

2017 FEMICIDE REPORT

**MINISTRY OF SECURITY
ARGENTINA'S PRESIDENCY**

**DEFENSOR DEL PUEBLO DE LA NACIÓN
ARGENTINE OMBUDSMAN OFFICE**

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Introduction

Producing reliable and timely statistical data constitutes a duty of all States, since the characteristics of their societies and the phenomena emerging from them may be identified precisely from this type of information, being then possible to implement appropriate public policies accordingly. In this sense, properly recorded data on different crimes is essential to understand circumstances in which social violence and criminal phenomenon occur, its evolution over time and thus taking all necessary steps to prevent this happening again in the future. However, note the importance of bearing in mind that the criminal phenomenon is complex and therefore the statistical production should consider its various forms if it intends to give a correct interpretation of it.

Consequently, this report shall analyze the specific characteristics of gender-motivated female killings. More and more attention has been given to this phenomenon in recent years, not only in Argentina but also in other countries around the world.

However, there is no a single source or institution responsible for producing statistical data. During the past ten years different State bodies or civil society associations were tasked for providing statistics, as accurate as possible, on the number of victims of crimes, either direct or connected ones, on methods used to kill and places they occur, and also the diverse kinds of relationships they maintain with perpetrators, among other variables. Certainly, capturing data is crucial because, on the one hand, it enables us to monitor the effectiveness and efficiency of public policies for the prevention and eradication of gender-based violence and, on the other hand, to create and update documents and protocols in guiding the actions to be taken by institutions responsible for this task. Thus, relying on several high-quality sources of information (media, justice, police and other administrative sources) is extremely important because they can bring different approaches of the phenomenon into focus and also State bodies tasked with the matter will be able to carry out collaborative work to achieve comprehensive information on femicides and gender-based violence.

Hence, on April 24, 2018, the national Ministry of Security and the Argentine Ombudsman Office decided to enter into a Framework Agreement on Technical Cooperation

The primary purpose of this agreement is to carry out an effective work based on cooperation, coordination and technical collaboration, in order to improve the available data on the number of victims and main characteristics of femicide in Argentina, being the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics, on the orbit of the national Ministry of Security, and the Femicide Observatory, pertaining to the national Ombudsman Office, the operational liaisons for the realization of this goal.

Significantly, the Femicide Observatory delivers partial, semi-annual and annual reports, being the media and the information provided by police stations, prosecutor's offices, courts and also from hospitals where victims are assisted its principal data sources. Likewise, the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics releases annual reports based on criminal statistics produced in Argentina by the National Criminal Information System (*Sistema Nacional de Información Criminal*, SNIC, in Spanish), an Office under its authority. Provincial Police and Federal Security Forces' reports constitute its main data sources.

Mention should also be made that the data reporting commitment on femicide given by both institutions arose from initiatives promoted by different UN bodies. As regards the Femicide Observatory, its creation rely on recommendations made by Dubravka Šimonović, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women in her report to the General Assembly, submitted immediately after her visit to Argentina in November 2016.¹

In turn, since 2017 the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics has been working together with the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in improving the quality of its statistical procedures, then obtaining an "A" certificate given by this Office in 2018². Likewise, it has committed itself to furnish data for compiling international statistics, and simultaneously, to send disaggregated data on homicides referred to existing relationships between victims and criminals, among other issues, taking into account the relevance of this type of information to identify gender-based crimes, as mentioned in the introduction

¹ Creation of the Femicide Observatory. Recovered from:
<http://www.dpn.gob.ar/documentos/AmpliacionObservatoriodeFemicidios.pdf>

² UNODC quality certification. Retrieved from: <https://estadisticascriminales.minseq.gob.ar/>

of the *Study on Homicide. Gender-related killing of women and girls*, within the context of the UNODC *Global Study on Homicide*³.

As a result of such cooperation agreement and their joint work, it was possible to carry out a cross-checking data process which compiled the information of the two databases: one on femicides, provided by the Femicide Observatory, and the another one on intentional homicides of women, provided by the *SNIC-Early-warning System of Intentional Homicides*. The information on femicides occurred in Argentina in 2017 reported herein is coming from this cross-referencing data.

This report is divided into four sections: section 1, a discussion on definitions and variations of the concept of femicide. Section 2 deals with the history of femicides in Argentina, taking into account agencies, figures released, data sources and concepts used for the task. Section 3 identifies the methodological criteria eligible to classify events, victims and perpetrators along this report and also to create a single database. Section 4 provides data on femicides occurred in Argentina in 2017, a comparison with the information given by the national Supreme Court of Justice, and a subdivision devoted to special cases. Finally, a bibliographical section on documents and sources is also included therein.

³ Study on Homicide. Gender-related killing of woman and girls. UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/GSH2018/GSH18_Gender-related_killing_of_women_and_girls.pdf

Femicide: definitions and evolution of the concept

The term femicide was coined by Diana Russell and Jane Caputi in the early 1990s, referring to "the killing of women by men motivated by hatred, contempt, pleasure or sense of property over a woman"⁴ or, according to Russell and Jill Radford, "the misogynistic killing of women perpetrated by men"⁵. However, the phenomenon for these authors not only is the killing but also the result of a long chain of structural violence that women experience throughout their lives by reason of gender.

The concept has been developed and reformulated over time to encompass all diverse typologies and circumstances in which femicides happen and also to include all sort of victims. Its continuous review is part of a critical theoretical production process seeking to make visible the violence exercised towards women in its specific modalities.

Likewise, mention should be made here that the term *femicide* shares its history with *feminicide*, a concept first formulated by Marcela Lagarde relying on Russell's studies which was developed and implemented in the Latin American region. Although differences between both terms have been widely discussed, one of the main aspects that makes a difference is that feminicide has been reformulated as the gender-related killing of women by men in a context of impunity and State complicity.

By developing these concepts and carrying out a large number of studies on the matter, together with the commitment made by several institutions and agencies, an important number of regional documents have been produced seeking to explore how to manage the phenomenon, possible definitions and means of assessing it. The August 2008 *Declaration on Femicide* issued by the Committee of Experts of the Follow-up Mechanism to the Belém do Pará Convention⁶ (MESECVI) should be properly recognized. In such document, *femicide* is understood as "the violent death of women based on gender, whether it occurs within the family, a domestic partnership or any other interpersonal relationship; in the community, by any person, or when it is perpetrated or

⁴ Toledo Vásquez, P. Femicide / Feminicide. Didot editions, 2014. Page 90.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Declaration on Femicide. Committee of Experts of the Follow-up Mechanism to the Convention of Belém do Pará. Retrieved from: <https://www.oas.org/es/mesecvi/docs/declaracionfemicidio-es.pdf>

tolerated by the State and its agents, through their acts or omission"⁷. This concept is very important for the study and analysis of the phenomenon since it develops connections and contexts in which cases of femicides may appear, thus avoiding approaches which restrict the interpretation of facts.

It is also particularly worth mentioning here *the Latin American Model Protocol for the investigation of violent gender-related killing of women (femicide / feminicide)* released in 2014 by the Regional Office for Central America of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and UN Women in the Americas. The document redefines and broadens the concept of femicide developed by the MESECVI: "*Gender-related killings of women which revealed a special motivation or context based on a culture of violence and discrimination*" shall be understood as femicides⁸. The document is extremely useful because different types of femicides and their modalities are identified therein⁹ (intimate femicide, not intimate femicide, child femicide, family femicide, femicide by association/connection, systematic sexual femicide, femicide because of prostitution or stigmatized occupations, femicide because of trafficking, femicide because of smuggling, transphobic femicide, lesbophobic femicide, racist femicide, femicide because of female genital mutilation¹⁰), all of which enables us to determine, classify and understand them in depth within the universe of gender-related killings of women, and to provide also a clear and explanatory guide for the design and implementation of new research.

Regarding the State's position on this topic, it is important to highlight the Inter-American Court of Human Rights ruling in the case "González et al. (Campo Algodonero) v Mexico"¹¹ passed on November 16, 2009, after the disappearance and killing of three

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Latin American model protocol for the investigation of violent deaths of women due to gender (femicide / feminicide). Retrieved from: <http://www.unwomen.org-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2014/modelo%20de%20protocolo.ashx?la=en>

⁹ Many femicides shall not be taken into account in this report since the study is restricted to intentional deaths, i.e. intentional homicides as provided for in our Criminal Code, or intentional injuries which cause the victim's decease.

¹⁰ See the aforementioned protocol, pages 15 and 16, for more information on these modalities at: <http://www.unwomen.org-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2014/modelo%20de%20protocolo.ashx?la=en>

¹¹ Case González y otras ("Campo Algodonero") v. México. Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Retrieved from: http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_205_esp.pdf

teenage girls in Ciudad Juarez. This judgement underlined the absence of gender perspective in all the judicial and policing tools to investigate this type of events in a gender-based violence context, establishing precedents for the development of criminal laws and research protocols capable to include this issue as a priority to be further discussed in Latin American countries.

In 2012, Argentina passed 26,791 Act by means of which article 80 of the national Criminal Code was amended:

ARTICLE 80. Life imprisonment shall be imposed, and the provisions of article 52 may be applied to those who kill:

[...]

4º for pleasure, greed, racial, religious, gender or sexual hatred, gender identity or gender expression. (subparagraph replaced by 26,791 Act, art. 1º O.G.12/14/2012)

[...]

11. a woman, when the act is perpetrated by a man and the crime involves gender-based violence. (subparagraph introduced by 26,791 Act., art. 2º O.G. 12/14/2012)

[...]

12. for the purpose of causing suffering to an individual with whom he maintains or has maintained a relationship as provided for in 1º. (subparagraph introduced by 26,791 Act, art. 2º (O.G. 12/14/2012)

State bodies responsible for providing information on this phenomenon rely on such criminal classification but also broaden this concept to other dimensions.

