

Femi(ni)cides in Germany: Feminizidmap-Report 2023

Feminizidmap

Monitoring Center for Femi(ni)cides in Germany e.V.



Preamble

Feminizidmap is a non-profit organization that has been documenting and analyzing gender-related killings of women in Germany since 2019. Our work is based on publicly available media reports, court rulings and our own research – sources that are shaped by journalistic selection criteria, editorial focuses and social narratives and therefore cannot always be complete or neutral. We are aware of these biases and reflect on them in our analysis. We do not claim to be complete or absolutely correct, but offer a critical inventory of the available data.*

With the term women we refer to FLINTA people (women, lesbians, inter, non-binary, trans and agender people), as patriarchal violence affects all genders beyond the cis-male, binary norm. In this report, we use the term women (without asterisks) when talking about the victims of a specific case from 2023, as media reports usually only mention gender identities if they deviate from the binary norm and no such case was reported in 2023.¹*

Our analyses are based on the best knowledge and conscience available to us with the available sources. Our classification is based on intersectional perspectives, current scientific debates and international standards (e.g. UNODC & UN Women, 2024; Dyroff et al., 2023; Dawson & Mobayed Vega, 2023; UNODC & UN Women, 2022; Luján Pinelo, 2018; OHCHR & UN Women, 2014; Femicidio.net, 2012), which understand femi(ni)cides as a systematic form of violence. To ensure transparency, we openly document our sources and identify uncertainties or contradictions in the data. We avoid simplistic causal inferences and instead emphasize the multidimensionality of the cases. The aim is to make patterns and structural backgrounds visible in order to promote informed prevention and intervention – instead of providing simple explanations or attributing individual guilt.

With this report, we want to provide a deeper insight into femi(ni)cides of 2023 – not as a conclusive truth, but as a contribution to a necessary social debate. As a civil society initiative, we have no access to police or legal files and are therefore dependent on media reports. We get most of the information from trial reporting, which is often not completed until two to three years after the crime. In order to be able to evaluate the most well-founded data possible, we have to wait for these procedures. For this reason, and due to the time-consuming data review process, we can only report with a time delay. We name what we know, how we analyze it, and where our data or explanations are incomplete or interpretive. Our analyses are intended as a basis for discussion and invite critical discussion. Our focus is on showing the diversity of femi(ni)cides and pointing out that this violence is not a marginal phenomenon, but a social and structural problem. In doing so, we see ourselves as part of a larger movement that understands femi(ni)cide as a political issue and not as so-called tragic individual fates!

When dealing with violence statistics, the terms "victim" and "perpetrator" inevitably appear. These can certainly be critically examined, they present violence as a clear contrast and thus often simplify complex dynamics of violence. In particular, the term victim is sometimes rejected because it suggests passivity and inferiority and can additionally stigmatize those affected. At the same time, it can be politically and practically important to name violence as such and to recognize those affected as victims, for example in order to gain access to protection and support. A more detailed discussion of the terms can be found in Hagemann-White (2019): Opfer – Täter. Zur Entwicklung der feministischen Gewaltdiskussion.

1) According to the same logic, the terms men and men* are used.

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I. Summary

I. Femi(ni)cides in Germany: Feminizidmap-Report 2023 – Summary

Summary

- Almost every day a woman* is killed in Germany. The Federal Criminal Police Office counts 360 female victims of completed killings for 2023.¹
- The Feminizidmap database contains 194 completed kills.² The cases are largely representative according to the age of the victim and the federal state (Bundesland) of the crime.
- In over nine out of ten cases, the main perpetrator is male. We consider almost all crimes with a male perpetrator to be femi(ni)cides.
- Two-thirds of femi(ni)cides are so-called intimate femi(ni)cides, in which the perpetrator is the spouse or ex-partner. The second largest category is that of familial femi(ni)cides. Here, the largest group of perpetrators is the sons of the victims. So-called non-intimate femi(ni)cides with perpetrators from the circle of friends and acquaintances are also often represented.
- This report contains a summary fact sheet and case studies for each of the three largest femi(ni)cide categories. Since a relevant proportion of victims are 60 years and older, we also summarize our analyses of this group of victims in a fact sheet.
- Furthermore, this report contains detailed analyses of the victim, the crime and the perpetrators. Since the cases are updated in the Feminizidmap database until the conclusion of the court proceedings, findings on the verdict on the perpetrators are also included, where accessible.
- The aim of this report is to contribute to the visibility of femi(ni)cides in Germany, to promote fact-based discourse and to provide impetus for changes in the handling of femi(ni)cides, especially with regard to data collection, prevention and legal classification of these acts.

About Feminizidmap

Feminizidmap – Monitoring Centre for Femi(ni)cides in Germany e.V. has been documenting killings of women* and girls* in Germany in detail since 2019. With the development of the database and its own analyses, Feminizidmap is working to comprehensively map the phenomenon of femi(ni)cide in Germany and to provide a data-based basis for the recognition of this structural social problem and for the further development of violence prevention measures.

The monitoring of Feminizidmap is based on media coverage and is realized through voluntary commitment. Each case is updated until the final court ruling. Data quality is assured by a 6-eyes principle. The database now contains details on over 1,000 cases of completed killings of women* and girls and also information on several hundred cases of attempted killings. Thus, despite the activist *counterdata* approach, our database offers a comprehensive and reliable data source on femi(ni)cides in Germany.

Furthermore, Feminizidmap focuses on education, sensitization and political networking. With lectures, workshops, statements, press work and social media contributions, the association actively contributes to the public debate on femi(ni)cides and gender-based violence.

1) The Federal Criminal Police includes the following types of killings when referring to killings of women and children: Murder (also in connection with sexual offences), manslaughter and less serious case of manslaughter, bodily injury resulting in death (BKA, 2024)

2) The cases are available on our map: <https://www.feminizidmap.org>. Selected raw data on the cases will be made available via API upon request.

1. Definition of femi(ni)cides and data basis

1.1 Global data and understanding of femi(ni)cides

Femi(ni)cides are the most extreme form of gender-based violence and refer to the killing of women* because they are women*. The gender-specific differences are reflected in global case numbers of deadly violence and violence in the social environment.

- Femi(ni)cides are generally defined as *killings of women* because they are women**.¹
- This ties in with the definition *gender-based violence*: Violence directed against women* because they are women* or that *disproportionately often affects women**.² Femi(ni)cides can be understood as the most extreme form of gender-based violence.
- Globally, about *80% of fatal violence victims are male* and most of the perpetrators are also male.³
- At the same time, *females account for around 66% of the victims of homicides by male intimate partners*.⁴ The proportion of killings of women* in the private sphere (by partners, ex-partners or family members) is 60%, compared to only about 11% for male victims.⁵
- The fact that women* are *disproportionately affected* by violence in the private sphere is also evident in Germany: *70.4% of those affected by domestic violence* are female.⁶ Official statistics on femi(ni)cides have not yet been collected separately. Nevertheless, the available data make it clear that there are *gender-specific differences* both in the experience and in the practice of lethal violence and violence in close social contexts.
- The gender-specific dimension also means that not every killing of a woman* is a femi(ni)cide. The term serves to make visible those *killings that arise from hierarchical gender relations* and are a product of *systematic, structural inequalities* that *normalize violence against women**.

1.2 Our definition of femi(ni)cides

Femi(ni)cides are not isolated cases, but an expression of patriarchal power relations. The Feminizidmap database is not limited to cases of intimate partner violence, but also records the killings of women* and girls* in different social contexts in which gender plays a central role.

Based on international best practices, we define femi(ni)cide as the killing of women* and girls* by male perpetrators in the context of patriarchal power relations. As women*, those affected are on the subordinate side of a structure in which they are disadvantaged, controlled or exposed to violence because of their gender. Femi(ni)cides are not random individual acts, but an expression of structural gender injustice, which manifests itself, for example, in claims to ownership, misogyny, institutional failure, or cultural devaluation.

Classification: In our database, we generally record killings of women* by **current or former partners as femi(ni)cides**. Even in the family context, in other social relationships or without a personal relationship, a killing can be classified as femi(ni)cide if a **structural gender-specific pattern is recognizable** or if **gender-specific power or dependency relations play a role**, for example in the form of control, male claims to ownership, the enforcement of gender roles or the punishment of behavior understood as deviant. Psychological crises or illnesses of perpetrators do not exclude this classification.

Femi(ni)cide: Femicide¹ refers to the gender-based killing of women*. Femicide² also makes it clear that such killings are related to social power relations as well as institutional failure. We use the combined spelling³ to recognize the academic and activist work from different regional contexts (especially the Américas) and to integrate it into the further examination of the topic.⁴

Categories: We distinguish between the following **femi(ni)cide categories**: intimate, non-intimate, child, familial, due to connection, prostitution/sex work, human trafficking, lesbophobic, transphobic, racist, genital mutilation.⁵ The categories that appear in the 2023 dataset are explained in more detail here. Overlaps of the categories are possible.

Other killings of women*: At present, we do not primarily record cases in which, according to the available information, **no structural or individual gender-specific connection** is recognizable, such as in the case of random victims or acts with a holdup (robbery) or theft motive. All percentages refer to our own data basis and evaluation.

1) following the understanding of the term that Dianna Russell, together with Jil Radford, first formulated as femicide in the early 1990s (cf. Radford & Russell (1992); Russel (2011); Russel (2012))

2) Understanding of the term according to Marcela Lagarde, who introduced feminicidio into the Spanish-speaking context in the mid-nineties (cf. Lagarde (2008); Lagarde (2010); Spinelli (2011))

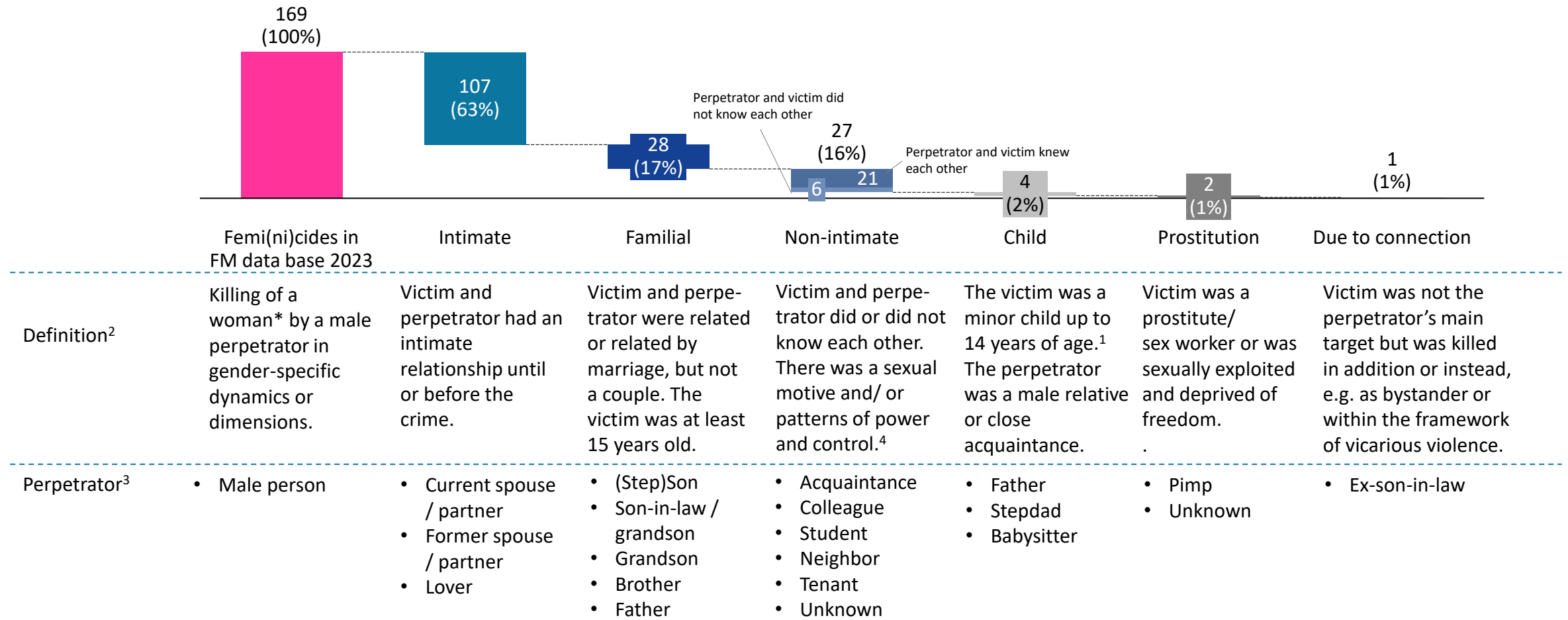
3) according to Lujan Pinelo (2018)

4) more on definition and debates on <https://feminizidmap.org/about/> & <https://feminizidmap.org/contributions/>

5) Categories according to feminicidio.net (2012)

1.3 Types of femi(ni)cides

In the Feminizidmap database, 169 femi(ni)cides are documented for the year 2023. Almost two-thirds of the cases are intimate femi(ni)cides.



- 63% of femi(ni)cides are intimate femi(ni)cides. The perpetrator is a spouse, ex-partner or lover.
- Another 17% are familial femi(ni)cides. Overall, 80% of all victims of femi(ni)cides were killed by male partners or relatives.
- 16% of the crimes are non-intimate femi(ni)cides. Here, the perpetrators come mainly from the victim's circle of acquaintances.
- Only in about 4% of the femi(ni)cides did the victim and perpetrator not know each other before (here part of non-intimate femi(ni)cides, prostitution /sexwork feminicides).

1) Also labelled infanticide

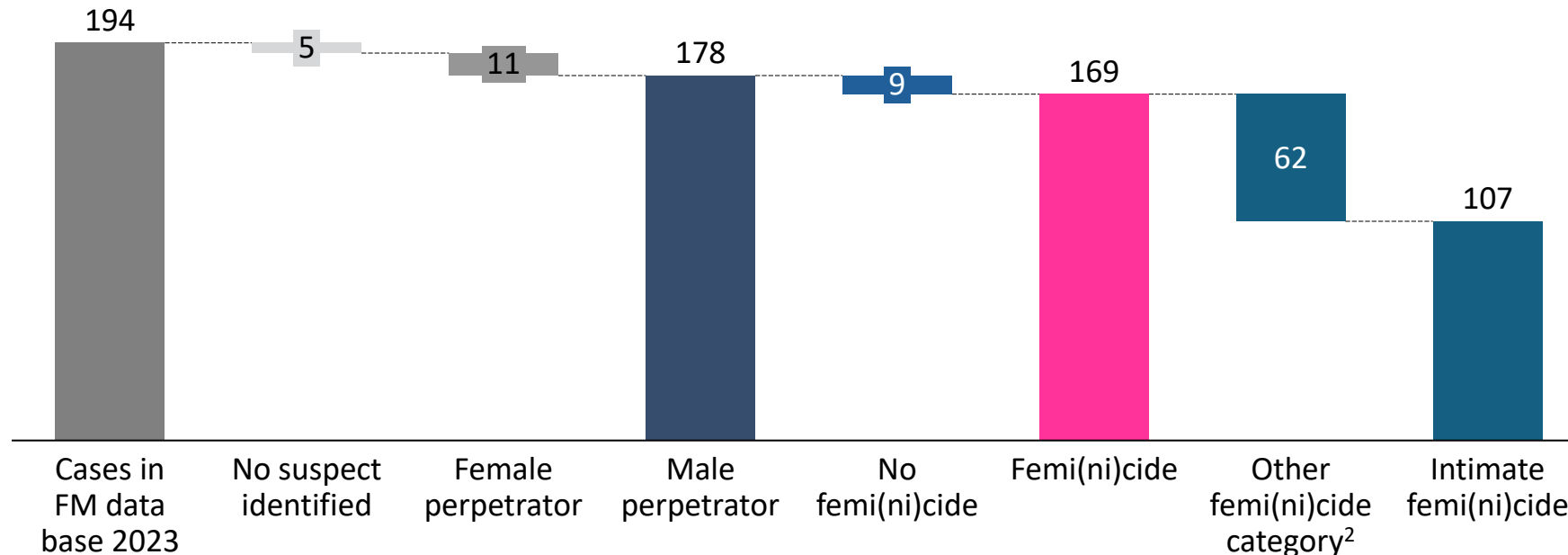
2) Related to the typification of feminicidio.net

3) Perpetrator or suspect of these cases

4) Includes femi(ni)cides related to dating (dating violence) and stalking

1.4 Completed killings, femi(ni)cides, intimate femi(ni)cides

The 169 cases we classify as femi(ni)cide represent 95% of all documented killings with male perpetrators and 87% of all documented killings with female victims.



- The database contains 194 completed killings of women for the year 2023. This is 54% of the cases reported by the police crime statistics.¹
- In 5 cases (3%), the perpetrator is unknown, no person was identified who could have probably committed the crime. In 11 (6%) cases, the main perpetrator is a female person.
- In 178 cases (92%), the perpetrator is a male.
- We identified 169 cases as femi(ni)cide. That is 87% of all killings and 95% of all killings with a male perpetrator.
- In 107 cases (55% overall / 60% in the case of male perpetrators / 63% of femi(ni)cides), the perpetrator is the (spouse) partner or ex-partner. These cases are defined as "intimate femi(ni)cides".
- In 9 cases with a male perpetrator we do not see any femi(ni)cide. It is holdup murder or the woman was a victim by chance.

