# #CallItFemicide

Understanding sex/gender-related killings of women and girls in Canada, 2018-2022

# Table of Contents

# Acknowledgements

**It is our work together that will make a difference and ensure these women and girls are not forgotten, and that fewer women and girls need to be remembered in the future.**

# Dedication

During 2022, the CFOJA documented that 184 women and girls were violently killed, primarily by men. This number brings the total number of women and girls killed since the establishment of the CFOJA to 850 during the five-year period 2018-2022. This is a minimum estimate.

This report is dedicated to their memory, to the memory of all women and girls who died due to violence perpetrated against them, and to the family and friends left behind to both mourn and celebrate their lives.

Every year, beginning on November 25 - the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women - and continuing throughout the 16 Days of Activism, the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability remembers each woman and girl who was killed by violence in Canada using *#RememberMe*. The image below represents all women and girls that we wish to remember in 2022. Each of them is also listed on our website.

While not all these deaths will fall within the definitional parameters of femicide, or what are seen as sex/gender-related killings, all their deaths represent a significant loss to society.

We have included a single flame when no photo was available, a silhouette when the woman or girl's name was not released, or the 'You Are Not Forgotten' image for Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls when their names were not released and/or no photo was available.



Remembering women and girls killed in 2022
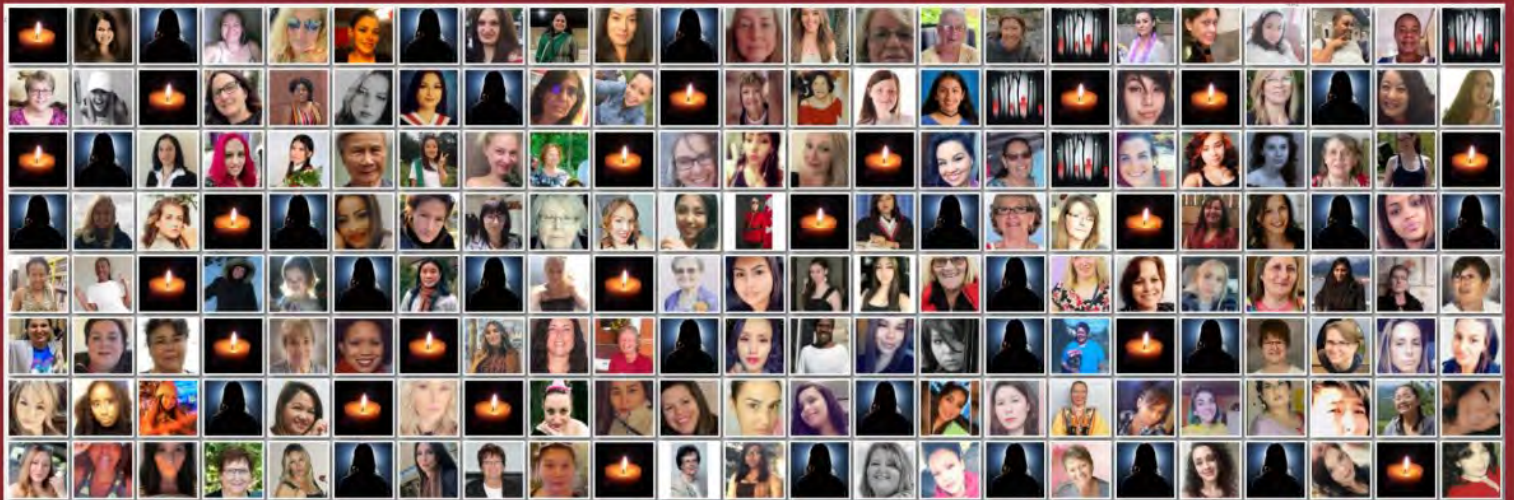
# Executive Summary

In 2018, the *Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability* (CFOJA) began to document the killings of women and girls in this country and, so far, over 850 women and girls have lost their lives, mostly at the hands of men. Building on a long history of femicide research in Canada (Crawford & Gartner, 1992; Crawford et al., 1997), the CFOJA responded to the United Nations' call to establish femicide watches/observatories to more comprehensively and accurately document sex/gender-related killings of women and girls, referred to as 'femicide' or 'feminicide' (ACUNS, 2017). This is the CFOJA's fifth annual *#CallItFemicide* report.

Launched on Dec. 6, 2017, the CFOJA mandate is to establish a visible and national focus on femicide in Canada by:

(1) documenting femicides as they occur in Canada; and,

(2) monitoring government, legal and social responses to these killings.

In **Sections I** and **II**, we provide some context for our research, including an examination of the growing global movement calling on governments, including our own, to recognize femicide as a distinct crime. **Sections III** and **IV** describe patterns in the killings of women and girls, first, for the most recent year (2022) and, second, for the five-year period that we have been conducting this research (2018-2022), identifying any changes over this period.

Below, we provide some highlights for 2022 and the five-year period, respectively.

**A major finding is that the killing of women and girls involving male accused in Canada increased by 27 percent in 2022 compared to the pre-COVID year, 2019.**

**Section III:** *Patterns in women and girls killed during 2022*

- There were 170 cases that resulted in the killings of 184 women and girls. No accused has been identified for 18 victims. In the remaining 152 cases, there were 173 accused.

- Where accused have been identified, 82 percent were male accused, and 18 percent were female accused. Focusing on the primary accused only, 88 percent were male accused, and 12 percent were female accused.

- The highest rates of women and girls killed by male accused were in Nunavut (5.06), Saskatchewan (2.53), and Manitoba (1.99).

- Women and girls killed in non-urban regions of the country (42%) were disproportionately at risk compared to their representation in the population, whereas those killed in urban centres (58%) were underrepresented based on their general population.

- The average age of women and girls killed by a male accused was 42 years. Various age groups of women and girls were overrepresented as victims, underscoring their greater vulnerability to femicide compared to women and girls in other age groups. For example, women aged 25 to 34 years comprised 21 percent of victims yet only 14 percent of the general female population, indicating a greater risk of femicide.

- The largest proportion of male accused were aged 25 to 35 years (23%), and male accused had an average age of 37 years.

- While information on race/ethnicity was not available in many cases, at minimum, about one in

five female victims killed by male accused was an Indigenous woman or girl (19%).

- Information continues to emerge for the victim-accused relationships as investigations progress. The relationship shared between primary victims and accused was reported publicly for 60 percent of cases. Of these, 62 percent involved male accused who were a current or former male partner and almost one-quarter (24%) involved male accused who were family members.

Information on other victim, accused, and incident characteristics are provided in the body of the report as well as more focused information on the three subtypes of femicide – intimate partner femicide, familial femicide, and non-intimate femicide.

## Section IV: *Patterns in women and girls killed over five years, 2018-2022*

- There were 786 cases that resulted in the killings of 850 women and girls. No accused has been identified for 71 victims. In the remaining 715 cases, there are 840 accused.

- The number of women and girls killed each year ranged from a low of 148 victims in 2019 to a high of 184 victims in 2022.

- Where accused have been identified, 83 percent were male accused, and 17 percent were female accused. Focusing on the primary accused only, 88 percent were male accused, and 12 percent were female accused.

- The highest rates of women and girls killed by male accused were in Nunavut (9.10), the Northwest Territories (2.72), the Yukon (1.85), Saskatchewan (1.58) and Manitoba (1.40).

- Women and girls killed in non-urban regions of the country (45%) were disproportionately at risk compared to their representation in the population, whereas those killed in urban centres (55%) were

underrepresented based on their representation in the general population.

- The average age of women and girls killed by a male accused was 42 years. Various age groups of women and girls were overrepresented as victims, underscoring their greater vulnerability to femicide than women and girls in other age groups. In each of the five years, women aged 24 to 34 years comprised the largest or second largest group of femicide victims and were overrepresented compared to their representation in the general population. Women aged 35 to 44 were also overrepresented as victims from 2019 to 2022.

- The largest proportions of male accused were aged 25 to 35 years (26%) and 35 to 44 years (23%). The male accused had an average age of 38 years.

- While information on race/ethnicity was not available in many cases, at minimum, about one in five women and girls killed by male accused were Indigenous. Over one-quarter of victims with information available on race/ethnicity belonged to a racialized minority group (28%).

- Information continues to emerge for victim-accused relationships, particularly for recent cases. The relationship shared between primary victims and accused was reported in public documents for 73 percent of cases. Of these, over one-half involved male accused who were current or former intimate partners (57%) and 22 percent involved male accused who were family members.

Like Section III, Section IV provides detailed information on other victim, accused and incident characteristics as well as more focused information on the three subtypes of femicide – intimate partner femicide, familial femicide, and non-intimate femicide.

In **Section V**, we continue to provide evidence of the need for a sex/gender-specific term to capture the killing

of women and girls in Canada. Drawing from 2018 data for which information is most complete, we use the recently released *Statistical framework for measuring the gender-related killing of women and girls (also referred to as "femicide/feminicide")* (UNODC & UN Women, 2022) to examine the presence of sex/gender-related motives and indicators (SGRMIs) in the killings of women and girls in Canada.

Briefly, at least one SGRMI was present for over three-quarters of victims (76%). When focusing only on women and girls killed by male accused, 84 percent involved at least one SGRMI, such as the killings being perpetrated by current or former intimate partners (48% of victims), a previous record of harassment/violence (23%), the use of force and/or mutilation during the killing (18%), the disposal of the victim's body in a public space (18%), and evidence of a hate crime motivated by bias against women (10%).

We provide illustrative case examples for the 10 sex/gender-related motives or indicators to increase public education and awareness about how these contexts or circumstances are indicative of femicide.

**Section VI** briefly discusses intricately linked research priorities and data challenges, underscoring various groups or types of femicide that have received too little attention. The groups include Indigenous, Black and other racialized women and girls, older women, adolescent victims, the LGBTQ2S+ community, and women and girls living with disabilities. We also discuss secondary or collateral victims as well as living victims of femicide, mothers killed by their sons, alleged mercy killings, women and girls killed in non-urban regions, firearms-involved femicide, and sexual femicide.

In doing so, we introduce our *#MakingHerVisible* campaign, which will run through 2023. Overall, the key message is that we need to 'make visible the invisible victims' who continue to be largely ignored, but we cannot do that without quality, accessible data collected with a focus on prevention.

Finally, **Section VII** remembers the women and girls killed by violence in Canada in 2022, whose deaths are the most recent evidence of our inability to effectively respond to violence in our society, but for whom we all continue to strive for change.

The overarching goal of the CFOJA is to establish a visible and national focus on femicide in Canada. In addition to remembering and honouring Canadian women and girls who become victims of femicide, the CFOJA will examine social and legal responses to femicide, represented by media and the criminal justice system, respectively.
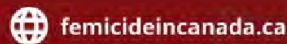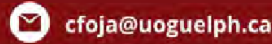
# Section I:
# Introduction

It has been five years since the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability (CFOJA) began to document the killings of women and girls across this country. During this time, at least 850 women and girls have lost their lives in Canada.

That means, at least, one woman or girl is killed by violence every two days.

One woman or girl is killed every 48 hours.

Where information is known, men are the majority of those accused.

We say 'at least' because not all accused are brought to justice. For many women and girls, no accused has yet to be identified and, for some, never will be. For other women and girls, their deaths – although likely a homicide – may never be officially designated as such and, for others, their whereabouts remain unknown – the disappeared – for whom a proportion are likely victims of femicide.

Their killers walk free and, therefore, these victims cannot and may never be counted.

The CFOJA was launched on December 6, 2017, Canada's National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women, to bring a visible and national focus to femicide – the killings of women and girls *because* of their sex or gender. Daily, we work to increase public and professional education and awareness about what this means by underscoring the circumstances and contexts that are indicative of femicide – what Dawson and Carrigan (2021) refer to as sex/gender-related motives and indicators (SGRMIs). It is not always possible to know if a woman or a girl was targeted *because* of their sex or gender, however. In many cases, we may never know because of the paucity of data, or lack of quality data, collected. This situation also precludes effective prevention.

Despite this, as part of our education and awareness efforts, we continue to monitor the killings of women and girls and to differentiate, where possible, those killings which do involve SGRMIs. To do so is crucial because official narratives about the killings of women and girls – whether it was one woman or multiple women, or a femicidal context that resulted in the deaths of women, men, and/or children – may obscure that these killings were femicides or were the result of femicidal motivations. Femicides often result in the deaths of multiple victims, and frequently children, in addition to the women who are most often the male perpetrators' primary targets. Ignoring the link between these killings and SGRMIs precludes the development of appropriate and effective prevention initiatives that can reduce male violence against women and girls and violence overall.

That is why the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women has been calling on all countries to establish femicide observatories since 2015; in part, to increase education and awareness, often through these types of discussions, but also to encourage the collection of data that can better inform violence prevention (ACUNS, 2017). And, at no time, has such a focus been more crucial because the COVID-19 pandemic continues to have devastating impacts worldwide, especially for women and girls.

During this period, a common question has been whether the killings of women and girls increased. At first, this was a difficult question to answer as homicide numbers fluctuate annually. But we are now three years beyond the beginning of the pandemic, so it is possible to say, yes, there have been increases in the killings of women and girls in Canada as discussed in more detail in Sections III and IV.

In fact, the number of women and girls killed involving male accused in 2022 represents a 27 percent increase compared to those numbers in 2019, pre-COVID. And we're still counting.

Perhaps what we should be asking, however, is not whether the deaths of women and girls have increased. Instead, aiming higher, we should ask whether the quality of women's and girls' lives improved or regressed in Canada during this period. Lethal violence against

women and girls – or femicide – is just one measure of the functioning of society and rarer in its occurrence than other types of male violence and abuse perpetrated against women and girls. What this increase in femicide likely means, though, is that women's and girls' lives have regressed, and significantly so, since the pandemic, in a variety of ways that have been well documented globally. In addition to violence, these impacts include an increased burden of care related to children, the elderly and the sick, as well as occupational and economic losses leading to greater numbers living in poverty and an increased reliance on men and patriarchal institutions (United Nations, 2020). Arguably, before that, though, there was little change in women's and girls' experiences of male violence, so the pandemic simply exacerbated an already-bleak situation.

It is easy to get discouraged given this ongoing situation; however, we have also seen some progress, including the increasing momentum of the global movement demanding that governments identify femicide (or feminicide, depending on the country) as a distinct crime. We have also witnessed new developments in the conceptualization and measurement of femicide to more accurately document its occurrence, and to increase the visibility of some groups of women and girls whose lives and deaths have previously been invisible and, worse, discounted.

In Canada, we have also experienced some (limited) progress in recognizing femicide as a serious social issue and in efforts to increase public awareness and education. For example, in a handful of situations, some of our federal leaders have used the word 'femicide' in various contexts. We have also noted that some police jurisdictions and some media have occasionally used femicide to refer to the killing of a woman or girl. This encourages us while, simultaneously, makes us anxious.

It is important to understand *why* and *when* the term 'femicide' should be used and to see this done consistently across the country.

It cannot simply be the newest buzzword.

As will be discussed in Section II, the international community has encouraged governments to adopt specific mechanisms to prevent, investigate, and eliminate femicide, including ending impunity and ensuring the punishment of perpetrators. One mechanism is the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence Against Women (Belém do Pará Convention) which is one of the first such international treaties. However, Canada has yet to sign this treaty despite a commitment to do so in 2018 by our current government. This means Canada remains one of only three countries out of 35 who have yet to fully express their international commitment to preventing, punishing, and eradicating violence against women and girls.

Therefore, while some of our leaders have used the word 'femicide', it remains a buzzword that is seemingly used for political cache if a real commitment to officially recognizing femicide as a distinct crime remains absent.

Furthermore, the leaders of all nations across the world committed to significantly reducing homicides and other violence, including violence against women and girls, by 2030. These are clear and measurable goals in the Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted at the United Nations in 2015. The indicators and targets for reducing homicide (including femicide) are in SDG 16.1, violence against women and girls (also including femicide) in SDG 5.2, and violence against children (also including, and with links to, femicide) in SDG 16.2 (UN Statistics, 2021; Waller, 2019).

What real and sustained efforts have been put forth to address the above in Canada?

While we wait for these answers, to help increase knowledge about what femicide means and why it is important to *#CallItFemicide*, the CFOJA launched a campaign during the 2022 16 Days of Activism called *#FemicideIs*. Each of the 16 images – one featured daily during the 16 days – captures circumstances or contexts indicative of femicide and its SGRMIs. We have included these images throughout this report and encourage our audience to use them freely in their work to help disseminate this knowledge. These images draw from well-documented findings about femicide as well as the UN statistical framework to measure femicide discussed in Section V. Share them with federal, provincial/territorial, and/or other leaders in your communities. They, too, need to be informed.

# Structure of the report

Our inaugural *#CallItFemicide* report discussed the evolution of the term femicide internationally and in the Canadian context (Dawson et al. 2019). Despite being introduced by the late Professor Diana E.H. Russell in 1975, the term remained a relatively new concept with limited visibility and recognition, especially in Canada and the United States, but this has begun to change in recent years. As we discuss in **Section II**, this has led to various organizations and individuals calling on the Government of Canada to develop legislation specific to femicide or to include femicide as a criminal code offence. We discuss this growing global movement to have states recognize femicide as a distinct crime, outlining some of the benefits of doing so, how it has been done, why now, and how Canada can lead the way, building on the foundation provided by other countries.

In **Section III,** as we have done in previous years, we describe the most recent patterns in the killing of all women and girls by violence in Canada in 2022. This includes temporal and geographic distributions, sex of the accused, victim-accused relationships, and methods of killing. Details on CFOJA methods and data sources have been discussed in previous reports and are accessible at https://femicideincanada.ca/cfoja_reports. Focusing in more detail on cases involving male accused, we examine victim, accused, and incident characteristics for the total sample of male accused, followed by the three main subtypes of femicide: intimate partner femicide, familial femicide, and non-intimate femicide (i.e., those that occur between friends, acquaintances, strangers, and other non-intimate relationships).



In **Section IV**, we focus on a five-year period (2018-2022), each of the years we have been collecting national data, noting where possible any changes in patterns over time. Here, we again focus on the total number of female deaths, followed by victims whose cases involve male accused and, finally, on the three femicide subtypes. While there has been some variation in patterns in the past five years, it will become clear that those groups of women and girls disproportionately impacted by femicide have changed little during this period.

In **Section V**, we build on previous CFOJA reports by continuing to increase education and awareness about SGRMIs, illustrating further what is meant by 'women/girls killed *because* they were women/girls' – *because* of their sex or gender. To do so, we describe various SGRMIs evident in the 2018 cases, drawing from the recent statistical framework released by the United Nations. This also builds upon the information provided in our *#FemicideIs* social media campaign discussed above.

Drawing from our experiences over the past five years, **Sections VI** discusses research priorities and data challenges because these two topics are intricately linked. Some topics overlap with previous reports because, as will be demonstrated in earlier sections, little has changed for those women and girls at increased risk of being killed by men. We briefly highlight some of these groups, or types of femicide, as an introduction to more in-depth research briefs which are currently being prepared for release throughout 2023. The goal of this section is to make more visible those victims of femicide who remain most invisible and to identify how we can better document femicide so that our research and advocacy efforts inform prevention. The research briefs will be part of CFOJA's *#MakingHerVisible* campaign throughout 2023.

Finally, **Section VII** remembers all women and girls killed by violence in Canada in 2022. On page 4, we continue to dedicate this report to these women and girls and the thousands who have been killed before them in our country. Section VII lists each of their names which we were able to gather with the hope that readers will, by now, have a better understanding of their lives and deaths. For some of the 2022 victims listed, it was not possible to remember them by name because they have not been identified and/or their names have not been released to the media. We contend that the way these women and girls are silenced in death as they likely were in life renders them permanently invisible. Whether official decisions to do so or those of the family members left behind, we hope that fewer women and girls are silenced in this way going forward.

In addition to remembering women and girls killed in this section, we include quotes from those impacted by their deaths throughout the report. All quotes have been taken from media reports, and names and identifiers have been removed. Their words describe and reflect the losses experienced by those close to them, the ongoing impacts of their deaths on those left behind, as well as the lost potential to their communities and to society. It is our hope that their words will also help to celebrate their lives.

## About the cover

As we have discussed over the years and in this report, not all killings of women and girls will fall within the parameters of femicide; however, all women and girls deserve to be remembered. Therefore, to mark five years of our research and education efforts, the cover page of our report remembers 611 of the over 850 women and girls we have lost during this period. We hope that the impact of seeing 100s of faces of women and girls drives home the losses experienced by those close to them, by the communities in which they lived, and for Canadian society. We also wish to remember the 239 women and girls for whom we were never able to find an image to celebrate their life or even, in some cases, a name to remember them by.

# Section II:
# Considering femicide as a distinct crime in Canada

The Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability has been asking the Canadian public, and especially our leaders, to *#CallItFemicide* since 2018. Aligning with a growing global human rights movement (Dawson & Mobayed, 2023; Laurent et al., 2013), several organizations and individuals in Canada are now also calling upon the Government of Canada and other leaders to recognize femicide as a distinct crime. One of the first organizations to do so was the London Police Services Board of Ontario[1], followed by a recommendation arising from the Office of the Chief Coroner of Ontario's Inquest into the circumstances surrounding the deaths of Valerie Warmerdam, Carol Culleton, and Anastasia Kuzyk.[2] Since then, multiple organizations and individuals have publicly supported this move with similar calls being issued around the world.

At its most basic level, this would mean officially recognizing those killings in which women and girls were killed *because* of their sex or gender as femicide (or feminicide, depending on world region).[3] More specifically, it would draw upon the voluminous body of research that has occurred over past decades in Canada and globally to identify sex- or gender-related motives and indicators that clearly underscore and illustrate the distinct nature of femicide and how it differs from other types of homicide (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021; UNODC, 2022).

**Table 2.1: Summary of type and year of femicide or feminicide legislation by country**

| Country | Year | Law | Legislation | Term used |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 2012 | Law 26791 "Femicide" Penal Code Modifications | No | Femicide |
| Belgium | 2022 | A framework law that defines femicide, distinguishes several forms of feminicide (intimate, non-intimate, and indirect) and allows for collection of statistical data. | In progress | -- |
| Bolivia | 2013 | Law 348 Comprehensive Law to Guarantee to Women A Life Free of Violence | Yes | Feminicide |
| Brazil | 2015 | Law 13.104 Penal Code to provide for femicide as a qualifying circumstance for the crime of homicide | No | Feminicide |
| Chile | 2010 | Law No. 20,480 Modifies Criminal Code and Act 20.066, Establishing "Femicide" | No | Femicide |
| Colombia | 2008/2015 | Criminal Code Reform/ Rosa Elvira Cely Law | No | Feminicide |
| Costa Rica | 2007 | Law No. 8589 Penalization of Violence Against Women | No | Femicide |
| Dominican Republic | 2014 | Law No. 550-14 that establishes the Criminal Code of the Dominican Republic. | No | Feminicide |
| Ecuador | 2014 | Organic Integral Penal Code | No | Femicide |
| El Salvador | 2010 | Special Comprehensive Law for a Life Free from Violence for Women | Yes | Feminicide |
| Guatemala | 2008 | Law Against Femicide and Other Forms of Violence Against Women | Yes | Femicide |
| Honduras | 2013 | Criminal Code Reform Decree 23-2013 | No | Femicide |
| Malta | 2022 | Femicide as an aggravating offence to homicide | Yes | Femicide |
| Mexico | 2012 | Criminal Code Reform General Law of Access Of Women To A Life Free Of Violence | Yes | Feminicide |
| Nicaragua | 2012 | Law 779 Integral Law Against Violence Towards Women and Reforms to Law No. 641, "Penal Code" | Yes | Femicide |
| Panama | 2013 | Adopting measures to prevent violence against women and reform the Criminal Code to criminalize femicide and punish acts of violence against women | Yes | Femicide |
| Paraguay | 2016 | Art. 50 of the Law No. 5777 "Of integral protection of women, against all forms of violence" | Yes | Feminicide |
| Peru | 2013 | No. 29819 Law That Modifies Article 107 of the Criminal Code, Incorporating Feminicide | Yes | Feminicide |
| Uruguay | 2017 | No. 19538 Law That Modifies Article 312 of the Criminal Code | No | Femicide |
| Venezuela | 2007/2014 | Organic Law on the Right of Women to a Life Free from Violence | Yes | Femicide |

[1] See: 'This is a crisis': Ontario police board wants femicide added to Criminal Code'.
[2] See: 'I want change,' daughter says after jury shares recommendations at Ontario inquest'.
[3] See: World Health Organization.

Leading the way, and listed in Table 2.1, 20 countries have already identified femicide or feminicide as a violent crisis against women and girls passing specific legislation or approving reforms to their criminal codes. This official recognition of the killing of a woman or girl *because* she is a woman or girl in these countries has helped to raise public and professional awareness about these killings, and male violence against women and girls more generally. In turn, over time, this move can contribute to the prevention of future femicides by informing the development of more effective responses to male violence against women and girls (Organization of American States, 2018).

The urgency of doing so stems from the recognition that efforts targeting male violence against women and girls have fallen far short of their mark in past decades, a problem recognized annually by the United Nations Secretary-General, António Guterres, and most recently, in November 2022.[4] This lack of progress has been exacerbated by COVID-19 which has had a pronounced impact on the lives of women and girls (United Nations, 2020) and, specifically, on levels of male violence against women and girls globally (UN Women, 2021).

"She knew homeless people by name and would tell us the amazing stories that she learned from having spoken to them."

CfOJA
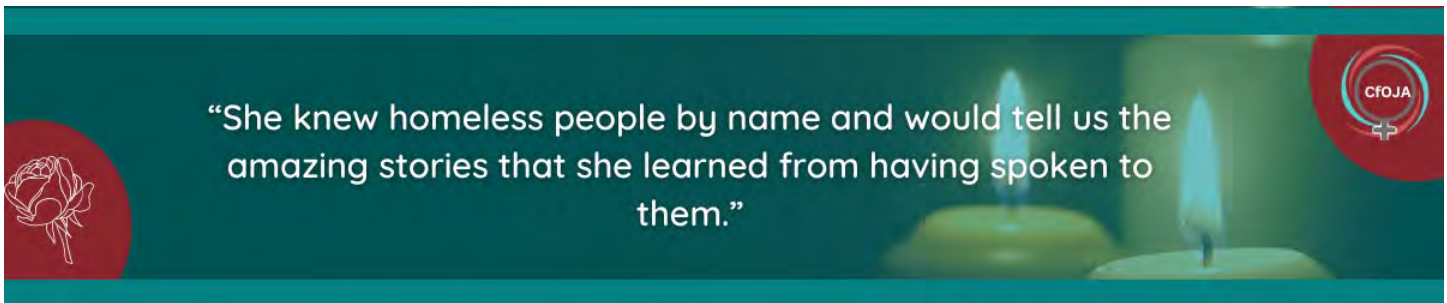
# Why it is important to recognize femicide as a distinct crime?

## 1) Symbolic impact on professional and public education and awareness

From a social, political, and legal standpoint, recognizing femicide as a distinct crime would increase public and professional recognition that the killing of a woman or girl is often a clear expression of sex- or gender-motivated violence (Sarmiento et al., 2014). Historically, and still today, these killings occur within a societal hierarchy that renders female deaths as largely invisible, and more concerning, as normalized violence that cannot be prevented, particularly if they are killed by a male partner or family member. Therefore, as an important first step, recognizing femicide would legitimize it as worthy of attention and raise its visibility, including its distinct characteristics when compared to the killings of men, a situation of which most remain unaware (Weil, 2015).

As a sub-category of homicide, which is a gender-neutral term, the reality of femicide, its root causes (e.g., sex/gender-based systematic inequality, discrimination, and oppression), and its link to non-lethal forms of male violence suffered by women and girls, remains hidden to most individuals and to society at large. Professional and public education and awareness, which underpins effective violence prevention initiatives, necessitates the conceptualization and understanding of sex- and gender-based violence as the result of ongoing, unequal power relationships between women and men (Sarmiento et al., 2014). This means making more visible the historical and contemporary inequitable power dynamics rooted in the legacy, and ongoing impacts, of patriarchal notions of women as 'property' or 'objects' of individual men and/or patriarchal institutions. Furthermore, recognizing femicide as a distinct crime will contribute to the de-normalization of male violence against women and girls, including their killings, too often framed as a private

---

[4] See: Consign violence against women and girls, 'to the history books': UN chief.

issue rather than public violence that has widespread, negative consequences and is a matter of global public health concern (Alvazzi del Frate & Nowak, 2013).[5]
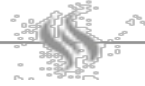
## 2) Collecting data with femicide prevention as the goal

Recognizing femicide as a distinct crime with specific sex- and gender-related characteristics will allow for the collection of data that can contribute to its prevention. Data on femicide, the killing of women and girls *because* of their sex or gender, remain difficult to access and collect, particularly for some groups of women and girls (Cullen et al., 2021; Walby et al., 2017; Walklate et al, 2019). As underscored repeatedly by the work of the CFOJA and others globally, these data gaps continue to put the lives of women and girls at risk, underscoring the urgent need to emphasize prevention as the priority for data collection, rather than simply fulfilling the administrative needs of governments.

For example, over time and across the world, female victims are most often killed by men they know – their male partners and family members. This is not true for male victims, who are more often killed by acquaintances and strangers, but also primarily by men (UNODC, 2022). Despite this well-documented fact, there are only a few variables in Statistic Canada's Homicide Survey that capture the crucial information on risk factors for femicide such as prior violence, prior police contacts, role of separation, custody/access disputes, criminal harassment, sexual violence, and excessive violence (Dawson and Carrigan, 2021).[6] Given the persistent gaps in data – especially around the killings of Indigenous, Black, racialized minority, poor and/or immigrant/refugee women and girls – we also need to begin to ask *why* data that are vitally important to the prevention of femicide and all forms of male violence against women and girls are not systematically and routinely collected now.

One key contributor is the historical and ongoing effects of sexist and racist social structures, including historical and contemporary decision-makers, for whom the collection of these data were and are not seen as a priority. Recognizing femicide as a distinct crime, and requiring more nuanced and focused data collection, would challenge entrenched hierarchies of "worthy subjects," which often leaves the victimization of women and girls invisible and outside the boundaries of those who *deserve* attention. In addition, the paucity of data that captures the combined social identities of women and girls, specifically those considered on the margins, makes their worthiness even more invisible, and their lives – and deaths – discounted (Cullen et al., 2021).

Simply put, current data collection efforts do not capture crucial information about the killings of women and girls. In part, this is due to the emphasis on, and use of, administrative data collection instruments derived largely from the historical and dominant focus on male-on-male homicide. Furthermore, albeit limited, these data are largely inaccessible to those who could use it effectively, so they remain significantly underused even if limited in scope. The CFOJA has argued that we need to refocus data collection efforts on producing accessible prevention data that can effectively and accurately inform more nuanced responses to male violence against women and girls, specifically those at highest risk. In doing so, femicide must be recognized as a specific problem which requires specific data and research before appropriate solutions can be developed.

Recently, the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and expert consultations, developed a statistical framework for measuring gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicide) (UNODC, 2022). The framework comprises a starting point of 10 characteristics or contexts that can be used to capture the modus operandi or circumstances indicative of femicide. This framework will be discussed in

---

[5] See also: 'Home is the most dangerous place for women,' but private and public violence are connected.

[6] For more detail, see: Data is a defence against femicide.

more detail in Section V of this report where we examine the presence of these 10 variables in the killings of women and girls in Canada in 2018, the year for which data collection is most complete.[7]
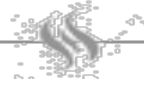
## 3) Addressing impunity, including the impact of the 'intimacy discount'

It has been well-documented that there is limited access to justice for women and girls and one key contributor is sex or gender stereotypes and biases which remain firmly entrenched in legal processes, as well as in the attitudes and beliefs of institutional personnel, including police, prosecutors, and judges. More specifically, access to justice (or lack thereof) for these victims is often determined by unsubstantiated stereotypes or beliefs about women's inferiority, perceptions of women's appropriate sexual conduct, assumptions based on the relationships between victims and their killers, and/or by whom or where they were killed (for full discussion of such stereotypes, see Dawson, 2006; Flood and Pease, 2009).

With respect to intimate partner relationships, for example, the 'crime of passion' stereotype continues to result in the downgrading of offences from murder to manslaughter[8] – referred to as the 'intimacy discount' (Dawson, 2016; Grosso et al., 2010) or 'domestic discount' (Rapaport 1991, 1994). This and other dominant stereotypes reinforce notions that male violence against women and girls is normal, accepted, inevitable, and/or less serious in some contexts. In addition, some women and girls such as those who are Indigenous, racialized minorities, and/or poor, for example, have even less access to justice as do victims who live in some regions of our country (i.e., rural, northern) where access to services – and justice – are limited or absent.

Recognizing femicide as a distinct crime can help to strengthen the human rights and freedoms of women and girls and make access to justice more equitable for *all* women and girls. To effectively do so, such legislation must also recognize and consider the intersecting forms of oppressions and discriminations that exacerbate the already-negative aspects of women's and girls' lives. This means that the legal investigation into their deaths must be conducted with an intersectional and differentiated perspective (OAS, 2018; Sarmiento et al., 2014). In doing so, legal personnel must acknowledge and respond appropriately to the various ways that sex and gender intersects with other identities or factors that compounds one's experiences and impacts of violence.

## How might femicide be officially recognized as a distinct crime?

Various countries, especially in Latin America, have already recognized femicide (or feminicide) as a distinct crime as discussed above by amending their criminal codes or implementing special legislation to respond to femicide and its prevention. Most recently, in 2022, Malta and Belgium recognized femicide as a distinct crime.[9] These efforts, and work by the United Nations[10], have led to the increased use and understanding of femicide in the public realm.

Two key documents which address in detail the investigation, prevention, punishment and eradication of femicide are the *Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of gender-related killings of women (femicide/feminicide)* (Sarmiento et al., 2014) and

---

[7] The CFOJA relies on media and court documents and, given the amount of time it takes for cases to be processed through the criminal justice system, court documents are often not available until several years after the homicide.

[8] For example, see Department of Justice Canada reports: Report on Sentencing for Manslaughter in Cases Involving Intimate Relationships and Criminal Justice Outcomes in Intimate and Non-intimate Partner Homicide Cases.

[9] For Malta, see 'Femicide bill unanimously approved, clears all Parliament hurdles'. For Belgium, see Belgium to legislate against femicide.

[10] For more detail on global initiatives, see Femicide Watch Initiative established by United Nations and the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner and the Femicide Watch Platform, established by the United Nations Studies Association.

the *Inter-American Model Law on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of the Gender-Related Killing of Women and Girls (Femicide/Feminicide)*(Organization of American States, 2018). Along with country-specific legislation, also identified in these reports, the above protocol and model identify some of the contexts and circumstances in which femicide occurs. This information can be used as a solid foundation upon which femicide can be considered a distinct crime in the Canadian context (see Table 2.2).

**Table 2.2: Summary of femicide and feminicide legislation in Latin America by country**

| Country | Characteristics of femicide and feminicide |
|---|---|
| **Argentina** | (1) Family/current/former spouse; (2) Pleasure/greed/hate based on race, religion, gender or sexual orientation; (3) Male perpetrator |
| **Bolivia** | (1) Current/former partner; (2) V. declining to establish relationship (3) V. pregnant; (4) Relationship of subordination/dependence (5) V. vulnerability; (6) Previous physical/psychological/sexual/ economic violence; (7) Crime against individual liberty/sexual liberty; (8) Human trafficking; (9) Group dares/cultural practices. |
| **Brazil** | (1) Domestic and family violence; (2) Disparagement or discrimination against women |
| **Chile** | (1) Current/former spouse |
| **Colombia** | (1) Family/current or former spouse and previous violence; (2) Oppression/domination over life or sexuality; (3) Exploiting power relations; (4) Terror/humiliation; (5) Previous violence/threats; (6) Held incommunicado/deprived of movement |
| **Costa Rica** | (1) Homicide that occurs in relation to marriage or common law. |
| **Dominican Republic** | (1) Current/former spouse; (2) Pretending to have a relationship; (3) Malicious killing. |
| **Ecuador** | (1) Power relations; (2) Any type of violence; (3) Gender-related. |
| **El Salvador** | (1) Hatred or contempt for a woman; (2) Previous violence; (3) V. vulnerability; (4) Unequal power relations; (5) Act against sexual liberty; (6) Mutilation. |
| **Guatemala** | (1) Unequal power relations (2) Tried to establish relationship; (3) Family/current/former spouse; (4) Repeated violence; (5) Group rituals (6) Satisfy sexual instincts; (7) Genital mutilation/other mutilation; (8) Misogyny; (9) V.'s children present; |
| **Honduras** | (1) Current/former spouse; (2) Previous domestic/familial violence; (3) Previous sexual violence/harassment; (4) Ruthlessness/humiliating/degrading injuries/mutilations |
| **Mexico** | (1) For gender-related reasons; (2) Signs of violence; (3) Humiliating injuries/mutilations/ necrophilia; (4) Previous violence; (5) Trusting relationship; (6) Prior threats/harassment/injury; (7) V. held incommunicado; (8) V. exposed in public. |
| **Nicaragua** | (1) Unequal power relations (2) Establish/re-establish relationship (3) Current/former spouse/familial relationship (4) Repeated violence (5) Group rituals/gangs, (6) Satisfy sexual instincts, genital mutilation/other mutilation; (7) Misogyny; (8) V.'s children present. |
| **Panama** | (1) Family/current/former spouse/cohabitant (2) Attempt to establish relationship; (3) Trust/superiority relationship; (4) V.'s children present (5) V. vulnerability; (6) Group rituals/revenge; (7) Satisfy sexual instincts/genital mutilation/other mutilation; (8) V. exposed or incommunicado; (9) Hide rape; (10) V. pregnant; (11) Unequal power relations. |
| **Peru** | (1) Family violence; (2) Coercion/sexual harassment; (3) Abuse of power/trust/authority; (4) Discrimination. |
| **Venezuela** | (1) Gender-based domination/subordination; (2) Sexual violence; (3) Degrading injuries/mutilations; (4) Body exposed in public; (5) Physical/psychological vulnerability; (6) History of violence. |

Source: Carrigan, M. and M. Dawson. 2020. Problem representations of Femicide/Feminicide legislation in Latin America. *International Journal for Crime, Justice, and Social Democracy 9*(2): 1-19.

Of importance, and addressing a common critique of such laws, the model law states (and Table 2.2 demonstrates):

> Since determining the subjective factors that comprise the intent of the attacker poses a complicated challenge for agents of the criminal justice system in terms of standards of proof, the Committee has undertaken to establish the objective acts that should be considered to determine the existence of gender-based motives, from an intersectional perspective, as well as the social context, the community of the victim and the perpetrator, including their cultural and religious beliefs, and thereby eliminate the need to determine the state of mind or any individual motive (*mens rea*) on the part of the attacker (p. 19).

While approaches vary across jurisdictions, four key avenues for officially recognizing femicide as sex/gender related killings of women and girls have been identified[11]:

1 ) Specific criminal offences (e.g., femicide or feminicide as a specific offence);
2 ) Sex/gender-related elements in forms of aggravated homicide;
3 ) Sex/gender-related aggravating circumstances for homicide and other offences; and,
4 ) Killing of the victim as aggravating factor in sex/gender-related offences.

An in-depth examination of the challenges and benefits of each of these approaches is beyond the scope of this report but required if Canada considers identifying femicide as a distinct crime. We can learn from the many jurisdictions who have already proceeded down this path, particularly those who have added femicide as a specific criminal offence which arguably offers the most potential for raising the visibility of femicide as worthy, and necessary, for public and professional attention if it is to be prevented in the future.

It is argued in this report that the implementation of a carefully-researched and thoughtful criminal offence of femicide with clear criteria (see Option #1 above) and subsequent monitoring of its implementation can achieve what previous offences or legislation currently existing in Canada have not.[12] For example, with respect to Section 718.2(a)(i) and acts motivated by bias, prejudice, or hate, a recent report commissioned by the British Columbia's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner found that acts of violence perpetrated against women and girls, and specifically gender-based violence, were rarely the focus of hate legislation or frameworks in Canada or globally.[13] In short, for women and girls, this section exists on paper, but is rarely used in practice.