As regards investigative tools for gender-based killings of women, the *Protocol for the conduct of investigations and judicial disputes in cases of violent deaths of women (femicides)* published in 2018 by the Violence against Women Prosecution Unit (UFEM, in Spanish) should be mentioned here. This instrument identifies, among other significant criteria, that: "gender-based violence may be externalized itself through different factors, among which the following are mentioned as an example:

¹² Protocol for the conduct of investigations and judicial disputes in case of violent killings of women (femicides). UFEM, 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.fiscales.gob.ar/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Informe_ufem_2018.pdf

- Method employed in committing the criminal act,
- Previous violence,
- Special cruelty or violence used as a means to commit the crime -*overkill*-,
- Method for selecting and approaching the victim,
- Connection with a sexual attack,
- Victim's defensive response: the retreat phase seeking to escape from the criminal attempt of dominance;
- Exploitation of female helpless state, her physical inferiority, etc.¹²

Additionally, since its creation the national Ministry of Security, through its Coordination of Gender-based and Non-Discriminatory Policies, has been implemented gender-mainstreaming to be put in practice by the Federal Police and Security Forces. One of these measures has been the creation and implementation of the "*Action Guide for the Police and Security Forces for investigating femicides in places of occurrence*", according to Resolution MS No. 1278/17.¹³ It provides gender-perspective guidelines for preventive actions to be taken by Police or Security officers in places where crimes occur, and also by the forensic scientific personnel. To date, the following provinces have already adhered to it: Chaco, Entre Ríos, Jujuy, La Pampa, Mendoza, Misiones, San Juan, Santa Cruz, Santa Fe, Tucumán. By adhering it, provinces were committed to furnish monthly the Ministry of Security, through SNIC, an Office pertaining to the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics, the number of cases having involved police intervention and a listing of variables capable of identifying these cases as femicides,

¹³ Action Guide for the Federal Police and Security Forces for investigating femicides in places of occurrence, published by Resolution MS No. 1278/17. Retrieved from: <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/normativa/nacional/resoluci%C3%B3n-1278-2017-293792/text>

Statistical background on femicides

In Argentina, several State bodies have been responsible for providing statistics on femicides coming from diverse sources of information. They are detailed as follows, clustered in two groups: a) non-state organizations, b) State bodies. Additionally, other information on the subject reported by international organizations is added herein.

a) Non-governmental organizations:

- Casa del Encuentro where the "Observatory of Femicides in Argentina Adriana Marisel Zambrano" operates by realising annual reports of the phenomenon since 2008. Currently, two reports are available covering 2008-2013 and 2008-2017 periods¹⁴. Femicide here is understood as "the killing of a woman committed by a man to whom he considers as property¹⁵. Connected femicides are also taken into account: victims who were in the line of fire or those who were killed to punish and mentally hurt the woman who is considered as own¹⁶. Further, sons and daughters whose mothers were victims of femicide are seen as collateral victims. *Télam*, *DyN* and 120 daily national and provincial newspapers constitute its main sources of information. According to the data reported for the 2008-2017 period, **2,679 women and girls were victims of femicide and connected femicides and 268 men and boys were victims of connected femicides.**
- Mujeres de la Matrícula Latinoamericana (from the political organization *Movimiento Libres del Sur*): the "National Register of Femicides" operates within this organization and produced data on different periods of time¹⁷. Cases surveyed come from the "analysis and monitoring of digital media and newspapers throughout the country"¹⁸. Monitoring is conducted on the basis of articles in which

¹⁴ The report for the period 2008-2017 can be downloaded from: <http://www.lacasadelencuentro.org/femicidios03.html>

¹⁵ Definition of Femicide of Casa del Encuentro Civil Association. Retrieved from:

<http://www.lacasadelencuentro.org/femicidios.html>

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ See the reports at <https://issuu.com/lasmumala>

¹⁸National Register of Femicides. March 2017. *Mujeres de la Matrícula Latinoamericana*. Retrieved from: https://issuu.com/lasmumala/docs/2017.03_registro_de_femicidios-mon

they "notice facts related to violent gender-based killings of women, murders falling into different categories occurred in heterogeneous fields, within their own family or in any other interpersonal relationship, as a result of structural inequalities that still persist in our societies"¹⁹. The number of victims registered in 2016 was 322, disaggregated as follows: **victims of femicide, 274; women and girls victims of connected femicides, 15; men and boys victims of connected femicides, 33; crossdressing femicides, 9.**

b) State bodies:

- National Supreme Court of Justice: the Office of Women carries out the "National Register of Femicides" of the Argentine Justice. "Court proceedings in which gender-based killings of women and transsexual / cross-dresser victims were investigated in all provinces (24) throughout the country" constitute its sole information source. Here, the Convention of Belen Do Pará femicide definition is considered as the overarching criterion.²⁰ This Office has released several annual femicide reports: **2014 (225 victims); 2015 (235 victims); 2016 (254 victims); 2017 (251 victims of direct femicides and 22 victims of connected femicides**, considered as such by standing in the line of fire and other types of violent gender-based killings).
- The Argentine Ombudsman Office: the Femicide Observatory, created on November 21, 2016, operates within this national institution. As regards definitions, the provisions set forth in the aforementioned Act²¹ are taken as proper as well as the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Dubravka Šimonović's recommendations. National, provincial and local print and electronic media constitute its main sources to collect data covering the whole national territory. Investigative work is also carried out by conducting inquiries in police stations, Prosecutor's Offices and Courts which deal with femicides throughout the country

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ 2017 Judicial Statistical Data on. National Supreme Court of Justice. Retrieved from:

https://www.csin.gov.ar/omrecopilacion/docs/informe_femicidios_2017.pdf

²¹ See Argentine Office Femicide Report 2017, pages 2-4, at:

http://www.dpn.gob.ar/documentos/20180214_31268_557197.pdf

and hospitals where victims are assisted. They reported **292 femicides in 2017, of which 31 were connected femicides and 5 crossdresser victims**. During the Jan 1-Nov 15 2018 period: **251 femicide victims, 28 connected femicides and 6 transsexual victims.**

- Violence Against Women Prosecution Unit (UFEM, in Spanish) provides femicide and intentional homicide reports of women killed in Buenos Aires, the Capital City of Argentina. Data sources are court proceedings and the MESECVI definition of femicide is used as proper. They published reports in **2015 (19 femicide victims)**; in **2016 (13 femicide victims)**; in **2017 (14 femicide victims)**.

International organizations:

In line with these publications, the 2018 UNODC "Study on Homicide. Gender-related killing of woman and girls"²² should be mentioned. 87,000 women, victims of intentional homicides were reported globally along 2017; 58% (approximately 50,000) were killed by their partners or family members, instead of 47% in 2012 (which represents an increase of 48,000 victims), a percentage which reflects a rising trend in times of the femicide phenomenon.

As to the national **Ministry of Security**, its "2017 Report on Intentional Homicides" delivered by the **Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics** revealed that of the 399 victims of intentional homicides of female sex at a national level, 150 were (ex) couples and (ex) spouses of the perpetrator, which represents 37.6% of women killed in Argentina, 67 (16.8%) were perpetrator's relatives, 31 (7.8%) maintained another kind of relationship, 37 (9.3%) had no relationship at all and finally, in 114 cases (28.6%) the connection could not be ascertained. Briefly, 62.2% was in a relationship or knew the perpetrator, while only 9.3% had no relationship at all. Comparatively, the number of male victims killed by their (ex) partners and (ex) spouses was 46 (2.5%), by family members: 121 (6.4%); 318 (17.0%) maintained another kind of relationship with the perpetrator); 595 (31.7%) had no relationship at all and in 796 cases (42.4%) the connection could not be ascertained.

²² Study on Homicide. Gender-related killing of woman and girls. UN Office on Drugs and Crime, 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/GSH2018/GSH18_Gender-related_killing_of_women_and_girls.pdf

Methodology

Intentional homicides occurred in Argentina in 2017 with at least one female victim were the initial subject-matter under review for this report. Cases involving killings of women under circumstances yet unsolved and intentional homicides committed by men linked to gender-based violence against women were also taken into account. This analysis made it possible that a new universe of cases, femicides exclusively, were identified.

Based on different approaches and conceptual definitions previously mentioned, the following criteria have been used to analyze and classify crimes, victims and perpetrators involved in those cases under review:

- **Femicides:** according to Article 80, paragraph 11 of the national Criminal Code, an intentional homicide of a woman occurs when the crime is perpetrated by a man and gender-based violence was involved. In a broader sense, and returning to initial definitions, it shall be understood that this gender-based violence starts from a misogynist approach by which women life is despised, considered as perpetrator's property or available to his will.

In this case, we refer exclusively to cis women, i.e., individuals assigned female at birth and identified with the female gender. Therefore, a distinction shall be drawn on femicides in which there were multiple victims.

- **Connected Femicides:** firstly, the provisions set forth in Article 80, paragraph 12 of the national Criminal Code are taken into account: the killing of an individual for the only purpose of causing suffering to his spouse, ex-spouse or the person with whom he maintains or has maintained a relationship as a couple; but also, broadly speaking, to cause hurt for revenge or for taking control of the woman (cis / trans or a cross-dresser), because perpetrators consider her as own. Secondly, deceases of individuals who were standing in the line of fire are also registered, i.e., those who died for being involved in femicides or as a result of being in places where they happened or involved in crimes where gender-based violence was being practised towards a woman (cis or trans) or a cross-dresser.
- **Cross-dresser femicides / Transsexual femicides:** according to Radi and

Sardá-Chandiramaniy (2016), these types of femicides should be understood as cross-dressers and transsexual intentional homicides, killings of "those individuals assigned male at birth and identified as cross-dressers or transsexuals respectively²³, motivated by gender-identity or gender-expression, but which are, at the same time, the ultimate expression of a chain of structural violence that arises in line with a cultural, social, political and economic system rested on the exclusive gender-based binary divisionⁿ²⁴. According to legal provisions, Article 80, fourth paragraph, provides for this type of cases: "whoever kills for pleasure, greed, racial or religious or sexual hatred, gender identity or gender expression". This category takes into account the misogynist approach mentioned in cases of femicide.