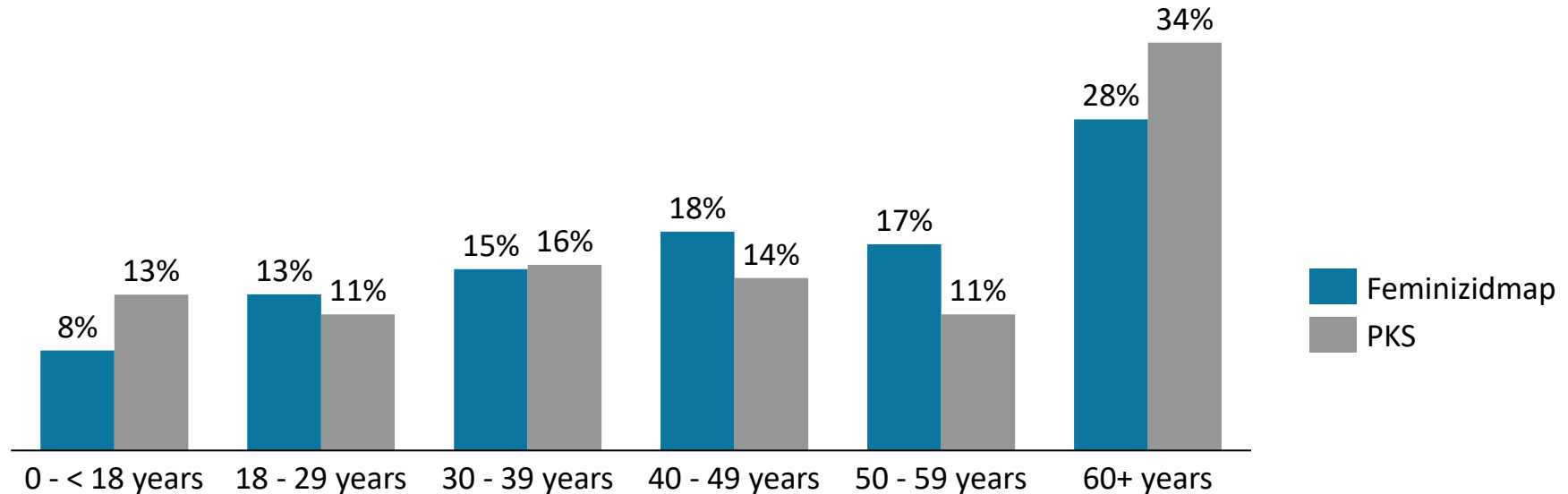
1) The police crime statistics count 360 completed killings of women in 2023. It takes into account the following types of killings: murder (also in connection with sexual offences), manslaughter and less serious cases of manslaughter and bodily injury resulting in death (Bundeskriminalamt 2023, 2024)

2) See types of femi(ni)cides [here](#).

1.5 Representativeness by age of victims

The comparison between the Feminizidmap data and the police crime statistics in relation to the age of the victims shows considerable representativeness, especially in the middle age range.

Comparison of **age of victim** of completed killings with female victims: Feminizidmap vs. Police Crime Statistics (PKS)¹ 2023



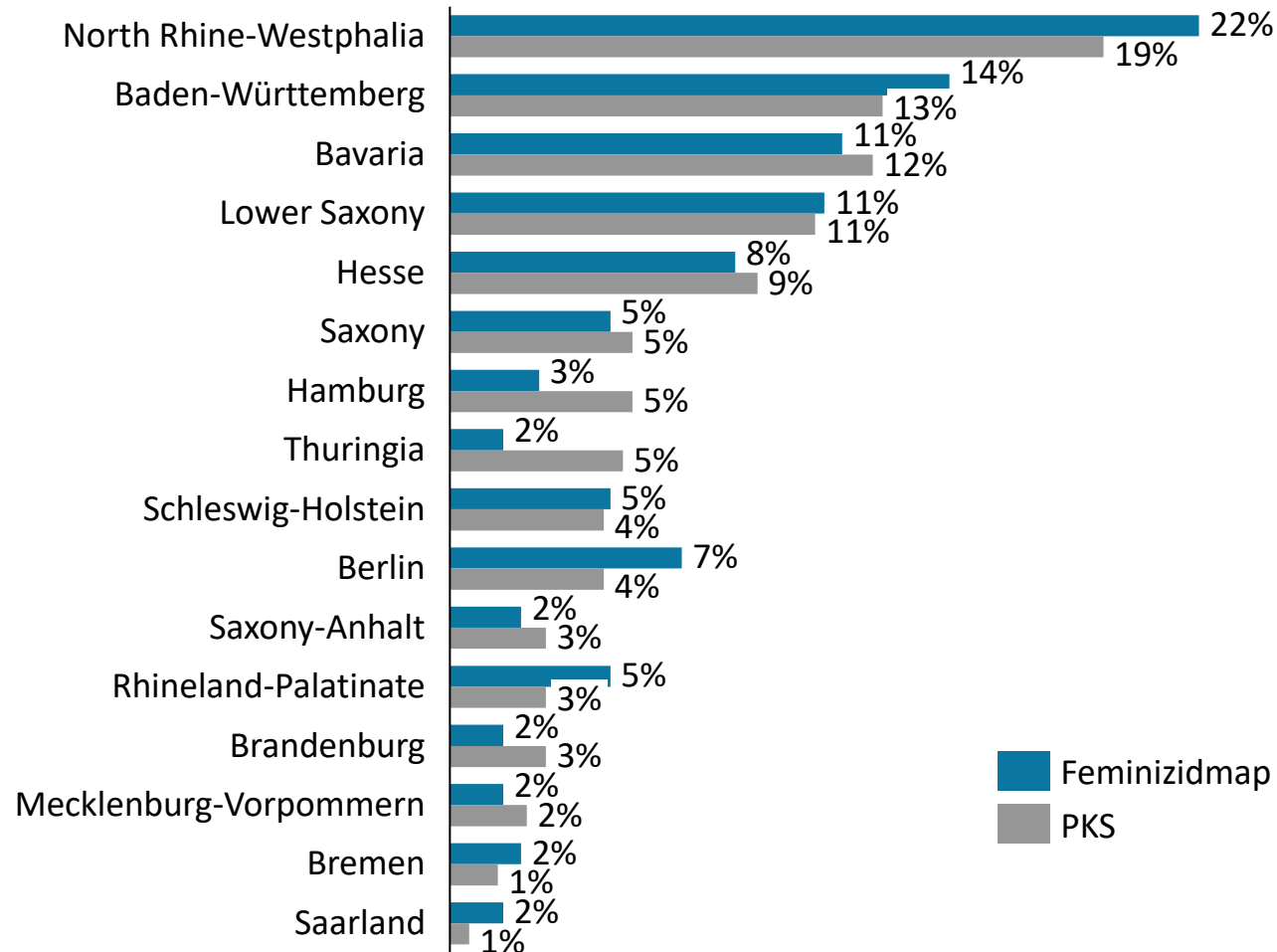
- Both the Feminizidmap data and those of the PKS show that girls and women of all ages are affected by killings.
- The age distribution in the Feminizidmap database is predominantly representative. The middle age groups from 18 to 49 years are particularly well represented.
- Cases with victims under 18 years of age and 60 years of age and older are somewhat underrepresented in the Feminizidmap database.

¹ The police crime statistics takes into account the following types of killings: murder (also in connection with sexual offences), manslaughter and less serious cases of manslaughter, bodily injury resulting in death (BKA (2023, 2024) Feminizidmap Source: data: n=192 (2 missings). Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023 and the Police Crime Statistics (Polizeilichen Kriminalstatistik, PKS) (2023).

1.6 Representativeness by federal state

The comparison between the Feminizidmap and the police crime statistics in relation to the federal state of Germany (Bundesland) where the crime occurred shows a similar distribution.

Comparison of the **federal state of the crime** of completed killings with female victims: Feminizidmap vs. Police Crime Statistics (PKS)¹ 2023



- Killings of girls and women were recorded in **all federal states** in 2023.
- The most killings were in the federal states with the largest population shares: **North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria**.
- The fewest crimes occurred in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Bremen and Saarland.
- The Feminizidmap data are **predominantly representative**. Only in 4 federal states is there a deviation of >2 percentage points: North Rhine-Westphalia and Berlin are overrepresented, Hamburg and Thuringia are underrepresented.
- The differences in the distributions are probably due to the different regional reporting in the media.

1) The police crime statistics takes into account the following types of killings: murder (also in connection with sexual offences), manslaughter and less serious cases of manslaughter, bodily injury resulting in death (BKA (2023, 2024)

Feminizidmap data: n=194. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023 and the Police Crime Statistics (Polizeilichen Kriminalstatistik, PKS) (2023).

1.7 Scope of the database and the analysis

The analyses in the following chapters refer to completed killings of women and girls by male perpetrators in Germany, which we have categorized as femi(ni)cide.

Kategorie		Feminizidmap data base	This analysis
1	Killings of women* and girls*	Killings of women* and girls* regardless of age on German territory	✓ All killings
2	Killings of German females outside of Germany	Killings of women* and girls* on foreign territory, e.g. a father kills female family members while on vacation in Spain	✗ Cases identified as femi(ni)cides
3	Killings of trans- and non-binary persons	Killings of trans- and non-binary persons regardless of age on German territory	✓ ¹ ✓ ¹
4	Killings by male perpetrators	Sole perpetrator or one of the perpetrators is a male person (and the victim is female)	✓ No case known for 2023
5	Killings by female perpetrators	Sole perpetrator or one of the perpetrators is female (and the victim is female) ²	✓ ✗
6	Killing attempts on women* and girls*	Killing attempts on women* and girls*, the victim survived	✓ ³ ✗
7	So-called "extended suicides"	A person, usually male, first kills other people, then himself. The female victims are recorded in the database.	✓ ✓
8	Female suicides as a result of patriarchal violence	Suicides of women* and girls* in response to previous gender-specific violent acts by men*, e.g. publication of nude photos, rape. ⁴	✗ ✗

1) Killings of trans people and non-binary people are generally collected by Feminizidmap. However, a trans identity is not known for any of the 194 cases in Feminizidmap's 2023 database. 2) We do not rule out the possibility that female perpetrators can also be perpetrators of patriarchal violence and thus femi(ni)cides under specific conditions. We have not identified such a case for 2023. 3) Attempted killings of women* are documented, but not evaluated in this report. A complete recording is not possible due to media underreporting. 4) It is difficult to record suicides because they are usually not reported in the media. Suicides as a result of previous gender-based violence are considered a crime of femicidal violence in some countries (Bleck 2023).

2. Factsheets and case examples

2.1 Factsheet: All Femi(ni)cides

We consider most cases of killings of women with male perpetrators to be femi(ni)cides. Women and girls of all ages become victims of femi(ni)cides. In almost two-thirds of cases, the current (spouse) partner or ex-partner is the perpetrator.

- The Feminizidmap database contains 194 completed killings of women for the year 2023. This is ~55% of all cases reported by the PKS¹. In 178 cases (92%), the perpetrator is a male. In 169 cases, we assume femi(ni)cide. That is 87% of all killings and 95% of all killings with a male perpetrator. The Feminizidmap data were compared with the PKS data¹ for representativeness.
- Women and girls of **all ages** are victims of femi(ni)cides. Two-thirds of the victims are between 18 and under 60 years old. More than a quarter of the victims are 60 years and older. The oldest woman was killed at the age of 100.
- For about two-thirds of the victims there is no information on citizenship. In addition to German citizenship, 17 others are mentioned in the sources.
- For about half of the victims, there is no information on employment, and another large proportion of the women are pensioners due to their age. The working women worked in a variety of professions before they were killed.
- In **two-thirds** of all crimes, the place where the body was found is the **common home or sole home of the victim or perpetrator**. Other locations are in other private spaces (e.g. cars), in public spaces (e.g. sidewalks), in nature (e.g. forests) and at the workplace.
- About **half of the women** who become victims of femi(ni)cides are **stabbed to death**. This is followed in descending frequency by shooting, beating and strangling (with hands), strangulation (with objects) and other killing methods.
- **Intimate femi(ni)cides** by the woman's (ex-)partner represent almost **two thirds (63%) of all femi(ni)cides**. In 19% of the crimes, the perpetrator is another male relative (e.g. son, father), in 14% an acquaintance (e.g. friend¹, neighbor). Only 4% of all perpetrators are male persons unknown to the victim.
- The motives depend on the group of perpetrators. Most femi(ni)cides are intimate femi(ni)cides and here **separation** is the motive category most often determined on the basis of media reports, followed by "dispute" or marital problems.
- In 70% of the cases, a verdict could be taken from media information by the cut-off date of 31.07.2025. In these cases, the perpetrator was convicted of murder in 45% and manslaughter in 29%, in some cases with reduced culpability.² However, there are also other verdicts such as lack of legal culpability³ and acquittal. In 20% of the cases, the perpetrator had committed suicide after the crime.
- In many cases, there is no information on dependent survivors. In 27% of the cases, it is known that the women left behind children under the age of 21. Behind these cases are 95 children who lost their mother and some of whom also had to witness the crime.

1) PKS: Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik, Police Crime Statistics 2) Reduced culpability (German: Verminderte Schuldfähigkeit, § 21 of the Criminal Code) exists if a person's ability to recognize the wrongfulness of an act or to act in accordance with this insight was significantly reduced at the time of the offence due to the disorders mentioned in §20 of the Criminal Code. The sentence can be mitigated as a result. A combination with confinement in a forensic psychiatric ward (§ 63 StGB) can also be ordered. 3) Lack of culpability: Lack of legal culpability (German: Schuldunfähigkeit) to commit a crime exists if a person was unable to recognize the injustice of his or her act at the time of the offence due to a mental disorder, a profound disorder of consciousness, intellectual disability or adolescence or was unable to act in accordance with this view (§20 StGB). Then the criminal liability does not apply. In the case of murder or manslaughter, placement in a forensic psychiatric ward is the rule (§63 StGB). Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023, n=169 femi(ni)cides.

2.2 Factsheet: Intimate Femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cide by the woman's (ex-)partner is the most common form of femi(ni)cide. Almost three quarters of women are killed in the common or alone home of the victim or perpetrator. The most frequently mentioned motive in 2023 was separation.

- **Intimate femi(ni)cide** includes acts in which the victim and perpetrator had an intimate relationship until the crime or in a previous period of life. **63% of all femi(ni)cides** in the Feminizidmap database for 2023 could be identified as Intimate femi(ni)cides.
- Almost half of the victims are between 30 and under 50 years old. Three quarters are between the ages of 18 and under 60. Almost a quarter are 60 years or older.¹
- In **71% of the crimes**, the place where the body was found is the **common home or sole home of the victim or perpetrator**. The place where the body was found is usually the crime scene, especially in the case of private space locations. Other locations are: other private space (e.g. car), public space (e.g. sidewalk), in nature (e.g. bushes) and at the workplace.
- For many crimes, it is not known to what extent the perpetrator used violence beforehand. In addition, in some cases, only physical violence is considered violence by the institutions and the media, although controlling behaviour and psychological violence are typical warning signs. In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides, in more than a quarters (27%) there was awareness of violence before the crime, the victim has sometimes turned to relatives or even to authorities, and in a few cases there was a restraining order. In 4%, according to sources, there was no violence before the act, in 69% of the cases no information.
- About **half of the women were stabbed to death** (47%). 17% were shot, 10% strangled, 8% beaten to death and 6% strangled with an object. The methods of stabbing, shooting and beating are somewhat more common than with all femi(ni)cides in general.
- **Separation** is the motive category most often determined on the basis of media reports, followed by disputes (including marital problems). Other categories of motives mentioned are: patriarchal motive / "honour", custody / alimony payments, greed, feeling humiliated by the victim, (alleged) affair of perpetrator or victim, need for care or disability of the victim. In some cases, mental illnesses of the perpetrator are identified as decisive.
- In 65% of the cases a verdict could be derived from media information as of 31.07.2025. In these cases, the perpetrator was **convicted of murder in 46% and manslaughter in 39%**, in some cases with reduced culpability². Other verdicts include lack of legal culpability³ and acquittal. In **26%** of the cases, the perpetrator had committed **suicide** after the crime, and thus more often than in the case of femi(ni)cides in general.
- In 38% of cases, the women are known to have left behind children under the age of 21. Behind these cases are **95 children** who lost their mother and some of whom also had to witness the crime.

2.2 Factsheet: Intimate Femi(ni)cides – Example Cases

Intimate femi(ni)cide by the woman's (ex-)partner is the most common form of femi(ni)cide. Almost three quarters of women are killed in the common or alone home of the victim or perpetrator. The most frequently mentioned motive in 2023 was separation.

Bad Lauchstädt, 8 March 2023¹

The 59-year-old woman had first fled from her violent and gun-owning husband to a women's shelter and then moved into her own apartment. He ambushed her and rammed her car. On February 1, she filed a criminal complaint for threats, coercion and stalking. Nevertheless, the weapons were not taken from the ex-husband. He shot her in her new apartment.

Marktheidenfeld, 21 March 2023¹

The 33-year-old woman and mother of four children was in a relationship with another man and wanted to divorce her husband. According to the husband, this would be a disgrace for the family, so he killed her and was initially charged with murder. Since he convinced the court in the course of the proceedings that he had stabbed the woman to death in a dispute over housework, he was finally sentenced to 10 years in prison for manslaughter.

Mössingen, 19 June 2023¹

The relationship between the 22-year-old woman and her partner was marked by violence right from the start. He even beat his wife while she was pregnant. One evening, under the influence of alcohol, he beat her with a kettle, stabbed her and strangled her to death. He left the one-year-old child alone in the apartment. It was not until two days after the crime that the woman's mother came to the apartment, as her daughter did not respond to calls. She found her grandchild alone in the apartment in a helpless, dirty and thirsty state. The perpetrator was sentenced to twelve years in prison and two years in rehab for manslaughter. A motive could not be determined.

Aachen, 20 Mai 2023¹

The 28-year-old woman, accompanied by her sister, wanted to pick up one of their three children, who was with her separated husband. To do this, they met in a parking lot in the Aachen-Brand district. The ex-husband attacked the woman with the knife and injured her with 20 stabs so badly that she died at the scene within a few minutes. The sister was also injured. After the crime, he got into his car, slowly drove past his dying wife and filmed her.

1) Sources: Feminizidmap database based on media reports, see list of sources in the appendix.

2.3 Factsheet: Familial Femi(ni)cides

Familial femi(ni)cides are a common form of femi(ni)cides. 80% of the victims are over 50 years old. They are usually killed in their homes. The largest group of perpetrators are the sons. Often the verdict is lack of legal culpability.

