

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

20 years of the Women's Aid Femicide
Monitoring Project

1996 - 2016



WOMEN'S AID

Listening. Believing. Supporting.

Domestic violence kills women. It kills children too.

And the methods of killing are very similar to the types of abuse disclosed to Women's Aid. Domestic violence includes emotional, physical, financial and sexual abuse. Each year Women's Aid publishes data on the types of abuse and the level of disclosure and while each type cause pain and distress, physical abuse can be lethal. In 2015 we heard of over 22,000 disclosures of abuse of women and children. There were 970 threats to kill women, children and family members disclosed to Women's Aid. There were 579 additional disclosures of assaults with weapons, threats with weapons and being strangled and smothered. Our Femicide Watch shows women are more likely to be stabbed or strangled and mirrors the disclosures of attempted strangulation and assault with knives disclosed by callers to our Helpline.



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INTRODUCTION

1996 was a bloody year for women in Ireland. In May 1996 Colm Kenna, Irish Times journalist, reported that at that point 8 women had been killed which was more than the total for the previous year.¹ By the end 19 women had been killed, the majority of victims in their own homes and by someone known to them. The killing of women represented 45% of all murder cases that year.²

Women's Aid had, at that stage, been working to protect women and children for just over two decades and we were deeply aware of the level of danger and risk to women's safety. Our prevalence study, the first of its kind in Ireland, had been published the year previously and told us that one in five women were affected by domestic abuse.³ We knew that there was an urgent need to build understanding of how dangerous domestic violence could be.

Since then, Women's Aid has recorded and highlighted homicide cases and violent deaths where the victims are female in the Republic of Ireland. Charting the cases of homicide is difficult and sensitive work but our commitment has never wavered. The ultimate aim of this work is to prevent further loss of life by increasing protection for women in society.

WHAT IS FEMICIDE?⁴

Femicide is broadly accepted to be the killing of women and girls by men.⁵ The Council of Europe uses the term Femicide to describe killings of women and girls because of their gender and as a result of inequality and discrimination – a root cause of all violence against women.⁶ A 2011 Global Study on Homicide reported that women murdered by their ex or current male partners made up the vast majority of domestic homicide victims worldwide which explains why in many countries women are more likely to be murdered in their home than elsewhere.⁷ Our report for Ireland mirrors these findings. The report goes on to state that men, on the other hand, make up the vast majority of both victims and perpetrators of all types of crime including homicide, and are more like to be killed in the street. A study by World Health Organisation and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine show that more than 38% of all murders of women globally are reported to be committed by an intimate partner. In comparison, the same study estimates that about 6% of all murders of men are committed by an intimate partner.⁸

1 <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/violent-deaths-of-eight-women-more-than-total-for-1995-1.47262>

2 <http://www.garda.ie/Documents/User/Annual%20Report%201996.pdf>, p.42.

3 Making the Links, 1995.

4 Femicide is generally defined as the murder of women because they are women, though some definitions include any murders of women or girls. Some definitions also include cases where women are the perpetrators but most refine it to cases where the perpetrator is male. The Women's Aid Femicide Watch 1996 – 2016 includes all females killed in Ireland, aged 13 plus killed by a male perpetrator and cases yet to be resolved.

5 http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77421/1/WHO_RHR_12.38_eng.pdf

6 Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence 2011, Preamble and Article 3.

7 <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/statistics/crime/global-study-on-homicide-2011.html>

8 https://www.lshtm.ac.uk/newsevents/news/2013/gender_violence_report.html

THE WOMEN'S AID FEMICIDE WATCH 1996 – 2016: WHAT WE KNOW

For 20 years our Femicide Monitoring Project has tracked homicides of women in newspaper records and periodically checked our figures with the Gardaí to ensure that cases that did not make the newspapers were not missed. We now hold robust information on the location and method of killing of women, the victims' ages and the relationship with the perpetrator, where known. We have also recorded each woman's name so she is not forgotten.

Since the beginning of 1996, 209 women have died violently in the Republic of Ireland. 131 women were (63%) killed in their own homes. Where the cases have been resolved, 89 women (54%) were murdered by a current or former male intimate partner. 54 women (33%) were killed by a male relative or acquaintance and 21 women were murdered by a stranger. 16 children were killed alongside their mothers.

An element of sexual violence/rape was reported in 22 cases. In 13 cases, it was reported that the victim was talking about or in the process of leaving the relationship. In 7 cases there were references to women being involved in prostitution. 2 cases reported women being pregnant at the time of their death.

There have been 22 murder-suicides in Ireland where a man has killed a woman and then taken his own life. In 21 of these cases, women were killed by a partner or ex-partner. In the other case the perpetrator was the woman's son. In 4 of the cases the man killed the woman and her children (resulting in the deaths of 9 children in total) and himself.

Female victims of homicide listed in our report are aged between 13 and 86 years of age and have come from all sections of Irish society and most counties in the Republic of Ireland.

LINKS BETWEEN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND FEMICIDE

Domestic violence kills women. It kills children too. Research on domestic violence homicide or Femicide is limited. Studies in England and Wales⁹ found that the internationally recognised context of escalating physical assault and recorded help-seeking by victims were present in at least two-thirds of domestic violence homicides. Physical assault was absent in the remaining third; what distinguished these cases was a history of extensive jealous surveillance and controlling behaviour, what Evan Stark terms 'coercive control'¹⁰. Many of the risk factors in domestic violence homicide cases overlap with behaviours and tactics used by perpetrators of domestic violence including:

- Physical abuse
- Threats to kill
- Sexual assault
- Current partner believes perpetrator capable of killing her
- Violence during pregnancy
- Use of/threats of use of weapons
- Barring order/breach of for current partner
- Jealous/jealous surveillance/sexual jealousy
- Controlling behaviour
- Stalking and harassment
- Actual or potential separation/ending of the relationship.

