City Research Online

City St George's, University of London

Citation: Cook, E. A., Miles, C. & Pullerits, M. (2026). Definitions of non-intimate partner and family-related femicide/feminicide: A scoping review. Social Science & Medicine, 393, 118917. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2025.118917

This is the published version of the paper.

This version of the publication may differ from the final published version. To cite this item please consult the publisher's version.

Permanent repository link: https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/36671/

Link to published version: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2025.118917

Copyright and Reuse: Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the author(s) and/or copyright holders. Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, unless otherwise indicated, provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way. For full details of reuse please refer to City Research Online policy.

City Research Online: http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/ publications@citystgeorges.ac.uk

Social Science & Medicine 393 (2026) 118917

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Social Science & Medicine

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed

Definitions of non-intimate partner and family-related femicide/feminicide: A scoping review

Elizabeth A. Cook [a,*], Caroline Miles [b], Merili Pullerits [a]

[a] City St George's, University of London, London, UK
[b] University of Manchester, Manchester, UK

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Femicide/feminicide
Female homicide victims
Victim/perpetrator relationship
Non-intimate partner and family-related (non-IPF)

ABSTRACT

The killing of women and girls outside of intimate or domestic relationships – or *non-intimate partner and family-related (non-IPF) femicide/feminicide* – often triggers significant public and media attention. However, there has been comparatively little attention to non-IPF femicide/feminicide in research and policy, including how it is defined. To address this, we conducted a scoping review to identify current definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide and the types of evidence that exist in relation to these killings. The search strategy included electronic database searches (MEDLINE Complete, Social Policy and Practice, APA PsychInfo, Criminal Justice Abstracts with Full Text; Sociology Source Ultimate; Web of Science), citation-tracking, and hand searching non-governmental organisation websites (e.g., EIGE, UNODC, Femicide Watch). Sources were eligible for inclusion if they reported on women or girls aged 10 or above killed by non-intimate or non-domestic relations. Restrictions were not placed on study context, design or publication language. In total, 126 studies (140 reports) met the inclusion criteria. After describing the types of evidence, we present key definitions and summarise characteristics of victims, perpetrators and incidents of non-IPF femicide/feminicide reported in existing literature. Our findings demonstrate that non-IPF femicide/feminicide encompasses a wide range of types (e.g., sexual femicides, work-related homicides) as well as relationships (e.g., strangers, acquaintances, clients, and employers). However, we also found that a large proportion of studies did not substantively engage with the gendered contexts and motivations of killings. Our findings highlight the need for improved reporting of definitions and deeper engagement with the structural contexts surrounding non-IPF femicides/feminicides.

1. Introduction

Femicide/feminicide is a global burden. The term 'femicide' was first applied within a critical feminist framework in 1976 by Diana Russell during the first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women, in Brussels, Belgium. Initially defined as "the misogynist killing of women by men" (Radford and Russell, 1992: p.xi) and then "the killing of females by males because they are female" (Russell, 2011: np), 'femicide' was variously translated and adapted to inform the emergence of the terms 'femicidio' and 'feminicidio' by Marcela Lagarde (2010) which add a further implication of State impunity and a failure to protect women killed by men. These expressions have added new meanings and "discursive and material contributions" to the concept as it has been applied to contexts in the Global South (Fregoso and Bejarano, 2010: 4; for a summary, see Pasinato and de Ávila, 2023). As Variava and Dekel (2024) note, there has been much focus on intimate partner femicide in previous research, with numerous evidence syntheses in recent years addressing empirical evidence on intimate partner homicide (e.g., Stöckl et al., 2013), domestic and/or family homicide (e.g., Truong et al., 2023), and familicide (e.g., Karlsson et al., 2021). In contrast, the killing of women and girls by perpetrators whom *they are not intimately related to* (referred to here as 'non-intimate partner and family-related' (non-IPF) femicide/feminicide) has received considerably less attention in research.

What we currently know about these cases fall into a range of overlapping structural contexts, circumstances, and relationships, creating challenges for measurement. Non-IPF femicide/feminicide could include, for example, the often highly publicised cases of 'stranger' femicides as well as the killings of women and girls by acquaintances, employe/ers, and clients, in the context of misogynist extremism, (systemic) sexual femicide (Fragoso, 2003), trafficking and organised crime, so-called 'honour' killings (Shalhoub-Kevorkian and

* Corresponding author. Violence and Society Centre, City St George's, University of London, Northampton Square, London, UK.
E-mail address: elizabeth.cook@citystgeorges.ac.uk (E.A. Cook).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2025.118917
Received 16 May 2025; Received in revised form 18 December 2025; Accepted 28 December 2025
Available online 9 January 2026
0277-9536/© 2026 The Authors. Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

Daher-Nashif, 2013), or killings committed as acts of police brutality against Black women (Posey, 2024). As a result, a diverse range of relationships, contexts and circumstances emerge across non-IPF femicide/feminicides which require definition and synthesis.

The objective of this study was, therefore, to provide an overview of existing definitions and concepts of non-IPF femicide/feminicide using a scoping review methodology. This methodology is well-suited for this purpose, given its ability to clarify key concepts and definitions, examine evidence gaps, and identify the types of evidence available on a subject (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005). This is useful when seeking to provide a map of current evidence (Munn et al., 2018). Identifying how non-IPF femicide/feminicide is defined in existing research is essential for two reasons. Firstly, we can ensure that we account for *all* forms of femicide/feminicide which occur along a continuum of violence against women and girls (Walklate and Fitz-Gibbon, 2023; or continua, see Cockburn, 2013). Although more likely to be committed by an intimate partner or family member, women and girls killed by perpetrators not intimately known or related still account for nearly *half* of all femicides/feminicides (e.g., 45 % as reported by UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2023). Secondly, identifying the circumstances and relationships in which these killings occur raises the visibility of deaths that occur at the intersection of different structural contexts and histories of oppression.

The primary research question for the scoping review was: *What definitions of non-intimate femicide exist and what types of evidence are available in relation to this type of femicide?* Three sub-questions guided the review.

1. How are definitions operationalised within existing data and evidence?
2. What types of victims, perpetrators, and incidents are captured within current definitions?
3. What concepts underlie these definitions?

The working definition of non-intimate femicide employed in the review was the killing of women (and girls aged 10 and above) outside of a domestic or intimate context (where 'domestic' and 'intimate' are broadly defined). A lower age limit of 10 was set to capture adolescent girls as well as women, and in line with the World Health Organisation definition of adolescence (WHO, 2024). The perpetrator sex/gender was not limited to males and the motives were not defined to explore how variations of definitions are used within existing data and evidence, and therefore what is potentially obscured or discounted as a result.

2. Methods

The scoping review follows the Preferred Reporting Items of Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) methodology, specifically its extensions for Scoping Reviews (PRISMA-ScR) (Tricco et al., 2018). The protocol for the scoping review was registered on Open Science Framework on October 10, 2023 and is available here: https://osf.io/nhau9/. The review follows key stages of the scoping review methodology outlined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005).

2.1. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Due to the scoping review's exploratory nature, the inclusion criteria remained broad. Sources were eligible for inclusion if they reported on the killing of victims who were women and/or girls aged 10 years and above, by a perpetrator of any gender and age. Examples of the types of relationships between victim and perpetrator that we specified as within scope (if described as 'non-intimate' or 'non-domestic') included: extended family and kin (e.g., in-laws' brother), non-cohabiting intimate partners, casual relationships (e.g., 'dating'), acquaintances (e.g., colleague, employer, neighbor), strangers, authority figures or caring relationships (e.g., carer, doctor/nurse), organisation (e.g., paramilitary, 'gangs'). Sources were included if published between January 1, 1990 and September 1, 2023, using any research design. In addition, we included non-peer-reviewed sources (e.g., book chapters, grey literature) to help minimise publication bias and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the evidence (Paez, 2017). This was important due to the role of non-governmental organisations and activists in generating evidence on femicide/feminicide. Other sources (e.g., conference papers) were excluded. No restrictions were placed on study setting (country) or source language.

2.2. Search strategy

Following piloting of an initial search strategy, electronic database searches were conducted by AUTHOR3 in September 2023. Six databases were searched: MEDLINE Complete; APA PsychInfo; Criminal Justice Abstracts with Full Text; Sociology Source Ultimate; Web of Science Core Collection, specifically Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI); and Social Policy and Practice. The search strategy terms were structured around the following ten key concepts related to female homicide generally, as well as additional gender-related homicides: femicide, female homicide, sexual homicide, sex worker/prostitute homicide, dating homicide, gender-based homicide, honour-based homicide, dowry-related homicide, incel/misogynist-related homicide, female genital mutilation related homicide. An example search strategy is available in Supplementary File 1. Grey literature searches were also conducted in February 2024 using key words in the search function and/or hand searches of research/policy/publications sections of websites of the following organisations: Femicide Census; UN Women; European Institute for Gender Equality; World Health Organisation; UN Office on Drugs and Crime; Femicide Watch. In addition, reference lists of included studies were scanned, following Peters et al. (2020).

2.3. Selection of sources of evidence

The 5700 citations retrieved from the searches of the six databases and the additional 87 citations were transferred to Zotero reference software to remove duplicates. The de-duplicated records were then uploaded into Rayyan systematic review software, used for both title and abstract screening and for full-text screening (Ouzzani et al., 2016). Out of the 3552 records screened at title and abstract stage, 678 were retained for full-text review. Full texts could not be located for 27 records. Therefore, a total of 651 records were screened at full-text stage for eligibility. At both abstract and full-text screening stages, all records were screened by two screeners (EC and MP) against the inclusion and exclusion criteria and 20 per cent were second screened independently by CM. Disagreements were solved by discussion until a consensus was reached. The PRISMA diagram in Fig. 1 summarises the search and screening process, including the reasons for exclusion at full-text screening stage.

2.4. Data charting process and data items

Data extraction was conducted via Microsoft Excel by MP. A data extraction template was developed to standardise the extraction of all relevant data from the studies. Given the exploratory nature of this review, the template was reviewed and adjusted iteratively between the authors and as data extraction progressed. Following guidance for scoping reviews (Peters et al., 2020), critical appraisal of individual reports and studies was not conducted. No additional data was sought from study authors as it was not required. The data extraction template, which was primarily deductive, collected data items that fell into four categories.

