

# Eradicating and preventing femicide in Serbia

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# Gender-related killings of women

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights in resolution 1994/45, adopted on 4 March 1994, decided to appoint a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, including its causes and consequences. The mandate was extended by the Commission on Human Rights in 2003, in resolution 2003/45. Rashida Manjoo, the third Special Rapporteur on violence against women, submitted the thematic report on Gender-related killings of women (2012) to the UN Human Rights Council. 10

Special Rapporteur stated that globally, the prevalence of different manifestations of gender-related killings is reaching alarming proportions. Culturally and socially embedded, these manifestations continue to be accepted, tolerated or justified—with impunity as the norm. States' responsibility to act with due diligence in the promotion and protection of women's rights is largely lacking as regards the killing of women.

Gender-related killings of women	
Active	Passive
Killings as a result of intimate-partner violence	Deaths due to poorly conducted or clandestine abortions
Sorcery/witchcraft- related killings	Maternal mortality
"Honour"-related killings	Deaths from harmful practices
Armed conflict- related killings	Deaths linked to human trafficking, drug dealing, organized crime and gang related activities

<sup>9</sup> More information available at the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights web site: http:// www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/SRWomen/ Pages/SRWomenIndex.aspx

Dowry-related killings	Death of girls or women from simple neglect, through starvation or ill treatment;
Ethnic and indigenous identity-related killings	Deliberate acts or omissions by the State
Extreme forms of violent killings of women	
Gender identity and sexual orientation-related killings	
Other forms of gender-related killings of women and girls	

The active killings of women will be presented below, according to a division provided by the Special Rapporteur. Some of them are also present in our region, while some are specific to other parts of the world, so we present them briefly so that the general public is informed about these forms of killings of women.

## Excerpts from the Special Rapporteur on violence against women report (2012)<sup>11</sup>

# Killings of women as a result of intimate-partner violence

Intimate-partner violence is a problem affecting millions of women all over the world, and the overwhelming burden of partner violence is borne by women. Research on homicide resulting from intimate-partner violence reflects, almost without exception, that females are at greater risk than males, and that the majority of female homicide victims are killed by male intimate partners. In addition, number of femicides is increasing.

<sup>10</sup> Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences Rashida Manjoo: *Gender-related killings of women* (2012) http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Women/A.HRC.20.16\_En.pdf

<sup>11</sup> Data available at the World Health Organization web site: WHO - Understanding and addressing violence against women 2012, https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/77421/WHO\_RHR\_12.38\_eng.pdf;jsessionid=867A03F80635BC1EB8E9B-01F66742029?sequence=1

- Studies have shown that in some countries between 40 and 70% of female murder victims are killed by an intimate partner;
- In Italy, the total number of homicides (male and female murders) is decreasing; however, female homicides increased from 15.3% during 1992-1994 to 23.8% during 2007-2008;
- Studies in Honduras and Costa Rica show that more than 60% of femicides are perpetrated by an intimate partner or male family member. In Peru, 70% of acts of femicide are carried out by a former or current intimate partner;
- In Mexico, 60% of the women who were murdered by their intimate or ex-intimate partners had previously reported domestic violence to public authorities;
- Statistics from the United States Department of Justice estimate that 40% of female homicide victims were killed by an intimate partner in 1993, increasing to 45% in 2007.

## Killings of women due to accusations of sorcery/witchcraft

The killing of women accused of sorcery/ witchcraft has been reported as a significant phenomenon in countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands. The pattern of violations includes violent murders, physical mutilation, displacement, kidnapping and disappearances of girls and women. In many countries where women are accused of sorcery/witchcraft, they are also subjected to exorcism ceremonies involving public beating and abuse by shamans or village elders. Although in the majority of the cases younger women are at higher risk of sorcery/witchcraft violence, a study has found that in some parts of Africa, older women are more vulnerable to sorcery-related femicide due to their economic dependence on others, or the property rights that they hold—and which younger members of the family want to inherit.

- A study in Zimbabwe (1995) found that of the 42 cases of femicide involving women older than 50, most of the women had been accused of witchcraft by male relatives prior to the killing.
- Women accused of witchcraft in Ghana are often violently driven from their communities and forced to take refuge in —witch camps. Many widows are subjected to property-related violence, including violent evictions and loss of inheritance; and subjected to sexual abuse and harassment by relatives.
- In Papua New Guinea, cases of torture and murder of an estimated 500 women accused of practising sorcery/ witchcraft have been reported.
- A study showing sentencing patterns in witchcraft-related cases in Southern Africa reveals that men accused of killings of women were sentenced to shorter periods of time, and often the charges were reduced to minor crimes. Overall, sentences were lenient when the perpetrator was the husband or a male relative of the woman killed. In Zambia, for instance, the average sentence was one to two years for charges of premeditated homicide of women.

# Killings of women and girls in the name of "honour"

"Murder to cleanse family honour is committed with high levels of impunity in many parts of the world. Although "honour" crimes have mainly occurred in the vast zone spreading from the Sahara to the Himalayas, it also occurs in other regions and countries with migrant communities. "Honour" killings remain underreported and underdocumented globally. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has estimated that 5,000 women globally are murdered by family members each year in "honour" killings. "Honour" killings take many forms, including direct murder; stoning; women and

young girls being forced to commit suicide after public denunciations of their behaviour; and women being disfigured by acid burns, leading to death. Women are usually accused for adultery, premarital sex, for failing to prove rape, for independent choice of partner, and for acts deemed incompatible with chastity. "Honour" crimes are also linked to other forms of family violence, and are usually committed by male family members as a means of controlling women's sexual choices and limiting their freedom of movement. Punishment usually has a collective dimension, with the family as a whole believing it to be injured by a woman's actual or perceived behaviour, and is often public in character. The visibility of the issue and the punishment also serves a social objective, namely, influencing the conduct of other women.