9 Dobash et al, 2007; Regan et al, 2007

10 http://www.stopvaw.org/uploads/evan_stark_article_final_100812.pdf

The methods of killing are very similar to the types of abuse disclosed to Women's Aid. Domestic violence includes emotional, physical, financial and sexual abuse. Each year Women's Aid publishes data on the types of abuse and the level of disclosure. While each type of abuse causes pain and distress, physical abuse can be lethal. In 2015 we heard over 22,000 disclosures of abuse of women and children. There were 970 threats to kill women, children and family members disclosed to Women's Aid.¹¹ There were 579 additional disclosures of assaults with weapons, threats with weapons and being strangled and smothered. Our Femicide Watch shows women are more likely to be stabbed or strangled, see chart 2 on page 6 and mirrors the disclosures of attempted strangulation and assault with knives disclosed by callers to our Helpline.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Women's Aid believes that increased recognition and management of risk factors for intimate partner homicide would lead to an improved response to domestic abuse by the State and its agencies. Women's Aid welcomes the commitment by An Garda Síochána in the Second National Strategy on Domestic, Sexual and Gender Based Violence to piloting assessment, a focus on the perpetrator of domestic violence and the identification and recording of all crimes with a domestic violence motive. We recommend that these initiatives are fully resourced.¹² Women's Aid recommends that Ireland commences the practice of reviewing of all domestic violence homicides. In other jurisdictions, Domestic Homicide Reviews (DHRs) are systematic multi-agency reviews which are understood to be a route to improving both risk assessment and management alongside identifying gaps in policy and practice. Typically, DHRs involve sharing information between statutory agencies, NGOs and family and other informal networks.

The piloting of risk assessment and management by An Garda Síochána is a most welcome development but we need to go a step further. Domestic Homicide Reviews would facilitate a refining of risk factors, raise awareness among stake holders and offer direction for improvement in protection for women and children.

Lethal violence is at the most severe end of the spectrum of violence against women and the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Dubravka Šimonović, has prioritised Femicide during her time in office. Last year, on the UN Day Opposing Violence against Women, she called for all States to focus on gender-related killing of women by establishing a Femicide Watch.¹³ Ireland, with the foresight of Women's Aid, has 20 years of information. The Rapporteur has recently called for States to send her data and has indicated that she is aware that in many countries NGOs have carried out this work in the absence of State data. Women's Aid will submit a copy of this Femicide Watch for Ireland to Ms Šimonović as part of this year's 16 Days of Action campaign.

A TURNING TIDE?

During the first year of the Women's Aid Femicide Watch 19 women were killed, the following year 15 women were killed. For the next 10 years the number of women killed averaged 10 women per year. In 2015 the number fell to 5. These figures illustrated in a bar chart on page 10 show a dramatic decrease in the number of femicides in Ireland. This trend is very welcome but we have no information on why this is the case. Data has been sadly lacking in Ireland and it is needed to inform good practice. While the reduction in killings is very encouraging, we must not be complacent.

Everyday on the Women's Aid 24hr National Freephone Helpline we hear from women who live on a knife edge of fear and it would be wrong to underestimate the scale and impact of violence against women.

11 www.womensaid.ie/download/pdf/womens_aid_impact_report_2015.pdf

12 www.cosc.ie/en/COSC/Second%20National%20Strategy.pdf/Files/Second%20National%20Strategy.pdf

13 <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16796&LangID=E>

So far, this year, two women have been killed by their partners, Clodagh Hawe along with her three sons, Liam, Niall and Ryan; and Kitty Fitzgerald. Both were murder-suicide cases. The taking of a life is the most serious form of violence and the ultimate act of power and control. A big part of the shock was the status of Alan Hawe as an outwardly respected and trusted pillar of the community and mental health was seen as the most likely motivation for this brutal crime rather than being the ultimate act of domestic violence. Our Helpline experienced a dramatic increase in calls in the immediate aftermath of the murder of Clodagh Hawe and her boys. Our staff and volunteers on the 24hr helpline were supporting who women afraid of their partners who had threatened to kill them, the kids or themselves. And their fears are founded on reality. This report shows that over half of women were killed by a current or former intimate partner. Women know the real danger they face. On 30th August Women's Aid posted on Facebook the stark statistics of women murdered by a current or former partner. This changed the way the Cavan murders were being spoken about and resonated deeply with many women distressed by the crimes themselves and the sympathetic media narrative towards Alan Hawe. There were over 3000 reactions, shares and comments to this one post including family members and friends remembering women they loved murdered; their pain still as raw as when it happened.

REMEMBERING AND REFLECTING

We officially publish this Report after 20 years to pause, and to remember and reflect, on the lives lost to male violence. Each woman murdered is an outrage. An absolute tragic loss of life and potential resulting in utter heartache for her loved ones left behind. There is no greater violation of a woman's human rights than the right to life itself. Women's Aid stands in solidarity with families, friends and communities of women murdered and with women currently living with abuse. We remember those women murdered but where no perpetrator has been charged and the other cases yet to come to trial. Our thoughts are with their families who are waiting for justice.

And we will continue this work to bring to light what goes on behind closed doors in Ireland.

Margaret Martin, Director of Women's Aid.

25th November 2016

SECTION 1: KEY INFORMATION FROM THE FEMICIDE WATCH PROJECT 1996 TO 2016¹⁴

- Since 1996, **209 women have died violently** in the Republic of Ireland.
- **131 women have been killed in their own homes (63%)**. 78 women (37%) have been killed at another location (e.g., waste ground, perpetrator’s home, car, workplace).

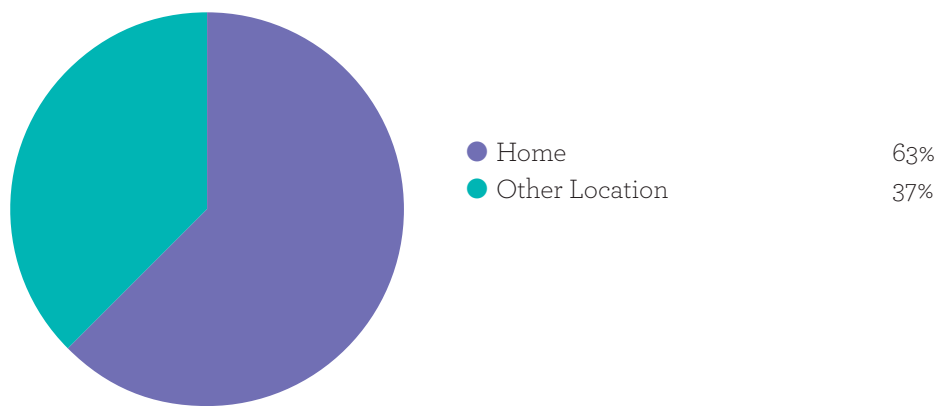


Chart 1: Location of killing

METHOD OF KILLING

- **65** women were stabbed, **54** women were strangled, **44** women were beaten, **27** women were shot and **19** women were killed by other means. We have noted the primary cause of death but many women suffered multiple forms of violence during the fatal attack.
- In **116 (55%)** of the cases weapons were used.

