused on the victim's personal life and family. The victim's mother and grandparent felt the need to appear on TV to ask journalists not to report the crime claiming the perpetrator was her boyfriend. Her mother said that this "would be to give him a status he wanted and for which he killed her, but that he did not deserve". The only information in the media about the perpetrator's family was that the father went to the police while the perpetrator was in custody to urge him to confess the crime - which the perpetrator did after this conversation.

There is several different accounts of what friends mention regarding this case. Some friends reported to the media that the perpetrator was obsessed with the victim and lost his mind due to obsessive jealousy. Some friends said the victim tried to keep her intimate relationship with her boyfriend a secret so that the perpetrator did not react violently. Colleagues expressed that this crime was not expected, and a few mentioned they had never noticed any type of close relationship between victim and perpetrator.

5.2.5 Social and economic status

There is no major information regarding social and economic status of victims and perpetrator. The information available states that they were both middle class and lived in urban settings.

5.2.6 Official reports and risk assessment

Considering that there was no information related to previous violence, there is no official reports and risk assessment available for this case.

5.2.7 Social and cultural norms relevant to the specific cases

This case is relevant to analyse the media discourse on femicide in Portugal. On the one hand, it is possible to note that a few newspapers adopted a more moderate discourse, focusing on specific events and the crime. However, there is still a dangerous tendency by some media outlets to disseminate victim blaming discourses through sensationalist headlines and biased narratives. These newspaper articles sometimes refer to jealousy and passion as an acceptable justification for femicide (for example: *Sick love and jealousy led to the death of a 23-year-old girl*).

5.3 Similarities and specificities of the cases

The cases analysed refer to women killed in different circumstances: on the one hand, there is a woman who was the victim of intimate partner violence and who sought help from the police and tried to abandon the abusive relationship; on the other hand, there is a young girl who had never asked for help with the authorities, considering that she had a friendly relationship with the perpetrator and there is no information on previous violence. In one case, the authorities previously knew the risk (due to, namely, death threats); in another, the crime was completely unexpected.

One victim experienced a fatal outcome due to, among other circumstances, the insufficiency of protection measures and safety plan; the other experience it in a context of no previous violence. The media discourse in the case of the youngest victim was an example of what media portrayals should avoid: sensationalism and victim-blaming discourses.

6. Conclusions

The fact that the most common type of femicide – and even the most common type of women killing – is intimate partner femicide demonstrates how Portuguese society's patriarchal values are still deeply engrained in a significant part of the population. This is especially noticeable in the number of femicides related to separation after an intimate relationship, refusal to accept the relationship's end, or refusal to accept the victim's denial of a relationship. Many of these femicides were described as being motivated by jealousy, highlighting the men's underlying

feeling of ownership over their spouses, girlfriends or even women with whom they desire to have a relationship.

Regarding the two cases analysed, both cases portray different realities, whether from the perspective of age differences or the difference in the relationship between victim and offender. However, two women were murdered in both situations because men did not accept a 'no' from them, which is an important warning sign. At all ages, women suffer the consequences of the patriarchal culture that still permeates our society. The idea that women are merely objects, property of the men who desire them, has not yet been abandoned, and the cases analysed portray this reality.

In this sense, it is urgent to tackle violence against women, namely femicide, from a broader and macro perspective, adopting a victim-centred approach. Furthermore, effective measures should be adopted to adequately protect women who seek help, and more awareness-raising campaigns should be elaborated to promote social conscience regarding gender-based violence and femicide.

7. Preliminary recommendations

Considering the conclusions that emerge from this report, both through the quantitative and qualitative analyses, some preliminary recommendations can be outlined.

Regarding femicide and data collection:

- A uniform concept on femicide needs to be developed in the EU;
- Official, regular and standardised administrative data collection on femicide should be implemented at the EU level to better orient legislative and police measures.

Awareness raising, training and prevention:

- Campaigns to raise society's awareness on femicide should be developed more frequently and follow a gender-centred approach with a focus on victims' protection;
- Training of professionals that deal with people is fundamental to tackle domestic violence; and specific training for professionals from the justice system, health, education, among others, is crucial to take domestic violence reports seriously and prevent femicide;
- The prevention of this form of violence needs to be systematic and continuous in different contexts (namely, via intervention in schools and communities).

Victims' protection:

- Authorities must always take into serious account the risk factors of femicide, namely previous violence and death threats;

- It is essential to establish ethical guidelines for the media regarding the publicity of domestic violence and femicide.

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