



FEM-UNITED

united to prevent femicide in europe

**POLICY BRIEF ON FEMICIDE
PREVENTION: GERMANY**

Authors: Monika Schröttle, Maria Arnis

Authors

Monika Schröttle, Maria Arnis

Suggested citation

Schröttle, M., Arnis, M. (2022). Policy Brief on Femicide Prevention: GERMANY. Institute for Empirical Sociology (IfeS), at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen - Nürnberg.



Co-funded by the
Rights, Equality &
Citizenship Programme
of the European Union

Co-funded by the



Bundesministerium
für Familie, Senioren, Frauen
und Jugend

This Policy Brief was prepared in the context and for the purposes of the Project of “FEM-UnitED to prevent femicide in Europe”, funded by the European Union’s Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-2020) and co-funded as part of the federal innovation program “Gemeinsam gegen Gewalt an Frauen” by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). The content represents the views of the authors only and is their sole responsibility. The European Commission does not accept any responsibility for use that may be made of the information it contains.



Forschungs- und Beobachtungsstelle Geschlecht, Gewalt, Menschenrechte (FOBES)

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	4
The FEM-UnitED Project.....	4
Prevalence of Femicide	5
Legal Framework and Policy	8
Gaps and Challenges.....	9
Policy Recommendations for Effective Intervention and Prevention.....	12

Introduction

Femicide – the gender-motivated intentional killing of women – is not only the most extreme manifestation of gender-based violence against women but also the most violent manifestation of discrimination against them and their inequality.

Despite the magnitude of the problem, and calls by the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, data on femicide was not officially and systematically collected in the EU and until the European Observatory on Femicide began to develop an internationally comparable database, there was a lack of transnational tools for the study of femicide. Femicide remains a notably under-researched subject. A common definition of femicide does not exist. Furthermore, harmful attitudes, behaviours and stereotypes, as well as a lack of understanding of the gendered dynamics of intimate partner femicides, impede effective prevention measures, including early intervention.

This policy brief presents a summary of: a) the findings and outcomes of the research, b) the multi-agency capacity-building trainings and c) the policymaker/stakeholder meetings conducted in Germany within the framework of the EU-funded project **FEM-UnitED - United to prevent IPV/DV Femicide in Europe**.

The FEM-UnitED Project

The FEM-UnitED project aims to improve the state and societal responses to domestic violence (DV) against women by partners or ex-partners with a view to reduce harm to women and children and prevent femicide. The project seeks to improve system-wide responses to IPV by creating an evidence base for raising public awareness and fostering multidisciplinary cooperation and capacity-building, using a gender-specific, victim-centred approach. FEM-UnitED is about making use of empirical and practical evidence in order to bring about collaborative policy change.

FEM-UnitED seeks to reinforce and contribute to international efforts – such as the Femi(ni)cide Watch Platform¹ and the European Observatory on Femicide (EOF)² – by a) further developing quantitative and qualitative tools dealing with transnational and applied femicide data that measure the prevalence of femicide and related risk factors; b) identifying gaps in systemic responses to IPV/DV across partner countries; and c) initiating change

¹ Femi(ni)cide Watch Platform: <https://femicide-watch.org/>.

² <http://eof.cut.ac.cy/>

through systematic stakeholder engagement that will result in specific commitments for action for femicide prevention based on the project's findings and results.

The FEM-UnitED partnership spans five EU countries and includes the University of Malta, the Cyprus University of Technology, the Institute for Empirical Sociology (IfeS) at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg in Germany, the University of Zaragoza in Spain and the University of Porto in Portugal. The project team also includes women's rights and gender equality NGOs, such as the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (Cyprus), the Women's Rights Foundation (Malta), and UMAR – União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta (Portugal).