- In the case of **familial femi(ni)cides**, the **perpetrator is a male relative** of the victim, but not the (ex-)partner or (ex-)husband, and the victim is at least 14 years old.¹ In our dataset for 2023, this is the second most common femi(ni)cide category after intimate femi(ni)cides. 17% of femi(ni)cides are familial femi(ni)cides.
- Victims of familial femi(ni)cides are women and girls of all ages from the age of 14. However, almost **80% of the victims are 50 years or older**. Half of them are between 50 and under 70 years old, and another 29% are between 70 and 100 years old.² The youngest victim was 14 years old, the oldest victim 100 years old.
- **43%** of the victims are found in their **own home**, another **36% in the shared home** with the perpetrator. In cases where victims and perpetrators live together, the **adult son or stepson** is often the perpetrator. Taking the victim's own home, the shared home with the perpetrator and other private spaces together, it can be concluded that over **90% of the crimes take place in private spaces** and thus literally "behind closed doors".
- Victims of familial femi(ni)cides were **stabbed to death** particularly often (57%) and also **beaten to death** comparatively more often (14%) compared to victims of other femi(ni)cides. They are less likely to be shot, strangled by hands or strangled by objects.
- **Three quarters** (75%) of the **perpetrators** are the **sons or stepsons** of the victims. Other perpetrators include sons-in-law, ex-grandsons-in-law, grandsons, brothers and fathers.
- For over 70% of the cases, information on the motive of the perpetrator is available. In 29% of all cases, the crimes are later attributed by the court to the mental state of the perpetrator. In 14% of cases, there is a financial motive. Other, less frequently mentioned motives include: need for care or disability of the victim, patriarchal motive / "honor", custody / alimony payments, separation (from the victim's daughter or granddaughter) and feeling humiliated by the victim.
- In just under 68% of the cases, a verdict had been pronounced as of 31.07.2025. The **most common verdict was lack of legal culpability**³ (42% of all cases with a verdict), followed by murder (32% of all verdicts, partly under juvenile criminal law or with reduced culpability⁴) and manslaughter (21%).
- A further 14% of all perpetrators were in a psychiatric clinic on the cut-off date before the court verdict. The suicide rate of just under 18% was lower than for intimate femi(ni)cides, but more common than for other types of femi(ni)cides.

Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023, n=169 femi(ni)cides, n=28 familial femi(ni)cides.

1) For victims under the age of 14, the case falls into the category of child femi(ni)cide.

2) There are overlaps with the femi(ni)cides of older women, see summary [here](#).

3) Lack of culpability: see footnote 4 on [page 15](#) for definition and explanation

4) Reduced culpability: see footnote 3 on [page 15](#) for definition and explanation

2.3 Factsheet: Familial Femi(ni)cides – Example Cases

Familial femi(ni)cides are a common form of femi(ni)cides. 80% of the victims are over 50 years old. They are usually killed in their homes. The largest group of perpetrators are the sons. Often the verdict is lack of legal culpability.

Frankenau, 16 January 2023¹

The granddaughter of the 58-year-old woman and her 18-year-old partner had separated after the birth of their child. The granddaughter's 18-year-old ex-partner drove to the 58-year-old woman and, when she opened the door, injured her so badly with several knife stabs that she bled to death internally. The background is that there were apparently disputes over custody of the baby that the defendant has with the victim's underage granddaughter.

Essen, 19 July 2023¹

The 19-year-old woman lived with her father after her parents separated. The father had been the victim of an extortionate love scamming gang. The gang had created the profile of a woman on a dating portal, whom the father "met" there. He gradually transferred large amounts to this "girlfriend", which led to debts of over 100,000 EUR. Due to despair over the high debts, he killed his daughter and then took his own life.

Bremen, 9 December 2023¹

The 23-year-old woman lived with her sister. She had male acquaintances and sometimes came home late in the evening. Her sister was overwhelmed by the situation and feared that her fiancé would turn away from her. So she told her brother about it on the phone. This made the brother so angry that he went to the apartment and stabbed his sister in her room.

Lübeck, 28 September 2023¹

The 55-year-old woman was afraid that her son would kill her. That's why she dialed the emergency number of the police 14 times, twice she went to the police station. Among other things, she asked the police for safe accommodation for her. However, she did not even get the address of the women's shelter. He killed her by hitting her face 16 times with a dumbbell and then spraying shaving cream into her smashed face. He had been released from the psychiatric ward the day before the crime, although he had beaten up his brother and threatened the hospital staff.

1) Sources: Feminizidmap database based on media reports, see list of sources in the appendix.

2.4 Factsheet: Non-intimate Femi(ni)cides

Victims of the documented non-intimate femi(ni)cides in 2023 are women and girls of all ages, but there are comparatively many young victims. Three quarters of the perpetrators are male acquaintances of the victims.

- In the case of *non-intimate femi(ni)cides*, the victim and perpetrator are not in a partnership or familial relationship, but the perpetrator comes from the victim's circle of *acquaintances* or was a *man unknown* to her from the woman's perspective. The latter group of perpetrators *often has a power-related or sexual motive*. Acts in the dating context also fall under this category. 16% of all femi(ni)cides in this evaluation are non-intimate femi(ni)cides.
- Victims of non-intimate femi(ni)cides are women and girls of all ages, but there are significantly more *younger victims* than in intimate and familial femi(ni)cides. 37% are under 30 years old, just under 60% are below 50 years old. The youngest victim in our data for 2023 was 10 years old, and the oldest victim was 93 years old.
- **41%** of victims are *found in their own homes*. This is followed by nature (26%, e.g. meadow, garden), private space (19%, e.g. balcony of an apartment) and public space (15%, e.g. classroom, schoolyard).
- The most common method of how victims of non-intimate femi(ni)cides are killed is *stabbing* (28%), followed by *strangulation* by hand (16%), as well as strangling (with an object), beating and shooting (12% each). A comparatively large number of victims died as a result of or after *rape*¹ (8%).
- **Three quarters** (78%) of the *perpetrators are male acquaintances* of the victim. 41% are unspecified acquaintances or friends, 26% are neighbors. They are followed by colleagues, tenants and students of the victim. 22% of the perpetrators were not familiar with the victim at the time of the crime.
- For only two-thirds of the cases, information on the motive of the perpetrator is available. Motives include: rape/sexual motive, rejection of the perpetrator, argument, financial motives, and felt humiliated by the victim. In addition, possible mental illnesses and stressful situations of the perpetrator are counted among the reasons for some acts, even if these themselves cannot be a motive.
- In almost 82% of the cases, a verdict has been pronounced. **55%** of all convicted offenders were *convicted of murder*, some of them under juvenile criminal law or with reduced culpability². Approximately 9% of all convicted offenders were convicted of sexual assault, sexual assault and rape resulting in death or manslaughter (in some cases under juvenile criminal law or with reduced culpability). At 23%, the proportion of perpetrators with a lack of legal culpability³ is lower than for intimate and familial femi(ni)cides. The suicide rate of the perpetrators is also very low at just under 4%.

2.4 Factsheet: Non-intimate Femi(ni)cides – Example Cases

Victims of the documented non-intimate femi(ni)cides in 2023 are women and girls of all ages, but there are comparatively many young victims. Three quarters of the perpetrators are male acquaintances of the victims.

Bramsche, 4 March 2023¹

The 18-year-old aspiring automotive saleswoman was invited to a birthday party in a club house. Later that evening, the woman had disappeared and friends began to look for her. They found her seriously injured in a meadow nearby. She later died in hospital. An acquaintance was proven to have committed the crime and was convicted of rape and murder.

Bad Emstal, 28 September 2023¹

The 14-year-old girl and the 20-year-old man knew each other. He was "obsessed" with her. He lured her into a wooded area and strangled her after an argument. After that, he filmed her body and performed sexual acts on it. He was sentenced to eleven years and nine months in prison under juvenile criminal law. However, after an appeal by the public prosecutor's office, the Federal Court of Justice (BGH)² partially overturned the verdict. In January 2026, the perpetrator was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Kassel Regional Court for murder in conjunction with disturbing the peace of the dead. In addition, preventive detention was reserved.

Diepholz, 10 September 2023¹

The 17-year-old girl did not come home from inline skating. Her body was found in a drainage ditch. According to the Verden Regional Court and the Federal Court of Justice, a 43-year-old man stabbed her with a knife insidiously and for low motives. A few days later, he attacked two women again: In Sulingen, he injured a 30-year-old woman with a knife. In the Hanover region, he hit a jogger from behind with his car. Both survived with serious injuries. All three women were random victims. As a motive, the perpetrator stated that he had been dissatisfied with his life and professional situation. He was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder and attempted murder in conjunction with dangerous bodily harm, followed by preventive detention due to the particular gravity of the guilt.

1) Sources: Feminizidmap database based on media reports, see list of sources in the appendix.

2) BGH: Bundesgerichtshof

2.5 Factsheet: Femi(ni)cides of older women

About a quarter to a third of all victims of femi(ni)cides are women aged 60 or older. Most of the women were killed by their (ex-)partner; the second largest group of perpetrators are the sons. The cases are underrepresented in the media.

- According to the 2023 Feminizidmap data, **26% of femi(ni)cide victims are older women aged 60 and over**. A comparison of all killings of women in the Feminizidmap database with the data from the Police Crime Statistics (PKS) shows that the proportion of older women in our database tends to be underrepresented.¹ Since the Feminizidmap data is based on media reports, we conclude that the killings of older women are less frequently reported in the media. Reasons for this could be the comparatively high suicide rate of the perpetrators, the higher proportion of crimes "behind closed doors", possibly lower external awareness of violence in the relationship and lower proportion of foreign victims and perpetrators.
- The category of femi(ni)cide of older women overlaps with the femi(ni)cide categories discussed above in this report, but a separate analysis is valuable due to its own structural characteristics (e.g. the place where it was found, the motives and the sentences).
- More than one in ten women who is a victim of femi(ni)cide is 80 years or older. The oldest victim in 2023 was 100 years old. She was killed by her grandson.
- The victims and the perpetrators are more likely to have German citizenship than victims at a younger age.
- About **45% of older women** are **killed by their (spouse) partner or ex-partner**, over **21% by their son**. Other groups of perpetrators include neighbors, tenants, strangers, grandsons and other acquaintances.
- About **three-quarters of women** are **killed in the common (43%) or alone (34%) home**. In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides on older women, 73% are killed in the common home and 11% in the sole home, so that 84% of the crimes take place "behind closed doors".
- While victims of all femi(ni)cides are killed most often by stabbing, followed by shooting, older victims of femi(ni)cides are also **stabbed to death** in about one third, followed by **strangling** by hands as the second most common type of killing.
- In many cases, there is no information on the motive of the perpetrator. This is also related to the **above-average proportion of suicides** of the perpetrators (compared to femi(ni)cides as a whole). The **woman's need for care** and the excessive demands placed on it is a recurring documented motive for the crime. A possible **mental illness of the perpetrator** also plays a role particularly often.
- This is also reflected in the verdicts. In the case of older femi(ni)cide victims, **lack of legal culpability is the most common verdict**, which usually results in placement in a forensic psychiatric ward.²

1) Age groups: See comparison of all killings of women on the basis of Feminizidmap data and Criminal Statistics (PKS) [here](#).

2) Lack of culpability: Lack of legal culpability (German: Schuldunfähigkeit) to commit a crime exists if a person was unable to recognize the injustice of his or her act at the time of the offence due to a mental disorder, a profound disorder of consciousness, intellectual disability or adolescence or was unable to act in accordance with this view (§20 StGB). Then the criminal liability does not apply. In the case of murder or manslaughter, placement in a forensic psychiatric ward is the rule (§63 StGB). Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023, n=169 femi(ni)cides.

2.5 Factsheet: Femi(ni)cides of older women – Example Cases

About a quarter to a third of all victims of femi(ni)cides are women aged 60 or older. Most of the women were killed by their (ex-)partner; the second largest group of perpetrators are the sons. The cases are underrepresented in the media.

Paderborn, 2 March 2023¹

The 68-year-old man stabbed his 76-year-old wife with a knife and then strangled her. A psychologist speaks of so-called overkill due to the conspicuous violence. The expert sees a profound disturbance of consciousness and narcissistic personality traits in the perpetrator. After the man retired, he felt offended by his wife's still active and fulfilled life. He probably killed her after an argument.

Hamburg, 6 March 2023¹

The grandson was overwhelmed with the care of the 100-year-old woman. He gave the wheelchair-bound woman at least 16 axe blows to the head and neck. While trying to fend off the attack, the senior citizen fell to the ground. Among other things, she broke her shoulder. She died of spinal cord shock.

Meiningen, 23 July 2023¹

Out of fear of her son, the woman had already called the police several times. As a result, a contact ban was imposed on the son. The woman had the lock of her apartment door replaced on the day of her death. The 43-year-old came and kicked in the door. The woman was asleep during the attack. Nevertheless, according to the court, she was not innocent and defenseless - after all, there had been several disputes and physical attacks before.

Düsseldorf, 19 November 2023¹

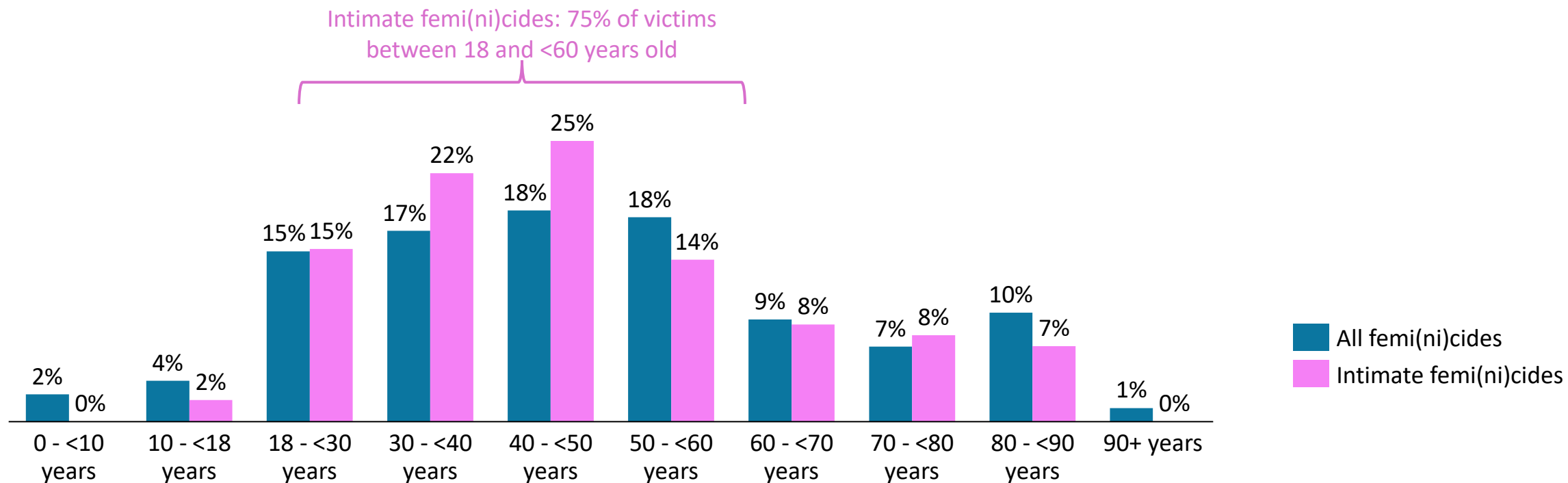
The 82-year-old woman told her husband in the dispute that their eldest daughter was not from him at all. Out of anger over the alleged infidelity 63 years ago, he stabbed her to death. A paternity test later proved that he is the biological father of the daughter. The 89-year-old pensioner was sentenced to five years and four months in prison for manslaughter.

1) Sources: Feminizidmap database based on media reports, see list of sources in the appendix.

3. Detailed analysis of the victims

3.1 Age of the victims

Girls and women of all ages are victims of femi(ni)cides. The oldest victim in 2023 was 100 years old. In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides, almost half of the victims are between 30 and <50 years old, but there is also a wide age range here.



- Women and girls of all ages are victims of femi(ni)cides. The youngest victim in the Feminizidmap database was 6 months old, the oldest woman 100 years old.
- Two-thirds of the victims are between 18 and under 60 years old. More than a quarter (26%) of the victims are 60 years and older. One in ten women is 80 years or older.
- In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides¹, almost half of the victims are between 30 and under 50 years old, 75% are between the ages of 18 and under 60. But here, too, 23% and thus almost a quarter of the victims are 60 years or older, 7% are even 80 years or older.

1) Intimate femi(ni)cides: perpetrator or suspect is (spouse) partner or ex-partner.

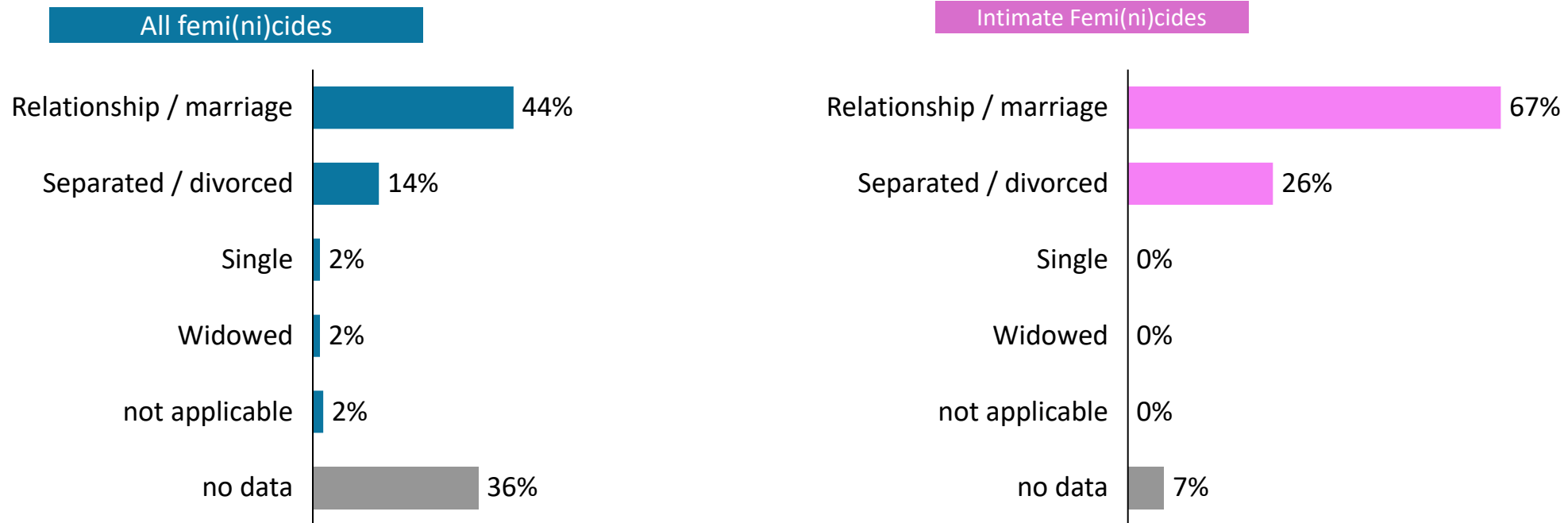
Femi(ni)cides: n=175 (3 missings), Intimate Femi(ni)cides: n=106 (1 missing). Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023

3.2 Relationship status of the victims

All femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cides

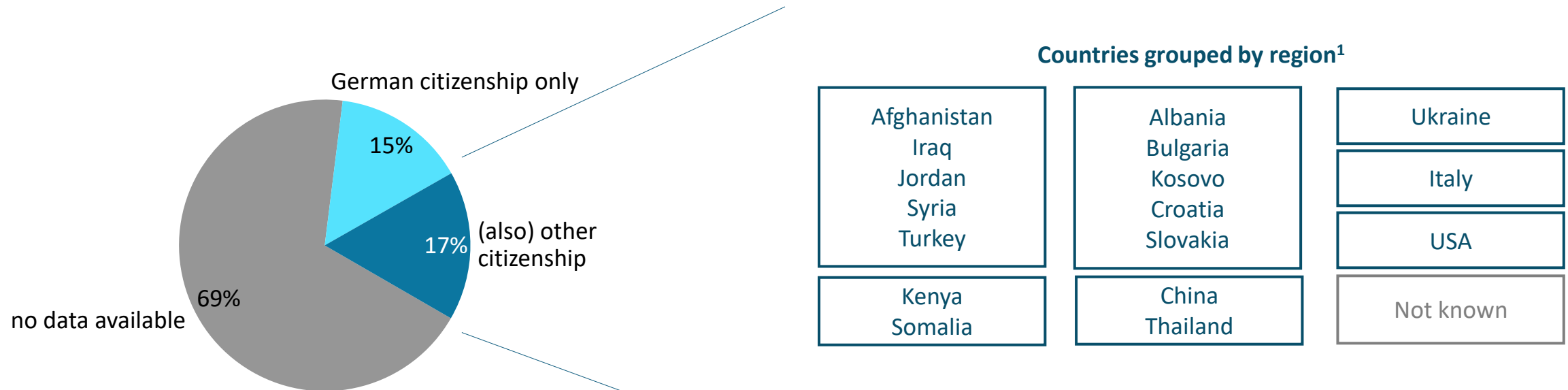
Looking at the cases in which the victim's relationship status is known, the majority of women have been in a relationship, either married or unmarried. The second largest group is divorced or separated.