### Killings in the context of armed conflict

During armed conflict, women experience all forms of physical, sexual and psychological violence, perpetrated by both State and non-State actors, including unlawful killings. Such violence is often used as a weapon of war, to punish or dehumanize women and girls, and to persecute the community to which they belong. Women and girls suffer from operations randomly or strategically targeting and terrorizing the civilian population, but also from summary and extrajudicial executions, imprisonment, torture, rape and sexual mutilations for fighting in resistance movements, for engaging in the search for and defence of their loved ones or for coming from communities suspected of collaboration. Gender inequality becomes more pronounced in conflict and crisis situations, as competing masculine discourses place contradictory demands on women, and conflict is instrumentalized as a pretext to further entrench patriarchal control. The Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders has stated that women human rights defenders, who challenge oppressive governments and policies, are more at risk of suffering violence and other violations While reclaiming their rights or the rights of their communities, they are perceived as challenging accepted socio-cultural norms, traditions, perceptions and stereotypes about femininity, sexual orientation, and the role and status of women in society. The mission report on Colombia by the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders highlights the killings of several women human rights defenders and the gravity of the violence, persecution and sexual torture in these murders. In Afghanistan, women's rights defenders continue to be regularly threatened and intimidated, and high-profile women, mainly political activists, have been assassinated, and their killers have not been brought to justice.

### Dowry-related killings of women

In some South Asian countries, a widespread practice is that of dowry-related murders. This term covers the deaths of young brides who are murdered, or driven to suicide by continuous harassment and torture perpetrated by the groom's family in an effort to extort dowry payment or an increased dowry of cash or goods. The most common manifestation of this practice is the burning of the bride. These incidents are often presented as, and accepted to be, accidents, such as death as a result of an "exploding stove". Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal have adopted laws banning dowry, but these laws are not being implemented adequately. Statistics show that there were over 8,000 dowry killings in India in 2007-2009. However, these cases are not properly prosecuted, so in 2008 there were less than 2000 convictions.

## Killings of aboriginal and indigenous women

Aboriginal and indigenous women and girls experience extremely high levels of violence. The social, cultural, economic and political marginalization of aboriginal and indigenous women globally, along with a negative legacy of colonialism, historic racist government policies and the consequences of economic policies, has driven an alarming number of these

women into extremely vulnerable situations. For example, the effect of certain economic policies imposed on the Central America region has exacerbated the vulnerability of indigenous women, and has forced them to migrate both internally and regionally. The intersection of different layers of discrimination based on race, ethnic identity, sex, class, education and political views further disenfranchises indigenous and aboriginal women, reproducing a multi-level oppression that culminates in violence. In cases of killings of aboriginal and indigenous women, the main failings by the authorities are the failure of police to protect aboriginal women and girls from violence and to investigate promptly and thoroughly when they are missing or murdered, and the disadvantaged social and economic conditions in which aboriginal women and girls live, which make them vulnerable to such violence.

- In Guatemala, the current experience of massive and violent killings of indigenous women has a legacy stemming back to colonial times, further increasing during the 36-year armed conflict. Indigenous Maya women constituted 88% of victims of sexual and systematic attacks, with such attacks being publicly and intentionally perpetrated, mainly by military and paramilitary personnel. After the 1996 Peace Accord, no efforts were made to seek justice for and provide reparations to the victims and their families.
- In Australia, recent reports indicate that aboriginal women are at far greater risk of being the victims of homicide, rape and other assaults than non-aboriginal women. However, aboriginal women have been reluctant to expose these acts of violence, due to the risk of further denigration of their communities from the dominant white society.
- Today in Canada, a young aboriginal woman is five times more likely than other Canadian women of the same age

to die of violence. According to a 2010 report, of 582 cases of violence against aboriginal women, 20% involved missing women and girls, 67% involved women or girls who died as a result of homicide or negligence, and 4% fell under the category of suspicious death (usually declared natural or accidental by the police). Aboriginal women and girls are more likely to be killed by a stranger than are non-aboriginal women. Approximately 50% of such murders remain unsolved.

## Extreme forms of violent killings of women

The growing sociopolitical phenomena of gangs, organized crime, drug dealers, human and drug trafficking chains, massive migration and the proliferation of small arms have had a devastating impact on women's lives, particularly in Mexico and Central America. The northern triangle of Central America has the highest rates of homicide in a non-conflict context. The rate of killings of men has been stable during the last decade, but there has been an increase in the rates of killings of women.

- In 2004 in Guatemala, murders of women increased 141%, as opposed to 68% for men;
- In El Salvador in 2006 murders of women increased 111%, compared to 40% for men;
- In Honduras in 2007 murders of women increased 166%, compared to 40% for men.
  - As regards Mexico, data collection on femicides has indicated an escalation in the numbers of killings, with one author estimating that approximately 740 femicides occurred between 1993 and 2009 in Ciudad Juárez. The patterns of killings include abduction and disappearances for a few days; torture and sexual assault by groups of men; murder and mutilation, particularly of the sexual organs and breasts; decapitation in some cases; and the naked bodies/body parts being left on public display or dumped in empty waste-

lands of the city. In the worst cases, parts of the bodies are scattered through different areas of the city with messages written on the bodies or on paper found on the bodies. Victims come from a range of social and economic backgrounds, however, many of the murdered women come from the most marginalized sectors of society: they are poor, from rural areas, of ethnic origin, sex workers or maquila workers. Young women between 16 and 24 years old are the most vulnerable group.

# Killings as a result of sexual orientation and gender identity

Gender-based killing due to sexual orientation and gender identity is a phenomenon that has been recently, albeit insufficiently, documented. Although limited statistics are available, civil society reports suggest that violence, motivated by hatred and prejudice based on sexual orientation and gender identity, is a daily reality for many. It is characterized by levels of serious physical violence that in some cases exceed those present in other types of hate crimes. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, intersex and queer persons (LGBTIQ), and also activists working in this sector, are targeted because they do not conform to stereotypes of gender sexuality and/ or identity, thus becoming victims of homophobic crimes. LGBTIQ persons, including women, are especially vulnerable to many kinds of violent crime, from killings in private homes to killings in public spaces known as "social cleansing", extortion by blackmailers who threaten to reveal their identity to the public, and abuse from officials, especially the police, who sometimes arrest them.