1. *Study description*: Report ID; Study ID; Report citation; Author(s); Publication year; Publication language; Prevalence only (y/n); Overarching focus

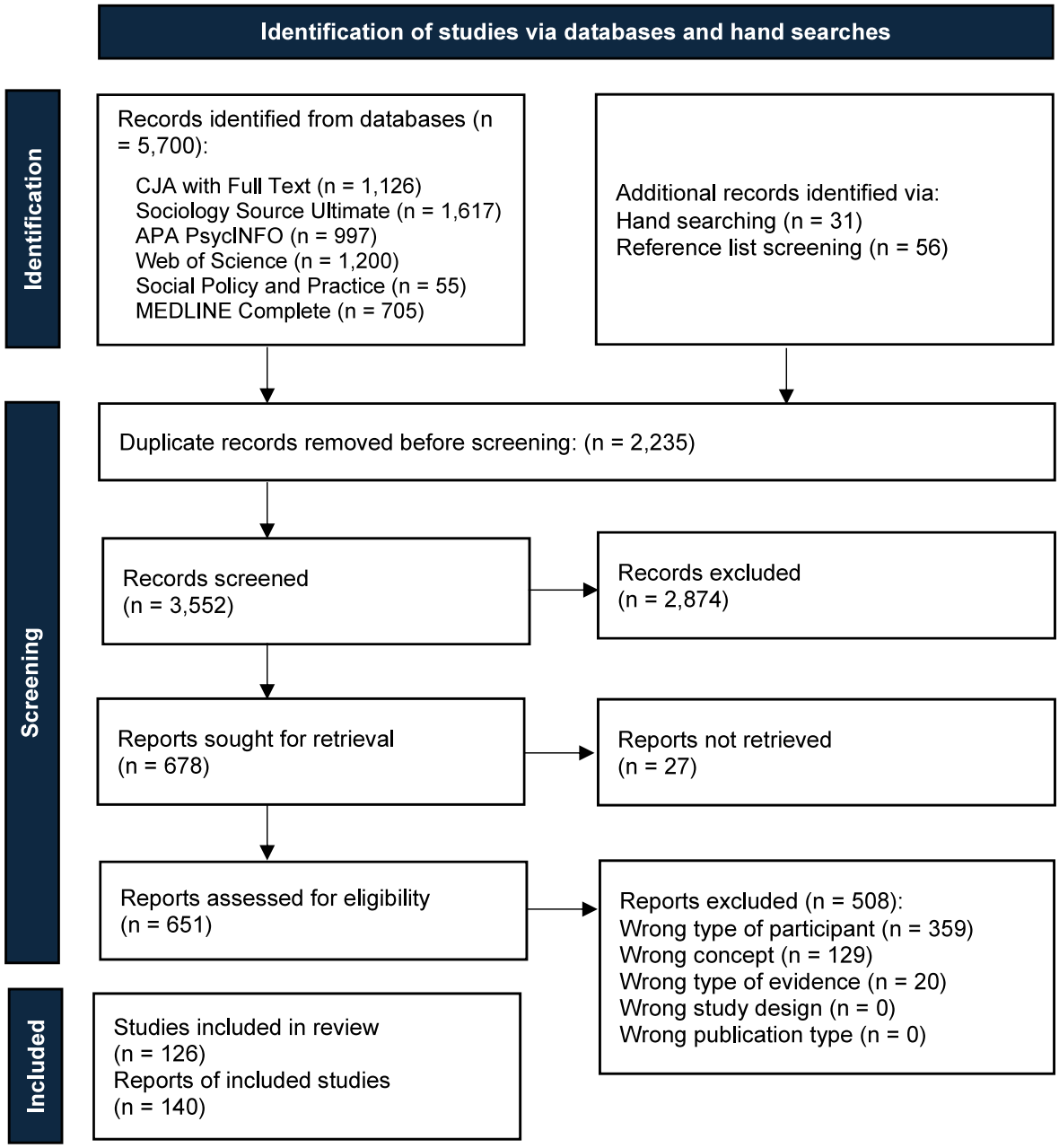

Fig. 1. PRISMA-SCR flowchart.

2. *Study characteristics*: Aim/objective; Country; Study year; Study design; Inclusion criteria; Exclusion criteria
3. *Study population*: Study population; Sample size; Demographics
4. *Study outcomes*: Outcome defined (y/n); If yes, definition of the outcome; Study results

When data extraction was completed, we conducted descriptive analyses of the characteristics and distribution of studies included in the review to understand the types of evidence available on non-IPF femicide/feminicide (e.g., study design). Following our study objectives, we then conducted qualitative content analysis to identify key definitions of the outcome (non-IPF femicide/feminicide) and the types of victims, perpetrators and incidents that are captured within these studies (Pollock et al., 2023). We supplement these analyses with a narrative summary of the conceptual underpinnings of the outcome and grouping types of definition.

3. Results

The search strategy and screening process yielded 140 reports (from 126 separate studies) that met the inclusion criteria and were included in the review. The full list of included reports is available in *Supplementary File 2*. This section reports the key types and characteristics of included sources of evidence, before presenting the results according to the primary outcome (definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide), and types of victims, perpetrators and incidents.

3.1. Types and characteristics of included sources

Table 1 presents a descriptive summary of the type and key characteristics of sources included sources. From the final set of included reports, all were published between 1992 and 2023, with a majority being published between 2015 and 2019 (n = 48, 34 %) and 2020–2023 (n = 42, 30 %). Only seven reports (5 %) were published in the first 10

Table 1
Descriptive summary of included report type.

	Total reports	
	n	Percentage
Type	140	100
Publication language		
English	122	87.1 %
Spanish	10	7.1 %
Portuguese	4	2.9 %
French	2	1.4 %
Serbian	1	0.7 %
Turkish	1	0.7 %
Publication date		
1990–1994	2	1.4 %
1995–1999	5	3.6 %
2000–2004	11	7.9 %
2005–2009	16	11.4 %
2010–2014	16	11.4 %
2015–2019	48	34.3 %
2020–2023	42	30.0 %
Study design		
Classification framework	3	2.1 %
Comment	1	0.7 %
Legal analysis	10	7.1 %
Model protocol	1	0.7 %
Model law	1	0.7 %
Literature review	4	2.9 %
Mixed method	7	5.0 %
Qualitative	24	17.1 %
Quantitative	71	50.7 %
Quantitative and qualitative	5	3.6 %
Theoretical	13	9.3 %
Country of study (with more than 5 included reports)[a]		
United States	23	16.4 %
United Kingdom	19	13.6 %
Mexico	18	12.9 %
Canada	12	8.6 %
Multi-country (Latin America)	9	6.4 %
Italy	7	5.0 %
France	5	3.6 %
Turkey	5	3.6 %
Brazil	5	3.6 %

[a] Percentages calculated using n = 151 as denominator as some studies compared 2+ countries.

years of our defined search period. There was a general increase in the number of included reports published over time (see Fig. 2), likely following the growth in interest in 'femicide/feminicide' more broadly and its expansion into different disciplines (e.g., public health and epidemiology) (Corradi et al., 2016: p981). An overwhelming majority of included reports were published in English (n = 122, 87 %), followed by Spanish (n = 10, 7 %) and Portuguese (n = 4, 3 %). The included reports represented a range of individual countries, as well as several multi-country reports. In total, 36 countries were represented by at least one report. The United States (n = 23, 15 %), the United Kingdom (n = 19, 13 %), Mexico (n = 18, 12 %) and Canada (n = 12, 8 %) were the countries represented with the highest number of included reports. Of the reports studying multiple countries, Latin America (n = 9, 6 %) was the most common context, often with a focus on examining legislative frameworks and responses (e.g., Sarmiento et al., 2014; Carrigan and Dawson, 2020).

Just over half of reports employed a quantitative study design (n = 71, 50.7 %), representing the most common approach. These often comprised of a cross-sectional, retrospective analyses of data obtained from mortuaries/autopsies (e.g., Coyne-Beasley et al., 2003), local or national police forces (e.g., Margarites et al., 2017), prisons (e.g., Chéné and Cusson, 2007), and femicide censuses (Cullen et al., 2019) and observatories (Dawson, 2019). A further five reports (3.6 %) supplemented quantitative analyses with qualitative data, for example, media reports (e.g., Long et al., 2020), to provide more contextual accounts of these types of killings. While quantitative study designs were the most common approach used here, it is important to note that for over half of these (n = 38/71; 53.5 %) only a basic percentage (e.g., reporting non-IPF as a proportion of femicide overall) could be extracted. These reports did not provide any further analysis of non-IPF relationships. The second most common study design was a qualitative methodology, with a total of 24 (17.1 %) reports using this approach. These consisted of reports using media analyses of local (e.g., Martin and Carvajal, 2016) or national newspapers (e.g., Mason and Monckton-Smith, 2008), interviews with specialist prosecutors (e.g., Tuesta and Mujica, 2015) or activists (Anwary, 2012), and ethnography (e.g., Wright, 2011). Overall, as Fig. 3 shows, existing knowledge on definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide is largely derived from quantitative data, with much less representation from qualitative and theoretical study designs.

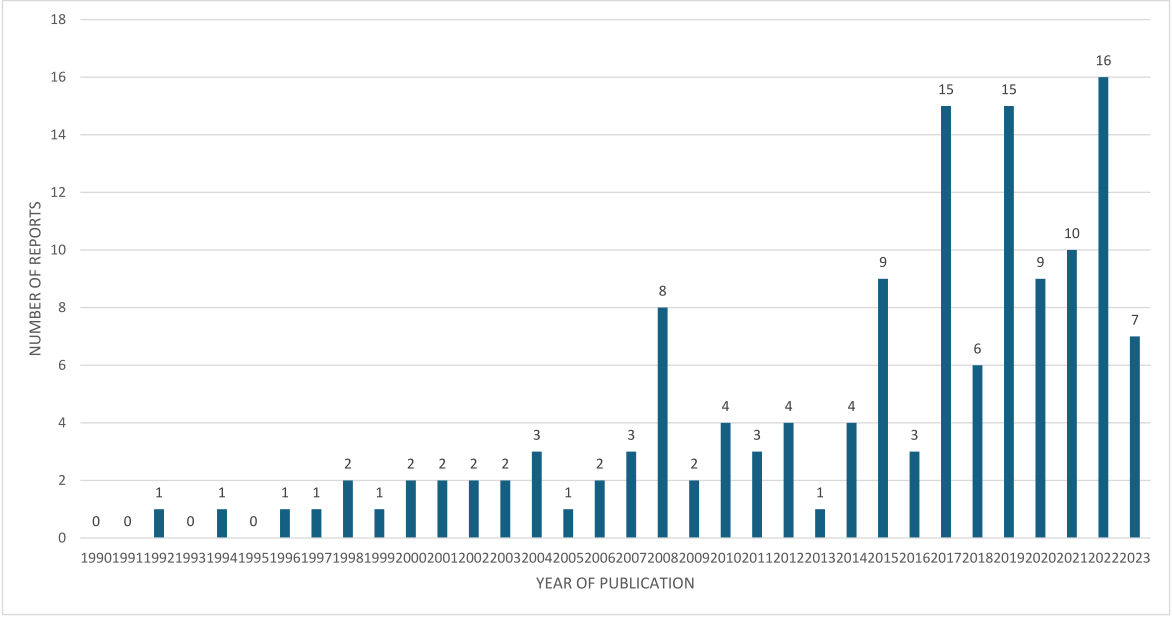

Fig. 2. Total number of included reports by year of publication.

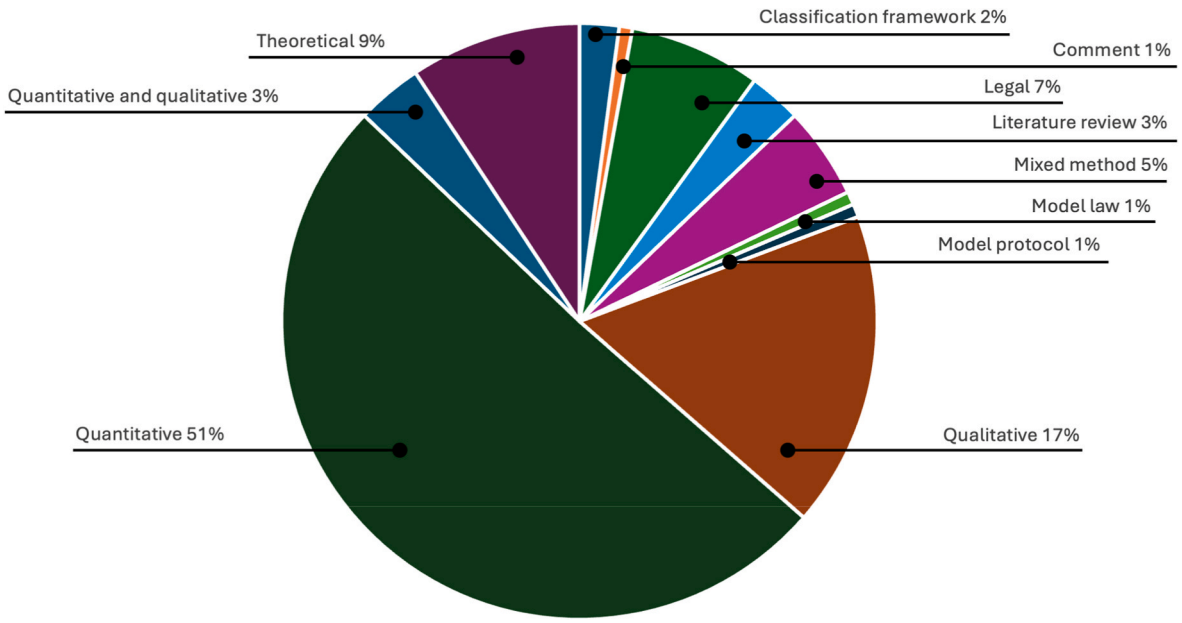

Fig. 3. Study designs of included reports.