- Looking at all femi(ni)cides, the relationship status is known for only about two-thirds of the victims. At least 44% of the victims have been in a relationship (married or unmarried), 14% have been divorced or separated. Few women were single or widowed or too young for consideration (= not applicable).
- In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides, the relationship status is known for 93%. About two-thirds of the victims were in a relationship (married or unmarried), another quarter were divorced or separated.

3.3 Citizenship of the victims: All femi(ni)cides

In many cases, the nationality of the victim is not known. In the cases in which it is known, 17 others are mentioned in addition to German citizenship, mainly south-west Asian countries and (south-)eastern European countries.

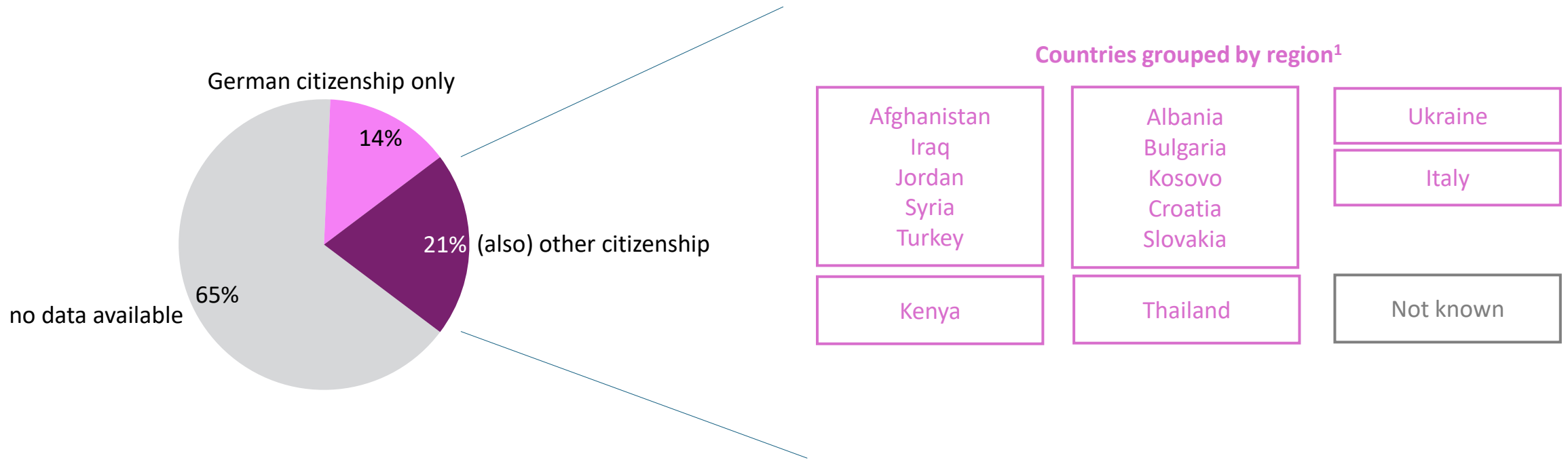


- For about two-thirds of the victims, no information on citizenship is known. Since the data insist on the evaluation of media reports, there is the assumption that these are mostly German victims whose nationality may have been considered "not worth mentioning". However, this hypothesis cannot be verified.²
- For this reason, the cases without information are explicitly listed here.
- In addition to German citizenship, a total of 17 others are explicitly mentioned, some of which occur more than once.
- Due to the large proportion of missing data, the statistical distribution is not further commented on and interpreted here.

1) In some cases, multiple occurrences of individual countries. 2) Based on studies on media coverage (e.g. Kakavand & Trilling (2022)), we suspect that the nationality of victims is deliberately emphasized in order to portray femi(ni)cide as an "alien phenomenon". German victims are highlighted if the perpetrator is a migrant. However, this hypothesis requires further verification.

3.4 Citizenship of the victims: Intimate femi(ni)cides

In the case of many intimate femi(ni)cides, the nationality of the victim is not known. If it is known, 14 others are mentioned in addition to German citizenship, mainly South-West Asian countries and (South) Eastern European countries.

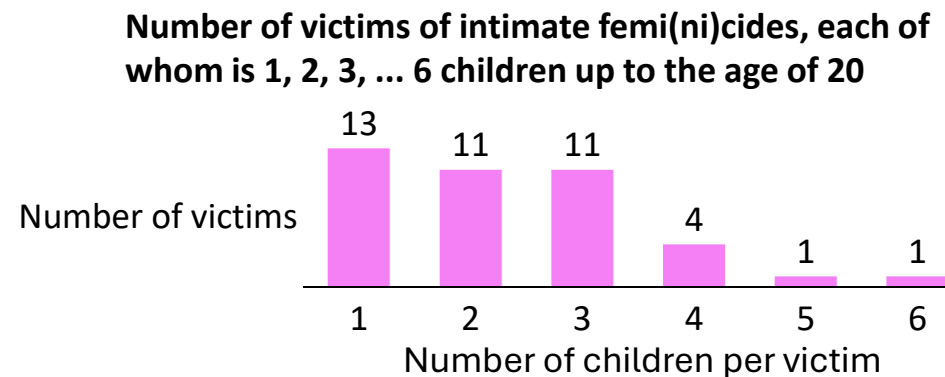
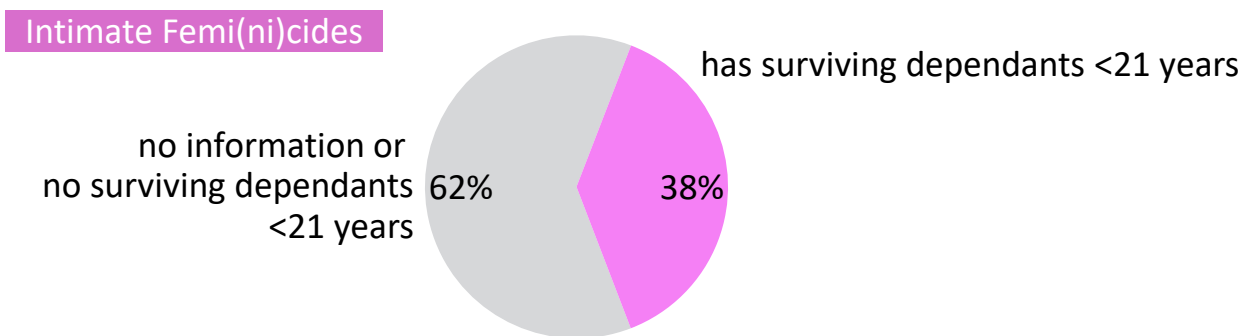
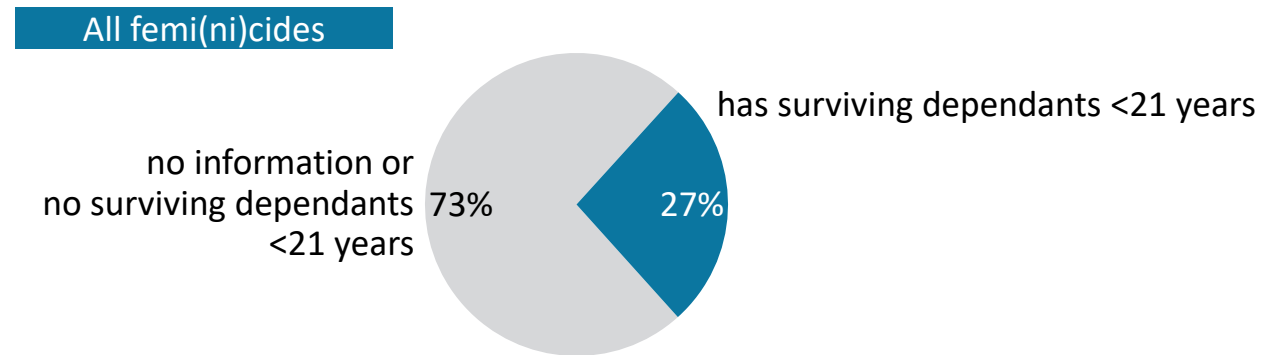


- For about two-thirds of the victims of intimate femi(ni)cide, no information on citizenship is known. Since the data insist on the evaluation of media reports, there is the assumption that these are mostly German victims whose nationality may have been considered "not worth mentioning". However, this hypothesis cannot be verified.²
- For this reason, the cases without information are explicitly listed here.
- In addition to German citizenship, a total of 14 others are explicitly mentioned, some of which occur more than once.
- Due to the large proportion of missing data, the statistical distribution is not further commented on and interpreted here.

1) In some cases, multiple occurrences of individual countries. 2) Based on studies on media coverage (e.g. Kakavand & Trilling (2022)), we suspect that the nationality of victims is deliberately emphasized in order to portray femi(ni)cide as an "alien phenomenon". German victims are highlighted if the perpetrator is a migrant. However, this hypothesis requires further verification.

3.5 Surviving dependants of the victims

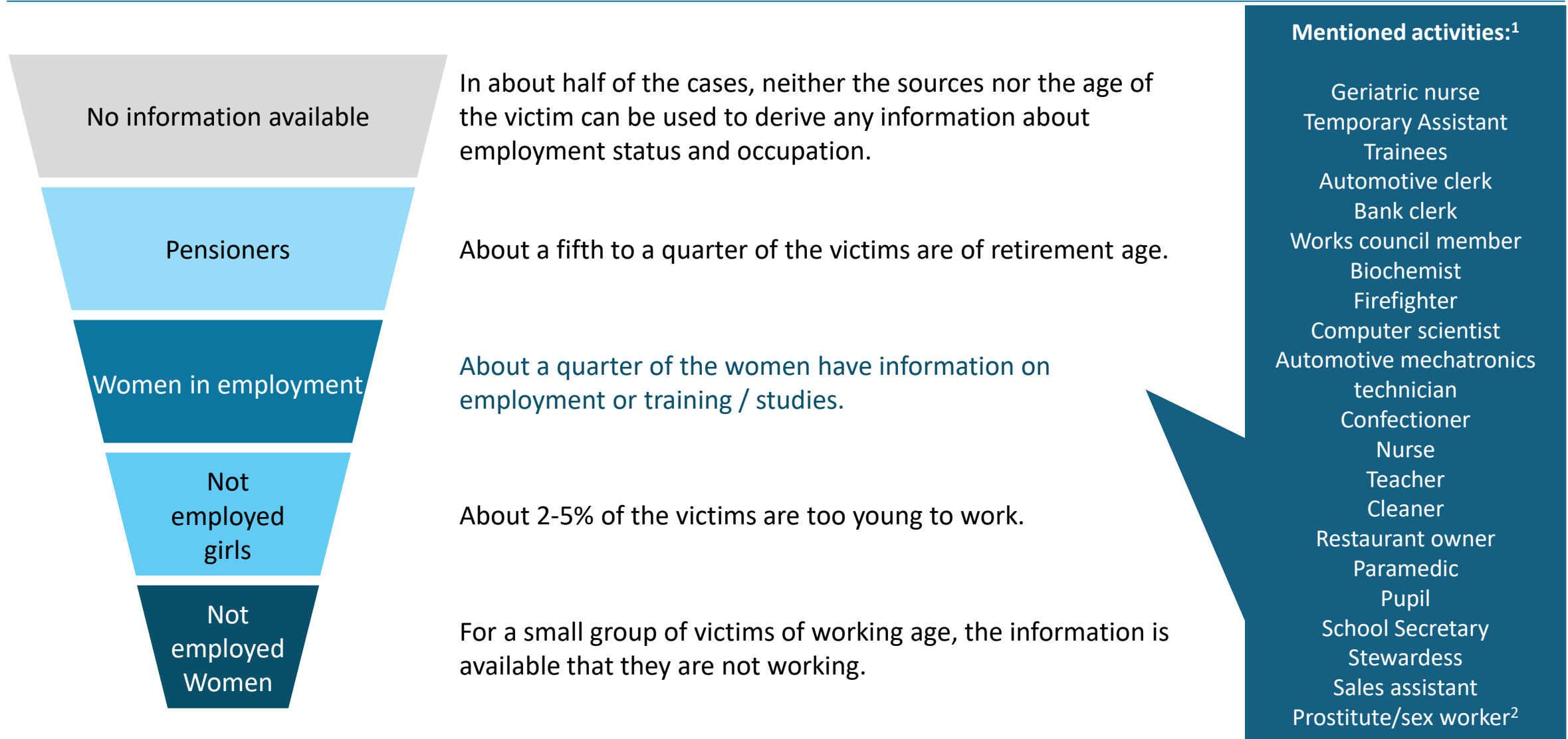
At least 27% of the victims of all femi(ni)cides and at least 38% of the victims of intimate femi(ni)cides leave behind children under the age of 21. Four women each leave four children, one woman leaves five children and another leaves behind six minor children alone.



- We know that 27% of all victims of all femi(ni)cides in our database leave behind children under the age of 21. Most of these women are middle-aged and have become victims of intimate femi(ni)cides.
- Therefore, the proportion of surviving children in intimate femi(ni)cides is 38%.
- Most of these women, in turn, leave behind one, two or three children each. However, four women leave four children each, one woman leaves five children and another leaves behind six minor children alone.
- Some of the surviving children had to witness the crime or were even attacked and injured themselves.

3.6 Employment of the victims

For about half of the victims, there is no information on employment, and another large proportion of the women are pensioners due to their age. The working women worked in a variety of professions before they were killed.



1) In some cases, multiple answers, i.e. several women with the same job.

2) Here it is generally disputed whether it is a profession or an exploitative relationship. In the case of one of the women in the data set for 2023, who prostituted herself, the circumstances are not known in more detail. Another woman was held captive for months or even years, abused and forced into prostitution. There is clearly a relationship of exploitation here. Due to the gender-specific aspect, the information on this is relevant information in the context of femi(ni)cides.

Femi(ni)cides: n=169. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

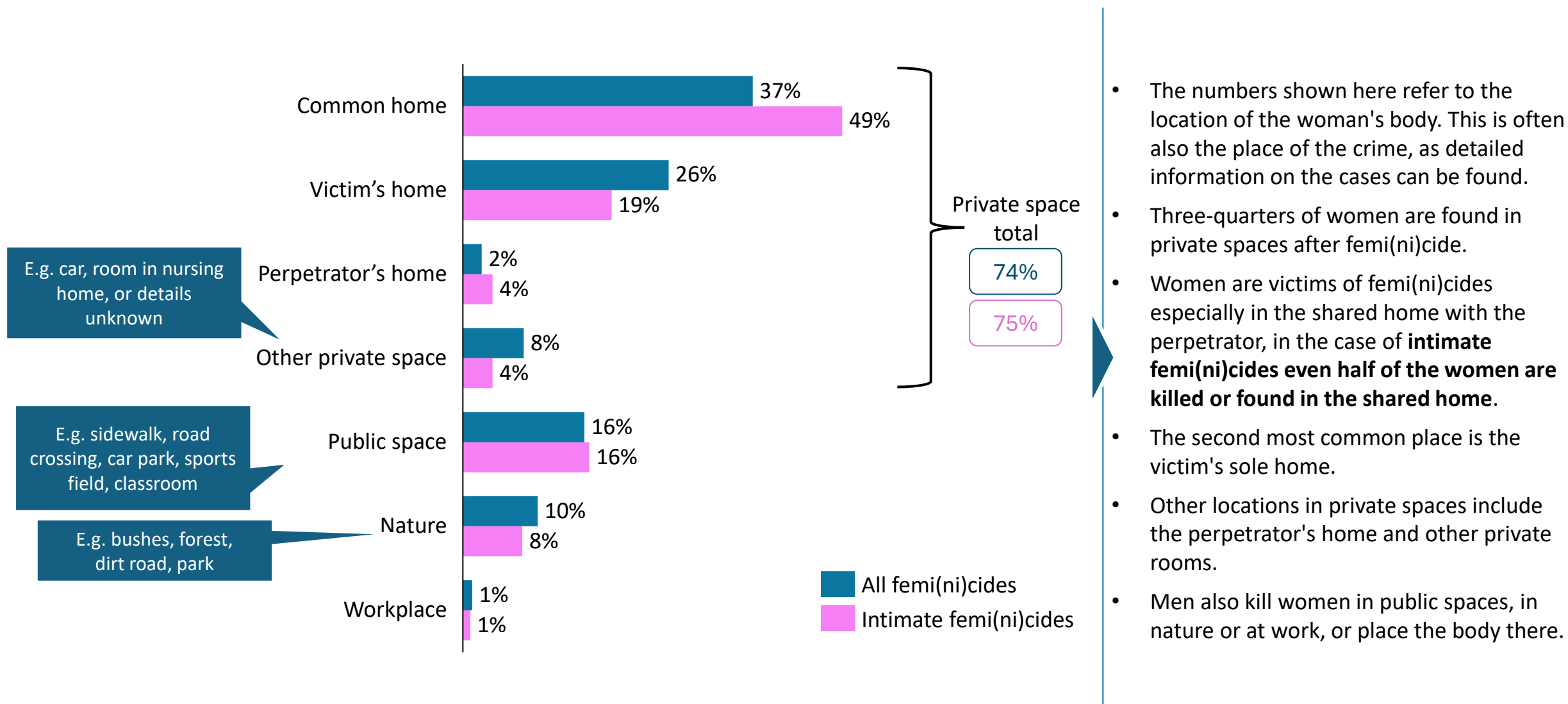
4. Detailed analysis of the crimes

4.1 Location of the body / crime scene

All femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cides

Femi(ni)cides take place mainly in private spaces, mostly in the common or sole home of the victims. But they also happen in public spaces or become visible there when the corpse is deposited.