# Other forms of gender-related killings of women and girls

Certain cultural norms and beliefs are the causal factors for harmful practices resulting in violence against women. For example, in India the practice of sati, that is, the burning alive of a widow on her husband's pyre. Female infanticide has been practiced through-

out history, on all continents, and by persons from all backgrounds. It is closely linked to the phenomenon of sex-selective abortion, which targets female foetuses. In recent decades, sex-ratio imbalances in favour of boy children have grown in a number of Asian countries, and there is broad agreement concerning the problem of genderbiased sex selection. In the case of India, international attention has been drawn to the vast divergence in the country's natural gender ratio, with estimates that in 2003 100 million women were "missing" from its population. It is estimated that one million selective female foetal abortions occur annually in India. The preadolescent mortality rate of girls under 5 years old was 21% higher than for boys of the same age in India. Violence, as well as nutritional and deliberate medical neglect by girls' parents, was cited as the main causes of death. In China, historically girls were the main victims of infanticide, especially so in times of poverty and famine. A study suggested that the estimated number of missing girls in the twentieth century in China between 1900 and 2000 is 35.59 million, representing 4.65% of its population. An analysis of the most recent data from China shows that son preference is still a strong influence, and is increasingly being acted upon by those living in cities.

# FEMICIDE - intentional killing of women only because they are women<sup>12</sup>

Annually 66,000 women and girls are intentionally killed in the world, according to Dr Anna Alvazzi del Frate's research from 2011. This means 180 women killed daily: 1 million women and girls killed in 15 years!

<sup>12</sup> Women against Violence Network, pamphlet "Femicid – Namerno ubijanje žena samo zato što su žene" (Femicide – Intentional killing of women just because they are women), https://www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/images/pdf/Femicid-pamflet-2018.pdf

## History of activism against femicide in Serbia:

2003 to 2012: Feminist activists from groups Act Women, Women at Work (Žene na delu) and Travelling Feminist Caravan (*Putujući feministički karavan*) gave performances in the streets of a dozen towns in Serbia in order to show the appalling consequences of male violence against women and femicide.

2003 and 2009: Why are they not among us? and SILENT SILHOUETTES: If we the dead rise were socially engaged street performances about women killed by their partners. Travelling Feminist Caravan, Act Women, Women at Work, Autonomous Women's Center (Autonomni ženski centar), Reconstruction Women's Fund (Rekonstrukcija Ženski fond), Rex Cultural Center (Kulturni centar Rex).

2012: We Remember Them! was a socially engaged mass performance dedicated to the women killed in Serbia. It was then that the MEMORIAL PLAQUE to women – victims of partner violence was symbolically placed in the very centre of Belgrade, near the Square of the Republic. Act Women, Women against Violence Network (Mreža Žene protiv nasilja), Autonomous Women's Center, Women in Black (Žene u crnom), Reconstruction Women's Fund.

2015: Not One Woman Less, Not one More Death! (Ni jedna žena manje, ni jedna mrtva više!) Protest and reminder for the authorities that the institutions are the ones responsible for preventing male violence against women. The protest was initiated because seven women were killed within 72 hours (on 16, 17, and 18 May 2015) Women against Violence Network, Autonomous Women's Center, Women in Black.

2016: PROTEST: Not One Woman Less, Not One More Death! Protest against femicide in Serbia and launching the initiative that 18 May should be made Remembrance Day for murdered women – victims of male violence, held in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kraljevo, Kruševac and

Leskovac. Women against Violence Network, Autonomous Women's Center, Women in Black, ... Out of the Circle – Vojvodina (... Iz Kruga – Vojvodina), SOS Women's Center Novi Sad (SOS ženski centar Novi Sad), a women's association Peščanik from Kruševac, Fenomena/SOS Kraljevo Association, Women for Peace (Žene za mir) from Leskovac.

Serbia: At least 235 women killed from 2010 until 2016. Source: newspaper articles



Photo: Ana Vuković, Mašina



Photo: Seecult

### The United Nations Initiative:

In 2015 United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women Dubravka Šimonović presented a proposal for *Femicide Watch* that she communicated to all the member states in order to prevent gender-based killing of women – femicide. *Observatories on femicide* should be established both nationally and regionally in order to collect and analyse data on violence against women, as well as identify key oversights/omissions that lead to women being killed by their husbands or former and present partners.

## Initiative of Serbian feminists 2016-2017:

The Initiative of *Autonomous Women's Center* and *Women against Violence Network* for making 18 May the *Remembrance Day for women victims of violence*: "We are asking for this day since we believe that the state has an obligation to apologise to the victims and their families, to take responsibility for the omissions, failure to protect its female citizens. This date was selected since in 2015, within only 72 hours, on 16, 17 and 18 May, seven women were killed in a domestic-partner context".

"The requests were mapped in talks with the families of the victims: to place a memorial plaque to remember women victims of femicide, to establish a system of professional emotional and psychological support for the families of victims, as well as to develop instructions for behaviour of police officers when communicating with families of the victims."

It was in 2017, at the initiative of feminists from Serbia, that 18 May was made the Remembrance Day for Women Victims of Violence.

International and regional legislation on violence against women<sup>13</sup>

In the last twenty years, violence against women has been viewed as a form of discrimination and violation of women's human rights. Therefore, it is an obligation to enact legal documents that would regulate violence against women both internationally and regionally. Some of the most significant international bodies and documents listed in the UN Handbook for legislation on violence against women regarding protection of women's human rights are:

 CEDAW General recommendation No. 19 on violence against women (1992) and CEDAW General recommendation No. 35 on gender based violence against women, updating General recommendation No.19 (2017), which will be elaborated in detail in forthcoming newsletters;



The Human Rights Committee requests that States provide the Committee with "information on national laws and practice with regard to domestic and other types of violence against women, including rape".<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> UN Handbook for legislation on violence against women, 2010, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/vaw/handbook/Handbook%20for%20legislation%20on%20violence%20against%20women.pdf

<sup>14</sup> Human Rights Committee General comment No. 28 (2000), Article 11.

- The CEDAW Committee urged States Parties to ensure that (a) violence against women is prosecuted and punished, (b) women victims of violence are immediately protected, (c) officials and institutions - especially police, the judiciary, health, social services, educational institutions - be fully aware of the laws and procedures related to violence against women. It also provides for an obligation for States Parties to the Convention to enforce and control the implementation of legal provisions relating to violence against women, in accordance with the provisions of the Optional Protocol to CEDAW.
- Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime - the Palermo Protocol;
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court - the Rome Statute.