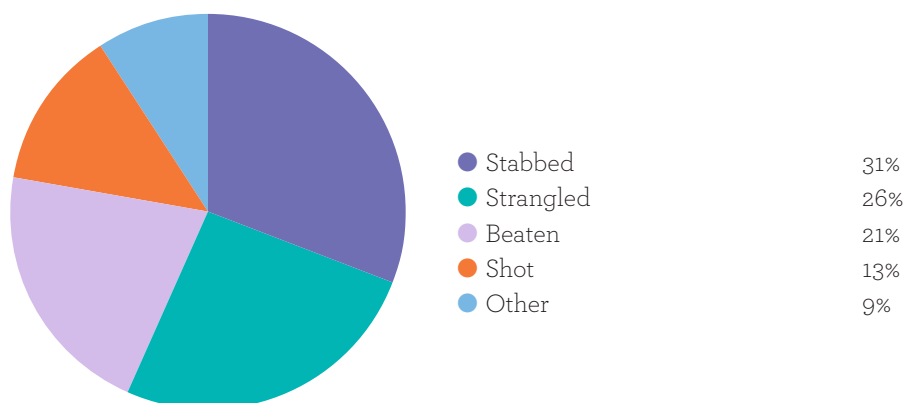


Chart 2: Method of killing

¹⁴ Note on data collection: This information has been compiled using newspaper and online news records. These records include the Irish Times, the Irish Independent, Irish Examiner and other news sources such as the RTE news and Journal.ie websites and Sunday broadsheets. Women’s Aid has taken every measure to ensure that the information is accurate according to media reports available to us. Where the information is reprinted or republished the printer/publisher is solely responsible for the information and for any inaccuracies contained within.

WOMEN BY AGE

Of the 209 women, ages are known in 206 cases. The breakdown is as follows:

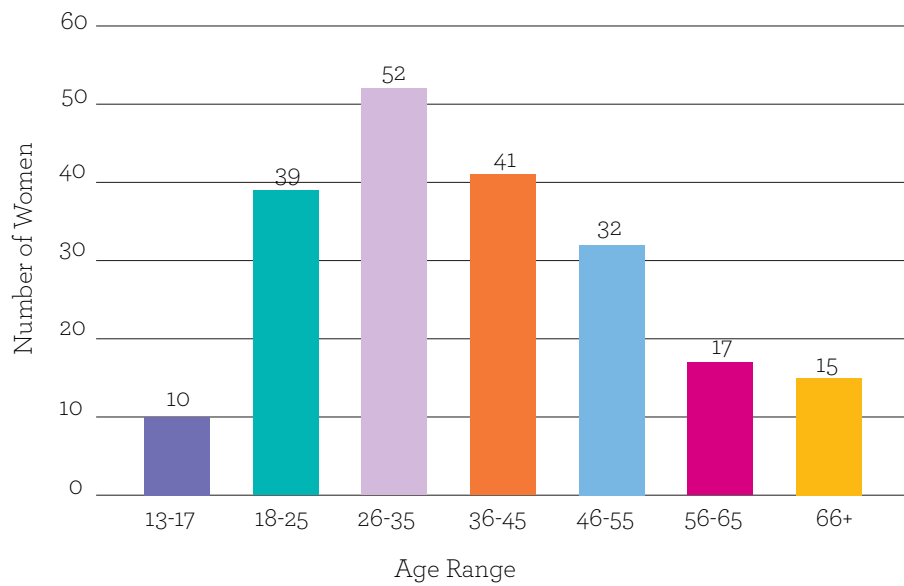


Chart 3: Women by age

Age range	%
13 - 17	5%
18 - 25	19%
26 - 35	25%
36 - 45	20%
46 - 55	16%
56 - 65	8%
66+	7%

PERPETRATORS

In the 164 resolved cases, **89 killers (54%) were a current or former intimate partner of the victim.** A further **54 cases (33%) were killed by a male relative** (son, brother, grandson) or by a male acquaintance (neighbour, roommate, friend, workmate, etc.) **21 women were murdered by a male stranger (13%).**

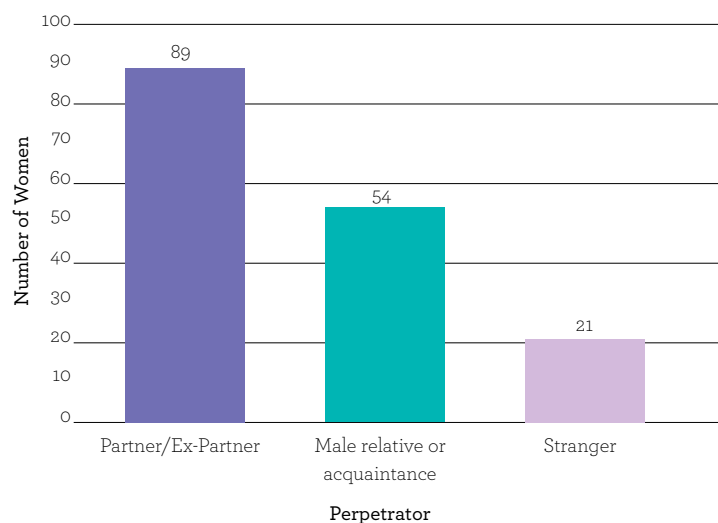


Chart 4: Perpetrators relationship to woman.