These three typologies are complemented with the contextual dimensions of femicide mentioned in the conceptual section (family, couple, community, etc.) and its diverse modalities (sexual attack, extreme use of violence, types of weapon or mechanisms to kill) as well as living conditions of victims.

Finally, cases analysed for this report made it possible to identify patterns and general characteristics that the phenomenon exhibits in its diversity. This worked as a tool to construe and to add several special cases: women bodies which were found without any information on perpetrators or the reasons behind, but their bodies and circumstances nevertheless complied with characteristics or patterns previously identified as femicides.

Data section will offer an analysis of cases based on subpopulations organized according to these typologies, i.e., victims of femicide will be exclusively discussed in our first section; victims of crossdresser / transsexual femicides in the next one, characteristics of victims of connected femicides in the third one; and finally, a section devoted to the study of perpetrators' profile. Therefore, the total number of victims in each section will be

²³ Cross-dresser / Transsexual Femicide: Coordinates for analyzing crimes of cross-dressers and transsexuals in Argentina. Published in Gender Observatory Bulletin. Radi, Blas and Sardá-Chandiramani, Alejandra (2016). Page 4. Retrieved from: <https://www.aacademica.org/blas.radi/14.pdf>

²⁴ Ibidem., page 5.

different since we will work with subpopulations. Information provided for each subpopulation will be disaggregated by variables and they will also be cross-checked to understand their connections.

Additionally to the provision of femicide data, a special cases section will be included herein devoted to enumerate those cases of women deceases which, although they could not be classified as femicides for several reasons, their special characteristics make them relevant to be mentioned.

Demographic data used for the calculation of the ratio per 100,000 inhabitants comes from the National Institute of Statistics and Census (INDEC, in Spanish) report: *2010-2040 Provincial Population Projections by Sex and Age*, No. 36, Demographic Analysis Series, 2013.

Integrating and unifying databases

This report arises from the cross-checking data process and the subsequent uniting of the Ombudsman Femicide Observatory database, and the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics one. Both State bodies completed this integrating process with meetings intended to seek consensus to classify new cases and to review the previous ones. The integrated data sources are briefly described below:

- The Femicide Observatory database registers femicides providing disaggregated information on special characteristics of crimes, victims and perpetrators²⁵. Sources of such data come from national, provincial and local print and electronic newspapers and other type of information collected from inquiries in police stations, prosecutor's offices, and courts in charge of cases of femicides across the country or hospitals where victims are assisted. Cases are organized according to the month of the year they occur, and the investigative process covers the entire territory.
- The Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics database is based on the information

²⁵ See a detail of these variables in the 2017 Femicide Report, "Methodology" section, at: http://www.dpn.gob.ar/documentos/20180214_31268_557197.pdf

provided by the SNIC *Early-warning System of Intentional Homicides* which registered all intentional homicides happened at a national level with female victims, by reporting facts, victims and criminals charged. Administrative records produced by Provincial Police stations and Federal Security Forces constitute the original sources of this System. The information collected is tailored to standardized templates, so making it possible to be reported.

Here, different steps of this process are described:

1. Firstly, information provided by both databases has been cross-checked as follows:
 - 1) by checking the existing connection between femicides registered by the Observatory and those intentional homicides registered by the Undersecretariat, i.e., identifying that the facts, places, personal details of victims and circumstances of their occurrence are the same;
 - 2) by analyzing, once these cases were detected, the remaining intentional homicides recorded by the Undersecretariat database in order to classify them into the following categories: femicide, crossdresser / transsexual femicide, connected femicide, no femicide, undetermined femicide;
 - 3) Press material was explored in order to backup those cases included in such typologies.
2. Once the cross-checking data process was completed and taking exclusively into account those cases classified according to the described typologies, a unified database was created with a mix of variables coming from each database. The selection was based on relevance and quality following a main objective: that the union would result in a statistical product capable of providing adequate and accurate information on the phenomenon. Thus, in a large number of cases some variables were dismissed because of lack of information.

This database is organized according to three phenomenon dimensions: data of facts, data of victims and data of perpetrators.

Femicides in Argentina in 2017

By cross-checking the data coming from the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics with that of the Femicide Observatory, an impact was produced at first on the information previously collected, and this made it possible, as mentioned above, the creation of a unified database capable of identifying the exact number of victims of femicides which occurred in Argentina in 2017.

As regards the SNIC *Early-Warning System of Intentional Homicides* initial registration, 399 female victims were recorded, however, it was able to identify cases recorded incorrectly, thus the number of female victims was rectified and moved to 397. Initially, 151 victims of such amount were (ex) partners and (ex) spouses of perpetrators, 69 relatives, 29 had other ties, 37, no relationship at all and it was impossible to ascertain in 111 victims the relationship they maintained with their perpetrators.

As a result of this cross-checking data process with the information provided by the Observatory of Femicides, it was determined that **254 of the 397** female victims **were victims of femicide** (falling into different typologies), **which represents 64.0%**, while 98 were not victims of femicide, 41 could not be identified due to lack of information and 4 victims were considered as special cases to be further analyzed more widely because of their specific characteristics. Cross-checking data also made it possible to identify 13 men who were victims of connected femicides. Media was also essential to identify and include 39 women and 2 male victims of femicide (of different typologies) who were not registered by Police. Probably, the information collected on these killings at that moment was not sufficiently extensive to categorize them as intentional homicides.

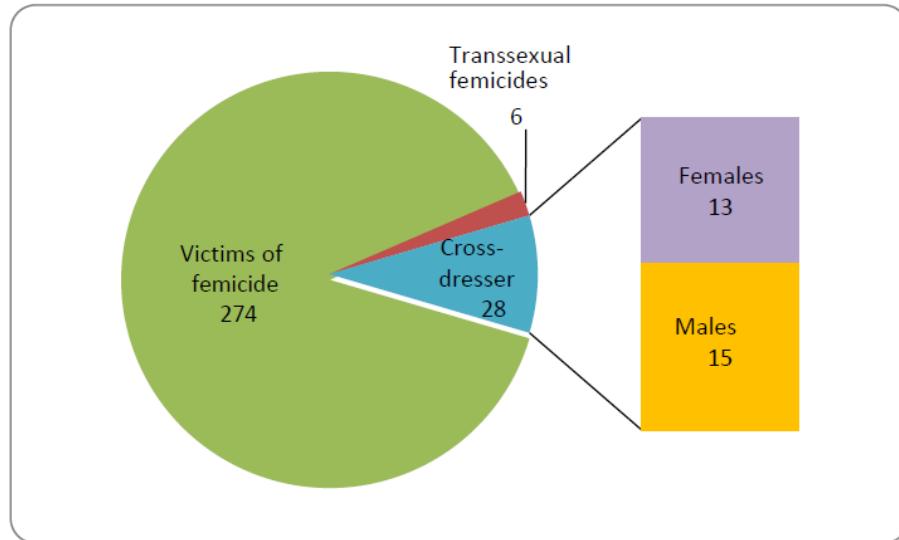
As to the information provided by the Femicide Observatory, of 293 victims²⁶ (falling into different typologies of femicide), 8 were not included into the integrated database in light of fresh information and agreed criteria and 4 victims, as mentioned before, were considered as special cases. Moreover, the cross-checking of data made it

²⁶ After the closing of this report, the number of victims registered by the Observatory was updated.

possible to identify and add 27 victims who were not included therein. Mention should be made in this regard that 9 of those 27 victims were not reported by the media. Some cases were informed after the Observatory statistical report was closed.

According to the unified database on femicides, there were 274 victims of femicides in Argentina in 2017, 6 victims of cross-dresser / transsexual femicides and 13 female and 15 male victims of connected femicides, so that the total amount of victims of femicides of different typologies comes to 308.

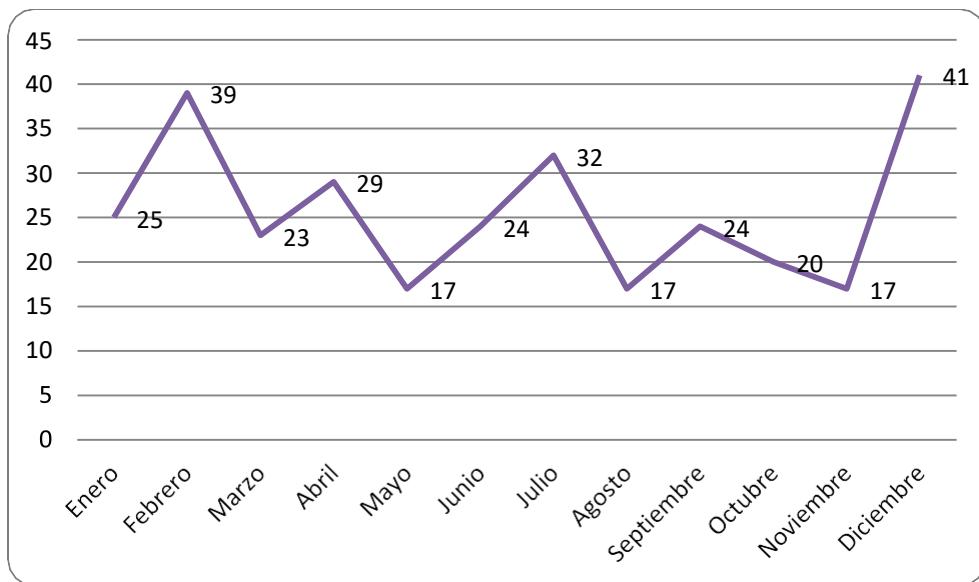
Chart 1. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated by types of femicide. Argentina, 2017



Source: Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics (SSEC) – Argentine Ombudsman Femicide Observatory (OFDPN)

Chart 2 is showing monthly distribution of victims. A decrease from February to November appeared throughout the year, but with peaks of growth in the period.