"She was the most amazing, loving and kind person who was always helping others. She was beautiful, free-spirited, quirky and funny, and always brought a smile to our faces"

---
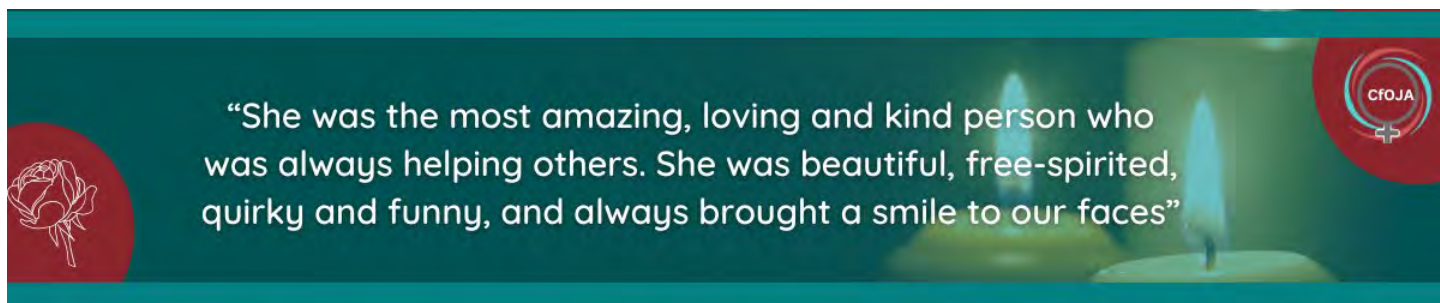
[11] For more detail, see: Criminalization of gender-related killing of women and girls.
[12] Section 231(5) and section 231(6) related to first- or second-degree murder; sentencing enhancements in section 718.2(a)(i) related to acts motivated by bias, prejudice, or hate; and/or section 718.2(a)(ii) pertaining to the relationship between offenders and victims.
[13] See: Considering gender-based violence as a form of hate.

# Why is now the moment in time for Canada to recognize femicide as a distinct crime?

It has always been important for the Government of Canada to show its leadership in addressing male violence against women and girls, including femicide, but it is more crucial at this moment in time for various reasons.



First, the development of country-specific femicide legislation typically follows a lengthier process of local and regional efforts to build an understanding of femicide as a social problem. Even though the 'Montreal Massacre' occurred over 30 years ago and a ground-breaking study on intimate femicide in Ontario was conducted in the mid-1990s (Crawford & Gartner, 1992; Crawford et al., 1997), there has been little progress in building public and professional knowledge about femicide and its meaning. However, a variety of initiatives or events have come together in the past decade to create the 'perfect storm' in which more leadership and initiative is required, beginning with the official recognition of femicide in this country.

For example, in 2017, the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability was established, an accomplishment recognized by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women who has been calling on countries to establish such initiatives since 2015 (ACUNS, 2017). Two years later, in 2019, Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls was released; however, almost four years later, meaningful action on most of the Calls for Justice identified in this report have yet to occur (National Inquiry, 2019). Finally, in early 2020, the impacts of COVID-19 spread rapidly across the world, with these impacts being felt even more acutely by girls and women, including the exacerbation of their experiences of male violence (United Nations, 2020; UN Women, 2021).

These three initiatives/events, building on historical and contemporary advocacy and activism, coupled with various multiple high-profile, incidents of male violence against women made it impossible to ignore the fact that our efforts to address male violence against women and girls in Canada, and globally, have failed, particularly for some groups of women and girls. These high-profile incidents include, but are not limited to, at least two recent mass killings with primarily female victims [14], the ongoing siege being experienced by Indigenous women and girls, and the increasing recognition that Black women and other racialized minority women and girls are equally vulnerable, but invisible in data and official responses to their violent experiences.

The Canadian Femicide Observatory, along with many others in Canada and globally, have made progress on increasing the use and understanding of the term femicide in the public realm as discussed in the introduction. While there is still much work to be done, the time is now to take the first step in what will need to be a larger, more substantive package of changes [15] to recognize and more

---

[14] These include the 2018 van attack in Toronto, Ontario, which killed 11 women and two men, and the Portapique, Nova Scotia, mass killings in Ontario and Nova Scotia.

[15] For example, Women's Shelters Canada has provided a Roadmap for the National Action Plan on Violence Against Women and Gender-Based Violence .

effectively respond to male violence against women and girls. Taking this first, small step will begin to address widespread and entrenched biases that are both a cause and a consequence of large-scale, ongoing sex/gender inequalities, further exacerbated by COVID-19 as noted. It will also begin to counteract the historical and contemporary normalization, minimization, and tolerance of various forms of male violence against women and girls, including by states/governments (i.e., impunity).

Globally, the international community has encouraged governments to adopt specific mechanisms to prevent, investigate, and eliminate femicide/feminicide, including ending impunity and ensuring the punishment of perpetrators. For example, the Inter- American Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence Against Women (Belém do Pará Convention) is the first international treaty to enshrine the right of women to live a life free from violence, in both the public and private sphere and to be valued and educated free from gender stereotyped behaviour and social and cultural practices based on the concept that



**Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability**

**Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation**

**Femicide is...**

...often perpetrated by family members, most often males, who kill their female blood relatives or relatives by marriage or adoption.

#FemicideIs

CAN_femicide    #CallItFemicide    femicideincanada.ca

they are inferior or subordinate to men. However, Canada has yet to sign this treaty despite a commitment to do so in 2018 by our current government.[16] As a result, along with the United States, Canada remains one of only three countries out of 35 that have yet to fully express their international commitment to preventing, punishing, and eradicating violence against women and girls (see Textbox 2.1, page 22).

But Canada can still show leadership in moving forward to change this trend.

## How can Canada lead the way and build on what other countries have done?

While we stand to learn much from other countries, Canada can also lead the way in building on previous efforts to recognize femicide as a distinct crime. Below are just some options that should be considered:

1. Some countries have identified in their legislation the way in which unequal power relations or sex/gender inequalities can contribute to femicide. As noted by OAS (2018), for example, Panama considers a homicide as femicide if a person kills a woman "for any motive based on her condition as a woman or in the context of unequal power relations." To do so is rare, however, despite sex/gender inequality being a consistent and well-documented contributor to all forms of male violence against women and girls, including femicide. This fact draws upon decades of social science research contending that power and sex/gender are at the root of violence against women and girls. In explicitly recognizing women's ongoing inequality,

---

[16] See: 'Committee of Experts celebrates political will of Canada to be part of the Belém do Pará Convention'.

Canada could also recognize the impacts of patriarchal social structures in their legislation, including (the lack of) access to justice for women and girls.

2. Countries tend to include an emphasis on women and girls previously subjected to violence which is important but also problematic because their previous experiences of violence are not always captured by traditional data collection mechanisms. As such, recognizing the reporting and recording biases, and building innovative avenues to address these data gaps with an emphasis on prevention as the key goal should be included in any legislation.

3. To our knowledge, no country has specifically recognized the overlapping oppressions and discriminations experienced by many victims in their femicide provisions, although some have recognized them in violence prevention initiatives by acknowledging that some women and girls face additional barriers to justice. This would be an important issue for Canada to address by specifically including an intersectional lens in its legislation that allows for the recognition that various groups of women and girls (e.g., Indigenous and Black women and girls, other racialized minority women and girls, sexual minorities, women with disabilities, and elderly women) are particularly vulnerable, something that is recognized globally, but seldom addressed in legislation In fact, such victims are even more invisible than other victims of femicide and, in turn, their deaths continue to be discounted in law and in society.

   Specifically, with respect to Indigenous women and girls, this would address the National Inquiry's *Call for Justice 5.18* which states: *We call upon the federal government to consider violence against Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people as an aggravating factor at sentencing, and to amend the* Criminal Code *accordingly, with the passage and enactment of Bill S-215.*

4. It is often believed that recognizing femicide as a distinct crime means increasing punishments and, while more equitable punishments for femicide compared to other crimes should be a goal of legislation (e.g., eliminating the intimacy discount), prevention elements should also be included in legislation, defined as any activity that reduces the probability of femicide. At last count, 13 countries have now included femicide/feminicide prevention in their legislation, ranging from restraining orders, public education campaigns for school-aged children, increased services for victims, and training for frontline workers.

   Countries vary in the number and depth of these provisions, but Canada should consider such elements, particularly those that will emphasize primary prevention efforts to address outdated and biased stereotypes and beliefs. Public and professional education and awareness is a priority to address these negative and damaging attitudes about male violence against women. It is hard to argue against the contention that 'men in prison are better than women dead'; however, attempting to reduce the violence women and girls experience thereby preventing their death in the first place should be the main goal of legislation. This would, if implemented and monitored properly, reduce *both* the number of men in prison *and* the number of women dead.

5. At least 10 countries include 'impunity' or 'institutional violence', defined as violence committed by public servants or public servants who impede victim's access to justice. For example: "Acts or omissions of public servants of any order of government that discriminates against or has the purpose of delaying, hindering or preventing enjoyment and exercise of women's human rights as well as their access to the enjoyment of public policies aimed at preventing, attending, investigating, punishing and eradicating the different types of violence" (OAS, 2018). Impunity is relevant in Canada as well, particularly as it relates to policing of violence against women and girls. For example, a 2022 report from the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International

Action is just the latest to provide ample evidence of ongoing misogyny, racism, and violence in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP; for more detail, see Misra et al., 2022). The RCMP is not the only police force with such problems.

6. Several countries have included in their legislation the development of national observatories like the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability, outlining their key goals and responsibilities. The work of observatories supported through legislation which clearly defines the rules and responsibilities of actors can increase accountability and access to quality data and lead to better understanding of patterns in femicide over time.

## Summary

Violence is a recognized public health issue (World Health Organization, 2002), and an informed public is the key to violence prevention. Official recognition of femicide would help to make femicide visible and legitimize it as a social problem worthy of urgent attention. Legislation would help to develop appropriate data collection and prevention efforts, including increasing professional and public awareness and education. Simply put, the official recognition of femicide is a small, but important, step toward real social change – change that has so far been elusive for women and girls in this country and globally.

In doing so, the Government of Canada can begin to eliminate the artificial dichotomy between public and private violence. All male violence against women and girls has public impacts and, thus, is public violence which affects everyone. Its impacts continue to reverberate throughout communities for years to come. The Government of Canada can lead in global efforts to challenge the problematic attitudes, beliefs, and stereotypes, as well as the rampant societal victim-blaming which continues to downplay and normalize male violence against women and girls. Putting front and centre the contexts and circumstances that contribute to, and are, indicative of femicide can contribute to more nuanced approaches to its prevention, and also reducing non-lethal forms of male violence against women. There is still much work to be done, but the Government of Canada can contribute significantly – and lead globally – to improving public education and awareness by recognizing femicide as a distinct crime.



Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability
Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

**Femicide is...**
...the killing of a woman or girl who was the victim of trafficking in persons or of other forms of exploitation prior to the killing, such as slavery, forced labour, or sexual exploitation

#FemicideIs

CAN_femicide    #CallItFemicide    femicideincanada.ca

**Textbox 2.1: Press release from the Organization of American States**[17]



**Committee of Experts celebrates political will of Canada to be part of the Belém do Pará Convention**

The Committee of Experts of the Follow-up Mechanism to the Belém do Pará Convention (MESECVI) welcomes the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, that the country would begin the process to be a State Party to the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women (Belém do Pará Convention). Prime Minister Trudeau made the announcement in the framework of the VIII Summit of the Americas held on April 13th and 14th 2018 in Lima, Peru.

The Convention was adopted in Belém do Pará, Brazil, in 1994 and has been ratified by 32 of the 35 Members of the Organization of American States (OAS) – all of the countries of the region except Canada, Cuba and the United States. If this announcement becomes a reality, Canada would be part of the list of the countries that fully express their international commitment to preventing, punishing and eradicating violence against women.

Sylvia Mesa, President of the Committee of Experts of the MESECVI highlights that "this Convention established for the first time mechanisms of protection and defense related to the prevention, punishment and eradication of physical, sexual and psychological violence, in both the public and private spheres." If the Convention is ratified, Canada would also join the Follow-up Mechanism to the Belém do Pará Convention (MESECVI), an evaluation and follow-up process established to support the effective implementation of the Convention, and analyze the advances and challenges in the State response to violence against women.

In this sense, the Committee salutes the political will of the government, led by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, in harmonizing its national standards with the international *corpus juris* on the protection of the rights of women and girls. For this reason, the Committee makes itself available to Canada for any technical support that may be required in this process.

*The Committee of Experts is the technical body of the MESECVI responsible for the analysis and evaluation of the implementation process of the Belém do Pará Convention. It is composed of independent experts, appointed by each of the States Party from among its nationals, who exercise their functions in a personal capacity.*

[17]See: https://www.oas.org/es/mesecvi/docs/CEVI-ComunicadoCanada-2018-EN.pdf.

# Section III:
# Women & girls killed in 2022

Below, we begin documenting basic patterns by examining the 170 cases that resulted in the killings of 184 women and girls in 2022. Their deaths were officially classified as a homicide. We do not include in this analysis the deaths of an additional 13 women and girls classified as suspicious for which investigations remain ongoing. All results reported below are generated from victim-based analyses, unless otherwise stated. Next, we focus on a subset of these killings, which most closely align with the phenomenon of femicide – the killing of women and girls by male accused. While this is a common proxy used to document femicide, we acknowledge that not all these killings may ultimately be categorized as femicide which is part of our ongoing research. We discuss this further in Section V, where we focus specifically on documenting sex/gender-related motives and indicators (SGRMIs) for women and girls who were killed in 2018, the year for which the most complete information is available. Finally, in this section, we examine patterns across three subtypes of femicide – intimate partner femicide, familial femicide, and non-intimate femicide. [*All percentages reported below may not equal 100% due to rounding*.]
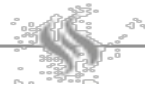
## All women and girls killed by violence in Canada

**Temporal distribution:** As shown in Table 3.1, the number of women and girls killed each month ranged from a high of 22 in January to a low of seven in April, with an average of 15 women or girls killed each month. December was the second deadliest month with 20 women and girls killed by violence.

**Geographic distribution:** Table 3.2 shows the number and percentage of women and girls killed in 2022 in each province and territory. The percentage of the total female population living in each province and territory and the rate of killing to adjust for population size are also shown.

The largest group of women and girls was killed in Ontario (36%), which is attributable, in part, to Ontario being Canada's most populous province. Based on Ontario's female representation of the Canadian population (39%), the rate at which women and girls were killed in Ontario is 0.86 per 100,000 women and girls, which was lower than the national rate of 0.94 per 100,000 women and girls.[18] This was also the case for the rate at which women and girls were killed by violence in Quebec (0.55), Nova Scotia (0.58), and Newfoundland and Labrador (0.75).

**Table 3.1: Monthly distribution of women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2022 (N=184)**

| Month | Women & girls killed | |
|---|---|---|
| | **N** | **%** |
| January | 22 | 12 |
| February | 19 | 10 |
| March | 18 | 10 |
| April | 7 | 4 |
| May | 13 | 7 |
| June | 13 | 7 |
| July | 11 | 6 |
| August | 15 | 8 |
| September | 19 | 10 |
| October | 13 | 7 |
| November | 14 | 8 |
| December | 20 | 11 |
| **Total** | **184** | **100** |

For all other jurisdictions, the rate of killing exceeded the national average for female victims of homicide. Specifically, the highest rates were documented in Nunavut (5.06), followed by Saskatchewan (3.20), and Manitoba (2.84). There were no documented killings of women and girls in the remaining provinces and territories.

---

[18] The national homicide rate based on the population of female residents in Canada in 2022 was 0.94 per 100,000 women and girls (184 victims/19,528,177 females x 100,000 = 0.94).

**Table 3.2: Geographic distribution of women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2022 (N=184)***

| Province/Territory | Number | % of female victims | % of female population | Rate of killing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ontario** | 66 | 36 | 39 | 0.86 |
| **British Columbia** | 26 | 14 | 14 | 0.97 |
| **Quebec** | 24 | 13 | 22 | 0.55 |
| **Alberta** | 23 | 12.5 | 12 | 1.02 |
| **Manitoba** | 20 | 11 | 4 | 2.84 |
| Saskatchewan | 19 | 10 | 3 | 3.20 |
| **Nova Scotia** | 3 | 2 | 3 | 0.58 |
| **Newfoundland and Labrador** | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0.75 |
| **Nunavut** | 1 | 0.5 | <1 | 5.06 |
| Total | **184** | **100** | **100** | **0.94** |

*Note.* Population data from Statistics Canada Table: 17-10-0005-01: Population estimates on July 1, 2022 by age and sex.

*There were no documented female homicides in New Brunswick, Northwest Territories, Prince Edward Island, or the Yukon in 2022.

**Sex of the accused:** Excluding cases for which no accused has yet been identified in public documents (N=18), there was a total of 152 cases involving 173 accused of which 82 percent were male (N=141) and 18 percent were female (N=32). Focusing on the primary accused[19], 88 percent were male accused (N=118), and 12 percent were female accused (N=16).

In the 16 cases involving primary female accused, the relationship was not yet specified in 38 percent of the cases (N=6). Where information was available, the victims of female accused were other family (N=4), friends (N=2), one intimate partner of the accused's family member, one co-resident at a long-term care home, one child and one acquaintance.

Below, we focus the remaining analyses on women and girls killed by male accused only which typically involve those circumstances that most closely align with the broad understanding of femicide. In Section V of this report, as noted above, we will focus more in-depth on 2018 cases to identify more closely those cases in which women and girls were killed *because* of their sex or gender, regardless of the sex of the accused/perpetrator.

> "Even if she had her last two dollars and she needed it — if she knew you needed it, she would give it to you."
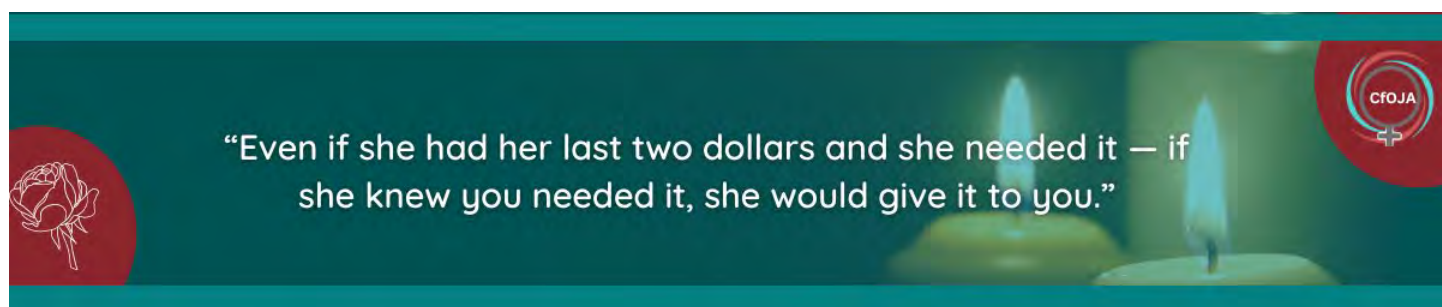
## Women and girls killed by violence involving male accused

Like the previous section, we begin by describing patterns for all women and girls whose killings involved a male accused where identified. Next, focusing on select characteristics, we examine the most common type of femicide – intimate partner femicide (sometimes referred to as intimate femicide) followed by familial femicide, before reviewing femicides that occurred outside the context of intimacy, including primarily victims and accused who were friends, acquaintances, or strangers.

---

[19] The primary accused designation is used when there were multiple perpetrators, but one accused was more dominant in the killing and/or shared the closest relationship to the victim.

As noted above, in 2022, there were 170 homicide cases involving the killing of 184 women or girls. No accused was identified from public documents in 18 of these cases, and 16 cases involved a female as the primary or sole accused. With these exclusions, the analysis in this section focuses on 136 cases involving 150 female victims and 141 male accused.

**Temporal distribution:** In 2022, as shown in Table 3.3, the number of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused ranged from seven victims in April to 19 victims in September, with an average of 13 women or girls killed each month. September figures include four females who were killed in the mass homicide in James Smith Cree Nation, Saskatchewan. [20]

Table 3.4 shows that the largest group of female victims was killed on a Sunday (N=30), with one in five killings occurring on that day of the week (or 20%). The next largest proportions of women and girls were killed on Thursdays (15%) and Fridays (15%). One-third of the women and girls were killed on the weekend, including Saturday and Sunday (33%).

**Table 3.3: Monthly distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, 2022 (N=150)**

| Month | Women & girls killed by male accused | |
|---|---|---|
| | N | % |
| January | 17 | 11 |
| February | 12 | 8 |
| March | 15 | 10 |
| April | 7 | 4 |
| May | 10 | 7 |
| June | 11 | 7 |
| July | 10 | 7 |
| August | 12 | 8 |
| September | 19 | 13 |
| October | 10 | 7 |
| November | 11 | 7 |
| December | 16 | 11 |
| | | |
| Total | 150 | 100 |

**Table 3.4: Distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada by day, 2022 (N=149)***

| Day of week | Women & girls killed by male accused | |
|---|---|---|
| | N | % |
| Sunday | 30 | 20 |
| Monday | 18 | 12 |
| Tuesday | 16 | 11 |
| Wednesday | 21 | 14 |
| Thursday | 22 | 15 |
| Friday | 23 | 15 |
| Saturday | 19 | 13 |
| | | |
| Total | 149 | 100 |

*The exact homicide date was unknown for one victim.

**Geographic distribution:** Consistent with findings on total female homicides above, Nunavut (5.06), Saskatchewan (2.53), and Manitoba (1.99) had the highest rate of females killed by violence involving male accused. The lowest rates in 2022 in Canada were in Newfoundland and Labrador (0.38), Nova Scotia (0.39), and Quebec (0.44).

Ontario saw the largest proportion of women and girls killed by violence involving a male accused (39%), followed by British Columbia (13%), Quebec (13%), and Alberta (13%). After adjusting for population size, as shown in the last column of Table 3.5, the rates at which women and girls were killed by a male accused in these jurisdictions were equal to or lower than the national rate of female killings involving male accused (0.77). [21] There were no documented killings in the remaining provinces and territories.

---

[20] Ten people were killed and 18 were injured on the James Smith Cree Nation and in Weldon, Saskatchewan during the mass stabbing. Four victims were women and six victims were men. See "Remembering the 10 people who lost their lives during mass stabbing in Saskatchewan" for more details and to remember the victims of this tragedy.

[21] The national homicide rate by male accused based on the population of female residents in Canada in 2022 was 0.77 per 100,000 women and girls (150 victims/19,528,177 females x 100,000 = 0.77).

**Table 3.5: Geographic distribution for women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, 2022 (N=150)**

| Province/Territory | Number killed | % total victims | % female population | Rate of killing (per 100,000 women) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario | 59 | 39 | 39 | 0.77 |
| British Columbia | 20 | 13 | 14 | 0.74 |
| Quebec | 19 | 13 | 22 | 0.44 |
| Alberta | 19 | 13 | 12 | 0.84 |
| Saskatchewan | 15 | 10 | 3 | 2.53 |
| Manitoba | 14 | 9 | 4 | 1.99 |
| Nova Scotia | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0.39 |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 1 | 0.7 | 1 | 0.38 |
| Nunavut | 1 | 0.7 | <1 | 5.06 |
| **Total** | **150** | **100** | **100** | **0.77** |

*There were no documented killings of women or girls by male accused in New Brunswick, Northwest Territories, Prince Edward Island, or the Yukon in 2022.

**Urban/rural distinctions:** Results for 2022 show that women and girls continue to be at an increased risk in rural areas (<10,000 population). Chart 3.1 shows that 25 percent of women and girls were killed by a male accused in rural areas. When including small towns/cities (10,000-49,999 population) in the non-urban category, results demonstrated that 42 percent of women and girls were killed in non-urban areas. These figures are disproportionate to their representation in the population given that only about 18 percent of Canadians live in rural areas. [22] While 58 percent of the killings of women and girls by male accused occurred in urban areas (areas with >50,000 population), they remain underrepresented compared to their representation in the population. Urban population estimates for Canada range from 75 percent living in large urban centres [23] to a high of 82 percent of the population who live in cities [24]; however, definitions vary for both rural and urban demographics.

**Age of victims:** In 2022, women and girls killed by a male accused ranged in age from less than one year to 90 years old, with an average age of 42 years. Chart 3.2 shows that the largest proportion of victims was aged 25 to 34 (21%), 35 to 44 (18%), and equal proportions were 45 to 54 (15%) and 65 years and older (15%). The smallest proportion of victims was 17 years and younger (5%) and 55 to 64 years (12%).

**Chart 3.1: Distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada by population density, 2022 (N=150)**



■ Urban    ■ Rural    ■ Small town

When comparing these age group distributions to the age group distributions in the general population (also shown in Chart 3.2), various age groups are overrepresented, underscoring their greater vulnerability to femicide than women and girls in other age groups. For example, women aged 25 to 34 years comprised 21 percent of victims, yet comprise 14 percent of the general female population, which indicates a greater risk of femicide.

---

[22] See: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS?locations=CA.
[23] See: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220209/dq220209b-eng.htm.
[24] See: https://www.statista.com/statistics/271208/urbanization-in-canada/.

**Chart 3.2: Age distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, compared with general female population, 2022 (N=145)***
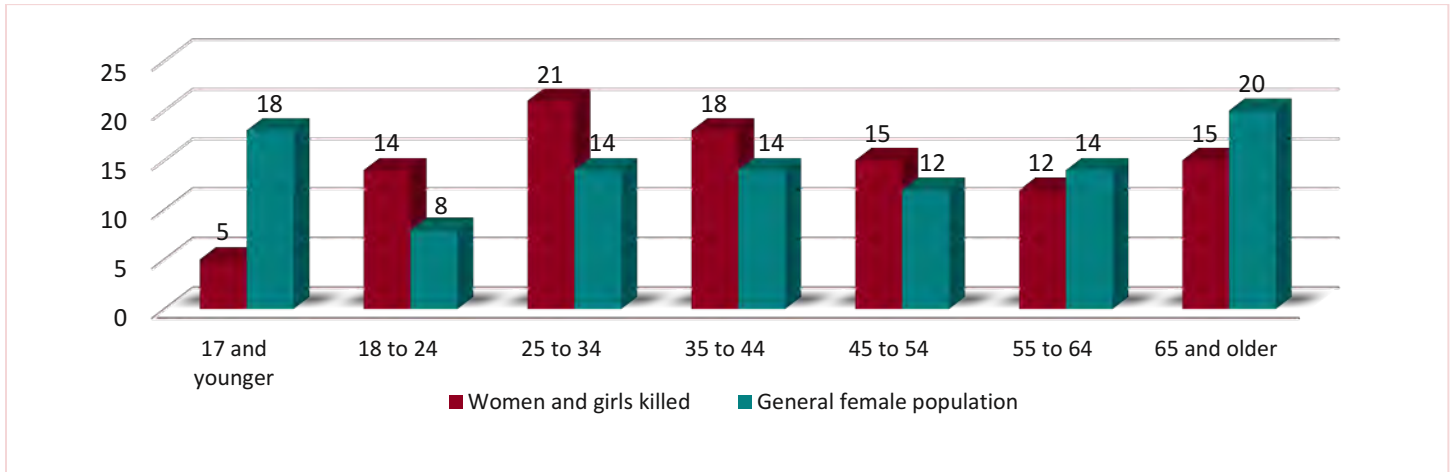


*Age was unknown for five women and girls.

**Age of the accused:** Focusing on the sample of male accused, when their age was known, (N=133), male accused ranged in age from 15 to 82 years old, with an average age of 37 years. As shown in Chart 3.3, the largest proportions of male accused were 25 to 34 years (23%) and 35 to 44 years (23%), followed by 18 to 24 years (19%) and 45 to 54 years (17%). The smallest accused age groups were those aged 17 and younger (5%), 65 and older (5%) and 55 to 64 years (8%).

**Race/ethnicity of victims and their accused:** Information is missing on race/ethnicity for a large proportion of victims (43%; N=64), so few concrete conclusions can be drawn, an issue we discuss further later in the report. When this information was available (N=86), almost equal proportions of victims were White (34%; N=29), racialized minorities (34%; N=29) and Indigenous (33%; N=28). More specifically, among racialized minorities, eight percent of the victims were identified as Black (N=7), eight percent were identified as South Asian (N=7), six percent were identified as South-East Asian (N=5), and six percent were identified as East Asian (N=5). Furthermore, among Indigenous victims, when known (89%; N=25), 24 were First Nations (96%) and one victim was Inuk (4%). The distribution of race/ethnicity may change if more information becomes available for the remaining victims. However, including cases where this information is missing, the proportion of Indigenous female victims continues to be significantly higher than their representation in the population (5%)[25] with at least one in five victims (or 20%) being an Indigenous woman or girl.

**Chart 3.3: Age distribution of males accused of killing women and girls by violence in Canada, 2022 (N=133)***
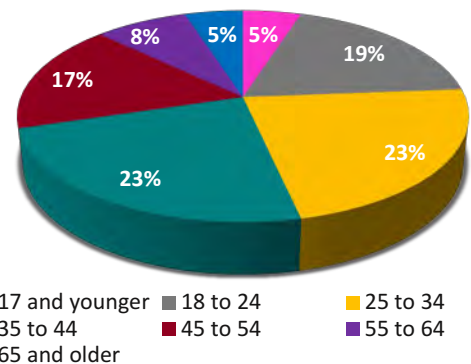


*Age was unknown for eight accused.

Among identified male accused (N=141), information on their race/ethnicity was missing for 80 percent of the sample. Therefore, the reliability of this information is not adequate to reach conclusions because distributions are likely to change significantly when

---

[25] See: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-006-x/2022001/article/00005-eng.htm.

additional information becomes available. It also precludes the ability to examine whether killings were intra-racial or inter-racial or, put another way, whether victims and accused were of the same racial group.

**Victim-accused relationship:** In 2022, results showed the relationship between the primary victim and accused was known in 60 percent of the 136 cases (N=82). Focusing on cases where this information was known, Chart 3.4 shows that almost two-thirds of the women killed were in a current or former intimate partner relationship with the accused (63%; N=52). The next largest group of women and girls was killed by other family members (24%; N=18), followed by strangers (9%; N=7). Overall, then, when the relationship shared between the primary victim and male accused was known, 87 percent in total were killed by an intimate partner or family member.

**Chart 3.4: Distribution of primary victim-accused relationship in cases of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused, 2022 (N=82)**



- Current/former partners
- Other family
- Friends/acquaintances
- Other
- Strangers
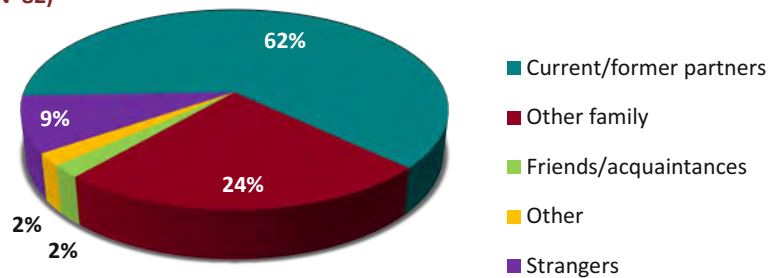
An additional 14 women and girls were killed by a male accused alongside the primary victim. The victim-accused relationship was unspecified for seven of these victims. When known, other family members of the accused (N=3) made up the largest proportion of these additional victims. We will return to victim-accused relationship below focusing on the three subtypes of femicide.

**Children left behind:** Focusing on female victims aged 15 and older (N=142), we were able to determine for 69 percent of the women killed by a male accused (N=98) whether they had children.[26] Of these women, 86 percent (N=84) had a least one child. Focusing on this group, 18 percent had one child (N=18), 26 percent had two children (N=25), 19 percent had three children (N=19), and eight percent had four or more children (N=8). An additional 14 percent had at least one child (N=14), but the exact number of children was not specified. This means that at least 171 children were left without their mother following her killing during 2022 alone.

**Method of killing:** Information on the method of killing was known for 48 percent of victims killed by male accused (N=73). When this information was known, just over half of the victims were stabbed to death (51%; N=37), followed by shootings (32%; N=23), beatings (7%; N=5), and other methods (11%; N=8).[27] The method of killing remains unknown from public documents in just over half of the cases, so this distribution may change as new information becomes available.

**Location:** More than three-quarters of the women and girls killed by a male accused died in a private location (77%; N=115). Within the private category, 20 percent were killed in their own home (N=30), 20 percent were killed in the home they shared with the male accused (N=30), and one percent were killed in the accused's home (N=1). Over 30 percent were killed in an unspecified residence (N=47; 31%) and three percent were killed in a home not owned by the victim or accused (N=4). One victim was killed in a long-term care home (1%). Additionally, two percent were killed in a rooming house (N=1) or hotel room where they were staying short-term

---

[26] This percentage excludes girls killed who were 14 years and younger (N=8).
[27] Other methods include arson, strangulation, being pushed, being hit by a car, and child abuse.

(N=1). Thirteen percent were killed in a public location such as parks, residential streets, restaurants, businesses, or inside vehicles (N=20). The remaining nine percent of women and girls were killed and/or discovered in unknown locations (N=14).

**Suicide:** In 2022, results showed that 15 percent (N=21) of the accused died by suicide following the killing. For over two-thirds of these accused (67%; N=14), their victims were current or former female partners. In the remaining cases, the accused killed another family member (19%; N=4), shared an unspecified relationship with his victim (10%; N=2), or killed his child (5%; N=1).

**Case status:** Similar to the section above, this section focuses on the sample of the male accused. In circumstances that did not result in the suicide of the accused (N=120), second degree murder was the most frequent charge laid (55%; N=66), followed by first degree murder (37%; N=44), and manslaughter (4%; N=5). One accused was charged with murder, but information did not identify whether it was first- or second-degree murder (1%); one accused was charged with aggravated assault (1%), and one accused was charged with accessory after the fact (1%). Two accused were killed by police (2%). At the trial stage, one accused was deemed not criminally responsible. No other convictions have been rendered yet for the accused charged.

## Intimate partner femicide

Of the 150 women and girls who were killed by male accused in 2022, the type of relationship they shared was known for 89 victims (59%) of which 52 victims (or 58%) were killed by a current or former intimate partner.

**Chart 3.5: Distribution of relationship status for intimate partner femicide victims in Canada, 2022 (N=42)***
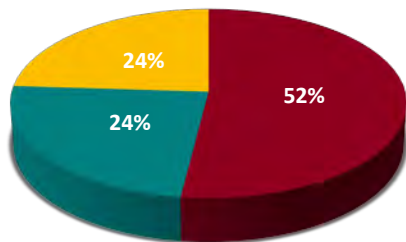


Legend: Legally married, Common-law partner, Dating

*The relationship status was unknown for ten intimate partner femicides.

**Intimate partner relationship:** *Relationship status*, referring to whether the victim and accused were or had been legally married, common-law partners, or dating, was known for 42 of the 52 intimate partner femicide victims (81%). Among this group, Chart 3.5 shows that 52 percent involved victims who were current or former legal spouses of the accused (N=22), 24 percent were current or former common-law partners (N=10), and 24 percent were a current or former dating partners (N=10).

*Relationship state*, referring to whether the victim and accused were currently in a relationship or separated at the time of the killing, was unknown for 18 of the 52 victims (35%). When relationship state was known (N=34), Chart 3.6 shows that 65 percent of the women killed were in a current relationship with the accused (N=22) and 35 percent were estranged from the accused (N=12).

Chart 3.7 shows that intimate partner femicide comprises a broad spectrum of relationships. In 2022, the largest proportion of victims was killed by a current legal spouse (35%; N=18), followed by a current common-law partner (14%; N=7), a current dating partner (12%; N=6), an estranged legal spouse (8%; N=4), and an estranged dating partner (8%; N=4). The lowest proportion of victims were killed by an estranged common-law partner (6%; N=3). Ten victims shared an intimate relationship with the accused, but the exact relationship has not yet been disclosed in public documents (19%).

**Chart 3.6: Distribution of relationship state for victims in intimate partner femicide cases in Canada, 2022 (N= 34)***
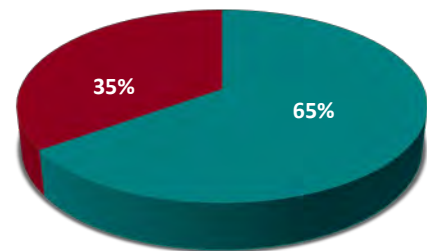


Legend: Current relationships, Estranged relationships

*The relationship state was unknown for 18 victims.

**Chart 3.7: Distribution of each relationship type in cases of intimate partner femicide in Canada, 2022 (N=52)**



| Relationship type | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Legal spouse | 35% |
| Common-law partner | 14% |
| Dating | 12% |
| Estranged legal spouse | 8% |
| Estranged dating | 8% |
| Estranged common-law partner | 6% |
| Unspecified | 19% |
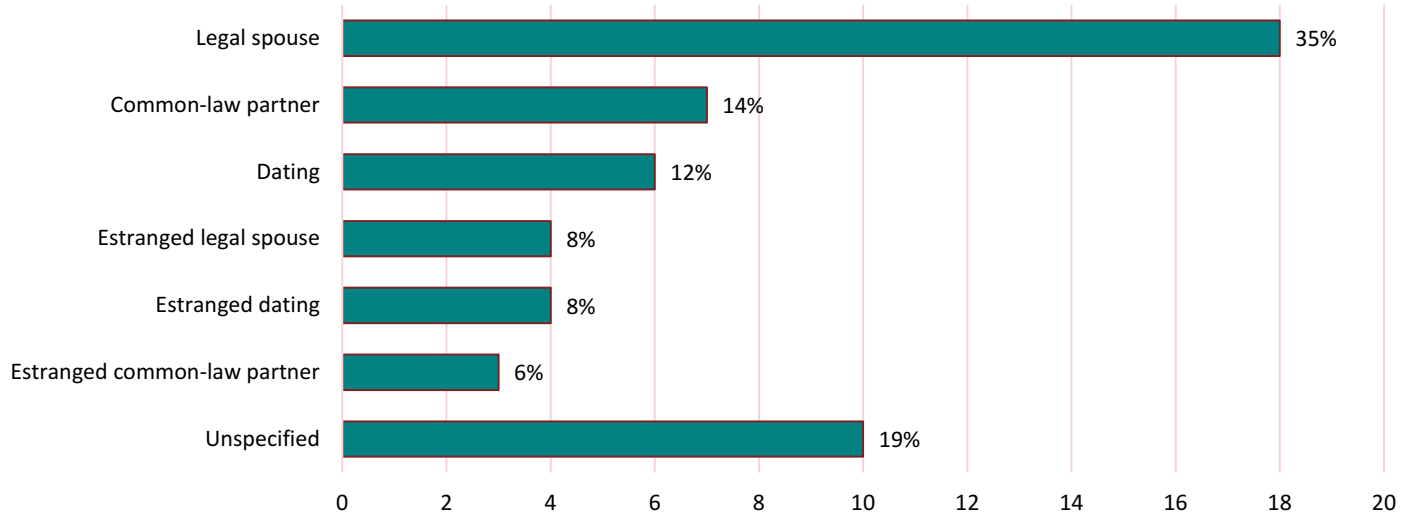
**Age of victims and their accused:** The victims of intimate partner femicide in 2022 ranged in age from 20 years to 90 years old, with an average age of 43 years. As shown in Chart 3.8, the largest proportion of victims was aged 35 to 44 years (25%; N=13) and the smallest proportions were 18 to 24 years, 55 to 64 years, and 65 years and older (each with a proportion of 10%; N=5). The accused ranged in age from 23 to 82 years, with an average of 44 years, similar to the victims. The largest proportion of accused was aged 45 to 54 (29%; N=14) and the smallest proportion was aged 18 to 24 years (6%; N=3).