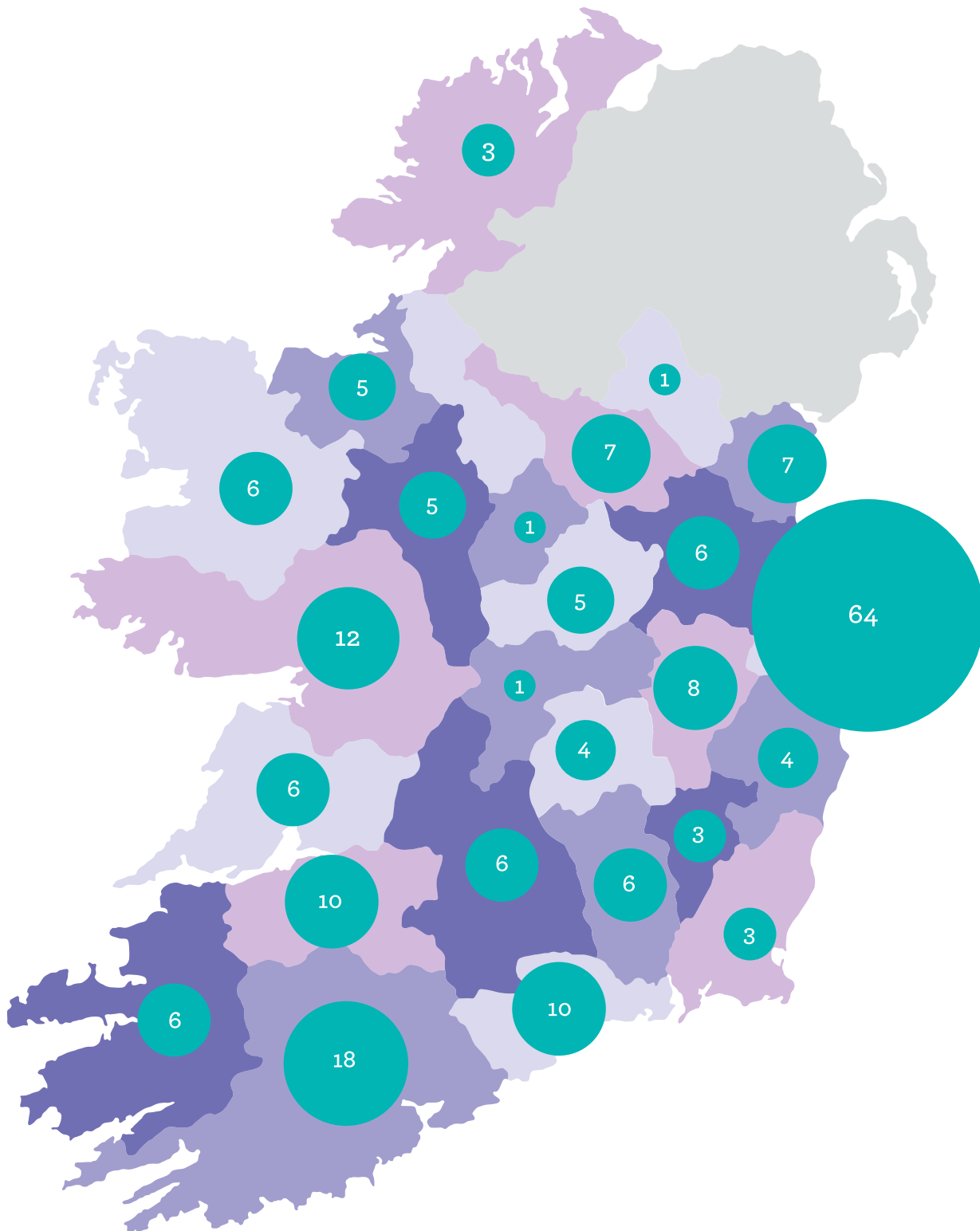
In total, **87% of victims (143 women) were killed by someone known to them.**

COUNTY AND PERPETRATORS

County where women was killed	Number of women killed	Partner or ex-partner	Male relative or male acquaintance	Male Stranger	Remains unsolved
Carlow	3	3	0	0	0
Cavan	7	2	2	0	3
Clare	6	4	2	0	0
Cork	18	8	5	3	2
Donegal	3	1	1	1	0
Dublin	64	29	8	7	20
Galway	12	3	4	4	1
Kerry	6	2	3	0	1
Kildare	8	3	2	1	2
Kilkenny	6	3	3	0	0
Laois	4	3	1	0	0
Limerick	10	4	5	1	0
Longford	1	0	0	1	0
Louth	7	5	0	0	2
Mayo	6	2	3	0	1
Meath	6	2	1	1	2
Monaghan	1	0	0	1	0
Offaly	1	1	0	0	0
Roscommon	5	3	2	0	0
Sligo	5	2	2	0	1
Tipperary	6	3	2	1	0
Waterford	10	2	2	0	6
Westmeath	5	1	2	0	2
Wexford	3	2	1	0	0
Wicklow	4	1	2	0	1
Not known	2	Na	Na	Na	Na

The category 'partner/ex-partner' includes current and former boyfriends, partners, husbands and intimate acquaintances.

COUNTY AND PERPETRATORS



WOMEN KILLED IN IRELAND BY YEAR

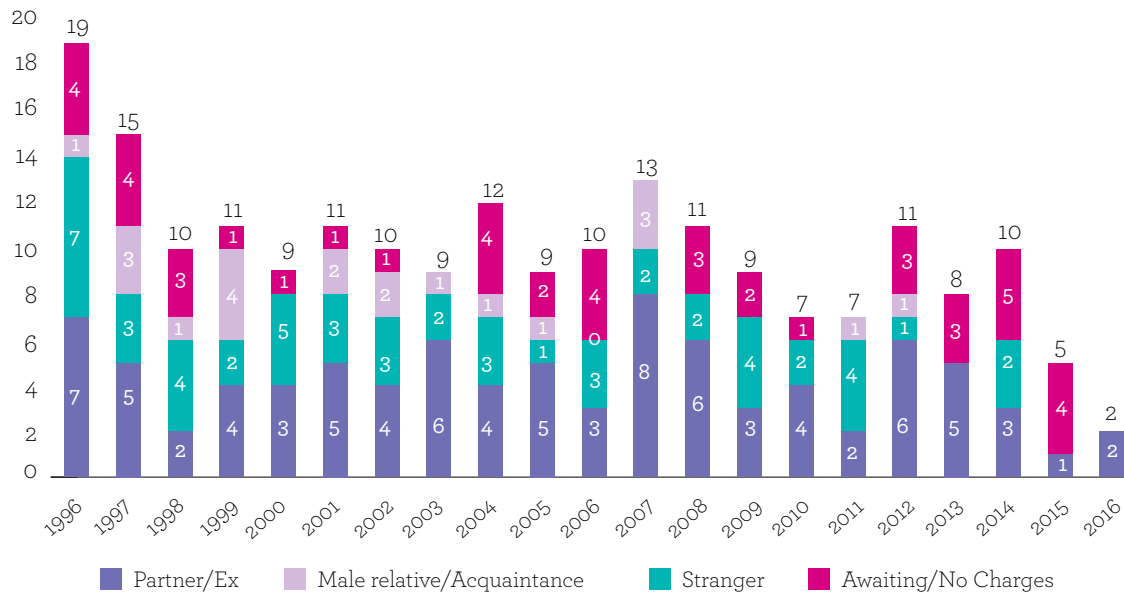


Chart 5: Women murdered by year, broken down by status.¹⁵

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

An element of sexual violence/rape was reported in **22 cases**.