### Regional laws

- Guatemala, Law against Femicide and other Forms of Violence against Women (2008) explicitly regulates and defines femicide, as the most serious form of violence against women. The provisions of Article 9 of this Law prohibit femicide for traditional reasons, stating that "there is no custom, tradition, cultural or religious norm that would justify any form of violence against women or exclude the liability of any perpetrator of such acts of violence against women." The law stipulates that there must be a national agency that statistically processes data on violence against

- women, as well as it is necessary to develop indicators that lead to violence against women.
- Article 7 of the Polish Law on Domestic Violence (2005) obliges the minister responsible for social affairs to manage and fund research and analysis of domestic violence cases.
- The Mexican Law on Access of Women to a Life Free of Violence (2007) provides for the mandatory maintenance of a national database on domestic violence and imposed restraining orders and protective orders. This law recognizes femicide as a special, extreme form of violence against women that results in the murder of a woman who may be preceded by torture, sexual mutilation or sexual violence.

# Why do we need laws to protect women from violence?<sup>15</sup>

Femicide is the most extreme form of violence against women - it is the killing of a woman because she is a woman. According to the Small Arms Survey, femicide makes up for about 20% of the total number of murders all over the world, which is about 66,000 killed women per year. Unfortunately, a large number of killings of women still remain unreported or do not receive sufficient attention. For instance, in 2013 the FBI recorded only 25 instances of gender-based killings in the United States, although more than 50% of murder victims in the USA were female, and they were killed by an intimate partner or a family member.

<sup>15</sup> Dabney P Evans: "Why do women need special laws to protect them from violence?", published on 25 November 2015, http://theconversation.com/why-dowomen-need-special-laws-to-protect-them-from-violence-50944

Over the last years the number of laws and acts aiming to protect women against violence has been on the increase. For instance, in Brazil, although there is already homicide legislation that offers some kind of protection to women, a law was passed that refers specifically to femicide, since women are more vulnerable, and most women were killed because they were women (killing of a woman during the act of violence in the family may be characterised as gender-based killing).

In that sense, the best laws are the ones the lay down special sanctions for gender-based violent crimes, and the prescribed sanctions are usually more severe than for crimes of the same type that are not gender-based. In addition, the laws that regulate femicide in particular may give powers to the police during investigation to specifically look into the gender dimension of the crime committed and thus allow for criminal prosecution in line with the laws prohibiting violence against women.

The Nicaraguan law 779 (Ley 779) from 2012 was almost 20 years in drafting. It defines and criminalises different forms of violence against women. The law allows the surviving victims to ask for damages, and also defines the notions of intimate partner violence, rape, femicide, and lays down special sanctions for each of the mentioned crimes. Almost 90% of women living in Nicaragua have suffered some form of physical, sexual or emotional violence during their life. The law was amended in 2013 and the provision was added that in cases of family/domestic violence it is possible to allow mediation between the surviving victim and the perpetrator. It should be noted that after 2012 the number of instances of femicide in Nicaragua was on the rise. In 2011 the Network of Women against Violence reported 76 cases of femicide, while in 2012 the number rose to 85. It remained unclear whether the increase in the number of killings of women resulted from better recording and reporting of femicide cases or whether there was actually an increase in the number of killed women during that year.

# How many women are killed in a day?<sup>16</sup>

According to the estimates made by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), globally 137 women are killed by their partners or family members daily, most often in their own homes.

More than half of the total number of women killed in 2017 (87,000 women) died at the hands of those closest to them. Moreover, almost 30,000 women were killed by their intimate partners, and about 20,000 by their close relatives. According to the data collected by the UNODC, it was highlighted that "men are at a four times higher risk of being victims to deliberately and intentionally committed homicide", as well as that men are victims of murder in 8 out of 10 instances of this particular type of crime. However, the same report stated that women are victims in 8 out of 10 murders committed by intimate partners. The United Nations statistics summed up the results of the 2017 survey where the terms "gender-based killing of women and girls" or "femicide" meant killings by an intimate partner or family member. Women in Africa are at the highest risk of being killed by her intimate partner or family member - the statistics indicated that the rate was 3.1 killings per 100,000, while Asia has the largest number of reported instances of femicide by an intimate partner or fam-

<sup>16</sup> The women killed on one day around the world, 25 November 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-46292919

ily member – during 2017 the number of femicide cases was 20,000.

BBC (BBC 100 women) researched cases of femicide during one day – 1 October

2017. There were 47 cases of femicide reported on that day in 21 countries. We are presenting five stories, as they were reported about.

## Judith Chesang, 22, Kenya



Judith Chesang and her sister Nancy were out in the fields harvesting their sorghum crop. Judith, a mother of three, had recently separated from her husband, Laban Kamuren, and had decided to return to her parents' village in the north of the country. Soon after the sisters began their duties, he arrived at the family farm where he attacked and killed Judith. Local police say he has since been killed by villagers.

## Neha Sharad Chaudury, 18, India



Neha Sharad Chaudury died in a suspected "honour" killing on her 18th birthday. She had been out celebrating with her boyfriend. Police confirmed to the BBC that her parents did not approve of the relationship. Her parents and another male relative are accused of killing her in their home that evening.

## Zeinab Sekaanvan, 24, Iran



Zeinab Sekaanvan was executed by the Iranian authorities for murdering her husband. Zeinab was born in the north-west of Iraninto a poor conservative family of Kurdish origin. She ran away as a teenager to marry in the hope of finding a better life. Her husband was abusive and had refused to grant her a divorce, and that her complaints were ignored by police. She was arrested for the killing of her husband at the age of 17. Her supporters, including Amnesty International, say she was tortured to confess to the killing of her husband, beaten by police and did not receive a fair trial.

## Sandra Lucia Hammer Moura, 39, Brazil



Sandra Lucia Hammer Moura married Augusto Aguiar Ribeiro at the age of 16. The couple had been separated for five months when she was killed by him. Police confirmed to BBC Brazil that she was stabbed in the neck. They found a video of her husband confessing to the crime on his mobile phone. In it, he said that Sandra was already dating another man and he felt betrayed. He also said in the video that he would not be arrested as the couple would go to the "glory of the Lord" together. He then hanged himself in what had been their bedroom.

## Marie-Amélie Vaillat, 36, France



Marie-Amélie was stabbed to death by her husband, Sébastien Vaillat. The couple had separated after four years of marriage. He attacked her with a knife before confessing to the police. A few days later, he killed himself in prison.