**Chart 3.8: Percentage age distribution of intimate partner femicide victims and accused, 2022 (N=51)***



| Age group | Intimate partner femicide victims | Intimate partner femicide accused |
|---|---|---|
| 18 to 24 | 10 | 6 |
| 25 to 34 | 23 | 22 |
| 35 to 44 | 25 | 25 |
| 45 to 54 | 22 | 29 |
| 55 to 64 | 10 | 8 |
| 65 and older | 10 | 10 |
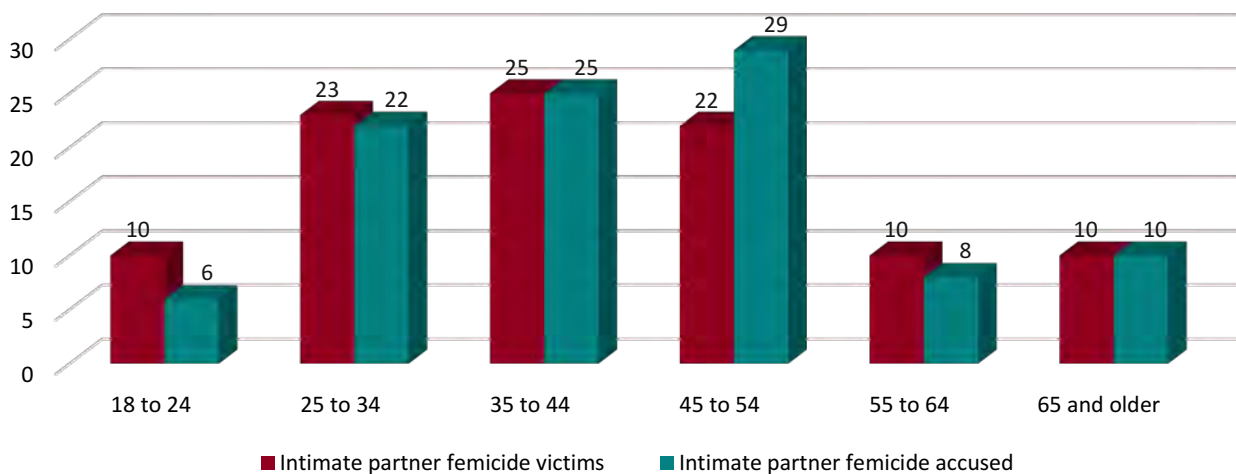
*The age was unknown for one intimate partner femicide victim.

**Method of killing:** The method of killing in circumstances of intimate partner femicide was not publicly reported for 48 percent of victims (N=25). Where information was known (N=27), consistent with patterns for all women and girls killed by a male accused, stabbing was the most common cause of death for intimate partner femicide victims (44%; N=12), followed by shooting (26%; N=7), and beating (18%; N=5). Equal proportions of women and girls were strangled, hit by a car, and killed by arson (4% each; N=1) as shown in Chart 3.9.

**Chart 3.9: Distribution of method of killing in cases of intimate partner femicide in Canada, 2022 (N=27)\***



- Stabbing
- Shooting
- Beating
- Arson
- Strangulation
- Hit by car
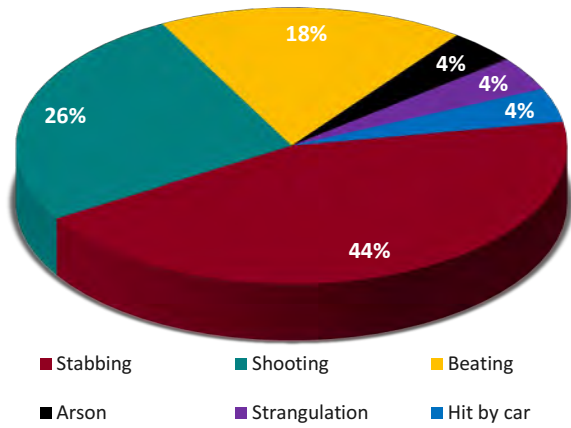
\*The method of killing was not reported for 25 victims.

**Location:** The majority of intimate partner femicides occurred in a private location (81%; N=42). Of those cases, most killings occurred in the residence the victim shared with the accused (55%; N=23), followed by her own home (21%; N=9), or an unspecified residence (21%; N=9). Seven intimate partner femicides occurred in public locations (14%). The exact location of the killing was unknown for six percent of women or girls killed (N=3).

**Accused suicide and case status:** A higher proportion of the accused died by suicide following an intimate partner femicide (28%; N=14) compared to the total sample of women and girls killed by a male accused (15%; N=21). In circumstances in which the accused did not die by suicide, the largest proportions of accused were charged with either second-degree murder (60%; N=22) or first-degree murder (35%; N=13). One accused was charged with manslaughter (3%) and one accused was charged with aggravated assault (1%).
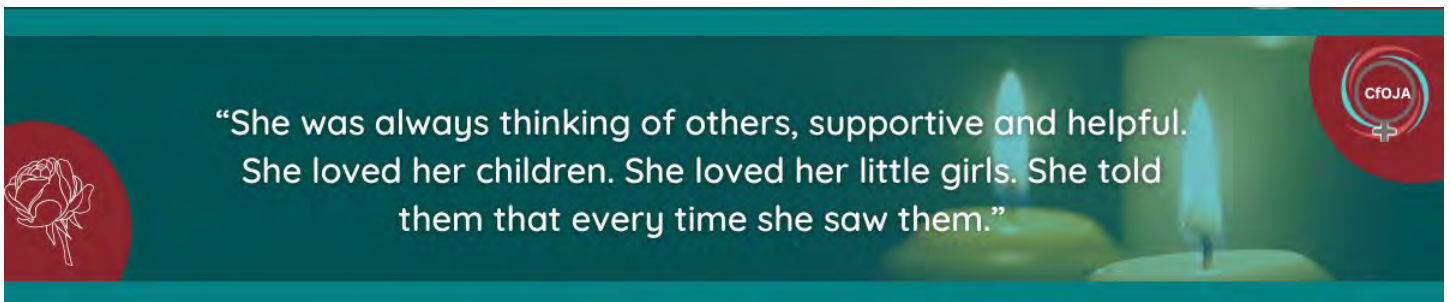
> "She was always thinking of others, supportive and helpful. She loved her children. She loved her little girls. She told them that every time she saw them."

# Familial Femicide

This section focuses on those women and girls killed by male accused who were family members, not including intimate partners – most often referred to as familial femicide. There were 20 cases involving 24 victims and 20 accused in 2022 that can be categorized as familial femicide. To be consistent with the above sections, percentages will be reported, but we caution that they are based on small numbers and should be interpreted accordingly.

**Age of victims and their accused:** The victims ranged in age from less than one year to 88 years old, with an average age of 46 years. While numbers are small for most age groups, a clear pattern emerged whereby familial femicides were more likely to involve women

aged 65 years and older (29%; N=7) or girls aged 17 and younger (21%; N=5). The accused ranged in age from 17 to 55 years old, with an average age of 32 years. This age demographic is younger, on average, compared to accused who committed intimate partner femicide whose ages averaged 44 years.

**Victim-accused relationship:** Familial femicides cover a wide range of relationship types. Of the 24 victims, 42 percent were mothers of the male accused (N=10), 25 percent were other kin of the male accused (N=6), 17 percent were daughters of the male accused (N=4), and two victims were sisters of the male accused (8% of familial femicides). The exact familial relationship was unknown for two victims (8%). Of the 24 victims, 92 percent were blood relatives (N=22) and eight percent were relatives by marriage (N=2) of the male accused.



Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

Femicide is...

...the killing of a woman or girl in which the male killer had previously perpetrated physical, sexual, or psychological violence or harassment against her.

#FemicideIs

CAN_femicide          #CallItFemicide          femicideincanada.ca

**Method of killing:** Information on the method of killing was known in 54 percent of familial femicides (N=13). When method of killing was known, similar to findings from the total sample involving male accused, stabbing was the most common method of killing used (69%; N=9) followed by shooting (23%; N=3), and one victim was drowned (8%).

**Location:** Most of the familial femicides occurred in private locations (92%; N=22), with one victim killed in an outdoor public location (4%), and one victim in an unknown location (4%). Among the familial femicide victims who were killed in private spaces, equal proportions died in a home they shared with the accused or her own home (29%; N=7). Eight familial femicide victims were killed in an unspecified residence (33%).

**Accused suicide and case status:** Five of the accused of familial femicides died by suicide following the killing (25%). For the remaining 15 accused, 11 were charged with second-degree murder (73%) and four were charged with first-degree murder (27%).

# Non-Intimate Femicide

This section focuses on circumstances of non-intimate femicide in which the woman or girl did not share an intimate or familial relationship with the male accused, capturing primarily acquaintance and stranger femicide. There were 11 non-intimate femicide cases in 2022, involving 13 victims and 12 accused. To be consistent with above sections, percentages will be reported, but we again caution that they are based on small numbers and should be interpreted accordingly.

**Age of the victims and their accused:** The victims ranged in age from 15 to 88 years old, with an average age of 41 years. The highest proportion of victims was aged 25 to 34 years (31%; N=4). This was followed by equal proportions of those aged 65 years and older, 45 to 54 years, and 18 to 24 years (each at 15%; N=2). The smallest groups of victims were aged 55 to 64 years, 35 to 44 years, and 17 years and younger (each at 8%; N=1). The youngest accused in the non-intimate femicide group was 15 years old and the oldest accused was 73 years, with an average age of 34 years. Like their victims, the highest proportion of offenders was also aged 25 to 34 years (25%; N=3).

**Victim-accused relationship:** Non-intimate femicide comprises a range of relationships. Of the 13 victims, 54 percent had no documented prior relationship with the male accused (i.e., they were strangers) (N=7). Four victims were neighbours of the accused (30%), one victim was a roommate of the accused (8%) and one victim was a co-worker of the accused (8%).

**Method of killing:** The method of killing was known in 69 percent of non-intimate femicides. Based on known information, the largest group was stabbed to death (67%; N=6) while two victims were shot to death (22%), and one victim died from arson (11%).

**Location:** Similar to the previous sections, most non-intimate femicides occurred in a private location (69%; N=9), such as the victim's home (N=6), a rooming house (N=1), an institution (N=1), or an unspecified residence (N=1). Differing from previous sections, a larger proportion of women and girls was killed in a public location (23%; N=3), including in a park (N=1), on a street (N=1), or in an elevator in a semi-public space (N=1). The exact location of the homicide was unknown for one victim (8%).



Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability
Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

**Femicide is...**

..the killing of a woman or girl in which the male killer also commits sexual violence before, during and/or after the killing.

#Femicidels
CAN_femicide          #CallItFemicide          femicideincanada.ca

**Accused suicide and case status:** None of the accused in the non-intimate femicides died by suicide; however, two accused were killed by police (17%). Most accused were charged with first-degree murder (58%; N=7) or second-degree murder (25%; N=3).



"She just wanted to give cause and effect, you know, through her humanitarian aid, her outreach programs, with homeless, with people in third world countries, through her art, through her film, through her beautiful voice and her musical talent, just a diverse range of a woman"

# Section IV:
# Women & Girls Killed by Violence in Canada, 2018-2022

The Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability (CFOJA) was established December 6, 2017, so its inaugural report focused on the year 2018, representing the first full year of its research. The year 2022 represents the fifth year of its research and advocacy. During the past five years, 2018-2022, the CFOJA has documented that at least 850 women and girls were killed by violence in Canada in 786 cases, perpetrated primarily by men. Below, we document basic information about the killing of all 850 women and girls whose deaths have been officially classified as homicide.

Following this section, we focus on the killing of women and girls by male accused/offenders only.[28] Like Section II, first, we examine general patterns across the total sample of male accused, followed by the patterns for three subtypes of femicide: intimate partner femicide, familial femicide, and non-intimate femicide.

Although not included below, we have also documented the deaths of an additional 85 women and girls, which have been classified as suspicious and/or investigations remain ongoing. We will continue to monitor these investigations and update numbers where possible and appropriate. All results reported below are generated from victim-based analyses unless otherwise stated. [*Percentages reported may not equal 100% due to rounding*.]

Like previous years, it is expected that numbers will continue to increase for 2022 as investigations for some cases are ongoing. As shown in Table 4.1, for example, numbers for previous years (i.e., 2018-2021) increased from the total reported on December 31 of each year to the date the annual CFOJA report was published (and beyond) by an average of 12 victims per year. The final column in Table 4.1 shows the number of female homicides recorded annually by Statistics Canada as reported by police jurisdictions. As shown, CFOJA numbers closely align with what are represented to be official counts from Statistics Canada, although 2021 numbers show a larger discrepancy (20 cases) than previous years which is being investigated.

**Table 4.1: Increase over time in number of women and girls killed in Canada, 2018-2022.**

| Year | Women & girls killed | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **CFOJA number (Dec. 31 each year)** | **CFOJA average increase in N over time*** | **CFOJA current annual number** | **Statistics Canada numbers** |
| **2018** | 148 | 21 | 169 | 168 |
| **2019** | 137 | 11 | 148 | 155 |
| **2020** | 160 | 12 | 172 | 178 |
| **2021** | 173 | 4 | 177 | 197 |
| **2022** | 184** | 12*** | 196 (projected) | -- |

\* Numbers increase over time as investigations are completed, suspicious deaths become homicide, or new deaths are recorded.
\*\*Annual number as of December 31, 2022, which remained the same at the time of the 2022 report release.
\*\*\*Projected over time increase based on average increase during previous four years.

---

[28] To recognize that not all accused have seen their cases proceed to a criminal court outcome, we use 'accused' rather than 'offender' through this report. A subsequent report being prepared for release later in 2023 will focus in more detail on the criminal court outcomes in these cases.

"She was a great coworker. She always had your back. She made sure that you were safe"
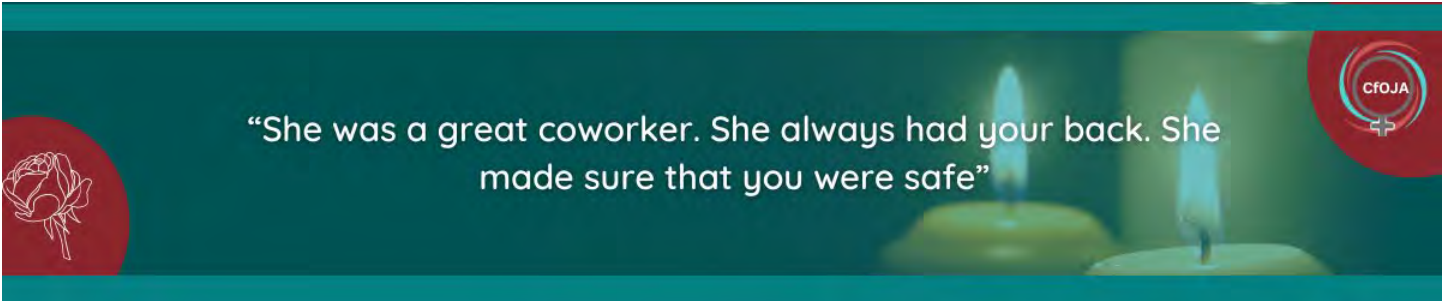
# All women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2018-2022

**Annual distributions:** As shown in Chart 4.1, the number of women and girls killed each year ranged from a low of 148 victims in 2019 to a high of 184 victims in 2022. The lowest number was documented in 2019, which was pre-COVID-19 and, as shown, there have been gradual increases in the number of victims in each of the years. More specifically, compared to 2019, 2020 saw a 16 percent increase in women and girls killed; 2021 had a 20 percent increase; and 2022 is currently at a 24 percent increase with many investigations ongoing so that number is projected to rise.

**Chart 4.1: Annual distribution of women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=850)**
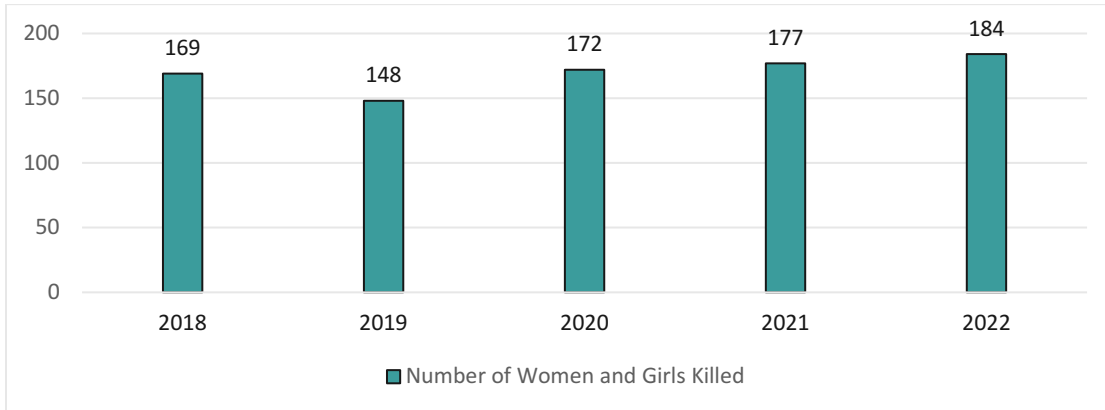


Table 4.2 shows the increase in the number of women and girls killed each year compared to the previous year. The number of victims increased by 15 women and girls, or nine percent, from 2018 to 2022. In 2020, the first full year of the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of victims increased by 24 from 2019. On average, 170 women and girls were killed on an annual basis from 2018 to 2022. This means that, during this five-year period, one woman or girl was killed every second day in Canada.

**Table 4.2 Annual distribution of women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=850)**

| Year | Women and girls killed | | |
|------|------|------|------|
|  | N | % | N Increase from prior year |
| 2018 | 169 | 20 | - |
| 2019 | 148 | 17 | -21 |
| 2020 | 172 | 20 | +24 |
| 2021 | 177 | 21 | +5 |
| 2022 | 184 | 22 | +7 |
| Total | 850 | 100 | +12 (projected) |

**Temporal distributions:** For the five-year period, as shown in Table 4.3, the number of women and girls killed each month ranged from a high of 90 victims in March (10% of the total sample) to a low of 52 victims in November (6% of the total sample).

**Table 4.3: Monthly distribution of women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=850)**

| Month | Women & girls killed | |
|---|---|---|
| | **N** | **%** |
| January | 75 | 9 |
| February | 68 | 8 |
| March | 90 | 10 |
| April | 74 | 9 |
| May | 74 | 9 |
| June | 58 | 7 |
| July | 78 | 9 |
| August | 67 | 8 |
| September | 65 | 7 |
| October | 72 | 9 |
| November | 52 | 6 |
| December | 77 | 9 |
| | | |
| **Total** | **850** | **100** |

**Geographic distribution:** Table 4.4 shows the number and percentage of women and girls killed from 2018 to 2022 in each province and territory. The percentages of the total female population living in each province and territory and the rate of killing (per 100,000 women and girls) adjusted for population size are also shown. The largest group of women and girls was killed in Ontario (36%), which is attributable, in part, to Ontario consistently being Canada's most populous province (39% of Canada's female population).

**Table 4.4: Geographic distribution of women and girls killed by violence in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=850)**

| Province/Territory | Number | % of female victims | % of female population | Rate of killing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario | 307 | 36 | 39 | 0.81 |
| Alberta | 120 | 14 | 12 | 1.06 |
| Quebec | 112 | 13 | 22 | 0.52 |
| British Columbia | 105 | 12 | 14 | 0.78 |
| Manitoba | 69 | 8 | 4 | 2.00 |
| Saskatchewan | 66 | 8 | 3 | 2.22 |
| Nova Scotia | 27 | 3 | 3 | 1.04 |
| New Brunswick | 20 | 2 | 2 | 0.98 |
| Nunavut | 9 | 1 | 0.1 | 9.10 |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0.53 |
| Yukon | 4 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 3.70 |
| Northwest Territories | 3 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 2.72 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.23 |
| **Total** | **850** | **100** | **100** | **0.87** |

*Note.* Population data from Statistics Canada Table: 17-10-0005-01: Population estimates on July 1, 2018-2022 by age and sex.

Table 4.4 also shows the geographic distribution of average annual rates of killings of women and girls per 100,000 for 2018 to 2022, adjusted for population size (*see also Chart 4.2 for a visual representation*). The calculated average annual national homicide rate based on the population of female residents in Canada from 2018 to 2022 was 0.87 per 100,000 women and girls. [29]

---

[29] Average annual national homicide rate based on the population of female residents in Canada for period of 2018 to 2022 (850 victims/19,528,177 females x 100,000 /5 years = 0.87).

The average annual rate of killing exceeded the national annual average for female victims of homicide for eight of the 13 provinces and territories (or 62% of the country). The highest rate was observed in Nunavut (9.10 per 100,000), followed by the Yukon (3.70), Northwest Territories (2.72), Saskatchewan (2.22), and Manitoba (2.00). Three other provinces were also above the national rate: Alberta (1.06), Nova Scotia (1.04), and New Brunswick (0.98).

Table 4.4 and Chart 4.2 also displays the annual average rates at which women and girls were killed in Ontario (0.81), British Columbia (0.78), Newfoundland and Labrador (0.53), Quebec (0.52), and Prince Edward Island (0.23), all of which were lower than the average annual homicide rate. In previous reports, which demonstrated similar geographic patterns, we discussed factors that contribute, in part, to these regional variations in the distribution of women and girls killed by violence. These include rurality, including lack of access to services, and/or the higher proportion of Indigenous women and girls living within each of these provinces/territories and their ongoing increased marginalization and vulnerability to violence due to historical and contemporary colonization, discrimination, and impunity for their perpetrators.

**Chart 4.2: Geographic distribution of average annual rates of killing of women and girls (per 100,000 women and girls) in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=850).**

| Location | Rate |
|---|---|
| Nunavut | 9.10 |
| Yukon | 3.70 |
| Northwest Territories | 2.72 |
| Saskatchewan | 2.22 |
| Manitoba | 2.00 |
| Alberta | 1.06 |
| Nova Scotia | 1.04 |
| New Brunswick | 0.98 |
| Ontario | 0.81 |
| British Columbia | 0.78 |
| Newfoundland & Labrador | 0.53 |
| Quebec | 0.52 |
| Prince Edward Island | 0.23 |

■ Average annual homicide rate (per 100,000 women/girls)
— Average annual national homicide rate (per 100,000 women/girls)
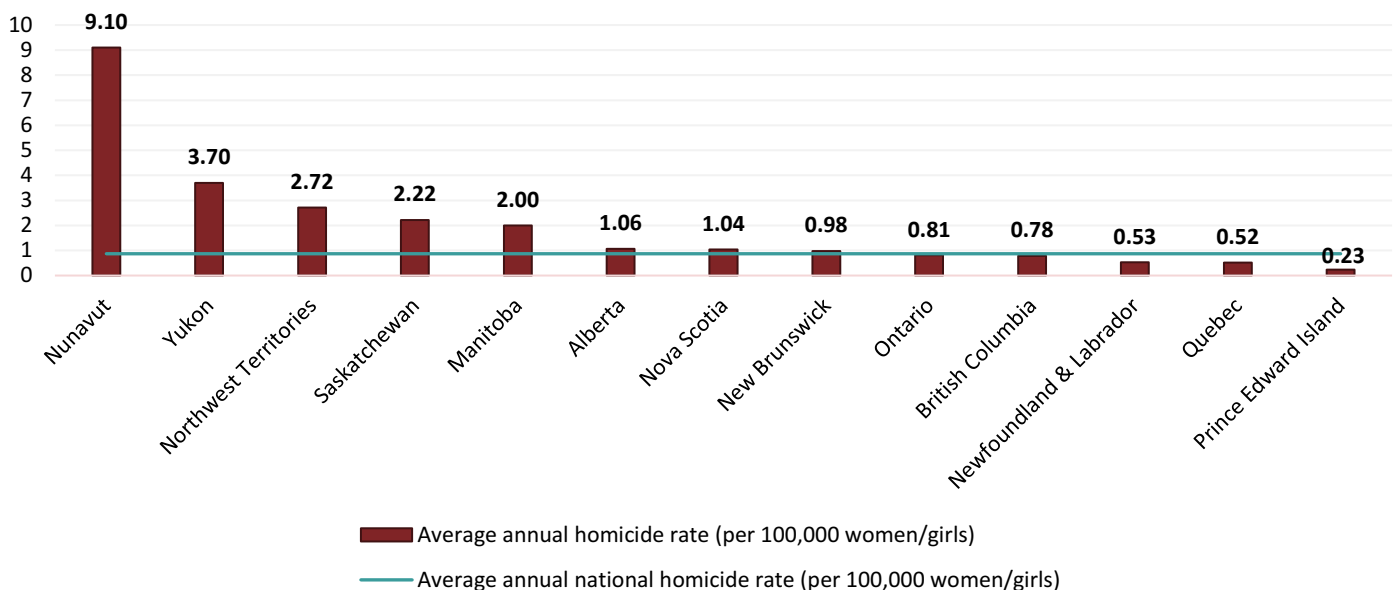
**Sex of the accused:** Excluding 71 of the 786 cases in which no accused has yet been identified in public documents reviewed, during the five years, there was a total of 715 cases involving 840 accused, of which 83 percent were male (N=695), and 17 percent were female (N=139). Less than one percent was missing information on the sex of the accused (N=6). Focusing on the primary accused[30], where known (N=711 cases), 88 percent were male accused (N=626), and 12 percent were female accused (N=85).

In 85 cases where the primary accused was female, the relationship had not yet been specified for one-third of the cases (N=28; 33%). Where information was known (N=57; 67%), Chart 4.3 shows that 32 percent of victims were children of the female accused (N=18), 25 percent were other family members (N=14), 18 percent were acquaintances (N=10), and 12 percent were friends of the female accused (N=7). Another four percent of victims were strangers (N=2), one percent was killed by a female police officer (N=1), and one percent was killed by a female intimate partner (N=1). Seven percent of victims had a relationship with the accused identified as 'other' as shown in Chart 4.3. These victims were killed by female babysitters (N=2), a female security guard (N=1), and a female co-resident at a long-term care home (N=1).

**Chart 4.3: Percent distribution of primary victim-accused relationship in cases of women and girls killed by violence involving female accused, 2018-2022 (N=57)***



Legend: Child, Other family, Acquaintance, Friend, Other, Strangers, Police shooting, Intimate partner

32%, 25%, 18%, 12%, 7%, 4%, 1%, 1%

*The relationship was not specified for 28 cases.
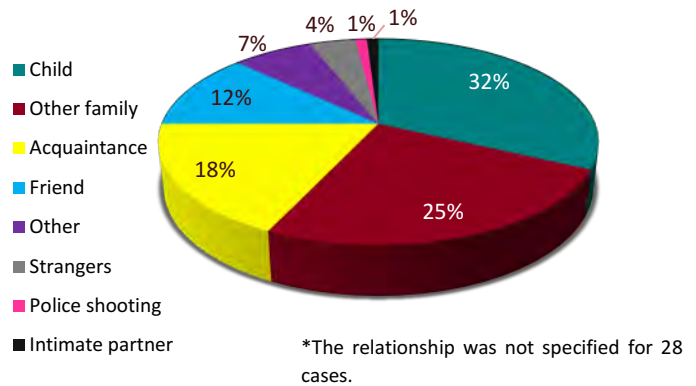
When looking at the yearly proportion of primary accused identified, trends in the sex of accused have remained consistent over the five years, ranging from 88 percent male accused and 12 percent female accused in 2018 and 2020 to 90 percent male accused and 10 female accused in 2021.

Below, we focus the remaining analyses on only those women and girls whose cases involve male accused because these cases most closely align with the broader parameters of femicide, as discussed earlier in the report.

"She was the most loving, generous, compassionate and brave human being we have ever known"

---
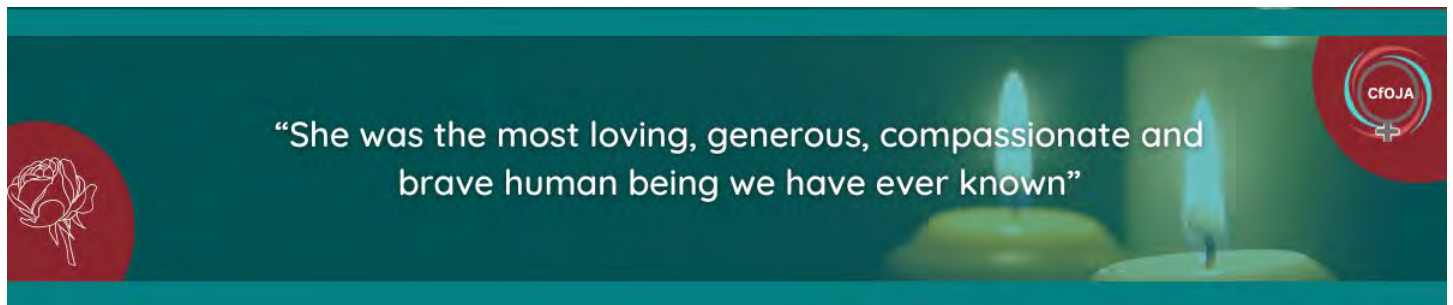
[30] The primary accused designation is used when there were multiple accused, but one accused was identified as more dominant in the killing and/or shared the closest relationship to the victim.

# Women and girls killed by violence involving male accused

This section begins by describing patterns for the total sample of women and girl victims killed from 2018 to 2022 involving a male accused. Next, we examine the characteristics of intimate partner femicide, familial femicide, and non-intimate femicide for the same five-year period.

From 2018 to 2022, as noted, there were 786 cases involving the killing of 850 women and girls. No accused was identified from the public documents reviewed in 71 of these cases (9%). When focusing on the primary accused, 85 cases involved a female accused who was the primary perpetrator, and the primary accused could not be identified for another four cases. With these exclusions, the analysis below focuses on the killings of 690 women and girls involving male accused. These 690 female victims stemmed from 626 cases involving 695 male accused.

**Chart 4.4: Annual distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=690)**

| Year | Number of Women and Girls Killed |
|------|------|
| 2018 | 138 |
| 2019 | 118 |
| 2020 | 143 |
| 2021 | 141 |
| 2022 | 150 |
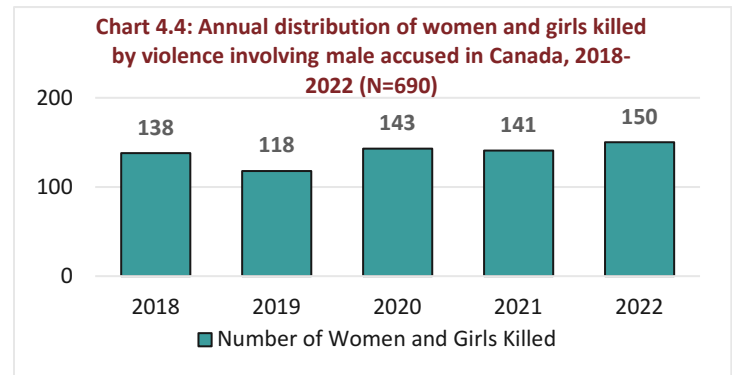
**Annual distribution:** As shown in Chart 4.4, like the patterns discussed above, the highest number of women and girls killed by male accused occurred in 2022 (N=150), while the lowest number of women and girls killed occurred in 2019 (N=118), pre COVID-19. Numbers for 2022 represent a 27 percent increase in these killings compared to 2019, pre-COVID-19. During this period, then, on average, one woman or girl is killed by a male accused every 2.5 days. Like general patterns described above, there have been gradual, yearly increases since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic.

**Temporal distributions:** From 2018 to 2022, as shown in Table 4.5, the number of women and girls killed by violence ranged from a high of 70 victims in March (10% of the total sample) to 43 victims in November (6% of the total sample). An average of 12 women or girls were killed by a male accused each month during this five-year period

Table 4.6 shows that the largest group of female victims was killed on Sunday (17%; N=116), with almost one in five killings occurring that day. About one-third of the women and girls were killed on weekends, including Saturdays and Sundays (32%; N=219). The lowest proportion of victims was killed on Tuesday (12%; N=81).

**Table 4.5: Monthly distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=690)**

| Month | Women & girls killed by male accused | |
|-------|------|------|
| | N | % |
| January | 60 | 9 |
| February | 55 | 8 |
| March | 70 | 10 |
| April | 66 | 10 |
| May | 58 | 8 |
| June | 44 | 6 |
| July | 65 | 9 |
| August | 49 | 7 |
| September | 59 | 9 |
| October | 61 | 9 |
| November | 43 | 6 |
| December | 60 | 9 |
| | | |
| **Total** | **690** | **100** |

**Table 4.6: Distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada by day, 2018-2022 (N=680)***

| Day of week | Women & girls killed by male accused | |
|-------------|------|------|
| | N | % |
| Sunday | 116 | 17 |
| Monday | 92 | 14 |
| Tuesday | 81 | 12 |
| Wednesday | 98 | 14 |
| Thursday | 87 | 13 |
| Friday | 103 | 15 |
| Saturday | 103 | 15 |
| | | |
| **Total** | **680** | **100** |

*The exact homicide date was unknown for 10 victims.

**FEMICIDE IS PREVENTABLE**

Empowering girls and young women, promoting equality for all women and confronting stereotypes and biases about violence against women can help prevent femicide.

**Geographic distributions:** Table 4.7 shows that Ontario saw the largest proportion of women and girls killed by violence involving a male accused from 2018 to 2022 (39%), followed by Alberta and Quebec (each with 14%) and British Columbia (10%). After adjusting for population size, as shown in the last column of Table 4.7, the three Territories – Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon – had the highest rates of women and girls killed (9.10, 2.72, and 1.85, respectively). Consistent with findings on total female homicides above, the rate at which women and girls were killed by a male accused in these jurisdictions was higher than the national rate of female killings involving male accused (0.71).[31] Manitoba and Saskatchewan were also well above the national average, with femicide rates of 1.40 and 1.58, respectively. The lowest rates of femicide were in Quebec (0.44), New Brunswick (0.44) and Newfoundland and Labrador (0.45).

**Table 4.7: Geographic distribution for women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=690)**

| Province/Territory | Number killed | % total victims | % female population | Average annual rate of killing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontario | 271 | 39 | 39 | 0.71 |
| Alberta | 98 | 14 | 12 | 0.87 |
| Quebec | 96 | 14 | 22 | 0.44 |
| British Columbia | 70 | 10 | 14 | 0.52 |
| Manitoba | 49 | 7 | 4 | 1.40 |
| Saskatchewan | 47 | 7 | 3 | 1.58 |
| Nova Scotia | 24 | 4 | 3 | 0.92 |
| New Brunswick | 15 | 2 | 2 | 0.44 |
| Nunavut | 9 | 1 | 0.1 | 9.10 |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0.45 |
| Yukon | 2 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 1.85 |
| Northwest Territories | 3 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 2.72 |
| | | | | |
| Total | 690 | 100 | 100 | 0.71 |

*There were no documented killings of women or girls by male accused in Prince Edward Island from 2018 to 2022.
*Note.* Population data from Statistics Canada Table: 17-10-0005-01: Population estimates on July 1, 2018-2022 by age and sex.

When looking at the yearly distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in each province, adjusting for yearly population size (see Table 4.8), the following provinces and territories consistently had a higher rate of killing (per 100,000) than the yearly national average from 2018 to 2022: Alberta, Manitoba, Nunavut, Saskatchewan, and the Yukon. Nova Scotia had higher rates than the national average in 2018 (1.02) and 2020 (3.00), but rates were lower than the national average in 2021 (0.20) and 2022 (0.39). New Brunswick also had higher rates than the national average in 2018 (2.05), 2019 (0.76), and 2020 (0.76). Newfoundland and Labrador's rate was higher than the national average in 2019 (0.76) and 2021 (1.14). The Northwest Territories had killings documented in 2020 only, but the rate of killing was above the national rate for 2020 (13.60).

---

[31] Average national annual homicide rate by male accused based on the population of female residents in Canada in 2018-2022 (690 victims/19,528,177 females x 100,000 /5 years = 0.71).
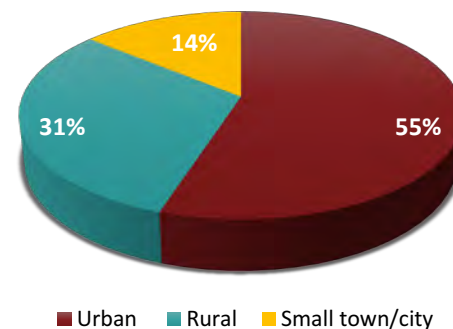
**Table 4.8: Yearly geographic distribution and rate of killing per 100,000 for women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=690)***

| Province | Proportion of female victims and rate of killing | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2018 | | 2019 | | 2020 | | 2021 | | 2022 | |
| | % | Rate | % | Rate | % | Rate | % | Rate | % | Rate |
| **Ontario** | 46 | 0.90 | 40 | 0.65 | 33 | 0.63 | 40 | 0.75 | 39 | 0.77 |
| **Alberta** | 15 | 0.98 | 19 | 1.06 | 12 | 0.77 | 19 | 0.81 | 13 | 0.84 |
| **Quebec** | 9 | 0.28 | 13 | 0.38 | 15 | 0.51 | 13 | 0.63 | 13 | 0.44 |
| **British Columbia** | 6 | 0.32 | 9 | 0.43 | 9 | 0.50 | 14 | 0.72 | 13 | 0.74 |
| **Manitoba** | 6 | 1.33 | 6 | 1.02 | 8 | 1.74 | 5 | 1.01 | 9 | 1.99 |
| **Saskatchewan** | 6 | 1.39 | 5 | 1.03 | 8 | 1.88 | 5 | 1.19 | 10 | 2.53 |
| **Nova Scotia** | 4 | 1.02 | 1 | 0.20 | 10 | 3.00 | 0.7 | 0.20 | 1 | 0.39 |
| **New Brunswick** | 6 | 2.05 | 3 | 0.76 | 2 | 0.76 | 0.7 | 0.25 | - | - |
| **Nunavut** | 3 | 21.56 | 2 | 10.64 | 0.7 | 5.22 | 0.7 | 5.16 | 0.7 | 5.06 |
| **Newfoundland and Labrador** | - | - | 2 | 0.76 | - | - | 2 | 1.14 | 0.7 | 0.38 |
| **Yukon** | - | - | 1 | 4.93 | - | - | 0.7 | 4.70 | - | - |
| **Northwest Territories** | - | - | - | - | 2 | 13.60 | - | - | - | - |
| **National Total** | 100 | 0.74 | 100 | 0.62 | 100 | 0.75 | 100 | 0.73 | 100 | 0.77 |

*There were no documented killings of women or girls by male accused in Prince Edward Island from 2018 to 2022. *Note.* Population data from Statistics Canada Table: 17-10-0005-01: Population estimates on July 1, 2018-2022 by age and sex.

**Urban/rural distinctions:** As shown in Chart 4.5, from 2018 to 2022, the largest group of women and girls killed by male accused occurred in urban areas (areas with >50,000 population; 55%, N=380). However, almost half of the killings of women and girls by male accused occurred in non-urban areas of Canada (45%; N=309). More specifically, 31 percent of victims were killed in a rural region (<10,000 population; N=216) and 14 percent of victims were killed in a small town/city (10,000-49,999 population; N=93). Urban population estimates for Canada range from 75 percent living in large urban centres[32] to a high of 82 percent of the population who live in cities.[33] About 18 percent of the population lives in non-urban areas of the country, which suggests that non-urban victims continue to be overrepresented as femicide victims (45%) compared to their representation in the Canadian population.[34,35]

When comparing annual distributions during the five years, the increased risk for femicide in rural regions remains consistent (see Chart 4.6). In 2018, 40 percent of femicides occurred in non-urban areas (33% in rural; 7% in small towns/cities) and, in 2019, the distribution of non-urban femicides was 42 percent of total femicides (28% in rural; 14% in small towns/cities). In 2020, the distribution increased to 54 percent of total femicides (38% in rural; 16% in small towns/cities), which may, in part, be due to the mass killings in rural Nova Scotia on April 18-19, 2020, which resulted in the deaths of 13 women and nine men. In 2021, 46 percent of

**Chart 4.5: Percent distribution of women and girls killed involving male accused in Canada by population density, 2018-2022 (N=689)***



Urban   Rural   Small town/city

*The population density for one case was missing.

---

[32] See: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220209/dq220209b-eng.htm.
[33] See: https://www.statista.com/statistics/271208/urbanization-in-canada/.
[34] See: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS?locations=CA.
[35] See: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/98-200-x/2021002/98-200-x2021002-eng.cfm.

femicides occurred in non-urban areas (32% in rural; 14% in small towns/cities) and, finally, in 2022, 42 percent of femicides occurred in non-urban areas (25% in rural; 17% in small towns/cities).