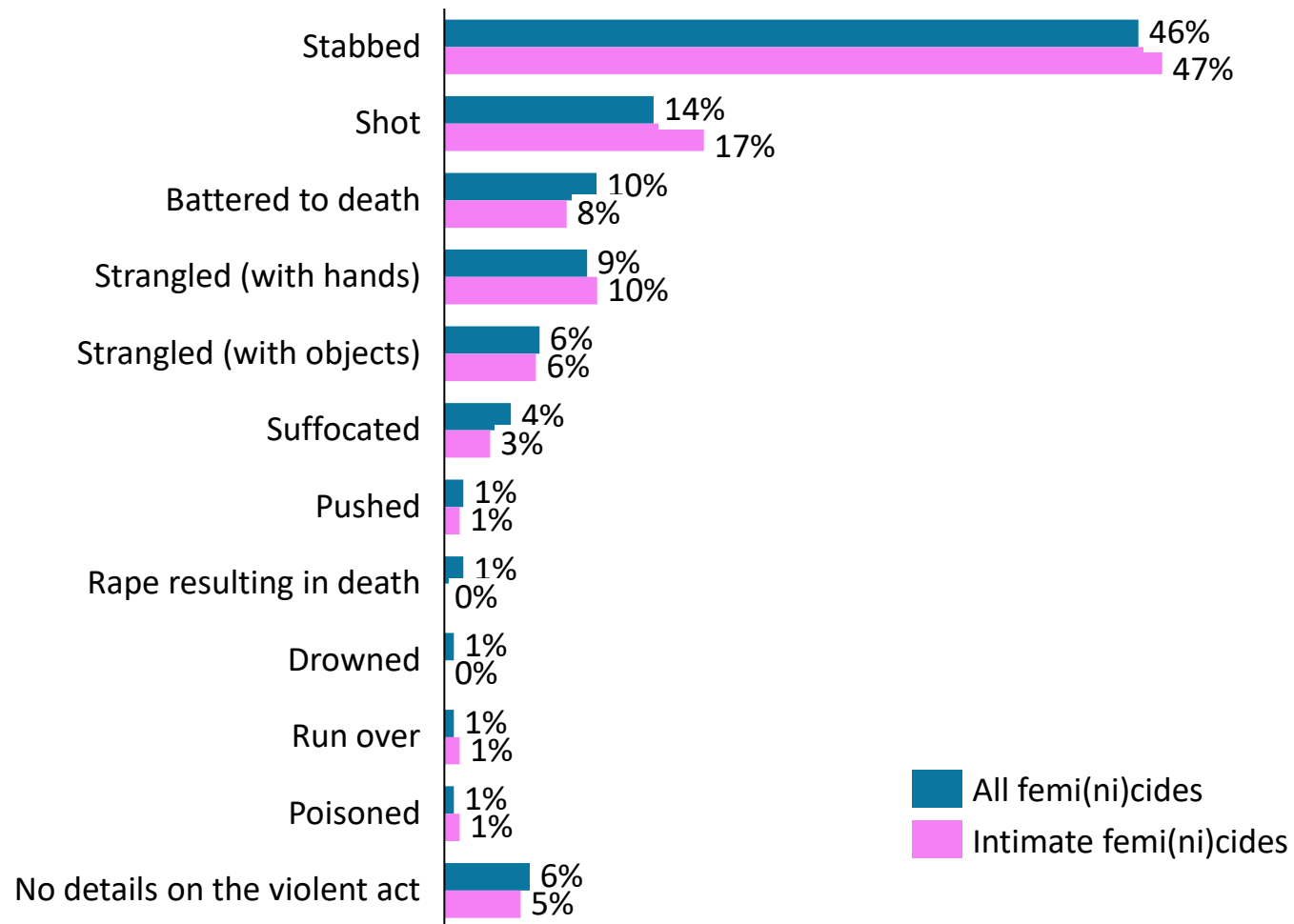


4.2 Lethal acts of violence

All femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cides

About half of the women who become victims of femi(ni)cides are stabbed to death. This is followed by shooting, beating, strangling with the hands and strangulation with an object as other common killing methods.



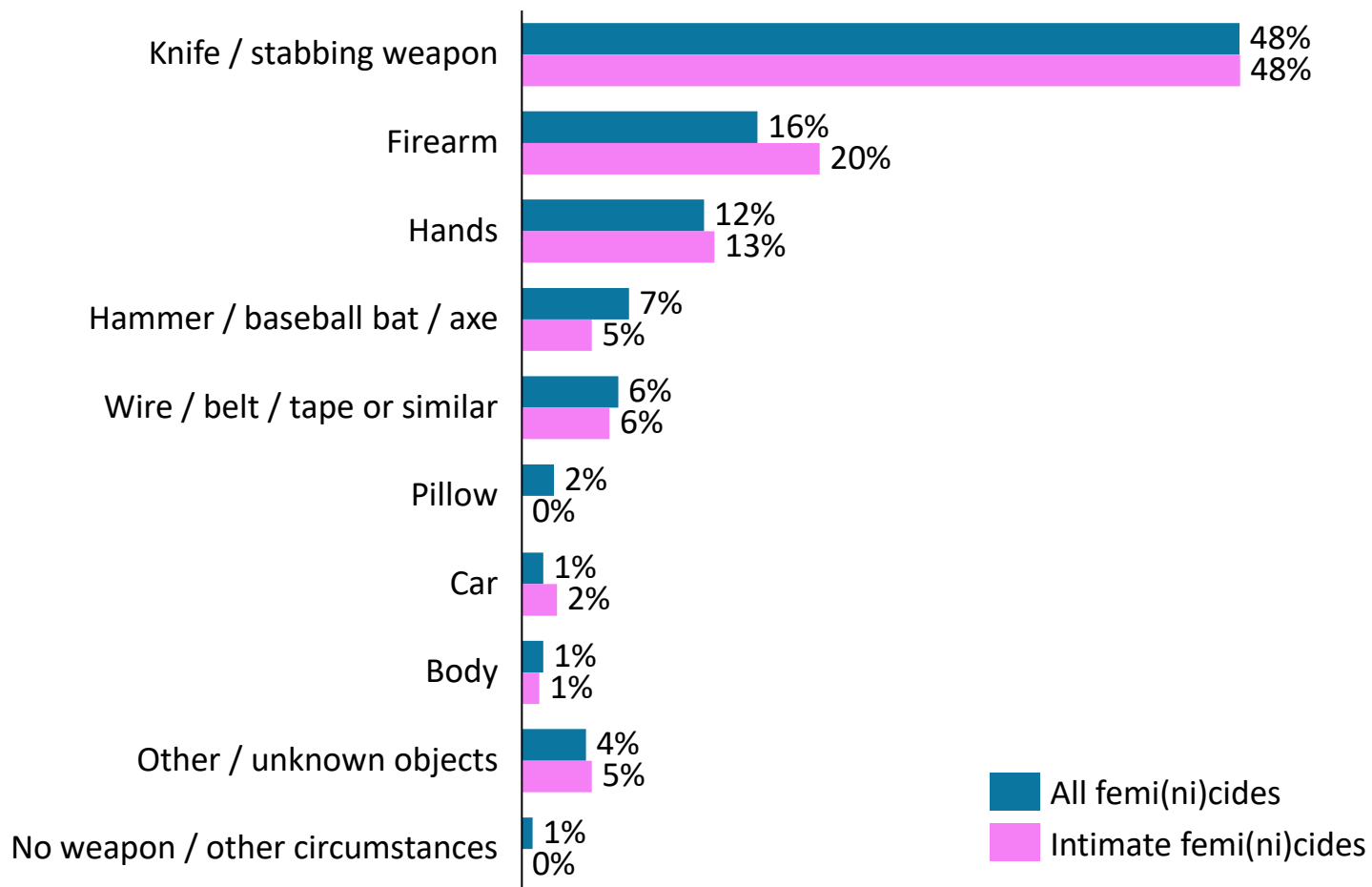
- Almost half of the women were stabbed to death by the perpetrators. This applies to both intimate femi(ni)cides and all femi(ni)cides.
- About a sixth of the women were shot.
- About a tenth of the women were battered to death or strangled with their hands.
- In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides, the acts of violence of stabbing, shooting and strangling occur somewhat more frequently than in all femi(ni)cides.
- Other acts of killing in femi(ni)cides are strangulation (with objects), suffocation, pushing, rape resulting in death, drowning, running over and poisoning.

4.3 Weapons

All femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cides

In about half of the femi(ni)cides, knives and other stabbing weapons are the means of committing the crime.¹ However, the absence of weapons does not generally prevent femi(ni)cide. In 14% of all acts, the perpetrator used his hands and/or body.



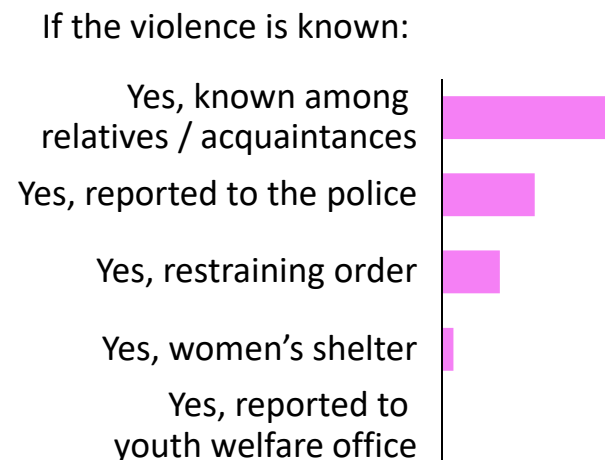
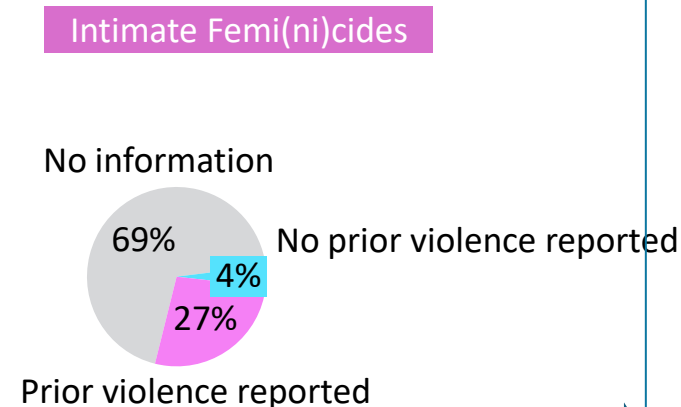
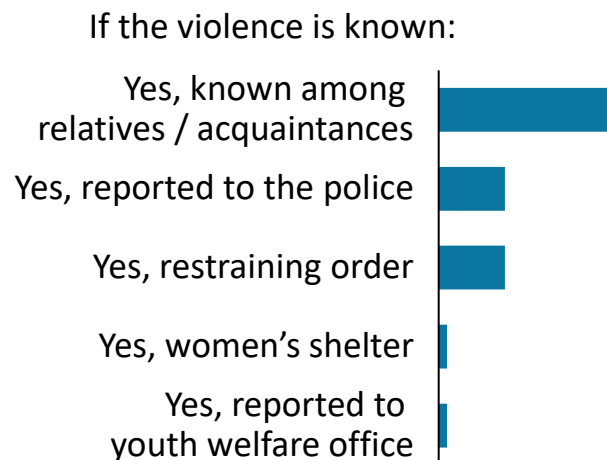
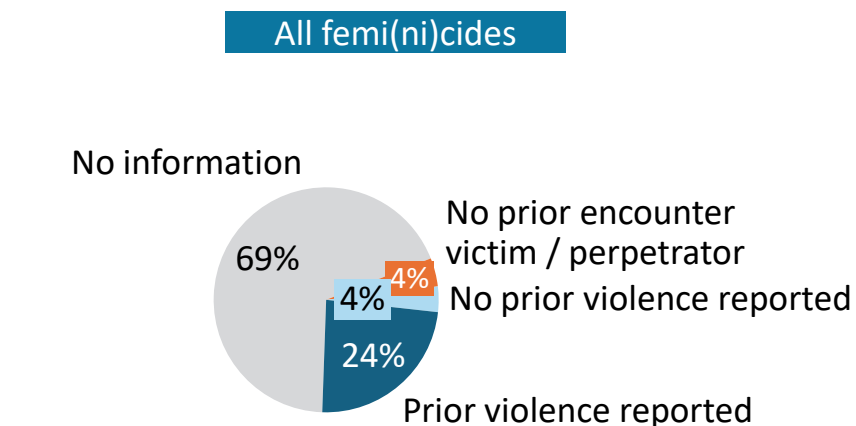
- Almost half of the women were stabbed by the perpetrators with a knife or other (or unnamed) stabbing weapon.
- The second most common murder weapon was the firearm.
- In 14% of all crimes, no weapon was used. The perpetrator only used his hands and / or his body as a weapon.
- Weapons and other objects were used in most femi(ni)cides, but their absence does not generally prevent femi(ni)cide.

1) Note: Differences in the percentage distribution of murder weapon to acts of violence that led to death lie in the different number of missing values that were not included in the distribution.

2) Fem(ni)cides: n=139 (39 missings); Intimate Fem(ni)cides: n=85 (22 missings). Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

4.4 Violence prior to the crime

Only for some of the cases, information is available as to whether the perpetrator was violent towards the woman before the crime. In these cases, the woman had partly informed her acquaintances, partly the authorities, and sometimes even a restraining order had been filed.



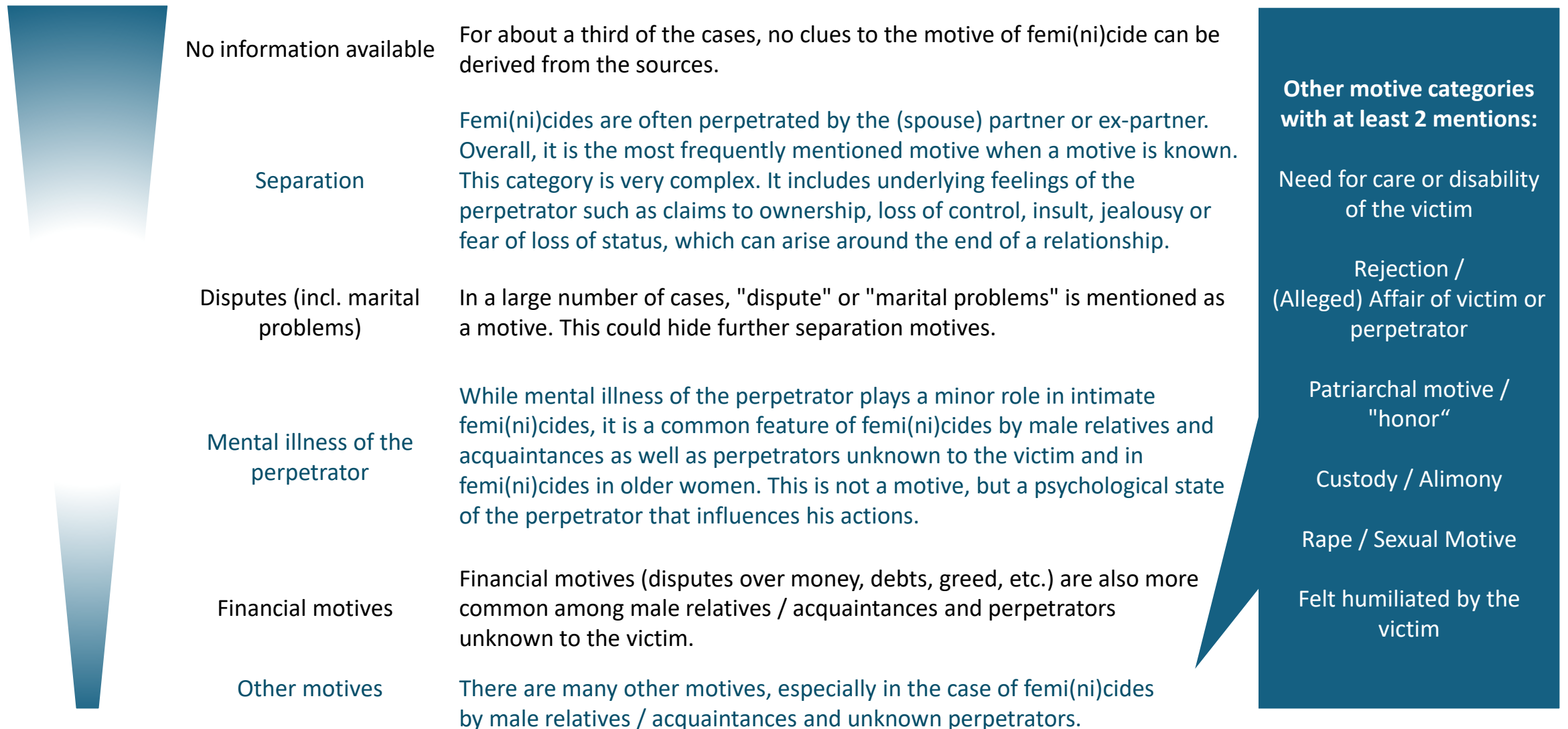
- For many crimes, it is not known to what extent the perpetrator used violence beforehand. In addition, in some cases, only physical violence is considered violence by institutions and the media, although those affected by intimate partner violence mainly experience emotional and psychological violence as well as controlling behavior and coercion (*coercive control*).¹ The latter is a typical feature of intimate femi(ni)cides in particular and, together with separation, represents a high-risk factor.²
- The too narrow definition of violence and the media bias explain why there is no information on violence before the crime for 69% of the cases.
- Regarding intimate femi(ni)cides, there is evidence of violence before the crime in more than a quarter (27%) of the cases. The woman concerned has sometimes turned to relatives or even to authorities; in a few cases, there was a restraining order.
- In 4%, according to the data source, there was no violence before the crime according to media sources.