OTHER PEOPLE HURT OR KILLED

There are 21 cases where in addition to the woman, others have been either killed or injured including children, friends, sisters, brothers, mothers and husbands.

CHILDREN

There have been **8 cases where children were killed alongside their mothers**. In total, **16 children have been killed** by the perpetrator who also killed their mother. This includes 9 boys and 7 girls. The children killed were **aged between 5 months and 13 years old**.

CASE STATUS

164 cases have been resolved (79%) either through a court process or because it was a murder-suicide. **12 cases are awaiting trial (5%)** and there are **33 cases (16%) where no one has been held accountable** for the killing.

¹⁵ 2016 figure is based on data available as at 6th November 2016.

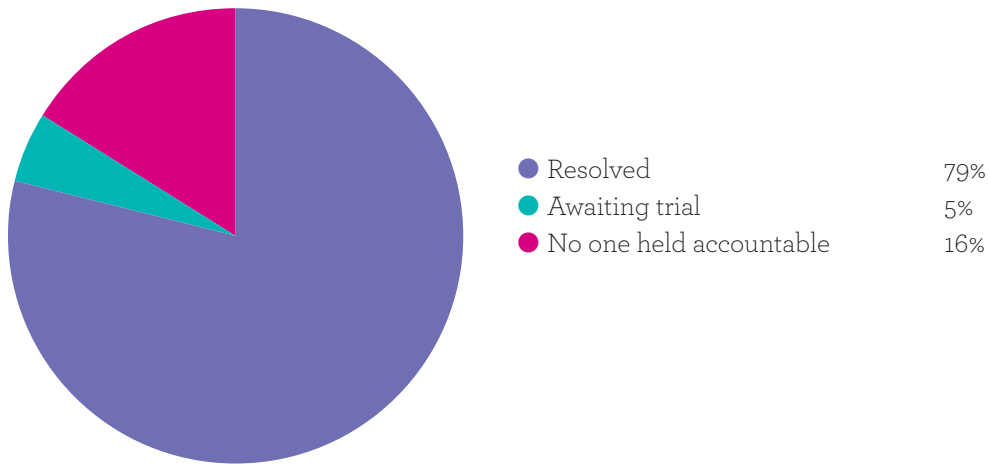


Chart 6: Status of case.

MURDER SUICIDE CASES

There have been **22 murder suicide cases since 1996** where the perpetrator has murdered a woman and then taken his own life. **In 21 cases, the perpetrator was a partner or ex-partner.** In the other case, the perpetrator was the woman's son. **4 cases have included the murder of the woman and her children.**