This project builds on the work of the EU-funded project COST Action on Femicide across Europe (2014-2017)³ that resulted in the establishment of the European Observatory on Femicide (EOF),⁴ the first Europe-wide network monitoring cases of femicide and contributing to the prevention of femicide. The EOF has been systematically collecting data on femicide in Europe since 2020.⁵

Prevalence of Femicide

In Germany, apart from the official police crime statistics and data on homicide, manslaughter, and bodily injury resulting in death, there are no case-related statistics on victims or perpetrators of intimate partner femicide (IPF); more broadly, there is no case-related information on prosecutions and outcomes in cases of IPF. Some NGOs collect information on femicide cases, such as the German focal point of the European Observatory on Femicide,⁶ which collects case-based in-depth data, and the One Billion Rising (OBR Deutschland) project, which provides a record of women who have been killed by their partners or ex-partners.⁷

The 2019 evaluation of the Federal Criminal Police Office showed that the number of victims of DV (women, men, and others) reported to the police increased by 11% between 2015 and 2019. Specifically, among female victims, cases of assault increased from 104,290 in 2015 to

³ COST Action IS1206: Femicide across Europe (2014-2017): <https://www.cost.eu/actions/IS1206/>.

⁴ European Observatory on Femicide (EOF): <http://eof.cut.ac.cy/>

⁵ IfeS (the German project partner in this project), is also co-funded by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). The project leader Monika Schröttle of the German partner is also the coordinator of the EOF (European Observatory on Femicide).

⁶ Coordinated by Christiana Kouta at the Cyprus University of Technology and Monika Schröttle at the Research and Observatory on Gender, Violence and Human Rights (FOBES) at the Institute for Empirical Sociology (IfeS) at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg (IfeS), see also:

<https://www.ifes.fau.de/forschungsfelder/gender-gewalt-und-menschenrechte/>

⁷ OBR is also a global organisation that focuses on campaigns to raise awareness of femicide.

114,903 in 2019. It should be noted however, that it is not clear the extent to which this is due to rising rates of violence against women (VAW) or progressively higher rates of victim reporting to police and other agencies. According to the Police Crime Statistics (PKS), a total of 117 women were victims of violence that resulted in death in 2019 and 139 women in 2020 (see Federal Criminal Police Office, 2021). While the number was higher in 2020 than in 2019 official statistics do not necessarily indicate a long-term increase or decrease in femicides, but rather year-to-year fluctuations.⁸

According to FEM-UnitED project data collected in Germany, a total of 360 women were killed in 2019 (n=177) and 2020 (n=183) by intimate partners or other persons (see Table 1). The annual population-based rate is 0.22 cases per 100,000 population. A total of 63% (n=225) of women victims were killed by a current or former partner, either in the context of an existing relationship or in the context of a (planned) separation; thus, intimate partner killings constitute the most common type of femicide. In 14% (n=52) of women killed, other family members were perpetrators, and in all of these cases, except one, by male family members (in more than half of the cases the victim's son perpetrated the crime). In 15% (n=54) of the cases of women killed, the perpetrator was some other person either known or unknown to them. In 8% (n=29) of the cases, data on the type of killing and relationship between victim and perpetrator was not recorded.⁹

Table 1: Number of Women killed in Germany in 2019 and 2020 (FEM-UnitED Data 2021)¹⁰

Year	All women killed (age 16+) = N	Rate per 100,000 inhabitants	Number of women killed by family members and (ex-)partners	Number of women killed by (ex-)partners
2019	177	0,21	139	109
2020	183	0,22	138	116
Total 2019 and 2020	360	0,22	277	225

⁸ See “The Federal Report on Intimate Partner Violence. Crime Statistics Analysis” that they have been issued since the report for 2015: https://www.bka.de/DE/AktuelleInformationen/StatistikenLagebilder/Lagebilder/Partnerschaftsgewalt/partnerschaftsgewalt_node.html

⁹ Victims of femicide related to sexual assault, or prostitution were relatively rare, as well as honour killings (a total of 3%).

¹⁰ FEM-UnitED data is based on cases of killings of women that have become known through the media, police press releases and other sources. Deviations from PKS data can be partly attributed to FEM-UnitED's practice of recording the cases according to the date of the killing (as opposed to the date of the report); another reason is that not all cases recorded by the police could be mapped to concrete case information in the course of FEM-UnitED's research.