4.5 Motives – Qualitative Analysis

All femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cides

While separation is the most common motive for intimate femi(ni)cides, mental illness and financial motives most often play a role for other perpetrators.



Note: The motives are determined by media reports and press releases for the conviction of the perpetrators. The motives therefore reflect what the perpetrator names and/or what is established in court, and they are also subject to a certain fuzziness due to the interpretation of the case by the respective journalists of the evaluated media reports.

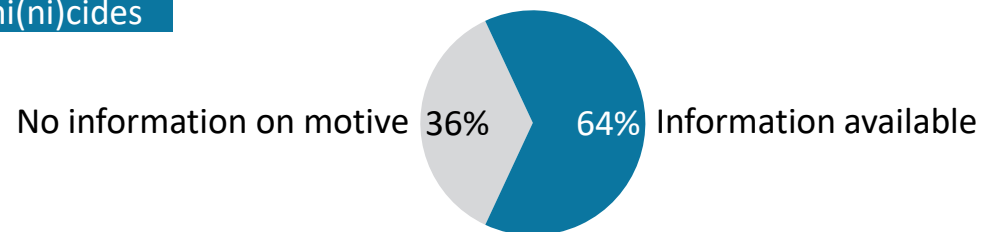
Femi(ni)cides: n=169. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

4.6 Motives – Quantitative Analysis

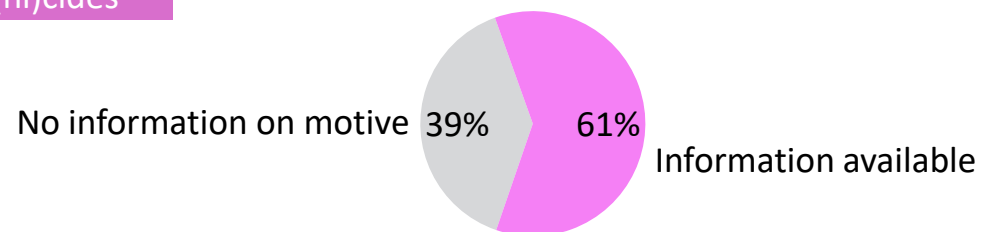
In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides, separation is the main motive mentioned by the perpetrator, followed by "dispute" or marital problems. Mental illnesses and financial motives play a stronger role in other femi(ni)cides

Transparency about the motives of femi(ni)cides based on media reports (per case)

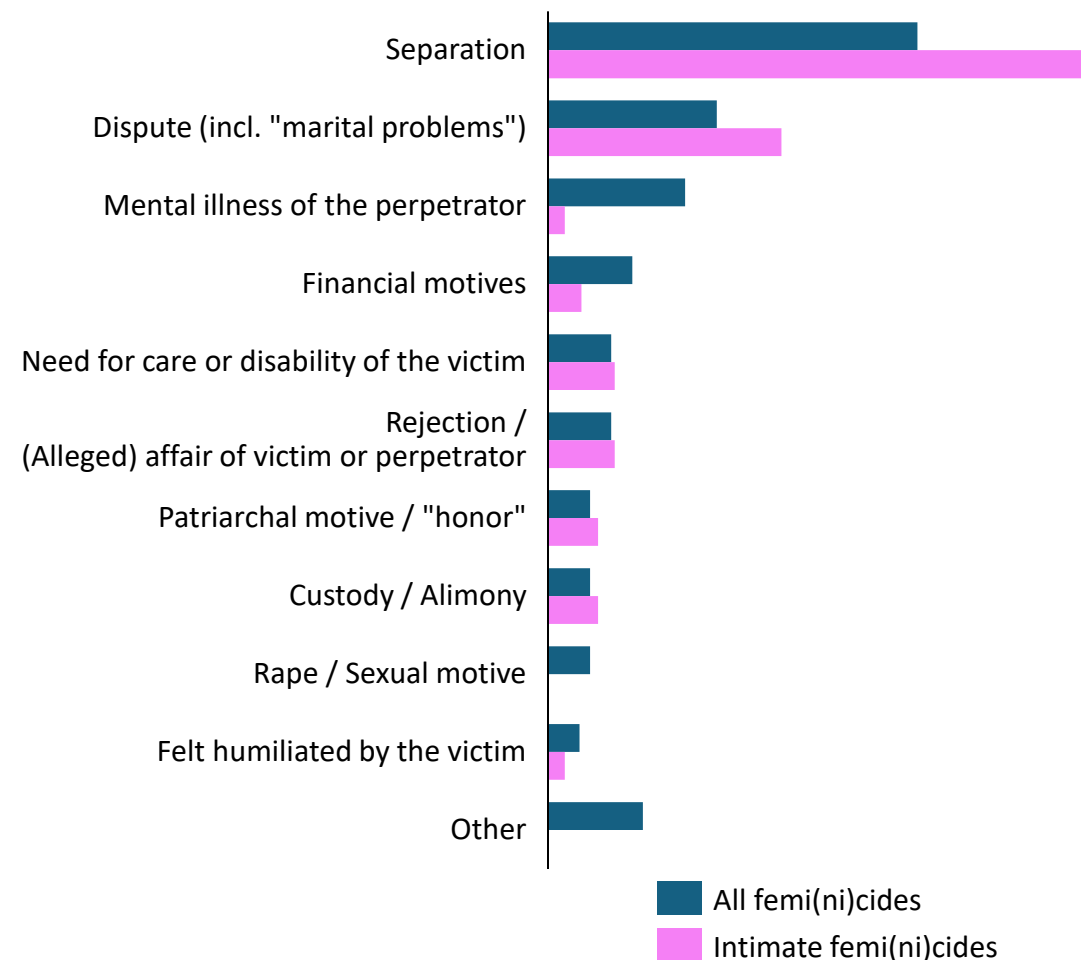
All femi(ni)cides



Intimate femi(ni)cides



Motives mentioned

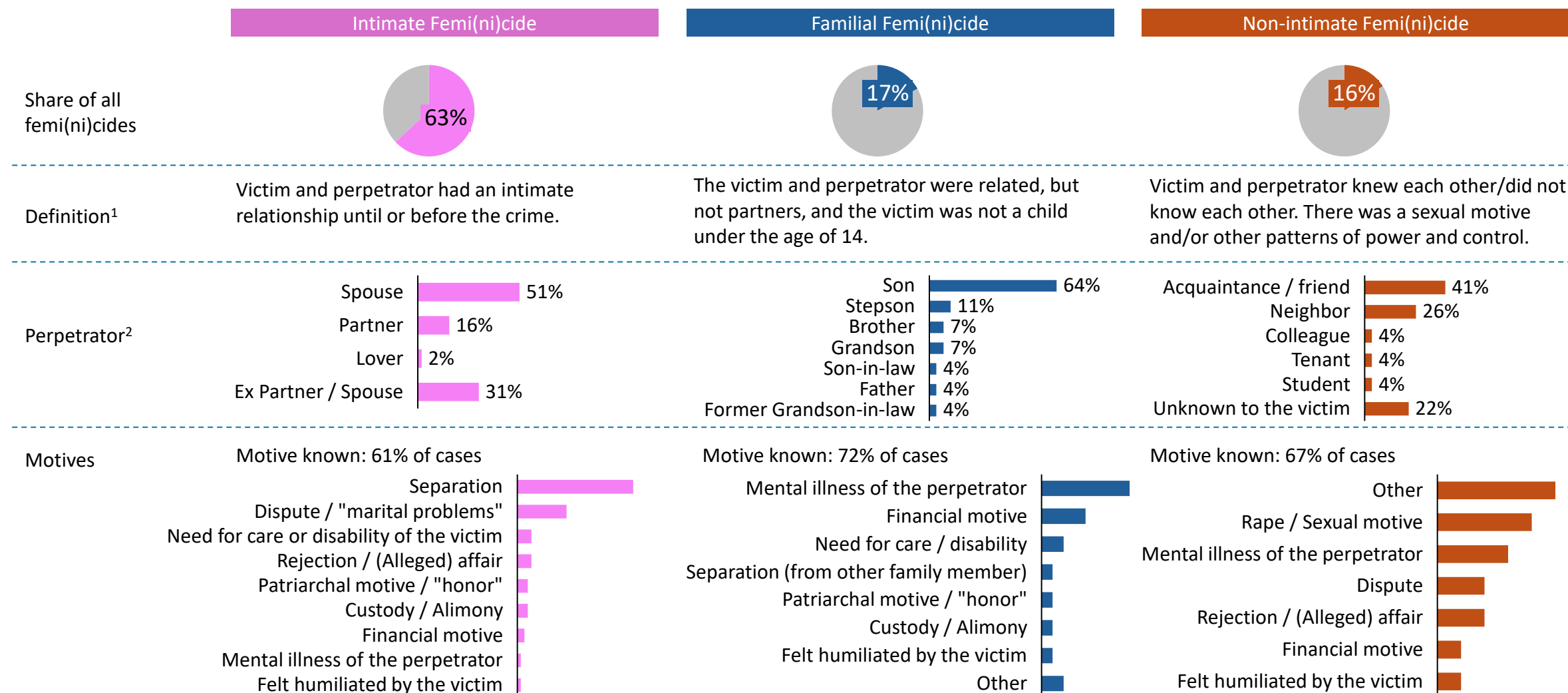


Note: The motives are determined by media reports and press releases for the conviction of the perpetrators. The motives therefore reflect what the perpetrator names and/or what is established in court, and they are also subject to the filter of the interpretation of the case by the respective journalists of the evaluated media reports.

Femi(ni)cides: n=169, Intimate Femi(ni)cides: n= 107. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

4.7 Types of femi(ni)cide, perpetrator categories and motives

More than half of the femi(ni)cides are intimate femi(ni)cides. About one sixth of all cases are familial femi(ni)cides or non-intimate femi(ni)cides. Perpetrator categories as well as motives vary between these types of femi(ni)cides.



1) Based on the definition of Femicidio.net

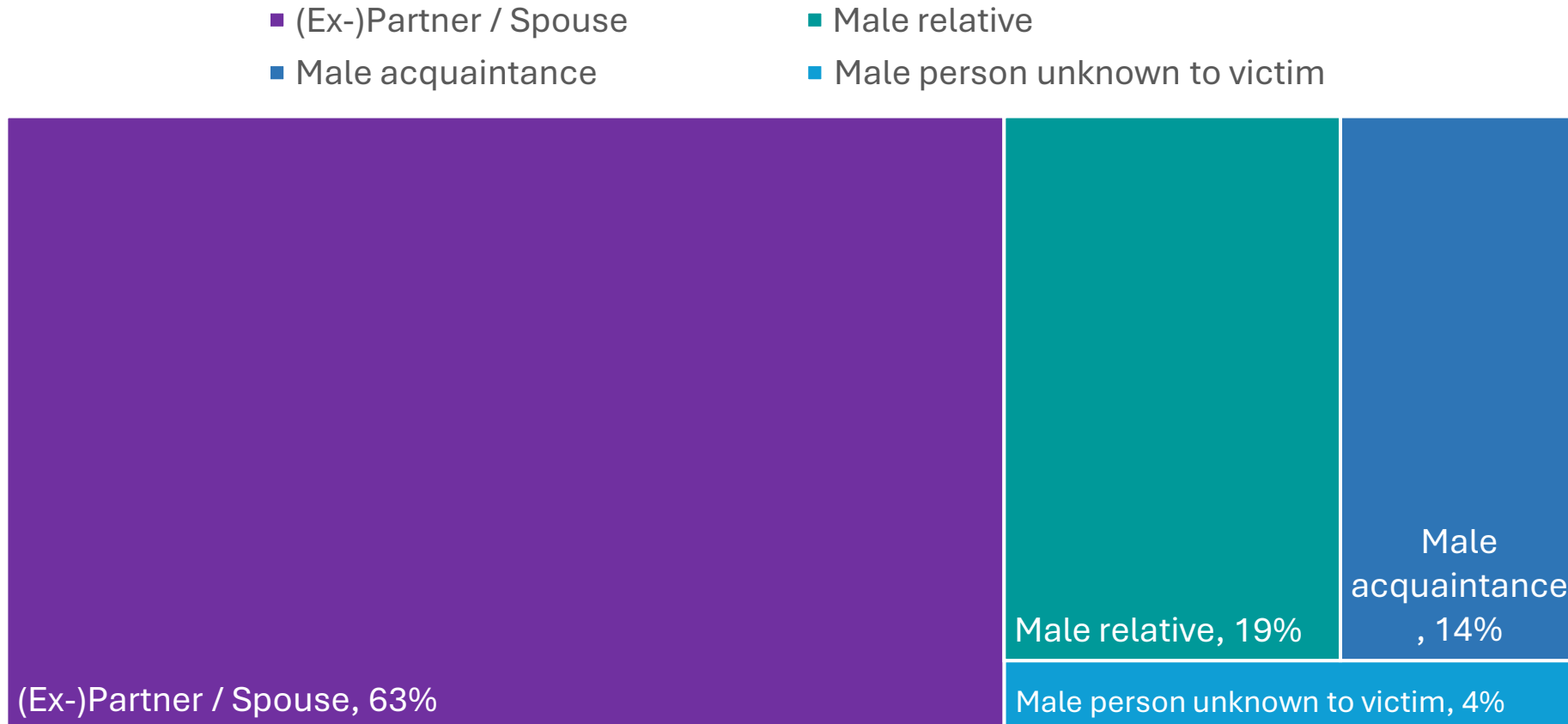
2) Perpetrator or suspect in the cases mentioned here

Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

5. Detailed analysis of the perpetrators

5.1 Groups of perpetrators

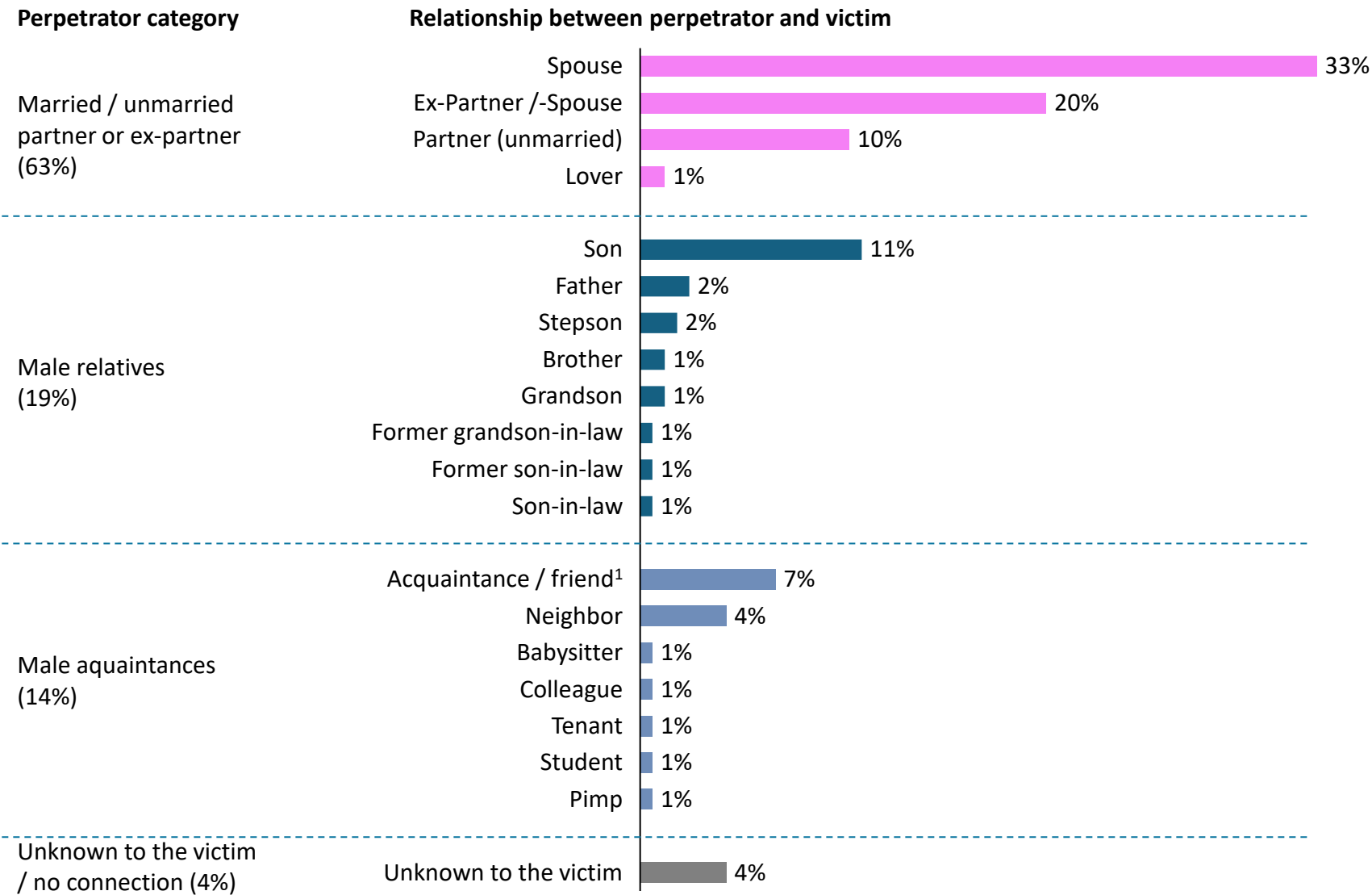
Intimate femi(ni)cides by the woman's (ex-)partner represent almost two-thirds of all femi(ni)cides. One in five perpetrators is another male relative, one in six perpetrators is an acquaintance. Only 4% of all perpetrators are men unknown to the victim before the crime.