Chart 2. Victims of femicide*: data disaggregated by month. Argentina, 2017

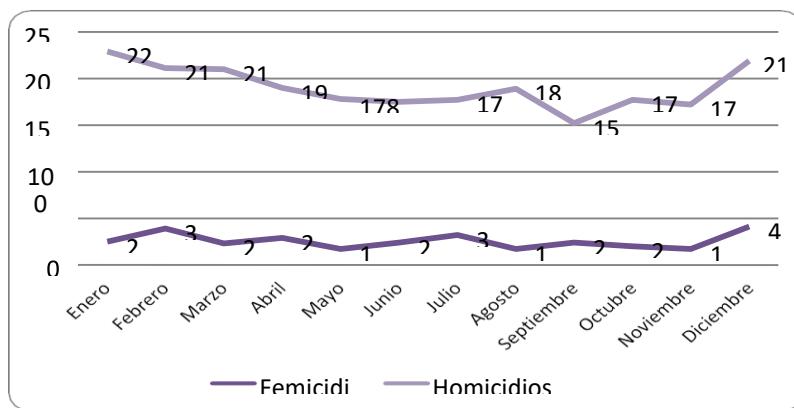


Source: SSEC-OFDPN

* Refers to the total number of victims covering the three typologies.

By comparing the monthly distribution of victims of intentional homicide in Argentina in 2017 as shows Chart 3, it is relevant to note that femicides did not maintain the same markedly decreasing trend as homicides, but both attained the same peak of growth at the end of the year.

**Chart 3. Victims of femicide* and intentional homicide: data disaggregated by month.
Argentina, 2017**



Source: Femicides: SSEC-OFDPN, Intentional homicides: SNIC-SAT.

* Refers to the total number of victims covering the three typologies

The following tables and a map provide information on the victims of femicides according to their geographical distribution. In some tables, reference data such as the total number of victims of homicides throughout the country and female victims of intentional homicide are added to compare their figures and to identify the specificity of each jurisdiction.

One can observe that the provinces with the highest rate of victims of intentional homicide, such as Santa Fe, do not display the highest rate of female victims of femicide. Conversely, provinces as Jujuy or Santiago del Estero have a low rate of victims of intentional homicide but a high rate in terms of femicides. The province of Salta stands out for holding high rates in all categories.

Table 1. Femicides and intentional homicides: number of victims per province.
Argentina, 2017

Province	Victims of femicides*	Victims of intentional homicides
Buenos Aires	107	992
Catamarca	5	16
Chaco	8	62
Chubut	2	43
CABA	13	143
Córdoba	30	116
Corrientes	7	12
Entre Ríos	8	49
Formosa	7	30
Jujuy	11	26
La Pampa	0	5
La Rioja	1	6
Mendoza	7	98
Misiones	5	54
Neuquén	6	33
Río Negro	2	26
Salta	25	96
San Juan	1	15
San Luis	3	12
Santa Cruz	1	12
Santa Fe	28	277
Santiago del Estero	18	37
Tierra del Fuego	1	1
Tucumán	12	118
Total	308	2279

Source: Femicides: SSEC-OFDPN, Intentional homicides: SNIC-SAT.

* Refers to the total number of victims covering the three typologies.

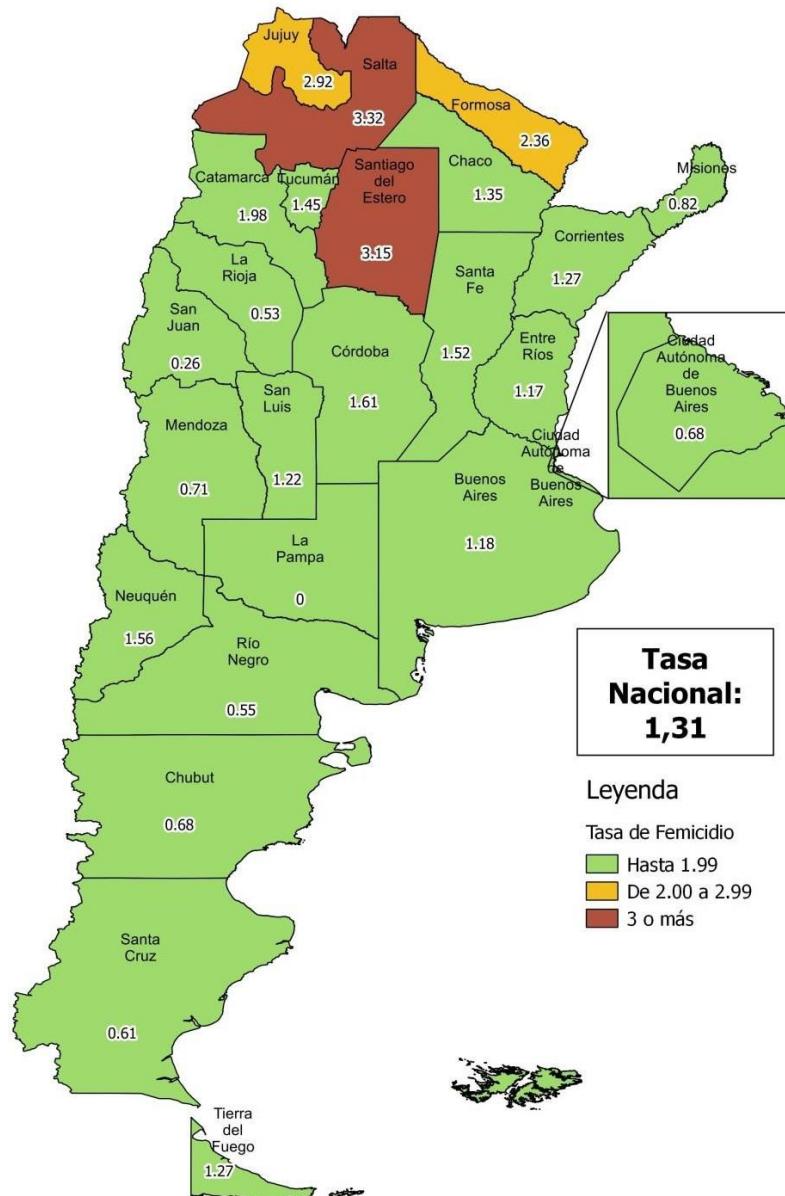
Table 2. Number of female victims of femicide and ratio per 100,000 inhabitants per province. Argentina, 2017

Provinces	Female victims of femicides*	Percentage of Female victims of Femicides	Population female
Buenos Aires	102	1,18	8.678.079
Catamarca	4	1,98	202.099
Chaco	8	1,35	591.359
Chubut	2	0,68	293.554
CABA	11	0,68	1.629.405
Córdoba	30	1,61	1.864.416
Corrientes	7	1,27	552.863
Entre Ríos	8	1,17	686.105
Formosa	7	2,36	296.144
Jujuy	11	2,92	377.289
La Pampa	0	0,00	175.949
La Rioja	1	0,53	189.818
Mendoza	7	0,71	980.723
Misiones	5	0,82	610.045
Neuquén	5	1,56	320.635
Río Negro	2	0,55	360.436
Salta	23	3,32	692.309
San Juan	1	0,26	381.779
San Luis	3	1,22	246.613
Santa Cruz	1	0,61	164.586
Santa Fe	27	1,52	1.772.590
Santiago del Estero	15	3,15	476.079
Tierra del Fuego	1	1,27	78.737
Tucumán	12	1,45	827.576
Total	293	1,31	22.449.188

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

* Women (cis and trans) and cross-dressers victims of the three femicide typologies
Note: rates lower than 1.99 are identified in green; between 2.00 and 2.99 in orange; and more than 3.00 in red.

Map 1. Female victims of femicides*: Ratio per 100,000 inhabitants per province.
Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

* Women (cis and trans) and cross-dressers victims of the three femicide typologies

Table 3. Female victims of femicide, female victims of intentional homicide and victims of intentional homicide: ratio per 100,000 inhabitants per province. Argentina, 2017

Provinces	Rate of female victims of femicides*	Rate of female victims of intentional homicides**	Rate of victims of intentional homicides**
Buenos Aires	1,18	1,73	5,83
Catamarca	1,98	1,98	3,96
Chaco	1,35	1,52	5,31
Chubut	0,68	1,36	7,31
CABA	0,68	1,90	4,67
Córdoba	1,61	1,77	3,18
Corrientes	1,27	0,00	1,10
Entre Ríos	1,17	1,75	3,64
Formosa	2,36	3,04	5,09
Jujuy	2,92	2,65	3,49
La Pampa	0,00	0,00	1,43
La Rioja	0,53	1,05	1,59
Mendoza	0,71	0,92	5,08
Misiones	0,82	1,48	4,43
Neuquén	1,56	1,87	5,17
Río Negro	0,55	0,28	3,62
Salta	3,32	3,32	7,01
San Juan	0,26	0,52	1,98
San Luis	1,22	2,03	2,45
Santa Cruz	0,61	0,61	3,54
Santa Fe	1,52	2,65	8,02
Santiago del Estero	3,15	3,15	3,90
Tierra del Fuego	1,27	1,27	0,62
Tucumán	1,45	1,69	7,22
Total	1,31	1,77	5,17

Source: Femicides: SSEC-OFDPN, Intentional homicides: SNIC-SAT.