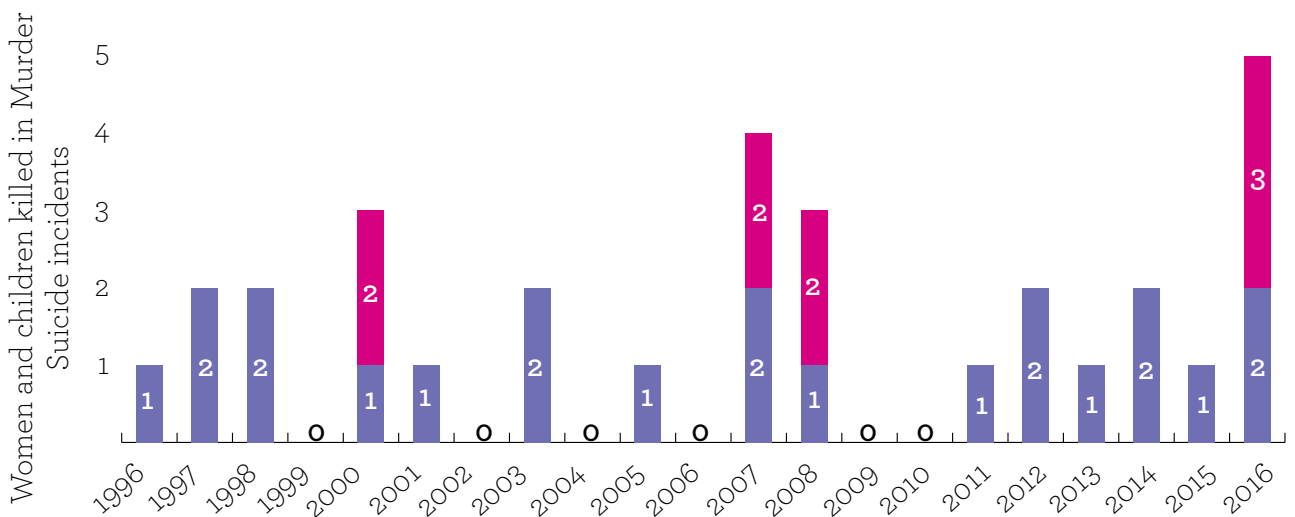


Chart 7: Women and children killed in Murder

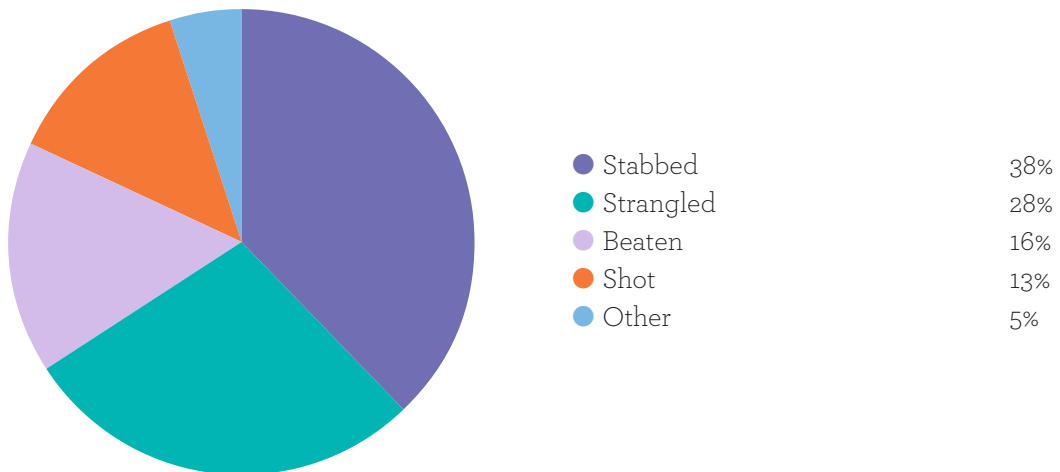
SECTION 2: FEMICIDE BY CURRENT OR FORMER INTIMATE PARTNERS

89 women have been killed by a current or ex-partner. **68 women (76%)** were killed by a **current intimate partner**. **In 13 cases**, it was reported that the victim was talking about or in the process of **leaving the relationship**.

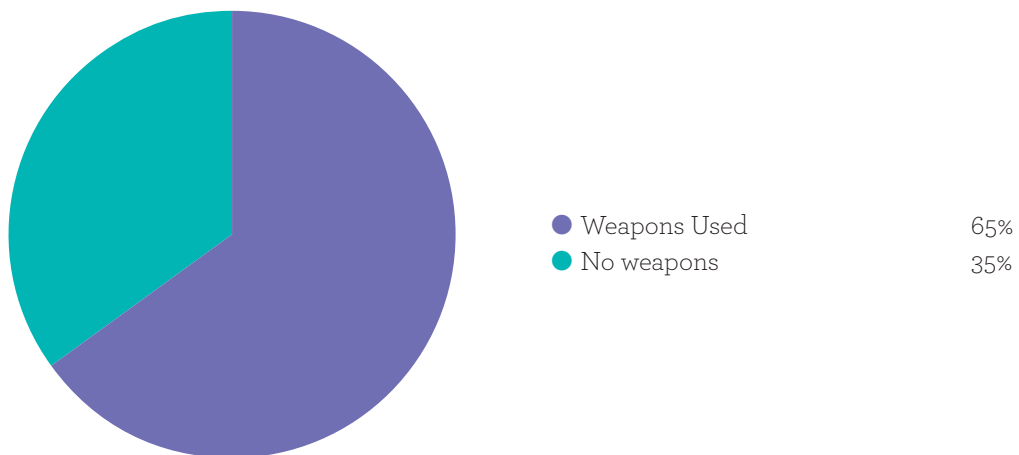
21 women (24%) have been **killed by a former intimate partner**.

14 children were killed alongside their mothers in these domestic homicide cases.

Where the killer has been a current or former intimate partner, the primary method of killing has been noted as:



In **58 cases (65%)**, weapons were used.



In the 89 resolved cases, **52 perpetrators** were convicted of **murder**. **15 perpetrators** were convicted of **manslaughter/unlawful killing**. **21 perpetrators took their own life** during the incident or shortly afterwards. One perpetrator was found not guilty due to insanity.

SECTION 3: VICTIMS OF FEMICIDE IN IRELAND 1996 – 2016

Name	Age	Date	County	Perpetrator
Marilyn Rynn	41	Jan-96	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Joyce Quinn	44	Jan-96	Kildare	Male relative/Acquaintance
Mary Molumby	86	Mar-96	Tipperary	Male relative/Acquaintance
Sandra Tobin	35	Mar-96	Waterford	Ex-partner
Noeleen Cawley	37	Apr-96	Sligo	Ex-partner
Alison White	13	Apr-96	Donegal	Male relative/Acquaintance
Anne-Marie Duffin	39	Apr-96	Kerry	Male relative/Acquaintance
Martina Halligan	33	May-96	Dublin	Ex-partner
Angela Collins	49	May-96	Limerick	Partner
Patti Bainbridge	61	May-96	Laois	Male relative/Acquaintance
Patricia Murphy	33	May-96	Dublin	Partner
Veronica Guerin	37	Jun-96	Dublin	Stranger
Margaret O Sullivan	40	Aug-96	Kerry	Male relative/Acquaintance
Maura McKinney	58	Aug-96	Dublin	Partner
Shirley Cline		Sep-96		No one held responsible
Janet Mooney	29	Sep-96	Dublin	Partner
Geraldine Diver	42	Dec-96	Dublin	No one held responsible
Sophie Toscan du Plantier	37	Dec-96	Cork	No one held responsible
Belinda Pereira	26	Dec-96	Dublin	No one held responsible
Miriam O'Donohue	42	Jan-97	Dublin	No one held responsible
Mary Callinan	61	Mar-97	Dublin	Stranger
Sylvia Sheilds	58	Mar-97	Dublin	Stranger
Bernie Sherry	44	Apr-97	Laoise	Ex-partner