Interview with Zorica Mršević PhD, Principal Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade

Is femicide, as a topic, sufficiently visible in our society?

Femicide as killing of a woman is of course visible (in the sense that any corpse is difficult to conceal) in the public discourse of our society, both in the media and in the political sphere. However, thematically it is insufficiently and inadequately problematised, and even the term "femicide" is avoided in the media and is regularly used only by feminist theoreticians and activists in their interviews and other public appearances. Even a very simple definition, that "femicide is a killing of a woman by a man" is avoided, since it might irritate, perhaps even offend the male audience, donors, influencers, decision makers, media editors and owners, and who knows who else. Due to avoiding the term itself it is difficult to go further in analysing this phenomenon and reach the visibility of its causes, e.g. hegemonic masculinity.

What should be taken into account is the social framework, contextually involving traditional fostering of what is defined as hegemonic masculinity in phenomenology of violence. It is a phenomenon of tolerating ways in which men practise manliness and maintain their own hegemony. Hegemonic masculinity includes violence aimed at subduing women, along with the denial of the right of the one suffering violence to leave or terminate this violent relationship, to make autonomous decisions about her body, health, and life in general, to ask for and receive help from the institutions, etc. Violence phenomenology theory points out that gender-based violence is one of the ways of expressing gender affiliation and gender relations in conflict partner situations. ing the characteristics of typical perpetrators of gender-based violence, along with the characteristics of such crimes, criminologist Barbara Perry found that committing such crimes is the way of exercising a specific aspect of masculinity, the so-called hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity is a traditional, patriarchal model of practising male dominance over women, children and other family members. The term "hegemonic" refers to the male attitude that a woman, children and family are "naturally" his property, that they "owe" him unquestioning obedience in private and professional life, and also unquestioning respect for their dominant position.



As a form of upbringing for boys and young men, hegemonic masculinity allows them to grow up with no hindrances to developing and expressing their own violent nature, to live believing that violence is a permitted way of expressing manliness, that their social position of a man and physical superiority enables them to legitimately feel like "lords and masters" of life and death. Had they ever had to undergo sanctions for their violent acts, and had they been progressively punished if they had continued, the things would probably not have escalated to violence, or femicide, since they would be in prison, or before that already convinced that violent behaviour and abuse inevitably lead to unpleasant sanctions, and in both cases they would have certainly been left with no weapons. And both situations would prevent of femicide and save a number of human lives.

However, it is not only murderers of women who are men of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a characteristic and orientation of the social context, institutions and media. That is why the institutions in charge are habitually unwilling, slow and inadequate in handling abusers, femicide cases and perpetrators of killings of women. Institutional and contextual contribution to hegemonic masculinity is seen, for instance, in the fact that even the ones who openly and publicly announced the killing of their wife were not detained, no sanctions were undertaken against them, and very often they even had access to firearms.

[...] He was quick-tempered and jealous. The motives for this killing are not known, but it is suspected that Drašković killed Roksanda in a fit of jealousy, since she had started obtaining papers for the divorce. She was a model wife, and he was drunk every day and threatened her continually. For years she had been asking for help. The police intervened several times. [...] The day before murder he abused Rosa, he used a hammer to break through a door, he broke into her room, the police intervened as well, and on that day he was in an inn, yelling: "Police, what police, I'll deal with this myself!" After he had committed femicide, with no feeling of remorse, the murderer said: "This is what I promised her 30 years ago!" The media said that the relevant services failed.

That the media support hegemonic masculinity is evident in repeating the stereotypes that favour the abuser and "justify" violence: when a woman flees from violence, she is a "woman who had left her family several times"; when the abuser does not wish to be left without his victim, he then actually 'wants to save his marriage", "begs her to get back with", "does not want the children to grow up without their father"; when he exercises his patriarchal right to not allow the woman to leave their violent un-

ion, then it is his "not wanting a divorce", "wish to save the family" "in the interest of the children"; and when he kills his wife as a culmination of violence, the ultimate violent act as the "right" of a hegemonic man to punish a "disobedient" wife in line with the patriarchal law where the man has the right to dispose of the wife's life, then it is "because he had loved her so much". The media have still not arrived at the femicide causes in their search for allegedly mysterious (like above) and hard to comprehend motives of the killer, and do interviews most frequently with exactly those "experts" who are far from any thought about the presence of the gender aspect of male violence against women.

Putting a stop to valuing hegemonic masculinity so highly would be certain to prevent gender-based violence and femicide, as well as doing away with the idea that patriarchate is the only possible form of human relationships worthy of existence and that there is only one "true manliness". This is not only necessary for protecting women, but also for protecting the entire society from spreading such tolerated violent behaviour. Due to pervasive presence of unquestioned hegemonic masculinity it is difficult to analyse any circumstance related to femicide, and in particular its predictability. While femicide is considered one of the most predictable types of murder in phenomenology of violence, and justifiably so, at the same time the police all over the world attempt to present every femicide as a sudden act that could not have been prevented, and aiming to further support that, the media covering femicide cases most often report on an "unexpected tragedy".

Almost all of the killers who committed femicide are of the hegemonic masculinity type, but there are characteristic groups that may be identified: 1) murders preceded by several decades of violence and the killer's criminal careers; 2) murders due to not accepting the wife's decision to leave the union or terminate the relationship; and 3) murder as punishment: for actual or alleged infidelity, due to the victim's irritating the killer and/or her behaviour that the killer felt as an attempt to reduce his male privileges.



In addition to previous history of domestic violence, the risk of femicide in partner and family context is increased by factors such as firearms (cases of femicide committed by cold weapons, mostly knives, but even a stone was used) available to the killer, his exceptionally controlling behaviour, threats that he would kill his partner, her attempt to terminate the relationship either formally or in fact, killer's history of violence, his criminal career. Besides the invisibility of hegemonic masculinity as a true cause of femicide, analyses of its individual instances are also rare, and they thus remain invisible, e.g. non-partner femicide, especially femicide of older women, femicide followed by the killer's suicide, femicide by a killer recidivist, mass and serial femicide i.e. killing of a number of women, femicide resulting from conflicts of criminals, etc.

What is also lacking is a publicly presented analysis of implementation of the Istanbul Convention, whose ratification led to adopting the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence. Promotion of institutions dealing with gender-based violence is the first step that was made, but it is also necessary to conduct an analysis and look into the effect of its implementation.