* Women (cis and trans) and cross-dressers victims of the three femicide typologies

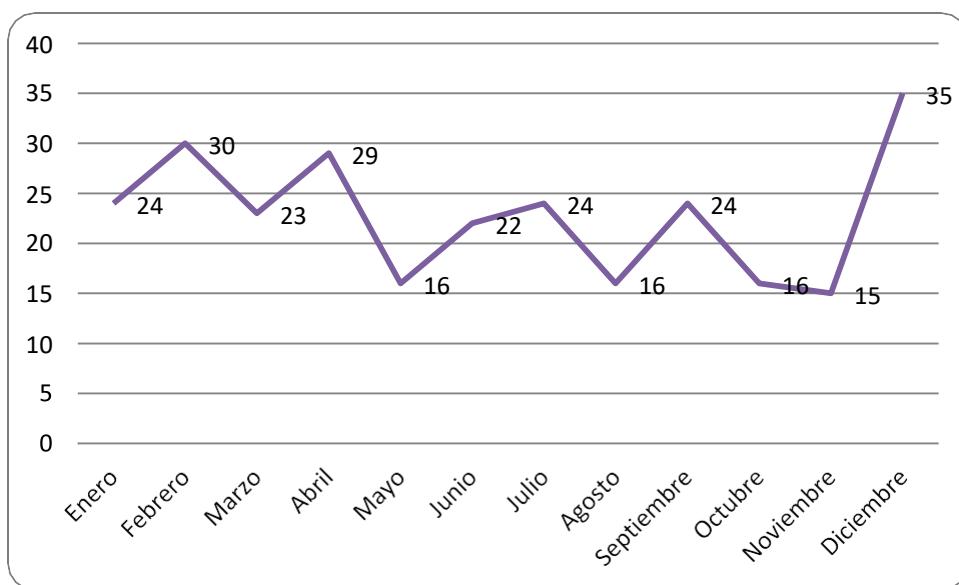
** Information on victims of intentional homicide provided by SNIC-SAT does not include victims for whom Police failed to write a report. They were entered after the cross-checking data process, since administrative reports coming from different jurisdictions constitute the sole source for this system. As a result, some rates corresponding to female victims of intentional homicide may be lower than those of female victims of femicide.

Femicides

This section provides information on victims of “femicide” typology²⁷. **The total number of victims of femicide comes to 274.** 10 victims of this amount correspond to 5 multiple femicides: 2 victims for each crime. Mention to be made at this point that we are taking into account only victims of femicide, i.e., there are no connected victims of femicide in such 10 victims.

As regards the monthly distribution of victims of femicide, as shown Chart 4, the total number of victims and trend follows the same pattern, but an increase is registered on the total victims of intentional homicide throughout the country.

Chart 4. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated by month. Argentina, 2017

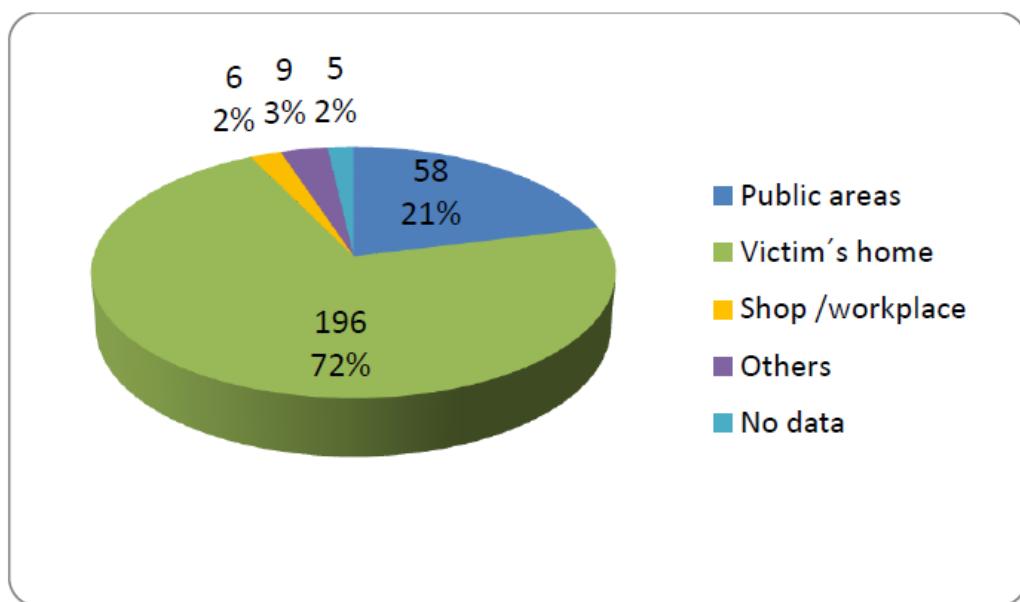


Source: SSEC-OFDPN

²⁷ Typologies were described in *Methodology*, pages 13-14 of this report.

As regards places where femicides occur, Chart 5 is showing that victim's home is the general trend.

Chart 5. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated according to places of occurrence.
Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

196 victims were killed in their own houses, but it was only possible in 163 cases (83%) that the information collected could be disaggregated to ascertain the types of housing: 86 (43.9%) victims shared their houses with perpetrators, 64 (32.7 %) did not live together with perpetrators and 13 (6.6%) were murdered at killers' homes.

As regards victims who fall within "other" category, Table 4 is showing disaggregated information on dissimilar places of occurrence. It is particularly worth mentioning the cases of two victims who died in prison when visiting their partners due to the responsibility of the State for providing prison security in jail

Table 4. Victims of femicide: Data disaggregated by other places of occurrence. Argentina, 2017

Place	Victims
Camping	1
Prison	2
Hotel / Motel	2
Inside a vehicle	1
Temple	1
Factory	2
Total	9

Fuente: SSEC-OFDPN

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

Regarding weapons or mechanisms used to kill, Table 6 shows the disaggregated data and corresponding per cent rate. Although guns are the ones used more frequently, stabbing and suffocation exhibit also high per cent rates. Comparatively, when considering the total number of victims of intentional homicide at a national level, guns have a ratio of 54.3%, stabbing 25.3% and suffocation 2.0%, while all other mechanisms present lower percentages compared to those involved in the universe of femicides.

Likewise, suffocation / hanging and fist bumps, mechanisms that require the use of physical force by perpetrators, concentrate a ratio of 21.9%.

Therefore, as regards methods used to kill in case of femicides, it is possible to identify a pattern of behaviour which shows an extra dose of cruelty, the use of physical violence or an intention to cause suffering to victims.

Please note that more than one weapon or mechanism was used for killing 9 victims.

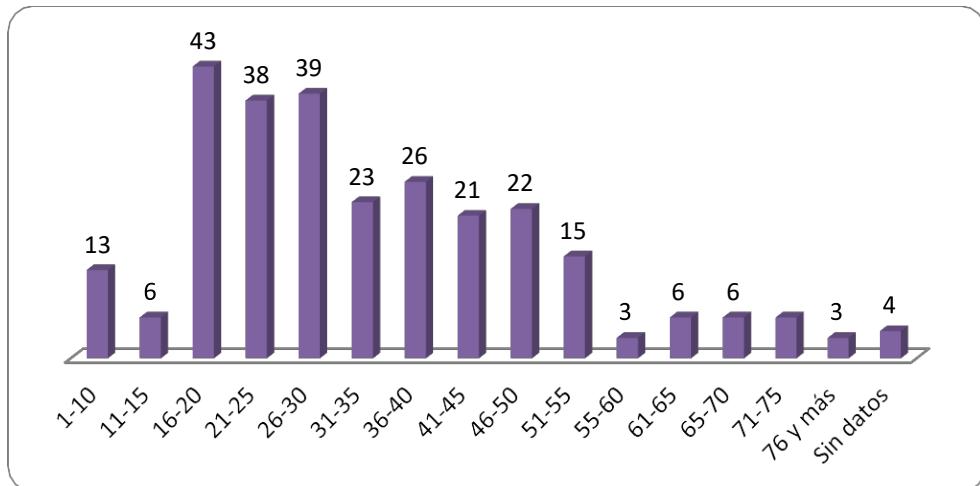
Table 5. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated according to types of weapons or mechanisms used to kill. Argentina, 2017

Types of weapon or mechanisms	Victims	
	Amount	Percentage
Guns	76	27,7%
Stabbing	67	24,5%
Suffocation / hanging	44	16,1%
Beaten with blunt objects	22	8,0%
Fist bumps	16	5,8%
Burnings	12	4,4%
Slitting	8	2,9%
Poisoning	3	1,1%
Throwing down	3	1,1%
Drowning (by sumersion)	1	0,4%
Vehicle crash	1	0,4%
Drug overdose	1	0,4%
Others	3	1,1%
No data	17	6,2%
Total	274	100%

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

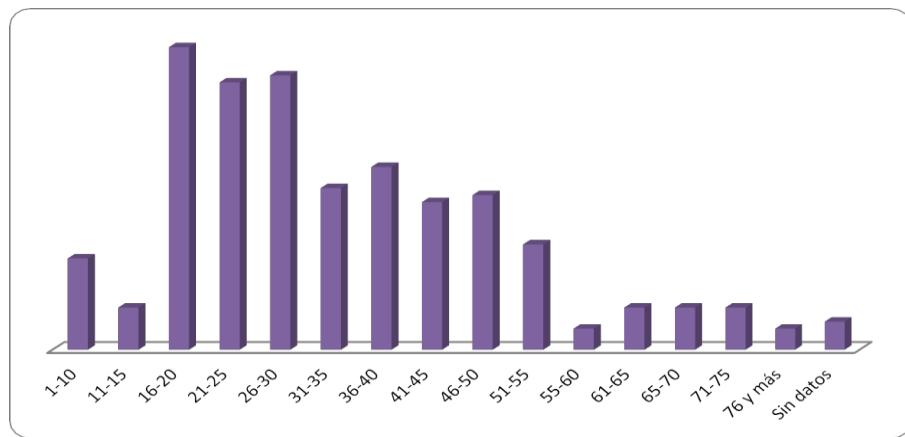
As regards the age of victims, Charts 6 and 7 are showing that the 16-30 group has the highest ratio (43.8%).