Intimate femi(ni)cides are committed by the (spouse) partner or ex-partner.

5.2 Relationship of victim and perpetrator

After the (ex-)partners and husbands, the largest groups of perpetrators are sons, acquaintances, neighbors and unknown men. The perpetrators also include other male relatives or acquaintances.

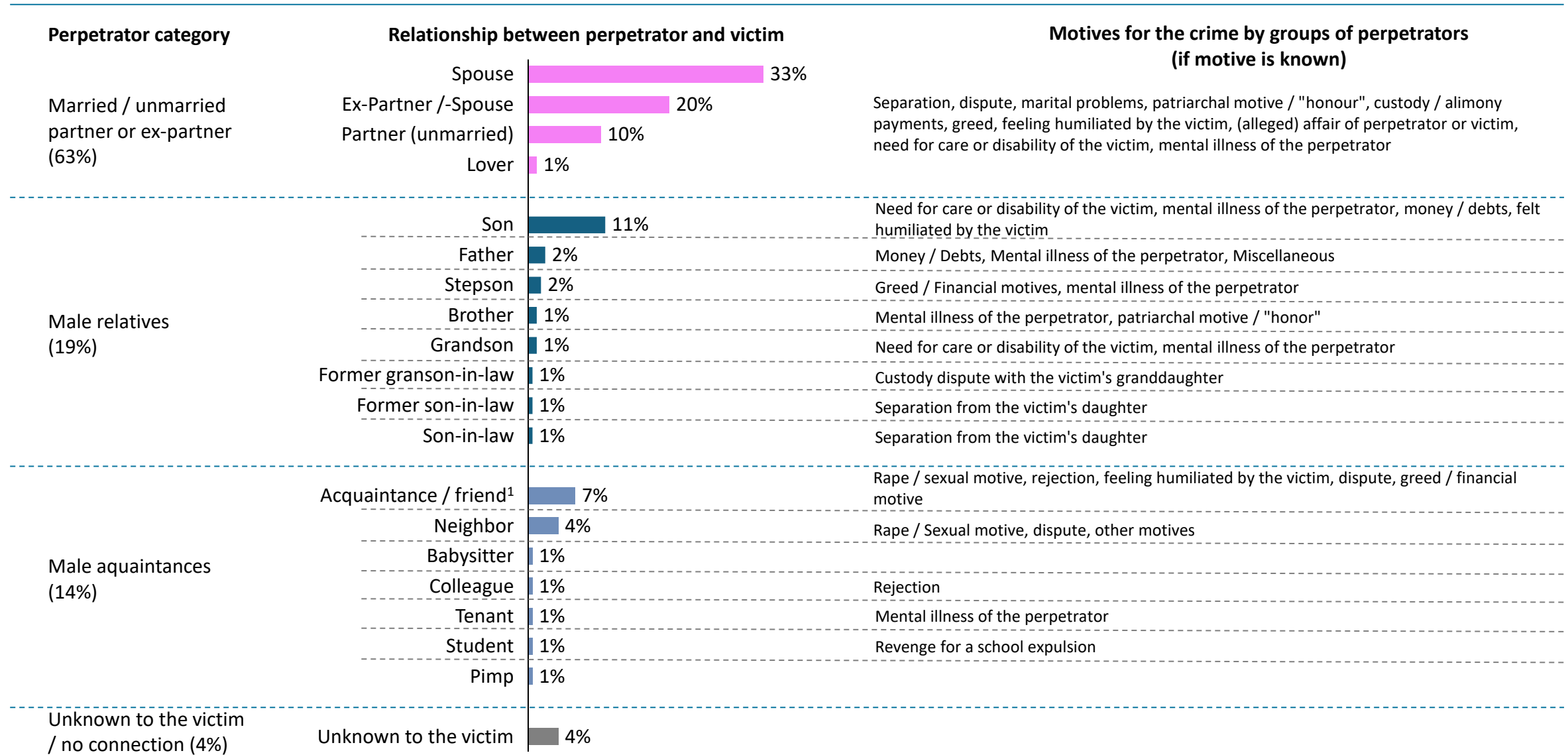


- The perpetrators of intimate femi(ni)cides are divided into husbands (33% of all femi(ni)cides), ex-partners, unmarried partners and lovers of the women.
- Sons are in second place among the perpetrators after the intimate femi(ni)cides. More than one in 10 women is killed by her son.
- Male acquaintances, which also include friends, represent the next largest group of perpetrators, followed by neighbors and strangers.
- 1-2% of women and girls are killed by father, stepson, brother, grandson, ex-grandson, ex-son-in-law or son-in-law.
- In the year 2023 under review, babysitters, colleagues, tenants, students and pimps were also among the perpetrators.

1) Acquaintance or friend without a love relationship with the victim. This also includes admirers from the woman's circle of friends. Femi(ni)cides: n=169. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

5.3 Relationship of victim and perpetrator and motive of the crime

The motives are related to the group of perpetrators. In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides with the (ex-)partner as the perpetrator, separation, disputes and “marital problems” are the most common mentioned motives.



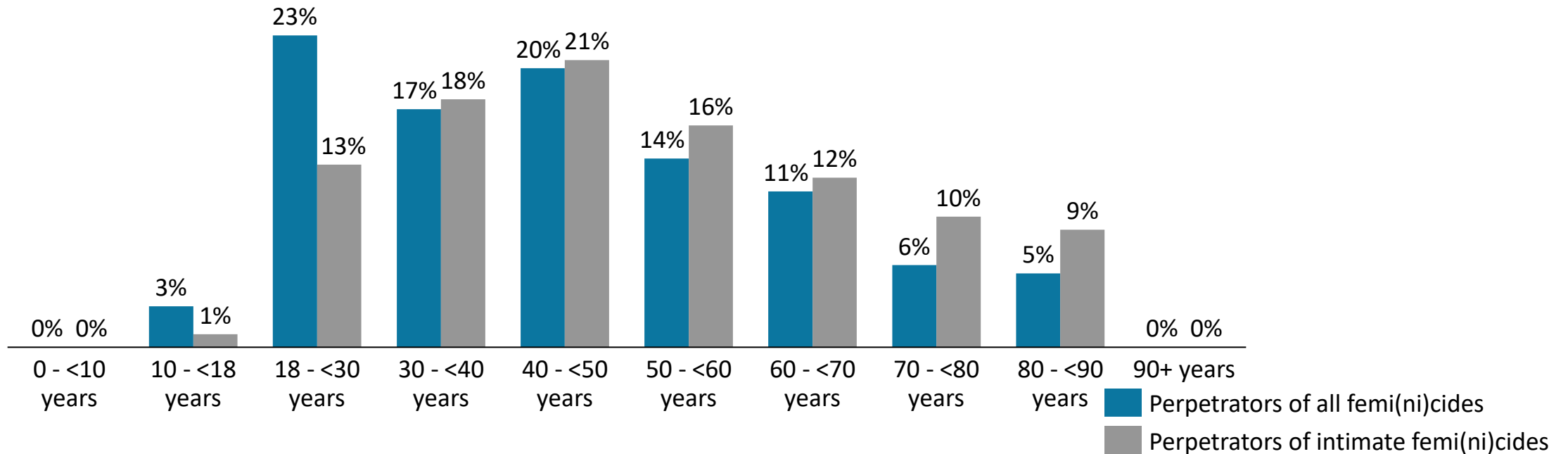
1) Acquaintance or friend without a love relationship with the victim. This also includes admirers from the woman's circle of friends. Femi(ni)cides: n=169. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

5.4 Age of the perpetrators

All femi(ni)cides

Intimate femi(ni)cides

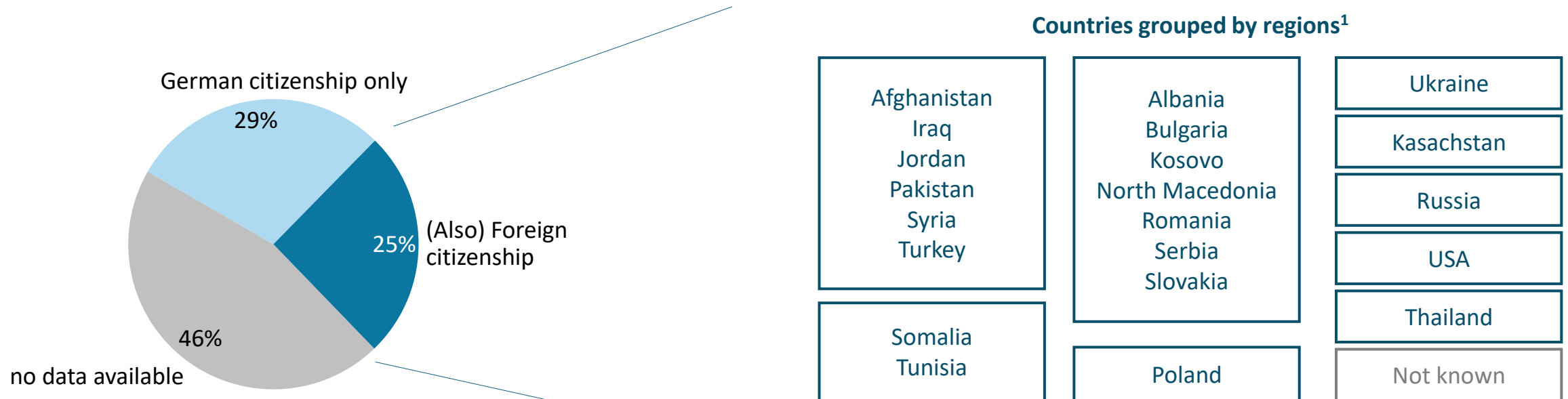
Regarding all femi(ni)cides, the age span is large but nevertheless 60% were between 18 and under 50 years. In the case of intimate femi(ni)cide, there is a peak at 30 to <50 years of the perpetrators' age, probably related to separation as a widespread motive.



- The youngest perpetrator in 2023 was 15 years old, according to the Feminizidmap database, the oldest perpetrator was 89 years old.
- With regard to all femi(ni)cides, the age span of perpetrators is large but nevertheless 60% were between 18 and under 50 years when having committed the crime. Almost 23%, i.e. almost a quarter of the perpetrators, are 60 years or older.
- In the case of intimate femi(ni)cides, many perpetrators are between 30 and under 60 years of age. Overall, however, there is a wide age range, 30% of the perpetrators of intimate femi(ni)cides are 60 years or older.

5.5 Citizenship of the perpetrators: All femi(ni)cides

In 46% of the cases, we have no information on the nationality of the perpetrator. In addition to German citizenship, 21 other nationalities¹ appear in the information on the cases.



- For 46% of the perpetrators, no information on citizenship is known. Since the data insist on the evaluation of media reports, there is the assumption that these are mostly German perpetrators, for whom the nationality may have been considered "not worth mentioning". However, this hypothesis cannot be verified.²
- For this reason, the cases without information are explicitly listed here. The statistical distribution is not further commented on and interpreted here.
- In addition to German citizenship, a total of 21 others are explicitly mentioned, some with multiple answers (several cases).

1) In some cases, multiple occurrences of individual countries. 2) Based on studies on media coverage (e.g. Kakavand & Trilling (2022)), we suspect that the nationality of victims is deliberately emphasized in order to portray femi(ni)cide as an "alien phenomenon". German victims are highlighted if the perpetrator is a migrant. However, this hypothesis requires further verification. 44

5.6 Citizenship of the perpetrators: Intimate femi(ni)cides

In 42% of the intimate femi(ni)cides, we have no information on the nationality of the perpetrator. In addition to German citizenship, 16 other nationalities¹ appear in the information on the cases.

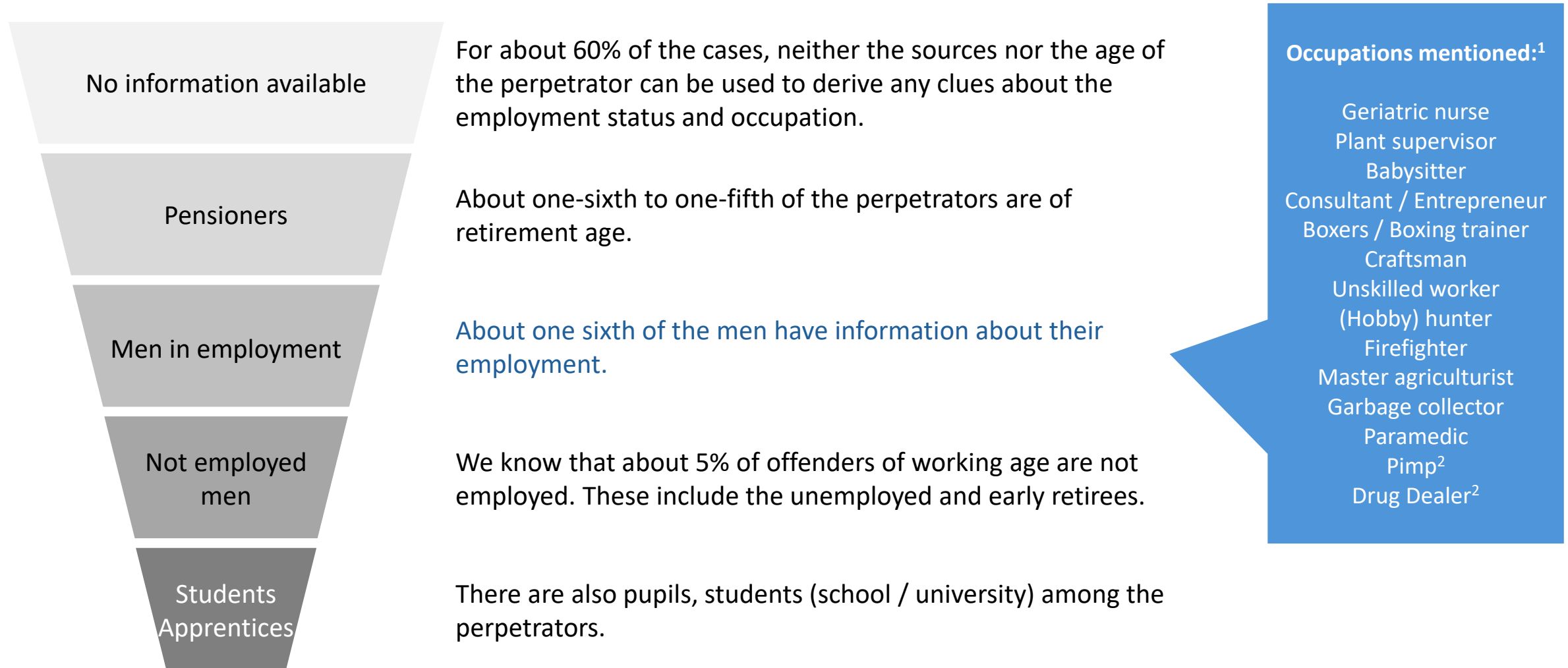


- For 42% of the perpetrators at intimate femi(ni)cides, no information on citizenship is known. Since the data insist on the evaluation of media reports, there is the assumption that these are mostly German perpetrators, for whom the nationality may have been considered "not worth mentioning". However, this hypothesis cannot be verified.²
- For this reason, the cases without information are explicitly listed here. The statistical distribution is not further commented on and interpreted here.
- In addition to German citizenship, a total of 16 others are explicitly mentioned, some of which occur several times.

1) In some cases, multiple occurrences of individual countries. 2) Based on studies on media coverage (e.g. Kakavand & Trilling (2022)), we suspect that the nationality of victims is deliberately emphasized in order to portray femi(ni)cide as an "alien phenomenon". German victims are highlighted if the perpetrator is a migrant. However, this hypothesis requires further verification. 45

5.7 Employment of the perpetrators

For about 60% of the perpetrators, there is no information on their occupation. About 16-20% of men are pensioners due to age. The employed men worked in a variety of professions before they were killed.



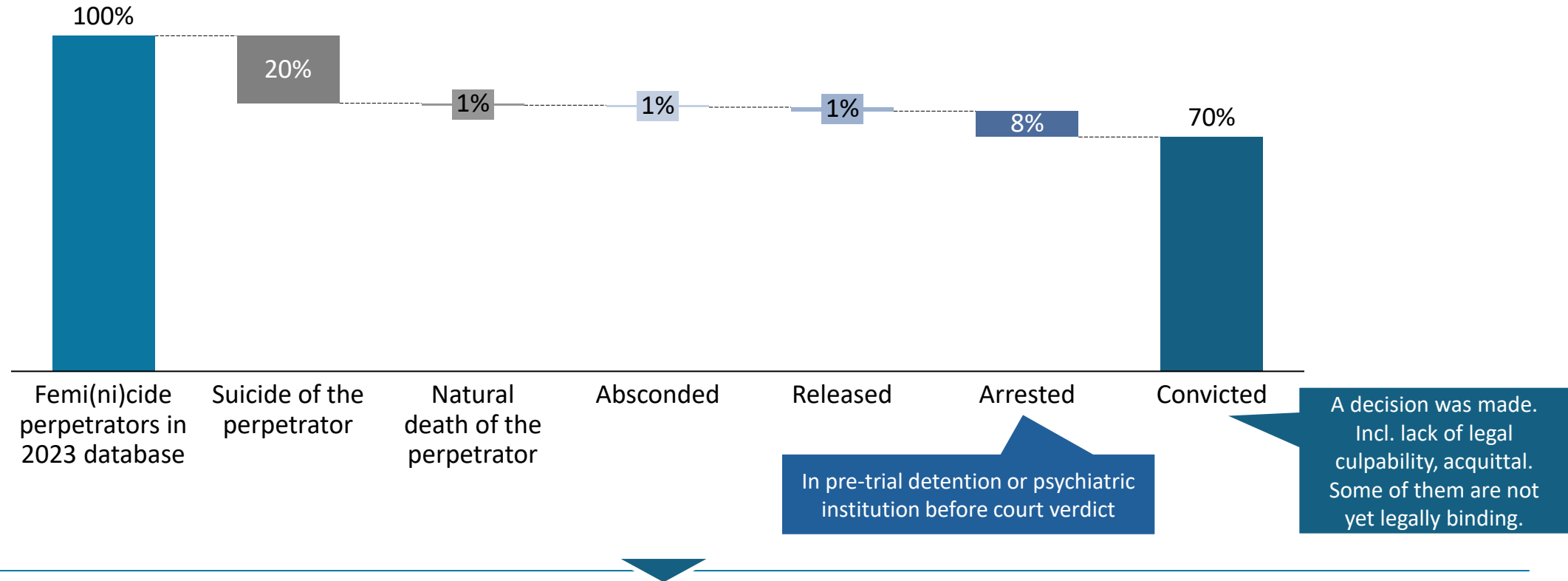
1) In some cases, multiple answers, i.e. several men with the same activity. Various professions were grouped together under craftsmen.