Kitty Gubbins	70	May-97	Limerick	Partner
Mandy Wong	28	Jun-97	Dublin	No one held responsible
Elizabeth Troy	60	Jul-97	Limerick	Partner
Catherine Doyle	26	Aug-97	Roscommon	Male relative/Acquaintance
Margaret Murphy	73	Aug-97	Cork	Stranger
Sheila McDonagh	26	Sep-97	Louth	Partner
Maura Shah	39	Sep-97	Dublin	No one held responsible
Gillian Thornton	20	Oct-97	Mayo	Male relative/Acquaintance
Mary Cully	54	Nov-97	West Meath	Male relative/Acquaintance
Mary Kelehan	49	Nov-97	Galway	Partner
Eileen Costello O'Shaughnessy	47	Dec-97	Galway	No one held responsible
Mandy Smyth	26	Jan-98	Dublin	Ex-partner
Joan McCarthy	47	Apr-98	Dublin	No one held responsible
Georgina O'Donnell	21	May-98	Limerick	Male relative/Acquaintance
Sinead Kelly	21	Jun-98	Dublin	No one held responsible
Chantal Bergeron	41	Aug-98	Tipperary	Partner
Theresa Doherty	49	Sep-98	Tipperary	Male relative/Acquaintance
Christina Hackett	31	Oct-98	Cork	No one held responsible
Marie Dillon	72	Nov-98	Dublin	Stranger
Siobhan Hynes	17	Dec-98	Galway	Stranger
Sheila Lynch	44	Dec-98	Cavan	Male relative/Acquaintance
Catherine Hegarty	33	Feb-99	Cork	Partner
Layla Brennan	25	Mar-99	Dublin	Stranger
Marie Hennessy	31	May-99	Kilkenny	Partner
Bente Carroll	45	May-99	Dublin	Partner
Gertrude Dolan	56	Jun-99	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Eileen Coyne	82	Jul-99	Galway	Stranger
Bridget McFadden	76	Jul-99	Galway	Stranger
Margaret Concannon	72	Jul-99	Galway	Stranger
Charlene McAulliffe	19	Sep-99	Cork	Male relative/Acquaintance
Raonaid Murray	17	Sep-99	Dublin	No one held responsible
Catherine Mullins	43	Oct-99	Dublin	Partner

Rachel Sandeman	17	Feb-00	Cork	Male relative/Acquaintance
Nancy Nolan	80	Feb-00	Galway	Male relative/Acquaintance
Jennifer Donnan	42	Apr-00	Limerick	Male relative/Acquaintance
Maeve Byrne	37	Sep-00	Kilkenny	Partner
Children:				
Alan	10			
Shane	6			
Rachel Kiely	22	Oct-00	Cork	Male relative/Acquaintance
Dearbhla Keating	28	Nov-00	Waterford	Male relative/Acquaintance
Jennifer Wilkinson	24	Dec-00	Dublin	Ex-partner
Susan Prakash	28	Dec-00	Louth	Partner
Sandra Collins	29	Dec-00	Mayo	No one held responsible
Jean Reilly	34	Dec-00	Meath	Partner
Mary Whelan	27	Mar-01	Dublin	Partner
Lui Quing	19	Mar-01	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Teresa Joyce		May-01		No one held responsible
Debbie Fox	30	Jul-01	West Meath	Partner
Children:				
Trevor	9			
Cillian	7			
Margaret Fahy	78	Sept-01	Galway	Male relative/Acquaintance
Linda Dunne	24	Sep-01	Dublin	Partner
Bettina Poeschel	28	Sep-01	Meath	Stranger
Geraldine Kissane	23	Oct-01	Clare	Ex-partner
Lorraine O'Connor	19	Oct-01	Clare	Partner
Lisa Bell	22	Dec-01	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Sr Philomena Lyons	68	Dec-01	Monaghan	Stranger
Grainne Dillon	24	Jan-02	Limerick	Male relative/Acquaintance
Joan Power	43	Mar-02	Waterford	Partner
Rosie Collinson	51	Mar-02	Tipperary	Ex-partner
Nichola Sweeney	20	Apr-02	Cork	Stranger
Niamh Murphy	17	May-02	Dublin	Partner
Nora Kiely	46	Jul-02	Cork	Stranger

Carmel Coyne	38	Aug-02	Kildare	Ex-partner
Mook Ah Mooi	49	Aug-02	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Sasha Pimosieje		Dec-02	Dublin	No one held responsible
Christine Quinn	36	Dec-02	Kilkenny	Male relative/Acquaintance
Jean Scanlon	33	Jan-03	Cork	Partner
Marie Bridgeman	56	Jan-03	Meath	Male relative/Acquaintance
Cliona Manger	19	Feb-03	Cork	Partner
Natasha Gray	25	Feb-03	Dublin	Partner
Lindita Kukaj	23	Feb-03	Sligo	Male relative/Acquaintance
Georgina Eager	29	May-03	Dublin	Partner
Xiang Yi Wang	21	Jul-03	Wicklow	Partner
Ann Flynn	58	Dec-03	Roscommon	Partner
Attracta Harron	65	Dec-03	Donegal	Stranger
Dolores McCrea	39	Jan-04	Donegal	Ex-partner
Joan Casey	65	Apr-04	Dublin	Stranger
Janet Chaney	47	Apr-04	Louth	Partner
Lorraine Crowley	36	May-04	Waterford	No one held responsible
Ms Jamie Farrelly Maughan	13	Jul-04	Cavan	No one held responsible
Paiche Onyemaechi	25	Jul-04	Waterford	No one held responsible
Lynette McKeown	19	Aug-04	Kildare	No one held responsible
Mary Walsh	54	Sep-04	Waterford	Male relative/Acquaintance
Elizabeth McCarthy	32	Sep-04	Kerry	Male relative/Acquaintance
Rachel O'Reilly	31	Oct-04	Dublin	Partner
Margeurite O'Dwyer	17	Nov-04	Clare	Male relative/Acquaintance
Colleen Mulder	41	Dec-04	Meath	Partner
Celia Bailey	54	Mar-05	Sligo	Partner
Mary Hannon	59	Apr-05	Dublin	Partner
Irene White	44	Apr-05	Louth	No one held responsible
Emer O'Loughlin	23	Apr-05	Clare	No one held responsible
Catherine McEneaney	35	Jul-05	Galway	Partner
Frances Ralph	46	Aug-05	Kildare	Stranger
Ann Walsh	23	Aug-05	Clare	Ex-partner