3.2. Synthesis of results by outcome

3.2.1. Definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide

To extract data on definitions, we coded the reports according to whether they contained: a full and explicit definition (coded 'yes'), a partial definition where examples of types are provided referring to non-IPF femicide/feminicide (coded 'partial), or no definition (coded 'no') (the latter included reports where a definition had to be inferred by the authors). Of the 140 included reports, only 18 (12.9 %) provided an explicit definition of the outcome, while 44 (31.4 %) contained a partial definition. However, a majority (n = 78, 55.7 %) of reports did not provide an explicit definition (discussed further below). A summary of explicit definitions identified from these 18 included studies is presented in Table 2 and are discussed below.

Legislative and international classification frameworks were a key source for the definitions identified in this review. Of the 18 reports that provided an explicit definition of non-IPF femicide/feminicide, 10 were based upon existing criminal/penal codes or proposed within classification frameworks. These reports included definitions made within model protocols for criminal investigations (Sarmiento et al., 2014), qualitative studies (Tuesta and Mujica, 2015; Neumann, 2022) or socio-legal analyses of current legislation (Martinez-Villalba, 2022; Carrigan and Dawson, 2020; Vásquez Mejías, 2015; Pasinato and de Ávila, 2023; Bellami, 2018), and those proposed by measurement/classification frameworks (UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2022; EIGE, 2022). Apart from UNODC & UNEGEEW (2022) and EIGE (2022), all reports with definitions informed by legislative or classification frameworks reported the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region, or one of its countries, as its study context.

A key document for distinguishing types of femicide/feminicide from one another is *The Latin American Model Protocol for the Investigation of Gender-Related Killings of Women (Femicide/Feminicide),* produced as a collaboration between the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNEGEEW) (Sarmiento et al., 2014). The protocol examines the codification in multiple LAC countries and identifies 13 types of femicide. Focusing on the victim/perpetrator relationship, Sarmiento et al. (2014: p15) define non-intimate femicide as:

> The killing of a woman by a man unknown to her and with whom the woman had no relationship. For example, a sexual assault that culminates in the murder of a woman at the hands of a stranger. This also includes a case where a neighbor kills his female neighbor without there having been any type of relationship or connection.

A second key document can be found in UNEGEEW's collaboration with the UNODC , proposing a *Statistical framework for measuring the gender-related killing of women and girls* (UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2022). This framework identifies three categories of femicide/feminicide: those perpetrated by an i) intimate partner, ii) other family member, and iii) other perpetrator. UNODC and UNEGEEW (2022: pp22-23) identify examples of included types of 'other' perpetrators, such as those "with a relationship of authority/care with the victim", a "friend/-acquaintance/work relationship", an "other perpetrator known to the victim", a "perpetrator unknown to the victim", or an "unknown perpetrator". Also listed are indicators of gender-related motives, including a previous history of violence, illegal exploitation, abduction or illegal deprivation of liberty, involvement of victim in the sex industry, sexual violence on the body of the victim, and excessive mistreatment of the body of the victim (UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2022: pp14-15). Therefore, this framework defines femicide both based on relationship types and contexts.

A third key document is a classification framework published by EIGE (2022) which identifies indicators for measuring different types of femicide in the EU. This report identifies 11 indicators and sub-indicators with non-intimate femicides falling into the category of 'Other types of intentional killing'. This category is represented by: "Killing of a woman by non-family member involving sexualised violence"; "Sex-exploitation-related killing of a woman (with the exception of trafficking-related killing)"; "Trafficking-related killing of a woman"; "Killing of a woman in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings"; "Killing of a woman older than 65 by non-family member" (EIGE, 2022: p6). These are represented by a range of different variables such as victim/perpetrator relationship and circumstances.

Other multi-country studies examining legislative frameworks in the LAC region and providing definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide included Carrigan and Dawson (2020), Pasinato and de Ávila (2023), and Bellami (2018). For example, Carrigan and Dawson (2020) analyse how femicide/feminicide is constructed in legislative responses in 16 countries in Latin America. The authors distinguish between

Table 2
Definitions of key outcome: Non-IPF femicide/feminicide.

Author(s)	Country	Study design	Definition of outcome
Classification frameworks and model protocols			
Sarmiento et al. (2014)	Multi-country (LAC)	Model protocol	Non-intimate femicide is defined as: "The killing of a woman by a man unknown to her and with whom the woman had no relationship. For example, a sexual assault that culminates in the murder of a woman at the hands of a stranger. This also includes a case where a neighbor kills his female neighbor without there having been any type of relationship or connection." p15
UNODC & UNEGEEW (2022)	Multi-country (UN)	Classification framework	Defines killing of women and girls by an '*other* perpetrator' as: Perpetrator with a relationship of authority/ care with the victim: • Healthcare provider (e.g., doctor/physician); • Caregivers (e.g., professional caregiver or babysitter); • Education authority (e.g., teacher); • Safety and security provider (e.g., police officer); • Public official/clergy (non-health, education or security-related); • Employer/supervisor; • Other authority/care relationship. Friend/acquaintance/ work relationship (Friend/colleague/peer; Acquaintance) Other perpetrator known to the victim Perpetrator unknown to the victim Unknown perpetrator
EIGE (2022)	Multi-country (EUR)	Classification framework	Defined as '*Other* types of intentional killing': Killing of a woman by a non-family member involving sexualised violence Sex-exploitation-related killing of a woman (except trafficking-related killing) Trafficking related killing of a woman Killing of a woman in the context of a continuum of violence in particular settings Killing of a woman older than 65 by non-family member
Martinez-Villalba (2022)	Mexico; Colombia	Mixed method	Definition is provided by penal codes in Mexico and Colombia. In Mexico, femicide is defined as the killing of a woman for reasons of gender by specific *circumstance* not limited to intimate or domestic relationships. This can include where there was a history of domestic, labour, or school violence from the perpetrator towards the victim; a presence of a sentimental, affective or trust relationship between victim and perpetrator; the victim was confined; or the victim's body was exposed or exhibited in a public space. Colombia: Femicide/ feminicide defined as killing of a woman not just in family or intimate relationships but in a "coexistence relationship" such as a friend, companion, or colleague, and where the perpetrator enacted a cycle of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence before the murder. It can also include acts of gender or sexual exploitation or of oppression and control as well as signs of violence or threats by the perpetrator against the victim in the home, family, work, or school sphere.
Multi-country legislative frameworks/analysis			
Carrigan and Dawson (2020)	Multi-country (LAC)	Legal analysis	The authors distinguish between femicides occurring in the private (committed by intimate partner and family members) and in public spheres (strangers, acquaintances, gang members, and public servants such as the police).
Pasinato and de Ávila (2023)	Multi-country (LAC)	Legal analysis	Defined as perpetrators without a previous intimate relation, or where the cause of the killing is related to the condition of women, gender discrimination, unequal relations of power, relations of superiority or dependency, and risk or vulnerability related to gender. It also includes killings in public spaces such as educational or labour relations, where the hierarchical relations are pervaded by gender inequality. In addition, the authors identify 'grey zones' between intimate and non-intimate which derive from friendship

(*continued on next page*)

Table 2 (*continued*)

Author(s)	Country	Study design	Definition of outcome
			relations and romantic stalking.
Bellami (2018)	Multi-country (LAC)	Legal analysis	Definitions are provided by various penal codes in Latin American countries, discussing narrow definitions of femicide (including intimate and intrafamilial femicide in the 'private sphere') and femicides occurring in the 'public sphere'.
Country-specific legislative frameworks/analysis			
Neumann (2022)	Nicaragua	Qualitative	Provides critique of changes to definition in the penal code in Nicaragua which was recently changed to limit the definition to the killings of women occurring within a pre-existing (intimate) relationship (including partner, husband, ex-husband, boyfriend, and ex-boyfriend).
Vásquez Mejías (2015)	Chile	Legal analysis	Definition is provided by the penal code in Chile. The definition includes where the victim of the crime is or has been the spouse or cohabitant of the perpetrator. The author provides a critique of this definition, arguing that it excludes the many women who are murdered by strangers, friends, and neighbours "who feel entitled to use their bodies and exterminate them simply because they were born women" (*trans.*, Vásquez Mejías, 2015).
Tuesta and Mujica (2015)	Peru	Qualitative	Definition provided by the penal code in Peru where femicide is defined by circumstance and aggravating factor. For example, in contexts of (i) domestic violence; (ii) coercion, harassment or sexual harassment; (iii) abuse of power, trust or any other position or relationship that confers authority to the perpetrator; (iv) any form of discrimination against women, regardless of whether there was or is a marital or cohabitation relationship with the perpetrator.
Qualitative			
Morgan (2006)	United States	Qualitative	Defined by victim/offender relationship including categories defined as: 'acquaintance' (neighbor, friend, other) and 'stranger' (offender unknown to victim prior to incident), or unknown (no offender identified).
Brodie (2021)	South Africa	Qualitative	Defined according to the Medical Research Council as the killing of women by someone other than an intimate partner (stranger, family member, acquaintance, etc.).
Quantitative			
Zara et al. (2019)	Italy	Quantitative	Defined as "femicide by strangers or acquaintances" as opposed to where a woman is killed "by a person (usually her husband or ex-partner) with whom she had been emotionally close"
Aldrete (2023)	Mexico	Quantitative	Defined as "… committed by strangers and organized crime groups; these can involve criminal practices that especially target women such as rape, trafficking, exploitation, and hatred of women with stigmatized occupations (sex workers, escorts, dancers, waitresses), can also be associated with extreme violence, torture, and public exhibition of the corpses …"
Asik and Nas Ozen (2021)	Turkey	Quantitative	Definitions follow three categories: female homicides by an intimate partner, family, and 'by others.' The latter includes: "Other men category includes perpetrators who are not related by blood and either known or unknown by victims. Examples include neighbours, romantically rejected acquaintances, burglars, rapists and men who murder sex workers" (p2, fn3)
Dawson (2019)	Canada	Quantitative	Defined using the categories of 'friend/acquaintance' (includes "housemates/roommates, co-workers, neighbours, and more distant acquaintances") and 'stranger' (includes "victims and accused/perpetrators had no prior interaction" p44, including police-involved deaths).
Feminicidio.net, Milan/Spain (2017)	Spain	Quantitative	Defined as being committed "by a man with whom the victim did not have an affective relationship" including "cases where a woman who suffers a sexual assault, consummated or attempted, is later murdered; the perpetrator can be known

(*continued on next page*)

Table 2 (*continued*)

Author(s)	Country	Study design	Definition of outcome
			or unknown to the victim" p44
Caicedo-Roa et al. (2019)	Brazil	Quantitative	Defined as being committed by men with whom the victims did not have intimate, family or cohabitation relationships with but had trust, hierarchy or friendship relationships, such as friends, colleagues, healthcare workers, employers or even strangers.

femicide/feminicides occurring in the 'private sphere' "between intimate partners and family members" and the 'public sphere' which "includes killings by strangers, acquaintances, gang members, and public servants (e.g., police)" (Carrigan and Dawson, 2020: p2). They argue that legislation relying only on an intimate relationship status does "not acknowledge the range of relationships and motivations for perpetrating femicide/feminicide" (Carrigan and Dawson, 2020: p7). Similar points can be identified in Pasinato and de Ávila (2023: p66) who divide categories of femicide/feminicide in Latin America into 'intimate' and 'non-intimate', defining the latter as applying to:

> perpetrators without a previous intimate relation when the cause of the killing is related to the condition of women, gender discrimination, unequal relations of power, relations of superiority or dependency, and risk or vulnerability related to gender. It also includes killings in public spaces, for example, in educational or labor relations, where the hierarchical relations are pervaded by gender inequality.