2) Listed here as an activity as important information on the activity of men, even if they are not professions.

All femi(ni)cides: n=169. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

5.8 Current status of the perpetrators¹: All femi(ni)cides

In 70% of the cases, a verdict was available as of 31.07.2025, i.e. about 2 years after the crime, or could be taken from the media information. In 20% of the cases, the perpetrator had committed suicide after the crime.

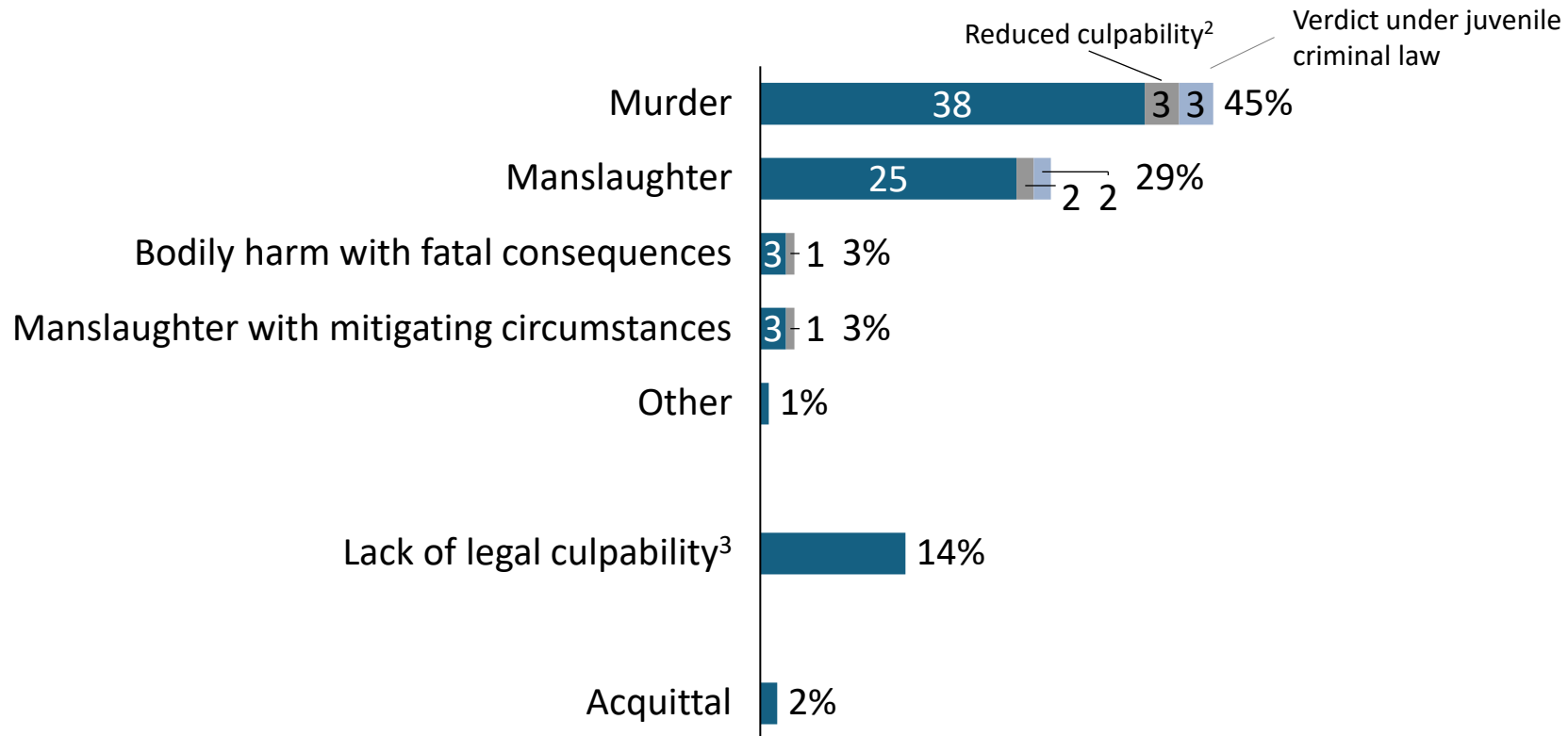


- Of the perpetrators of the 2023 femi(ni)cides in our database, 20% committed suicide, mostly directly or a few hours after the crime.
- A very small proportion of the perpetrators died before the verdict of natural causes, absconded or were released².
- 8% have been arrested and are currently in pre-trial detention or a psychiatric institution before the court verdict.
- In 70% of cases, a verdict was made. This includes lack of legal culpability and acquittal. The exact breakdown can be found in the detail view ([here](#)).

1) Data as at July 2025. 2) The correct designation here is suspect. Nothing could be proven against the man, no charges were filed.
All femi(ni)cides: n=169. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

In the cases with a verdict, the perpetrator was convicted of murder in 45% of the cases and of manslaughter in 29%, in some cases with reduced culpability. The verdict of 14% of the perpetrators was lack of legal culpability.

Percentage distribution of the type of sentence among convicted offenders of all femi(ni)cides



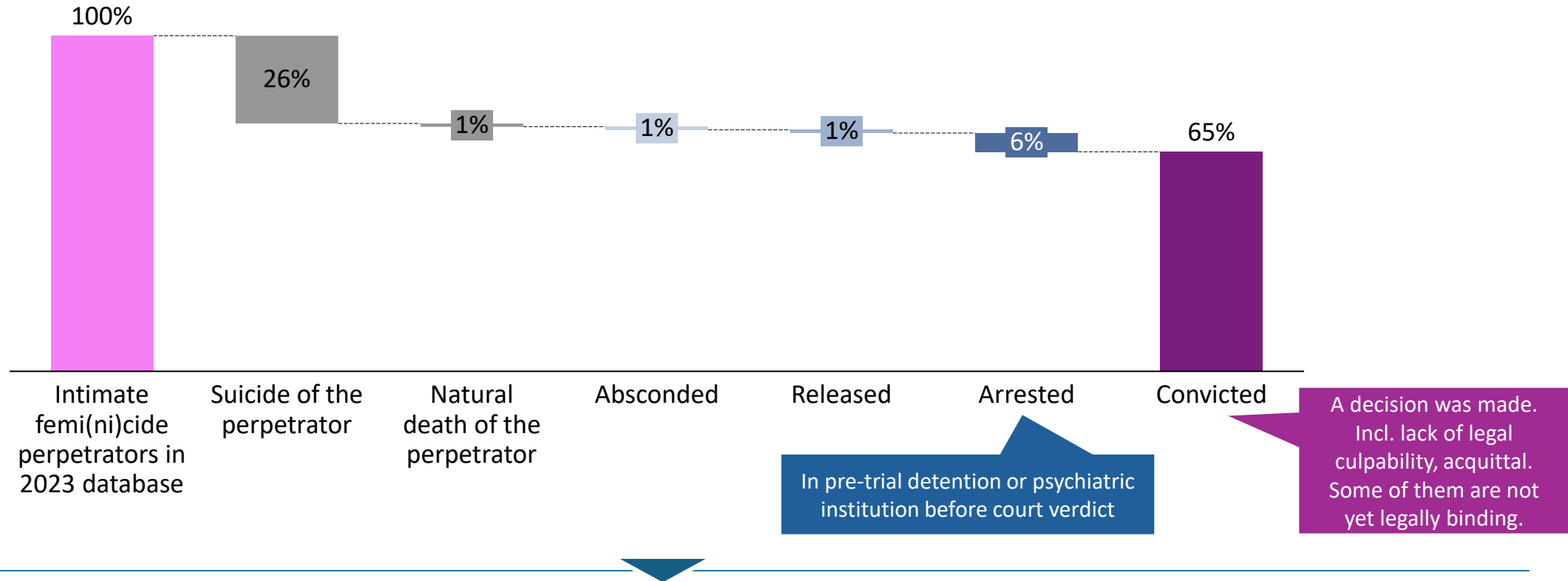
- The most common sentence was murder. 45% of the convicted offenders – and thus less than half – received this verdict, some with reduced culpability² or juvenile criminal law was applied.
- 29% of the perpetrators were convicted of manslaughter, a small proportion of them with reduced culpability² or under juvenile criminal law.
- 14% of convicted offenders, or almost one in six, are considered to be not culpable for psychiatric reasons.³ This usually results in placement in a forensic psychiatric ward.
- In a few cases, the verdict was bodily injury resulting in death, less serious case of manslaughter, acquittal or other verdicts.

All femi(ni)cides, verdicts: n=116. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

1) Data as of July 2025. 2) Reduced culpability (German: Verminderte Schuldfähigkeit, § 21 of the Criminal Code) exists if a person's ability to recognize the wrongfulness of an act or to act in accordance with this insight was significantly reduced at the time of the offence due to the disorders mentioned in §20 of the Criminal Code. The sentence can be mitigated as a result. A combination with confinement in a forensic psychiatric ward (§ 63 StGB) can also be ordered. 3) Lack of culpability: Lack of legal culpability (German: Schuldunfähigkeit) to commit a crime exists if a person was unable to recognize the injustice of his or her act at the time of the offence due to a mental disorder, a profound disorder of consciousness, intellectual disability or adolescence or was unable to act in accordance with this view (§20 StGB). Then the criminal liability does not apply. In the case of murder or manslaughter, placement in a forensic psychiatric ward is the rule (§63 StGB)

5.10 Current status of the perpetrators¹: Intimate femi(ni)cides

In 65% of the intimate femi(ni)cides, a verdict was available as of 31.07.2025, i.e. about 2 years after the crime, or could be derived from the media information. In more than a quarter of the cases, the perpetrator had committed suicide after the crime.

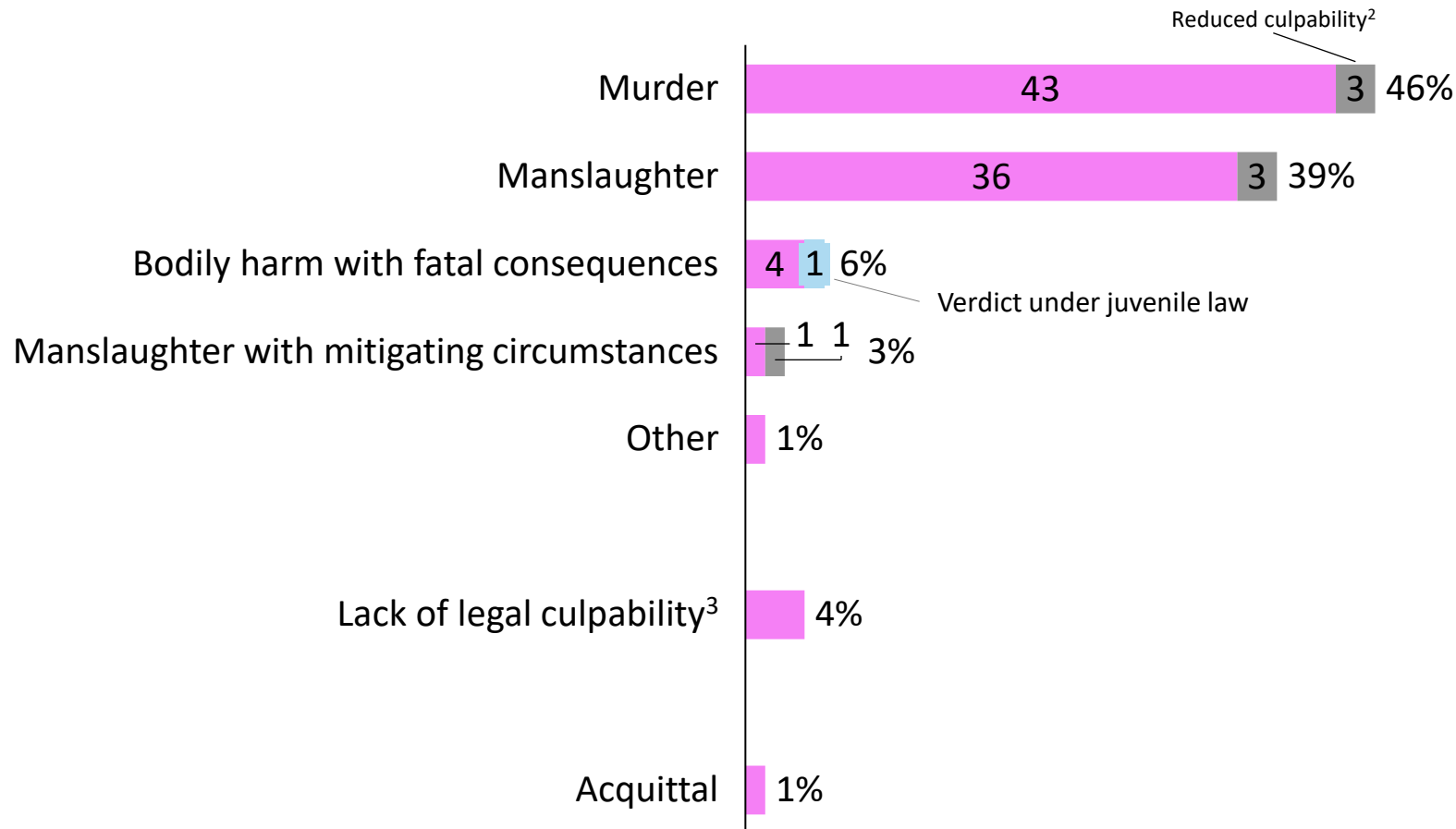


- Of the perpetrators of the 2023 femi(ni)cides in our database, 26% committed suicide, mostly directly or a few hours after the crime.
- A very small proportion of the perpetrators died of natural causes before the verdict, absconded or were released².
- 6% have been arrested and are currently in pre-trial detention or a psychiatric institution before the court verdict.
- In 65% of cases, a verdict was made. This includes lack of legal culpability and acquittal. The exact breakdown can be found in the detail view ([here](#)).

1) Data as at July 2025. 2) The correct designation here is suspect. Nothing could be proven against the man, no charges were filed. Intimate Femi(ni)cides: n=107. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

In the intimate femi(ni)cide cases with a verdict, the perpetrator was convicted of murder in 46% of the cases and of manslaughter in 39%, in some cases with reduced culpability. Further verdicts include full lack of legal culpability and acquittal.

Percentage distribution of the type of sentence among convicted offenders of intimate femi(ni)cides



- The most common sentence was murder. 45% of the convicted offenders – and thus less than half – received this verdict, some with reduced culpability.²
- 39% of the perpetrators were convicted of manslaughter, a small proportion of them with reduced culpability.²
- In a few cases, the verdict was bodily injury resulting in death, less serious case of manslaughter, acquittal or there was another other verdict.
- Compared to other femi(ni)cides, a small proportion of offenders were declared not culpable for psychiatric reasons, namely only 4%.³ This usually results in placement in a forensic psychiatric ward.

Intime Femi(ni)cide, verdicts: n=69. Source: Own analysis based on the Feminizidmap data 2023.

1) Data as of July 2025. 2) Reduced culpability (German: Verminderte Schuldfähigkeit, § 21 of the Criminal Code) exists if a person's ability to recognize the wrongfulness of an act or to act in accordance with this insight was significantly reduced at the time of the offence due to the disorders mentioned in §20 of the Criminal Code. The sentence can be mitigated as a result. A combination with confinement in a forensic psychiatric ward (§ 63 StGB) can also be ordered. 3) Lack of culpability: Lack of legal culpability (German: Schuldunfähigkeit) to commit a crime exists if a person was unable to recognize the injustice of his or her act at the time of the offence due to a mental disorder, a profound disorder of consciousness, intellectual disability or adolescence or was unable to act in accordance with this view (§20 StGB). Then the criminal liability does not apply. In the case of murder or manslaughter, placement in a forensic psychiatric ward is the rule (§63 StGB)

6. Conclusion: Political demands

6.1 Conclusion: Political demands

From the results of this study, we conclude the demand for the recognition of femi(ni)cides as an independent category of lethal violence and therefore an improvement in data collection, prevention and legal classification.

Based on the results of the present report and the detailed analysis of the underlying cases, we call for the **recognition of femi(ni)cides as an independent and structural category of lethal violence and the consistent application in the following areas.**

1. Improved national data collection on femi(ni)cides

1. Introduction of nationwide uniform statistics on femi(ni)cides, which systematically records perpetrator-victim relationships, motives and structural backgrounds
2. Collaborate with civil society actors to close data gaps and ensure intersectional perspectives
3. Civil society access to anonymised police and legal files to enable independent analysis and monitoring

2. Improved prevention of femi(ni)cides

1. A comprehensive use of systematic, interdisciplinary instruments for risk assessment in cases of intimate partner violence
2. The strengthening and financing of women's shelters

3. The consideration of gender-based violence and the recognition of its structural characteristics in the judiciary

1. Mandatory training for law enforcement agencies and the judiciary on gender-based violence, including intersectional perspectives on it
2. Mandatory training on gender-based violence, intersectionality and trauma sensitivity for the police, public prosecutor's offices and judges
3. Transparent assessment of sentencing patterns in gender-specific homicides
4. Independent commission investigating institutional discrimination (e.g. racism, classism) in the judiciary

4. A coordinated institutional protection framework for surviving children affected by femi(ni)cides

1. Psychosocial support and, if necessary, secure residence status and right of residence / asylum (suspension of deportation proceedings)
2. The recognition of children as co-victims of violence in couple relationships as well as the resulting restrictions on the right of contact of the perpetrator (typically the father) as child protection measure. Violence against the mother has to be recognized as violence against the children as well.
3. The legal anchoring that children are automatically considered co-affected in cases of femi(ni)cide, with the right to protection, support and compensation.

VII.
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Authors: N. Reich, E. Bleck, I. Müller

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Address: Anklamer Str. 38, 10115 Berlin, Germany

E-Mail: info@Feminizidmap.org