The results of the FEM-UnitED data analysis indicate that femicide affects women across ages, as well as social and ethnic groups. The crimes cannot be attributed to “other cultures” nor to any particular socio-economic groups. One concrete finding is that femicide is committed almost exclusively by men. The killing of women is clearly gender-specific with regard to the perpetrators: 99% of all perpetrators for whom the gender is known (n=347) were male. In addition, research data indicates that in 12% of the cases, in addition to the woman, other victims were also killed (87 additional victims were registered, of which: 10 were children, 31 family members, 8 friends, and 38 other persons). Moreover, in every third to fourth femicide by a partner or ex-partner, mental impairment of the perpetrator played a role (e.g., depression and suicidal thoughts; in every fifth homicide, the perpetrator committed suicide after the crime). Most killings of women were committed in the domestic sphere, most often with a sharp object (knife or axe), followed by strangulation. In 27% of cases, other people were present at the time of the crime.

Focusing on cases of women killed by their (ex-)partners (n=225), the following were identified: prior DV by the perpetrator against the victim or previous partners was already known to third parties in 8% of the cases, while prior threat of violence or actual violence was known to the police in 11% of the cases. Only in 3% of the cases were protective measures taken and in 2% of the documented cases, we had information that support systems such as intervention and support centres, women’s shelters, and other institutions were aware of the violence. In 7% of the cases, other people (family members, neighbours or friends) were aware of prior violence. However, these results should be viewed with caution, because there was no knowledge and reporting of prior violence and institutional awareness in advance of the crime in 87-97% of the cases. Further evaluation of court files and the institutions' experience reports could reveal a higher proportion of previously known dangerous cases.

The systematic quantitative data collection on the femicides was based on the existing knowledge and the tools of the EOF data collection for Europe and Germany. Cases were screened to review all available information from the media (local or nationwide), police reports, and the judicial system. The individual cases were documented using a data collection instrument in which the information contained was updated with additional information about the police investigation, prosecution and/or the outcome of the case or resulting trial (within the available research period).

Legal Framework and Policy

In Germany, there is currently no legal definition of femicide or the gender-related killing of women. Most cases of VAW – including femicide – are usually regulated by general – and gender-neutral – legal provisions for murder, manslaughter and other offences against bodily integrity, such as bodily injury and harm resulting in death, with the exception of the offence of female genital mutilation - FGM. When legal provisions are applied, the killing of women by intimate partners during or after a separation are often not classified as murder, but as manslaughter or bodily harm resulting in death. The law does not recognise the gender dimension as an aggravating factor in homicides against women. This also includes gender-based killings or killings committed by a male intimate partner. Only honour killings or where jealousy was the motivating factor of the killing are considered as murders committed with aggravating circumstances. In 2021, the federal government held a public hearing on the issue where several experts recommended improving intervention and prevention strategies and ensuring appropriate punishment of femicides and their recognition and classification as a gender-specific crime.¹¹ As a result, parliamentary groups in the Bundestag also called for femicide to be recognised as a gender-specific killing and prosecuted more severely as murder.¹²

In the last 20 years, the federal government has taken a number of measures to support victims of domestic and sexual violence and to prevent VAW within the framework of two national action plans (1999 and in 2007).¹³ While some actions address the full spectrum of VAW and DV, others address only specific aspects within the scope of the Istanbul Convention. In addition, other important steps to protect women who have been victims of violent acts and stalking, as well as victims of violence in general, have been implemented in Germany: the passing of the Civil Protection from Violence Act (2002) and the establishment of a state-funded 24-hour support hotline for women who have experienced violence. Furthermore, the German government is planning to provide more funding for women's

¹¹ See documentation of the *Bundestag* first official hearing on the topic of femicide on the 1st of March: <https://www.bundestag.de/webarchiv/Ausschuesse/ausschuesse19/a13/Anhoerungen/822308-822308>

¹² See, among others, the SPD parliamentary group in the Bundestag: <https://www.spdfraktion.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/femizide-muessen-geschlechtsspezifische-toetung-geahndet>