Of particular note here is the authors' identification of 'grey zones' between intimate and non-intimate femicides where killing in friendships or fellowships (*compañerismo*) (whether based on trust, friendship, or a common interest), 'domestic relations' (which could include domestic household workers), and in the context of romantic stalking (where "violence usually takes place in a public space, [but] the perpetrator aims to enter the intimate sphere") (Pasinato and de Ávila, 2023: p66) (see also, Bellami, 2018).

Studies that examine criminal codes in specific LAC countries included Tuesta and Mujica (2015, Peru), Neumann (2022, Nicaragua), Martinez-Villalba (2022, Colombia and Mexico) and Vásquez Mejías (2015, Chile). For example, Martinez-Villalba (2022) studies the criminalisation of femicide/feminicide in Colombia and Mexico to examine the impact on rates of violence against women. These definitions extend beyond intimate/domestic relations to include circumstances where, for example, there was a "history of domestic, labor, or school violence from the perpetrator towards the victim" (Mexico) or "[a]cts of gender or sexual exploitation or actions of oppression and control were exercised on the body and life of the victim to control life choices and sexuality" (Colombia) (Martinez-Villalba, 2022: p90).

The remaining eight reports were based on either entirely quantitative (n = 6) or qualitative (n = 2) studies. In both qualitative studies, the authors used the category of 'intimate femicide' to denote 'intimate partner' (Morgan, 2006; Brodie, 2021). For example, Brodie (2021: p84) based their media analysis on definitions used by the South African Medical Research Council which distinguishes 'intimate femicide/intimate partner femicide' (the "killing of women by intimate partners (i.e. a current or former husband/boyfriend, same-sex partner, or rejected would-be lover)" from 'non-intimate femicide' (defined as the "killing of women by someone other than an intimate partner (stranger, family member, acquaintance, etc.)". Therefore, killings by family members were considered non-intimate femicides/feminicide.

Definitions characterised by relationship rather than context or circumstance were also common in the six quantitative studies. For example, Zara et al. (2019: p1297) defined non-intimate femicide/feminicide as those perpetrated "by strangers or acquaintances", in contrast to intimate partner femicide perpetrated by "a person (usually her husband or ex-partner) with whom she had been emotionally close". Similarly, in Dawson's (2019) report based on data from the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability, non-IPF comprised a broad range of relationships including friends/acquaintances which "ranged from housemates/roommates, co-workers, neighbours, and more distant acquaintances" as well as strangers with no prior interaction – including killings by police. Asik and Nas Ozen (2021: p2, fn3) also use a definition based on victims killed by an 'other' perpetrator "who are not related by blood and either known or unknown by victims", giving "neighbours, romantically rejected acquaintances, burglars, rapists and men who murder sex workers" as examples.

In addition to non-IPF femicides/feminicide defined by relationship, Caicedo-Roa et al. (2019) and Aldrete (2023) add elements of stigma and trust. For example, based on Carcedo and Sagot (2000) , Caicedo-Roa et al. (2019: p3) define non-intimate femicide/feminicide as: "committed by men with whom the victims did not have intimate, family or cohabiting relationships, but rather relationships of trust, hierarchy or friendship, such as friends or work colleagues, health workers, employers or even strangers." [*trans.*]

Similarly, Aldrete (2023: p3301) describes non-intimate femicides as being committed by strangers and organised crime groups, with a particular focus on targeting women through trafficking, exploitation, and within "stigmatized occupations" (for example sex workers) and potentially associated with "extreme violence, torture, and public exhibition of the corpses as found in studies from Mexico". These definitions of non-intimate femicide/feminicide include any relationships that are imbued with imbalances of trust, hierarchies, or friendship; they allude to imbalances in power that are abused or taken advantage of.

Overall, there was very limited evidence that provided an explicit definition of non-IPF femicide/feminicide. When a definition was reported, there was variation in how non-IPF was conceptualised, whether by victim/perpetrator relationship, space/location, and/or by circumstance. There were different forms of intimacy that could qualify as an 'intimate relationship' and which varied according to types of social bonds, blood and marriage, or trust. As we have suggested elsewhere, one reason why it is so challenging to define non-IPF femicide/feminicide is that it is often "defined by negation: that is, it is defined by the *absence* of an intimate relationship and therefore what it is not" (Miles et al., 2025: p30). This was reflected in several reports that defined non-IPF femicide/feminicide as those killings perpetrated by someone 'other than' someone that the victim knew.

3.2.2. *Victims and perpetrators of non-IPF femicide/feminicide*

Where the study population for victims was explicitly reported (n = 88, 62.9 %), 23 reports included female (n = 21) or women (n = 2) only samples with no reported restrictions on age or sub-group and 42 reports examined specific female sub-populations. These included samples restricted by specific age categories such as adolescents (e.g., Coyne--Beasley et al., 2003), and older age victims (e.g., Safarik et al., 2000). Reports also addressed victim sub-populations of female migrants (n = 1) (Ravelo Blancas, 2017), Black women (n = 1) (Joseph, 2022), and prostitutes (n = 3) (e.g., Lowman, 2000).

The remaining 23 reports examined and compared both female *and* male victim populations, including reports where no age or sub-group restrictions were placed (n = 18) (e.g., Nasrullah et al., 2009), two reports where female and male victims were aged 15 and over (n = 2) (Kellermann and Mercy, 1992; Pratt and Deosaransingh, 1997), aged 16 and over (n = 1) (Chopin and Beauregard, 2020), aged 60 and above (n = 1) (Krienert and Walsh, 2010), as well as one report that examined females of all ages and males aged 0–17 years old (n = 1) (Abrahams

et al., 2017). Reports that included a comparison of female and male victims were often those with a study focus on sexual homicides. In addition, reports that focused on sexual homicides tended to omit any structural analysis or consideration of gendered dynamics or contexts that could characterise these killings.

Where the study population of perpetrators was explicitly reported (n = 64), a total of 32 reports were based on samples of both male *and* female (n = 31) or men *and* women (n = 1) and 30 reports reported a male only sample or where a man (or men) were perpetrators or the principal suspect. Two reports specifically addressed police as perpetrators of femicide/feminicide (Edwards et al., 2019), including against Black women (Joseph, 2022). The remaining reports either did not report the sample of perpetrators in the study (n = 24) or this was not applicable (n = 52) (for example, for theoretical study designs).

3.2.3. Types of non-IPF femicide/feminicide

Table 3 summarises the subject focus of the 140 included reports, grouped by theme. A total of 53 reports (37.9 %) reported relevant data on non-IPF in studies of homicide (a substantial proportion of these were studies of sexual homicide (n = 27)). A smaller number of reports focused specifically on female genital mutilation (n = 1, 0.7 %) (Rakić, 2017), police killings of women (n = 3, 2.1 %) (e.g., Joseph, 2022), and workplace violence (n = 1, 0.7 %) (Younger, 1994). However, as would be expected, a majority of studies that reported on the killing of women and girls in the context of non-IPF addressed femicide/feminicide as its focus (n = 77, 55 %).

Reports addressing femicide/feminicide as a general category (n = 35, 25 %) either reported data disaggregated by non-intimate partner or family relationship and/or according to the circumstance/context in which they occurred. Reports included broad classifications of non-IPF relationships including *acquaintances* (supervisors, customers, janitor, landlord, friends, housemates/roommates, co-workers, neighbours), *strangers* (perpetrators with no prior relationship or interaction, police officers), as well as *others* (examples given included thieves/robbers, drug traffickers, organised crime) (e.g. Meneghel and Portella, 2017; Dawson, 2019; Segato, 2012). Where victims were killed by an *unknown* perpetrator, studies varied as to whether these were reported separately or subsumed within the category of 'stranger' or 'other'.

Table 3
Subject focus of included reports by theme.

	Total reports	
	n	Percentage
Subject focus	140	100 %
Femicide (all)	77	55.0 %
Femicide (general)	35	25.0 %
Femicide (adolescent)	1	0.7 %
Femicide (classification framework)	5	3.6 %
Femicide (genocide)	1	0.7 %
Femicide (journalists)	1	0.7 %
Femicide (legislation)	14	10.0 %
Femicide (media)	10	7.1 %
Femicide (migrant women)	1	0.7 %
Femicide (older women)	2	1.4 %
Femicide (prostitution-related)	1	0.7 %
Femicide (sexual)	5	3.6 %
Femicide (unveiling murders)	1	0.7 %
Homicide (all)	53	37.9 %
Homicide (general)	4	2.9 %
Homicide (female)	8	5.7 %
Homicide (media)	3	2.1 %
Homicide (older victims)	2	1.4 %
Homicide (overkill)	1	0.7 %
Homicide (prostitution-related)	5	3.6 %
Homicide (sexual)	27	19.3 %
Homicide (witchcraft-related)	1	0.7 %
Homicide (workplace)	1	0.7 %
Homicide(-suicide)	1	0.7 %
Homicide (honour killings)	5	3.6 %
Female genital mutilation	1	0.7 %
Police killings of women	3	2.1 %
Workplace violence	1	0.7 %

Reports addressing femicide/feminicide as a general category also addressed non-IPF femicide/feminicides according to the circumstance they occurred within. This could include killings of women and girls in the context of illegal markets such as organised crime, drugs, labour exploitation, the sex industry, and human trafficking, and which function within a complex intersection of drug enforcement policies, economic insecurity and poverty, and political conflict (e.g., Cecchi et al., 2022; Chirambwi, 2022; Karbeyaz et al., 2013; Martin and Carvajal, 2016). Although reports varied as to whether these killings were explicitly identified as non-IPF femicide/feminicide, many reports recognised that a broader classification of femicide/feminicide as a whole was required to not underestimate its prevalence or incidence, nor to ignore public spaces as a site for the extension and exertion of male power beyond private/domestic spheres. For example, Biehler-Gomez et al.'s (2022) medico-legal analysis of femicide in Milan, Italy, did not report an explicit definition of non-IPF femicide/feminicide, but did provide examples of what might constitute this, such as:

> killings related to sexual aggression, sorcery/witchcraft (in particular in Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands), armed conflict, gender identity and sexual orientation, ethnic and indigenous identity, and random killings. Indirect types of femicide encompass deaths related to poorly conducted or clandestine abortions, maternal mortality, human trafficking, drug dealing, organized crime and gang-related activities, or simple neglect, through starvation or ill-treatment (Biehler-Gomez et al., 2022: p215).