Rosemary Dowling	49	Oct-05	Dublin	Partner
Regina O'Connor	48	Nov-05	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Amy Farrell	21	Jan-06	Cavan	Male relative/Acquaintance
Rebecca Kinsella	19	Jan-06	Kildare	Male relative/Acquaintance
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Karen Guinee	23	Jun-06	Galway	Partner
Sheola Keaney	19	Jul-06	Cork	Ex-partner
Breda Ryan	20	Aug-06	Louth	No one held responsible
Melissa Mahon	14	Sep-06	Sligo	Male relative/Acquaintance
Meg Walsh	35	Oct-06	Waterford	No one held responsible
Baiba Saulite	28	Nov-06	Dublin	No one held responsible
Rose Patterson	30	Apr-07	Cork	Ex-partner
Ciara Dunne	24	Apr-07	Wexford	Partner
Children:				
Leanne	5			
Shania	2			
Anne Marie O'Neill	50	Apr-07	Tipperary	Stranger
Sara Neligan	31	Jun-07	Dublin	Partner
Mary Sleator	82	Jul-07	Wicklow	Male relative/Acquaintance
Jean Gilbert	46	Aug-07	Dublin	Partner
Sharon Coughlan	37	Sep-07	Longford	Stranger
Amanda Jenkins	27	Oct-07	Dublin	Partner
Manuela Riedo	17	Oct-07	Galway	Stranger
Joanne Mangan	20	Oct-07	Tipperary	Partner
Marion O'Leary	53	Oct-07	Cork	Partner
Ciara Ní Chathmhaoil	22	Nov-07	Carlow	Ex-partner
Sylvia Roche Kelly	33	Dec-07	Limerick	Male relative/Acquaintance
Marioara Rostas	19	Jan-08	Dublin	No one held responsible
Lorraine Flood	38	Apr-08	Wexford	Partner
Children:				
Mark	6			
Julie	5			

Lillian Scanlon	45	May-08	Westmeath	Awaiting trial
Nicola Vonkova	19	Jul-08	Galway	Male relative/Acquaintance
Kezia Gomes Rosa	26	Aug-08	Roscommon	Partner
Yvonne O'Shea	40	Nov-08	Dublin	No one held responsible
Carmel Breen	57	Nov-08	Dublin	Partner
Noeleen Brennan	38	Nov-08	Dublin	Partner
Celine Cawley	46	Dec-08	Dublin	Partner
Rebecca Hoban	28	Dec-08	Dublin	Partner
Sharon Whelan	30	Dec-08	Kilkenny	Male relative/Acquaintance
Children:				
Zsara	7			
Nadia	2			
Anne Corcoran	60	Jan-09	Cork	Male relative/Acquaintance
Joan Vickers	43	Apr-09	Dublin	Partner
Tracey O'Brien	31	Jun-09	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Carmel Marrinan	61	Jul-09	Mayo	Male relative/Acquaintance
Eugenia Bratis	35	Aug-09	Dublin	No one held responsible
Brenda Ahern	30	Sep-09	Waterford	No one held responsible
Lisa Doyle	24	Sep-09	Carlow	Partner
Rebecca French	30	Oct-09	Wexford	Male relative/Acquaintance
Joselita De Silva	33	Oct-09	Offaly	Partner
Loradena Pricajan	36	Jan-10	Dublin	Ex-partner
Catherine Smart	57	Apr-10	Cork	Male relative/Acquaintance
Breda Cummins	31	May-10	Kildare	Ex-partner
Helen Donegan	30	May-10	Kildare	Partner
Sarah Hines	25	Nov-10	Limerick	Ex-partner
Children:				
Reece	3			
Amy	5 months			
Alicia Brough	20	Nov-10	Limerick	Male relative/Acquaintance
Ana Butautiene	56	Dec-10	Dublin	Awaiting trial
Breda Waters	28	Jan-11	Limerick	Stranger
Marie Greene	37	Feb-11	Westmeath	Male relative/Acquaintance

Katarzyna Barowiak	25	Mar-11	Kerry	Partner
Noreen Kelly Eadon	46	Mar-11	Mayo	Male relative/Acquaintance
Deirdre McCarthy	43	Mar-11	Clare	Male relative/Acquaintance
Diane Burroughs	30	Apr-11	Laois	Ex-partner
Ann Henry	49	Sep-11	Roscommon	Male relative/Acquaintance
Rudo Mawere	26	Jan-12	Dublin	Partner
Veronica Vollrath	83	Jan-12	Waterford	Awaiting trial
Melanie McCarthy McNamara	16	Feb-12	Dublin	Stranger
Sarah Regan	30	Feb-12	Roscommon	Ex-partner
Mary Ryan	37	May-12	Dublin	Partner
Siobhan Stapleton	51	May-12	Kilkenny	Male relative/Acquaintance
Jacqueline McDonagh	34	Aug-12	Louth	Partner
Elaine O'Hara	36	Aug-12	Dublin	Partner
Elizabeth Duff	47	Aug-12	Kildare	No one held responsible
Anna Finnegan	26	Sep-12	Dublin	Awaiting trial
Aoife Phelan	30	Oct-12	Laois	Partner
Olivia Dunlea O'Brien	36	Feb-13	Cork	Partner
Deirdre Keenan	51	Feb-13	Carlow	Partner
Jolanta Lubiene	27	Jun-13	Kerry	Partner
Children:				
Enrika	8			
Aleksandra Sarzynska	32	Aug-13	Meath	Awaiting trial
Patricia Kierans	54	Sep-13	Cavan	Ex-partner
Brigid Bernadette Cash	20	Oct-13	Dublin	No one held responsible
Susan Dunne	53	Nov-13	Kerry	Awaiting trial
Sara Staunton	28	Dec-13	Mayo	Partner
Sonia Blount	31	Feb-14	Dublin	Awaiting trial
Marie Carroll	58	Mar-14	Dublin	Awaiting trial
Mary Dargan	66	Mar-14	Dublin	Male relative/Acquaintance
Mairead Moran	26	May-14	Kilkenny	Ex-partner
Lynn Cassidy	50	Jun-14	Wicklow	Male relative/Acquaintance
Antra Ozolina	49	Jun-14	Cavan	No one held responsible

Carol McAuley	54	Aug-14	Dublin	No one held responsible
Marie O'Brien	55	Sep-14	Waterford	Awaiting trial
Angelique Belling	27	Dec-14	Clare	Partner
Valerie Greaney	49	Dec-14	Cork	Partner
Jane Braidwood	65	Jan-15	Dublin	Awaiting trial
Anne Shortall	47	Apr-15	Wicklow	Awaiting trial
Marie Quigley	68	Jul-15	Louth	Partner
Natalie McGuinness	23	Oct-15	Sligo	Awaiting trial
Brigid Maguire	43	Nov-15	Westmeath	Awaiting trial
Clodagh Hawe	39	Aug-16	Cavan	Partner
Children:				
Liam	14			
Niall	11			
Ryan	6			
Kitty Fitzgerald	72	Nov-16	Mayo	Partner

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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