**Chart 4.6: Yearly percent distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada by population density, 2018-2022 (N=689)***
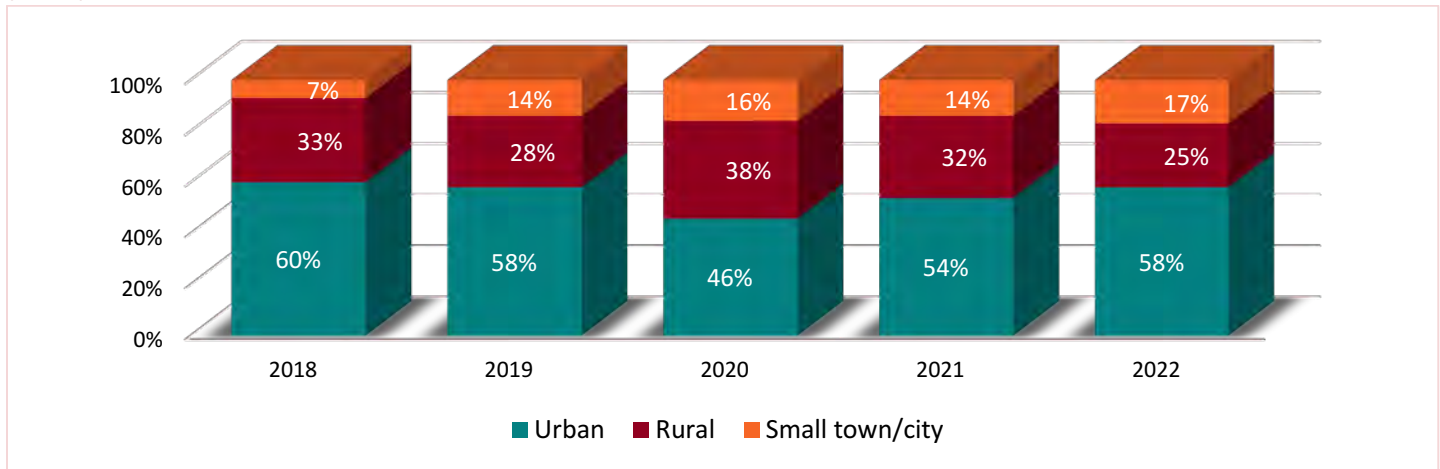


*The population density for one victim's case could not be determined.

**Age of victims:** From 2018 to 2022, women and girls killed ranged in age from less than one year to 97 years old, with an average age of 42 years. Chart 4.7 shows that the largest proportion of women killed was aged 25 to 34 (21%), followed by those aged 35 to 44 (18%), 65 and older (15%), 55 to 64 (14%) and 45 to 54 (13%). When comparing these age group distributions to the age group distributions in the general population (also shown in Chart 4.7), various groups of women and girls are overrepresented, underscoring their greater vulnerability to femicide than women and girls in other age groups. For example, women aged 25 to 34 years were 21 percent of the victims killed, yet they represent only 14 percent of the general female population.

**Chart 4.7: Age distribution of women and girls killed involving male accused in Canada, compared to general population, 2018-2022 (N=668)***
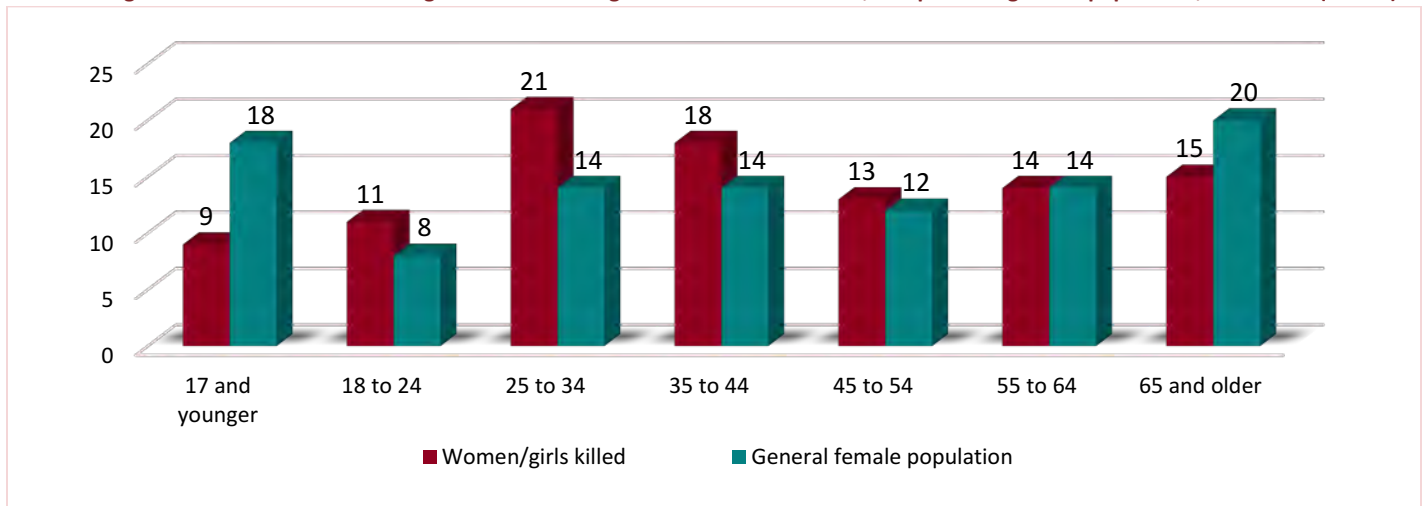


*Age was unknown for 22 women and girls. *Note.* Population data from Statistics Canada Table: 17-10-0005-01: Population estimates on July 1, 2022 by age and sex.

When comparing the age distributions by year (see Table 4.9), the largest proportions of victims were aged 25 to 34 in 2018 (27%), 2019 (19%) and 2022 (21%). Women aged 35 to 54 represented the largest group in 2021 (23%) and those aged 55 to 64 in 2020 (19%). When examining victim age distributions compared to their representation in the population, in each of the five years, women aged 25 to 34 years comprised the largest or second largest group of femicide victims and they were overrepresented in all five years compared to their representation in the general population. Women aged 35 to 44 were also overrepresented as victims from 2019 to 2022 when compared to their representation in the population.

**Table 4.9: Yearly age distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada, compared with general female population, 2018-2022 (N=668).**

| Age Category | Proportion of age group for female victims and general female population (%) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2018 | | 2019 | | 2020 | | 2021 | | 2022 | |
| | Victims | Pop. | Victims | Pop. | Victims | Pop. | Victims | Pop. | Victims | Pop. |
| **17 and younger** | 8 | 19 | 8 | 19 | 14 | 19 | 9 | 18 | 5 | 18 |
| **18 to 24** | 13 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 9 | 14 | 8 |
| **25 to 34** | 27 | 14 | 19 | 14 | 17 | 14 | 18 | 13 | 21 | 14 |
| **35 to 44** | 13 | 13 | 17 | 13 | 17 | 13 | 23 | 13 | 18 | 14 |
| **45 to 54** | 11 | 14 | 17 | 13 | 12 | 13 | 10 | 13 | 15 | 12 |
| **55 to 64** | 12 | 14 | 13 | 14 | 19 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 14 |
| **65 and older** | 16 | 18 | 18 | 19 | 11 | 19 | 15 | 20 | 15 | 20 |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| **Average age (years)** | 40 | 42 | 45 | 42 | 41 | 42 | 42 | 43 | 42 | 43 |

*Note.* Population data from Statistics Canada Table: 17-10-0005-01: Population estimates on July 1, 2018-2022 by age and sex. Age unknown for 22 women and girls.

**Age of the accused:** Focusing on the age of the male accused when known (N=660; 95%), they ranged in age from 13 to 94 years old, with an average age of 38 years. As shown in Chart 4.8, like the victims, the largest proportions of accused were 25 to 34 years (26%) and 35 to 44 years (23%). The smallest age groups were those aged 17 and younger (4%), again like the victims, and women aged 65 years and older (6%), much lower than victims in the same age group (15%).

**Race/ethnicity of victims and their accused:** As in previous years, information is missing for the victims' race/ethnicity in almost half of the sample (47%; N=322), so few conclusions can be drawn, an issue flagged as a data gap in previous reports and which we will return to below in Section VI. Indigenous women and girls comprised 19 percent (N=134) of the total 690 victims, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. At a minimum, then, about one in five female victims killed were Indigenous, or four times their representation in the Canadian population (5%).

**Chart 4.8: Age distribution of males accused of killing women and girls by violence in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=660)\***



■ 17 and younger  ■ 18 to 24  ■ 25 to 34
■ 35 to 44  ■ 45 to 54  ■ 55 to 64
■ 65 and older

\*Age was unknown for 35 accused.

Among only those whose race/ethnicity was known (N=368), 36 percent of women and girls killed were Indigenous. In comparison, at minimum, 35 percent of the women and girls killed were identified as White (N=130), while nearly 70 percent of the Canadian
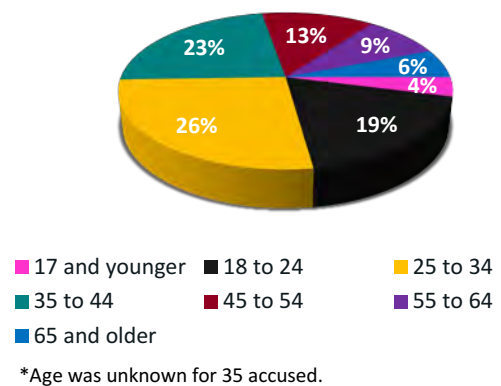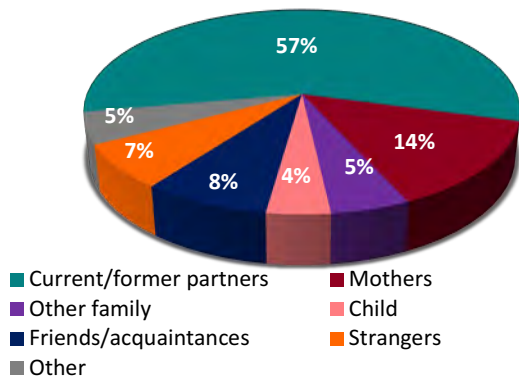
**Chart 4.9: Distribution of primary victim-accused relationship in cases of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused, 2018-2022 (N=460)***



- 57% Current/former partners
- 14% Mothers
- 5% Other family
- 4% Child
- 8% Friends/acquaintances
- 7% Strangers
- 5% Other

*Information on primary victim-accused relationship was unspecified for 16 cases.

population is White.[36] From 2018 to 2022, 104 additional racialized minority women and girls were killed (28%) and, given 25 percent of the Canadian population belongs to another racialized minority group, these victims are also overrepresented relative to their representation in the population.[37] More specifically, these femicides involved 27 Black women and girls (7%), 23 South Asian women and girls (6%), 14 East Asian women and girls (4%), 12 Southeast Asian women and girls (3%), nine Middle Eastern women and girls (2%), five South and Latin American women and girls (1%) and 14 women and girls (4%) who were identified as belonging to a racialized minority group based on available information.[38] Due to data quality and limited information, these numbers must be considered minimum counts that may change if further information on race/ethnicity becomes available.

The sample of the male accused was also examined for racial/ethnic identity, but information on the race/ethnicity of the accused was not reported for an even greater proportion (76% of the sample) than the victims. As such, there is not enough information to reliably report race/ethnic group or to determine whether victims and accused were of the same racialized group. The lack of race-based data and implications for these patterns will be discussed in Section VI.

**Victim-accused relationship:** From 2018 to 2022, results showed that the relationship between the primary victim and her male accused was known in 73 percent of the 626 cases (N=460).[39] Focusing on these cases, Chart 4.9 shows that well over half of the women killed were in a current or former intimate partner relationship with their accused (57%; N=260). The next largest group of women were killed by their sons (14%; N=64). Twenty-two women and girls were killed by other family members (5%), and seventeen women and girls were the child of the male accused (4%). This means that 79% (N=363) of the women and girls – four of every five victims – killed during this period involved a male accused whom they should have been able to trust.

The remaining accused were friends and acquaintances (8%; N=39) or strangers (7%; N=33). Twenty-five victims (5%) shared another type of relationship with the primary accused. Of these, four victims shared an illegal business relationship with the accused, and seven victims were killed by police officers.

An additional 64 women and girls were killed by a male accused alongside the primary victim. The victim-accused relationship was unspecified for 10 of these victims. When known (N=54), strangers of the accused made up the largest proportion of additional victims (31%; N=17)[40], followed by daughters of the accused (24%; N=13), acquaintances (20%; N=11) and other family members (19%; N=10).

---

[36] See: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026b-eng.htm.

[37] See: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026b-eng.htm.

[38] We acknowledge that these are broad Indigenous and racialized minority groups within which there are diverse populations with varying backgrounds, languages, religions, and/or experiences.

[39] It is expected that this number will increase as information continues to be made public. For example, when examining both male and female primary accused, unspecified relationship comprises only 10 percent of the sample in 2018, but 40 percent of the sample in 2022. More information is now available for the 2018 cases. However, we have also begun to witness an increasing tendency in reports from police to not specify the relationship. The impact of this will be minimal for cases that proceed to court as victim-accused relationships are typically specified in court documents. However, for femicides followed by suicide of the perpetrators, these relationships may never be disclosed.

[40] Of the additional victims who were killed by strangers, nine were women who were killed in the Toronto Van Attack on April 23, 2018, and four were killed in the 2020 Nova Scotia Mass Killings.

One additional victim was an estranged partner of the accused (2%; N=1). The remaining victims killed alongside the primary victim were in illegal business relationships with the accused (4%; N=2).

**Pregnancy:** When information was reported on whether the victim was pregnant (N=171; 25% of victims), during this period, six victims were pregnant (4%), and 39 victims were not pregnant (23%). Because we do not collect data from autopsy reports, where this information would become known, this is likely an underestimation. In 2005, Statistics Canada began to collect data on whether the homicide victim was pregnant given that research in other countries has consistently shown this to be a risk factor for female homicide (Wallace et al., 2022; Cliffe et al., 2019). This information is not regularly released in annual homicide reports produced by Statistics Canada, but in 2012, it was noted that, since 2005, 12 intimate partner victims were pregnant at the time of their death. Another eight pregnant women were killed by someone other than their intimate partner. [41]

**Presence of children:** When the presence of the victims' children, or children she shared with her killer, was known (N=261; 38% of victims), 28 children were killed alongside their mothers (11%), and 13 children were injured (non-fatal; 5%). The victims' children were witnesses in at least six percent of the killings (N=22).

**Children left behind:** Focusing on female victims aged 15 and older (N=637), where information was available (71%; N=450), 86 percent (N=389) had a least one child. [42] Focusing on this group, 21 percent had one child (N=82), 29 percent had two children (N=111), 21 percent had three children (N=82), eight percent had four children (N=33), and seven percent had five or more children (N=26). An additional 14 percent had at least one child, but the exact number of children was not specified (N=55). This means that, at minimum, 868 children lost their mothers to femicide in the past five years alone.

**Chart 4.10: Yearly percent distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada by method of killing, 2018-2022 (N=442)\***
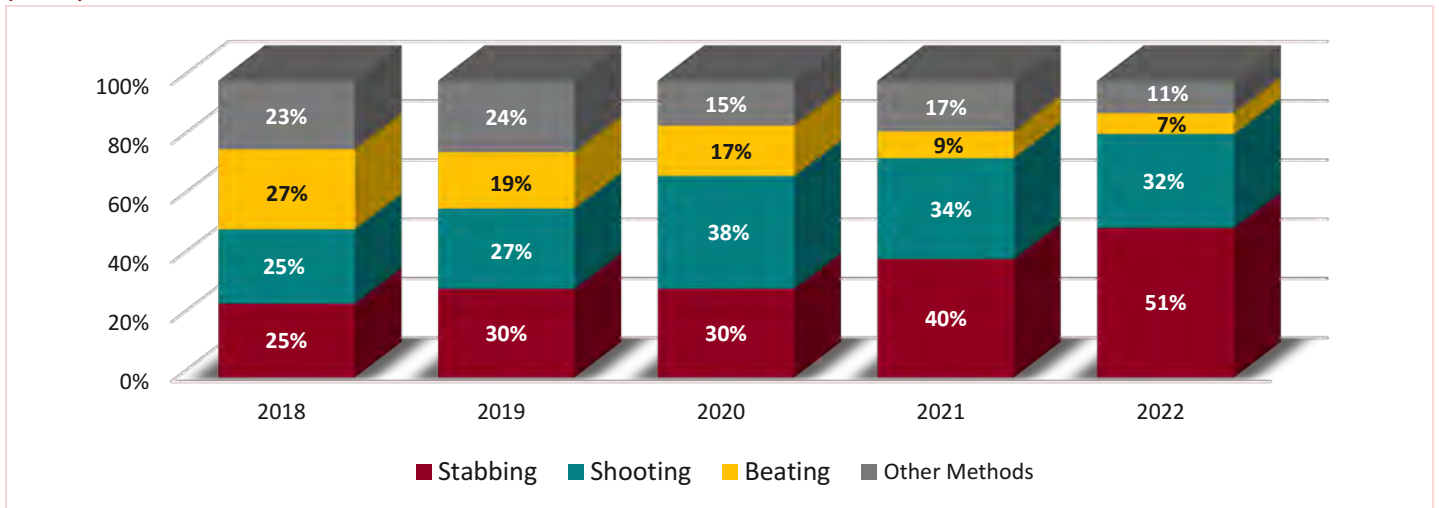


*\*The method of killing was unknown for 248 victims.*

**Method of killing:** Information on the primary method of killing was known for 64 percent of the victims (N=442). For these victims, the largest group was stabbed to death (34%; N=148), followed by victims who were shot (31%; N=137). The remaining victims were

---

[41] See; https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2012001/article/11643/11643-2-eng.htm.
[42] This percentage excludes girls killed who were 14 years and younger (N=53).

beaten (17%; N=74), strangled (6%; N=27), or died from other methods (13%; N=56), which included poisoning, arson, drowning, being pushed, being hit by a car, shaken baby syndrome, or other forms of child abuse.

When comparing method of killing by year (see Chart 4.10), stabbings (25%) and shootings (25%) were second to beatings (27%) in 2018, but for the remaining four years, stabbings and shootings were the top two methods of killing. Overall, the proportion of women and girls killed by stabbings has increased yearly since 2018, with over half of women and girls killed in 2022 being a victim of a stabbing. This more recent year has the highest proportion of missing information given investigations are ongoing so this distribution may change as more information becomes available. For example, information on method of killing in 2018 is missing in only 15 percent of the cases compared to 51 percent missing in 2022.

**Weapon type:** Information on the type of weapon used was missing for 47 percent of the sample (N=321). When known (N=369), the largest proportion of victims was killed with a knife or other blade/sharp object (N=133; 36%), followed by an unspecified type of gun (N=91; 25%), and other blunt objects, such as a bat (N=22; 6%). Long guns were identified in the killings of 25 victims (7%), handguns were identified in the killings of 19 victims (5%), and other types of guns were identified for two victims (0.5%). A weapon was not used for 20 percent of victims (i.e., beating with hands; N=74) and three victims were killed with an unknown weapon (1%).

**Location:** As shown in Chart 4.11, most women and girls were killed in a private location (76%; N=523), including their home, the home of the accused, or the home they shared with the accused. Fifteen percent were killed in public locations such as parks, residential streets, businesses, or inside vehicles (N=102). For the remaining nine percent of women and girls killed (N=65), the homicide location was either unknown (N=34) or could not be determined by officials, but the victim was later discovered in a location such as a field or wooded area (N=21), a river or lake (N=4), a car (N=5), or a building (N=1).

**Chart 4.11: Percent distribution of women and girls killed by violence involving male accused in Canada by location, 2018-2022 (N=690)**



■ Private ■ Public ■ Exact location unknown
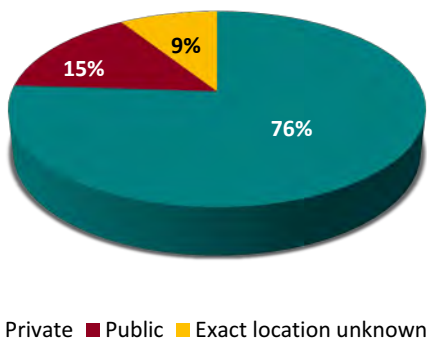
**Sexual violence:** There was evidence that 12 victims experienced sexual violence, such as sexual assault during the killing (2%), while there was no conclusive evidence of sexual violence for 134 victims (19%). Evidence of sexual violence was not reported for 545 victims (79%).

**Mutilation and excessive violence:** Information on mutilation and/or excessive violence was known for 26 percent of victims (N=179). When known, of the 179 women and girls killed during the five years, three victims were mutilated, and another three victims were dismembered. Physical mutilation was not reported as present for 173 victims. Information on excessive violence (i.e., overkill, multiple methods, or repeated use of one method) was known for 26 percent of the sample (N=182). When known, excessive force was evident in the killings of 63 percent of the victims (N=115), while 37 percent of killings had no reported evidence of excessive violence (N=67). Of the 115 killings which involved excessive violence, 49 killings involved multiple methods of killing.

**Concealment:** Information on whether the femicide was concealed was known for 80 percent of the victims (N=544). When known, 88 femicides were concealed (16%), and no attempts were made to conceal the killing of 456 victims (84%). For example, the accused may attempt to conceal the victim's body to avoid physical detection, such as through postmortem arson, hiding the body, and disposing of or dumping the victim in a location separate from the initial crime scene. Concealment also refers to other acts done to hinder the discovery of the body or crime, such as fabricating alternative narratives about how the victim died or lying to investigators.

**Premeditation:** Evidence of premeditation was reported for 99 femicides (14% of victims). When reported, 80 percent of the victims' killings were premeditated (N=80), while 20 percent had no evidence of premeditation (N=19). Premeditation can be evidenced by

acts that indicate planning and deliberation, such as buying weapons before the killing, bringing weapons to the victim's location, hiring a killer, luring the victim to her death, following or lying in wait for the victim, chasing the victim, killing the victim while she is sleeping, or writing a suicide note which details their intentions (for more detail on premeditation, see Dawson, 2006).

**Others injured:** Information on whether there were non-fatal, but injured, victims alongside the femicide victim was known for 311 women and girls (45% of victims). When known, 35 percent of the killings involved another individual who was injured (N=108), two percent involved another individual whom the accused attempted to injure (N=6), and 63 percent did not involve an injury to another person (N=197).

**Suicide:** As shown in Table 4.10, from 2018 to 2022, results showed that 15 percent (N=103) of male accused died by suicide following the femicide. For two-thirds of this group, their victims were current or former intimate partners (66%; N=68). For the remaining accused, their victims were family members (16%; N=16). More specifically, nine percent of the victims were other family members of the accused (N=9), and another seven percent were daughters of the accused (N=7). The remaining accused who died by suicide had a non-intimate relationship with their victims (8%; N=8), including acquaintances (3%; N=3), strangers (3%; N=3), an illegal business relationship (1%; N=1), and a legal business relationship (victim was their landlord; 1%; N=1). The relationship between the accused and their victims was unknown in 11 percent of these cases (N=11). Since 2020, the distribution of male accused who died by suicide has remained consistent, with 14 percent committing suicide in 2020 and distributions of 15 percent in both 2021 and 2022. Table 4.10 also lists the percent distribution of accused who committed suicide for each femicide sub-type.

**Table 4.10: Male accused who committed suicide after the killing of woman or girl, 2018-2022 (N=694)\***

| Type of Femicide | Accused committed suicide | | Accused did not commit suicide | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % of subtype | N | % of subtype |
| **All femicides** | 103 | 15 | 591 | 85 |
| Intimate partner femicide | 68 | 26 | 192 | 74 |
| Familial femicide | 16 | 15 | 89 | 85 |
| Non-intimate femicide | 8 | 7 | 107 | 93 |
| Unknown sub-type | 11 | 5 | 203 | 95 |

\* Information was missing for one accused.

**Case status:** For those accused who did not die by suicide (N=591; see Table 4.11), second-degree murder was the most frequent charge (49%; N=291), followed by first-degree murder (35%; N=204), and manslaughter (7%; N=40). Eight accused were either killed by police or died before their trial (1%). Six accused were not prosecuted, or their charge was stayed (1%). The remaining seven percent of the accused (N=42) were charged with criminally negligent homicide, attempted murder, aggravated assault, accessory after the fact to murder, failure to provide necessities of life, and other offences. A separate report on criminal justice outcomes for these accused is scheduled for late 2023.

**Table 4.11: Percent distribution of charges for male accused who did not die by suicide, 2018-2022 (N=591)\***

| Femicide sub-type | Charges | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First-degree murder | Second-degree murder | Manslaughter | Killed by police or died before charges | Other charges |
| **All femicides** | 35% | 49% | 7% | 1% | 8% |
| Intimate partner femicide | 31% | 57% | 6% | 3% | 4% |
| Familial femicide | 29% | 62% | 6% | - | 3% |
| Non-intimate femicide | 45% | 34% | 7% | 3% | 12% |

\*Percentages may not equal 100% due to rounding.

"She always stuck up for what was right, and never backed down from any fight. She was a leading example as a parent and it showed as her kids love her more than anything in the world."
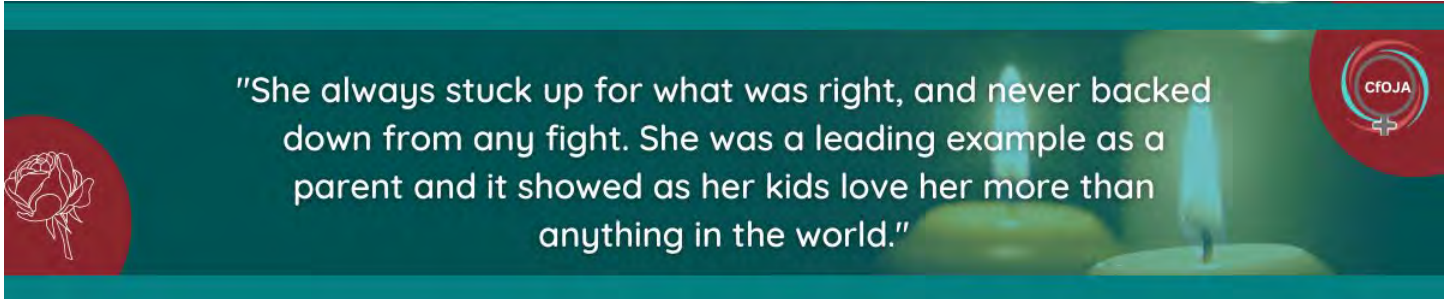
# Examining the three main subtypes of femicide

Below, we turn to an examination of the three main subtypes of femicide. It is important to underscore when focusing on these subtypes that the proportion of victim-accused relationships that are currently unspecified is higher for more recent years (e.g., 2022) than earlier years (e.g., 2018). This is because more recent investigations are ongoing and have not proceeded through the criminal justice system (i.e., court) where more detailed information becomes available. Therefore, some of these patterns may change over time as new information becomes available.

## Intimate partner femicide

Of the 690 women and girls who were killed by a male accused from 2018 to 2022, the type of relationship they shared with the accused was known for 515 of the total 690 victims (75%), of which the killings of 261 victims (51%) involved 260 males accused who were a current or former intimate partner.[43]

**Annual distributions:** As shown in Table 4.12, the largest number of intimate partner femicides occurred in 2018 (N=65), followed by 2019 (N=53) and 2022 (N=52). The number of intimate partner femicides was slightly lower in 2020 (N=42) and 2021 (N=49). This seems counter-intuitive given documented increased risks to women and children living with violence during COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns and restrictions.[44] However, we have also documented an increase in the number of unspecified relationships reported in public documents over the five years. The lowest proportion of unspecified was in 2018 (N=12: 9% of total that year), increasing

**Table 4.12: Annual distribution of women and girls killed by current or intimate partners in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=261)**

| Month | Women & girls killed | |
|---|---|---|
| | N | % |
| 2018 | 65 | 25 |
| 2019 | 53 | 20 |
| 2020 | 42 | 16 |
| 2021 | 49 | 19 |
| 2022 | 52 | 20 |
| | | |
| Total | 261 | 100 |

---

[43] In one case, a male accused killed two ex-partners, one of whom was the mother of his child. It was reported that the two women were staying together for safety reasons.
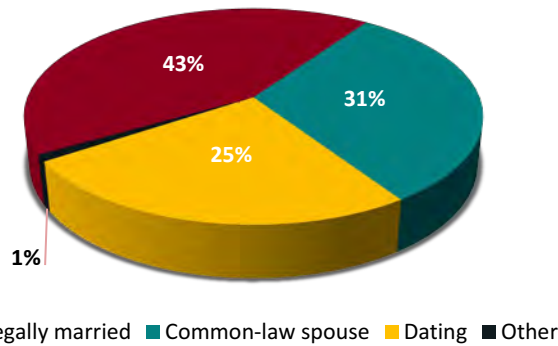
[44] For example, see: The COVID-19 pandemic has made the impacts of gender-based violence worse.

gradually each year to the highest proportion of unspecified relationships in 2022 (N= 61; 41% of total that year). Therefore, as new information becomes available for the most recent years, these distributions may change.

**Intimate partner relationship:** Relationship status, referring to whether the victim and accused were or had been legally married, common-law partners, or dating (Dawson and Gartner, 1998), was known for 238 of the 261 victims (91%). Among this group, Chart 4.12 shows that 43 percent involved victims who were current or former legal spouses of the accused (N=102), 31 percent were current or former common-law partners (N=74), and 25 percent were current or estranged dating partners (N=59). In addition, three victims were in an unspecified or possible intimate relationship with the accused, noted as 'other' in Chart 4.12.

**Chart 4.12: Distribution of relationship status in intimate partner femicide cases in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=238)***



Legend: Legally married, Common-law spouse, Dating, Other

*The relationship status was unknown for 23 intimate partner femicides.

Relationship state refers to whether the victim and accused were currently in a relationship or separated at the time of the killing (Dawson and Gartner, 1998). Relationship state was unknown for 33 of the 261 victims (13%). However, where known (N=228), Chart 4.13 shows that 73% of women killed were in a current relationship with the accused (N=167), and 27 percent were separated/estranged from the accused (N=61). Despite their lower absolute numbers, women are at greater risk of intimate partner femicide when they are separating, or separated from, their male

partner. For example, official data from the period of 2007 to 2011, showed that women who were legally separated from their spouse had a risk of intimate partner femicide that was six times higher than women who were married to their spouse (Sinha, 2013). This risk is generally compounded when there are children involved that lead to custody and access disputes and/or if the woman begins a relationship with a new partner (Jaffe et al., 2014).

Chart 4.14 illustrates the broad spectrum of relationships in the intimate partner femicide category. From 2018 to 2022, the largest proportion of victims was killed by a current legal spouse (33%; N=86), followed by a current common-law spouse (22%; N=56), a current dating partner (15%; N=40), an estranged dating partner (7%; N=19), and an estranged common-law spouse (7%; N=18). The lowest proportion of victims was killed by an estranged legal spouse (6%; N=16). Twenty-three victims shared an intimate relationship with the accused, but the exact relationship has not yet been disclosed in public documents reviewed (9%). Three victims were in a possible intimate relationship with the accused (1%).
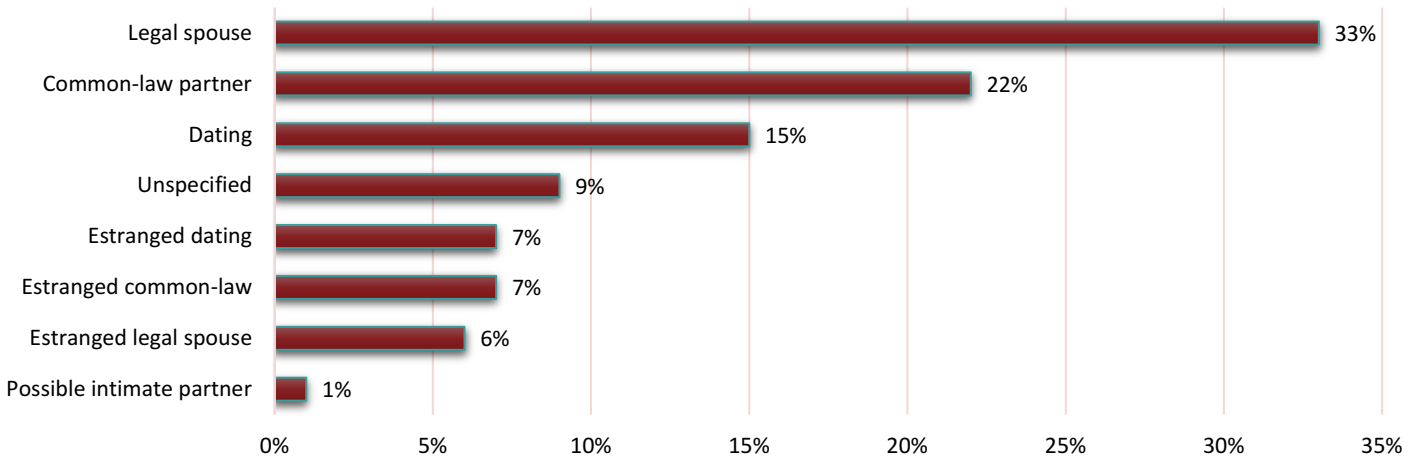
**Chart 4.13: Distribution of relationship state in intimate partner femicide cases in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=228)***



Legend: Current relationships, Estranged relationships
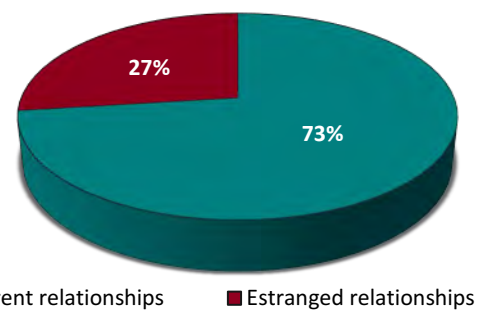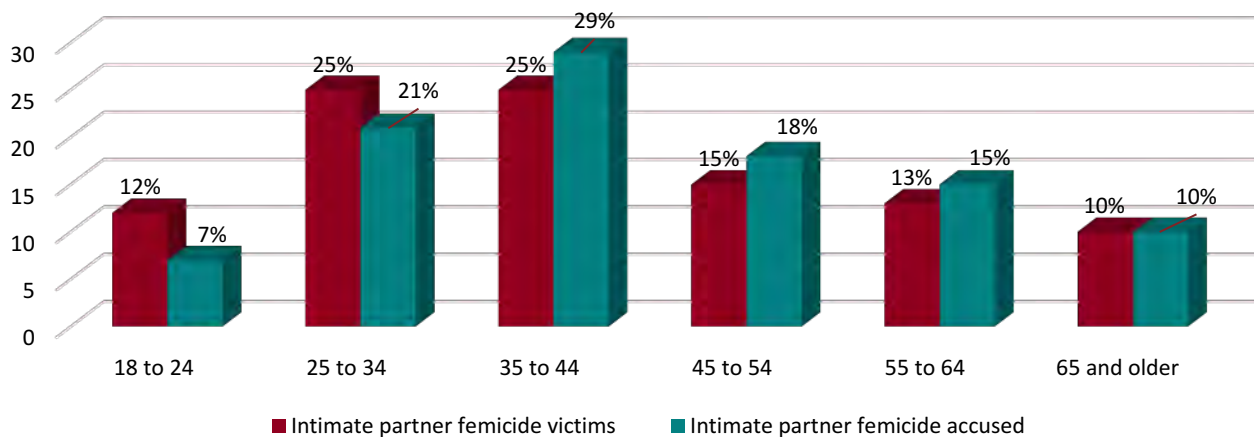
*The relationship state was unknown for 33 intimate partner femicides

**Chart 4.14: Distribution of each relationship type in cases of intimate partner femicide in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=261)**

| Relationship type | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Legal spouse | 33% |
| Common-law partner | 22% |
| Dating | 15% |
| Unspecified | 9% |
| Estranged dating | 7% |
| Estranged common-law | 7% |
| Estranged legal spouse | 6% |
| Possible intimate partner | 1% |

**Age of victims and their accused:** The victims of intimate partner femicide from 2018 to 2022 ranged in age from 19 to 90 years old, with an average age of 43 years. As shown in Chart 4.15, the largest proportions of victims were aged 35 to 44 years (25%; N=65), 25 to 34 years (25%; N=63), and 45 to 54 years (15%; N=40). The smallest proportions were 55 to 64 (13%; N=32), 18 to 24 (12%; N=30), and 65 and older (10%; N=27).

The accused ranged in age from 18 to 94 years, with an average age of 45 years. The largest proportion of accused was aged 35 to 44 (29%; N=75), and the smallest group was aged 18 to 24 (7%; N=17). The greatest parity in age groups between victims and their accused was for the age group 65 years and older, which comprised an equal proportion of victims and accused (10% each).

**Chart 4.15: Age distribution of intimate partner femicide victims and accused, 2018-2022 (N=257)***

| Age group | Intimate partner femicide victims | Intimate partner femicide accused |
|---|---|---|
| 18 to 24 | 12% | 7% |
| 25 to 34 | 25% | 21% |
| 35 to 44 | 25% | 29% |
| 45 to 54 | 15% | 18% |
| 55 to 64 | 13% | 15% |
| 65 and older | 10% | 10% |

*The age was unknown for four intimate partner femicide victims.

**Chart 4.16: Distribution of method in cases of intimate partner femicide in Canada, 2018-2022 (N=164)***



- Stabbing — 35%
- Shooting — 27%
- Beating — 21%
- Strangulation — 9%
- Other — 8%
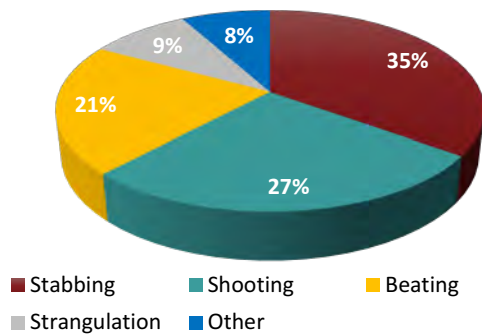
*The method of killing was not reported for 97 intimate partner femicide victims.

**Method of killing:** The method of killing in circumstances of intimate partner femicide was not publicly reported for 37 percent of victims (N=97). Where information was known (N=164), consistent with patterns for all women and girls killed by a male accused, as shown in Chart 4.16, stabbing was the most common cause of death for intimate partner femicide victims (35%; N=58), followed by shooting (27%; N=45), beating (21%; N= 34), and strangulation (9%; N=14). Eight percent of intimate partner femicide victims were killed using other methods (N=13), which included arson (N=2), being pushed (N=2), being hit by a car (N=4), being struck with an axe (N=2), and other methods (N=3).

**Location:** The majority of intimate partner femicides occurred in a private location (84%; N=220). Of those femicides, the majority occurred in the residence the victim shared with the accused (48%; N=124), followed by her own home (18%; N=47), an unspecified residence (9%; N=23), or the accused's home (5%; N=13). Another 22 intimate partner femicides occurred in public locations (8%), such as parks, residential streets, restaurants, businesses, or inside vehicles. The exact location of the killing was unknown for seven percent of women or girls killed (N=19) because the body was never recovered (N=6) or the victim's body was left in a location different from the crime scene and subsequently discovered in a field or wooded area (N=9), a river or lake (N=2), or in a car (N=2).

**Accused suicide and case status:** Tables 4.10 and 4.11, discussed above, also provide distributions for accused suicide and case status for intimate partner femicide. A higher proportion of the accused died by suicide following an intimate partner femicide (26%; N=68) compared to the total sample of women and girls killed by a male accused, where 15 percent died by suicide (N=103). In intimate partner femicides in which the accused did not die by suicide, the largest proportions of accused were charged with either second-degree murder (57%; N=110) or first-degree murder (31%; N=59). Eleven accused were charged with manslaughter (6%), three accused were killed by police (2%), one accused died before being charged (1%), six accused were charged with other offences (3%), and charges were unknown for two accused (1%). As noted above, a later 2023 report will examine convictions and sentences for this sample of accused in more detail.



**Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability**

**Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation**

#Femicidels

**Femicide is...**

...the killing of a woman or girl in which the male killer mutilates her before, during, or after the killing.

CAN_femicide          **#CallItFemicide**          femicideincanada.ca

## Familial femicide

This section focuses on those women and girls killed by male accused who were family members, not including intimate partners – most often referred to as familial femicide. Familial femicides may involve victims who were daughters, mothers, grandmothers,

sisters, and other relatives of the accused. There were 103 cases involving 126 victims and 105 males accused from 2018 to 2022 that can be categorized as familial femicide.

**Annual distributions:** The highest number of familial femicides occurred in 2020 (N=30) and 2019 (N=29). There were 26 victims of familial femicide in 2021. The fewest familial femicides occurred in 2018 (N=17) and 2022 (N=24). An average of 25 familial femicides occurred every year during the five-year period.