Chart 6. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated by age. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

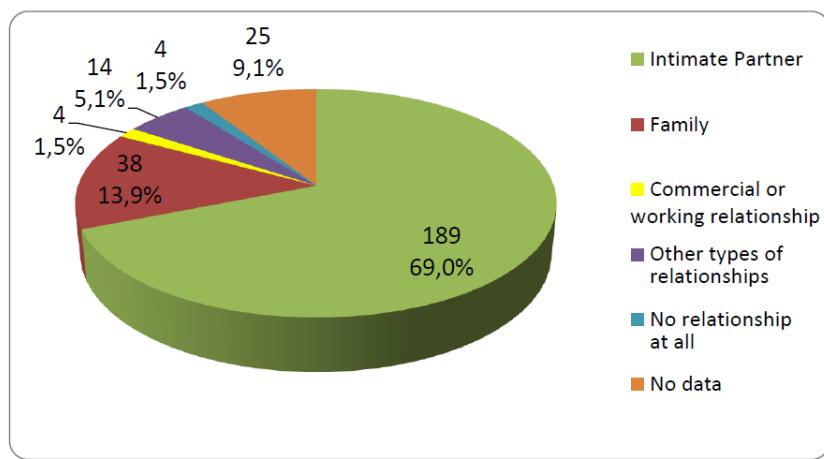
Chart 7. Victims of Femicide: Per cent distribution by age. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

“Intimate partner” is the most common relationship that victims maintain with perpetrators (69.0%), followed by “family” (13.9%). The same information is showed in Table 6, but at a more disaggregated level.

Chart 8. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated according to the relationship they maintained with perpetrators. Argentina 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

Considering all disaggregated data on relationships, “couple” is the one that emerged more frequently with 35.0%, a percentage resulting from the total of victims of femicide. Taking into account family ties, stepdaughters and mothers are the ones that accumulate the highest ratio: 4.0% and 3.6%, respectively.

Table 6. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated according to the relationship they maintained with perpetrators. Argentina, 2017

Victim-perpetrator connection		Victims	
		Amount	Percentaje
Intimate Partner	Husband / Partner ²⁸	10	69,0%
	Partner	96	
	Husband	27	
	Ex partner	43	
	Ex husband	12	
	Lover	1	
Family	Half-sister	1	13,9%
	Sister	3	
	Stepdaughter	11	
	Daughter	7	
	Stepmother	1	
	Mother	10	
	Other family ties	4	
Commercial or working relationship	Ex family ties ²⁹	1	1,5%
	Employer	3	
	Supplier	1	
Other types of relationship		14	5,1%
No relationship at all		4	1,5%
No data		25	9,1%
Total		274	100%

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

²⁸No information available on the victim-perpetrator relationship in these cases (intimate partner or husband), so they were separately categorized.

²⁹This category includes individuals who were relatives in the past, for example, ex-mother-in-law.

Although the “occupational status” variable has a high degree of uncertainty, it is included herein so that the current tendency which emerges from the available data is able to be disclosed and also the enormous potential for further examinations related to the occupational and economic situation of victims and its connection with other factors is showed.

Among the available information, please note that retired or pensioned housewives, and unemployed victims killed by their intimate partners rise to 23.4% of the total number of femicide victims.

Table 7. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated according to their occupational situation. Argentina, 2017

Occupational status	Victims	
	Amount	Percentage
Housekeeper	43	15,7%
Unemployed	9	3,3%
Employed in different sectors	26	9,5%
Student	17	6,2%
Retiree/pensioner	8	2,9%
Boss/Employer	1	0,4%
Police officer	8	2,9%
Prostitution	2	0,7%
Self-employed worker	10	3,6%
Off-occupational categories*	14	5,1%
No data	136	49,6%
Total	274	100%

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

*Victims were girls

By cross-checking the data related to relationships that victims maintain with perpetrators and their age, there is evidence that the higher rate: 32.5% corresponds to "intimate partner" for the 16-30 age group. Victims of 31-45 and 46-60 age groups are less in number but "intimate partner" is still the most common relationship. "Intimate partner" exhibits the same ratio as "family member" in the 61-75 age group. Moreover, 9 of 19 victims aged 15 or younger were stepdaughters and 2 daughters of the killers, which constitute a relevant characteristic to take into account when analyzing killings of young women and girls.

Table 8. Victims of femicide: data disaggregated according to their relationship with perpetrators by age. Argentina, 2017

Victim-perpetrator connection		Ages							Total
		1-15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61-75	76 +	No data	
Intimate Partner	Husband / Partner	0	4	4	1	1	0	0	10
	Cónyuge	0	2	9	9	5	1	1	27
	Partner	1	58	24	10	1	1	1	96
	Ex husband	0	3	5	4	0	0	0	12
	Ex Partner	0	22	19	2	0	0	0	43
	Lover	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Family	Half-sister	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Sister	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
	Stepdaughter	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	11
	Daughter	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	7
	Stepmother	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Mother	0	0	0	3	6	1	0	10
	Ex family ties	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Other family ties	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	4
Laboral o comercial	Supplier	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Employer	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Other relationship		4	8	0	2	0	0	0	14
No relationship at all		1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
No data		1	10	8	4	1	0	1	25
Total		19	120	70	40	18	3	4	274

Source: SSEC-OFPDN

Table 9. Femicide: Per cent distribution of victims by age according to their relationship with perpetrators. Argentina, 2017

Victim-perpetrator connection		Ages							Total	
		1-15	16-30	31-45	45-60	61-75	76 +	Sin datos		
Intimate Partner	Husband / Partner	0,0%	3,3%	5,7%	2,5%	5,6%	0,0%	0,0%	3,6%	69,0%
	Husband	0,0%	1,7%	12,9%	22,5%	27,8%	33,3%	25,0%	9,9%	
	Partner	5,3%	48,3%	34,3%	25,0%	5,6%	33,3%	25,0%	35,0%	
	Ex husband	0,0%	2,5%	7,1%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	4,4%	
	Ex Partner	0,0%	18,3%	27,1%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	15,7%	
	Lover	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%	
Familia	Half-sister	0,0%	0,8%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%	13,9%
	Sister	0,0%	1,7%	0,0%	2,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,1%	
	Stepdaughter	47,4%	1,7%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	4,0%	
	Daughter	10,5%	2,5%	0,0%	2,5%	0,0%	0,0%	25,0%	2,6%	
	Stepmother	0,0%	0,0%	1,4%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%	
	Mother	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	7,5%	33,3%	33,3%	0,0%	3,6%	
	Ex family ties	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%	
	Other family ties	5,3%	1,7%	0,0%	0,0%	5,6%	0,0%	0,0%	1,5%	
Laboral o comercial	Supplier	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%	1,5%
	Employer	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	16,7%	0,0%	0,0%	1,1%	
Other types of relationship		21,1%	6,7%	0,0%	5,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	5,1%	
No relationship at all		5,3%	2,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	1,5%	
No data		5,3%	8,3%	11,4%	10,0%	5,6%	0,0%	25,0%	9,1%	
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

Additionally, other relevant information on the 274 victims of femicide is added to the above:

- 23 (8.4%) were victims of rape or attempted rape³⁰, which proves that sexual motivation is not the main cause of femicide
- 11 (4.0%) were pregnant
- 15 (5.4%) were foreigners: 5 from Peru, 3 from Paraguay, 5 from Bolivia, 1 from Ecuador and 1 from Brazil
- 206 were minor children and dependents of these victims.

³⁰ Only one of them was a victim of attempted rape
Crossdresser / Transsexual femicides

In 2017, there were 6 victims of crossdresser / transsexual femicides in Argentina. The provinces of occurrence can be seen in the following table:

Table 10. Victims of cross-dresser / transsexual femicides: data disaggregated per province. Argentina, 2017

Provinces	Victims
Buenos Aires	2
CABA	1
Córdoba	1
Santa Fe	1
Tucumán	1
Total	6

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

Characteristics of crimes and victims:

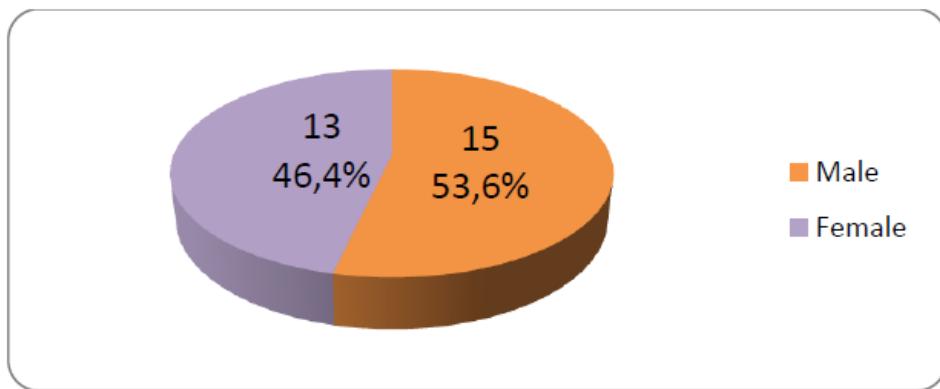
- months: 2 victims in July; 1 in August; 1 in October; 2 in December. Amounts registered in July and December match with peaks displayed in the general pattern for femicides.
- places of occurrence: 4 in public areas and 2 at home.
- weapons or mechanisms used to kill: guns: 2; stabbed: 1; knifed: 1; suffocated or hanged: 1 and it was impossible to learn the mechanism or weapon used to kill in one of the cases surveyed. The knifed victim had also burns on her body.
- age: 24-36 was the age range of victims.
- occupation: 4 were prostitutes and the occupational status of 2 remains unknown.