What do you think why the number of femicide cases in Serbia is so high - who is responsible for that?

Since your question already contains the statements on a high number of femicide cases in Serbia (that I do not dispute), I might answer with a counter-question and ask whether you know the exact number of femicide cases, for instance, in a month, or in a year, in Novi Sad, Niš, Belgrade, anywhere, in any period. And then we will both see the problem of there being no official number. The Women against Violence Network see as femicide only partner or family femicides taking place in Serbia outside of Kosovo and Metohija, which is by five to ten cases fewer annually than all femicides. Namely, in addition to family/partner killings there are killings of old women and of girls, of wrong women who were killed by accident, as well as women killed in Severna Mitrovica in Kosovo, etc. They are all femicides, like killings of women who lost their lives in skirmishes of criminal gangs, and those shot at by men believing they were shooting someone else, as well as those who were killed since murderers wrongly believed that they had some foreign currency savings, and lonely old women and girls, victims to arrogant hegemonic masculinity, who before their death suffered abuse and torture at the hand of boys and young men, known or unknown to them.

The problem is that both them and us, who are researchers but are not directly involved in implementing projects

dealing only with violence in family / partner relations, have as our source of information only press clippings that we receive daily. Counting the number of anything, and thus also of femicide, based on media reports is methodologically highly erratic, since we have no guarantee that media report on all the femicides. Incidentally, the media are not obliged to do so. The relevant ministry, the MoI, should provide publicly available information on femicides, all of them, regardless of which man was the killer and regardless of the relationship between the victim and the murderer. We often receive explanation from the MoI that they cannot solve the problem since it is a software one, but it seems that the problem is actually their unwillingness to provide the data and make it available to the general public. What also causes confusion is that activists from the Women against Violence Network keep on asking them for the data only about the femicides committed by family members and partners, and thus the question who and in which way understands the terms partnership, family and familial relationships in the situation of absence of formal marriage remains open, and thus there is yet another good excuse for the data not to be publicly available still. The entire problem should be solved by monthly updating the MoI website that gives the number of femicides from the beginning of the rear, regardless of what the male killer was to the victim, or, in other words, regardless of whether the relationship between them existed or not.



If we do not know even the initial data, i.e. the scope of a phenomenon - the number of its instances, and on top of that we also keep avoiding to call it by its real name, to use the term femicide, and mention even less still the cause of femicide as hegemonic masculinity, how can we then suppress this phenomenon, what tools are we to use to fight something so "elusively" ephemeral? How can we suppress something that we do not want to know what it is, how many of it there are and what causes it? Only if and when we provide answers to three simple questions: 1) what is "it", or, how is "it" called, 2) how many instances there are of "it", and 3) what causes "it", only then we may start reducing the number of "it", i.e. femicide.

However, to avoid giving a discouragingly general answer, pessimistically, wrongly and deconstructively indicating that somehow "we are all responsible", it is necessary to state first of all that the Istanbul Convention has been implemented in Serbia since 2017, and that establishment of long-term policy for providing services to victims of gender-based violence, creating efficient prevention models and punishing of the abusers have been envisaged. The state should be governed by the principle of due care, due diligence, full commitment when it comes to prevention, protection, prosecution and punishing the acts of violence, the principle that is the standard in European societies.

What do you think should be changed in order to prevent femicide in Serbia more efficiently?

Based on the results of research, theory of violence identifies services available to female victims of violence, such as SOS helpline telephone numbers and safe houses, as means to suppress gender-based violence and femicide. The other set of efficient measures refers to public policies

and legal mechanisms against domestic violence, such as mandatory detention of perpetrators, less access to firearms, consistent and systematic punishment for violence, prevention measures and so on, as factors that directly decrease the number of killings of women. It is clear that the most important strategies for prevention of femicide involve reduction in gender-based violence and identification of cases at highest risk of femicide, with interventions that primarily target the first three months immediately following the time that the female victim of violence left the perpetrator.

Through ratification of the Istanbul Convention and adoption of the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence the state acquired strong tools in combating gender-based violence, and thus also femicide, killing of women that in most cases is just a logical and expected extension, a finale, of several decades of violence, and in almost every case the consequence of hegemonic masculinity that no one wanted to or could stop in time, before the killing of a woman was committed. The institutions with powers to act officially, in terms of prevention and also repression in cases of violence, and also the persons with such powers in those institutions, are the ones responsible for lack of enforcement and/or delayed enforcement of this law and other laws that penalise gender-based violence and for killings. They are responsible for femicides that happened, especially in cases where the victim repeatedly turned to institutions asking for help.

In short, where the society confronts and condemns partner violence women have more chance to survive that violence. Where there is real and not pretended political will to suppress gender-based violence it can be expected that laws and public policies targeting gender-based violence will be enforced consistently. Perhaps it is still too early to say how efficient the introduced novelties have been. Nevertheless, from one day to the

next we are aware that there are more and more prevention measures being implemented that are certain to restrain the abusers and reduce the probability that violence will escalate to femicide.

Taking into account your experience and the papers you published, can you briefly describe the way media cover femicide?

What is good about media reporting on femicide is that the analyses to date, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, have been based almost exclusively on media coverage. If the media were not reporting on femicide cases, the science, activism, Academy, politics, and general public, none of us would know anything about them, not even the number, let alone criminology and phenomenology characteristics. Therefore, media here have the role of "whistleblowers", of an important social player that attracts our attention to socially negative phenomena. This we must never lose sight of when we criticise the approach of some of the media and their style of reporting on violence against women.



Photo: Dijalog.net

The predominant media leitmotifs that characterise this style of reporting on violence against women are accepting and affirmative style in presenting hegemonic masculinity as unchangeable, although not named as such, and a natural, "given" phenomenon; what is also present is constantly searching for the perpetrator's motives as the cause of

a violent event, most often aiming for a situation that directly preceded it, the so called "trigger"; lack of understanding of the social context where male violence originates, is tolerated, develops and escalates to femicide; absence of the conclusion that the cause of femicide should be looked for in the light of many decades of violence that had not been suppressed from any side and that finally culminated in femicide, although the facts of continuity of violence against the woman killed were clearly present.