¹³ The first strategic Action Plan was published in 1999 with the aim to combat VAW; stakeholders were brought together at the federal level to form a federal state working group on DV. The second Action Plan was published in 2007 and contained 135 measures to fight VAW, including prevention, legislation, cooperation between institutions and projects, networking of support services, work with perpetrators, awareness-raising among professionals and the general public, as well as international cooperation. For more information, see the Action Plan of the Federal Government to Combat Violence against Women" (1999) (BMFSFJ): <https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/service/publikationen/bekaempfung-von-gewalt-gegen-frauen-deutsch-und-englisch-80628>; see the Second Action Plan of the Federal Government to Combat Violence against Women (2007): <https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/meta/en/publications-en/second-action-plan-of-the-federal-government-to-combat-violence-against-women-95690>

shelters and to expand work with perpetrators. The ongoing shortage of resources and funding for intervention and counselling centres for women affected by violence, however, has not yet been resolved. In 2021, the NGO network Bündnis Istanbul Konvention (BIK) highlighted areas of improvement in meeting the requirements of the Istanbul Convention in Germany.¹⁴ The current evaluation report by GREVIO also points to an inadequate strategic framework at the federal level and notes a clear need for better implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to combat and prevent VAW in Germany.¹⁵

Ultimately, there is a lack of an effective strategy and policy for the primary prevention of VAW and femicide at both the national and regional levels. At the operational level, action plans to combat VAW, including work with perpetrators and risk management, appear to have had limited impact and have failed to achieve a significant reduction in instances of VAW.

Framework concepts for police investigations have also been developed at the federal state level to identify high-risk cases of violence and stalking; multidisciplinary procedures are also used in several regions to stop perpetrators and protect victims. Nevertheless, this good practice is not implemented across the board and risk assessment does not consistently include specific warning signs and risk factors to prevent femicides (see also the section below on Gaps and Challenges). The risk assessment tool most commonly used by the police – ODARA (Ontario Domestic Assault Risk Assessment) – covers factors such as previous domestic and non-domestic violence, threats and incarceration, the presence of children in the relationship, substance abuse and barriers to victim support. However, given that femicides are not necessarily preceded by DV, an appropriate risk assessment for femicide is lacking. Appropriate and standardised risk assessment tools and direct interdisciplinary casework should be implemented for all relevant institutions on all federal state and regional levels.

Gaps and Challenges

In Germany, despite the implementation of comprehensive legal measures and support services, the present research results by FEM-UnitED indicate that the number of violent acts and killings of women did not decrease in the period up to 2019/2020. It seems necessary to conduct more research on the causes in order to implement strategies that significantly reduce violence towards and killings of women. In order to prevent femicide, early intervention is

¹⁴ For further information see: <https://rm.coe.int/alternative-report-2021-german-istanbul-convention-alliance/1680a1f12b>

¹⁵(Baseline) Evaluation Report of GREVIO. German version available online available at: <https://rm.coe.int/executive-summary-grevio-germany-in-german/1680a8693a>; The English original is available online at: <https://rm.coe.int/report-on-germany-for-publication/1680a86937>

necessary, which also leads to a change in the behaviour and attitude of the perpetrators. Case-related information on investigations and proceedings must be put in place at the national and EU levels, and documented by state institutions such as prosecutors' offices and courts. To this end, it is critical that intervention and prevention measures (e.g., by police or support services) are implemented at a higher rate in cases of DV, which has not been the case so far.

Women's close social networks (e.g., family, friends, neighbours etc), as well as the healthcare system (e.g., front-line medical professionals) could play an important role in preventing femicide as well. With regard to the former, two key questions emerge: a) How should close social connections who may know about the threatening situation react? and b) What specific strategies can support these individuals to directly find help for victims and prevent perpetration? To date, research and practical experience indicate that institutional interventions in cases of DV cannot really prevent a relevant number of femicides, especially if there has been no violence before or if third parties (family members and/or friends as well as front-line professionals who have the first contact with the affected women) cannot recognise the problem and react competently.

FEM-UnitED has identified a number of gaps and challenges through stakeholder meetings with policymakers from federal and state ministries, as well as through online workshops with representatives of the healthcare system, the police and judicial system, the support system, the media and cross-institutional workshops. Subsequently, problem-solving approaches were worked out to further develop the proposed measures.

Listed below are the six areas in which gaps and challenges were identified in relation to the prevention of femicide for Germany:

1. Consistent intervention and protection for women at-risk

- a) Although risk and threat assessments are carried out as part of police investigations, they are applied inconsistently across the country; additionally, risk assessment does not take place in all relevant institutions and nationwide. Most risk assessment tools lack ways to capture threats and further warning signals to identify a high-risk case without prior use of violence.
- b) Perpetrator programmes are limited both in availability, but also as to the intended target, as they usually only reach perpetrators who have admitted to having committed violent acts; thus, many (potential) perpetrators of femicide cannot be reached by the trainings.