It is particularly mentioning here that there is no information available on 4 of 6 perpetrators. For the remaining two, one of them was the victim's partner and the other one was a client.

Connected femicides

28 victims of connected femicides were registered in Argentina in 2017. Information on victims according to their sex, place of occurrence, weapons or mechanisms used to kill; and also the relationship they maintained with perpetrators is shown below:

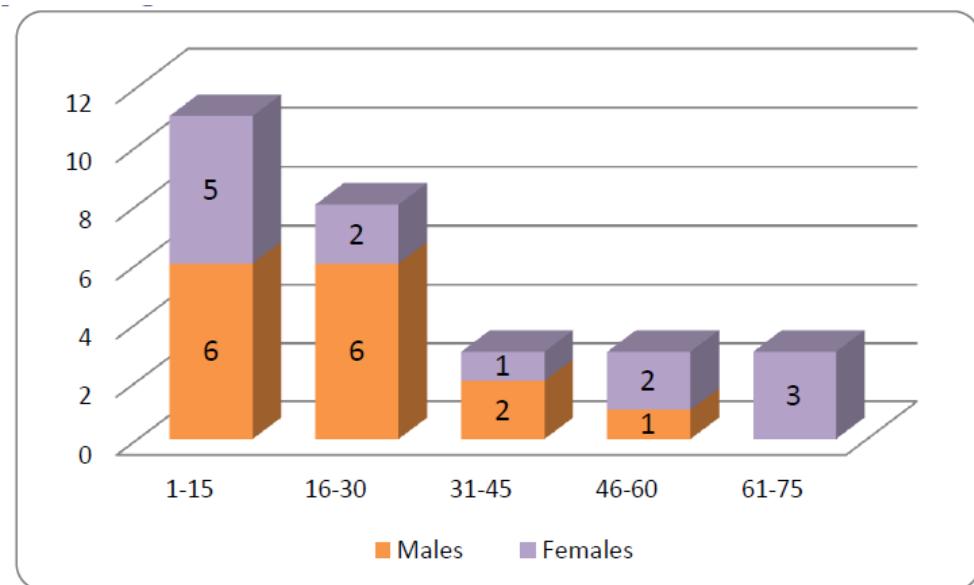
Chart 9. Victims of connected femicides: data disaggregated by sex. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

39.3% of victims of connected femicides converged in the 1-15 age group.

Chart 10. Victims of connected femicides: data disaggregated by sex and age. Argentina, 2017

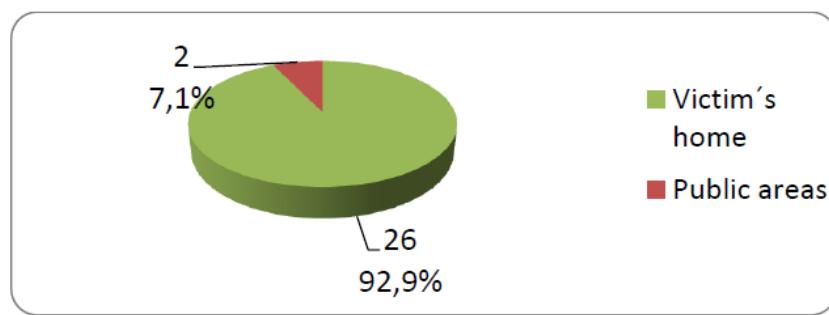


Source: SSEC-OFDPN

As regards weapons and places of occurrence, they follow the same pattern as those corresponding to victims of femicide: 92.9% occurred at home and the most common weapons and mechanisms to kill were guns, knives and suffocation / hanging.

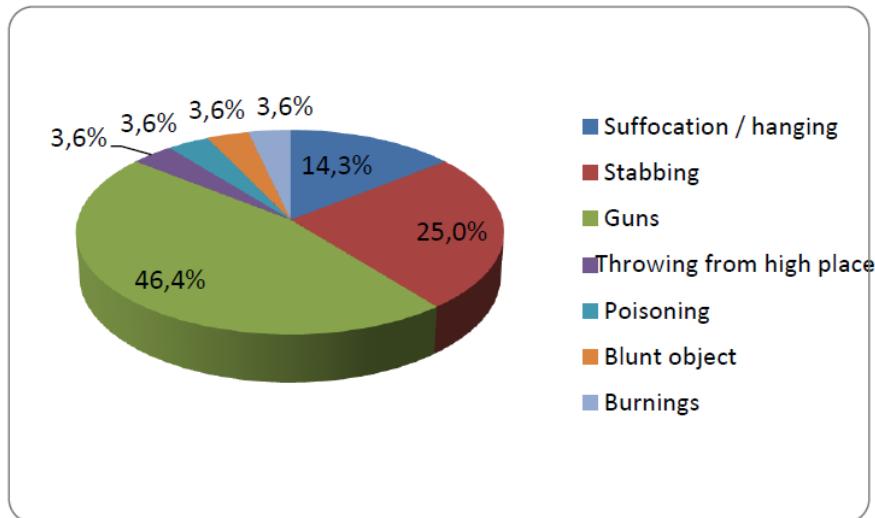
Mention should be made here that guns, white weapons and blunt objects used to kill reach 75.0%.

Chart 11. Victims of connected femicides: data disaggregated according to places of occurrence. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

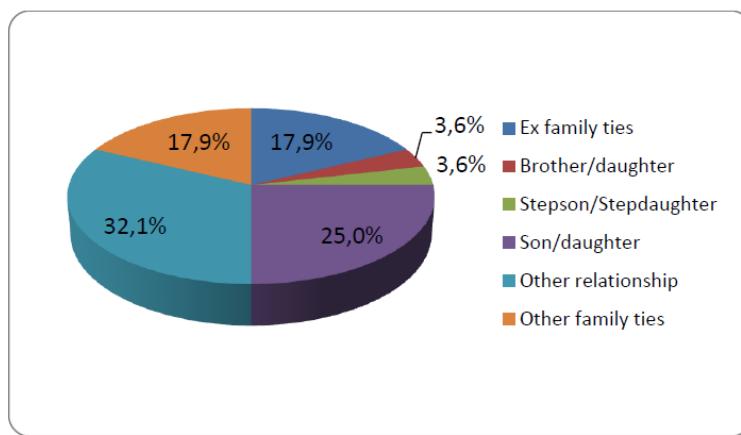
Chart 12. Victims of connected femicides: data disaggregated according to weapons or mechanisms used to kill. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

50.0% of victims were relatives, 17.9% had family ties in the past and 32.1% had any other kind of relationship with the killer.

Chart 13. Victims of connected femicides: data disaggregated according to their relationship with the perpetrator. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

Please note that of 11 victims of the 1-15 age group (39.2% of the total number of victims), 7 were sons / daughters and 1 was a stepson of the killer.

Table 11. Victims of connected femicides: data disaggregated by age, and according to the relationship they maintained with the perpetrator. Argentina, 2017

Age bands	Amount of victims						Total
	Ex familv ties	Brother/ daughter	Stepson/ Stepdaugh ter	Son/ Daugh ter	Other family types	Other types of relationship	
1-15	0	0	1	7	0	3	11
16-30	2	1	0	0	1	4	8
31-45	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
46-60	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
61-75	2	0	0	0	0	1	3
76 +	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	1	1	7	5	9	28

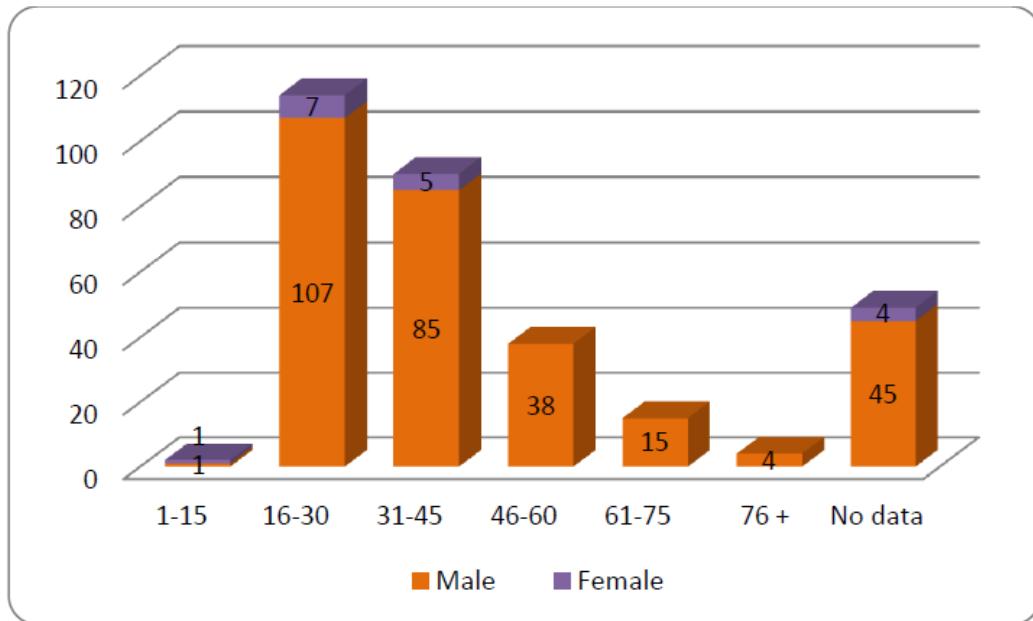
Source: SSEC-OFDPN

Perpetrators' profile

In 2017, 328 individuals committed femicides in Argentina. Information on this group, according to sex, age and relationship with the victim is shown below.