Photo: Dijalog.net

It is not rare in the media to come across sexist attitudes and adopting and supporting gender stereotypes: suggestions that the victim was somehow to blame, the implicit normality of restricting a woman's activities, or references to behaviour and clothing. The use of dramatic language, such as "helpless", "lured", or "fate worse than death", contributes to stereotype related to women being, for instance, gullible, helpless, and partly to blame for losing their own life.

Violence against women, especially if it results in death, is often put in the context of economic crisis or the Balkan mindset, which partly exonerates the perpetrator and places some of the blame on "objective" or even "inevitable" causes of violence. It is not rare that media look for, find and express quasi-justifications for a murder committed, minimising or ignoring the presence of previous violence against the woman killed or violent behaviour of the killer against everybody in his environment. They avoid naming violence against women gender-based

violence. Instead, the media look for and find buzzwords such as "unstable relationship", "turbulent love", "difficult family relationships", "frequent arguments". Media often mistake jealousy for love, identifying these feelings, and generally take that to be the main "cause" of femicide, since there is nothing else that the media are looking for. In the Serbian media it is very rare or almost never that the term "domestic violence" is used, and they prefer to mention squabbles in the family, quarrels, troubled relationship between the spouses, etc. The victim is blamed, the guilt is relativised, the severity of the crime is lessened, the victim is discredited using the history or quasi-history of her private life (she drank, worked abroad, had children from two marriages, the children were taken care of by her parents, she changed jobs, abandoned her family several times). The terms femicide and killing of a woman are not regularly used in the media. On the other hand, the term "crime of passion" is not appropriate for describing femicide (it may appear under quotation marks or be preceded by "the so-called").

Exaggerations go both ways, aiming to minimising violence but also drastically maximise it through using dramatic vocabulary. The emphasis is too often placed on gory details, and the perpetrator is often defined as a lunatic, maniac, and so on, which suggests that killers are visibly different from other people. When it comes to brutal acts of violence that result in death, it is most often that a perception is created that these are disturbed perpetrators, monsters and beasts, who are significantly different from regular "normal" men, and this violence against women is taken out from the domain of regular, daily relationships between women and men to the space of pathology, i.e. an area where only rare women and men are found. In this way the social presence and approval of hegemonic masculinity as a main cause of femicide and hegemonic men as main killers of women are reduced to invisibility.

Bad media moments include also relativising femicide through overemphasising violence against men, by giving those topics much more attention and space than they actually deserve. This is in addition to regularly ignoring the fact that violence committed by women against me happens mostly in self-defence. It is also bad when media present a femicide case only as an individual, isolated case and as a private problem of a concrete victim and a concrete perpetrator. It is not infrequent to see the comments implying that the victim "provoked" by her behaviour, "teased" or at least "did nothing to protect herself". Moreover, sometimes it is reported that the victim did nothing to provoke the killer and to bring about the murder (as if there could be a justification for a killing, some "guilt" of the victim related to the femicide committed), and they look into whether the murderer actually had reasons to be jealous or not, and words and comments that imply shared responsibility of the killer and the victim are frequently used in media reports.

Media report on successfully identifying the killers and on their arrest, but much more rarely on court sentences. When it does happen, it is most often the most brutal cases of femicide that had attracted a lot of attention of the general public at the time when they were committed. It is very rarely that one can follow up on the court epilogues of all femicides in the media, and that, as seen by criminology theory, would be of significant impact, mostly for prevention. The main characteristic of those reports is that they mostly give facts stated during hearings and sentencing, mostly without comments with value judgements or clearly opting for a particular outcome. A rare example of expressing obvious disagreement with the sentence pronounced was in Jagodina case, where Higher Court sentenced Dragan Antić to five years of imprisonment for the killing of his wife Marina, characterised as gross negligence manslaughter. Moreover, it is evident that there were no comparisons with sentences for similar offences, or comments concerning the sentences, which actually means that independence of courts are respected, since court sentences are not and must not be topics for media evaluation, or indeed any media-launched discussions in the public concerning the decisions of the court.

## Suggested literature on femicide by professor Zorica Mršević, PhD:

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## From the sentences of Higher Courts in Subotica, Požarevac and Zrenjanin



### Case One

On the said day the defendant, whose capacity to understand the impact of his act and to control his actions was significantly diminished due to heightened affective tension and influence of alcohol, intentionally took the life of his former wife that he had divorced at the court of law and who had left him several days before that, due to problems arising in their life together, and returned to her mother's house. The defendant had previously lived with the victim in the house where the killing happened, and on that day he went through an open gate and entrance door and went inside the house and then into the room where the victim slept on the bed, he woke her up, started talking to her and asked her to come back to him and to continue living with him. There was a verbal conflict between them since the victim did not want to continue living with the defendant. The defendant's former mother-in-law got involved in the argument and started telling him to leave the house. The defendant left that room and went into the dining room, where he took a kitchen knife from a drawer, and during that time the victim remained in the room. The defendant started to move towards the room with the knife in his hand but she noticed him and tried to close the door of her room, while her mother, seeing that he was

on his way to her daughter's room with a knife, pulled him back, asking him not to do it, that she would call the police, and in this way she wanted to stop him from committing the crime, but she did not succeed. The defendant pushed back the victim's mother who was trying to take the knife from his hand, and so she grabbed the blade of the knife and thus suffered actual bodily harm, cut in the third and forth fingers of her left hand. After that, using the knife, the defendant started inflicting injuries on the victim, his former wife, who was sitting on the bed, and the injuries were in the back of her head, and there were several injuries of the neck and the chest. After all these injuries were inflicted the victim managed to escape to the dining room in order to avoid further injuries, but the defendant went after her and took other knives because the handle of the first knife broke, and he again used the knife and continued to wound the victim so she suffered injuries of the blood vessels in internal organs due to multiple strikes with the knife blade, so she bled out and died. The defendant had met the victim "through a love website", five years before the killing, but they quarrelled a lot during marriage, which led to the divorce. During the proceedings the defendant stated that they had been seeing each other regardless of the divorce and that they "could not live without each other". However, they both had lovers. The psychiatric report states that the defendant is a hypersensitive personality with frequent interpersonal problems and tendency to reject the persons close to him. He is easily offended and tends to have paranoid interpretations, while reacting in a depressed manner under stress. Moreover, he has increased sensitivity to rejection and frustration. The defendant admitted committing this crime so plea agreement was made and he was sentenced to 11 years of imprisonment.