- c) The support system is inadequate: Protective facilities and support for women and children at risk, such as women's shelters, and intervention and counselling centres remain limited and underfunded.
- d) Sanctions for offenders who violate removal and protection measures are insufficient.
- e) In cases of separation and in connection with contact and custody proceedings, the risk for women and their children of becoming victims of violence and homicide increases. In the current practice of family courts, the protection of women is often considered less of a priority than the enforcement of custody and visitation rights for violent fathers.

2. Primary prevention and awareness raising

- a) To date, there is no effective and comprehensive primary prevention in Germany to prevent VAW and femicides. Gender relations in terms of dominance, control, possessiveness and misogyny have not been fundamentally improved. Young boys and men have been reached as a target group to a very limited extent.
- b) Media reporting on DV is considered problematic: it often focuses on individual cases without presenting the broader social context; sympathy towards perpetrators and (implied) victim-blaming are also common. Current media reporting on femicide is likely to lead to a high level of stress and re-traumatisation among children, family members and friends, and survivors of femicide; there is also a lack of sufficient protection for victims during media interviews.

3. Multi-agency and multidisciplinary training

- a) Risk factors and warning signals prior to femicide are often not recognised across institutional actors.
- b) State and non-state institutions often lack awareness of the issue; they are not trained and are therefore ineffective in dealing with high-risk situations.
- c) Cross-institutional cooperation has to be improved in order to prevent femicide.

4. Changes in the legal situation and practice

- a) There is no legal definition of the gender-based killing of a woman; femicide is not explicitly included or defined in the law.
- b) The legal framework on effectively preventing femicide has not been fully implemented, although cases of DV/IPV against women and girls are no longer considered a private matter since the introduction of the Protection against Violence Act 20 years ago. Nevertheless, there is still no consistent implementation of effective protection measures and the penalties are insufficient. Violations of protection measures by the perpetrators are not adequately sanctioned.

- c) The lack of recognition of the gendered background of femicide (power, control, non-acceptance of women's autonomy) in legislation and judicial practice is reflected in the fact that cases where women are killed by their partners are less likely to be classified as murder; this leads to lesser degrees of punishment.
- d) The personal data of women (including their physical location) in high-risk cases is not sufficiently anonymised when the case is dealt with by multiple agencies. This exposes the women and their children to further risk.

5. Data collection, monitoring and research

- a) The systematic collection of case-based data on femicides is lacking. Such data collection would be the basis for better intervention and prevention.
- b) No national observatory for femicides is funded in Germany.
- c) A comprehensive system to monitor institutional and political processes is missing.
- d) In-depth research on national and international comparable levels is limited by a lack of data availability.

6. Protection and measures for groups at specific risk

- a) Women affected by violence and threats often do not know what their rights are and who they can turn to. This is especially the case where there are language barriers among migrant and refugee women, or other special circumstances, for example with regards to disability and care.
- b) With an increasing need for counselling, there is a lack of capacity regarding counselling services and protective measures for target groups at higher risk.
- c) There is a lack of measures to specifically support children of killed women, especially in the context of investigations and sanction procedures.
- d) Persons who play a preventive role in cases of VAW and femicide (e.g., parents or siblings at-risk) remain insufficiently supported.

Policy Recommendations for Effective Intervention and Prevention

Within the Fem-UNITED project, several measures and strategies have been developed in the following six action fields for each country.¹⁶ The following evidence-based recommendations address the gaps and challenges outlined in the previous section and have been developed to be prioritised in further policies at national and local levels to ensure women's and girls' right to protection and long-term prevention of VAW including femicide.

¹⁶ For further information see:
https://www.ifes.fau.de/files/2022/03/fem_united_comparative_report_femizide_final.pdf

These recommendations are built on research findings, professional insights from workshops within an institution-specific (health sector, police and justice, support system and media sector) and interagency framework, as well as on input from discussions with policymakers. At this point, it is important to mention that the development and implementation of all measures should include the perspective of the women and girls affected by DV/IPV, which has not yet been taken into consideration.