**Age of victims and male accused:** The victims ranged in age from less than one year to 95 years old, with an average age of 44 years. Familial femicides were more likely to involve girls aged 17 years and younger (27%; N=34), women aged 55 to 64 years (26%; N=32), and women aged 65 years and older (22%; N=27). The accused ranged in age from 13 to 66 years old, with an average age of 33 years. This age demographic is aligned with the total sample of male accused, who had an average age of 38 years. Still, the demographic is younger on average compared to the accused who committed intimate partner femicide, whose ages averaged 45 years.

**Victim-accused relationship:** Familial femicides comprise a wide range of relationship types. Of the 126 victims, 51 percent were mothers of the accused (N=64), 22 percent were daughters of the accused (N=27, including six stepdaughters), and 15 percent were other kin of the accused (N=19). Ten victims were sisters of the accused (8%), and two were other common-law kin (1%). The exact familial relationship was not specified for four victims (3%).

When the victim's age was known (N=125), clear patterns emerged across victim-accused relationships based on age among the familial femicide victims. For example, victims aged 17 years and younger (N=34) were most often killed by their fathers (56%; N=19) and stepfathers (18%; N=6). Victims aged 18 to 24 years (N=6) were most often killed by their brothers (N=3; 50%) or fathers (33%; N=2). The victims aged 25 to 34 (N=2) were killed by other kin. Women aged 35 to 64 (N=56) were most often killed by their sons (88%), followed by brothers (9%; N=5). Women aged 65 years and older (N=27) were most often killed by their sons (63%; N=17), followed by other kin (37%; N=10), such as grandsons.

**Method of killing:** When the method of killing was known (N=85), similar to findings from the total sample involving male accused, stabbing was the most common method of killing used (42%; N=36). Beating was the second most common method of killing used (19%; N=16), which contrasts with the findings in the total sample of killings involving male accused in which shooting was the second most common method. For familial femicide, shootings accounted for the third largest proportion of victims (15%; N=13). In addition, seven victims died from arson (8%), five victims died from being struck with an axe (6%), and four victims died from strangulation (5%). The remaining four victims died from drowning, poisoning, being pushed, or child abuse (5%).



Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

**Femicide is...** the killing of a woman or girl by a man who disposes or abandons them after their death in a public space such as a landfill, vacant field, or by the side of a highway.

#FemicideIs

CRIME SCENE - DO NOT CR

CAN_femicide          #CallItFemicide          femicideincanada.ca

**Location:** Most of the familial femicides occurred in private locations (89%; N=112); however, nine victims were killed in public (7%), and the location was unknown for five victims (4%). Of those killed in public, four victims were killed in an outdoor public location, such as a park (3%), three victims were killed in a car in public (2%), one victim was killed in a restaurant (1%), and one victim was

killed in public elevators (1%). Among the familial femicide victims who were killed in private spaces, the majority died in a home they shared with the accused (44%; N=56), in their own home (32%; N=40), the accused's home (1%; N=1), in a rooming house (1%; N=1) or in an unspecified residence (11%; N=14).

**Accused suicide and case status:** Sixteen of the accused died by suicide following the killing (15%; see Table 4.10). For the remaining 89 accused (see Table 4.11), 62 percent were charged with second-degree murder (N=55), 29 percent were charged with first-degree murder (N=26), and six percent were charged with manslaughter (N=5). The remaining three percent of the accused were charged with criminally negligent homicide (N=2) and accessory after the fact to murder (N=1).



"We will always remember her as outgoing, smiling and singing at our Christmas parties"
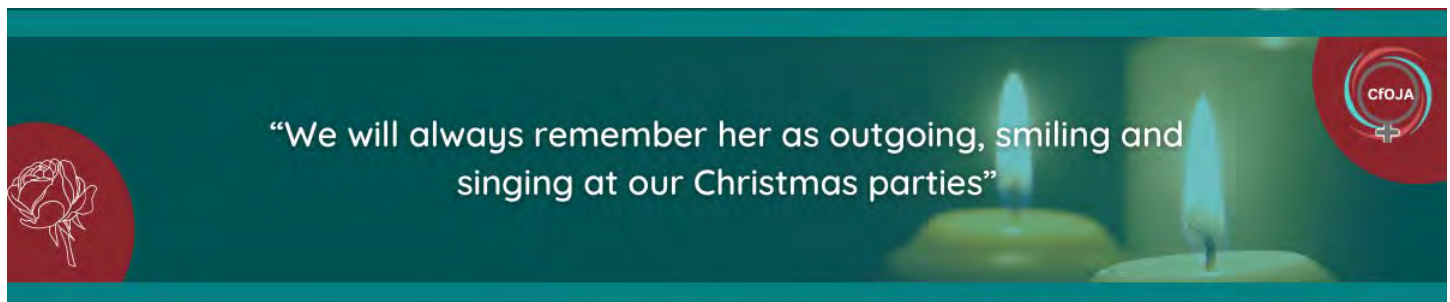
# Non-intimate femicide

This section focuses on victims of non-intimate femicide in which the woman or girl did not share an intimate or familial relationship with the male accused, capturing primarily acquaintance and stranger femicide. There were 97 non-intimate femicide cases documented from 2018 to 2022, involving 128 victims and 115 accused.

**Annual distributions:** The highest number of non-intimate femicides occurred in 2018 (N=44) and 2020 (N=35). There were 19 victims of non-intimate femicide in 2021. The lowest number of non-intimate femicides occurred in 2019 (N=17) and 2022 (N=13). An average of 26 non-intimate femicides occurred every year during the five-year period.

**Age of the victims and their accused:** The victims ranged from one year to 94 years old, with an average age of 45 years. The highest proportions of victims were aged 25 to 34 years (25%; N=31) and 65 years and older (22%; N=28). The smallest groups of victims were aged 18 to 24 years and 45 to 54 years (both 10%; each N=12). The youngest accused in the non-intimate femicide was 15 years, and the oldest was 90 years, with an average age of 35 years. Like the proportion of victims, the highest proportion of offenders was those aged 25 to 34 (32%; N=34).

**Victim-accused relationship:** Of the 128 victims, over 35 percent had no documented prior relationship with the accused (i.e., they were strangers; N=45). Fifteen percent were neighbours of the accused (N=19), 16 percent were acquaintances (N=21), three percent were friends (N=4), and seven percent were roommates (N=9). Six percent of non-intimate femicide victims were killed by police (N=8), while two percent of victims were female police officers who were killed in the line of duty (N=2). The remaining 23 percent of victims were killed in other relationships, including, but not limited to, coworkers (2%; N=3), legal business relationships (2%; N=3), illegal business relationships, such as those related to drugs (2%; N=3), or the sex trade (2%; N=2), and one victim was killed by a male babysitter (1%; N=1).

**Method of killing:** Differing from patterns in the overall sample, when known (N=113; 88%), the largest group of non-intimate femicides were shot to death (38%; N=43). The second most common group was stabbed to death (23%; N=26). Fourteen percent of the victims were beaten to death (N=16), and twelve percent were hit by a car (N=14). Strangulation accounted for the method of killing for five percent of victims (N=6), while the remaining victims died from being pushed (N=4), from arson (N=1), from shaken baby syndrome (N=1), or from an unspecified method (N=2).

**Location:** Similar to the previous sections, most non-intimate femicides occurred in a private location (61%; N=78), such as the victim's home (N=38), the offender's home (N=8), an institution (N=9), a home the accused and victim shared (i.e., roommates or housemates; N=4), a rooming house (N=2), a hotel room (N=1), or an unspecified residence (N=16). However, differing from previous sections, a larger proportion of women and girls were killed in public locations (37%; N=47), including on streets (N=13), in parks or other outdoor locations (N=18), in vehicles (N=9), at businesses (N=5), and in public stairwells or elevators (N=2). The homicide location was unknown for three victims (2%).

**Accused suicide and case status:** Eight accused in the non-intimate femicides died by suicide (7%; see Table 4.10). Where they did not (N=107; see Table 4.11), 45 percent of the accused were charged with first-degree murder (N=48) and 34 percent were charged with second-degree murder (N=36). Seven percent of the accused were charged with manslaughter (N=8), and three percent were charged with attempted murder (N=3). Charges were not laid (N=3) or not prosecuted (N=3) for six percent of the accused. One accused was killed by police (1%), while the remaining accused died before being charged (2%; N=2) or the charge was never specified (3%; N=3).

# Section V:
# Sex/gender-related motives and indicators in 2018 femicides

*Trigger warning: To recognize that our readers include those who are victims/survivors of male violence and/or family members and friends of women or girls who have been killed, we strive to keep the level of details about these killings to a minimum in our reports. However, in this section, to underscore the sex/gender-related motives and indicators present in the contexts and circumstances of femicide, the illustrative case examples contain disturbing details about the killings. Please take care when reading this section.*

In Canada and globally, discussions continue as to how femicide should be defined, how femicide is distinct from other homicides, and how these differences can be measured to better identify sex- and gender-related killings of women and girls. As the CFOJA and others have argued, answers to these questions are crucial for at least three reasons:

- To effectively produce and understand femicide statistics within and across countries, including decreases and increases in this form of violence;
- To determine more effective prevention and intervention initiatives as well as appropriate punishments for offenders; and,
- To raise awareness and increase education of the public and professionals, including informing the development of more enhanced training of those responding to sex/gender-related violence against women and girls and/or determining appropriate punishments for these crimes.



Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability
Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation
**Femicide is...** ...the killing of a woman or girl because she attempts to exert independence over her life or sexuality. #FemicideIs
CAN_femicide   #CallItFemicide   femicideincanada.ca

As Section II of this report mentions, two key documents have contributed significantly to these discussions, drawing on decades of research by feminist activists, advocates, and academics, primarily in the social sciences and law. The first publication is *The Latin American Model Protocol for the Investigation of Gender-Related Killings of Women (Femicide/Feminicide)* (hereafter referred to as 'the protocol'; Sarmiento et al., 2014), which documents how femicide might be identified by reviewing the contexts surrounding femicide and its various subtypes (e.g., intimate partner femicide, familial femicide). While the protocol does specifically target criminal justice investigations, it also serves as a crucial starting point for researchers whose goals are to better measure femicide, more accurately document trends within and across countries, and inform the development of prevention efforts.

The second publication is the *Inter-American Model Law on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of the Gender-Related Killing of Women and Girls (Femicide/Feminicide)* (Organization of American States, 2018). Along with country-specific legislation also detailed in this document, the model law also identifies contexts and circumstances in which femicide occurs, which can be used as a strong foundation upon which such killings can be considered as a distinct crime in any country, including Canada. As argued in Section II, any efforts to implement femicide-specific legislation or offences must engage comprehensively with these two documents and

related research in thinking about how to formulate such legislation or offences in specific jurisdictions. Both these publications also address why countries should consider femicide a distinct crime and the various ways that it can be done.

More recently, however, drawing from the voluminous body of research in this field, the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UN Women), through expert consultations, have developed *a statistical framework for measuring gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicides)* (UNODC, 2022). The proposed framework aligns with the *International Classification of Crime for Statistical Purposes* (ICCS), which is a classification of criminal offences based on internationally agreed-upon concepts, definitions, and principles to enhance global consistency and comparability. [45] The UN statistical framework identifies 10 characteristics or contexts that capture the modus operandi or circumstances indicative of femicide that can be used as a starting point for more accurate data collection. The first two contexts are:

- • Women and girls killed by intimate partners
- • Women and girls killed by family members

With respect to the above, the authors of the UN statistical framework argue that there is "ample evidence that the majority of gender-related killings of women and girls are perpetrated by current or former intimate partners or other family members" (UNODC, 2022: 9). They further argue that these types of killings are often linked to "the need to assert male control or punish what is considered to be unacceptable female behaviour…are embedded in societal and cultural norms…may take place within relationships where there is an unequal power relation between the victim and the perpetrator…[and] the perpetrator occupies a position of authority or care over the female victim" (UNODC, 2022: 9), just to describe a few of these contexts.

The framework next captures femicide that occurs in contexts which do not necessarily involve intimate or familial relationships but may still have evidence of characteristics or contexts indicative of femicide. However, the eight characteristics below may be found in killings across all types of victim-perpetrator relationships, including intimate partners and family members. They are:

- • Previous record of harassment/violence
- • Illegal deprivation of her liberty
- • Use of force and/or mutilation
- • Body disposed of in a public space
- • Sexual violence was committed before
- • Victim was working in the sex industry
- • Hate crime motivated by bias against women/girls
- • Victim of forms of illegal exploitation

This framework is a useful starting point for drawing attention to how broader societal and cultural norms lead to femicide by clearly showing how the circumstances of women's and girls' deaths are often linked to and representative of discrimination and hatred of women and girls. However, these same circumstances and contexts are seldom present in the killing of men, regardless of the sex of the perpetrator, which can also clearly highlight the 'how' and 'why' femicide is a distinct type of homicide. For example, in our annual report focusing on 2020, we compared killings of female and male victims that occurred in Canada in 2016 and 2017 (see Dawson et al., 2021). To recap those findings, which align with decades of research from other countries, our analysis identified the following differences between female and male homicides based on available data:

---

[45] See: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/crime/ICCS/ICCS_English_2016_web.pdf.

Specifically,

- Females were more likely to be killed by an intimate male partner or family member. Males were more likely to be killed by male friends or acquaintances.
- Excessive force – often referred to as 'overkill' – was more common in the killings of females compared to males.
- Female victims were more often killed in non-urban areas (e.g., rural regions or small towns/cities) than male victims.
- Female victims were older than male victims, by an average of four years; however, differences varied across age groups.
- Those accused of killing females were older, on average, than those accused of killing males.
- Secondary homicide victims – sometimes referred to as collateral victims – were more common in the killings of women and girls compared to the killings of men and boys.
- Females were most often killed in private locations, whereas males were more commonly killed in public locations.
- Women and girls were more likely to be beaten, strangulated, or suffocated. Males were more likely to be killed by firearms, although this pattern was more common in urban homicides. When examining non-urban homicide, equal proportions of female and male victims were killed by firearms.
- Individuals accused of killing women and girls were more likely to attempt or die by suicide compared to those accused of killing men and boys.

The above findings are vital to informing intervention and prevention initiatives, but they only begin to scratch the surface of the differing circumstances and contexts that can help to inform femicide prevention efforts. Therefore, the key objective in this section is to build on these findings, using the starting point provided by the UN statistical framework, to determine how often the killings of women and girls in Canada can be categorized as femicide, the sex/gender-related killings of women and girls.

Below, we examine the total sample of victims for 2018, the year for which the most complete information is available from public sources (e.g., media and court documents). In 2018, 169 killings of women and girls were documented in Canada. For 13 of the victims (8%), no accused has yet been identified in publicly available documents. Of the remaining 156 victims, the accused was male for 137 victims (88%) and female for 19 victims (12%).

For each of the 10 SGRMIs discussed below, we include a full description as defined by the UN framework as well as illustrative case examples to help increase knowledge and understanding



**FEMICIDE IS...** the killing of a woman by her male partner when she communicated that she was leaving, was in the process of leaving, or had left.

#FemicideIs

CAN_femicide          #CallItFemicide          femicideincanada.ca

about femicide as a distinct type of homicide that requires social and legal attention in Canada. The case examples drawn from media coverage and court documents contain some, but not all, the necessary information; thus, the chronology and detail of the femicides may sometimes be missing or unclear. We adopted a conservative approach to identifying the presence of SGRMIs: we only coded their presence if there was clear evidence in each of the cases reviewed. Given this and the limits of the data sources relied upon, our results are to be considered minimum estimates of the presence of these factors.

We also acknowledge that information is based on narratives provided by third parties (i.e., not the victims themselves); however, reported characteristics of the femicides and those involved can still be used to illustrate the role played by sex/gender-related motives

and indicators. While the SGRMIs described below are not exhaustive of the possible factors that may distinguish female and male killings, and those which are sex/gender related, they do represent an important, first step in our efforts to more accurately document femicide. Our ongoing research has developed additional indicators that were also available in these cases but are not included in this discussion.  The goal is to focus on internationally recognized SGRMIs only in this first exploration of their presence in the Canadian context.

After focusing on each SGRMI separately, we look at their combined overall presence in the total sample – a global measure of SGRMIs, if you will – followed by the subsample of male accused only. The Latin American Model Protocol states that understanding whether a killing is sex/gender-related does not depend on the existence of more or fewer indicators but, as will become evident, multiple SGRMIs are often present in each case. As such, we argue that capturing the full, combined scope of their presence in these killings is important.



"She had a bright shining light. Everybody loved her. She was gentle, she was kind, she was loving. Her smile was infectious."
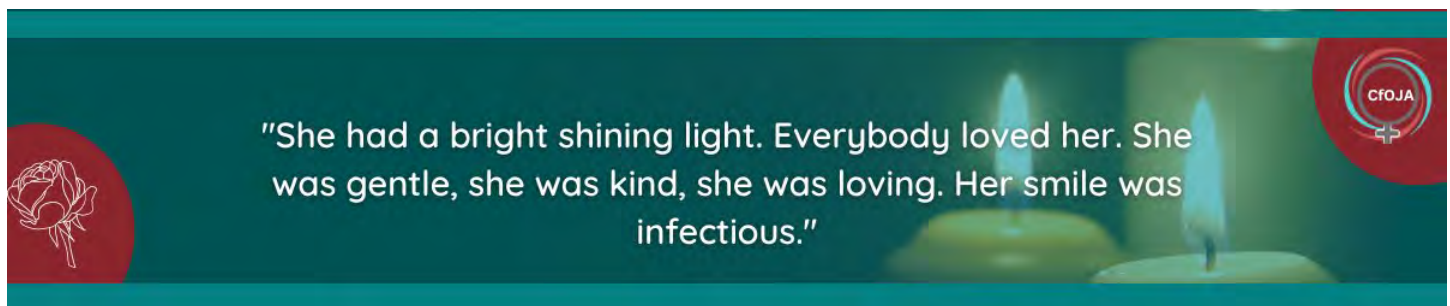
## Results

### SGRMI #1: Women and girls killed by intimate partners

This femicidal context is most often referred to as 'intimate partner femicide' and includes perpetrators who were current or former intimate partners of their victims. More specifically, the ICCS considers the following victim-offender relationships within this category:

> (1) current spouse or intimate partner (cohabitating or non-cohabitating partner or boyfriend/girlfriend); (2) current spouse or cohabitating partner; (3) current non-cohabitating partner (boyfriend/girlfriend/dating partner but not married); (4) former spouse or intimate partner (cohabitating or non-cohabitating partner or boyfriend/girlfriend); (5) former spouse or cohabitating partner; and (6) former non-cohabitating partner (boyfriend/girlfriend/dating partner but not married).

In the full 2018 sample of victims, the victim-accused relationship could not be determined for 30 of the 169 victims (18%) because their case remains unsolved or, if solved, the relationship was not specified in public documents. As shown in Table 5.1, for the remaining 139 victims, 68 (49%) were killed by a suspected intimate partner. Focusing on the male accused only sample, 66 of the 137 victims' killings (48%) occurred in this context, demonstrating that this type of femicide is almost exclusively perpetrated by male partners of the victims. [*See Textbox 5.1*]

**Table 5.1: The number and distribution of the presence of SGRMI 1 and SGRMI 2 in the killings of women and girls in Canada, 2018 (N=139)***

| SGRMI | Total sample (N=139) | Distribution in total sample | Male accused only sample (N=137) | Distribution in male accused only sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women and girls killed by intimate partners | 68 | 49% | 66 | 48% |
| Women and girls killed by family members | 23 | 17% | 15 | 11% |

*Information on victim-accused relationship was missing for 30 victims in the total sample.

---

*Textbox 5.1*: **Women and girls killed by intimate partners (i.e., intimate partner femicide)**

A woman was killed by her former male partner, who stabbed her and then deliberately crashed the vehicle that they were both riding in. They reportedly had an "on-again, off-again" relationship for approximately seven years. The victim had one child from a previous marriage. The offender had perpetrated prior violence and harassment against the victim, including physical violence, stalking, posting compromising photographs of her on WhatsApp, and checking her phone. In the years preceding her death, the victim exercised her autonomy by refusing to continue a relationship with the offender because of his behaviour and temper, communicating with other men, and pursuing other romantic relationships. The victim's action made the offender extremely angry and jealous, and he repeatedly accused the victim of "disrespecting him". Nine days before the victim's death, she ended the relationship with the offender and began seeing another man. On the night of the femicide, the offender picked up the victim, at which time she received text messages from a man she had previously dated. The offender began viciously stabbing the victim 47 times while she was in the passenger seat. He recorded a video of himself with the victim, who was gasping for air while he was telling her that she had "disrespected him". Throughout the attack, the offender did not attempt to obtain assistance for the victim, who was still alive following the stabbing. Instead, he left her bleeding out and dying in the vehicle while he did his banking, sent emails, and shopped online. Hours later, with the victim still alive and with no seatbelt on, the offender intentionally drove the vehicle at a high rate of speed into a light pole in an alleged suicide attempt. The victim was ejected from the vehicle and suffered additional injuries that ended her life. The victim's body was found in a ditch several metres away from the vehicle crash. The offender pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for 15 years. In addition to demonstrating intimate partner femicide, this case also illustrates the presence of multiple SGRMIs, including previous records of harassment/violence and excessive violence.

---

## SGRMI #2: Women and girls killed by family members

This femicide context is most often referred to as 'familial femicide' and includes relationships between victims and perpetrators that were family members such as blood relatives, other household members, or relatives by marriage or adoption. More specifically, the ICCS considers the following victim-offender relationships within the family member category:

> (1) blood relative, including parents, children, siblings, other blood relatives, cohabiting blood relatives, and non-cohabiting blood relatives, and (2) other household members or relatives by marriage or adoption such as parents-in-law, children-in-law, stepsons/stepdaughters, adopted children, other relatives by marriage.

Including only those victims for whom their relationships with the accused were identified, 23 of the 139 victims (17%) were killed by a suspected family member (not including intimate partners covered above), as shown in Table 5.1. Focusing on male accused only, 15 of the 137 victims' killings (11%) occurred in the familial context. [*See Textbox 5.2*] The larger proportion of female accused in these

cases (N=8), compared to other types of killings, supports the well-documented finding that when women kill, it is more often a family member. Male accused remain the larger group of accused for familial femicide, however.

**Table 5.2: The number and distribution of the presence of SGRMI 3 through 10 in the killings of women and girls in Canada, 2018 (N=169)**

| SGRMI | Total sample (N=169) | Distribution in total sample | Male accused only sample (N=137) | Distribution in male accused only sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Previous record of harassment/violence | 33* | 21%* | 32 | 23% |
| Illegal deprivation of her liberty | 7 | 4% | 6 | 4% |
| Use of force and/or mutilation | 26 | 15% | 24 | 18% |
| Body disposed of in a public space | 29 | 17% | 25 | 18% |
| Sexual violence was committed before | 7 | 4% | 6 | 4% |
| Victim was working in the sex industry | 1 | 0.6% | 1 | 0.7% |
| Hate crime motivated by bias against women | 14 | 8% | 14 | 10% |
| Victim of forms of illegal exploitation | Not present | - | Not present | - |

*The total sample analyzed for this variable was N=156 because the accused was unidentified for 13 victims.

---

*Textbox 5.2*: **Women and girls killed by family members (i.e., familial femicide)**

Two young girls (aged 6 months and 3 years old) were fatally stabbed by the six-month-old child's biological father. The offender was in a relationship with the mother of both girls but did not live with them in the apartment where their bodies were found. The offender had a history of violence against women, including prior convictions for offences committed against the mother of both children and another woman (their relationship was not specified) and had repeatedly breached no-contact orders. In the year before the femicides, the offender was accused of assaulting the children's mother, who was pregnant, and stealing money from her. In the months leading up to the killings, the offender struck the victims' mother in the head and pleaded guilty to both the assault and failing to comply with a no-contact order. He was sentenced to a fine and 12 months of probation and was again ordered to have no direct or indirect contact with the victims' mother. It was also reported that approximately one month before the killings, the offender was sentenced to 20 days in jail after pleading guilty to three counts of breaching court conditions. It was reported that the mother had previously stayed at a local women's shelter with her two daughters to keep her family safe from the offender before relocating to a new apartment. On the day of the femicides, police were called to an area after receiving reports that the offender was assaulting the victims' mother, who was subsequently transported to the hospital with serious injuries. Later that day, the police found the two bodies of the young girls fatally stabbed in their new apartment. The bodies were found concealed in a storage room and hidden under a pile of various household items. The offender was charged with two counts of second-degree murder, assault causing bodily harm against the children's mother, and a breach of probation for failing to comply with the no-contact order. At the time of this report, he was awaiting sentencing.

---

## SGRMI #3: Previous record of harassment/violence

Previous history of harassment/violence captures those victims for whom there was a record of physical, sexual, or psychological violence and/or harassment perpetrated by their killer. According to the UN framework, this variable would apply to:

> "victims who had previously reported physical, sexual or psychological violence by the alleged perpetrator of the homicide to competent authorities, or when authorities have obtained such evidence through other means, other than directly from the victim, including protection orders and restraining orders solicited by the victim or granted to the victim by relevant authorities" (UNODC, 2022: 13).

Briefly, expanding on the above, the protocol states that *physical violence* is "any act that harms or injures the body, even though it may not produce marks or traces on the body. This type of violence includes, among others, strikes against any part of the body whether it leaves a mark or not, pushing, internal and external injuries, hair-pulling, etc." (Sarmiento et al., 2014: 48). *Sexual violence* "in its broadest sense… any act of sexual nature that is non-consensual" (Sarmiento et al., 2014: 48). *Psychological violence* includes:

> "any conduct or intentional omission that causes emotional harm or a lowering of the self-esteem of a woman, through threats, humiliation, harassment, demands of obedience or submission, verbal coercion, insults, isolation, or any other limitation to her personal liberty. Psychological violence includes guilt, surveillance, isolation, control, manipulation, demands of obedience or submission, the imposition of a servant role, among others, which cause harm or undermine self-determination" (Sarmiento et al., 2014: 48).

Table 5.2 depicts the number and distribution of the presence of this, and the following, SGRMIs in the killings of women and girls in Canada. In the full 2018 sample, focusing on the 156 victims for whom an accused was identified, 33 victims (21%) had a history of prior violence perpetrated against them. Focusing on male accused only, 32 of the 137 victims (23%) had a history of such violence, demonstrating that femicide with evidence of prior violence is almost exclusively perpetrated by male accused. Focusing on restraining/protection orders specifically, 16 victims in the full sample and 15 victims in the male accused sample had orders in place at the time of the femicide. [*See Textbox 5.3a and Textbox 5.3b*]

---

### *Textbox 5.3a*: Previous record of harassment and/or violence

A woman was killed by her current intimate partner, who had a previous record of harassment and violence. The offender and victim began their relationship in 2004, were married in 2010 and had three children together. The victim also had an older child from a prior relationship. The offender had a long history of violence against women, including a prior assault conviction against a previous female intimate partner. With respect to the victim of femicide in this case, he had four prior convictions for offences committed against her and, for three incidents, was subjected to bail or probation aimed at reducing the chance that he would assault her again. During the first assault against the victim, the offender grabbed her by the throat while she was seven months pregnant with their second child. The second assault, in which he punched her in the face, occurred while the offender was on bail for the first assault. These two incidents resulted in two convictions of common assault. The offender was sentenced to four months in jail and ordered not to have contact with his intimate partner when he was under the influence of drugs or alcohol. During the third assault, which appeared to show violence escalation, the offender punched, kicked, and stomped on the victim's face and arms, pleading guilty again to common assault, but no information could be found on his sentence. The fourth, increasingly violent, assault occurred while the offender was still on probation for the third assault. This time, during a verbal argument, the offender got on top of the victim lying on the bed and punched her in the face, head, and sides of her chest. The victim suffered a fractured left arm, an orbital (eye) fracture of the right side of her face, a partially collapsed lung, and fractured ribs. Again, the offender pled guilty to assault causing bodily harm and was sentenced to 18 months in jail. On the night of the femicide, the offender violated several court orders, including the no-contact order with the victim. The offender got into an argument with the victim at a party and beat her to death with his fists and feet, repeating the escalating pattern of violence from the previous four convictions. The victim died from blunt force trauma, suffering 23 fractured ribs, a broken jaw, and a nearly severed tongue. The offender was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to 18 years in prison. In addition to demonstrating a previous record of harassment/violence, this case is also indicative of the presence of other SGRMIs, including intimate partner femicide and excessive violence.

*Textbox 5.3b*: **Previous record of harassment and/or violence**

A woman was found decomposed in her apartment after being killed by her current intimate partner, who had a previous record of harassment/violence. The offender and victim reportedly had an "on-again, off-again" relationship for approximately three years before her death. The victim had two children, one of whom was the offender's biological child. The offender had a history of violence against the victim, including prior convictions and breaches of no-contact orders. In the first court-documented incident, the offender dragged the victim off the bed, hitting and kicking her in the head, eye, and face, and choking her to the point that she almost passed out. The offender subsequently pleaded guilty to assaulting the victim and was sentenced to three years probation which included a no-contact order. Two years later, the offender was arrested for assaulting the victim while she was in the shower, during which he pulled her hair and caused her to hit her head. The offender was released on bail and, weeks after that assault, the victim became pregnant with the offender's child. After he accompanied her to an obstetrician appointment, he was convicted of breach of probation and, once again, ordered not to be in contact with the victim. Two months after the child's birth, the offender was arrested for breaching his probation. The offender went to jail and was released a month later when he returned to the victim's apartment, after which it is believed the victim was killed. Around the time of the killing, the offender and victim got into multiple arguments, which escalated into physical altercations. The offender hit the victim, broke her nose, and caused her to fall backward and hit her head against a wall. The offender then left the victim on the floor and went to bed. She was dead when he got up in the morning. He concealed her body in a closet, hidden under garbage, and left her body there for weeks before police found her badly decomposed body in the apartment. It was reported that he had also covered the vents with aluminium foil and duct tape to contain the smell of decomposition. The children were not with the offender during this period. The offender pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was sentenced to six years in prison. This case not only demonstrates a previous record of violence/harassment but also illustrates the SGRMI of intimate partner femicide.

"She would always be there for her family and for anyone that knew her, her friends, and even strangers she met on the street."

## SGRMI #4: Illegal deprivation of her liberty

According to the UN statistical framework, this variable is "applicable when there is evidence that the victim was unlawfully detained, against her will, or unlawfully taken away, concealed, or detained from their legal guardian, prior to the killing. This means that the victim was kidnapped, illegally restrained, hijacked, or unlawfully deprived of her liberty through any means" (UNODC, 2022: 13). In 2018, seven victims in the total sample and six in the male accused only sample involved a victim who had been illegally deprived of her liberty. [*See Textbox 5.4*]

*Textbox 5.4*: **Illegal deprivation of her liberty**

A woman travelling across Canada was illegally deprived of her liberty when she was sexually assaulted and stabbed to death by a stranger. The offender was unknown to the victim, who he reportedly picked up in his car when he saw her hitchhiking on the day of the femicide. The attack began when the pair were driving, and the offender suddenly struck the victim in the back of the head multiple times with a hunting knife. The victim fought back, but during the struggle, the offender overpowered her, pulled her onto a makeshift bed in the back of the van, bound her hands together with electrical tape, and removed her clothes. The victim asked if the offender would rape her and why, and he responded, "Yes, because, just because." The offender struggled to get an erection, briefly penetrating her, then became filled with explicable rage. At this time, the offender flipped the victim onto her stomach and violently escalated the sexual assault, including choking her, spitting on her several times, and holding her by the mouth. He then bound the victim's wrists and ankles with tape and left her confined naked in the back of the van with blankets covering her while he continued to drive. He drove to a remote location and, at one point during the attack, the victim managed to break free of her bonds and screamed for help, but the offender used his body to block the passenger side door before locking it, so the victim could not get out. The victim continued to fight for her life, and during the struggle, the offender forced the victim into the back of the van and bound her hands and feet again. He drove to a heavily wooded and remote area, where he continued to stab the victim while she screamed. He put his hand over her mouth to conceal her screams. After ensuring the victim could not escape after this prolonged attack, he drove off, leaving her to die in the bushes, where her body was found. The coroner's report determined that the victim had been stabbed 42 times, and the cause of death was multiple stab wounds leading to excessive blood loss and respiratory compromise. The offender pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for 23 years. This case is also illustrative of the presence of multiple SGRMIs given that, in addition to illegal deprivation of her liberty, it also involved sexual violence prior to the killing, excessive violence, her body being disposed of in a public space, and evidence of hate/bias against women.

## SGRMI #5: Use of force and/or mutilation

Referred to as 'killing accompanied by mutilation of the body' in the UN framework, this applies in situations which:
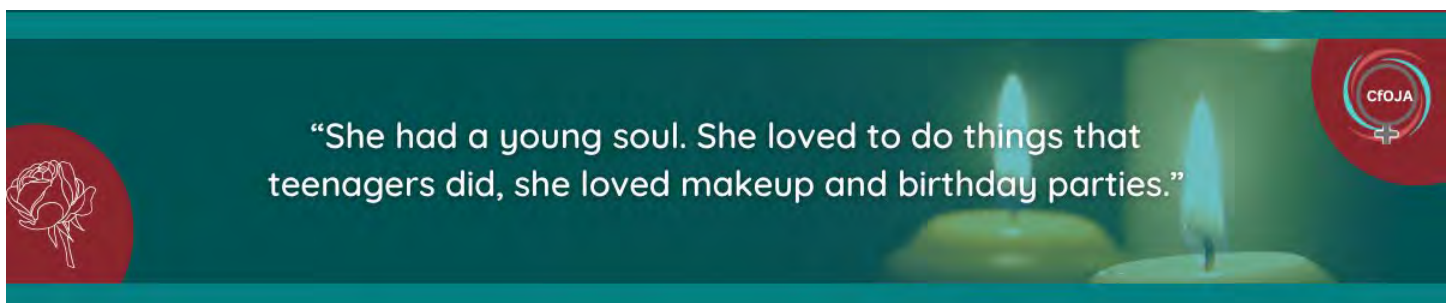
> "killing accompanied by mutilation of the body" is applicable in situations that present body mutilation or, in general, when there are signs of derogative violence on the body that go beyond the amount needed to put an end to the life of the victim. This translates into the use of one or several instruments to inflict physical aggression, for example, blunt-force trauma caused by hands or objects followed by stabbing; the use of blunt force and strangulation; the use of a knife and a gun. One of the following criteria need to be identified after an autopsy, in order to determine whether the killing was accompanied by body mutilation: the body presents limb mutilation/dismemberment; the body presents signs of organ removal; the body presents evidence of degrading treatment; the body presents signs of torture; the body presents other signs of excessive mistreatment (UNODC, 2022: 13).

Because the CFOJA does not have access to autopsy reports for data collection, we determined the presence of this SGRMI by references in the media reports and court documents to excessive violence, mutilation, or the use of multiple methods. In the 2018 total sample, 26 of the victims involved some form of 'overkill' or mutilation, and 24 of them were victims of male accused. [*See Textbox 5.5*]

*Textbox 5.5*: Use of force and/or mutilation

A woman was subjected to excessive violence when her former intimate partner attacked her brutally inside her home. The victim and the offender were previously married but had been separated for several years. They had two young children together and frequently disagreed over which country to raise their children in. At one point prior to the killing, the couple and their children went back to their home country. However, the victim wanted their children to be raised in Canada. The offender confiscated the passports of his wife and children so they could not come back to Canada, but the victim was able to find them and brought her children back to Canada without her husband's knowledge. When arriving in Canada, the victim expressed fears to the RCMP that the offender would take the children back to their home country without her consent. There was no information available on whether or how the RCMP responded. Once the victim and her children settled in Canada, she sought assistance in relation to seeking a divorce from the offender and obtaining child support. By this time, the offender had also returned to and settled in Canada in a different house. In the days before the femicide, he applied to move into the same apartment complex where the victim was living with their children. One day prior to the femicide, the offender had flowers, chocolates, and a card delivered to the victim, thanking her for what she did for the children. This led to a planned meeting the next day in her home to discuss the children. At some point during that planned encounter, the offender attacked the victim in her kitchen and on the back patio, which led to police receiving numerous 911 calls about a disturbance in the apartment. The offender used at least three knives in the killing and caused 71 cuts and stab injuries to the victim's body, including her face, chest, abdomen, upper back, left forearm, and hands. Five of the stab wounds penetrated the victim's chest cavity and damaged her heart and lungs. The blade of one knife broke off and was found embedded in the victim's heart. Her death was caused by the number of wounds, their placement, and the resulting blood loss. At least five neighbours heard the assault; some witnessed the offender violently inflicting the wounds on the victim. The offender pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for 14 years. In addition to demonstrating excessive violence, this case also illustrates the presence of multiple SGRMIs, including previous records of harassment/violence and a family member and intimate partner relationship.

"She had a young soul. She loved to do things that teenagers did, she loved makeup and birthday parties."

## SGRMI #6: Body disposed of in a public space

This variable captures "instances where the uncovered, exposed, and/or partially clothed or fully clothed body of a female victim was transported from the crime scene and intentionally exposed in an open area, which may include but is not limited to the following: streets, market places, residential areas, public transportation, public institutions such as schools or other institutions, commercial premises, institutional care settings, or other open areas" (UNODC, 2022: 14). In 2018, 29 victims (17%) in the total sample and 25 victims (18%) in the male accused only sample involved the victim being disposed of publicly after the killing. [*See Textbox 5.6*]

*Textbox 5.6*: **Body disposed of in a public space**

A woman's body was found disposed of in a public space after her current male partner choked her to death. The offender and the victim were engaged and raising a blended family of three children together. This included two of the victim's children and one of the offender's children from their previous relationships. During their relationship, the victim learned that her fiancé was using drugs "sporadically". She warned him that if it continued, she would leave him and contact the child welfare authorities. On the day of the femicide, the offender and victim had another argument in their bedroom over the offender's drug use. The offender became enraged, placing her in a chokehold from behind and squeezing her neck and upper chest. The victim was unable to free herself and tried calling out to her son for help but eventually lost consciousness and stopped breathing. The offender then dressed the victim's dead body in clothes she was wearing on a walk the night before and wrapped her in a mattress pad before dropping her body out of the second-storey window of their home into their backyard. Following this, the offender put running shoes on her feet and dragged the body from the backyard into the back of the victim's car. He drove the victim to a treed area along the side of a road two kilometres from their home and abandoned her there. The victim's body was found later by an individual passing by the area. The offender gave varying accounts of what happened the night of the femicide to his children and investigators. He pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. This case serves as an example of the SGRMI of the victim's body being disposed of in a public space but is also illustrative of intimate partner femicide and the victim being deprived of her liberty.

"She was very peppy, very get up and go."
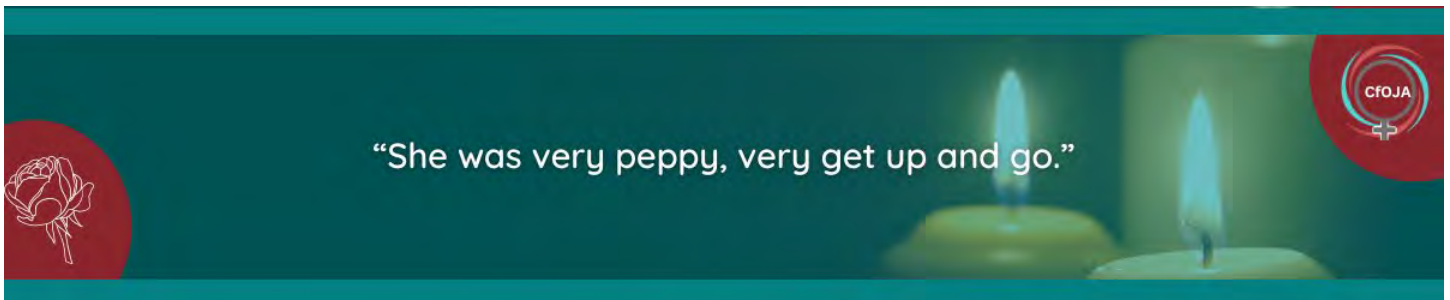
## SGRMI #7: Sexual violence was committed before and/or after the killing

This variable applies in "situations when a forensic examination of the victim's body indicates that the victim was subjected to sexual violence before, during or after the killing. In addition to physical evidence of sexual assault on the victim's body, this may also include the presence of biological material (DNA) foreign to the victim" (UNODC, 2022: 14). In addition, the Latin American Model Protocol includes examples such as "great violence on genital areas and areas with sexual meaning for the perpetrator, signs of direct sexual conduct (demonstrate commission of sexual aggression, direct proof, as well as those required through DNA/analysis), and signs related to sexual fantasies (situations of control, submission, torture, and humiliation) and the position in which the body is left following the femicide" (p. 81).  Again, because the CFOJA does not have access to autopsy reports for data collection, we determined the presence of this SGRMI by references to sexual violence in the public documents reviewed.