Similarly, Margarites, Meneghel and Ceccon (2017; see also Meneghel and Margarites, 2017) examine cases of femicide/feminicide in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Referring to killings in the context of drug trafficking, organised crime, armed groups, and sexual violence, the authors make the key argument that these femicides/feminicides still exhibit core patterns of gendered inequalities in power and authority, for example, where women as intimate partners of drug traffickers are killed as revenge for breaking silence, as a demonstration of power/authority, or reflecting proprietariness over women. Martin and Carvajal (2016) also allude to the extension of violence against women in public spheres in their analysis of feminicides in Oaxaca, Mexico. They locate these killings as intertwined with other forms of social and political transformation including narcotrafficking, State-building processes, and transnational migration flows. García-Del Moral (2018) demonstrates this as part of a critique and reconceptualization of the term 'femicide' to 'feminicide', examining the murders of Indigenous women in Canada. The author argues that the murders of Indigenous women – commonly at the hands of strangers – are deeply embedded in a "colonial exclusionary politics exercised through spatial, political, and economic marginalization" and that places these women at a higher risk of violence (García-Del Moral, 2018: p946). These accounts position the State as complicit in the reproduction of violence against women and girls.

Reports also addressed femicide/feminicide against specific subgroups such as adolescents (n = 1) (Coyne-Beasley et al., 2003), journalists (n = 1) (Möhring, 2019), poor, migrant women (n = 1) (Schmidt Camacho, 2005), older women (n = 2) (e.g., Dawson, 2017), and prostitutes (n = 1) (Zara et al., 2022b). These reports indicated the potential increased victimisation risk among these sub-groups and the challenges in accurately identifying the victim/perpetrator relationship, particularly for adolescents where partners may be misclassified as acquaintances (Coyne-Beasley et al., 2003: p359).

Reports also addressed femicide/feminicide of specific forms, including as targeted campaigns of sexual violence and genocide in Guatemala (n = 1) (Sanford, 2008), (systemic) sexual femicide/feminicide (n = 5) (e.g., Fragoso, 2003), and unveiling murders (n = 1) (Kamp, 2011). These reports demonstrated how social and political contexts created conditions of impunity, terror and social cleansing, and

mechanisms through which femicide/feminicide could be used as a tool to enforce gendered social orders. For example, Sanford's (2008) study of the Guatemalan civil war and genocide of Maya Indigenous as well as Kamp's (2011) study of the Soviet Union's campaign of *Hujum* in Uzbekistan during the 1920s showing how femicide/feminicides were perpetrated as a way to express dissent against the Soviet state. Reports that examined (systemic) sexual femicide/feminicide, such as Fragoso (2003) and Zara et al., (2022a) echoed the arguments made above (e.g., García-Del Moral, 2011), showing that perpetrators are more likely to be unknown to victims in sexual or sexualised femicide/feminicides in 'anonymous' settings such as public spaces. They argue that femicide/feminicide victims are positioned as 'transgressors' of masculine public spaces (Balli, 2009: pp.i-ii). Reports also sought to study legal and social responses to non-IPF femicide/feminicide such as classification frameworks (n = 5) (e.g., Sarmiento et al. (2014), and legislation (n = 14) (e.g., García-Del Moral and Neumann, 2019), as well as media analyses of non-IPF femicide/feminicides (n = 10) (e.g., Brodie, 2021) which reinforced these arguments. Overall, reports addressed a wide range of types of killing as non-IPF femicide/feminicide, observing the complex interactions that these killings have with other forms of social or political oppression (for example, as a weapon of war). There were also specific sub-groups that were identified as victims of non-IPF femicide/feminicide including migrant women, older women, and adolescent girls. There was a marked difference between certain types of study and their treatment (or omission) of the structural contexts of femicide/feminicide.

4. Discussion

4.1. Summary of critical findings

The aim of this scoping review was to identify definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide and the types of evidence that exist in relation to this form of violence against women and girls. Of the 140 included reports, only 18 (12.6 %) provided an explicit definition of non-IPF femicide/feminicide. Of the 18 reports that provided an explicit definition, ten (55.6 %) reported the LAC region, or a country, as its study context. Our analysis suggests that definitions operate on three overlapping conceptual axes. These are discussed below.

4.1.1. Space/location-related definitions

Definitions drew a distinction between femicides/feminicides that occurred in public spheres and those that occurred in private spheres. Key to note in these reports are how public (like private) space femicide/feminicides are pervaded by conditions of sex/gender, race/ethnicity, and other inequalities, and which structure domestic, educational and labour relations (e.g., Pasinato and de Ávila, 2023). As Margarites et al. (2017) argued in relation to femicide/feminicides in Porto Alegre, Brazil, these deaths are the penalization of young, poor, Black women, women in stigmatized occupations, and those at the margins of the city. This interrogation of public space as a site of extreme violence but also of *anonymity* serves to dilute responsibility to perpetrators who are, to some extent, faceless and supposedly random: it is women and girls who are ultimately responsible, and who made themselves vulnerable (Fragoso, 2003; Wright, 2011). Underlying these points are assumptions that if women consent to being in a public space – and, therefore, to risky spaces – then women consent to violence. The definitions identified in this review provided critique of the dichotomy of private/public spaces and worked to debunk assumptions that this divide holds about risk, responsibility, and vulnerability. Distinguishing types of femicide/feminicide in this way highlights the extension of patriarchal power relations across spaces, interacting with other structures of oppression. However, it is also important that these definitions are not interpreted as mechanisms to *uphold* and reify false dichotomies.

4.1.2. Intimacy-related definitions

Some definitions used groupings of 'intimate' and 'non-intimate' relationships, although what constituted each varied. Non-IPF relationships could include those without a "coexistence relationship" (Martinez-Villalba, 2022) or emotional closeness (Zara et al., 2019), or who were not spouses or cohabitants (Vásquez Mejías, 2015). They might also include relationships with no "affective" (Feminicidio.net, Milan/Spain, 2017) or "blood" tie (Asik and Nas Ozen, 2021) but where there is a "trust, hierarchy or friendship relationship" (Caicedo-Roa et al., 2019) or "of authority/care with the victim" (UNODC & UN-GEEW, 2022). Alternatively, relationships could be defined as creating "unequal relations of power, relations of superiority or dependency, and risk or vulnerability related to gender" (Pasinato and de Ávila, 2023). This latter definition is of particular significance, as it refers to how relationships are essential to differences in risk and exposure to violence and its unequal distribution and impact in society.

Clarity is required regarding reporting of types of victim/perpetrator relationships that are included in non-IPF femicide/feminicide. There has been little interrogation of how different concepts of 'intimacy' and 'domesticity' might shape definitions of (non-)intimate femicide/feminicide. Critically considering what constitutes an intimate relationship (for example, as physical, emotional, and/or sexual contact, care, trust, or love) has implications for how we define and measure non-IPF femicide/feminicide (Miles et al., 2025). For example, whether sex workers killed by partners are 'work-related' homicides or not, whether adolescent femicide/feminicides and LGBTQ+ deaths are misclassified as perpetrated by acquaintances, and how to capture relationships that have been occurring primarily online/digitally. Further work is needed to ensure that definitions are clearly reported and reflect changing social realities of intimacy and family relationships. Such macro level factors do not singularly frame non-IPF femicide/feminicide, they also shape intimate femicide/feminicide as power imbalances and the exertion of coercion and control run through a range of relationships (Pasinato and de Ávila, 2023; Tullio et al., 2021). Comparing these multiple forms of violence centralises how the context of different relationships can position victims as "socially and spatially" more or less exposed to the risk of violence (Donovan et al., 2019: p192), whether through legitimising access, knowledge of victims' use of public or private spaces, and familiarity with their everyday routines and lives.

4.1.3. Circumstance-related definitions

Non-IPF femicide/feminicide was identified as occurring across diverse circumstances. Those most commonly identified within existing literature were femicide/feminicides occurring in the context of illegal and/or unregulated economies such as human trafficking, labour exploitation, sex work, or drug-related conflicts, as well as the role of state-organised killings (by police or militias). Such circumstances intersect variously with the space/location of killings and relationships between victim and perpetrator but are embedded within (gendered) social and political structures (e.g., of culture, law, politics, health, employment, and immigration). These structures position women at risk to different forms of violence and sustain the conditions in which femicide/feminicide is committed and rationalised. However, it is important to note here that these types of non-IPF femicide/feminicide are reflective of the high number of studies from the LAC region and the leading role that these countries have had in conceptualising and criminalising femicide/feminicide (Vásquez, 2023). Many of the definitions reflect specific structural conditions of, for example, sexual femicide/feminicides associated with illegal economies on the US/Mexico border. In addition, there were several circumstances which we anticipated *would* emerge in this review, but that we hypothesise *did not* because of the limited evidence exclusively focusing on non-IPF femicide/feminicide outside of the LAC region.

4.2. Limitations

Although the review was wide-ranging in showing the spaces, relationships, and circumstances that non-IPF femicide/feminicide extends to, there are several limitations that should be noted. Firstly, unless the report made explicit reference or discussion of the primary outcome of non-IPF femicide/feminicide *and* reported it separately, we made the decision to exclude during screening. Unfortunately, this meant that reports addressing types of violence that may well have qualified as a form of non-IPF femicide/feminicide, were not included in the review (e.g., incel-related killings). Secondly, due to the variation in definitions of non-IPF, producing a prevalence estimate and associated risk factors, characteristics (e.g., method of killing, Malta et al., 2025) and demographics was beyond the scope of this exploratory review but would be useful in future studies. In addition, as we excluded case report studies, we may have missed definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide in contexts where population-level studies were not available. Thirdly, while we did not impose any language restrictions on the search or exclusion criteria, there was still a skew towards high- and upper-middle income countries.

5. Conclusion

This scoping review addressed definitions of the killing of women and girls outside of an intimate relationship, described here as non-intimate partner and family-related (non-IPF) femicide/feminicide. Although attracting significant media attention, there is comparatively less research or policy on this form of violence against women and girls. In addressing non-IPF femicide/feminicide, we can account for the full continuum of violence against women and girls and avoid seeing these deaths as isolated or exceptional. This review has demonstrated that non-IPF femicide/feminicide can occur at the intersection of different structural contexts and histories of oppression, and across different spaces/locations, relationships, and circumstances. Whether non-IPF femicide/feminicide occurs in 'public' or 'private', we can observe core, persistent patterns of gendered inequalities in power and authority.

There are several implications of this review for research and practice (summarised in Table 4). We recommend that future research seeks to provide clear and explicit definitions of non-IPF as well as to ensure transparency for those previously described as 'grey areas' in classifications. There is also a specific need for intersectional analyses of non-IPF femicide/feminicide. As García-Del Moral (2018) writes, typologies of definitions and classifications of femicide/feminicide are limited in that they typically do not allow for intersections between structures of oppression that characterise these killings, such as racism, homophobia, colonialism, and class. For example, Sarmiento et al. (2014) note that overlapping forms of social exclusion are central to violence against women and therefore an intersectional analysis to femicide/feminicide is required. This is demonstrated by Posey (2024) highlighting the intersection of race and gender in the context of Black femicides. These deaths highlight the intersections between sex, gender, race, and sexuality, and which occur within Collins' (2023) matrix of violence. Acknowledging these intersections also means recognising the conditions of exclusion and marginalization *preceding* femicide/feminicide. Future research would therefore also benefit from further qualitative research to interrogate and foreground the gendered social structures and relations that surround these femicide/feminicides.

These recommendations hinge not only on research practices but on the availability of data and, as with many studies on femicide/feminicide, data gaps and missingness are endemic. However, this issue seems particularly so for non-IPF femicide/feminicide. To ensure that all forms of violence against women and girls are accounted for, data and evidence are required that are sex/gender disaggregated and capture their intersections with other forms of inequality.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Elizabeth A. Cook: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Visualization, Validation, Supervision, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Conceptualization. **Caroline Miles:** Writing – review & editing, Validation, Supervision, Project administration, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Conceptualization. **Merili Pullerits:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Validation, Methodology, Investigation, Data curation.