#### Case Two

The defendant was in the state of diminished capacity, but not substantially, due to heightened emotional tension with the psychological content of the affect of medium intensity anger because of previously impaired relationship, and he took the life of his former common law wife by waiting for the passenger vehicle in front of the household where the victim and witness NN lived together, approaching the vehicle from the right side and, at the moment the victim opened the door of the vehicle in order to come out of it, he stood in front of her and from a duty weapon, pistol CZ-99, fired four projectiles in the direction of the body of the victim who was sitting in the front passenger seat, which resulted in the injury to both lungs, liver, diaphragm and heart, causing the death of the victim who bled out. The defendant and the victim had lived in common law marriage for seven years, but they broke up due to impaired relationship. The motive for the killing was jealousy, since the defendant saw the victim coming out from the apartment with an unknown man. He was sentenced to 11 years of imprisonment.

### Case Three

The defendant took the life of his mother who was in the yard of the house by taking a wooden pole from the storeroom – a stake 190 cm in length, and approached the victim from the back;

the victim was sitting on a small stool and was weeding the grass in the yard, and he hit her several times in the head and the body, causing her grievous bodily harm due to which the defendant died on the spot, after which the defendant returned the said pole to the shed, and then went to his sister's and told her that the victim fell from the stool and died. The defended confessed to the crime. At the critical time his sanity was diminished due to his being under the influence of alcohol. He took to drinking alcohol often because of the stress during the armed conflict, and it was in the state of drunkenness that he had also committed the criminal offence of domestic violence against his former wife, for which he was sentenced in 2009. From then until this critical event he showed no signs of aggressiveness. The defendant pointed out that he had had no conflicts with his mother, either before or on that day. In the morning she made him coffee, they parted normally when he went into the next street to see an acquaintance and when he came back he committed the killing. He cannot explain why he did that, "he just snapped". He and his mother lived alone in that household, and the defendant lived off his mother's pension. He was sentenced to eight years of imprisonment and the security measure of compulsory treatment for alcoholism.



# Media reporting on femicide<sup>9</sup>

Two cases of femicide that took place since early 2019 were reported in the crime news of the dailies Kurir, Blic, Telegraf, Novosti and Politika. We also included the reporting on the killing of a Serbian citizen that happened in Austria, bearing in mind the interest of the media for this case, and also the fact that it was our citizen.

### Murder and suicide in Subotica

Jasna Matić (41) was killed on 8 February 2019 by her ex-partner Josip Kujundžić (59), who shot himself and took his own life on the next day. She was found dead at about 6.15 on Friday morning in front of the house in Subotica where she rented a room, and the first reports stated that her head had been smashed by a blunt instrument, probably a hammer or a blunt part of an axe, after which

she was left in the street to bleed out. There are still two versions of the story who found the unfortunate woman dead in the street: according to one, her lifeless body was found in the morning by the neighbours who came across the corpse in the street, while there is also unofficially a version that the police were called in by Jasna's present partner, who immediately directed the police towards her ex-partner Jospi. Jasna had a daughter who is of age, and who was not living with the murdered woman since she studies outside of Subotica.

The neighbours said that late in the evening on Friday they heard a sound that was similar to a shot from a firearm, but they did not react since they thought it was children throwing firecrackers. Neighbour N.S., who lives across the street from the house where the murdered woman lived, said for the *Kurir* that he had called a taxi at 4 a.m. since it is how he goes to work when he works the night shift, but that he did not see the body, he did not see the body in the place where it was found in the morning.

Kujundžić took his own life by shooting himself from a rifle in the village of Veruši near Subotica, on the farm where he lived, and before killing himself he left a suicide note, wishing, supposedly, to shed light on the reasons for breaking up his common law relationship with the murdered woman, and used the words: It had to be like this. On the day before he killed Jasna, he allegedly called the murdered woman on the phone, asking to see her after work. It is supposed that the cause of the murder was jealousy since the murdered woman was in a long relationship with another man, a younger one. Kujundžić was divorced, and had two children who are both of age.

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## He killed his ex girlfriend and then himself

A heinous crime happened late at night on 12 February 2019 in the street of the Vienna district of Meidling, when Željko B. (53), a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina, shot his former girlfriend Violeta J. (48), citizen of the Republic of Serbia, and then took his own life by a shot in the head.

According to the media reports, Żeljko came to the café where Violeta worked and ordered a drink from her. According to the witnesses he had a drink and acted peacefully, not making any trouble. When she finished her shift, Željko followed her and in the street he shot her in the head two times. After shooting Violeta, Željko shot himself in the head.

Violeta fell in a coma and she was taken to a hospital where she was operated



on and died there three days later, while Željko died on the spot. The motive for the crime is supposed to be jealousy, and the crime was preceded by an argument in the restaurant where the murdered woman worked. Željko had no licence to carry and use firearms. Media also reported that Željko had left his wife and four children for Violeta, and that after that Violeta left him for another man, which he could not bear. From the fall of 2018 Željko publicly threatened that

he would kill Violeta first and then himself, buy no one among those who were present then believed that he was serious about it. His acquaintances also said that Željko had physically abused Violeta during their relationship. When covering this crime Austrian media mentioned that this was the eighth killing of a woman in Austria since the beginning of 2019 and that all the murders were characterised as the so-called "passion crimes".

## OVO JE SRPKINJA KOJOJ JE BIVŠI DEČKO PUCAO U GLAVU Željko pratio Violetu kad je završila s poslom, pa potegao pištolj nasred ulice! Nesrećna žena i dalje kritično!

AUTOR: Blic/N.M. DATUM I VREME: 14.02.2019. 23:20



Violeta J. (48), Srpkinja koju je u Beču upucao bivši dečko Željko B. (52), i dalje je u veštačkoj komi, nalazi se u kritičnom stanju i lekari se bore za njen život. Ona je u bolnicu primljena sa dve ulazne rane od metka.





Srpkinja koja je u Beču radila kao konobarica, upucana je nakon što je završila smenu u kafiću "Rebeka". Kao gost lokala, te večeri se pojavio Željko B., rodom iz Bosne, inače njen bivši partner, koji je u lokalu popio piće.











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