In 2018, seven victims (4%) in the total sample and six victims (4%) in the male accused sample involved some form of sexual violence. [*See Textbox 5.7*]

*Textbox 5.7:* **Sexual violence was committed before and/or after the killing**
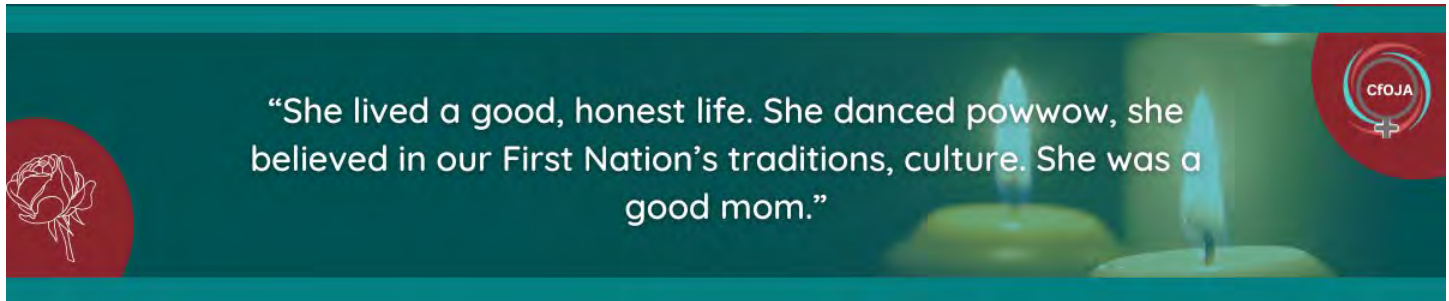
A woman was sexually assaulted prior to being beaten to death by a stranger while working at a community reading room. There are limited details of the brutal attack apart from the fact that the offender was allegedly intoxicated on the day of the killing and was seen on video footage entering and leaving the building that day. Hours after the offender allegedly left the building, the victim was found inside the office of the drop-in space by a co-worker. She was lying unresponsive, beaten, covered in blood, and struggling to breathe. The victim was unclothed from the waist down, and her pants and underwear were hooked around one of her ankles. She was taken to the hospital and kept on life support before succumbing to her injuries. There was evidence that the offender sexually assaulted the victim during the brutal attack, which included evidence of injuries to the victim's genitals which were consistent with "forceful penetration". There were a series of radiating lacerations on her genitals, and it was determined that "more than minimal force" would have been applied to inflict the injuries. In addition, the offender left his semen and DNA on the victim's body during the violent attack, and the victim's blood was transferred onto items the offender was wearing during the attack. When arrested three days later, the offender allegedly wore the same leather bracelet and shoes stained with the victim's blood. The victim's autopsy documented 54 injuries on her head, neck, and body, and the coroner concluded that the victim died of blunt-force head injuries. The offender was found guilty of first-degree murder and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for 25 years. In addition to demonstrating sexual violence committed prior to the femicide, this case also illustrates the SGRMI of excessive violence.

## SGRMI #8: Victim was working in the sex industry

This variable "refers to situations when a woman who worked in the sex industry is a victim of intentional homicide. This variable is applicable in all situations in which a female homicide victim is known by criminal justice authorities or other authorities to have previously been involved in the sex trade, regardless of whether it is criminalized under that jurisdiction (UNODC, 2022: 14-15). In the 2018 sample, only one case aligned with this SGRMI. [*See Textbox 5.8*]

*Textbox 5.8*: **Victim was working in the sex industry**

A woman who had previously been involved in the sex industry was reported missing and later found dead in a rural area. The victim was reported missing after she stopped posting on social media, and her family began to fear for her wellbeing. She was described as an individual who frequently moved cities and travelled to different countries but continued to keep in contact with her family. The victim had one child from whom she was estranged. The police reported that the victim had previously worked as an escort and an exotic dancer, but there was no indication that she was still engaged in this industry. The victim was last seen being dropped off at a parking lot and was allegedly going to stay with a friend in the area. Nearly two years after she was last seen, the victim's remains were identified, and her death was determined to be a homicide. There are limited details of the femicide apart from the fact that the victim had been living with the offender for about two weeks before her death. The offender alleges that he and the victim were alone in the apartment, and the victim "hit her own head against a heavy mirror and started bleeding". After two days passed, the offender moved her body from the living room to the bedroom and used a pay phone to call for the assistance of another man who had previously moved deceased bodies in another country. The man allegedly dismembered the victim's left femur to fit her remains into the suitcase. The offender then strapped the suitcase on a dolly, put it in his van, and abandoned the body in a rural area. The victim's body was discovered in a suitcase in a rural area by two individuals who were out walking. The autopsy found the cause of death was blunt force trauma to the head area, but whether the injuries were pre- or post-death could not be determined due to the state of decomposition. The offender pleaded guilty to committing an indignity to human remains and counselling an indictable offence and was sentenced to eight years in prison. In addition to illustrating the SGRMI of the victim involved in the sex industry, it also involved excessive violence and/or mutilation and the body being disposed of in a public space.

"She lived a good, honest life. She danced powwow, she believed in our First Nation's traditions, culture. She was a good mom."

## SGRMI #9: Hate crime motivated by bias against women/girls

The UN framework refers to these types of femicides as those committed by perpetrators who were:

> "motivated by hatred, which means that the perpetrator intentionally targets a woman because of a bias against this perceived group of people, or misogyny. Such crimes may or may not be committed out of direct animosity towards the victim, but hate crime displays hostility towards the group or community to which the victim belongs. The message conveyed by the offender, whether intentionally or not, sends a signal not only to the individual victim but also to other persons who feel that they are at risk of being labelled and treated like the victim. Signs of a hate crime can be recognizable by the specific modus operandi or context of the homicide (p. 13).

They include the following situations as illustrative of homicides targeting women that are motivated by hate or bias towards women or specific groups of women:

- an attack on a woman who was previously engaged in activism in support of women's rights;
- an attack on a woman by a perpetrator who used insults and offensive words towards her for being a woman; an attack on a female group/organization;
- an attack (or series of attacks or killings) that primarily targets women;
- an attack on a LGBTI woman by a perpetrator who used insults and offensive words towards her sexual orientation or gender identity, in written format or in other ways;
- an attack on a woman by a perpetrator who had used messages of hatred against women, in written format or other ways;
- an attack on a woman by someone known to her (such as a colleague or neighbour), in which she is the direct victim of the perpetrator's animosity, which is underpinned by wider misogyny;
- an attack on a woman by a perpetrator who belongs to a hate group that specifically targets women. (p.13-14).

In the 2018 sample, 14 cases involved some evidence that the killing was motivated by bias or hate against women, all of which involved male accused. Previous CFOJA reports have highlighted the events of April 23, 2018, often referred to as the 'Toronto Van Attack,' and how this killer's actions were motivated by hatred of women or misogyny. The perpetrator admitted that he drew his inspiration from men who used violence as retribution for 'being unable to get laid," the so-called incel[46] online subculture of men united by sexual frustration and hatred of women.[47] Last year, the killer was sentenced for killing eight[48] women and two men and

---

[46] The term 'incel' is short for involuntary celibacy, and largely describes virtual networks of men who fail to establish intimate relationships with women, which has become an environment ripe for the promotion and sharing of deeply misogynistic ideologies. Those who have conducted research on incels indicate that it is a violent political ideology based on a new wave of misogyny and white supremacy (Zimmerman et al., 2018: 1). Globally, at least 10 attacks against women have been connected to such networks in the past few years (Fernquist et al., 2020).

[47] See: Toronto van attack suspect says he was 'radicalized' by online 'incels' .

[48] See: A ninth victim, a female, who had remained in the hospital since the attack died on October 28, 2021, succumbing to the injuries she sustained in the attack. The killer had already been convicted for the attempted murder of this victim and was sentenced to life for this killing.

injuring 16 others. This is a clear example of a sex/gender related killing. We include two lesser-known cases as illustrative examples to counteract the belief that this type of violence is rare.[49] [*See Textbox 5.9a and Textbox 5.9b*]

*Textbox 5.9a*: **Hate crime motivated by bias against women and girls**

The offender and the victim, his elderly mother, lived in the same residence, and he was responsible for her daily care because her health was significantly deteriorating. The offender and his common-law partner were initially charged with first-degree murder in the victim's death. However, after the court determined that the common-law partner had also endured severe domestic violence perpetrated by the offender, she was allowed to plead guilty to obstruction of justice. Thus, the offender had a previous history of violence against women, which included violence against his mother and his common-law partner. In the months leading up to his mother's death, the offender blamed the victim for all his failures and increasingly took out his frustration on her by verbally and physically attacking her. In one incident, his common-law partner witnessed the offender yelling at the victim while slapping and pulling her hair. The offender also perpetrated emotional and physical abuse against his common-law partner, exacerbated by the offender's belief that she had been unfaithful. At times, he would strike her or throw things at her, causing injury to her or damage to the house. The violence continued to escalate during the months leading up to the femicide, and on the day of the victim's death, the offender struck his common-law partner with the cord of a vacuum cleaner. He also smashed a glass jug into her face, leaving a wound that required multiple stitches. After this incident, the offender and his mother went upstairs, where he struck the mother while she was in the bathtub. He then pulled her out of the bathtub and continued to strike her and stomp on her back.  During the attack, the offender made degrading comments, including: "You ruined my life — fucking lazy bitch — you want to die, fucking die already." He then started pacing around the house before continuing to perpetrate a vicious beating on his mother, who was already on the floor, slipping in and out of consciousness. The victim's deceased body remained in the offender's home for two days before she was brought to the hospital. It was determined that the victim died due to multiple blunt force injuries, most likely caused by the offender stomping on her back. The offender pleaded guilty to second-degree murder. This case is illustrative of a killing motivated by hate or bias towards women, but also included the presence of other SGRMIs, including a family member relationship and a previous record of violence/harassment.

"She was a warm person with a spirit, a heart and a voice that was valuable to many people."

---
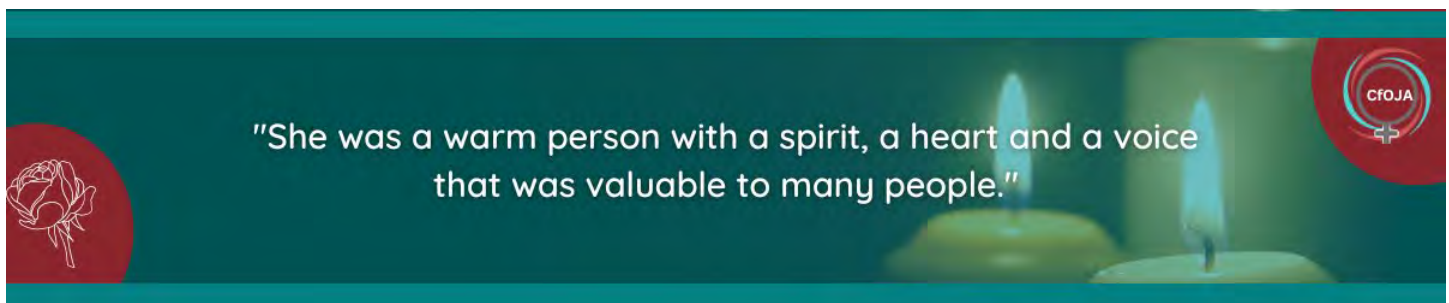
[49] See also *Considering Gender-Based Violence as a Form of Hate: A Socio-Legal Examination*, prepared for the British Columbia's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner, Inquiry into hate in the pandemic.

***Textbox 5.9b**: Hate crime motivated by bias against women and girls*

A woman was killed by her former partner, who expressed direct animosity toward her. The victim and offender had one child together and frequently had disputes over childcare, finances, and custody of their daughter. The offender had a history of violence against women, including a prior conviction for assaulting another woman (no relationship was identified in documents reviewed), for which he was handed a conditional discharge with a year's probation. In his relationship with the victim of femicide, there was evidence of prior psychological and physical violence. Witnesses to their relationship recalled the constant fighting, verbal attacks on the victim, bruises on the victim, holes in the walls of the couple's home, and instances where the offender would kick and push the victim, accumulate large amounts of debt, and neglect their child. At the time of the femicide, the victim and offender had been separated for several months, and the victim had previously refused the offender's attempts to get back together. Approximately seven months before the femicide, the victim moved to a different province with their child after obtaining the offender's permission. The victim began a relationship with a new man, who moved in with her and the child. This reportedly fuelled the offender's jealousy and hatred for the victim because he could not accept the rejection and his diminished role in his child's life, particularly once the victim's new partner entered their child's life. The offender's abusive and controlling behaviour continued after separation, including lying about having terminal cancer, withholding child support payments, monitoring the victim's whereabouts, and making unannounced visits to the victim's home. The victim and offender continued to have conflict over parenting issues, and the victim filed an application seeking sole custody and child support four months prior to the femicide. The final court order permitted the offender to have time with his daughter in the province he was living in. On the night before the femicide, the offender arrived at the victim's residence unannounced, where she lived with her new partner, to allegedly hide from the police and pay his debt to the victim. The offender arrived at the residence dressed entirely in black, carrying a knife, using a burner phone, with no license plates on his car, and a sawed-off shotgun in his trunk. The offender stayed overnight at the victim's residence and picked her up from work the next day to allegedly go to the bank. Instead of going to the bank, the offender began driving down back roads before pulling over to the side of the road. The offender then sat on the trunk of his car, where the victim approached him to hug him. He then picked up the victim, forcibly confined her into the trunk of his car, and began strangling her. During the struggle, the offender grabbed a shotgun and shot the victim twice, which led to her death. With her body still in the trunk, the offender drove back to the province he previously lived in, before driving back to a cornfield on a rural road about 25 kilometres from the victim's home, where he dumped her body. In the days following the femicide, the offender admitted to strangling and shooting the victim, wanting to commit suicide, and expressing hatred for the victim to several individuals (family, friends, and police). In one utterance to a police officer, he stated that he loved his child and ex-partner, but if he "could not have them, nobody would". In addition, during a call with the victim's best friend the morning after he killed his former partner, he said, "we all know that I hated her guts so bad like before we talked in August." The offender was found guilty of first-degree murder and was sentenced to life without the possibility of parole for 25 years. In addition to demonstrating hate/bias against women, this case also illustrates the presence of multiple SGRMIs, including intimate partner femicide, a previous record of violence/harassment, the victim being deprived of her liberty, and the victim's body being disposed of in a public space.

## SGRMI #10: Victim of forms of illegal exploitation

The variable "'victim of forms of illegal exploitation' applies in situations when there is evidence that the victim was subjected to trafficking in persons or to other forms of exploitation prior to the killing, such as slavery, forced labour or sexual exploitation. This contextual evidence can be derived from the recording of such conducts as separate offences" (UNODC, 2022: 13). In 2018, we were not able to identify any victims for whom this situation applied, which is not surprising given the focus is on one year only and limited data sources. However, for educational purposes, we provide an illustrative case example for this SGRMI; we describe a 2021 case. [*See Textbox 5.10*].

*Textbox 5.10*: **Victim of forms of illegal exploitation**

A woman's body was found, and evidence suggests that she was a victim of illegal exploitation prior to her death. The victim was reported missing to the RCMP after she had not contacted her family, which was out of character and led to their concern. Approximately one week after being reported missing, her body was found in a small, wooded ravine by police. The victim's mother explained that, on her daughter's final days, she was forced into a human trafficking ring as a result of her struggles with addiction and being laid off from her job. Before her death, the mother had set up a system of support to assist her in exiting the human trafficking ring. In addition, one of the victim's friends described the victim as being scared for her life and attempting to flee from a man. Following an 18-month-long investigation, the former boyfriend of the victim, with whom she was in a relationship up until her disappearance, was charged with manslaughter. In addition to illustrating the presence of the victim being subjected to illegal exploitation, this case also involved an intimate partner relationship, and the body was disposed of in a public space.

## A global measure of SGRMIs in 2018

Our goal in the above section is to clearly delineate what we mean by sex/gender-related motives and indicators for femicide to increase public awareness and education. Only when the public and professionals understand what femicide is will they grasp the importance of calling it femicide. As stated above, the Latin American Model Protocol states that determining whether a killing is sex/gender-related requires only one indicator which is why we examined each of them separately above. However, as should have become evident from the illustrative examples in each textbox, multiple SGRMIs are often present together in each case. Therefore, we argue that it is important to understand the full scope of the SGRMIs as they present in the total sample each year and in each case to illustrate their frequency in the killings of women and girls and whether there are changes over time as (hopefully) more nuanced prevention initiatives are developed and implemented.

**Chart 5.1: Percent distribution of the presence of SGRMIs in the killings of women and girls in Canada, 2018 (N=169)**



24%

76%

■ At least one SGRMI present

■ No SGRMIs present

**Chart 5.2: Percent distribution of the presence of SGRMIs in the killings of women and girls involving male accused in Canada, 2018 (N=137)**
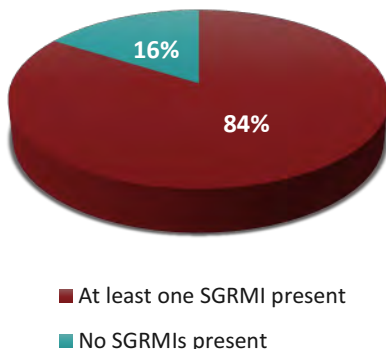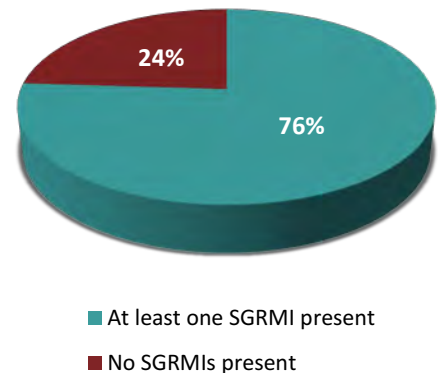


16%

84%

■ At least one SGRMI present

■ No SGRMIs present

To begin to do so, we examined the combined frequency across all 2018 cases – the full sample and then the male accused only sample – for the 10 variables identified by the UN framework. For the full sample (N=169), at least one SGRMI was present in the killings of over three-quarters of the victims (N=128; 76%), as shown in Chart 5.1. The full sample includes those victims whose killers had not yet been identified or remain unsolved because the known circumstances of their killings (e.g., excessive violence, sexual violence) may still be indicative of femicide. Focusing on the sample of male accused (N=137), 115 victims (or 84%) involved at least one SGRMI (see Chart 5.2).

It is argued that intimate partner femicide and familial femicide are not automatically sex/gender-related killings, and while that may be the case, decades of research worldwide have documented the characteristics of these cases, supporting their inclusion in the UN statistical framework. However, to address this concern, we examined the presence of the SGRMIs without these two contexts. Focusing on the remaining eight variables, at least one SGRMI was still present in 79 of the 115 cases (58%). We contend that this provides strong evidence of the role played by SGRMIs given our limited data sources – this represents the minimum, or lower threshold of cases, in which SGRMIs are known to be present. However, as demonstrated by Dawson and Carrigan (2021), when documenting femicide in Canada, availability and accessibility to quality information is weak, with high proportions of missing data. They further contend that these "data biases may be putting the lives of women and girls at risk" (p. 14); therefore, governments must begin to "emphasize prevention as the priority for data collection rather than administrative needs" (p. 17). In doing so, various research priorities and related data challenges will need to be addressed, as discussed in the next section.

# Section VI:
# Research priorities and data challenges

In this section, we identify and discuss current and emerging research priorities along with data challenges because the two topics are intricately connected in relation to accurately documenting and understanding femicide. What has become apparent in the past five years of our work is that there has been little change in what are the key research priorities, in part due to the limited progress in improving data quality and accessibility. Change takes time but what it means in the short term is that progress has been particularly stagnant for some groups of women and girls and for some types of femicide. While this is a global challenge, Canada has arguably fallen behind many countries in addressing these priorities and data challenges. At one time, Canada was a leader in its responses to violence against women, being one of the earliest countries to adopt numerous policy measures in the mid-1980s (Weldon, 2002). At that time, Canada had a worldwide reputation for its innovative programs in police training and specialized research; however, these activities levelled off in the 1990s (Weldon, 2002).

While there has been no recent comparative cross-national research, current Canadian responses to violence against women and girls were described in 2019 by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women as "mainly project oriented, focusing on specific areas and lacking a human rights-based holistic legal framework and comparable data collection" (UN General Assembly, 2019: 6). The Special Rapporteur further noted in the Canada report that "there is a need for a more comprehensive and holistic national action plan on violence against women" (p. 6), something that women's organization in Canada have been demanding for the past decade.

In November 2022, the federal government announced its new *National Action Plan on Gender-Based Violence.* However, the new plan has left many women's organizations and anti-violence groups underwhelmed and disappointed after lobbying for such a plan for about 10 years.[50] Concerns centred on the fact that there were various opportunities and 'plans' outlined, but no real 'action' or accountability mechanisms for those who were responsible for implementing the plan. In fact, based on available information, it is not clear who is responsible for enacting the plan given that the media reported that the federal government stated, "We're putting money on the table. But really, it's the provinces and territories that are going to roll this out," the details of which, they further explained, would be decided through individual negotiations with each provincial and territorial government.

Below, we briefly highlight just some of the groups or contexts requiring more attention, including what we know from the past five years of data collection where possible. We do so to introduce CFOJA's *#MakingHerVisible* campaign which will examine in more detail each of these topics throughout 2023. With great thanks to the Shockproofing Communities funding from the Canadian Women's Foundation, we will release a series of research briefs and snapshots as well as social media images to make these and other often-invisible victims more visible to the public and to professionals. We divide the priorities and challenges discussed below according to (1) specific groups of women and girls (e.g., by age, race/ethnicity, sexuality, and ability); and (2) types or contexts of femicide (e.g., rural femicide, femicide of women and girls in the sex industry, and type of victim-perpetrator relationship, etc.). The priorities are listed randomly and do not indicate a hierarchy of victims or contexts. The brief discussion of each topic below will be followed by more in-depth analyses for each and other invisible femicide victims throughout 2023.

---

[50] See: Ottawa announces national plan to end gender-based violence.

# #MakingHerVisible: Research priorities for specific groups of women and girls

## Femicide involving Indigenous, Black, and other racialized women and girls

Every year, we have drawn attention to the data challenges and gaps in documenting the patterns and risks of femicide for Indigenous, Black, and other racialized women and girls.[51] For example, the CFOJA data over the past five years is missing information about the victims' race/ethnicity in almost half the sample (47%) and in more than three-quarters of the sample for the accused (76%). As such, it is difficult to say with certainty what the risk is for some racialized groups of women and girls, given that patterns may change if more information is available. For example, the CFOJA data showed that femicide victims who were Indigenous continue to be, *at minimum*, four times higher than their representation in the population. The *at minimum* is key because recent figures from Statistics Canada puts their rate at five times higher (4.31), accounting for 24 percent of all female victims in 2021, compared to the rate for non-Indigenous women and girls (0.80) (David and Jaffray, 2022: 5). As such, as we acknowledge each year, the CFOJA data underestimates femicide risk for this group of women and girls.

However, data challenges have also been documented in official data sources, which is arguably more concerning because these sources of information (e.g., Statistics Canada's Homicide Survey) are perceived by many as the more accurate source of data on violence and homicide, which may not always be the case.[52] These concerns were underscored and documented in *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* (NIMMIWG) (2019), which estimated these figures to be much higher.[53] While there have been efforts to improve these data sources since then, gaps continue to prevent a clear



understanding of the ongoing impacts of colonization, racism and discrimination for Indigenous peoples, and women and girls, specifically.

We also know that other groups of racialized women and girls are at increased risk, but our data quality is even more limited for these women and girls because it is difficult to document their level of risk from public documents. Official statistics on police-reported crime and victimization are typically not much better. While Statistics Canada has collected homicide data related to Indigenous populations for decades, data collection on other racialized groups of homicide victims and accused only began in 2019. Using these data, their

---

[51] We acknowledge that there is wide variation in the terms used to capture groups of racialized women and girls who are made more vulnerable to violence by existing sexist and racist societal structures and processes.

[52] Given increasing reliance on media sources by researchers, the quality of information documented in the media has been compared to information contained in official sources. Although largely conducted in the US, this research has shown that newspapers identify just as much, or more, information about the circumstances surrounding a homicide than what is included in official, government-based data sources (Huff-Corzine et al., 2013; Parkin & Gruenewald, 2017; Shon & Lee, 2016). In addition, there were similarities between the two data sources in terms of the information and circumstances listed, highlighting a high level of agreement and, as a result, lending legitimacy to media/newspaper accounts.

[53] See for example, *Annex 1: Summary of Forensic Document Review Project*, in Volume 1B of the Inquiry report.

recent figures reported that one-third (32%) of homicide victims in 2021 – including female and male victims – were identified as a "racialized group"[54], representing a homicide rate of 2.51 per 100,000 – 38 percent higher than the rate for the rest of the population (David and Jaffray, 2022: 7). Of this group, about one-half were identified as Black and almost one in five were South Asian. Disaggregating by sex of the victim, while the rate for racialized women (0.92) increased from the previous year (2020), it reportedly remained lower than the rate for non-racialized women (1.03) (David and Jaffray, 2022: 7).

In addition to the above challenges, research has also documented that newcomer immigrant/refugee women and girls face specific challenges, but their experiences of violence and responses to their help-seeking efforts are not captured adequately in Canada.

In 2020, in response to ongoing criticisms of how law enforcement agencies – and other institutions such as health care organizations – respond to marginalized and/or racialized communities, Statistics Canada reported that it would begin to collect race-based data in partnership with the Canadian Association of the Chiefs of Police.[55] It is clear that these types of data have the potential to shed light on key issues of systemic discrimination and racism within institutions. However, the reporting and recording biases inherent in police data are also well documented, even with respect to homicide. As such, who should be collecting such data, what partners and stakeholders should be involved, how these data will ultimately be used and by whom should remain key concerns moving forward.

To begin to address some of these challenges with respect to Black femicide, specifically, the Black Femicide Canada Council (BFCC) was established as a response to the ongoing calls from Black women, girls, gender-diverse and trans (B-WGGDT) communities in Canada for transformative truth-telling, justice, accountability, and action that acknowledges, understands, and redresses the anti-Black gender-based violence experiences. The role of the BFCC is to provide guidance, strategic direction, and to raise awareness of the femicides of B-WGGDT people in Canada.

Some of the key activities planned by the BFCC include:

- Raising awareness of the femicides of B-WGGD people
- Leading the work of applying an intersectional lens to highlight the systemic misogynoir and other barriers faced by B-WGGDT communities
- Developing research strategies and protocols for the collection of race-based data
- Monitoring media reports to track and document instances of Black femicide
- Developing collaborative partnerships with Indigenous communities, including the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), to foster the well-being of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit peoples, namely by raising awareness of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit peoples
- Collaborating with Black femicide organizations in North America, Europe and internationally
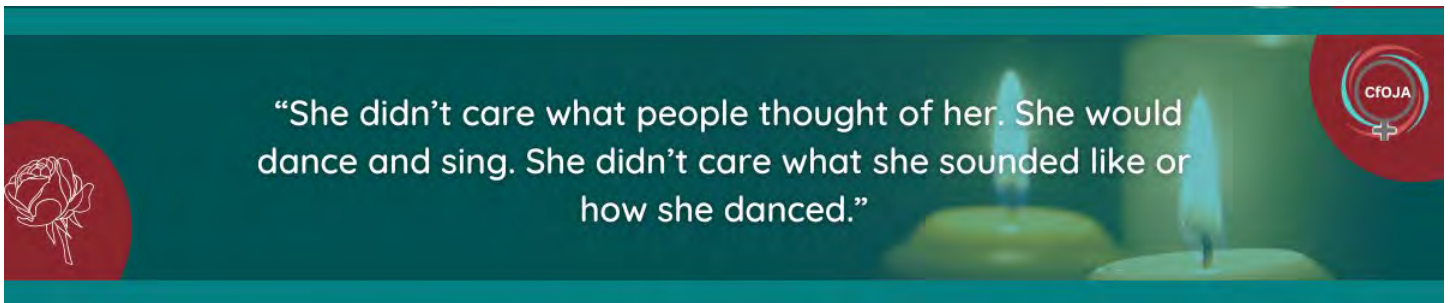
---

[54] This is measured using the visible minority variable which is defined by the Employment Equity Act, the term "visible minority" refers to "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" and consist mainly of the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Arab, West Asian, Filipino, Southeast Asian, Latin American, Japanese, and Korean (see http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/concepts/definitions/minority01). This term is not recognized in many other countries.

[55] See: https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/statistics-canada-race-data-police-1.5650273.

- Collaborating with femicide organizations globally, including the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice & Accountability (CFOJA)
- Developing comprehensive recommendations that focus on prevention, to enhance safety for B-WGGDT survivors and accountability for aggressors
- Drafting regular reports to highlight the work being done
- Securing funding to support and sustain the work of the Council
- Support other Council members in various ways

The council is comprised of B-WGGDT experts across sectors and works closely with allies who are equally committed to dismantling systemic anti-Black gender-based violence (aBGBV) and increasing recognition of Black femicides in Canada. The BFCC operates within an intersectional, decolonial and anti-Black racism framework, with a view to creating public policies that protect B-WGGDT people in Canadian systems and institutions.



"She didn't care what people thought of her. She would dance and sing. She didn't care what she sounded like or how she danced."

# Femicide of older women

On April 19, 2021, the following headline appeared in the Toronto Star:

*"She was Toronto's homicide No. 70 of 2019. We only found out after her husband died of COVID-19 in jail."*

No. 70 was 75-year-old Zohra Derouiche, who had been fatally stabbed in her Scarborough home on December 10, 2019. Her husband was charged with second-degree murder when Zohra died 10 days following her stabbing. Until April 19, 2021, almost 1.5 years later, the public did not know about Zohra's death. The Toronto police did not release any information at the time of her stabbing. They did not issue a press release when she died, or her husband was charged. There was no coverage of her femicide. Her name was never made public. No one knew what she looked like because no photo of her in life was ever published. The *Toronto Star* only learned about the case because her 85-year-old husband died in custody in March 2021 after contracting COVID-19. The Toronto police provided no specific reason for their failure to report Zohra's death. It is likely that both sexism and ageism played a role.

At around the same time, the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime released a report called, *Not the 'golden years': Femicide of older women in Canada,* which describes how historically and still today, for many older women, the latter stages of their life are not the golden years (Dawson, 2021). Instead, many older women's lives are rife with abuse and violence, which sometimes ends in their deaths. Despite this, while abuse of older persons is now identified as a global concern (WHO, 2013), this population continues to receive relatively little attention compared to violence against other populations. For example, in a recent *Global Study on Homicide*,

older populations were mentioned only in passing, noting they are one group among various marginalized populations whose homicides often remain undetected (UNODC, 2019: 70). And the invisibility of older populations in this global study is reflective of the situation more broadly in homicide research, according to Rogers and Storey (2019), who recently conducted the first review of research-based evidence on elder homicide. This lack of research underscores crucial attention must be paid to research, policy, and practice priorities if countries are to rise to the challenge of their increasingly older and more vulnerable populations.

In doing so, it must be acknowledged that aging experiences are highly gendered. It has been well documented that, on average, women grow older than men, and because they live longer, they are often vulnerable to various forms of exploitation, abuse, and violence (Allen et al., 2020; Krienet & Walsh, 2010). This vulnerability is often exacerbated by social isolation and the continued stigmatization and marginalization of older populations that stem from ageism and related attitudes coupled with sexism. This is also true with respect to the most extreme form of violence against women – femicide – for which there is little existing research on trends, patterns, and/or responses to this form of violence (but see ACUNS, 2017).

In Canada, the CFOJA documented that, during the past five years, women aged 65 and older comprised 15 percent of victims killed by male accused, lower than their representation in the Canadian population (20%). However, this has varied over each of the past five years; for example, in 2019, women aged 65 and older comprised the largest group of victims (20%), which was slightly higher than their representation in the population (19%). Furthermore, the age at which one becomes an older adult has been debated (Turcotte and Schellenberg, 2007). As a result, chronologically, somewhere between 45 and 65 years old appears to be the most common lower thresholds for old age (Grant & Benedet, 2016), with most using 55 to 65 years of age. Using 55 years old as the lower threshold, our five-year analysis shows that, while still lower than their representation in the population, 29 percent of women and girls killed were older women.

Given the aging population, women who live longer than men, and the impact of COVID-19 on elderly populations, this should be an urgent research priority, particularly in the context of increasing pressures on long-term care facilities and caring for older populations in community settings. For example, according to the World Health Organization, "violence against older people, who are already bearing the brunt of the pandemic, has risen sharply since the beginning of COVID-19 and related lockdowns with added risks for older women" (WHO, 2020; Storey, 2020). Typically, these added risks for older women have been in the context of intimate and familial relationships (*i.e., see the section on mothers killed by sons*), but with the catastrophic conditions facing many long-term care facilities, it is likely the risk of violence, abuse, and even death will increase in these contexts with their detection – when homicide – becoming even more challenging.

## Adolescent victims

Femicide occurs across all ages; however, the likelihood of becoming a victim of femicide differs across age groups. The majority of femicide victims are older, on average, with adolescent femicides occurring less frequently. Despite their lower risk, this population has received little attention in academic literature, resulting in a limited understanding of the characteristics of such femicides. Adolescence is the period of life between childhood and adulthood and, while definitions vary, research primarily captures the period

of life between the ages of 10 and 19, which would include early explorations of sexuality and the beginning of dating experiences for many adolescents.

Existing research has shown that the majority of adolescent femicide perpetrators are males who are older than their victims (Coyne-Beasley et al., 2003; Glass et al., 2008). Research suggests that age disparity, which is a risk for intimate partner femicide more generally, may be a greater risk factor for adolescent femicide (Balica, 2018; Coyne-Beasley et al., 2003; Glass et al., 2008). Additionally, Coyne-Beasley et al. (2003) suggest that the context of femicide differs depending on the age of the victims, with younger adolescents more often being killed by a family member as a result of an argument, whereas older adolescents are more frequently killed by an intimate partner or acquaintance (Coyne-Beasley et al., 2003).

In Canada, the CFOJA recorded the killings of 48 adolescent girls and young women aged 10 to 19 (6% of the 850 victims; 5 cases remain unsolved) from 2018 to 2022. Focusing on annual distributions, the highest proportion of these victims was in 2020, with 10 percent of the total 172 victims being aged 10 to 19 (N=17), while the lowest proportion was in 2019, consisting of three percent of the total 148 victims (N=4). Similar to trends discussed in the research literature above, for the 43 victims aged 10 to 19 with an accused identified, 93 percent were killed by a male accused (N=40), and seven percent were killed by a female accused (N=3). Focusing only on those killed by a male accused, one in five were killed by their fathers (20%; N=8). In addition, six adolescent girls and young women were killed by male acquaintances (15%), and two victims were killed by a male intimate partner (5%).



Like older victims, a previous history of violence in the relationship is a significant risk factor; however, since adolescents are in their developmental years, these histories may be perceived differently than those of older adults (Glass et al., 2008; Fairbairn, Jaffe, and Qureshi, 2020). For example, emotional or physical violence may more often be perceived as 'drama' (Martin, Houston, Mmari, and Decker, 2012: 959) or 'normalized' (Glass et al., 2008: 184) among this age group and, therefore, the risks associated with such behaviours may be minimized or missed altogether. The CFOJA will continue to collect data to inform the characteristics and unique challenges that adolescent girls and young women may face when experiencing violence in their intimate, familial, or other relationships to identify needed supports.

## Femicides involving the LGBTQ2S+ community

Femicide involving victims who are members of the LGBTQ2S+[56] community is invisible in homicide data globally (Góes Mendes et al., 2021). This situation is similarly true for victims of femicide, largely due to conceptual and measurement issues. For example, there is no consensus on whether definitions of femicide should include female perpetrators, given historically, and for many today, the

---

[56] The umbrella acronym LGBTQ2S+ includes individuals whose sexuality is lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, two-spirit, or gender-diverse (for more detail, see Jaffray, 2020).

definition of femicide includes women and girls killed by men, in line with the origins of the word (Russell, 1976, 2001). This would exclude female, same-sex intimate partner relationships, for example. However, even if definitions include female perpetrators, it is not clear that available data would consistently capture these femicide victims. For example, it may not always be known by police that two women who were living together – one woman the victim of homicide, the other woman the accused – were intimate partners and, therefore, this may not be recorded in official data as an intimate partner femicide. Similarly, for femicide victims who are transgender or gender diverse, their representation in the data will depend on the knowledge of those investigating their deaths (e.g., police, coroners), how these personnel translate this knowledge (e.g., into reports submitted to Statistics Canada's Homicide Survey), and how these data are subsequently reported to the public.

## *Textbox 6.1*: Transgender and non-binary homicide victims

During the past five years, the CFOJA recorded the killings of two transgender victims and one non-binary victim. In the first case, three victims were found deceased due to sharp force trauma after a fire engulfed a home. A male perpetrator was arrested at the scene and charged with three counts of second-degree murder in the triple familicide. One of the victims, the male accused's sibling, identified as a transman. All four family members lived together at the time of the incident, and the police had previously attended the home to resolve a conflict between the victim and perpetrator. It was reported that the perpetrator harboured anti-trans views and had been "clashing" with his sibling in the weeks before the incident. The perpetrator pleaded guilty to the charges and was sentenced to life with no chance of parole for 15 years in what was referred to by the judge as a "brutal" and "heartless" crime.

In the second case, a transwoman was found with serious injuries after police were called to her residence. The victim succumbed to her injuries after being taken to the hospital. At the scene, a male perpetrator was charged with second-degree murder, which demonstrated gratuitous brutality. The victim was described as having been repeatedly struck with a dumbbell. Attempts to conceal the killing were evident; the perpetrator lied to the 911 operator and first responders by saying the victim had caused her own blunt-force injuries. He was convicted of second-degree murder and will not be eligible for parole for 12 years. It was reported that the victim advocated for transgender rights and was a strong voice against the violence that impacted the transgender community.

The cases reported above share several similarities. Both cases involved a male offender. Both involved the use of a weapon to stab or bludgeon the victims, reflecting findings from other countries that transgender homicide victims are more likely to be killed by weapons other than firearms (Prunas et al., 2015; Gruenewald, 2012). Additionally, both perpetrators attempted to conceal the crime, either by postmortem arson or by lying to investigators about the nature of the victim's injuries. Both victims were brutally murdered in private locations, inside their residences – a place where they were entitled to feel safe.

In the last case, a non-binary person was fatally shot by police after initial attempts to arrest them were "unsuccessful." The individual was taken to the hospital and pronounced deceased. The police watchdog for the province where the death occurred confirmed the incident was a "fatal officer-involved shooting" and continues to investigate their death.

While there is a dearth of research on homicide victims with non-binary identities, Transgender Europe (TGEU) reported 3,314 killings of transgender people in 74 countries between 2008 and 2019 (as cited in Góes Mendes et al., 2021). Supporting the role of intersectionality in these deaths, 61 percent of the victims were sex workers; in the United States, 90 percent were Black or Native American; in France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, 65 percent were migrants from Africa and Latin America.

Despite these challenges, it has been well-documented that LGBTQ2S+ women and girls have historically faced intense marginalization and violence internationally (Meyer, 2010; UNHRC, 2011). As with many forms of oppression, this marginalization and violence are magnified when the victim is Indigenous, Black, a newcomer immigrant/refugee, and/or poor (Meyer, 2008). Despite this, there is a tendency for the media – one of the main data sources accessed by CFOJA research – to focus in more detail on the killings of white, heterosexual women and girls. As such, for initiatives like the CFOJA, the ability to identify LGBTQ2S+ victims depends on whether the media reports that victims and/or perpetrators belonged to a sexual minority.

Recognizing these limitations, the CFOJA documented the deaths of two transgender victims, one non-binary victim, and one victim who was killed by her same-sex partner in the past five years. With respect to the latter, police responded to a weapons complaint and discovered the victim who had serious injuries. She was taken to the hospital, but she succumbed to her injuries. An autopsy confirmed she died from a stab wound to her chest, and her female partner was charged with second-degree murder and assault with a weapon for assaulting a bystander who tried to intervene in the attack. The perpetrator pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six years (*see Textbox 6.1 on page 78 for information on transgender and non-binary victims*).