Statement: Ethical approval not required

This study consists of a scoping review methodology. Therefore, ethical approval was not required as it only analysed publicly available reports and studies and did not involve human participants or sensitive information.

Funding and acknowledgments

This study was funded by a British Academy/Leverhulme 2022-23 Small Research Grant [SRG2223\231309]. EC's time to conduct this study was supported by the UK Prevention Research Partnership [Violence, Health and Society; MR-VO49879/1], an initiative funded by UK Research and Innovation Councils, the Department of Health and Social Care (England) and the UK devolved administrations, and leading health research charities. The funders held no role in the design or conduct of this review.

Declaration of competing interest

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Table 4
Implications for research and practice.

Implications for research and practice
1. Future research should provide clearly reported and explicit definitions of non-IPF femicide/feminicide including how 'non-intimacy' is qualified (e.g., emotional, physical, sexual, or other notions of trust, dependency, or care).
2. Further research is required to unpack previously described 'grey areas' of intimate and non-intimate relationships (e.g., casual sexual partners, adolescent relationships, and dating relationships). This type of research would also provide opportunity to identified potential misclassification of femicide/feminicide.
3. A significant number of quantitative reports were based on studies of sexual homicide which were focused on forensic characteristics of homicides and perpetrators behaviours and traits, rather than the structural circumstances in which these killings were committed. Future analysis should seek to foreground and interrogate the gendered social structures and relations that surround these femicides/feminicides.
4. Further research is required that compares intimate and non-IPF-femicide/feminicide cases including victim, perpetrator, and incident characteristics, risk factors, and motives (see, for example, Manifold, 2024; Petrosky et al., 2017; Zara et al., 2019; Aldrete, 2023; Brodie, 2021).
5. The availability of data on non-IPF femicide/feminicide is arguably lacking in comparison to data on intimate femicide/feminicide. The publication of various statistical classification frameworks is a promising development (e.g., Sarmiento et al., 2014; UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2022) but requires application and testing in different jurisdictions.
6. There is a specific need for intersectional analyses of non-IPF femicide/feminicide to understand how structures and histories of oppression create the conditions in which the killing of women is committed and rationalised (e.g., policing killings of Black women, or sexual femicides of migrant women).

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2025.118917.

Data availability

The data are available via online supplementary material

References

References that were part of the included reports have been denoted with an Asterix.
* Abrahams, N., Mathews, S., Lombard, C., Martin, L., Jewkes, R., 2017. Sexual homicides in South Africa: a national cross-sectional epidemiological study of adult women and children. PLoS One 12 (10), e0186432.
* Aldrete, M., 2023. Femicide in Mexico. Who are the slain women according to news media? A quantitative study of social representations of victims and perpetrators. Violence Against Women. OnlineFirst 1–23.
* Anwary, A., 2012. State sponsored gang rape and murder of women in Bangladesh: the gendered nature of legal institutions. Pak. J. Women's Stud.: Alam-e-Niswan. 19 (1), 11–33.
Arksey, H., O'Malley, L., 2005. Scoping studies: towards a methodological framework. Int. J. Soc. Res. Methodol. 8 (1), 9–32.
* Asik, G., Nas Ozen, E., 2021. It takes a curfew: the effect of Covid-19 on female homicides. Econ. Lett. 200 (101084492), 109761.
* Balli, C., 2009. Murdered Women on the Border: Gender, Territory and Power in Ciudad Juarez. Rice University, Houston, Texas. Doctoral thesis.
* Bellami, V., 2018. Intégrer, définir, réprimer et prévenir le «fémicide/féminicide» en Amérique latine. Autrepart 85 (1), 133–148.
* Biehler-Gomez, L., Maggioni, L., Tambuzzi, S., Kustermann, A., Cattaneo, C., 2022. Twenty years of femicide in Milan: a retrospective medicolegal analysis. Sci. Justice 62 (2), 214–220.
* Brodie, N., 2021. Ideal victims and familiar strangers: non-intimate femicide in South African news media. African Journalism Studies 42 (3), 82–99.
* Caicedo-Roa, M., Cordeiro, R.C., Martins, A.C.A., Faria, P.H.D., 2019. Femicídios na cidade de Campinas, São Paulo, Brasil. Cad. Saude Publica 35 (6), e00110718.
Carcedo, A., Sagot, M., 2000. Feminicidio en Costa Rica 1990-1999. San José: Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres.
* Carrigan, M., Dawson, M., 2020. Problem representations of femicide/feminicide legislation in Latin America. International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy 9 (2), 1–19.
* Cecchi, R., Sassani, M., Agugiaro, G., Caroppo, E., De Lillis, P., Sannella, A., Mazza, M., Ikeda, T., Kondo, T., Masotti, V., 2022. A medico-legal definition of femicide. Leg. Med. 59 (100889186), 102101.
* Chéné, S., Cusson, M., 2007. Sexual murderers and sexual aggressors: intention and situation. In: Proulx, J., Beauregard, E., Cusson, M., Nicole, A. (Eds.), Sexual Murderers: a Comparative Analysis and New Perspectives. John Wiley, Chichester, pp. 71–86.
* Chirambwi, K., 2022. Understanding and addressing femicide in peacetime Zimbabwe. Peace Rev. 34 (2), 187–203.
* Chopin, J., Beauregard, E., 2020. The unusual victim: understanding the specific crime processes and motivations for elderly sexual homicide. J. Forensic Sci. 65 (2), 535–543.
Cockburn, C., 2013. *Towards a different commonsense: from battlefield to household – reducing violence, transforming gender relations* [Lecture] UNA, Norwich. Available at: https://www.cynthiacockburn.org/BlogCommonsenseNorwich.pdf.
Collins, P.H., 2023. Lethal Intersections: Race, Gender and Violence. Polity Press, Cambridge.
Corradi, C., Marcuello-Servós, C., Boira, S., Weil, S., 2016. Theories of femicide and their significance for social research. Curr. Sociol. 64 (7), 975–995.
* Coyne-Beasley, T., Moracco, K.E., Casteel, M.J., 2003. Adolescent femicide: a population-based study. Arch. Pediatr. Adolesc. Med. 157 (4), 355–360.
* Cullen, P., Vaughan, G., Li, Z., Price, J., Yu, D., Sullivan, E., 2019. Counting dead women in Australia: an in-depth case review of femicide. J. Fam. Violence 34, 1–8.
* Dawson, M., 2017. Patterns in femicides of older women in Ontario, Canada, 1974-2012. In: Hemblade, H. (Ed.), Femicide Volume VIII. ACUNS, Vienna.
* Dawson, M., 2019. #Call it femicide: understanding gender-related killings of women and girls in Canada in 2018. Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability.
Donovan, C., Clayton, J., Macdonald, S.J., 2019. New directions in hate reporting research: agency, heterogeneity and relationality. Sociol. Res. Online 24 (2), 185–202.
* Edwards, F., Lee, H., Esposito, M., 2019. Risk of being killed by police use of force in the United States by age, race–ethnicity, and sex. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 116 (34), 16793–16798.
* European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022. Femicide indicators: pilot study of data availability and feasibility assessment. Vilnius: EIGE.
* Fragoso, J.M., 2003. Serial sexual femicide in Ciudad Juarez, 1993-2001. Aztlan: Journal of Chicano Studies 28 (2), 153–178.
Fregoso, R.L., Bejarano, C., 2010. Introduction: a cartography of feminicide in the Américas. In: Fregoso, R.L., Bejarano, C. (Eds.), Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Américas. Duke University Press, Durham, NC, pp. 1–42.
* García-Del Moral, P., 2011. Representation as a technology of violence: on the representation of the murders and disappearances of Aboriginal women in Canada and women in Ciudad Juarez. Can. J. Lat. Am. Caribb. Stud. 36 (72), 33–62.
* García-Del Moral, P., 2018. The murders of Indigenous women in Canada as feminicides: toward a decolonial intersectional reconceptualization of femicide. Signs 43 (4), 929–954.
* García-Del Moral, P., Neumann, P., 2019. The making and unmaking of Feminicidio/femicidio laws in Mexico and Nicaragua. Law Soc. Rev. 53 (2), 452–486.
* Joseph, J., 2022. Invisible police lethal violence against black women in the United States: an intersectional approach. Peace Rev. 34 (2), 177–186.
* Kamp, M., 2011. Femicide as terrorism: the case of Uzbekistan's unveiling murders. In: Heineman, E.D. (Ed.), Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones: from the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 56–70.
* Karbeyaz, K., Akkaya, H., Balci, Y., 2013. An analysis of the murder of women in a 10-year period in Eskişehir province located in Western Anatolia in Turkey. Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine 20 (6), 736–739.
Karlsson, L.C., Antfolk, J., Putkonen, H., Amon, S., da Silva Guerreiro, J., de Vogel, V., Flynn, S., Weizmann-Henelius, G., 2021. Familicide: a systematic literature review. Trauma Violence Abuse 22 (1), 83–98.
* Kellermann, A.L., Mercy, J.A., 1992. Men, women, and murder: gender-specific differences in rates of fatal violence and victimization. J. Trauma Acute Care Surg. 33 (1), 1–5.
* Krienert, J.L., Walsh, J.A., 2010. Eldercide: a gendered examination of elderly homicide in the United States, 2000-2005. Homicide Stud. 14 (1), 52–71.
* Long, J., Wertans, E., Harper, K., Brennan, D., Harvey, H., Allen, R., Elliott, K., 2020. UK Femicides 2009-2018. The Femicide Census.
* Lowman, J., 2000. Violence and the outlaw status of (Street) prostitution in Canada. Violence Against Women 6 (9), 987–1011.
Malta, G., Puntarello, M., Midiri, M., D'Anna, T., Zerbo, S., Argo, A., 2025. Forensic homicidal strangulation in women: case series and systematic literature review. Forensic Sci. Int.: Synergy 10, 100577.
* Manifold, B., 2024. Victim-perpetrator relationship, age and method of homicide in intimate and non-intimate cases of femicide from the Republic of Ireland. Med. Sci. Law 64 (3), 190–198.
* Margarites, A.F., Meneghel, S.N., Ceccon, R.F., 2017. Feminicides in Porto Alegre: how many? Who are they?. Rev. Bras. Epidemiol 20 (2), 225–236.
* Martin, P.M., Carvajal, N., 2016. Feminicide as 'act' and 'process': a geography of gendered violence in Oaxaca. Gend. Place Cult. 23 (7), 989–1002.
* Martinez-Villalba, L., 2022. Criminalization of Femicide in Mexico and Colombia: an Analysis of the Effectiveness of the Legislative Strategy and the Symbolic Approach. Washington College of Law of American University, Washington DC. Doctoral thesis.
* Mason, P., Monckton-Smith, J., 2008. Conflation, collocation and confusion: british press coverage of the sexual murder of women. Journalism 9 (6), 691–710.
* Meneghel, S.N., Margarites, A.F., 2017. Femicide in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul state, Brazil: gender iniquities in dying. Cad. Saude Publica 33 (12), e00168516.
* Meneghel, S.N., Portella, A.P., 2017. Femicides: concepts, types and scenarios. Ciência Saúde Coletiva 22 (9), 3077–3085.
Miles, C., Cook, E., Pullerits, M., 2025. Change, intimacy and relationships: Implications for measuring intimate and non-intimate femicide. In: Fitz-Gibbon, K., Walklate, S. (Eds.), Femicide: Problems, Possibilities, and Prevention. Emerald, pp. 29–42.
* Möhring, 2019. Censorship by murder. In: Hemblade, H., Gabriel, H. (Eds.), *Femicide Volume Xii.*.
* Morgan, D., 2006. Femicide: the Impact of victim/offender Relationship on Crime Characteristics. The City University of New York, New York. Doctoral thesis.
Munn, Z., Peters, M.D.J., Stern, C., Tufanaru, C., McArthur, A., Aromataris, E., 2018. Systematic review or scoping review? Guidance for authors when choosing between a systematic or scoping review approach. BMC Med. Res. Methodol. 18, 143.
* Nasrullah, M., Haqqi, S., Cummings, K., 2009. The epidemiological patterns of honour killing of women in Pakistan. Eur. J. Publ. Health 19 (2), 193–197.
* Neumann, P., 2022. "If it's not femicide, it's still murder": contestations over femicide in Nicaragua. Fem. Criminol. 17 (1), 139–159.
Ouzzani, M., Hammady, H., Fedorowicz, Z., Elmagarmid, A., 2016. Rayyan-a web and mobile app for systematic reviews. Syst. Rev. 5 (210), 1–10.
Paez, A., 2017. Gray literature: an important resource in systematic reviews. J. Evid. Base Med. 10 (3), 233–240.
* Pasinato, W., de Ávila, T.P., 2023. Criminalization of femicide in Latin America: challenges of legal conceptualization. Curr. Sociol. 71 (1), 60–77.
Peters, M.D.J., Godfrey, C., McInerney, P., Munn, Z., Tricco, A.C., Khalil, H., 2020. In: Aromataris, E., Munn, Z. (Eds.), Chapter 11: Scoping Reviews. JBI Manual for Evidence Synthesis.
* Petrosky, E., Blair, J.M., Betz, C.J., Fowler, K.A., Jack, S.P.D., Lyons, B.H., 2017. Racial and ethnic differences in homicides of adult women and the role of intimate partner violence—United States, 2003–2014. MMWR (Morb. Mortal. Wkly. Rep.) 66 (28), 741–746.
Pollock, D., Peters, M.D.J., Khalil, H., McInerney, P., Alexander, L., Tricco, A.C., Evans, C., de Moraes, E.B., Godfrey, C.M., Pieper, D., Saran, A., Stern, C., Munn, Z., 2023. Recommendations for the extraction, analysis, and presentation of results in scoping reviews. JBI Evidence Synthesis 21 (3), 520–532.
Posey, B.M., 2024. Black femicides matter: conceptualizing the killings of black girls and women as structural and cultural violence. Homicide Stud. 28 (3), 313–340.
* Pratt, C., Deosaransingh, K., 1997. Gender differences in homicide in contra costa county, California: 1982-1993. Am. J. Prev. Med. 13 (6), 19–24.
Radford, J., Russell, D., 1992. Femicide. the Politics of Woman Killing. Twayne, New York.
* Rakić, J., 2017. Genitalno sakaćenje žena - od tradicije do femicida. Temida 20 (2), 241.