1. Consistent intervention and protection for women at-risk

- ➔ **Develop and implement a (high-)risk assessment tool specifically for femicide, which adequately takes into account the early warning signals** (nationwide and in all relevant governmental and non-governmental agencies).¹⁷
- ➔ **Develop and implement guidelines for dealing with identified high-risk cases** for all relevant fields of practice.
- ➔ **Implement multi-professional case conferences for high-risk cases across locations** and develop guidelines on how to handle them.
- ➔ **Provide adequate shelter and timely support for vulnerable women and their children** and adequately fund shelters and intervention, as well as counselling projects.
- ➔ **Provide low-threshold perpetrator work for suspicious perpetrators** nationwide in order to minimise the danger for women and children.

2. Primary prevention and awareness raising

- ➔ **Establish and strengthen comprehensive primary prevention and public relations work** in education, culture and the media.
- ➔ **Conduct and support awareness-raising campaigns and media coverage which contains the following points:** background knowledge on femicide and the motives of male dominance and control towards women; warning signs and risk factors; knowledge of how to act preventively in cases of risk of femicide in a systematic way.
- ➔ **Provide media training and ethics guidelines for constructive reporting**
- ➔ **Develop public relations measures to also reach young people and young women/men** regarding language, media content and (social) media.

3. Multi-agency and multidisciplinary training

¹⁷ To assess the risk of femicide, patterns of control, coercion and possessiveness towards the partner, isolation and extreme emotional reaction to (threats of) separation/divorce have to be included in the risk assessment tools, even if no previous violence by the partner is known.

- **Mandatory and systematic training on an ongoing basis for professionals who come into contact with women affected or endangered by violence** to raise awareness, recognise warning signs and take them seriously, reflecting the role of agency/other professionals in prevention and intervention.
- **Train legal actors on an ongoing and mandatory basis** including (family) judges, public prosecutors, advocates and legal advisors.

4. Changes in the legal situation and practice

- **Nurture legal expertise to assess the current legal situation and practice**, examining where legislative changes are needed to improve the state response to and sanctioning of femicide and attempted femicide.
- **Change the legal practice in family proceedings** regarding contact and custody in the case of separation from a violent partner. Absolute priority should be the protection of at-risk women, including safeguarding information around their location.
- **Provide an appropriate sanctioning of femicide** by taking into account gender-specific backgrounds and motives such as dominance, control and power dynamics.
- **Strengthen the sanctions for repeated violations of the Protection against Violence Act.**

5. Data collection, monitoring and research

- **Implement comprehensive monitoring of femicide on a case-by-case basis**, building on the work of initiatives like the European Observatory on Femicide (EOF), to better classify and prevent cases.
- **Monitor protection measures, prevention strategies, investigations and sanctioning practices of the state** on a case-by-case basis for a progressive improvement of prevention and sanctioning practices; in this context, consistent monitoring of cases of failed intervention should also be included.
- **Implement and fund a national femicide observatory to collect information on femicide cases in one Europe-wide and comparable database** (including actual and attempted femicides) with information from official as well as unofficial sources, e.g., from the support system and from affected persons and relatives; the data should be regularly evaluated and documented in reports.
- **Promote in-depth systematic research** to investigate and improve state interventions and prevention measures.

- **Include case experiences and knowledge from women survivors of attempted femicide (and other affected persons/relatives)** to get broader perspectives and a better understanding of the problem.

6. Protection and measures for specific at-risk groups

- **Implement low-threshold prevention and support for women who want to separate from controlling partners.**
- **Implement prevention and support for specific target groups** at higher risk of DV and femicide and/or barriers to get immediate support and protection (e.g., migrant and refugee women, women with disabilities or in difficult social situations, older women, women in care situations, women with mental and addiction disorders, prostituted women). It's important to take an intersectional perspective on vulnerabilities, prevention and intervention.
- **Offer longer term (also therapeutic) support for affected women** coping with threats, fear and other psychological consequences of violence and empower them to leave and survive violent situations.

These measures should be included in a national action plan for the prevention of femicide, for which a first draft is also being presented as part of the FEM-UnitED project.¹⁸

¹⁸ Published in digital form on the website of the Research and Observatory Gender, Violence and Human Rights (FOBES) at the Institute for Empirical Sociology (Ifes) at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, see under: <https://www.ifes.fau.de/forschungsfelder/gender-gewalt-und-menschenrechte/>