89.9% of perpetrators were men, 5.2% were women³¹ and for the remaining 4.9%, no information was available³².

Chart 14. Perpetrators: data disaggregated by sex and age. Argentina, 2017



Source: SSEC-OFDPN

³¹ The term femicide refers to a crime perpetrated by a man towards a woman. However, according to the information collected, in some cases women were accused as accomplices or they harboured criminals or they were linked to them, in addition to male perpetrators.

³² For those cases in which the investigation did not provide information on the perpetrator or perpetrators, at least one individual was predicted per crime

Table 12. Perpetrators: data disaggregated by age and sex. Argentina, 2017

Age bands	Amount			Total	
	Male	Female	No data	Amount	Percentage
1-15	1	1	0	2	0,6%
16-30	107	7	0	114	34,8%
31-45	85	5	0	90	27,4%
46-60	38	0	0	38	11,6%
61-75	15	0	0	15	4,6%
76 y más	4	0	0	4	1,2%
Sin datos	45	4	16	65	19,8%
Total	295	17	16	328	100%

Source: SSEC-OFDPN

57.9% of the perpetrators maintained an intimate relationship with the victim and 14.9% had family ties.

Table 13. Perpetrators: data disaggregated by sex and according to the relationship they maintained with victims. Argentina, 2017

Victim's connection		Amount of perpetrators			Total	
		Male	Female	No data	Amount	Percentage
Intimate Partner	Husband/ Partner	11	0	0	11	3,4%
	Husband	27	0	0	27	8,2%
	Partner	96	0	0	96	29,3%
	Ex husband	12	0	0	12	3,7%
	Ex partner	43	0	0	43	13,1%
	Lover	1	0	0	1	0,3%
Family	Half-brother	1	0	0	1	0,3%
	Brother	4	0	0	4	1,2%
	Stepson	1	0	0	1	0,3%
	Son	10	0	0	10	3,0%
	Stepmother	0	1	0	1	0,3%
	Mother	0	4	0	4	1,2%
	Stepfather	9	0	0	9	2,7%
	Father	7	0	0	7	2,1%
	Ex family ties	2	0	0	2	0,6%
Laboral or commercial	Other family ties	7	3	0	10	3,0%
	Employer	3	0	0	3	0,9%
	Client	2	0	0	2	0,6%
Other types of relationship		26	3	0	29	8,8%
No relationship at all		12	4	0	16	4,9%
No data		21	2	16	39	11,9%
Total		295	17	16	328	100%

Source: SSEC-OFPDN

According to the information collected, 53 perpetrators (all men) had been reported to competent authorities or had been previously convicted on gender-based violence grounds. Table 14 is showing the information related to the relationship they maintained with victims. "ex-partner was the most common relationship: 45.3% which moves to 51.0% when "ex-husband" is added. This could suggest that preventive judicial measures requested by victims were unsuccessfully or inefficiently applied.

Table 14. Perpetrators previously reported or convicted on gender-based violence grounds: data disaggregated according to the relationship they maintained with victims. Argentina, 2017

Victim's connection	Amount	Percentage
Husband	6	11,3%
Ex husband	3	5,7%
Partner	13	24,5%
Ex partner	24	45,3%
Father	1	1,9%
Ex family ties	1	1,9%
Other family ties	1	1,9%
Other ties relationship	2	3,8%
No rel. at all	1	1,9%
No data	1	1,9%
Total	53	100%

Source: SSEC-OFPDN

Attention should also be drawn to suicides, another key aspect bear in mind related to killers. Of 328 killers, 44 (men) committed suicide which represents 13.4% of the total number of criminals, and 17 (men) tried to do so: 5.2%. Considering suicides and suicide attempts, 18.6% is the final percentage for all perpetrators. Table 15 is showing that "couple" is the most often relationship which appears among those who committed suicide or suicide attempts.

Table 15. Perpetrators: data disaggregated according to those who committed suicide or suicide attempts. Argentina, 2017

Victim's connection		Suicide		Suicide attempt		Total	
		Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
Intimate Partner	Husband	8	18,2%	2	11,8%	10	16,4%
	Ex husband	3	6,8%	1	5,9%	4	6,6%
	Partner	15	34,1%	5	29,4%	20	32,8%
	Ex partner	10	22,7%	4	23,5%	14	23,0%
	Lover	0	0,0%	1	5,9%	1	1,6%
Family	Stepfather	1	2,3%	0	0,0%	1	1,6%
	Father	2	4,5%	0	0,0%	2	3,3%
	Stepson	1	2,3%	0	0,0%	1	1,6%
	Son	2	4,5%	2	11,8%	4	6,6%
	Ex family ties	1	2,3%	0	0,0%	1	1,6%
Other types of relationship		1	2,3%	1	5,9%	2	3,3%
No relationship at all		0	0,0%	1	5,9%	1	1,6%
Total		44	100%	17	100%	61	100%

Special Cases

As a result of the information provided by the cross-checking data process, it was possible to identify 5 cases that, although excluded of the integrated database, they deserve to be highlighted by the extreme brutality against victims or by the lack of information to clarify all circumstances surrounding the killings.

1. On May 3, 2017, a 45-year-old woman was found dead inside the 10th Police Station premises of the City of Rosario, Province of Santa Fe. According to the information collected, she entered the police station in order to file a complaint. A second autopsy revealed that the body was severely injured as a result of police brutality.
2. On May 17, 2017, in Candelaria, a small town of the Province of Misiones, a 54-year-old woman homicide took place in the context of a robbery. Later, 5 men between 17 and 27 years old were arrested. Although the homicide occurred in robbery circumstances, the extreme brutality against the woman should be taken into account: her house was burned and her body was found inside a water well in her own house.
3. On June 9, 2017, in Glew, a district of the Province of Buenos Aires, a woman is victim of an intentional homicide perpetrated by her 26-year-old neighbor, a Federal Police officer. The man shot the woman in the back after a neighborhood dispute. Although the lack of information related to their relationship, attention should be paid to this case because the killing was committed by a police officer using his own gun.
4. In November 2017, in Cardales, a district of the Province of Buenos Aires, the press reported the case of a young couple found dead in a car as a result of a suicide pact. However, the crime was significantly qualified as intentional homicide by the police and the victim was the woman.
5. On December 25, 2017 a 7-year-old girl was killed in Avellaneda, a district of the Province of Buenos Aires, apparently by a non intentional gunshot fired by her neighbor. However, according to the information available, the neighbor's intention could not be clearly identified.

Verifying through external data

A comparison chart just below presents the data resulting from the integrated database pertaining to the Undersecretariat of Criminal Statistics (SSCE, in Spanish) and the Argentine Ombudsman Femicide Observatory (OFDPN, in Spanish) and that provided by the Supreme Court of Justice report: *2017 Judicial Statistical Data on Femicides*. Disparities between records may be attributable to the fact that they use different information sources and also different methodological classification criteria. The Supreme Court analyzes judicial cases, while the SSCE and the OFDPN based their records by cross-checking the data from police reports, media and the investigative work carried out in police stations, prosecutor's offices, courts in charge of femicides throughout the country and hospitals where victims are assisted. However, this comparison is provided to better contribute to an analysis of now available figures, a comparison aimed at fostering an inter-institutional work which is able to achieve in the future an improvement of data.

Taking into account the registered total number of victims, it matches in 11 of the 24 provinces, while 1 or 2 is the difference in 8 provinces and 4 to 6 in other 5 provinces.

Table 16. Data disaggregated per province provided by SSEC-OFDPN (victims w femicide) and by the Supreme Court of Justice (victims who died as a result of gender-based violence). Argentina. 2017

Provinces	SSEC-OFDPN	SUPREME COURT
Buenos Aires	107	102
Catamarca	5	4
Chaco	8	7
Chubut	2	2
Ciudad de Buenos Aires	13	9
Córdoba	30	24
Corrientes	7	7
Entre Ríos	8	6
Formosa	7	5
Jujuy	11	11
La Pampa	0	0
La Rioja	1	1
Mendoza	7	7
Misiones	5	5
Neuquén	6	5
Río Negro	2	0
Salta	25	19 ³³
San Juan	1	1
San Luis	3	3
Santa Cruz	1	1
Santa Fe	28	30
Santiago del Estero	18	16
Tierra del Fuego	1	1
Tucumán	12	7
Total	308	273

Source: SSEC-OFDPN and the National Supreme Court of Justice

³³ The special situation of Salta was analyzed by the national Supreme Court of Justice (CSJN, in Spanish) in its 2017 Femicide Report, page 120: “unlike other jurisdictions, the situation of Salta is completely different because it was only possible to collect qualitative information on 11 of the 19 femicides officially reported to CSJN. Although this situation was reported to Salta officers responsible for data loading, it could not be rectified. [...] 19 proceedings on femicides were officially reported but it was impossible to determine the exact number of victims per case. Therefore, this number of cases could be sub-registering more victims.

UFEM reports concerning the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires and the Femicides / Connected Femicides data provided by the Sub-Directorate of Management and Analysis of Information of the Province of Mendoza were also used to check the collected data.

UFEM registered 14 victims of femicides occurred in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires in 2017. Comparatively, SSEC and OFDP registered 13 victims: 7 victims of femicide, 5 of connected femicides and 1 of crossdresser / transsexual femicide. On the other hand, the Supreme Court registered 9 victims: 7 femicide victims and 2 victims of connected femicides.

As regards the second report mentioned above, the Sub-Directorate of Management and Analysis of Information of the Province of Mendoza registered 5 victims of femicide and 1 victim of connected femicide. Comparatively, the SSEC and OFDP registered 7 victims of femicide. On the other hand, the Supreme Court reported 6 femicide victims and 1 victim of connected femicides.

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