* Ravelo Blancas, P., 2017. Cuerpos marcados por la violencia sexual. Niñas y mujeres jóvenes migrantes en la frontera norte. Sociologica 32 (91), 317–332.
Russell, D., 2011. *The origin and importance of the term femicide* [Webpage]. Available at: https://www.dianarussell.com/origin_of_femicide.html [Last accessed: 7/11/24].
* Safarik, M.E., Jarvis, J., Nussbaum, K., 2000. Elderly female serial sexual homicide: a limited empirical test of criminal investigative analysis. Homicide Stud. 4 (3), 294–307.
* Sanford, V., 2008. From genocide to feminicide: impunity and human rights in twenty-first century Guatemala. J. Hum. Right. 7 (2), 104–122.
* Sarmiento, C., Lorenta Acoste, M., Roth, F., Zambrano, M., 2014. Latin American Model Protocol for the Investigation of gender-related Killings of Women (femicide/feminicide). OHCHR and UN Women.
* Schmidt Camacho, A.R., 2005. Ciudadana X: gender violence and the denationalization of women's rights in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. The New Centenial Review 5 (1), 255–292.
* Segato, R.L., 2012. Femigenocidio y feminicidio: una propuesta de tipificación. Revista Herramienta 49, 1–8.
Shalhoub-Kervorkian, N., Daher-Nashif, S., 2013. Femicide and colonization: between the politics of exclusion and the culture of control. Violence Against Women 19 (3), 295–315.
Stöckl, H., Devries, K., Rotstein, A., Abrahams, N., Campbell, J., Watts, C., Moreno, C.G., 2013. The global prevalence of intimate partner homicide: a systematic review. Lancet 382 (9895), 859–865.
Tricco, A.C., Lillie, E., Zarin, W., O'Brien, K.K., Colquhoun, H.D., Moher, D., Peters, M.D., Horsley, T., Weeks, L., Hempel, S., Akl, E.A., Chang, C., McGowan, J., Stewart, L., Hartling, L., Aldcroft, A., Wilson, M.G., Garritty, C., et al., 2018. PRISMA extension for scoping reviews (PRISMA-ScR): checklist and explanation. Ann. Intern. Med. 169 (7), 467–473.
Truong, M., Yeganeh, L., Cartwright, A., Ward, E., Ibrahim, J., Cuschieri, D., Dawson, M., Bugeja, L., 2023. Domestic/family homicide: a systematic review of empirical evidence. Trauma Violence Abuse 24 (3), 1908–1928.
Tuesta, D., Mujica, J., 2015. Problemas en la investigación procesal-penal del feminicidio en el Perú. URVIO: Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios de Seguridad 17, 80–95.
Tullio, V., Lanzarone, A., Scalici, E., Vella, M., Argo, A., Zerbo, S., 2021. Violence against women in heterosexual couples: a review of psychological and medico-legal considerations. Med. Sci. Law 61 (1_Suppl. l), 113–124.
* UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2022. Statistical Framework for Measuring the gender-related Killings of Women and Girls.
UNODC & UNEGEEW, 2023. Gender-Related Killings of Women and Girls (femicide/Feminicide): Global Estimates of Female Intimate partner/family-related Homicides in 2022.
Variava, T., Dekel, B., 2024. Understanding and addressing femicide in Africa: a systematic review of empirical research. BMJ Open 14, e078160.
* Vásquez Mejías, A.M., 2015. Feminicidio en Chile, más que un problema de clasificación. URVIO: Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios de Seguridad 17, 36–47.
Vásquez, P.T., 2023. Femicide and legislation. In: Dawson, M., Vega, S.M. (Eds.), The Routledge International Handbook on Femicide and Feminicide. Routledge, pp. 411–421.
Walklate, S., Fitz-Gibbon, K., 2023. Re-imagining the measurement of femicide: from 'thin' counts to 'thick' counts. Curr. Sociol. 71 (1), 28–42.
WHO, 2024. Adolescent health [webpage]. Available at: https://www.who.int/health-topics/adolescent-health#tab=tab_1. (Accessed 4 March 2025).
* Wright, M.W., 2011. Necropolitics, narcopolitics, and femicide: gendered violence on the Mexico-US border. Signs 36 (3), 707–731.
* Younger, B., 1994. Violence against women in the workplace. Empl. Assist. Q. 9 (3–4), 113–133.
* Zara, G., Freilone, F., Veggi, S., Biondi, E., Ceccarelli, D., Gino, S., 2019. The medicolegal, psycho-criminological, and epidemiological reality of intimate partner and non-intimate partner femicide in North-West Italy: looking backwards to see forwards. Int. J. Leg. Med. 133, 1295–1307.
Zara, G., Gino, S., Veggi, S., Freilone, F., 2022a. Sexual femicide, non-sexual femicide and rape: where do the differences lie? A continuum in a pattern of violence against women. Front. Psychol. 13, 957327.
Zara, G., Theobald, D., Veggi, S., Freilone, F., Biondi, E., Mattutino, G., Gino, S., 2022b. Violence against prostitutes and non-prostitutes: an analysis of frequency, variety and severity. J. Interpers Violence 37 (15), NP13398–NP13424.