The CFOJA will continue to collect data that can further inform the contexts of these killings. In doing so, we will track the victim and accused sex, sexual orientation as well as their gender identity or expression to the degree possible from the data sources accessed. For information on non-lethal violence, Statistics Canada has begun to examine the experiences of violence among gay, lesbian, transgender, and other sexual minority populations (Jaffray, 2020). This research may help bring their victimization experiences more fully into focus, including the role played by sex/gender-related motives and indicators. The data used are the Survey of Safety and Public and Private Spaces (SSPPS), a large-scale, nationally representative household survey administered in 2018. These self-report data should be more representative of the violent experiences of sexual minority populations than police-reported data (e.g., the Homicide Survey), where one's sex, gender identity or expression, or sexuality will be determined by first responders and investigating officers.

## Women and girls living with disabilities

Few, if any, studies have examined disabilities as a risk factor for femicide (*see also 'Gendered dynamics of end-of-life decisions' later in this section)*. Documenting the vulnerability of women and girls living with disabilities to non-lethal violence, Statistics Canada data underscores the growing recognition of the extent, nature, and prevalence of sex/gender- and disability-based violence for this group (Cotter, 2018), consistent with international trends (Dowse et al. 2016). Research demonstrates that experiences of violence for women and girls living with disabilities cut across private and domestic settings to public settings such as state or institutional facilities.

Furthermore, studies have demonstrated that women with disabilities are more likely to experience violence at the hands of an intimate partner than are able-bodied women (Ballan, 2017; Cotter, 2018; Savage, 2021) and experience violence perpetrated by non-intimate partners, including family members, caretakers, service providers and strangers (Ballan, 2017; Savage, 2021). Some studies demonstrate that these women and girls may stay in violent and abusive situations longer because of their physical and financial dependence on the perpetrators (Ballan, 2017). Barriers are also imposed by perpetrators, such as limiting victims' physical access to service organizations and accessible information that would support women and girls living with disabilities (Thiara et al., 2012). These increased risks stem from, and are facilitated by, ableist attitudes that portray women with disabilities as weak, pitiful, and over- or under-sexualized. The abuse is sometimes also justified by intimate partners, family members and other caregivers as a normal reaction to the burden of care they perceive the woman imposed on them (Odette & Rajan, 2013).

Despite the recognition of their routine experiences of violence, a growing body of research shows women and girls living with disabilities and violence are rarely adequately supported by those in a position to do so. As discussed in previous CFOJA reports, disability policies advancing accessibility and inclusion tend to take gender-neutral approaches (Mays, 2006). Given this, Frohmader et al. (2015) argue that violence perpetrated against women and girls with disabilities falls through several legislative, policy and

service delivery gaps. This situation also stems from a failure to understand the intersectional nature of the violence that they experience, the vast circumstances and spaces in which it occurs, and the multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination which make them more likely to experience and be at risk of violence (p. 11-12). In the concluding observations from Canada's initial report to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), the United Nations declared that the government must adopt a violence prevention strategy that integrates the intersections of marginalization experienced by women and girls with disabilities (CRPD, 2017). In summary, it is essential to recognize the interconnections between sex/gender-specific and disability-specific forms of violence to tailor services and resources that address the needs and protect the lives of these women and girls.

The ability of the CFOJA to document the killings of women and girls living with disabilities is, again, dependent on information being reported in publicly accessible documents, making it difficult to identify risk of femicide. While this information can be captured from the data collected for Statistics Canada's Homicide Survey, it is not regularly included in annual reports. The Survey includes variables that capture physical disability as well as mental illness or developmental disorder in the victim and charged/accused questionnaire.

## #MakingHerVisible: Research priorities on types or contexts of femicide

### Secondary or collateral victims of femicide

Section V recapped some key differences between the killings of women and girls and those of men and boys. One of those differences is that secondary homicide victims – sometimes referred to as collateral victims (Meyer & Post, 2013) – are more common in the killings of women and girls. Collateral or secondary victims of femicide are individuals killed in addition to, or instead of, the primary female victim, either intentionally or by accident. In some cases, the primary victim survives the killing, and the collateral victims do not (Campbell et al., 2009). These individuals are often those with some connection to the victim and/or the accused, such as children, parents, or friends. It may also be the victim's new intimate partner if the victim and accused were separated (Meyer & Post, 2013). Some research differentiates collateral victims from secondary victims, with the former typically being killed because they were present at the time of the killing and the latter being killed because they were associated with the primary victim (Dobash & Dobash, 2012).

Familicide refers to the killing of multiple close family members in quick succession, most often with female partners as the primary target, followed by children and/or parents (Boyd et al., 2022; Liem et al., 2013; Websdale, 2010). International research shows that familicide is almost exclusively committed by men and is often, but not always, followed by the perpetrator's suicide (Karlsson et al., 2018; Liem et al., 2013; Websdale, 2010). The same is true in Canada, as demonstrated most recently by Boyd et al. (2022), who showed that familicides between 2010 and 2019 involved primarily male accused, often with a history of domestic violence, who used firearms in the femicide. Similarly, filicide – the killing of children by their parents – may also arise from femicidal contexts that see the victims' children killed, but not the female partner (Johnson & Dawson, 2017). Often referred to as 'revenge killings', these are also almost exclusively committed by male accused in the context of marital breakdown and/or custody access disputes over the children (e.g., Dawson, 2015; Jaffe et al., 2014; Reif et al., 2017).

During the past five years, the CFOJA has focused on primarily examining the deaths of women and girls, even though some information has been collected about other fatal and non-fatal victims that resulted from these femicides. Moving forward, we will document in more detail these secondary or collateral victims. But what do we know now?

During the past five years, in addition to the 850 women and girls killed, an additional 138 victims were killed (including 64 female and 74 male victims). Among these were 28 children who were killed alongside their mothers. With respect to non-fatal victims, when

noted in public documents, we recorded that another 108 individuals were injured, including 13 children. However, the concept of collateral or secondary victimization should be conceptualized more broadly. For example, there were at least another 22 children who witnessed the killing of their mother. These children are most certainly also victims –referred to as the 'living victims of femicide' (United Nations Studies Association, 2019) – whom we turn to next.

## Living victims of femicide

Limited research has focused on living victims of femicide globally, including in Canada; however, this was a theme in the 12th volume of the *Femicide* series released by the United Nations Studies Association (UNSA, 2019). Living victims of femicide include individuals who were connected to the victim(s) and/or perpetrators, such as family and/or friends and are left behind to deal with the trauma of losing someone close to them and especially children.

Despite professed public and government concern about the welfare of children exposed to domestic and family violence, little research has focused on the impacts of femicide on children who are left behind. The minimal research in this area shows that children of femicide victims typically endure long-lasting social, physical, and psychological effects (Alisic, Krishna, Groot, & Frederick, 2015). They may also experience stigma regarding the femicide and be forced to grieve their loss(es) in the public eye due to heavy media coverage and police attention (Kapardis, Costanza Baldry, & Konstantinou, 2017). In fact, research shows that femicides involving child witnesses garner more attention from the media than femicides that do not involve children (Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson, & Ackerly, 2004). Furthermore, in some cases of intimate partner femicide, children often witness their father die by suicide after the femicide or lose him to incarceration, thus, resulting in the loss of both parents (Dawson, 2019).

What little research there is on the effects of femicide on bereaved children focuses on intimate partner femicide; however, many children are also left behind due to non-intimate femicide. Thus, how these children's experiences may differ and whether their challenges are similar would be crucial to identifying existing and needed supports. For both groups of children, with the loss of one or both parents, the likelihood of ending up in foster care increases, and while this can and has worked out positively for some children, the negative impacts of such trajectories are equally possible and more likely for some groups of children (e.g., Indigenous children, see https://www.macleans.ca/first-nations-fighting-foster-care/).

The five-year analysis contained in this report only scratches the surface of these impacts, but even these numbers are profound and disturbing. For example, as we described in Section IV, where information was available, 86 percent (N=389) of the women aged 15 and older had a least one child. When we knew how many children each victim had, we documented that, *at minimum*, 868 children lost their mothers to femicide *in the past five years alone*.

Preventing femicide is already an urgent issue requiring attention because of the loss of potential through the deaths of these women and girls. Extending the focus to the effects on children and others who are left behind (i.e., grandparents and relatives, and primarily grandmothers and female relatives, who are left to care for the children), the far-reaching and long-term negative impacts on their life course trajectories point to staggering future losses to families, and profound effects on communities and society more broadly. Therefore, the detrimental effects of femicide do not end

when the attack is over; rather, there are significant rippling effects felt on the life course trajectories of the children left behind. Yet, to date, in Canada, we know virtually nothing about these impacts.

## Mothers killed by their sons

The killing of one's parent – or what is broadly referred to as parricide (Bourget et al., 2007; Heide, 2013) – is an understudied phenomenon, in part, due to the rarity of cases (Miles & Condry, 2015) and the same is true for matricide – the killing of mothers by children (Heide, 2010). However, existing research estimates that between one and four percent of reported homicides in Western countries such as England, the United States and Canada fit the parricide classification (Boots & Heide, 2006; Fedorowycz, 2001). For example, in Canada, 3.8 percent of homicides between 1990-1999 involved the killing of parents (Fedorowycz, 2001). According to Statistics Canada figures, 90 percent of Canadian parricide perpetrators between 1961 and 1989 were men (Marleau et al., 2003: 269). While these numbers are somewhat dated, more recent figures could not be found for Canada as a whole.

It is well documented that women and girls are most likely to be killed by males who are closest to them, especially intimate partners and other family members. Less recognized, however, is the frequency with which mothers are killed by their children, and primarily their sons, a fact recently underscored by Condry and Miles (2023). They argue that mothers killed by sons not only fit within the broad definition of femicide but also involve sex/gender motivation-driven definitions "as the killing of women by men because they are women and an institutional state failure to protect them as women" (p. 44).

In Section IV, the CFOJA results demonstrated that when the relationship between the primary victim and her male accused was known, after women killed by intimate partners (57%), the next largest group of women were killed by their sons (14%). This finding is concerning given the aging population, particularly older women, as discussed above. For example, in 2016, for the first time in Canadian survey history, Canada's seniors outnumbered its children (Conroy, 2017; Globe & Mail, 2017), and this trend is expected to continue. Therefore, research needs to better understand the context in which women are killed by their children, and primarily sons, and whether existing prevention initiatives can effectively respond to these situations.

Beyond this, in Canada, little is known about this type of femicide; however, focusing on 135 cases of parricide that occurred in Ontario between 1985 and 2012, Dawson and Hill (2021) found that consistent with prior research, Ontario parricides were most often perpetrated by adult, Caucasian sons against their late- to middle-aged, Caucasian, biological parents. However, in the Ontario sample, mothers (56%) were more often killed by their children than fathers (44%), a proportion higher compared to other jurisdictions. As such, Dawson and Hill (2021) emphasize that while research on child-to-parent abuse often focuses on individuals, failing to look at the broader socio-political climate that may impact this type of violence (Holt, 2012) precludes a comprehensive understanding of these killings. This may be more relevant in the COVID-19 environment, which poses economic and social impacts for families who may find themselves living in closer proximity to deal with these challenges. Such factors are also relevant to what we know and understand to be so-called mercy killings, as discussed next.

"She had empathy, which is a very rare trait these days. Her children meant the world to her and they were extremely close."

## Femicide, mercy-killings, and gendered dynamics of end-of-life decisions

Mercy killings are defined as "compassionate" killings by a family member, intimate partner, or close friend (George, 2007). Studies conducted in Australia and the United States illustrate that women are overrepresented as victims of alleged mercy killings, most often killed by their male intimate partners (Otlowski, 1993; Canetto & Hollenshead, 2001). Women and girls with disabilities are also expected to be at great risk, given the dominant ableist assumptions that they have a low quality of life (Not Dead Yet, 2019). The same trends often are documented in 'altruistic' murder-suicides involving elderly couples (Dawson, 2005) or what are typically intimate femicide-suicides perpetrated most often by men. Framed as mercy killings or suicide pacts, women are more likely to be victims and killed in their own homes (Abrams et al., 2007; Rogers & Storey, 2019). Given the gender-specific nature of these killings, then, it is important to dismantle the myth that they are consensual since women are often killed in their sleep or without their knowledge (Cohen et al., 1998). Findings also show that these offenders' characteristics often overlap with offenders who commit other forms of sex/gender-based violence; specifically, they often both exhibit coercive-controlling and misogynistic behaviours (Canetto & Hollenshead, 2001; George, 2007).

For example, Marzuk and colleagues (1992) concluded that older adult males perpetrated what they referred to as 'mercy killings' or were motivated by stressors associated with their own and/or their female partners' poor health. Continuing throughout the 1990s and 2000s, this representation in the literature of primarily white, male perpetrators' actions and motivations emphasized caregiver strain or burnout and/or significant poor health of the female victims and male perpetrators as contributors (Cohen et al., 1998; Malphurs & Cohen, 2005; Salari, 2007). In many cases, such explanations likely arose through stereotypes adhered to by police, family and friends who were trying to make sense of the situation, and whose ageist and sexist attitudes about gender norms, relationships, and violence influenced their thinking. However, more recent analyses have begun to highlight that older, male femicide-suicide perpetrators, while also possibly experiencing suicidal intent related to health issues, can be and often are also motivated by power and control (Salari & Sillito, 2016), a characteristic that likely existed throughout the life of their relationship with the victims. In short, 'mercy killings' are often a "selfish act completed without the consent of the victim" (Salari & Sillito, 2016).

The above patterns correspond to those of gendered violence more broadly (George, 2007) and are embedded in the systemic devaluation of older people and/or those with disabilities, and often women (Not Dead Yet, 2019). It is urgent, then, given increased access to Medical Assistance in Dying (MAID) in Canada, to examine such mercy killings or suicide pacts as femicide, including the role played by sex/gendered dynamics in these and other end-of-life 'decisions'. To do so, these types of killing – often portrayed as consensual or in the woman's 'best interests' – must be discussed in the context of male domination and ableism, as well as other relations of power that limit women's ability to make their own life and death decisions (George, 2007; DAWN, 2016).

Indeed, feminist disability activists and experts in violence against women research and practice urge the medical, legal, and political communities to consider the social forces that underlie mercy killings, MAID, and the extent to which they replicate other forms of gendered violence that lead to femicide (Wolf, 1996; Raymond, 1999; George, 2007; DAWN, 2016). Importantly, studies show that women, especially women situated in other marginalized locations, face additional barriers to accessing the necessary resources, support, and care, including invisibility or discrimination in public policies (Angus et al., 2013; DAWN, 2016; Not Dead Yet, 2019).

As such, disability organizations claim that increasing access to MAID reduces the social responsibility to support the needs of diverse groups. For the DisAbled Women's Network of Canada, funding and political commitment should be focused on improving programs and services for women (DAWN, 2016). With the growing awareness of MAID as an option, more research is needed on the justification of choosing MAID among men and women, the impact upon claims of mercy-killing, and the extent to which gendered patterns of domination and femicide are thereby reproduced. It is also important to challenge the notion that the decision to die is necessarily a free and autonomous one, and to situate these decisions in sexist, ableist, and/or racist social relations that underlie violence against women and femicide.

# Women and girls living in rural, remote, and northern regions

As underscored in previous reports, women and girls living in rural, remote, and northern areas – non-urban regions – have a heightened risk of femicide compared to women and girls living in other, more urban areas across Canada. Familicides also occur more frequently in rural Canada, with typically female partners as the primary target (Boyd et al., 2022; Gallup-Black, 2005); thus, femicide and familicide are closely linked. Our findings throughout Section IV, mirror these trends. From 2018 to 2022, 45 percent of femicides occurred in non-urban areas of Canada (N=309); that is, areas with less than 50,000 population. Of the 309 non-urban femicides, 216 occurred in a rural region (<10,000 population; 31% of total victims). Since only 18 percent of the population lives in rural areas of the country, yet we recorded 31 percent of femicides victims were living in rural areas, our findings suggest that they continue to be overrepresented compared to their representation in the overall population.[57,58] Focusing only on femicides that occurred each year from 2018 to 2022, the increased risk for femicide in rural regions remained consistent every year. Drawing from prior literature, several factors may explain why femicides are more common in non-urban areas of the country.

Living in rural and remote regions often involve greater physical and social isolation, greater access to firearms, and more precarious employment, all recognized contributors to intimate partner and family violence (Doherty & Hornosty, 2008; Gallup-Black, 2005; Jeffrey et al., 2019). The research literature demonstrates that rural women may be less likely to seek help and can experience community shame or stigma if they pursue a protective order against their abuser, and/or his gun relinquishment (Doherty & Hornosty 2008; Lynch & Jackson 2018; Lynch & Logan 2018). Rural women may also experience barriers to help-seeking due to concerns about police response times, a lack of trust in the police to protect them, a fear of a lack of anonymity or confidentiality, a lack of reliable transportation, and a lack of follow-up from service providers (Kasdorff & Erb 2010; Doherty & Hornosty 2008). Though not exhaustive, these factors point to several challenges when reporting crime or in safety planning for rural women, which may allow violence to continue, escalate, and turn lethal.

Two major investigations in the past five years have led to an increased visibility of the challenges experienced by rural women escaping violence, including rural femicide. First, the Governments of Canada and Nova Scotia established the Mass Casualty Commission[59] in 2020 in response to the Nova Scotia mass killings – a white, male rampage through several rural communities that resulted in the deaths of 13 women and nine men – to make recommendations to prevent future such mass casualties. Dynamics of rural living and gender-based violence were at the core of the public inquiry. Speaking at the inquiry, Dr. Karen Foster noted that the community closeness and social cohesion apparent in rural communities "has a double edge" where community members may minimize intimate partner violence to avoid the involvement of authorities (Armstrong, 2022).

Second, in 2022, the Office of the Chief Coroner for Ontario's inquest investigated the Renfrew County triple femicide of Anastasia Kuzyk, Nathalie Warmerdam, and Carol Culleton. The coroner's jurors suggested concrete solutions to address the challenges of violence in rural settings. Among the 86 recommendations,[60] many call upon the Government of Ontario to better support survivors of intimate partner violence in rural communities and include: realigning public funding to service providers to better consider rural realities, enhancing education on violence in rural communities for the public and justice system personnel, exploring tactical response timelines in rural environments, and expanding cell service and high-speed internet in rural and remote areas to improve safety/access to services for community members (Office of the Chief Coroner for Ontario, 2022). The inquiry and inquest both challenge perceptions that violence is predominantly an urban phenomenon.

---

[57] See: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.RUR.TOTL.ZS?locations=CA,
[58] See: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/98-200-x/2021002/98-200-x2021002-eng.cfm.
[59] See: https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/cntrng-crm/plcng/2020-nsir-en.aspx.
[60] For more detail on the inquest and for all jury recommendations, see: https://www.ontario.ca/page/2022-coroners-inquests-verdicts-and-recommendations.

Violence against rural women has been recognized as a pressing issue, as noted above; however, the rates of women killed in non-urban areas remain high, as discussed in Section IV. As such, highlighting the lived realities of rural women continues to be a key research priority for the CFOJA. Future research must further explore the help-seeking barriers that rural women in Canada face and examine factors that compound with rurality to increase the risk of femicide, including access to firearms, an issue we turn to below.

## Firearms-involved femicide

Examining the characteristics of femicides involving firearms remains a key research priority for the CFOJA, especially as national firearm-related homicide rates continue to increase (Statistics Canada, 2022). Among all Canadian victims of homicide in 2021, shootings were the most common cause of death (Statistics Canada, 2022). As discussed in Section IV, our findings from 2018 to 2022 indicate that, where information was available, the second greatest proportion of victims was shot (31% of femicides). In other words, 137 women and girls lost their lives in a shooting during these five years.

The role of firearms legislation (i.e., gun control) on rates of violent crime continues to be debated in Canada (Langmann, 2012) and internationally (e.g., Hurka & Knill, 2020; McPhedran, 2016), particularly focusing on intimate partner femicide and intimate partner homicide (e.g., Zeoli et al., 2017; Zeoli et al., 2018). A recent, in-depth meta-analysis of risk factors for intimate partner femicide demonstrates that one of the strongest risk factors remains whether the perpetrator has access to a gun and the perpetrator's previous threats with a weapon (Spencer & Stith, 2018; Campbell et al., 2003). Emphasizing the impact of a combination of factors, this research consistently shows that women are more likely than men to be killed by a male intimate partner, guns are the most commonly-used weapon in such killings, and this is even more evident in rural intimate partner femicide.

The role of firearms in femicide has not been systematically examined in Canada, but early research examining intimate partner femicide in Ontario showed that guns were used in one-third of the cases (Gartner et al., 1999). From 2018 to 2022, of the 137 victims who were killed in a firearms-involved femicide, as described in Section IV, one-third were intimate partner femicides (33%). Of these, 51 percent occurred in urban areas, 40 percent occurred in rural areas, and nine percent occurred in small towns/cities. The frequency of firearms use in intimate partner femicides varies based on geography. Focusing only on intimate partner femicides in rural areas with available information (55%), the greatest proportion was committed with firearms (40%). In contrast, the greatest proportion of intimate partner femicides in urban areas was committed through stabbings (43%), and shootings accounted for 23 percent of urban femicides, where information was available (71%). Therefore, our results suggest that intimacy, rurality, and firearms work together to compound the risk of femicide for women and girls, a finding that has been well-documented over time and in other countries (Doherty & Hornosty, 2008; Campbell et al., 2007; Reckdenwald et al., 2019; DeKeseredy, 2019).

Our findings also demonstrate a consistently increasing data gap in the information reported on the type of firearm used. For example, when weapon type was reported, just over 38 percent of femicide victims were killed



Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

**Femicide is...**

...the killing of a woman or girl because she declined to establish a relationship with a man when he asked or demanded.

#FemicideIs

CAN_femicide          #CallItFemicide          femicideincanada.ca

with a firearm; however, for two-thirds of these firearm-related killings (66%; N=91), there was no reference to whether it was a long gun or handgun. Until such data are available, the role of licensed and illegal firearms (including "ghost" guns) in their deaths remains largely unknown.

This lack of transparency from administrative sources or external bodies makes it more difficult to discern who is most at risk and to identify opportunities for points of prevention. The lack of accessible data on firearms also precludes conversations on appropriate sanctions or meaningful legislative interventions for the killings of women and girls. Therefore, whether possession or use of specific firearms, or firearms of all types, is a risk factor for femicide remains a priority research question. Furthermore, in examining the number of secondary or collateral victims in cases of femicide, as discussed above, whether and how firearms increase lethality for the woman or girl targeted and those around her is also an important question.

## Sexual femicide

Sexual violence against women and girls and femicide are closely linked forms of violence, both of which are rooted in oppressive structures including, but not limited to, sex/gender inequality, racism, colonialism, and ableism. The minimization and underreporting of sexual violence in femicides are likely exacerbated in cases that involve women killed by male partners, as well as for sexual femicide against marginalized groups of women and girls, including but not limited to, Indigenous women and girls, Black women and girls, and women and girls living with disabilities. Sexual femicide remains difficult to understand because of the lack of research, knowledge, and data around the interaction of sexual violence and femicide globally, an issue which requires urgent attention.

For the five-year period, the CFOJA reported there was evidence that 12 victims experienced sexual violence, such as sexual assault during the killing (2%), while there was no conclusive evidence of sexual violence for 134 victims (19%) and evidence of sexual violence was not reported for 545 victims (79%). It is contended by the CFOJA, however, that sexual femicides are vastly undercounted, in part, due to a gap in research, data collection and reporting, but also because of minimization of this form of violence as a significant factor in the killing of women and girls, especially by male intimate partners.

There may also be a lack of effort on the part of police to document and disclose the types of sexual violence that are present in the killings of women and girls. For example, research has shown that sexual violence is often present in femicides, but this information is rarely reflected in official documents (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021). This Ontario, Canada study showed that, when this information was included in documents examined, one in five women or girls was subject to some type of sexual violation or violence (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021). However, despite research documenting the higher likelihood of sexual violence in the killings of women and girls, data on sexual violence was more often missing in documents related to the deaths of women (28%) compared to other types of homicide involving men (ranging from 18% to 25%) (Dawson & Carrigan, 2021).

There is no universally agreed-upon definition for sexual femicide, largely due to the ongoing debate as to what exactly makes a killing sexual (Mitchell, 2022; Schlesinger, 2004). Most of the parties within this debate use the 'gender-neutral' terms 'sexual murder', 'sexual homicide', or 'lust murder', which has delayed the development of a universal definition for sexual killings and obfuscated their highly gendered characteristics (Chan and Heide, 2009; Kerr et al., 2013; Mitchell, 2022; Ressler et al., 1988).

Sexual violence exists on a continuum; it encompasses acts such as sexual harassment, groping, and rape. Each of these acts can have varying levels of physical violence associated with them, but one commonality they all share is that women are the most likely victims and men the most likely perpetrators (Benoit et al., 2015; Tavara, 2006). The most lethal form of sexual violence that women and/or girls may experience is sexual femicide (Mitchell, 2022). To combat sexual femicide, it is important to understand what it is, how it is perpetrated and by whom, who may become a victim of sexual femicide, and what methods are most effective for its prevention.

# Summary

The objective of this section was to identify and emphasize clearly for governments what research can contribute to the development of more effective femicide prevention initiatives, specifically, and for male violence against women and girls, more generally. Underpinning such initiatives there *must* be reliable and valid data that can capture the nuances and contexts surrounding the killings of women and girls. As described above, we do not currently have such data for femicide in Canada. Further, these data gaps and the resulting impacts are exacerbated for some groups of women and girls specifically. This is due, in part, to the fact that these women and girls are often marginalized and made more vulnerable by societal structures and processes and are already invisible in society in many ways. Only some of these women and girls are identified above, drawing from our research during the past five years. As noted, however, throughout 2023, we will focus on *#MakingHerVisible* with in-depth, focused research briefs and snapshots, expanding on the information above and introducing additional topics.

To summarize, we have drawn from our experiences, and previous reports, to recap related priorities and data challenges, which are increasingly exacerbated by what appears to be a growing lack of transparency from those who record and/or report these incidents. This decline in the availability of essential data is occurring in the face of international calls for more in-depth and accurate data on femicide and other forms of violence against women and girls (ACUNS, 2017).

This situation is exacerbated because, to date, beyond the work of the CFOJA, there is no official documentation of femicide, largely because there is also no official recognition of femicide as a significant social problem in our country, as discussed in Section II.

Statistics Canada collects relatively comprehensive information on all homicides; however, these police-reported data are limited in scope for determining whether the case was a sex/gender-related killing, or femicide. In part, this is because data-collection instruments were historically designed to capture male-on-male homicides, and, despite minor changes over time, this remains true today. Moreover, they are more focused on the administrative needs of governments, not prevention outcomes, a situation that must change.

For example, as we know, female victims are most often killed by men they know – male partners and family members. However, there are only a few variables in the homicide survey that capture the crucial information often present before the killing that could contribute to prevention, such as detailed information on prior violence by the accused, prior police contacts, the role of separation, custody/access disputes, sexual violence, escalation of violence, coercive controlling behaviours, and so on.

The "history of family violence" variable was recently updated to capture a "history of family or *intimate partner violence*" to allow for dating partners, which had previously been excluded. However, this variable still does not capture the direction of violence, the extent or escalation of violence, or the type of violence, all crucial for understanding and identifying pathways and, ultimately, the prevention of femicide. Also added recently to the homicide survey was a variable to capture the existence of an "order preventing contact" (e.g., a peace bond or protection order) between suspects and victims, but it does not appear to capture the type of order, or its context, such as whom it pertained to or what was the impetus for the order. Both these are important variables as identified in the UN statistical framework discussed in Section V (e.g., previous record of violence/harassment). Currently, how they are measured in Canada does not provide the necessary information to accurately capture the contexts and circumstances of femicide.

In addition, while information on prior criminal convictions is collected in Canada for victims and accused, there is no easy way to determine if they were domestic violence-related convictions because there is still no such specific offence in the *Canadian Criminal Code.* Instead, such offences are captured under general offences such as common assault, assault causing bodily harm, and so on. Therefore, despite prior violence being one of the most common sex/gender-related factors contributing to and identifying femicide, the homicide survey is not able to consistently document this valuable information, even with the recent modifications.

Reconceptualizing data collection as a prevention tool rather than an administrative exercise could begin to address these data gaps. This must begin at the point of police investigations, which feed into aggregate-level data, and there must also be the political will to do so. The need for governments to improve their data was highlighted earlier this year when the UNODC (2022) released its new statistical framework and set of indicators to identify femicide. This global move may serve as the impetus for some countries, and hopefully Canada, to make much-needed and long-called-for changes to how and why we collect data.

Focusing more specifically on the killings of women by male partners – one of the most common types of femicide – are domestic violence death review committees, which now exist in six countries, including Canada (Dawson, 2017, 2021). Some reviews can produce a more complete picture of this subtype of femicide, referred to as intimate partner femicide. Several Canadian provinces currently have these review committees, but not all do, creating an inequity in data collection efforts. And, unless somehow linked to domestic violence, there would be no in-depth examinations of women killed by non-intimates or in other contexts (e.g., human trafficking, organized crime), often impacting women and girls who have already been made more vulnerable by society. For example, research has shown that Indigenous women and girls are often killed by male acquaintances and strangers and are more likely to be killed by strangers than are non-Indigenous women. Therefore, many of their killings would fall outside the mandate of most, if not all, domestic violence death review initiatives.

Even without these limitations, the above data sources are not readily accessible to those working towards preventing violence, so they remain significantly underused when they could help – to some extent – to improve or enhance femicide prevention. Given these persistent gaps in the data, we need to begin to ask *why* data that are important to the prevention of femicide and male violence against women and girls are not systematically and routinely collected now. One key contributor is the historical and ongoing effects of sexist, racist and colonial social structures, and decision-makers for whom the collection of these data is not seen as a priority; they decide what data is collected, for whom, and how. Male violence against women and girls – often normalized and accepted as something that cannot be prevented – is not seen as a priority. Given the lack of variables and measures in our official data collection instruments that can assist with informing better femicide prevention initiatives, the lives of women and girls are at risk because we are not collecting, or making available, the right information to support prevention efforts.

Law and governing bodies are not in the business of conducting research – we know this, and so do they – but they can facilitate more evidence-based research and data. They can do this by learning from those with relevant knowledge, advocating and implementing the collection of more appropriate prevention-oriented information, and making those data accessible to those who play a crucial role in preventing and responding to male violence against women and girls. This would require strong and sustainable collaborations among researchers, communities, and governments. Such efforts are supported globally by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, who has consistently called on countries, including Canada, to improve data collection on femicide.

There are both short- and long-term fixes to emphasize prevention if there is the political will to do so. This commitment would require challenging entrenched patriarchal and colonial hierarchies of "worthy subjects," which often leaves the victimization of women and girls – and some women and girls specifically – invisible and outside the boundaries of those people who are seen to *deserve* attention. When collecting data, governments do not seem to view the killings of women and girls as important outside the fact that they contribute to national homicide statistics. This is where the problem lies – the focus is on administrative data that are limited and largely inaccessible to those who could use it effectively, so the data are significantly underused. We need to refocus data collection efforts on producing accessible prevention data that can be used to inform more nuanced responses to the prevention of violence against women and girls, specifically those at the highest risk of femicide. Like all forms of violence against women and girls, femicide is a specific problem and requires specific data, research, and solutions.

# Section VII:
# Remembering women and girls killed by violence in 2022

Catherine Morin, 26, Indigenous, Flin Flon, MB (Jan. 1)

Emily Bailey, 23, Hamilton, ON (~Jan. 1)

Brittany Doff, 30, Toronto, ON (Jan. 3)

Deborah Mae Mahadeo, 63, Regina, SK (Jan. 4)

Manon Boisvert, 54, Longueuil, QC (Jan. 4)

Carmelita Louise Abraham, 33, Indigenous, Quesnel, BC (Jan. 4)

Sharon Richards, 61, Newmarket, ON (Jan. 5)

Jennifer Hendry, 46, Air Ronge, SK (Jan. 8)

Debra Neale, 65, Shelburne, ON (Jan. 8)

Sherri Lynn Flett, 43, Indigenous, Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation, AB (~Jan 12)

Melanie Lowen, 48, Airdrie, AB (Jan. 13)

Sandra Gauthier, 85, Keswick, ON (Jan. 15)

Kira Opoonechaw, 19, Saskatoon, SK (Jan. 19)

No name released, 23, Brampton, ON (Jan. 20)

Sara McKeddie, 32, Arnprior, ON (Jan. 20)

No name released, 58, Richmond, BC (Jan. 24)

No name released, 21, Richmond, BC (Jan. 24)

Ramina Shah, 32, Coquitlam, BC (Jan 27)

No name released, 56, New Glasgow, NS (Jan. 28)

No name released, 60s, Montreal, QC (Jan. 29)

Denise Rochon, 64, Rouyn-Noranda, QC (Jan. 30)

No name released, 79, Windsor, ON (Jan.)

Codi Carlyle Rogers, 40, Cascade Falls Regional Park, BC (Feb.1)

Taffash Riley, 14, Mississauga, ON (Feb. 1)

Reichel Alpeche, 30, Red Deer, AB (Feb. 1)

Heather Marie Cheyane Beardy, 26, Winnipeg, MB (Feb. 2)

No name released, Mississauga, ON (Feb. 2)

Natasha Rich, 47, Edmonton, AB (Feb. 2)

Julia Howe, 56, Erickson, BC (Feb. 6)

April Mary Monk, 39, Indigenous, Fort St. James, BC (Feb. 8)

Patrizia Rao, 59, Dunham, QC (Feb. 18)

Maria Cristovao, 71, Laval, QC (Feb. 19)

Jordana Yakabuskie, 29, Petawawa, ON (Feb. 19)

No name released, Lytton, BC (Feb. 19)

Shu-Min Wu, 50, Vancouver, BC (Feb. 20)

Ying Ying Sun, 39, Vancouver, BC (Feb. 20)

Terri Johnson, 52, Indigenous, Pickering, ON (Feb. 20)

Sahur Yare, 20, Ottawa, ON (Feb. 21)

Nicole Amundson, 50, Wainwright, AB (Feb. 22)

Harmandeep Kaur, 24, Kelowna, BC (Feb. 26)

Mardi Broad Scalplock, 33, Indigenous, Siksika Nation, AB (Feb. 27)

Dagmar Petersen, 85, Edmonton, AB (Mar. 5)

Nong Chang, 80, Courtenay, BC (Mar. 6)

Ruth Ann Longboat, 56, Indigenous, Six Nations, ON (~Mar. 8)

Florence Matilda O'Ray, 88, Kingston, ON (March 10)

Xiao (Rn Xiao Jin [Jean]) Yi, London, ON (Mar. 11)

Taya Rae Anne Sinclair, 24, Indigenous, Prince Albert, SK (Mar. 15)
Buffalo Woman, 20s, Indigenous, Winnipeg, MB (~Mar. 15)
No name released, 82, St. John's, NL (March 16)
Emily Sanche, 25, Saskatoon, SK (March 16)
No name released, 15, Waterloo, ON (March 17)
Vanessa Ladouceur, 31, Calgary, AB (March 18)
Amanda Lyons, 34, LaSalle, ON (March 20)
Marie Gabriel, 24, Ottawa, ON (March 28)
Tien Ly, 46, Toronto, ON (March 28)
Bev Stevenson, 70, Brussels, ON (March 30)
Madeleine Desormeaux, 68, Lebel-sur-Quévillon, QC (March 31)
Louise Avon, 64, Sainte-Agathe-des-Monts, QC (March 31)
No name released, 21, Red Deer, AB (March 31)
No name released, 20s, Harris Point, NL (April 4)
Jamie Lynn Scheible, 23, Temple, AB (April 7)
Cynthia Landry, 34, Montreal, QC (April 8)
Shantelle Murphy, 32, Portage la Prairie, MB (April 10)
Isabella Murphy, 6, Portage la Prairie, MB (April 10)
No name released, 42, Kitchener, ON (April 24)
Iris Dodd, 72, Kingsport, NS (April 30)
Morgan Beatrice Harris, 39, Indigenous, Winnipeg, MB (~May 1)
Jian Ying "Angela" Du, 51, Vancouver, BC (May 1)
Baby Moar, newborn, Winnipeg, MB (May 3)
Marcedes Myran, 26, Indigenous, Winnipeg, MB (~May 4)
Monique Landry, 58, Carleton-sur-Mer Gaspesie, QC (May 5)
No name released, Newell County, AB (May 7)
No name released, 8-month-old girl, Newell County, AB (May 7)
Joanne De Jong, 76, Abbotsford, BC (May 9)
Rebecca Contois, 24, Indigenous, Winnipeg, MB (May 16)
Chauntel Lizette MacIntyre, 37, Halifax, NS (May 17)
Doris Lydia Trout, 25, Indigenous, Winnipeg, AB (May 19)
Tessa Perry, 31, Indigenous, Winnipeg, MB (May 28)
Marisha Hoksbergen, 24, Cumberland House, SK (May 29)
No name released, 24, Moose Lake, MB (June 4)
Lori Shannon Huntinghawk, 30, Indigenous, Regina, SK (June 6)
Kinga Kriston, 44, Collingwood, ON (June 11)
Jocelyne Lessard, 67, Stukely-Sud, QC (June 13)
Vanessa Virgioni, 29, Brampton, ON (June 17)
Anne Marie Zaremba, 63, Regina, SK (June 17)
Autumn Levi Crosschild, 25, Indigenous, Calgary, AB (June 17)
Henrietta Viski, 37, Toronto, ON (June 18)
Denise Allick, 40, Nanaimo, BC (June 20)
Tamara Debbie Soosay, 30, Indigenous, Brooks, AB (June 22)
Beatrice Geering, 72 North Battleford, SK (June 22)
Jasmine Ready, 15, Ottawa, ON (June 27)
Anne-Marie Ready, 50, Ottawa, ON (June 27)
Cynthia Sitzes, 44, Chatham, ON (July 4)
Nyima Dolma, 28, Toronto, ON (July 5)
Megan Elizabeth Crant, 32, Toronto, ON (July 7)
Cashmere Ali, 35, Maple Ridge, BC (July 15)
Shaniqua Henry, 27, Indigenous, Chippewas of the Thames First Nation, ON (July 19)

Amber Culley, 43, Chilliwack, BC (July 21)
Mimi Kates, 49, Chilliwack, BC (July 21)
Evdokia Giapoutzis, 49, Scarborough, ON (July 28)
Kamaljit Sandhu, 45, Abbotsford, BC (July 28)
Nicole Mercer, 22, Newmarket, ON (July 29)
Audrey-Sabrina Gratton, 43, Sorel-Tracy, QC (July 31)
Kirandeep Grewal, 63, Edmonton, AB (August 6)
No name released, 27, Sudbury, ON (August 11)
No name released, 63, Strathmore, AB (August 12)
Anna 'Monika' Kuraczycka, 46, Mississauga, ON (August 16)
Kamila Rodriguez Vital de Queiroz, 39, Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac, QC (August 17)
Nakita Baron, 31, Evergreen, AB (August 18)
Daniella Mallia, 23, Toronto, ON (August 18)
No name released, 85, Prince Albert, SK (August 19)
Daphne Badger, 36, Edmonton, AB (August 19)
Melissa Cook, 41, Indigenous (Sapotaweyak Cree Nation), Winnipeg, MB (August 20)
Danielle Dawn Ballantyne, 36, Indigenous, Point Douglas, MB (August 22)
Elvie Sig-Od, 44, North York, ON (August 26)
Angelica Sig-Od, 20, North York, ON (August 26)
Sibel Duzguner, 38, Alliston, ON (August 26)
Mackaylah Gerard-Roussin, 20, Indigenous, Woodridge, MB (August 27)
Lana Head, 49, Indigenous, James Smith Cree Nation, SK (Sept. 4)
Gloria Lydia Burns, 62, Indigenous, James Smith Cree Nation, SK (Sept. 4)
Bonnie Goodvoice-Burns, 48, Indigenous, James Smith Cree Nation, SK (Sept. 4)
Carol Burns, 46, Indigenous, James Smith Cree Nation, SK (Sept. 4)
Ashley Lafrance, 29, Kirkland Lake, ON (Sept. 7 last seen)
Gisèle Itale Betondi, 29, Montreal, QC (Sept. 8)
No name released, North York, ON (Sept. 10)
Savanna Pikuyak, 22, Indigenous, Nepean, ON (Sept. 11)
Yu Kun Xie, 78, Ottawa, ON (Sept. 16)
Viergemene Toussaint, 42, Montreal, QC (Sept. 16)
Chandanpreet Kaur, 22, Mississauga, ON (Sept. 19)
Veronica Dekid-Henry, 67, Etobicoke, ON (Sept. 21)
Sophie Langelier, 42, Longueuil, QC (Sept. 23)
Naheed Askaryar, 64, Vaughan, ON (Sept. 23)
Viola Erb, 88, Wilmot Township, ON (Sept. 24)
Synthia Bussières, 38, Brossard, QC (Sept. 25)
Karine Bélanger, 36, Beauce, QC (Sept. 25)
Shermaine Carling, 33, Leamington, ON (Sept. 29)
Christine Adamson, 47, Sarnia, ON (Oct. 7)
Geraldine Miranda Chubb, 33, Indigenous, Thompson, MB (Oct. 12)
Wendy Bird, 24, Indigenous, Maymont, SK (Oct. 16)
Anzel Arora, 13, Laval, QC (Oct. 17)
Kiesha Garie, 24, Coquitlam, BC (Oct. 17)
Const. Shaelyn Yang, 37, Burnaby, BC (Oct. 18)
Louise Boucher, 65, L'Ile-Bizard, QC (Oct. 19)
Annie Di Lauro (Dennison), 90, Vaudreuil-Dorion, QC (Oct. 19)
Tia Blood, 34, Indigenous, Lethbridge, AB (Oct. 19)
Stephanie Jade Elk, Indigenous, Saanich, BC (Oct. 19)
Rolande Ducharme, 81, Montreal, QC (Oct. 20)
Janet Desormeaux, 43, Sudbury, ON (Oct. 30)