Further reading

* Abrahams, N., Martin, L.J., Jewkes, R., Mathews, S., Vetten, L., Lombard, C., 2008. The epidemiology and the pathology of suspected rape homicide in South Africa. Forensic Sci. Int. 178 (2), 132–138.
* Adinkrah, M., 2001. Patriarchal family ideology and female homicide victimization in Fiji. J. Comp. Fam. Stud. 32 (2), 283–301.
* Adinkrah, M., 2004. Witchcraft accusations and female homicide victimization in contemporary Ghana. Violence Against Women 10 (4), 325–356.
* Agnew, H.R., 2015. Reframing 'femicide': making room for the balloon effect of drug war violence in studying female homicides in Mexico and Central America. Territory, Politics, Governance 3 (4), 428–445.
* Allen, R., Elliott, K., Harvey, H., O'Callaghan, C., Ingala Smith, K., 2020. Femicide Census 2019. Femicide Census.
* Allen, R., Elliott, K., Harvey, H., O'Callaghan, C., Ingala Smith, K., 2021. Femicide Census 2020. Femicide Census.
* Almond, L., Matin, E., McManus, M., 2021. Predicting the criminal records of male-on-female UK homicide offenders from crime scene behaviors. J. Interpers Violence 36 (21–22), NP11852–NP11876.
* Bard-Wigdor, G., Bonavitta, P., 2017. "No viajes sola": el doble feminicidio de mujeres argentinas en Ecuador. Anagramas-Rumbos y Sentidos de la Comunicación 15 (30), 165–182.
* Beauregard, E., Proulx, J., 2002. Profiles in the offending process of nonserial sexual murderers. Int. J. Offender Ther. Comp. Criminol. 46 (4), 386–399.
* Beauregard, E., Proulx, J., St-Yves, M., 2007. Angry or sadistic: two types of sexual murderers. Sexual Murderers: a Comparative Analysis and New Perspectives, Chicester. John Wiley & Sons, pp. 123–141.
* Bianchi, R., Boracchi, M., Alfredo Clerici, C., Del Gobbo, A., Gentile, G., Marchesi, M., Zoja, R., 2020. Comparison between prostitutes' and general women's homicides: the experience of the bureau of legal medicine of Milan and Hinterland over 26 years. Med. Leg. J. 88 (1), 14–21.
* Bleakley, P., 2023. "Would your level of disgust change?" accounting for variant reactions to fatal violence against women on social media. Criminol. Crim. Justice 23 (5), 845–860.
* Brewer, D.D., Dudek, J.A., Potterat, J.J., Muth, S.Q., Roberts Jr, J.M., Woodhouse, D.E., 2006. Extent, trends, and perpetrators of prostitution-related homicide in the United States. J. Forensic Sci. 51 (5), 1101–1108.
* Caicedo-Roa, M., Maria Bandeira, L., Carlos Cordeiro, R., 2022. Femicídio e Feminicídio: discutindo e ampliando os conceitos. Revista Estudos Feministas, Florianópolis. 30 (3), e83829.
* Carter, A., Hollin, C., Stefanska, E., Higgs, T., Bloomfield, S., 2017. The use of crime scene and demographic information in the identification of non-serial sexual homicide. Int. J. Offender Ther. Comp. Criminol. 16 (14), 1554–1569.
* Chan, H.C., Beauregard, E., 2016. Choice of weapon or weapon of choice? Examining the interactions between victim characteristics in single-victim male sexual homicide offenders. J. Investigative Psychol. Offender Profiling 13 (1), 70–88.
* Chan, H.C., Li, F., 2019. Victim body mutilation in sexual homicides: exploring Chinese sexual homicide cases. Behavioural Sciences & the Law 37 (5), 589–601.
* Chopin, J., Beauregard, E., 2019. Lethal combinations: a conjunctive analysis of crime scene behavior associated with sexual homicide. Behav. Sci. Law 37 (5), 559–578.
* Cripps, K., 2021. Media constructions of Indigenous women in sexual assault cases: reflections from Australia and Canada. Curr. Issues Crim. Justice 33 (3), 300–321.
* Dayan, H., 2022. Crime diversity: sociocultural aspects of femicide in Hong Kong. J. Interpers Violence 37 (15–16), NP14431–NP14456.
* Dayan, H., Kugel, C., Enosh, G., 2022. Exploring Homicide Diversity: Femicide Across Sociocultural Groups. Crime & Delinquency, OnlineFirst.
* De Veauuse Brown, N.F., Watson, A.E., 2022. Differences between sexual and nonsexual homicides of women in the United States: findings from the national violent death reporting System. J. Interpers Violence 37 (23–24). NP21975-NP21999.
* Deol, S.S., 2014. Honour killings in Haryana State, India: a content analysis. Int. J. Crim. Justice Sci. 9 (2), 192–208.
* Deus, A., Gonzalez, D., 2018. Analysis of Femicide/Feminicide Legislation in Latin America and the Caribbean and a Proposal for a Model Law. MESECVI and UN Women, Clayton.
* Dobash, R., Dobash, R., 2015. When Men Murder Women. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
* Doğan, R., 2014. The profiles of victims, perpetrators, and unfounded beliefs in honor killings in Turkey. Homicide Stud. 18 (4), 389–416.
Dudek, J., 2001. When Silenced Voices Speak: an Exploratory Study of Prostitute Homicide. Medical College of Pennsylvania and Hahnemann University, Philadelphia. Unpublished doctoral thesis.
* Eisenhammer, S., 2014. Bare life in Ciudad Juárez: violence in a space of exclusion. Lat. Am. Perspect. 41 (2), 99–109.
* European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021a. Femicide: a Classification System. EIGE, Vilnius.
* European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021b. Gender-based violence - measuring femicide in the EU and internationally: an assessment. Vilnius: EIGE.
* Femicidio.net, Milan/Spain, 2017. In: Hemblade, H. (Ed.), Brief Analysis of Femicide of Women over 60 Years of Age. Femicide Volume VIII. Vienna: ACUNS.
* Fong, W.L., Pan, C.H., Lee, J.C.I., Lee, T.T., Hwa, H.L., 2016. Adult femicide victims in forensic autopsy in Taiwan: a 10-year retrospective study. Forensic Sci. Int. 266, 80–85.
* Freysteinsdóttir, F.J., 2018. Femicide in a small Nordic welfare society: the case of Iceland. Journal of Comparative Social Work 13 (1), 35–56.
* Fuentes, L., 2020. The garbage of society": disposable women and the socio-spatial scripts of femicide in Guatemala. Antipode 52 (6), 1667–1687.
* Gambetta, V., 2022. Dificultades y desafíos para investigar el femicidio en Latinoamérica. Revista Latinoamericana de Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales 12 (2), e115.
* Greenall, P.V., Richardson, C., 2015. Adult male-on-female stranger sexual homicide: a descriptive (baseline) study from Great Britain. Homicide Stud. 19 (3), 237–256.
* Greenall, P.V., Wright, M., 2015. Exploring the criminal histories of stranger sexual killers. J. Forensic Psychiatr. Psychol. 26 (2), 242–259.
* Greenall, P.V., Wright, M., 2020. Stranger sexual homicide: an exploratory behavioural analysis of offender crime scene actions. J. Sex. Aggress. 26 (2), 163–177.
* Gregory, M., 2012. Masculinity and homicide-suicide. International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice 40 (3), 133–151.
* Güneş, G., Yildirim, B., 2019. Cinsiyet temelli bir savaş: kadın cinayetlerinin medyada temsili üzerine bir değerlendirme. Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet 30 (3), 936–964.

* Higgs, T., Carter, A., Stefanska, E., Glorney, E., 2017. Toward identification of the sexual killer: a comparison of sexual killers engaging in post-mortem sexual interference and non-homicide sexual aggressors. Sex. Abuse 29 (5), 479–499.
* Higgs, T., James, J., Proulx, J., 2019. The unusual suspects: Multiple-perpetrator and multiple concurrent victim sexual homicides. Int. J. Offender Ther. Comp. Criminol. 63 (9), 1705–1725.
* Jordan, C.E., Pritchard, A.J., Duckett, D., Wilcox, P., Corey, T., Combest, M., 2010. Relationship and injury trends in the homicide of women across the life span: a research note. Homicide Stud. 14 (2), 181–192.
* Joseph, J., 2017. Victims of femicide in Latin America: legal and criminal justice responses. Temida 20 (1), 3–21.
* Juárez Rodríguez, J., Escobar, N.E.B., Ramírez, N.G., 2020. Estrategias del Estado mexicano para minimizar los feminicidios. Revista Estudos Feministas 28 (1), e57811.
* Karakasi, M.V., Nastoulis, E., Zisopoulos, K., Markopoulou, M., Alexandri, M., Bakirtzis, C., Douzenis, A., Zaggelidou, E., Pavlidis, P., 2021. Investigating the phenomenon of overkill in Greece: a forensic psychiatric autopsy study between 2005 and 2020. Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine 81, 102184.
* Kim, A., Beauregard, E., Chopin, J., 2023. Strangulation in sexual homicide: is it opportunity, victim's vulnerability or sadism?. Journal of Forensic & Legal Medicine 94, 102488.
* King, D., 2008. The personal is patrilineal: namus as sovereignty. Identities 15 (3), 317–342.
* Koç, G., 2022. A study of femicide in Turkey from 2010 to 2017. Sage Open 12 (3), 21582440221119831.
* Koeppel, S., Schlesinger, L., Craun, S., Keel, T., Rubin, D., Kum, J., 2019. Foreign object insertions in sexual homicide. Int. J. Offender Ther. Comp. Criminol. 63 (9), 1726–1737.
Lagarde, M., 2010. Preface: feminist keys for understanding feminicide: theoretical, political, and legal construction. In: Fregoso, R.L., Bejarano, C. (Eds.), Terrorizing Women: Feminicide in the Americas. Duke University Press.
* Lapalus, M., 2015. Feminicidio/femicidio: les enjeux théoriques et politiques d'un discours définitoire de la violence contre les femmes. Enfances, Fam. Générations: Revue Interdisciplinaire Sur la Famille Contemporaine 22, 85–113.
* Laurenzo Copello, P., 2012. Apuntes sobre el feminicidio. Revista de Derecho Penal y Criminologia 3 (8), 119–143.
* Leth, P.M., 2010. Homicides in Southern Denmark during 25 years. Homicide Stud. 14 (4), 419–435.
* Levin, P.F., Hewitt, J.B., Misner, S.T., 1996. Workplace violence: female occupational homicides in metropolitan Chicago. AAOHN J. 44 (7), 326–331.
* Livingston, J., 2004. Murder in Juarez: gender, sexual violence, and the global assembly line, 25 (1), 59–76.
* Luévano, R., 2008. A living call: the theological challenge of the Juárez-Chihuahua femicides. J. Fem. Stud. Relig. 24 (2), 67–76.
* Mayoral Villanueva, D.A., 2023. Revisión del feminicidio: el caso Mexicano. Vox Juris 41 (2), 145–162.
* McNamara, J.J., Morton, R.J., 2004. Frequency of serial sexual homicide victimization in Virginia for a ten-year period. J. Forensic Sci. 49 (3). JFS2003371.
* Moracco, K.E., Runyan, C.W., Butts, J.D., 1998. Femicide in North Carolina, 1991-1993: a statewide study of patterns and precursors. Homicide Stud. 2 (4), 422–446.
* Mouzos, J., 1999. Femicide: an Overview of Major Findings. Trends & Issues in Crime & Criminal Justice, No. 124. Australian Institute of Criminology.
* Neely, C., 2015. You'Re dead—so what?: Media, Police, and the Invisibility of Black Women as Victims of Homicide. Michigan State University Press, East Lansing.
* Nelsen, C., Huff-Corzine, L., 1998. Strangers in the night: an application of the lifestyle-routine activities approach to elderly homicide victimization. Homicide Stud. 2 (2), 130.
* Organisation of the American States (OAS), 2018. Inter-American Model Law on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of the gender-related Killing of Women and Girls (Femicide/Feminicide). OAS, MESCEVI and UN Women, Washington DC.
* Outwater, A.H., 2008. Risk and Protective Factors for Homicide Death in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 2005. Doctoral Thesis. John Hopkins University, Baltimore.
* Pantaleo, K., 2010. Gendered violence: an analysis of the maquiladora murders. Int. Crim. Justice Rev. 20 (4), 349–365.
* Raza, A., 2006. Mask of honor—Causes behind honor killings in Pakistan. Asian J. Wom. Stud. 12 (2), 88–104.
* Rios, A.M.F.M., Crespo, K.C., Martini, M., Telles, L.E.D.B., Magalhaes, P.V.S., 2023. Gender-related and non-gender-related female homicide in Porto Alegre, Brazil, from 2010 to 2016. PLoS One 18 (3), e0281924.
* Safarik, M.E., Jarvis, J., Nussbaum, K., 2002. Sexual homicide of elderly females: linking offender characteristics to victim and crime scene attributes. J. Interpers Violence 17 (5), 500–525.
* Salfati, C.G., James, A.R., Ferguson, L., 2008. Prostitute homicides: a descriptive study. J. Interpers Violence 23 (4), 505–543.
* Savarese, J.L., 2017. Challenging colonial norms and attending to presencing in stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women. Can. J. Women Law 29 (1), 157–181.
* Skott, S., Beauregard, E., Darjee, R., 2019. Female sexual homicide offenders: a descriptive and comparative study. J. Forensic Sci. 64 (1), 154–162.
* Skott, S., Beauregard, E., Darjee, R., 2021. Sexual and nonsexual homicide in Scotland: is there a difference?. J. Interpers Violence 36 (7), 3209–3230.
* Smith, S., Basile, K., Karch, D., 2011. Sexual homicide and sexual violence-associated homicide: findings from the National violent death reporting system. Homicide Stud. 15 (2), 132–153.
* Sorrentino, A., Guida, C., Cinquegrana, V., Baldry, A.C., 2020. Femicide fatal risk factors: a last decade comparison between Italian victims of femicide by age groups. Int. J. Environ. Res. Publ. Health 17 (21), 7953.
* Stefanska, E.B., Carter, A.J., Higgs, T., Bishopp, D., Beech, A.R., 2015. Offense pathways of non-serial sexual killers. J. Crim. Justice 43 (2), 99–107.
* Toledo, P., 2017. Criminalisation of femicide/feminicide in Latin American countries. Rivista di Criminologia, Vittimologia e Sicurezza 11 (2), 43–60.
* Wattis, L., 2019. Violence, emotion and place: the case of five murders involving sex workers. Crime Media Cult. 16 (2), 201–219.
*Women's Aid (2018). Breaking the Pattern of Male Violence: Femicide Watch 2018. Dublin.
* Yardley, E., 2021. The killing of women in "Sex Games Gone Wrong": an analysis of femicides in Great Britain 2000–2018. Violence Against Women 27 (11), 1840–1861.
* Zaghloul, N.M., Megahed, H.M., 2019. A descriptive medico-legal study of female deaths in Cairo governorate, Egypt. Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine 66 (2), 25.