Kieu Lam, 88, Ottawa, ON (Oct. 31)
Katherine Zollerano, 43, Toronto, ON (Nov. 2)
Hodan Hashi, 23, Saskatoon, SK (Nov. 5)
Kelsey Ouellette, 31, Edmonton, AB (Nov. 5)
Danielle Strauss, 38, Hamilton, ON (Nov. 7)
Donna Callahan-Oligny, 69, Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, QC (Nov. 12)
No name released, 8, Oshawa, ON (Nov. 12)
Delany Nora Desmarais, 23, Indigenous, Winnipeg, MB (Nov. 12)
Nykera Brown, 20, Saskatoon, SK (Nov. 15)
No name released, 41, Kitchener, ON (Nov. 15)
No name released, 30, Indigenous, Sioux Valley First Nation, MB (Nov. 19)
Patricia (Patty) Forman, 52, Prince Rupert, BC (Nov. 21)
No name released, Milton, ON (Nov. 22)
Janet Magnuson, 44, Breton, AB (Nov. 25)
No name released, 33, Kinngait, NU (Nov. 28)
Monique Gamble, 24, Indigenous, One Arrow First Nation, SK (Nov. 29)
Pawanpreet Kaur, 21, Mississauga, ON (Dec. 3)
No name released, Markham, ON (Dec. 4)
Harpreet Kaur Gill, Surrey, BC (Dec. 7)
Vanessa Kurpiewska, 31, Toronto, ON (Dec. 8)
Stephanie Forster, 39, Coquitlam, BC (Dec. 8)
Teil-lyn Cook, 19, Oshawa, ON (Dec. 9)
No name released, 26, Indigenous, Sioux Valley Dakota First Nation (Dec. 10)
Sommer Boudreau, 39, Indigenous, Deep River, ON (Dec. 11)
Dominga Santos, 68, North Vancouver (Dec. 13)
Jade Beaulieu Racette, 22, Montreal (Dec. 15)
Huguette Racette, 73, Montreal (Dec. 15)
Daniela Roman, 51, Edmonton, AB (Dec. 15)
Rita Camilleri, 57, Vaughan, ON (Dec. 18)
Lorraine Manock, 71, Vaughan, ON (Dec. 18)
Sharon Littlewolfe, 51, Indigenous, Margo, SK (Dec. 24)
Suzanne Helen McCooeye, 70, Winnipeg, MB (Dec. 25)
Adrienne Nesich, 48, New Tecumseth, ON (Dec. 26)
Marie Josie Vante St-Ville, 45, Montreal, QC (Dec. 26)
Shelley Dragland, 59, Lethbridge, AB (Dec. 27)
No name released, 54, Nanton, AB (Dec. 27)

# Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability
## Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation
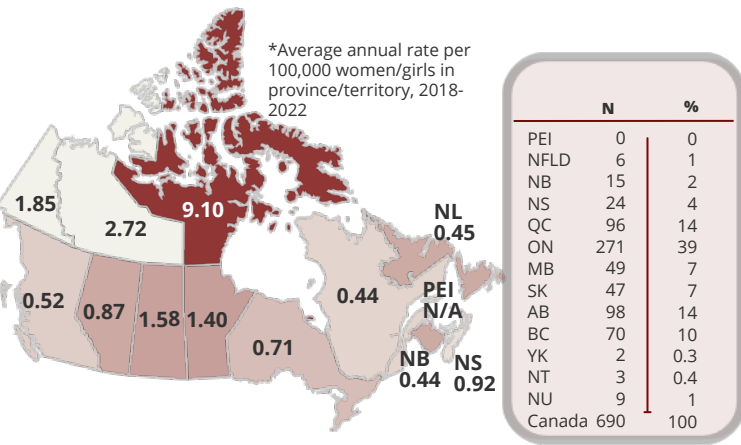
# #CallItFemicide 2018-2022 Report

## 850 women & girls violently killed in Canada
When primary or sole accused was identified (715 cases), 88 percent were male

## Rate and number of women & girls killed involving male accused

*Average annual rate per 100,000 women/girls in province/territory, 2018-2022

1.85
2.72
9.10
0.52
0.87
1.58
1.40
0.71
0.44
NL 0.45
PEI N/A
NB 0.44
NS 0.92

| | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| PEI | 0 | 0 |
| NFLD | 6 | 1 |
| NB | 15 | 2 |
| NS | 24 | 4 |
| QC | 96 | 14 |
| ON | 271 | 39 |
| MB | 49 | 7 |
| SK | 47 | 7 |
| AB | 98 | 14 |
| BC | 70 | 10 |
| YK | 2 | 0.3 |
| NT | 3 | 0.4 |
| NU | 9 | 1 |
| Canada | 690 | 100 |

## Overview

**Geographic patterns**

**NU, NT, and YK** had the highest rates of killings of women & girls involving male accused. **SK, MB, AB, NS** were also above the national average rate.

**45%** of victims were killed in rural areas/small towns
- **31%** in rural (<10,000 population)
- **14%** in small towns/cities (10,000-49,000 population)

**Situational factors**

**76%** of women/girls were killed in a private location, such as their own home, home of the accused, or the home they shared with accused; **15%** killed in a public area; **9%** killed in unknown locations.

When information was known (**64%**), the two most common methods of killing were stabbing (**34%**) and shooting (**31%**).
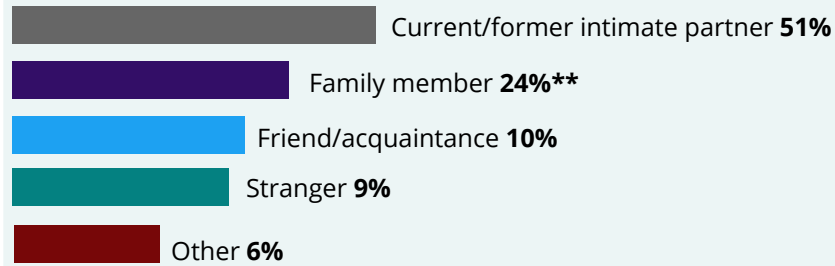
## Age distribution of the victims*

| Women and girls killed | | Female population |
|---|---|---|
| 9% | <18 | 18% |
| 32% | 18 to 34 | 22% |
| 31% | 35 to 54 | 26% |
| 29% | 55 + | 34% |

*Age unknown for 22 victims

## Women aged 18-44 overrepresented as victims

### Average age of victims
**42 years old**

| Youngest | Oldest |
|---|---|
| < 1 year old | 97 years old |

## Victim-accused relationship*

Current/former intimate partner **51%**
Family member **24%****
Friend/acquaintance **10%**
Stranger **9%**
Other **6%**

*Relationship not yet specified for 27% of victims.
**51% of which involved accused who were sons of the victims.

## Race/ethnicity
(Based on information available for 53% of victims)

Racialized victims **28%**
Indigenous victims **36%**
White victims **35%**

## Intimate partner femicide victims

**68%**

--- 6% ex-legal spouse

--- 7% ex-common law partner

22% current common-law partner

33% current legal spouse

Legal/common law

**22%**

7% estranged

15% current dating partner

Dating

**10%**

Unspecified
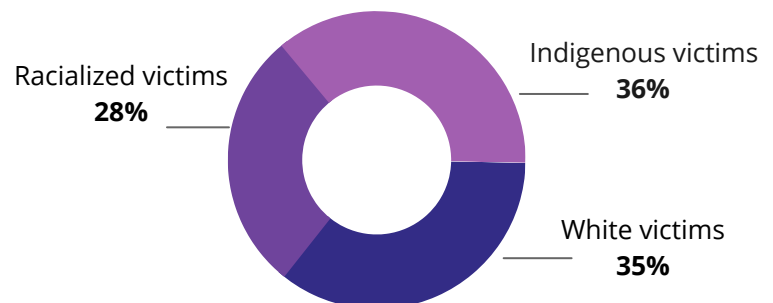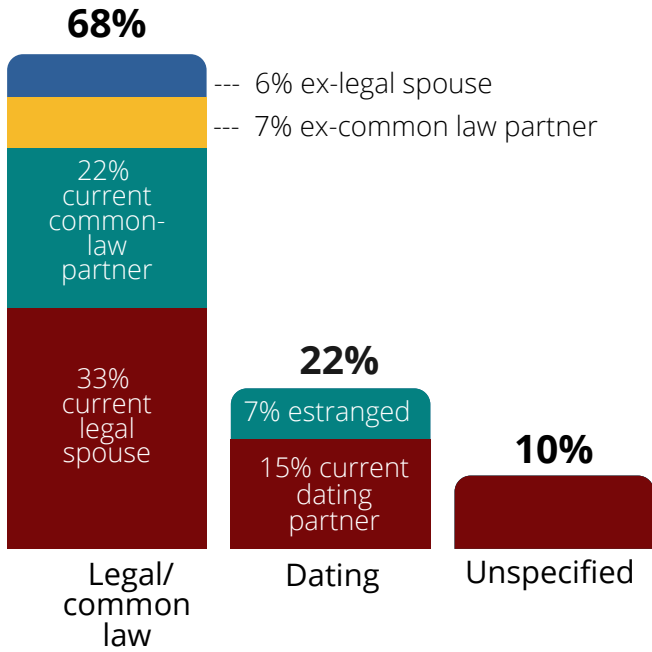
### At least **868** children left without a mother

- **6** women killed were pregnant
- **28** children killed alongside their mothers

## Primary or sole accused identified

**12%** female accused

**<1%** where sex not publicly identified

**88%** male accused

**71** cases remain unsolved
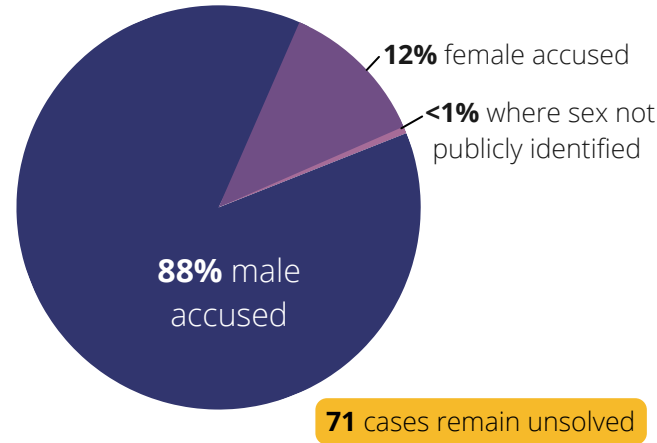
### Focusing on male accused only:

| Average age | Youngest | Oldest |
|---|---|---|
| **38 years old** | **13 years old** | **94 years old** |

### Accused suicide:

- **15%** of all male accused died by suicide
- **26%** of male accused of intimate partner femicide died by suicide

## 27% increase in killings of women & girls involving male accused from 2019 to 2022

### 24% total increase in all killings of women & girls from 2019 to 2022

Compared to pre-pandemic year 2019, based on current annual numbers:
**24** more deaths in 2020 **(16% increase)**
**29** more deaths in 2021 **(20% increase)**

Number of women and girls violently killed in Canada, 2018-2022

| Year | Annual number (as of Dec. 31 each year) | Yearly increase in number over time * | Current Annual Number (as of March 27, 2022) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **2018** | 148 | 21 | 169 |
| **2019** | 137 | 11 | 148 |
| **2020** | 160 | 12 | 172 |
| **2021** | 173 | 4 | 177 |
| **2022** | 184 | 12 ** | 196 (projected) |

* Numbers increase over time as investigations are completed, suspicious deaths become homicide, or new deaths are recorded.
**Projected increase based on average increase over previous four years.

# Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

## Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

# #CallItFemicide

Understanding sex/gender-related killings of women and girls in Canada

The Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability (CFOJA) is a web-based research and information centre which aims to conduct, mobilize, exchange and promote research and knowledge to prevent femicide and other forms of gender-based killings in Canada. Established by the Centre for the Study of Social and Legal Responses to Violence (CSSLRV) at the University of Guelph in 2017, its work is being led by an interdisciplinary, multi-sectoral panel of experts from across the country. Femicide is defined as the killing of all women and girls primarily, but not exclusively, by men.

## TWO KEY OBJECTIVES

☑ To address the need for a single location for information about justice and accountability for femicide victims in Canada

☑ To facilitate innovative and sustainable research agendas on femicide justice and accountability

## AS A PART OF ITS RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE MOBILIZATION ACTIVITIES ON FEMICIDE, THE CFOJA WILL:

☑ Establish a visible and national focus on social and state responses to femicide in Canada;

☑ Count and track cases of femicide as they occur throughout the country while also remembering and honouring these women and girls;

☑ Identify legislation, policies and practices in social and state responses to femicide that perpetuate and maintain social structures and gender inequalities that are conducive to, or help facilitate, the perpetration of femicide;

☑ Document social and state responses to femicide that may further increase the vulnerability and marginalization of some groups of girls and women due to varying social identities (e.g. indigeneity, race/ethnicity, culture, age, LGBTQ2, religion, disability, poverty, geography and so on);

☑ Identify and examine the stereotypes and biases that support the varying social and state responses documented;

☑ Facilitate the exchange of information, reliable data, and current knowledge that can advance legislative, policy and program change on issues related to the prevention of femicide in Canada at the local, regional, provincial/territorial and/or national levels;

☑ Monitor emerging issues and trends as they relate to femicide and violence against women more generally;

☑ Provide user-friendly and reliable information, resources and research on femicide;

☑ Act as a knowledge broker for researchers, professionals, policy-makers, media and the public.

**#CallItFemicide reports for 2018, 2019, 2020 available at: https://femicideincanada.ca/cfoja_reports**
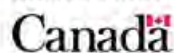
🌐 https://femicideincanada.ca

🐦 CAN_Femicide

✉ cfoja@uoguelph.ca

CSSLRV

UNIVERSITY of GUELPH

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada

Canada

# References:

Abrams, R. C., Leon, A. C., Tardiff, K., Marzuk, P. M., & Sutherland, K. 2007. "Gray murder": Characteristics of elderly compared with nonelderly homicide victims in New York City. *American Journal of Public Health, 97*(9), 1666-1670.

Academic Council of the United Nations System (ACUNS). 2017. *Femicide Volume VII: Establishing a Femicide Watch in Every Country*. Vienna: ACUNS.

Academic Council of the United Nations System (ACUNS). 2018. *Femicide Volume IX: Femicide, State Accountability and Punishment*. Vienna: ACUNS.

Allen, T., S. Salari, & G. Buckner. 2018. Homicide illustrated across the ages: Graphic depictions of victim and offender age, sex, and relationship. *Journal of Aging and Health* 32(3-4): 162-174.

Alisic, E., A. Groot, H. Snetselaar, T. Stroeken, and E. Putte. 2017. Children bereaved by fatal intimate partner violence: A population-based study into demographics, family characteristics and homicide exposure. *PLoS ONE* 12(10): 1-13.

Alvazzi del Frate A and Nowak M. 2013. Femicide in global perspective. In: ACUNS (ed.) *Femicide: A Global Issue that Demands Action*. Vienna: ACUNS.

Angus, J. E., Lombardo, A. P., Lowndes, R. H., Cechetto, N., Ahmad, F., & Bierman, A. S. 2013. Beyond barriers in studying disparities in women's access to health services in Ontario, Canada: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Qualitative health research, 23*(4), 476-494.

Armstrong, L. (2022, Jul 1). *N.S. mass shooting inquiry hears domestic violence often downplayed in rural areas.* CBC News.

Balica, Ecaterina. 2018. Young Intimate Femicide in Romania. Incidence and Risk Factors. *Anthropological Researches and Studies* 8(1). DOI: 10.26758/8.1.2.

Ballan, M. 2017. Intimate partner violence and women with disabilities: The public health crisis. *Family & Intimate Partner Violence Quarterly* 10.2: 65-69.

Benoit, C., Shumka, L., Philips, R., Kennedy, M. C., and Belle-Isle, L. (2015). Issue Brief: Sexual Violence Against Women in Canada. *Federal-Provincial-Territorial Senior Officials for the Status of Women.*

Boots, D. P., & Heide, K. M. 2006. Parricides in the media: A content analysis of available reports across cultures. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 50*(4), 418–445

Bourget D, Gagne P and Labelle M. 2007. Parricide: A comparative study of matricide versus patricide. *The Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* 35: 306–312.

Boyd, C., D. Sutton, M. Dawson, Angelika Zecha, J. Poon, AL. Straatman, and P. Jaffe. 2022. Familicide in Canada: Comparing familicides to domestic homicides. *Homicide Studies*

Campbell, J.C., N. Glass, P.W. Sharps, K. Laughon, N. Yragui, and M.A. Sutherland. 2009. Research on intimate partner violence and femicide, attempted femicide, and pregnancy-associated femicide. *Family & Intimate Partner Violence Quarterly* 2.2: 115-139.

Campbell, J. C., Glass, N., Sharps, P. W., Laughon, K., & Bloom, T. 2007. Intimate partner homicide: Review and implications of research and policy. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 8*(3), 246-269.

Campbell, J. C., Webster, D., Koziol-McLain, J., Block, C., Campbell, D., Curry, M. A., ... & Laughon, K. 2003. Risk factors for femicide in abusive relationships: Results from a multisite case control study. *American journal of public health*, *93*(7), 1089-1097.

Canetto, S. S., & Hollenshead, J. D. 2001. Older women and mercy killing. *OMEGA-Journal of Death and Dying*, *42*(1), 83-99.

Carrigan, M. and M. Dawson. 2020. Problem representations of Femicide/Feminicide legislation in Latin America. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 9(2): 1-19.

Chan, H., and Heide, K. 2009. Sexual Homicide: A Synthesis of the Literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 10(1), 31-54.

Cliffe, C., Miele, M., & Reid, S. 2019. Homicide in pregnant and postpartum women worldwide: a review of the literature. *Journal of Public Health Policy, 40*, 180-216.

Cohen, D., Llorente, M., & Eisdorfer, C. 1998. Homicide-suicide in older persons. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *155*(3), 390-396.

Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). 2017. Concluding observations on the initial report of Canada. Convention of Persons with Disabilities, United Nations.

Condry, R. and C. Miles. 2023. Who counts? The invisibility of mothers as victims of femicide. *Current Sociology* 71(1): 43-59.

Cotter, A. 2018. *Violent victimization of women with disabilities, 2014*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Coyne-Beasley, T., Moracco, K. E., & Casteel, M. J. 2003. Adolescent femicide: a population-based study. *Archives of pediatrics & adolescent medicine, 157*(4), 355-360.

Crawford M and Gartner R and Women We Honour Action Committee. 1992. *Woman Killing: Intimate Femicide in Ontario 1974–1990.* Toronto: Women We Honour Action Committee.

Crawford M, Gartner R and Dawson M and Women We Honour Action Committee. 1997. *Woman Killing: Intimate Femicide in Ontario 1990–1994.* Toronto: Women We Honour Action Committee.

Cullen, P., M. Dawson, J. Price, and J. Rowlands. 2021. Intersectionality and Invisible Victims: Reflections on Data Challenges in Femicide, Family and Intimate Partner Homicide Research. *Journal of Family Violence* 36: 619-628.

David, JD and B. Jaffray. 2022. *Homicide in Canada, 2021*. Juristat Catalogue no. 85-002-X. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Dawson, M., A. Zecha, and Haleakala Angus. 2023. *#CallItFemicide: Understanding Sex/ Gender - based Killings of Women and Girls* 2018-2022. Guelph, ON: Centre for the Study of Social and Legal Responses to Violence.

Dawson, M. 2022. Considering gender-based violence as a form of hate: A socio-legal examination. Vancouver, BC: British Columbia's Office of the Human Rights Commissioner.

Dawson, M. 2021. *Not the 'golden years': Femicide of older women in Canada.* Ottawa: Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime.

Dawson, M. 2019. Recognizing the children left behind: Making invisible victims of femicide visible. *Femicide XII: Silence to Death and Living Victims of Femicide*. Vienna: United Nations Studies Association.

Dawson, M. 2016. Punishing femicide: Criminal justice responses to the killing of women over four decades. *Current Sociology* 64(7): 996-1016.

Dawson, M. 2015. Canadian trends in filicide by gender of the accused, 1961-2011. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 47: 162-174.

Dawson, M. 2006. Intimacy, violence, and the law: Exploring stereotypes about victim-defendant relationship and violent crime. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 96(4): 1417-1450.

Dawson, M. 2005. Intimate femicide followed by suicide: Examining the role of premeditation. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 35(1): 76-90.

Dawson, M. and E. Hill. 2021. Understanding child-to-parent homicide in the Canadian Context. Chapter 4 in Young People Using Family Violence: International Perspectives on Research, Responses and Reforms, edited by K. Fitz-Gibbon, H. Douglas and J. Maher. Springer.

Dawson, M. and M. Carrigan. 2021. Identifying femicide locally and globally: Understanding the utility and accessibility of sex/gender-related motives and indicators. *Current Sociology* 69(5): 682-704.

Dawson, M. and S. Mobayed (Eds). 2023. *The Routledge International Handbook of Femicide and Feminicide*, London: Routledge. [Release date May 9, 2023]

Dawson, M., D. Sutton, A. Zecha, C. Boyd, A. Johnson, and A. Mitchell. 2021. *#CallItFemicide: Understanding Gender-based Killings of Women and Girls* 2020. Guelph, ON: Centre for the Study of Social and Legal Responses to Violence.

Dawson, M., Sutton, D., Carrigan, M., Grand'Maison, V., Bader, D., Zecha, A., & Boyd, C. 2019. *CallItFemicide: Understanding Gender-based Killings of Women and Girls.* Guelph, ON: Centre for the Study of Social and Legal Responses to Violence.

DeKeseredy, W. 2019. Intimate violence against rural women: Current current state of sociological knowledge. *International Journal of Rural Criminology* 4: 312-331.

DisAbled Women's Network of Canada (DAWN). 2016, February 4. *Parliamentary Submission: Special Joint Committee on Physician-Assisted Dying.*

Dobash, R.P. & R.E. Dobash. 2012. Who died? The murder of collaterals related to intimate partner conflict. Violence Against Women 18(6): 662-671.

Doherty, Deborah and Jennie Hornosty. (2008). Exploring the Links: Family Violence, Firearms and Animal Abuse in Rural Communities. *Report on the Communications and Disseminations of Findings of a Research Study.* Pp. 1-57.

Dowse, L., K. Soldatic, J. Spangaro, and G. van Toorn. 2016. Mind the gap: the extent of violence against women with disabilities in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 51.3: 341-359.

Fairbairn, Jordan, Peter Jaffe, and Corinne Qureshi. 2020. Domestic Homicide in Teens and Young Adult Dating Relationships: Ignoring the Dangers of Dangerous Relationships. Pp. 87–109 in *Preventing domestic homicides: Lessons learned from tragedies*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Elsevier Academic Press.

Fedorowycz, O. 2001. Homicide in Canada—2000. *Juristat, 21*. Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE.

Flood, M., and B. Pease. 2009. Factors influencing attitudes to violence against women. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 10.2: 125-142.

Frohmader, C., L. Dowse, and A. Didi. 2015. Preventing violence against women and girls with disabilities: Integrating a

human rights perspective. *Human Rights Defender* 24.1: 11-15.

Gallup-Black, A. (2005). Twenty years of rural and urban trends in family and intimate partner homicide: Does place matter? *Homicide Studies*, *9*(2), 149-173.

Gartner, R., Dawson, M., & Crawford, M. 1999. Woman killing: Intimate femicide in Ontario, 1974-1994. *Resources for Feminist Research*, *26*, 151-174.

George, K. 2007. A woman's choice? The gendered risks of voluntary enthanasia and physician-assisted suicide. *Medical Law Review, 15 (1)*, 1-33.

Glass, Nancy, Kathryn Laughon, Cynthia Rutto, Jennifer Bevacqua, and Jacquelyn Campbell. 2008. Young Adult Intimate Partner Femicide. *Homicide Studies* 12(2):163–226.

Glass, N, J. Koziol-McLain, J. Campbell, and C.R. Block. 2004. Female-perpetrated femicide and attempted femicide: A case study. *Violence Against Women* 10.6: 606-625.

Góes Mendes, W., M. de Oliveira Duarte, C. Ferreira de Andrade, and C. Passos da Silva. 2021. Systematic review of characteristics of LGBT homicides. *SciELO Public Health* 26(11)

Grant, I. and J. Benedet. 2017. The sexual assault of older women: Criminal justice responses in Canada. *McGill Law Journal* 62(1): 41-78.

Grant, T. & Jones, L. 2017, May 3. *Census 2016: Canada's seniors outnumber its children for first time in survey history.* Globe and Mail. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/canadas-seniors-exceed-children-for-first-time-in-census-history/article34892247/.

Grosso, C.M., D. Baldus, G. and Woodworth, G. 2010. The role of intimacy in the prosecution and sentencing of capital murder cases in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1984-2005. *New Mexico Law Review* 40: 273-297.

Gruenewald, J. 2012. Are anti-LGBT homicides in the United States unique? *The Journal of Interpersonal Violence 27*(18): 3601-3623.

Heide K (2013) *Understanding Parricide: When Sons and Daughters Kill Parents*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heide K (2010) Matricide: A critique of the literature. *Trauma Violence and Abuse* 11(1): 3–17.

Holt, A. (2012). Researching parent abuse: A critical review of the methods. *Social Policy & Society, 11*(2), 289–298.

Huff-Corzine, L., J.C. McCutcheon, J. Corzine, and J.P. Jarvis. 2013. Shooting for accuracy: Comparing data sources on mass murder. *Homicide Studies* 18.1: 105-124.

Hurka, S., & Knill, C. 2020. Does regulation matter? A cross-national analysis of the impact of gun policies on homicide and suicide rates. *Regulation & Governance*, *14*(4), 787-803.

Jaffe, P., K. Scott, A. Jenney, M. Dawson, M. Campbell, and A. Straatman. 2014. *Risk factors for children in situations of family violence in the context of separation and divorce.* Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Jaffray, B. 2020. *Experiences of violent victimization and unwanted sexual behaviours among gay, lesbian, bisexual and other sexual minority people and the transgender population in Canada 2018*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Jeffrey, N., Johnson, A., Richardson, C., Dawson, M., Bader, D., Fairbairn, J., Straatman, A.L., Poon, J., Jaffe, P. (2019). Domestic Violence and Homicide in Rural, Remote, and Northern Communities: Understanding risks and keeping women safe. Domestic Homicide (7). London, ON: Canadian Domestic Homicide Prevention Initiative. ISBN 978-1-988412-34-4.

Johnson, A. and M. Dawson. 2017. *Filicide: An Oxford Bibliography*. New York: Oxford.

Kapardis, A., A. Costanza Baldry, and M. Konstantinou. 2017. A qualitative study of intimate partner femicide and orphans in Cyprus. *Qualitative Sociology Review* XIII (3): 80-101.

Karlsson, L.C., J. Antfolk, H. Putkonen, S., Amon, J. da Silva Guerreiro, V. de Vogel, S. Flynn, and G. Weizmann-Henelius. 2018. Familicide: A systematic literature review. *Trauma Violence & Abuse* 1-40.

Kasdorff, Deborah and Barbara Erb. 2010. Serving Victims of Violence in Rural Communities: Challenges and Best Practices. *Victim/Witness Assistance Program, East Region.*

Kerr, K. J., Beech, A. R., and Murphy, D. 2013. Sexual Homicide: Definition, Motivation and Comparison with Other Forms of Sexual Offending. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 18(1), 1-10.

Krienert, J.L. and J.A. Walsh. 2010. Eldericide: A gendered examination of elderly homicide in the United States, 200-2005. *Homicide Studies* 14(1): 52-71.

Lagarde de losRíos M. 2010. Preface: Feminist keys for understanding feminicide: Theoretical, political, and legal construction. In: Fregoso RL and Bejarano (eds) *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*. London: Duke University Press, pp. xi–xxvi.

Langmann, C. 2012. Canadian firearms legislation and effects on homicide 1974 to 2008. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *27*(12), 2303-2321.

Laurent, C., M. Platzer, and M. Idomir. 2013. *Femicide: A Global Issue that Demands Action*. Vienna: Academic Council on

the United Nations (ACUNS) Vienna Liaison Office. OAS: Washington, DC.

Liem, M., J. Levin, C. Holland, and J.A. Fox. 2013. The nature and prevalence of familicides in the United States, 2000-2009. *Journal of Family Violence* 28.3: 351-358.

Lynch, Kellie and Dylan Jackson. 2018. Ready to Pull the Trigger? Adapting the Health Belief Model to Assess the Implementation of Domestic Violence Gun Policy at the Community Level. *Psychology of Violence* 9(1):67-77.

Lynch, Kellie, and T. Logan. 2018. 'You Better Say Your Prayers and Get Ready': Guns Within the Context of Partner Abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 33(4):686-711.

Malphurs, J. E., & Cohen, D. 2005. A statewide case–control study of spousal homicide–suicide in older persons. *The American Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*: Official Journal of the American Association for Geriatric Psychiatry, 13(3), 211–217.

Marleau, J.D., Millaud, F., & Auclair, N. 2003. A comparison of parricide and attempted parricide: A study of 39 psychotic adults. I*nternational Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 26,* 269–279

Martin, Caitlin Eileen, Avril Melissa Houston, Kristin N. Mmari, and Michele R. Decker. 2012. Urban Teens and Young Adults Describe Drama, Disrespect, Dating Violence and Help-Seeking Preferences. *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 16(5):957–66.

Marzuk, P. M., Tardiff, K., & Hirsch, C. S. 1992. The epidemiology of murder-suicide. JAMA, 267(23), 3179–3183.

Mays, J.M. 2006. Feminist disability theory: Domestic violence against women with a disability. *Disability & Society* 21.2: 147-158.

McPhedran, S. 2016. A systematic review of quantitative evidence about the impacts of Australian legislative reform on firearm homicide. *Aggression and violent behavior, 28*, 64-72.

Meyer, D. 2010. Evaluating the Severity of Hate-motivated Violence: Intersectional Differences among LGBT Hate Crime Victims. *Sociology, 44*(5), 980-995.

Meyer, D. 2008. Interpreting and experiencing anti-queer violence: Race, class, and gender differences among LGBT hate crime victims. *Race, Gender & Class,* 262-282.

Meyer E.M., and L. Post. 2013. Collateral Intimate Partner Homicide. *SAGE Open* 1-11.

Miles, C., & Condry, R. 2015. Responding to adolescent to parent violence: Challenges for policy and practice. *British Journal of Criminology, 55*(6), 1076–1095.

Misra, S., A. Major, P. Palmater, and S. Day. 2022. *The Toxic Culture of the RCMP: Misogyny, Racism, and Violence Against Women in Canada's National Police Force*. Ottawa: Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action.

Mitchell, A. 2022. *"That's Sexist, I Probably Shouldn't Think Like That": Forensic Pathologists' Decision-Making in Cases of Sexual Femicide*. Master's Thesis: University of Guelph.

National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. 2019. *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*. Ottawa.

Not Dead Yet. 2019, September 12. *Analysis: Québec Superior Court Decision Ignores Disability Discrimination, Follows Medical Model* [Press Release]. Retrieved from https://tvndy.ca/en/2019/09/press-release-analysis-quebec-superior-court-decision-ignores-disability-discrimination-follows-medical-model/.

Odette, F., and D. Rajan. 2013. Violence against women with disAbilities and deaf women: An overview. Learning Network Brief (12). London, Ontario: Learning Network, Centre for Research and Education on Violence Against Women and Children.

Office of the Chief Coroner for Ontario. 2022, June 28. Verdict of Coroner's Jury. Inquest into the death of Carol Culleton, Anastasia Kuzyk and Nathalie Warmerdam.

Organization of American States (OAS). 2018. *Inter-American Model Law on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of the Gender-Related Killing of Women and Girls (Femicide/Feminicide)*.

Otlowski, M. 1993. Mercy killing cases in the Australian criminal justice system. *Criminal Law Journal*, *17*(1), 10-39.

Parkin, W.S., and J. Gruenewald. 2017. Open-source data and the study of homicide. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 32.18: 2693-2723.

Peelo, M., B. Francis, K. Soothill, J. Pearson & E. Ackerly. 2004. Newspaper reporting and the public construction of homicide. *British Journal of Criminology* 44(2), 256-275.

Prunas, A., Clerici, C. A., Gentile, G., Muccino, E., Veneroni, L., & Zoja, R. 2015. Transphobic murders in Italy: An overview of homicides in Milan (Italy) in the past two decades (1993-2012). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 30*(16), 2872-2885.

Rapaport, Elizabeth. 1994. The Death Penalty and the Domestic Discount. In M.A. Fineman and R. Mykitiuk, eds., *The Public Nature of Private Violence*. New York: Routledge.

Rapaport, Elizabeth. 1991. The Death Penalty and Gender Discrimination. *Law & Society Review* 25(2): 367-83.

Raymond, D. 1999. "Fatal Practices": A Feminist Analysis of Physician-Assisted Suicide and Euthanasia. *Hypatia*, *14*(2), 1-25.

Reckdenwald, A., Szalewski, A., & Yohros, A. 2019. Place, injury patterns, and female-victim intimate partner homicide. *Violence Against Women, 25*(6), 654-676.

Reif, K., Saxton, M., Campbell, M., Dubé, M., Dawson, M., & Jaffe, P. 2017. *Children and Domestic Homicide: Understanding the Risks. Domestic Homicide Brief* (CDHPIVP Learning Brief No. 3). London, ON: Canadian Domestic Homicide Prevention Initiative. ISBN: 978-1-988412-11-5.

Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A. W., and Douglas, J. E. 1988. *Sexual Homicide: Patterns and Motives.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Rogers, M.M. & J.E. Storey. 2019. Elder homicide: A systematic literature review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 48: 141-151.

Russell, D.E.H., and N. Van de Ven, eds. 1976. *Crimes against women: proceedings of the International Tribunal*. Frog in the Well.

Russell, D., and R. Harmes. (Eds). 2001. *Femicide in Global Perspective*. London: Teachers College Press.

Salari, S. 2007. Patterns of intimate partner homicide suicide in later life. Strategies for prevention. *Clinical Interventions in Aging* 2(3): 441-452.

Salari, S., & Sillito, C. L. 2016. Intimate partner homicide–suicide: Perpetrator primary intent across young, middle, and elder adult age categories. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 26, 26–34.

Sarmiento CB, Acots ML, Roth F and Zambrano M. 2014. *Latin American Model Protocol for the Investigation of Gender-Related Killings of Women (Femicide/Feminicide)*. New York: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and UN Women.

Savage, Laura. 2021. *Intimate partner violence: Experiences of women with disabilities in Canada, 2018*. Ottawa Statistics Canada.

Schlesinger, L. B. (2004). *Sexual Murder: Catathymic and Compulsive Homicides.* Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Shon, P.C., and J. Lee. 2016. Evidence of convergent validity: A comparative analysis of sentencing verdicts and newspaper accounts of South Korean parricides. *Asian Criminology* 11.1: 1-19.

Sinha, M. 2013. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2011*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (Catalogue no. 85-002-X).

Spencer, C. M., & Stith, S. M. 2018. Risk factors for male perpetration and female victimization of intimate partner homicide: A meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *21*(3), 527-540.

Statistics Canada. 2022. *Population growth in Canada's rural areas, 2016 to 2021.* Ottawa: Census Program, Census of Population, 2021 (Catalogue no. 98-200-X, issue 2021002).

Statistics Canada. 2022. Population estimates on July 1st, by age and sex, Table 17-10-0005-01.

Statistics Canada. 2017. *Census profile, 2016 census.* No. 98-316-X2016001.

Storey, J.E. 2020. Risk factors for elder abuse and neglect. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 50: 1-13.

Tavara, L. 2006. Sexual Violence. *Best Practice & Research Clinical Obstetrics & Gynaecology* 20(3), 395-408.

Thiara, R.K., G. Hague, and A. Mullender. 2012. Losing out on both counts: disabled women and domestic violence. *Disability & Society, 26(6),* 757-771.

Turcotte, M., & Schellenberg, G. 2007. A portrait of seniors in Canada: Introduction. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-519-X.

United Nations. 2020. *Policy Brief: The Impact of COVID-19 on Women*. New York: United Nations.

UN DESA. 2021. *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2021 - July 2021.* New York, USA: UN DESA. https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2021/

United Nations General Assembly. 2019. *Visit to Canada: Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences.* Geneva: Human Rights Council.

United Nations Human Rights Council. 2011. *Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity: Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.* Geneva: UNHRC.

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime. 2022. *Gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicide)*. Geneva: UNODC.

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime. 2019. Global Study on Homicide, 2019. Geneva: UNODC.

United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime/United Nations Equity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. 2022. *Statistical framework for measuring the gender-related killing of women and girls (also referred to as femicide/feminicide)*. Vienna: UNODC & UN Women.

United Nations Studies Association. 2019. *Femicide XII: Silence to Death and Living Victims of Femicide*. Vienna: United Nations Studies Association

UN Women. 2021. *Measuring the Shadow Pandemic: Violence against Women during COVID-19.* New York: UN Women.

Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability

Observatoire canadien du fémicide pour la justice et la responsabilisation

CAN_Femicide    cfoja@uoguelph.ca    femicideincanada.ca

Walby S, Towers J, Balderston S et al. 2017. *The Concept and Measurement of Violence Against Women and Men*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Walklate S, Fitz-Gibbon K, McCulloch J and Maher J. 2019. *Towards a Global Femicide Index: Counting the Costs*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Wallace, M. E. 2022. Trends in pregnancy-associated homicide, United States, 2020. *American journal of public health, 112*(9), 1333-1336.

Waller, I. 2020. What can we achieve by 2030? Rights for victims of crime in the era of sustainable development goals. *An International Perspective on Contemporary Developments in Victimology: A Festschrift in Honor of Marc Groenhuijsen,* 167-179

Websdale, N. 2010. *Familicidal Hearts: The Emotional Styles of 211 Killers*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weil, S. 2015. Making femicide visible. *Current Sociology* 64(7): 1124-1137.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. Protest, Policy and the Problem of Violence Against Women: A Cross-National Comparison. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Wolf, S.M. 1996. "Gender, Feminism, and Death: Physician-assisted suicide and Euthanasia" in S.M. Wolf (ed.) in *Feminism and the Bioethics Beyond Reproduction.* Oxford University Press, 282-317.

World Health Organization (WHO). 2020. *COVID-19 and violence against older people.* Geneva: World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. 2013. Prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence. Geneva: World Health Organization.

World Health Organization. 2002. *The world report on violence and health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Zeoli, A. M., Malinski, R., & Brenner, H. 2017. The intersection of firearms and intimate partner homicide in 15 nations. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 21*(1), 45-56.

Zeoli, A. M., McCourt, A., Buggs, S., Frattaroli, S., Lilley, D., & Webster, D. W. 2018. Retracted: Analysis of the strength of legal firearms restrictions for perpetrators of domestic violence and their associations with intimate partner homicide. *American journal of epidemiology, 187*(7), 1449-145